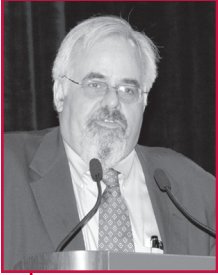


Imprimis

May 2004 • Volume 33, Number 5

OVER 1,100,000 READERS MONTHLY



Radical Islam in America

Stephen Schwartz

Author, *The Two Faces of Islam: Saudi Fundamentalism and Its Role in Terrorism*



STEPHEN SCHWARTZ is a journalist who has published in such newspapers and periodicals as the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Weekly Standard*, the *New York Post* and the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. He is the author of *The Two Faces of Islam: Saudi Fundamentalism and Its Role in Terrorism* (Doubleday, 2003), a national bestseller. His work is based on 30 years of research on Islam, along with years of interfaith activity in the Balkans.

The following is adapted from a speech delivered on February 25, 2004, at a Hillsdale College National Leadership Seminar in Naples, Florida.

When the horror of September 11 happened, Americans experienced a great deal of confusion and heard a great deal of speculation about the motives for anti-American terrorism. It was natural for most of us to assume that we were attacked because of who we are: because we are wealthy, because we are a dominant power in the world and because we represent ideas that are in conflict with the ideas of radical Islam. Many also assumed – wrongly I think – that it had mostly to do with the Middle East and Israel. But almost immediately a very interesting fact emerged: of the nineteen suicide terrorists on September 11, fifteen were subjects of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Why is this important? It is important because these were not poor people from refugee camps on the West Bank or in Gaza. These were not people who had grown up feeling some grievance against Israel and the United States because they lived in difficult conditions. These were not people from the crowded and disrupted communities of Egypt or Pakistan, or people who had experienced anti-Islamic violence in the last 20 years and had therefore turned against the United States. These people had grown up in the country that Americans often think of as our most solid and dependable ally in the Arab world – the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Thus the question arose: Why would Saudis be involved in this?

Related questions followed: What does it mean that Osama Bin Laden is a Saudi? And that so many members of Al-Qaeda are Saudis? Why is it that Al-Qaeda is essentially a Saudi political movement? And that 25 percent of those detained in Guantanamo are Saudis? Why is it that a country the U.S. had favored, to which the U.S. had delivered an enormous amount of wealth through the purchase of oil – a country that the U.S. had protected militarily, and whose young people have been educated in America for many years – why was Saudi Arabia, of all countries, so connected to the attacks of September 11?

continued

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:
Reagan and His Critics/Sean Hannity



Osama Bin Laden and Saudi Arabia

Many in the United States bought into Osama Bin Laden's propaganda when he claimed to be outraged that American troops are stationed on the "holy soil" of Saudi Arabia. In fact, American troops were *never* stationed on Saudi "holy soil," because Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia, and Dhahran, the area where most U.S. troops were stationed, are not Islamic holy sites. The only holy places in Saudi Arabia, from the Muslim perspective, are Mecca and Medina – and there were never American troops in either of those cities. The only time foreign troops were sent to Mecca and Medina was in 1979, when a group of Muslim radicals took over the Grand Mosque in Mecca and the Saudi government sent in French paratroops to kill them.

We are accustomed to hearing that Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda look on the Saudi royal family as just as much an enemy as the U.S., and that they want to overthrow it. But the truth, as I first pointed out in *The Weekly Standard* about a month after September 11, is that Osama Bin Laden has *never* called for the overthrow of the Saudi royal family. What he calls for is a change in their policies. That is, he calls for what he would consider a more Islamic policy. The fact is – based on my contacts and interviews with Saudi subjects both inside and outside the kingdom – Osama is essentially a *product* of the Saudi regime, and in particular of the hardliners in the regime. And so the message of Osama Bin Laden on September 11 was also a message from those Saudi hardliners and the message was aimed at their audiences.

continued on page 4



Reagan and His Critics

Sean Hannity

FOX News/Author, *Deliver Us from Evil: Defeating Terrorism, Despotism, and Liberalism*



The following is excerpted from a speech delivered on February 24, 2004, at a Hillsdale College National Leadership Seminar in Naples, Florida.

When Ronald Reagan ran for president, he had the unmitigated gall (from a liberal standpoint) to proclaim the goal of defeating the Soviet Union in the Cold War. And looking back at the arguments and complaints from Reagan's critics at the time, they sound eerily familiar. When Reagan started building up the military, his critics warned it would simply provoke the Soviets. When Reagan deployed missiles in West Germany, his critics adopted the disarmament position of left-wing European parties and decried American "unilateralism." When Reagan called the Soviet Union an "evil empire," his critics were beside themselves with embarrassment at having an American president who thought in terms of good and evil, black and white, rather than in "nuanced" shades of gray.

