

My name is Dr. Andrew Boston. I'm giving a lecture as part of Infidel Awareness Month under the aegis of Dr. Richard Landes. The title of my talk is "Authoritative Islam, Jihad, and Jew Infidel Hatred, the Drivers of 9-11-01 and 10-7-23."

As you can see, we have a quote from Islam's prophet Muhammad. I have been made victorious with terror cast in the hearts of the enemy. And this was recorded in the most important collection of Muhammad's traditions from Sahih Bukhari.

Dr. Tina Magaard is a Sorbonne-trained linguist specializing in textual analysis. And in 2005, she made the following comment. The texts in Islam distinguish themselves from the texts of other religions by encouraging violence and aggression against people with other religious beliefs to a larger degree.

There are also straightforward calls for terror. For example, see Quran 8:12 and 8:60. So the eighth surah (chapter), the 12th verse and the 60th verse.

This has long been a taboo in the research into Islam, but it is a fact that we need to deal with. Here are germane statements from Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda from 1998 and 2002. From the 1998 fatwa, which was entitled Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders.

Quote, if the Americans aim behind these wars are religious and economic, the aim is also to serve the Jews' petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there. The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies, civilians and military, is an individual duty for every Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty Allah.

And he's quoting from Quran 9:36. And fight the polytheists all together as they fight you all together and fight them until there is no more tumult, fitna or oppression and their prevailed justice and faith in Allah, which is a quote from Quran 2193. Four years later in October, 2002, bin Laden wrote, why we are fighting you.

And here's an extract from that. It is the Muslims who are the inheritors of Moses and the inheritors of the real Torah that has not been changed. This is an allegation in the Quran.

For example, at Quran 2:75 to 79, that the Jews somehow forged the Torah and distorted its meaning. If the followers of Moses have been promised a right to Palestine in the Torah, then the Muslims are the most worthy nation of this. When the Muslims conquered Palestine and drove out the Romans in 638 CE, Palestine and Jerusalem returned to Islam, the religion of all the prophets.

And this is a reference in part to Quran 3:67 and 68, which says that Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian. He was in fact a Muslim and the Muslims have the greatest claim to Abraham and therefore to monotheism in general. Well, President Bush, George Bush too, on 9-11 in its aftermath, gave a very remarkable and remarkably apologetic speech some less than a week after 9-11 at the Islamic Center of Washington.

And it was proudly archived on the State Department website. He said in part, these acts of violence against innocents violate the fundamental tenets of the Islamic faith. And it's important for my fellow Americans to understand that.

The English translation is not as eloquent as the original Arabic, but let me quote from the Quran itself. And he's quoting from the 30th surah, the 10th verse. In part, in the long run, evil in the extreme will be the end of those who do evil.

For that they rejected the signs of Allah and held them up to ridicule. And then he commented in this address also, just simply, Islam is peace. Well, a formal commentary on this Quranic verse was provided by late Al-Azhar Grand Imam and a great modern Quranic exegete, Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi.

And here's his gloss on Quran 30:10. And this gloss, Contra Bush II, is consistent with its classical exegesis, which makes plain the verse is a condemnation of the evil of non-Muslims, whose evil is simply not accepting Islam and its prophet. Quote, at the forefront of this group who do evil were the polytheists, the non-Muslim pagans of Mecca, to whom the prophet was sent to bring them, the disbelievers of Mecca, out of darkness into light.

Their consequence in the hereafter was the worst and most heinous of punishments, which is the tormented hell, because in this world they denied our, i.e. the Muslims, signs that indicate our oneness and the truthfulness of our prophet, Muhammad, and they used to ridicule them. This is a very, frankly, humorous take that the jihadist known as Abu Qatada, his nom de guerre, it's a riposte in response to George Bush's comments at the time. And Abu Qatada said simply, I am astonished by President Bush when he claims there is nothing in the Quran that justifies jihad or violence in the name of Islam.

Is he, Bush II, some kind of Islamic scholar? Has he ever actually read the Quran? And this was reported in an outstanding investigative piece in the Washington Post a couple of weeks after, sorry, about six weeks after 9-11. And remember that Qatada was a welfare-supported jihadist ideologue in the UK. And in the same Washington Post report, he said, seated in his house beneath the wall of sacred Islamic texts, this is the reporter, in bare feet in a white preacher's tunic, Abu Qatada said, quote, there is no solution to the problems of the Arab world except through jihad.

