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Islamic Issues for Muslims in the United States

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Muslims in the United States face a variety of challenges. Many of these are similar to those faced by other minority communities in America. However, Muslims also face challenges and opportunities that are tied to the character of Islam. The Islamic faith and its practice involve special obligations and responsibilities that shape the way Muslims as individuals and groups respond to the conditions of American society. Often people become involved in examining the "American" issues faced by distinctive and minority communities in the United States forgetting that the special characteristics of the community are also important. Significant Islamic issues are involved in the life of Muslims in the United States as well as important American issues.

These Islamic issues should not be viewed simply as special problems or difficulties. Some issues do involve problems, but others involve challenges that are significant opportunities as well. The ways that Muslims respond to changing conditions in the United States may provide important guidelines for Muslims elsewhere and for non-Muslims in the United States, since at the heart of Islamic issues there are universal concerns.

There are two different types of Islamic issues for Muslims in the United States. First, are what might be thought of as the "classic" issues for Muslim minorities everywhere. In these, the "key concern is how to live an Islamic life in a non-Muslim country."[1] Here the basic issues are maintaining Islam as a way of life in a context where that is difficult, and deciding the meaning and implications of community–faith concepts such as *hijra* (emigration), *jihad* (exertion), and *da'wa* (mission or calling) in the American context. In some ways these issues are similar to those faced by Muslim minority communities throughout the history of Islam.

A second type of Islamic issue also is directly related to the special conditions of the contemporary world. These are the issues involved in the great transformations of human society which have been taking place in the past decades. These changes have been described by some as the emergence of postindustrial society[2] while others speak of the development of postmodern

perspectives and institutions.[3] Whatever descriptive title is given to the processes, the transformations of recent decades create the conditions within which special issues arise for Muslims and others living in the emerging "postmodern" society in the United States.

The "Classic" Islamic Issues

The Islamic issues facing Muslims in the United States are shaped by the basic nature of Islam. The worldview and guidance for behavior provided by Islam contain specific elements as well as general approaches that are specially affected by the nature of American society.

Islam as a "Way of Life"

It is often noted that Islam is not "just a religion," but a total way of life. This observation is made by both non-Muslims and Muslims when they are discussing the nature of the Islamic faith, obligations, and experience.[4] It refers to the comprehensive and inclusive nature of the Islamic ideal. Muslims have a guide and model that covers "the most mundane aspects of everyday life and behavior as well as the general principles directing the community."[5]

All major religious traditions in some way attempt to guide humans in their lives. Christian and Jewish aspirations define "ways of life" and, in some contexts, have presented comprehensive ideals for believers. The worldview of medieval Western Christendom provides an example of a comprehensive Christian social ideal, as does the worldview of orthodox Judaism. However, in the modern era in Western societies the secularization of worldview has been a prominent development. This has meant that a growing proportion of society accepts a differentiation among the various sectors of life—religious, economic, political.

In many ways, the process of secularization became most widely accepted and most clearly implemented in the United States of the twentieth century. The separation of church and state became almost a political dogma. Similarly, "religion" in the United States has come to be seen by many as a "private" and individual matter rather than a public one. To a remarkable extent, social attitudes and political expectations in the United States are built on an asseumption that the basic faith of an American will, in a significant way, be "just a religion." The expectation is that religion can be separated from politics and a sense that the United States is a secular society.

The context and basic social framework within which Muslims live in the United States is in some important ways secular. One of the major issues for Muslims is how Islam, which defines a comprehensive way of life, can function within such a secular context. Muslims are not alone in facing this issue. Christians and Jews have also had to define the relationship between the implications of their faiths and the expectations of a secular society. Muslims, however, do face a special challenge of operating within a legal and social framework in which church–state relations have been defined primarily in relation to Judaism and Christianity.

In recent years, the concept of American society as a secular society has been refined and challenged. Some say there is a "civil religion," which in some way provides a religious foundation for politics and the social order.[6] There is also a recognition of American acceptance of a general monotheistic morality based on Judaism and Christianity. In this context, the distinctive characteristics of Islam raise special Islamic issues for Muslims in the United States.

