

NOT QUALIFIED

EXPOSING THE
DECEPTION BEHIND
AMERICA'S TOP **25**
PSEUDO EXPERTS
ON ISLAM



A PUBLICATION OF THE
MUSLIM PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL

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INTRODUCTION AND EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Based on the tracking of media coverage on American Muslims, anti-Muslim sentiment seems to be at an all-time high.¹ The negative sentiment appears in many venues, from state legislatures debating anti-Sharia bills to opposition over construction of new Islamic centers. At the same time, media coverage has begun to focus on anti-Muslim activists in the United States and their corrosive effects on American pluralism.²

Within a national security and law enforcement context, there is no denying that extremists constituting the leadership of Al-Qaeda and its affiliates explicitly articulate their justifications for violence in “worldly” political terms – including the now-deceased Osama Bin Laden.³ They have also manipulated religious beliefs for their propaganda and terrorism recruitment purposes. This fact makes it important to understand how violent actors like Al-Qaeda and its affiliates manipulate Islam, among other factors, for operational and ideological purposes.

For the benefit of national security and the American public at large, we must ensure that those speaking about terrorism perpetrated in the name of Islam are qualified. At a minimum, individuals who speak about Islam and its co-opting by violent actors need to be properly informed (or at least ground themselves in human resources who do have the proper qualifications).⁴

¹ For instance, see: “Religious Perceptions in America: With an In-Depth Analysis of U.S. Attitudes Toward Muslims and Islam.” *Abu Dhabi Gallup Center*, (2010), P. 9; Greg Sargent, “Poll: Fox News Watchers Far More Likely to Have Negative Views of Muslims.” *Washington Post*, (February 16, 2011). Available at: <http://wapo.st/flsxjD>.

² Scott Shane, “Killings in Norway Spotlight Anti-Muslim Thought in U.S.” *New York Times*, (July 24, 2011). Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/25/us/25debate.html?pagewanted=all>; Michelle Boorstein, “Anxiety on All Sides of Upcoming House Hearing on Radicalization of U.S. Muslims.” *Washington Post*, (February 27, 2011). Available at: <http://wapo.st/fawdV8>.

³ For instance, see: Bruce Lawrence, *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden*. Tr. James Howarth. (New York, NY: Verso Books, 2005), P. xviii – xxi; Sharon Curcio, “Generational Differences in Waging Jihad.” *Military Review*, (July/August 2005), P. 84; James L. Payne, “What do the Terrorists Want?” *The Independent Institute*, (Summer 2008), P. 29-37; Thomas Hegghammer, “Lady Gaga vs. The Occupation.” *Foreign Policy*, (March 31, 2010). Available at: <http://bit.ly/dyaNiH>.

⁴ **Thanks to one of the anonymous government law enforcement trainers for this point. This caveat is key in our view. We recognize the study of terrorism is inherently interdisciplinary. As terrorism academic expert Boaz Ganor notes, “In order to fully understand the phenomenon of terrorism, the tools of a single research discipline do not suffice. Almost all academic disciplines are relevant to one aspect or another of terrorism.” We recognize that within a law enforcement and intelligence training context – particularly to combat violent extremism – it is not feasible to demand all instructors have degrees in Islamic studies. However it is reasonable, in our opinion, to ensure that instructors citing primary source religious texts and religious beliefs reference their analysis to individuals who have formal academic training and qualifications in interpreting those texts and beliefs.** For the Ganor quote, see: Boaz Ganor, *The Counterterrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transactions Publishers, 2005). P. xvi.

Of course, this is nothing to say of those individuals who also speak about national security related issues yet lack formal and relevant qualifications. An example would be someone such as Zuhdi Jasser, who claims to be an expert on political Islam, yet only has an M.D. and whose primary profession is a physician. (See P. 51 for more information.)

In America's free society, the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution allows everyone the right to freely express their opinions. However it is one thing to give an opinion, it is entirely another – either explicitly or implicitly – to claim that a person is an expert on a particular topic. As the late U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan once said, "You are entitled to your own opinion, but you are not entitled to your own facts."⁵

There has already been significant and groundbreaking research on the anti-Muslim hate industry by the Center for American Progress as well as the Southern Poverty Law Center,⁶ among others. Their research focuses primarily on anti-Muslim hate activists' sources of funding and their possible connections to other forms of hate. No study that we know of has focused on the qualifications of the so-called "experts" on Islam and Muslim extremists.

This study seeks to fill in this research gap by focusing on the academic qualifications of 25 individuals who comprise – some of the most vocal voices and activists in the anti-Muslim circuit. We specifically focus on highly visible personalities who engage in anti-Islam rhetoric and who frequently and inaccurately speak not only about extremist Muslims, or even Muslims at-large, but who also claim to be knowledgeable about the fundamental beliefs and tenets of the Islamic faith.

The study asks the question: Do these individuals have the formal academic credentials to back their explicit and implicit claims of expertise on Islam?

Within the context of our study, we define⁷ an expert on Islam as an individual who has formal academic qualifications in Islamic Studies from either 1) an accredited institution of higher education in the West or 2) an institution of higher education in a Muslim-majority country that rank among the world's top 500 universities. In order to be classified as expert, as defined above, one's credentials must also be publicly verifiable.

⁵ Timothy J. Penny, "Facts are Facts." *National Review Online*, (September 4, 2003). Available at: <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/207925/facts-are-facts/timothy-j-penny>.

⁶ Wajahat Ali, Eli Clifton, Matthew Duss, et al., *Fear Inc.: The Roots of the Islamophobia Network in America*. (Washington, D.C.: Center for American Progress, 2011); Robert Steinbeck, "The Anti-Muslim Circle." *Intelligence Report*, (Summer 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/myIVTX>.

⁷ For further explanatory footnotes related to our definition, please see notes 8, 9, and 10 on page 8.

Our research finds:

- **Of the 25 people examined, only 1 (4%) had the qualifications to be considered an “expert” on Islam.**
- **Most of these individuals do not have a college degree in Islamic studies.** A few, such as Pamela Geller and Brigitte Gabriel, do not have a college degree.
- **The individuals in the study fall into three broad categories in terms of the public role they play:** 1) “Scholars” 2) “Validators” and 3) “Activists”. Scholars are further classified as “religious interpreters”, “security analysts” and “terrorism talking heads.”
- **Several of the “validators” in our study have made unsubstantiated, odd, and inaccurate statements** that raise serious questions about their subject matter expertise, and at times, personal authenticity. For example, one of the people examined in our study claimed to be an ex-terrorist, but an investigation by CNN found this to be false.
- **These facts have severe negative consequences for our national security:**
 - *At a pragmatic level*, such rhetoric is counterproductive for two reasons. First, it undermines community oriented policing efforts by sowing seeds of distrust between law enforcement practitioners and the American Muslim communities they are sworn to protect, and which have been crucial in keeping the nation safe. Second, anti-Muslim rhetoric plays into the very grievance narratives that terrorist organizations use to radicalize individuals.
 - *At a legal level*, when conspiratorial rhetoric is employed at training events, the likely outcome is the undermining of the American legal philosophy that the law enforcement community is sworn to uphold, which is based upon the guilt or innocence of an individual actor based upon their individual behavior, as opposed to collective guilt based upon group membership (and not behavior).
 - *At a professional level*, public servants take pride in subordinating their personal politics to the higher calling of their mission and the values enshrined in the Constitution. Arguments that leverage the freedom of speech in order to undermine freedom of religion, while distasteful, are protected by our nation’s Constitution. However, they have no place in our federal, state, and local government practitioners who serve the public in accordance with the law.

DEFINING EXPERT

For the purposes of our study's research focus, an expert on Islam is defined as an individual who has formal academic qualifications in Islamic Studies⁸ from an accredited institute of higher education in the West or those institutes of higher education in Muslim-majority countries that rank among the world's top 500 universities.⁹ In order to be classified as "expert", as defined above, one's credentials must also be publicly verifiable.

⁸ This study defines "Islamic studies" based on modified descriptions of University of Chicago's Divinity School and Yale University's Islamic Studies programs: *Islamic studies is the study of Islam as a textual tradition inscribed in history and practiced within particular contemporary social, cultural, and/or political contexts. This includes Islamic religious history (the development of Islamic civilization, law, society and institutions), Islamic religious thought (Islamic philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, Sunnism, Sufism and Shi'ism), Islamic scripture and tradition (composition, redaction, and interpretation of the Quran and Hadith), and modern and contemporary Islam (the relationship between Islamic religious practices and understandings and their manifestation in regional social, cultural, and/or political contexts. See: "Islamic Studies." University of Chicago Divinity School, (2012). Available at: <http://divinity.uchicago.edu/academics/islamic-studies.shtml>; "Islamic Studies." Yale University Religious Studies Department, (2006). Available at: <http://www.yale.edu/religiousstudies/fields.html#Isl>.*

⁹ We focus on studies in Western countries, as opposed to Muslim-majority countries – with the exception of global top 500 schools – because as one peer-reviewed academic study on the scholarly instruction of religion, including Islam, at universities in Muslim-majority countries, found, "What is still much needed are competent staff, material facilities, a positive climate for intellectual pursuits, technical training in the study of texts, facts and meanings, and mental training for the pursuit of scholarly truth are needed." [sic.] See: Jacques Waarenburg, "Observations on the Scholarly Study of Religions as Pursued in Some Muslim Countries." *Numen*, Vol. 45, No. 3, (1998), P. 235. For global university rankings, we use one of the world's top ranking specialist companies, Quacquarelli Symonds. See: "QS Top 500 Universities." *Quacquarelli Symonds*, (2011). Available at: <http://content.qs.com/supplement2011/top500.pdf>.

RESEARCH FOCUS AND PARAMETERS

MPAC conducted research and analysis of 25 case studies¹⁰ of individuals in America engaging in anti-Muslim rhetoric. In addition to positioning him/herself, explicitly or implicitly, as an expert on Islamic beliefs, these individuals were included in our study based on two main criteria:

1. **Can the individual be considered “prominent”?** Does he receive significant national print, radio, and television media exposure and/or conduct law enforcement trainings? Do they also have a direct following of more than 100 people? Under this criterion, someone like the Qur’an-burning Florida-based pastor Terry Jones with his small congregation of only 50 people.
2. **Has s/he said something derogatory and false specifically about the Islamic *faith*?** Some examples are “the Qur’an is a book of violence”, “Muhammad was a pedophile”, “Islam sanctions genocide,” “Sharia aims to convert or kill non-believers.” To further elaborate:
 - a. The statement “Muslims are all murderers because of their violent *religion*” would potentially merit the speaker’s inclusion in our study because the statement is explicitly based on a denigration of the faith, not people per se.
 - b. Compare with the statement “Muslims are all murderers” which does *not* qualify – the statement is a reference to the people, not the Islamic faith per se.

Our research is based on primary and secondary source materials – ranging from information contained on the websites of those in question, to media reports and research by anti-hate and other watchdog groups.

Wherever possible, all of our sources have also been copied, downloaded, saved, and backed up in a special archive. We do so out of concern that some sources, such as Internet links to news reports, may expire. In other cases, such as blog posts and articles written by the individuals we examine, may have their content partially or entirely edited or deleted.

¹⁰ We note that other individuals have not been included in our study. Our study is qualitative, not meant to be exhaustive. As prior research (Southern Poverty Law Center and Center for American Progress) has established, so far, there are a small, but vocal number of individuals engaging in anti-Muslim rhetoric (i.e. “the n-size of prominent speakers engaging in anti-Muslim/Islam rhetoric is small”). Our study seeks to provide a “large snapshot” of a broader trend of public figures engaging in anti-Muslim rhetoric.

THE DIVISION OF LABOR

Our study showed that the individuals held different public roles. Following the classifications determined in the report by the Center for American Progress, the individuals in our study fall into three basic categories: 1) “**Scholars**,” 2) “**Validators**”, and 3) “**Activists**.”¹¹

The “**scholars**” are divided into three further subcategories:

- *Religion experts or interpreters.* Those who explicitly focus their efforts on analyzing (and distorting) Islamic beliefs and scriptural sources. These would include Raymond Ibrahim, Robert Spencer, Andrew Bostom, and Stephen Coughlin.
- *Security analysts.* Though (negatively) commenting on Islamic beliefs, these individuals mainly focus on security policy research, law enforcement training, and/or political analysis. They include Walid Phares, William Gawthrop, Sebastyen Gorka, John Guandolo, Frank Gaffney, Andrew McCarthy, John Giduck, and Daniel Pipes.
- *Terrorism talking heads.* Like the security analysts they are concerned with security and/or political issues, but also do significant work with media outlets as regular columnists, commentators, or journalists. They include Andrew McCarthy, Patrick Poole, Erick Stakelbeck, Steven Emerson, Frank Gaffney, David Gaubatz, and Daniel Pipes.

“**Validators**” are those individuals who claim firsthand knowledge of Islam (and Muslims) as a Muslim or ex-Muslim and/or who have lived in a Muslim-majority country. They use this purported firsthand knowledge to claim expertise to generally denounce Muslims and Islamic beliefs. Such individuals include Walid Shoebat, Tawfik Hamid, Nonie Darwish, Brigitte Gabriel, and Zuhdi Jasser.

“**Activists**” are individuals who take the messages of anti-Muslim bias to grassroots supporters and local/state government. They engage in local community organizing (such as rallying, local event organizing, and letter writing and phone calls to elected officials), testimony in state and local legislatures, sponsoring bills at the local and state levels. Individuals in this category include, Pamela Geller, William “Jerry Boykin”, David Horowitz, Robert Spencer, David Yerushalmi, and Brigitte Gabriel.

¹¹ While we study many of the same people as the Center for American Progress, we differ on which individuals we put into what category. We also recognize a person can fit into more than one category or subcategory (i.e. there is some overlap among the categories) depending on his/her activities.

A LOOK AT THEIR (LACK OF) QUALIFICATIONS

24 out of the 25 (96%) people analyzed in our report lack the formal academic qualifications to be classified as an expert on Islam and/or Muslims, at large.

The findings in our research demonstrate that the overwhelming majority of these “authorities on Islam” lack any formal credentials that would qualify them as an expert on Islamic beliefs.

Most of these individuals have a college degree in a field that is completely unrelated to Islamic studies. Others, such as Pamela Geller and Brigitte Gabriel – both “activists” – do not even hold a college degree.

The individuals in our study appear to be a group of pundits who use the attacks of September 11, 2001 as an opportunity to make money and fame by promoting and exploiting anti-Muslim sentiment.

In addition, several of the “validators” in our study have made unsubstantiated odd and inaccurate statements that raise serious questions about their subject matter expertise, and at times, personal authenticity.

One example of an odd and unsubstantiated claim is Tawfik Hamid, a self-proclaimed ex-terrorist. Hamid claims he is an ex-member of the deadly Gama’a Islamiyya terrorist organization that killed thousands of Egyptians in the 1990s. This claim seems odd on its face because there is no indication law enforcement interrogated or arrested Hamid for his alleged violent past. To our knowledge, no independent third party has publicly verified his alleged terror credentials.

Hamid also claims to be a “Muslim reformer” yet seems to be completely disengaged from and hostile to the very faith community he seeks to reform. For instance, without citing any evidence, Hamid claimed, “the majority of Muslim are all passive terrorists. They believe in this evil. They support it either by money or emotionally they are not against it.”¹² This leads one to

¹² Interview with Orla Barry Radio Show, as transcribed by Richard Silverstein. See: Richard Silverstein, “Tawfiq Hamid, “Islamic Reformer” Who Hates Islam.” *Tikun Olam*, (February 3, 2006). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zGV0df>. Another example is how Hamid wrote an article in the wake of the Fort Hood Shooting that raised suspicions about all Muslims serving the U.S. military in the article, entitled, “US Reaction to Muslims in its Military MUST be Well-Calculated.” See, Tawfik Hamid, “2009-2011: Understanding Radical Islam.” *Tawfikhamid.com*, (2011). Available at: http://www.tawfikhamid.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Understanding_Radical_Islam.pdf, P. 150-152.

ask how someone can be a reformer of a religious community without being willing to *constructively* engage that community.

Another example is Walid Shoebat, another self-proclaimed ex-terrorist, who frequently speaks at law enforcement seminars. Shoebat regularly lectures to his audiences about the supposed threat Islam, as an entire faith, poses to the United States. His assertions that he engaged in violent acts against Israeli targets during his terrorist career were found to be fraudulent by a CNN investigation.¹³

Only two individuals – both categorized as “scholars” – had the formal and verifiable academic credentials to be classified as an expert, Daniel Pipes and Raymond Ibrahim. With a Ph.D in Medieval Islamic History as his academic background, since 9/11 Pipes has frequently written about contemporary political events in popular and policy academic publications, yet there is no record of him having traveled to a Muslim-majority country for original research in several decades. While one may argue that traveling for such research may not be necessary to conduct informed discussion of current events, neither does Pipes academic background provide him the necessary credentials.

