

Chapter 5

The political players

The success of the Islamophobia network in tarring Islam and all Muslims with calculated misinformation would not be possible without the individuals and their organizations profiled in earlier chapters. Messages can spread far and wide because of the small but effective groups of funders and think tanks, right-wing grassroots and religious groups, and their right-wing media enablers on cable TV, radio, and the Internet.

But the ability of this tightly knit network to drench the public with misinformation is greatly enhanced by elected officials at the state and national level—politicians who push these myths as “facts” and then craft political fundraising campaigns and get-out-the-vote strategies based on debunked information about Muslims and Islam.

Here is one illustration of the network in action: Rep. Peter King (R-NY) held congressional hearings this spring on the alleged threat of Muslim extremism in the United States, parroting the debunked claim that 80 percent of mosques in America are radical. Rep. King is a hero to many anti-Muslim bigots. In 2010 he received the annual American for National Security Patriot Award from Brigitte Gabriel’s activist group, ACT! for America. Accepting the award, Rep. King expressed gratitude for the group’s support, saying, “We are engaged in a brutal war with a brutal enemy, the enemy of Islamic terrorism.”¹

Across the country, anti-Muslim grassroots groups and individuals promote elected officials like Rep. King. These officials in turn endorse and push into mainstream discourse a steady supply of manufactured “facts” that are basically talking points that come from a few “experts.”

This chapter focuses on the elected officials and political leaders who play a key role in reaching the public with deeply misinformed or completely untrue stories about Islam and Muslims. As we will demonstrate, this select group of politicians relies on a familiar handful of “experts”—and employs three basic strategies that harness the power of the political pulpit to shift public opinion:

- Elected officials and political leaders promote anti-Muslim messages through legislative actions, legislative oversight hearings, and electoral debates. Many of these efforts make the news.
- They launch fundraising appeals and campaign commercials based on the misconceptions and myths about Islam.
- They appear on like-minded media outlets and at conferences to repeat their talking points and argue their case.

Let's first take a look at how the following elected representatives at the state and national level use these strategies with undeniable success. Then we'll look at how this well-honed political meme is likely to be put in play in the 2012 elections. Here are the key players profiled in this chapter—men and women who are misdirecting the public debate about Islam in Congress and in State Houses across the country:

- Rep. Peter King (R-NY)
- Rep. Sue Myrick (R-NC)
- Rep. Paul Broun (R-GA)
- Rep. Allen West (R-FL)
- Rep. Renee Ellmers (R-NC)
- Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-MN)

Let's examine each of them in turn.

Rep. Peter King (R-NY)

Ten-term congressman Peter King is chairman of the Select Committee on Homeland Security in the House of Representatives. Years ago, King defended terrorism when the perpetrators were members of the Irish Republican Army. King claimed that the IRA was a "legitimate force" fighting the British.²

More recently, King has become known for casting suspicion on entire Muslim American communities.³ In March, he held congressional hearings titled "Extent of Radicalization in the American Muslim Community and that Community's Response." Rep. King's singular targeting of the Muslim community ignores the facts. For instance, research shows that the majority of terrorist plots in America since 9/11 have been committed by non-Muslims, particularly right-wing extremists and white supremacists.⁴ In fact, Rep. King gives away his bias with his own state-

ments. “There are too many mosques in this country,” he said in a 2007 interview with *Politico*. “There are too many people sympathetic to radical Islam. We should be looking at them more carefully and finding out how we can infiltrate them.”⁵

Many law enforcement officials, counterterrorism professionals, civil rights organizations, and interfaith leaders called Rep. King’s hearings misguided.⁶ And a veteran’s group, VoteVets.org, issued a statement saying that Rep. King was not doing any favors for the troops with his hearings.⁷ Mayor Jack O’Reilly Jr. of Dearborn, Michigan, which has one of the country’s largest Arab and Muslim populations, cautioned that Rep. King’s hearings ignored the threat of extremism from non-Muslim groups.⁸

Aided by false facts, skewed studies, and talking points that came from several of the experts and scholars profiled in Chapter 2 of this report, Rep. King used the hearings to promote debunked myths about Muslim American communities. He relied on Steven Emerson for many of his outlandish claims. Using Emerson as his source, Rep. King insisted that “80 to 85 percent of mosques in this country are controlled by Islamic fundamentalists. I’ll stand by that number of 85 percent. This is an enemy living amongst us.”⁹

When Rep. King was questioned by Sean Hannity about this assertion, he said, “I can get you the documentation on that from experts in the field. Talk to a Steve Emerson, talk to a [Daniel] Pipes, talk to any of those. They will tell you. It’s a real issue.”¹⁰ Emerson, though, is infamous for prematurely declaring that the Oklahoma City bombing was committed by Muslims even before the FBI or Oklahoma City Police Department had any leads.¹¹ The actual culprit, Timothy McVeigh, was a white supremacist.¹²

