

A NEW ERA IN AMERICAN POLITICS:

THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION AND MAINSTREAM ISLAMOPHOBIA

BR—DGE

ABSTRACT

This report analyzes how far-right Islamophobic discourse has been mainstreamed with the election of President Donald J. Trump. Through qualitative research examining the rhetoric employed by the Trump campaign and subsequent administration, the report finds that senior Trump administration appointments share a common belief that Islam and Muslims are a danger to the United States. This view has been present in the far-right world of bloggers and pundits and ballooned following the horrific events of September 11th, 2001, but is now represented in the White House by key members of the Trump administration. Further, the Trump administration has already begun to enact its anti-Muslim and anti-Islam policies. The study finds that the 45th President and his administration's rhetoric and guidelines normalize Islamophobia thus creating an environment in which discriminatory policies targeting Muslims are legal.

SUMMARY OF MAIN POINTS

- 01 The Trump campaign capitalized on the already present anti-Muslim sentiment in the country.
- 02 The campaign's rhetoric brought the ideas of the far-right and fringe movements into mainstream society by publically declaring that "Islam hates us."
- 03 Members of Trump's administration have a history of promoting anti-Islam and anti-Muslim views. Some have also made a career of promoting Islamophobia while many others are connected to anti-Muslim activists and organizations.
- 04 Actions taken by the administration demonstrate that it is committed to implementing many positions that would impact Muslim lives and civil liberties it campaigned on.
- 05 The future for American Muslims is uncertain. It is expected that there will be additional legislation that would undermine American Muslims' civil liberties.

SUMMARY

The election of Donald J. Trump as the 45th President of the United States of America shocked much of the country and the world. The Trump campaign gained support using tailored messaging to capitalize on the growing fear, misunderstanding, and antipathy toward Islam and Muslims. President Trump's rhetoric during his campaign identified Islam and Muslims as a danger, deviating from previous administrations that distinguished between "mainstream" and "radicalized" Muslims, identifying only the latter as a threat. Following the election, President Trump appointed individuals who similarly had a history of anti-Islam bias to prominent positions in the White House and administration. These individuals include Chief Strategist Stephen Bannon, reported member of the transition team Frank Gaffney, Senior Policy Advisor Stephen Miller, former National Security Advisor General Michael Flynn, CIA director Mike Pompeo, and others. These appointees have all interacted with or even embarked on joint projects with individuals and organizations that project bigoted views of Muslims and support anti-Muslim policies. After only a few months of having been in office, the Trump administration has already made drastic changes to U.S. policy regarding Muslims, immigrants, and refugees. With the Trump administration already attempting to execute campaign promises, the future for American Muslims remains uncertain. U.S. civil rights and liberties' groups expect that there will be greater government efforts to enact legislation and policies that undermine American Muslims' civil liberties.

On 11 November 2016, Donald J. Trump, real-estate mogul and reality TV star, was elected the 45th President of the United States of America. During his campaign, President Trump broke from standard Washington politics and ushered in a new era of anti-establishment populism. His campaign undertook new communication strategies, including the calculated use of social media. This helped the campaign reach audiences in remote parts of the country, often overlooked by traditional campaigning. Further, the candidate's colloquial discourse helped to connect him to segments of the population who felt alienated, or "forgotten,"¹ from political elites.

Whether intentional or not, the strategies of the Trump campaign brought fringe and far-right personalities and ideas to the mainstream. The campaign was imbued with problematic and discriminatory rhetoric, from President Trump asserting "Islam hates us," to his National Security Advisor pick stating that Islam is a "cancer." The politicization and racialization of Islam and Muslims played a central role in the Trump campaign. A study conducted by the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino found that anti-Muslim hate crimes in the U.S. rose in 2015 to the highest levels since the September 11, 2001 attacks.² The report also found that "political rhetoric may play a role in mitigating or fueling hate crimes."³ The increase, it argues is related to the December 2, 2015 terrorist attack in San Bernardino.⁴ But the fear created by that and other attacks may well have been exacerbated by Trump's anti-Muslim rhetoric.⁵ Often the perpetrators in these instances shouted "Trump" during the attacks. Following Trump's proposed Muslim Ban, there was a "moderate weekly rise in hate searches on Google like "kill all Muslims.""⁶

After the election, Trump announced his top picks for cabinet and administrative positions. While his campaign focused on "draining the swamp," a reference to the Washington establishment, his key appointments including retired military leaders, CEOs, and former Goldman Sachs executives indicated otherwise. Controversial picks such as Stephen Bannon, former head of far-right and white-nationalist news website, Breitbart, have garnered considerable press coverage. Many organizations and individuals⁷ issued critical responses regarding the

¹ Beverly Gage, "Who is the 'Forgotten Man'?" The New York Times, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/cp/opinion/election-night-2016/who-is-the-forgotten-man>

² Brian Levin, "Special Status Report: Hate Crime in the United States," Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism, California State University: San Bernardino, CA 2016, Pg. 5, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3110202-SPECIAL-STATUS-REPORT-v5-9-16-16.html>

³ Ibid

⁴ Michael S. Schmidt and Richard Perez-Pena, "F.B.I. Treating San Bernardino Attack as Terrorism Case," The New York Times, 4 December 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/05/us/tashfeen-malik-islamic-state.html>

⁵ Brian Levin, "Special Status Report: Hate Crime in the United States," Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism, California State University: San Bernardino, CA 2016, Pg. 5, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3110202-SPECIAL-STATUS-REPORT-v5-9-16-16.html>

⁶ Ibid, pg. 26

⁷ Organizations include the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), J Street, the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), People for the American Way, Planned Parenthood, If Not Now, and more. Individuals include Glenn Beck, Ana Navarro, 150 democrats from the House of Representatives, Senators Harry Reid, Richard Blumenthal, Cory Booker, Jeff Merkley, Mazie Hirono, and Ed Markey and more. Gina Mei, "63 Politicians, Pundits, and Organizations Condemn Steve Bannon," Cosmopolitan, 17 November 2016, <http://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/a8299347/politicians-pundits-organizations-condemn-steve-bannon/>



President's decision, while the American Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan celebrated his appointment⁸. Other appointments include advisory positions for leading anti-Muslim conspiracy theorist Frank Gaffney and known former Lebanese militia ideologue, Walid Phares.

During his campaign, Donald Trump's platform included promises to enact discriminatory policies aimed at immigrants and religious minorities. Upon inauguration, Trump's administration quickly moved to act on those promises. Through executive orders, the Trump administration set into motion steps to create a border wall between Mexico and the United States, and to institute a temporary immigration ban on all refugees and individuals coming from seven Muslim-majority countries (which has been halted by federal courts). Currently, Donald Trump's White House is staffed by individuals who were appointed to positions of power who support discriminatory, prejudicial, and even hateful views of Muslims and Islam. As political pundits continue to ponder what is in store for the American public, a quick overview of some of the individuals in the Trump Administration provides evidence that Islamophobia has been legitimized and mainstreamed by the current White House.

The Campaign Rhetoric: Making Islam and Muslims the Enemy

Donald Trump's election has arguably been one of the biggest upsets in modern U.S. political history.⁹ Following the election, many were left wondering how the polls had gotten it wrong; some offered analysis of the media's underestimation of silent

⁸ Tim Devaney, KKK, American Nazi Party praise Trump's hiring of Bannon, The Hill, 14 November 2016, <http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/305912-kkk-american-nazi-party-praise-trumps-hiring-of-bannon>

⁹ Shane Goldmacher and Ben Shreckinger, "Trump pulls off biggest upset in U.S. history," Politico, 9 November 2016, <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/11/election-results-2016-clinton-trump-231070>

Trump supporters who kept their views hidden so as to not be stigmatized.¹⁰ Others claimed Trump supporters were the voice of the discontent, of working class and rural America who had been left behind by both parties.

Steven Bertoni, of Forbes, concluded that it was the campaign's un-orthodox approach to the election that helped see it to victory, identifying Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner, as the "chief operating officer" of the campaign.¹¹ Under his guidance, the campaign engaged in "message tailoring, sentiment manipulation, and machine learning."¹² Kushner turned what was, in the beginning, a campaign with no offices into an operation that capitalized on the potential of social media (far reach, plus low cost), where information, whether its content is factually correct or not, can be presented by anyone from anywhere and reach the whole world.

Having no previous experience in campaign management, Kushner enlisted the help of the start-up world by hiring people from Silicon Valley and using micro-targeting, allowing the Trump campaign to focus their messaging to previously ignored audiences.¹³ The messages feed into the already extant sentiments prevalent in these demographics.¹⁴ These include deep discontent with the status quo, a strong sense of alienation from the centers of power, and profound mistrust of ethnic and religious minorities, including Latin Americans, Jews, and in particular Muslims.¹⁵

Muslims are particularly vulnerable to suspicion not only because of the frequency with which they are associated

with headline-grabbing terrorist attacks, but also because most Americans are unfamiliar with Islam except for what they read or watch in the news about terrorist attacks. Polling questions compiled and analyzed by The Bridge Initiative found that "Americans remain unfamiliar with Islam, feel more coldly towards Muslims than any other religious group; and see Islam as 'more violent' than other religions."¹⁶ In 2016, a Pew Research result found that almost half of non-Muslim Americans view Muslims negatively; 49 percent agreed that "at least some Muslims in the US are anti-American."¹⁷ These sentiments were utilized by the administration to tailor specific messages targeting specific demographics. Building on this fear and ignorance, the campaign vowed to keep the country "safe"- not only from terrorists, but from Muslims in general. Promising "a complete and total ban" on Muslims to the U.S. "until we can figure out what the hell is going on," Trump effectively 'otherized' 3 million Muslim Americans, not to mention the 1.6 billion Muslims worldwide.

RACISM IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Any effort to understand Islamophobia must begin with an understanding of racism. Slavery, Jim Crow, Segregation, Japanese concentration camps, and more are all part of the American social fabric, and all were legal policies based on "race," the common perception that European Christians, African-Americans, Japanese Americans, and others each comprise a distinct "race." While the Civil Rights Movement worked to amend America's legal codes regarding African Americans, institutional and structural racism continues to persist as exemplified by mass incarceration of African Americans and income inequality.¹⁸ The subjugation and exploitation of African Americans, indigenous populations, and people of color in the U.S. has occurred as a result of perceived

¹⁰ Marie Whitaker, "Editorial: Rural America and a Silent Majority Powered Trump to a Win," NBC News, 9 November 2016, <http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-election-day/analysis-rural-america-silent-majority-powered-trump-win-n681221>

¹¹ Steven Bertoni, Exclusive Interview: How Jared Kushner Won Trump the White House, Forbes, 20 December 2016, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/stevenbertoni/2016/11/22/exclusive-interview-how-jared-kushner-won-trump-the-white-house/#70d13b132f50>

¹² Ibid; Machine learning is the science of giving computers access to data and then having them act without being explicitly programmed.

