

Islamophobia: Another Social Construction of Racism

Imperialism Justified, Fear Manufactured, Fascism Enabled

A Briefing Paper for Green Party Activists



Coordinated Campaign Committee
GREEN PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

April 15, 2017

ISLAMOPHOBIA is a contrived fear or prejudice fomented by the existing Eurocentric and Orientalist global power structure.

It is directed at a perceived or real Muslim threat through the maintenance and extension of existing disparities in economic, political, social and cultural relations, while rationalizing the necessity to deploy violence as a tool to achieve "civilizational rehab" of the target communities (Muslim or otherwise). Islamophobia reintroduces and reaffirms a global racial structure through which resource distribution disparities are maintained and extended.

A social body dependent on imperialist violence to sustain its way of life must discover an ideology that can disavow that dependency if it is to maintain legitimacy. Various kinds of racism have performed that role in the modern era; Islamophobia is currently the preferred form. The usual objection to defining it in this way is that Muslims are not a race. But since all racisms are socially and politically constructed rather than reliant on the reality of any biological race, it is perfectly possible for cultural markers associated with Muslimness (forms of dress, rituals, languages, etc.) to be turned into racial signifiers.¹

That Islamophobia serves to maintain status quo political power and/or increase fear of political change in this country can be seen in the ways Islamophobia manifests itself.

Muslims have been on the North American continent since they were kidnapped from Africa and transported to be sold into slavery on these shores. Estimates suggest that up to a third of enslaved Africans were Muslim². In the 20th and 21st centuries, additional Muslims have emigrated from nations all over the world. Muslims comprise nearly a quarter of the world's population and roughly 1-2% of the U.S. population.

One does not have to practice the tenets of Islam to become a target of Islamophobic attacks. In this country, Hindu, Sikh, Christian and Atheists from South Asia, Africa and the Arab and Persian world have been victimized by those motivated by Islamophobic bigotry.

The Islamophobic Industry

As the blurb to the 2012 book³ by Nathan Lean points out: ‘a right-wing cadre of intellectual hucksters, bloggers, politicians, pundits, and religious leaders (have for) years . . . labored behind the scenes to convince their compatriots that Muslims are the enemy, exhuming the ghosts of 9/11 and dangling them before the eyes of horrified populations for great fortune and fame.’

In Summer of 2016 the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) released a report revealing that “Inciting hate toward American Muslims and Islam has become a multimillion-dollar business⁴ The exploitation of fear fuels Islamophobia and drives reactionary activists to promote propaganda and messaging to keep the narrative alive.



In the 2016 report CAIR shares the names of 74 groups that promote Islamophobia with robust funding. One such group, The Center for Security Policy⁵, is the creation of Frank Gaffney, who does public speaking on the dangers of Islam and was recently appointed as special advisor to the President of the United States. The business is categorized as a tax exempt organization with a budget over \$3,300,000 in 2012. They generate educational products such as the abridged *Sharia: a Threat to America*⁶, available for only \$6 on Amazon.

Other leading champions of Islamophobic messaging like ACT for America’s Brigette Gabriel, appeal to right wing policy even though the organization; self-described as the nation’s largest non-profit, non-partisan, grassroots national security organization⁷ claiming over 500,000 members, seeks to affect policies at all levels. Among their accomplishments the group touts victories ranging from a county wide ruling to prohibit refugees from seeking sanctuary in a rural NC town, to local and national policy. In fact, all of the actions and policies listed among ACT’s accomplishments target Muslim individuals and countries.⁸

These groups leverage political influence as well. Their actions in the past may give them high level access to the current administration. Two groups on the list, the Center for Security Policy⁹ and the David Horowitz Freedom Center¹⁰, have given awards of recognition to the Trump Administration’s Attorney General Jeff Sessions¹¹, and ACT for America’s Bridgett Gabriel has demonstrated with photo ops her own direct access to the White House.¹²

In 2012 *The Nation Magazine* publicly profiled Nina Rosenwald, an heiress to the Sears and Roebuck fortune. Rosenwald is the founder and director of the Gatestone Institute which holds \$10,000.00 a plate fundraisers to support its Islamophobic propaganda work. She previously served as a member of national board for AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee)¹³, and continues to serve in leadership roles in a range of organizations engaged in Islamophobic campaigns or supporting the Israeli occupation, settlement and ethnic cleansing of Palestine. “In 2003 alone the Rosenwald Family Fund donated well over half of its \$1.6 million in total contributions to pro-Israel and Islamophobic organizations.”¹⁴ She has hosted at salons for wealthy donors in her Upper West Side Manhattan apartment, John Bolton, Andrew Breitbart and Henry Kissinger (who now must be careful of his travels to avoid being taken into custody for questioning related to his role in Pinochet’s coup in Argentina).

How Islamophobia manifests itself in this country

Muslim communities targeted for surveillance, infiltration and entrapment

When the government widened the perceived threat of terrorism from individuals actively inciting, financing, or preparing terrorist attacks to those having an ideology, they brought constitutionally protected activities of large numbers of people under surveillance.¹⁵

US Federal agencies have conducted illegal surveillance¹⁶ in Muslim communities and entrapped individuals into criminal activity.¹⁷ By 2009 the FBI was approaching vulnerable members of the Muslim community to enlist them to target young people.¹⁸ And the attacks on Constitutional rights¹⁹ within this community paves the way for loss of civil rights and civil liberties for the whole country.

In 2014 Human Rights Watch produced a 214 page report—*Illusion of Justice: Human Rights Abuses in US Terrorism Prosecutions*²⁰ which included the statement:

Americans have been told that their government is keeping them safe by preventing and prosecuting terrorism inside the US, but take a closer look and you realize that many of these people would never have committed a crime if not for law enforcement encouraging, pressuring, and sometimes paying them to commit terrorist acts.