I wanna refer to Al-Azhar University more broadly. It's really the Sunni Vatican equivalent and its grand imams are papal equivalents. And this is from a Washington Post story back in 1977 when then Al-Azhar grand imam Abdel Khaled Mahmoud visited North America in 1977.

And the headline announced, quote, leader of the world Islam begins historic tour of America. And the story opened with these lines. The man most widely recognized as the spiritual leader of Islam arrived in Washington, DC last week, the first stop on a historic North American tour.

It is for the first time that an incumbent of this high post visits the new world, announced the Islamic Center director in Washington, DC, Dr. Mohammad Rauf, as he presented his eminence, Dr. Abdel Khaled Mahmoud, Sheikh grand imam of Al-Azhar University. And it's important to realize that Sunni Islam represents about 85 to 90% of Muslims worldwide. And Al-Azhar University, dating back to the 10th century founding, and certainly since the 13th century Mamluk era has been the most important religious teaching institution in the Sunni Muslim world.

And its grand imams are the nearest you'll get in Islam to a papal equivalent. Now, how did Al-Azhar react to 9-11 and the Bush II administration? So for example, and in terms of its sanctioning of jihad, in 2003, grand imam Tantawi, and he served as grand imam from 1986 **(error in audio of lecture; should be 1996. Tantawi was Mufti of Egypt, a government position, from 1986-1996, & then became Al-Azhar Grand imam in 1996 until his sudden death in 2010) till his death in 2010)**. He said, the gates of jihad are open until the day of judgment.

And he who denies this is an infidel or one who abandons his religion. Martyrdom operations, homicide bombings carried out against invading US troops in Iraq are permitted by Islamic religious law. Well, in September of 2005, Bush's emissary to the Muslim world, Karen Hughes, the undersecretary, is pictured here with grand imam Tantawi.

And the state department reported undersecretary Hughes with his eminence, Sheikh Tantawi. And Hughes was quoted contemporaneous with this meeting in the Denver Post saying, I praise Sheikh Tantawi for his courage. And he said, it is not courage, but I did the right thing to speak out against terrorism and extremism.

This is in reference to Tantawi's statements condemning 9-11, but at the same time, he was quick to sanction jihad terror against US troops in Iraq. This was a very important episode that took place shortly after 9-11 in the United States. And Al-Azhar, much like the Vatican, has emissaries that it sends out to non-Muslim countries.

And they serve as teachers, as guest imams, et cetera. And this was about Egyptian Sheikh Mohammed al-Ghameah. He was an Al-Azhar alumnus himself who identified Tantawi as his role model and served as Tantawi's personal translator.

And he was the representative in the United States of Al-Azhar, an imam of the Islamic Cultural Center and Mosque of New York at the time of the 9-11 attacks. Within a few days of the carnage on 9-11, al-Ghameah, quote, known for his moderate views, sermonized in English, calling for peace, healing, and love among people of all religions, unquote. However, he struck an entirely different chord when he was interviewed for an Al-Azhar website on October 4th, 2001, after returning to Egypt alleging without any substantiation that he was being harassed.

Ghameah's interview was rife with conspiratorial Islamic Jew hatred, riveting upon his invocation of the central Quranic motifs of Jew hatred. And he melded this sacralized anti-Jewish bigotry to virulent calumnies against Americans and threats to the U.S., as he put it, witless dupes of the Zionist Jews. Here are some of the things that he said, quoted directly.

He leveled a series of calumnies against Americans and threats to the U.S., again, witless dupes of the Zionist Jews. Quote, as President Bush said, this is a crusade against Islam and Muslims. After the 9-11 incident, things deteriorated.

All commercial activity with anyone found to be a Muslim or an Arab was immediately halted. The Muslims are being persecuted by the people in the federal government. This is the result of the bad image of Muslims created by the Zionist media and of their presenting Islam as a religion of terrorism.

I advise every Arab and every Muslim leader not to offer any aid whatsoever to the oppressing superpower, to help it attack Muslims, because this is a betrayal of Allah and his prophet. An American attack on Afghanistan will constitute terrorism, as the U.S. did in Iraq and in Palestine. And then these are some of his conspiratorial Jew-hating statements.

And they're all rooted in central anti-Jewish motifs in the Quran. And I've provided you in brackets the Quranic citations that relate to his statements. The Jewish element is as Allah described it in the Quran, when he said, they disseminate corruption in the land.

That's Quran 5:32-33 and 564. We know they've always broken agreements, Quran 4:155 and 5:13, unjustly murdered the prophets, a series of Quranic verses, including Quran 2:61 and 3:12, and betrayed the faith, Quran 242, for example. Can they be expected to live up to their contracts with us? These people murdered the prophets.

