

MANUFACTURING CONSENT: Islamophobia Revisited

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Abstract:

Islamophobia or racism against Muslim has been an attribute of Western civilization since the Crusades, and manifested itself in various format at different interval. Today it is expressed in the forms of discrimination while recruiting or employment of Muslims; increased attacks on Muslim religious and worships places and hatred showed towards those who observe Islamic dress-code; prevalent stereotypes images of Muslims in the media; the consequent bureaucratic hindrance to Muslim requests for allowing respect to cultural sensitivity in education as well as healthcare system; treatment of Muslims as secondary citizen by the law and more specifically the on going assaults on Muslims and Muslim states in the name of War on Terror. Obviously there is a political agenda behind these atrocities and manufactured war. Where the lone superpower America, with the help of its Western allies, is trying to subjugate Muslim populations around the world. Since this current war is directed towards victimizing the Muslims which constitute more than a billion of world population of the world, the analysis of these misrepresentations and as result thereof to suggest some remedial measures become very crucial.

Introduction

“When the world is compelled to coin a new term to take account of increasingly widespread bigotry that is a sad and troubling development. Such is the case with Islamophobia.”¹

Today, the term Islamophobia has preoccupied the minds of the West. Individuals and groups alike with their prejudicial and racial intents are busy to intentionally deform Islam and Muslims. This prevailing situation is rightly observed by Kofi Annan – (former U.N.

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Secretary General) although he was always cautious not to step on the toes of the Western world – by arranging a seminar in December, 2004². A very recent illustration is the “*Islamofascism Awareness Week*” led by David Horowitz (a neo-conservative) in campuses of educational institutions across United States.³ The bulk of criticism is predominantly aimed at the holy scripture of Islam – Quran, where it has been alleged that it motivates Muslims and advocates for terrorism. However, these protagonists made their accusations completely disregarded Islamic history and Quran. It was pretended as if Islam was created only recently and they are warning the world of a real enemy. It proves that obviously there is some vested political interests behind this fabricated war and the lone superpower America, with support of its Western allies is try to subjugate Muslim that constitute more than a billion Muslim population of the world.

What is Islamophobia?

The term Islamophobia however, is a contested⁴ and accepted⁵ to be referred to the biases or discrimination against Muslims or Islam by the Western world.⁶ Some argues that the first use of the term “Islamophobia” can be trace back to the late 1980s,⁷ however, the common usage of the term has only came in to being after the September 11, 2001 attacks.⁸ Many others contend that it has been present from the very beginning in Western civilization. However, in the last couple of decades, it has taken the form to be accentuated, explicit in expression and extreme in intensity.⁹

Abduljalil Sajid, who is member of the Runnymede Trust's Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia contends that:

“Hostility towards Islam and Muslims has been a feature of European societies since the eighth century of the Common

Era. It has taken different forms, however, at different times and has fulfilled a variety of functions. For example, the hostility in Spain in the fifteenth century was not the same as the hostility that had been expressed and mobilized in the Crusades. Nor was the hostility during the time of the Ottoman Empire or that which was prevalent throughout the age of empires and colonialism. It may be more apt to speak of 'Islamophobias' rather than of a single phenomenon. Each version of Islamophobia has its own features as well as similarities with, and borrowings from, other versions.”¹⁰

The same Trust has come up with eight components that define Islamophobia. According to the definition from “*Islamophobia: A Challenge For Us All*” which has been acknowledged by a wide majority that include even the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. The components are as under:

1. Islam is considered to be as monolithic, presumably static in nature and very rigid to any change.
2. It is seen as a separate and “alien” and considered to have nothing common with other cultures in term of values, neither is affected nor is influenced by them.
3. It is considered as inferior to other Abrahamic religions i.e. Judeo-Christian and believed to be a barbaric, irrational, out-dated and sexist.
4. It believes in violence, aggression, hostility, encouraging terrorism and instigating “clash of civilizations”.
5. Islam is taken as a political ideology that is used for political or military purposes.
6. The critiques of Muslims/Islamic of the West by Islam are discarded.