The three major monotheistic religions in America have many similarities, but there are also some distinctive differences. The special American adaptations to Jewish and Christian practices do not necessarily solve similar problems for Muslims. These often have implications for basic issues of the relationships between religion and society, and religion and politics, in the United States.

The issue of prayer in public schools can be used as an example of how American church–state issues relate to Islamic experiences. At the present time, the subject of whether or not prayer should be allowed in American public schools is hotly debated. The vigor of the debate shows that many Americans, possibly a growing proportion, do not accept the full implications of secularism for American society.

The purists supporting separation of church and state have successfully maintained in the courts that separation should allow no general prayer opportunity, not even a moment of silence at some appointed time. Others have suggested a variety of measures, ranging from the moment of silence to more formal prayers.[7] The debate on this issue, however, tends to be stated in terms that assume a relatively Christian definition of prayer.

None of the most visible or prominent groups involved in the debate has discussed the situation in a context within which a Muslim would be able to fulfill the obligation of *salat*, the prescribed five daily prayers. Much of the school prayer debate uses the basically Christian approach, which assumes prayer to be a private communication between the believer and God. As has often been pointed out, salat "are somewhat different from 'prayer' as used in the Christian sense, although personal supplication and glorification of God (known as *du'a*) are also a very important part of the Muslim worship."[8]

The specific conditions requisite for the regular prescribed prayers are not readily available in American schools (or in offices and factories). In addition to the need for released time at the proper hours, the believer also needs facilities for the preliminary ablutions and an appropriate space. As relatively large Muslim communities develop in American cities some facilities are being made available. (A room in a high school in Dearborn, Michigan, for example, has been set aside for Islamic prayer.) However, in general terms, none of the proposals for prayer in public schools make salat significantly easier for the Muslim students.

On this important issue in American religious life, Muslims do not have an obvious or clear choice between the existing alternatives. The "prayer in school" option has an appeal because it recognizes the importance of actions of

faithful believers within the context of daily life. Yet it tends to impose a definition of prayer on the school child that can be confusing and possibly even misleading. This alternative strengthens the pressures already existing in society to "Christianize" the religious practices of all Americans. In this sense, there could be the same type of pressure that non-Christian families feel with regard to Christmas trees and other socially secularized Christian customs.

For Muslims to support the opponents of prayer in school would be for them to accept the assumptions of a secularized society. In particular, this position encourages the attitude that religion is a personal rather than a public matter and, therefore, its activities should not be practiced in public places. The issue thus challenges the sense of Islam as a total way of life. There are believers in Islam as well as in Judaism and Christianity who accept secularist assumptions, but they are challenged by more fundamentalist believers, as in the other religious traditions.

For the American Muslim, then, an important task is to redefine issues of religious life in America in such a way that an Islamic alternative is possible within the debate. Such an alternative would recognize in some way the special character of Islam as a total way of life, in both the public and private arenas. The prayer in school issue reflects the type of concern involved in such an effort.

It is possible to see a number of similar issues raised by the specific expectations and requirements of Islam. In these cases, again, the issues involved often affect believers other than Muslims, but the debate has taken place in terms that are not specifically Islamic or open to an Islamic option.

In recent years, this has been apparent in issues of prisoners' rights. A long series of cases had decided the First Amendment rights of prisoners with regard to the free exercise of their religions. It was recognized that a prisoner's rights were subject to a variety of restrictions related to his or her status as a prisoner but, at the same time, it was recognized that any limitations on First Amendment rights had to be justified in terms of security or rehabilitation efforts.[9]

Many of the early cases were specifically applied to Christians, and not until the late 1970s and 1980s did the specific requirements of Muslims begin to receive attention. Among the issues to which particular attention was given were those of prayer and worship in group settings, especially the Friday prayers, the wearing of particular religious garb, and equal recognition for use of chapel facilities. For the most part, though not without exception, court resolutions have gone against requests by Muslims for considerations that would facilitate the practice of their Islamic faith and, in many cases, would offer them no more than has been made available to Christians and Jews in prison contexts.

