Building Bridges to U.S. Law Enforcement
Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC)
Community-Oriented Policing

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In April 2010, the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) published an unabridged, expanded version of a preliminary November 2009 report, *Building Bridges to Strengthen America: Forging an Effective Counterterrorism Enterprise between Muslim Americans & Law Enforcement* (hereinafter referred to as *Building Bridges*)[1] by Alejandro J. Beutel, MPAC's Government Liaison and National Security Policy Analyst.[2] In the introduction, MPAC's *Building Bridges* report stated that it "aims to provide a 'blueprint' for how Muslim American communities…can be an asset to national security" while "providing recommendations for law enforcement to uphold civil liberties."[3] MPAC claims American Muslim communities are concerned that their civil liberty protection under the law is being infringed upon by current law enforcement methods.[4]

This research paper will analyze MPAC's critique of law enforcement methods and reveal an ulterior goal of the organization - that MPAC's *Building Bridges* report is, in fact, a superficial endorsement of counterterrorism initiatives. This paper will show that MPAC's recommendations serve as a "Trojan horse" with a goal to negatively influence U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies operations. In addition, the analysis will provide evidence that MPAC's *Building Bridges* report seeks to further the objectives of the Muslim Brotherhood global movement and its strategy to undermine the West.

The Muslim Public Affairs Council, a U.S. Islamic advocacy group, has been under the leadership of its Executive Director, Salam Al-Marayati since 1990.[5] Al-Marayati, born in 1960 in Baghdad, Iraq, served as liaison to the Muslim community for

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[1]Alejandro J.Beutel, *Building Bridges to Strengthen America, MPAC, April 2010 [UNABRIDGED VERSION]*, http://www.mpac.org/publications/policy-papers/building-bridges.php (accessed November 20, 2010). (Authors note: MPAC's earlier posting of the report, no longer available, originally accessed April 11, 2010, http://www.mpac.org/publications/building-bridges/MPAC-Building-Bridges--Community_Oriented_Policing.pdf).

[2] MPAC, "Join MPAC & ISPU for Capitol Hill Briefing on Countering Violent Extremism," June 16, 2010, http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=1152 (accessed July 1, 2010).

[3] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 6.

[4] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 10.

[5] MPAC Radio, "Salam al-Marayati," *Muslim WaveLength* Website (in association with IslamiCity and MPAC), 2000, http://www.islamicity.com/mpac/salam_al_marayati.shtm (accessed July 26, 2010).

the Los Angeles City Council before he helped found MPAC in 1986.[6] One of MPAC's stated goals is to "influence[s] public opinion to reflect a more accurate portrayal of Islam and Muslims."[7] MPAC's mission statement reads:

> MPAC is an American institution which informs and shapes public opinion and policy by serving as a trusted resource to decision makers in government, media and policy institutions. MPAC is also committed to developing leaders with the purpose of enhancing the political and civic participation of American Muslims.[8]

MPAC also presents itself as an organization "combating terrorism and extremism" and has crafted position papers on counterterrorism and public policy.[9]

The *Building Bridges* report alleges that U.S. law enforcement uses a model of "intelligence-led policing"[10] and recommends law enforcement shift to "community-oriented policing"[11] in order for law enforcement to, according to MPAC, contextualize information in their intelligence assessments specifically as it relates to the Muslim community.[12] Intelligence-led policing (ILP) stresses reliance upon intelligence assessments - analyzed information – to be used in targeting key criminals for investigation and prosecution as a proactive method used in crime prevention.[13] ILP was based on a successful policing model developed in Kent, England in 1995. The Kent Constabulary model was founded upon "analysis and management of problems and risks, rather than reactive responses" in order to develop a business model to more effectively allocate resources when dealing with policing demands.[14] The U.S. Department of Justice (USDOJ) Bureau of Justice Assistance defined the model of ILP as a "collaborative enterprise based on improved intelligence operations and community-oriented policing (COPS) as problem solving."[15] ILP incorporates police and community partnerships as part of the broader approach to counterterrorism. In the *Building Bridges* report, MPAC's emphasis is upon community-oriented versus intelligence-led policing.

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[6] Ibid.

[7] MPAC, "Support MPAC – Donate, Become a Member, Subscribe to MPACnews," http://www.mpac.org/support/donate/ (accessed July 26, 2010).

[8] MPAC, "About MPAC – Vision & Mission,," http://www.mpac.org/support/donate/ (accessed July 27, 2010).

[9] MPAC, "Publications - CounterTerrorism Policy Paper, 2nd Edition – 2002," September 2003, http://www.mpac.org/assets/docs/publications/counterterrorism-policy-paper.pdf (accessed July 26, 2010)

[10] Marilyn Peterson, *Intelligence-Led Policing: The New Intelligence Architecture*, Bureau of Justice Assistance, September 2005, http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/bja/210681.pdf , 9 (accessed November 3, 2010)

[11] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 10, 34.

[12] Ibid., 9.

[13] USDOJ, *Intelligence-Led Policing*, 9.

[14] Suburban Emergency Management Project, "History of 'Intelligence-Led Policing' in Great Britain," Biot Report #473, November 1, 2007, http:www.semp.us/publications/biot_reader.php?BiotID=473 (accessed November 3, 2010).

[15] Todd Masse, Siobhan O'Neil, and John Rollins, *Information and Intelligence (Including Terrorism) Fusion Centers,* NY: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2008, 15.

Intelligence-Led Policing (ILP)

Intelligence-led policing (ILP), according to the International Association of Law Enforcement Intelligence Analysts (IALEIA), specifies that collection and analysis of information ("the derivation of meaning from data") can be tactical or operational when used in crime solving, or strategic in order to provide the "big picture" to "inform police decision-making."[16] ILP intelligence units collect information through various means of surveillance, covert operators, confidential informants, open source reports and records.[17] The *Building Bridges* report criticizes intelligence-led policing for "the heavy use of informants."[18] MPAC states that one of their main objections to the use of informants is concern that "Muslim communities will feel a sense of betrayal" and would undermine religious leaders who encourage Muslim community engagement with law enforcement.[19] MPAC's implied threat of community non-compliance introduces a hostile climate that, in fact, impedes the community cooperation their report allegedly endorses. Religious leaders who support law enforcement's efforts would be expected to counsel community members to cooperate with law enforcement initiatives. *Building Bridges* discourages community compliance instead by stating, "Law enforcement will find it difficult to get important information needed to prevent a future terrorist attack."[20]

MPAC claims to support U.S. counterterrorism initiatives in the *Building Bridges* report. However, by creating an atmosphere of distrust between Muslim Americans and non-Muslim American communities, it accomplishes the opposite. Al-Marayati, in March 2003, accused law enforcement of "targeting people based on their race and religion" and singled out the Patriot Act, use of informants, and fusion centers for scrutiny.[21] In 2009, Beutel, MPAC's government liaison and author of the *Building Bridges* report, reaffirmed Al-Marayati's accusation.[22]

Fusion Centers

The ILP model influenced support for the development of fusion centers to enhance a collaborative network of interagency data sharing, collection, and analysis at local, state and federal levels.[23] Gathered intelligence, "the information to which value has been

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[16] Robert Riegle and Hugo Teufel III, *Privacy Impact Assessment for the Department of Homeland Security, State, Local, and Regional Fusion Center Initiative*, Department of Homeland Security, Washington, D.C., December 11, 2008, http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/privacy/privacy_pia_ia_slrfci.pdf, 8 (accessed August 14, 2010)

[17] Peterson, *Intelligence-Led Policing*, 6.