7. The antagonism showed against Islam is made to substantiate prejudices or discrimination towards Muslims to keep them away from the mainstream society.
8. And the hostility towards Muslims is seen as natural or noting unusual.¹¹

Indeed the term Islamophobia itself, coined by the West in the late 1980s (just after the demise of Communism) has a very short history but if we look at it by its definition that is, hostility towards Muslims and Islam, then it has deep historical roots and is virtually as old as Islam itself.

It needs to be underlined that from the very beginning of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad was accused of ‘false Prophethood’, ‘an impostor’ and ‘a mad man’ by the Jews & the Christians of that time. The Quran was tagged as a reproduction of the Testament, having nothing new. Countless efforts for undermining and ultimately abandoning the Islam by the Byzantine Empire and the Christian church were made with full zeal. More recently, in the 1970s, in the aftermath of the oil crises wherein the oil producing countries turned off the oil supplies to the West and later in the backdrop of the Iranian revolution, the issues were heavily politicized. However, soon after the end of the Cold War, the alleged threat emanate from Islam has acquired a tremendous attention. As the U.S. become the sole hegemonic power having no real enemy to justify the extensive and expensive military complex. Hence the inventing of a new enemy was apparent even from the very mid-1980s to justify huge arms budgets and preemptive military policies, the communist threat was replaced by Islam. The first Gulf War against

Iraq's Saddam Hussain was the first blow to show off the military might to threaten the rest to bow down.

The Real Motive: Building Support for War

The US in particular and the West in general has been using racism as rationale to support for war throughout their history. The intentionally planned 'Islamophobia' scheme has close resemblance with that of U.S. campaigns for Second World War wherein they intentionally appeased Japan's military to implement its imperialistic policies and that resultantly given rise to militarism, to the extent that denigrated Japanese society. In these campaigns racist images of "Japs" were presented such as "pigtails, buckteeth, and faulty speech", much like today when Muslims and Arabs are mocked in cartoons, films and popular culture. In common agenda in both these eras was to launch the racist campaign at the strategic level aimed to build public support for war.

The campaign in the Second World War was aimed to criticize and slander the Japanese as to broadened the war and include Japanese-Americans, that ultimately led to "*the infamous U.S. decision to imprison more than 120,000 men, women and children of Japanese descent in internment camps for years during the war.*"¹² In spite of the fact that those who were ordered to evacuate included more than 60 percent having American citizenship, however, none had trialed or given any chance of hearing before the court of law and were imprisoned in relocation camps.¹³ To support this brutal act DeWitt made a statement before a congressional committee in 1943:

*"A Jap's a Jap. It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not. I don't want any of them...They are a dangerous element, whether loyal or not..."*¹⁴

[Americans are known to have similar feelings about the Red-Indians—the native citizens of the United States. Their inhuman & merciless attitude is summed up in their famous expression: “Red-Indians are better dead than alive”¹⁵; Just as the Jews said in the 20th century: “A good Arab is a dead Arab”¹⁶]

In the Cold War era, the word “communism” served as an easy way to mobilize popular support for war, a hilarious dread that shun the critical thinking, and the indiscriminate breach of U.S. Constitutional rights. While many Americans were not aware of what really was communism, however, McCarthy during his period was still able to instill anti-communism fear that had demonized the whole communities, and set the grounds for legitimizing the idea that communist are accused of guilt till they are proven innocent.

It come as no surprise in later years, similar accusation were made to legitimize the treatment of Muslim detainees on "terrorism" charges and were held for extended period of time at Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib and Bagram Airbase and many other detention centers secretly run by the CIA across Europe.