Do you think they will stop spilling our blood? No. You see these people, i.e. the Jews, all the time everywhere, disseminating corruption, heresy, homosexuality, alcoholism, and drugs. They do this to impose their hegemony and colonialism on the world.

Hitler annihilated them because they betrayed him and violated their contract with him. This, 9-11, is what the Jews plotted and planned. They used the Arabs to carry it out.

If it became known to the American people, they would have done to the Jews what Hitler did. Muslims do not feel safe even going to the hospitals because some Jewish doctors in one of the hospitals poisoned six sick Muslim children who then died. So these are the calumnies and the Qur'anic Jew hatred spewed by Al-Azhar's representative to the U.S. And remember, he's a man who's an emissary representing the most important Sunni Islamic teaching institution, and it's not a radical institution.

He has nothing to do with Hezbollah or Hamas, or let alone Al-Qaeda. So I want to get into authoritative preaching about jihadism more broadly. And the first person we're going to deal with is, again, Al-Azhar Grand Imam and this major Qur'anic commentator, Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi.

In 2000, Tantawi issued this pronouncement, quote, Jihad in the path of Allah is a virtue that binds Muslims at all times and is an obligation on everyone who's able to carry it out. And tens of Qur'anic verses narrate the virtue of jihad in the path of Allah, as well as tens of prophetic hadiths, or traditions of Muhammad. It is obligatory for the entire Islamic nation, here he's talking about the jihad against Israel, to support them, the Palestinian Muslims, in their jihad.

And I would point out that obligatory Al-Azhar calls for a global jihad against the Jews of modern Israel actually date back across a continuum now of 80 years. At the time of the UN partition plan, so before Israel actually existed in November of 1947, repeated during the Independence War of 1948, before the Sinai War in 1956, before the Six-Day War in 1967, before the Yom Kippur War in 1973, and as I'll show you, in the aftermath of October, 2023. And I've given you examples of two of the Qur'anic verses that direct jihad against non-Muslims.

Qur'an 9:5 is really directed against non-Muslim pagans, polytheistic peoples, and Qur'an 9:29 is directed against non-Muslim Christians, Jews, and probably Zoroastrians as well. So in his commentaries on these verses, again, these authoritative commentaries on these verses, Tantawi sanctioned Islam's traditional open-ended calls for jihad against polytheists, pagans, Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. And this comes from his major Qur'anic commentary, which was produced between 1985 and 1991.

So with regard to Qur'an 9:5, killing, capturing, besieging are the means sufficient to eliminate the polytheist pagan enemy, and no era is devoid of the use of some or all of them during an attack. Thus we see the teachings of Islam urging Muslims to use all legitimate means to plot against their enemies and work to defeat them. This verse has combined in its guidance both encouragement and intimidation.

It has commanded the believers, the Muslims, to use all legitimate means to terrorize their polytheist pagan enemies. Then at the same time, it has commanded them to release them if they repent, establish

prayer, and pay zakat, i.e. if they become Muslims. So basically fight them, kill them, unless they become Muslims.

With regard to the so-called people of the book, his gloss on Qur'an 9:29, fight the people of the book, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, who do not believe in Allah or the last day and do not forbid what Allah and his messenger have forbidden until they pay you the jizya, the Qur'anic poll tax, willingly and are submissive and subject to your authority over them. They do not take the true religion as their religion. In other words, Islam.

They haven't accepted Islam. The humiliation is their commitment to the implementation of Allah's rulings upon them, the sharia, and paying the jizya, because that is humiliation. They deserve this humiliation in this world, but in the hereafter, their punishment will be more severe and lasting.

Okay, so again, these are authoritative commentaries, not coming from a radical, but coming from the de facto Muslim papal equivalent during the period between 1996 and 2010. There are three proclamations I'm going to review here, calling for a global jihad against Israel following October 7th, 2023, and the brutal mass killings that took place during that jihadist attack by Hamas, abetted by Iran. The first is from Al-Azhar University.

The second is from authoritative Pakistani clerics and jurists. And the third is from the Muslim Brotherhood affiliated International Union of Muslim Scholars. The important thing to realize here is that while the Muslim Brotherhood can be designated as a more radical organization, the substance in the three fatwas is absolutely the same.

There are no differences, really. On October 7th, 2023, Al-Azhar celebrated the brutal carnage as it was going on, as the resistant efforts of the proud Palestinian people. In other words, they're celebrating what Hamas was actually doing in real time.