Tainted witnesses

One of the most influential witnesses at Rep. King’s hearings was Zuhdi Jasser, the founder of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy who was profiled on page 56 of this report. In addition to Jasser, Rep. King invited other misinformation experts to testify at the hearings, but he had to withdraw invitations to some because of their extremist views. One of those dropped was Walid Phares, a Lebanese Christian, after his history with the Lebanese Forces, a Christian militia, was uncovered.¹³ Phares is popular among those in the Islamophobia network for his view that “jihadists within the West pose as civil rights advocates” and

Rep. King insisted that “80 to 85 percent of mosques in this country are controlled by Islamic fundamentalists.”

patiently recruit until “[a]lmost all mosques, educational centers, and socioeconomic institutions fall into their hands.”¹⁴

Although he didn’t get to testify at the hearings, Phares did participate in an anti-Muslim webinar conference in 2009 sponsored by ACT! for America. The conference was called “Radical Islam’s Threat to America,” and was aimed at elected officials who are “concerned about the rising threat of radical Islam and what can and must be done to defeat this threat.”¹⁵ Other conference participants included Frank Gaffney, Nonie Darwish, and Brigitte Gabriel.

Immediately after Rep. King’s hearings, Gaffney hit the airwaves to praise the congressman. “The real story is that Mr. King began a conversation about an issue that has long been deemed politically untouchable,” Gaffney said, adding that through the hearings, the congressman established that there is, indeed, a problem of ‘extremism’ within the American Muslim community.”¹⁶

The claim that 80 percent of mosques in America are radicalized was debunked during the King hearings. Even so, anti-Muslim bigots continued to pump life into it. For instance, David Yerushalmi, author of the “anti-Sharia” legal template discussed in Chapter 2 of this report, released a study in June¹⁷ that repeated the claim. The study was published by *Middle East Forum Quarterly*, a journal on Middle Eastern affairs founded by Daniel Pipes and released through his think tank, the Middle East Forum. Yerushalmi’s study was condemned by the Southern Poverty Law Center.¹⁸

And to make the connection complete, Rep. King is one of the members of the Coalition to Honor Ground Zero, which urges supporters to take “a public stand either opposing the [Park51 Community Center] or calling for a halt in the building of the Ground Zero Mosque until there has been a thorough review of the facts.”¹⁹ The coalition’s website, stopthe911mosque.com, is registered to Frank Gaffney’s Center for Security Policy.²⁰

Rep. Sue Myrick (R-NC)

Rep. Sue Myrick is an eight-term term congresswoman from the 9th congressional district surrounding the city of Charlotte, North Carolina—a large metropolitan area that includes six mosques. In January 2007, Rep. Myrick claimed to be concerned that President George W. Bush and other officials were not taking the

threat of “Islamofacism infiltration” seriously enough—and so she founded the Anti-Terrorism Caucus.

Today, she is a leading opponent of Muslims and Islam on the Hill. During the King hearings, she correctly noted that “there are no buildings on K Street with ‘Muslim Brotherhood’ in the lobby directory,” but then went on to claim that “this allows the Muslim Brotherhood to muddy the water when it comes to foreign funding and influence and to hide behind groups that have plausible deniability of their involvement with the Brotherhood when necessary.”²¹ Rep. Myrick even saw a threat posed by the number of Muslims running convenience stores throughout the United States.²²

Relying on the network

Rep. Myrick relies heavily on the views and talking points of the misinformation experts profiled in Chapter 2. Indeed, she wrote the foreword for a conspiratorial book, *Muslim Mafia: Inside the Secret Underworld That’s Conspiring to Islamize America*. According to *Muslim Mafia*, Muslim spies have posed as interns and infiltrated Capitol Hill with an Islamist agenda.²³ The book’s author, David Gaubatz, at one time directed David Yerushalmi’s Society of Americans for National Existence, a group that proposed criminalizing those who practice Sharia with a 20-year jail sentence.

Frank Gaffney’s Center for Security Policy funded research for the book.²⁴ And Gaubatz’s son spent six months in 2008 as an intern at the Washington, D.C. offices of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, or CAIR, pretending to be a Muslim.²⁵ While there, he allegedly stole 12,000 pages of documentation and 300 hours of video.²⁶ The publisher of *Muslim Mafia* is WorldNetDaily, a right-wing online magazine that peddles conspiracy theories. When the book came out, CAIR denounced its claims as racist, and a judge ordered David Gaubatz and his son to turn over the documentation that was taken.²⁷

Nonetheless, Rep. Myrick used the book’s misinformation to call for a congressional investigation of CAIR. She was joined by Rep. Trent Franks (R-AZ), then-Rep. John Shadegg (R-AZ), and Rep. Paul Broun (R-GA). Rep. Myrick now chairs the House Intelligence Subcommittee on Terrorism, Human Intelligence, Analysis and Counterintelligence. In April she held her own hearings on the threat of the Muslim Brotherhood and their influence and ties with Muslim American

Rep. Myrick
even saw a
threat posed by
the number of
Muslims running
convenience
stores throughout
the United States.

organizations.²⁸ Rep. Myrick even launched a YouTube video series to warn the American public of Muslim extremists among us who “are now in positions in our government.”²⁹ In February, Rep. Myrick lost her longtime chief of staff, Hal Weatherman, when he resigned to join the staff of ACT! for America.³⁰

Rep. Paul Broun (R-GA)

Rep. Paul Broun is a fourth-term representative from Georgia’s 10th congressional district, representing both the progressive college town of Athens, and Augusta, home of Fort Gordon. The son of a highly respected lawmaker,³¹ Rep. Broun has made a name for himself by espousing radical beliefs.³² For instance, he has compared President Obama to Hitler, claimed that clean energy legislation would kill senior citizens, and avowed that his Democratic Party opponents want to take over “all of society.”³³

Candidate West
declared “Islam” the
enemy and claimed
it is not a religion
but a “totalitarian
theocratic political
ideology.”