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ "The Super Survey," The Bridge Initiative, Georgetown University, 2015, pg. 6

¹⁷ Republicans Prefer Blunt Talk about Islamic Extremism, Democrats Favor Caution, Pew Research Center: Washington, D.C., 3 February 2016, <http://www.pewforum.org/2016/02/03/republicans-prefer-blunt-talk-about-islamic-extremism-democrats-favor-caution/>

¹⁸ UN Human Rights Council, 33 Session, "Report of the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent - visit to United States of America," (A/HRC/33/16/Add.2), Official Record, Geneva, 18 August 2016



racial differences by European Christians in power. Similarly, centuries of Orientalist rhetoric in Europe that promoted the inferiority of Arabs, Muslims, and other non-European Christians was championed by American academics such as Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington in the late 20th century.¹⁹ The stereotypes they advanced about Arabs and Muslims include that they are all alike, are “backwards,” irrational, greedy, both promiscuous and prudish, and prone to violence. The Arab/Muslim other is presented in mainstream discourse as antithesis of the Western world.²⁰ In the US, this orientalism is mixed with the history of anti-African American attitudes as nearly a quarter of all American Muslims identify themselves as black.²¹

Orientalist rhetoric found a home in the Trump campaign, as illustrated by his statements,²² and the statements from his supporters, and members of his administration. Targeting Muslims, immigrants, refugees, and even the press, Trump’s campaign rhetoric emphasized fear and fomented distrust, casting all “others” as enemies. He used the aftermath of terrorist attacks

to justify ominous pronouncements about Muslims and Islam.²³ Following the terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015, then candidate Trump called for the resumption of “heavy surveillance” of mosques.²⁴ He stated he would “strongly consider” shutting down mosques.²⁵ After the San Bernardino attack in December 2015, Mr. Trump issued a “statement on preventing Muslim immigration,” calling for a “total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States.”²⁶ Following the statement, anti-Muslim attacks were reported almost daily and often multiple times a day.²⁷

In a television interview with Anderson Cooper on CNN, Trump declared, “Islam hates us”²⁸ Failing to distinguish between terrorists who use Islamic terminology and mainstream Muslims who condemn terrorism, Trump thus identified not terrorism but “Islam” as the enemy. This diverged from previous presidents’ differentiation between the faith of 1.6 billion people and the actions of a few, and despite law enforcement agencies finding

²³ Anderson Cooper, “Donald J. Trump: ‘I think Islam hates us,’” CNN Politics, 24 November 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2016/03/10/donald-trump-islam-intv-ac-cooper-sot.cnn>

²⁴ Jenna Johnson, “Donald Trump would ‘strongly consider’ closing some mosques in the United States,” The Washington Post, 16 November 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/11/16/donald-trump-would-strongly-consider-closing-some-mosques-in-the-united-states/?utm_term=.edfbb4f3f588

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Donald J. Trump Statement on Preventing Muslim Immigration,” Donald J. Trump for President, 7 December 2015, <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/donald-j.-trump-statement-on-preventing-muslim-immigration>

²⁷ “When Islamophobia Turns Violent: The 2016 U.S. Presidential Elections,” The Bridge Initiative, Georgetown University: Washington, D.C., 2 May 2016, <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/when-islamophobia-turns-violent-the-2016-u-s-presidential-elections/>

²⁸ Anderson Cooper, “Donald J. Trump: ‘I think Islam hates us,’” CNN Politics, 24 November 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2016/03/10/donald-trump-islam-intv-ac-cooper-sot.cnn>

¹⁹ Samuel Huntington was a political scientist and Professor at Harvard University. In his article turned book, *Clash of Civilizations*, Huntington argued that with the end of the cold-war where communism (the Soviet Union) had been defeated, the primary axis of conflict in the future would be along cultural lines. Huntington divided the world into the seven major civilizations and argued that civilizational conflicts are “particularly prevalent between Muslims and non-Muslims”, identifying the “bloody borders” between Islamic and non-Islamic civilizations. He claimed a civilizational clash between the West and Islam would be inevitable.

²⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Vintage, 1979

²¹ Muslim Americans: No Signs of Growth in Alienation of Support for Extremism,” Pew Research Center, 30 August 2011, <http://www.people-press.org/2011/08/30/section-1-a-demographic-portrait-of-muslim-americans/>

²² Donald Trump,” The Bridge Initiative, 2 February 2017, <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/factsheet-president-donald-trump/>

that right-wing American “anti-government violent extremists” are the most “severe threat of political violence that they face.”²⁹

How did these discriminatory and prejudicial views of Islam and Muslims find their way from right-wing internet blogs into the White House and on to the front pages of mainstream media? Upon examination of Trump’s administration and advisors, a trajectory emerges of fringe anti-Muslim pundits gaining notable government posts.

STEPHEN BANNON: CHIEF STRATEGIST

Stephen Bannon is a former navy officer and lieutenant who spent time in the Persian Gulf in 1980.³⁰ Born and raised in Norfolk, Virginia, he went on to study and graduate from Georgetown University.³¹ He then earned a business degree at Harvard University.³²

Upon graduation, he embarked on a successful career as an investment banker with Goldman Sachs. Bannon left corporate banking to establish himself in the media and entertainment industry.³³

In 2007, Bannon, with Andrew Breitbart, began the far-right anti-establishment news platform, *Breitbart*.³⁴ It serves as a voice for and platform of the “alternative-right:” individuals who believe that “white” identity is under attack from multiculturalism and want to do away with “politically correct culture.”³⁵ “Alt-right” was a term coined by the self-described white nationalist, Richard Spencer, who describes it as “an ideology around identity, European

identity.”³⁶ Critics of this movement have labelled it a neo-fascist movement for its embrace of “white” (European American) ethnonationalism. It has been associated with racism, anti-Semitism, misogyny, as well as Islamophobia.³⁷

Bannon asserts that Breitbart was established to give a voice to the “marginalized,” the working-class white-collar Americans left behind by both political parties. The platform does not engage in traditional journalism. Instead it includes emotionally-charged headlines and news stories that often reveal a distinctly Euro-American bias. Its staff of bloggers thrives on populist discontent expressed in emotional terms.³⁸ Some past headlines from Breitbart include:

- “Political Correctness Protests Muslim Rape Culture,”
- “Birth Control Makes Women Unattractive and Crazy,”
- “Roger Stone: Huma Abedin ‘most likely a Saudi spy’ with ‘deep, inarguable connections’ to ‘global terrorist ENTITY,’” and
- “Data: Young Muslims in the West Are a Ticking Time Bomb, Increasingly Sympathizing with Radicals, Terror.”³⁹

The outlet eschews facts and evidence and fails to define terms, particularly those associated with Islam, such as jihad and Sharia. Technical terms politicized by terrorists, these words are used without explanation, in emotionally-charged opinion pieces.⁴⁰

Bannon cites Nazi propagandist Leni Riefenstahl as a role model and like Nazi propaganda, Breitbart relies on emotional commentary instead of factual analysis.⁴¹ Breitbart prides itself on its unregulated platform where comments often include racial slurs, race-baiting, and incitement to violence. Ken Stern described

²⁹ Kurt Eichenwald, “Right-Wing Extremists Are a Bigger Threat to America Than ISIS,” *Newsweek*, 4 February 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/2016/02/12/right-wing-extremists-militants-bigger-threat-america-isis-jihadists-422743.html>

³⁰ Mark D. Faram, “Steve Bannon and the National Security Council: What we can learn from his Navy career,” *Navy Times*, 1 February 2017, <https://www.navytimes.com/articles/nav-bannon-career>

³¹ “Stephen K. Bannon,” *Bloomberg*, 2017, <http://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/person.asp?personId=772098&privcapId=10184476>

³² *Ibid*

³³ “Under the Banner of Bannon: What Steve Bannon really wants,” *Quartz*, 3 February 2017, <https://qz.com/898134/what-steve-bannon-really-wants/>

³⁴ Manuel Roig-Franzia and Paul Farhi, “Bannon molded Breitbart into a far-right sledgehammer. How will it be wielded in the Trump era?” *The Washington Post*, 19 February 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/bannon-molded-breitbart-into-a-far-right-sledgehammer-how-it-will-be-wielded-in-the-trump-era/2017/02/19/422fbed2-f704-11e6-be05-1a3817ac21a5_story.html?utm_term=.82b509a87af5

³⁵ “Alternative Right,” *Southern Poverty Law Center*, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/alternative-right>

³⁶ Benjamin Wallace-Wells, “Is the Alt-Right for Real?” *The New Yorker*, 5 May 2016, <http://www.newyorker.com/news/benjamin-wallace-wells/is-the-alt-right-for-real>

³⁷ Fresh Air, “Exploring the Nationalistic and Christian Right Influences on Trump,” *National Public Radio (NPR)*, 2 February 2017, <http://www.npr.org/2017/02/02/513041005/exploring-the-nationalistic-and-christian-right-influences-on-trump>

³⁸ Ken Stern, “Exclusive: Stephen Bannon, Trump’s New C.E.O., hints at his Master Plan,” *Vanity Fair*, 17 August 2016, <http://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/08/breitbart-stephen-bannon-donald-trump-master-plan>

³⁹ Willa Frej, “Breitbart’s Greatest Hit (Pieces): Some of the Website’s Most Disgusting Headlines,” *The Huffington Post*, 14 November 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/breitbart-headlines_us_5829ba13e4b060adb56f1bdb

⁴⁰ Steven Hantler, “It’s Sharia, Stupid!,” *Breitbart*, 21 June 2016, <http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2016/06/21/its-sharia-stupid/>

⁴¹ Scott Shane, “Combative, Populist Steve Bannon Found his man in Donald Trump,” *The New York Times*, 27 November 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/27/us/politics/steve-bannon-white-house.html>



the medium as having created the “political army and political philosophy” for Donald Trump, so much so that it is sometimes referred to as “Trumpbart.”⁴² Following the election, Breitbart has published a stream of congratulatory articles lauding the policies coming out of the White House and coming to the defense of any individual who may be under scrutiny from other media, almost as if it has become a “media wing” of the administration.⁴³

During his time as executive chairman of Breitbart, Bannon also hosted a weekly radio show on Sirius XM called Breitbart News Daily. He often invited individuals best known for their anti-Islam rhetoric, including having over 25 interviews with Frank Gaffney. Gaffney is a conspiracy theorist who promotes the falsified claim that the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) has infiltrated the U.S. government.⁴⁴ Bannon’s also hosted Pamela Geller, whose group American Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI), sponsored a series of anti-Islam subway ads in 2014..⁴⁵ Bannon described Geller, who also heads the Stop Islamization of America campaign, as “one of the top experts on radical Islam and Sharia law and Islamic supremacism.”⁴⁶ On his show Bannon has referred to Islam as “the most radical”⁴⁷ religion and later asserted that “Islam” today is “something much darker” than “Hitler and the Nazis” during the 1930s.⁴⁸ Further, Bannon has described the largest Muslim civil rights and liberties organization in America, the Council of American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), as a “bunch of spin” and “a bunch of lies.”⁴⁹

⁴² Ken Stern, “Exclusive: Stephen Bannon, Trump’s New C.E.O., hints at his Master Plan,” Vanity Fair, 17 August 2016, <http://www.vanityfair.com/news/2016/08/breitbart-stephen-bannon-donald-trump-master-plan>

⁴³ Julia Ioffe, “The Believer: How Stephen Miller went from obscure Capitol Hill staffer to Donald Trump’s warm-up act-and resident ideologue,” Politico, 27 June 2016, <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/06/stephen-miller-donald-trump-2016-policy-adviser-jeff-sessions-213992>

⁴⁴ Cydney Hargis, “Another Muslim Brotherhood Conspiracy Theorist Becomes A Trump Adviser,” Media Matters, 22 August 2016, <https://mediamatters.org/research/2016/08/22/another-muslim-brotherhood-conspiracy-theorist-becomes-trump-adviser/212575>

⁴⁵ John Walker, “Pamela Geller’s most controversial anti-Islam campaigns, from subway ads to “draw Muhammad,” Fusion, 4 May 2015, <http://fusion.net/story/129972/pamela-gellers-most-controversial-anti-islam-campaigns-from-subway-ads-to-draw-muhammed/>

⁴⁶ Josh Harkinson, “The Dark History of the White House Aides who crafted Trump’s “Muslim Ban,” Mother Jones, 30 January 2017, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/01/stephen-bannon-miller-trump-refugee-ban-islamophobia-white-nationalist>

⁴⁷ Steve Reilly and Brad Heath, “Steve Bannon’s own words show sharp break on security issues,” USA Today, 31 January 2017, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/01/31/bannon-odds-islam-china-decades-us-foreign-policy-dctrine/97292068/>

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Josh Harkinson, “The Dark History of the White House Aides who crafted Trump’s “Muslim Ban,” Mother Jones, 30 January 2017, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/01/stephen-bannon-miller-trump-refugee-ban-islamophobia-white-nationalist>

A 2014 talk Bannon delivered in Rome at the third annual International Conference on Human Dignity hosted by Dignitatis Humanae Institute (DHI), provides a lens into the views and beliefs of the White House's chief strategist.⁵⁰ The Catholic think-tank founded in 2008 and not Vatican-affiliated, works to "protect and promote human dignity based on the anthropological truth that man is born in the image and likeness of God." The organization's makes a glowing reference to Bannon on its homepage.⁵¹

