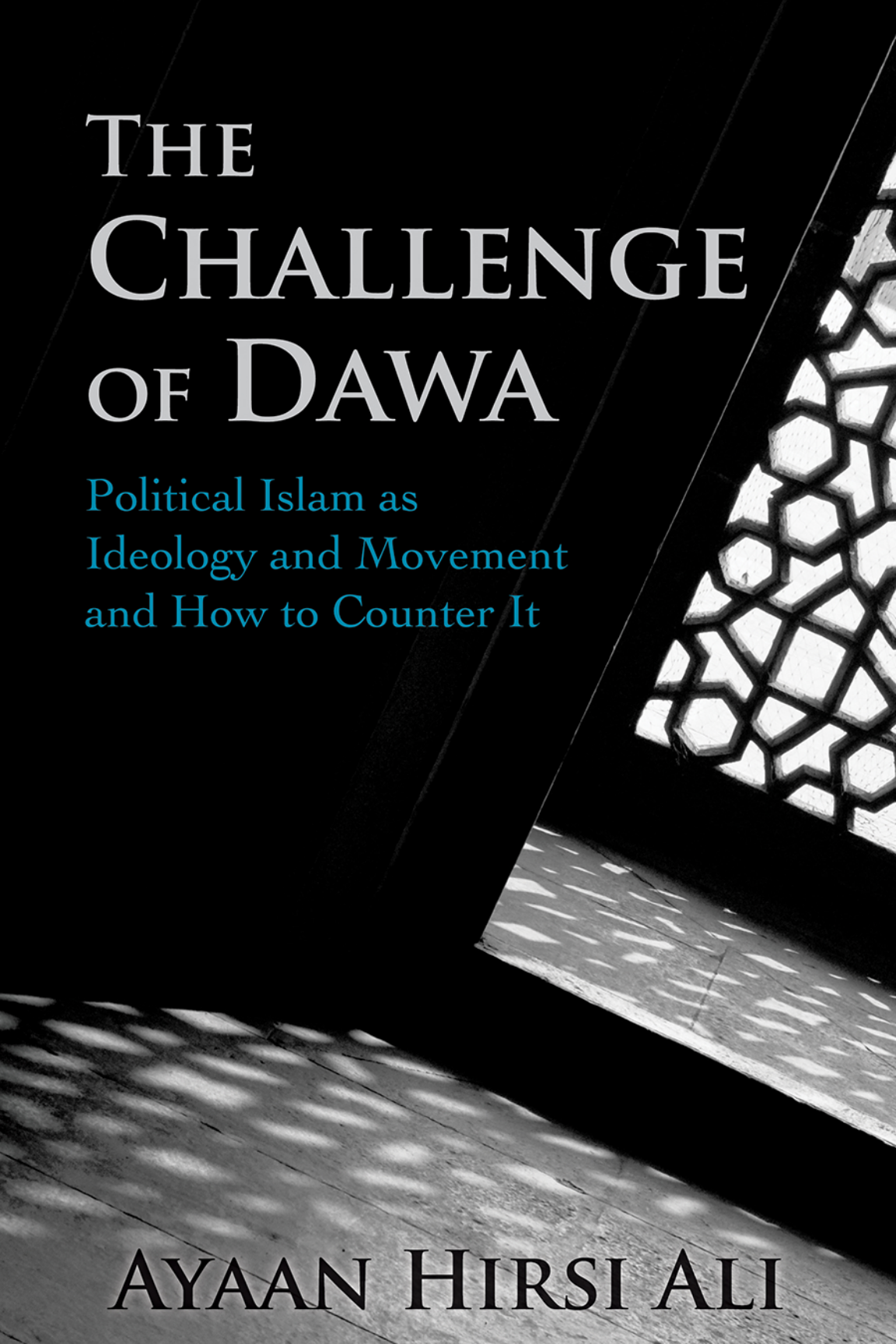
THE CHALLENGE OF DAWA
Political Islam as Ideology and Movement and How to Counter It
AYAAN HIRSI ALI

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Ayaan Hirsi Ali

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Any mistakes in this work are mine.

Ayaan Hirsi Ali
Stanford, March 7, 2017

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Speaking in Youngstown, Ohio, on August 15, 2016, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump gave a speech on what he unequivocally referred to as "radical Islam." He declared:

> Nor can we let the hateful ideology of radical Islam—its oppression of women, gays, children, and nonbelievers—be allowed to reside or spread within our own countries . . . [W]e must use ideological warfare as well. Just as we won the Cold War, in part, by exposing the evils of communism and the virtues of free markets, so too must we take on the ideology of radical Islam. Our administration will be a friend to all moderate Muslim reformers in the Middle East, and will amplify their voices.[1]

Since Mr. Trump's election victory and inauguration as president, much attention has been focused on hurried and probably temporary restrictions on refugees, visitors, and immigrants from a number of majority-Muslim countries. Almost no attention has been paid to the broader goals outlined in the Youngstown speech.

I argue that the speech heralded a paradigm shift away from President Obama's doctrine of focusing solely on the violence committed by "extremists" to a more comprehensive approach that seeks to undermine, degrade, and ultimately defeat political Islam (or Islamism) as an ideology and a movement seeking to infiltrate and undermine our free society.

A narrow focus on Islamist violence had the effect of restricting our options only to tools such as military intervention, electronic surveillance, and the criminal justice system. This approach has proved both costly and ineffective.

Moving beyond the controversy over his executive order on immigration, President Trump now has the chance to broaden our strategy. Instead of "combating violent extremism," his administration needs to redefine the threat posed by political Islam by recognizing it as an ideology that is fundamentally incompatible with our freedoms and a movement that is working insidiously but effectively to achieve its stated utopia.[2]

I argue that the American public urgently needs to be educated about both the ideology of political Islam and the organizational infrastructure called *ḍawa* that Islamists use to inspire, indoctrinate, recruit, finance, and mobilize those Muslims whom they win over to their cause.

There is no point in denying that this ideology has its foundation in Islamic doctrine.[3] However, "Islam," "Islamism," and "Muslims" are distinct concepts. Not all Muslims are Islamists, let alone violent, though all Islamists—including those who use violence—are Muslims. I believe the religion of Islam itself is indeed capable of reformation, if only to distinguish it more clearly from the political ideology of Islamism. But that task of reform can only be carried out by Muslims. Happily, there is a growing number of reformist Muslims. Part of the Trump

administration's strategy must be to support and empower them.

The other part of the strategy requires confronting dawa, a term unfamiliar to Americans. Dawa as practiced by radical Islamists employs a wide range of mechanisms to advance their goal of imposing Islamic law *(sharia)* on society. This includes proselytizing but extends beyond that.[4] In Western countries, dawa aims both to convert non-Muslims to political Islam and to instill Islamist views in existing Muslims.[5] The ultimate goal of dawa is to destroy the political institutions of a free society and replace them with the rule of sharia law.

Dawa is to the Islamists of today what the "long march through the institutions" was to twentieth-century Marxists. It is subversion from within—the abuse of religious freedom in order to undermine that very freedom. Another analogy is also possible. After Islamists gain power, dawa is to them what *Gleichschaltung*[6] (synchronization) of all aspects of German state, civil, and social institutions was to the National Socialists.

There are of course differences. The biggest difference is that dawa is rooted in the Islamic practice of attempting to convert non-Muslims to accept the message of Islam. As it is an ostensibly religious missionary activity, proponents of dawa enjoy a much greater protection by the law in free societies than Marxists or fascists did in the past.

Worse, Islamist groups have enjoyed not just protection but at times official sponsorship from government agencies duped into regarding them as representatives of "moderate Muslims" simply because they do not engage in violence.

All this means that the new administration urgently needs to devise an anti-dawa counterstrategy that employs the full range of tools at our disposal.

The purpose of this report is to suggest the basis for a new anti-dawa strategy, designed to check the advance of political Islam as an ideology and a movement.

In the first part, I describe the constitution of political Islam: the foundational principles, terminology, and objectives of Islamist ideology.

In the second part, I analyze the infrastructure of political Islam, in particular the institutions and techniques of dawa.

In the third part, I propose a number of policies that I believe will, if properly implemented, halt the spread of political Islam in the United States and perhaps also abroad.

The report concludes with a series of detailed policy recommendations, grouped under seven headings. These are summarized in the following pages.

SUMMARY OF POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

General

- The administration should acknowledge that combating political Islam by military means alone is not working.
- The administration should define the enemy more clearly: political Islam (Islamism) is not just a religion, but is also a political ideology.
- The administration should understand the significance of Islamist dawa: the subversive, indoctrinating precursor to jihad.

Government Outreach

- In reaching out to the Muslim American community, the administration should ally itself with genuine Muslim moderates and reformers, not with "nonviolent" Islamists.
- The administration should require the FBI to scrutinize the ideological background and nature of the Islamic organizations it engages with and partners with to ensure that

they are genuinely moderate, that is, not committed to the Islamist agenda.
- The current failing strategy known as "Countering Violent Extremism" should be abandoned and replaced.

Immigration

- The administration, through the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), should subject immigrants and refugees to ideological scrutiny.
- The DHS should deny entry to foreign individuals involved with or supportive of Islamism and related groups and should refuse permanent residency and naturalization to such individuals.
- The administration should prioritize entry to the United States of immigrants who have shown loyalty to the United States.

Law and the Justice System

- The secretary of state should designate the Egyptian chapter of the Muslim Brotherhood as a foreign terrorist organization (FTO).
- The administration should implement effective ideological screening of chaplains employed by the Department of Justice, the Bureau of Prisons, the Department of Defense (military chaplains), and the State Department.

Surveillance

- The administration should systematically map the infrastructure of subversive dawa activities around the world.
- The administration should ensure reasonable surveillance of Islamic centers and mosques that are credibly suspected of engaging in subversive activities, such as the Islamic Society of Boston.
- The administration, through the Internal Revenue Service, should revoke the tax-exempt status of organizations connected to subversive Islamist activities.

Diplomacy

- As a condition of US friendship, the administration should require foreign governments as well as Islamic NGOs to stop supporting and financing subversive Islamist activities in the United States.
- The administration should use broadcast institutions overseas (e.g., Voice of America) to fight the war of ideas by disseminating a counter-dawa message, highlighting the work of Muslim reformers and non-Islamist Muslims.
- If a country or NGO cannot show verifiable progress in curbing its support for subversive dawa activities in the United States, the administration should punish that country or NGO in concrete terms, for example by trade sanctions or cuts in aid payments.

Military Operations

- The administration should meanwhile continue conventional military operations against jihadist organizations.
- However, the administration should also wage cyber war on organizations engaged in Islamist dawa as well as those engaged in jihad.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of *ðaʼwah* and *jïhaað* is not to shed blood, take wealth, or enslave women and children; these things happen incidentally but are not the aim. This only takes place when the disbelievers (non-Muslims) refrain from accepting the truth and persist in disbelief and refuse to be subdued and pay the *jïzya* (tax levied on free non-Muslims living under Muslim rule) when it is requested from them. In this case, Allah has prescribed the Muslims to kill them, take their wealth as booty and enslave their women and children . . . this religion (Islam) . . . is superior to every law and system. . . . The truth has been spread through the correct Islamic *ðaʼwah,* which in turn has been aided and supported by *jïhaað* whenever anyone stood in its way. . . . It was *jïhaað* and *ðaʼwah* together which helped to open the doors to victories.