Reagan taught us that peace can only be achieved from a position of strength. He also insisted on pursuing a way to defend the American people against ballistic missiles, rejecting the previous policy (and still the preferred policy of liberals) of remaining defenseless so that our enemies will not feel threatened. That drove the Soviet Union nuts. And at the Reykjavik Summit in 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev offered a reduction in Soviet missiles in exchange for a cancellation of Reagan's missile defense project. Reagan said no and walked away – again becoming a target of scorn and derision by American and European liberals. Undaunted, he went to Berlin and demanded that Mr. Gorbachev tear down the wall that divided that city.

And what happened then? The Soviet Union crumbled and the world became a safer and better and freer place. These are valuable lessons for us today in this history of the last decade of the Cold War. . . .





Hillsdale College Rhine/Moselle River Cruise

July 17 - 27, 2004

With Optional Pre-Cruise Tour in Amsterdam on July 16
and Post-Cruise Normandy/Versailles Tour on July 27 - 29

**Amsterdam • Arnhem • Nijmegen • Cologne • Aachen • Remagen
Cochem • Mainz • Luxembourg**

Join Hillsdale College for an exclusive luxury cruise along the Rhine and Moselle rivers aboard the brand-new *Heidelberg*. Confirmed speakers include military historian Victor Davis Hanson; Hillsdale College history professor Tom Conner; and Hillsdale College President Larry P. Arnn.

Rhine/Moselle River Cruise: \$10,500 per couple

Post-Cruise D-Day Remembrance Tour

In commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the D-Day landing, we will be leading a special post-cruise tour in Normandy, which will include visits to the invasion beaches, Pointe du Hoc, Pegasus Bridge and the American cemetery at Omaha beach.

Normandy/Versailles Post-Cruise Tour: \$2,600 per couple

Fewer than 8 cabins remain available.

For more information or to reserve your cabin, call (800) 968-8747 today.

Mark Your

Calendar!

Upcoming

Hillsdale

College

Cruises

InterShow Presents

Hillsdale College Panama Canal Cruise



January 4-15, 2005

**New Orleans • Cozumel • Grand Cayman • Curacao
Aruba • Panama Canal • Caldera**

Join Hillsdale College for a luxury cruise in the Caribbean and through the Panama Canal aboard the six-star *Crystal Harmony*.

Discuss post-election politics and economic and foreign policy with featured speakers and other like-minded friends of Hillsdale while enjoying Crystal Cruises' world-renowned six-star service.

LOW CABIN PRICES* (PER COUPLE):

PS	\$11,770
PH	\$9,770
A	\$5,770
B	\$5,370
C	\$4,370
D	\$4,170
E	\$3,770
F	\$3,570
G	\$2,970

*Does not include port charges of \$210 per person.

Larry P. Arnn
President,
Hillsdale College

Winston S. Churchill III
Member of the British Parliament, 1970-97
Editor, *Never Give In!*
The Best of Winston Churchill's Speeches

Midge Deeter
Author, *Rumsfeld:
A Personal Portrait*

Additional speakers to be announced.

**Space is limited!
Call 800-797-9519 to reserve your cabin today!**

continued from page 2

First, it was a message to the United States saying, “Don’t ask Saudi Arabia to change, because if we change, this is what you’ll get – instead of us, Osama.”

Second, it was a message to the people of Saudi Arabia – a fundamentally rational people. Many Saudis are on the Internet. Many have satellite dishes. And they are surrounded by a crescent of normalizing countries: Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, the Emirates, Oman, Yemen – countries that certainly are not as progressive and prosperous as Florida, but that are on their way toward becoming normal modern countries. And yet Saudis live in a country – to cite but one of several examples of stifling backwardness – where women are not allowed to drive. So Saudi society is a society demanding change. And the second message of September 11 was to the Saudi people in response to their yearning: “Don’t try to make changes because we radical Islamists still have enormous power, and it is a destructive power.”

Third, the same message was intended for Muslims all around the world: “Don’t challenge our control over global Islam.”

Wahhabism in the U.S.

The ideology of Saudi hardliners is, unfortunately, of great relevance even inside the United States. One doctrine of Islam dominates in Saudi Arabia: It is called Wahhabism. Wahhabism is the most extreme, the most violent, the most separatist, the most expansionistic form of Islam that exists. It’s a form of Islam that not only lashes out at the West, but that seeks to take over and impose a rigid conformity on the whole Muslim world.

What then of America? Islam was new in the United States in the 1980s and ’90s. Then, because of changes in the immigration laws, the American Muslim community suddenly became much larger. Most Muslims who came to the United States were not Arabs. The plurality have been people from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. And as Islam originally emerged as a major religion in the U.S., it – unlike other American religions – didn’t have an establishment. A disparate group of Muslims arrived and established mosques in various places. They represented different ethnic groups and lacked any structure to bring them together and unite them. But that didn’t last

long. And why? Because the Saudis decided to create an American Islamic establishment based on the radical doctrines of Wahhabism. In order to bring this about, they created a system of organizations that would speak for American Muslims to the government and the media and through the educational system and the mosques.