Bannon has also praised the founder and president of DHI, Benjamin Harnwell, calling him "very tough," and "the smartest guy in Rome."⁵² Harnwell has been featured on Bannon's SiriusXM radio show, where he's stated that Islam is a "religion which is radically different from Christianity," insinuating that Islam is inherently dangerous.⁵³ During his talks with Bannon on the show, Harnwell spoke of an erosion of Western civilization with an incoming tidal wave against "the foundational institutions of the Judeo-Christian West."⁵⁴ Further, Harnwell has attempted to redefine what the far-right is, arguing that figures like France's Marine Le Pen, who believes "globalization" and "Islamic Fundamentalism" are "two totalitarianisms" that must be fought,⁵⁵ are actually just "Center-Right."⁵⁶ Harnwell also believes that the UN and EU are part of an international movement to "reduce global population."⁵⁷

Bannon and Harnwell share the belief that the "Judeo-Christian West" is in crisis. During his speech at the DHI conference, Bannon

made countless allusions to this referring to World War I and World War II as a fight between "Judeo-Christian West" and "atheism." He went on to state that the West won and took back continental Europe, beating "back a barbaric empire in the Far East." Bannon's worldview seems to be reliant on this civilizational threat that must be saved by protecting it from non-"Judeo-Christians" and developing an enlightened form of capitalism. For Bannon, the 21st century involves a "crisis of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism."⁵⁸ During his speech at DHI, Bannon declared that the West was at the "very beginning stages of a very brutal and bloody conflict," and that if the church does not come together to form a "militant" response to stand for its beliefs against this "new barbarity," then the Judeo-Christian West will lose everything it has worked for over the last 2,500 years.⁵⁹ The President's chief strategist seeks a kind of holy war against "Islamic fascism."⁶⁰

Prior to his career as an investment banker with Goldman Sachs, Bannon also produced and directed films. In 2007, Bannon drafted an outline of a documentary-style three-part movie tracing "the culture of intolerance" and the threat posed by "radical Muslims" and their "enablers among us" in America.⁶¹ He titled it "Destroying the Great Satan: The Rise of Islamic Fascism in America."⁶² On-air experts in the film would include Walid Phares, a current foreign policy advisor to the Trump administration, who served as an ideologue for Lebanese Christian militias responsible of carrying out the massacres at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in 1982.⁶³ Another on-air expert would include Robert Spencer, who believes that there are no "moderate Muslims" and that any Muslim whose interpretation of Islam differs from that of Osama

⁵⁰ "Dignitatis Humanae Institute," Rome, Italy, <http://www.dignitashumanae.com/index.php/about-us/about-the-institute/>

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ "Benjamin Harnwell: 'There is an International Movement to Reduce Global population,' Dignitatis Humanae Institute, 26 May 2016, <http://www.dignitashumanae.com/index.php/benjamin-harnwell-there-is-an-international-movement-to-reduce-global-population/>

⁵⁴ John Hayward, "Benjamin Harnwell: 'There is an International Movement to Reduce Global population,' Breitbart, 25 May 2016, <http://www.breitbart.com/radio/2016/05/25/benjamin-harnwell-international-movement-reduce-global-population/>

⁵⁵ Sarah Wildman, "Marine Le Pen, the far-right politician topping the French polls, is thirsting for a Frexit," Vox, 6 February 2017, <http://www.vox.com/world/2017/2/6/14522856/marine-le-pen-islam-populism-nativism-trump-frexit-brexit>

⁵⁶ John Hayward, "Benjamin Harnwell: 'There is an International Movement to Reduce Global population,' Breitbart, 25 May 2016, <http://www.breitbart.com/radio/2016/05/25/benjamin-harnwell-international-movement-reduce-global-population/>

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ J. Lester Feder, "This is How Steve Bannon Sees the Entire World," BuzzFeed News, 16 November 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/lesterfeder/this-is-how-steve-bannon-sees-the-entire-world?utm_term=.kxkwDvE07#.sinVmaP8R

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Bradely Burston, "Opinion: Trump Needs a Holy War," Haaretz, 6 February 2017, <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/1.769002>

⁶¹ Matea Gold, "Bannon film outline warned U.S. could turn into 'Islamic States of America,'" The Washington Post, 3 February 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/bannon-film-outline-warned-us-could-turn-into-islamic-states-of-america/2017/02/03/f73832f4-e8be-11e6-b82f-687d6e6a3e7c_story.html?utm_term=.02fc69d40255

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Ishaan Tharoor, "The dark, controversial past of Trump's counterterrorism adviser," The Washington Post, 22 March 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/world-views/wp/2016/03/22/the-dark-controversial-past-of-trumps-counterterrorism-adviser/?utm_term=.dfce38f71064



Bin Laden, either doesn't understand their religion correctly or is faking it.⁶⁴ Bannon's screenplay provides a lens into his belief in an impending "fundamental clash of civilizations," between the West and Islam.

Bannon describes himself as a "hardcore capitalist," but of a capitalism that is rooted in the "Judeo-Christian" tradition and would create peace through the world. In his mind, governments today, especially those supported and led by "conservatives," are no longer doing what they are "morally bound to do." Instead they have become "corrupt and self-serving."⁶⁵ He has further stated that he is a "Leninist," intent on destroying "all of today's establishment"⁶⁶ Right-wing political pundit Glenn Beck previously compared Bannon to the Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels, and said the Trump campaign was "grooming

⁶⁴ "Robert Spencer," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/robert-spencer>

⁶⁵ J. Lester Feder, "This is How Steve Bannon Sees the Entire World," BuzzFeed News, 16 November 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/lesterfeder/this-is-how-steve-bannon-sees-the-entire-world?utm_term=.khwDvE07#.sinVmaP8R

⁶⁶ Lawrence Douglas, "Steve Bannon is calling the shots in the White House. That's terrifying," The Guardian, 31 January 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentis-free/2017/jan/31/steve-bannon-most-dangerous-man-in-america>

Brownshirts,"⁶⁷ in reference to Nazi paramilitaries.⁶⁸ According to Beck, Bannon is "quite possibly the most dangerous guy in all of American politics."⁶⁹

During his 2014 speech at DHI, Bannon cited possible threats of Russian imperialism which the US must be on guard against, but stated that the immediate danger is coming from the "caliphate" and that threat must "take priority." Bannon has stated that "Islam is not a religion of peace — Islam is a religion of submission," and warned of Muslim influence in Europe: "To be brutally frank, Christianity is dying in Europe and Islam is on the rise."⁷⁰ According to Josh Harkinson, Bannon's rationale for opening a Breitbart News office in the U.K. was to counter "all these Sharia courts [that] were starting under British law."⁷¹ He implores the Catholic church to take a more "militant" action against this "jihadist Islamic fascism."⁷²

Trump appointed the former Breitbart executive to lead his campaign in 2016. Following his election, Trump then appointed Bannon as his chief strategist, a move which earned him praise from the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan.⁷³ A little over a week into the new administration, President Trump signed an executive order positioning Bannon on the principals committee of the National Security Council (NSC), a role which is usually held by military leaders.⁷⁴ On April 5th, Trump removed Bannon from the

⁶⁷ Glenn Beck, "Silence in the Face of Evil is Evil Itself," Glenn Beck, 24 February 2016, <http://www.glennbeck.com/2016/02/24/silence-in-the-face-of-evil-is-evil-itself/>

⁶⁸ Ben Norton, "President Trump's right-hand man Steve Bannon called for Christian holy war: Now he's on the National Security Council," Salon, 30 January 2017, http://www.salon.com/2017/01/30/president-trumps-right-hand-man-steve-bannon-called-for-christian-holy-war-now-he-is-on-the-national-security-council_partner/

⁶⁹ "Glenn Beck: Steve Bannon 'is Quite Possible the Most Dangerous Guy in all of American Politics,'" Media Matters, 17 August 2016, <http://mediamatters.org/video/2016/08/17/glenn-beck-steve-bannon-quite-possibly-most-dangerous-guy-all-american-politics/212479>

⁷⁰ Scott Shane, Matthew Rosenberg, and Eric Lipton, "Trump Pushes Dark View of Islam to Center of U.S. Policy-Making," The New York Times, 1 February 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/01/us/politics/donald-trump-islam.html>

⁷¹ Josh Harkinson, "The Dark History of the White House Aides who crafted Trump's 'Muslim Ban,'" Mother Jones, 30 January 2017, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/01/stephen-bannon-miller-trump-refugee-ban-islamophobia-white-nationalist>

⁷² Micah L. Sifry, "Steve Bannon Wants to Start World War III," The Nation, 8 February 2017, <https://www.thenation.com/article/steve-bannon-wants-to-start-world-war-iii/>

⁷³ Tim Devaney, "KKK, American Nazi Party Praise Trump's hiring of Bannon," The Hill, 14 November 2016, <http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/305912-kkk-american-nazi-party-praise-trumps-hiring-of-bannon>

⁷⁴ Glenn Thrush and Maggie Haberman, "Bannon is Given Security Role Usually Held for Generals," The New York Times, 29 January 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/29/us/stephen-bannon-donald-trump-national-security-council.html>

NSC.⁷⁵ Bannon firmly believes that the U.S. is embroiled in a global war against Islam and wants to see militant action in the name of the Catholic church take place. Bannon not only believes there is a war between the 'West' and 'East,' but wants a war because he views "violence" to have a cleansing effect that can rejuvenate a society.⁷⁶ Bannon's rhetoric and media projects are designed to provoke fear, which he believes is a good thing because it leads people to "take action."⁷⁷

Bannon is a self-avowed apocalypticist. He subscribes to a theory that there are four-stage cycles moving from crisis to awakening and crisis again, which occur every 80-100 years.⁷⁸ A review of Bannon's past, his rhetoric, and his support of specific projects indicates that he believes the world is in the fourth "turning phase," one that involves a war of survival between the Judeo-Christian West and Islam

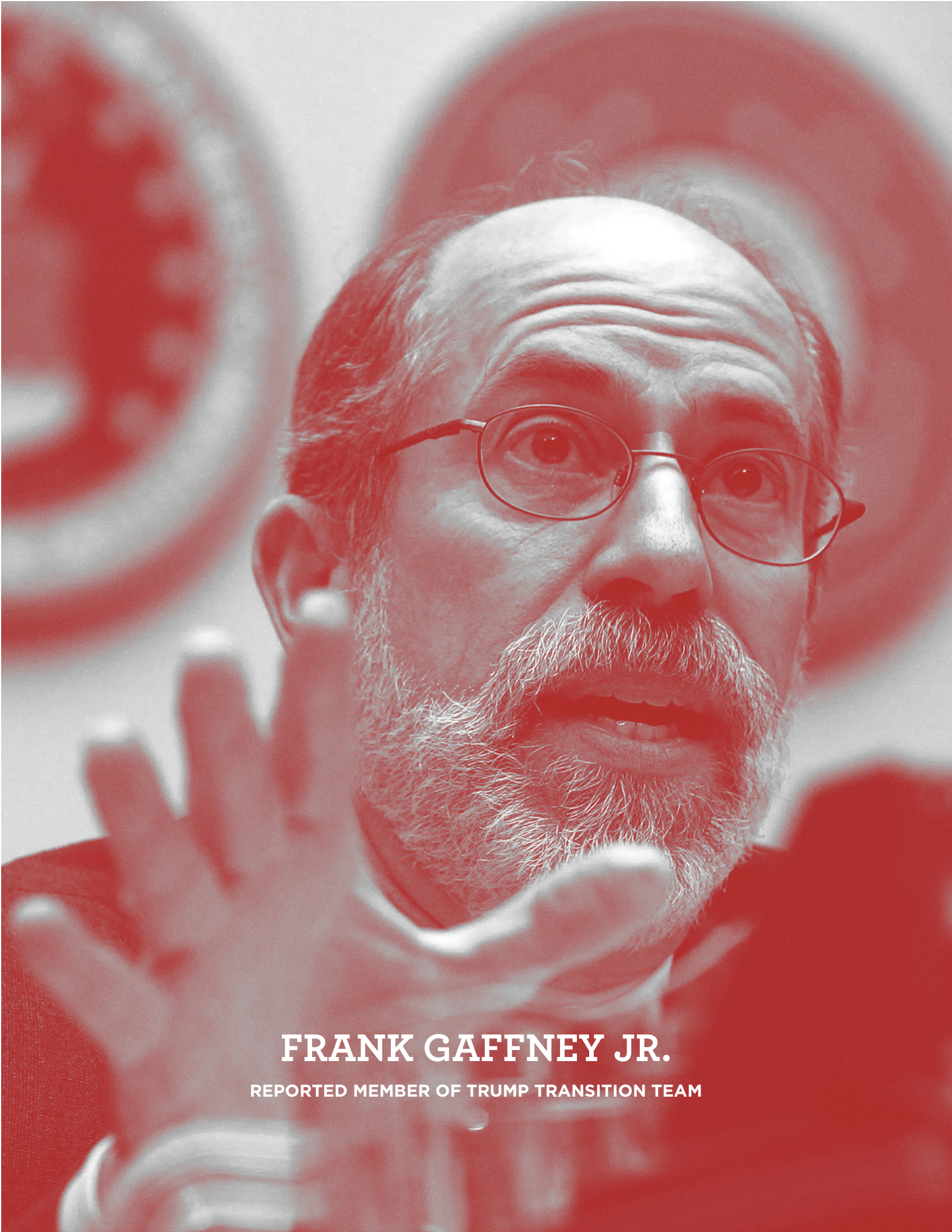
⁷⁵ Peter Baker, Maggie Haberman, and Glenn Thrush, "Trump Removes Stephen Bannon From National Security Council Post," The New York Times, 5 April 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/05/us/politics/national-security-council-stephen-bannon.html>

⁷⁶ Flemming Rose, "I told Steve Bannon: 'We Are Not at War with Islam.' He Disagreed.," The World Post, 13 February 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/steve-bannon-islam_us_58a1cee7e4b094a129ed3537?