In this context, the importance of field research to increasing and maintaining one’s expertise cannot be overemphasized. As James Bill, a Middle East studies professor at the College of William and Mary puts it, “Generalizations built upon distorted and incomplete factual foundations result in twisted misconceptions and faulty explanations. **Elaborate and elegant theoretical formations cannot substitute for the difficult work of rigorously gathering political data in the field.**”¹⁴

The last publicly known record of Pipes’ field research was for his dissertation later published as a book, *Slave Soldiers and Islam*, which was released in 1981.¹⁵ It was rated by Khaled Abou El Fadl, one of the world’s foremost experts on Islamic law and a 2003 appointee to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom by President G.W. Bush, as one of “The Worst Books on Islam”).¹⁶

Questions about Pipes’ academic credentials should not distract us from his history of biased views on Islam and Muslims. Pipes was nominated in 2003 to the United States Institute of Peace, a quasi-governmental think-tank in Washington, D.C. However, he failed to receive Senate confirmation because of his history of anti-Muslim bias; instead he received a shortened Presidential appointment.¹⁷

¹³ Drew Griffin and Kathleen Johnson, “‘Ex-Terrorist’ Rakes in Homeland Security Bucks.” *CNN*, (July 13, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/nkgb31>

¹⁴ James A. Bill, “The Study of Middle East Politics, 1946-1996: A Stocktaking.” *Middle East Journal*, No. 50, Vol. 4, (1996), P. 506.

¹⁵ Eyal Press, “Neo-Con Man.” *The Nation*, (April 22, 2004). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zzPScQ>.

¹⁶ “The WORST Books on Islam – Identified by Dr. Abou El Fadl.” *Scholar of the House*, (No date). Available at: <http://www.scholarofthehouse.com/woboonisidby.html>.

¹⁷ Lolita C. Baldor, “Bush to Make Recess Appointment to Peace Institute of Daniel Pipes.” *Associated Press*, (August 16, 2003). Available at: <http://bit.ly/pzvlcX>.

Regarding Raymond Ibrahim, he is a translator not a trained expert in Islamic studies. His extreme bias landed him in significant controversy with his former employer, the Library of Congress. His outspokenness resulted in his forced resignation, where he is now working under organizations run by Daniel Pipes and David Horowitz. (For more information, see P. 49.)

A CASE STUDY OF NON-EXPERT ANALYSIS ON ISLAM: THE 'TEAM B' SHARIA REPORT

The five themes of the anti-Muslim hate industry are perhaps written blatantly in a report by a Washington, DC-based “think-tank” the Center for Security Policy (CSP). The CSP’s report *Shariah the Threat to America: An Exercise in Competitive Analysis: Report of Team B II*, (“Team B report”) purports to summarize “months of analysis... by a group of top security policy experts concerned with the preeminent totalitarian threat of our time: the legal-political-military doctrine known within Islam as *shariah*.”¹⁸

Aside from its false and biased definition of sharia underscores two key weaknesses with the report. First, is the idea that sharia is an unchanging and monolithic “doctrine”. As Brannon Wheeler, Director of the Center for Middle East and Islamic Studies at the U.S. Naval Academy, notes, “No. 1, there is no book called ‘sharia.’ You can’t go to the library and pick up something called ‘sharia’.”¹⁹

Seven of the report’s 19 writers, including the head of the CSP, Frank Gaffney, are individuals included in our study. Gaffney has publically claimed that President Barack Obama is a secret Muslim. Gaffney was condemned for his unfounded smears against American Conservative Union (ACU) members Suhail Khan and Grover Norquist by prominent conservatives such as Cleta Mitchell²⁰ and a unanimously passed resolution from the board of the ACU.²¹

¹⁸ *Shariah the Threat to America: An Exercise in Competitive Analysis: Report of Team B II*. (Washington, D.C.: Center for Security Policy, 2010). P. I.

¹⁹ Deidre Conner and Jeff Brumley, “What Sharia is – and Isn’t.” *Jacksonville Times-Union*, (December 26, 2010). Available at: <http://m.jacksonville.com/news/metro/2010-12-26/story/what-sharia-and-isnt>.

²⁰ “Letter from Cleta Mitchell to ACU Board on Frank Gaffney’s Allegations Against Norquist and Kahn.” *Foley and Lardner LLP*, (September 21, 2011). Available at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/81353264/Letter-From-Cleta-Mitchell-To-ACU-Board-On-Frank-Gaffney-s-Allegations-Against-Norquist-And-Kahn>.

²¹ “Resolution of the Board of Directors of the American Conservative Union.” *American Conservative Union*, (September 20, 2011). Available at: <http://scr.bi/AqaVXw>.

George Washington University Islamic Studies professor Sayyed Hossein Nasr, notes that sharia is best understood as further clarifying broader moral and ethical rules that are mentioned in religious texts, such as the Qur'an. As Nasr describes, "The Quran says to be charitable. But how charitable? That is sharia."²²

The second weakness goes to the heart of this study: *none of the people involved in the production of the Team B report were formally trained experts in Islam*. When this weakness was pointed out by one of the report's critics,²³ one of the report's authors responded by saying that they tried to consult with an Islamic "scholar": Egyptian national Umar Abdur-Rahman, who was convicted for assisting the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center.²⁴ Needless to say, Abdur-Rahman is hardly an example of mainstream Muslim discourse.²⁵ According to Malika Zeghal, a Harvard professor and expert on Islamic higher education in Egypt, Abdur-Rahman represented an "extreme periphery" among his academic peers.²⁶

Finally the report has been dismissed by those working in national security policy. According to the FBI's testimony before the Senate Homeland Security Committee:²⁷

...[The Team B report] underestimates the United States Government's (USG) level of knowledge and understanding of the activities taking place in the United States and overstates the threat posed by those activities. The report also... makes unsubstantiated assertions regarding limitations on our ability to respond to ongoing threats. Among other reasons, this may be because the report relies on outdated information.

²² Ibid.

²³ Matthew Duss, "Creeping Sharia 'Team B' Report Presented to Congress." *Think Progress*, (September 15, 2010). Available at: <http://thinkprogress.org/security/2010/09/15/176274/creeping-sharia-team-b-report-presented-to-congress/>.

²⁴ Patrick S. Poole, "ThinkProgress Strikes Out on Team B II Report." *Center for Security Policy*, (2011). Available at: <http://shariahthethreat.org/2010/09/thinkprogress-strikes-out-on-team-b-ii-report/>.

²⁵ For a comprehensive, but not exhaustive, list of Muslim scholarly denunciations of terrorism, see: Sheila Musaji, "Muslim Voices – Part I – Fatwas & Statements by Muslim Scholars and Organizations." (January 28, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/aMAF6C>.

²⁶ Malika Zeghal, "Religion and Politics in Egypt: The Ulema of Al-Azhar, Radical Islam, and the State." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3, (1999). P. 371-399.

²⁷ Eli Clifton, "FBI: Center for Security Policy Sharia Report Made 'Unsubstantiated Assertions.'" *ThinkProgress.org*, (February 24, 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/ydDOPm>.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Analysis of the findings demonstrated a strong consistency in the anti-Islamic rhetoric espoused among the 25 individuals surveyed in this study. They mirror the five major anti-Muslim themes discussed in a recent Political Research Associates report on anti-Muslim bias among some private law enforcement counterterrorism trainers. The anti-Muslim themes are:²⁸

1. **Islam is an inherently violent religion**, seeking nothing short of absolute conquest of Western Civilization.
2. **Muslims are a Fifth Column**, engaging in “Stealth Jihad” that is subverting the US from within.
3. **U.S. Muslim organizations are part of a global Muslim Brotherhood conspiracy**, seeking to undermine America.
4. **Muslims engage in “lawfare”** to advance a subversive agenda and silence opponents through the court system.
5. **Muslims Seek to Replace the U.S. Constitution with Sharia (Islamic jurisprudence).**

These bias themes have severe negative consequences for our national security. Unfortunately it has affected curricula of training academies in some of our nation’s top law enforcement agencies, including the New York City Police Department²⁹ and Federal Bureau of Investigation.³⁰

Commenting on the flawed nature of such training, Jarret Brachman, former Director of Research at West Point’s Combating Terrorism Center, and author of several papers and books on terrorism, notes:³¹

The individuals who have been rightly “sidelined” from CT training were because they promote hate, intolerance, paranoia and fear. Their Islamic history is grossly selective and their position is disgustingly biased, often by their own intense religious views or attempt to pander for fundraising purposes. The whole “Counter-Jihad” / “Stealth Jihad” / “Creeping Shariah” gang of [Pamela] Geller, [Robert] Spencer, [Kamal] Saleem, [Stephen] Coughlin, [John] Guandolo, [Rep. Allen] West, [Tom] Trento, [Steven] Emerson, [Wafa] Sultan,

²⁸ Thom Cincotta, “Manufacturing the Muslim Menace.” *Political Research Associates*, (March 2011). Available at: http://www.publiceye.org/liberty/training/Muslim_Menace_Complete.pdf.

²⁹ “MPAC Demands Reform of NYPD After News of Anti-Muslim Training Video.” *Muslim Public Affairs Council*, (January 26, 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/wyFDop>.

³⁰ For instance, see: Spencer Ackerman and Noah Schachtman, “Video: FBI Trainer Says Forget ‘Irrelevant’ Al-Qaida, Target Islam.” *Wired.com*, (September 20, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/nTff8x>;

³¹ Jarret Brachman, “On the Language of Counterterrorism.” *Cronus Global LLC*, (May 23, 2012). Available at: <http://jarretbrachman.net/?p=1885>.

[Geert] Wilders, P[atrack] Poole, [James] Woolsey, [Frank] Gaffney, [David] Yerulshalmi, and, with great sadness I add, [Retired Gen. William] Boykin, to the list, among others, is doing this nation a great disservice. And to be clear, I say this as a counterterrorism professional who has dedicated my entire career to this field, so don't suggest I'm a softy who doesn't understand the 'true nature of the threat' or similar mumbo jumbo.

DEBUNKING THE 'U.S. MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD CONSPIRACY'

One of the most repeated allegations by the anti-Muslim personalities analyzed in this study is that American Muslim advocacy organizations are in collusion with each other, and the Egypt-based Muslim Brotherhood (a religiously-inspired political movement) with the intent to “infiltrate” the United States and undermine it by waging “civilizational jihad.” To lend it credibility, this claim relies heavily on a 1991 document, “An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Brotherhood in North America”.³²

An analysis of this document, by experts like Harvard Professor and fluent Arabic speaker, Tarek Masoud, found the claim to be overblown. He offered his views on the document during an April 2011 House Intelligence Oversight Committee hearing on the Muslim Brotherhood, convened by Subcommittee Chairwoman Susan Myrick (R-NC). His reading of the memo’s language found that this was one individual from Egypt attempting to make proselytizing of U.S. local organizations a priority.³³

In other words, the memo’s language implied that existing local organizations were independent of the Muslim Brotherhood, and had to *first* be converted to their political ideology before further action could take place. According to Masoud, who is also an expert on the Egyptian Brotherhood and its ideology, the document reflected one person’s views, rather than the “arms of the Muslim Brotherhood octopus.”³⁴

³² Mohamed Akram, “An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goals for the Brotherhood in North America.” (May 19, 1991). Available at: <http://www.investigativeproject.org/document/id/20>. Also see: John Guandolo, “Crossing the Bridge: The Implications of the Holy Land Foundation Trial (Part 1).” *Big Peace*, (April 10, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/g99WcM>

³³ “Muslim Brotherhood.” *U.S. House Intelligence Subcommittee on Terrorism, Intelligence and Analysis*, (April 13, 2011). Available at: <http://cs.pn/h80te0>. See Masoud’s remarks at the 1:29:30 mark.

³⁴ Ibid.

At a pragmatic level, such rhetoric is counterproductive for two reasons. First, it undermines community oriented policing efforts by sowing seeds of distrust between law enforcement practitioners and the American Muslim communities they are sworn to protect. These are the very communities, which have been crucial to keeping the nation safe.

Research by the Muslim Public Affairs Council,³⁵ and Duke University,³⁶ has shown that **since 9/11 between one-third (33%) to two-fifths (40%) of all homegrown Al-Qaeda plots threatening the American homeland were prevented with help of American Muslims.**

As one article in *The Dispatch*, the official monthly publication of the U.S. Justice Department's Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Office, notes, "This kind of false information training creates bias and hostility toward communities before there is even a chance for interpersonal engagement. Law enforcement officials, particularly executives and managers, need to be aware of such pitfalls."³⁷

Anti-Muslim rhetoric also plays into the very grievance narratives that terrorist organizations use to radicalize individuals. As one well-respected terrorism analyst notes, "al-Qaida has consistently rallied its followers around a simple populist pan-Islamic message, which is that 'Islam is under attack;'"³⁸

When certain trainers compare Islam to the evil "Death Star" from the movie *Star Wars*,³⁹ or say "Muhammad's mindset is a source for terrorism",⁴⁰ the rhetoric only serves to validate the extremist narratives used by Al-Qaeda to gain recruits.⁴¹

From a legal standpoint, when conspiratorial rhetoric is employed at training events, the likely outcome is the undermining of the American legal philosophy that the law enforcement community is sworn to uphold. As opposed to *collective guilt* based upon group membership, the

³⁵ Alejandro J. Beutel, "Data on Post-9/11 Terrorism in the United States." *Muslim Public Affairs Council*, (January 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/ygr93q>.

³⁶ Charles Kurzman, "Muslim American Terrorism in the Decade Since 9/11." *Triangle Center for Terrorism and Homeland Security*, (February 8, 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/ygwdPx>. For a more conservative estimate, see: Peter Bergen, et al., "Post-9/11 Jihadist Terrorism Cases Involving U.S. Citizens and Residents: An Overview." *New America Foundation*, (2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/IPRHie>.

³⁷ Alejandro J. Beutel and Saadia Khan, "Partnering with American Muslim Communities to Fight Crime." *The Dispatch*, Vol. 4, No. 11, (November 2011). Available at: <http://1.usa.gov/xYgeOK>.

³⁸ Brynar Lia, "Al-Qaida's Appeal: Understanding its Unique Selling Points." *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 2, No. 8, (2008), P. 4.

³⁹ Spencer Ackerman and Noah Schachtman, "Video: FBI Trainer Says Forget 'Irrelevant' Al-Qaida, Target Islam." *Wired.com*, (September 20, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/nTff8x>.

⁴⁰ "Ex-Official: Muhammad Reveals Key to Overcoming Jihadists." *World Net Daily*, (October 31, 2006). Available at: <http://www.wnd.com/2006/10/38575/>.

⁴¹ For instance, see the reactions on the English-language online Muslim forums, *Islamic Awakening* and *Ummah.com*, which very frequently feature posts and commentary from extremists. See: <http://forums.islamicawakening.com/f18/mohamed-elibiary-fbi-training-ackerman-expos%C3%A9-american-51171/>; Also see: <http://www.ummah.com/forum/archive/index.php/t-304433.html>, and <http://www.ummah.com/forum/archive/index.php/t-304327.html>.

American legal philosophy is based upon the guilt or innocence of an *individual* actor based upon their individual *behavior*.

From a professional perspective, public servants generally take pride in subordinating their personal politics to the higher calling of their mission and the values enshrined in the Constitution. Arguments that leverage the freedom of speech in order to undermine freedom of religion, while distasteful, are protected by our nation's Constitution. However, they have no place in the classrooms of our federal, state, and local government practitioners who serve the public in accordance with the law.

Finally, the poisonous rhetoric of this "cottage industry" over the past decade cannot be dismissed as fringe public discourse. Such widespread hate has effects even beyond law enforcement training. It would not be an overstatement to say that such rhetoric has been used to create a permissible environment for violence against others.

One clear example was the killings perpetrated by violent extremist Anders Breivik. Commenting on extremist anti-Muslim ideology motivating the shootings, the *New York Times* quoted Marc Sageman, a terrorism expert and former CIA officer, as noting that:⁴²

"it would be unfair to attribute Mr. Breivik's violence to the writers who helped shape his world view. But at the same time, he said the counterjihad writers do argue that the fundamentalist Salafi branch of Islam 'is the infrastructure from which Al-Qaeda emerged. Well, they and their writings are the infrastructure from which Breivik emerged."

"This rhetoric is not cost free."

An analysis by MPAC of Breivik's "2083 Manifesto" found that more than 1 out of every 10 of his Internet citations came from websites associated with Daniel Pipes, Robert Spencer, Pamela Geller and David Horowitz. Walid Shoebat was mentioned at least 16 times and the anti-Islam film *Obsession* was cited at least 10 times.⁴³ All five of these individuals are examined in our list of 25 anti-Muslim personalities. (For a summary of the data, please see "Appendix A.")

⁴² Scott Shane, "Killings in Norway Spotlight Anti-Muslim Thought in U.S." *New York Times*, (July 24, 2011). Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/25/us/25debate.html>.

⁴³ Alejandro J. Beutel, "Content Analysis of the '2083 Manifesto.'" *Muslim Public Affairs Council*, (July 26, 2011). Available at: <http://www.archives2011.ghazali.net/MPAC-Analysis-of-Andrew-Berwick-2083-Manifesto.pdf>.