—Saudi Grand Mufti Ibn Baz, 1998[7]

A New Departure

It is refreshing and heartening that President Trump acknowledges the need for an ideological campaign against "radical Islam." This deserves to be called a paradigm shift. President Bush often referred to a "war on terror," but terror is a tactic that can be used for a variety of ideological objectives.[8] President Obama stated that he was opposed to "violent extremism" and even organized an international summit around this subject.[9] Yet at times he made it seem as if he worried more about "Islamophobia" than about radical Islam. In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly in 2012, Obama declared: "The future must not belong to those who slander the prophet of Islam."

In what follows, however, I shall refer to "political Islam" rather than radical Islam. Political Islam is not just a religion as most Western citizens recognize the term "religion," a faith; it is also a political ideology, a legal order, and in many ways also a military doctrine associated with the campaigns of the Prophet Muhammad.[10] Political Islam rejects any kind of distinction between religion and politics, mosque and state. Political Islam even rejects the modern state in favor of a caliphate. My central argument is that political Islam implies a constitutional order fundamentally incompatible with the US Constitution and with the "constitution of liberty" that is the foundation of the American way of life.

There is no point in denying that political Islam as an ideology has its foundation in Islamic doctrine.[11] However, "Islam," "Islamism," and "Muslims" are distinct concepts. Not all Muslims are Islamists, let alone violent, but all Islamists—including those who use violence—are Muslims. I believe the religion of Islam itself is indeed capable of reformation, if only

to distinguish it more clearly from the political ideology of Islamism. But that task of reform can only be carried out by Muslims.

Insisting that radical Islamists have "nothing to do with Islam" has led US policy makers to commit numerous strategic errors since 9/11. One is to distinguish between a "tiny" group of extremists and an "overwhelming" majority of "moderate" Muslims. I prefer to differentiate among Medina Muslims, who embrace the militant political ideology adopted by Muhammad in Medina; Mecca Muslims, who prefer the religion originally promoted by Muhammad in Mecca; and reformers, who are open to some kind of Muslim Reformation.

These distinctions have their origins in history. The formative period of Islam can be divided roughly into two phases: the spiritual phase, associated with Mecca, and the political phase that followed Muhammad's move to Medina. There is a substantial difference between Qur'anic verses revealed in Mecca (largely spiritual in nature) and Qur'anic verses revealed in Medina (more political and even militaristic). There is also a difference in the behavior of the Prophet Muhammad: in Mecca, he was a spiritual preacher, but in Medina he became a political and military figure.[12]

It cannot be said often enough that the United States is not at war with Islam or with Muslims. It is, however, bound to resist the political aspirations of Medina Muslims where those pose a direct threat to our civil and political liberties. It is also bound to ensure that Mecca Muslims and reforming Muslims enjoy the same protections as members of other religious communities who accept the fundamental principles of a free society. That includes protection from the tactics of intimidation that are so central to the ideology and practice of political Islam.

The Background

The conflict between the United States and political Islam in modern times dates back to at least 1979, when the US embassy in Tehran was seized by Islamic revolutionaries and fifty-two Americans were held hostage for *444* days. In the decades that followed, the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the 1998 embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania reminded Americans of the threat posed by political Islam. But it was not until the 9/11 attacks that political Islam as an ideology attracted sustained public attention. The September 11, 2001, attacks were inspired by a political ideology that has its foundation in Islam, specifically its formative period in Medina.

Since 9/11, at least $1.*7* trillion has been spent on combat and reconstruction costs in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.[13] The total budgetary cost of the wars and homeland security from 2001 through 2016 is more than $3.6 trillion.[14] Yet in spite of the sacrifices of more than 5,000 armed service personnel[15] who have lost their lives since 9/11 and the tens of thousands of American soldiers who have been wounded, today political Islam is on the rise around the world. Violence is the most obvious—but not the only—manifestation of this trend. Jihadist groups have proliferated all over the Middle East and North Africa, especially where states are weak and civil wars rage (Iraq, Libya, Somalia, and Syria, not forgetting northern Nigeria). Islam-inspired terrorists also have a global reach. France is in a permanent state of emergency, while the United States has been profoundly shaken by terror attacks in Boston (the Marathon bombers); Fort Hood, Texas; San Bernardino, California; Orlando, Florida; and Ohio State University, to name but a few.

Of the last sixteen years, the worst year for terrorism was 2014, with ninety-three countries experiencing attacks and 32,765 people killed. The second worst was 2015, with 29,376 deaths. Last year, four radical Islamic groups were responsible for 74 percent of all deaths from terrorism: the Islamic State (also known as ISIS), Boko Haram, the Taliban, and al-Qaeda.[16] Although the Muslim world itself bears the heaviest burden of jihadist violence, the West is increasingly under attack.

How large is the jihadist movement in the world? In Pakistan alone, where the population is almost entirely Muslim, 13 percent of Muslims surveyed—more than 20 million people—said that bombings and other forms of violence against civilian targets are often or sometimes justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies.

Disturbingly, the number of Western-born Muslim jihadists is sharply increasing. The United Nations estimated in November 2014 that some 15,000 foreign fighters from at least eighty nations have traveled to Syria to join the radical jihadists.[17] Roughly a quarter of them come from Western Europe.[18]

Yet the advance of political Islam manifests itself not only in acts of violence. Even as billions are spent on military intervention and drone strikes, the ideological infrastructure of political Islam in the United States continues to grow because officials are concerned only with criminal conspiracies to commit acts of violence, not with the ideology that inspires such acts.

According to one estimate, 10–15 percent of the world's Muslims are Islamists.[19] Out of well over 1.6 billion, or 23 percent of the globe's population, that implies more than 160 million individuals. Based on survey data on attitudes toward sharia in Muslim countries, total support for Islamist activities in the world is likely significantly higher than that estimate.[20]

Scholarship on Political Islam

There are two sets of academic literature aimed at helping policy makers grapple with the threat of radical Islam. In the first set, Islamic religious ideas form a marginal factor at best. Authors such as John Esposito, Marc Sageman, Hatem Bazian, and Karen Armstrong argue that a combination of variables such as poverty and corrupt political governance lies at the root of Islamic violence.[21] They urge the US government and its allies to tackle these "root causes." For these authors, devoting attention to religious motives is at best irrelevant, and at worst a harmful distraction. They are not concerned about political Islam as an ideology, only about individual acts of violence committed in its name.

A second set of scholars—which is growing in importance—sees a radical ideology derived from Islamic theology, principles, and concepts as the driving force of our current predicament. Scholars such as Michael Cook, Daniel Pipes, Jeffrey Bale, and David Cook, and authors such as Paul Berman and Graeme Wood, acknowledge that factors such as poverty and bad governance are relevant, but argue that US policy makers should take seriously the religious ideology that underlies Islamist violence.[22]

The failed polices since 9/11 (and even before) in the struggle against radical Islam were built on false premises derived from the first set of literature, which absolves Islam wholly of the atrocities that it inspires. As the failure of American strategy since 2001 has become increasingly clear, however, the view has gained ground that the ideology underlying Islamist violence must be tackled if our efforts are to be successful.[23]

This view is not only held by a few Western scholars. All over the world, there are now Muslims who are engaged in a

long-overdue process of reassessing Islamic thought, scripture, and laws with a view to reforming them. These Muslim reformers can be found in positions of leadership in some governments, in universities, in the press, and elsewhere.[24] They are our natural allies. An important part of our future policies in the war on Islamic extremism should be to encourage and empower them.

Understanding Dawa

From 9/11 until now, the dominant Western response to political Islam has been to focus only on "terror" and "violent extremism." This approach has failed. In focusing only on acts of violence, we have ignored the ideology that justifies, promotes, celebrates, and encourages those acts. By not fighting a war of ideas against political Islam (or "Islamism") as an ideology and against those who spread that ideology, we have made a grave error.[25]

If Islamism is the ideology, then dawa encompasses all the methods by which it is spread. The term "dawa" refers to activities carried out by Islamists to win adherents and enlist them in a campaign to impose sharia law on all societies. Dawa is not the Islamic equivalent of religious proselytizing, although it is often disguised as such by blending humanitarian activities with subversive political activities.[26]

Dawa as practiced by Islamists employs a wide range of mechanisms to advance the goal of imposing Islamic law (sharia) on society. This includes proselytization, but extends beyond that. In Western countries, dawa aims both to convert non-Muslims to political Islam and to bring about more extreme views among existing Muslims.[27] The ultimate goal of dawa is to destroy the

political institutions of a free society and replace them with strict sharia. Islamists rely on both violent and nonviolent means to achieve their objectives.

Dawa is to the Islamists of today what the "long march through the institutions" was to twentieth-century Marxists. It is subversion from within, the use of religious freedom in order to undermine that very freedom. After Islamists gain power, dawa is to them what *Gleichschaltung*[28] (synchronization) of all aspects of German state, civil, and social institutions was to the National Socialists.

There are of course differences. The biggest difference is that dawa is rooted in the Islamic practice of attempting to convert non-Muslims to accept the message of Islam. As it is an ostensibly religious missionary activity, proponents of dawa enjoy a much greater protection by the law in free societies than Marxists or fascists did in the past.

Worse, Islamist groups have enjoyed not just protection but at times official sponsorship from government agencies duped into regarding them as representatives of "moderate Muslims" simply because they do not engage in violence.[29] Islamist groups that have been treated in this way include:

- The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)
- The Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC)
- The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)
- The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT)
- The Islamic Society of Boston

For organizations engaging in dawa, the main elements of the strategy are:

- to have well-organized Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood claim to speak on behalf of all Muslims, while marginalizing Muslim reformers and dissidents.[30]
- to take ownership of immigration trends to encourage the "Islamization" of Western societies by invoking *hijra,* the emigration of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina.
- to reduce women to the status of reproductive machines for the purpose of demographic transformation.[31]
- to take advantage of the focus on "inclusion" by progressive political parties in democratic societies, then to force these parties to accept Islamist demands in the name of peaceful coexistence.
- to take advantage of self-consciously progressive movements, effectively co-opting them.
- to increase Islamists' hold over the educational system, including some charter schools, "faith" schools, and home schooling.[32]

Typically, Islamists study target societies to identify points of vulnerability. In the United States, Islamists focus on vulnerable African-American men within prison populations,[33] as well as Hispanic and Native American communities. Recent targets of Islamist infiltration include the Women's March and Black Lives Matter.

Agents of dawa also systematically lobby private sector organizations, governments, and international bodies:

- They seek to pressure governments to accede to Islamist demands on the grounds of freedom of religion or status as a religious minority.[34]
- They urge the United Nations and the European Council to combat "Islamophobia" by devising what amounts to censorship guidelines for politicians and journalists and by punishing those who dissent.[35]
- They press institutions such as the Associated Press to distort the language they use to suit Islamist objectives.[36]
- They wage sustained campaigns to discredit critics of radical Islam.[37]

The Sinews of Dawa

The global infrastructure of dawa is well funded, persistent, and resilient. From 1973 through 2002, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia spent an estimated $87 billion to promote dawa efforts abroad.[38] Josh Martin estimates that, since the early 1970s, Middle Eastern charities have distributed $110 billion, $40 billion of which found its way to sub-Saharan Africa and contributed heavily to Islamist ideological indoctrination there.[39] Nongovernmental organizations in Kuwait, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia continue to distribute large sums overseas to finance ideological indoctrination and activities.[40] Powerful foundations such as the Qatar Foundation continue to grant financial support and legitimacy to radical Islamic ideology around the world.[41]

Many Islamic charitable foundations use *zakat* (mandatory charity) funds to mix humanitarian outreach with ideological indoctrination, laying the ground for future intolerance, misogyny, and *jihad,* even if no violence is used in the short term. When informal funding mechanisms are included, the *zakat* funds available could reach "hundreds of billions of dollars" worldwide each year.[42]

The Problem

Let it be said explicitly: The Islamists' program is fundamentally incompatible with the US Constitution, religious tolerance, the equality of men and women, the tolerance of different sexual orientations, and other fundamental human rights.[43]

The biggest challenge the United States faces in combating political Islam, however, is the extent to which agents of dawa can exploit the constitutional and legal protections that guarantee American citizens freedom of religion and freedom of speech—freedoms that would of course be swept away if the Islamists achieved their goals.

