

UC Irvine

UC Irvine Previously Published Works

Title

American Muslims Before and After September 11, 2001

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3d3342tf>

Journal

Economic and Political Weekly, 37(24)

ISSN

0012-9976

Author

Leonard, KB

Publication Date

2002-06-15

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Peer reviewed

American Muslims, before and after September 11, 2001

The history of Islam in the US has been changed dramatically by the events of September 11, 2001. The directions now being taken reverse earlier tendencies on the part of American Muslim political organisations to narrow the boundaries of the community and to emphasise foreign policy issues at the expense of domestic ones. These new directions, however, broaden the boundaries of American Islam in other ways, drawing more widely on the religion's rich, long-standing traditions of humanistic and legal scholarship. Importantly also, the directions now being taken are being strongly shaped by non-Muslim politicians and the media in the US, in an interaction between American Muslims and the state that is, perhaps paradoxically, drawing Muslims more closely into national political life.

KAREN LEONARD

I Background: Before September 11

A rapid survey of the American Muslim 'community' at the turn of the 21st century highlights three features. First is the internal diversity, making it difficult to achieve any real sense of community. One attempt to categorise and count Muslim Americans puts African Americans at 42 per cent, south Asians at 24.4 per cent, Arabs at 12.4 per cent, Africans at 6.2 per cent, Iranians at 3.6 per cent, south-east Asians at 2 per cent, European Americans at 1.6 per cent, and 'other' at 5.4 per cent. Another puts 'Americans' at 30 per cent, Arabs at 33 per cent, and south Asians at 29 per cent.¹ There are also differences of belief and practice between Sunni and Shi'i and then among sectarian groups like the Ithna 'Ashari (most Irani Shi'i), the Nizari Ismailis (Shi'i followers of the Aga Khan), and those whose Islamic identity is contested like the Ahmadis and Druze. Then there are the Sufis, whose charismatic Sunni leaders teach mystical strands of Islam: the Sufis in the US are from very diverse backgrounds and many are Euro-American converts.²

The three major American Muslim groups – African Americans, Arabs and south Asians – are very different from each other. African American Muslims, driven by a history of slavery and oppres-

sion in the US, chose Islam as an alternative to Christianity and to white America; many of the movements were or are separatist ones.³ The fascinating intellectual history of these early 20th century African American Muslim movements is only now being set out clearly.⁴ The long process of drawing these African American Islamic movements closer to dominant Sunni and non-American traditions was started by the Ahmadiyya movement from India in 1920, when its missionaries began providing English translations of the Qur'an and teaching about the five 'pillars' of Islam. But much remains distinctively 'American' about these African American Muslim communities. Marked by a history of prejudice and exclusion, they often reflect ambivalent or antagonistic views towards the US government, Christianity, and other racial or ethnic groups, including Muslim immigrants. Most African American Muslims argue that 'asabiyah' or group solidarity must be given priority over the 'ummah' or the universal Muslim community at this stage in African American Muslim life, and they do not accept the customs or authority of immigrant Muslims. These 'new Muslims' prefer to interpret texts for themselves rather than be guided by the 'new Americans'.⁵

The largest immigrant groups, Arab and south Asian Muslims, contrast with each other. The Arabs are far more diverse in terms of national histories and colonial pasts, coming from Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco (and, in smaller numbers, from other North Afri-

can states, Saudi Arabia, and various Persian Gulf states). South Asian Muslims are almost all from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan, with a largely-shared subcontinental history. While Arabic-speakers often dominate in mosques and educational settings, south Asians have a higher socio-economic profile and are arguably more privileged in American society.⁶

The second striking feature is the vigorous organisation-building at the end of the 20th century, as political goals, leadership, and sources of support within the emerging American Muslim community changed rapidly. We can see four major stages of this politicisation process. First came the gradual evolution of a 'Muslim' category from within the 'Arab' one. In the 1970s and 1980s, as media coverage negatively stereotyped Muslims and as Muslims became the majority among Arab immigrants (following the 1965 changes in US immigration law), scholars and the media began to focus on 'Muslims'. The continuing civil rights movement drew attention to the separatist groups within African American Islam, as African American Muslims won legal victories which have benefited all Muslims in America,⁷ but the African American Muslims and new immigrant Muslims were not yet working together well.

The second, third and fourth stages came at the end of the 20th century. In the 1980s, the inward focus of national origin communities broadened to reach out to other Muslims and the American public. Immigrant Muslim leaders and organisations began advocating citizenship and participation in mainstream politics in the US, abandoning a stance which had assumed only temporary residence in the US (and sometimes labelled it *dar ul-kufr*, the place of unbelief).⁸ In the third stage, in the 1990s, south Asian Muslims assumed leadership positions in the newly-organised American Muslim political coalitions (see Appendix I), often taking over from Arab Americans and reinforcing the expansion of goals and audiences.⁹ The fourth stage, in the late 1990s, was a move away from non-American Islamic influence and sources of funding.¹⁰ After the Gulf war and rising Islamophobia in the US, foreign funding was minimised and 'outside interference' was unwelcome. Immigrant and African American Muslims moved closer together.

The third striking feature of the American Muslim community at the end of the 20th century was the prominence of new

spokesmen and their attempts to define the community in ways that emphasised their own role and marginalised spokesmen and groups less like themselves. By this, I mean that, while some 'imams' in mosques and scholars of 'fiqh' (Islamic jurisprudence) in the US continued to exemplify high standards of Islamic learning, those in leadership positions in many mosques and in the increasingly-powerful political coalitions were typically medical doctors, engineers, and other professionals, men without classical training in Islamic history and law. Yet it was they who were speaking, authoritatively and publicly, on issues ranging from citizenship and voting to marriage and family law. According to one fiqh scholar, "In the United States the field of 'sharia' is flooded with self-declared experts who inundate our discourses with self-indulgent babble and gibberish...those who are unable to differentiate...the fundamentals of Islam from its particulars."¹¹ While a National Fiqh Council was set up by ISNA (the Islamic Society of North America – for this and later acronyms, see Appendix I), it was "overwhelmingly composed of naturalised Muslims", men who knew little about US family law and inheritance rights, according to an African American Muslim scholar,¹² and the council has not been accepted as authoritative by all immigrant Muslim scholars either.