In 2014, Attorney General Eric Holder on behalf of the Obama Administration, initiated its Countering Violent Extremism program. While a new program, it exists to pursue some familiar tactics, including ones imported from the UK. The Brennan Center for Justice²¹ describes the approach as ‘dubious’, and as ‘focused only on Muslims, stigmatizing them as a suspect community’. Fundamentally, they assert that CVE has ‘promoted flawed theories²² of terrorist radicalization which lead to unnecessary fear, discrimination, and unjustified reporting to law enforcement.’ Among its more troubling aspects have been the program’s practice of funding community and social service organizations and Islamic religious leaders to collaborate with and inform for law enforcement. The government’s role in choosing acceptably ‘moderate’ interpretations of Islam raises serious concerns for violations of the Establishment Clause.²³

The incoming Trump administration has gone so far as to de-emphasize federal investigations of white supremacist terrorist organizations²⁴, even though white supremacists have been responsible for far more deaths than the actions of Muslim criminals, for whom the media both more readily identifies their crimes as terrorist and more broadly publicizes them.²⁵ Sometimes suspicions of Muslims are publicized pre-emptively, before any suspects are identified or any public statement by investigators.

A 2014 study of national TV news published in the Journal of Communication found that “among those described as domestic terrorists in the news reports, 81 percent were identifiable as Muslims. Yet in FBI reports from those years, only 6 percent of domestic terror suspects were Muslim.”²⁶

Chilling Impact on political discourse

*Everyday life for communities under state surveillance programs increasingly resembles the patterns described in classic accounts of totalitarianism. Totalitarianism rule thrives in its subjects’ ignorance of the extent to which the surveillance system is monitoring their lives. The possibility, rather than the fact, of surveillance is enough to generate fear, anxiety, and informal pressures to conform, to downplay dissenting opinions, to declare one’s absolute loyalty.*²⁷

Intimidation, attacks, even assault on activists and those who disagree with the state holding power are traditional tools used to chill and limit dissent or protest and undermine the strength of voices who speak against the status quo. From the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to COINTELPRO, to the revelations from Edward Snowden on NSA surveillance, intimidation of those who speak out against the status quo has proven successful at silencing communities, groups and individuals.²⁸ Modern methods of surveillance make this a most effective tool against protest and dissent.²⁹

In fact, these extreme tactics not only fly in the face of the nation’s historic commitment to personal liberties, they also undermine the very justifications which gave rise to them, and as Kennedy once warned us, “Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.” Arun Kundnani discussed³⁰ this dynamic in his chapter on the FBI surveillance of the Twin Cities Somali community:

One of the consequences of treating radicalization as the central problem, and thereby broadening the focus of counterterrorism from individuals engaged in political violence to a wider set of attitudes or beliefs, is that the political opinions of many young Somali Americans, as expressed above, came to be seen as indicators of risk and could not be given legitimate public outlets. The prominent community leaders these young people see supposedly speaking on their behalf say nothing of foreign policy, discrimination, or civil liberties. . . . This is where the counter radicalization paradigm ultimately led: to young people feeling their political views could not be freely expressed. As a consequence, the possibility of generating a radical politics that could provide a genuine alternative to al-Shabaab’s fundamentalist violence was closed off.

Intimidation, attacks, even assault on activists and those who disagree with the state are traditional tools used to chill and limit dissent or protest and undermine the strength of voices who speak against the status quo.

Violence against Muslims

In February 2015, the *Washington Post* published a review of FBI statistics tracking hates crimes against Muslims and concluded that such incidents are occurring at a rate “roughly five times higher than the pre-9/11 rate.”³¹

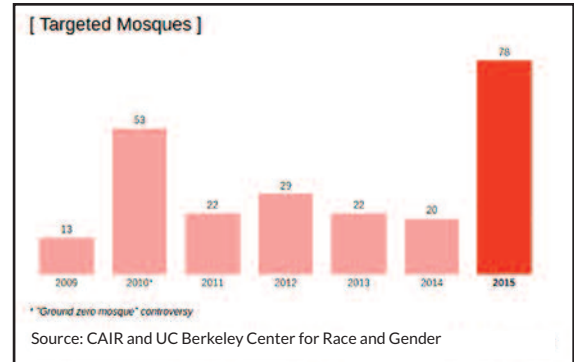
Violence against Islamic places of worship & bureaucratic road-blocks to building new mosques

Mosques have been vandalized (US mosques, 78 times in 2015)³² and Muslims have been threatened and attacked³³ throughout the country. Three mosques in Tampa Florida alone have suffered arson attacks in the preceding year. In the first three months of 2017, arsons set fire to masjids in Florida, Texas, Washington and Michigan (and sent bomb threats to dozens of Jewish temples³⁴). Zoning and permitting roadblocks have been arbitrarily erected to prevent the construction of new mosques. The Park 51 development to build an Islamic Center in downtown Manhattan found opposition in a vitriolic campaign³⁵ to stop the so-called ground-zero mosque. Condos are there now. Such opposition³⁶ to the construction or expansion of mosques have delayed or derailed such projects in Tennessee, California, Kentucky, Wyoming, Ohio and Georgia.³⁷

Muslims in this country report high incidences of discrimination at work.³⁸

Islam and Muslims are more likely to be held collectively responsible for the actions of an aberrant few. Atrocities committed in the name of Christianity, by U.S. Army Lieutenant General William G.

Boykin, who served as Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence during the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq³⁹, or Uganda's Lord Resistance Army or the more recent ethnic cleansing of Muslims by Christian militias in the Central African Republic; or by Timothy McVeigh who identified with the white supremacist Christian Identity movement, have done nothing to damage the reputation of Christianity in the U.S., and have often being dismissed as lone wolves.⁴⁰ We have seen this pattern yet again when Alexandre Bissonnette killed six, wounded twelve, leaving a half dozen widows without husbands and 17 children without a father, on Sunday January 29th, 2017.



Language

Language is powerful. And when we let others do our thinking for us, or provide the language we use to do our own thinking for them, we give up our power. Such has happened with the words *jihad* and *sharia*. We have permitted public fear and public policy to be driven and shaped by folks whose Arabic vocabulary seems limited to the pejorative misuse of these two words.⁴¹

It was Pope Urban II who first commissioned an ecclesiastical justification for his wars against the Muslim world for control of Palestine and the holy sites located there. His council gave us the crusades, as a ‘holy war’, justified in the eyes of God, apparently the same who had commanded Moses (in the Christian tradition) known as Musa (in a Muslim tradition whose founding text uses Arabic) to admonish us against theft and murder.