In 2010, one senior American intelligence analyst summed up our predicament:

> In the US there are First Amendment issues we're cognizant of. *It's not a crime to radicalize, only when it turns to violence* . . . America is thus vulnerable to a threat that is not only diversifying, but arguably intensifying.[44]

To give just one example: A cleric in Maryland, Imam Suleiman Bengharsa, has openly endorsed the Islamic State, posted gruesome videos, and praised terrorist attacks overseas.[45] As of

February 2017, however, he remains a free man and US authorities insist nothing can be done against him because he has not yet plotted to commit a specific act of violence. One expert has said that Imam Bengharsa "can take his supporters right up to the line. It's like making a cake and not putting in the final ingredient. It's winks and nods all the way."[46] This is what we are up against.

The global constitution of political Islam is formidable. The Muslim Brotherhood, with its numerous American affiliates, is an important component, but not the only one. Even if one were able to eliminate the Brotherhood overnight, the ideological infrastructure of dawa would remain powerful. The network of radical Islamist preachers, "charities," and organizations that perpetuate political Islam is already well established inside and outside the United States.[47]

To resist the insidious advance of political Islam, we need to develop a strategy to counter not only those who use violence to advance their politico-religious objectives—the jihadists—but also the great and complex ideological infrastructure known as dawa, just as we countered both the Red Army and the ideology of communism in the Cold War.[48] Focusing only on "terror" as a tactic is insufficient. We ignore at our peril the ideological infrastructure that supports political Islam in both its violent and its nonviolent forms.[49]

It is not just that jihad is an extension of dawa; according to some observers, it is dawa by other means.[50] Put differently, nonviolent and violent Islamists differ only on tactics; they share the same goal, which is to establish an unfree society ruled by strict sharia law. Institutionally, nonviolent Islamists have benefited from terror attacks committed by jihadists because such attacks make nonviolent Islamists appear moderate in the eyes of Western governments, even when their goals and values are

not. This is known as the "positive radical flank effect."[51] Ian Johnson, a writer for the *Wall Street Journal,* observed:

> Al Qaeda was the best thing to happen to these [Islamist] groups. Nowadays, our bar is so low that if groups aren't Al Qaeda, we're happy. If they're not overtly supporting terrorism, we think they're okay. We don't stop to think where the terrorism comes from, where the fish swim.[52]

Dawa must therefore be countered as much as jihad.[53]

Yet, as things stand, dawa cannot be countered. Its agents hide behind constitutional protections they themselves would dismantle unhesitatingly were they in power. In 2017, Congress must therefore give the president the tools he needs to dismantle the infrastructure of dawa in the United States and to counter the spread of political Islam at home and abroad.

While recognizing that our freedoms are sacrosanct, we must also remember the wise words of Karl Popper, who memorably identified what he called "the paradox of tolerance," namely that "unlimited tolerance must lead to the disappearance of tolerance."

> If we extend unlimited tolerance even to those who are intolerant, if we are not prepared to defend a tolerant society against the onslaught of the intolerant, then the tolerant will be destroyed, and tolerance with them. In this formulation, I do not imply, for instance, that we should always suppress the utterance of intolerant philosophies; as long as we can counter them by rational argument and keep them in check by public opinion, suppression would certainly be unwise. But we should claim the *right* to suppress them if necessary even by force; for it may easily turn out that they are not prepared

to meet us on the level of rational argument, but begin by denouncing all argument; they may forbid their followers to listen to rational argument, because it is deceptive, and teach them to answer arguments by the use of their fists or pistols. We should therefore claim, in the name of tolerance, the right not to tolerate the intolerant. We should claim that any movement preaching intolerance places itself outside the law, and we should consider incitement to intolerance and persecution as criminal, in the same way as we should consider incitement to murder, or to kidnapping, or to the revival of the slave trade, as criminal.[54]

PART I

The Constitution of Political Islam

The Roots of Political Islam: Medina

To understand political Islam, one must understand both the life of the Prophet Muhammad and the structure of the Qur'an. According to Islamic tradition, Muhammad was born in 570 CE in Mecca. His call to prophethood is said to have come in 610. The Angel Gabriel recited verses to Muhammad, which he in turn recited. Unlike the Bible, where God is rarely quoted directly, the Qur'an is considered to be "the verbatim word of God."[55]

In the first decade of his mission in Mecca, Muhammad preached a monotheistic belief in one God. In Mecca, Muhammad was a preacher who did not aspire to build a political or military system. In Mecca, however, Muhammad failed to convince the various Arab tribes to give up their gods. Some mocked him and his small band of disciples. In preaching a monotheistic faith in a polytheistic city, Muhammad encountered fierce resistance. As tensions increased, Muhammad left his native city and eventually settled in Medina. This emigration, called hijra, is central to Islam and—more importantly—to the mission of

Islamization to this day.[56] The lunar calendar of Islam begins with this self-imposed exile of Muhammad and his companions.

In Medina, Islam became a comprehensive political system in addition to a religion.[57] In moving to Medina, Muhammad became more than just a spiritual preacher: he became a political leader, a military commander, and the highest judge. It was in this context that jihad by the sword first emerged as an integral part of Islam.[58] In the aftermath of the 627 Battle of the Trench, "Mohammed felt free to deal harshly with the Banu Qurayza, executing their men and selling their women and children into slavery."[59]

In the last nine years of his life, Muhammad waged many such bloody battles to control territory and distribute booty to his fighters.[60] As Princeton Professor Michael Cook observed, "The historical salience of warfare against unbelievers . . . was thus written into the foundational texts" of Islam.[61] Whole military manuals have been written based on Muhammad's military leadership and the military advice contained in the Qur'an.[62]

In Islamic tradition, the term "jihad" first referred only to fighting in the path of God; it was later that additional meanings, such as inner spiritual striving, became attached to the term. In the Qur'an, the term jihad mostly refers to fighting in the military sense.[63]

Sharia

The worldview of the Islamist is to realize a state governed by the rule of Allah: the Islamic State, governed by sharia law. According to this worldview, sharia is divine and total in its scope. Sharia law governs the relationship between the Muslim

believer and his God, the believer and his intimate circle, the global community of Muslim believers and the caliph, and the community of believers and the unbelievers.[64]

What we call sharia law was developed by Islamic legal experts after Muhammad's death. The sources of sharia law are the Qur'an, the hadith (sayings of the Prophet), authoritative biographies of Muhammad (*sira*) and authoritative commentaries on the Qur'an (*tafsir*).[65] In the early centuries of Islam, the scholars who developed sharia reasoned that Qur'anic verses revealed later in Medina were to take precedence over the verses revealed earlier in Mecca.[66] Unfortunately, Qur'anic verses dictated later in Medina are far more military in nature than those dictated earlier in Mecca, which are more spiritual in orientation. As time went on, Qur'anic verses gradually allowed Muslims to undertake more and more military activity.[67]

Islamists, whether they are violent or nonviolent, aim for the restoration of the caliphate governed by sharia. The primary obligation of the Muslim believer is to enforce the sharia in his home and among the *umma* (global community of Muslims). He must also be prepared to invite non-Muslims to join Islam through dawa and to live according to the dictates of the sharia. He may rebel against his ruler if the ruler violates sharia or if he neglects to spread Islam.[68] If he is hindered by a non-Muslim to engage in dawa, or if a non-Muslim refuses to accept the call to Islam, he may engage in jihad.

Under sharia, Christians and Jews are exempt from joining Islam if they so choose, but they have to pay the jizya, or discriminatory dues and to accept rules designed to prevent them from spreading their respective faiths by means of proselytizing, marrying Muslim women, or building ostentatious houses of worship.

"Salafism," a term now popularly used to describe many radical Muslims, harks back to the Prophet Muhammad's time in Medina. The companions of Muhammad, those first converts to Islam who emigrated from Mecca with him, are seen as the greatest generation of Muslims. The Salafis see them as their role models.[69]

The description above is how an Islamic State is supposed to work. In reality, such a state may never have existed in this pure form. Because the sources are so few and so unreliable, we know very little about Muhammad and Islam's formative period.[70] The full history of Islam as a civilization is beyond the scope of this report.[71] However, it is impossible to understand the aims of modern political Islam without some understanding of this historical background.

The Consitution of Political Islam

In the Medina of Muhammad's time, there was no legal equality between men and women. There was no religious freedom as we understand that concept today. Leaving Islam (apostasy) was punishable by death. Human slavery was common, legal, and accepted. Theft was punishable by amputation of the hand. Fornication was punishable by lashing or stoning. Drinking wine was punishable by lashing. There was no notion of civic democracy, separation of powers, or limited government. Jihad was waged against the collective non-Islamic world until non-Muslims either converted to Islam or paid a tributary tax.[72] There was a focus on collective submission, not on individual rights. These concepts were enshrined in sharia law manuals that remain valid to this day. Under abrogation, mainstream Islamic law gave precedence to "Medina Islam" over "Mecca Islam."[73]

After the seventeenth century, the Islamic world in general grew weaker relative to Western powers. The Mughals were overthrown; the Ottomans declined. Sharia law remained stagnant. By the early twentieth century, Muslims who were concerned about the general weakness and decline of the Islamic world had two choices:

1. Modernize by reforming sharia itself or by curtailing its influence in the legal system, politics, society, and public life (as Kemal Atatürk did in Turkey).
2. Insist that the decline of the Islamic world was God's punishment for the insufficient application of traditional sharia law. The "solution" consisted of "Islamizing" society by transforming key institutions such as the family, the educational system, the workplace, and, eventually, the legal system and politics.[74]

Generally, Islamic activists who favor option 2 have prevailed in the ideological battle—at least so far. Some groups, such as Hassan al-Banna's Muslim Brotherhood (established in 1928), were committed to implementing sharia law from the ground up, thereby reversing the Islamic world's decline by gradually "Islamizing" the individual, the family, the educational system, the legal system, and, eventually, the political system.[75] Over time, the Brotherhood increasingly turned to militancy, assassinations, and terror attacks.[76]

In the 1960s, one Muslim Brotherhood member, Sayyid Qutb, argued that much of the so-called Islamic world, including his native Egypt, had fallen into a state of pre-Islamic ignorance (*jahiliyyah*) by insufficiently applying sharia law.[77] Qutb was even more critical of the West's alleged moral decadence. Although

the Egyptian government of his time was Muslim, it was secular and nationalist in its orientation. Qutb denounced it as "faithless" and appealed for armed resistance (*jihad bis saif*) against it.[78] His writings and ideology continue to shape the ideology of violent Islamists today, more than fifty years after his execution. Today, the Muslim Brotherhood's slogan is: "Allah is our objective; the Qur'an is our law; the Prophet is our leader; jihad is our way; and death for the sake of Allah is our highest aspiration."[79]

In the 1960s, oil wealth in Saudi Arabia permitted the Wahhabi clergy to begin spreading its ideology throughout the world. It was after the 1979 siege of Mecca by Islamist fanatics that this funding really took off. During the siege, the Saudi king asked the Saudi religious establishment to support the monarchy's legitimacy and declare the rebellion illegitimate. In exchange, he promised to spend billions of the kingdom's oil revenues on spreading Wahhabism to every corner of the globe.[80]

In South Asia in the twentieth century, meanwhile, the Islamist Deoband movement spawned the Tablighi Jama'at, the Jama'at-I Islami, and the Jam'iyyat-I ulama'i Islam (JUI, Society of Scholars of Islam), which "controls the majority of mosques and religious educational centers in Pakistan."[81] The Deoband movement spreads political Islam through dawa, often under the cover of humanitarian assistance.