These new spokesmen are conducting national surveys of Muslims, defining their survey population as they do so. In April, 2001, a highly-publicised national survey of mosques omitted some Shi'i (the Ismaili followers of the Aga Khan) as well as the Ahmadis (until recently accepted as Muslims in the US)¹³ and the Nation of Islam (Louis Farrakhan's group). Defining a mosque as any organisation that sponsored Friday prayers and other Islamic activities, the survey included young Muslim groups on campuses but overlooked the numerous largely African American Muslim groups in American prisons.¹⁴ These same new, chiefly immigrant spokesmen emphasised foreign policy issues such as Bosnia, Palestine and Kashmir, and in 2000 mounted a national campaign to swing the 'Muslim vote' to Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush. A supposedly more favourable stance towards Palestine on the parts of Cheney and Bush swung coalition support to Bush. Few African American Muslims were present and their interests were not really considered.¹⁵

Before September 11, 2001, the stance of these political leaders of American Islam was overwhelmingly optimistic,¹⁶ proclaiming that American Muslims would play a major role in 'reconstruction' of the US. A physician from Pakistan wrote about religious and family values, saying "Muslims believe in the same values for which this country (the US) was founded...they feel closer to the founding fathers than what America has become..."¹⁷ Indeed, many felt that American Muslims would also play a special role in leadership of the international Muslim ummah. Thus one man wrote that Muslims could make 'an essential contribution to the healing of America' by becoming more visible and ceasing to 'cast doubt on the compatibility of Islam, democracy and human rights'; furthermore, arguing that Muslims in North America had a 'head start' over those in Europe, since most already were or were becoming citizens and could therefore participate in public life, he said:

Muslims all over the world are looking with high expectations toward the ummah in the US and Canada. Its dynamism, fresh approach, enlightened scholarship and sheer growth is their hope for an Islamic Renaissance worldwide. Perhaps the mujaddid of the 15th Islamic century and the second millennium of the common era will be an American Muslim, insha Allah.¹⁸

Muqtedar Khan, a young Indian American Muslim political scientist, wrote euphorically that:

But internally, it (the US) is the most Islamic state that has been operational in the last three hundred years. Internally, it is genuinely seeking to aspire to its ideals and the growing cultural, material and religious health of American Muslims is the best testimony to my claim. This debate, the existence of a Muslim public sphere where Muslims can think freely to revive and practice Islam is its gift to Muslims. Something unavailable in most of the Muslim world.¹⁹

A Pakistani American physician echoed these sentiments,²⁰ adding 'All that we need is unity among Muslims'.

II After September 11

Then came the tragedy of September 11, 2001, and the growing evidence that the World Trade Centre explosions had been triggered by Islamic extremists. Those first few days were chaotic. American Muslims

were initially silent, hoping that Muslims had not been responsible for the murderous attacks. Bush began meeting with religious leaders almost immediately²¹ and visited the leading mosque in Washington. Standing on the White House lawn on September 20 with the president, Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, one of six religious leaders and the only Muslim to meet privately with the president that day, lamented that "Islam was hijacked on that September 11, 2001, on that plane as an innocent victim".²²

A clear pattern emerged as the White House and the American media learned more about American Muslim leaders and organisations. Scholars and others outside the Muslim political organisations gave advice to Muslims, and the leaders of American Muslim political organisations found themselves on the defensive. The government and media looked to Muslim leaders who would 'denounce fundamentalist hatemongering'²³ and they found them, often outside the organised American Muslim political community. American Muslim leaders were caught in a situation that was difficult from the beginning and continues to be so. Proclaim their loyalty to the US and tempering their previously strong and outspoken criticisms of US foreign policy, they have been confronted with the American bombing of Afghanistan, then the worsening situation in Israel and Palestine, and then uncertainties about the next targets of the 'war on terrorism'.

III After September 11: Advice

Advice, usually unsolicited, has been freely offered. The respected scholar of Islam, John Esposito, told American Muslims that they had to put forth more women and young people who speak accentless American English to articulate their community's message. "Unless you tap the next generation, you are not going to make it through the next few months", he said, suggesting that, by using representatives who speak English as Americans do, Muslims would avoid appearing as though they were a predominantly foreign group.²⁴ Coming from a friendly source, this must have jolted the largely immigrant audience. Karen Armstrong, a respected writer on religion, proclaimed "the true, peaceful face of Islam" and advised that "the vast majority of Muslims, who are horrified by the atrocity

of September 11, must reclaim their faith from those who have so violently hijacked it".²⁵ *The Economist* headlined a piece 'The need to speak up', calling for moderate Muslims in the west to deplore and repudiate people 'explaining and even trying to justify the (September 11) crimes.'²⁶ Certain Pakistani and Indian Muslims also offered advice. Pervaz Hoodbhoy, a physicist and political activist in Pakistan, wrote an eloquent essay within the first week after September 11. He said that:²⁷

[T]he mass murder must be condemned in the harshest possible terms without qualification or condition, without seeking causes or reasons that may even remotely be used to justify it...The problem is that immigrant Muslim communities have... chosen isolation over integration.... (raising) serious ethical questions about drawing upon the resources of what is perceived to be another society, for which one has hostile feelings...survival of the community depends upon strongly emphasising the difference between extremists and ordinary Muslims...Any member of the Muslim community who thinks that ordinary people in the US are fair game because of bad US government policies has no business being there.

And Salman Rushdie weighed in from New York with an essay titled, 'Yes, this is about Islam'.²⁸

The restoration of religion to the sphere of the personal, its depoliticisation, is the nettle that all Muslim societies must grasp in order to become modern...If terrorism is to be defeated, the world of Islam must take on board the secularist-humanist principles on which the modern is based, and without which Muslim countries' freedom will remain a distant dream.

These writers are not Muslims in favour with mainstream Islamic leaders and organisations.

IV After September 11: Newer Spokesmen

It is striking that, in the US, the Muslims who have commanded national attention since September 11 have not been drawn primarily from the ranks of leaders of national American Muslim organisations. The leading figure, arguably, has been Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, a white American convert to Islam in his early 1940s who founded and directs the Zaytuna Institute in the San Francisco Bay area.²⁹ His words about hijacking Islam (above) have been repeatedly quoted and paraphrased, his

views welcomed by the president, the media, and the American public.³⁰ In an interview published September 16, Hamza Yusuf called the World Trade Centre attackers:³¹

...enemies of Islam...mass murderers, pure and simple....I think that the Muslims – and I really feel this strongly – have to reject the discourse of anger. Because there is a lot of anger in the Muslim...world about the oppressive conditions that many Muslims find themselves in...we have to move to a higher moral ground, recognising that the desire to blame others leads to anger and eventually to wrath, neither of which are rungs on a spiritual ladder to god. It's times like these that we really need to become introspective.

Shaykh Hamza said that what Americans were now feeling "has been business as usual for Lebanese people, Palestinian people, Bosnian people", and when the reporter immediately asked about Israeli people, his answer was sympathetic: "Certainly the fear element is there for Israeli people...there are still a lot of Jewish people alive who remember the fear and terror of what happened in Europe..." Answering the reporter's questions about the meanings of jihad, martyrdom, and suicide in Islam, he ended by saying, "If there are any martyrs in this affair it would certainly be those brave firefighters and police that went in there to save human lives and in that process lost their own". His words resonated widely with the American public.

Shaykh Hamza, in a CBC radio interview on September 23, talked about his September 20 private meeting with president Bush and five other religious leaders. He had told the president that 'Infinite Justice' was a poor choice of name for the American military operation against terrorism, and that 'crusade' evoked similarly negative reactions among Muslims. The president told him that "the Pentagon doesn't have theologians and they're the ones that name these things", and he said the name would be changed.³²

Shaykh Hamza's views about contemporary spokesmen for Islam were significant in the context of the turn-of-the-century political developments among American Muslims.³³

Islam has very few scholars at very high levels. Most of the brilliant students in the Middle East now go into medicine and engineering....they don't go into philosophy... almost every one of these terrorists that are identified...you will not find amongst them anyone who did his degree

in philosophy, in literature, in the humanities, in theology... (brilliant students are) only studying the physical sciences to the neglect of what makes us human, which is humanity, is poetry, is literature, as well as philosophy and theology...I think the Muslim world really has to stop blaming the west for its problems...it's the easy way out, it's not a Qur'anic world-view...we all need to really look in the mirror...the Muslims need to become introspective and...the west needs to understand...I came out of the enlightenment tradition and I still believe in the best of the enlightenment tradition and I think that Islam confirms and enhances that tradition...