[18] Beutel, *Building Bridges*., 36.

[19] Ibid., 41.

[20] Ibid., 31.

[21] IPT, Behind the Façade, 48.

[22] MPACnational, "MPAC's Alejandro Beutel debates Kamal Nawash on 'Is the FBI Targeting Muslim Americans?'" youtube.com, August 19, 2009, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QKntTdNnZCc (accessed November 20, 2010).

[23] Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), *Fusion Center Guidelines: Developing and Sharing Information and Intelligence in a New Era*, U.S. Deptartment of Justice and Department of Homeland Security, August 2006, http://it.ojp.gov/documents/fusion_center_guidelines_law_enforcement.pdf (accessed November 3, 2010), 1.

added through analysis and is collected in response to the needs of policymakers," is used to develop recommendations for counterterrorism and anti-crime actions taken by decision-makers.[24] Patrick Dunleavy, former Deputy Inspector General in charge of the Criminal Intelligence Division for the New York State Department of Correctional Services, was involved in the formation of the nation's first fusion center in New York City in 2004. Dunleavy endorses fusion centers, stating that they provide "one stop shopping for data without having to make numerous calls to multiple agencies. Law enforcement officials, mid-level managers, and line officers feel that fusion centers are an invaluable tool to fight crime and terrorism."[25]

Marc Sageman, psychiatrist and counterterrorism consultant to law enforcement, in his 2008 book, *Leaderless Jihad*, discussed the effectiveness of fusion centers in law enforcement counterterrorism initiatives:

> Federal authorities, because they have become the repository of
> information about other terrorist groups, are more likely to understand the
> process of radicalization and acts in furtherance of homegrown terrorist
> wannabes. Therefore, greater collaboration and even integration between
> local and federal law enforcement agencies must be set up in Western
> countries to detect and perhaps dissuade these groups from the path of
> violence. The creation of regional fusion centers under the Department of
> Homeland Security providing this link between local police departments
> and Federal agencies is a step in the right direction.[26]

In April 2009, the American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections (AMT), with MPAC's support, called for eliminating fusion centers: "We are fully united in asking the Obama administration to address…use of McCarthy-era tactics, most notably dissemination of Islamophobic analysis by federally-funded 'fusion centers' to local law enforcement agencies."[27] The *Building Bridges* report offers false praise to fusion centers by stating the "concept of [the] Fusion Center presents a lot of promise in theory,"[28] while MPAC's report concludes that fusion centers produce erroneous results and false matches[29] with the increased possibility of mistaking an innocent person for a criminal based on the possibility of suspects sharing similar names.[30] Citing civil liberties abuses, privacy issues, and misidentification of threats, MPAC is dismissive of

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[24] Todd Masse and John Rollins*, CRS Report for Congress: A Summary of Fusion Centers: Core Issues and Options for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, September 19, 2007, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/intel/RL34177.pdf, Background (accessed July 23, 2010).

[25] Patrick Dunleavy, Email interview with author, July 29, 2010.

[26] Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, 168.

[27] IPT, Behind the Façade, 50.

[28] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 49.

[29] Ibid., 49.

[30] CBSNews, "'False Match' Shows No-Fly List Isn't Perfect," May 6, 2010, http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2010/05/06/national/main6466411.shtml (accessed September 1, 2010).

"behavior profiling" as "counterproductive fishing expeditions."[31] The *Building Bridges* report deliberately overlooks the obvious point that if criminals fit a specific behavior or race, it is logical for police to look for patterns that fit a profile in the course of police work. Accusing officers of bigotry or "Islamophobia" for using this diagnostic tool in crime prevention is yet another MPAC tactic to block the police from doing their jobs.[32]

MPAC's *Building Bridges* report demurs discussing the legal aspects of their objections with statements such as, "we defer this issue to other organizations with greater expertise on such perspectives," and that civil liberties abuses "are larger issues that are outside the scope of this paper."[33] MPAC has found a suitable proxy to further their objections with actions taken by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) who carry water for MPAC by undermining fusion centers and inhibiting their ability to access private sector information.[34]

In a 2008 report, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) addressed concerns by the ACLU and other privacy advocacy organizations regarding the constitutionality of fusion centers.[35]   The DHS Privacy Office reviewed issues regarding fusion centers that ranged from their use of data mining to the "mischaracterizations of fusion centers as mini-spy agencies."[36] MPAC cited a fusion center in northern Texas for particular criticism, charging in 2009 that the center "advocated spying" on "non-criminal anti-war activists and Muslim advocacy groups."[37] The Muslim advocacy group in question was the Council for American-Islamic Relations (CAIR).[38] The ACLU had obtained a leaked open-source intelligence bulletin from the center that expressed the center's administrators' concerns about lobbying efforts by CAIR to advance sharia law and Islamic financing that could be used to finance terrorism.[39] The director of the ACLU's Washington Legislative Office, Caroline Fredrickson, has accused the fusion center of discrimination for targeting Muslim Americans.[40]

The ACLU objects to fusion center surveillance and is planning to introduce legislation in prohibiting a New Mexico fusion center from accessing data in its

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[31] Beutel, *Building Bridges*., 51.

[32] Andrew Klavan, "Name-Calling: 'Islamophobia': the latest charge to try to stifle legitimate debate," *City-Journal.org*, August 27, 2010, http://www.city-journal.org/2010/eon0827ak.html (accessed Aug 31, 2010).

[33] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 51.

[34] Michael German and Jay Stanley, "What's Wrong With Fusion Centers?" *American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU),* December 2007, http://www.aclu.org/pdfs/privacy/fusioncenter_20071212.pdf ,17 (accessed July 27, 2010).

[35] Riegle and Teufel, *Privacy Impact Assessment*, 15.

[36] Ibid., 28.

[37] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 52.

[38] Matthew Harwood, "Fusion Centers Under Fire in Texas and New Mexico," *Security Management*, March 9, 2009, http://www.securitymanagement.com/news/fusion-centers-under-fire-texas-and-new-mexico-005314 (accessed May 6, 2010).

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

counterterrorism mission.[41] If the bill is passed, it would not only permit private citizens to sue law enforcement for damages if collecting data regarding "religious, political or social associations," but it would also be precedent-setting legislation as the first in the country.[42] The use of "lawfare" tactics employed by Islamist front groups availing themselves of the ACLU are seeking to "intimidate, demoralize, and bankrupt opponents," and is a tactic that has been previously used to exploit libel laws to silence their critics.[43]

Community-Oriented Policing (COPS)

The USDOJ defines "community-oriented policing" as law enforcement's use of community partnerships as a preventive measure to address public safety issues. Among these partnerships, law enforcement engages private businesses and the leadership and members of local community groups.[44] A USDOJ report entitled, *Community Policing Defined*, specifies that the data collected from these partnerships is entered into an interconnected centralized system as a means of crime prevention.[45] A fusion center system supported by ILP meets the criteria for a data collection system. Conversely, MPAC's report critiques this as wasteful and "counterproductive fishing expeditions."[46]

Another law enforcement method recommended by *Building Bridges* as part of a "community-oriented policing model" is to utilize a street crime prevention method of Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment (SARA).[47] Citing an enhanced SARA method used in the United Kingdom, MPAC's *Building Bridges* report describes a method of "information collection and analysis" through street interviews called "conversation with a purpose" (CWAP) paired with software to analyze the interview.[48] An objective of analysis, as the USDOJ report, *Community Policing Defined* states, is "to develop an understanding of cause and effect" towards "the crime triangle" – victim, offender, and location.[49] "Rather than focusing primarily on addressing the root causes of a problem, the police focus on the factors that are within reach, such as limiting criminal opportunities and access to victims, increasing guardianship, and associating risk with unwanted behavior."[50]

According to MPAC, the SARA method of street crime prevention is applied to alerting law enforcement to any potential terrorist activity within the community by

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Daniel Huff, "Islamist Lawfare Defeated in Texas," *Middle East Forum*, January 25, 2010, http://www.meforum.org/2583/islamist-lawfare-defeated-in-texas (accessed August 14, 2010).