Moreover, during the past six years, the offshoot of the Bush so-called “Global War on Terror” has escalated attacks on Muslims in Arabs lands as well as living around the world. And one must not be surprised that campaign of racism against other non-Muslim communities is the work of these Islamophobic forces which let David Horowitz’s “Freedom Center” to target African [black] Americans.¹⁷ The Muslim Public Affairs Committee, among many others, has reported that the Horowitz's racist campaign has led to self-criticism and personal apologies from media outlets that had accepted his advertisements across the United States.¹⁸

The fact is that the current onslaught of Muslim and Arab communities has a proven record in the earlier history. In 1987 a secret document “Alien Border Control Commission (ABCC)” was produced and leaked to the Los Angeles Times by the inter-agency. It was the coordinated work of the Justice Department, Federal Bureau of Investigation, immigration department and other related agencies, wherein a plan was outlined for incarceration of U.S. residents from Arab states including Iran, in anticipation of unspecified “national emergency” in future. Detention camps were built including a large one in Oakdale, Louisiana, that would be used for holding up a large number of captives.¹⁹

Joseph Goebbels, a Nazi chief propagandist said that if someone repeat a lie quite often, the people starts to believe it. This same phrase was utilized during the preparation of report by the US Office of Strategic Services during the war to describe psychological profile of Hitler:²⁰

“His primary rules were: never allow the public to cool off; never admit a fault or wrong; never concede that there may be some good in your enemy; never leave room for alternatives; never accept blame; concentrate on one enemy at a time and blame him for everything that goes wrong; people will believe a big lie sooner than a little one; and if you repeat it frequently enough people will sooner or later believe it.”²¹

Hermann Goering, a leading member of the Nazi Party while recognizing the fact that the common people don't like war, but it is quite easy to convince people for supporting a war. *“All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country.”*

The “global war on terror” proved to serve the goal of a permanent war instigated by the Bush administration the war that would provide grounds for reliance on preemptive and preventive wars, controlling the world through extracting military bases and expansion of military force around the world and a war economy on basis of Manichean world-view, a battle between good and bad, white and black, the masters vs. the serf & slaves, the civilized vs. the barbarians, the Jews vs. the gentiles, the “us” vs. “them” and ultimately the West vs. the rest of the world.

It is no wonder that today the areas that are targeted in the so-called “war against terrorism,” are the areas where Muslim are in majority with having strategic resources – most evidently oil and gas. It should also be noted that the Pentagon's *Quadrennial Defense Review* (both the 2002 and 2006 versions)²² accused Islamic states, Islam and Muslims as grave dangers to the security of the United States.

The political agenda of the “Global war against terrorism” has squeezed the idea of a “clash of civilizations”²³ in such a way that now the Bush administration talks about clash within a civilization instead of the clash between civilizations, specifically within the Muslim world [The West, particularly the U.S., is busy in promoting the sectarian ethnic tensions within the Muslim world. For instance, in Iraq-war their main goal is to stir up Shia-Sunni tensions in the entire Middle East]. The Bush Administration is warning that in this “clash,” “we” must prevail. The US has proposed to understand this clash in the Arab world, the Middle East, the Islamic countries as a clash between Shia-Sunni and within each sect, between “moderates” and “extremists”. Those governments, countries, dictators, militias who are supporting US policy

of control and dominating their region are define as “moderate” whereas those who ressit such effort are the “extremists”.

Media: A Tool for Propaganda

There is surge in anti-Muslim sentiments in the Western media particularly in the United States, is likely outcome that was manufactured soon after the end of Cold War when the enemy number one former Soviet Union was disintegrated. For more nearly four decades the Soviets served as easy scapegoat. However, the need for replacement was felt from that point around which they found, through their media, in fundamentalists, a word used as a synonym for Muslims. This new development resulted in increased anti-Muslim, racist attitudes.²⁴