On September 30, Shaykh Hamza appeared on 60 minutes, along with Imam Siraj Wahaj, Farid Esack and Faisal Abdur Rauf, in an interview stressing that, according to CAIR, these leading American Muslims 'are just as frightened as other Americans' and 'their interpretation of the Koran differs greatly from that of the terrorists'.³⁴

Yet Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, born Mark Hanson and with strong Sufi tendencies,³⁵ has never been centrally engaged in American Muslim political organising (although he has often been a featured speaker at national conventions). A charismatic speaker with a following like that of a rock star's among second generation American Muslims, the Shaykh has produced numerous, widely-circulated videos and cassettes. His public appearances, often with Siraj Wahaj (a popular African American Muslim speaker), generate enthusiastic audiences and fill stadiums. Already well known, he was "fast becoming a world figure as Islam's most able theological critic of the suicide hijacking", according to a story in *The Guardian*. The story asserted that "many Muslims find his views hard to stomach, but he is advising the White House on the current crisis" and reported that his detractors dubbed him a 'collaborator', Bush's 'pet Muslim'.³⁶ Hamza Yusuf told the British reporter that Muslims should return to their 'true faith', stripped of violence, intolerance, and hatred. He declared:

Many people in the west do not realise how oppressive some Muslim states are – both for men and for women. This is a cultural issue, not an Islamic one...I think the way Muslims are allowed to live in the west is closer to the Muslim way. A lot of Muslim immigrants feel the same way, which is why they are here...if they are going to rant and rave about the west, they should emigrate to a Muslim country. The good will

of these (western) countries to immigrants must be recognised by Muslims....

He remarked again on the backgrounds of the 19 terrorists, the consistent feature being, in his view, that they were educated in the sciences rather than the humanities.

Others who spoke out and were cited in the mainstream US media were Ali Asani, Khaled Abou El Fadl, Sheikh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani and Muqtadar Khan. What these men have in common, again, is their outsider or marginal status with respect to American Muslim coalition politics. Asani, an Islamic Studies professor at Harvard and a member of the Aga Khan's Shi'i community (one of the groups excluded from the 2001 study of American mosques co-sponsored by CAIR), criticised American Muslim spokesmen for having used incendiary language in private while speaking of peace to the American public.³⁷

Even when there are disagreements within the Muslim community about extremism, they will project to the outside that we are all monolithic and peaceful... (but now, the more extreme leaders have gone) on alert. They realise that they are part of the problem, that the September 11 incident can be the result of this kind of thinking they have been propagating for so many years.

Asani was also quoted in a lead editorial in the *Los Angeles Times*, praising American pluralism as essential to the true spirit of the Koran, as undermining 'exclusivist' and repressive versions of Islam.³⁸ He voiced the "general concern among Muslim intellectuals about how not only CAIR but some of these other organisations are claiming to speak in the name of the Muslim community, and how they're coming to be recognised by the government as spokespeople for the Muslim community in the US".³⁹

Khaled Abou El Fadl, holder of a Chair in Islamic Law at UCLA, had been a featured columnist for *The Minaret* but it would not always publish his pieces;⁴⁰ he was known for his independent views, particularly about women in Islam.⁴¹ Coincidentally, he had published a piece entitled 'Terrorism is at Odds With Islamic Tradition' in the *Los Angeles Times* on August 22,⁴² and he was turned to after September 11, giving talks locally, appearing on CNN, and writing powerful indictments of Muslim leadership that *The Minaret* did publish.⁴³ Trained in both Islamic and American law (at Cairo's Al

Azhar, the University of Pennsylvania, Yale, and Princeton), Abou El Fadl talked about the "crumbling of the Islamic civilisation (that) has removed the established institutions to seriously challenge the extremists... Extremist theology is a combustible brew of puritanism, ethical and moral irresponsibility and rampant apologetics".⁴⁴ Long a critic of the science-trained new spokesmen for American Muslims,⁴⁵ Abou El Fadl was admiringly profiled in January, 2002, in the *Los Angeles Times*.⁴⁶

Sheikh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani is the representative in the US of a Sufi sect based in Cyprus.⁴⁷ Kabbani strove for ascendancy in American Muslim politics in the late 1990s,⁴⁸ and he had been successful in presenting an individualistic and moderate form of Islam to Americans.⁴⁹ However, in 1999, Kabbani alienated the Sunni mainstream immigrant leaders by branding 80 per cent of the American Muslim population 'extremists' in a speech to the US Secretary of State's Public

Forum.⁵⁰ Roundly condemned, he had been boycotted ever since by all major American Muslim groups. But after September 11, Sheikh Kabbani was "Aback in the spotlight as never before", appearing on CNN, the 'Today' show, MSNBC, NPR and more, as 'the Muslim who dared to blow the whistle on his brethren'. As an American Muslim scholar commented, Kabbani's new visibility is part of 'that competition for attention from American leadership... America is a big magnifying mirror, and they compete for access to it, because it projects you internationally and makes you look big'.⁵¹

M A Muqtadar Khan, a young Indian-origin PhD in Political Science from Georgetown, had been known for his enthusiastic 'modern' views (quoted above) but not welcomed into political inner circles. Also, while still a student he had developed a reputation as 'the Cyberspace Mufti'. "The Internet has made everyone a mufti (legal advisor)... (opening up) a variety of opinion... [it is] the globalisation

Appendix I: American Muslim Organisations

Name	Founding Date and Information	Initial Location
<i>I African American Islam</i>		
Moorish Science Temple	1913, Noble Drew Ali	East coast, midwest
Nation of Islam	1930, Wallace Fard Muhammad, Elijah Muhammad Detroit, Chicago 1975, leadership assumed by Warith Deen Muhammad, son of Elijah Muhammad	
American Muslim Mission	renamed 1980s, led by WD Muhammad into mainstream Sunni Islam Muslim American Society, renamed 1990s, WD Muhammad	
	1981, Louis Farrakhan splits off, NOA; 2000, reconciled somewhat with MAS	
Ahmadis	1920 Missionaries from Indian (later Pakistani) sect East coast, midwest Published 1st English-language Muslim newspaper in US, 1921 Members predominantly African American until 1970s, then Pakistani	
<i>II Islam in America</i>		
FIA: Federation of Islamic Associations	1953, by Lebanese immigrants	Midwest, Canada
MSA: Muslim Students' Association	1963, by Arabic-speaking foreign students in the US	
ISNA: Islamic Society of North America	1982, grew out of MSA	Plainfield, Indiana
ICNA: Islamic Circle of North America	1971, Pakistani Jamaat-i Islami party ties	New York
<i>III American Muslims</i>		
AMA: American Muslim Alliance	1989	Fremont, California
AMC: American Muslim Council	1990	Washington, DC
MPAC: Muslim Public Affairs Council	1990s, by Islamic Centre of S Calif	Los Angeles, California
CAIR: Council on American-Islamic Relations	1990s	Washington, DC
AMPCC: American Muslim Political Coordinating Council: the 4 above		Youngstown, Ohio

of the mufti". A self-described 'more liberal voice,' he gave advice that was no doubt controversial among more traditionally-trained fiqh specialists.⁵² PhD in hand and now Director of International Studies at the small Adrian College in Michigan, after September 11 he wrote a forceful essay and posted it on his website; "A Memo to American Muslims" was immediately circulated on email, quoted in newspaper editorials, and reprinted in many venues.⁵³

Muslims love to live in the US but also love to hate it...As an Indian Muslim, I know for sure that nowhere on earth, including India, will I get the same sense of dignity and respect that I have received in the US...If...September 11 had happened in India, the biggest democracy, thousands of Muslims would have been slaughtered in riots on mere suspicion and there would be another slaughter after confirmation. But in the US, bigotry and xenophobia has been kept in check by media and leaders...It is time that we acknowledge that the freedoms we enjoy in the US are more desirable to us than superficial solidarity with the Muslim world. If you disagree then prove it by packing your bags and going to whichever Muslim country you identify with...It is our responsibility to prevent people from abusing Islam. It is our job to ensure that Islam is not misrepresented.