Yet Broun has reserved some of his most outrageous remarks for American Muslims and the wider Muslim world. He joined Rep. Myrick and other colleagues at a press conference in 2009 to amplify the claim of *Muslim Mafia* that interns from the Council on American-Islamic Relations were “running influence operations or planting spies in key national security-related” congressional offices.³⁴

Most recently, Rep. Broun complained during an appearance on C-SPAN’s “Washington Journal” that he was at an airport recently and witnessed an elderly woman and a child patted down but not a “guy in Arabian dress who just walked right through.”³⁵ He neglected to mention that the 9/11 hijackers wore Western clothing.³⁶

Rep. Allen West (R-FL)

Rep. Allen West is a first-term representative from Florida’s 22nd congressional district, an African American representing a majority-white urban area along a stretch of Atlantic beach communities between Fort Lauderdale and Palm Beach. In the spring of 2004, then-U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel West retired after being given administrative punishment and fined \$5,000 for performing a mock execution on an Iraqi detainee.³⁷ In his campaign for Congress, candidate West declared “Islam” the enemy and claimed it is not a religion but a “totalitarian theocratic political ideology.”³⁸

As a member of Congress, Rep. West has an amplifier for his anti-Muslim rhetoric.³⁹ He told a television interviewer in January that Rep. Keith Ellison (D-MN), an American-born convert to Islam, represents the “antithesis of the principles upon which this country was established.”⁴⁰

When later asked for a response, Ellison said: “Contrary to the views expressed by Congressman West, I work to represent the highest ideals of our great nation—ideals like freedom of worship and respect for all faiths, equal protection under the law as well as a civil and open public discourse.”⁴¹

Rep. West is equally combative with Muslim constituents. At a town hall meeting in his district, he shouted at a constituent, “You attacked us!”⁴²

Promoting debunked myths

Since his election, Rep. West has appeared on Frank Gaffney’s radio station and at events sponsored by the Center for Security Policy. Rep. West has publicly thanked Gaffney for mentoring him⁴³ and has become a loyal foot soldier in the misguided campaign against Sharia.

In fact, Rep. West has recommended that Congress focus on the “infiltration of the shari’ah practice into all of our operating systems in our country as well as across Western civilization.”⁴⁴

Rep. West is also connected to ACT! for America and Brigitte Gabriel, who invited him to give the keynote speech at the organization’s national conference in June. In his speech, Rep. West joked, “I like Irish Spring, but I don’t much care for Arab Spring,” and warned that “on the 21st century’s battlefield, radical Islam is the enemy.”⁴⁵

In July, Rep. West held a briefing where he promised to reveal a list containing thousands of names of individuals and organizations of Muslim Brotherhood sympathizers and members. The briefing was called “Homegrown Jihad in the USA: Culminating of the Muslim Brotherhood’s 50-year History of Infiltrating America.”⁴⁶ The organization, Citizens for National Security, helped to compile the database list. Despite his promises, Rep. West did not unveil the list at the briefing.

On September 7, Rep. West will host a screening of a film, “Sacrificed Survivors: The Untold Story of the Ground Zero Mosque,” about the 9/11 tragedy and efforts to stop construction of the so-called Ground Zero Mosque.⁴⁷ The film’s producer, the Christian Action Network, has already released another inflammatory documentary, “Homegrown Jihad: Terrorist Camps around U.S.,” which allegedly exposes the militant radicalization of American Muslims.⁴⁸ The City of New York has refused to grant the Christian Action Network a permit to screen “Sacrificed Survivors” in public parks, but the group and Pat Robertson’s American Center for Law and Justice are threatening a lawsuit against the city.⁴⁹

Rep. Renee Ellmers (R-NC)

First-term GOP Rep. Renee Ellmers is a product of the Tea Party. She represents North Carolina’s 2nd congressional district,⁵⁰ which is the state’s first majority black district.⁵¹ In her campaign against seven-term incumbent Democrat Bob Etheridge, Ellmers made an issue of the “Ground Zero Mosque” in New York, running a campaign ad and accusing Rep. Etheridge of not taking a stand.⁵²

Ellmer’s campaign was stridently anti-Muslim. For instance, she regurgitated Frank Gaffney’s claim that the Park51 community center was actually a “victory mosque.”⁵³ And she suggested in an appearance on CNN that President Obama supported terrorists by using foreign aid to build mosques.⁵⁴ In fact, the initiative was started by President George W. Bush to rebuild all houses of worship.⁵⁵

With the Park51 community center ad, Rep. Ellmers is jumping on a trend—raising money with Islamophobic rhetoric.⁵⁶

Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-MN)

Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-MN) is the founder of the House Tea Party Caucus and one of the radical right’s most consistent anti-Muslim voices. She repeatedly raises the specter of a homegrown Islamic threat, as well as threats from Islamic countries such as Iran.