CONCLUSION

Though these individuals are few in number, their volume is in the marketplace of ideas that is, unfortunately, all too often ready and willing to hear and amplify their thoughts. The divisive rhetoric of these individuals is completely antithetical to the values of our free society. Rhetoric from these hateful individuals not only indicates their desire to divide our nation, but is a reflection of the overwhelming lack of formal and relevant academic scholarship.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

24 out of the 25 (96%) people analyzed in our report lack formal academic qualifications to be classified as an “expert” on Islam.

Only 1 out of the 25 (4%) people analyzed in our report has formal academic qualifications to be classified as an “expert” on Islam

APPENDIX A:

ANALYSIS OF CITATIONS IN NORWAY SHOOTER'S '2083 MANIFESTO'⁴⁴

Specific Search Term	Occurrences
"www.jihadwatch.org"	112
"Robert Spencer"	54
"Bat Ye'or"	45
"frontpagemag.com"	29
"Serge Trifkovic"	22
"Hugh Fitzgerald"	18
"Walid Shoebat"	16
"islam-watch.org"	14
"danielpipes.org"	14
"atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com"	12
"Daniel Pipes"	11
"Obsession"	10
"meforum.org"	6
"FrontPage Magazine"	5
"FrontPageMagazine.com"	5
"Pamela Geller"	1
"campus-watch.org"	1

⁴⁴ Ibid.

APPENDIX B: DATA SUMMARY ON ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS

Name	Lack of Academic Qualifications?
1. Andrew Bostom	X
2. William "Jerry" Boykin	X
3. Stephen Coughlin	X
4. Nonie Darwish	X
5. Steve Emerson	X
6. Brigitte Gabriel	X
7. Frank Gaffney	X
8. David Gaubatz	X
9. William Gawthrop	X
10. Pamela Geller	X
11. John Giduck	X
12. Sebestyen Gorka	X
13. John Guandolo	X
14. Tawfik Hamid	X
15. David Horowitz	X
16. Raymond Ibrahim	X
17. Zuhdi Jasser	X
18. Andrew McCarthy	X
19. Patrick Poole	X
20. Walid Phares	X
21. Daniel Pipes	
22. Walid Shoebat	X
23. Robert Spencer	X
24. Erick Stakelbeck	X
25. David Yerushalmi	X

PROFILES *of* INDIVIDUALS

Andrew G. Bostom



Andrew G. Bostom is a frequent writer and commentator on Muslims and Islam generally focusing on Islamic textual sources such as the Qur'an and the life of the Prophet Muhammad. His writings have appeared in publications including the *Washington Times* and the *National Review*⁴⁵ and think-tanks such as the Hudson Institute⁴⁶ and the Stonegate Institute.⁴⁷

Writing for the online publication *New English Review*, Bostom takes passages of the Qur'an out of their context to conclude that, "These verses and both their classical and modern exegesis by the most authoritative Muslim Koranic commentators are meant to inspire sacralized Jew hatred."⁴⁸

His articles and commentaries on Islam are featured in publications including, the *Washington Times*, *National Review Online*, *Revue Politique*, *American Thinker* and *FrontPage Magazine*. He has also written at least two books on Islam and Muslims, *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims* and *The Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism: From Sacred Texts to Solemn History*.

Not surprisingly his book *The Legacy of Jihad*, has been listed as one of the "Shariah Sources" for the Center for Security Policy's grossly biased "Team B II" report.⁴⁹ Despite positioning himself as a "scholar" of Islam, **Bostom has no formal academic credentials that would qualify him as an "expert" on Islamic beliefs.**

According to his biography, Bostom is an Associate Professor of Medicine in the Division of Renal Diseases at Rhode Island Hospital, the major teaching affiliate of Brown University Medical School. Although Bostom's extensive medical education has made him an accomplished physician, he is not an expert on Islam. Bostom has no formal education in Islamic studies or related academic disciplines, despite his regular commentary on Islamic beliefs.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ "The Roots and Legacy of Islamic Anti-Semitism." *Fora.tv*, (May 21, 2008). Available at: http://fora.tv/2008/05/21/The_Roots_and_Legacy_of_Islamic_Antisemitism. See event "Info" tab.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ "Writings by Andrew Bostom." *Stonegate Institute*, (2012). Available at: <http://www.stonegateinstitute.org/author/Andrew+Bostom>.

⁴⁸ Andrew Bostom, "Understanding the Islam in Islamic Antisemitism." *New English Review*, (May 30, 2009). Available at: <http://bit.ly/xU0knQ>.

⁴⁹ "Shariah Sources." *Center for Security Policy*, (2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/xVANDJ>.

⁵⁰ Andrew G. Bostom, "Andrew G. Bostom: Contributing Editor." *Family Security Matters*, (2012). Available at: http://www.familysecuritymatters.org/authors/id.24/author_detail.asp.

In addition to his extreme bias toward Islam, Bostom has associated himself with several other figures of anti-Muslim hate, including David Horowitz of FrontPage Magazine, Robert Spencer of Jihad Watch, and Pamela Geller of Atlas Shrugs, to name a few. (All three of these individuals are also analyzed in our study.) Bostom helped organize and finance a reception alongside Horowitz, Spencer and Geller during the 2009 Conservative Political Action Conference.⁵¹

⁵¹ Pamela Geller, "CPAC: Wilders *On Fire*: 'It Felt Like a Revival Meeting.'" *Atlas Shrugged*, (March 1, 2009). Available at: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2009/03/we-turned-a-corner-friday-night-something-really-big-happened-something-historic-in-the-face-of-a-complacent-lethargic-co.html.

William Boykin



William “Jerry” Boykin is a retired U.S. Army Lieutenant General. Although Boykin had a distinguished career in the armed forces, it was undercut by a history of hateful and conspiratorial remarks.

Examples of Boykin’s statements are that Islam is “a totalitarian way of life,” that Muslims should not be protected under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution,⁵² that there should be “no mosques in America,” and that Muslims are “under [religious] obligation to destroy our Constitution.”⁵³ Furthermore Boykin was one of the co-authors of the “Team B II” sharia report produced by the Center for Security Policy.

(In addition to William Boykin, Stephen Coughlin, John Guandolo, Andrew McCarthy, Patrick Poole, David Yerushalmi, and Frank Gaffney are co-authors of the Team B II report and included in our study. For more information on the “Team B II” report, see P. 11 in this report.)

Although billed as “an expert on Islamic history” by some supporters,⁵⁴ Mr. Boykin has no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies from an accredited institution of higher education in the West or those institutes of higher education in Muslim-majority countries that rank among the world’s top 500 universities that would qualify him as an “expert” on Islamic beliefs; he holds a Bachelor’s degree in English from Virginia Tech University.⁵⁵

Boykin has also recently claimed the national economic collapse was intentionally triggered by an insider conspiracy involving the Council on Foreign Relations and George Soros in order to create a Marxist world government and help Barack Obama win the 2008 Presidential election.⁵⁶

⁵² Erik Eckholm, “General Withdraws from West Point Talk.” *New York Times*, (January 30, 2012). Available at: <http://nyti.ms/xExDyK>.

⁵³ Faiz Shakir, “Veterans Call on West Point to Cancel Planned Speech by Islamophobic General.” *ThinkProgress*, (January 26, 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/wRmCRm>.

⁵⁴ Joanne Shriner, “Mayor Prayer Breakfast Features Army Commander.” *The Maryland Coast Dispatch*, (December 9, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/H502gQ>.

⁵⁵ “Lieutenant General William G. Boykin.” *Noble Warriors*, (No date). Available at: <http://bit.ly/smyuNm>

⁵⁶ Kyle Mantyla, Oak Initiative: George Soros, The CFR, and Obama Supporters Collapsed Our Economy. “*Rightwingwatch.org*” (May 12 2011), Available at: <http://bit.ly/jHQXcO>.

Stephen Coughlin



Stephen Coughlin is currently a Visiting Fellow at the International Assessment and Strategy Center, (a Washington DC-based defense think-tank) and a self-styled expert on shariah and Islamic jurisprudence. Formerly, he was a Pentagon adviser on Islamic Law before failing to get his contract renewed because of his explicit anti-Muslim bias and lack of qualifications.⁵⁷

In 2006 he wrote a Master's Thesis for the National Defense Intelligence College titled, "'To Our Great Detriment': Ignoring What Extremists Say About Jihad." One columnist from the conservative-leaning publication, the *National Review*, summarizes the main thrust of Coughlin's thesis as follows:⁵⁸

He frankly declares that this [G.W. Bush] administration has been wrong on the relation of Islam to jihadism and terrorism. While members of the administration sternly warn of the dire threats we face and how we must know our enemy, they themselves are lost in illusions about that enemy. The enemy is not Islamo-Fascism, but the jihadist elements of Islam itself. Coughlin points out that on the basis of very little, Bush, Rice, and other Administration people blithely declare Islam a religion of peace that has been hijacked by a few violent extremists for their own agenda, an agenda which they insist has nothing to do with Islam. They ignore all the evidence from Islamic sources that support violence in the name of spreading or defending the faith and bypass the professed and frequently stated aims of the jihadists.

Coughlin has no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies from an accredited institution of higher education in the U.S. or those institutes of higher education in Muslim-majority countries that rank among the world's top 500 universities that would qualify him as an "expert" on Islamic beliefs. He has a Master's degree in Strategic Intelligence specializing in terrorism,⁵⁹ a Juris Doctorate from the University of Minnesota and a bachelor's degree in History and Russian Area Studies from the University of Minnesota.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ "Coughlin Sacked." *Washington Times*, (January 4, 2008). Available at: <http://bit.ly/sJWnwa>; cf. Alejandro J. Beutel, "Pentagon Removes Incompetent Ideologue on Muslim Affairs." *Minaret of Freedom Institute*, (January 13, 2008). Available at: <http://blog.minaret.org/?p=540>.

⁵⁸ Carol Iannone, "Stephen Coughlin's Thesis." *National Review Online*, (January 23, 2008). Available at: <http://bit.ly/rPexN5>.

⁵⁹ This degree is most likely from the National Defense Intelligence College.

⁶⁰ "Stephen C. Coughlin." *International Strategy and Assessment Center*, (No date). Available at: http://www.strategycenter.net/scholars/scholarID.18/scholar_detail.asp

Coughlin was one of the co-authors of the discredited “Team B II” sharia report produced by the Center for Security Policy. (Stephen Coughlin, William “Jerry” Boykin, John Guandolo, Andrew McCarthy, Patrick Poole, David Yerushalmi, and Frank Gaffney are co-authors of the Team B II report and included in our study. For more information on the “Team B II” report, see P. 11 in this report.)

He also works at the Strategic Engagement Group (SEG), a private company that provides training to law enforcement, military and intelligence officials on terrorism, including, “Islamic Law as it relates to jihad and the manner by which our enemy uses the law at the strategic and ground levels.”⁶¹ Coughlin works at SEG with disgraced former FBI agent John Guandolo and a former employee of Steven Emerson (both are included in our study).

⁶¹ “Training Programs.” *Strategic Engagement Group*, (No Date). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zUwDvW>.

Nonie Darwish



Nonie Darwish is an Egyptian-born, self-proclaimed human rights activist living in the U.S. Her speech topics cover human rights with an emphasis on women's rights and minority rights in the Middle East. According to her biography, she frequently speaks on college campuses, "including Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Brown, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Oxford, Cornell, UCLA, NYU, Virginia Tech, UC Berkeley and several others."⁶² She has also spoken before legislative forums including "Capitol Hill, the House of Lords and the European Parliament."⁶³

As for her qualifications to speak on topics relating to Islam, **she has no academic credentials in Islamic Studies**; she holds a bachelor's degree in sociology from the American University in Cairo.⁶⁴

Born in Egypt, Darwish is the daughter of an Egyptian Army lieutenant general, who was called a "shahid" (martyr) by the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Darwish points to "the Middle Eastern Islamic culture and the propaganda of hatred taught to children from birth" for her father's actions and death. In 1978, she moved with her husband to the United States, and converted to Christianity.⁶⁵ The following statement by Darwish summarizes her outlook: "A mosque is not just a place for worship... It's a place where war is started, where commandments to do jihad start, where incitements against non-Muslims occur. It's a place where ammunition was stored."⁶⁶

In late 2011, Darwish spoke at a rally by the hate group Stop the Islamization of America, run by Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer. (Geller and Spencer are both included in this study.) Darwish's assertions at the rally included the views that Islam is a "poison to society", "based on lies", and that it must be "annihilated".⁶⁷

⁶² "Executive Board Member Bios – Nonie Darwish: Director." *Former Muslims United*, (No date). Available at: http://formermuslimsunity.org/?page_id=2148.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ "Human Rights Activist Nonie Darwish to Speak at Converse." *Converse College*, (April 2010). Available at: <http://bit.ly/xixKRv>.

⁶⁵ "The Arab Spring: Why It's Failing and How Israel is Involved." *UNM Israel Alliance*, (January 25, 2012). Available at: <http://unmia.com/?p=894>.

⁶⁶ Laurie Goodstein, "Across Nation, Mosque Projects meet Opposition." *New York Times*, (August 7, 2010). Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/08/us/08mosque.html?pagewanted=2&r=1>

⁶⁷ "Video: Nonie Darwish Says Islam Should be 'Annihilated.'" *Council on American Islamic Relations*, (September 30, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/ywfvXZ>.

Steven Emerson



Steven Emerson is a self-styled terrorism expert who runs the Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT), a non-profit that claims to focus on Muslim terrorist and extremist groups and individuals. Emerson and his staff frequently provide briefings to U.S. government and law enforcement agencies, members of Congress and congressional committees, and print and electronic media, both national and international.⁶⁸

Despite claiming that his focus is on terrorists, he has in the past extended his acrimony to Islamic beliefs and Muslims at-large. In a March 1995 article for the *Jewish Monthly*, Emerson claimed that Islam “sanctions genocide, planned genocide, as part of its religious doctrine.”⁶⁹ Moreover, in a 2007 interview, Emerson criticized President Bush for acknowledging that terrorists are not an authentic representation of the Islamic faith: “He goes back and forth, one minute denouncing ‘Islamofacism,’ another saying that peaceful jihad has been hijacked by the those who ‘pervert’

Islam. What crockery! Jihad is Jihad.”⁷⁰

Since 2007, it appears that Emerson has largely backed away from commenting, at least publicly, about the Islamic faith. However this has not stopped him from publicly supporting individuals such as Stephen Coughlin⁷¹ and Robert Spencer⁷² (both included in this study) when they have been criticized for mis-characterizing the Islamic faith as inherently violent and one that poses a national security threat.

Emerson extended Robert Spencer a platform as a guest columnist on the IPT website, which Spencer used to defend Dutch politician Geert Wilder’s anti-Muslim film, *Fitna*, as accurate and

⁶⁸ “Biography.” *StevenEmerson.com*, (No date.) Available at: <http://www.steveemerson.com/about>

⁶⁹ Meg Stalcup, “Fear Inc.: An Anatomy of an Anti-Islam Epidemic.” *The Investigative Fund*, (September 15, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/pvpW6v>.

⁷⁰ Ruthie Blum Leibowitz, “One on One with Steven Emerson: ‘Jihad is Jihad.’” *Jerusalem Post*, (September 20, 2007). Available at: <http://www.jpost.com/Features/Article.aspx?id=75879>. Also available at: <http://www.steveemerson.com/4294/one-on-one-with-steven-emerson-jihad-is-jihad>.

⁷¹ Steven Emerson, “Expert on Radical Islam Fired from Pentagon.” *Fox News*, (January 11, 2008). Available at: <http://www.investigativeproject.org/584/expert-on-radical-islam-fired-from-pentagon>.

⁷² Steven Emerson, “Library Association Abandons Principle, Allows Censorship.” *Investigative Project on Terrorism*, (July 21, 2009). Available at: <http://bit.ly/cAsKMk>.

devoid of hateful content.⁷³ The IPT website also recently attacked a New York law firm for uninviting Robert Spencer to promote his latest book.⁷⁴

Emerson also has connections with other individuals analyzed in our study. For instance, a 2009 990 IRS tax filing lists a person named “Andrew McCarthy” as the “Secretary/Treasurer” of the foundation of Emerson’s organization, “Investigative Project on Terrorism.”⁷⁵

Emerson holds no formal academic credentials in Islamic Studies from an accredited institution of higher learning; his bachelor’s and master’s degrees are in Urban Studies from Brown University.⁷⁶

In addition to Emerson’s lack of credentials on Islam and his dubious connections, he has also had a history of playing fast and loose with the truth. Perhaps one of Emerson’s most notorious gaffes, before 9/11, was his claim that Muslims perpetrated the Oklahoma City bombing. Speaking on CBS news in the immediate aftermath of the attack, Emerson stated that: “This was done with the attempt to inflict as many casualties as possible. That is a Middle Eastern trait.”⁷⁷

After 9/11, he has continued to perpetrate two highly faulty claims. The first claim is that extremists control 80 to 85 percent of mosques in the United States. Emerson bases this claim on the number of mosques that are owned by a national American Muslim endowment called the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT).⁷⁸ Emerson’s evidence to support his wild and unsubstantiated claim is flawed for several reasons.