[44] U.S. Department of Justice, "COPS Office: What is Community Policing?" http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?item=36 (accessed July 23, 2010).

[45] U.S. Department of Justice, *Community Policing Defined*, April 3, 2009, http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/files/RIC/publications/e030917193-CP-Defined.pdf, 11 (accessed August 16, 2010).

[46] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 51.

[47] USDOJ, *Community Policing Defined*., 12.

[48] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 42.

[49] USDOJ, *Community Policing Defined*, 13.

[50] Ibid.

"community members who identify local concerns within a specific geographic area."[51] Law enforcement is encouraged to partner with self-appointed community experts in order to gain community intelligence. The *Building Bridges* report quotes Matthew Scheider and Robert Chapman, Senior Analysts at the USDOJ Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, as explaining community-oriented policing to be based on a "democratized" policing culture by "decentralizing management structure" to enlist "expert advice...from community members."[52] This is another example of the Trojan horse as it attempts to filter any and all information that police could obtain from a local community member. In fact, establishing a community Politburo that tells who to speak and what to say. Law enforcement risks ceding control of intelligence gathering to so-called experts who appoint themselves as the ideological gatekeepers of the Muslim community. In order for law enforcement to be effective, third party vetting of community experts should be a part of the protocol in order to provide a rigorous examination of information directed by community member representatives. Doing so would assist law enforcement identify the cause and effect of ideological triggers at early stages of radicalization. *Community Policing Defined* directs police to focus on "factors within reach" but in de-emphasizing "root causes" of behavior, neglects an opportunity to clearly identify legitimate partners in community policing efforts.

MPAC likens "community-oriented policing" to a business firm model in their *Building Bridges* report. MPAC suggests forming a "product extension merger" between law enforcement and Muslim communities in order to counter recruitment of "terrorist business firms."[53] MPAC's premise is that terror "firms" tap into the labor pool, or "market for martyrs," appealing to those experiencing "identity crises."[54] Identity crises are one major factor accurately described as contributing to radicalization, however, law enforcement's effectiveness is dependent upon the partners they choose to grasp the origins of these crises. MPAC's report contradicts their proposed merger by instructing law enforcement to adhere to a "division of labor" by focusing policing energies on "counterterrorism, not counterradicalization."[55]

Building Bridges specifies ILP surveillance techniques, such as using informants and wiretaps, as heightening community grievances and inhibiting the community ability to confront extremist ideologies in their midst.[56] MPAC's recommendation that law enforcement take a hands-off approach to intelligence collection suggests not so much a "merger" as an "acquisition" of law enforcement's ability to employ counterterrorism methods proven effective in stopping terror attacks.[57] MPAC recommends that law

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[51] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 42.

[52] Ibid., 35.

[53] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 33.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., 37.

[57] Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT), "Behind the Facade: The Muslim Public Affairs Council," *www.investigativeproject.com*, n.d., http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/358.pdf, 51 (accessed July 23, 2010).

enforcement assessments be based on "credible sources."[58] MPAC's record of criticizing law enforcement's use of informants is inconsistent with their claim in the *Building Bridges* report that "it is essential that law enforcement get the correct information"[59] unless MPAC approves of the source.

The *Building Bridges* report specifies MPAC's intention: "*In this model, law enforcement focuses on criminal behavior while Muslim American communities deal with the ideological and social components which lead to violent extremism.*"[60] Actually, the study of criminal behavior is a role already filled by a criminologist. MPAC, as self-described promoters of the "American Muslim community" and "trusted by American Muslims as an authentic, experienced voice,"[61] advises law enforcement to "leave the counterradicalization to Muslim communities…avoid the theological and political issues because law enforcement is ill-tasked to handle" doing so.[62]   Beutel's report neglects to point out that law enforcement remains "ill-tasked" to identify theological and political points in Islam that lead to radicalization specifically because ideological critics that are not part of the community system MPAC suggests would raise questions about aspects of Islamic law that justify violence. MPAC advises law enforcement to avoid delving into Islamic ideology and any connection it may have to radicalization. In order to understand the context of MPAC's recommendation to become the managers of the ideological components countering extremism, it is important to examine both the motivation that formed MPAC as well as its ideological origins. Despite MPAC's portrayal of itself as a civil rights organization, they have consistently exhibited a reflexive hostility towards law enforcement by depicting counterterrorism actions as attacks on all American Muslims.[63]

Origins of the Muslim Public Affairs Council

Originally founded in 1986 as the Muslim Political Action Committee of the Islamic Center of Southern California (ICSC), the political action committee changed its name to become the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) in 1988.[64] Dr. Maher Hathout, MPAC's current Senior Advisor, established ICSC after moving to California in 1978 and subsequently became one of the founders of MPAC.[65] ICSC and MPAC are linked by their shared ideology rooted in the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), an Egyptian organization founded in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna, a Cairo educator.[66] Al-Banna's

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[58] Beutel, Building Bridges, 37.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid*.,* 8.

[61] MPAC, "About – Muslim Public Affairs Council," http://www.mpac.org/about.php (accessed October 18, 2010).

[62] Ibid., 38.

[63] Right Side News, "CAIR and MPAC Claim FBI Tramples Their Rights."

[64] IPT, "Behind the Façade," 4.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

Muslim Brotherhood movement sought to impose Islamic Sharia law as a legal and political system in order to establish an Islamic state and society.[67]

Contemporary followers of Al-Banna's political movement are referred to as Islamists, a term that defines those who view Islam as an encompassing political ideology in order to establish Islamic states under Sharia by any means possible wherever they may be.[68] Seyyid Qutb, chief ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood[69] and author of its manifesto, *Milestones*, followed Al-Banna and articulated Islam's mission to spread Sharia through jihad, violent struggle.[70] Qutb referred to the core of the Islamic movement referencing the Leninist term "vanguard."[71] He served as the Muslim Brotherhood's liaison to the Communist Party in Egypt and was heavily influenced in his anti-Western attitude by the totalitarian ideology of the Communist movement.[72] Andrew C. McCarthy, former federal prosecutor and contributing editor at the National Review magazine and fellow at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracy (FDD), a Washington, D.C. think tank, defines "Islamism" as "Islam's large fascistic subset that is driven by the religion's dehumanizing supremacism."[73]

Al-Banna's ambition to plant the seeds of an Islamic movement in order to introduce Sharia law consisted of stages to transform society through recruitment, indoctrination, preparation through organizations and, finally, conquest.[74] Al-Banna taught, "It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not be dominated. The mission of Islam is to impose its law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet."[75] The word Islam means "submission" to wage *jihad fi sabil Allah*, "to struggle in the path of Allah," in order to advance Islam.[76] Al-Banna made it clear that the Muslim Brotherhood method to advance Islam was by using nonviolent tactics in order to sabotage secular governments in a strategy "not opposed to violence in principle," but only to its use prematurely. The Muslim Brotherhood plan outlined by Al-Banna was designed as a bottom-up approach in order to control the education system, mosques, and community centers; influence media through propaganda; and launch a charm offensive on a guileless audience.[77]

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[67] Andrew C. McCarthy, *The Grand Jihad*: *How Islam and the Left Sabotage America*, (NY, NY: Encounter Books, 2010), 62.

