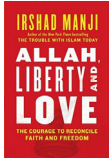


ALLAH, LIBERTY & LOVE: SOURCES & NOTES

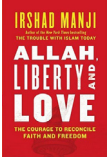
Introduction: From Anger to Aspiration

- * "Houston's Rice University invited me to speak about my book..." Presentation at [Boniuk Center for the Study and Advancement of Religious Tolerance](#), Rice University, Houston on February 7, 2007.
- * "...superstring theory,' like a spiritual quest marinated in mystery, has its doubters as well as its defenders." Source: Various, including Lee Smolin, *The Trouble with Physics: The Rise of String Theory, the Fall of a Science, and What Comes Next* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006).
- * "...the Muslim to whom Oprah Winfrey, an African-American, had given her Chutzpah Award..." Source: *O: The Oprah Magazine*, May 2004. [Download the article.](#)
- * "That idea is ijthihad – Islam's own tradition of dissenting, reasoning and re-interpreting." For more about ijthihad, read Umar Faruq Abd- Allah, "Innovation and Creativity in Islam" (Burr Ridge, IL: Nawawi Foundation, 2006). [Download this scholarly essay.](#)
- * "...I wrote a newspaper editorial about why we Muslims can no longer point fingers at non-Muslims to explain away our dysfunction." Source: Irshad Manji, "A Muslim Plea for Introspection," *The Globe and Mail* (November 8, 2001).
- * "...I'd actually embarked on what the Qur'an calls 'the uphill path.'" Source: Qur'an 90:8-16. The passage reads:
*Have We not given him two eyes, a tongue, and two lips?
And shown him the two paths?
But he does not attempt to take the uphill path.
And what will explain to you what the uphill path is?
It is to free the oppressed.
Or to feed in times of hunger an orphan related to you or the helpless down in the dust.
Only then will you be among those who have faith, those who support each other on the path of patience and compassion.*



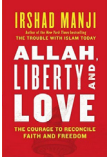
ALLAH, LIBERTY & LOVE: SOURCES & NOTES

- * "I found myself confronting a vice-president of Iran about the atrocity of stoning women to death." [Read more about that encounter.](#)
- * "The political leader of a terrorist group, Islamic Jihad, ran me out of Gaza when he couldn't locate any justification in the Qur'an for the violent tactics that he insisted were 'everywhere' in Islam's scripture." Read more about this encounter in Edip Yuskul et al., eds. *Critical Thinkers for Islamic Reform* (Brainbrow Press, 2009)
- * "... I sat with a journalist who'd seen photocopies of the translations being passed around by Arab youth..." Note: The journalist is Katherine Zoepf, who has written for *The New York Times Magazine*, among other publications. In May 2007, she exchanged correspondence with our mutual friend, Parag Khanna, about witnessing young Arabs download and photocopy *The Trouble with Islam Today*. [Read that email.](#)
- * "So far, the multiple online translations have been downloaded more than two million times." Note: I've been working with a web metrics firm in the Middle East, as well as consultants in Pakistan and Iran, to track the geographic source and frequency of downloads. For security reasons, they will remain anonymous.
- * "...Osama bin Laden's former bodyguard, who proudly announced the hope that his five-year-old son, Habib, would one day be a martyr." Source: *Faith Without Fear*, April 18, 2007 (PBS), 9:43- 10:06.
- * "Robert F. Kennedy described moral courage as the willingness to speak truth to power within your community for the sake of a greater good." [Read the speech in which Kennedy discussed moral courage.](#)
- * "In 2008, I became founding director of the Moral Courage Project." [Learn about the Moral Courage Project.](#)
- * "In 2010, an ugly debate broke out over the proposed Islamic center and mosque near Ground Zero." Note: I'll say more about the debate in chapter five of this book. For now, read my [August 2010 op-ed in the Wall Street Journal.](#)



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* "...the Qur'an has three times as many verses urging Muslims to think than to worship blindly." Note: I've done this analysis myself, but the scholar William Dalrymple backs up my point. He writes, "In the entire Koran there are only about two hundred verses directly commanding believers to pray and three times that number commanding the believers to reflect, to ponder, and to analyze God's magnificence in nature, plants, stars and the solar system." [Read Dalrymple's essay](#), "Inside the Madrasas," *The New York Review of Books*, volume 52, number 19 (December 1, 2005).



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Chapter 1: Some Things Are More Important Than Fear

“...Rushdie told me about the reaction of one family member...” Source: Public conversation at the 92nd Street Y, New York City, January 18, 2009. [Watch the video.](#)

* “If we let the superstitions and prejudices of our ancestors dictate to us, we ascribe authority to something other than God, who wants us to live consciously and take responsibility for our lives.” Source: Sultan Abdulhameed, *The Quran and the Life of Excellence* (Denver, CO: Outskirts Press, 2010), p. 199.

* “King thought this was absurd.” Source: Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), pp. 67-68.

* “‘I’m going somewhere in blue jeans,’ which meant jail.” Source: Taylor Branch in *Citizen King* (Roja Productions for PBS, 2004), 10:15-10:35.

* “...the straight path can also be ‘the wide path,’ connecting us to the God that’s bigger than biological family, larger than local community, more transcendent than the international Muslim tribe.” Note: The reference to the “straight path” comes directly from *Al-Fatiha*, the opening passage of the Qur’an, which reads:

In the name of God, the most compassionate and merciful.

Praise be to God, Lord of all the worlds.

The Compassionate, the Merciful.

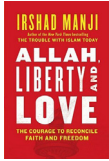
Ruler on the Day of Reckoning.

You alone do we worship, and You alone do we ask for help.

Guide us on the straight path, the path of those who have received your grace; not the path of those who have brought down wrath, nor of those who wander astray.

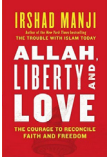
Amen.

As I’ll show later, to “wander astray” could mean to walk without hope. Thus, there’s nothing to stop the straight path from becoming, at the same time, the wide path — the path of hope for more of those who currently feel excluded.



ALLAH, LIBERTY & LOVE: SOURCES & NOTES

- * "The syllabus for my course states that their grades will depend in part on the frequency and quality of their challenges to me." [Read the syllabus.](#)
- * "As a result, he had to look beyond the university for a more representative sample of people, including some who would think for themselves." Source: Lauren Slater, *Opening Skinner's Box: Great Psychological Experiments of the Twentieth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), pp. 31-62.
- * "You are not paid to rock the boat." Source: Louise Story and Landon Thomas, Jr., "Tales from Lehman's Crypt," *The New York Times*, September 12, 2009. [Read the article.](#)
- * "Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change the world which yields most painfully to change." Source: Robert F. Kennedy, "Speech at the University of Cape Town, South Africa on the Day of Affirmation," June 6, 1966. [Read the speech.](#)
- * "...we have not yet developed a state of citizenry, within all the Arab countries, in which people are equal before the law." Source: Interview with Dr. Eyad Serraj, July 2, 2003.
- * "...from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood." Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 81.
- * "In 2008, the Australian edition of a British bestseller rolled off the presses..." Source: All quotes in this section are taken from Kathy Marks, "'Daring Book for Girls' breaks didgeridoo taboo in Australia," *The Independent (UK)*, September 3, 2008. [Read the article.](#)
- * "Randall Kennedy is a professor of law at Harvard University and an African-American..." Source: All quotes in this section are taken from Randall Kennedy, *Sellout: The Politics of Racial Betrayal* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2008), pp. 186-190. I've also referenced his book, *Nigger: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003).
- * "Under the regime that ruled al-Andalus, or Muslim Spain, students could converse with the multi-faceted Qur'an." Source: Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization, Volume IV: The Age of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950). See the entire section on Islamic civilization, pp. 153-344.



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* "...ninth-century madrassas might have been the fount of today's academic freedom."

Source: George Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Press, 1981), p. 281

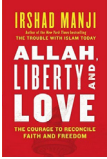
Specifically, Makdisi writes that "Muslim institutionalized education was religious, privately organized, and open to all Muslims who sought it... In the pursuit of truth and its dissemination it insisted on *ijtihad*, encouraging the individual effort of the juriconsult, carried to the limits of his capacity in the study of sacred scriptures and resulting in a legal opinion for which he was rewarded in the Hereafter, right or wrong. Orthodoxy in Islam, resulting from the consensus of the doctors of the law, was secured on the basis of freedom of expression and freedom of religion."

* "...when the rational mind makes contact with the Divine, the individual finds happiness." Source: Various; most intriguingly, Amber Haque, "Psychology from Islamic Perspective: Contributions of Early Muslim Scholars and Challenges to Contemporary Muslim Psychologists," *Journal of Religion and Health*, volume 43, number 4 (2004), pp. 357-377.

* "...the imam of an influential mosque, La Mezquita, intervened and Ibn Bajjah went free." Note: The imam, in turns out, was the grandfather of Ibn Rushd, among Islam's greatest rationalist thinkers. Source: Liz Sonneborn, *Averroes (Ibn Rushd): Muslim Scholar, Philosopher, and Physician of the Twelfth Century* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2006), pp. 43-44.

* "...some 135 schools of Islamic interpretation thrived while the more cosmopolitan cities of al-Andalus housed 70 libraries..." Source: Various, including lecture given by Khaled Abou El-Fadl, chair of Islamic law at the University of California (Los Angeles), on September 14, 2002 and discussion with Arnold Yasin Mol, CEO of the Deen Center in The Netherlands, by e-mail on November 18, 2010.

* "...rivaling the number of libraries in most major U.S. cities today." Note: [New York City](#), for example has 95 public library branches while [San Francisco](#) has 28.



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* "Ijtihadis even bequeathed some of the West's popular culture..." Source: Various, including George Raphael, "A is for Arabs," salon.com, January 8, 2002. [Read the article.](#)

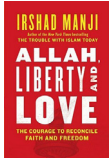
* "Muslims gave the world Mocha coffee." Coffee probably originated in Kefa (or Kaffa), Ethiopia. Cultivation began in earnest in the Arab world after the 15th century. The Yemenite port city of Mocha (*Al-Mukha*) became the world's chief exporter of coffee. Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

In this footnote and others, all references to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* are taken from the online edition, which contains up-to-date entries that the company publishes in its authoritative 32-volume printed encyclopedia.

* "And the guitar." Note: The guitar developed from the Arabic *al'ud*, which became the lute. When the troubadours of medieval Europe crooned their songs of unrequited love, they usually did so to the music of the lute. Martin Luther also played the instrument in the late 16th century, when the guitar started to become popular. Spaniards then brought it to the New World. Source: multiple issues of *Guitarra Magazine*, [especially this](#). See also Maurice J. Summerfield, *The Classical Guitar – Its Evolution, Players and Personalities since 1800* (Blaydon on Tyne: Ashley Mark publishing, 2003).

* "And possibly even the expression, "Olé!" Source: Murad Wilfried Hoffman, *Religion on the Rise: Islam in the Third Millennium* (Beltsville, Maryland: Amana, 2001), p. 3. In fairness, the late scholar of Arabic, Alan S. Kaye, cast doubt on the connection between "Allah" and "Olé." See Alan S. Kaye, "Two Alleged Arabic Etymologies," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, no. 2 (2005), pp. 109-11. However, the majority of scholars whom I've consulted agree with Hoffman.

* "Thinking for yourself meant courting harsh punishment, including execution." Source: The demise of ijthad is well-documented by scholars, among them Khaled Abou El-Fadl (lecture given on September 14, 2002) and Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002).