First, Emerson’s original source for this claim is an unreliable fringe Muslim named Hisham Kabbani. According to the *Washington Post*’s “Fact Checker”, Kabbani made this claim in 1999, which was condemned by virtually every major U.S. Muslim organization. After 9/11 Kabbani repeated the 80 percent claim, but also said that Osama Bin Ladin had 5,000 suicide bombers ready to attack the United States and had purchased 20 nuclear warheads that could be smuggled into the country through suitcases.⁷⁹

⁷³ Robert Spencer, “Guest Column: Ingrid Mattson vs. Freedom of Speech.” *Investigative Project on Terrorism*, (July 11, 2008). Available at: <http://bit.ly/9zHHqp>.

⁷⁴ IPT News, “CAIR Blocks Discussion of Islam – But Only Temporarily.” *Investigative Project on Terrorism*, (April 5, 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/HhEmjW>.

⁷⁵ 2009 Form 990 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax for “Investigative Project on Terrorism Foundation.”

⁷⁶ Zachary Block, “One Man’s War on Terror.” *Brown Alumni Magazine*, (November/December 2002). Available at: <http://www.steveemerson.com/4267/one-mans-war-on-terror>

⁷⁷ John F. Sugg, “Steven Emersons Crusade.” *Fairness in Accuracy and Reporting*, (January/February 1999). Available at: <http://www.fair.org/index.php?page=1443>.

⁷⁸ “Interview with Steven Emerson.” *Bill Bennett Show*, August 26, 2010. <http://bit.ly/b1XMvC>. See remarks at: 8:10 - 8:32.

⁷⁹ Glenn Kessler, Peter King’s Claim about Radical Muslim Imams: Is it True?” *Washington Post*, (March 10, 2011). Available at: <http://wapo.st/h7T9ep>.

Kabbani's only evidence for his 80 percent statistic was that he visited 114 mosques around the country and made an offhand observation that about 90 of them were "exposed, to extreme or radical ideology."⁸⁰ There is no evidence that he used any scientific method or objectivity to gather and analyze his data.

The claim that extremists, through NAIT, control 80 to 85 percent of the mosques in the United States is also problematic because NAIT's assets are too small to account for those numbers. According to leading historian of American Islam, Edward Curtis IV, "Today there are more than 2,000 places of Muslim prayer, most of them mosques, in the United States."⁸¹ Compare this with the information from NAIT's website, "NAIT holds the titles of approximately 300 properties."⁸² These titles include not only mosques, but also "Islamic centers, schools and other real estate."⁸³ Putting aside Emerson's underlying unsubstantiated claim that NAIT is "extremist,"⁸⁴ the numbers do not add up because NAIT's property holdings amount to 15 percent of all U.S. mosques, at most. This is a far cry from Emerson's claim of 80 percent.

The second claim Emerson tries to promote is the idea that U.S. Muslim advocacy organizations are in collusion with the Egypt-based Muslim Brotherhood (a religiously-influenced political movement) to "infiltrate" the United States and undermine it through "civilizational jihad". To give it any shred of credibility, this claim heavily relies on a single 1991 document, "An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Brotherhood in North America".⁸⁵

An analysis of this document by experts like Professor Tarek Masoud of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government proved that the claim was overblown. He offered his views on the document during an April 2011 House Intelligence Oversight Committee hearing on the Muslim Brotherhood, convened by Chairwoman Susan Myrick (R-NC). His reading of the

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Edward Curtis IV, "Five Myths About Mosques in America." *Washington Post*, (August 29, 2010). Available at: <http://wapo.st/cAFM86>.

⁸² "About NAIT." *North American Islamic Trust*, (2007). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zMfsOX>.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ This assertion is most likely based on NAIT being named as an "unindicted co-conspirator" (UCC) in court documents related to a 2007 federal trial involving the now-defunct U.S. Muslim charity, *The Holy Land Foundation* (HLF). In those documents, it was claimed that NAIT had an "association" to the HLF, as well as Hamas. However a 2010 ruling by the U.S. Fifth Circuit of Appeals found that 1) NAIT's Fifth Amendment Rights were violated by the UCC designation and 2) the "association" to the HLF and Hamas "is not grounded in any legal rule that would that would give that conclusion substance and boundaries." (P.12). See: Emilio M. Garza, "United States of America v. North American Islamic Trust." *United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit*, (October 10, 2010). Available at: <http://scr.bi/T1dQhb>.

⁸⁵ Mohamed Akram, "An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goals for the Brotherhood in North America." (May 19, 1991). Available at: <http://www.investigativeproject.org/document/id/20>. For a lengthy overview of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood conspiracy argument, see: John Guandolo, "The Muslim Brotherhood in America (Part IV) – Crossing the Bridge: The Implications of the Holy Land Foundation Trial (Part 1)." *Big Peace*, (April 10, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/HyacrU>.

memo's language found that it represented the views of one individual from Egypt attempting to make U.S. proselytizing of local organizations a priority.⁸⁶

Furthermore, the memo's language implied that existing local organizations were independent of the Muslim Brotherhood, and had to *first* be converted to their political ideology before further action could take place.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ "Muslim Brotherhood." *House Intelligence Subcommittee on Terrorism, Intelligence and Analysis*, (April 13, 2011). Available at: <http://cs.pn/h80te0>. See Masoud's remarks starting at the 1:29:30 mark.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

Brigitte Gabriel



Brigitte Gabriel is a pseudonym for Lebanese-born anti-Muslim activist whose birth name is allegedly Nour Saman.⁸⁸ Gabriel is founder, president and CEO of ACT! for America, which claims (with no substantiation) to be largest grassroots citizen action network “dedicated to preserving national security and combating Islamic supremacy”.⁸⁹ According to the New York Times, Gabriel has given hundreds of lectures, to such venues as the Heritage Foundation and the Joint Forces Staff College in Norfolk, Va.⁹⁰

Gabriel has made inflammatory statements about Islam and Muslims, such as:⁹¹

The difference, my friends, between Israel and the Arab world is the difference between civilization and barbarism. It's the difference between good and evil.... this is what we're witnessing in the Arabic world, They have no soul! They are dead set on killing and destruction. And in the name of something they call "Allah" which is very different from the God we believe.... because our God is the God of love.

Meanwhile, the *New York Times* has also quoted Gabriel as saying, “The cancer is called Islamofacism. This ideology is coming out of one source: The Koran.”⁹²

Gabriel has no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies. In fact, the highest level of education she has achieved is a high school degree.

Moreover, a 2008 review of her books and other writings found her to be “loose with the truth” by mixing up dates and events to create a compelling personal narrative and portray herself as an expert.

According to the review:⁹³

⁸⁸ Michael Young, “The Dark Angel Gabriel.” *NowLebanon*, (March 11, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/N7wla2>.

⁸⁹ “Brigitte Gabriel.” *ACT! For America*, (No date). Available at: <http://www.actforamerica.org/index.php/learn/about-ms-gabriel>.

⁹⁰ Laurie Goodstein, “Drawing U.S. Crowds with Anti-Islam Message.” *New York Times*, (March 7, 2011). Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/08/us/08gabriel.html?pagewanted=all>.

⁹¹ Brigitte Gabriel, “Brigitte Gabriel at CUFI 2007.” (March 11, 2008). Available at: <http://bit.ly/AbP8er>.

⁹² Goodstein, “Drawing U.S. Crowds”

⁹³ Franklin Lamb, “Lost from Lebanon.” *Al-Ahram Weekly*, (March 6-12, 2008). Available at: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2008/887/focus.htm>.

Brigitte's book, Because They Hate: A Survivor of Islamic Terror Warns America claims she spent 10 years in a bomb shelter until rescued by the Israeli army. Recently, she mentioned it was actually seven years.

[...]

Her former neighbours in Marjayoun say she may have spent a few nights in her home's shelter at times, or more likely in her basement, as did many in Marjayoun, but to their knowledge Gabriel lived fairly normally in her family home, given "the situation" of the Israeli occupation.

Writing for the pro-democracy NowLebanon, Michael Young (who is also an opinion columnist for the English-language newspaper Daily Star Lebanon), makes the following observations about Gabriel's claims and personal narrative:⁹⁴

In her book, Gabriel notes, "[F]or my first ten years I led a charmed and privileged life. All that came to an end when a religious war, declared by the Muslims against the Christians, [...] tore my country and my life apart. It was a war that the world did not understand."

Evidently, it was a war that Gabriel did not understand either. South Lebanon was a complicated place, but it was not characterized by anything resembling an Islamic jihad. Gabriel, in her blanket indictment of Muslims, airbrushes out that Shia also suffered from the cycles of attack and retaliation between the Palestinian factions and Israel. As a consequence many became as hostile to the Palestinians as the Christians, later joining the pro-Israel militia. Moreover, the Palestinian organizations were secular nationalist. Although many combatants were Muslim, not all were. And their fight was with Israel; it was not a religious crusade against Christians.

[...]

Why does all this matter? For all its problems, Lebanon is not defined by boundless Muslim loathing for Christians. Sooner or later charlatans are outed, and even Gabriel's admirers will eventually have to address her fabrications more seriously. But most irking, this particular imposter also happens to be a thief. Gabriel has stolen a part of our collective Lebanese memory in order to forge it and peddle it to unsuspecting audiences, all to advance her career in America.

More disconcerting is the fact that Gabriel has ties to a violent Lebanese militia group that engaged in war crimes and other egregious human rights violations. According to Andrew Exum, a former U.S. Army officer, counter-insurgency expert, and Lebanese political specialist:⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Young, "The Dark Angel Gabriel."

The Lebanese Civil War was a conflict in which all the armed factions were guilty of some pretty heinous crimes at one point or another during the conflict and that Ms. Gabriel herself worked for and was aligned with an Israeli proxy militia in southern Lebanon that was responsible for some particularly horrific brutality -- including widespread and systematic torture at the detention center in Khiam.

⁹⁵ Andrew Exum, "Brigitte Gabriel, the SLA, and Khiam." *Center for a New American Security*, (March 8, 2011). Available at: <http://www.cnas.org/blogs/abumuqawama/2011/03/brigitte-gabriel-sla-and-khiam.html>

Frank Gaffney



In 1988, Frank Gaffney established the Center for Security Policy (CSP), a self-described national security think-tank. Despite having once been considered a staunchly conservative expert on a variety of defense-related issues, Gaffney is now largely seen as a fringe figure among conservatives because of his extreme anti-Muslim views.⁹⁶

Gaffney has no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies; he holds a Master of Arts degree in International Studies from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and a Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.⁹⁷

Gaffney was one of the co-authors of “Team B II” sharia report, which was produced by his organization, the Center for Security Policy. (Frank Gaffney, William “Jerry” Boykin, Stephen Coughlin, John Guandolo, Andrew McCarthy, Patrick

Poole, and David Yerushalmi, are also co-authors of the Team B II report and included in our study. For more information on the “Team B II” report, see P. 11 in this report.)

The report was criticized for its authors having failed to consult any actual experts on Islam during its production.⁹⁸ Gaffney engendered further controversy and got himself pushed to the fringe of political discourse by claiming in a 2009 op-ed that President Obama is a secret Muslim.⁹⁹

Other conservatives have condemned Gaffney for his unfounded smears against American Conservative Union board members Suhail Khan and Grover Norquist. Gaffney claimed they were Islamists bent on engaging in subversive activity against America by seeking to subvert the U.S. Constitution, for allegedly advocating extremist interpretations of shariah and being members or supporters of the Egypt-based Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Sarah Posner, “CPAC Conservatives Shun ‘Crazy Bigot’ Gaffney.” *Religion Dispatches*, (January 5, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zWz0ia>.

⁹⁷ “Frank J. Gaffney.” *U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*, (2005). Available at: http://www.uscc.gov/bios/2005bios/05_08_11bios/gaffney_frank.htm

⁹⁸ Daniel Luban “Prescription for an Inquisition” *Lobellog Foreign Policy*, (September 16, 2010). Available at: <http://www.lobellog.com/prescriptions-for-an-inquisition/>.

⁹⁹ Frank Gaffney, “America’s First Muslim President?” *Washington Times*, (June 9, 2009). Available at: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/jun/09/americas-first-muslim-president/>

¹⁰⁰ “Letter from Cleta Mitchell to ACU Board on Frank Gaffney’s Allegations Against Norquist and Kahn.” *Foley and Lardner LLP*, (September 21, 2011). Available at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/81353264/Letter-From-Cleta-Mitchell-To-ACU-Board-On-Frank-Gaffney-s-Allegations-Against-Norquist-And-Kahn>; “Resolution of the Board of Directors of the

Similar charges have been made by the following individuals examined in our report:

- Andrew Bostom,¹⁰¹
- Robert Spencer,¹⁰²
- David Horowitz,¹⁰³
- Daniel Pipes,¹⁰⁴
- Pamela Geller,¹⁰⁵ and
- Zuhdi Jasser.¹⁰⁶

American Conservative Union." *American Conservative Union*, (September 20, 2011). Available at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/81353256/American-Conservative-Union-Board-Resolution-On-Frank-Gaffney>. Cf. Frank J. Gaffney, "Memorandum for Members of the Board of Directors of the American Conservative Union." *SuhailKhanexposed.com*, (January 14, 2011). Available at: http://suhailkhanexposed.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/20110121_Memo_to_the_ACU_Board_115.pdf.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Bostom, "Jihad Martyrdom and Suhail Khan." *AndrewBostom.org*, (February 15, 2011). Available at: <http://www.andrewbostom.org/blog/2011/02/15/jihad-martyrdom-and-suhail-khan/>.

¹⁰² Robert Spencer, "Suhail Khan at CPAC Distributes Half-Truths and Lies about Sharia." *Jihad Watch*, (February 13, 2012). Available at: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2012/02/suhail-khan-at-cpac-distributes-half-truths-and-lies-about-sharia.html>.

¹⁰³ David Weigel, "CPAC 2011: Suhail Khan Responds to David Horowitz." *Slate.com*, (February 12, 2011). Available at: http://www.slate.com/blogs/weigel/2011/02/12/cpac_2011_suhail_khan_responds_to_david_horowitz.html.

¹⁰⁴ Daniel Pipes, "Is Grover Norquist an Islamist?" *DanielPipes.org*, (April 14, 2005). Available at: <http://www.danielpipes.org/blog/2005/04/is-grover-norquist-an-islamist>.

¹⁰⁵ Pamela Geller, "Excusing Shariah at CPAC." *WorldNetDaily*, (February 14, 2012). Available at: <http://www.wnd.com/2012/02/excusing-shariah-at-cpac/>.

¹⁰⁶ "Zuhdi Jasser on Suhail Khan and the Muslim Brotherhood at CPAC." *Glenn Beck.com*, (February 14, 2012). Available at: <http://www.glennbeck.com/2011/02/14/muslim-brotherhood-at-cpac/>.

David Gaubatz



David Gaubatz is a former Arabic linguist and Air Force Office of Special Investigations special agent. He is the former “Director of Intelligence and Counter-terrorism Studies” with the Society of Americans for National Existence (SANE), run by David Yerushalmi. He is also the co-author of “The Muslim Mafia” a polemical book that argues the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) is a subversive group against America.

Gaubatz has made biased and inaccurate statements about the Islamic faith. For example, without citing any textual evidence, he has made the incorrect and biased remark that Jews, Christians and Muslims do not worship the same God:¹⁰⁷

Neither Christians nor Jews worship the same deity as Muslims, nor do Muslims worship the same God as the “People of the Book,” and this is apparent from even a cursory reading of their sacred texts. If Muslims honestly believed CAIR’s palaver about a common divinity, the first Muslim member of Congress would not have had reservations about taking his oath of office on the Bible. But instead Democratic Representative Keith Ellison, a close ally of CAIR, insisted on using the Qur’an instead.

Additionally, in an interview with the far-right wing website, WorldNetDaily, Gaubatz stated that in order to minimize terrorist threats to the United States, authorities should perform a loyalty test asking Muslims if they believe in sharia:

“If they agree, according to the Muslims who have told us this, then they should probably not even be given entry here,” he said.

“It’s so easy. You can’t agree with Shariah law and say that you are peaceful,” Gaubatz continued. “You can’t do it. Now there are Muslims in the United States who do. They say, we don’t agree with Shariah law, we don’t want Shariah law. But then, to the pure Muslim, they are not Muslim.”

Some Muslims want to reform Islam, he said, and retain only peaceful elements.

“That’s fine, but then you are not pure Muslim,” Gaubatz said.