[68] Patrick Sookhdeo, *Global Jihad, The Future in the Face of Militant Islam*, (McLean, VA: Isaac Publishing, 2007), 543, footnote 15.

[69] Ed Husain, *The Islamist*, (London, England: Penguin Books, 2007), 49.

[70] Seyyid Qutb, *Milestones*, (Damascus, Syria: Dar Al-Ilm, n.d.), 75.

[71] Ibid., 80.

[72] Robert R. Reilly, *The Closing of the Muslim Mind, How Intellectual Suicide Created the Modern Islamist Crisis,* (Wilmington, Delaware: ISI Books, 2010), 177.

[73] McCarthy*, The Grand Jihad*, 9.

[74] Steven Emerson and the Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT), "Report on the Roots of Violent Islamist Extremism and Efforts to Counter It: The Muslim Brotherhood," *Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs*, July 10, 2008, http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/testimony/353.pdf, 7 (accessed September 20, 2010).

[75] McCarthy, *The Grand Jihad*, 63.

[76] Ibid., 68.

[77] Ibid., 58.

The Muslim Brotherhood's goals for North America were detailed in a memorandum discovered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and entered into evidence in the 2008 terror-financing trial brought by the U.S. Department of Justice (USDOJ) against the *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development* (HLF). HLF, a Muslim Brotherhood front organization, raised over $36 million for Hamas, a U.S. designated terrorist organization.[78] The May 22, 1991 document entitled, *An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America*,[79] was written by Mohamed Akram (a/k/a "Mohammed Adlouni"), an associate of Egyptian Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the Muslim Brotherhood's "spiritual leader" and "chief theoretician."[80] Akram, who was the Muslim Brotherhood leader in America at that time, presented recommendations by the Shura Council to their membership outlining the Islamic mission in North America.[81] The MPAC website describes a Shura Council as "an umbrella organization of mosques and Muslim organizations serving the Muslims…represent[ing] the consensus of its members."[82]

> The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America
> is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the
> Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its
> miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers
> so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious
> over all other religions.[83]

> Mohamed Akram, May 22, 1991
> "An Explanatory Memorandum on the Strategic Goal
> for the Group in North America"

Akram's memorandum reported that the Muslim Brotherhood's goal was to wage a "Civilizational Jihad,"[84] a "grand jihad," by "sabotaging" Western civilization from within. "In order to do that, we must possess a mastery of the art of 'coalitions,' the art of 'absorption' and the principles of 'cooperation.'"[85] Akram's memorandum cites the Muslim Brotherhood's role model and "pioneer, Hassan al-Banna" for "re-establishing

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[78] U.S. Department of Justice, "Holy Land Foundation, Leaders, Accused of Providing Material Support to Hamas Terrorist Organizations," *www.nefafoundation.org,* July 27, 2004, http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/U.S._v_HLF_DOJPRIndictment.pdf, 1 (accessed September 25, 2010).

[79] Mohamed Akram, *An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America*, May 22, 1991, Government Exhibit 003-0085/3:04-CR-240-G U.S. v. HLF, et al., United States District Court, Northern District of Texas, http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203.pdf (accessed August 15, 2010).

[80] McCarthy, *The Grand Jihad*, 58.

[81] Akram, *An Explanatory Memorandum*, 4 (18).

[82] MPAC, "News, Lekovic Elected to Serve Board of Islamic Shura Council of Southern California," October 14, 2009, http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=934 (accessed September 25, 2010).

[83] Akram, *An Explanatory Memorandum*, 7 (21).

[84] Akram, *An Explanatory Memorandum*, 7(21).

[85] Ibid.

Islam" with the formation of "organizations" to accomplish the Brotherhood's goals.[86] In order to accomplish this goal, the aim was to form a "merger" of coordinated front organizations in order to wage a "Civilizational Jihad."[87]

The United States has been targeted for "Civilizational Jihad" since the 1970s. This initiative to destroy the West, funded by Saudi Arabia partnering with the Muslim Brotherhood in 1962, established the Muslim World League.[88] The Saudis have invested some $100 billion in funding the spread of the Islamist movement through *dawa* [proselytizing and working within political systems to achieve an Islamic society] and violent *jihad* [to overthrow political systems in order to impose sharia law].[89]

In 1969, the Saudis, including the Muslim Brotherhood, expanded the initiative of *Al Jihad bi-al-Mal* [financial jihad] to include 56 Arab and Muslim states to unite under the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).[90] One of the aims was to undermine Western financial markets by establishing a parallel system of Islamic financing independent of the West. Financial jihad was one of the concepts introduced by Hassan al-Banna in the 1920s to spread Islam and expanded by the institutions that have grown to support the effort. In 1973, the OIC established the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) to fund primarily educational initiatives to spread Islam globally and support the development of other banks managed by Muslim Brotherhood members. IDB has distributed over $50 billion in funding to Muslim countries in a three decade period since it has been established. The IDB has also channeled monies to Hamas through the United Nations (U.N.) and transferred funds to the families of Palestinian Arab suicide bombers but, without consequence, in 2007 the IDB received observer status at the UN.[91]

On December 1, 1982, with oil revenues to fuel the Brotherhood's aims, Sheikh al-Qaradawi wrote a 12-point strategy plan entitled, "*Towards a Worlwide Strategy for Islamic Policy*, also known as The Project."[92] The outline for this document had been mapped out in a 1977 meeting in Switzerland attended by Islamist notables affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. The master plan detailed the tactics to accomplish a cultural infiltration of the West. "Immigration, infiltration, surveillance, propaganda, protest, deception, political legitimacy and terrorism" were all flexible options suitable for a long-term approach to seep into the inner-workings of the West.[93]

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[86] Ibid., 11(25).

[87] Ibid., 13(27).

[88] Dr. Rachel Ehrenfeld & Alyssa Lappen, "Tithing for Terrorists," *National Review Online*, October 12, 2007, http://www.acdemocracy.org/article/invent_index.php?id=458&print=yes (accessed September 1, 2010).

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Dr. Rachel Ehrenfeld and Alyssa A. Lappen, "Jihad Economics and Islamic Banking," *EuropeNews*, July 28, 2008, http://europenews.dk/en/node/12586 (accessed November 11, 2010).

[92] Ibid.

[93] Patrick Poole, "The Muslim Brotherhood 'Project,'" *FrontPageMagazie.com*, May 11, 2006, http://arcive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=4476 (accessed September 1, 2010).