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* "...we are excluding those people who can offer us a different vision for the future."

Source: Ingrid Mattson in *Ijtihad: Reinterpreting Islamic Principles for the Twenty-First Century*, United States Institute of Peace (Special Report 125, August 2004), p. 7.

[Read the report.](#)

* "...one of the world's most highly regarded Muslim thinkers characterizes ijthihad as a spiritual 'duty of the first magnitude.'" Source: All quotes from this essay are attributed to Umar Faruq Abd-Allah, "Innovation and Creativity in Islam" (Burr Ridge, IL: Nawawi Foundation, 2006). [Download this scholarly paper.](#)

* "Within six months, it became such a popular download that I had to post it in twenty more languages." To read the Islamic blessing of inter-faith marriage in multiple languages, [click here](#) and scroll down the page.

* "A year later, I was lecturing in Berlin." Note: Specifically, I screened *Faith Without Fear* at an event on May 13, 2007, organized by Dr. Caroline Emcke, correspondent with *Der Spiegel*.

* "...he responded to them as individuals, not as Tutsis." Source: Kristina E. Thalhammer et al., *Courageous Resistance: The Power of Ordinary People* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 25.

* "...a stunningly improbable, albeit brief, triumph against the Nazis." Source: All quotes and facts in this paragraph are taken from Kristina E. Thalhammer et al., *ibid.*, pp. 112-114.

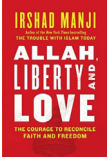
* "...and therefore entitled to equal treatment." Source: Kristina E. Thalhammer et al., *ibid.*, pp. 16.

* "Edip Pilku had an Albanian Muslim father and a German mother." Source: All quotes and facts in this story are taken from Norman H. Gershman, *Besa: Muslims Who Saved Jews in World War II* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008), p. 8.

* "Another Albanian Muslim, Nadire Proseku..." Source: All quotes and facts in this story are taken from Norman H. Gershman, *ibid.*, p.16.

* "And this is what places of worship should do – they should liberate us from fear." Source: Dzevad Karahasan (translated by Slobadan Drakulic), *Sarajevo, Exodus of a City* (New York: Kodansha International, 1994), pp. 28-29.

* "...opposite facts are actually One." Source: Dzevad Karahasan (translated by Slobadan Drakulic), *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.



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Chapter 2: Identity Can Trap You, But Integrity Will Set You Free

* "...and in turn confidence, or the lack thereof, is expressed in emotions..." Source: Dominic Moisi, *The Geo-Politics of Emotion: How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope are Re-Shaping the World*. (New York: Doubleday, 2009), p. 12.

* "...booted the passengers off so he could conduct his afternoon prayers." Source: "Get off, so I can pray: UK Muslim bus driver," *AlArabiya.net*, April 2, 2008.

[Read the article.](#)

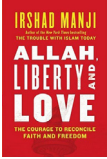
* "...Sainsbury's, a major British supermarket chain, had decided to excuse Muslim employees from handling alcohol." Source: "UK store accused of favoring Muslims," *AlArabiya.net*, October 16, 2007. [Read the article.](#)

* "...Muslim woman from Egypt who immigrated to Quebec." Source: Omar El Akkad, "Woman shocked by portrayal as hard-line Islamist," *The Globe and Mail*, March 5, 2010. See also [this report](#) by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC).

* "...Muslim man in Sweden won several thousand dollars in compensation after complaining of discrimination." Source: "Arbetsförmedlingen fälldes för utebliven handskakning," *Aftonbladet.se*, February 8, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

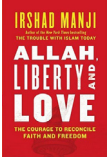
* "...much of the online chatter wondered why he couldn't be sued for sexual discrimination." Source: "Swedish job agency guilty of discrimination over handshake," *IceNews*, February 16, 2010. Read the comments under the article.

* "Godly perfection is not flawlessness..." Source: All quotes and facts in this story are taken from Desmond M. Tutu and Mpho Tutu (edited by Douglas C. Abrams), *Made for Goodness: And Why This Makes All the Difference* (New York: HarperOne, 2010), pp. 43-47.



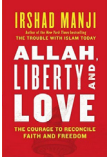
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- * "We see it from the time you're a child..." Source: Taj Hargey on *Panorama*, BBC television, August 21, 2005. [Read the programme transcript.](#)
- * "...the expression of individual opinion will weaken the group and play into the hands of adversaries..." Source: Fatema Mernissi (translated by Mary Jo Lakeland), *Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Publishing, 2002), p. 40.
- * "...that is enough to make the accused the legitimate target of punishment." Source: Fatema Mernissi (translated by Mary Jo Lakeland), *ibid.*, p. 95.
- * "...in the mediocrity that is tacked on us as the essence of our authenticity." Source: Fatema Mernissi (translated by Mary Jo Lakeland), *ibid.*, p. 33-34.
- * "...your uniqueness is God's gift to the world." Source: Sultan Abdulhameed, *The Quran and the Life of Excellence* (Denver, CO: Outskirts Press, 2010), p. 81.
- * "...a set of beliefs that liberate you from limitations and enhance your life's possibilities." Source: Sultan Abdulhameed, *ibid.*, p. 230.
- * "...'respect for the individual' as 'its basic article of faith.'" Source: Fatema Mernissi, (translated by Mary Jo Lakeland), *Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Publishing, 2002), p. 160.
- * "That's why he won't teach it. How can this be?" Source: Judea Pearl in phone conversation on April 6, 2006.
- * "...declared me a 'bigger criminal' than Osama bin Laden." Note: He delivered the sermon on September 19, 2003. Due to my mother's sensitivity over this matter, I won't name the imam.
- * "How does a person who is a product of a totalitarian society learn responsibility, individuality, initiative?" Source: All quotes in this paragraph are taken from Slavenka Drakulic, *Café Europa: Life after Communism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), pp. 118-119.



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- * "Irshad doesn't represent us all." Source: October 2009 post on [my Facebook page](#).
- * "To my Muslim female critics..." Source: Notebook entry dated May 12, 2007.
- * "Whoever knows him – or herself knows his or her God." Source: Khaled Abou El-Fadl, *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), p. 135. Note: El-Fadl's full sentence reads, "In a well-known tradition the Prophet is reported to have said: 'That who knows himself/herself knows his/her God.'"
- * "'Now that Arafat is gone, it is time to accept Israel.'" Source: Conversation with students at An-Najah National University on February 15, 2005.
- * "...each one of us is praying as him or herself." Source: All quotes attributed to Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im are taken from my public conversation with him on March 11, 2008 at the Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service, New York University.
- * "A Celebration of Heresy: Critical Thinking for Islamic Reform." Note: The conference took place in Atlanta, Georgia on March 28-30, 2008. I attended it.
- * "Orderly progress demands a system that submerges the individual." Note: I formed my interpretations of both Aristotle and Hobbes during the Socrates Society session on ethics, virtues and the good life at the Aspen Institute in July 2009. The three-day session, moderated by MIT's Lee Hafrey, involved the study of original texts by Hobbes and Aristotle, as well as robust discussion about them.
- * "...Hitler appealed to the shredded honor of Germans." Source: Various, including Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: A Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008).
- * "Alain Finkelkraut, the French philosopher, traces the epidemic of the tribal 'we' – identity politics – directly back to the scourge of Volkgeist." Source: Unni Wikan, *Generous Betrayal: Politics of Culture in the New Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 140.



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* "A leading scientist at the time of the European Enlightenment, Antoine Lavoisier, wed a girl of 13." Source: Richard Holmes, *The Age of Wonder: How the Romantic Generation Discovered the Beauty and Terror of Science* (London: Harper Press, 2008), p. 248.

* "...I read a statement that's since been removed." Note: I surfed North Korea's official English-language site on February 15, 2006. Since then, the entire website has been taken down.

* "Prophet Muhammad taught that what I desire for myself, I ought to desire for another." Source: Hadith 13 of An-Nawawi's Forty Hadiths.

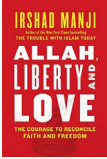
* "Immanuel Kant, a prophet of the European Enlightenment, reiterated Muhammad..." Source: Immanuel Kant (translated by James Ellington), *Ethical Philosophy: Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals and the Metaphysical Principles of Virtue* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1995), p. 30. This edition combines two short works by Kant, with an excellent forward by Ellington.

* "...his weapon is the work of Alfred Nobel and the inventors of the internal combustion engine." Source: Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence: 500 Years of Western Cultural Life, 1500 to the Present* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000), p. xiv.

* "Out of this context, Galileo emerged." Source: Paul Kurtz, "Intellectual Freedom, Rationality and Enlightenment: The Contributions of Averroes," in Mourad Wahba and Mona Abousenna, eds. *Averroes and the Enlightenment* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 1996), pp. 30-31.

* "...poetry in the seventeenth century was transformed by Copernicus and Galileo." Source: Dick Teresi, "Foreign Policy, Flemish Painters, and Pharaoh Placement: The Many Purposes of Science," *In Character* (Winter 2005). [Read the essay.](#)

* "Wonder also filled the man behind America's Statue of Liberty..." Source: All quotes and facts in this story are taken from Michael B. Oren, *Power, Faith and Fantasy: America in the Middle East, 1776 to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), pp. 268-270.



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* "So, wed with Truth, I dwell above the veil." Source: W. E. B. Du Bois in Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), p. 91.

* "The reading of these documents enabled me to utter my thoughts." Source: Frederick Douglass in Arthur M. Schlesinger, *ibid.*, p. 91.

* "Father of the Persian Empire, Cyrus made freedom of religion a principle before anybody else understood it as such." Source: Various, including the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, which describes him as "tolerant and magnanimous." It adds, "Cyrus is famous for freeing the Jewish captives in Babylonia and allowing them to return to their homeland."

In this footnote and others, all references to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* are taken from the [online edition](#), which contains up-to-date entries that the company publishes in its authoritative 32-volume printed encyclopedia.

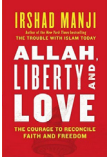
* "Led by Eleanor Roosevelt, the commission's vice-chair was Ghasseme Ghani of Iran." Source: Helena Kennedy, "Are Human Rights Universal?" in Helena Kennedy et al., *Do Human Rights Travel?* (London: British Council Counterpoints, 2004), p. 14.

* "Sometimes it reads more like a mash-up of clashing cultural priorities than a seamless articulation of human rights..."

* "While his church is aligning its future with Hitler, Bonhoeffer is discovering the way of creative nonviolence." Source: Rev. John Hay, Jr., Senior Pastor, West Morris Street Free Methodist Church, Indiana, as quoted from [his tribute to Dietrich Bonhoeffer](#) for the PBS documentary, *Bonhoeffer*.

For a thorough treatment of what Bonhoeffer learned from African-Americans – and how – read Eric Metaxas, *Bonhoeffer: Pastor, Martyr, Prophet, Spy* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2010), pp. 99-118.

* "If even women display such courage, will the Transvaal Indians fail in their duty and



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be afraid of jail?" Source: Gandhi in Arthur Herman, *Gandhi & Churchill: The Epic Rivalry that Destroyed an Empire and Forged our Age* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008), p. 153.

* "...Thoreau's defense of conscientious dissent furnished Gandhi with 'arguments in favor of our fight.'" Source: Gandhi in George Hendrick, "The Influence of Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience' on Gandhi's Satyagraha," in *The New England Quarterly*, volume 29, number 4 (December 1956), p. 469.

* "The material was pure and his art was pure; how could the result be other than wonderful?" Source: Henry David Thoreau in Arthur Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (New York: Octagon Books, 1978), p. 194.