Elizabeth Poole writes in the *Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnic studies*, that media has played a very negative role and has been criticized for propagating Islamophobia. She cited a case-study that examined a numerous articles in the British print media published between 1994 and 2004, the study concluded that there was a definite underrepresentation of Muslims’ viewpoint and usually a negative image Muslim was presented. According to her it included the depiction of Islam and Muslims as a threat to Western security and values.²⁵ Benn and Jawad contend that the current wave of hostility towards Islam and Muslims are “*closely linked to media portrayals of Islam as barbaric, irrational, primitive and sexist.*”²⁶ Egorova and Tudor while citing the European researchers suggest that lexis such as "Islamic terrorism", "Islamic bombs" and "violent Islam" used in the media have resultantly presented the negative perception of Islam.²⁷

The media has heavily contributing towards presenting the negative image of Islam and Muslims. Naive interpretations are frequently reported out of context about the Islamic laws and Muslim customs. *Arabs and Muslims are represented as terrorists and fundamentalists. Whereas, Islam is taken as a phenomenon confined to Middle East and Pakistan has been included for valid reason.* As stated earlier however, this is not a recent development, prejudiced and unconstructive reporting has dominated the media reports on Lebanon and Iran for quite some time. This was evident when an influential magazine *Newsweek* published a story on the rise of “militant Islam” which intentionally excluded other aspects of the faith, and made it apparent in eyes of people the recurrent image.²⁸ Today, the mainstream magazines or newspapers rarely publish papers that pertain to Islamic art and architecture, poetry or philosophy.

The fact that Muslims includes all racial groups, the majority may have their origin in the Middle East, however, the Muslims in Bosnia are white, the Malaysians as well as Indonesians are orientalists and they are black in Sudan. Until very recently, "Shiite" Muslims were called as “fundamentalists” and were confined to Iran, Pakistan, a small number in some other countries. Now the West now up against a Sunni Islam that is trans-geographic and trans-national believes in no artificial boundaries of Westphalian state system. A Pakistani daily newspaper, very clearly pointed out in its editorial:

"The Western media can continue to react to Islam with hostility, fear and ignorance. Or it can try to understand the faith, its traditions and its history. Instead of portraying Muslims and Islam in derogatory terms, the West should seek to explore the positive. There is so much they would appreciate and learn."

When a prominent American scholar, Noam Chomsky, was asked to comment on the American media argument that “terrorists attacked American because of their dislike of western values [civil liberties, tolerance, welfare, etc]?”. He answered in the following words:

"The second question, about hate, we can simply dismiss. It is self-serving nonsense and its purveyors surely know that, at least if they have any familiarity with the current history, including that of the Middle East. Naturally, these are convenient pretenses, which serve to deflect attention from the actual grievances expressed even by the most pro-western elements in the Middle East. As for the media, we have to ask how they dealt with the basic questions that arise in the case of crimes, whether small or horrendous: who was responsible? What should the response be? Why did it happen? There has been virtually no discussion of any of these questions."²⁹

Islamophobia: the Myth & Reality

A Muslim history of more than 1,400 years testifies that they were tolerant and showed respect towards other religions. Muslims had dominated the world for a thousand years, and remind us a golden period in history. The friendly relations with the West in 700 years of domination of Andalusia by Muslims is clear example of Muslim conduct with European at a time when the Europe was engrossed in medieval practices of darkest age. Muslims co-existed with harmony along with Christians and Jews, and their contribution led them to undergone with renaissance in Europe. Mughal Empire in sub-continent had even lasted for more than 900 years, and gave higher representation to local population in state affairs and because of their tolerance with local majority Muslims remained as a minority in these countries (although expelled along with the Jews from Spain). The fact that today

Indonesia is country with the largest Muslim population, yet not a single event of invasion of these vast territories happened.

Regardless the notion that Islamic threat has deep historical roots in the West, some of the politicians and scholars in the west elucidate the surge in anti-Islamic propaganda, negative imaging and religious hatred as a consequence of the Soviet Union's disintegration. However, there is only little truth in their argument if we see it historically. Islam has always been misrepresented and considered as an enemy and a challenge not only culturally, geopolitically, economically, but also theologically. Islam is the last divine religion and presents itself as a complete code of life. This poses a great strain on the civilization based on Christian faith, norms and more importantly political power base.