While running for a seat in the House of Representatives in 2006, Bachmann said that we should keep the nuclear option on the table concerning Iran.⁵⁷ More recently, she conflated Sharia with terrorism in responding to Osama bin Laden’s death, writing “may this be the beginning of the end of Sharia-compliant terrorism.”⁵⁸

Sharia has also randomly turned up in a marriage vow pledge that Bachmann signed and was sponsored by the right-wing group The Family Leader. The pledge contains a provision to oppose Sharia law.⁵⁹

Relying on the Islamophobia network

Rep. Bachmann relies on Frank Gaffney to advise her on national and international matters. The congresswoman, says Gaffney, is “a friend and a person I admire. I hope she is getting the best counsel she can.” He added, “We are a resource she has tapped, I’m assuming among many others.” When asked whether Rep. Bachmann had been briefed on CSP’s anti-Sharia report, Gaffney replied, “We’ve spent hours, over several days with her. I think she’s got the bulk of what we would tell her in one of the more formal presentations.”⁶⁰

When the Sharia report was released in the fall of 2010, Rep. Bachmann issued a statement praising it: “The [Sharia] Team B II authors and contributors [Gaffney and CSP] are to be commended upon the release of their systematic and thorough piece of research, which will highly add to the discussion of sharia law’s impact on the United States.”⁶¹

Her biased views of Muslims and Islam should not be surprising, considering the company she keeps. For instance, she gave the 2010 keynote address at David Horowitz’s Restoration Weekend, an annual, elite conference in Palm Beach, Florida. Other participants included Frank Gaffney, Daniel Pipes, Robert Spencer, and Pamela Geller.

Rep. Bachmann also appeared alongside right-wing media personality Bryan Fischer. Fischer is the longtime radio host of “American Family Radio” and a blogger for Rightly Concerned, profiled in Chapter 4. Fischer is probably most controversial for arguing that the religious practice of Islam is not protected under the First Amendment,⁶² that Muslims⁶³ are stupid due to inbreeding,⁶⁴ and that they should be deported and halted from immigrating to this country.⁶⁵ Fischer also supports the banning of mosques.⁶⁶

Despite such incendiary remarks, Rep. Bachmann continues to appear on Fischer’s radio programs.⁶⁷ Indeed, because of the direct and indirect support of foundations to the Islamophobia network, Rep. Bachmann can repeat and amplify baseless charges and bigoted opinions within the right wing-media echo chamber, and into the world at large.

Bachmann
signed a marriage
vow pledge
that contains
a provision to
oppose Sharia law.

“Ground Zero Mosque” timeline

How members of the Islamophobia network created their most enduring myth

The “Ground Zero Mosque” controversy of 2010 catapulted the construction of a multicultural center with a pool, dance studios, art space, and a prayer room into a national crisis. Here’s a timeline of the controversy.



December 8, 2009

The New York Times published a front-page feature on the Cordoba Project, the original name of the Park51 community center. Two Jewish leaders, two city officials, including the mayor’s office, and the mother of a man killed on 9/11 all support the initiative.

December 8, 2009

Pamela Geller, co-founder of the hate group “Stop Islamization of America,” introduces the “controversy” about the proposed center on her blog Atlas Shrugs. She later refers to the center as the “Mosque at Ground Zero,” even though the building is neither a mosque nor at Ground Zero.

May 6, 2010

After a unanimous vote by a New York City community board committee to approve the project the *New York Post* runs a story under the inaccurate headline, “Panel Approves ‘WTC’ Mosque.”

May 7, 2010

Stop Islamization of America launches “Campaign Offensive: Stop the 911 Mosque!”

May 8, 2010

Geller announces first protest against what she calls the “911 monster mosque.”

May 10, 2010

New York Post columnist Andrea Peyser argues in a note at the end of her column that “there are better places to put a mosque.”

May 13, 2010

Peyser follows up with an entire column devoted to “Mosque Madness at Ground Zero,” framing the project in the way that Geller has been framing it for months.

June 6, 2010

Geller and her organization organize a protest attended by 200 to 300 people.

September 11, 2010

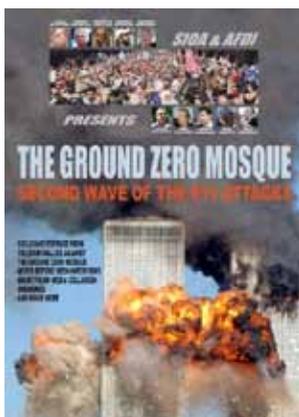
Geller and her organization hold a rally in New York City on the anniversary of the 9/11 attacks.

December 2010

Frank Gaffney scolds FOX News for underestimating the threat of “stealth jihad,” pointing to the community center to explain that a mosque “used to promote a seditious program, which is what Sharia is . . . that is not a protected religious practice, that is in fact sedition.”