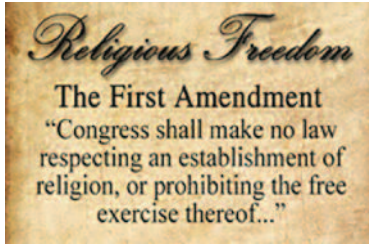
The highest goal in the Islamic faith is Peace. Peace is pursued over all and for Muslims the world over, ‘holy war’ has nothing to do with the concept of jihad. The Arabic word translates as ‘struggle’, and is used a handful of times in the *Quran* to speak of struggle to stay on a righteous path, to fulfill obligations to family, community and Creator, what the Islamic scholars call a higher jihad.⁴² The *Quran* also speaks a handful of times to what the theologians call a lesser jihad, the defense of one’s nation, at the call of the legitimate authority against foreign invaders and with concern for the protection of noncombatants, a concept more akin to the ‘just war’ theory of early Christian writers .

Attacking the Muslim faith through legislation

Religion is one of the factors that influence civilizations and cultures. Many people living in the US feel that the Bible should be the foundation of laws in this country, and there are some groups that work for the Bible to be the sole source to guide civil laws.

The editor of *Baptists Today* maintains links to theocratic Christian organizations, from which he shares a quote from one of those groups he tracks:

We must use the doctrine of religious liberty to gain independence for Christian schools until we train up a generation of people who know that there is no religious neutrality, no neutral law, no neutral education, and no neutral civil government.⁴³



Murder, theft, and assault are major breaches of law in the United States. Their prohibition by the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20) was not the first nor would it be the last time that a religious or civil authority would weigh in on the subject. Despite the intentions of some, we do not live in a theocracy. Still it is not uncommon among Americans to express their faith including by respecting law administered by civil authorities. Muslims too seek to live lives which reflect their faith, including by respecting the law of civil authorities

A 2006 Pew Charitable Trust report⁴⁴ included a finding that “six-in-ten white evangelical Protestants say that the Bible should be the guiding principle in making laws when it conflicts with the will of the people.” That same report also found that this was “a view rejected by an equally large majority of Americans, including most Catholics and white mainline Protestants.”

Just as the \$200+ million Islamophobic think tank industry has used the media to convey an inaccurate translation for jihad, the word sharia has been similarly misrepresented. Sharia is associated with every aspect of a Muslim’s daily life and informs how one acts from day to day. In Arabic, the word sharia means “the way”. For those whose Arabic vocabulary is limited to a misunderstanding of those two words, a conversation with a Muslim about sharia can quickly devolve into speaking past each other.

As a researcher with the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding puts⁴⁵ it:

Islamic jurisprudence is built on the idea that every human effort to articulate *sharia* (divine law) in specific legal rules is a human, and therefore unavoidably fallible, process. This process is called *ijtihad*, and the rules it produces are called *fiqh* (understanding). *Fiqh* rules can be criticized without questioning God’s infallibility, because they are merely the result of fallible human efforts to understand and elaborate sharia (divine law).

Sharia is not a legal system. It describes a way of life rooted in a relationship with one’s Creator.⁴⁶ Sharia provides guidance for how a Muslim will pray and fast and conduct themselves in their families, work and community.

The New York Times reported⁴⁷ that “The anti-sharia campaign, (opponents) say, appears to be an end in itself, aimed at keeping Muslims on the margins of American life.”

The concept of sharia as ‘law’ has been used to make people in this country fearful of replacing US laws with repressive policies. People have been asked to equate the autocratic regime in Saudi Arabia with the experience and preferences of 1.6 billion people around the globe speaking every sort of language on the planet. Many states have mounted campaigns to stop what was feared as a “takeover” by Muslims; fueled by fear, bias and discrimination.

The polling data⁴⁸ shows that Muslims the world over, and particularly in the United States on a wide range of questions prefer a pluralistic culture, one which respects religious liberty, and the *Quran* itself instructs that there is to be ‘no compulsion in religion’.⁴⁹

Even so, this campaign is intended to marginalize and divide, not meet an actual threat. In three legislative years (2013-2015), a total of 81 bills or amendments designed to vilify Islamic religious practices were introduced in 16 states across the country. Over 75% of those measures were adapted from model legislation advanced by American Laws for American Courts⁵⁰ (ALAC).

As NC Policy Watch put it:

Ultimately, Islamophobia, like other forms of oppression, is a divide-and-conquer tool employed to increase socio-economic and political disparities. Legislators who have supported laws that harm Muslims have also frequently supported bills that target other marginalized communities. In a study of more than one hundred anti-sharia bills introduced in the country, the Washington, D.C.-based Institute for Social Policy and Understanding⁵¹ found that 80 percent of them were proposed by legislators who also introduced voter suppression, anti-union, anti-abortion, anti-gay marriage, and anti-immigrant bills.⁵²

The Rights of Women

Islamophobes argue that western intervention is necessary to save Muslim women from a primitive, regressive and oppressive faith. They ignore the theme repeated throughout the Quran that Muslims seek justice and be of service. While it is certainly true that Muslim women suffer domestic abuse and related patriarchal controls, Muslims have no monopoly on such abuse. Misogyny, patriarchy, and sexism are a reality that manifests across the world, in most, perhaps all, cultures and faiths.

From its beginning Islam “. . . uplifted the status of the poor and underprivileged in society . . . and claimed equality of the sexes in stature and worship.”⁵³ The *Quran* includes many passages asserting equality among human beings, distinguishing humans only by their righteousness and piety and explicitly rejecting other ways of distinguishing among people, including skin color, sex, nation of origin. The Quranic chapter known as al-Hujurat is often cited as speaking directly to this point with respect to men and women.⁵⁴

Even so, just as the feminist example set by Jesus are often ignored by Christians to preserve patriarchal culture and control, so too has the example of Muhammed and the guidance of the Quran often been read narrowly and as if the reforms introduced by either of them constitute the last word on justice for women.

Still Muslim women the world over have for most of the past century collaborated and published works based on their efforts to apply a woman’s perspective to the work of *ijtihad*.

Ijtihad is the process of making an educated interpretation of sharia, the will of Allah. Authority to engage in this process rests on the claim by the *Quran* that it describes a faith “for all people and for all time”.

As one historian puts it speaking specifically about Yemen, “women practice feminism. They do not label it.”⁵⁵ The sentiment also applies for a variety of reasons, if to varying degrees, to other nations addressed in her study of feminism in Islam.