The cases of prisoners represent extreme situations, but they reflect the broader context of American society. Specific practices of Muslims involve schedules and activities most institutions in the United States have not traditionally recognized. Muslims and other nonmajority groups face the issues of changing their practices or violating regulations in their work, school, or recreation. Even when the broad issue has already been decided (for example, that prisoners have some rights to assemble for worship), the procedures are usually adapted to Christian practices rather than generalized. Even though Judaism has been more integrated into the general American religious scene than has Islam, Jews have similar problems.

The challenge for Muslims is to create responses that will provide recognition of the special character of Islam in both private and public life without creating unnecessary conflict. Muslim responses to issues such as prayer in school and worship in prisons may help all Americans create more general and universal practices that are not shaped exclusively by traditional Christian practices.

"Classic" Response Concepts

The situation of Muslims in the United States has many elements that are not unique in the history of Islam. In many different eras and areas, Muslims have found themselves in societies where they are not the controlling group or the majority. As a result, over the centuries certain concepts have developed which define modes of response to the situation of living within a non-Muslim majority. Some of the most important of these are hijra, jihad, and daʿwa. Each of these concepts is important in defining a specific way of responding to the minority situation.

Hijra can be translated in a number of ways. The core of the meaning is the act of leaving one place and moving to another, often with the implication of seeking refuge but sometimes simply as a process of emigration. A "hijra experience" is at the heart of the historic development of the Islamic community during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad.

The hijra of the Prophet marks the beginning of the Islamic calendar era. It was a significant transition in the nature of the community of followers of Islam. Muhammad began his prophetic mission in Mecca, where he presented the revelations he received as a preacher in an already established community. The leaders and controlling elite in Mecca did not accept the message Muhammad preached and placed limitations on him and the small number of people who had accepted Islam. Then, in A.D. 622, Muhammad and the rest of the Muslim community moved to another town, which later became known as Medina. It is this movement from Mecca to Medina which is called the Hijra in Islamic tradition.

The Hijra of the Prophet represented a major transformation of the Islamic community. In Medina, Muhammad organized his followers into an effective community, and the Islamic message defined the full way of life of that community. In this historical context, hijra is an escape from persecution and unbelief, but it is also an emigration to a new context within which the Islamic community can flourish as a full way of life.

The idea of withdrawing from a society to live a life in accord with one's faith appeals to many communities. This may involve staying within the geographical boundaries of society but withdrawing socially, and sometimes even spacially. Such a response can be seen among some Christian communi-

ties in the United States, such as the Amish. This might be thought of as the sectarian–hijra response, using *sect* as defined by Bryan Wilson in his studies.[10]

This sectarian–hijra response is not restricted to the American context. Fundamentalists in Egypt during the 1970s, for example, debated whether or not it was necessary to withdraw from Egyptian society, which some of them felt had become a society of unbelief.[11] In the United States it reflects some of the spirit of the early experience of the Nation of Islam and other groups with special needs of protecting and supporting their members. There was no special emphasis on the specific concept of hijra, but the idea of withdrawal from a persecuting and unbelieving society was a strong part of the sense of community within the Nation of Islam and similar groups.

This sectarian–hijra involves separation but not isolation. It is, in many ways, an act of witness and challenge to the existing society. In this way, sectarian withdrawal can become an expression of the desire to create a transformed broader society, with the sectarian–hijra community constituting the core of this new society. In this way, the hijra can lead to one form of proclamation of the mission or da'wa. Within the Islamic message this proclamation is a major imperative, which does not allow simple withdrawal into self-contained and isolated communities. Because of this, Muslim sectarian–hijra communities are never as withdrawn as such Christian groups as the Shakers or Amish.

A second hijra type of response to the minority situation is the actual act of physical emigration, moving to an Islamic society. In some traditional Muslim discussions of the obligations of Muslims, believers are said to have the alternatives of emigration or jihad if they live in a society that is not Islamic.[12]

Most Muslims living in the United States have good reasons for not wanting to emigrate. Many are members of groups and families that have been here for generations and have little desire or incentive to move. Movements calling on black Americans to emigrate to Africa had little success in the 1920s and 1930s, despite the racial discrimination they suffered, and Muslims from the black American communities today show a similar attitude toward moving to Islamic countries.[13]

In addition, many Muslims in the United States at present are themselves immigrants, often coming from societies where Muslims are a majority. "The number of Muslims in America has risen dramatically in the last half century through immigration, procreation, and conversion. About two-thirds of the total are immigrants from Muslim countries, mostly in the Middle East, and their descendants."[14] For these people, emigration from the United States is not a likely option.