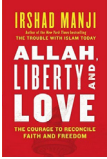
* "Flow facilitates the pursuit of happiness." Note: To read more about the concept of "flow," see Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, *Finding Flow: The Psychology of Engagement with Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

* "...has referred to 'the Gandhian Moment' of his compatriots in the Islamic republic." Source: Ramin Jahanbegloo, "Reading Gandhi in Tehran," boomgen.tv, October 13, 2009. This article has been removed from the site, but you can read more about Jahanbegloo's thesis on other sites. See, for example, [this one](#).

* "On top of which, he had to deal with the 'force of complacency.'" Source: All quotes in this paragraph are taken from Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 90.

* "...no number of Danish cartoons or Dutch films will ever be more offensive than the seven suicide attacks that have killed at least 100 in Pakistan in the past three weeks alone." Source: Mona Eltahawy, "Our Own Worst Enemy," *Agence Global*, March 12, 2008. [Read the column](#).

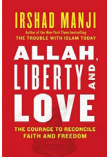
* "...over the past several years, a staggering majority of al-Qaeda's victims have been innocent Muslims." Source: Nassir Abdullah, Muhammad al-Obaidi and Scott Helfstein, Ph.D., *Deadly Vanguard: A Study of Al-Qa'ida's Violence Against Muslims* (Combating



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Terrorism Center at West Point, December 2009). [Read the report](#). In chapter 6, I analyze this report.

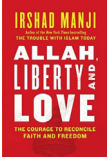
* "The early Muslim historian, al-Tabari, reports that the prophet wanted to commit suicide by flinging himself off a mountain..." Source: All quotes in this story are taken from Subhash C. Inabdar, *Muhammad and the Rise of Islam: The Creation of Group Identity* (Madison, CT: Psychosocial Press, 2000), pp. 108-129. See also Inabdar's extensive footnotes based on primary sources.



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Chapter 3: Culture Is Not Sacred

- * "...a grilled groin and a lot of explaining to do." Source: Various, including Mark Hosenball, "The Radicalization of Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab," *Newsweek*, January 2, 2010. [Read the article.](#)
- * "It's estimated that more Arabs live in suburban Detroit than any metropolitan area outside of the Middle East." Source: Various, including ArabDetroit.com. It states, "While the latest Zogby polls rank Michigan's Arab-American population as second largest in the U.S., after California, [the] Arab-American community in Southeast Michigan still has the greatest local concentration (California's Arab-American population is much more spread out)."
- * "Questions about his urges toward girls?" Source: Various, including Dateline, NBC, January 10, 2010. [Watch the programme.](#)
- * "'Please, let's not talk about that one. I've heard enough already.'" Source: Lecture by Brian Whitaker at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, January 26, 2010. [Read the lecture.](#)
- * "...in Arab society the family is 'the primary mechanism of social control'..." Brian Whitaker, *What's Really Wrong with the Middle East* (London: Saqi books, 2009), p. 52.
- * "Culture, anthropologists say, is the 'sum of learned or acquired knowledge and experience among a collectivity of people.'" Source: Unni Wikan, *Generous Betrayal: Politics of Culture in the New Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 80.
- * "To be thrown out of the family is something that from a young age you should be worried about..." Source: Salam Pax in Brian Whitaker, *What's Really Wrong with the Middle East* (London: Saqi Books), pp. 53-54.
- * "Such paradigms reflect 'the underlying problem,' which, according to Whitaker, 'is fear of independent thought.'" Source: Lecture by Brian Whitaker at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, January 26, 2010. [Read the lecture.](#)



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* "The Turkish commentator and faithful Muslim Mustafa Akyol names this merger 'Islamo-tribalism.'" Source: Mustafa Akyol, "The trouble with Islamo-tribalism," *Hurriyet*, January 12, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

* "But Islam has not conquered Arab culture; Arab culture has conquered Islam." Source: Interview with Dr. Eyad Serraj, July 2, 2003.

* "More than 80 percent of the world's Muslims are non-Arab; still, Arab Islam is assumed to be authentic Islam." Source: "Mapping the Global Muslim Population: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Muslim Population," The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (Washington, DC), October 7, 2009. [Read the report.](#)

* "[T]his stuff is common here, not hidden." Source: Email dated February 5, 2006.

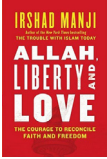
* "...contains three times the number of passages urging mindful awareness over mere submission." Note: I've done this analysis myself, but the scholar William Dalrymple backs up my point. He writes, "In the entire Koran there are only about two hundred verses directly commanding believers to pray and three times that number commanding the believers to reflect, to ponder, and to analyze God's magnificence in nature, plants, stars and the solar system." [Read Dalrymple's essay](#), "Inside the Madrasas," *The New York Review of Books*, volume 52, number 19 (December 1, 2005).

* "...even if it makes some uncomfortable, we should not dismiss it [capital punishment] out of hand.'" Source: All quotes and facts in this story are taken from Melody Y. Hu, "Chaplain's Email Sparks Controversy," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 14, 2009. [Read the article.](#)

* "His verdict scandalized Muslims in Egypt and elsewhere." Source: "In death's shadow," *The Economist*, July 24, 2008. [Read the article.](#)

* "...when President George W. Bush announced that America doesn't torture?" Source: [Statement from the Oval Office](#), October 5, 2007.

* "It began by asserting the need to respect 'the cultures of differing human groups.'" Source: Karen Engle, "From Skepticism to Embrace: Human Rights and the American



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Anthropological Association from 1947 to 1999," in Richard Schweder et al., eds. *Engaging Cultural Differences: The Multicultural Challenge in Liberal Societies*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), p. 346.

* "Indeed, the term *embarrassment* continually is used'..." Source: Karen Engle, *ibid.*, p. 349.

* "...cruelty is a notion which is very much culturally relative.'" Source: Mohammad Javad Larijani on *Fareed Zakaria GPS*, CNN, November 21, 2010. [Watch the programme](#). His statement is made at 8:16.

* "Watch out for your children; we know where you live'..." Source: Polly Toynbee interview with Kenan Malik in *Are Muslims Hated?* Channel 4, UK, January 8, 2005. [Read the programme's transcript](#).

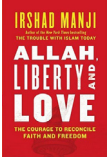
* "...we need to engage and discuss.' But, he sternly added, 'there is a limit to that.'" Source: Massoud Shadjareh interview with Kenan Malik in *Are Muslims Hated?* Channel 4, UK, January 8, 2005. [Read the programme's transcript](#).

* "...someone who has been denied the opportunity to express their agency as rational beings." Source: Massoud Shadjareh, "Whose rights are they anyway? Reaching a critical understanding of human rights-speak in the 21st century," in Helena Kennedy et al., *Do Human Rights Travel?* (London: British Council Counterpoints, 2004), p. 40.

* "By the by, the Islamic Human Rights Commission has been a frequent consultant to the UN." Note: Vannina Maestracci, a UN spokeswoman, confirmed IHRC's consulting role in an email dated November 12, 2010.

* "...Amr Roshdy Hassan interjected, 'Islam will not be crucified in this Council!'" Note: There is no official transcript of HRC sessions. However, UN Watch, an independent monitoring group based in Geneva, Switzerland, has transcribed this session. [Read the transcript](#).

Official UN *summaries* of all sessions can be found [here](#). Finally, recorded UN sessions can be watched [here](#).



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* "For the past several years the OIC has pushed an honor-soaked resolution through the UN." Source: Various, including Freedom House, a non-partisan, not-for-profit organization that monitors government moves to impede individual liberty and universal human rights. Freedom House has diligently covered the OIC. To learn more, [visit its website](#) and input "Organization of the Islamic Conference" in the search engine.

* "...fundamental rights and freedoms' should be enjoyed not just by individuals but also by 'groups of individuals and communities.'" Source: Letter dated October 29, 2009, from Zamir Akram, Ambassador and Permanent Representative, Coordinator of the OIC Group on Human Rights and Humanitarian Issues, to Idriss Jazairy, Chairperson-Rapporteur of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Elaboration of Complementary Standards, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Geneva. It was sent on the letterhead of the Permanent Mission of Pakistan.

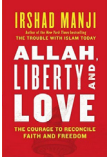
* "In July 2009, Ireland 'updated' its blasphemy laws." Source: Henry McDonald, "Irish atheists challenge new blasphemy laws," *The Guardian*, January 1, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

* "...Australia's federal court struck down the law that immunized the Vatican against offense..." Source: Germaine Greer, "It's your democratic duty to be offensive," *The Observer*, July 20, 2008. [Read the article.](#)

* "Sikh spokespeople, invited to attend a rehearsal, took full advantage of their access to carp about 'negative portrayal.'" Source: Ian Buruma, "The Freedom to Offend," *The New Republic*, September 4, 2006.

* "...Behzti folded and Bhatti had to live in hiding." Source: Salil Tripathi, "Shaming our liberties," *livemint.com*, April 14, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

* "...such a deliberate, even if fictional, violation of the sacred place of the Sikh religion demeans the sacred places of every religion." Source: Archbishop of Birmingham, Vincent Nichols, in Jytte Klausen, *The Cartoons that Shook the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 16.



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* "...Jews 'are quick to recognize the recurring symptoms,' among them, 'the use of stereotypes.'" Source: Rev. Raniero Cantalamessa in Victor L. Simpson, Associated Press, "Pope's preacher likens sex-abuse allegations to violence's against Jews," *The Globe and Mail*, April 2, 2010.

* "...in Moroccan culture it is not unusual that the husband uses physical punishment against his wife." Source: Kate Connolly, "German judge invokes Qur'an to deny abused wife a divorce," *The Guardian*, March 23, 2007. [Read the article](#). I've double-checked Connolly's translation of the German judge's statement by consulting *Der Spiegel's* account of this story on March 29, 2007, and have adjusted the quote accordingly.

* "'Culture and power go hand-in-hand, in every society, at all times.'" Source: Unni Wikan, *Generous Betrayal: Politics of Culture in the New Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 87.

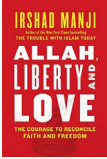
* "We met at a conference on global security in Washington, DC." Note: The conference, "Overcoming Extremism," was organized by the Center for Strategic and International Studies on March 21, 2008. [Read the conference report](#).

* "...another anthropologist, Anne Knudsen, met a Danish-Turkish woman fleeing her husband." Source: Unni Wikan, *Generous Betrayal: Politics of Culture in the New Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 209.

* "It seems to me it's more a political or ideological sign." Source: Daniel Bacquelaine in Subhash Chopra, "The Veil Is Un-Islamic," [thedailybeast.com](#), April 11, 2010. [Read the article](#).

* "God does not change the condition of a people until they change what is inside themselves." Source: Qur'an 13:11.

* "...a 'distinguishing characteristic of man' is 'the faculty of self-improvement.'" Source: Jean-Jacque Rousseau in Charles Handy, *The Hungry Spirit: Beyond Capitalism – a Quest for Purpose in the Modern World* (New York: Broadway Books, 1998), p. 75.



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* "...so he turned to me afterward and asked, 'Do you think they didn't understand my question?'" Source: Mladen Citanovic in Unni Wikan, *Generous Betrayal: Politics of Culture in the New Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 45.