Muslim women have provided leadership in nationalists movements for independence from a colonial occupation in at least Egypt and in Yemen⁵⁶, have contributed to ending a Civil War in Liberia⁵⁷ and worked for the rights of women the world over. Multiple Muslim women have served as heads of state in multiple nations.⁵⁸ Muslim women are leaders in the professions, in academia, as judges in Islamic courts.

Women, including Muslim women speak for themselves.⁵⁹

So-called ‘humanitarian interventions’ by the U.S. military will not advance women’s conditions.⁶⁰ One suspects had they survived the attacks which took their lives, the civilian casualties of US wars of imperial aggression would agree. In another manifestation of our nation’s Islamophobic attitudes, official sources and the media get away with minimizing as so-called collateral damage, as many as 190,000 plus non-combatants killed⁶¹ in the occupation of Iraq; at least 26,000 more non-combatants killed in Afghanistan⁶², and still more in Libya, Somalia, Pakistan, Yemen and Syria.⁶³

Just as women in the US struggle for equality and gender justice, so too do women in Muslim-majority nations. And while women (and some men) doing this work have sometimes labeled themselves feminists, they are more frequently identified that way by historians, and derisively by political opponents. Those women who have met with the most success have frequently grounded their appeals to a Muslim commitment to justice. In this work they have been strongly supported by women’s scholarship to re-examine both primary sources of the Islamic faith: the *Quran* and the *Hadith*.



Students chant while marching at a rally against Islamophobia at San Diego State University in San Diego, California. Credit: Sandy Huffaker/Reuters

Notable among contemporary English writing on the subject is the work of Dr. Amina Wadud, a scholar of Islamic Studies. She has contributed both a work of exegesis⁶⁴, or scholarly interpretation of the *Quran*, from a woman's perspective, as well as her personal reflection⁶⁵ on a career of work in academia and in the Islamic pursuit of 'a just social order' including justice for women in the Muslim community and the broader cultures in which Muslims live.

What Dr. Wadud did in English for the *Quran*, a Moroccan sociologist and a Turkish religious studies doctoral student did for *hadith*. Fatima Mernissi's book⁶⁶ 'brilliantly deconstructed the misogyny masquerading as Islam'.⁶⁷ Dr. Hidayet Tuksal published⁶⁸ her dissertation, building on Mernissi's work and created a book which became widely debated in Turkey and beyond.

Internationally, "Grassroots, female-led organizations such as the Aurat Foundation⁶⁹, Shirkat Gah⁷⁰ and APWA⁷¹ in Pakistan, Sisters in Islam⁷² in Malaysia and based in New York, WISE⁷³, the Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan⁷⁴ movement in India, Women for Women⁷⁵ in South Africa, Nisa Meydaan in Iran, in Nigeria, both Baobab for Women's Human Rights and Federation of Muslim Women's Association in Nigeria, and an international network of organizations called Women Living Under Muslim Laws (MLUML) to name only a few, 'exist to promote the rights of Muslim women and have been functioning for decades despite, for some, operating within political instability.'⁷⁶ Muslim women scholars across Africa and South Asia have made important academic contributions to feminist organizing and in other arenas as well.

The Islamophobia industry has made much of honor killings, female genital mutilation (FGM) and the use of hijab as indicative of the repression of women and girls by Muslims and indicative of the nature of Islam. Here are the facts.

Honor Killings

There is no evidence that FGM is justified by faith, neither is there evidence that honor killings are justified by the Islamic faith. Honor killings are described⁷⁷ as "... an extreme form of gendered domestic violence," by researchers who go on to say:

Islam plays a prominent role in public debates on honor killings, yet honor killings are a pre-Islamic tribal tradition and an extra-judicial punishment that is not part of Sharia law. Honor killings occur among Christian minorities in Arab countries, as well as among the Sikh community in India (and among their respective immigrant communities in the West). They appear to be non-existent in some Muslim-dominated countries, such as Oman, and less frequent in others, such as Algeria and Tunisia. Nonetheless, some interpretations of Islamic law, such as those that promote the lawfulness of husbands' physical violence against wives⁷⁸, the criminalization of pre- and extramarital sexual relationships, and the use of flogging or stoning⁷⁹ if prosecuted as *hadd* (religious) crimes (which does not happen in most Muslim countries), may contribute indirectly to honor killings.

Someone is sexually assaulted in the United States every 98 seconds.⁸⁰ Although the U.S. accounts for only 5% of the global population, over 4,000 female domestic violence victims die each year⁸¹ in this country. Compare that with annual worldwide deaths of women reported as honor killings which account for about 5,000 yearly deaths.⁸² While there is no intent to minimize the suffering of any of these women, one wonders why deaths suffered by women among the domestic 5% of the global population rate no mention by those who attribute to Islam the responsibility for patriarchal violence in the rest of the world.

Violence against women is at epidemic proportions and global in scope. And despite the important examples set by both Jesus and Mohammed with respect to the treatment of women, both Christians and Muslims, but also Hindus and Buddhists, people with faith and those without seem to yet have much to do to end the carnage.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

The countries with the highest documented cases of FGM are majority Christian.⁸³ Additional anecdotal evidence shows its use highly localized in a variety of places around the world, including majority Muslim countries in Africa and Asia, but also in Europe and the United States. The practice is tied more to culture than religion and pre-existed Islam in Arabia and likely in Africa as well.

In some communities, local authorities claim a justification in Islam, based on three references to its existence in (disputed⁸⁴) *hadith* (the words and action of the Prophet Muhammad as reported by eyewitnesses). There is no evidence that the practice is encouraged by the *Quran* or the *sunnah* (the example set by the life of the Prophet, there is no men-

tion that his own daughters were circumcised). Anti-FGM organizing in majority-Muslim nations in Africa, Arabia and Asia has had success combatting this cultural practice with its appeals to the principles of sharia, and by raising objections to the reliance on the two disputed *hadith* by those who advocate that the practice is encouraged by the faith.