February 2011

SIOA releases the film “The Ground Zero Mosque: Second Wave of the 911 Attacks.” The documentary chronicles the protest movements against the “Mosque” and features Pamela Geller, Jihad Watch’s Robert Spencer, and radical conservative media personality Andrew Breitbart.



Source: Justin Elliot, “How the ‘Ground Zero Mosque’ fear mongering began,” Salon, August 20, 2010, available at http://www.salon.com/news/politics/war_room/2010/08/16/ground_zero_mosque_origins; Media Matters for America, “Timeline: Nine months of the right’s anti-Muslim bigotry,” September 10, 2010, available at <http://mediamatters.org/research/201009100042>; Joe Walker, Douglas Montero, Amber Sutherland, and Kathianne Boniello, “Thousands rally for, against mosque on tragic day,” *New York Post*, September 11, 2010, available at http://www.nypost.com/p/news/local/man_burns_koran_pages_near_ground_8s6OKcRfcZtZ9y07ZoL.

The influence of Islamophobic members of Congress

This kind of incendiary rhetoric is filtering down into congressional races. At a recent town hall forum, Republican congressional candidate Lynne Torgerson asked Rep. Keith Ellison (D-MN), the only Muslim American member of Congress, if he thought the U.S. Constitution or Sharia “should be supreme in the United States.”⁶⁸ Not surprisingly, Ellison responded that the Constitution was supreme. But even raising the issue of Sharia as a specter to be feared advances the goals of the Islamophobia network.

Twenty-three states have considered bills banning Sharia, though only a few have passed. Raising fears about Sharia helps whip up public fear about national security issues. Anti-Sharia initiatives could be a way to mobilize anti-Muslim sentiment and increase conservative voter turnout.

There were similar efforts in 2004 with anti-same sex marriage ballot initiatives that aimed to increase voter turnout among the religious right. According to Tony Perkins of the Family Research Council, a key organizer and strategist on culture war issues, same-sex marriage was “the hood ornament on the family values wagon that carried the president to a second term.”⁶⁹

In 2012, however, anti-gay ballot initiatives and rhetoric are less effective in driving the conservative base to open its wallets and get to the polls. While the actual vote-driving impact of anti-Sharia ballot measures remains questionable, when these measures are combined with pending legislation, they can have “educative effects”⁷⁰ among citizens and political organizations. David Yerushalmi, the drafter of the model legislation, is transparent about his aims being public attitude not legal substance. In an interview with *The New York Times*, he said, speaking of the anti-Sharia legislation, “If this thing passed in every state without any friction, it would have not served its purpose.... The purpose was heuristic—to get people asking this question, ‘What is Shariah?’”⁷¹

Fearmongering drives controversy and forces candidates to take positions on issues such as Sharia, which have been painted as dangerous to America. And so elements of the Islamophobia network are focusing efforts on key battleground states such as Florida, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. For instance, in March, the *St. Petersburg Times* reported that “two Republican legislators want to make sure Florida courts aren’t tainted by what one of them calls foreign ‘shenanigans’: Muslim sharia or legal codes from other nations.”⁷² While the lawmakers insisted

they weren't specifically targeting Sharia, the newspaper noted that the legislation they introduced was "copied almost word-for-word from the 'model legislation' posted on the website of a group called the American Public Policy Alliance."⁷³ These connections are detailed in Chapter 4 of our report.

In April, an anti-Sharia bill was introduced in North Carolina. As with virtually all other states considering such laws, the sponsors of the legislation could not come up with an example of Sharia infiltrating their state courts.⁷⁴ In addition, Pennsylvania is now in the cross-hairs of anti-Islam activist Robert Spencer, who pointed to the disposition of an inheritance case based upon Islamic religious law (because the deceased was Muslim and had called for that in his will) as evidence of creeping Sharia.⁷⁵

Never mind that a recent American Civil Liberties Union report noted that anti-Sharia crusaders have failed to demonstrate a single case of Sharia infiltrating U.S. courts.⁷⁶ That is not the point, of course. The point is to create a distracting, fear-based political atmosphere in which conservatives are brave patriots and strong on defense, while liberals are weak and politically correct. Using such a frame has helped conservatives win.