* "...the concept of England or Britain to which people of British stock throughout the Commonwealth are attached." Source: Kenan Malik, "The Real Value of Diversity," *Connections* (Winter 2002). [Read the essay.](#)

* "Is it the lesbian kafir who wrote chapter 3, verse 7 of the Qur'an?" This Qur'anic passage states: "It is He who revealed to you the Book. Some of its verses are precise in meaning -- they are the foundation of the Book -- and others are ambiguous. Those whose hearts are infected with disbelief observe the ambiguous part so as to create dissension by seeking to explain it. But no one knows its meaning except God." Source: *The Quran*, N.J. Dawood, trans. (London: Penguin Classics, 1956 and updated 1999), p. 43.

* "...it has to be chopped off so that the society stays clean and pure." Source: Trad Fayeze in Rana Husseini, *Murder in the Name of Honor: The True Story of One Woman's Heroic Fight against an Unbelievable Crime* (New York: Oneworld Publications, 2009), p. 63.

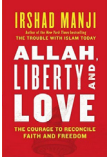
* "...the 16-year-old Muslim Canadian died at the hands of her family." Source: All quotes and claims in this story are taken from the *Agreed Statement of Facts*, which [you can read](#).

* "...I responded that killing can never, ever be an acceptable approach to relieving family stresses." My interview with Steve Paikin on *The Agenda*, TVOntario, December 16, 2010.

* "The FBI has buckled to demands by Muslim lobbyists that the phrase 'honor killing' be excised from WANTED posters..." Note: The FBI has also removed web pages that once gave evidence of this sanitizing.

* "...the U.S. Army wouldn't allow its first Muslim woman corporal to serve as a chaplain." Source: Conversation with the corporal at Tufts University on April 27, 2007.

* "...no law that contradicts the established provisions of Islam may be passed." Source: Article Two of the [constitution of Iraq](#).



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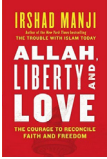
* "...no law can be contrary to the beliefs and provisions of the sacred religion of Islam."

Source: Article Three of the [constitution of Afghanistan](#).

* "...groups tend to be more immoral than individuals." Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 82.

* "...respect for 'the culture' is a flawed moral principle." Source: Unni Wikan, *Generous Betrayal: Politics of Culture in the New Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 28.

* "An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group inflicts on a minority group but does not making binding on itself." Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 85.



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Chapter 4: You Define Your Honor

* "Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial 'outside agitator' idea."

Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 79.

* "...I'd been scheduled to speak at a conference on the grounds of Oxford University."

Note: This was the first annual TEDGlobal Conference, July 12-15, 2005.

* "The popular American situation comedy *Will & Grace* lifted the lid on this willingness to lie as part of multiculturalism's intricate poker game." Source: *Will & Grace* re-broadcast on New York television, July 15, 2009.

* "...being truly esteemed by my fellow men, by rendering myself worthy of esteem."

Source: This and the subsequent quote by Abraham Lincoln are taken from Robert K. Faulkner, *The Case for Greatness: Honorable Action and its Critics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 1.

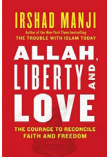
* "...with the exception of one or two, it consisted entirely of deaf people?" Source:

Arthur Schopenhauer in Alain de Botton, *Status Anxiety* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004), p. 118.

* "Oprah, went the charge, showed more interest in cultivating a white audience than in sustaining the black sisterhood." Source: Tashia L. Stanley, "The Specter of Oprah Winfrey: Critical Black Female Spectatorship," in Jennifer Harris and Elwood Watson, eds. *The Oprah Phenomenon* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2007), p. 40.

* "Once I got that, I was free." Source: Oprah Winfrey in "Introduction," in Jennifer Harris and Elwood Watson, eds., *ibid.*, p. 14. The African-American women's magazine in which Oprah made this statement is *Essence* (October 2003), p. 180.

* "And what of gold, ivory, a flower or a little plant?" Source: Marcus Aurelius in Alain de Botton, *Status Anxiety* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004), pp. 113-114.



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* "They have the power of description and we succumb to the pictures they construct."

Source: Fictional character Saladin Chamcha in *The Satanic Verses* (New York: Viking, 1989), pp. 173-74.

* "... I moderated a roundtable discussion of Middle Eastern and North African youth."

Note: The discussion, entitled "Tackling the Challenges of a New Generation," took place in Sharm El Sheikh on May 20, 2006.

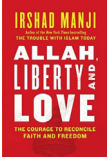
* "How many ways can one be disappointed when the very experts in innovation – innovation! – pander to the failed formulas?" Note: A similar point is made by Jihad al-Omari, described by Brian Whitaker as a "specialist in cross-cultural management who advises western businesses on the intricacies of working in Arab countries."

According to al-Omari, "When you ask the question [of] whether our culture has anything to do with our level of backwardness or lack of progress or lack of democracy or lack of discipline, you are immediately barked at. You cannot say that, you cannot blame the culture, because it's almost sacrosanct. People don't accept that level of self-criticism. This idea of looking inwards and saying 'Where did we go wrong?' is not there. Nobody is willing to blame tribalism or the culture or whatever you want to call it. That idea is not there yet. They will always blame the leadership. It's always externalizing the problem, it never internalizes the problem. It never says, 'How did I contribute?'" Quoted in Brian Whitaker, *What's Really Wrong with the Middle East* (London: Saqi Books, 2009), p. 37.

* "It was only once she was murdered that this young victim of an 'honor killing' drew a lot of attention to the cultural double standards she had battled for so long..." Source: Rana Husseini, *Murder in the Name of Honor: The True Story of One Woman's Heroic Fight Against an Unbelievable Crime* (New York: Oneworld Publications, 2009), p. 187.

* "...who not only care so little for life but who seem to find joy in grotesquely violating it." Source: March 2010 post on [my Facebook page](#).

* "Swing it again, Elin!" Source: All quotes in this story are taken from Katarina Andersson, "How Sweden is Covering Tiger and Elin," *The Daily Beast*, December 14, 2009. [Read the article](#).



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* "In the wake of Fadime's murder, *Aftonbladet* monitored public debate." Source: Rana Husseini, *Murder in the Name of Honor: The True Story of One Woman's Heroic Fight Against an Unbelievable Crime* (New York: Oneworld Publications, 2009), p. 187.

* "Millions of Swedes cherish Palme's 'revolutionary reformist' spirit, as it's been characterized." Source: Wikipedia traces this description to its origin. [Read the article.](#)

* "The 'modesty of the Arab woman is the linchpin' of the system..." Source: Fatema Mernissi (translated by Mary Jo Lakeland), *Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Publishing, 2002), p. 153.

* "Condemned for so long to silence, their song rhymes 'liberty' with 'individuality'..." Source: Fatema Mernissi (translated by Mary Jo Lakeland), *ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

* "...how, please tell me, can the masculine be distinguished if the feminine is banned from sight, if femaleness is a black hole, a silent gap, an absent face?" Source: Fatema Mernissi (translated by Mary Jo Lakeland), *ibid.*, p. 114.

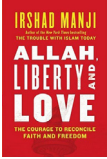
* "...the crippling effects of segregation' only start with women." Source: Fatema Mernissi (translated by Mary Jo Lakeland), *ibid.*, p. 150.

* "Identifying democracy as a Western malady, decking it out in the chador of foreignness, is a strategic operation worth millions of petrodollars." Source: Fatema Mernissi (translated by Mary Jo Lakeland), *ibid.*, p. 15.

* "Laws prohibited literacy for blacks in order to 'close off external sources of contamination'..." Source: Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Honor & Slavery* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 49.

* "Sometimes he held a razor to her throat." Source: Kenneth S. Greenberg, *ibid.*, p. 37.

* "...five generations later some of their offspring still have not forgiven the North." Source: Thomas L. Friedman, "www.jihad.com," *The New York Times*, December 16, 2009. [Read the column.](#)



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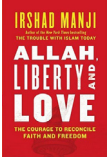
* "Illiteracy among women and girls, though lower now than 20 years ago, is widely cited as holding back Arab economic development." Source: Various, including *Literacy for Life: Illiteracy in the Arab World* (background paper prepared for the Education for SII Global Monitoring Report 2006). Researcher Hassan R. Massoud concludes that female literacy rates in the Arab World Today "range from 24 percent (Iraq) to 85.9 percent (Jordan). Between 1990 and 2004, six Arab countries ranked above the world average of 76.5 percent... However, despite such great strides in female literacy in these countries, high rates of illiteracy among women persist in the majority of the Arab countries. Indeed, women today account for two-thirds of the region's illiterates and according to the Arab Human Development Report 2002, this rate is not expected to disappear until 2040. Several factors seem to account for such a deficit," including "a decline in political commitment..." (p. 4).

* "...honor-based crimes against women often don't get catalogued as crimes at all..." Source: Various, including Rana Husseini, *Murder in the Name of Honor: The True Story of One Woman's Heroic Fight Against an Unbelievable Crime* (New York: Oneworld Publications, 2009). See also her extensive footnotes.

* "...it's not unusual to hear them demand that they deal solely with male police officers." Note: Psychologist Fatima al-Badawi adds more perspective, drawing her insights from Arab men in Sweden. According to Dr. al-Badawi, "people from that part of the world [the Middle East] regard Sweden as a female-run country. They meet only women at the social welfare offices, in school, at the employment offices, and such places." Source: Unni Wikan, *Generous Betrayal: Politics of Culture in the New Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 99.

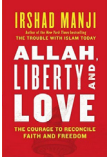
* "A husband-to-be, notes Rana Husseini, considers virginity as 'evidence of exclusive possession.'" Source: This and the subsequent quote are taken from Rana Husseini, *Murder in the Name of Honor: The True Story of One Woman's Heroic Fight Against an Unbelievable Crime* (New York: Oneworld Publications, 2009), p. 84.

* "'No, I do not regret killing Kifaya'..." Source: Both quotes attributed to Khalid are taken from Rana Husseini, *ibid.*, p. 16.



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- * “No one wants to be the one to kill his sister,’ he told Hussein, ‘but traditions and society inflict things on us...” Source: Both quotes attributed to Sarhan are taken from Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
- * “...a society that ‘abides by the Constitution that assures equality to all in front of the law in rights and duties.” Source: Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
- * “Of course I will sign,’ she remembers him saying, because honor-based crime ‘is against our religion.” Source: All quotes and facts attributed to this story are taken from Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, pp. 41-44.
- * “The concept of family honor is socially imbedded in our society.” Source: Jordanian cabinet minister in Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, p. 29.
- * “The bill was rejected without even the dignity of a count of hands.” Source: Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, p. 55.
- * “...Prince Ali called for a march to Parliament in ‘protest against honor killings.” Source: Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, p. 60.
- * “...each one of us has individual rights...” Source: Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, p. 61.
- * “...they all entered the Parliament building via the back door that day.” Source: Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, p. 79.
- * “...this murder was a product of our culture.” Source: Judge in Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, p. 13.
- * “[In] many instances, the judiciary has rejected the fit of fury argument.” Source: Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
- * “These efforts, she believes, paid off in a ‘landmark case’ involving two sisters hacked by their ax-toting brothers.” Source: Rana Hussein, *ibid.*, p. 81.
- * “That message from Britain would electrify America’s antislavery movement.” Source: Various, including David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom: A Visual History of America’s Founding Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 276.



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* "...individuals in Canada and the northern United States who helped slaves break free through the Underground Railroad..." Both whites and blacks near the 49th parallel, including southwestern Ontario, formed the Underground Railroad from 1780 to 1860. Learn more through the websites of [Black History Canada](#) and [PBS](#).

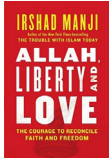
* "...without first being trained in social activism by both whites and blacks." Source: Various, including Paul R. Loeb, *Soul of a Citizen: Living with Convictions in Challenging Times* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2010), pp. 1-3.