African American Muslims were relatively overlooked by the media, although Siraj Wahaj, imam of the Tawqa mosque in Brooklyn, New York, spoke out strongly: "I now feel responsible to preach, actually to go on a jihad against extremism...and to urge other religious leaders" to do the same.⁵⁴ Siraj Wahaj was included in several American Muslim panels and meetings around the country.⁵⁵ But African American Muslims have felt underrepresented in the media⁵⁶ and particularly slighted by Oprah, who had only two Muslim women, an Arab and a Pakistani, on her daytime TV show in an attempt to assuage prejudice against Islam and American Muslims.⁵⁷ However, W Deen Mohammed, leader of the Muslim American Society, directed his words chiefly to his own congregation in membership publications. One front page proclaimed "G-d Bless America: We are Muslim Americans Serving G-d and Country," and inside Mohammed spoke about fighting and dying for the US flag and the need to "claim your share of America".⁵⁸ In another issue he advised his women followers to avoid putting themselves unnecessarily in danger by their dress:

"Sisters...should not be able to be distinguished from anybody else out on the street...(and should) stay in the house".⁵⁹ (In contrast, other Muslim organisations and individuals urged women to wear their hijabs proudly.)

V After September 11: Organisational Dilemmas

The media blitz produced a range of different reactions, as Public Broadcasting Station (PBS), National Public Radio (NPR) and commercial TV stations focused often on Islam and American Muslims. Copies of the Qur'an were sold out in bookstores all over the US, and many Islamic centres and mosques held open houses. Some Muslims saw an opportunity: as one man wrote, "American Muslim leaders have gotten more media time than we could have ever imagined in our wildest dreams".⁶⁰ Addressing the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) in Qatar on October 10, the head of the American delegation said, "At no other time has the Muslim community in America been more effective in working with the American government".⁶¹ Others, however, saw September 11 as a major setback for Islam in America,⁶² and concern about profiling by religion and/or national origin has grown steadily.⁶³

Certainly national attention has been focused upon Islam and Muslims. An amusing, but fundamentally serious, email from 'an American' expressed resentment at "being bombarded by some instruction from the media on how I should 'understand' Islam". A few lines from this lengthy epistle give the idea:⁶⁴

[I]t's been over a month...and there seem to be hundreds of TV talk-show hosts, news people, Islamic experts, roaming Imams, and Muslim clerics who keep telling me how I should get acquainted with the 'real' Muslim world of the Koran, Hadith and the Sunna and how these terrorist guys who pulled off the 9/11 attacks don't really represent the actual Islamic faith...why should I be the target audience....If I have it right, all the people who did this were Muslims...I mean I already know what they did was wrong as do most honest Americans, so why are you telling me?...Tell them about the religion! Yes, tell the Muslims...that they have it backwards and inside out...So please, to all the media types and so-called Islamic experts - stop giving me your line on how these guys have hijacked a religion...[then 7 questions

are posed, like, why not a fatwa on the hijackers, when one was put out on Salman Rushdie who only wrote a book that got it wrong?...I'm still not sure if I'm considered a non-believer that Muslims should live in peace with or if I am an infidel that should be killed for my corrupt life style, or my religious belief....there are but two possibilities: in the least, either the majority of Muslims acquiesce [sic] to the 'hijacking' of their religion, or at worst, they give tacit approval to the murderous actions the Islamic terrorists have done in the name of Allah.

In the midst of all this, a survey taken from in mid-November found that 59 per cent of Americans had a favourable view of US Muslims in November, compared to only 45 per cent in March. Headlined as "US Muslims' Image Gains", this was interpreted as evidence that Americans were heeding president Bush's call for tolerance.⁶⁵

With all the conflicting reports and opinions being bandied about, the American Muslim organisational leaders tried to seize centre stage, only to attract media attention to some of their earlier rhetoric.⁶⁶ The outgoing president of ISNA, Muzzamil Siddiqi, led a memorial service at the Washington National Cathedral; as president Bush said later, "He did a heck of a good job, and we were proud to have him there".⁶⁷ Reporters did research and, as they had done with Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, raised questions about Siddiqi's earlier remarks in public speeches.⁶⁸ The vice-president of ISNA, Ingrid Mattson, admitted that American Muslims had previously been reluctant to criticise certain Muslim governments or movements outside the community, but 'that's all changed'.⁶⁹

The American Muslim organisations tempered their public statements about the US. "Some people for example said that America is evil...We can say that American foreign policy is wrong, but America is not evil, and even when we say American foreign policy we should specify which issue", said a spokesman for the Islamic Centre of Southern California and AMPCC (the American Muslim Political Coordinating Council). "Now we realise that talk can be taken seriously and acted upon in a violent radical way", another leader said.⁷⁰ Whereas before CAIR would be stringently denouncing reports of discrimination, it is now broadcasting a message of reconciliation. I think this is important and an excellent change of style and substance", opined one writer.⁷¹

The annual convention of the AMA, whose vice-chairman feared Muslim gains in America had been set back by 10 to 20 years, had as its logo the Islamic crescent combined with the stars and stripes. The convention called for "a more even-handed approach to foreign affairs" while expressing concern about potential civil rights abuses;⁷² the previous year it had led the move to endorse Bush and spoken out much more strongly on the Palestine issue.