¹⁰⁷ P. David Gaubatz and Paul Sperry, *Muslim Mafia*. (Los Angeles, CA: WND Books, 2009), P. 138. The statement stands in stark contrast to Chapter 29, Verse 46 of the Quran which states, “We believe in that which has been bestowed from on high upon us, as well as that which has been bestowed upon you: our God and your God is one and the same, and it is unto Him that We [all] surrender ourselves.”

Gaubatz has no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies; he has a bachelor's degree in Management from Saint Leo College.¹⁰⁸

In conducting research for his book "The Muslim Mafia", which claims that Muslim interns from CAIR assigned to Capitol Hill offices are actually spies, Gaubatz allegedly used his son, Chris, to falsely pose as an intern with CAIR and steal over 12,000 of its internal documents.¹⁰⁹

He continues to collaborate closely with David Yerushalmi who, in his official capacity as the head of SANE, made hateful statements toward African Americans and women.

¹⁰⁸ "Paul 'Dave' Gaubatz." *Intelligence Summit*, (No Date). Available at: <http://bit.ly/hKZ4YJ>.

¹⁰⁹ Zoe Tillman, "Muslim Nonprofit and Former Intern Accused of Stealing Documents Fight Over Filings." *Legal Times*, (April 25, 2011). Available at: <http://legaltimes.typepad.com/blt/2011/04/muslim-nonprofit-and-former-intern-accused-of-stealing-documents-fight-over-filings-.html>.

William Gawthrop



William Gawthrop is currently an Intelligence Analyst with the United States Government. According to his biography, he had previously held other government intelligence positions throughout the Department of Defense and U.S. intelligence community.¹¹⁰ Though he has a distinguished career as an intelligence official, Gawthrop has made a number of comments and developed intelligence and law enforcement training material that demonstrates a severe anti-Muslim bias.

For instance in a training session for law enforcement officials on Muslim violent extremists, Gawthrop was quoted by Wired.com as declaring that Islam itself, not the fringe minority of violent extremists is the real enemy:¹¹¹

“We waste a lot of analytic effort talking about the type of weapon, the timing, the tactics. All of that is irrelevant ... if you have an Islamic motivation for actions.” Even taking down hostile states like Iran is futile, since “there are still internal forces that will seek to exert Islamic rule again.”

The best strategy for undermining militants, Gawthrop suggested, is to go after Islam itself. To undermine the validity of key Islamic scriptures and key Muslim leaders.

“If you remember Star Wars, that ventilation shaft that goes down to into the depths of the Death Star, they shot a torpedo down there. That’s a critical vulnerability,” Gawthrop told his audience. Then he waved a laser pointer at his projected [PowerPoint slide](#), calling attention to the words “Holy Texts” and “Clerics.”

“We should be looking at, should be aiming at, these,” Gawthrop said.

In addition to his behind closed-door law enforcement training, Gawthrop has made other biased and inaccurate pronouncements about Islam publicly. In a 2006 interview with WorldNetDaily, a far-right online website, Gawthrop said “Muhammad’s mindset is a source for terrorism”.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ “Biography – William Gawthrop.” *American Military University*, (2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/HdDNGd>.

¹¹¹ Spencer Ackerman and Noah Schachtman, “Video: FBI Trainer Says Forget ‘Irrelevant’ Al-Qaida, Target Islam.” *Wired.com*, (September 20, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/nTff8x>.

¹¹² “Ex-Official: Muhammad Reveals Key to Overcoming Jihadists.” *World Net Daily*, (October 31, 2006). Available at: <http://www.wnd.com/2006/10/38575/>.

Though making frequent comments about the fundamental beliefs and theology of Islam (to characterize them as inherently violence-prone), **Gawthrop lacks any formal academic credentials to qualify him as an “expert” on Islamic beliefs.** Gawthrop’s educational background includes a Master’s of Science in Strategic Intelligence and a Bachelor of Science in Law Enforcement.¹¹³

Aside from his lack of academic qualifications on Islamic beliefs, it appears his strong anti-Muslim bias has colored his approach to national security. In arguing against community partnerships with Muslims to fight terrorism – a successful strategy according to several studies¹¹⁴ – Gawthrop cites anti-Japanese American bigotry (and by implication, the shameful internment of Japanese Americans) during WWII as a legitimate example of why there should be no community engagement:¹¹⁵

“If we were going back to the 1940s, this would be like the Army and Navy asking Japanese-Americans to participate in the intelligence and operations paths trying to understand the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor. That didn’t happen.”

These kinds of corrosive remarks have not been limited to presentations within the United States. According to Brian Fishman, a Research Fellow at the West Point Military Academy’s Combating Terrorism Center, in an off-the-cuff comment about a 2007 presentation by Gawthrop at a NATO anti-terrorism conference in Ankara, Turkey (which included a number of Turkish Muslim military officers), he noted, “In 2007, I saw Gawthrop present in Ankara to Turkish officers--a, um, step backward for US diplomacy”.¹¹⁶

The official summary of the NATO conference in Ankara contains the following comment about Gawthrop’s presentation: “William Gawthrop requires a certain stretch of the imagination if we are to accept one assumption in his paper, namely that people interrogated in investigations of al-Qaeda-style terror base their responses on a detailed grasp of Islamic Law”.¹¹⁷

More recently, in the wake of controversy over the fact that some federal counter-terrorism material filled with anti-Muslim bias, review committees examined and purged several hundred

¹¹³ “Biography – William Gawthrop.”

¹¹⁴ Charles Kurzman, “Muslim American Terrorism in the Decade Since 9/11.” *Triangle Center for Terrorism and Homeland Security*, (February 8, 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/ygwdPx>; Alejandro J. Beutel, “Data on Post-9/11 Terrorism in the United States.” *Muslim Public Affairs Council*, (January 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/g1A9zR>; Peter Bergen, et al., “Post-9/11 Jihadist Terrorism Cases Involving U.S. Citizens and Residents: An Overview.” *New America Foundation*, (2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/lPRHie>

¹¹⁵ Ackerman and Schachtman, “Video: FBI Trainer Says Forget ‘Irrelevant’”

¹¹⁶ Brian Fishman, *Twitter*, (September 15, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/l4of6M>; Also see: Richard Bartholomew, “More on Poor-Quality Counter Terrorism Training at the FBI.” *Bartholomew’s Notes on Religion*, (September 16, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/lIAZr6>.

¹¹⁷ *Suicide as a Weapon*. Ed. Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism, (Ankara, Turkey: IOS Press, 2007). Available at: <http://www.booksonline.iospress.nl/Content/View.aspx?piid=7811>.

pages of material it found to be problematic, including several of Gawthrop's presentations.¹¹⁸ Nonetheless concerns remain about residual effects of trainers such as Gawthrop. Despite the problematic training he and others provided to FBI agents, it "did not result in a single disciplinary action for any instructor."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Spencer Ackerman, "FBI Purges Hundreds of Terrorism Documents in Islamophobia Probe." *Wired.com*, (February 15, 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/AgtwYk>.

¹¹⁹ Spencer Ackerman, "FBI Agents Taught They Could 'Bend or Suspend the Law.'" *Wired.com*, (March 28, 2012). Available at: <http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2012/03/fbi-bend-suspend-law/>.

Pamela Geller



Pamela Geller is the editor and publisher of the Atlas Shrugs website and is a former associate publisher with the *New York Observer*.¹²⁰ Geller is the co-founder, along with Robert Spencer, of Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) and the American Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI). Both these organizations have been designated as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center,¹²¹ a Montgomery, Alabama civil rights organization known for its successful litigation against the Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazis, and other hate organizations.

Geller has an extensive history of anti-Muslim remarks.¹²² Among the things she has said regarding Islam and the terrorists who attacked us on 9/11:¹²³

"I will say that the Muslim terrorists were practicing pure Islam, original Islam. The Turkish prime minister... Well, the Turkish prime minister said to Obama there is no extreme Islam. [However,] There is no moderate Islam. Islam is Islam.

It was pure Islam."

Geller has no formal university academic credentials at all, much less one that would qualify her as an "expert" on Islam and Muslims at-large; her highest degree is a high school diploma.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ David Freedlander, "The Woman Behind the Anti-Ground Zero Mosque Bus Ads." *New York Observer*, (August 11, 2010). Available at: <http://www.observer.com/2010/politics/creator-anti-ground-zero-mosque-bus-ads-speaks>.

¹²¹ Robert Steinbeck, "The Anti-Muslim Circle." *Intelligence Report*, (Summer 2011). Available at: <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2011/summer/the-anti-muslim-inner-circle>.

¹²² For a fuller list of statements, please see: "Backgrounder: Stop Islamization of America." *Anti-Defamation League*, (March 25, 2011). Available at: <http://www.adl.org/main/Extremism/sioa.htm>; "Pamela Geller." *Southern Poverty Law Center*, (2011). Available at: <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/profiles/pamela-geller>.

¹²³ Randi Kaye "Anderson Coopers 360 degrees." CNN, (August 17, 2010). Available at: <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1008/17/acd.01.html>

¹²⁴ Anne Barnard and Alan Feuer, "Outraged, and Outrageous." *New York Times*, (October 10, 2010). Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/10/nyregion/10geller.html?pagewanted=all>

John Giduck



John Giduck positions himself as an international counterterrorism expert who has spent some time in Russia doing academic research. He runs an anti-terrorism consulting firm – the Archangel Group – which provides training, lectures and other forms of consulting on the “threat of radical Islam” to law enforcement agencies.

Though a consultant on anti-terrorism, he is hardly a neutral source. His anti-Muslim views unfortunately belie any pretense at objectivity. In his 2004 book “Terror at Beslan”, he wrote:¹²⁵

It has become popular and politically correct to publicly tout Islam as the ‘religion of peace.’ Though the vast majority of Muslims live peaceful lives, it remains a faith steeped in a foundation of violence. Today there is no other single common factor in the wholesale slaughter of innocent men, women and children around the world than the perpetrators’ conscription into the Islamic faith.

Giduck has no credentials in Islamic studies. He is trained as a lawyer with a bachelor’s degree from Pennsylvania State University, master’s degree in international affairs from the University of Colorado, and a JD from the University of Denver.¹²⁶

Aside from Giduck’s lack of Islamic Studies credentials, others have claimed that his anti-terrorism credentials are dubious. Giduck claims that he was trained by the Russian special forces *Vityaz* unit that gave him his background in counterterrorism tactics. However an investigative report by the *Washington Monthly* interviewed Russian Special Forces officials and found Giduck’s claim to be unsubstantiated.¹²⁷ The controversy surrounding Giduck’s authenticity has not be lost on other private security professionals, and has been the subject of much negative discussion on industry chat forums and weblogs, such as *SocNet* and *ProfessionalSoldiers.com*.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ John Giduck, *Terror at Beslan: A Russian Tragedy with Lessons for America’s Schools*. (Archangel Publishing Group: Golden, CO, 2004), P. 375.

¹²⁶ “Biography of John Giduck.” *Eastern Michigan University*, (No Date). Available at: <http://www.emich.edu/cerns/sc/scbios.html>.

¹²⁷ Meg Stalcup and Joshua Craze, “How we Train our Cops to Fear Islam.” *Washington Monthly*, (March/April, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/heYrwo>.

¹²⁸ For more on the controversies surround Giduck and the commentary from other private security contractors, see: “John Giduck Dubious Claims and Frivolous Lawsuit Threats.” *SocNet.com*, (January 6, 2012). Available at: <http://socnet.com/printthread.php?s=c0f4e00f18e67ba90a6f4f81a0dd7e30&t=107006>; “Assclown of the Ides: John Giduck.” *Weaponsman.com*, (February 12, 2012). Available at: <http://weaponsman.com/?p=1051>; “An Open Letter to John Giduck.” *Professional Soldiers.com*, (February 9, 2012). Available at: <http://www.professionalsoldiers.com/forums/printthread.php?t=36775>. Also see: *The Truth About SocNet Lies*, (2012). Available at: <http://thetruthaboutsocnetlies.wordpress.com/>.

Sebestyen (Sebastian) Gorka



Sebestyen (Sebastian) Gorka is an assistant professor at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C. and a Military Affairs Fellow at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, a neo-conservative think-tank, also in Washington, D.C.¹²⁹ In addition, he is an Instructor for U.S. Special Forces and the FBI.¹³⁰

While he is a noted expert on post-Communist democratization in Eastern Europe, as well as defense and national security issues, **he has no training in Islamic studies** and has made biased comments about Islam. For instance, in giving a back-handed compliment to Muslim Americans who helped law enforcement prevent a 2010 terrorist attack in Portland, Oregon, Gorka stated:¹³¹

*"It's those Muslims who are American citizens who take the U.S. Constitution seriously and who believe in the values of the U.S. Consitution, **those people who understand the best that shariah, for example, is antithetical to the values of this great nation.** So I think absolutely, the local community and those people who are patriotic Americans, but also Muslims will be one of the most important sources of intelligence for us." (emphasis added)*

Additionally he has stated that, "You can make the argument that Osama Bin Laden was the Martin Luther of Islam."¹³² (Needless to say there is a world of difference between Martin Luther and Bin Ladin. Luther was a trained theologian and major Protestant reformer, whereas Bin Ladin was not a religious scholar.¹³³ More to the point, Luther, during his life time condemned violence in the name of religion¹³⁴ whereas bin Ladin explicitly encouraged terrorism in the name of religion).¹³⁵

¹²⁹ "Our Team: Dr. Sebastian Gorka." *Foundation for the Defense of Democracies*, (2012). Available at: <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/about-fdd/team-overview/sebastian-gorka/>.

¹³⁰ "Sebastian Gorka PhD." *Threat Knowledge Group*, (No date). Available at: <http://navantigroup.com/sites/navantigroup.com/files/resources/2011-12/SG%20Bio%20tkg.pdf>.

¹³¹ "Sebastian Gorka: Al-Qaida Now is Recruiting Home-Grown Killers Within the U.S." *WMAL Radio – The Grandy Group*, (February 17, 2011). Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F9P7uVGK3Fw>. See comments during 4:38-5:06.

¹³² Edited transcript of lecture at the Westminster Institute. Sebastian Gorka, "The Rise of Political Islam and Global Jihad." *Westminster Institute*, (February 2, 2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zc436H>.

¹³³ Eric Marraopodi, "Bin Laden's Theology a Radical Break With Traditional Islam." *CNN*, (May 4, 2011). Available at: <http://religion.blogs.cnn.com/2011/05/04/bin-ladens-theology/?hpt=C2>.

¹³⁴ Michael A. Mullett, *Martin Luther*. (London, UK: Routledge, 2004), P. 141-43.

¹³⁵ Sheila Musaji, "Fatwas & Statements by Muslim Scholars & Organizations." *The American Muslim*, (January 28, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/beE8xa>.

Gorka appears to have no formal academic background in Islamic studies or related disciplines that would qualify him as an “expert.” Based on publicly available current biographical data, he holds a Ph.D. in political science.¹³⁶

Beyond his own biased and inaccurate assertions, the people he points to, as authoritative sources on Islam are also problematic. In a co-edited 2011 book on terrorism, Gorka includes an essay by Patrick Sookhdeo, described in the book as “a leading British scholar on world religions and their relationship to political violence”,¹³⁷ but is in fact a Christian missionary who has previously stated that “the mantra ‘Islam is peace’ is almost 1,400 years out of date” in an article entitled, “The Myth of Moderate Islam”.¹³⁸

Not surprisingly, in testimony submitted to the House of Representatives’ Armed Services Committee on June 22, 2011, Gorka’s advice was to support people such as “Ibn Warraq” and “Christopher Luxembourg”¹³⁹ in order to effectively “engage in the religious debate” among Muslims regarding how religious values constrain violence and support human rights.¹⁴⁰

At best, the recommendation of individuals such as Warraq and Luxenburg is a clear example of Gorka’s gross lack of understanding of Islam, if not a breach of logic. Ibn Warraq is an atheist who is the author of an anti-Islam polemical book “Why I am Not a Muslim.”¹⁴¹ Suggesting that Warraq qualifies as authoritative on Islam is analogous to recommending Bertrand Russell, the author of the book, *Why I am Not a Christian*, as an authoritative source on Christianity.

Christophe Luxenberg is a pseudonym allegedly for a Lebanese Christian author who famously (and without sufficient evidence) claimed that Islam’s holy book, the Qur’an, was not originally revealed and written in Arabic. A book review of Luxenberg’s work in the peer-reviewed academic publication, *Journal of Quranic Studies*, found it to be “innocent of any real understanding of the methodologies of Semitic linguistics. His book is not a book of scholarship, but of dilettantism [an amateur].”¹⁴²

¹³⁶ “Our Team: Dr. Sebastian Gorka.”

¹³⁷ *Toward a Grand Strategy on Terrorism*. Eds. Christopher C. Harmon, Andrew N. Pratt, and Sebastian Gorka. (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill), P. XVI.

¹³⁸ Patrick Sookhdeo, “The Myth of Moderate Islam.” *The Spectator*, (July 30, 2005). Available at: <http://www.spectator.co.uk/essays/13968/the-myth-of-moderate-islam.shtml>.

¹³⁹ This is actually a misspelling. The proper spelling of the pen name is Christophe Luxenberg.