Hijab

It is true that some civil authorities (Saudi Arabia, Iran) have sought to mandate the wearing of hijab, while other countries (France and Turkey) have seen fit to prohibit its use. Both of these extremes have been met with popular organizing in opposition to these policies. In the rest of the world many but not all Muslims use hijab, niqab and burqa in keeping with family and cultural customs. The *Quran* speaks to the veiling of the wives of the Prophet⁸⁵, and instructs all Muslims, both men and women, to dress modestly and to lower their gaze. Women who believe are told to ‘guard their private parts and not expose their adornment’ except among family, though certainly not all Muslim women see that as mandating use of hijab.⁸⁶

The practice is not unique to Islam. Christian and Jewish women also often use habits and head scarves as an expression of their faith as well. In addition, sufi and some other Muslim men, as well as men who practice the Sikh, Christian and Jewish faiths are also known to wear head covering, including yamika, kufee and turbans.

For most Muslim women in the 21st Century the world over, covering is a matter of choice. Egyptian organizers made public statements by removing their face veils when returning from an International Women’s gathering in the 1930s, but then later reintroduced broader adoption of hijab in the 1970s and 1980s as a public sign of solidarity with a broader Islamic nationalist movement.⁸⁷

There is prolific literature by hijab-wearing women which speaks to many of the reasons women choose to cover, including supporting an inner experience of God’s ever-presence, as a public witness of their faith and sometimes as a public statement of political allegiance or solidarity. In the Western world some Muslim women and men have made some powerful statements contrasting their faith inspired choice for modesty with the image of women presented for the male gaze, to ask who is more free. Though, interestingly, as British academic Tariq Ramadan has pointed out, “Islam’s role as the puritan foil to a permissive west is relatively new. Until well after the Enlightenment, Muslim cultures were seen as threatening because of their libertinism and sensuality.”⁸⁸

Who is The 21st Century Terrorist?

Not all Muslims are extremists, just as not every Christian is a Timothy McVeigh, or a Randall Terry. A few thousand fundamentalists do not speak for 1.6 billion Muslims around the planet.⁸⁹ They do not even represent the views of the people they rule, for those who (as in Saudi Arabia) exercise state power.

But we have a similar problem with fundamentalists in this country, so who are we to judge.

Islam is not a violent faith, although unlike many other faiths, it gets a bad rap for violent individuals who proclaim a distorted view of it. Still we do not judge Christians by the Ku Klux Klan, Lutherans by Dylan Roof (who killed nine at Mother Emanuel Church in Charleston South Carolina), Catholics for Adam Lanza (who killed twenty at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown Connecticut), nor judge Buddhists by the tactics of Ashin Wirathu of Myanmar. In fact, Muslims are more likely to reject violence against civilians than any other faith group in this country.⁹⁰

There is no such thing as Islamic terrorism, certainly not any more than there is Christian terrorism. We would not paint the Christian faith, or dismiss the United Church of Christ as terrorists just because former President Obama was a member before he started managing a weekly kill list and drone fleet.

What is in this for me?

You do not have to be black to understand that Black Lives Matter. You do not have to be a woman to recognize the urgent nature of the work to end domestic violence. You do not have to be Muslim to understand that challenging Islamophobia is important to building a plural, democratic and just future.

In fact, black lives have always mattered to black folks. The issue has been that they haven’t mattered enough to white folks as well. While women have walked on egg shells since the dawn of the patriarchy to avoid men’s violence, it seems

that we still must rely on men to stop being violent, and to stop condoning it with speech and inaction.

If you have read this far, you have taken some significant steps to deconstruct the Islamophobic propaganda and misinformation which so dominates the public discourse, for the profit of the arms dealers, and the control of our nation by its most reactionary forces. If you follow the citations back to their source, you can begin to expose yourself to much useful knowledge and perspective to support the vital work we must each do to advance a different narrative; one grounded in our shared humanity with our Muslim neighbors.

This is a matter of great urgency. As this briefing has been compiled multiple Islamophobic hate crimes have left children without parents, widows without husbands, and multiple masjids the target of arson, death threats and bigoted vandalism.

Reverend Niemoller spent seven years in Nazi concentration camps because he did not speak up, since he was not a socialist, a trade unionist or a Jew. You need not be Martin Niemoller to understand the importance of standing up against the fascist tendencies in our culture.

Question for us is, will we learn from his experience in time?

What Can be Done?

1. Greens have an important role to play.

As Green Party candidates and activists, we have an important role to play as an opposition party to educate ourselves and our communities on issues related to Islamophobia, other forms of racism, sexism and gender-identity and to prioritize work to support the struggles of the most vulnerable and marginalized in our communities. We must make an active contribution to the work of defending the human rights of our neighbors. We can build enduring alliances, by engaging in the political crisis now present in this country.

2. Look to Muslim leadership and communities for information and recommendations for action.

The Muslim community understands it is under attack in this country, and many larger Islamic centers, and masjids throughout the country are hosting open houses, visit your mosque days and participating in inter-faith alliance building to humanize the face of Islam in this country and to deconstruct the false narratives passing for common knowledge in our media. But you need not wait for an invitation. Go knock on the door of the mosque near you. Call up the chapter of CAIR in your state. Build relationships. Identify yourself as interested in helping and ask what there is for you to do.

As Green Party candidates and activists, we have an important role to play as an opposition party to educate ourselves and our communities on issues related to Islamophobia, other forms of racism, sexism and gender-identity and to prioritize work to support the struggles of the most vulnerable and marginalized in our communities.

3. Develop your anti-oppression skill sets

Those of us with privilege—skin color, gender, religion, sexual identity, can best stand as allies to vulnerable communities with a consciousness of that privilege that is manifested in our actions.

Acting against oppression requires a skill set around communication and behavior to act in support of affected communities. Working in the context of community with active organizations and community leaders will inform these skills over time, but here's a start.

- Listen to understand, and listen more than speak. You will learn more when listening, and not just waiting for your chance to speak, share your opinions, or question or analyze any statements. If/when someone shares their truth with you accept it as the gift it is. Over time you may build relationship and trust, questions you have or information needed to gain deeper understanding can wait until trust is built.
- Be aware of how much space you take, do not expect folks to be comfortable, fully present, or to feel safe in spaces they do not know or where they are not present or in majority.
- Speak from your own experience, do not assume you know what's best for people from other communities. People

from vulnerable communities are the experts in their own liberation, they know what they need. You can ask what can be done/what can I do, but refrain from telling people what they need.