Muslims in the World: Three Types

Today, the socioeconomic, political, and cultural circumstances of Muslims vary enormously across the globe, but I believe that we can distinguish between three different groups of Muslims

in the world—and America—based on how they envision and practice their faith.

The first group is the most problematic—the fundamentalists who envision a regime based on sharia, Islamic religious law. They argue for an Islam largely or completely unchanged from its original seventh-century version and take it as a requirement of their faith that they impose it on everyone else. I call them "Medina Muslims," in that they see the forcible imposition of sharia as their religious duty, following the example of the Prophet Muhammad when he was based in Medina. They exploit their fellow Muslims' respect for sharia law as a divine code that takes precedence over civil laws. It is only after they have laid this foundation that they are able to persuade their recruits to engage in jihad.

The second group—and the clear majority throughout the Muslim world—consists of Muslims who are loyal to the core religious creed and worship devoutly but are not inclined to practice violence or even intolerance toward non-Muslims. I call this group "Mecca Muslims." A fundamental problem is that the majority of otherwise peaceful and law-abiding Muslims are unwilling to acknowledge, much less to repudiate, the theological warrant for intolerance and violence embedded in their own religious texts.

More recently, and corresponding with the rise of Islamic terrorism, a third group is emerging within Islam—Muslim reformers or, as I call them, "modifying Muslims"—who promote the separation of religion from politics and other reforms. Although some are apostates, the majority of dissidents are believers, among them clerics who have come to realize that their religion must change if its followers are not to be condemned to an interminable cycle of political violence.

The future of Islam and the world's relationship with Muslims will be decided by which of the two minority groups—the Medina Muslims or the reformers—wins the support of the Meccan majority.

Muslims in Europe

Forty or fifty years ago, it was still widely believed that the migration of Muslims to Europe, whether as "guest workers," immigrants, or refugees, would lead to their secularization and assimilation. Americans who assume that this will happen in the United States should take note that the opposite has happened. A 2008 survey of more than nine thousand European Muslims by the Science Center Berlin reported strong belief in a return to traditional Islam. In the words of the study's author, Ruud Koopmans, "almost 60 percent agree that Muslims should return to the roots of Islam, 75 percent think there is only one interpretation of the Quran possible to which every Muslim should stick, and 65 percent say that religious rules are more important to them than the laws of the country in which they live." More than half (54 percent) of European Muslims surveyed also believe that the West is out to destroy Muslim culture.[82]

Muslims in America

According to estimates by the Pew Research Center, the Muslim population of the United States is set to increase from around 2.6 million today to 6.2 million in 2030, mainly as a result of immigration along with above-average birth rates.[83] Although

in relative terms this will still represent less than 2 percent of the total US population (1.7 percent, to be precise, compared with around 0.8 percent today), in absolute terms that will be a larger population than in any Western European country except France. Between now and 2030, the Muslim population of the United States will be growing faster than that of any European Union member state (with two exceptions where the absolute numbers are tiny: Ireland and Finland). The annual growth rate will be more than double that of France.

According to projections in a 2011 Pew report, more than a third of Muslim immigrants to America between 2010 and 2030 will be from just three countries: Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Iraq.[84] Another Pew study of opinion in the Muslim world shows just how many people in these countries hold views that most Americans would regard as extreme. (Data on opinions are unavailable for the other two big "sender" countries, Somalia and Iran.)

In a survey of Muslims who believe sharia law should be official national law in their country, three-quarters of Pakistanis and almost half of Bangladeshis and Iraqis say that those who leave Islam should suffer the death penalty. More than 80 percent of Muslims in Pakistan and around two-thirds of Muslims in Bangladesh and Iraq regard sharia law as the revealed word of God. Only tiny fractions would be comfortable if their daughters married Christians. Only a minority regards honor killings of women as "never justified." More than a quarter of Bangladeshi Muslims, 13 percent of Pakistani Muslims, and 7 percent of Iraqi Muslims think suicide bombings in defense of Islam are often or sometimes justified.[85]

People with views such as these pose a threat to us all. This is not because those who hold them will all turn to terrorism. Most will not. But such attitudes imply, at the very least, an

aversion to the hard-won achievements of Western feminists and campaigners for minority rights, and at worst a readiness to turn a blind eye to the use of violence and intimidation tactics against, say, apostates and dissidents.

Indeed, more than a fifth of Muslim Americans say there is a great deal or a fair amount of support for extremism in the Muslim American community. About 20 percent say that Muslim Americans want to remain "distinct from the larger American society." Half say they think of themselves first as Muslim, second as American, despite the fact that 81 percent of those polled were US citizens. This is a measure of the success of dawa in the United States.

Finally, there is a singular feature of American life that, for historical reasons, is not a factor in Europe: the high rate of conversions to Islam among African-Americans. They are the number one target group for conversion by the dawa network. Nearly a quarter (23 percent) of all Muslim Americans are in fact converts, many of them—just under two-thirds, according to Ihsan Bagby, a professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Kentucky—African-Americans.[86]

According to J. Michael Waller of the Institute of World Politics, Muslim inmates comprised between 17 and 20 percent of the US prison population in 2003, but most of them arrived in jail as non-Muslims. According to his research, 80 percent of prisoners who "find faith" while behind bars convert to Islam.[87]

That effectiveness of Islamization in American jails is a perfect illustration of the futility of focusing narrowly on "violent extremism." For acts of terrorism are merely a symptom of a much more profound ideological epidemic.

A part of the problem lies in the institutions that purport to represent Muslims in America. In 2011, when Pew conducted

its detailed study of American Muslims, nearly half of American Muslims (48 percent) surveyed said that Muslim leaders in the United States had not done enough to speak out against Islamic extremists; only about a third (34 percent) said that Muslim leaders had done enough.

The problem, however, is not mere inadequacy. Closer scrutiny reveals that many supposed leaders of the Muslim community are in fact engaged in dawa and are therefore more likely to be tacit accomplices of jihad than its opponents.

PART II

Dawa: Much More than a Call to Islam

Dawa is often described as a call to Islam: an invitation by Muslims to non-Muslims to discard their old beliefs and convert to Islam. In that sense, it is compared to Christian missionary work, the kind of activity that any religion is entitled to do in the United States under the First Amendment. Nothing could be more misleading.[88] It is indeed accurate to state that the goal of dawa is to Islamize; but it is more complex, more sinister, and more far-reaching than the idea of missionary work suggests.[89]

A 1991 document written by a leader of the US Muslim Brotherhood, Mohammed Akram (a.k.a. Mohammed Adlouni), explains the goal of the Brotherhood in America as:

> . . . enablement of Islam in North America, meaning: establishing an effective and 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.[90]

For Akram/Adlouni, the ultimate goal was nothing less than "settlement," which he defined as:

> . . . a "Civilization-Jihadist process" with all that the word means. The *Ikhwan* [brethren] 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.[91]

The primary goal of dawa by Islamists is to destroy the political institutions of liberty and replace them with strict sharia. Dawa efforts in Western countries aim both to convert non-Muslims to political Islam and to bring about more extreme views among existing Muslims in line with unreformed sharia law. Dawa is a coherent whole, an integrated framework, a complex system made up of many components that range from that simple call to more ominous efforts to achieve the stated goal of the Islamists. Each component within the system of dawa appears to be a free-floating unit but in reality is linked to the other parts within the system. Because dawa is the duty of every Muslim (whether he or she is born into the faith or is a convert) and must be pursued systematically, it takes many different forms: some are formal, but most are informal. Jihad is an extension of dawa; indeed, for some commentators, it is dawa by other means.[92]

Broadly speaking, there are three stages of dawa.

Stage I: Call, Plea, Invite, and Peddle in the Homeland of Islam

The expected product of dawa efforts in the first stage is a small but committed band of believers. This band of *mu'minoon* (believers) is so dedicated that they and their leader will sacrifice literally everything for the cause. They choose a location to settle and then impose their will on such issues as:

- what it is to be a Muslim and live in a foreign non-Muslim land;
- the temptations that lead one away from the straight path.

Stage II: Hijra—Establish a Base

The believers present themselves as the arbiters of good and bad, right and wrong. At this stage, they establish their set of institutions. Those dawa institutions replace or absorb existing institutions with new ones dedicated to attracting, indoctrinating, and recruiting new followers. Their goal is to spread the message and teachings of Islam established by Muhammad in Medina.

Stage III: Penetration

As resistance is anticipated, the believers are provided with a set of tools to deal with that resistance:

- Exploit divisions within the host community (e.g., fan the flames of racial tensions or ethnic divisions);
- Use force to "defend" the Islamic base against non-Islamic hostility: jihad.[93]

The Means of Achieving Dawa

For the agents of political Islam, achieving victory relies on transforming and using various institutions as instruments of a broader strategy. Dawa is modeled on the Prophet Muhammad's trajectory after embarking on his mission to persuade the unbelievers of Mecca to give up their gods and idols and to accept the One God and Muhammad as his messenger. In the first years in Mecca, dawa had the purpose of acquiring a following so devoted to Muhammad and his mission that they would not only live as Muslims but sacrifice their homes, their ties to their kinsmen, their wealth and offspring, and even their lives to follow Muhammad.

Built into contemporary Islamist dawa is the quest for Muslims who will commit themselves just as the first companions of Muhammad did. In this regard, the first component of dawa is inculcation (*tarbiyyah*).[94] Targets for *tarbiyyah* include not only individuals and families but the educational, legal, and political systems of a country.[95]

Each of these targets becomes a tool or an instrument to be used to achieve the implementation of sharia. Human life is not worthy in and of itself; an individual becomes a tool for a larger strategic purpose. Means of deception, particularly toward non-Muslims, are permitted to the extent that they facilitate progress toward the broader strategic objective.

The Islamist infrastructure worldwide relies heavily on *zakat,* the mandatory charity demanded by Islam, usually 2.5 percent of one's earnings. One way of financing the agenda of Islamization is hiding these efforts under the cover of humanitarian aid. Individuals who are poor or needy are assisted by these funds.[96] There is a meaningful tie between the giver and the receiver, but

both the giver and the receiver are assumed by the agents of dawa to be working toward one goal: Islamization. For the recipient of such aid, the way to give back is through dawa.

In every society, deviants exist. Not everybody adheres to the clean-cut theoretical framework established by sharia law: indeed, hypocrisy is endemic in Muslim-majority countries and communities. Some Muslim men engage in business activities that entail mingling of men and women, selling drugs or alcohol, even facilitating prostitution and the trafficking of women. One way of dealing with a guilty conscience is to give money and time to dawa.