¹⁴⁰ Transcript of hearing “Ten Years On: The Evolution of the Terrorist Threat Since 9/11.” *U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee*, (June 22, 2011). Available at: <http://1.usa.gov/A8sqWd>, P. 93.

¹⁴¹ Ibn Warraq, *Why I am Not a Muslim*. (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1995).

¹⁴² Francois de Blois, “Review Of *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran: Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache* (‘Christoph Luxenberg’, 2000, Das Arabische Buch: Berlin).” Vol. 5, No. 1. P. 92-97.

John Guandolo



John Guandolo is a former FBI agent and a fellow Vice President with Stephen Coughlin (also included in this study) at the Strategic Engagement Group. Guandolo left the Bureau for unprofessional conduct and has since had a history of public anti-Muslim hate speech.

A recent example of this hate speech was during a law enforcement training event at a local church in Nashville where, according to *The Tennessean*, he “told the crowd of about 500 that Nashville’s mosques are front organizations for the Muslim Brotherhood and have no First Amendment protection.”¹⁴³

Guandolo was also responsible for creating rifts in the relationship between local law enforcement and Ohio Muslim communities by making false and unsubstantiated claims that a local American Muslim community member working for the Ohio State Department of Public Safety was an extremist.¹⁴⁴

Guandolo has no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies; he holds a bachelor’s degree in engineering from the US Naval Academy.¹⁴⁵

Guandolo was one of the co-authors of the “Team B II” sharia report produced by the Center for Security Policy. (William “Jerry” Boykin, Stephen Coughlin, Andrew McCarthy, Patrick Poole, David Yerushalmi, and Frank Gaffney are also co-authors of the “Team B II report” and included in our study. For more information on the “Team B II” report, see P. 11 in this report.)

According to court documents and media reports, Guandolo was forced to leave the Bureau due to illicit private relationships with a confidential informant who was to be used in a corruption case against a Congressman.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Bob Smietana, “Anger, Fear, Determination Permeate Anti-Sharia Conference at Madison Church.” *The Tennessean*, (November 12, 2011). Available at: <http://on.wbir.com/yZKdgK>.

¹⁴⁴ Dina Temple-Raston, “Terrorism Training Casts Pall Over Muslim Employee.” *National Public Radio*, (July 18, 2011). Available at: <http://n.pr/qAJT03>.

¹⁴⁵ “John Guandolo’s Resume.” *Emurse*, (August 25, 2011). Available at: <http://johnguandolo.emurse.com/>

¹⁴⁶ Jonathan Tilove and Bruce Alpert, “FBI Kept Quiet about Sexual Relationship between Agent, Star Witness in Jefferson Trial.” *Times-Picayune*, (September 27, 2009). Available at: <http://bit.ly/SBYx1>; Jonathan Tilove, “FBI Late to Link ‘Lori M.’ with Agent in Jefferson Case.” *The Times-Picayune*, (September 28, 2009). Available at: <http://bit.ly/nXBaY>; “Jefferson Case Filing: FBI Slept with Witness, Filed 6/8/09, Unsealed 9/23/09.” *United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia*, (June 9, 2009). Available at: <http://bit.ly/uuCZ4j>

Despite this information, some of his supporters, such as Frank Gaffney (also included in this study), claim that Guandolo was fired for “courageously challenging the official orthodoxy on the ideological wellspring of the threats we face, namely sharia”.¹⁴⁷

According to FBI documents, during the affair with the confidential informant, “Guandolo approached her with information about five ‘anti-terrorism organizations,’ including one affiliated with ‘a person named Emerson,’ and wanted her to make a \$75,000 donation to one of them. She declined.”¹⁴⁸

Investigative reporter Justin Elliott notes that the ‘Emerson’ named in the documents, is “probably Steven Emerson, author of *Jihad Incorporated: A Guide to Militant Islam in the US*, writer for David Horowitz’s Frontpagemag.com, and head of the Investigative Project on Terrorism.”¹⁴⁹ (It is important to note that after the information first came to light in late 2009, one of Steven Emerson’s former employees, E.J. Kimball joined the Strategic Engagement Group, as its President, working alongside Guandolo and Stephen Coughlin.)¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Justin Elliott, “Gaffney on Ex-FBI Agent who Slept with Witness: He was Fired for Opposing Sharia!” *Talking Points Memo*, (January 11, 2010). Available at: <http://bit.ly/5D0Ez2>.

¹⁴⁸ Justin Elliott, “The Strange Case of the Philandering, Muslim-Threat-Hyping FBI Agent.” *TPM Muckracker*, (September 23, 2009). Available at: <http://bit.ly/ancyZK>.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ “Strategic Engagement Group Principals.” *Strategic Engagement Group*, (2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zw8vXe>.

Tawfik Hamid



Like Walid Shoebat, Tawfik Hamid claims that he is an ex-terrorist, a former member of the deadly Gama'a Islamiyya terrorist organization that killed thousands of Egyptians in the 1990s. A writer and pundit, he frequently appears on TV and print media as well as official government forums¹⁵¹ misrepresenting Islamic beliefs. In one radio interview he said:¹⁵²

"The traditional teaching of Islam until now teaches very violent things. I'm talking here [about] mainstream, not extremist forms [of Islam].... It is not an opinion; it is a fact and a reality."

Hamid's claim as an ex-member of the deadly Gama'a Islamiyya terrorist organization seems odd on its face because there is no indication law enforcement interrogated or arrested Hamid for his alleged violent past. To our knowledge, no independent third party has publicly verified his alleged terror credentials.

Hamid also claims to be a "Muslim reformer" yet seems to be completely disengaged from and hostile to the very faith community he seeks to reform. For instance, without citing any evidence, Hamid claimed, "the majority of Muslim are all passive terrorists. They believe in this evil. They support it either by money or emotionally they are not against it."¹⁵³ This leads on to ask how someone can be a reformer of a religious community without being willing to constructively engage that community.

Hamid has no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies. He has a medical degree in internal medicine and Master's degrees in internal medicine and educational techniques.¹⁵⁴

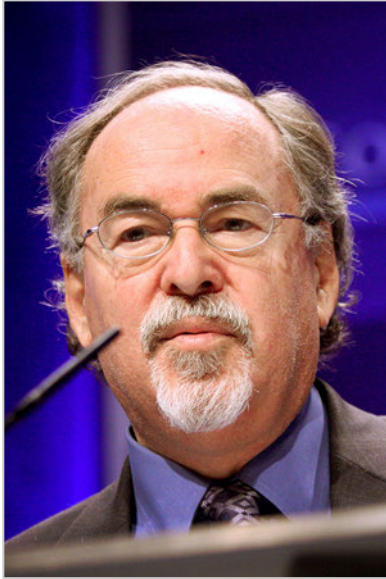
¹⁵¹ See the "Speaking", "Op-Eds", and "Media" sections of his personal website, www.tawfikhamid.com.

¹⁵² Interview with D.J. Grothe on *Point of Inquiry Radio Show*, (March 16, 2007). Available at: <http://bit.ly/ApWybF>.

¹⁵³ Interview with Orla Barry Radio Show, as transcribed by Richard Silverstein. See: Richard Silverstein, "Tawfiq Hamid, 'Islamic Reformer' Who Hates Islam." *Tikun Olam*, (February 3, 2006). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zGVODf>. Another example is how Hamid wrote an article in the wake of the Fort Hood Shooting that raised suspicions about all Muslims serving the U.S. military in the article, entitled, "US Reaction to Muslims in its Military MUST be Well-Calculated." See, Tawfik Hamid, "2009-2011: Understanding Radical Islam." *Tawfikhamid.com*, (2011). Available at: http://www.tawfikhamid.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Understanding_Radical_Islam.pdf, P. 150-152.

¹⁵⁴ "Fellows." *Potomac Institute for Policy Studies*, (February 3, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/yPy2wO>.

David Horowitz



David Horowitz is a founder and current president of the David Horowitz Freedom Center, which operates *FrontPage Magazine*, a far right-wing online publication. Horowitz has also had a history of making inflammatory comments about Islam. The right-leaning *Israel National News* noted Horowitz's remarks at a recent speech at Brooklyn College as follows:¹⁵⁵

Describing the Palestinians, Horowitz said: "No people have shown themselves as so morally sick as the Palestinians", adding, "In the history of all mankind, there was never a people who strapped bombs on their bodies and killed innocent people. No other people has sunk so low as the Palestinians, and everyone is afraid to say it."

Describing Islam as a religion possessed by "hate, violence and racism"...

Beyond his own remarks however, Horowitz's Freedom Center, through the financial sponsorship of blogs such as Robert Spencer's Jihad Watch, which runs a steady stream of anti-Muslim media spin and commentary.

Beyond his own remarks Horowitz's Freedom Center supports anti-Muslim hate rhetoric through the financial sponsorship of blogs such as Robert Spencer's Jihad Watch which runs a steady stream of anti-Muslim media spin and commentary.

Horowitz's education is in linguistics: he holds a bachelor's and master's degrees in the English language from Columbia University and UC Berkeley respectively.¹⁵⁶ **He holds no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies or Islamic law.** However, that has not prevented him from claiming "Islamofascism" is a great evil threatening the existence of America.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Fern Sidman, "FrontPage Editor at Bklyn College: Palestinians are Morally Sick." *Arutz Sheva*, (March 13, 2011). Available at: <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:FTiMA4-BvBQJ:www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/142844+http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/142844&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&client=safari&source=www.google.com#.TuH4znNW6KM>.

¹⁵⁶ "David Horowitz." *Right Web*, (September 16, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zMqkrl>.

¹⁵⁷ "Islamofascism Awareness Week." *Terrorism Awareness Project*, (January 31, 2007). Available at: <http://www.terrorismawareness.org/islamofascism-awareness-week/>.

Raymond Ibrahim



Raymond Ibrahim is a Shillman Fellow at the David Horowitz Freedom Center and an Associate Editor at the Middle East Forum, run by Daniel Pipes (both individuals are analyzed in our study).

According to his biography, Ibrahim “guest lectures at universities, including the National Defense Intelligence College, briefs governmental agencies, such as U.S. Strategic Command and the Defense Intelligence Agency, provides expert testimony for Islam-related lawsuits, and has testified before Congress regarding the conceptual failures that dominate American discourse concerning Islam.”¹⁵⁸ He has also been cited in various publications, such as the *Financial Times*, *Jerusalem Post*, *United Press International*, *USA*

Today, *Washington Post*, *Washington Times*, *Almanac of Islamism*, *Jane's Islamic Affairs Analyst*, *Middle East Quarterly*, and *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, among others.¹⁵⁹

Ibrahim has no formal credentials to back his claim to be an “expert” in Islamic beliefs. He has a B.A. and an M.A., both in history, focusing on the ancient and medieval Near East from the California State University in Fresno.

Notwithstanding his lack of proper academic background, Ibrahim has made bigoted statements against Islam. For instance, in an article published in the *Middle East Quarterly* (the flagship publication of Daniel Pipes’ Middle East Forum), entitled, “Are Judaism and Christianity as Violent as Islam?” Ibrahim asserts that Islam is an inherently violent religion:¹⁶⁰

Though similar to the violence of the Old Testament—commanded by God and manifested in history—certain aspects of Islamic violence and intolerance have become standardized in Islamic law and apply at all times. Thus, while the violence found in the Qur'an has a historical context, its ultimate significance is theological.

Despite attempting to provide a scholarly veneer for his personal bias, not everyone has been convinced. For instance, in reaction to an article Ibrahim wrote about *taqiyya* for Jane’s Intelligence Group, Jane’s editors quickly wrote a clarification saying, “It appears to be a polemical piece interspersed with cherry-picked citations from the Quran, the sayings of the Prophet and secondary works.”¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Raymond Ibrahim, “Biography.” *RaymondIbrahim.com*, (2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/gEl2jf>.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Raymond Ibrahim, “Are Judaism and Christianity as Violent as Islam?” *Middle East Quarterly*, (Summer 2009). Available at: <http://bit.ly/10moyj>.

¹⁶¹ “Interpreting Taqiyya, SPECIAL REPORT.” *Jane’s Islamic Affairs Analyst*, (November 12, 2008). Available at: <http://bit.ly/lq2boy>.

In fact, his extreme bias landed him in significant controversy at his former position as a research librarian at the Library of Congress. In response to one particularly vitriolic commentary from Ibrahim, an American Muslim newspaper published an op-ed refuting his arguments¹⁶² and eventually led to his “resignation.” According to Ibrahim’s own account:¹⁶³

...after this Islamist op-ed was published, I received much heat from my supervisors at the Library of Congress, partially culminating in my recent resignation from that American bibliotech — another institution that goes out of its way to appease, especially where Saudi money and princes are concerned.

It is interesting that the original Jihad Watch blog entry¹⁶⁴ where the above quote was first posted has been removed from that particular blog entirely. MPAC originally found the above quote on the “Loonwatch” website.¹⁶⁵ An attempt was made to corroborate the quote, based on the original source, but found it to be missing. We were able to deduce that the quote was removed, rather than simply mis-cited or fabricated, when we performed a simple web search and found the same exact quote, verbatim, with the same exact citation to the Jihad Watch post but, in the comments section of a post on Pamela Geller’s blog *Atlas Shrugs*.¹⁶⁶

Furthermore, MPAC found no evidence to substantiate Ibrahim’s implication that Saudi financial influence lead to his forced resignation. Aside from the lack of evidence, such an assertion is unreasonable given that the Library of Congress, an official U.S. federal government entity, is funded by the U.S. Congress to the tune of several hundred million dollars each fiscal year.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Salaam Abdul-Khaliq, “The Islamophobia Cash Cow.” *In Focus*, (September 6, 2007). Available at: <http://www.raymondibrahim.com/7483/the-islamophobia-cash-cow>.

¹⁶³ Reposted quote in comment by “AuntieMadder” on the blog, *Atlas Shrugs*. See: “Comment by ‘AuntieMadder’”, (July 29, 2011). Available at: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/07/exclusive-us-military-serviceman-arrested-in-alleged-attack-on-fort-hood.html?cid=6a00d8341c60bf53ef014e8a38cea0970d-comment-6a00d8341c60bf53ef014e8a38cea0970d.

¹⁶⁴ Raymond Ibrahim, “More on Hobbits, Hulks, and – Bodybuilders?” *Jihad Watch*, (January 17, 2009). Available at: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2009/01/more-on-hobbits-hulks-and---bodybuilders.html>.

¹⁶⁵ “Raymond Ibrahim and the Islamophobic Cash Cow.” *Loonwatch*, (January 13, 2010). Available at: <http://loonwatch.wordpress.com/2010/01/13/raymond-ibrahim-and-the-islamophobic-cash-cow/>.

¹⁶⁶ “Comment by ‘AuntieMadder’”.

¹⁶⁷ For instance, see the Library of Congress’ Annual Budget Justification reports for fiscal years 2007-2012. See: <http://www.loc.gov/about/reports/budget/fy2007.pdf>; <http://www.loc.gov/about/reports/budget/fy2008.pdf>; <http://www.loc.gov/about/reports/budget/fy2009.pdf>; <http://www.loc.gov/about/reports/budget/fy2010.pdf>; <http://www.loc.gov/about/reports/budget/fy2011.pdf>; <http://www.loc.gov/about/reports/budget/fy2012.pdf>.

Zuhdi Jasser



Zuhdi Jasser is the founder and President of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy, an American Muslim advocacy organization. Jasser claims to be an expert on political Islam, stated that he is a devout Muslim, and has been featured in a number of news outlets including the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Times*, *New York Post* and others.¹⁶⁸ He has been highly critical of other American Muslim organizations such as CAIR, despite having family ties to the organization.¹⁶⁹

Despite his stated devotion to Islam, Jasser has made controversial remarks about the faith. According to the *Washington Post*, Jasser “says his faith harbors ‘an insidious supremacism.’”¹⁷⁰ He, like Daniel Pipes and Steven Emerson, has repeated the discredited claim that 80 percent of U.S. mosques are controlled by extremists. He is also the subject and narrator of an anti-Muslim film, “Obsession” which claims there is a widespread conspiracy led by the Egypt-based Muslim Brotherhood to subvert the U.S. Constitution

through the spread of “sharia law.”¹⁷¹

The following appears in the biography posted on the website of his organization, American Islamic Forum for Democracy:

Dr. Jasser earned his medical degree on a U.S. Navy scholarship at the Medical College of Wisconsin in 1992. He served 11 years as a medical officer in the U. S. Navy. His tours of duty included Medical Department Head aboard the U.S.S. El Paso which deployed to Somalia during Operation Restore Hope; Chief Resident at Bethesda Naval Hospital; and Staff Internist for the Office of the Attending Physician to the U. S. Congress. He is a recipient of the Meritorious Service Medal. Dr. Jasser is a respected physician currently in private practice in Phoenix, Arizona specializing in internal medicine and nuclear cardiology. He is a Past-President of the Arizona Medical Association.