Endnotes

- 1 "Rep. King Receives ACT! for America National Security Patriot Award," July 1, 2010. Video clip available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=25pBZZxkXZM>.
- 2 Scott Shane, "For Lawmaker Examining Terror, a Pro-I.R.A. Past," March 8, 2011, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/09/us/politics/09king.html?_r=1.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Zaid Jillani, "As King Targets Muslims, There Have Been Almost Twice As Many Plots Since 9/11 From Non-Muslim Terrorists," ThinkProgress, March 9, 2011, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/security/2011/03/09/149537/king-muslims-plots-terrorists/>.
- 5 Daniel W. Reilly, "Rep. Peter King: There are 'too many mosques in this country,'" *Politico Live*, September 19, 2007, available at http://www.politico.com/blogs/thecrypt/0907/Rep_King_There_are_too_many_mosques_in_this_country__Page4.html.
- 6 Ben Smith, "LA Sheriff takes on King," *Politico*, February 7, 2011, available at http://www.politico.com/blogs/bensmith/0211/LA_sheriff_takes_on_King.html. See also Counterterrorism Experts Reject Peter King's Targeting of Muslims, National Security Network, January 20, 2011, available at <http://www.nsnetwork.org/node/1847>. And see also "ACLU and Broad Coalition Tell Rep. King of Concerns about Muslim 'Radicalization' Hearings," American Civil Liberties Union, March 8, 2011, available at <http://www.aclu.org/free-speech-national-security/aclu-and-broad-coalition-tell-rep-king-concerns-about-muslim-radicaliz>
- 7 "Peter King's Targeting of American Muslims Is Bad Policy and Bad Politics," National Security Network, March 10, 2011, available at <http://www.nsnetwork.org/node/1910>.
- 8 "Dearborn, Mich. mayor 'very concerned' about Rep. King's hearings," American Morning, CNN, March 8, 2011, available at <http://am.blogs.cnn.com/2011/03/08/dearborn-mich-mayor-very-concerned-about-rep-kings-hearings/>.
- 9 "Congressman: Muslims 'enemy amongst us,'" *WorldNetDaily*, February 13, 2004, available at <http://www.wnd.com/?pagelid=23257>.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Sheila Musaji, "Steven Emerson and the Investigative Project," March 26, 2011, *The American Muslim*, available at http://www.theamericanmuslim.org/tam.php/features/articles/steven_emerson/0018462.
- 12 Alex Duval Smith, "'Patriot' who hated US," *The Guardian*, June 3, 1997, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/1997/jun/03/mcveigh.usa>.
- 13 George Zornick, "Peter King Drops Controversial Witness From Hearings, Following Pressure From CAIR," *ThinkProgress*, February 24, 2011, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2011/02/24/146260/king-drops-phares/>.
- 14 Thomas Cincotta, "PRA: 'Manufacturing the Muslim Menace,'" *Islamophobia Today*, March 24, 2011, available at <http://www.islamophobia-today.com/2011/03/24/pra-%E2%80%9Cmanufacturing-the-muslim-menace%E2%80%9D-by-thomas-cincotta/>.
- 15 "Radical Islam's Threat to America," ACT! for America webcast conference, available at <http://www.actforamerica.org/index.php/radical-islam>.
- 16 Frank Gaffney, "The King Hearings were Taboo-Busters," *TownHall.com*, March 16, 2011, available at http://townhall.com/columnists/frankgaffney/2011/03/16/the_king_hearings_were_taboo-busters.
- 17 "Congressman: Muslims 'enemy amongst us'" Middle East Forum, February 13, 2004, available at <http://www.meforum.org/2931/american-mosques>.
- 18 Robert Steinback, "Study of Mosques Reflects Anti-Muslim Bias of Co-Author," Southern Poverty Law Center, June 13, 2011, available at <http://www.splcenter.org/blog/2011/06/13/study-of-radicalization-in-mosques-reflects-anti-muslim-bias-of-co-autho/>.
- 19 "Groups' and Leaders' Statements about the Ground Zero mosque," available at <http://stopthe911mosque.com/other-organizations/>.
- 20 "Coalition to Honor Ground Zero," available at <http://stopthe911mosque.com>.
- 21 Barbara Barrett, "Opinions divided on Muslim Brotherhood's threat to U.S.," *McClatchy Newspapers*, April 13, 2011, available at <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2011/04/13/v-print/112130/opinions-divid-ed-on-muslim-brotherhoods.html>.
- 22 Barbara Barrett, "Myrick has U.S. Muslims wary," *The News & Observer*, February 25, 2010, available at <http://www.newsobserver.com/2010/02/25/356992/myrick-has-us-muslims-wary.html>.
- 23 Kara Rowland, "House GOP seeks Muslim 'spy' probe," *The Washington Times*, October 15, 2009, available at <http://www.washington-times.com/news/2009/oct/15/gop-seeks-muslim-spy-probe/>
- 24 Josh Gerstein, "Anti-CAIR author in contempt flap over secret videos," *Under the Radar*, *Politico*, April 28, 2011, available at http://www.politico.com/blogs/joshgerstein/0411/AntiCAIR_author_in_contempt_flap_over_secret_videos.html.
- 25 "Judge's Opinion In CAIR-Muslim Mafia Case, 11/3/09," Council on American Islamic Relations v. Paul David Gaubatz, et al., Page 6, Scribd, available at <http://www.scribd.com/doc/22107344/Judge-s-Opinion-In-CAIR-Muslim-Mafia-Case-11-3-09>.
- 26 "Muslim Mafia: Inside the Secret Underworld That's Conspiring to Islamize America - (Hardcover)," WND Superstore, available at http://superstore.wnd.com/Muslim-Mafia-Inside-the-Secret-Underworld-Thats-Conspiring-to-Islamize-America-Hardcover_2.
- 27 Justin Elliott, "Muslim Mafia Author Appears To Completely Fold in CAIR Lawsuit," *TMP Muckraker*, November 20, 2009, available at http://tpmmuckraker.talkingpointsmemo.com/2009/11/muslim_mafia_author_appears_to_fold_in_cair_lawsuit.php.
- 28 "Sue Myrick's Hearing on the Muslim Brotherhood Threat," *Islamophobia Today*, April 14, 2011, available at <http://www.islamophobia-today.com/2011/04/14/sue-myrick%E2%80%99s-hearing-on-the-muslim-brotherhood-threat/>.
- 29 Justin Elliott, "GOP Rep Launches Terror News YouTube Series, Warns Of Muslim Brotherhood Plot," *TPMMuckraker, Talking Points Memo*, January 8, 2010, available at http://tpmmuckraker.talkingpointsmemo.com/2010/01/gop_rep_launches_terror_news_youtube_series_warns.php.
- 30 Ben Smith, "Act for America hires longtime Hill hand," Ben Smith blog, *Politico*, February 14, 2011, available at http://www.politico.com/blogs/bensmith/0211/Act_for_America_hires_longtime_Hill_hand_.html?showall.
- 31 "Paul Broun Senior Parkway-The Real Paul Broun," *Athens Talk*, available at <http://www.athenstalks.com/node/238574>.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Zaid Jillani, "Broun's Vitriol Spawns Hate As Constituent Asks Congressman, 'Who's Going To Shoot President Obama?'" *Think Progress*, Feb. 25, 2011, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2011/02/25/146376/broun-congressman-shoot-obama/>.