This does not necessarily mean that such a Muslim knows the details of formal sharia law; it is sufficient that, despite his failings, he still wants to be a good Muslim and does not want to go to hell.[97] It is somewhat similar to the pre-Reformation practice of selling indulgences to the laity. That is what makes the agents of dawa more formidable than our intelligence agencies—our agencies cannot offer absolution and a place in paradise.[98]

From Dawa to Jihad?

What is the connection from dawa to jihad—in other words, from the spreading of the doctrine of political Islam to the practice of terrorism? The end goals of Islamists are broadly similar, whether they use violence or not.[99] As one analyst observed, "Religious Islamist extremism is a unitary phenomenon of which violent and nonviolent extremism are two sides of the same coin."[100] The Dutch Intelligence agency AIVD stated in 2004:

> In addition to organizations and networks concentrating on Dawa (the intensive propagation of the radical-Islamic ide-

> ology through missionary work) there are others who focus on the Jihad (in the sense of armed conflict). Some groups combine the two. The choice of Dawa-oriented groups for non-violent activities does not always imply that they are non-violent on principle. Often they simply do not yet consider armed Jihad expedient for practical reasons (Jihad can be counterproductive or impossible because of the other side's superiority) or for religious reasons (the Jihad against non-believers is only possible when all Muslims have returned to the "pure" faith) . . . In particular, Dawa-oriented radical-Salafist organizations and networks from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the Arab Gulf states strongly emphasize "re-Islamization" of the Muslim minorities in the West. *Their efforts are purposefully aimed at encouraging Muslims in the West to turn their back on Western values and standards*.[101] [Emphasis added.]

Shaul Shay, former deputy head of Israel's National Security Council, has warned that the leap from dawa to jihad is not a great one:

> Alongside the social and humanitarian activity of Dawa organizations, the Muslim believers were expected not to be content with merely strengthening their faith, but also to take action in the defense of Islam. From there the leap to adopting jihad concepts was not great.[102]

Often dawa happens near conflict zones. In places where Muslims seem beleaguered, Islamic "charitable" efforts are nearly always accompanied by dawa. Hotspots of such activity

include Afghanistan in the 1980s; Bosnia and Chechnya in the 1990s; Pakistan; the Palestinian territories; and many parts of sub-Saharan Africa today. In Bosnia in 1994 alone, Saudi donations to Islamic NGOs amounted to $150 million.[103]

For Islamist groups in the Middle East such as Hamas, according to a 2006 study, dawa efforts are "crucial to terrorist activity: they provide cover for raising, laundering, and transferring funds, facilitate the group's propaganda and recruitment efforts, provide employment to its operatives, and serve as a logistical support network for its terrorist operations."[104]

In Western countries, dawa efforts are often part of a strategy known as *wassatiyya*. The purpose of wassatiyya, the powerful Sunni cleric Yusuf al-Qaradawi has said, is to conquer the West not by "the sword or armies, but by preaching and ideology."[105] Al-Qaradawi argues that the "Islamic Movement" is meant to reinstate "the Islamic caliphate system to the leadership anew as required by sharia."[106] To carry out wassatiyya, al-Qaradawi argues that Muslim communities in the West should have "their own religious, educational and recreational establishments." He urges Islamists in the West "to have your small society within the larger society" and "your own 'Muslim ghetto.'"[107] Islamists committed to wassatiyya "speak of the West as a realm for Islamic proselytizing, or as a land of the religious call, a "Land of Dawa."[108] They explicitly regard it as territory to settle or colonize through immigrating, out-breeding non-Muslims, and converting as many people as possible to the tenets of political Islam.

The Moral Difference between the Constitution of Political Islam and the Constitution of Liberty

The most fundamental distinction between the constitution of political Islam and the constitution of liberty is in their differing approaches to the human individual and human life. For us, the individual life is an end in itself. The US Constitution grants individual human beings natural, inalienable, God-given rights. The job of the US government is to protect those inherent rights.

This could not be more different from a constitution that strips away all those rights so that sharia can be spread and implemented. For agents of political Islam, the individual life is merely an instrument. As analyst Cheryl Benard has observed, supporters of political Islam have as their goal:

> . . . an ascetic, highly regimented, hierarchical society in which all members follow the requirements of Islamic ritual strictly, in which immorality is prevented by separating the sexes, which in turn is achieved by banishing women from the public domain, and in which life is visibly and constantly infused by religion. It is totalitarian in its negation of a private sphere, instead believing that it is the task of state authorities to compel the individual to adhere to proper Islamic behavior anywhere and everywhere. And ideally, it wants this system—which it believes to be the only rightful one—to expand until it controls the entire world and everyone is a Muslim.[109]

The Threat of Dawa to the Constitutional Order

In analyzing the threat of radical Islam in its 2004 report, the Dutch Intelligence Agency AIVD defined dawa as "propagation of radical-Islamic ideology."[110] Beyond the threat of violence, the AIVD recognized that radical dawa activities undermine the "constitutional order" although they are "not necessarily violent by nature."[111] The AIVD agency also flagged the gradualist character of dawa:

> The possible underestimation of these other kinds of potential threats from radical Islam is also a result of the fact that these are far more difficult to identify than acute threats of violence. They often involve insidious dangers. Also, the need for investigating such insidious dangers is more difficult to explain. Not everyone is immediately convinced that from the perspective of the democratic legal order certain forms of isolationism (taking the law into one's own hands, no longer recognizing the government's authority, developing parallel social structures) may constitute a problem.[112]

The ultimate goal of dawa is nevertheless to get rid of the non-Islamic political order and replace it with the order of Islamic law. In the words of Albrecht Hauser:

> The idea of a global caliphate not only embracing the Ummah but also conquering the West for Islam is a dangerous Islamist dream. Some want to achieve this goal through *da'wah*; others think *jihad* is the best approach . . . If the West puts its collective head in the sand by denying the danger that political and

> militant Islam represents for liberally conceived civil society, its own refusal to act with seriousness will lead to bondage and dehumanization.[113]

Shaul Shay observes that governments in Muslim-majority countries are well aware of the connection between dawa and jihad and have applied tight supervision over dawa activities. Tight supervision, however, is not a solution to the problem presented by dawa; it is a way of postponing a confrontation. By contrast, Western governments are generally ignorant of Islamist ideology and strategy. They tend to see only the humanitarian side of dawa efforts, not dawa's subversive side.[114]

Jeffrey Bale, an analyst who has studied the phenomenon for decades, observes that "the gradualist but nonetheless corrosive cultural, social and political activities of the [Muslim] Brotherhood . . . represent a far greater danger to the West in the long run than the jihadists do."[115] Yet it is precisely this danger that the US government has chosen to ignore by focusing on the Osama bin Ladens of the world.

The Agents of the Constitution of Political Islam

Today, there are three primary agents of political Islam:

- Governments, primarily those of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Iran, which fund radical dawa efforts and, occasionally, jihadist efforts in areas such as Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya, and the Palestinian territories.

- Nongovernmental movements and organizations, including local organizations, which directly undertake dawa. Sunni Islamic NGOs such as the Muslim Brotherhood and its affiliates concern us more than Shiite NGOs at the present time because they are more numerous and more active in the West. Many well-funded Islamic "charitable" foundations support dawa indoctrination, even if they stop short of funding jihadist activities themselves.
- International organizations such as the OIC (Organization of Islamic Cooperation) and its affiliated institutions, which work to spread political Islam around the world and legally ban any criticism of such activities.[116]

These agents of the constitution of political Islam are what I would call the stakeholders. There is a difference between a movement and a formal organization. The Muslim Brotherhood is an entity that is simultaneously a movement and a formal organization. It has numerous affiliate organizations and connections with various governments and individuals.[117]

The Infrastructure of Dawa

Many of the problems today stem from seemingly charitable Islamic organizations that mix humanitarian work with Islamist ideological indoctrination, planting the seeds of future intolerance, misogyny, and violence.

The CIA estimated in 1996 that a third of the fifty Islamic NGOs conducting humanitarian work in the world "support terrorist groups or employ individuals who are suspected of having terrorist

connections."[118] After 2001, the shock of 9/11 led US Treasury officials to attempt to curtail charitable funding of violent Islamist organizations such as Hamas, but funding of dawa continued.[119]

From 1973 through 2002, the Saudi kingdom spent an estimated $87 billion to promote dawa abroad.[120] Josh Martin estimates that, since the early 1970s, Middle Eastern charities have distributed $110 billion.[121] To give just one example, the Saudi Al-Haramain foundation (closed in 2004) built 1,300 mosques, sponsored 3,000 preachers, and produced 20 million religious pamphlets.[122]

In 2015, the British-based Development Initiatives group estimated that "the global volume of *Zakat* collected each year through *formal* mechanisms is, at the very least, in the tens of billions of dollars." If *informal* mechanisms are included, "the actual amount available is likely to be much higher, and could potentially be in the hundreds of billions of dollars."[123]

In his analysis of the problem of Islamic charitable associations' links to terror groups, Robert Looney noted that "money is quite fungible and some charity organizers are adept at creating gray areas."[124] Around the world, there are countless people who operate in the "informal market" or the criminal market.

Foreign funding of radical ideologies in Pakistan has caused destabilization. Thousands of schools in Pakistan funded with Saudi money, according to Senator Chris Murphy (D-CT), "teach a version of Islam that leads . . . into an . . . anti-Western militancy."[125] President Obama's former representative to Muslim communities, Farah Pandith, visited eighty countries between 2009 and 2014. "In each place I visited, the Wahhabi influence was an insidious presence . . . funding all this was Saudi money, which paid for things like the textbooks, mosques, TV stations and the training of Imams," she wrote in 2015.[126]

In Africa, and particularly in Somalia, Islamic NGOs generously financed by Gulf money have aggravated political tensions by engaging in Islamist ideological indoctrination.[127]

Dawa in America

Over the past thirty years, "a vast web of ideological institutions in the West: think tanks, media outfits, educational centers, and Sharia councils" has been set up, often with money from Gulf foundations and individuals.[128] Although Islamists do openly discuss their objectives,[129] they are often discreet and much valuable information about their operations has been discovered only by chance.[130] The network of dawa is tightly knit. In the United States, many leaders of the Islamist movement are related by marriage and long-standing ties of friendship; the leadership is a relatively small circle of several hundred people who work toward similar strategic objectives.[131]

Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom found in 2005 that "Saudi-connected resources and publications on extremist ideology remain common reading and educational material *in some of America's main mosques* . . . including Los Angeles, Oakland, Dallas, Houston, Chicago, Washington, and New York."[135] The publications contained anti-American, anti-Semitic, and jihadist ideology, and advocated removing women from the public sphere entirely. Since 2005, a number of overtly hateful materials have been removed from American mosques, but as of 2017 the ideological infrastructure of political Islam in America remains largely intact.