¹⁶⁸ “M. Zuhdi Jasser.” *American Islamic Forum for Democracy*, (2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zNzFDu>.

¹⁶⁹ Omar Sacirbey, “Muslims Battle to be the Official Voice of U.S. Islam.” *Religion News Service*, (May 20, 2011). Available at: <http://wapo.st/ij7Xsa>

¹⁷⁰ Michelle Boorstein, “Anxiety on all Sides of Upcoming House Hearing on Radicalization of U.S. Muslims.” *Washington Post*, (February 27, 2011). Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/02/26/AR2011022600330.html>

¹⁷¹ This footnote has been updated on 9/12/2012. Zuhdi Jasser was in fact the narrator in the film *The Third Jihad*, which was made by the same film producers as *Obsession*, The Clarion Fund. See: “About the Film.” http://thethirdjihad.com/about_new.php, No date. On the Clarion Fund and its relationship to *The Third Jihad* and *Obsession*, see: Sarah Posner, “The Third Jihad, Adelson, and Gingrich.” *Religion Dispatches*, January 27, 2012. <http://bit.ly/A005DX>.

However, Jasser lacks the formal academic credentials to be classified as an expert on Islamic beliefs. In fact, Jasser himself has admitted, “I am not a formal expert in Koranic Arabic, or in sharia (Islamic jurisprudence).”¹⁷² Nor is he an expert on political Islam either. He lacks the formal credentials and field experience of seasoned practitioners such as Graham E. Fuller, a former CIA agent and Vice-Chair of the National Intelligence Council, whose scholarly analysis of Islamist groups and parties¹⁷³ sharply contrast with the alarmism of Jasser’s rhetoric.

Finally Zuhdi Jasser appears to have little support from seasoned observers of American Muslim communities. According to a 2010 article by Timothy Furnish, a conservative commentator on Islam,¹⁷⁴ Jasser’s organization, the American Islamic Forum for Democracy has 1500 members, only 13% of whom are Muslim.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, Sheila Musaji, an independent American Muslim activist who is the Founding Editor of the widely known, 20+-years-old publication, *The American Muslim*, has flatly stated, “He is not part of the leadership of any national Muslim organization.”¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² M. Zuhdi Jasser, “Exclusive: Which Islam? Whose Islam? All Muslims Own Interpretation of the Quran.” *Family Security Matters*, (September 12, 2007). Available at: <http://www.fsarchives.org/article.php?id=1324805>

¹⁷³ For instance, see: Graham E. Fuller, *The Future of Political Islam*. (New York, NY: Palgrave McMillan, 2003).

¹⁷⁴ Furnish, has also made his own biased statements against Islam. For instance, in a July 1, 2012 blog entry, he claimed that conversion to Islam is a form of Muslim warfare against non-Muslim-majority countries like the United States: “Da`wah [proselytizing] is slow-motion jihad, if you will; and the longer it is allowed to gain momentum, it will only gather more and more steam and speed--until it becomes, if not unstoppable, certainly very problematic for non-Muslims and very hard to derail.” Timothy R. Furnish, “Wide Awake, Not Sleeping, Regarding Islamization in the US.” *MahdiWatch.org*, (July 1, 2012). Available at: http://www.mahdiwatch.org/2012.07.01_arch.html#1341175468115.

¹⁷⁵ Timothy R. Furnish, “Zuhdi Jasser, M.D.: Islam’s Luther—or its Don Quixote?” *History News Network*, (April 21, 2010). Available at: <http://hnn.us/articles/125540.html>

¹⁷⁶ Sheila Musaji, “Zuhdi Jasser-AIFD/AILC-Identified as by Rep. King as Ideal American Muslim Leadership.” *The American Muslim*, (June 14, 2011). Available at: http://www.theamericanmuslim.org/tam.php/features/articles/zuhdi_jasser/0018442

Andrew McCarthy



Andrew McCarthy is a former federal lawyer who led the prosecution of the “Blind Sheikh” Omar Abdel-Rahman and the perpetrators of the first World Trade Center bombing.¹⁷⁷ He is currently Co-Chair of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies’ (FDD) Center for Law and Counterterrorism, as well as a Contributing Editor to the *National Review Online*.¹⁷⁸

Unfortunately, McCarthy’s otherwise distinguished career is tarnished by his own inflammatory commentary on Islam and Muslims. For instance, he claims sharia – which, according to academic experts on Islam, is a set of moral principles in the Islamic faith¹⁷⁹ – is instead “Islam’s authoritarian, legal, and political system.”¹⁸⁰ His writings have conflated a minority of extremists with the overwhelming majority of Muslims that stand against violence and extremism.

McCarthy was one of the co-authors of the discredited “Team B II” sharia report produced by the Center for Security Policy. (William “Jerry” Boykin, Stephen Coughlin, John Guandolo, Patrick Poole, David Yerushalmi, and Frank Gaffney are co-authors of the “Team B II report” and included in our study. For more on the “Team B” report, see P. 11 in this study.)

Though quick to comment on Islamic beliefs such as sharia, **he has no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies that would qualify him as an “expert” on Islamic beliefs.** He has a J.D. from New York University and was a law school professor at Fordham and NYU.¹⁸¹

In terms of his network, McCarthy had financial connections to Steven Emerson’s “Investigative Project on Terrorism”. According to a 2004 FDD statement announcing McCarthy as one of its new senior fellows, it noted “He also does consulting work for the Investigative Project [on Terrorism], a private counterterrorism research organization in Washington, D.C.”¹⁸² Additionally, a 2009 990 IRS tax filing lists “Andrew McCarthy” as the “Secretary/Treasurer” for the “Investigative Project on Terrorism.”¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ Benjamin Weiser, “Top Terror Prosecutor Is a Critic of Civilian Trials.” *New York Times*, (February 19, 2010). Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/20/nyregion/20prosecutor.html>.

¹⁷⁸ “Andrew McCarthy.” *Foundation for the Defense of Democracies*, (No Date). Available at: <http://bit.ly/Hks7ji>.

¹⁷⁹ “All About Shariah.” *Bloggingheads.tv*, (November 28, 2010). Available at: <http://bit.ly/dZYe4G>.

¹⁸⁰ Andrew McCarthy, “It’s About Sharia.” *National Review*, (July 31, 2010). Available at: <http://bit.ly/cHwrol>.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. There is no description of his undergraduate degree(s) and study.

¹⁸² “Terror Prosecutor, Arab Media Expert Join FDD.” *Foundation for the Defense of Democracies*, (September 20, 2004). Available at: <http://bit.ly/laj6dC>.

¹⁸³ 2009 Form 990 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax for “Investigative Project on Terrorism Foundation.”

Walid Phares



Walid Phares is a Lebanese-born Maronite Christian. He currently serves as an Advisor to the Anti-Terrorism Caucus in the U.S. House of Representatives and since 2009, has been a Co-Secretary General of the Transatlantic Legislative Group on Counter Terrorism, a Euro-American Caucus, since 2009. Phares is a Fox News Channel Middle East and Terrorism Expert. He has served as NBC's Terrorism Analyst until 2006. He appears on international and Arab media and is published widely. Phares currently serves as a Middle East policy advisor to Mitt Romney's presidential campaign.¹⁸⁴

Phares has no formal academic credentials that would qualify him as an "expert" on Islam. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from the American University in Lebanon, a Masters' degree in International Law from the Universite de Lyon (France) and a Ph.D. degree in International Studies from the University of Miami.¹⁸⁵

Although he has formal academic credentials and publications that would position him as a conservative-leaning counterterrorism analyst, Phares has a long history of anti-Muslim extremism that raises questions about his ability to be an objective expert.

As early as 1997, Phares wrote the following passages that claim Muslims are inherently untrustworthy and liars religiously-bent on military aggression:¹⁸⁶

According to Al-Taqiya, Muslims were granted the Shar'iya (legitimacy) to infiltrate the Dar el-Harb (war zone), infiltrate the enemy's cities and forums and plant the seeds of discord and sedition. These agents were acting on behalf of the Muslim authority at war, and therefore were not considered as lying or denouncing the tenets of Islam.

[...]

Al-Taqiyya was a formidable weapon, used by the first dynasties and strategists. Today, scholars may identify it as deception. But the Jihadic deception was and still is more

¹⁸⁴ "Counterterrorism Blog Contributing Expert Bios." *Counterterrorism Blog*, (No Date). Available at: <http://counterterrorismblog.org/experts/walid-phares/bio/>; Jarad Vary, "Meet Mitt Romney's Radical, Right-Wing Sharia-Phobe Foreign Policy Advisor." *The New Republic*, (October 24, 2011). Available at: <http://www.cnas.org/node/7203>. Also see: Andrew Exum, "A Humble Question." *Center for a New American Security*, (October 6, 2011). Available at: <http://www.cnas.org/blogs/abumuqawama/2011/10/humble-question.html>

¹⁸⁵ "Counterterrorism Blog Contributing Expert Bios." *Counterterrorism Blog*, (No Date). Available at: <http://counterterrorismblog.org/experts/walid-phares/bio/>

¹⁸⁶ Walid Phares, "Taqiyya: The Muslim Method of Conquest." *The Free Republic*, (August 22, 1997). Reposted and available at: <http://dtj.blogspot.com/2010/08/taqiyya-muslim-method-of-conquest.html>.

powerful than the James Bondian methods of Western classical intelligence tactics, for the simple reason that it has a civilizational, global dimension versus the narrow state interest of the regular Western subversive methods.

Al-Taqiyya is still in use today but not necessarily state-organized. One can easily detect Taqiyya in the two discourses used by Islamist strategists. On the one hand, one comprehensive Islamist theory is attempting to mobilize Middle East, and sometimes Western Christian leaders and intellectuals, against "evil Jews." We see considerable success on that level. And on the other hand, another Islamist comprehensive theory is attempting - with success also- to mobilize the Jews against "evil and pagan Christians." One can easily detect the sophisticated work of Taqiyya, for the strategic objective of Islamists is to destroy the foundations of the Judeo-Christian civilization, as a prelude to the defeat of an isolated Israel.

It is important to note that *taqiyya*, or dissimulation is not a method of political subversion used by (Sunni) Al-Qaeda "jihadists". According to the Jane's Intelligence Group, one of the world's leading publications on global intelligence issues, *taqiyya* is actually "dissimulation allowed to Shias [a minority sect hated and often attacked by Sunni extremists like Al-Qaeda] to preserve their own lives and the lives of others."¹⁸⁷ Basically, it is used only for self-preservation under the threat of death.

Phares has no formal academic credentials that would qualify him as an "expert" on Islam. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from the American University in Lebanon, a Masters' degree in International Law from the Universite de Lyon (France) and a Ph.D. degree in International Studies from the University of Miami.¹⁸⁸

Phares' negative attitudes go beyond mere words. According to reporting by *The New Republic*, Phares was a high-ranking member of the Lebanese Forces, an extremist Christian militia that killed thousands of innocent civilians, Christian and Muslim, during the Lebanese civil war.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ "Interpreting Taqiyya, SPECIAL REPORT." *Jane's Islamic Affairs Analyst*, (November 12, 2008). Available at: <http://articles.janes.com/articles/janes-Islamic-Affairs-Analyst-2008/Interpreting-Taqiyya.html>.

¹⁸⁸ "Counterterrorism Blog Contributing Expert Bios." *Counterterrorism Blog*, (No Date). Available at: <http://counterterrorismblog.org/experts/walid-phares/bio/>

¹⁸⁹ Vary, "Meet Mitt Romney's Radical"; Exum, "A Humble Question"; Ben Smith, "King: Phares Not Testifying." *Politico*, (February 24, 2011). Available at: http://www.politico.com/blogs/bensmith/0211/King_Phares_not_testifying.html#.

Daniel Pipes



Daniel Pipes is the founder and President of the Middle East Forum (MEF), a think-tank founded in 1990. Its mission is "promoting American interests" through publications, research, media outreach, and public education. The Forum publishes the *Middle East Quarterly* and sponsors Campus Watch, Islamist Watch, the Legal Project, and the Washington Project.¹⁹⁰

With a Ph.D in Medieval Islamic history from Harvard University, Pipes is the only individual in this study who has the formal and verifiable academic credentials to be classified as an "expert." Yet, **there is no record of him having traveled to a Muslim-majority country for original research in several decades.**¹⁹¹ The last publicly known record of Pipes' field research was for his book, *Slave Soldiers in Islam*, which was published in 1981.¹⁹² (The book was rated as one of "The Worst Books on Islam" by Khaled Abou El Fadl, one of the world's foremost academic experts on

Islamic law and a former George W. Bush presidential appointee to U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, a government international religious freedom watchdog.)¹⁹³

In any event, questions about Pipes' current academic credentials should not detract from his history of biased views on Islam and Muslims. In a 2008 interview with the Hoover Institution's Peter Robinson, Pipes responded to the question, "Is Islam a religion of peace?" with the portrayal of Islam as very violent:¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ "About the Middle East Forum." *Middle East Forum*, (2011). Available at: <http://www.meforum.org/about.php>.

¹⁹¹ While one may argue that field research may not be necessary for someone with an academic background in history, Pipes' writings in popular and policy academic publications since 9/11 overwhelmingly focus on contemporary political events. In this context, the importance of field research to increasing and maintaining an academic's expertise cannot be overemphasized. As James Bill, a Middle East studies professor at the College of William and Mary puts it, "Generalizations built upon distorted and incomplete factual foundations result in twisted misconceptions and faulty explanations. **Elaborate and elegant theoretical formations cannot substitute for the difficult work of rigorously gathering political data in the field.**" See: James A. Bill, "The Study of Middle East Politics, 1946-1996: A Stocktaking." *Middle East Journal*, No. 50, Vol. 4, (1996), P. 506.

¹⁹² Eyal Press, "Neo-Con Man." *The Nation*, (April 22, 2004). Available at: <http://bit.ly/zzPScQ>.

¹⁹³ "The WORST Books on Islam – Identified by Dr. Abou El Fadl." *Scholar of the House*, (No date). Available at: <http://bit.ly/w77fIP>. Abou El Fadl was also appointed by former President G.W. Bush to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom from 2003-2007. See: <http://bit.ly/zSQpNi>.

¹⁹⁴ "Uncommon Knowledge: Daniel Pipes." *Hoover Institution*, (June 1, 2008). Transcript available at: http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/uk_pipes_transcript.pdf. It should also be noted that, according to an AFP article, "Former US president George W. Bush, **who worked hard for years** to convince fellow Americans that Islam is a 'religion of peace,' declined comment Tuesday about a controversial mosque-building project... The former president won generally good reviews for his

A religion of peace, if Islam prevails then there'll be peace. But for Islam to prevail, the rule has required and will require a lot of war. Now I think it's not a good idea to try and define a religion of more than a billion people and nearly millennium and a half in a word. There has been a lot of warfare in Islam. There will be, there is warfare, there will be warfare, Islam is not peace. And by the way, while Robert Spencer repeats that point, President Bush has not.

Like Steven Emerson and Zuhdi Jasser (both featured in this study) Pipes has repeated the false claim that 80 to 85 percent of American mosques were controlled by extremists. In one article written right after 9/11, Pipes recited an unsubstantiated claim from fringe leader Muhammad Hisham Kabbani and sought to characterize Kabbani's baseless, unscientific, and untrustworthy assertion as a "reliable estimation."¹⁹⁵

In a 2006 article co-written for his own publication, the *Middle East Quarterly*, Pipes (in a claim nearly identical to Emerson's asserted that the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), an American Muslim faith-based endowment fund, "is believed to own 50 to 79 percent of the mosques in America."¹⁹⁶ His source for this estimate was a 2003 U.S. Senate testimony by J. Michael Waller, a Professor at the Institute for World Politics, whose specialization is in political propaganda, not studies directly related to Islam, or more generally, to Muslims.

MPAC reviewed Waller's written testimony and found that it made the "50 to 79 percent" figure; however, the document did not cite its a source to substantiate this assertion. (It should be noted that Waller's biographical webpage describes him as "a contributing author" to the Team B report, produced by Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy.¹⁹⁷

In 2003, Pipes was nominated to sit on the board of the United States Institute of Peace, a quasi-governmental think-tank in Washington, D.C. However, he failed to receive Senate confirmation because of his history of anti-Muslim bias; instead he received a shortened Presidential recess appointment.¹⁹⁸

Finally, it is important to note that Pipes' negative bias against specific groups of people is not limited to Muslims. In 2004 he publicly tried to justify the internment of Japanese American

repeated public appeals to Americans not to blame all Muslims for the terrorist strikes carried out by Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda terrorist network." See: "Former US President Bush Mum on Mosque Tour." *AFP*, (August 17, 2010). Available at: <http://bit.ly/9fV1oJ>.

¹⁹⁵ Daniel Pipes, "The Danger Within: Militant Islam Reaches America." *Commentary*, (November 2001). Available at: <http://bit.ly/JYYY8>.

¹⁹⁶ Daniel Pipes, "CAIR: Islamists Fooling the Establishment." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 2, (Summer 2006). Available at: <http://bit.ly/GY8wt1>.