Pretending Islam as an enemy has wasted an important opportunity in the wake of the end of the Cold War. Where, losing an old military opponent, the focus should have been on reducing emphasis on the military apparatus and to get rid of it altogether and reconsidering the term 'security' afresh, however, new enemies and threats have been invented to serve the old political purpose. This is the real issue and not an Islamic threat which, anyhow, could only be dealt with by the Muslims themselves and only through political and economic means.³⁰

In spite of the upsurge in racist, anti-Arab Islamophobia, it is evident that public opinions are gradually begun to move away from accepting this propaganda. In fact it may be argued that the surge in racist attacks might be reaction to these shifting popular views.

Numbers of factor have contributed in bringing these shift-over in public opinion. The book written by former President Jimmy Carter, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* has a huge impact. "Its stunning title has

brought new legitimacy to the once-demonized analysis of Israeli policy as a new form of apartheid.”³¹ Others, that include the “U.S. Campaign to End Israeli Occupation”,³² have been providing evidences of Israel violation of the UN's 1974 International Covenant on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid inside Israel and the occupied territories towards Palestinians.

Similarly, the book *The Israel Lobby & the U.S. Foreign Policy*³³ written by two American Professors Stephen Walt and John Mearscheimer, has given a blow a well established taboo by bringing the influential role of the Israel lobby into public discourse. While this was not the first time to write about the lobby. However, the original article of Walt and Mearscheimer, (declined by the *Atlantic Monthly*, though they had originally commissioned it, however, eventually it got published by the *London Review of Books*) got much more attention and reached a much wider audience than any of the previous work written on the same subject possibly due to the immaculate academic credentials of the these two scholars. Their analysis brought enhanced familiarity and, more importantly, increased legitimacy to the critical assessment of the Israeli lobby that had been previously limited to much smaller and progressive publications.

Irrespective of the limitations or weaknesses of the above two significant works, it has certainly contributed in enabling a level of nuance long made impossible in mainstream discussion of these issues. Organizations such as Jewish Voice for Peace are on the rise, making the Jewish opposition to Israeli occupation visible at world stage.³⁴ The conventional efforts to curb or limit the debate which challenge Israeli atrocities in Palestine that has been equated with anti-Semitism, or the

debate on dealing with Iran as to limit it to the decision between severe economic sanctions or nuclear strike is not remained unaddressed.

Conclusion

The Islamophobic events like, “Islamofascism Awareness Week” provide a window of opportunity to take on the rising media onslaught on Muslims and Arabs and Islam. The way they use their language makes it clear that their goal is not only a racist assault on Muslims and Arabs but all those who are sympathetic towards those communities. Indeed this crusade, led by the neo-conservatives, reflects rather a deeply rooted racist demonization against these targeted communities.³⁵ And due to clear links between support for war and that of Islamophobia, the stakes could hardly be ignored. Muslims along with all those who stand for freedom of speech, advocate of tolerance and promoter of education, should respond effectively to all these provocations not defensively but pro-actively. The conclusions that can be drawn from the on-going racist campaign against Muslims and Islam are as under:

- Islamophobia is defined as the baseless hatred, fear and hostility towards Islam. The term Islamophobia is new but its purpose and objective, that is, hostility towards Islam and Muslims has been a dominant feature of Western societies since the advent of Islam. Though its form has evolved over time but fulfilled a variety of functions at different periods of time. For example, the fifteenth century’s onslaught on Muslims in Spain was different from the hostility that had been shown in mobilizing in the Crusades, or during the period of Ottoman Empire and that which existed throughout the era of empires and age of colonialism.
- The advent of the term Islamophobia (fear of Islam or Muslims), is a major component of the US war strategy for building public

and congressional support for unnecessary, unjust and increasingly unpopular wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, for potential confrontation with Iran in a time ahead, for Israel's illegal occupation and ruthless apartheid, and more broadly a quest for establishing global empire.