A crucial feature of dawa is its conscious deceptiveness. At a 1993 meeting of Hamas members and sympathizers in Philadelphia, Shukri Abu Baker, the former chief executive of the

Holy Land Foundation, declared that "war is deception" and urged that "caution should be practiced not to reveal our true identity." Also present at this meeting was CAIR founder Omar Ahmad, who compared the agent of dawa with "one who plays basketball; he makes a player believe that he is doing this while he does something else . . . politics is a completion of war." To conceal CAIR's support for Hamas, Ahmad recommended creating neutral-sounding front organizations such as a "Palestinian-American Friendship Association . . . This will be done in order to . . . put some honey a little bit at a time with the poison they're given. But if from the first night you . . . call it 'The Islamic Society for Youths' Welfare,' they will shut the door in your face."[133]

The case that best illustrates the dawa mode of operation in the United States is that of the Islamic Society of Boston (ISB).[134] Among the many preachers and speakers who have appeared at the ISB in recent years are the notorious anti-Semites Yasir Qadhi, a member of the terror-linked Al Maghrib Institute; Salah Soltan of the Muslim Brotherhood; Abdul Nasir Jangda, the founder of the Qalam Institute; and his associate, AbdelRahman Murphy. Other speakers at the ISB have included Tariq Ramadan, a Muslim Brotherhood writer who has said killing Israeli schoolchildren is "contextually explicable;" Omar Suleiman, who has described homosexuality as a "disease" and a "repugnant shameless sin;" and Mufti Hussain Kamani, who has argued that a Muslim man must only fulfill his sexual desires "with his spouse . . . [or] with a female slave that belongs to him." Kamani has also justified stoning adulterers to death and wife-beating.

The ISB illustrates the extent to which dawa in America is funded from abroad. A lawsuit initiated by the ISB in 2005 led to the disclosure that the organization had received over $8.6 million

in donations from sources such as the Islamic Development Bank, which, at the time, was funded by the governments of Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Libya; Saudi Arabia's National Commercial Bank (NCB); and Lajnat al Dawa al Islamia, a charity connected to the Kuwaiti Muslim Brotherhood and which, in 2004, the US government designated as a terrorist entity.[135]

The ISB also illustrates the intimate connection from dawa to jihad. Over the past decade, no fewer than twelve congregants, supporters, staff members, and donors of the ISB have been imprisoned, deported, or killed, or are on the run. Notable examples are Abdulrahman Alamoudi, the founder of the ISB, who was jailed by an American court in 2004 for conspiring with the Libyan regime to assassinate Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia; Aafia Siddiqui, a regular worshipper at the ISB, now serving a prison sentence after plotting large-scale terror attacks on New York; and Tarek Mehanna, another ISB congregant who in 2012 was convicted of attempting to murder Americans and providing support to al-Qaeda. Both the Tsarnaev brothers, who carried out the Boston Marathon bombings, worshipped at the ISB.

PART III

Confronting Ideology to Win the War

We should have no illusions about what the agents of dawa are seeking to achieve. "I wouldn't want to create the impression that I wouldn't like the government of the United States to be Islamic sometime in the future," Ibrahim Hooper, CAIR's communications director, said in a 1993 interview with the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*. "But I'm not going to do anything violent to promote that. I'm going to do it through education."[136]

During the Cold War, confronting communist ideology was an important pillar of American strategy. But since 9/11, the United States has done almost nothing to confront this new ideology rooted in political Islam and its formative Medina period.[137]

In the wake of 9/11, senior Bush administration officials sounded emphatic. "This is a battle for minds," declared then deputy defense secretary Paul Wolfowitz in 2002. But behind the scenes, there was a full-blown struggle going on about how to approach the subject of Islam. According to Joseph Bosco, who worked on strategic communications and Muslim outreach in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 2002 to 2004, although some American officials defined Islam as inherently peaceful,

others argued that, like Christianity, it had to go through a reformation. Eventually, an uneasy compromise was reached. "We bridged the divide by saying that most contemporary Muslims practice their faith peacefully and tolerantly, but a small, radical minority aspires to return to Islam's harsh seventh century origins," Bosco wrote in the *National Interest*.[138]

Administration officials could not agree on the target of their efforts. They held "agonizing" meetings on the subject, one participant told *US News & World Report*. "We couldn't clarify what path to take, so it was dropped."[139] In 2005, William Rosenau observed that "the United States has so far failed to conduct anything approaching an effective counterideological campaign against al-Qaida."[140] Administration officials eventually settled on the "Muslim World Outreach" strategy, which relied partly on humanitarian USAID projects and partly on media outlets such as Radio Sawa (pop music with a little bit of news) and Al-Hurra TV (straightforward news with minimal "war of ideas" programming).[141]

"Muslim World Outreach" meant, in effect, not touching Islam at all. Karen Hughes, who was an influential figure in President Bush's inner circle and undersecretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs from 2005 to 2007, stated in 2010: "I became convinced that our nation should avoid the language of religion in our discussion of terrorist acts."[142] In 2012, Judith McHale, who had been undersecretary of state for public affairs under Obama from 2009 to 2011, stated: "This effort is not about a 'war of ideas,' or winning the hearts and minds of huge numbers of people."

American Outreach Mistakes

Since 9/11, the United States has committed a series of blunders in partnering with "moderates" who turned out to be either Islamists active in dawa or fully fledged terrorists. The pattern of misjudgment is so severe that one might say that the United States has generally been unable to distinguish friend from foe. Consider the following:

In the 1990s, Abdurahman Alamoudi, a close associate of the International Institute of Islamic Thought, was tasked by the US government to select Muslim chaplains for the US military. He was appointed by the State Department to serve as a civilian ambassador and took six taxpayer-funded trips to the Middle East. Days after the 9/11 attacks, Alamoudi appeared with President Bush and other Muslim leaders at a press conference at the Islamic Center of Washington, DC, despite his public comments a year earlier identifying himself as a supporter of the Hamas and Hezbollah terrorist organizations.[143] In 2002, the FBI described the American Muslim Council, led by Alamoudi, as "the most mainstream Muslim group in the United States." But in September 2003 Alamoudi was arrested by American authorities for his involvement in an assassination attempt against Saudi Crown Prince (later King) Abdullah at the request of Libyan intelligence. Alamoudi pleaded guilty to the charges and was sentenced to twenty-three years in prison. In 2005, the Treasury Department revealed that Alamoudi had been one of al-Qaeda's top fundraisers, saying that his arrest was a "severe blow" to the terror group's international fundraising operations.[144]

After 9/11, "despite a heated internal debate within the Bureau over the issue, the FBI's upper management decided that

partnering with ISNA, MPAC, and the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee, was valuable to its counterterrorism communities," even though the ISNA and MPAC are committed to political Islam and have clear links to the Muslim Brotherhood.

After the FBI raided the offices of Holy Land Foundation co-founder Ghassan Elashi in 2001, the executive director of the Council of American Islamic Relations, Nihad Awad, called the government's actions an "anti-Muslim witch hunt." Elashi was later indicted and convicted of channeling funds to Hamas. In the 2000s, several FBI field offices conducted investigations targeting CAIR officials and affiliated organizations for possible links to Hamas and other radical organizations. Nevertheless, FBI officials at the same time publicly thanked CAIR for its role in "keep[ing] the nation safe" and praised its "commitment to maintaining a dialogue leading to the frank and honest exchange of ideas." In 2007, FBI Director Robert Mueller was asked whether or not the FBI has a responsibility to consider the ideological background of some of the organizations it engages and the consequences of partnering with them. Mueller replied: "I would say no, that it would not be our responsibility for [dealing with groups from] any religion to engage in the war of ideas."[145]

In August 2007, federal prosecutors in the Holy Land Foundation trial listed the Islamic Society of North America as an unindicted co-conspirator, introducing evidence about its ample ties to the Muslim Brotherhood. At the same time, the Department of Justice's civil rights division invited a top ISNA official to a high-profile speech by then attorney general Alberto Gonzales in Washington and, a few days later, cosponsored ISNA's annual conference in Chicago, sending representatives to staff a booth.

In 2011, in a document titled "Do's and Don'ts," the Department of Homeland Security warned its employees not to engage

with self-styled "Muslim reformers" because they might be concerned to "further an interest group agenda." Instead, DHS referred to the Muslim Public Affairs Council, an Islamist group, as a resource.[146]

Islamist cleric Anwar al-Awlaki was killed in Yemen in a drone strike in 2011. Despite having been subject to an FBI investigation initiated in 1999, and having been interviewed by the FBI at least four times after 9/11 for his contacts with two of the hijackers, al-Awlaki used to lead prayers for congressional Muslim staffers inside the US Capitol.[147]

A coalition of several dozen Islamist groups wrote to deputy national security adviser John Brennan in 2011 demanding that the White House "purge all federal government training materials of biased materials" critical of Islamic ideology. This duly happened, and on February 8, 2012, then FBI director Mueller met with representatives of six Islamic organizations to discuss the results of the purge. The FBI had purged 876 pages and 392 presentations based on recommendations of five "subject matter experts." When Congress inquired about this sequence of events, the FBI quickly classified the identity of the subject matter experts.[148]

In 2016, Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson delivered a leading speech at ISNA's 53rd Annual Convention despite ISNA's documented links to political Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood.[149]

A reasonable observer would infer from the above examples (and many others) that there is, at best, no strategy or coordination with regard to the ideology of political Islam. Lorenzo Vidino of George Washington University has observed that in "the case of Brotherhood networks, any assessment of their ideology necessitates a stance on extremely sensitive issues of

religion and ethnic minorities, a political minefield the FBI seeks to avoid." The dawa networks have taken full advantage of this refusal of government agencies to grasp the nettle.[150]

The European Case

Not all countries are as reluctant as the United States to tackle the ideological infrastructure of political Islam. Many Islamic countries strictly control the appointment of imams in mosques. In France, under the state of emergency imposed after the *Charlie Hebdo* massacre, authorities closed twenty mosques and prayer halls for extremist preaching.[151] French officials have recognized, perhaps too late, that the ideology that inspires jihad must be addressed with the same vigor as acts of violence themselves.[152] In mid-November of 2016, German authorities in sixty cities searched more than 190 mosques, apartments, and offices connected with "True Religion," a radical Islamist group accused of radicalizing German Muslims and of recruiting for the Islamic State.[153]

The American Problem

The United States is in a much weaker position than most European states to combat the various forms of nonviolent extremism known as dawa. That is because of the way that American judges in recent decades have come to interpret the First Amendment, which bars Congress from "prohibiting the free exercise [of religion]; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble."

Historically, of course, there have been numerous subversive threats to the United States, which federal and state governments have sought to counter by statutes, investigations, and prosecutions. The Supreme Court has tended to resist such measures as unconstitutional. The draconian measures taken against suspect groups during World War I led to the landmark cases *Schenck v. United States* (1919) and *Abrams v. United States* (1919), in which Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes first articulated, then refined, the "clear and present danger" test.

In 1940, however, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act of 1940 (the Smith Act), Title I of which made it an offense to "advocate, abet, advise, or teach" the violent overthrow of the government. During the Cold War, the pendulum swung still further away from First Amendment rights. In the era that will forever be associated with the name of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Congress passed sweeping anti-Communist measures (the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954). Title I of the 1950 Act created a Subversive Activities Control Board with authority to require Communist-dominated organizations to register with the attorney general and make public the names of officers and members, as well as their finances. Communists were subject to firing and in some cases criminal prosecution and deportation. The Smith Act was the basis for 141 prosecutions of Communist Party members. The investigations of McCarthy's House Committee on Un-American Activities have become a byword for the violation of individual freedom. Less well-known is the sympathy of Chief Justice Fred Vinson for the anti-Communist witch hunt. It was he who modified the "grave and probable danger" standard, arguing that "in each case" courts "must ask whether the gravity of the 'evil' discounted by its improbability, justifies

such invasion of free speech as is necessary to avoid the danger" (*Dennis v. United States,* 1951).