¹⁹⁷ "J. Michael Waller." *Institute for World Politics*, (2012). Available at: <http://bit.ly/RImvIk>.

¹⁹⁸ Lolita C. Baldor, "Bush to Make Recess Appointment to Peace Institute of Daniel Pipes." *Associated Press*, (August 16, 2003). Available at: <http://bit.ly/pzvlcX>.

during World War II using that incident as an argument for the necessity of racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims to fight al-Qaeda.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ Daniel Pipes, "Why the Japanese Internment Still Matters." *New York Sun*, (December 28, 2004). Available at: <http://www.danielpipes.org/2309/why-the-japanese-internment-still-matters>.

Patrick Poole



Patrick Poole is a freelance writer and political analyst with experience in both the business and public policy arenas. As Vice President for International Development of an Alabama-based company, he was responsible for managing projects in Eastern Europe, Latin America and Southeastern Asia. He has also served as a public policy analyst for organizations in Washington, DC, and several state capitals.²⁰⁰

Regarding Islamic values and how they interact in the public square, Poole has stated, among other things, that:²⁰¹

The reality is that none of these values - human rights, basic freedoms, rule of law, or democracy - actually exists anywhere in the Muslim world (even in "secular" Turkey) to the degree that they are practiced in or are recognizable to the West, nor are they identifiable in the 1,400 years of Islamic history. In subsequent essays I hope to show that Islamic theology itself negates these very concepts, making any rapprochement between Islam and Western values impossible without abandoning the most basic tenets of Islam itself.

Poole was one of the co-authors of the discredited “Team B II” sharia report produced by the Center for Security Policy. (William “Jerry” Boykin, Stephen Coughlin, John Guandolo, Andrew McCarthy, David Yerushalmi, and Frank Gaffney are co-authors of the “Team B II report” and included in our study. For more information on the “Team B II” report.

Though he frequently discusses Islamic beliefs and values, **Poole possesses no formal academic credentials in Islamic Studies** from an accredited institution of higher education in the West or those institutes of higher education anywhere in the world that would qualify him as an “expert” on Islamic beliefs; publicly available information shows that he has an undergraduate degree in Political Science from The Ohio State University.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ “Patrick Poole.” *2007 Intelligence Summit*, (2007). Available at: <http://bit.ly/xy8r0l>.

²⁰¹ PatrickPoole, “Islam and the Problem of Rationality” *American Thinker* (July 28, 2011). Available at: http://www.americanthinker.com/2006/12/islam_and_the_problem_of_ratio.html

²⁰² Patrick Poole, “Ohio State Prof: ‘What Terrorist Threat?’” *Existential Space*, (October 22, 2006). Available at: <http://www.patrickpoole.com/2007/06/putting-my-political-science-education.html>; “Patrick Poole.” *Intelligence Summit*, (2007). Available at: <http://bit.ly/xy8r0l>.

Walid Shoebat



Shoebat is a self-styled “former Muslim terrorist” who converted to Christianity in 1994. He has spoken to various print and TV media and has given training seminars to law enforcement officials around the country.²⁰³ Shoebat uses his dubious claim about his “terrorist” background, to engage in anti-Islam hate where he has declared that, “Islam is not the religion of God – Islam is the devil.”²⁰⁴

He specifically claims, “As a member of the PLO [Palestinian Liberation Organization] I was involved in terror activity, and was imprisoned in Jerusalem for three weeks. In prison, I was recruited to plant a bomb in Bethlehem as a result of which, thank God, no one was injured.”²⁰⁵

His claim that he was as a terrorist, however, is both odd and fraudulent. Though Shoebat has sought to portray the PLO as a religiously motivated organization, it is in fact, staunchly secular. (Respected scholars have noted that the PLO and its supporters have frequently engaged in violent clashes with the religiously-inspired organization, Hamas, in part due to ideological differences.)²⁰⁶

Furthermore, an investigation by CNN found Shoebat’s alleged terror past was false, and that he used this fraudulent narrative to get paid for speaking in front of law enforcement about the threat Islam, as an entire faith, poses to the United States.²⁰⁷

Shoebat’s publicly available information appears to indicate that he has completed some education in Chicago. However his information neither specifies what his degree focus was, nor if he successfully fulfilled his degree requirements.²⁰⁸ Therefore **we do not categorize him as an “expert” on Islam, due to his lack of publicly available and independently verifiable credentials.**

²⁰³ “Articles and Press Releases.” *Walid Shoebat Foundation*, (2012). Available at: <http://www.shoebat.com/links-and-resources/articles-and-press-releases/>.

²⁰⁴ “As Muslim-Bashing Propaganda Swells, Shariah Scare Takes Off.” *Southern Poverty Law Center*, (Fall 2011). Available at: <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2011/fall/as-muslim-bashing-propaganda-swells-sha>.

²⁰⁵ “Biography of Walid Shoebat.” *Walid Shoebat Foundation*, (2010). Available at: <http://bit.ly/bQGmXp>.

²⁰⁶ For instance, see: Mkhaimar Abusada, “Islam Versus Secularism in Palestine: Hamas vs. Fatah.” *Heinrich Boll Foundation*, (March 8, 2010). Available at: <http://www.boell.de/worldwide/middleeast/middle-east-8798.html>.

²⁰⁷ Drew Griffin and Kathleen Johnston, “‘Ex-Terrorist’ Rakes in Homeland Security Bucks.” *CNN*, (July 13, 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/otxKDm>.

²⁰⁸ “Walid Shoebat: Author of ‘Why We Want to Kill You.’” *TalkGuests.com*, (No Date). Available at: <http://www.talkguests.com/walidshoebatbio.htm>

Robert Spencer



Robert Spencer is the director of Jihad Watch, a program of the David Horowitz Freedom Center and is the author of 10 polemical books on Islam.²⁰⁹ Spencer is the co-founder, along with Pamela Geller, of Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) and the American Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI), both designated as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center.²¹⁰

Although Spencer claims to be an expert on Islam and Muslims, he mostly engages in internet-based polemics that he tries to pass off as serious scholarship.²¹¹ Spencer typically employs a cherry-picking, cut-and-paste methodology that rips passages from Islamic scripture out of context in order to fit his agenda of portraying the religion and its followers as inherently violent.

Some of his quotes include:

*Of course, as I have pointed out many times, traditional Islam itself is not moderate or peaceful. It is the only major world religion with a developed doctrine and tradition of warfare against unbelievers.*²¹²

*...that the Qur'an doesn't teach violence any more than the "Bible or Torah" is flatly false. For while the Bible contains descriptions of violent acts committed in the name of God, nowhere does it teach believers to imitate that violence. Where people are commanded to commit acts of violence, these are commands directed to specific individuals or groups in particular situations; they are not universal commands. The Qur'an on the other hand, quite clearly does teach believers to commit acts of violence against unbelievers...*²¹³

²⁰⁹ "About Robert Spencer." *Jihad Watch*, (No Date). Available at: <http://bit.ly/2drSpb>.

²¹⁰ Robert Steinbeck, "The Anti-Muslim Circle." *Intelligence Report*, (Summer 2011). Available at: <http://bit.ly/myIVTX>.

²¹¹ Carl Ernst and Willam R. Kenan Jr., "Notes on the Ideological Patrons of an Islamophobe, Robert Spencer." Available at: <http://www.unc.edu/~cernst/courses/2004/026/001/spencer.htm>.

²¹² Robert Spencer, "SPLC Fronts for the Jihad, Smears Freedom Fighters." *Jihad Watch*, (June 22, 2011). Available at: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/06/splc-fronts-for-the-jihad-smears-freedom-fighters.html>.

²¹³ Robert Spencer, "'Pure Islam' and Michael van der Galien." *Jihad Watch*, (November 11, 2007). Available at: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2007/11/pure-islam-and-michael-van-der-galien.html>.

*...to find out what is or is not an “inseparable part” of Islam, one must consult the Qur’an and Sunnah as they have always been interpreted by Islamic authorities... one sees that a political, supremacist aspect is deeply embedded in the thing itself. The mandate to impose sharia has always been understood by mainstream Islamic authorities as being intrinsic to Islam.*²¹⁴

Spencer has no formal academic credentials in Islamic studies. His actual education is a master’s degree in religious studies from the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, concentrating on early Christianity. According to Carl Ernst and William Kenan, Professors of Religious and Islamic Studies at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Robert Spencer’s views have “no basis in scholarship.”²¹⁵

Additionally, according to the UK-based Religious Studies professor Richard Bartholomew, Spencer’s website *Jihad Watch* appears to have a history of removing or editing (without noting the correction) blog posts when they contain “an accusation that turns out to not be true or to be doubtful”.²¹⁶

The following are examples of the scrubbed posts Bartholomew has reported are:

*“in 2009 he deleted a bogus story about a mass paedophile wedding in Gaza”*²¹⁷

*“at the end of 2010 he removed an account about a man acting strangely on a plane to Malta – a report used by Spencer said the man was a Muslim, but he turned out to be a Caribbean Christian.”*²¹⁸

In addition, MPAC has concluded that a blog post entry under Spencer’s name on the *Jihad Watch* site discussing Raymond Ibrahim’s (also included in our study) forced resignation appears to have been edited. The specific details about Ibrahim’s forced resignation was removed. (For more information on Ibrahim and the blog post scrubbing, see P. 49.)

²¹⁴ Robert Spencer, “The Truth about Islam.” *National Review*, (November 1, 2011). Available at: <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/print/281771>.

²¹⁵ Ernst and Kenan, “Notes on the Ideological Patrons”

²¹⁶ Richard Bartholomew, “Robert Spencer Scrubs Another Blog Post.” *Bartholomew’s Notes on Religion*, (March 20, 2012). Available at: <http://barthnotes.com/2012/03/20/robert-spencer-scrubs-another-blog-post/>.

²¹⁷ Ibid. Referencing, Richard Bartholomew, “Gaza Wedding Report Provokes Paedo Hysteria.” *Bartholomew’s Notes on Religion*, (August 6, 2009). Available at: <http://barthnotes.com/2009/08/06/gaza-wedding-report-provokes-paedo-hysteria/>.

²¹⁸ Ibid. Referencing, Richard Bartholomew, “Robert Spencer Scrubs Muslim ‘Provocation’ Story.” *Bartholomew’s Notes on Religion*, (December 30, 2010). Available at: <http://barthnotes.com/2010/12/30/robert-spencer-scrubs-muslim-provocation-story/>.

Erick Stakelbeck



Erick Stakelbeck is a TV news reporter and terrorism analyst for the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), founded by the controversial Rev. Pat Robertson. Prior to his current CBN position, Stakelbeck also worked as a senior writer and analyst at the Investigative Project on Terrorism, run by Steven Emerson (also included in our study). According to his biography on the CBN website, he has written articles featured in the “*Wall Street Journal Europe*, *Weekly Standard*, *Washington Times*, *New York Post*, *Jerusalem Post*, and *National Review Online*, among other publications.”²¹⁹

With this ideological-driven professional background, it is perhaps no surprise that Stakelbeck characterized sharia as, “more than just a religious system, this is an all-encompassing ideological system that dominates every aspect of a Muslim’s life. And it’s fundamentally incompatible with the U.S. Constitution.”²²⁰

Putting aside his professional associations with the CBN and Investigative Project on Terrorism, Stakelbeck’s credentials as an objective “terrorism expert” are suspect due to his **lack of formal academic expertise on Islamic beliefs**. A biography from the *Intelligence Summit*, an annual conference featuring mostly neo-conservative speakers, states he “holds a B.A. in Secondary English Education from Holy Family University.”²²¹

Beyond questions about his academic credentials and history of biased statements against Islam and Muslims, Stakelbeck has proven himself to be an unreliable source of news. In early 2010, for instance, Stakelbeck claimed to have an “exclusive” story alleging that five American Muslim Army service members had deliberately tried to poison the food supply at Fort Jackson, South Carolina.

²¹⁹ “Erick Stakelbeck.” *Christian Broadcast Network*, (2012). Available at: <http://www.cbn.com/Authors/cbnnews/Erick-Stakelbeck/>.

²²⁰ “Stakelbeck on Terror: The Sharia Threat to America.” *Christian Broadcasting Network*, (September 7, 2011). Available at: <http://www.cbn.com/cbnnews/world/2011/May/Stakelbeck-on-Terror-Sharias-Threat-to-America/>. See quote on the video starting at the 2:22 mark.

²²¹ “Erick Stakelbeck: Terrorism Analyst. Christian Broadcasting Network.” *The Intelligence Summit 2007 Conference*, (2007). Available at: <http://www.intelligencesummit.org/speakers/ErickStakelbeck.php>.

According to Stakelbeck's story:²²²

A source with intimate knowledge of the investigation, which is ongoing, told CBN News investigators suspect the "Fort Jackson Five" may have been in contact with the group of five Washington, DC, area Muslims that traveled to Pakistan to wage jihad against U.S. troops in December. That group was arrested by Pakistani authorities, also just before Christmas.

These claims were repeated by other anti-Muslim websites such as Robert Spencer's *Jihad Watch*²²³ and Pamela Geller's *Atlas Shrugs*.²²⁴ When asked about the truth of the story, the Fort Jackson Public Affairs Office dismissed the matter, "Two months of investigation, there has been no credible evidence to support the allegations."²²⁵ To date, there has been no further news to substantiate the initial story reported by Stakelbeck.

²²² Erick Stakelbeck, "Update: Five Muslim Soldiers Questioned at Fort Jackson in South Carolina." *Christian Broadcast Network News*, (February 18, 2010). Available at: <http://blogs.cbn.com/stakelbeckonterror/archive/2010/02/18/update-five-muslim-soldiers-arrested-at-fort-jackson-in.aspx>.

²²³ Robert Spencer, "Five Muslim Soldiers Arrested at Fort Jackson for Trying to Poison the Food Supply." *Jihad Watch*, (February 18, 2010). Available at: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2010/02/five-muslim-soldiers-arrested-at-fort-jackson-for-trying-to-poison-the-food-supply.html>.

²²⁴ Pamela Geller, "Five Muslim Soldiers Arrested for Trying to Poison the Food Supply at Fort Jackson." *Atlas Shrugs*, (February 18, 2010). Available at: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/02/five-muslim-soldiers-arrested-for-trying-to-poison-the-food-supply-at-fort-jackson.html.

²²⁵ Michelle Tan, "Poison Allegations at Jackson Investigated." *Army Times*, (February 19, 2010). Available at: http://www.armytimes.com/news/2010/02/army_jackson_poison_021910w/.

David Yerushalmi



Profiled as “The Man Behind the Anti-Shariah Movement” by the *New York Times*, lawyer David Yerushalmi runs the organization, Society of Americans for National Existence (SANE).

Yerushalmi was one of the co-authors of the grossly biased “Team B II” sharia report produced by the Center for Security Policy. (William “Jerry” Boykin, Stephen Coughlin, John Guandolo, Andrew McCarthy, Patrick Poole, and Frank Gaffney are also co-authors of the “Team B II report” and included in our study. For more information on the “Team B II” report, see P. 11 in this report.)

Though one of the most outspoken anti-Islam personalities, particularly on the issue of sharia, **Yerushalmi has no record of formal academic credentials in Islamic Studies that would qualify him as an “expert” on Islamic beliefs.** By training, he appears to be a lawyer dealing in American law and specializing in policy. Yerushalmi has a bachelor’s degree in public policy and Juris Doctorate from Arizona State University.²²⁶

Yerushalmi has also been condemned by the Anti-Defamation League for his “record of anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant and anti-black bigotry.”²²⁷ As an example of his views, Yerushalmi has claimed that, “races perform better in sports, some better in mathematical problem solving, some better in language, some better in Western societies and some better in tribal ones?”²²⁸ The *New York Times* noted that Yerushalmi has also “railed against what he sees as a politically correct culture that avoids open discussion of why ‘the founding fathers did not give women or black slaves the right to vote.’”²²⁹

²²⁶ “David Yerushalmi, Esq.” *Society of Americans for National Existence*, (No Date). Available at: <http://www.saneworks.us/david-yerushalmi.html>

²²⁷ “David Yerushalmi: A Driving Force Behind Anti-Sharia Efforts in U.S.” *Anti-Defamation League*, (March 25, 2011). Available at: http://www.adl.org/main_Interfaith/david_yerushalmi.htm.

²²⁸ David Yerushalmi, “On Race: A Tentative Discussion.” *McAdams Report*, (May 12, 2006), Available at: <http://www.mcadamreport.org/The%20McAdam%20Report%28585%29-05-12-06.pdf>, P.8

²²⁹ Andrea Elliott, “The Man Behind the Sharia Movement.” *New York Times*, (July 30, 2011). Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/31/us/31shariah.html?pagewanted=all>.



ABOUT MPAC

Founded in 1988, MPAC is an American institution which informs and shapes public opinion and policy by serving as a trusted resource to decision makers in government, media and policy institutions. MPAC is also committed to developing leaders with the purpose of enhancing the political and civic participation of American Muslims.

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