- Identify your own privilege and how it reveals itself. This is an exploration of your relationship to power. Then you can see ways to resist abuses of power that do not fit your vision of justice.
- Work to build grassroots movements led by affected communities and support the leadership from those communities.

4. Challenge and oppose oppression in all forms.

White nationalists gunning down the faithful as they kneel in prayer, or torching a mosque with arsonist intent are just one end of a spectrum of violence and bigotry which creates an atmosphere where these extreme acts are possible. At the other end are micro-aggressions and hostilities of all sorts, each calling out for intervention. It can take a lifetime of experience to learn to interrupt hateful narratives and interactions with grace. And the only way to gain that experience is to start practicing. But it is a useful investment, as these skills will help you be a useful ally for people enduring other forms of racism, sexism and oppressive hostility of other forms as well. Don't think you have to get it right all the time. Sometimes even when the perfect words are not available, something must be said. If something does not feel right, that is a sign. Be prepared to operate in your discomfort zone.

5. Build alliances across faiths and stand as an ally to vulnerable constituencies.

As with the Fugitive Slave Laws of the past, our state and federal governments are enacting laws and rules to criminalize compassion for our immigrant, refugee and Muslim neighbors. The stakes are rising higher, and none of us alone can muster the resources to defend human rights in a political atmosphere which openly encourages the nation's worst fascist tendencies.

Jewish Voice for Peace initiated a national anti-Islamophobia network⁹¹ and has resources for workshops and actions for those who want to help challenge and end Islamophobia. There are Christian congregations who are following that lead. If you have relationships with faith leaders or social organizations in your community you can approach them with an invitation to use these resources and take a stand.

When we educate our neighbors and build alliances we can mount an effective defense against the racist and Islamophobic violence we witness on the rise in our communities. We can effectively resist the unconstitutional excesses of the administration. We can weather this crisis and build the political power to create the justice which Dr. King described as the 'beloved community', which is understood among Muslims as the global *ummah*.

6. Building capacity, building relationships, take actions in the world of human interaction

Look to local and national groups doing this work and when possible support or partner with their work. You can identify and support the building of similar organizations in your state as well. Use your anti oppression skills and attend one of their meetings or actions as a support person. Find ways to be of use and step up!

There are several groups that work to challenge Islamophobia DRUM: Desis Rising Up & Moving is in NYC, the Arab Resource and Organizing Center (AROC) is in the Bay area and in Chicago you will find the Arab American Action Network. In North Carolina folks can support the work of Movement to End Racism and Islamophobia.

Consider inviting leaders from the local mosque or masjid to make a presentation at one of your meetings and ask if you can come to them to share information and answer questions about the Green Party.

Push back from the keyboard and get busy!

Organizing Materials

Jewish Voice for Peace Network Against Islamophobia

<https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/network-against-islamophobia/>

Defending Rights and Dissent:

<https://rightsanddissent.org/campaigns/countering-islamophobia/>

Notes

- 1 Arun Kundnani, *The Muslims Are Coming: Islamophobia, Extremism, and the Domestic War on Terror*, London & New York: Verso, 2015, page 11
- 2 The Root, Khaled A. Beydoun, "African Slaves Were the 1st to Celebrate Ramadan in America" <http://www.theroot.com/african-slaves-were-the-1st-to-celebrate-ramadan-in-ame-1790876253>
- 3 Nathan Lean, *The Islamophobia Industry: How the Right Manufactures Fear of Muslims*, Pluto Press, 2012
- 4 The Guardian, Halima Kazem, "Funding Islamophobia: \$206m went to promoting 'hatred' of American Muslims", June 20th, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/20/islamophobia-funding-cair-berkeley-report>
- 5 <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/>
- 6 <https://www.amazon.com/Shariah-America-Exercise-Competitive-Analysis/dp/098229476X/>
- 7 http://www.actforamerica.org/about_act
- 8 <http://www.actforamerica.org/accomplishments>
- 9 Center for Security Policy press release, "2015 Keeper of the Flame: Center Celebrates Sen. Jeff Sessions and Adm. James 'Ace' Lyons", October 22, 2015 <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2015/10/22/center-celebrates-sen-jeff-sessions-and-adm-james-ace-lyons/>
- 10 Imagine2050: Race, Identity and Democracy, "Sen. Sessions joins nativist pals as recipient of David Horowitz Freedom Center award", November 20th, 2014 <http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/2014/11/20/sen-sessions-joins-nativist-pals-as-recipient-of-david-horowitz-freedom-center-award/>
- 11 The Guardian, Halima Kazem, "Funding Islamophobia: \$206m went to promoting 'hatred' of American Muslims", June 20th, 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jun/20/islamophobia-funding-cair-berkeley-report>
- 12 Peter Beinart, "America's Most Prominent Anti-Muslim Activist Is Welcome at the White House", The Atlantic, March 21st, 2017. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/03/americas-most-anti-muslim-activist-is-welcome-at-the-white-house/520323/>
- 13 The Nation Magazine, June 14, 2012. "The Sugar Mama of Anti-Muslim Hate: Philanthropist Nina Rosenwald has used her millions to cement the alliance between the pro-Israel lobby and the Islamophobic fringe", by Max Blumenthal. <https://www.thenation.com/article/sugar-mama-anti-muslim-hate/>
- 14 Connie Bruck, "Friends of Israel: The lobbying group AIPAC has consistently fought the Obama Administration on policy. Is it now losing influence?" The New Yorker, September 1st, 2014. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/09/01/friends-israel>
- To stay current on what AIPAC is up to now: <https://electronicintifada.net/tags/aipac>.
- 15 Kundnani, *ibid*, page 12
- 16 The Electronic Intifada, Maureen Clare Murphy, "The undercover persecution of Muslim Americans", April 13th, 2012 <https://electronicintifada.net/content/undercover-persecution-muslim-americans/11164>
- 17 Human Rights Watch, "US: Terrorism Prosecutions Often An Illusion: Investigations, Trials of American Muslims Rife with Abuse", July 21st, 2014 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/07/21/us-terrorism-prosecutions-often-illusion>
- 18 The Guardian, Paul Harris, "Newburgh Four: poor, black, and jailed under FBI 'entrapment' tactics", December 12th, 2011 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/12/newburgh-four-fbi-entrapment-terror>
- 19 The Guardian, Glenn Greenwald, "The FBI's anticipatory prosecution of Muslims to criminalize speech", March 19th, 2013 <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/mar/19/preemptive-prosecution-muslims-cointelpro>
- 20 Human Rights Watch, *Illusion of Justice: Human Rights Abuses in US Terrorism Prosecutions*, 2014 https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/usterrorism0714_ForUpload_1_0.pdf
- 21 <https://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/cve-programs-resource-page>
- 22 Kundnani, *ibid.*, "The Muslims are Coming" makes an excellent primer for deconstructing the flawed nature of those 'theories of radicalization', and the junk science behind them, a task beyond the scope of this briefing paper.
- 23 "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion . . .", U.S. Constitution, First Amendment.
- 24 "I'm a former neo-Nazi. Don't ignore the threat of white extremism", by Matteen Mokalla, Feb 27, 2017 <http://www.vox.com/videos/2017/2/27/14738170/former-neo-nazi-dont-ignore-threat-of-white-extremism-picciolini>
- 25 The Ottawa Citizen, Azeezah Kanji, "We need to understand Islamophobia in order to address it", January 30th, 2017 <http://ottawacitizen.com/opinion/columnists/kanji-we-need-to-understand-islamophobia-in-order-to-address-it>
- 26 Mother Jones Magazine, "2015 Saw a Record Number of Attacks on US Mosques: New report catalogs a nationwide boom in Islamophobia", by Sara Rathodjun, June 20th, 2016 <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/06/islamophobia-rise-new-report-says>
- 27 *Ibid.*, Kundnani, p281
- 28 "'Chilling Effect' of Mass Surveillance Is Silencing Dissent Online, Study Says", by Nafeez Ahmed, March 17th, 2016 https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/chilling-effect-of-mass-surveillance-is-silencing-dissent-online-study-says This study presented a sample facebook post related to US