MPAC's Senior Advisor, Dr. Maher Hathout

Other Muslim Brotherhood members had found refuge in the U.S. in the 1960s and built their network along the lines recommended by Al-Banna. The network grew by adopting the Brotherhood philosophy of establishing an interconnected infrastructure of Islamist groups. Two Islamist groups that are an outgrowth of this network are ICSC and MPAC. The connection between the two groups is Dr. Maher Hathout.[94] Maher Hathout, with his elder brother, Hassan, found asylum in the U.S. in 1971 after being jailed by the Nasser regime for threatening his rule by attempting to establish an Islamic state in Egypt on behalf of the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood.[95]

Hassan Hathout had been trained in the Muslim Brotherhood by its founder, Al-Banna, and influenced by Al-Banna's teachings.[96] Hassan Hathout's memoir recounted how he and his brother sought to establish an Islamic movement in the liberal atmosphere of the West to escape Egypt's hostile environment.[97] Hassan Hathout wrote, "This is the beginning of the Islamic Movement in the United States and the West…."[98] The Hathout brothers went on to found the ICSC in California.

Stephen C. Coughlin, an intelligence analyst, attorney, and specialist in Islamic Sharia law regarding jihad and terrorism, explained the equation between the "Islamic movement" referenced by the Hathout brothers and the language used in Akram's Muslim Brotherhood memorandum.[99] Akram's memorandum connects the Islamic "Movement" as a "settlement" process in order to wage a "Civilization-Jihad" in the United States in the furtherance of the "global Islamic Movement."[100] Coughlin pointed out MPAC's numerous references to the "Islamic movement" in MPAC's September 2003 publication, *A Review of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy*.[101] MPAC's 2003 publication, in the section entitled, "Violence and War in Islamic Law," specifies that Muslims engaging in warfare through jihad may do so according to Islamic law and claims there is a misconception about "the link between Islam and violence."[102]

MPAC's *Building Bridges* report similarly offers an Appendix weighing in on the Islamic rules of warfare in the conclusion featuring Maher Hathout as a "leading Muslim American thinker on topics related to Islam and Muslims."[103] Entitled, "Rules of the Use

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[94] IPT, "Behind the Façade," 4.

[95] Ibid., 7.

[96] Ibid., 6.

[97] Ibid., 7.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Stephen C. Coughlin, "The Killing Without Right: Islamic Concepts of Terrorism," *Jorge Scientific Corporation*, July 1, 2010, 77.

[100] Akram, *An Explanatory Memorandum*, 8(22).

[101] MPAC, "A Review of U.S. CounterTerrorism Policy: American Muslim Critique and Recommendations, 2nd Edition – 2002" September 2003, http://www.mpac.org/assets/docs/publications/counterterrorism-policy-paper.pdf , 6 (accessed November 11, 2010).

[102] Ibid., 7.

[103] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 59.

of Force & the Sanctity of Life," the report's last pages include quotes selected by Hathout from the Quran in a "brief Qur'anic commentary."[104] MPAC's implication is that Hathout has religious authority by virtue of the fact that the Appendix includes Qur'anic verses that he selected. MPAC introduces the Appendix by stating that "extremists selectively quote certain Quranic verses out of context in order to justify their radical ideology and violent behavior" insisting that "such interpretations misrepresent the teachings of the Qur'an and Islam."[105] The partial Qu'ranic quote selected by Hathout regarding the use of force in Islamic law, 5:32, regards the killing of an "innocent person:"

> …because of this did we ordain onto the children of Israel that if anyone slays a human being [in the punishment of murder or spreading corruption on earth], it is as though he had slain all mankind, whereas, if anyone saves a life it shall be as though he had saved the life of all mankind… (5:32)[106]

The *Building Bridges* report, by citing only the first part of the Qu'ranic quote, misleads the reader in the same tactic used in MPAC's 2003 *Counterterrorism* report. Without including the end of the quote, there is no context to understand the actual meaning of the verse according to Islamic law:

> Then although there came to them our messengers, with clear signs, yet, even after that, many of them continued to commit excesses in the land.[107]

Coughlin explained the Qur'anic portion of 5:32, "it is though he had slain all mankind," by citing one of Islam's most highly regarded authoritative sources of Qur'anic commentary, the Tafsir Ibn Kathir. The Tafsir explains that 5:32 specifically refers to the definition of an "innocent person" according to Sharia law.[108] The partial clause cited by MPAC in the *Building Bridges* Appendix, as in their 2003 policy paper, deceptively infers that 5:32 aligns with the Western legal standard of all people regarded equally. According to Tafsir, the designation of an "innocent person" according to Sharia law is dependent upon whether they are a Muslim or a non-Muslim.[109]

MPAC's policy recommendation in the conclusion of the *Building Bridges* report encourages students in Muslim communities "to attend colleges such as Hartford Seminary that offer Islamic chaplaincy courses."[110] The Hartford Seminary offers the only Islamic chaplaincy course in the U.S. in Hartford, Connecticut, and is under the direction of Ingrid Mattson, Director of the Macdonald Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim

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[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., 60
[107] Coughlin, "The Killing Without Right," 27. Coughlin cites verse 5:32 from *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an*, 10th ed., trans. 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali (Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications, 1999).
[108] Ibid., 28.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 56.

Relations, Director of the Islamic Chaplaincy Program, and Professor of Islamic Studies and Christian-Muslim Relations.[111] In addition to her position with Hartford Seminary, Mattson serves on the Women's Advisory Panel of the Islamic Development Bank (IDB).[112] This is the same IDB established by the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) that has funded Hamas and suicide bombers. As recently as April 2010, Mattson attended a meeting of the IDB panel in Saudi Arabia[113] in her role as President of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).[114] Mattson served as ISNA's president from 2006 through November 2010.[115]

ISNA, MPAC, and CAIR – the Muslim Brotherhood Trifecta

Among the U.S. Islamist organizations that work in tandem with MPAC are ISNA, founded in 1981, and CAIR, founded in 1994.[116] ISNA topped Akram's list of Muslim Brotherhood organizations in his memorandum.[117] CAIR is an offshoot of number 22 on Akram's list, the Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP),[118] which is linked to Hamas, a U.S. designated terrorist organization.[119] Both ISNA and CAIR were listed as unindicted co-conspirators in the HLF trial.[120]

MPAC was not listed among other Muslim Brotherhood front organizations in Akram's 1991 memorandum although MPAC was established in 1988. Akram's memorandum stipulates that the "global Movement has not succeeded in 'distributing roles' to its branches," at the time the memorandum was written.[121] A plausible reason for MPAC's exclusion from the memorandum is that Akram's guide to infiltrate North America provided a broad outline for the "first phase" of Islamic organizations to launch their foray into the U.S.[122] Only after gauging their initial success would the "second

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[111] Hartford Seminary, "Faculty Profile of Ingrid Mattson*," Duncan Black Macdonald Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, http://macdonald.hartsem.edu/mattson.htm (accessed November 11, 2010).
[112] Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Report, "Ingrid Mattson Attends Meeting of Islamic Development Bank in Saudi Arabia," *Campus Watch*, May 3, 2010, http://www.campus-watch.org/article/id/9546 (November 11, 2010).
[113] Hajiya Bilkisu, "Nigeria: IDB Meeting in Jeddah – Rewarding Excellence," *allAfrica.com*, April 28, 2010, http://allafrica.com/stories/201004290237.html (accessed November 11, 2010).
[114] Hartford Seminary, "Faculty Profile of Ingrid Mattson."
[115] Islamic Society of North America ISNA, "ISNA Executives and Board of Directors," http://www.isna.net/ISNAHQ/pages/Board-of-Directors.aspx (accessed November 20, 2010).
[116] Steven Emerson and the Investigative Project on Terrorism, *Jihad Incorporated*, (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2006), 347.
[117] Akram, *An Explanatory Memorandum*, 18(32).
[118] Joe Kaufman, "Death of a Terror Lobby," FrontPageMag.com, February 3, 2006, http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=5681 (accessed August 15, 2010).
[119] Ibid.
[120] IPT, *United States of America vs.HLF*, *Attachment A*, n.d., http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/423.pdf, pp. 8 and 5 (accessed September 25, 2010).
[121] Akram, *An Explanatory Memorandum*, 8(22).
[122] Ibid., 7(21).