* "In May 1961, seven black and six white volunteers sat side by side on the Freedom Ride..." Source: All facts in this story are taken from Raymond Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). The involvement of whites from the North, writes Arsenault, contributed significantly to the "negative public image" of the Freedom Riders. "In a nation where the mystique of states' rights and local control enjoyed considerable popularity, crossing state lines for the purpose of challenging parochial mores was a highly provocative act."

But he doesn't condemn this strategy. "Freedom Rides, by their very nature, involved physical mobility and a measure of outside involvement, if only in the form of traveling from one place to another." Besides, "The Freedom Riders were much more diverse than most Americans realized. Black activists born and raised in the South accounted for six of the original thirteen Freedom Riders and approximately 40 percent of the four-hundred-plus Riders who later joined the movement" (p. 7).

* "An elderly Jewish man told me of his meeting with Rustin..." Source: Conversation with Daniel Rose, February 7, 2009. Rose has stayed active in promoting equality for African-Americans. For example, he chairs HEAF – the Harlem Educational Activities Fund.

* "...how moral is a society that treats one sex as a kind of master race and the other as a collection of servants with few or no rights?" Source: Noushin Ahmadi Khorasani, *Iranian Women's One Million Signatures: Campaign for Equality – The Inside Story* (Bethesda, MD: Women's Learning Partnership, 2009), p. 15.



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* “‘What really worked’ to end Britain’s role in the transatlantic slave trade ‘was the national campaign of petitions to Parliament’...” Source: Kwame Anthony Appiah, *The Honor Code: How Moral Revolutions Happen* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), p. 111. Appiah adds that the campaign was led by Evangelical Christians. To understand the inspiration provided by a humane interpretation of Christianity, read Eric Metaxas, *Amazing Grace: William Wilberforce and the Heroic Campaign to End Slavery* (New York: HarperOne, 2007).

* “That move trampled on freedom of speech for white people, which propelled more and more petitions over the years.” Source: David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom: A Visual History of America’s Founding Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 279.

* “...an uprising against gender segregation at the Islamic Center of Washington, D.C.” Source: All quotes and facts in this story are taken from Asra Q. Nomani, “Let These Women Pray!” *The Daily Beast*, February 27, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

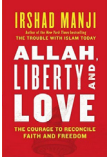
* “...women, dressed just so, make ‘make men want to be sinful.’” Source: “Women & Girls Religious Pamphlet Claims ‘Ungodly’ Dressed Women Provoke Rape,” *The Huffington Post*, March 2, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

* “For him, ‘a patriot is a lover of his country who rebukes and does not excuse its sins.’” Source: Frederick Douglass, “Love of God, Love of Man, Love of Country,” speech given at Syracuse, New York, on September 24, 1847. [Read the speech.](#)

* “...Khan left his family’s moderate mosque in Leeds, a suburb of London, for a Saudi-financed surrogate down the road.” Source: Private conversations throughout 2006 and early 2007. See also Shiv Malik, “My Brother, the Bomber,” *Prospect*, June 30, 2007. [Read the article.](#)

* “...It is a conflict between tradition and individuality, culture and religion, tribalism and universalism, passivity and action.” Source: Shiv Malik, *ibid.*

* “Abdul Ghaffar Khan was a 20th-century Muslim reformer.” Source: All quotes and facts in this story, except where otherwise indicated, are taken from Eknath Easwaran,



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Nonviolent Solider of Islam: Badshah Khan, a Man to Match His Mountains (Tomales, CA: Nilgiri Press, 1999).

* "...encouraged them to come out from behind the veil, as the women in his own family had done." Source: Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 104.

* "But thank God that we have realized that our gain and loss, progress and downfall, are common." Source: Ghaffar Khan in Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 133.

* "O Pathan, when you demand your freedom, why do you deny it to women?" Source: Pathan woman in Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 105.

* "...or would lie down in orderly lines holding copies of the Quran." Source: Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1965), p. 136.

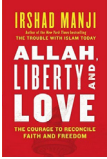
* "While 'intensely Islamic,' the Servants of God promoted Muslim-Hindu unity with moral courage. 'He who forgives and is reconciled, his reward is with God,' the soldiers learned." Source: Joan V. Bondurant, *ibid.*, p. 135.

* "...he prayed the 'Frontier Pathans may not make only India free, but teach the world...'" Source: Gandhi in Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 155.

* "...his self-described 'experiment'..." Source: Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1965), p. 139. Bondurant quotes Ghaffar Khan as writing in *Young India*, "My nonviolence has become almost a matter of faith with me. I believed in Mahatma Gandhi's *ahimsa* before. But the unparalleled success of the experiment in my province has made me a confirmed champion of nonviolence."

* "Can we call ourselves the crown of creation if we do just that and nothing more?" Source: Ghaffar Khan in Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

* "...however mercenary the British could be, Ghaffar Khan charged, Pathan culture displayed worse 'defects.'" Source: Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 35.



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* "...the young Pathan knew his task: 'to educate, to enlighten, to lift up, to inspire.'"

Source: Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p.101.

* "It was the loftiest kind of honor." Source: Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 111.

* "I have come to see for myself if I can be of some use." Source: Ghaffar Khan in Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 230.

* "...in heaven they will never dwell; they will surely go to hell." Source: Mullahs in Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 56.

* "...a decision that must have deeply influenced the character and career of his youngest son." Source: Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 41.

* "'I've noticed,' he intoned, 'that your son is touring the villages and opening schools...'" Source: John Maffey in Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, pp. 83-84. All further quotes in this story are taken from the same source.

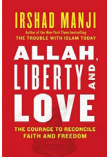
* "Why should marriage alter one's faith?" Source: Ghaffar Khan to Gandhi in Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 145.

* "No wonder the Mahatma lauded him as a 'universalist.'" Source: Eknath Easwaran, *ibid.*, p. 143.

* "...where were our college principals and teachers, challenging us?" Source: Ed Husain in Johann Hari, "Renouncing Islamism: To the brink and back again," *The Independent* (UK), November 16, 2009. [Read the article.](#)

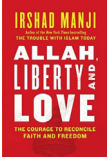
* "They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters." Source: Frederick Douglass, "The Significance of Emancipation in the West Indies," speech given at Canandaigua, New York, on August 3, 1857.

* "His picture [hung] in our parlor, we will [now] hang it in the stable." Source: Newspaper columnist quoted in Randall Kennedy, *Sellout: The Politics of Racial Betrayal* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2008), p. 63.



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* “‘Negative peace’ is the absence of tension while ‘positive peace’ is the presence of justice.” Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” *Why We Can’t Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 88. Specifically, King wrote, “I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is merely a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, where the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substance-filled positive peace, where all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality.” This excerpt reminds me of Shiv Malik’s claim that the conflict for young Muslims today is between “tradition and individuality... passivity and action.”



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Chapter 5: Offense Is The Price of Diversity

* "Suspend last paragraph... Also, alter the title to..." [Read the full list of proposed revisions](#). I've removed the identifying details of the Muslim who handed me this list.

* "Still, the controversy metastasized." Source: All facts in this paragraph are taken from Jytte Klausen, *The Cartoons that Shook the World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

* "...the Qur'an itself points out that there will always be non-believers, but that it's for God, not us Muslims, to deal with them." Note: In chapter 3, I cited various Qur'anic verses that support freedom of conscience. Here are others:

10:99 – "And if you Lord had pleased, surely all those who are in the earth would have believed, all of them; will you then force men until they become believers?"

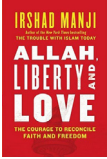
50:45 – "We [Allah] know best what they say, and you are not one to compel them; therefore remind by means of The Quran who fears My warning."

6:112 – "Likewise did We make for every Messenger an enemy, evil ones among men and jinn's, inspiring each other with flowering discourses by way of deception. If they Lord had so planned, they would not have done it; so leave them and their inventions alone."

6:113 – "To such (deceit) let the hearts of those incline, who have no faith in the hereafter: let them delight in it, and let them earn from it what they may."

6:116 – "Were thou to follow the common run of those on earth, they will lead thee away from the way of Allah. They follow nothing but conjecture: they do nothing but lie."

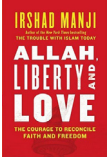
6:117 – "They Lord knoweth best who strayeth from His way: He knoweth best who they are that receive His guidance."



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For further reflection, read Abdullah Saeed's essay, "[The Quranic Case Against Killing Apostates](#)," February 25, 2011, for the Witherspoon Institute. I also recommend Dr. Saeed's book, *Freedom of Religion, Apostasy and Islam* (Hants, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004).

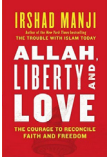
- * "Moreover, the Qur'an bluntly opposes compulsion in religion." Source: 2:256.
- * "The Qur'an recommends that we get up and cordially walk away from those who distort our faith." Source: 4:140.
- * "What is more insulting to Islam, someone drawing a cartoon or someone blowing up a wedding party in Amman?" Note: The Jordanian newspaper editor who made that statement, Jihad Momani of the weekly *Al-Shihan*, was fired and arrested for "insulting Islam." He received a two-month prison sentence in May 2006. After a short stay in jail, Momani was released, awaiting appeal. In March 2007, a court overruled his prison sentence; nonetheless, Momani apologized.
- * "...including those caricatures fabricated by radical Danish imams and falsely attributed to *Jyllands-Posten*." [See the Danish cartoons in question, as well as the caricatures created by the imams.](#)
- * "She carried a stack of flyers urging 'brainy intelligent young Muslims' to 'keep away from this lunatic deceiver.'" [See the flyer.](#)
- * "...I instead proposed that she was demonizing me." Source: *Faith Without Fear*, April 18, 2007 (PBS), 22:33-23:42.
- * "Those who know my person and my work know well that I am a free spirit..." Source: Email from Edip Yuksel dated December 13, 2006.
- * "His publisher, Palgrave Macmillan, had just quit on his project..." Read Yuksel's own public statement about this in *Quran: A Reformist Translation*, Edip Yuksel et al., trans. (Self-published/Brainbrow Press, 2007), p. 9.



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- * "...God's message to those who prefer reason over blind faith." Source: *ibid.*, p. 5.
- * "It was like a medieval publishing house turning down Martin Luther's book after consulting a Catholic Bishop..." Source: Email from Edip Yuksel dated December 13, 2006.
- * "...set them free, and if that's politically pie-in-the-sky, then release them after securing a fee for their aggression against you." Source: *Quran: A Reformist Translation*. See the section on endnotes for 47:4.
- * "...that which ought to be restored to its prewar condition, not exploited for ongoing taxation." Source: *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
- * "...recognizes freedom of choice, opinion, and expression." Source: *ibid.* See section on endnotes for 4:140.
- * "Police knew that religious symbolism helped motivate the Toronto 17's intention to commit terror." Source: Various, including Isabel Teotonio, "Alleged Toronto terror plot detailed in court," *Toronto Star*, March 26, 2008. [Read the article.](#)
- * "...cops actually boasted about avoiding the words 'Islam' and 'Muslims.'" Source: Notes from LIVE broadcast of post-arrest press conference on June 3, 2006, during which Toronto police chief Bill Blair said, "I would remind you that there was not one single reference made by law enforcement to Islam or the Muslim community."
- * "...police lawyers wouldn't let the law enforcers utter these words in public, so they had to characterize their omission as sensitivity..." Source: Private conversations with law enforcers at a Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) communications conference in Ontario on September 14, 2006.