- bombing of ISIS targets in Syria to subjects, asked them a series of questions and applied regression analysis. For the majority of respondents, the study concluded, being aware of government surveillance “significantly reduced the likelihood of speaking out in hostile opinion climates.”
- 29 “Mass surveillance is ‘chilling’ online dissent by encouraging groupthink” by Sam Rolley, March 22, 2016
<http://personalliberty.com/mass-surveillance-is-chilling-online-dissent-by-encouraging-groupthink/>
- 30 Ibid., Kundnani, pp 230-231
- 31 CAIR 2016 report Islamophobia and its Impact in the United States
<http://www.islamophobia.org/images/ConfrontingFear/Final-Report.pdf>
- 32 Ibid., Rathodjun, Mother Jones Magazine, “Record Number of Attacks”
- 33 The Intercept, Murtaza Hussain, “Hate Crimes Rise Along With Donald Trump’s Anti-Muslim Rhetoric”, May 5th, 2016.
<https://theintercept.com/2016/05/05/hate-crimes-rise-along-with-donald-trumps-anti-muslim-rhetoric/>
- 34 At least some of the bomb threats against Jewish temples in the United States have led to the arrest of a young Israeli man. His motives have not been revealed.
- 35 Lean, *ibid.*, 20 index entries for Park 51 point to references throughout this book to the involvement of most of the key players in what he terms the Islamophobic industry.
- 36 Lean, *ibid.*, p8.
- 37 US DoJ won a 2011 consent decree related to a Gwinnett County, Georgia case under the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act (RLUIPA). Even so, the issue resurfaced in Newton County, Georgia in 2016.
<https://www.justice.gov/crt/combatting-post-911-discriminatory-backlash-6>
- 38 U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, “Religion-Based Charges Filed from 10/01/2000 through 9/30/2011 Showing Percentage Filed on the Basis of Religion-Muslim”
https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/events/9-11-11_religion_charges.cfm
- 39 Lean, *ibid.*, p113-116, Now the executive vice president at the Family Research Council, then General Boykin gave recruiting pitches before Christian congregations, making appeals for participation in a crusade, all while in uniform creating diplomatic headaches for the Bush administration and a public stand-off with General Boykin’s Commander-in-Chief, which may have played a role in his 2007 retirement.
- 40 Mike German, “Behind the Lone Terrorist, a Pack Mentality”, Washington Post, Sunday, June 5, 2005
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/06/04/AR2005060400147.html>
- 41 BlackAgendaReport.com, “Confusing Jihad with Hirabah Won’t Build a More Peaceful World”, by Hugh Esco, November 22nd, 2016
http://blackagenda.com/meaning_of_jihad_in_islam
- 42 Jeremiah Bowden, *Just War, Jihad and the Killing of Non-Combatants*
http://www.academia.edu/367902/Just_War_Jihad_and_the_Killing_of_Non-Combatants
- 43 “Who is Trying to Turn America Into a Theocracy?”
<http://www.brucegourley.com/christiannation/theocracy.htm>
- 44 Pew Charitable Trust, “Many Americans Uneasy with Mix of Religion and Politics”
<http://www.pewforum.org/2006/08/24/many-americans-uneasy-with-mix-of-religion-and-politics/>
- 45 Kazeem, *ibid.*
- 46 Carol Kuruvilla, “5 Things You Need To Know About Sharia Law”, which states: “Asking a Muslim to stop believing in Sharia is like asking her to stop practicing her religion. It is a blatant attack on religious liberty.” July 15th, 2016, Huffington Post.
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/5-facts-you-need-to-know-about-sharia-law_us_5788f567e4b03fc3ee507c01
- 47 <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/31/us/3ishariah.html>
- 48 John L Esposito and Dalia Mogahed, *Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think*, New York: Gallup Press, 2007
- 49 *The Holy Quran*, sura al-Baqara, 2:256
- 50 <http://americanlawsforamericancourts.com/>
- 51 Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, Community Brief: *Manufacturing Bigotry: A State-by-State Legislative Effort to Pushback Against 2050 by Targeting Muslims and Other Minorities*, by Saeed A Khan and Alejandro J. Beutel
http://www.ispu.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/ISPU_Manufacturing_Bigotry4.pdf
- 52 NC Policy Watch, “The disturbing politics of Islamophobia in 2016 America”, by Manzoor Cheema, September 6th, 2016
<http://www.ncpolicywatch.com/2016/09/06/the-disturbing-politics-of-islamophobia-in-2016-america/>
- 53 Global Fund for Women, “How Islam Confirms Women’s Rights: A Primer on where Women fit in Islam”, by Laleh Bakhitar
<http://muslima.globalfundforwomen.org/content/how-islam-confirms-women%E2%80%99s-rights>
- 54 *The Holy Quran*, sura al-Hujurat, 49:13 reads: “O mankind! We created you from a single pair of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other, not that ye may despise each other. Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is that who is the most righteous of you. And Allah has full knowledge and is well acquainted with all things.”
- 55 Margot Badran, *Feminism in Islam: Secular and Religious Convergences*, Oneworld Publications, 2009, p270
- 56 Badran, *ibid.*, p253-271 covers Yemen, which is also written about elsewhere in her book. Further, this book is replete throughout with stories of Egyptian women muslim organizers participation in the nationalist movement for independence from the British colonial occupation.
- 57 Leymah Gbowee with Carol Mithers, *Mighty Be Our Powers: How Sisterhood, Prayer and Sex Changed a Nation at War, A Memoir*; Beast Books, 2011. pp 127-129.