- Though the campaign against Islam of U.S. and the West in media, academics and other outlets is apparently portrayed to have been limited to “extremists,” in Muslims, Arabs or Islam. However, the goal and magnitude and the impact of the campaign has been to demonize the entire Muslim world. The wider acceptance of Islamophobic views in public sphere, has run a great risk of growing public support for attacks that includes, legal discrimination such as denial of rights and violent attacks etc. on Muslim who are residents of U.S. and other Western countries. The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and other similar organizations have reported startling events of such violent attacks.
- Moreover, it is quite unfortunate that this hatred campaign against Muslim and Arab has grown a wider acceptance and has been evident in political, public, academic and media discourse at the highest levels in the Western world. As a leading U.S. presidential candidate, John McCain once said “*since the U.S. was founded on Christian principles*” he prefers a *Christian president to a Muslim one.*”³⁶ Similarly, Peter King, a US congressman and lead advisor to Rudy Giuliani – another presidential candidate, said that “*unfortunately, we have too many mosques in this country*” and that the Muslim community is “*a real threat here in this country.*”³⁷

Today, thousands worldwide are attracted by the eternal call of Islam with its true message along with its interplay of faith with reason, unlike any other faith, and accept it as a code of life.

It therefore, a crucial moment in history, that Muslims around the world should present the true essence of Islam because unless it happen others with their vested interest will do it for them to advance their sinister agenda of sidelining the Muslims worldwide and advocating for a perpetual war against them. This is a future that no sane person could aspire anywhere in the world.

The following observations should be considered as some of the remedial measures that need to be taken immediately:

- Time for nursing ambitions of global Imperialism is over. Now the destitutes, the poor & under-privileged classes do demand their rights—to existence with honor and dignity being the supreme. And if a super-power is still anxious to establish its Imperialism, it is destined to face stiff resistance which may be labeled as struggle for freedom or terrorism depending upon on whose side you are talking about.
- The U.S. is also guilty of violating the U.N. Character, & the pre-rogatives of the Security Council. Concerted efforts were made to evolve the UN alongwith the role of the Security Council. It was decided in principle that disputes would be resolved thro' negotiation rather than war & violence. It was admitted that Security Council alone would have the privilege to authorize war if a deviant state refuses to accept arbitration for the settlement of disputes. Of late the U.S. has asserted its

power & has resorted to pre-emptive strikes to pursue & safeguard its national interests. International peace can't be preserved if powerful states opt for Hobbesian State of nature. The world is urgently in need of an international organization like the U.N. in order to monitor the world affairs.

- It is really unfortunate that the U.S. in particular & the West in general are hunting in wrong fields. Terrorism is not born in Mosques & Madrassa. It is born in occupied lands. In Vietnam there were no Muslims. Likewise Tamil Tigers are not Muslims in their religious persuasion. If Muslims are fighting in Palestine, in Iraq & Afghanistan or for that matter in Kashmir & similar other trouble-spots there are obvious reasons for that. There is nothing specific about Islam here.

So if the West wants global peace they should roll-back their forces from occupied lands. Peace so to say is predicated to justice. If, justice is gone man will turn into an armed animal regardless of his/her religious persuasion.

- Third world countries should unite against Imperialist forces jointly they should struggle for honorable peace & harmony in the world. If they remain disjoined & divided they would remain in the state of slavery.

If peace is to be prevailed for the survival of humanity, the people of conscience around the world has to work for exposing the reality of the prevailing situation, in order to search out for the truth.