By October 19th, 2023, Al-Azhar issued a formal fatwa or religious edict declaring that, quote, Zionist settlers, i.e. all Israeli Jews, were legitimate targets of jihad and referred to Israel as a, quote, cancer in the heart of the Islamic Arab nation. Very similar to this cancer analogy is very similar to what Khamenei, when he was alive, Khamenei, when he was alive, the Iranian despots and religious leaders used to utter, et cetera. The second fatwa, Mufti Taqi Usmani, who's a leading Pakistani authority on Islamic law, quote, called for a complete boycott of Israel and its supporters, declaring jihad to be an obligatory duty for all Muslim governments in the face of Israel's continued aggression against Palestine.

And he said, what is the use of the armies of Muslim countries if they do not engage in jihad? And this was from April 10th, 2025. Parenthetically, Usmani trained a local anti-Semitic imam here in Rhode Island where I live, and he runs the largest mosque in our state. The third fatwa, again, is from this Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated International Union of Muslim Scholars and key extracts from it.

We declare to all Muslims in their states the obligation of jihad against the Zionist entity and all those who participate with it on the occupied land and extermination of our people in Gaza. The obligation of jihad against the occupation in Palestine applies to every able Muslim in the Islamic world. Allah Almighty says, and what is the matter with you that you do not fight in the cause of Allah and for the oppressed among men, women, and children? This is excerpted from Quran 3:75.

And this was issued on April 9th, 2025. And again, this is a Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Union of Scholars established by Yusuf al-Qaradawi. But in substance, it's no different than the Al-Azhar fatwa or the fatwa that Taki Usmani signed on to.

Now, Ayatollah Sistani was much ballyhooed as a Shiite quietist during the period of the invasion and occupation of Iraq. And he issued a fatwa on March 9th of 2026 in response to the hostilities between Iran, the United States, and Israel. And he said, he issued a fatwa calling for people's assistance to Iran amid the ongoing war in the region.

And Sistani described such assistance as a form of, quote, collective jihad, a religious duty that becomes obligatory for society if forces are insufficient to protect Muslims or Islamic holy sites. I would point out that during the period of the U.S. involvement in Iraq after 9-11, both on the left and on the right, there were actually calls for Sistani to be granted the Nobel Peace Prize. Thomas Friedman in the New York Times and Rich Lowry in National Review.

So what has been the result of this authoritative sanctioning of jihad over the recent decades? I think we get a sense of it in these alarming polling data that were released in April of 2007. These are data from a face-to-face University of Maryland World Public Opinion survey of 4,384 Muslims. Surveys performed in local languages between December 9th, 2006 and February 15th, 2007 and included 1,000 Moroccans, 1,000 Egyptians, 1,243 Pakistanis and 1,141 Indonesians.

And these desires were evaluated. Specifically, the question was, did they desire to, quote, unify all Islamic countries into a single Islamic state or caliphate? I call that caliphate dreams and to require a strict application of Sharia. The word was strict in every Islamic country.

I call that Sharia thirst. Well, if we look at the weighted averages in response to these two questions, 70% had caliphate dreams and a concordant 65% wanted Sharia to be applied in every Islamic country in a strict fashion. So these are not fringe minorities.

These are vast majorities. How long has this revival of a caliphate, the desire to restore the caliphate, been going on? If we go back to the 19th century, we can see the forcible retreat of Islamic jihadism beginning with the Ottoman repulsion at Vienna, actually in the 17th century, but more acutely in the late 19th century in the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish war from 1876 to 1878. However, already by 1882, Ignaz Goldzahir, who is acclaimed widely as one of the most profound and original European Islamic scholars, and this was an era that produced many such investigators, he observed that the Mohammedan world, quote, was responding to these historical setbacks, quote, excited by a powerful idea.

And what was this mighty revitalizing inspiration? It was simply the reestablishment of Islam's caliphate system, quote, the spiritual fusion of politically disarrayed Islam into a great unity. And Goldzahir continued specifically, the external form of this unity is the institution of the indivisible caliphate, which is the oldest political structure of Islam. With regard to Islam, the unification of Mohammedan powers and the awakening of the awareness of their unity and solidarity under a common authority is seen as the sole remedy against the dangers lurking in the womb of the future.

And this unification is only conceived under the flag of the United Caliphate of Islam. And so 144 years ago, Goldzahir concluded, quote, the idea of pan-Islamism is a militant idea in their Muslim eyes, as it was a militant idea at the time of the birth of young Islam. This idea now reigns over Mohammedan public

opinion in some places with such power that the representatives of European governments now complain of it.