Note: What law enforcers confided to me confirmed something that Toronto Police chief Bill Blair said at his June 4, 2006 press conference: After boasting about never using the words "Islam" and "Muslims," he added – per the instructions of lawyers – "hatred in any form...will not be tolerated." Which begged the question: Is it hatred to analyze the



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possible role of religious symbolism in a terrorist effort named after an expressly religious event, the Battle of Badr?

* "...they're leaving the final analysis to Allah, as the Qur'an requires." Source: Qur'an 3:7.

* "...a reason that is so comfortable for Muslims whenever they have to look at why they aren't in the places that they have to be." Source: Yasmin Alibhai-Brown interviewed by Kenan Malik in *Are Muslims Hated?* Channel 4, UK, January 8, 2005. [Read the programme's transcript.](#)

* "...would want to be represented by the Mafia or the Chinese Triads?" Source: Ian Buruma, "The Freedom to Offend," *The New Republic*, September 4, 2006.

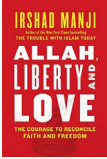
* "Believe it or not, women are just as affected by the way men judge them as the way women do." Source: March 2010 post on [my Facebook page.](#)

* "...the liberal philosopher, Susan Neiman, extols Prophet Abraham's example." Source: Susan Neiman, *Moral Clarity: A Guide for Grown-Up Idealists* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, 2008), pp. 2-3. Throughout her book, Neiman discusses Abraham's stance at Gomorrah, so the pages that I cite should be treated only as the starting point of further reading.

* "...a person who has renounced her own autonomy and is therefore unlikely to be either fair or good." Source: Susie Linfield, "The Treason of the Intellectuals (Again)," in George Packer, ed., *The Fight is for Democracy: Winning the War of Ideas in America and the World* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), p. 165.

* "...go mad in herds, while they only recover their senses slowly, and one by one." Source: Charles Mackay, *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974 – reprint of 1852 edition), p. x.

* "...revealing his name would subject him to direct harm." Note: My decisions on such matters have been informed by, among other sources, John Stuart Mill (edited by Edward Alexander), *On Liberty* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1999). The only condition under which Mill accepts a curb on free expression is if it poses the threat of direct, physical harm to another. This guideline has come to be known as the "Harm



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Principle.” It’s important to emphasize that doing “harm” doesn’t mean causing offense, but inflicting bodily injury.

* “‘Senadin’ posted early on, ‘Kill this whore now.’” See a [screen-grab of this threat](#).

* “You cannot have get reform without discussion, and you cannot have discussion without freedom of speech.” Source: Email from Akbar Ladak dated October 28, 2006.

* “If you’re able to predict that something will upset sensitivities,” he growled, “don’t do it.” Source: Private conversation with professor from School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, at World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, January 27, 2006.

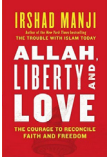
* “...calling out Muslim clerics for ‘terrorizing people and preying on everyone seeking peace.’” Source: All quotes and facts in this story are taken from news reports posted by the BBC, ABC News and *The New York Times*. [Read this particularly detailed account](#).

* “The Hindu People’s Awakening Committee tried to ban *Slumdog...*” Source: Salil Tripathi, *Offense: The Hindu Case* (London: Seagull Books, 2009), pp. 22-23.

* “...when cities are being transformed into cemeteries.” Source: Mark Chmiel, *Elie Wiesel and the Politics of Moral Leadership* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), p. 144.

Note: In her book, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Perennial, 2003), Samantha Power writes this account of Wiesel’s blunt statement to Clinton: “[O]n April 22, 1993, at the opening ceremony of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, Wiesel spoken extemporaneously to President Clinton, who was seated behind him. ‘Mr. President, I cannot not tell you something,’ Wiesel memorably declared, turning away from the podium to face the president. ‘I have been in the former Yugoslavia last fall. I cannot sleep since what I have seen. As a Jew I am saying that. We must do something to stop the bloodshed in that country.’” (p. 297)

* “I sympathize with the murderous rage of Muslims.” Source: Private conversation with professor from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, at World



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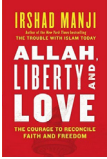
Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, January 27, 2006.

* "In February 2006, the imam announced himself 'appalled' by the drawings..." Source: Press release issued on February 3, 2006 by Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf and former Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Carey. [Read the press release.](#)

* "I remain haunted by the 300 Muslims who chanted 'Death to Rushdie' on September 10, 2001." Source: All quotes and facts in this story are taken from Edward Hegstrom, "300 protestors chant 'Death to Rushdie,'" *Houston Chronicle*, September 11, 2001.

Note: This article covered the events of the *previous* night – September 10, 2001. I first came across the article in August 2008 via the *Houston Chronicle* online. Since then, the story appears to have been removed from the *Chronicle's* website. I subsequently found the same article re-printed in a smaller Texas-based newspaper, the *Victoria Advocate*. However, the story has also been deleted from its archives. So, as proof that this story ran, I'm posting [a scan of it](#) from "Factiva," a research tool for professional journalists.

* "...injustice must likewise be exposed, with all of the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience..." Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 88.



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Chapter 6: In Times Of Moral Crisis, Moderation Is A Cop-Out

*...describes stoning as a 'grotesque punishment'..." Source: All quotes attributed to Amnesty International are taken from its report, "Campaigning to End Stoning in Iran," January 15, 2008. [Read the full report.](#)

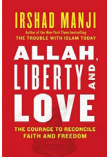
* "...Joseph Darby, a U.S. soldier who exposed torture at Abu Ghraib." Source: All quotes and facts in this story are taken from Kristina E. Thalhammer et al., *Courageous Resistance: The Power of Ordinary People* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 68-75.

* "But Darby, who felt on the margins much of his life, developed empathy." Note: Thalhammer et al. write, "When Darby was fifteen years old, his family settled in Jenner, a small former mining community in southwestern Pennsylvania. Darby was an outsider among his peers. Gilbert Reffner, a neighbor of the Darby family in Jenner, remembered that Joseph 'didn't fit in with the whole crowd because he didn't have a lot of material things, fancy clothes, or a car.' In Jenner, Darby was the new kid in a school where everyone had known each other since kindergarten. Working the night shift at Wendy's [fast food restaurant] while in high school to help his family's income further contributed to Darby's sense of himself as an outsider" (pp. 74-75).

Media commentators often explain away Muslim violence by pointing to social marginalization (a common analysis of the London tube bombers) or outsider status (frequently said about Maj. Nidal Malik Hasan at Fort Hood, Texas). But, as Joe Darby shows, such hardships can be boost empathy rather than reduce it.

* "...because 'by condemning, you are not going to change anything.'" Source: PEN event entitled, "Secularism, Islam and Democracy," April 8, 2010, at Cooper Union in New York City, 51:09. [Watch the entire discussion.](#)

* "...and 'necessity makes the forbidden things permitted.'" Source: Yusuf al-Qaradawi in John Kelsay, *Arguing the Just War in Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 141.



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* "In their heyday, both made violence a disinfectant." Source: Various, including HPP (Hennie) Lotter, *Injustice, Violence, and Peace: The Case of South Africa* (Atlanta, GA: Rodopi Publishing, 1997) and Efraim Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism: A History* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), esp. pp. 207-211.

* "...when I heard Ramadan recently being invited to renounce his grandfather's totalitarian sympathies, he equivocated." Source: PEN event entitled, "Secularism, Islam and Democracy," April 8, 2010, at Cooper Union in New York City, 57:40-1:11:12. [Watch the entire discussion.](#)

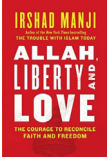
* "Ramadan sought to build bridges, promoting a common future between East and West." Source: PEN event entitled, "Secularism, Islam and Democracy," April 8, 2010, at Cooper Union in New York City, 32:48. [Watch the entire discussion.](#)

* "...he off-handedly remarked to a fellow panelist that 'mainstream' Muslims would be 'what you call orthodox.'" Source: PEN event entitled, "Secularism, Islam and Democracy," April 8, 2010, at Cooper Union in New York City, 1:14:46-57. [Watch the entire discussion.](#)

* "...continues to publish the works of Islamist ideologues, including the Pakistani journalist Mawdudi..." Source: *Pulling Together to Defeat Terror*, Quilliam Foundation, London, UK, April 2008, p. 5. [Read the entire report.](#)

* "...the Pakistani Taliban massacred nearly 100 Ahmadi worshippers in two mosques." Source: Various, including Waqar Gillani and Jane Perlez, "Attackers Hit Mosques of Islamic Sect in Pakistan," *The New York Times*, May 28, 2010. [Read the article.](#) See also Mohammed Hanif, "Why Pakistan's Ahmadi community is officially detested," BBC News, June 16, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

* "Better to punish him by death and thereby put an end to his own and society's misery." Source: Syed Abul A'la Mawdudi in Abdullah Saeed and Hassan Saeed, *Freedom of Religion, Apostasy and Islam* (Hants, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), p. 91.



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* "He is plainly a hypocrite who fails in the test of sincerity and all his acts of worship are a sham, a worthless, hollow show of devotion." Source: Syed Abul A'la Mawdudi, *Towards Understanding Islam* (Al-Huda Publishers, 2007), p. 125.

* "...Shahzad confessed to more inspirations. Among them: Mawdudi." Source: Various, including Andrea Elliott et al., "For Times Sq. Suspect, Long Roots of Discontent," *The New York Times*, May 15, 2010. The correspondents write, "During casual conversations with friends, Mr. Shahzad had taken to citing Islamic theology. He was a fan of Ibn Taymiyyah, a 14-century scholar who inspired a puritanical following, and Abul Ala Mawdudi, a chief architect of the Islamic revival and founder of Pakistan's largest Islamic political party, Jamaat-e-Islami." [Read the article.](#)

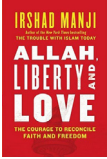
* "His edit: American military occupation in Muslim lands is the real cause." [Read the full list of proposed revisions.](#) I've removed the identifying details of the Muslim who handed me this list.

* "Being 'distracted by one's own defensiveness,' says the Columbia University scholar Akeel Bilgrami, makes Muslim moderates easy pawns of Muslim absolutists." Source: Akeel Bilgrami, "Rushdie, Islam and Postcolonial Defensiveness," *Yale Journal of Criticism*, volume 4, number 1 (Fall 1990), p. 308.

* "...a fear that criticizing other Muslims 'would amount to a surrender,' the ultimate abdication of group honor to a contemptuous West." Source: Akeel Bilgrami, "What is a Muslim? Fundamental Commitment and Cultural Identity," *Critical Inquiry*, volume 18, number 4 Identities (Summer 1992), p. 835.

* "During the Nazi occupation, entire Muslim villages in Albania sheltered Jews." Source: All facts and quotes in this paragraph and the next are taken from Norman H. Gershman, *Besa: Muslims Who Saved Jews in World War II* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008), pp 4. and 10. Note: The Bektashi who preaches that "God is in every pore and every cell" is Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi.

* "Moderates should learn to say that that it's 'up to us to work towards [our] reform...'" Source: Akeel Bilgrami, "What is a Muslim? Fundamental Commitment and Cultural Identity," *Critical Inquiry*, volume 18, number 4 Identities (Summer 1992), p. 838.



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* "And restrictions on women's clothing are rising, particularly in cities and towns where tourists from the Arabian peninsula congregate." Source: The facts in this paragraph are taken from various sources, including [Al-Jazeera](#), [GlobalPost](#), [The Jakarta Globe](#) and personal observations made during my April 2008 visit to Indonesia. For further reading, surf the website of [Women Living Under Muslim Laws](#).