⁷⁷ Michael Barbaro and Michael M. Grynbaum, "Stephen Bannon, a Rookie Campaign Chief Who 'Loves the Fight,'" The New York Times, 17 August 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/18/us/politics/stephen-bannon.html>

⁷⁸ Paul Blumenthal and JM Rieger, "Steve Bannon Believes the Apocalypse and War is Inevitable," The Huffington Post, 8 February 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/steve-bannon-apocalypse_us_5898f02ee4b040613138a951





FRANK GAFFNEY JR.

REPORTED MEMBER OF TRUMP TRANSITION TEAM

Frank Gaffney has been identified by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) as “one of America’s most notorious Islamophobes,”⁷⁹ and an “anti-Muslim extremist.”⁸⁰

One of the few individuals in the Trump team with political experience, he spent a little over four years as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy under Assistant Secretary Richard Perle in the mid-1980s.⁸¹ He also served seven months as the Acting Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs under President Ronald Reagan. Ultimately, Gaffney left in 1987 due to disagreements with the Reagan administration’s decision to remove nuclear missiles from Europe; Gaffney advocated a large missile defense program.⁸² Subsequently, Gaffney’s admiration for military weapons helped him build a lucrative relationship with weapons companies. Lockheed Martin, the largest arms-producing company in the world since 1999,⁸³ assisted Gaffney with the beginnings of his think tank, the Center for Security Policy (CSP), in 1988.⁸⁴ CSP received over \$3 million in corporate donations from its founding through the first year of George H. W. Bush’s administration.⁸⁵ The majority of this money came from defense contractors, including Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, and Boeing. Lockheed executives also served on the Center’s “National Security Advisory Board,” and its board of directors.⁸⁶ Other members of the Center’s board also include Dr. Jack London, the executive chairman and chairman of the Board of CACI International Inc., one of the Pentagon’s top

military contractors.⁸⁷ CACI is currently involved in a case brought by four Iraqis who allege they were tortured by the military contractor in Abu Ghraib during the second Iraq war.⁸⁸

The Center publishes books and pamphlets promoting the belief that America is under threat from “Islamization” and that implementation of Islamic law is occurring in the country and threatens the U.S. constitution. The neo-conservative think-tank has also issued misleading reports, including the results of a poll cited by Trump during his campaign.⁸⁹ The poll was administered using an unsystematic opt-in methodology, allowing anyone to participate.⁹⁰ The survey was conducted by now Counselor to President Trump, Kellyanne Conway’s firm, The Polling Company.⁹¹

Gaffney has established himself and his think tank as purveyors of credible information in DC political circles. Trump’s Chief Strategist Stephen Bannon has referred to him as an expert on Islam, and as previously mentioned, hosted him on his radio show over 25 times. In the 2016 Presidential campaign, Republican presidential candidate, Senator Ted Cruz, announced that Gaffney would be on his National Security Advisors team, to advise him on foreign policy.⁹² Cruz called Gaffney, “a patriot, [who] loves this country, and [is] clear-eyed about radical Islamic terrorism.”⁹³

In 2011, the Conservative Political Action Conference⁹⁴ banned Gaffney from attending the event following Gaffney’s attacks on two of its board members, accusing them of being part of the Muslim

⁷⁹ “Frank Gaffney Jr.” Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/frank-gaffney-jr>

⁸⁰ “A Journalist’s Manual: Field Guide to Anti-Muslim Extremists,” Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), 25 October 2016, <https://www.splcenter.org/20161025/journalists-manual-field-guide-anti-muslim-extremists>

⁸¹ “Arena profile: Frank Gaffney,” The Arena, 2012, http://www.politico.com/arena/bio/frank_gaffney.html

⁸² William Hartung, *Prophets of War: Lockheed Martin and the Making of the Military-Industrial Complex*, Nation Books: New York, 2012, pg. 198

⁸³ “Global arms industry: West still dominant despite decline; sales surge in rest of the world, says SIPRI,” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 14 December 2015, <https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2015/global-arms-industry-west-still-dominant-despite-decline-sales-surge-rest-world-says-sipri>

⁸⁴ William Hartung, *Prophets of War: Lockheed Martin and the Making of the Military-Industrial Complex*, Nation Books: New York, 2012, pg. 198

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ “Appeals Court reinstates Abu Ghraib prison abuse case against Pentagon Contractor CACI,” The Chicago Tribune, 21 October 2016, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-abu-ghraib-abuse-caci-20161021-story.html>

⁸⁸ Murtaza Hussain, “Legal experts try to reignite Iraqis suit against torture facility contractor,” The Intercept, 28 September 2015, <https://theintercept.com/2015/09/28/reigniting-caci-torture-suit/>

⁸⁹ Pema Levy, “Long before Trump, Kellyanne Conway Worked for Anti-Muslim and Anti-Immigrant Extremists,” Mother Jones, 9 December 2016, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/12/kellyanne-conway-immigration-islam-bannon-trump>

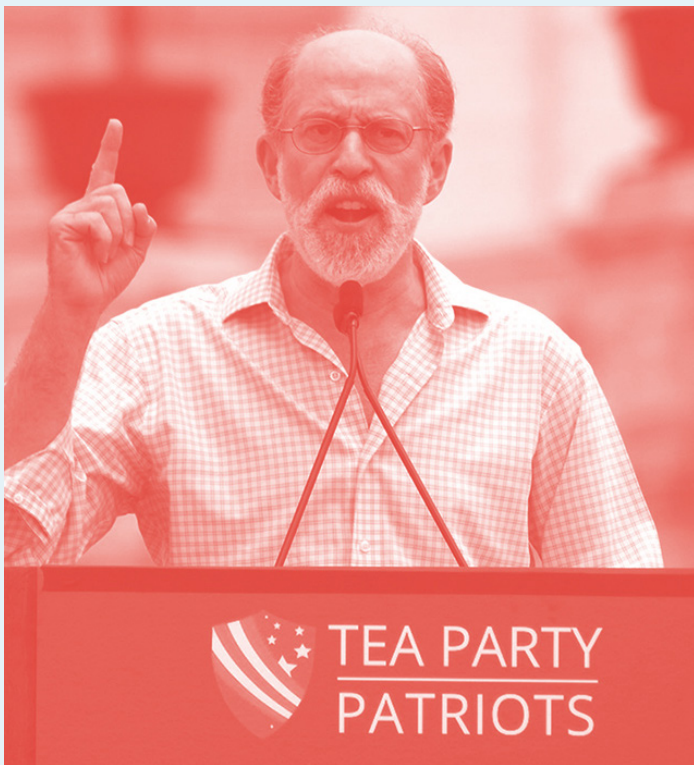
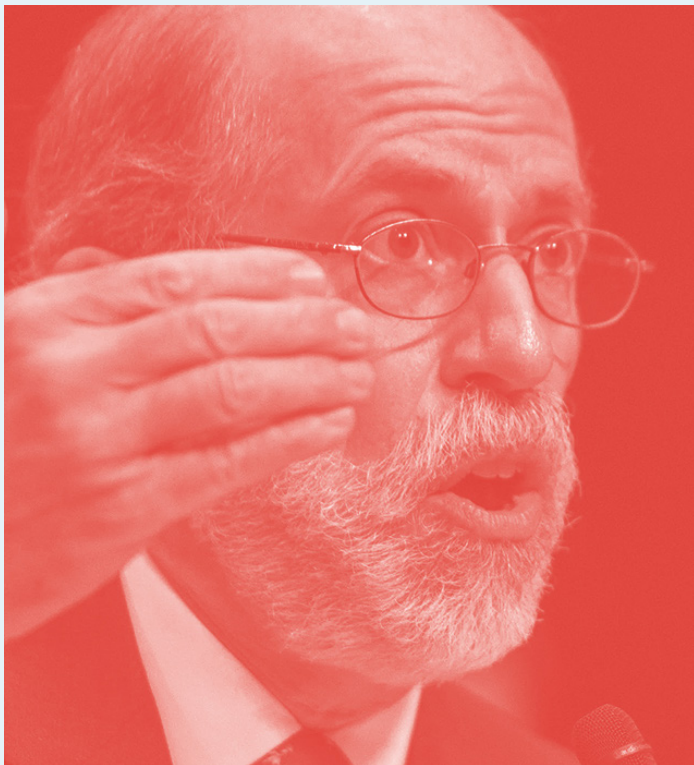
⁹⁰ “Trump calls for ban on Muslims, cites deeply flawed poll,” The Bridge Initiative, 7 December 2015, <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/new-poll-on-american-muslims-is-grounded-in-bias-riddled-with-flaws/>

⁹¹ “Kellyanne Conway,” The Bridge Initiative, 30 March 2017, <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Kellyanne-Conway-factsheet.pdf>

⁹² Jessica Schulberg, “Ted Cruz’s new adviser is even more anti-Muslim than Donald Trump,” The Huffington Post, 17 March 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/ted-cruz-frank-gaffney-islamophobia_us_56eb11cbe4b03a640a69fc3b

⁹³ Rosie Gray, “Frank Gaffney strikes back,” Buzzfeed News, 14 December 2015, https://www.buzzfeed.com/rosiegray/frank-gaffney-strikes-back?utm_term=.ngL8mQ9Vd#.cckDBEAL5

⁹⁴ A four-day annual political conference hosted by the American Conservative Union and the largest gathering of conservative activists and elected officials from across the United States.