The tide of "McCarthyism" had already begun to turn in the late 1950s, although on occasion the Supreme Court would still uphold Smith Act convictions (*Scales v. United States,* 1961). With the diminution of anti-Communist sentiment in the late 1960s, the Supreme Court essentially reverted to the kind of libertarian insistence on First Amendment rights favored by Holmes. The seminal case was *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1969), which sets a high bar for banning certain speech but does not grant constitutional protection to a "true threat," whatever that may mean.[154] Government can punish the advocacy of illegal action only if "such advocacy is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action."[155] Significantly, Clarence Brandenburg was not a Communist but a segregationist convicted of advocating racial strife during a Ku Klux Klan rally.

All this means that the United States is exceptionally handicapped when it comes to resisting the activities I have described above under the heading of dawa. The Subversive Activities Control Board died, unlamented, in 1973. Islamists routinely invoke the First Amendment to defend their activities from investigation by the authorities. A good example is the violent language that is often uttered by Islamist preachers. Recent Supreme Court judgments, notably in *Elonis v. United States* (2015), have highlighted the extreme difficulty of establishing exactly when a threat of violence is a violation of the law.[156]

It is not the intention of this report to argue that the measures of the 1940s and 1950s should be revived, with Islamists replacing Communists as the subversives to be prosecuted. I do, however, believe we need to be realistic about the vulnerability

of both the Constitution and the liberties it enshrines to an ideology, the proponents of which understand very well how to wage "lawfare" to protect their own activities.

With the benefit of hindsight, the Communist threat in the 1940s and 1950s may not seem so very grave, though there is a sense in which McCarthy's unscrupulous conduct has led us to forget just how serious the Soviet regime was in trying to penetrate federal government agencies and how successful it was at spreading its ideology throughout the world, with calamitous results for the peoples who came under Communist rule.

At any event, the attitudes of the late 1960s and 1970s, which shifted judicial "balancing" back toward the rights of freedom of religion, speech, and organization, may now themselves be anachronistic. In the face of a new and genuinely subversive threat, both the executive and legislative branches of our government have a right to consider again the correct balance that must always, with difficulty, be struck between the ideals of individual liberty and the imperatives of national security.

CONCLUSION

The dominant strategy from 9/11 through the present, focusing only on Islamist violence, has failed. In focusing only on acts of violence, we have ignored the ideology that justifies, promotes, celebrates, and encourages violence, and the methods of dawa used to spread that ideology.

Without question, certain military operations against jihadist groups could be conducted more effectively. The virtual abandonment of Iraq, the overreliance on air power and drone strikes, the belief that terrorist networks can somehow be decapitated: all of these have been fundamental tactical errors. Nevertheless, a return to the highly effective counterinsurgency tactics of the Iraq "surge" and its counterpart in Afghanistan, while necessary, cannot be regarded as a sufficient response to the threat we face. Plainly, we cannot continue to fight political Islam by engaging in large-scale foreign military interventions. The American public has not unreasonably lost faith in that approach. So what else can be done?

First, we need a paradigm shift that recognizes how violent jihad is intertwined with the ideological infrastructure of dawa.[157] In the old paradigm, we focused on combating Islamic terrorism.

In the new paradigm, we must continue to seek the destruction of groups like the Islamic State and al-Qaeda, but we must also develop a suitable strategy to combat dawa.

This will reopen—if it was ever over—the contentious debate on how to balance civil rights with the need for security. There are trade-offs to be made here, as always. It is clearly fatalistic to suggest, as the Obama administration did, that Americans must learn to live with the terrorist threat and that, on the basis of statistics, Americans are more in danger from their own bathtubs than from Islamist terrorists. The terrorist threat cannot be measured only by the number of successful terrorist attacks. The threat also includes the many attacks that were thwarted by effective security measures and, more importantly, the unknown plots currently being hatched, and the probability that such plots will grow more numerous and more dangerous in the future. Bathtubs do not plot to overthrow the American way of life. The Islamists do.

It is the job of Congress to find the right balance in the face of this specific threat between our rights and freedoms and a policy package that is effective in combating the threat. Protection of the religious rights of the members of the Muslim minority who are *not* engaged in Islamist dawa should be an integral part of that package.

Congress must give the president in this war the tools he needs to identify and dismantle the infrastructure of dawa in the United States: the network of radical Islamist centers, associations, and mosques that perpetuate political Islam in its most radical form, even if they themselves do not perpetrate the violence that they so often preach.

This work is urgent. Two successive administrations have approached the problem of political Islam with a completely

flawed strategy: the illusion that a line could somehow be drawn between Islam, "a religion of peace," adhered to by a moderate majority, and "violent extremism," engaged in by a tiny minority.

President Trump has already identified a different course of action. In August he pledged that his administration would "speak out against the oppression of women, gays, and people of different faith" in the name of Islam. While the Obama administration has shunned proponents of Islamic reform, Trump vowed to "be a friend to all moderate Muslim reformers in the Middle East, and [to] amplify their voices. This includes speaking out against the horrible practice of honor killings," as well as establishing as "one of my first acts as president . . . a Commission on Radical Islam which will include reformist voices in the Muslim community."[158] He also declared that "we should only admit into this country those who share our values and respect our people"—screening would-be immigrants for links not just to terrorism but also to political Islam as an ideology.

I warmly welcome those words and hope that they will be turned into deeds soon. This report is intended to help the new administration put these long-overdue corrections to US policy into swift and effective action.

DETAILED POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations made here to President Trump's administration can be grouped under seven headings:

General

- The administration should acknowledge that combating political Islam by military means alone is not working.
- The administration should define the enemy more clearly: political Islam (Islamism) is not just a religion, but is also a political ideology.
- The administration should understand the significance of Islamist dawa, the subversive, indoctrinating precursor to jihad.
- The administration should ensure that key personnel in all relevant agencies understand the risk of Islamism, Islamist dawa activities, and militant jihad.
- The administration should choose its language carefully. Ideology is about persuasion. The administration must learn to persuade the leaders of the other branches of government,

the American people, allied countries, and Muslims that Islamism is a hazard and poses risks to both national security and America's constitutional order.

Government Outreach

- The administration should recognize the diversity of Muslim citizens and support Islamic reformers here and around the world.
- In reaching out to the Muslim American community, the administration should ally itself with genuine Muslim moderates and reformers, not with "nonviolent" Islamists. Nonviolent Islamists are engaged in subversion: they seek to replace the US Constitution and rule of law with sharia, even when they refrain for tactical reasons from using or advocating violence.
- The administration should understand that the average American Muslim does cooperate with law enforcement, but does so against the advice of organizations such as CAIR.[159]
- The administration should require the FBI to scrutinize the ideological background and nature of the Islamic organizations it engages with and partners with to ensure that they are genuinely moderate, that is, not committed to the Islamist agenda.
- The administration should instruct all agencies not to partner with nonviolent Islamist groups such as these:
  - The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)
  - The Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC)
  - The Muslim Students' Association (MSA)
  - The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT)

  - The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)
  - The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT)
  - The Islamic Society of Boston
- The current failing strategy known as "Countering Violent Extremism" is based on false premises and has empowered Islamists. It should be abandoned and replace with an effective strategy.

Immigration

- The administration, through the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), should subject immigrants and refugees to ideological scrutiny, as happened during the Cold War.[160] Individuals requesting temporary entry to the United States, permanent residency, or citizenship must be asked about their commitment to Islamism and related concepts such as the death penalty for apostasy and support for sharia law and the subjugation of women. If individuals are found to have lied in their immigration or citizenship applications about their commitment to the US Constitution by engaging in subversive dawa activities after establishing residency, their residency or citizenship must be revoked.
- The DHS should deny entry to foreign individuals involved with or supportive of Islamism and related groups and refuse permanent residency and naturalization to such individuals.
- The administration should reinstate the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS) and consult with experts to maximize its effectiveness.
- The administration should prioritize entry to the United States of immigrants who have shown loyalty to the United

States in a war setting, such as interpreters who risked their families' lives to support US troops.

Law and the Justice System

- The administration should heed the lessons of the successful conviction of the "blind sheikh," Omar Abdel Rahman, for seditious conspiracy in the first World Trade Center bombing case.[161]
- The secretary of state should designate the Egyptian chapter of the Muslim Brotherhood as a foreign terrorist organization, just as Hamas has been outlawed in the United States for clear connections to terrorism.[162]
- The administration should implement effective ideological screening of chaplains employed by the Department of Justice, the Bureau of Prisons, the Department of Defense (military chaplains), and the State Department. The Bureau of Prisons, the Department of State, various state correctional systems, and the Department of Defense must stop relying on the Islamic Leadership Council and the Islamic Society of North America for chaplain vetting.

Surveillance

- The administration should systematically map the infrastructure of subversive dawa activities around the world, in particular the connections of the global infrastructure to the United States: funds, individuals, institutions, nongovernmental organizations, and governmental support.[163]

- The administration, with Congress, should grant the DHS and the FBI greater powers to gather exploratory intelligence on Islamist groups. Now they can act only when a conspiracy to commit violence arises or an actual violent act occurs.
- The administration should ensure reasonable surveillance of Islamic centers and mosques that are credibly suspected of engaging in subversive activities, such as the Islamic Society of Boston. In response to pressure by Islamic lobby groups, efforts to gather intelligence in New York mosques were shut down in 2015. Such programs should be relaunched as soon as possible.[164]
- The administration, through the Internal Revenue Service, should revoke the tax-exempt status of organizations connected to subversive Islamist activities; the IRS division tasked with accrediting religious 501(c)3 groups should consider subversion of the US constitutional order as a disqualifying criterion in granting or extending tax-exempt status.
- The administration, with Congress, must require annual disclosure to the IRS of foreign contributions by tax-exempt religious associations.

Diplomacy

- As a condition of US friendship, the administration should require foreign governments as well as Islamic NGOs to stop supporting and financing subversive Islamist activities in the United States. Of particular interest here are Qatari, Kuwaiti, and Saudi "philanthropic" foundations.[165] This will require policy synchronization among the State Department,

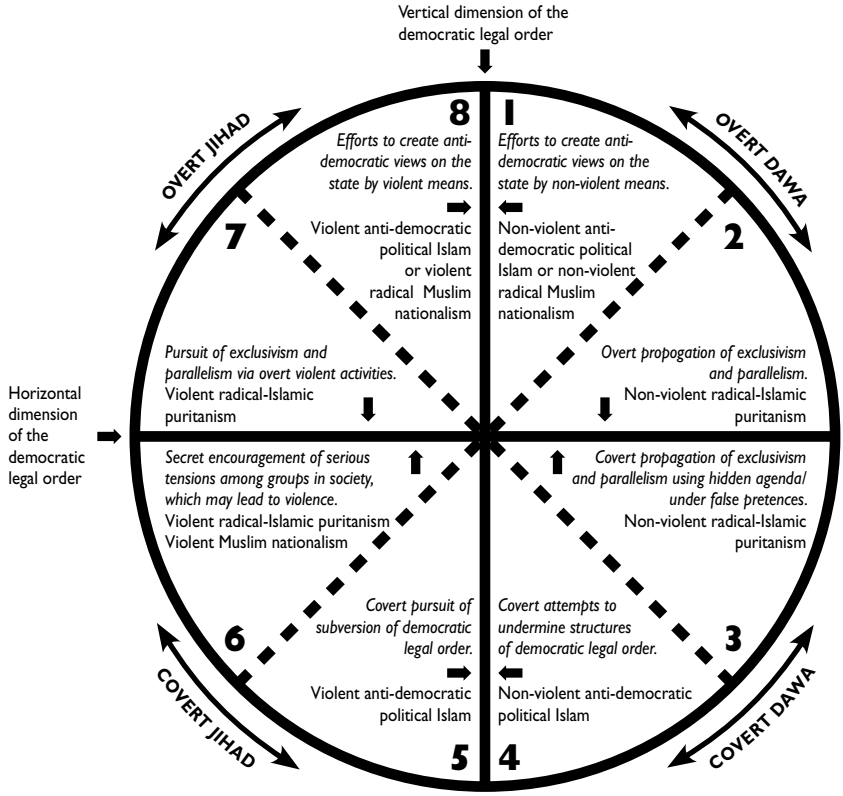
the Department of Defense, and the National Security Council—and a great deal of persistence. Given the sensitivity of this issue, private requests are advisable first; if private requests are ineffective or ignored (as they have been since 9/11), appropriate public pressure must follow.