- 58 The Women's Islamic Initiative in Spirituality and Equality documents 28 muslimah heads of state in history, including six in the past three decades.
http://www.wisemuslimwomen.org/muslimwomen/summary/C86/category-search/heads_of_state
- 59 New York Times, by Julie Winokur, "Listening to the Voices From Hijabi World", Aug. 8, 2016
<https://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/08/08/listening-to-the-voices-from-hijabi-world/>
- 60 Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, Cambridge and London, Harvard University Press, 2013
- 61 <https://www.iraqbodycount.org/>; but see also "Iraq Body Count: undercounting death with pro-war cash: The Pentagon used IBC data for pro-occupation propaganda", by Nafeez Ahmed
<https://medium.com/insurge-intelligence/iraq-body-count-undercounting-death-with-pro-war-cash-b8ec232551a8#.v82s4xk65>
- 62 Washington Post, '149,000 people have died in war in Afghanistan and Pakistan since 2001, report says', By Adam Taylor June 3, 2015
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/06/03/149000-people-have-died-in-war-in-afghanistan-and-pakistan-since-2001-report-says/>
- 63 Politifact, 'Jill Stein, Green Party candidate, correct about U.S. bombing seven countries' by W. Gardner Selby, October 21st, 2016
<http://www.politifact.com/texas/statements/2016/oct/21/jill-stein/jill-stein-green-party-candidate-correct-about-us/>
- 64 Dr. Amina Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999
- 65 Dr. Amina Wadud, *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam*, Oxford, Oneworld Publications, 2006
- 66 Fatima Mernissi, *Women and Islam: An Historical and Theological Enquiry*. Kali for Women, New Delhi. 1987. English translation 1991. Currently out of print.
- 67 Badran, *ibid.* pp 314-315.
- 68 Dr. Hidayet Tuksal, *The Traces of Misogynist Discourse in the Islamic Tradition*
- 69 <http://www.af.org.pk/about.php>
- 70 <http://shirkatgah.org/shirkat/>
- 71 <http://apwapakistan.com>
- 72 <http://www.sistersinislam.org.my/>
- 73 <http://www.wisemuslimwomen.org/about/>
- 74 <https://sputniknews.com/asia/201606031040754026-india-islamic-feminism/>
- 75 <http://www.womenforwomen.org/about-us>
- 76 Salon Magazine, "Muslim women don't need you to 'save' them: Farzana Parveen and the media's erasure of Muslim feminists", by Maria Khwaja
http://www.salon.com/2014/06/04/muslim_women_dont_need_you_to_save_them_farzana_parveen_and_the_medias_erasure_of_muslim_feminists/
- 77 Oxford University Press blog, "Five important facts about honor killings", by Dietrich Oberwittler and Julia Kassel
<https://blog.oup.com/2014/07/five-important-facts-about-honor-killings/>. The authors also wrote "Honor Killings", published as Chapter 33 of *The Oxford Handbook of Gender, Sex, and Crime*.
- 78 But see also *ibid.*, Wadud, "Qur'an and Woman", pp 74-78, where she reads surah 4:34 as 'not permission, but a severe restriction of existing practices.'
- 79 Both the Torah and the Bible include the Book of Deuteronomy, which provides for the authority to bring an unruly son to the authorities to be stoned to death, (Deuteronomy 21:18-21).
- 80 Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network
<https://www.rainn.org/statistics/victims-sexual-violence>
- 81 <http://www.domesticabuseshelter.org/infodomesticviolence.htm#statistics>
- 82 Honour Based Violence Action Network, <http://hvb-awareness.com/statistics-data/>
- 83 "Revisiting Reza Aslan's response to Bill Maher about female genital mutilation", by Katie Sanders, October 21st, 2014
<http://www.politifact.com/punditfact/article/2014/oct/21/revisiting-reza-aslans-response-bill-maher-about-f/>
- 84 Usama Hasan, "Hadiths on Female Circumcision (FGM)", March 19th, 2014. Two of the three *hadith* cited come with a "chain of transmission" (or evidence) questioned by Islamic scholars, and the third proscribed a bath, not circumcision, though it is easy to see how those who advocate for the practice of circumcision might try to twist this report to support their position.
<https://unity1.wordpress.com/2014/03/19/hadiths-on-female-circumcision-fgm/>.
- 85 *The Holy Quran*, sura Al-Ahzaab, 33:53.
- 86 Mernissi, *ibid.*, pp85-101, where her analysis of the revelation of this verse provides "linguistic, social, historical and religious" context often glossed over by those who read this passage as a clear mandate that muslim women cover.
- 87 Badran, *ibid*
- 88 The Guardian, "Tariq Ramadan: Muslims need to reform their minds", by David Shariatmadari, Feb 28th, 2017.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/28/tariq-ramadan-muslims-need-to-reform-their-minds>
- 89 <http://www.chicagotribune.com/suburbs/naperville-sun/news/ct-nvs-Muslim-mosque-open-house-st-0501-20160430-story.html>
- 90 Gallup, 'Most Muslim Americans See No Justification for Violence', by Nicole Naurath, August 2nd, 2011
<http://www.gallup.com/poll/148763/muslim-americans-no-justification-violence.aspx>
- 91 <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/network-against-islamophobia/>