* "...painted for me a fresco of Muslim faith." See also [my article about the future of Islam](#), based on my study of Indonesia, in *Newsweek* magazine.

* "I must admit I was initially disappointed in being so categorized." Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 92.

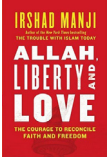
* "Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will." Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., *ibid.*, p. 88.

* "Will we be extremists for hate or love?" Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., *ibid.*, p. 92.

* "...the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists." Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., *ibid.*, p. 92.

"...a handful of Southerners who 'have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it.'" Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., *ibid.*, p. 93.

* "...you are helping the white South find its way, too." Source: Lillian Smith, "The Right Way is Not a Moderate Way," in *The Winner Names the Age: A Collection of Writings by Lillian Smith*, Michelle Cliff., ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), p. 74. Note: Martin Luther King, Jr. echoed Lillian Smith in more ways than one. After all, she also wrote, "The question in crisis or ordeal is not: Are you going to be an extremist? The question is: What kind of extremist will you be?" (p. 68). This speech was delivered at the Institute on Nonviolence and Social Change, Montgomery, Alabama, on December 5, 1956. Smith authored the speech, but couldn't read it herself due to illness.



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* "...is to be traitorous to everything that is good and creative and sane in human values." Source: Lillian Smith, "Addressed to White Liberals," *New Republic*, September 18, 1944, pp. 331-333.

* "What do people mean when they use that fuzzy word, moderation?" Source: All quotes attributed to Lillian Smith, except where otherwise indicated, are taken from "The Right Way is not a Moderate Way," *The Winner Names the Age: A Collection of Writings by Lillian Smith*, Michelle Cliff., ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), pp. 67-75.

* "Sociologist Gunnar Myrdal, Mahatma Gandhi and Lillian Smith." Source: The New Georgia Encyclopedia Online. [Read the entry](#). Note: One can easily understand why Smith and Gandhi inspired college students. But what did Myrdal do? Among other things, he authored the monumental 1944 study, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*.

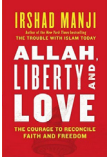
* "...blacks must 'discard *their* suspicions of whites, *their* need to hate other people, *their* need to feel persecuted [her italics].'" Source: Lillian Smith in Anne C. Loveland, *Lillian Smith: A Southerner Confronting the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), p. 82

* "...how to bridge mythic and rational mind..." Source: Lillian Smith, "Foreword: A Letter to my Publisher," *Killers of the Dream* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1963), p. 10.

* "...state investigators in Monroe complained that 'the best people in town won't talk about this'..." Source: Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988), pp. 63-64.

* "...the local population which obviously has no choice but to see all this happen in silence." Source: Farhat Taj, "The men whose hands were chopped off," *The (Pakistan) Express Tribune*, May 24, 2010 and posted online June 4, 2010. [Read the article](#).

* "It's 'under de facto control of the Taliban,' she confirms, 'along with al Qaeda foreigners.'" Source: Farhat Taj, *ibid*. [Read the article](#).



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* “‘Muslims are killing Muslims in Darfur,’ she chronicles. ‘This is no Israeli occupation or U.S.-led invasion...’” Source: Mona Eltahawy, “Western Muslims and Terrorism Prevention,” Middle East Online, October 29, 2007. [Read the article.](#)

* “...’99% of al-Qa’ida’s victims were non-Western in 2007, and 96% were non-Western in 2008.” Source: Nassir Abdullah, Muhammad al-Obaidi and Scott Helfstein, Ph.D., *Deadly Vanguard: A Study of Al-Qa’ida’s Violence Against Muslims* (Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, December 2009). [Read the entire report.](#)

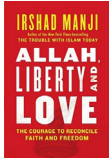
* “I know the referendum will pass – we have no chance – but I want to fight against this as much as I can.” Source: Conversation in [my Facebook forum](#) starting in March 2010.

* “‘ Hamas, therefore, tolerates bondage by Muslims while clamoring for emancipation from non-Muslims.’” Source: John Kelsay, *Arguing the Just War in Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 135. Note: Kelsay quotes from section 12 of the Hamas Charter, “When an enemy makes incursions into Muslim territory, then struggle and fighting the enemy becomes an obligation incumbent upon every individual Muslim and Muslimah. The woman is allowed to go fight without the permission of her husband and the slave without the permission of his master.” Kelsay uses a translation by M. Maqdsi (Dallas: Islamic Association for Palestine, 1990).

* “So the prophet and his companions are our role models.” Source: Ahmed Nasser in *Faith Without Fear*, PBS, April 18, 2007, 8:13-8:22.

* “This is how our ethical stances are dictated.” Source: Mohammad Sidique Khan, “London Bomber: Text in full,” BBC News, September 1, 2005. [Read the statement.](#)

* “...stoically confessed that he operated from religious conviction.” Source: Various, including translations of original reports provided by Dutch journalist Janny Groen. At the end of his 2006 trial, Bouyeri said (in Dutch), “I acted from my religion.” When the prosecutor asked him if he was motivated by religious conviction alone, Bouyeri replied, “I hope so. You can never know for sure that nothing else was on your mind.” See also “Van Gogh killer jailed for life,” BBC News, July 26, 2005. [Read the article.](#)



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* "The Muslims examining this passage, Ramadan tell us, 'are quick to see that these words should not be taken out of context.'" Source: All quotes in this paragraph are taken from *The Muslim Reformation*, Channel 4 (UK), May 8, 2006, 6:39-7:53. Note: Ramadan doesn't mention that chapter 9 of the Qur'an is the chapter that omits the standard first line, "In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful."

* "I have committed myself to protect Muslims everywhere." Source: Ahmed Nasser in *Faith Without Fear*, PBS, April 18, 2007, 8:06-8:09.

* "The message of the Qur'an is quite clear: that it's wrong to kill civilians." Source: Tariq Ramadan in *The Muslim Reformation*, Channel 4 (UK), May 8, 2006, 7:59-8:04.

* "Neda 'used to say the God they are teaching us at these universities is different from the God I worship'..." Source: All facts and quotes in this paragraph are taken from the documentary film, *For Neda*, HBO, June 1, 2010, 23:50-24:11.

* "...he would no longer accept money from his father because the father worked for the government, which the son considered corrupt." Both quotes in this paragraph are taken from the reporting of Will Yong and Michael Slackman, "Across Iran, Anger Lies Behind Face of Calm," *The New York Times*, June 11, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

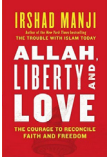
* "After the 2005 London bombings, I delivered a radio commentary..." Source: "Calling for Muslims to Reject Violence," NPR, July 8, 2005. [Read the transcript.](#)

* "...she curtly counseled me to 'wash laundry in the backyard.'" Source: Email dated July 11, 2005.

* "...Maj. Hasan followed an interpretation of Islam that is prevalent in the community. This is real." Source: Asra Nomani to radio host Hoppy Kercheval, "Talkline," West Virginia Metro News, November 12, 2009.

* "...I attended an event for Islamic Awareness Week at Simmons College near Boston." Note: The event took place on April 12, 2007.

* "No political or religious ideology could ever justify or excuse such wanton and



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indiscriminate violence.” Source: Council on American-Islamic Relations, “U.S. Muslims Condemn Attack at Fort Hood,” November 5, 2009. In a fund-raising solicitation dated November 13, CAIR coed of successfully having its message about Fort Hood picked up by national media.

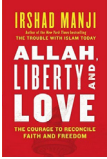
* “...U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder sat before members of Congress.” [Watch his testimony](#) before the House Judiciary Committee on May 13, 2010.

* “He famously characterized his fellow citizens as ‘a nation of cowards’...” Source: Various, including Ed Hornick, “Holder ‘nation of cowards’ remarks blasted, praised,” CNN, February 19, 2009. [Read the article.](#)

* “...sets an important condition for Christians to earn Muslim love: Don’t start a war with Islam.” Source: *A Common Word Between Us and You*, October 2006. [Read the entire letter.](#) A crucial passage reads, “As Muslims, we say to Christians that we are not against them and that Islam is not against them – so long as they do not wage war against Muslims on account of their religion, oppress them and drive them out of their homes...”

* “...containing barely a peep about the rickety premise behind the Muslim letter’s concept of peace.” Source: Various. For example, Yale Divinity School formally responded through a [full-page newspaper advertisement](#) – signed by more than 400 Christian scholars and ministers. Here’s an excerpt: “Before we ‘shake your hand’ in responding to your letter, we ask forgiveness of the All-Merciful One and of the Muslim community around the world... It is with humility and hope that we receive your generous letter, and we commit ourselves to labor together in heart, soul, mind and strength for the objectives you so appropriately propose.”

The Archbishop of Canterbury also issued a [formal response](#). Here’s an extract: “‘A Common Word Between Us and You’ issues a powerful call to dialogue and collaboration between Christians and Muslims. A great deal is already happening in this sphere on many levels, but the wide geographical (43 countries) and theological diversity represented among the signatories of your letter provides a unique impetus to deepen and extend the encounters... So to your invitation to enter more deeply into dialogue and



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collaboration as a part of our faithful response to the revelation of God’s purpose for humankind, we say: Yes! Amen.”

Then there’s [this response](#) to “A Common Word” from Prof. David F. Ford, Director of the Cambridge Inter-Faith Programme at the University of Cambridge: “I found myself deeply moved by its vision of what God calls ‘the all-embracing, constant and active love of God’ and ‘the necessity and paramount importance of love for - and mercy towards - the neighbour,’ and by its concern not only for that half of the world’s population who are Muslim or Christian but also for every single other person and the whole of creation.”

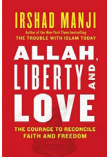
[One final example](#) of a Christian response that avoids the tough yet loving questions of Muslims – this time from the Presbyterian Church in Canada: “[R]econciliation will involve Christians examining themselves and acting justly, loving mercy and walking humbly with God (Micah 6:8). Christians must rid themselves of the bigotry and animosity that is often directed to and felt by Muslims and cultivate a greater understanding of Muslim beliefs and religious practices – and urge their fellow citizens to do the same.”

* “Is Muslim thinking in the modern world pro-human or anti-human...?” Source: Khaled Abou El-Fadl et al., *The Place of Tolerance in Islam* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002), p. 95.

* “...the ‘singsong voices’ of segregationist politicians and the ‘gentle back-door cruelties’ of moderates...” Source: Lillian Smith, “Foreword: Letter to My Publisher,” *Killers of the Dream* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1963), p. 2

* “...she proclaimed herself ‘pro-Southern.’” Source: Anne C. Loveland, *Lillian Smith: A Southerner Confronting the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), p. 80.

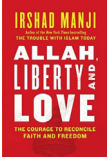
* “...those who have gone ‘astray’ are characterized by the very word used elsewhere for those who have abandoned hope.” Source: Sultan Abdulhameed, *The Quran and the Life of Excellence* (Denver, CO: Outskirts Press, 2010, p. 169. Specifically, Abdulhameed writes, “Those who have gone astray is a translation of ‘addualleen,’ which is precisely the same word used in Aya 15:56 for people who give up hope. It says those who give up hope in their affairs have gone astray.”