As the US bombing of Afghanistan began on October 7, American Muslim leaders faced anti-war sentiment from community members concerned about Afghan civilians and America's broader war aims.⁷³ Yet, a reporter said, "a striking air of introspection appears to be taking hold, as Muslims embrace the flag".⁷⁴ On October 27, however, 17 American Muslim organisations did issue a statement urging a halt to the bombing while condemning the terrorist attacks of September 11.⁷⁵ But American Muslims were under continuing pressure to support the military actions and, in November, the mainstream press was still calling for moderate Muslims to speak more loudly or to recant earlier and more bellicose speeches.⁷⁶ *The Christian Science Monitor* ran a wide-ranging story from London, Paris, Egypt, and elsewhere that tried to take the 'global pulse' of Islam. "The voices of moderation are few – and often conflicted. They condemn the terrorist attacks on the US as a violation of Islam. But many have long been critics of US foreign policy, and the current military retaliation in Afghanistan...is a hard sell to their followers".⁷⁷

Muslims previously uninvolved in political organising have been galvanised into action. One new organisation, also led by medical men and other professionals, formed to combat extremism and implicitly accused leaders of earlier organisations of condoning extremism and doing a disservice to American Muslims.⁷⁸ A debate has begun about what is being said in American mosques, and by whom. Were the 'traditional', foreign-born imams in American mosques or the western-educated members of the boards of directors which run the mosques more 'immoderate' in their views before September 11? One writer argued that the 'moderate' members of the boards should hire only American-educated imams "who are fluent in English and are voices of moderation, who can talk to the media...and who can sustain a constructive dialogue with

Americans from all walks of life..."⁷⁹ But others criticised the members of the boards of directors who employed imams: "board members, who are usually educated in various fields like medicine, engineering, computers, and so on, do not have adequate knowledge of Islam...they will not allow their imams to make independent statements". This writer advocated training young people trained in American schools to become both imams and board members.⁸⁰

Conclusion

At the present time (February 2002), American Muslims and the leaders of American Muslim political organisations face many challenges. The political leaders are competing with the newest spokesmen, men largely media-selected, for the leadership of American Islam in the eyes of the American public. The political leaders are also competing with each other, as before, despite the formation of AMPCC. Thus the MPAC November 9 fundraising plea to members and friends states that "the performance of MPAC's staff under the media glare has been exemplary, and far and away better than that of any other Muslim organisation".⁸¹ Talking more inclusively about Islamic organisations in America, ISNA nonetheless highlights its own efforts and calls for "endowing ISNA and other Muslim organisations with the means to advance their ongoing task of representing Islam and Muslims in America as equal and respected citizens, and as citizens whose faith can help make America an even better country in which to live".⁸²

Yet the horizons of Muslim America have been expanded since September 11. The leaders of the American Muslim political organisations are not recognised by the American government or the public as the only spokesmen for American Muslims,⁸³ and, in fact, they have been upstaged by coreligionists whom they were, in many instances, attempting to marginalise. These newer spokesmen are not the builders of political movements; they both speak for and represent a wider range of Islam's sectarian, intellectual, artistic, and legal traditions than do the political spokesmen. There are pressures on the political spokesmen even from their own followers to broaden their constituencies, by generation and by a greater emphasis on American values, training, and domestic political issues. Thus a widely-circulated piece by an American

Muslim political scientist advises first-generation immigrants to redefine a Muslim American agenda, with a focus on issues in the US and a more adequate reflection of the concerns of African American Muslims.⁸⁴

Most seriously, tensions between the goals of American Muslim political leaders and those of the political leaders of the US are certainly growing, even as the two groups try hard, even desperately, to work together. At the turn of the 21st century, American Muslim political organisations intended to foster Islamic values in America and had the freedom to do so.⁸⁵ In his state of the union address, as a headline put it, president Bush announced "US to Foster Values in Islamic Countries". Although the values meant, the article explains, are those of liberty and justice, education, development, and women's rights, and although this 'stunning turnabout'⁸⁶ is hardly one American Muslims want to oppose, it is still an ironic reversal. Now, the American government and American Muslim political organisations are struggling to understand and implement both Islamic and American values (although to varying degrees), and in ways that empower them at home and abroad. [27]

Notes

- 1 Estimates of US Muslims range from three to eight million. For the first breakdown, see Fareed H Nu'man, *The Muslim Population in the United States* (Washington DC: American Muslim Council, 1992), 16; for the second, Ilyas Ba-Yunus and M Moin Siddiqui, *A Report on the Muslim Population in the United States* (New York: CAMRI 1999).
- 2 Marcia K Hermansen, 'In the Garden of American Sufi Movements: Hybrids and Perennials', (ed) Peter B Clarke, *New Trends and Developments in the World of Islam* (Luzac Oriental Press, London, 1997), 155-178.
- 3 Some leaders within the African American Muslim community interpreted Islam as not only anti-Christian but anti-white, especially Louis Farrakhan, whose Nation of Islam constituted some 4 per cent of African American Muslims; following the death of Elijah Muhammad in 1975, Farrakhan split with W.D. Muhammad's American Muslim Society, the major African American Muslim group.
- 4 Samory Rashid, "Divergent Perspectives on Islam in America," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 20:1 (2000), 80-81; Garbi Schmidt, *American Medina: A Study of the Sunni Muslim Immigrant Communities in Chicago* (University of Lund, Lund, Sweden, 1998), 37-40; Ernest Allen, Jr, 'Identity and Destiny: The Formative Views of the Moorish Science Temple and the Nation of Islam', (eds), Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and John L Esposito, *Muslims on the Americanization Path?*