phase" of Islamist organizations such as MPAC be called upon to implement Akram's recommendation of "reviving and establishing the Islamic organizations."[123]

U.S. Muslim Brotherhood front organizations such as ISNA, MPAC, and CAIR, have followed the Projects' blueprint by accessing high-level political circles of the U.S. government since the mid-1990s, gaining political legitimacy during the Clinton Administration. Islamist groups mastered the art of coalitions by employing the tactic of repackaging themselves as "reformists" while excluding the U.S. Muslim mainstream.[124] In 1997, Maher Hathout was invited by the State Department to lecture on "emerging Islamic trends." Hathout recommended his list of "reformers," including Hassan Al-Banna, "advocating a pluralistic society that would work for peace and justice for all."[125]

The true moderate voices in the Muslim community have been marginalized when they have criticized Muslim Brotherhood front organizations due to the enormous public relations offensive advanced by front group s with the financial backing of the Saudis.[126] One moderate group, the Ibn Khaldun Society, voiced their alarm in 2000:

> [These] self-appointed leaders who spew hatred toward America and the West and yet claim to be legitimate spokespersons for the American Muslim community…[should] not only be kept at arm's length from the political process, they should be actively opposed as extremists.[127]

MPAC's claim to be a "moderate" voice is unsupported by their words after reviewing their record. In 1983, MPAC minimized Hezbollah's attack on the U.S. Marine barracks in Lebanon, justifying the deaths of 241 U.S. military personnel, rationalizing that since the casualties were not civilian, they were "exactly the kind of attack that Americans might have lauded had it been directed against Washington's enemies."[128] In a 1998 speech at the National Press Club, Maher Hathout supported Hezbollah vio: "The whole country keeps condemning Hezbollah, …but on the issue of fighting to liberate their land and attacking only armed forces, this is legitimate, that is an American value—freedom and liberty."[129]

Salam Al-Marayati, in a 1999 PBS interview, defended Hezbollah as a "legitimate resistance" organization.[130] Al-Marayati gave his 2002 speech at the State Department lecturing on "The Rising Voice of the Moderate Muslims,"[131] with no mention by State

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Emerson, *Jihad Incorporated*, 347.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Jamie Glazov, "Radical Islamic Networks in America," *FrontPageMagazine.com*, January 13, 2009, http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=33699 (accessed November 10, 2010).

[127] Ibid., 351.

[128] Ibid.

[129] IPT, Behind the Façade, 42

[130] IPT, "Apologists or Extremists, Salam al-Marayati," n.d., http://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/114 (accessed June 26, 2010)..

[131] Ibid., 348.

that MPAC has been actively lobbying officials to remove Hamas, Hezbollah, and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, from the U.S. list of designated terrorist organizations.[132]

Given the background of the Muslim Brotherhood and the connection of the founders of MPAC to the Brotherhood ideology, Hathout's State Department ruse of 1997 is duplicated in the *Building Bridges* report. The report attempts to sell the Muslim Brotherhood to law enforcement as "peaceful political activism" in the chapter entitled, "Understanding the Problem: Radicalization & Terrorist Recruitment."[133] MPAC sets up a straw-man argument among the radicalization theories listed in their report by spinning the term "conveyor belts."[134] According to Ed Husain, a former recruiter of radical Islamists, "conveyer belts to violence" are non-violent Islamist organizations that avoid condemning violent acts committed in the name of Islam. Husain warns that these organizations can mislead members to commit violence.[135] The *Building Bridges* report describes the Muslim Brotherhood as benign activists stating "some" think the "the 'conveyor belt' extends as far out as to the conservative, but more politically engaged group, the Muslim Brotherhood."[136] Yet, a few paragraphs later, the report *credits* the Muslim Brotherhood as a positive means of countering radicalization. By papering over their Muslim Brotherhood roots, MPAC speciously suggests that Al-Banna and the Brotherhood are supportive of U.S. law enforcement: "Conservative groups like the Muslim Brotherhood pose long-term strategic threats to violent extremists by siphoning Muslims away from violent radicalism into peaceful political activism."[137]

Zeyno Baran, a Turkish-American Muslim who is a scholar at the Hudson Institute, argues that by empowering Islamists, be they violent or not, the U.S. government has created a fertile climate for radicalization. Baran warns that ignoring this reality will only serve to undermine the West.[138] M. Zuhdi Jasser, an Arizona physician and former Lieutenant Commander in the U.S. Navy, is a Muslim who heads the American Islamic Forum for Democracy (AIFD). Jasser advocates for the separation of mosque and state and is vocal in denouncing Muslim Brotherhood Islamist front organizations,[139] yet Jasser is largely ignored by U.S. government agencies under the influence of Islamist groups.[140]

Building Bridges asks the rhetorical question that if the "conveyor belt" thesis is

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[132] McCarthy, *The Grand Jihad*, 317.

[133] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 16.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Dinah Spritzer, "The making of Islamic terrorists," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, February 5, 2009, http://jta.org/news/article/2009/02/05/1002795/the-making-ofislamic-terrorists.35 (accessed September 1, 2010).

[136] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 17.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Zeyno Baran, *The Other Muslims: Moderate and Secular* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan Publishers, 2010), 4.

[139] American Islamic Forum for Democracy, "About Us,"*aifdemocracy.org*, March, 2003, http://www.aifdemocracy.org/about/members.php (accessed September 1, 2010).

[140] McCarthy, *The Grand Jihad*, 317.

valid, "why is there not more radicalism and terrorism?"[141] It could be argued that it is less pragmatic to resort to terrorist acts when the gradualist approach endorsed by Muslim Brotherhood front groups, such as MPAC, is given legitimacy by law enforcement and government agencies.   Intelligence agencies and law enforcement turn to MPAC for "cultural sensitivity" training sessions for their personnel, affording MPAC legitimacy in its self-appointed role as representatives of "mainstream Islam."[142] Until 2009, CAIR had influenced its way into government agency policymakers' estimations to be appointed to conduct "sensitivity" training for law-enforcement and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).[143]

Due to CAIR's loss of legitimacy after being found guilty of funding Hamas in the 2007-2008 HLF trial, MPAC positioned itself to fill the vacuum.[144] In a March 2008 news conference, Al-Marayati's portrayal of the "war on terror" as a "war on Islam" picked up where CAIR left off by inhibiting law enforcement from investigating terror activity with MPAC claiming victim status.[145]

Recently CAIR demanded an apology from the FBI's director, Robert Mueller, for inviting Robert Spencer, an expert in Islamic doctrine, the Muslim Brotherhood, and sharia, to lecture at an FBI field office.[146] CAIR had previously attempted to intimidate Spencer into silence by threatening lawfare against a university where he was scheduled to give a speech exposing CAIR's Muslim Brotherhood ties.[147] CAIR was joined by ISNA in launching a grievance against Spencer's FBI appearance, but in response the FBI defended their invitation for Spencer to address the Tidewater Joint Terrorism Task Force stating, "Broad knowledge is essential for us to better understand and respond to the threats that we face."[148]

In another iteration of "coalitions," ISNA, MPAC, and CAIR, along with other Muslim Brotherhood front organizations, are closing ranks. To use a law enforcement analogy, MPAC presents the "good cop" public face to CAIR's "bad cop" lawfare attacks to work in tandem. A planned strategy by front groups to get their message across is to consider joining forces by forming the National Muslim Leadership Alliance (NMLA).[149]

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[141] Beutel, *Building Bridges*, 17.