- The administration should firmly push back against the efforts of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to limit free speech by outlawing criticism of Islam. Such efforts are directed at the United Nations, the Council of Europe, and other international organizations.
- The administration should use broadcast institutions overseas (e.g., Voice of America) to fight the war of ideas by disseminating a counter-dawa message, highlighting the work of Muslim reformers and non-Islamist Muslims.
- If a country or NGO cannot show verifiable progress in curbing its support for subversive dawa activities in the United States, the administration should punish that country or NGO in concrete terms, for example by trade sanctions or cuts in aid payments.

Military Operations

- The administration should continue conventional military operations against jihadist organizations in order to capture or kill Islamist terrorists, deny them safe havens, and bolster the efforts of our allies against them.
- However, the administration also should wage cyber war on organizations engaged in dawa as well as those engaged in jihad.

APPENDIX A
EIGHT TYPES OF THREAT FROM RADICAL ISLAM



Source: AIVD, *From Dawa to Jihad: The Various Threats from Radical Islam to the Democratic Legal Order* (The Hague: Dutch Ministry of the Interior, December 2004): www.aivd.nl.

APPENDIX B
SHAY'S THREE JOINT PILLARS OF DAWA AND JIHAD

The Dawa activity provided the platform that the global Jihad founded by Bin Laden needed, and among other things it provided the following:

1. *Fundamentalist indoctrination*—a central theme in the activity of the Islamic institutions and the state institutions. Through institutional and advanced dissemination means[,] the latter enhanced Islamic consciousness among Islamic communities as well as the motivation of these populations to take part in a war defending Islam. These entities also molded public opinion in favor of the terror activity against the West in general and the United States in particular.
2. *The logistic infrastructure*—the Dawa entities, including the Islamic institutions and the charities, built and operated a logistic infrastructure that provided shelter, a refuge and an address vis-à-vis spiritual and material help for the Jihad activists. At the same time, this infrastructure recruited young Islamic men and dispatched them to various combat zones. It purchased combat means and equipment for the forces (uniforms, medical equipment, vehicles, etc.) The

Dawa entities also helped with the maintenance of the training camps in various combat areas, with emphasis on Afghanistan.

3. *Financing* — Islamic institutions and charities provided direct and indirect funding for the terror organizations through deception, concealment and money laundering while carefully covering up any link between the financer and the terror organization.

Source: Shaul Shay "Dawa and its role in promoting global jihad" and "The Development of radical Islam" in *Somalia between Jihad and Restoration* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2008), 15–36.

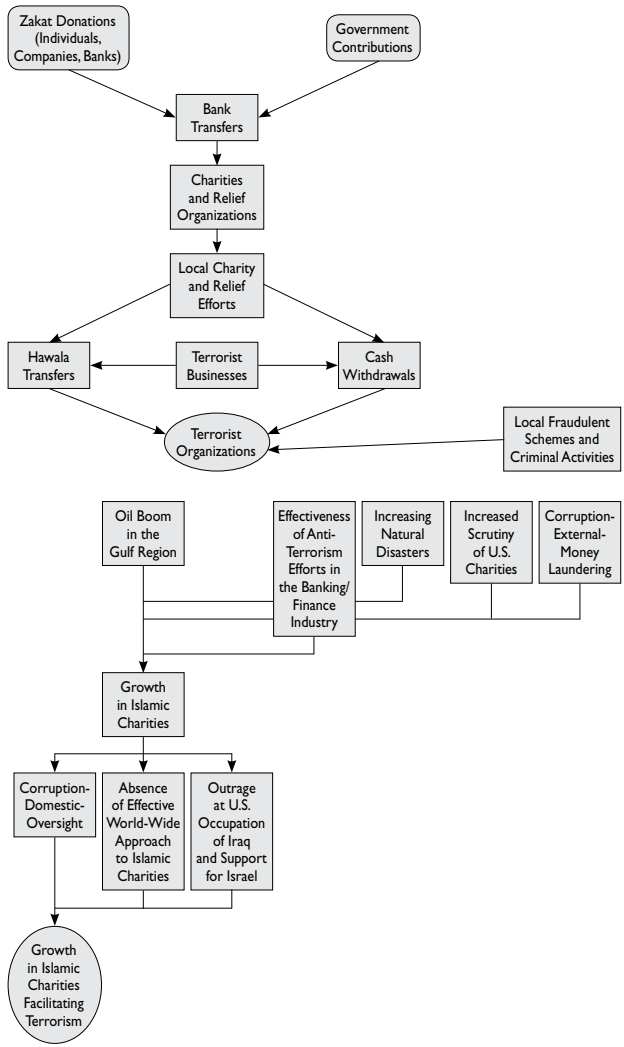
APPENDIX C
MARES' FIVE-STEP MODEL OF POLITICAL ISLAM'S EXPANSION

1. Restoration of Islamic regimes in traditionally Islamic regions (by means of terrorism, civil war, revolutions and coups d'etat);
2. Establishment of new Islamist states in territories in which contemporary Islamist separatist movements are agitating (guerrilla warfare, terrorism);
3. Subversive activities of Islamists in the diasporas of Western democracies as well as other non-Islamist regions (quasi-legalist Islamism; use of Western anti-discrimination norms for prohibiting critique of Islamism; terrorism, mass unrest, formation of an Islamist parallel society [also with the help of demographic expansion; in general acquisition of the most important positions and influence in originally non-Islamist states]);
4. War of Islamist states against non-Islamist states (classical war, war and terrorism with ABC-weapons, utilization of the Islamist diaspora for sabotage and uprisings) and systematic Islamization of other territories;
5. Establishment of Islamist rule with strict application of sharia on a global scale; Maintenance of Islamist rule by

means of totalitarian regimes—theocratic state structures and ideology, suppression, execution and liquidation of opponents, reformists and non-believers, control of private lives by means of secret police and theocracy—with the support of state-guided fundamentalist control organs.

Source: Miroslav Mares, "Strategies of Islamist Extremism in Europe," *International Studies: Interdisciplinary Political and Cultural Journal* 17, no. 1 (2015): 109–118.

APPENDIX D
CHARITIES AND THE TERRORIST MONEY TRAIL



Source: Robert Looney, "The Mirage of Terrorist Financing: The Case of Islamic Charities," *Strategic Insights 5,* no. 3 (March 2006).

GLOSSARY

A brief overview of terms:[166]

Abrogation the doctrine under which Qur'anic verses revealed later abrogate verses revealed earlier. Later, more military Qur'anic verses are viewed by mainstream Muslim scholars as having abrogated earlier, more peaceful verses.[167]

Commanding right and forbidding wrong the basis of the Islamic social order, based on unreformed sharia law.[168]

Dawa the call to Islam. In theory, dawa consists of communication or proselytization. In practice, dawa by Islamist groups constitutes a process of radical ideological indoctrination, often under the cover of humanitarian relief work that is connected to jihad.[169] Dawa activities carried out by Islamists target the individual, the family, the educational system, the workplace, the broader economy, society as a whole, and the political system.[170]

Dhimmi a Jew or Christian living in a territory governed by Islamic law. He must pay the *jizya* tax to Muslim rulers as a sign of his humiliation, is not a legal equal of Muslims, and may not build new churches or synagogues.[171]

Hijra Historically, the term *hijra* refers to the Prophet Muhammad's move from Mecca to Medina in 622. The hijra marks the beginning of Islam's political phase. In Islamist ideology today, hijra refers to the attempt to "conquer" Western societies demographically through mass migration and the use of women as reproductive machines.[172]

Jihad Religiously mandated warfare. In the history of the concept, violent jihad came first; later, additional meanings (such as inner striving) became attached to the term.[173] Islamist dawa is often the precursor to jihad.[174]

Jizya the poll tax required of non-Muslims in order to live under sharia.

Mecca Islam Qur'anic verses revealed between 610 and 622 CE, mostly spiritual and non-political in nature.

Medina Islam Qur'anic verses revealed between 622 and 630, often political and militaristic compared to earlier "Meccan" verses.

Political Islam (Islamism) The attempt to implement sharia law in today's world, either through the use of violence or through a "bottom-up" Islamization strategy that requires infiltrating key institutions such as the family, the educational system, and the economy.

Sharia Literally, "the path to follow." The divine law of Islam, based on the Qur'an and the behavior and teachings of the Prophet, collected in authoritative stories known as the hadith.[175] Sharia is described in authoritative manuals[176] and is shaped by prestigious institutions such as Sunni Islam's Al-Azhar University in Cairo and the Shia seminaries in Qom, Iran, and Najaf, Iraq. Iran, Saudi Arabia, the Northern Nigerian States, Pakistan, and Aceh province (Indonesia) are among entities that have implemented sharia to a greater or lesser degree.

Umma the worldwide community of Muslim believers. Leaving Islam (committing apostasy) is punishable by death under sharia and is one of the worst sins a Muslim can commit.

Waqf In Islamic terms, *waqf* refers to a religious endowment in cash or kind and its disbursement for sharia-compliant projects, such as mosques or religious schools.[177]

Wassatiyya The strategy to Islamize the West and implement strict sharia law through dawa and other nonviolent means.[178] The strategy has been pursued by Islamic groups in Western countries for the past three decades thanks to generous funding from Middle Eastern individuals, NGOs, and governments (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and—until recently—the United Arab Emirates).[179]

NOTES

1. Donald Trump, "Understanding the Threat: Radical Islam and the Age of Terror," speech, Youngstown, Ohio, August 15, 2016, https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/Radical_Islam_Speech.pdf.

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4. Lorenzo Vidino, "Dawa" and "The Unprecedented Opportunity of Unrestricted Dawa," in *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); Marius Canard, "Da'wa" in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed. (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2007).

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8. President George W. Bush, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress," September 20, 2001, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/bushaddress_092001.html.

9. President Barack Obama, "Remarks by President Obama at the Leaders' Summit on Countering ISIL and Violent Extremism," September 29, 2015, www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/09/29/remarks-president-obama-leaders-summit-countering-isil-and-violent.

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> The Prophet [Muhammad] was actually forbidden to wage war while in Mecca. After the emigration to Medina *(hijra)* the Muslims were first permitted to fight in retaliation for the injustice done them by the Meccans (Q 22:39-40). Then came the order to fight the infidels generally, yet certain restrictions were

> prescribed. Eventually all restrictions were removed and all treaties with infidels were repudiated by Q 9:1-14, and the ultimate divine orders were expressed in Q 9:5 and 9:29. (Landau-Tasseron, "Jihad.")

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