Annexure—A

Some of Recent Examples of Islamophobia
<i>Rep. C. Saxby Chambliss (R-GA): “Just turn (the sheriff) loose and have him arrest every Muslim that crosses the state line” (to Georgia law officers, November 2001)</i> <i>(http://www.visalaw.com/03feb1/17feb103.html)</i>
<i>Ann Coulter: “We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity.”</i> <i>(http://www.nationalreview.com/coulter/coulter091301.shtml)</i>
<i>Robert Kilroy-Silk: “Muslims everywhere behave with equal savagery. They behead criminals, stone to death female - only female - adulteresses, throw acid in the faces of women who refuse to wear the chador, mutilate the genitals of young girls and ritually abuse animals”</i> <i>http://www.fact-index.com/r/ro/robert_kilroy_silk.html</i>
<i>Jean-Marie Le Pen: “These elements have a negative effect on all of public security. They are strengthened demographically both by natural reproduction and by immigration, which reinforces their stubborn ethnic segregation, their domineering nature. This is the world of Islam in all its aberrations.”</i> <i>http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/02/04/Haaretz_LePen.html</i>
<i>Jerry Vines: “Christianity was founded by the virgin-born Jesus Christ. Islam was founded by Mohammed, a demon-possessed paedophile who had 12 wives, and his last one was a 9-year-old girl.”</i> <i>http://www.biblicalrecorder.org/content/news/2002/6_14_2002/ne140602vines.shtml</i>
<i>Little Green Footballs: “Refugee camp my tuchus!! Centre of terror and genocide, maybe, but no refugee camp. Is this part of the area the UN is bleating that it can’t feed? I hope so. If every subhuman piece of excrement in the Rafah non refugee camp dies slowly and painfully of starvation, I’ll have a great Passover”</i> <i>http://www.littlegreenfootballs.com/weblog/?entry=10437</i>
<i>Michael Savage: “I think these people [Arabs and Muslims] need to be forcibly converted to Christianity ... It’s the only thing that can probably turn them into human beings.” [05/12/03] (On his radio show The Savage Nation)</i>

End Notes:

¹ Annan, Kofi. "Secretary-General, addressing headquarters seminar on confronting Islamophobia", United Nations press release, December 7, 2004.

² Ibid.

³ *Islamofascism Petition*, Available at:
<http://www.terrorismawareness.org/petitions/63/islamo-fascism-petition/>

⁴ "Islamophobia...A Term Criticized in UN Seminar": "Addressing the opening session of "Confronting Islamophobia: Education for Tolerance and Understanding", prominent Muslim thinker, Ahmad Kamal Abul Magd, criticized as derogatory the use of the two terms "Islamophobia" and "tolerance" when speaking about one of the three monotheistic religions" ... "Opening the seminar, Annan said that seeing Islam as a "monolith," and distorting its tenets are among the many practices that now make up the term "Islamophobia"."

⁵ Mary C. Waters & Fiona Devine, *Social Inequalities in Comparative Perspective*, Blackwell Publishing; New Ed edition (Dec. 2003) p. 106

⁶ Sandra Fredman, *Discrimination and Human Rights*, Oxford University Press, 2001, p.121.

⁷ Muzammil Quraishi, *Muslims and Crime: A Comparative Study*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2005, p. 60

⁸ Rima Berns McGown, *Muslims in the Diaspora: The Somali Communities of London and Toronto*, University of Toronto Press, 1999, p. 268

⁹ Naina Patel, Beth Humphries and Don Naik, *The 3 Rs in social work Religion, 'race' and racism in Europe*, Routledge, UK, 1998 pp. 197-198

¹⁰ Imam Dr Abduljalil Sajid, *Islamophobia: A new word for an old fear*, The American Muslim (TAM), Dec. 7, 2004

¹¹ *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*, Runnymede Trust, U.K., 1997.
Summary available at:
<http://www.runnymedetrust.org/publications/pdfs/islamophobia.pdf>

¹² *Wartime and the Bill of Rights: The Korematsu Case*, America Responds to Terrorism, Constitutional Rights Foundation, Available at: <http://www.crf-usa.org/terror/korematsu.htm>

¹³ Daniels Roger, *Prisoners Without Trial, Japanese Americans in World War II*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1993. Rehnquist, H. William, *All the Laws But One, Civil Liberties in Wartime*, New York: Vintage Books, 1998.