[142] McCarthy, *The Grand Jihad*, 160.

[143] Ibid.

[144] McCarthy, *The Grand Jihad*, 279.

[145] IPT, "Behind the Façade," 42.

[146] Andrew C. McCarthy, "Director Mueller, Say No to CAIR," *National Review Online*, August 10, 2010, http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/243645/director-mueller-say-no-cair-andrew-c-mccarthy (accessed August 11, 2010).

[147] The Legal Project, "The Legal Project to Defend Robert Spencer from CAIR," *Middle East Forum*, August 2, 2007, http://www.meforum.org/1716/the-legal-project-to-defend-robert-spencer-from (accessed November 11, 2010).

[148] Ben Smith, "FBI defends invitation to Islam critic," *Politico.com*, August 31, 2010, http://www.politico.com/blogs/bensmith/0810/FBI_defends_invitation_to_Islam_critic.html?showall (accessed September 1, 2010).

[149] Tara Bahrampour, "Muslim leaders seek to unify community in wake of hostility, mosque controversy," *Washington Post*, August 30, 2010, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/30/AR2010083004300.html (accessed September 1, 2010).

Unless law enforcement agencies, as a whole, take a zero-tolerance approach towards apologists for terrorist organizations, new front groups like NMLA will continue to forward the Muslim Brotherhood agenda.

MPAC and DHS

MPAC's government relations team meets regularly with a variety of government agencies dealing with national security, including the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).[150] On February 3, 2010, DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano tasked the Homeland Security Advisory Council (HSAC) with developing "community-oriented policing measures" for frontline law enforcement officers in order to increase their ability to detect signs of extremism in the communities they patrol. DHS is partnering with the Justice Department, the US Naval Post Graduate School, and state and local law enforcement organizations to present a curriculum to its Federal Law Enforcement Training Center to educate them in community-oriented policing methods[151]

In an August 3, 2010 report entitled, *Next Steps: Supporting Community-Based Efforts to Reduce Violent Crime*, [152] the HSAC noted that a power point had been presented six months earlier to DHS entitled, *Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Working Group*, on how to combat "violent extremism in the United States." [153] The February report designated "cultural outreach" to DHS's Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties (CRCL). Although HSAC included support for fusion centers, their general finding recommended that in order to improve local law enforcement efforts to reduce crime, discussions should be "delinked from the current academic and policy discussions on 'radicalization' and 'countering violent extremism' until such time the understanding of these phenomena matures."[154]

CRCL is the same office in 2008 that deleted the terms "*jihad, jihadism, Islamo-fascism,* and *mujahideen*" from the government lexicon to convince the American people that scrutinizing Islam for any connection to radicalization is off the table.[155] As long as there is a reluctance to fairly consider the proposition that there is "no secular democratic tradition in Islamic society…that countermands sharia,"[156] groups like ISNA, MPAC, and CAIR will remain unmasked.

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[150] Muslim Public Affairs Council, "National Security,"*mpac.org*, http://www.mpac.org/issues/national-security.php (accessed November 21, 2010).

[151] Mickey McCarter, "Police Training to Focus on Spotting Extremism," *Homeland Security Today*, August 4, 2010, http://www.hstoday.us/index2.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14218&pop=1&page=0&Itemid=128 (accessed August 12, 2010).

[152] Department of Homeland Security, *Next Steps: Supporting Community-Based Efforts to Reduce Violent Crime*, August 3, 2010, http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/fact_sheet_ reduce_violent_crime_080310.pdf (accessed August 17, 2010).

[153] Homeland Security Advisory Council (HSAC), *Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Working Group*, Spring 2010, http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/hsac_cve_working-group_recommendations.pdf (accessed August 17, 2010).

[154] Ibid., slide 5.

[155] McCarthy, *The Grand Jihad*, 316.

[156] Ibid.

A realistic and effective examination of the threat of Islamist motivated terrorism requires input from scholars such as Robert Spencer and Stephen Coughlin to decipher the threat within Islamic sharia law as understood through a Muslim Brotherhood "Islamist" lens. Without becoming educated in the intricacies of Islamic ideology that specifically relate to cause and effect motivations for radicalization, law enforcement officials will be exploited by Islamist organizations that have mastered the art of "coalitions, absorption, and cooperation."[157]

Infiltration and Subversion of U.S. Law Enforcement

On January 25, 2010, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) under Deputy Chief Michael Downing held a Muslim community forum at Los Angeles' Omar mosque in order to establish a "transparent and balanced [community] partnership."[158]   The official LAPD website lists the items of the forum minutes showing Item A. as "*Building Bridges* – Building relationships with all the communities in the City." The Muslim representative who introduced the forum was the Chairman of the Islamic Shura Council of Southern California, Dr. Maher Hathout, MPAC's Senior Advisor. Item D: "Video interviews - The Way Forward," was given by "Dr. Maher Hathout and Mr. Salam Al-Marayati."[159]

Members of Napolitano's Homeland Security Advisory Council (HSAC) include Chief Downing and Sheriff Leroy "Lee" Baca of Los Angeles County.[160] On March 17, 2010, Sheriff Baca issued a statement to a Homeland Security committee entitled "Working with Communities to Disrupt Terror Plots." Baca included MPAC and CAIR as partnering organizations with the Los Angeles County Police Department to form alliances thwarting terrorist threats.[161] Sheriff Baca, who has attended ten CAIR fundraisers to date,[162] wrote, "Our core message was to not involve religious assumptions regarding the attacks on America during 9-11."[163]

An October 2010 DHS press release announced new members sworn-in to the HSAC by Secretary Napolitano, among them was Mohamed Elibiary, president and CEO

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[157] Akram, *An Explanatory Memorandum*, 7 of 18.

[158] Amira Elmallah, "LAPD Sponsors Dialogue with Muslim Community," *Al-Talib News Magazine*, February 4, 2010, http://al-talib.org/2010/02/04/lapd-sponsors-dialogue-with -muslim-community/ (accessed September 1, 2010).

[159] The Los Angeles Police Department, "Muslim Forum," *lapdonline.com*, n.d., http://www.lapdonline.org/community_forums/content_basic_view/38008 (accessed September 1, 2010).

[160] DHS/Homeland Security Advisory Council, *U.S. Department of Homeland Security*, http://www.dhs.gov/files/committees/editorial_0858.shtm#2 (accessed August 14, 2010).