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Chapter 7: Lack Of Meaning Is The Real Death Threat

- * "The \$1,100 monthly welfare check that she got at the time from the Belgian government..." Source: Elaine Sciolino and Souad Mekhennet, "Al Qaeda Warrior Uses Internet to Rally Women," *The New York Times*, May 28, 2008. [Read the article.](#)
- * "...Iraqi war widows, who collect a maximum of \$40 per month." Source: Report by Ned Colt, NBC Nightly News, May 29, 2008. [Watch the report.](#)
- * "In June 2008, he committed to sharing his royalties with families of Iraq war victims..." Source: *Meet the Press*, NBC News, June 1, 2008. [Read the transcript.](#)
- * "Growing numbers of Chinese women are surgically reconstructing their hymens so they'll be presumed virgins when they marry." Source: Keith B. Richburg, "Knowing cultural view of virginity, Chinese women try surgical restoration," *The Washington Post*, August 17, 2010. [Read the article.](#)
- * "...interest on America's debt will exceed the country's entire defense budget." Source: Michael Mandelbaum quoting the Congressional Budget Office, "The Frugal Superpower," *Guernica* (August 2010). [Read the analysis.](#)
- * "...ultimately more powerful than all the calculations of our economists or of our generals." Source: Robert F. Kennedy, "Speech at the University of Cape Town, South Africa on the Day of Affirmation," June 6, 1966. [Read the speech.](#)
- * "...if a man had nothing that was worth dying for, then he was no fit to live." Source: Coretta Scott King quoting Martin Luther King, Jr. in *Citizen King* (Roja Productions for PBS, 2004), 1:46:51-1:47:02.
- * "This is a cause worth dying for..." Source: Angela Grimke in Helen LaKelly Hunt, *Faith and Feminism: A Holy Alliance* (New York: Atria, 2004), p. 8.
- * "...corrupt custom and a perverse application of Scripture have encircled her." Source: Helen LaKelly Hunt, *ibid.*, p. 9.
- * "This statement... is the first public call for women's rights in America." Source: Helen LaKelly Hunt, *ibid.*, p. 9.



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* "...Frederick Douglass, the former slave whose loyalty extended well beyond 'his' people." Note: Some historians will contest this interpretation of Douglass's loyalties, pointing out that as the civil war came to an end, Douglass sold out a number of feminists by endorsing the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which extended the vote to U.S. citizens regardless of skin color – but not gender. In my view, however, Douglass didn't betray women; he accepted a strategic compromise in order to build the case for the vote being extended that much further. Indeed, Douglass' long track record of speaking up for disenfranchised women tells me that he scarcely shied from upsetting his male friends and colleagues.

* "...he or she is not able to perceive the messages coming from deeper awareness." Source: Sultan Abdulhameed, *The Quran and the Life of Excellence* (Denver, CO: Outskirts Press, 2010), pp. 334-335.

* "It requires marshalling your time and resources for your purpose." Source: Sultan Abdulhameed, *ibid.*, p. 226.

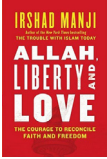
* "Why flabby spirits when we need iron strength?" Source: Lillian Smith, "Foreword: Letter to My Publisher," *Killers of the Dream* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1963), p. 5.

* "He has nothing very inspiring or affirmative to suggest that we fight for, much less die for." Source: Abraham H. Maslow, *Religions, Values, and Peak-Experiences* (Columbus, OH: State University Press, 1964), p. 9.

* "...where were our college principals and teachers, challenging us?" Source: Ed Husain in Johann Hari, "Renouncing Islamism: To the brink and back again," *The Independent* (UK), November 16, 2009. [Read the article.](#)

* "If our need for transcendence isn't satisfied by the right kind of ideals, we may turn to the wrong ones." Source: Susan Neiman, *Moral Clarity: A Guide for Grown-Up Idealists* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, 2008), p. 104.

* "...as long as people like you don't lose their freedom of speech, we're at least intellectually safe." Source: Email dated July 23, 2005.



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* "...of 558 English-language words for our emotions, 62% are downers." Source: All facts and quotes in this paragraph are taken from Chip and Dan Heath, *Switch: How To Change Things When Change Is Hard* (New York: Broadway Books, 2010), pp. 45-46.

* "What's working and how can we do more of it?" Source: Chip and Dan Heath, *ibid.*, p. 45.

* "...the impact of an idea increases when it 'appears in the flesh.'" Source: Erich Fromm, *On Disobedience: Why Freedom Means Saying 'No' to Power* (New York: Harper Perennial Modern Thought, 2010), pp. 13-14.

* "...the less each of us has to do to keep everybody happy and safe." Source: Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, public conversation at the Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service, New York University, March 11, 2008.

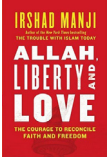
* "...to progress to greater forms of defiance and to increase the amount of help they offer to others." Source: Kristina E. Thalhammer et al., *Courageous Resistance: The Power of Ordinary People* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 26.

* "Holocaust rescuers, for instance, 'were ordinary people who habitually cared about and for others.'" Source: Kristina E. Thalhammer et al., *ibid.*, p. 23.

* "Nothing shapes our lives as much as the questions we ask – or refuse to ask – throughout our lives." Source: Richard J. Leider, *The Power of Purpose: Creating Meaning in Your Life and Work* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1997), p. 19.

* "Yet 'small wins' can have the utmost significance." Source: All quotes in this paragraph are taken from Karl E. Weick, "Small Wins: Redefining the Scale of Social Problems," *American Psychologist*, volume 39, Number 1 (January 1984), pp. 40-49. [Download the paper.](#)

* "...U.S. politicians won't touch real reform because they fear being slurred as socialists." Source: Paul M. Barrett, "Prophet-Making: Review of *Crisis Economics: A Crash Course in the Future of Finance*, by Nouriel Roubini and Stephen Mihm," *The New York Times*, June 17, 2010. [Read the article.](#)



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* "...MBA students must learn to ask, 'In whose interest am I making the decision?'"

Source: Garth Saloner in Lane Wallace, "Multicultural Critical Theory. At B-School?" *The New York Times*, January 10, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

* "Karl Weick, the psychologist, sees small wins as 'miniature experiments.'" Source: Karl E. Weick, "Small Wins: Redefining the Scale of Social Problems," *American Psychologist*, volume 39, Number 1 (January 1984), pp. 44. [Download the paper.](#)

* "...and the vivid but questing belief in a future for the globe." Source: Richard Holmes, *The Age of Wonder: How the Romantic Generation Discovered the Beauty and Terror of Science* (London: Harper Press, 2008), p. 469.

* "He who never had this experience seems to me, if not dead then at least blind." Source: Albert Einstein in Kay Redfield Jamison, *Exuberance: The Passion for Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), p. 241.

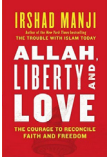
* "...declared himself 'euphoric' at challenging a near-scriptural truth in science." Source: All facts and quotes in this story are taken from Dennis Overbye, "A Scientist Takes On Gravity," *The New York Times*, July 12, 2010. [Read the article.](#)

* "...the Dalai Lama rejoiced, 'Now we are free.'" Source: Both quotes in this paragraph are taken from Pico Iyer, "The Doctor Is Within," *The New York Times*, July 22, 2009. [Read the article.](#)

* "...We need a reformation that saves Islam from foreign-inspired zealots." Source: Both quotes in this paragraph are taken from Taj Hargey, "My persecution by the Muslim McCarthyites," *The Times of London*, April 10, 2009.

* "...obedience to God in fulfilling the command to undergo the labor of ijtihad." Source: Umar Faruq Abd-Allah, "Innovation and Creativity in Islam" (Burr Ridge, IL: Nawawi Foundation, 2006). [Download this scholarly paper.](#)

* "...but consistently avoids prescribing a method for doing it." Source: Both quotes in this paragraph are taken from Sultan Abdulhameed, *The Quran and the Life of Excellence* (Denver, CO: Outskirts Press, 2010), p. 73. He adds, "The first step in spiritual



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growth is to create a time everyday when you can be by yourself to think and reflect; a time in which you can be detached from the humdrum of life so you can be aware of the thoughts and feelings that are circulating in you. Prophet Muhammad said that an hour of introspection is better than a year of prayer” (p. 75).

* “As for expressing gratitude, ‘that’s besides the prayers,’ Mum corrects me.”

Source: *Faith Without Fear*, PBS, April 18, 2007, 33:50-34:35.

* “Your prayer then produces more fear in you.” Source: Sultan Abdulhameed, *The Quran and the Life of Excellence* (Denver, CO: Outskirts Press, 2010), pp. 300-301.

* “...Sojourner bit back, ‘Lord willing, I’ll keep you scratching.’” Source: Both quotes in this paragraph are taken from Helen LaKelly Hunt, *Faith and Feminism: A Holy Alliance* (New York: Atria, 2004), p. 63.

* “...she declared: ‘I am’ – self-owned, self-defined, and self-asserted...” Source: Helen LaKelly Hunt, *ibid.*, p. 55.

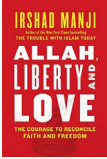
* “...regardless of rank, religion, race, or gender.” Source: Rana Husseini, *Murder in the Name of Honor: The True Story of One Woman’s Heroic Fight Against an Unbelievable Crime* (New York: Oneworld Publications, 2009), p. xiv.

* “At a 2007 conference, an Iraqi cleric approach me after I spoke.” Note: I’m withholding details of the conference as well as the Iraqi imam, lest he be threatened into renouncing his support.

* “...seething that they ‘are, all of them, born with raging fanaticism in their hearts.’” Source: Voltaire quoted in Pankaj Mishra, “Islamism: How should Western intellectuals respond to Muslim scholars?” *The New Yorker*, June 7, 2010. [Read the essay.](#)

* “She responded, ‘Chuck the whole thing.’” Source: January 2010 post on [my Facebook page.](#)

* “In effect, Irshad Manji is doing this by exposing their damage in the court of public opinion.” Source: Public conversation at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, April 26, 2008.



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* "My question is: When will you wake up?" Source: Private exchange in Bombay, India on March 10, 2009.

* "'Women,' he replied." Source: Public debate sponsored by the Global Forum on Freedom of Expression, Oslo, Norway, June 6, 2009. [Watch the video clip](#). Also [read this report](#) about the debate on an English-language Norwegian website.

* "...and they'll say, 'Yeah, but I'm still scared.'" Source: Both quotes in this paragraph are taken from Salman Rushdie during our public conversation at the 92nd Street Y, New York City, January 18, 2009. [Watch the video](#).

* "His commitment is more urgent than ever, now that Tunisians have revolted for democracy and inspired other Arabs to follow their lead." Note: To get a sense of why "civic-mindedness" will be a real struggle, see Roula Khalaf, "Tunisia: After the Revolution," *Financial Times*, May 7-8, 2011. [Read the article](#).

Towards the end, Khalaf writes, "From Kasserine to Hay Tadamum, few of the young people I came across could say which political party they would vote for in the elections, often expressing impatience instead with the slow pace of post-revolutionary change. As Kahri from Kasserine says, the youth of the town 'think a politician only looks after his own interest.' He relates the story of the minister of culture who recently arrived to engage with the youth. They said, 'Unless you are bringing jobs, go away.' As politicians from both the empowered old parties and the emerging ones get down to the business of building a new state, they know it now rests on their shoulders to keep the hope of change alive for the disenchanted youth to whom they owe their own release from dictatorship."

* "...not the company of those who are critical of our efforts and jealous when they see us grow." Source: Sultan Abdulhameed, *The Quran and the Life of Excellence* (Denver, CO: Outskirts Press, 2010), p. 68.

* "...such spaces inculcated 'habits of free thinking' that overcame 'a whole sense of self organized around fear.'" Source: John Lewis in Sharon Krause, *Liberalism with Honor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 176.