Again, this is 144 years ago.

Briefly, the idea of Jihad, Dar al-Harb and Harbis, going back from Mohammed's attack on the Khybar oasis, the Jewish oasis in Northern Arabia, to 9-11 and 10-7. The consensus view of Orthodox Islamic jurisprudence regarding Jihad, since its formulation during the eighth and ninth centuries through the current era, is that non-Muslims peacefully going about their lives from the Jewish Khybar farmers whom Islam's prophet and Jihad model Mohammed ordered attacked in 628 CE to those sitting in the World Trade Center on 9-11-2001, to those in the Gaza border, kibbutzes, kibbutzim 10-7-23, are Mubah, illicit in the Dar al-Harb, territories under non-Islam infidel control.

As described by the great 20th century scholar of Islamic law, Joseph Schacht, a non-Muslim who is not protected by a treaty is called Harbi in a state of war, enemy alien. His life and property are completely unprotected by law. And these innocent non-combatants can be killed and have always been killed with impunity, simply by virtue of being Harbis during endless razzias or raids and to a full scale Jihad campaigns that have occurred continuously since the time of Mohammed through the present.

This is the crux of the specific institutionalized religio-political ideology, i.e. Jihad, which makes Islamdom's borders and the further reaches of today's Jihadists bloody, to paraphrase late Harvard political scientist, Samuel Huntington across the globe. So this slide is entitled From Jihad Doctrine Declaration to Modern Action, Islam's Bloody Borders Before 9-11-2001. And it's going to rivet upon Huntington's The Clash of Civilizations, which a phrase he borrowed from Bernard Lewis, but went in a very different direction, well beyond what Lewis would do in terms of quantitative description of actual conflicts spurred by Muslim societies.

And so from this work, Huntington said, the overwhelming majority of fault line conflicts have taken place along the boundary, looping across Eurasia and Africa that separates Muslims from non-Muslims. Intense antagonisms and violent conflicts are pervasive between local Muslim and non-Muslim peoples. He went on to say, Muslims make up about one-fifth of the world.

Again, this is the 1990s. But in the 1990s, they had been far more involved in intergroup violence than the people of any other civilization. The evidence is overwhelming.

There were, in short, three times as many inter-civilizational conflicts involving Muslims as there were between non-Muslim civilizations. Muslim states also had a high propensity to resort to violence in international crises, employing it to resolve 76 crises out of a total of 142 in which they were involved between 1928 and 1979. When they did use violence, Muslim states used high-intensity violence, resorting to full-scale war in 41% of the cases where violence was used and engaging in major clashes in another 39% of the cases.

And Huntington concluded, very candidly, the underlying problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam, a different civilization whose people are convinced of the superiority of their culture. So from jihad doctrine to modern action, Islam's bloody borders and innards since 9-11, 2001.

And so this is material that comes from an invaluable website called the Religion of Peace and it's monitoring data. And so on the left, you see that there have been a total of almost 50,000 attacks, jihad

terror attacks, since 9-11 in aggregate. And the other way they'll present the information is by past 30 days.

And that's to your right, the top slide. So that was through September 5th, 2026. Again, the last 30 days.

And we can see during this time period, there were 86 Islamic attacks in 19 countries in which 379 people were killed and 337 injured. And for the entire year, calendar year of 2025, this is a list of the attacks that occurred. And during this period, there were 2015 Islamic attacks in 48 countries in which 14,014 people were killed and 6,656 were injured.

And the image is of the tragic killing of the young Bibas family on the border of Gaza.

Now, I want to go back to Grand Imam Tantawi to talk about antisemitic verses in the Quran. And again, Tantawi is an authoritative figure in modern Islam, was an authoritative figure in modern Islam.

He died in 2010, was the Grand Imam, the papal equivalent of Al-Azhar University. And here's some summary statements from a work of his that you see displayed on the right, the cover of a translation that I did of the Children of Israel in the Quran and Traditions, his 1968 PhD thesis. This is a summary statement.

The reader of the Noble Quran will see clearly that it has depicted many of the inappropriate conducts, despicable manners, and cunning and crooked behaviors that the Children of Israel indulged in. It has branded them with disbelief, and I've given you the Quranic citation 4:46, ingratitude, egotism, cowardice, deceit, rebellion, transgression, cruelty, deviance, hastening to transgression and aggression, unjustly consuming people's wealth, and many more of the vices that are recorded in the Noble Quran. And again, he gave you all the verse references.