Brotherhood.⁹⁵ This, however, did not deter GOP politicians from attending his events. In 2015, at a one-day conference on national security held by CSP in Las Vegas, a number of GOP presidential hopefuls appeared, including Senator Ted Cruz, Carly Fiorina, Ben Carson, and Rick Santorum.⁹⁶ Other politicians who have spoken at the CSP's national summits include former New York Governor George Pataki, former US ambassador to the United Nations John Bolton, former Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal, Donald J. Trump, and former Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee.⁹⁷

CSP has awarded its Freedom Flame Award to individuals who share strong anti-Muslim views. In 2016, the think-tank awarded it to the Israeli ambassador to the United States, Ron Dermer. During his acceptance speech, Dermer stated that "Islam has a unique theology" and is greatly different from other mainstream religions as it has been "influenced by a unique culture." He implied that Islam is not just different, but something that must be feared.⁹⁸ Past recipients of the award have also included Allen West,⁹⁹ the former Republican presidential candidate who shared a genocidal meme that had a picture of retired Marine General James Mattis, and read "Fired by Obama to please the Muslims, and hired by Trump to exterminate them."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Alex Seitz-Wald, "Exclusive: Frank Gaffney was barred from participating in CPAC, so he invented a reason to 'boycott' it," Think Progress, 15 February 2011, <https://thinkprogress.org/exclusive-frank-gaffney-was-barred-from-participating-in-cpac-so-he-invented-a-reason-to-boycott-it-238091cda296#.nakmwe20w>

⁹⁶ "National Security Action Summit-Nevada," Center for Security Policy, 14 December 2015, <https://www.eventbrite.com/e/national-security-action-summit-nevada-tickets-19396668959#>

⁹⁷ "Video highlights: The Iowa National Security Summit," Center for Security Policy, 18 May 2015, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2015/05/18/the-iowa-national-security-action-summit/>; "Video: New Hampshire National Security Action Summit," Center for Security Policy, 30 July 2015, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2015/07/30/national-security-action-summit-coming-to-new-hampshire/>; "Nevada National Security Action Summit," Center for Security Policy, 14 December 2015, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2015/12/14/nevada-national-security-action-summit/>

⁹⁸ Yousef Saba, "Israeli ambassador praises Frank Gaffney," Politico, 14 December 2016, <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/12/israel-dermer-frank-gaffney-232651>

⁹⁹ "2013 Freedom Flame: Allen West," Center for Security Policy, 6 June 2013, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/about-us/events/freedom-flame-award/2013-freedom-flame/>

¹⁰⁰ Shaun King, Twitter Post, 10 December 2016, 2:38PM, <https://twitter.com/ShawnKing/status/807716061021962240/photo/1>

Other individuals awarded the Flame include Mayor of Irving, Texas Beth Van Duyne,¹⁰¹ for her “efforts to protect the Constitution,” after the school handcuffed and suspended 14-year Mohamed Ahmed for bringing a clock to school.¹⁰²

Another example of Gaffney’s involvement in promoting anti-Muslim bias involves the 2011 incident with the Murfreesboro Mosque. Upon receiving a permit to build a mosque for the 250 Muslim families in the town, the community began receiving threats and became embroiled in a campaign to shut down the construction. Televangelist Pat Robertson joined in, labeling the Islamic center a “mega mosque” and claiming Muslims were taking over the town.¹⁰³ A legal case ensued after threats and incidents involving damage to the mosque location took place.¹⁰⁴ An anonymous caller contacted the Mosque organizers and threatened a bomb would explode inside the office space where the Muslim community was currently worshipping.¹⁰⁵ Frank Gaffney testified against the construction of the mosque and accused the leaders of the mosque of “having ties to terrorism.” He referenced ties to foreign academic institutions and politics as evidence.¹⁰⁶ Gaffney’s source of information was his own book on Sharia law, but under oath he admitted he was not an expert on Sharia.¹⁰⁷

Most recently Gaffney referred to Muslims as “termites [that] hollow out the structure of the civil society and other institutions,”¹⁰⁸ a metaphor eerily reminiscent of the dehumanizing rhetoric Nazi Germany employed of Jews as “parasitic vermin,” “rats,” and “subhuman,” who would “ferment the decomposition of peoples and states” if people did not “get rid of the virus.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ Elahe Izadi and Lindsey Bever, “The history of anti-Islam controversy in Ahmed Mohamed’s Texas city,” The Washington Post, 16 September 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2015/09/16/the-history-of-anti-islam-controversy-in-ahmed-mohameds-texas-city/?utm_term=.e656c00aa88b

¹⁰² Jessica Schulberg, “Ted Cruz’s new adviser is even more anti-Muslim than Donald Trump,”

¹⁰³ Bob Smietana, “Murfreesboro mosque fight laid to rest after Supreme Court ruling,” The Washington Post, 3 June 2014, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/religion/murfreesboro-mosque-fight-laid-to-rest-after-supreme-court-ruling/2014/06/03/Oda487c0-eb49-11e3-b10e-5090cf3b5958_story.html?utm_term=.c67a9e3be60a

¹⁰⁴ “Fire at Tenn. Mosque building suite ruled arson,” CBS News, 28 August 2010, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/fire-at-tenn-mosque-building-site-ruled-arson/>

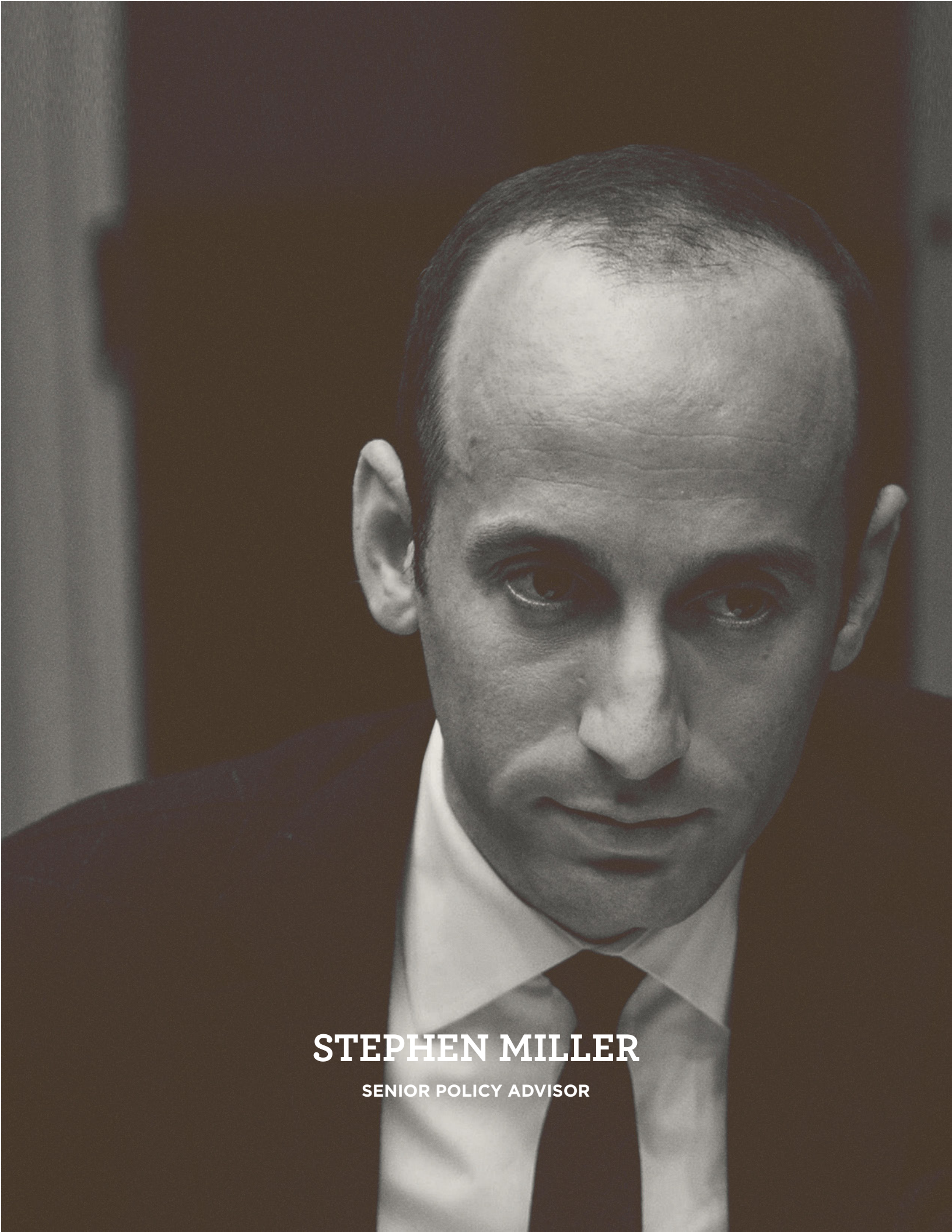
¹⁰⁵ “Tennessee mosque receives bomb threat,” UPI, 7 September 2011, http://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2011/09/07/Tennessee-mosque-receives-bomb-threat/UPI-61491315424159/

¹⁰⁶ Bob Smietana, “Anti-Muslim crusaders make millions spreading fear,” The Tennessean, 24 October 2010, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/local/2010/10/24/anti-muslim-crusaders-make-millions-spreading-fear/28936467/>

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Scott Shane, Matthew Rosenberg, and Eric Lipton, “Trump Pushes Dark View of Islam to Center of U.S. Policy-Making,” The New York Times, 1 February 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/01/us/politics/donald-trump-islam.html>

¹⁰⁹ Talk of the Nation, “‘Less Than Human’: The Psychology of Cruelty,” National Public Radio, 29 March 2011, <http://www.npr.org/2011/03/29/134956180/criminals-see-their-victims-as-less-than-human>



STEPHEN MILLER

SENIOR POLICY ADVISOR

Stephen Miller holds a senior position in the Trump administration and is credited with contributing, along with Bannon, to the President's inaugural address. The address's theme pointed to a civilizational threat. President Trump declared, "We will unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate from the face of the Earth."¹¹⁰

Miller's anti-Muslim views can be traced back to high school in California. Miller criticized diversity, publicly voicing his discontent with his liberal Santa Monica school's Spanish-language announcements. Those who knew Miller at the time described him as a provocateur who loved "performance" and "drawing people's outrage."¹¹¹ He penned an op-ed for the school newspaper, lamenting the school's administration's allegiance to non-violence, stating, "Osama Bin Laden would feel very welcome" here.¹¹² In the early 2000s, Miller invited David Horowitz to speak at his high school. Horowitz, referred to as the "godfather of the anti-Muslim movement" by SPLC, runs the David Horowitz Freedom Center, which has supported and given a platform to a number of anti-Muslim ideologues, including Robert Spencer, who was heavily quoted in the white supremacist Norwegian Anders Breivik's manifesto, who massacred 77 people.¹¹³ After inviting him, Miller claimed the school administration denied his request to host him, and wrote about it in FrontPage magazine, a Horowitz publication.¹¹⁴ With the publicity garnered through David Horowitz's publication, Miller appeared on a number of conservative media outlets including Fox News and state radio shows.

¹¹⁰ Aaron Blake, "Trump's full inauguration speech annotated," The Washington Post, 20 January 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/01/20/donald-trumps-full-inauguration-speech-transcript-annotated/?utm_term=.d0f3133231fc#annotations:11203364

¹¹¹ Lisa Mascaró, "How a liberal Santa Monica High School produced a top Trump advisor and speechwriter," Los Angeles Times, <http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-trump-speechwriter-santamonica-20170117-story.html>

¹¹² Daniel S. Levine, "Stephen miller: 5 fast facts you need to know," Heavy, 2 December 2016, <http://heavy.com/news/2016/12/stephen-miller-donald-trump-speechwriter-inauguration-day-speech-who-is-jeff-sessions-aide-duke/>

¹¹³ "David Horowitz," Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/david-horowitz>; Andrew Berwick, "2083: A European Declaration of Independence," 2011, <https://info.publicintelligence.net/AndersBehringBreivikManifesto.pdf>

¹¹⁴ Julia Ioffe, "The Believer: How Stephen Miller went from obscure Capitol Hill staffer to Donald Trump's warm-up act-and resident ideologue"

While attending Duke University, Miller wrote a bi-weekly newspaper column placing himself at the center of major campus controversies. He supported the Iraq war, for example, blamed 9/11 on "politically correct domestic security," and referred to allegations of racism as "racial paranoia."¹¹⁵ Miller used his column in the Duke Chronicle to advocate stronger defense against terrorism, stating that "[Islamic terrorists] have declared a death sentence on every man, woman and child living in this country [U.S]."¹¹⁶ He became the first national coordinator of the Terrorism Awareness Project, an initiative launched by his mentor, David Horowitz, and intended to make "students aware of the Islamic jihad and the terrorist threat, and to mobilize support for the defense of American and the civilization of the West."¹¹⁷ The project ran ads in several campus newspapers across the country, titled "What Americans Need to Know About Jihad." The ads stated "Jihad is a war against Christians." Ignoring the condemnations of terrorism by mainstream Muslim authorities,¹¹⁸ Miller drew solely from Osama Bin Laden and the leader of Hezbollah.¹¹⁹ The project also directed its members to "evaluate the Islamic or Mideast Studies departments of their campuses," to monitor them for spreading sympathy for terrorism.¹²⁰



¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ Stephen Miller, "Unpatriotic dissent," The Chronicle, 8 February 2016, <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2006/02/unpatriotic-dissent>

¹¹⁷ "Introducing the Terrorism Awareness Project," FrontPage Magazine, 31s January 2007, <http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=357>

¹¹⁸ Heraa Hashimi, "Worldwide Muslims Condemn List," 2017, <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1e8BjMW36CMNc4-qc9UNQku0blstZSzp5FMtkdlavqzc/edit#gid=0>

¹¹⁹ "Image," The Chronicle, 31 July 2016, <http://www.dukechronicle.com/multimedia/23859>

¹²⁰ "Introducing the Terrorism Awareness Project," FrontPage Magazine, 31 January 2007, <http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=357>

Miller's opposition to multiculturalism drew him to Richard Spencer, a self-declared white supremacist, also at Duke University at the time. He worked alongside Spencer to bring another white supremacist, Peter Brimelow, to campus.¹²¹ But it was Miller's staunch defense of the Duke Lacrosse team, which was allegedly involved in a 2006 rape case, that catapulted him into mainstream media outlets, with appearances on Fox News Network's The O'Reilly Factor and Nancy Grace.