- 34 Justin Elliott, "GOP Lawmakers Dawdle While Muslim 'Intern Spies' May Be Conspiring Further," TPM Muckraker, Talking Points Memo, October 19, 2009, available at http://tpmmuckraker.talkingpointsmemo.com/2009/10/gop_lawmakers_dawdle_while_muslim_intern_spies_may.php.
- 35 Keith Laing, "GOP lawmaker: I saw TSA pat down 'little old lady,' child, but not Arab man," *The Hill*, May 25, 2011, available at <http://thehill.com/blogs/transportation-report/tsa/163197-gop-lawmaker-i-saw-tsa-pat-down-little-old-lady-child-but-not-arab-man>.
- 36 Matt Pressman, "Juan Williams Pulls a Rick Sanchez (Sort Of)," *Vanity Fair*, October 21, 2010, available at <http://www.vanityfair.com/online/daily/2010/10/juan-williams-pulls-a-rick-sanchez-sort-of.html>.
- 37 "What is Torture? A primer on American Interrogation: The Chain of Command," Slate.com, May 26, 2005, available at <http://www.slate.com/features/whatistorture/ChainOfCommand.html>.
- 38 "Meet Allen West: GOP Young Gun And Anti-Muslim Extremist," Political Correction at Media Matters for America, available at <http://politicalcorrection.org/factcheck/201008190002>.
- 39 George Zornick, "GOP Candidate Allen West: People With 'Coexist' Bumper Stickers Want To Give Away Our Country," Think Progress, August 18, 2010, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2010/08/18/113874/allen-west-islam/>.
- 40 Jeremy Herb, "Rep. West: Ellison 'antithesis' of country's founding principles," Hot Dish Politics, StarTribune, January 24, 2011, available at <http://www.startribune.com/politics/blogs/114507899.html>.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Raven Clabough, "Rep. Allen West Stands Up to CAIR Official," New American, February 23, 2011, available at <http://www.thenewamerican.com/index.php/usnews/politics/6436-rep-allen-west-stands-up-to-cair-official>.
- 43 Lee Fang, "Allen West Says New Congress Should Prioritize Threat Of Infiltration Of The Sharia Practice In U.S.," Think Progress, January 3, 2011, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2011/01/03/136971/allen-west-sharia/>.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 "Allen West—Keynote Speech at ACT for America," June 23, 2011, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l2em8iDMw8I>.
- 46 Spencer Ackerman, "I Have... In My Pocket... A List of Members of the Muslim Brotherhood..." Attackerman, July 7, 2011, available at <http://spencerackerman.typepad.com/attackerman/2011/07/i-have-in-my-pocket-a-list-of-members-of-the-muslim-brotherhood.html>.
- 47 "Rep. Allen West Sponsors 'Sacrificed Survivors' in Congress on September 7th," Christian Action Network, July 25, 2011, available at <http://www.christianaction.org/node/16>.
- 48 "Homegrown Jihad: The Terrorist Camps Around U.S.," Christian Action Network, available at <https://www.christianaction.org/civicism/contribute/transact?reset=1&id=29>.
- 49 David Badash, "Allen West Hosts Congress Of Anti-Islam 9/11 NYC Mosque Film," The New Civil Rights Movement, August 1, 2011, available at <http://thenewcivilrightsmovement.com/allen-west-hosts-congress-screening-of-anti-islam-911-nyc-mosque-film/politics/2011/08/01/24722>.
- 50 "Renee Appears on G. Gordon Liddy Show," Renee Ellmers for Congress, August 10, 2011, available at <http://www.reneeforcongress.com/2010/08/renee-appears-on-g-gordon-liddy-show/>.
- 51 "The 'Black Second' Congressional District, 1872-1901," North Carolina History Project, available at <http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/532/entry>.
- 52 Brian Montopoli, "Renee Ellmers Ad: No Muslim 'Victory Mosque' at Ground Zero," Political Hotsheet, CBS News, September 22, 2010, available at http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503544_162-20017307-503544.html.
- 53 Lee Fang, "Breivik Was Influenced By American Islamophobes Behind 'Ground Zero Mosque' Hysteria," Think Progress, July 25, 2011, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/security/2011/07/25/277631/breivik-influenced-by-american-islamophobes/>.
- 54 "Incendiary anti-mosque campaign ad," Anderson Cooper interview with Renee Ellmers, "Anderson Cooper 360," September 25, 2010. Video clip available at <http://www.cnn.com/video/?/video/bestoftv/2010/09/25/ac.mosque.ad.cnn>.
- 55 "Cultural Heritage Center," U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, available at <http://exchanges.state.gov/heritage/index.html>.
- 56 Kelley B. Vlahos, "Exploiting Islamophobia to Win Big," Islam Times, March 22, 2011, available at <http://www.islamtimes.org/vdvcvcdv.w6dxja7riw.html>.
- 57 Charles Baxter, "A Campaign in Crisis Mode," *The New York Times*, September 24, 2006, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/24/opinion/24baxter.html>.
- 58 "Bachmann Statement on Death of bin Laden," Office of Rep. Michele Bachmann, May 1, 2011, available at <http://bachmann.house.gov/News/DocumentSingle.aspx?DocumentID=238809>.
- 59 Tim Murphy, "Iowa Conservatives Unveil Anti-Gay Marriage Pledge," Mother Jones, July 7, 2011, available at <http://motherjones.com/mojo/2011/07/iowa-family-leader-unveils-anti-gay-marriage-pledge-romney>.
- 60 Eli Lake, "All Over the Map," The New Republic, July 28, 2011, available at <http://www.tnr.com/article/world/magazine/92778/republican-foreign-policy?passthru=MDA5YTFkZmVjYzRjOTYwMDRmMGExOTQzNTFjOWY4NWU>.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 "Bryan Fischer Interviews Michele Bachmann, A Circus Side-Show On The Way to 2012," Wok3 blog, March 24, 2011. Video clip available at <http://wok3.wordpress.com/2011/03/24/bryan-fischer-interviews-michele-bachmann-a-circus-side-show-on-the-way-to-2012>.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 "Social Conservative Bryan Fischer: Muslims Are Stupid Because Of Inbreeding," Islamophobia Today, available at <http://www.islamophobia.com/2011/05/14/social-conservative-bryan-fischer-muslims-are-stupid-because-of-inbreeding/>.
- 65 Kyle Mantyla, "Fischer Again Calls For Ban on Muslim Immigration and Mosques," Right Wing Watch, available at <http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/fischer-again-calls-ban-muslim-immigration-and-mosques>.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Kyle Mantyla, "Bryan Fischer Interviews Rep. Michele Bachmann About Her Possible Presidential Run," Right Wing Watch, March 24, 2011, available at <http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/bryan-fischer-interviews-rep-michele-bachmann-about-her-possible-presidential-run>.
- 68 "Lynne Torgerson asks Keith Ellison if he thinks Sharia law should be supreme," June 27, 2011. Video clip available at http://youtu.be/o1F-f_LeQQs.
- 69 Alan Cooperman and Thomas B. Edsall, "Evangelicals Say They Led the Charge for the GOP," *The Washington Post*, November 8, 2004, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A32793-2004Nov7.html>.