- (Ga: Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1998), 201-266.
- 5 Robert Dannin used these terms: "Understanding the Multi-ethnic Dilemma of African-American Muslims," (eds) Mehdi Bozorgmehr and Alison Feldman, *Middle Eastern Diaspora Communities in America* (New York: Hagop Kevorkian Centre for Near Eastern Studies at New York University, 1996), 163.
 - 6 Karen Leonard, "South Asian Leadership of American Muslims" in (ed), Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *Sojourners to Citizens: Muslims in Western Diasporas* (New York: Oxford, 2002).
 - 7 Kathleen M Moore shows that long-standing African American efforts to secure legal rights and access to resources benefited immigrant Muslims and helped all Muslims become part of the American mainstream: *Al-Muhtaribun: American Law and the Transformation of Muslim Life in the United States* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).
 - 8 Steve A Johnson, "Political Activity of Muslims in America," 111; Sulayman S Nyang, "Convergence and Divergence in an Emergent Community: A Study of Challenges Facing US Muslims," 247, both in ed, Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *The Muslims of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
 - 9 Leonard, "South Asian Leadership".
 - 10 Saudi Arabia and some Persian Gulf states were supporters of earlier Islamic activity in America, although American Muslims denied dependence on external aid or control by foreign donors. Akbar Muhammad, "Muslims in the United States: An Overview of Organisations, Doctrines, and Problems," eds. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Byron Haines, Ellison Findly, *The Islamic Impact* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 213.
 - 11 Khaled Abou el Fadl, "Setting Priorities," *The Minaret*, April 1998, 41. Others have described these new spokesmen derisively as "boss Muslims," "professional Muslims," or "idols in the mosque".
 - 12 Aminah Beverly McCloud, *African American Islam* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 126-127.
 - 13 Whether the Ahmadiis consider their founder a Prophet or not is contested, and there are differences among Ahmadiis too, who were declared non-Muslims in 1974 in Pakistan after the third of three court cases. The two earlier decisions, based on the same body of textual material as the third, did not find them unorthodox, and the third decision was reached only under extreme political pressure. Tayyab Mahmud shows the political forces behind all three decisions: "A Freedom of Religion and Religious Minorities in Pakistan: A Study of Judicial Practice," *Fordham International Law Journal* 19:1 (October 1995), 40-100. C Eric Lincoln found that, in 1960, "the Ahmadiyah were generally accepted as a legitimate sect of Islam", *The Black Muslims in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 221.
 - 14 Ihsan Bagby, Paul M Perl, Bryan T Froehle, "The Mosque in America: A National Portrait," April 26, 2001, released through CAIR (Council on American-Islamic Relations), Washington, DC. For the definitions and exclusions, Ihsan Bagby, personal communication, June 26, 2001. Project MAPS (Muslims in American Public Square), based at the Centre for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University with an advisory board of leading academics, is also undertaking a national survey of Islamic centres, mosques, schools, and organisations.
 - 15 I attended the key meeting: 5th annual national convention, American Muslim Alliance, "Co-Authoring 'Americas Vision of Itself'", September 30, October 1, 2000, Irvine, California.
 - 16 The *Islamic Horizons* issue for September and October, 2001 (which came out after September 11), shows the 'community' profile then: the issue's theme (and that of the 38th annual Islamic Society of North America convention, covered in detail in the issue) is strength in diversity, with a focus on inclusion in the American political process; there are also strongly-written pieces on Palestine and Kashmir.
 - 17 Shahid Athar, *Reflections of an American Muslim* (Chicago: KAZI Publications, 1994), 7.
 - 18 Murad Wilfried Hofmann (retired German diplomat to Algeria and Morocco, with a Munich University doctorate in jurisprudence), "Muslims in the Next Millennium", *Islamic Horizons* (January/February 1999), 20-22.
 - 19 Mohommed A Muqtadar Khan, "Muslims and American Politics: Refuting the Isolationist Arguments," *American Muslim Quarterly* 2:1-2 (1998), 68.
 - 20 Omer Bin Abdullah, then president of the APPNA (Association of Pakistani Physicians in North America), said: "The US Constitution and the Bill of Rights were knowingly or unknowingly based on the Islamic principles of equality and justice for all... (thus there is) a great similarity between the success of America, especially in science, medicine and technology, with the success that was achieved by the Muslims of Baghdad, Cordoba and Istanbul... in this country, Muslims have the opportunity to practise Islam as it should be practised because there is no government edict to restrict religion, nor is there sectarian control over belief..." Omer Bin Abdullah, "Eyes on the Muslim Future in America," *Pakistan Link*, August 18, 1995, 27.
 - 21 In fact, Bush had been slated to meet with American Muslim leaders at 3 pm on September 11. Agha Saeed, head of the AMA, American Muslim Alliance, and also of the national coalition AMPCC, American Muslim Political Coordinating Council, was detained by five FBI agents as he boarded a plane back to California after that meeting was aborted; when asked why he had been in Washington, he replied, "to meet the president". They believed him. Francis X Clines, "Muslim Leader Presses Agenda of Understanding," *New York Times*, October 3, 2001. Saeed returned to Washington for a meeting of 15 Muslim leaders with the president on September 26, with four others from California (Maher Hathout, Muzammil Siddiqi, Salam al-Marayati, Omar Ahmad: a disproportionate share of American Muslim leaders is from California). CAIR Islam-Infonet, "President Bush Again Meets with US Muslim Leaders," September 26, 2001; Mary Rourke, "A Stronger Voice for Muslims", *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 2001, E1.
 - 22 Peter Ford, "Listening for Islam's Silent Majority", *Christian Science Monitor*, November 5, 2001, is one source for this quote. On that very day, September 20, FBI agents showed up at Hamza Yusuf's house to question him about a talk he had given September 9 in which he had criticised the US and said "this country has a great, great tribulation coming to it". His wife told them he was with the president, and they found she was correct. He had been the only Muslim invited to pray with the president, sing "God Bless America", and endorse the plans for military action: Hanna Rosin and John Mintz, "Muslim Leaders Struggle With Mixed Messages," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2001, A16.
 - 23 The phrase was used in the *Los Angeles Times* and reprinted in *India Journal* and elsewhere.
 - 24 "Muslims Urged to Work on Improving Image," *Los Angeles Times*, October 7, 2001, cited in CAIR Islam-Infonet American Muslim News Briefs of that date. Esposito was a speaker at a fundraising banquet for the Council on American-Islamic Relations, Los Angeles, October 6, 2001. One of my own first reactions was that first-generation immigrant Muslim political leaders would immediately showcase younger American Muslims and especially more women, and that therefore the situation would be somewhat analogous to that of Japanese-Americans in the second world war. In that case, the Nisei or American-born generation, citizens and native speakers of English, took over leadership of the community from the Issei of first generation, and, on the whole, worked with the American government to proclaim its patriotism and even ease the transition into the wartime internment camps. Indeed, some American Muslims and others initially raised the spectre of internment camps, but that fear proved unfounded. Further, the internal diversity of the American Muslim population prevents facile comparison to the Japanese American population. In any case, there has not been a noticeable shift to younger or female American Muslim leaders on the part of the political organisations.
 - 25 *Time* 158: 15 (October 1, 2001).
 - 26 *The Economist*, October 13, 2001, 14.
 - 27 Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Black Tuesday: The View from Islamabad," email forwarded to me September 18 via Nikki Keddie from Linda Walbridge.
 - 28 Salman Rushdie, "Yes, This Is about Islam," *New York Times*, November 2, 2001.
 - 29 A convert to Islam at age 17, Hamza Yusuf (42 in 2001) is the son of two academics, his father a professor of the Humanities; he has studied with leading Islamic scholars in Algeria, Morocco, and Mauretania.
 - 30 Young American Muslims, many of them already his fans, circulated his interviews and speeches more than any others on email.
 - 31 Richard Scheinin, "Expert Says Islam Prohibits Violence against Innocents," *San Jose Mercury News*, September 16, 2001.
 - 32 Interview transcribed by Jamillah Karim and sent to me on email October 9, 2001. It can be accessed on the Ihya website. In Arabic, he said, "Infinite Justice" is an attribute of God and Muslims would consider using that phrase almost a proclamation that America was God.
 - 33 Ibid.
 - 34 "Sheikh Hamza and Imam Siraj to Appear on '60 Minutes'", CAIR Islam-Infonet, September 30, 2001. Siraj Wahaj is a respected African American Imam (below); Farid Esack is a South African Muslim theologian who was