¹⁴ Jay M. Brown, *When Military Necessity Overrides Constitutional Guarantees: The Treatment of Japanese Americans During World War II*, Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute, Available at: <http://www.yale.edu/ynhti/curriculum/units/1982/3/82.03.01.x.html>

¹⁵ Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee. An Indian History of the American West*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990 [1st ed. 1970], pp. 147-174. & Wolfgang Mieder, "The Only Good Indian Is a Dead Indian": *History and Meaning of a Proverbial Stereotype*, *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 106, No. 419 (Winter, 1993), pp. 38-60

¹⁶ Henri E. Cauvin, *Federal Worker Faces Charges In Threats Against Arab Group*, August 16, 2007 Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/08/15/AR2007081502190.html>

¹⁷ <http://www.horowitzfreedomcenter.org/>

¹⁸ *Need To Know About Islamo-Fascism Awareness Week, The Muslim Public Affairs Committee (MPAC)*. Available at: <http://www.mpac.org/publications/campus-activism/MPAC-IFAW-recommendations.pdf>

¹⁹ William C. Banks, *The "LA Eight" and Investigation of Terrorist Threats in the United States*, Available at: <http://antiprotester.com/ABCC.pdf>

²⁰ Walter C. Langer, *A Psychological Analysis of Adolph Hitler. His Life and Legend*, Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Washington, D.C. With the collaboration of Prof. Henry A. Murr, Harvard Psychological Clinic, Dr. Ernst Kris, New School for Social Research, Dr. Bertram D. Lawin, New York Psychoanalytic Institute. p. 219 (Nizkor)

²¹ Hitler as His Associates Know Him (OSS report, p.51), Available at: <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/h/hitler-adolf/oss-papers/text/oss-profile-03-02.html>

²² *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*, U.S. Department of Defense, Available at: <http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/QDR20060203.pdf>

²³ The Clash of Civilizations is a theory, proposed by political scientist Samuel P. Huntington, that people's cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world. The theory was originally

formulated in 1993 in a Foreign Affairs article titled "The Clash of Civilizations. Available at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19930601faessay5188/samuel-p-huntington/the-clash-of-civilizations.html>

²⁴ Bashy Quraishi, *Islam in the Western Media*, The Multicultural Skyscraper Newsletter, Vol. 1 No. 3, October 12, 2001

²⁵ Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnic studies, p. 217

²⁶ Benn, T. & Jawad, H., *Muslim Women in the United Kingdom and Beyond: Experiences and Images*. Brill, 2004

²⁷ See Egorova; Tudor (2003) pp. 2-3, which cites the conclusions of Marquina and Rebolledo in: "A. Marquina, V. G. Rebolledo, 'The Dialogue between the European Union and the Islamic World' in *Interreligious Dialogues: Christians, Jews, Muslims*, Annals of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts, v. 24, no. 10, Austria, 2000, pp. 166-8.

²⁸ Fareena Alam, *The Rise of Militant Islam (Cover Story) Newsweek* (International Edition). Available at: <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/15789437/site/newsweek/>

²⁹ Interview available at: http://www.zmag.org/chomsky_interview_5.htm

³⁰ http://www.islamophobia.org/print.php?type=N&item_id=5

³¹ Jimmy Carter, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*, Simon & Schuster; 1 edition, 2006

³² <http://www.endtheoccupation.org/>

³³ John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, London Review of Books. Available at: http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01_.html & John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux; 1 edition (2007)

³⁴ <http://www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org/>

³⁵ <https://www.tni.org/en/archives/act/17469>

³⁶ Helen Kennedy, *McCain: No Muslim president, U.S. better with Christian one*, NYDAILY NEWS, Sept. 29. 2007

³⁷ *Rep. Peter King: There are "too many mosques in this country"*, September 19, 2007. Available at: http://www.politico.com/blogs/thecrypt/0907/Rep_King_There_are_too_many_mosques_in_this_country_.html

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