Upon graduation, and with a recommendation from his long-time mentor, David Horowitz, Miller got a job in the office of Alabama Senator Jeff Sessions, a Trump surrogate who is now Attorney General of the United States. While in Sessions's office, Miller worked on anti-immigration bills. During this time, Miller met with conservative media voices, including Andrew Breitbart and Ann Coulter. Miller provided story leads to Breitbart, and organized a meeting between Breitbart and congressional staffers.¹²²

Like Bannon and Gaffney, Miller subscribes to the idea that Islam poses a civilizational threat to the west, and that there is an impending global war against "Islamic terrorism."¹²³ Politico reports that Miller and Bannon worked together to implement the January 27th 2017 executive order temporarily halting all refugee immigration from seven Muslim-majority countries.¹²⁴ The order was largely criticized and dubbed a "Muslim ban" before it was ultimately stayed.

¹²¹ Josh Harkinson, "The Dark History of the White House Aides who crafted Trump's "Muslim Ban," Mother Jones, 30 January 2017, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/01/stephen-bannon-miller-trump-refugee-ban-islamophobia-white-nationalist>

¹²² Ibid

¹²³ Gautam Hathi and Rachel Chason, "Stephen Miller: The Due grad behind Donald Trump," The Chronicle, 31 July 2016, <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2016/07/stephen-miller-the-voice-behind-donald-trump>

¹²⁴ Rachel Bade, Jake Sherman, and Josh Dawsey, "Hill staffers secretly worked on Trump's immigration order," Politico, 30 January 2017, <http://www.politico.com/story/2017/01/trump-immigration-congress-order-234392>





MIKE POMPEO

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

On November 18, 2016, President Trump announced his pick to lead the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Kansas Representative Mike Pompeo. Like Bannon and Miller, Pompeo subscribes to the Clash of Civilizations hypothesis, maintaining that the “War on Terror” is actually a war between Muslims and Christians.¹²⁵ In 2015, the Kansas representative told an Evangelical congregation to remain steadfast in their struggle against “radical Islam” and not be deterred by labels such as “Islamophobes or bigots.”¹²⁶ Pompeo released a statement on March 24, 2016 calling on the Islamic Society of Wichita (ISW) to cancel a fundraising event, alleging that the speaker of the event had ties to Hamas.¹²⁷ The fundraising event had previously occurred with the same speaker with no problems. Pompeo provided no evidence connecting the speaker or the organization to Hamas. But, inexplicably, he stated that the timing of the event was ‘horrible judgment’ because it coincided with the Christian holiday Good Friday.¹²⁸ Following the Boston bombings, Pompeo took to the House floor and falsely¹²⁹ claimed that Muslim leaders had not condemned the attacks, and therefore were “potentially complicit” in them.¹³⁰

The Kansas representative believes due process violations, torture,¹³¹ and being incarcerated without charge or trial are “lawful and humane.”¹³² He supports President Trump’s desire to keep Guantanamo Bay prison open as a site for future

captives.¹³³ Pompeo has also voiced his disapproval of the 2009 decision to shut down blacksite prisons, known for widespread torture and for functioning outside the international law framework with little to no government oversight.¹³⁴

Pompeo, too, is associated with Frank Gaffney and the Center for Security Policy.¹³⁵ Shortly after issuing the statement implying the Islamic Society of Wichita supported terrorism, Pompeo appeared on Frank Gaffney’s Secure Freedom Radio, where he claimed the speaker at the fundraiser had a “long history of being engaged in terror-linked activities.”¹³⁶ Throughout the interview, Pompeo spoke of a “radical Islamic terrorist regime” and the spread of “Islamic materials” which were motivating individuals to engage in terrorist activities.¹³⁷ He spoke of a “terrorist infrastructure” linking American mosques and other Islamic organizations.¹³⁸ Pompeo also noted that he co-sponsored a bill in the House of Representatives to designate Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization.¹³⁹ As in Bannon’s, Gaffney’s, and Miller’s rhetoric, Pompeo’s assertions fail to distinguish between terrorism committed by some Muslims and the religion of over 20 percent of the world’s population, the vast majority whom condemn terrorism. Ignoring the fact that the majority of terrorists’ victims are Muslims themselves, this rhetoric, instead, places all Muslims in the category of “threat.”

¹²⁵ Lee Fang, “Trump CIA pick Mike Pompeo depicted War on Terror as Islamic battle against Christianity,” The Intercept, 23 November 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/11/23/mike-pompeo-religious-war/>

¹²⁶ “Summit Church God and Country Rally 2015,” Summit Church, Youtube, 8 July 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sOOopXYM52w>

¹²⁷ Tim Potter, “How Wichita mosque speaker controversy played out,” The Wichita Eagle, 1 April 2016, <http://www.kansas.com/news/local/article69548302.html>

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹²⁹ Anai Rhoads, “Muslim groups respond to false claims by Congressman Pompeo,” The Huffington Post, 13 June 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/anai-rhoads/muslim-groups-pompeo_b_3431339.html

¹³⁰ Lee Fang, “Trump CIA pick Mike Pompeo depicted War on Terror as Islamic battle against Christianity”

¹³¹ Lindsay Wise, “New CIA Director Mike Pompeo on torture, Muslims, terror, Iran, NSA spying,” McClatchy DC Bureau, 18 November 2016, <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/politics-government/election/article115635853.html>

¹³² Eric Lipton, Charlie Savage, and Michael S. Schmidt, “Donald Trump’s team shows few signs of Post-Election Moderation,” The New York Times, 18 November 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/18/us/politics/donald-trump-transition.html?ref=collection%2Fbyline%2Fcharlie-savage&action=click&contentCollection=undefined®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=1&pg-type=collection

¹³³ David Welna, “Trump has vowed to fill Guantanamo with ‘some bad dudes’- but Who?” National Public Radio (NPR), 14 November 2016, <http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/11/14/502007304/trump-has-vowed-to-fill-guantanamo-with-some-bad-dudes-but-who>

¹³⁴ Julie Hirschfeld Davis, “Trump turns to his right flank to fill national security posts,” The New York Times, 18 November 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/19/us/politics/donald-trump-administration.html>

¹³⁵ “Rep. Mike Pompeo sits down with SFR,” Secure Freedom Radio, Center for Security Policy, 4 April 2016, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2016/04/04/rep-mike-pompeo-sits-down-with-sfr/>

¹³⁶ Ibid

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ H.R.3892 - Muslim Brotherhood Terrorist Designation Act of 2015



OTHER IMPORTANT MEMBERS

OTHER ANTI-MUSLIM VOICES IN THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

Many Trump advisors argue that the root cause of terror is Islam itself. They support hawkish policies and call for decisive action at stopping an enemy that is not simply overseas but is everywhere from small-town America to classrooms across the nation.



WALID PHARES

For example, Walid Phares, a neoconservative political pundit, was chosen by Trump to advise him on foreign policy. As mentioned above, Phares was involved in Lebanon's right-wing Christian Maronite militia responsible for carrying out the "1982 massacres of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps."¹⁴⁰ Phares also served as an expert in the 2009 film *The Third Jihad*, produced by the Clarion Project,¹⁴¹ an anti-Muslim group for which he has also served on the advisory

¹⁴⁰ Arwa Ibrahim, "Trump in the White House: the man advising him on the Middle East," *Middle East Eye*, 11 November 2016, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/profile-who-donald-trumps-foreign-policy-advisor-walid-phares-1549990186>

¹⁴¹ The Southern Poverty Law Center has announced that it will officially designate The Clarion Project as a hate group in 2017. According to SPLC, "Clarion Project is an organization that makes and distributes millions of anti-Muslim films that portray, among other things, the threat of Islamic as akin to Nazism." "Members of the organization advisory board include Frank Gaffney, Zuhdi Jasser, and Daniel Pipes, individuals who consistently advance misleading or unfounded notions about Islam." "SPLC publishes media guide to countering prominent anti-Muslim extremists," SPLC, 26 October 2016, <https://www.splcenter.org/news/2016/10/26/splc-publishes-media-guide-counter-ing-prominent-anti-muslim-extremists> The *Third Jihad* was described as a "hate-filled film about Muslims," with "noxious and dangerous stereotyping." "Hateful film," *The Opinion Paged Editorial*, *The New York Times*, 24 January 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/25/opinion/hateful-film.html>

board.¹⁴² Phares was previously chosen in 2011 by then Republican Presidential candidate Mitt Romney to serve as his foreign policy advisor.¹⁴³ Phares presents himself as an expert on Islam and the Middle East and has testified in that capacity before Defense and State department committees and appeared on a number of news outlets including NBC and Fox News. According to McKay Coppins, Phares promotes the belief that "Muslims are plotting a secret takeover of American institutions with the end goal of imposing Sharia."¹⁴⁴ Phares' appointment to advisor by Romney stirred a vocal response from Muslim organizations and led to UNC Chapel Hill Professor Omid Safi stating, "It would be akin to turning to [former KKK member] David Duke to get advice on race relations."¹⁴⁵ Phares believes that prior to 9/11, the United States government was under the influence of Islamists, as described in his book *Future Jihad*.¹⁴⁶ Phares also sits on the board, along with General Michael Flynn, of ACT for America, the largest anti-Muslim grassroots organization in the United States.¹⁴⁷ He has also written for Horowitz's *FrontPage Magazine* and appeared on Gaffney's *Secure Freedom Radio*.¹⁴⁸



¹⁴² Ibid; "Walid Phares," *The Islamophobia Network*, 2017, <https://islamophobicnetwork.com/echo-chamber/walid-phares>

¹⁴³ Ishaan Tharoor, "The dark, controversial past of Trump's counterterrorism adviser," *The Washington Post*, 22 March 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/world-views/wp/2016/03/22/the-dark-controversial-past-of-trumps-counterterrorism-adviser/?utm_term=.55f6fb780010

¹⁴⁴ McKay Coppins, "Mitt's Muslim Problem," *The Daily Beast*, 12 October 2011, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/10/12/mitt-romney-s-new-adviser-sparks-islamic-uproar.html>

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

¹⁴⁶ Daniel Larison, "Trump and Walid Phares," *The American Conservative*, 21 March 2016, <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/larison/trump-and-walid-phares/>

¹⁴⁷ "Act for America," Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/act-america>

¹⁴⁸ "Walid Phares," *The Islamophobia Network*

THE GORKAS

Trump has also hired a husband and wife duo to be a part of his administration. Katherine Gorka, member of the Homeland Security team, and her husband Sebastian Gorka, deputy assistant to the president, have both made a name for themselves as anti-Muslim campaigners.