- Nelson Mandela's minister for gender equality; Faisal Abdur Rauf is imam of the Al-Farah mosque in lower Manhattan and founder of the American Sufi Muslim Association.
- 35 Sufism, the mystical strand of Islam, has been increasingly attacked and marginalised in the US by post-1965 immigrant professionals.
 - 36 Jack Sullivan, "Imam Hamza Yusuf: 'If you Hate the West, Emigrate to a Muslim Country'", *The Guardian*, October 8, 2001 (the day Yusuf was to meet with religious leaders at the House of Lords in London).
 - 37 Hanna Rosin and John Mintz, "Muslim Leaders Struggle with Mixed Messages," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2001, A16. The story cites talks by Shaykh Hamza Yusuf and Muzammil Siddiqi before September 11 that had included apocalyptic warnings; Siddiqi could not be reached for comment for the *Post* story but defended himself later by more fully contextualising his remarks in CAIR Islam-Infonet and other venues.
 - 38 *Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 2001, B12.
 - 39 Jake Tapper, "Islam's Flawed Spokesmen: Some of the Groups Claiming to Speak for American Muslims Find It Impossible to Speak Out against Terrorist Groups," *Salon*, September 26, 2001.
 - 40 The Islamic Center of Southern California, which initiated MPAC and publishes *The Minaret*, is one of the most successful inter-ethnic Islamic congregations in the US and makes a self-conscious effort to formulate and represent an American Islam.
 - 41 These are laid out in his books: *Conference of the Books: The Search for Beauty in Islam* (New York: University of America Inc, 2001); *And God Knows the Soldiers: The Authoritative and Authoritarian in Islamic Discourse* (New York: University Press of America, 2001); *Speaking in God's Name: Islamic Law, Authority and Women* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2001).
 - 42 *Los Angeles Times*, August 22, 2001, B13.
 - 43 'Derangements', *The Minaret*, special edition, October 2001, 11: 'When God Asks the Child', *The Minaret*, November/December 2001, 11. Abou El Fadl had a strong following among *Minaret* readers; urged to resume his columns (some of which had not been accepted for publication, one of the issues in his marginalisation by Muslim political leaders), he had done so earlier in 2001.
 - 44 Teresa Watanabe, 'Extremists Put Own Twist on Faith', *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 2001, A13.
 - 45 See instances in Karen Leonard, 'American Muslim Discourses and Practices', forthcoming, and his own comments in his books, above.
 - 46 Teresa Watanabe, *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 2002, B1.
 - 47 This was the powerful but externally-based Naqshbandi-Haqqani Sufi order. The order's Grand Mufti, Shavkh Nazim al-Kibrisi, in Cyprus is Kabbani's father-in-law. Kabbani is from Lebanon and his father is Grand Mufti of Lebanon.
 - 48 Kabbani founded the As-Sunnah Foundation of America, the organisation that (along with the American Muslim Assistance Relief Organisation) funded an International Islamic Unity Conference in Los Angeles in 1996. The conference received no government donations, but drew on the global Naqshbandi order's connections with the President of Chechnya, the Sultan of Brunei, royals from Malaysia, and the Grand Muftis of Lebanon and Cyprus.
 - 49 The Naqshbandis have been aggressively 'calling' Americans to Islam, from Euro-Americans to gang members in urban ghettos.
 - 50 Kabbani alleged that "many Muslim organisations...are not moderate, but extremist," that organisations are set up to collect money and send it to "extremists outside the United States," that most leaders, most mosque boards of trustees, are "being run by the extremist ideology, but not acting as a militant movement," and that "this extremist ideology is spreading into universities through national organisations, associations and clubs." His speech was most fully reproduced in *Pakistan Link*, February 26, 1999, 9, 32. Some said his talk reflected problems behind the scenes at the "Islamic Disunity Conference" in Los Angeles in 1996: *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1999, A1, 12-13.
 - 51 Laurie Goodstein, "Muslim Leader Who Was Once labelled an Alarmist Is Suddenly a Sage," *New York Times*, October 28, 2001. As Goodstein wrote, Sufism is accepted in much of the Muslim world but has not been accepted by the more legalistic, puritanical Islamic movements like Wahhabism whose influence has been rising in the US. At the closing news conference for the World Conference on Religion and Peace, a UN meeting convened in New York the week of October 21, Kabbani represented Muslims alongside an Israeli Rabbi, an Indian Hindu, and Christian ministers. The comment came from Sulayman Nyang of African and Islamic Studies at Howard University.
 - 52 Emily Wax, "The Mufti in the Chat Room: Islamic Legal Advisers Are Just a Click Away From Ancient Customs," *Washington Post*, July 31, 1999, C1. Khan reportedly said that, while there certainly cannot be gay pride parades in mosques, "Clinton's 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' is a perfectly Islamic solution," and concerning premarital sex, "remember that Allah is all-forgiving, especially to those who repent sincerely (this in case you have already been naughty)."
 - 53 *Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 2001, B12; the full text was printed in *The Minaret*, *Pakistan Link*, and many other publications. Khan's views aroused great controversy, since he argued, among other things, that "Israel treats its one million Arab citizens with greater respect and dignity than most Arab nations did to their citizens."
 - 54 Peter Ford, "Listening for Islam's Silent Majority," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 5, 2001.
 - 55 Imam Siraj Wahhaj was listed as a well known social activist/leader on a Houston panel on "Practicing True Islam," October 20, 2001, along with several professors, editors, directors of Muslim organisations, and a woman, Noor Abdallah, a "women social activist", CAIR Islam-Infonet email, October 15, 2001. African American Muslims reported increased scrutiny and suspicion of them, although less than of Arabs (Tania Fuentez, "Black Muslims Complain of Increase in Discrimination," *Pakistan Link*, October 26, 2001, PL5; John W Fountain, "African-American Muslims: Sadness and Fear as They Feel Doubly Vulnerable," *New York Times*, October 5, 2001 (via CAIR Infonet 10/7/2001).
 - 56 In January, 2002, African American Muslims (Muslim American Society leaders) still reported "feeling snubbed by Muslim immigrants". They referred back to the fall of 2000 when "a coalition of American Muslims endorsed George W Bush for president" and they were "left out of the process;" they also felt "relegated to the background" in meetings following September 11. Maher Hathout, senior advisor for MPAC, said the complaint of being left out was fair but the situation was 'explainable', since the events of September 12 focused attention on Arabs: Mary Rourke, "One Faith, Two Minds," *Los Angeles Times*, January 30, 2002, E1, 3.
 - 57 Personal communications, Jamillah Karim, October 15, 2001, and Marcia Hermansen, February 12, 2002; the latter said Oprah was looking for American Muslim 'soccer mom' types.
 - 58 Imam W Deen Mohammed, "The Awakening," *Muslim Journal*, October 12, 2001, 16-17. He spoke also about mourning for the innocent victims and administering lethal injections to the terrorists. Thanks to Jamillah Karim for this and the next article.
 - 59 Imam W Deen Mohammed, "The Awakening," *Muslim Journal*, October 5, 2001, 16-17.
 - 60 Nayyer Ali, M D, "Winners and Losers," *Pakistan Link*, November 2, 2001 (he included president Bush, Pakistan, and Islam among the winners, India and Israel's right wing among the losers, and Afghanistan as still unclassified).
 - 61 Jamal Barzinji, board member, American Muslim Council, and director, International Institute of Islamic Thought: full text in *Islamic Horizons*, January/February 2002, 56.
 - 62 Ghulam M Haniff, in *Pakistan Link*, said "The dastardly act occurred just when Muslims were beginning to make inroads into the mainstream....The Muslim community in America will be under the gun for a long time...The future looks bleak and uncertain ("WTC Tragedy: A Major Setback for Islam," October 26, 2001, CL6)." Two weeks later, he saw opportunities: "Muslims must stand up, assert their identity and not only accommodate to life in America but become champions of liberty and justice ("American Islam at a Turning Point," *Pakistan Link*, November 9, 2001, CL4)."
 - 63 Asma Gull Hasan, "First Betrayed by the Hijackers, Then by the Americans," *Pakistan Link*, November 2, 2001, CL3, expresses the outrage of young American-born Muslims who feel suspicion and discrimination directed against them.
 - 64 I got this email October 27 from a friend in Pakistan, and efforts to track down its author and source failed. The full-length message captures the mix of anger, ignorance, and intelligent questioning on the part of many Americans.
 - 65 This poll of 1,500 adults was conducted by the Pew Research Centre for the People and the Press: *Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 2001, A14.
 - 66 The most thorough story is Jake Tapper, "Islam's Flawed Spokesmen: Some of the Groups Claiming to Speak for American Muslims Find It Impossible to Speak Out