[161] Lee Baca, "Working With Communities to Disrupt Terror Plots," *Sub-Committee on Intelligence, Information Sharing and Terrorism Risk Assessment,* Washington, D.C., March 17, 2010, http://homeland.house.gov/SiteDocuments/20100317103429-84370.pdf , 2, (accessed August 15, 2010).

[162] Kitty Fielde, "L.A. County Sheriff Baca in U.S. House shouting match," *89.3 KPCC radio website*, *Southern California Public Radio*, March 17, 2010, http://www.scpr.org/news/2010/03/17/la-county-sheriff-lee-baca/ (accessed August 15, 2010).

[163] Baca, "Working With Communities To Disrupt Terror Plots," 1.

of the Freedom and Justice Foundation in Carrollton, Texas.[164] In a June 2010 op-ed in the Dallas Morning News, Elibiary criticized the U.S. government's trial in the prosecution and conviction of the Holy Land Foundation. Elibiary claimed HLF was providing humanitarian aid as a nonviolent activity and argued that removal of "the intent factor," which Elibiary claimed unfairly criminalized HLF, weakened the U.S. system of checks and balances when legislating material-support cases.

Similarly, in September 2010, after the FBI executed search warrants for raids in Minneapolis and Chicago as part of an investigation into a case of material support for two terror groups, MPAC dismissed the FBI raids as "absurd" for engaging in a "fishing expedition." MPAC repeated Elibiary's accusation by claiming that "nonviolent work" without evidence of planned terror operations was unwarranted.[165] MPAC's claim displays an ignorance of the law regarding the fact that material support prosecutions in the U.S. are legal tools to delegitimize foreign terrorist groups that use nonviolent fronts, such as charities, to recruit members and raise funds that are used to support terrorist attacks.[166]

Elibiary claimed that the HLF trial was "using the law to force compliance with unjust foreign policies by our government [that] will simply trigger civil disobedience."[167] Elibiary further increases the divide between the Muslim community and law enforcement with his comments inciting civil unrest. In essence, Elibiary's criticism questions U.S. law designating Hamas as a terrorist organization by claiming the U.S. government policy is "unjust." It also brings up the question of why Elibiary would want to be on an advisory board of a U.S. Government agency he considers unjust.

Previous to his recent swearing-in to the HSAC, Elibiary served on the *Countering Violent Extremism Working Group (CVE)*[168] which presented the Orwellian power point to DHS in February 2010 that recommended "delinking" discussions from "radicalization" and "countering violent extremism" in order to "combat violent extremism."[169] The HSAC is the council Secretary Napolitano tasked with developing "community-oriented policing measures."[170]

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[164] Department of Homeland Security, "Secretary Napolitano Swears In Homeland Security Advisory Council Members," *Office of the Press Secretary*, October 15, 2010, http://www.dhs.gov/ynews/releases/pr_1287410106124.shtm (accessed November 3, 2010).

[165] Right Side News, "CAIR and MPAC Claim FBI Trample their Rights," *www.rightsidenews.com*, October 15, 2010, http://www.rightsidenews.com/2010101611886/us/islam-in-america/cair-and-mpac-claim-fbi-trample-their-rights.html (accessed October 18, 2010).

[166] Ibid.

[167] Mohamed Elibiary, "Verdict Misinterprets 'Material Support'," *Dallas Morning News*, June 24, 2010, http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/opinion/viewpoints/stories/DN-elibiary_25edi.d600dff5.html (accessed November 3, 2010).

[168] DHS, "Secretary Napolitano Swears in Homeland Security Advisory Council Members," *Department of Homeland Security*, October 15, 2010, http://www.dhs.gov/ynews/releases/pr_1287410106124.shtm (accessed November 20, 2010).

[169] HSAC, *CVE* (refer to footnote number 145).

[170] McCarter, "Police Training…" (see footnote 147).

Conclusion

Hassan al-Banna's legacy inspires the current "Civilizational Jihad" being fought against the West by Islamic front organizations. Lt. Col. Guermantes Lailari, USAF (Ret.), in a publication for the Naval Postgraduate School describes the use of "Islamic hybrid warfare" as "the means that Islamic leaders use to attack and defeat the non-Islamic world." Lailari asserts that "…only by understanding the historical and the Islamic Jurisprudence context of Jihad can the West ever hope to begin to develop a counter-strategy to contain and then remove this threat to our national security."[171]

Front organizations rely upon skillful rhetoric to promote *Jihad al-lisan* [jihad of the tongue] and *Jihad al-yad* [written propaganda].[172] These forms of jihad are used to advance Islam's "political struggle to convince others… through obfuscation…that Islam must be the guiding principle for all mankind…and Islamic Jurisprudence should be the law of the land."[173]

MPAC's *Building Bridges* report is a more nuanced use of propaganda than CAIR's strategy of psychological "lawfare," but the distinction between the gradualist approach of the Muslim Brotherhood and the violence of terrorist organizations such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and Al Qaeda, is only in their tactics. In 2007, Patrick Poole, an anti-terrorism consultant to law enforcement and the military, recommended that policymakers designate the Muslim Brotherhood as a Specially Designated Terrorist Organization "and make any exceptions from that point."[174]

Like the Trojan horse of ancient Troy, MPAC provides cover for jihadists by obscuring the subversive agenda of Islamists like Maher Hathout, Salam al-Marayati, ISNA and CAIR. Upon closer examination, research supports the thesis that contrary to MPAC's claim to uphold civil liberties, MPAC has exhibited a consistent hostility towards U.S. law enforcement to undermine effective counterterrorism initiatives by placing themselves between the Muslim community and law enforcement. Examples in this research paper have been supported by objective documentation, historical facts, and quotations from original sources to support the following:

1. MPAC's deceptive propaganda as a civil liberties organization is a facade to subvert U.S. law enforcement in order to further the global Muslim Brotherhood goals to destroy the West from within.

2. MPAC is waging an influence operation to infiltrate and subvert U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies as evidenced by their self-designation as the only voice for the Muslim community.

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[171] Guermantes Lailari, "Islamic Hybrid Warfare," in *Hybrid Warfare: Transnational Threats and Policy Choices for an Era of Persistent Conflict* to be published in 2011 by The Council for National Security Affairs (CENSA) publication project (Naval Postgraduate School) (accessed September 6, 2010).

[172] Ibid., 14.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Patrick Poole, "Mainstreaming the Muslim Brotherhood," *FrontPageMagazine.com*, March 26, 2007, http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=25452 (accessed September 1, 2010).

3. Law enforcement needs to be better educated and informed of the historical philosophy, tactics and strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood in America in order to establish benchmarks identifying and marginalizing front group operations. MPAC's report, *Building Bridges to Strengthen America, Forging an Effective Counterterrorism Enterprise between Muslim Americans & Law Enforcement*, does not support MPAC's claim to be a "trusted resource for decision makers in government, media and policy institutions."[175] Law enforcement should carry out due diligence before "going a bridge too far."[176]

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[175] MPAC, "About MPAC – Vision and Mission." (see footnote 8).

[176] Cornelius Ryan, *A Bridge Too Far*, (NY, NY: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 1974), 89. *Operation Market Garden is the story of the World War II Allied attempt to outflank German lines by seizing bridges in the Netherlands. The failed operation, planned by British Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery, had been earlier warned off before the launching by a comment (uncomfirmed) from the deputy commander of the First Allied Airborne Army, British Lieutenant-General Frederick Browning, reportedly having said, "I think we may be going a bridge too far."*

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