- 70 Daniel A. Smith, "Was Rove Right? The Partisan Wedge and Turnout Effects of Issue 1, Ohio's 2004 Ballot Initiative to Ban Gay Marriage," presentation at USC-Caltech. Transcript available at <http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/pjwoods/smithbrownbag.pdf>.
- 71 Andrea Elliot, "The Man Behind the Anti-Shariah Movement," *The New York Times*, July 30, 2011, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/31/us/31shariah.html?pagewanted=all>.
- 72 Mark Caputo, "Two Florida lawmakers target 'sharia' law," *St. Petersburg Times*, March 10, 2011, available at <http://www.tampabay.com/news/politics/stateroundup/article1156309.ece>.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Tim Murphy, "Breaking: Anti-Shariah bill sponsors are kind of clueless," *Mother Jones*, April 22, 2011, available at <http://motherjones.com/mojo/2011/04/anti-sharia-bill-sponsors-clueless-north-carolina>.
- 75 Robert Spencer, "Pennsylvania court gives twice as much to sons as to daughters in heritage case after will calls for distribution according to Islamic laws and Sharia," *Jihad Watch*, April 30, 2011, available at <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/04/pennsylvania-court-gives-twice-as-much-to-sons-as-to-daughters-in-inheritance-case-after-will-calls.html>.
- 76 Heather L. Weaver, "The Anti-Muslim Movement's Manufactured 'Sharia Threat' to Our Judicial System: Now With More Pages!" *Blog of Rights, ACLU*, May 31, 2011, available at <http://www.aclu.org/blog/religion-belief/anti-muslim-movements-manufactured-sharia-threat-our-judicial-system-now-more>.