They therefore earned Allah's displeasure, were stripped of Allah's mercy and compassion, and they were stricken with disgrace and misery. This is Quran 2:61 and 3:12 in particular. These vices that the Noble Quran recorded can be clearly seen anywhere and throughout the ages.

The passage of time has only made these vices more ingrained and rooted in them, unquote. And then I've added here a central anti-Semitic verse in the Quran from Quran 5:82, and this comes from Tantawi's authoritative Quranic commentary that was put together between 1986 and 1991 in about 10 volumes. He says the Almighty Allah's words, again, this is quoting from Quran 5:82, you will surely find the most intense of the people in animosity toward the believers to be the Jews, is a statement that serves to reinforce verses that documented the many despicable characteristics, giving you examples above, and crooked and cunning ways of the Jews.

Their enmity is rooted in envy, spite, stubbornness, and pride. The Apostle Muhammad said, quote, in a tradition, whenever a Jew is alone with a Muslim, he, the Jew, will strive to kill the Muslim. So this repetitive preaching of hatred toward non-Muslims, this goal of implementing the Sharia, these have real world consequences, which you can see in hard data.

Pew polling data to the right, it's limited because there's so much missing data. We looked specifically at desiring strict Sharia application, but an easier surrogate for desiring Sharia supremacism is the existence of blasphemy law. And that was consistent in all these countries.

And then in the column to the left of that, you see Christian persecution ranked by open doors, extreme, very high, in particular highlighted here. So amongst the 50 worst countries for Christian persecution in the world. And you see this gross over-representation of Muslim countries.

And they're listed, as you can see, in the column to the left. And it's very concordant, very consistent with the existence of blasphemy law. And even to a certain extent where the data are available, the populations express desire to apply Sharia strictly.

The same really applies to the ADL survey scale of extreme antisemitism. In other words, when ADL defines a case of extreme antisemitism, it's based on agreement with at least six out of 11 antisemitic tropes that the person being surveyed designates. And so that is defined as extreme antisemitism.

And so what the ADL does is simply tallies up the prevalence of those individuals that have extreme antisemitism by this definition. And you can see that the 19 most antisemitic countries in the world are all Muslim countries. And the prevalence of extreme antisemitism ranges from 64% to 97%.

And even includes a country like Indonesia, which is now at 96% extreme antisemitism, which for decades has been sort of ballyhooed as a bastion of more tolerant, non-Arab Islam. So again, the concordance between existing blasphemy law, to some extent, desire for strict application of the Sharia is quite striking. And these are the real world consequences of this monotonous preaching of Sharia supremacism and anti-non-Muslim hatred.

In terms of antisemitism, again, the Muslim diaspora appears to be carrying these attitudes, sadly, with them when they live in Western Europe or the United States. And these are data from Western Europe, France, Belgium, UK, Germany, Spain, Italy, recorded same ADL scale between 2015 and 2023. And I've given you the maximum results in terms of extreme antisemitism in those years.

And it's as high as 62% from 2023 in France. In the United States, a survey was done, a remarkable survey in 2017, which was an oversample of Muslims of 805 and then 3,600 non-Muslim Americans and a population-based sample. And the U.S. is a more philosemitic country, but amongst Muslims, the prevalence of extreme antisemitism in 2017 was already 38% compared to 6% in the non-Muslim population, primarily Christian, in the United States.

Polling data that were obtained after the October 7th attack from a political pollster's signal were quite disturbing. Almost 58% of U.S. Muslims viewed the 10-7-23 attack as justified. And even more recently, this year, a Pew poll found that 44% of U.S. Muslims had a favorable view of Hamas.

So in conclusion, there is just one historically relevant meaning of jihad, despite the surfeit of contemporary apologetics. Jihad is a uniquely Islamic institution rooted in hatred of non-Muslims and their societies, designed for non-Muslim submission and conquest through terror, military campaigns, and migration with infiltration. Both September 11th, 2001, and October 7th, 2023, should be seen as normative manifestations of the ongoing, nearly 14th century legacy of jihad. The current mind-slaughtered leadership of non-Muslim societies, political, military, religious, and academic, with rare exceptions, still appears largely unwilling to face the baleful, living Muslim institution of jihad. And mind-slaughter, I felt, was an apt, evocative term coined by a late historian of communist mass murder and totalitarianism, Robert Conquest, in his essay collection, *Reflections on a Rabid Century*. And I thought it was a very valuable term to express the obliteration of rational intellect by destructive ideas.

Thank you.