Katherine was a writer for Breitbart and has pushed legislation targeting mainstream Muslim organizations, like CAIR. Sebastian Gorka is the author of *Defeating Jihad*. He identifies himself as an “irregular war strategist,” and finds Trump’s anti-political correctness to be “refreshing.” Like his wife, Sebastian has also accused Muslim organizations of using “subversive tactics,” and having ties to the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas.¹⁴⁹ Gorka has an interesting past having worked for both the Hungarian and British governments. Most recently, reports have come out regarding a medal often worn by him, including during the inauguration. The medal is of a Hungarian group, Vitézi Rend listed by the State Department as “having taken direction from Germany’s Nazi government during World War II.”¹⁵⁰ He also wore the medal during a television interview with Fox network’s Sean Hannity.¹⁵¹

The deputy assistant to the president believes that religious

¹⁴⁹ Zaid Jilani and Alex Emmons, “Former Donald Trump adviser calls racial profiling ‘common sense,’” *The Intercept*, 30 June 2016, <https://theintercept.com/2016/06/30/former-donald-trump-adviser-calls-racial-profiling-common-sense/>

¹⁵⁰ Eli Clifton, “Why is Trump adviser wearing medal of Nazi collaborators?” *LobeLog*, 12 February 2017, <https://lobelog.com/why-is-trump-adviser-wearing-medal-of-nazi-collaborators/>

¹⁵¹ Ibid

profiling of Muslims is “common sense.”¹⁵² He has characterized the Muslim Brotherhood as the “grandfather of modern jihadism.”¹⁵³ His book, *Defeating Jihad: The Winnable War*, argues the need to recognize that the U.S.’ enemy “is not ‘terror’ or ‘violent extremism,’ but ‘is the global jihadi movement, a modern totalitarian ideology rooted in the doctrines and martial history of Islam.’”¹⁵⁴ Bannon issued a review of his book and called Sebastian Gorka “one of the world’s leading experts in asymmetric warfare.”¹⁵⁵ Gorka’s comments on “global jihadism,” and his views on Islam in general have been expressed in his columns for *Breitbart*.¹⁵⁶ He too has been a frequent guest on Gaffney’s Secure Freedom Radio and made appearances at events hosted by CSP.¹⁵⁷ Sebastian Gorka has defended the administration’s executive order on immigration and refugees, by asserting that the U.S. is a “Christian nation, a Judeo-Christian nation,” and that accepting Muslim refugees would be “national suicide.”¹⁵⁸ On May 1, 2017, administration officials told CNN Gorka would be leaving his job at the White House.¹⁵⁹



¹⁵² Zaid Jilani and Alex Emmons, “Former Donald Trump adviser calls racial profiling ‘common sense’”

¹⁵³ Sebastian Gorka, Twitter Post, 10 February 2017, 5:32PM, <https://twitter.com/SebGorka/status/830228089074569216>

¹⁵⁴ Sebastian Gorka, *Defeating Jihad: The Winnable War*, Amazon, 2016, <https://www.amazon.com/Defeating-Jihad-Winnable-Sebastian-Gorka/dp/1621574571>

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Dr. Sebastian Gorka, *Breitbart*, 2017, <http://www.breitbart.com/author/sebastian-gorka/>

¹⁵⁷ Center for Security Policy, 1 March 2013, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/page/4/?s=gorka>

¹⁵⁸ John Hayward, “Dr. Sebastian Gorka: ‘U.S. is a Judeo-Christian national but that’s not a contract for national suicide!’” *Breitbart*, 16 November 2016, <http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2016/11/16/dr-sebastian-gorka-refugee-crisis-helping-people-not-contract-national-suicide/>

¹⁵⁹ Jim Acosta and Eric Bradner, “Sources: Sebastian Gorka to leave White House,” *CNN*, 1 May 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2017/04/30/politics/gorka-leaving-white-house/>.



REX TILLERSON & JEFF SESSIONS

Other members of the administration have utilized similar terminology in targeting Muslims and Islam. Rex Tillerson, the former Exxon CEO turned Secretary of State, equated the Muslim Brotherhood with al-Qaeda, naming them both as “agents of radical Islam,” during his confirmation hearings.¹⁶⁰

Additionally, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, who has a documented history of allegations of racism and support for anti-immigration policies, supports Trump’s temporary ban on Muslim immigrants and has stated that a “toxic ideology” lies at the root of Islam..¹⁶¹ As a senator from Alabama, Sessions consistently railed against former President Obama’s policies regarding the acceptance of Syrian refugees. He worked to persuade people to fear that the U.S. was allowing too many Muslims into the country and that these individuals were susceptible to “radicalization.”¹⁶² The Attorney General has proudly asserted that Horowitz, who has claimed that “all the major Muslim organizations in America are connected to the Muslim Brotherhood, “is a man he “admires” and

a “brilliant individual.”¹⁶³ Sessions has participated in Howrowtitz’s Freedom Center events in 2003, 2008, 2010, 2013, and 2014.¹⁶⁴

The Attorney General was also given Gaffney’s CSP Keeper of the Flame Award in 2015.¹⁶⁵

KRIS KOBACH

In late 2015, during the presidential campaign, Trump stated that he would “absolutely” require Muslims in the United States to register in a database.¹⁶⁶ Upon election, he picked the original architect of the Muslim registry, Kris Kobach, to advise him on immigration¹⁶⁷ The Kansas Secretary of State helped write the blueprint for the National Security Entry-Exist Registry System (NSEERS) while working for the Justice department under President George W. Bush. NSEERS required young men in the U.S. from 25 countries considered to be high risk (24 out of 25 countries were Muslim-majority) on nonimmigrant visas to register.¹⁶⁸ The program was

¹⁶⁰ Becca Stanek, “Rex Tillerson says ‘radical Islam’ would be his top priority as secretary of state,” This Week, 11 January 2017, <http://theweek.com/speedreads/672585/rex-tillerson-says-radical-islam-priority-secretary-state>
¹⁶¹ Joby Warrick and Abigail Hauslohner, “Trump’s security picks deepen Muslim worries about an anti-Islamic White House,” The Washington Post, 18 November 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trumps-security-picks-deepen-muslim-worries-about-an-anti-islamic-white-house/2016/11/18/d7796cc6-add6-11e6-8b45-f8e493f06fcd_story.html
¹⁶² Adam Serwer, “Jeff Sessions’s fear of Muslim immigrants,” The Atlantic, 8 February 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/02/jeff-sessions-has-long-feared-muslim-immigrants/516069/>

¹⁶³ Sarah Lazare, “Jeff Sessions defense anti-Muslim extremist David Horowitz, calling him ‘brilliant,’” Alternet, 11 January 2017, <http://www.alternet.org/grayzone-project/jeff-sessions-defends-anti-muslim-extremist-david-horowitz-calling-him-brilliant>
¹⁶⁴ Ibid
¹⁶⁵ “2015 Keeper of the Flame awards dinner honoring Senator Jess Sessions (R-Al),” Center for Security Policy, 21 October 2015, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/event/2015-keeper-of-the-flame-awards-dinner-honoring-senator-jeff-sessions-r-al/>
¹⁶⁶ Trip Gabriel, “Donald Trump says he’d ‘absolutely’ require Muslims to register,” The New York Times, 20 November 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2015/11/20/donald-trump-says-hed-absolutely-require-muslims-to-register/>
¹⁶⁷ Nolan D. McCaskill, “AP photographer reveals Kobach’s hardline plans for DHS,” Politico, 21 November 2016, <http://www.politico.com/blogs/donald-trump-administration/2016/11/kris-kobach-donald-trump-homeland-security-plan-231712>
¹⁶⁸ “Press Release- DRUM welcomes victory in ending NSEERS and calls for accountability for thousands...” Desis Rising up and Moving, New York, NY, 28 April 2011, <http://www.drumnyc.org/press-release-drum-welcomes-victory-in-ending-nseers-and-calls-for-accountability-for-thousands-of-muslim-families-already-torn-apart/>



conceived to prevent terrorism; in fact it resulted in zero terrorism convictions, but did lead to the deportation proceedings of an estimated 13,000 Muslim men and boys.¹⁶⁹



THE FIRST DAYS OF THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

During President Trump's first 30 days in office, the administration posted policy positions that privilege military operations over diplomacy.¹⁷⁰ Further, Trump and his administration have taken after Gaffney in identifying Islam itself as the root of terrorism, rather than seeing terrorism as a deviation from Islam, as most

¹⁶⁹ Chris Rickerd, "Homeland Security suspends ineffective, discriminatory immigration program," American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 6 May 2011, <https://www.aclu.org/blog/speakeasy/homeland-security-suspends-ineffective-discriminatory-immigration-program>

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

Muslims do.¹⁷¹ This is illustrated in the administration's desire to rename the already-problematic "Countering Violent Extremism" (CVE) program to "Countering Islamic Extremism," or "Countering Radical Islamic Extremism."¹⁷² The program would no longer target groups such as white supremacists, despite reports indicating that the "number of white nationalists and self-identified Nazi sympathizers on Twitter have multiplied more than 600 percent in the last four years" and are outperforming ISIS on social media.¹⁷³ Additionally, Americans were seven times more likely to have been killed by right-extremists than so-called "Muslims terrorists" since 9/11.¹⁷⁴ Yet, under Trump administration this program would focus solely on Muslims.

On January 27, 2017, the administration issued an executive order titled, "Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry in the United States."¹⁷⁵ It temporarily suspended all U.S. refugee admissions and halted immigration from seven Muslim-majority countries (Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Iraq, Iran, and Libya).¹⁷⁶ The ban also "established a religious test for refugees as Trump ordered that Christian and other minority religions be granted priority over Muslims."¹⁷⁷

In the case of the war in Syria, which has resulted in the largest refugee crisis since World War II, the ban would only allow for non-Muslim refugees to enter. Initially, the ban applied to legal permanent residents from the seven countries. The implementation

¹⁷¹ Michael Lipka, "Muslims and Islam: Key findings in the U.S. and around the world," Pew Research Center, 27 February 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/02/27/muslims-and-islam-key-findings-in-the-u-s-and-around-the-world/>

¹⁷² Julia Edwards Ainsley, Dustin Volz, and Kristina Cooke, "Exclusive: Trump to focus counter-extremism program solely on Islam- sources," Reuters, 2 February 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-extremists-program-exclusiv-idUSKBN15G5VO>

¹⁷³ Feliks Garcia, "White nationalist movement growing much faster than Isis on Twitter, study finds," The Independent, September 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/white-nationalist-movement-twitter-faster-growth-isis-islamic-state-study-a7223671.html>

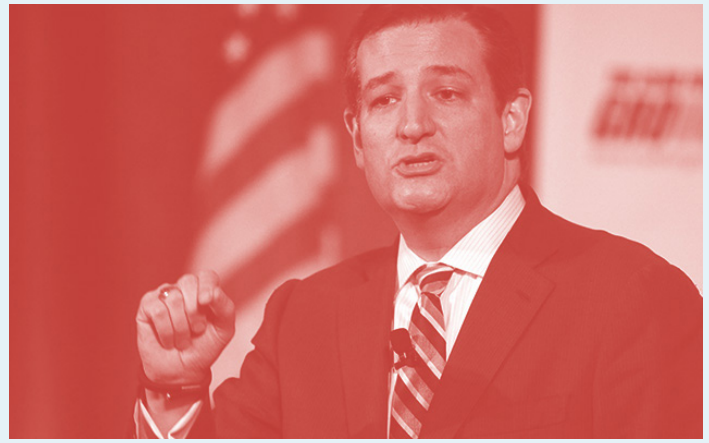
¹⁷⁴ Ian Millhiser, "You are more than 7 times as likely to be killed by a right-wing extremist than by Muslim terrorists," Think Progress, 20 November 2015, <https://thinkprogress.org/you-are-more-than-7-times-as-likely-to-be-killed-by-a-right-wing-extremist-than-by-muslim-terrorists-417f3c3461db>

¹⁷⁵ "Executive Order: Protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry in the United States," The White House, 27 January 2017, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/27/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states>

¹⁷⁶ "Executive Order: Protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry in the United States," The White House, 27 January 2017, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/01/27/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states>

¹⁷⁷ Michael D. Shear and Helene Cooper, "Trump bars refugees and citizens of 7 Muslim countries," The New York Times, 27 January 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/us/politics/trump-syrian-refugees.html>

of the order resulted in great confusion and chaos at airports. Mass protests erupted across the country at specific airports and immigration attorneys stepped in to fight what they deemed an unconstitutional order.¹⁷⁸ The order was taken to court in New York and Virginia where judges ordered a temporary halt.¹⁷⁹ Three federal judges upheld the temporary ruling against the ban.¹⁸⁰ The administration vowed to fight the judiciary. On March 6, 2017, the administration released a new order “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States,” which revoked and replaced the earlier order.¹⁸¹ The Order prohibits entry into the U.S. by immigrants and visitors from six Muslim-majority countries (Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen). Iraq was removed after it complied with a set of rules designed to allow states to apply to be removed from the list. The revised order also failed to provide evidence that nationals of these countries pose a threat to national security. The American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA) declared the “Order will not make us safer as a nation, and thousands of refugees who have been screened for resettlement will be trapped in dangerous conditions.”¹⁸² Currently, the states of Washington, California, Hawaii, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, and Oregon have filed papers asking a judge to stop the order from taking effect on March 16, 2017.¹⁸³ They have in fact, succeeded in staying what was referred as the “Muslim ban 2.0.”