One can learn a lot about how the Saudi-backed Wahhabi establishment in the U.S. works by looking at how it came to speak for all of Islam in the American media. It did this by creating a set of organizations. One of the most prominent is called the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). This group was allegedly set up to be a kind of a Muslim version of the Jewish Anti-Defamation League. That is, its stated goal was to protect Muslims against prejudice and stereotypes. I was working in the newsroom of the *San Francisco Chronicle* at the time, and I was struck by CAIR’s approach with our reporters and editors. They didn’t come to the newspaper offices and say, “We’re Muslims, we’re here now, this is our holy book, this is the life of our prophet Muhammad, these are the holidays we observe, this is what we believe in and we’d like you to report these things accurately because you are a newspaper and you want to be factual.” Rather, they came and they said, “We are a minority and we suffer from discrimination. We suffer from hurtful stereotypes. We know that you are good liberal reporters, and that you want to avoid inflicting these stereotypes on us. So whenever you do a story on Islam, you should call us first and make sure it is correct.” And, of course, that meant “correct” according to Saudi-sponsored Wahhabism.

There are other such groups. One of them is called the Islamic Society of North America. It is directly controlled from Saudi Arabia, and openly owns 250 of the 1,200 main mosques in the United States. But this is just the tip of the iceberg: my research suggests that a full 80 percent of American mosques are under the control of the Saudi government and Wahhabism. This does not mean that 80 percent of American Muslims are supporters of Wahhabism – only that their mosques are controlled by the Saudi Wahhabis. There’s a range of such organizations. Many we don’t hear much about, including some of the worst; for example, the Islamic Circle of North America, which acts as a kind of extremist militia among Pakistani Muslims and has a very bad reputation for threatening, intimidating and enforcing conformity in the Pakistani Muslim community.

continued on page 6

Hillsdale Happenings



On February 9-13, 2004, the Honorable Clarence Thomas, Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, taught a special honors seminar on the Constitution on the Hillsdale campus.



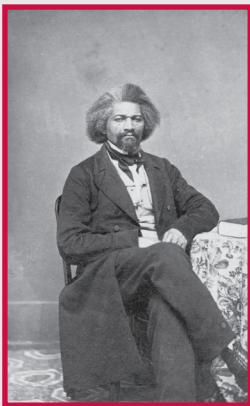
On March 13, 2004, Hillsdale faculty held meetings with their students' parents as part of Spring Parents Weekend.



Academy Award-winning actress Shirley Jones poses with Hillsdale students Emily Stack and Christopher Verheek, following Ms. Jones' lecture during a five-day CCA seminar on "The American Musical on Stage and Film."



In conjunction with Spring Parents Weekend and the CCA on the American musical, the Hillsdale College Theatre and Music Departments staged a production of the 1931 Pulitzer Prize-winning Broadway musical, *Of Thee I Sing*.



President Larry P. Arnn obtained for the College archives a *carte de visite* of Frederick Douglass, taken in Hillsdale by local photographers Andrew and Ives when Douglass came to the College to give a speech in January 1863. It is one of less than 70 original photographs of Frederick Douglass in existence.



Other Areas of Wahhabi Influence in the U.S.

There are three other areas where the Saudi government and its Wahhabi ideology have gained tremendous influence in the U.S. The first is in the American prison system. With one single exception, all of the Federal and State chaplains representing Islam in American prisons are Wahhabis. That is, they are certified by groups originating in Saudi Arabia; the curriculum they follow was created in Saudi Arabia; and they go into our prisons and preach an extremist doctrine. This is not the same as saying that they go into our prisons and directly recruit terrorists – although there *have* been cases of that. But anytime you go into a prison – an environment of violence, obviously populated by troubled people – and preach an extremist doctrine, there are going to be bad and dangerous consequences.

The second area is in the military services. Every single Islamic chaplain in the U.S. military has been certified by Saudi-controlled groups – which means that our military chaplains too hold to Wahhabi doctrines. Is it surprising, then, that we had the incident of the Muslim soldier in Kuwait who attacked his fellow soldiers? Or the problems with military personnel at Guantanamo? Or the Muslim military man in Washington state who was trying to turn over useful information to Al-Qaeda?

And finally we have the problem with what are known as the Islamic academies: Islamic elementary schools, middle schools and high schools throughout the U.S. which are supported by Saudi money and preach the Saudi-Wahhabi doctrine – in some cases to Saudi expatriate children living here, but in many other cases to Muslim children who are U.S. citizens.

What to Do

This seems a very dark picture. On the other hand, there are some fairly simple steps to take to solve the problem.