- Against Terrorist Groups," *Salon*, September 26, 2001. He implicates CAIR and the AMC as having been tacitly supportive of extremist groups.
- 67 The president said this at the September 26 meeting with Muslim leaders, according to CAIR Islam-Infonet, September 26, 2001.
- 68 Hanna Rosin and John Mintz, "Muslim Leaders Struggle With Mixed Messages," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2001, A16. Siddiqi's statement that "If you [the US] continue doing injustice, and tolerate injustice, the wrath of God will come" was taken out of context (the Palestinian struggle for justice in the Middle East), he argued in a letter to the *Post* responding to the story, reproduced in CAIR Islam-Infonet, October 5, 2001. See also Solomon Moore, "Fiery Words, Disputed Meaning," *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 2001, B20, for more on Siddiqi and Hamza Yusuf; and also on Abdurrahman Alamoudi, of CAIR and the AMC, and Nihad Awad, founder of CAIR, voicing support for Hamas and/or Hezbollah; and on Sheikh Kabbani's spiritual mentor having lunch with the founder of Hamas in 1998.
- 69 Peter Ford, "Listening for Islam's Silent Majority," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 5, 2001.
- 70 The speakers were Hassan Hathout and Anwar Al-Awlaki: Laurie Goodstein, "Influential American Muslims Temper Their Tone," *New York Times*, October 19, 2001, B1, B8. Goodstein says "the most widely discussed self-criticism has come from Sheikh Hamza Yusuf."
- 71 Raana Akbar, "Proud of America and President Bush," *Pakistan Link*, October 12, 2001, 4 (she is president-elect of APPNA, Association of Pakistani Physicians in North America).
- 72 Deborah Kong, "Muslim Leaders to Discuss Future," Associated Press, October 12, 2001; Eric Bailey, "Nation's Muslim Leaders Convene," *Los Angeles Times*, October 14, 2001. The vice-chairman, Shabbir Safdar, is a cancer specialist in St Louis. Bailey wrote that "the current wartime climate has chilled debate on comprehensive solutions to the problem - including the role of US foreign policy in the Mideast, particularly its support of Israel," and quotes Muslim leaders who continue to speak out on this issue. (MPAC has long used an American flag logo, and the *Pakistan Link* has recently added an American flag to the top of page one.)
- 73 Teresa Watanabe, "Bombing Carves a Rift Among Muslims in the US," *Los Angeles Times*, October 20, 2001, A1, 10, 11. MPAC (Muslim Public Affairs Council) issued, on October 7 as the bombing commenced, an endorsement of the campaign against terrorism. Aslam Abdullah, editor of *The Minaret*, personally opposed the bombing of Afghanistan but said "The Muslim leadership is in a real dilemma." CAIR drafted a statement calling for an end to the bombing but, faced with refusals to sign it, did not immediately issue it; the national Muslim Student Association did call for a ceasefire, and its leader attributed the stance to "the younger generation's greater confidence in their identity as Americans and their right to be in opposition."
- 74 Teresa Watanabe, "Support of Airstrikes a Shift for Muslims," *Los Angeles Times*, October 9, 2001, B1.
- 75 Abdus Sattar Ghazali, "American Muslim Groups Urge[sic] Halt to Bombing," *Pakistan Link*, November 9, 2001, 10.
- 76 For example, Rabbi John Rosove, "Wanted: Moderate Muslims," and, in response, Salam Al-Marayati, "Focus on Local Relations," trying to explain away his initial suggestion that the state of Israel might have been behind September 11: *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 2001, B23.
- 77 Tariq Ramadan, of the College of Geneva and the University of Freiburg, said "we have to start with our self-criticism." He spoke of the heavy responsibility of Muslims in western countries who enjoyed political freedoms to open debates with co-religionists elsewhere: "Over the last ten years, in Europe and in America, we have developed a completely new understanding of the west, which is not hostile." Peter Ford, "Listening for Islam's Silent Majority," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 5, 2001.
- 78 Mahjabeen Islam, M D, "An American Muslim's Perspective," *Pakistan Link*, November 16, 2001, CL3; and see www.usmae.org.
- 79 Hasan Zillur Rahim (a software consultant and editor of *Iqra*, an Islamic magazine, from 1986-1999), "Silence of the Imams - Muslim Clerics Must Challenge Extremist Views," *India-West*, October 26, 2001, A5.
- 80 Zahir Ahmed (Chair, Islamic Research and Publications), "Mosques not Controlled by Imams," letter to *India-West*, December 28, 2001, A6.
- 81 It cites appearances by leaders on Laura Schlessinger's talk show, on Politically Incorrect, on Larry King Live, and on The Osgood File. Letter, November 9, 2001.
- 82 Sheikh Muhammad Nur Abdullah, president of ISNA, "Editorial: A Challenging Moment," *Islamic Horizons* (November/December 2001) 6.
- 83 Agha Saeed, head of AMA and AMPCC, hopes that the ability of the organisations to deliver the votes will ultimately be appreciated: personal communication, October 20, 2001, Madison, Wisconsin.
- 84 Mohammed Ayoob, "How to Define a Muslim American Agenda," *New York Times*, December 29, 2001. Pointing out that Pakistani and Indian Muslims differ on Kashmir, he urges that "those...who feel compelled to pursue national or ethnic agendas should be free to do so through separate national or ethnic associations and lobbies." Himself a first-generation immigrant from India, Ayoob does not seem to envision the second generation taking leadership yet.
- 85 A leader of AMA and AMPCC told me that his organisation, which for well over a decade has had American citizens as officers and not accepted foreign funds, was resigned to at least a year's setback while it was "investigated." CAIR Islam-Infonet increasingly stresses cases of alleged violations of civil rights of Muslims and Arabs in its frequent emails.
- 86 Robin Wright, "US to Foster Values in Islamic Countries," *Los Angeles Times*, January 30, 2002, 1. The president also talked of an "axis of evil" and seems ready to carry the 'a war on terrorism' into Iraq, Iran, North Korea, and many other nations, while US governmental support of Israel seems less qualified than before.

Patheya

PATHEYA, an initiative of DISHA (a membership based organization working on issues of Human rights for Tribals and other labour groups in Gujarat) will conduct a Two day Training Programme on "**Demystifying the Government Budget**" on 9th - 10th August, 2002 in New Delhi.

The importance of analyzing government budgets for advocating policy changes has been increasingly felt these days. Backing your case with governmental facts and figures lends itself to better acceptance of your arguments. Budget analysis is now being recognized worldwide as an effective tool for making the Governance more transparent and accountable. This Training Programme is aimed at building the skills and capacity of activists and researchers in sharpening their arguments on policy reforms from a budget perspective.

Mr. M.D. Mistry, Managing Trustee of DISHA and Member of Parliament will conduct this Training Programme meant primarily for Policy analysts, NGO leaders and Development researchers, etc.

A course fee of Rs. 2,000/- will be charged from the Trainees, who would be selected on merit. However, preference will be given to candidates sponsored by their organizations.

Interested candidates should register their participation by sending their C.V latest by 30th June, 2002 to PATHEYA, 6, Mangaldeep Flats, Gandhi Ashram P.O. Ahmedabad 380027 (Gujarat) e.mail: dishaad1@sancharnet.in or Fax (079) 7556782.