TED CRUZ

Just days before President Trump took office on January 11, 2017, Senator Ted Cruz introduced a bill calling on the State Department to designate the Muslim Brotherhood as a foreign terrorist organization.¹⁸⁴ Senator Cruz cites Frank Gaffney, who believes that the Brotherhood engages in a “subversive kind of jihad” and aims to impose Sharia in the U.S.¹⁸⁵ By contrast, renowned scholar of Islam and recognized expert on the issue, Georgetown University Professor John Esposito, argued that the Brotherhood and “associated movements and parties have been a force for democratization and stability in the Middle East. [They] promoted and contested elections in Muslim majority countries as far flung as Morocco and Indonesia.”¹⁸⁶

Designation of the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization could well lead to government interference in mainstream Muslim civil society organizations.¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁸ Cecillia Wang, “Trump Begins his Unconstitutional Program of Anti-Muslim Discrimination,” American Civil Liberties Union, 28 January 2017, <https://www.aclu.org/blog/speak-freely/trump-begins-his-unconstitutional-program-anti-muslim-discrimination>

¹⁷⁹ Ariane de Vogue, Eli Watkins, and Alanne Orjoux, “Judges temporarily block part of Trump’s immigration order, WH stands by it,” CNN politics, 29 January 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2017/01/28/politics/2-iraqis-file-lawsuit-after-being-detained-in-ny-due-to-travel-ban/>

¹⁸⁰ Ben Jacobs, “US travel ban hits major setback as judges uphold temporary restraining order,” The Guardian, 10 February 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/09/judges-deny-trump-travel-ban-enforcement-uphold-order>

¹⁸¹ <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/03/06/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states>

¹⁸² “Summary and Analysis of Executive Order: Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States,” American Immigration Lawyers Association, 6 March 2017, <http://www.aila.org/infonet/summary-second-trump-exec-order-visa-issuance>

¹⁸³ Mica Rosenberg, “Several states jointly sue to block Trump’s revised travel ban,” Reuters, 13 March 2017, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-immigration-idUSKBN16K264?utm_source=WTF+Just+Happened+Today%3F&utm_campaign=8e520ec233-Day_54_Alias_3_14_2017&utm_medium=email&utm_term=O_9813b73b1a-8e520ec233-158882133

¹⁸⁴ S.17075, 115 Cong., http://www.cruz.senate.gov/files/documents/Bills/20170110_MuslimBrotherhoodTerroristDesignationAct.pdf? (2017)

¹⁸⁵ Deborah Amos and Larry Kaplow, “Trump backers want ideology test for extreme vetting,” National Public Radio (NPR), 4 February 2017, <http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/02/04/513289953/trump-backers-want-ideology-test-for-extreme-vetting>

¹⁸⁶ “Ted Cruz’s Muslim Brotherhood Terrorist Bill,” The Bridge Initiative, 18 January 2017, <http://bridge.georgetown.edu/ted-cruzs-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-bill/>

¹⁸⁷ “US: Don’t Target Muslim Brotherhood,” Human Rights Watch, 8 February 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/02/08/us-dont-target-muslim-brotherhood>

I am a Muslim, and
ISIS does not represent me,
nor does it represent Islam.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

THE FUTURE FOR MUSLIMS IN AMERICA

Discriminatory and invasive policies for Muslims in America are not a new phenomenon. Muslim in America are American and have been for generations. One-third of all slaves brought to America by force.¹⁸⁸

However, in stark contrast to previous administrations, the Trump administration has identified the religion of Islam as America's enemy, not just militant groups with a deviant interpretation of it. Trump famously asserted that "Islam hates us," in a CNN interview, and the majority of his administration believes Islam to be a political ideology, rather than a religion, that is at odds with the West. The line of thought running from Chief Strategist Bannon to CIA Director Pompeo has been advocated by far-right anti-Muslim organizations for years. The belief is that Islam is not a religion but is a political ideology that is "metastasizing," and thus requiring militant action. While he eventually resigned due to alleged ties with a foreign government, Trump's National Security Advisor General Michael Flynn publicly described Islam as a threat stating it's "like a cancer."¹⁸⁹ Flynn also once tweeted "Fear of Muslims is RATIONAL."¹⁹⁰ Referring to Islam as a disease and Muslims as pests dehumanizes the 1.6 billion Muslims in the world. This othering of around one percent of the U.S. population has resulted in an increase in hate crimes and bullying¹⁹¹ as well as anti-Muslim attitudes.¹⁹²

The effect of the rhetoric pushed by anti-Muslim bloggers and pundits cannot be stressed enough. The network's distorted and misleading interpretation and use of Islamic terminology such as

jihad and Sharia help to increase fear of Muslims as the militant "dangerous other." Individuals in the administration and right-wing supporters use these Islamic words to legitimize their expertise on the subject matter while denying Muslim voices on such words and concepts. As a result, the approach and arguments pushed by anti-Muslim pundits, politicians and bloggers revolve around tying the religion of Islam (not just the use of religion by militants) to violence, referring to it as "Radical Islam" and "Islamic Fascism" or "Radical Islamic terror." These statements require little deep thought or questioning; people often take them at face value, failing to notice the inherent politicization of such terms. The far-right anti-Muslim movement has capitalized on this by shaping a violent militant narrative about Islam and Muslims to support their militant agenda.

This perception of Muslims as violent has existed at least since the colonial era. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) defines and describes the long history of Europeans portraying Muslims and Arab Muslim-majority states as the perennial others. Today's Islamophobia is a new manifestation of the same worldview and stereotypes. But now the individuals promoting these views have the power to act and influence policy. The Trump administration comprises those who subscribe to Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations hypothesis, namely framing history as a war between the "Judeo-Christian West" and the Islamic "East." Bannon, in particular, is committed to the idea that there is an impending civilizational war. This war is not just against Islam; the civilization war concept is anti-Muslim and deeply racist. The growing far-right white nationalist movement is as anti-Muslim as it is anti-Semitic and anti-African American. The movement opposes immigration and diversity, arguing that these policies contribute to "white genocide."¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ "Fact Sheet," Center for Middle Eastern Studies, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois: <https://cmes.uchicago.edu/sites/cmes.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/Islam%20-%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf>

¹⁸⁹ "RWW News: Michael Flynn: Islam is a 'cancer,' 'political ideology' that 'hides behind' religion," Right Wing Watch, 18 November 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fzh9b_vo4vs

¹⁹⁰ Daniel Marans, "Trump-Advising General defends Muslim ban," The Huffington Post, 19 May 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/general-michael-flynn-trump-muslim-ban_us_573de721e4b0aee7b8e93c02

¹⁹¹ "Anti-Muslim hate crimes surges last, fueled by hateful campaign," The Southern Poverty Law Center, 14 November 2016, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2016/11/14/anti-muslim-hate-crimes-surged-last-year-fueled-hateful-campaign>

¹⁹² "Americans Express Increasingly Warm Feelings Toward Religious Groups," Pew Research Center, 15 February 2017, <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/02/15/americans-express-increasingly-warm-feelings-toward-religious-groups/>; Mark Potok, "The Year in Hate and Extremism," The Southern Poverty Law Center, 15 February 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2017/year-hate-and-extremism>

¹⁹³ Oliver Willis, "What is the 'Alt-Right'? A guide to the white nationalist movement now leading Conservative media," Media Matters for America, 25 August 2016, <http://mediamatters.org/blog/2016/08/25/what-alt-right-guide-white-nationalist-movement-now-leading-conservative-media/212643>



This belligerent rhetoric promoted by the administration puts every Muslim under the microscope as the object of a threat analysis.¹⁹⁴ Policies aimed at monitoring Muslim organizations, mosques, and schools all in the name of security are likely to proliferate from this administration. Hate crimes against Muslims, or those perceived as Muslim due to their skin color, in 2015 were at their highest since the post-9/11 period.¹⁹⁵ Studies have demonstrated that as anti-Muslim comments were made in the campaign season, more violent attacks and incidents of harassment were carried out.¹⁹⁶ The idea that this is a strategy to protect “Judeo-Christian” civilization is belied by the fact that hate crimes against Jews have also significantly increased.¹⁹⁷

The Trump campaign provided a platform for many who already subscribed to anti-Muslim and anti-minority world views. The ongoing War on Terror has been intertwined with the ‘Clash of Civilization’ rhetoric and thus has provided the foundation to othering Muslim immigrants and refugees.

¹⁹⁴ Shadi Hamid, “Will we be forced into a religious test? The dangerous questions Muslims are facing,” The Washington Post, 28 January 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/01/28/will-we-be-forced-into-a-religious-test-the-dangerous-questions-muslims-are-facing/?utm_term=.76a327693935

¹⁹⁵ Mark Potok, “The Year in Hate and Extremism,” The Southern Poverty Law Center, 15 February 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2017/year-hate-and-extremism>

¹⁹⁶ Brian Levin, “Special Status Report: Hate Crime in the United States,” Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism, California State University: San Bernardino, CA 2016, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3110202-SPECIAL-STATUS-REPORT-v5-9-16-16.html>

¹⁹⁷ Adam Peck, “Hate crimes in New York City have skyrocketed this year,” Think Progress, 2 March 2017, <https://thinkprogress.org/hate-crimes-in-new-york-city-have-skyrocketed-this-year-907ffb24cac8#.r6syszu3b>

A poll conducted by Reuters on January 31, 2017, found that forty-eight percent of the U.S. population supported the current executive order temporarily halting all refugee resettlement despite reports and evidence of Syrians suffering under a brutal civil war.¹⁹⁸ The language used to describe these refugees by anti-Muslim groups portrays them as a security threat merely because many of them are Muslim.



¹⁹⁸ Ben Mathis-Lilley, “First Muslim ban poll finds Americans support Trump order by 7-point Margin,” Slate, 31 January 2017, http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slate_est/2017/01/31/reuters_ipsos_muslim_ban_poll_finds_support_for_order.html

The same was done to Jewish refugees in World War II.¹⁹⁹ Thus, even refugees who are escaping war are viewed simply as hazard and risk.

The Trump administration no longer adheres to past administrations' nuanced rhetoric and openly declares itself to be in a war with Islam.²⁰⁰ The 45th president and his administration promote Islamophobia through rhetoric and policy in creating an environment where discriminatory policies that target Muslims are legitimate and tolerated or actively supported by the people who form Trump's base. Members have asserted that the problem is with Islam and Muslims who have an issue with Western civilization because of "our values," i.e. democracy and freedom.

This one-dimensional view and understanding of the world has resulted in an American public gripped by fear and paranoia against Muslims. Diverse voices and organizations promoting pluralism and providing fact-based information about Islam, Muslims, and other groups of people who are at risk, are working together to push back against nativism, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, racism, and other forms of prejudice and discrimination that have emerged in the post-election era.

¹⁹⁹ Radley Balko, "The United States also denied refuge to Jews fleeing Hitler, fearing they might be Nazis," The Washington Post, 25 January 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2017/01/25/the-united-states-also-denied-refuge-to-jews-fleeing-hitler-fearing-they-might-be-nazis/?utm_term=.8ee518f3f30d

²⁰⁰ SCOTT SHANE, MATTHEW ROSENBERG and ERIC LIPTON, "Trump Pushes Dark View of Islam to Center of U.S. Policy-Making," The New York Times, 1 February 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/01/us/politics/donald-trump-islam.html>

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