First and foremost, it is important to support the Federal and State governments in a sustained investigation of Islamic extremism in our country. That means not falling for the propaganda claim – made by groups like CAIR – that investigating what’s happening in mosques, and the literature being distributed in

mosques, somehow violates religious freedom. It is not a violation of religious freedom to prevent extremists from using religion as a cover for sedition and criminality. To the contrary, preventing this is necessary to the defense of religious freedom. So it’s absolutely necessary to support the FBI, the Justice Department, and other agencies who are investigating the extent to which Islam in the United States is under the influence of anti-American, anti-democratic extremists. And it is important they are empowered to perform these investigations with laws like the Patriot Act.

Second, it’s important to identify and support the moderate and patriotic Muslims in the United States who oppose Wahhabism and all it stands for. Many Muslims fit this description, even if we rarely hear of them.

Related to this, we should hold the media to account for its coverage of these issues. How many times have we heard the question since September 11, “Why is it that more Muslim leaders didn’t speak out against this abomination?” Actually, many Muslim leaders did speak out against terrorism and in support of freedom, but they weren’t heard in the media because their message didn’t fit the mold that the media likes to impose on this story. Thus, for instance, we didn’t hear from a Muslim leader in Chicago – the Mufti of the Bosnian Muslims in America – who is a very influential man, who loves America, and who, the day after September 11, said, “No Muslim living in America should support any of this. Everybody should do everything possible to stop it. If you hear about it in your community, tell the FBI about it and organize against it.” What the media covered instead were angry Muslims blaming America’s support of Israel and other misleading factors.

I say to my fellow journalists, “Why don’t you go to countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, Bangladesh, West Africa, Morocco and Bosnia? Why don’t you go and interview the Muslim leaders who support the West, who are against terrorism and who are willing to stand alongside the United States?” Recently (as I have written in *The Weekly Standard*) I went to Uzbekistan and interviewed three Islamist defectors, two of them from Al-Qaeda. These interviews suggest that although the leaders of the Islamist movement are extreme, murderous and fanatical, the foot soldiers in the movement are just like foot soldiers in other extremist movements. They get involved in this move-



Imprimis ORDER FORM



Name Dr. Mr. Mrs. Ms. Miss _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Email _____ Telephone (____) _____
 Home Office

1-10 copies 75¢ each • 25-\$10 • 50-\$15 • 100-\$30

FREE SHIPPING!

Qty.	Author/Title	Price
Subtotal		
Michigan residents, add 6% sales tax		
TOTAL		

- Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution to Hillsdale College for \$ _____
- My check made payable to **Hillsdale College** is enclosed.
- Please charge my: VISA MC Discover
 Exp. Date _____
 Card No. _____
 Signature _____

For more information, check areas that interest you:

- Center for Constructive Alternatives On-Campus Seminars
- National Leadership Off-Campus Seminars
- Hillsdale Academy Reference Guide
- Hillsdale College Admissions
- Hillsdale College Athletics
- Center for Teacher Excellence
- Hillsdale Hostel
- Gift and Estate Planning
- Freedom Library Catalog (books and tapes)



continued from page 6

ment for reasons that are not ideological, and often become disillusioned. One man I spoke to defected from a group connected to Al-Qaeda when he saw that he was being used to commit atrocities against his own comrades. At the end of the interview, I asked him if he had anything to say to Americans. "Yes," he said, "I want you to tell President Bush there are a lot of us out here who are ready to stand alongside America to deal a death blow to these monsters, these terrorists."

As this story indicates, there is reason to be optimistic about the war on terror around the globe. But let us also not forget, in the

course of conducting that war, the importance of employing law enforcement to stem the influence of Saudi-supported Wahhabi extremism in our own country.



Editor, Douglas A. Jeffrey; Deputy Editor, Timothy W. Caspar; Assistant to the Editor, Patricia A. DuBois. The opinions expressed in **Imprimis** are not necessarily the views of Hillsdale College. Copyright © 2004. Permission to reprint in whole or in part is hereby granted, provided the following credit line is used: "Reprinted by permission from **Imprimis**, the national speech digest of Hillsdale College, www.hillsdale.edu." **SUBSCRIPTION FREE UPON REQUEST.** ISSN 0277-8432. **Imprimis** trademark registered in U.S. Patent and Trade Office #1563325.

Imprimis

VOLUME 33 • NUMBER 5

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to

Imprimis

Hillsdale College
33 East College Street
Hillsdale, Michigan 49242

ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED



Imprimis (im-prĭ-mis), [Latin]: in the first place

504

HAS YOUR ADDRESS CHANGED?

Please use the enclosed postage paid envelope, e-mail us at imprimis@hillsdale.edu or telephone (800) 437-2268.

NON-PROFIT
ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Hillsdale College