It is worth noting that this does not make Muslims in the United States particularly different from other minority Muslim communities. Despite the suggestions from traditional teachings, hijra has not often been the option taken by Muslims in non-Muslim areas. Such Muslims have either adapted themselves to non-Muslim conditions or have worked to transform the societies within which they live.

The dynamic expansion of Islam in world history has, in fact, depended on Muslims who did not emigrate when they found themselves in non-Muslim societies. Muslim merchants and traveling teachers, for example, were important vehicles for the expansion of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia. In other contexts, Muslim minority communities have survived and adapted to non-Muslim societies in China, the Balkans, and now in the Soviet Union. In such situations, any hope for the conversion of the society as a whole to Islam is a long-term vision, but the communities have been able to maintain an authentic sense of Islamic identity.[15]

The experiences of Muslims in China and in Sub-Saharan Africa define two rather different responses. Neither response involves a physical departure from the non-Islamic society. However, the Chinese Muslim communities have tended to establish rather clear boundaries for their identity, either in ethnic terms (as among peoples like the Uighars) or socially (as with the Hui, or Chinese-speaking Muslims). The Chinese Muslims have enacted a kind of hijra into a special social identity that can be integrated into the broader dynamics of society.

The experience of Muslims in Sub-Saharan Africa identifies the other alternatives: rather than hijra, Muslims should work to transform the societies in which they find themselves. This option includes two important concepts arising out of the Islamic tradition. They are related to each other and to a sense of hijra as well. These are da'wa, which can be translated in this context as mission or call or message, and jihad.

Despite the fact that many writers, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have tried to explain the broader meanings of jihad, it remains a very misunderstood term in the West. If average, non-Muslim Americans heard the statement that Muslims, even those in the United States, accepted the responsibility of jihad in the path of God, they would assume that this meant that those Muslims were obligated to engage in acts of violence in the name of their religion. *Jihad* is most frequently translated simply as "holy war." While jihad does, in certain contexts, mean holy war, it has a much broader meaning within Islamic consciousness. Jihad in the path of God is an active striving for righteousness. At times this may mean fighting for one's faith, but it also involves the more general sense of actively serving God in every way possible. It is jihad in this broader sense that becomes the responsibility of all Muslims, whether they are living in a Muslim or a non-Muslim society. There is, however, a special sense of the need for each Muslim actively to affirm Islam in non-Muslim contexts.

Muslims, wherever they are, are expected to strive for recognition of God's oneness through social justice and a properly ordered society. In one sense, at least, the message of many of the writers in the current movements of affirmation of Islam throughout the world is that no society at the present time is truly Islamic, and therefore Muslims everywhere are to work for the presentation of God's message to humanity.[16] Although this striving at times involves fighting, it is primarily a struggle to win the hearts of humanity. This is the methodology of the Islamic revolution, for example, as described by a major Islamic revivalist thinker, Mawlana Mawdudi.[17]

For Muslims in non-Muslim societies, this striving may take many different forms, both independently and in cooperation with other forces in society. In the struggle against drug sales and drug-related crimes in Brooklyn, for example, a mosque took an active role in cooperation with the police. Reports of this noted that Muslims "risked personal safety to defend the area against drug dealers" and resulted in local non-Muslims saying, "Thank God for the Muslims."[18] A similar activist Muslim program has helped reduce drug dealing in some housing projects in Washington.[19] Activities like these reflect a type of jihad that is working for the transformation of non-Muslim society. Elsewhere, programs for control of alcohol abuse and gambling and recreation programs for youth have a similar impact.

Related to this jihad effort is the active effort to present the message positively to the people in the non-Muslim society. This mission or call is daʿwa. In the perspective of Islam as a total way of life, as one Muslim leader expressed it, "living in surrender to Allah cannot be actualized fully unless other people join us in our endeavor, unless the whole society lives in surrender. Hence, at least inviting others to join our venture, that is Daʿwah, is an essential part of being a Muslim."[20]

Bearing witness within society represents a traditional Islamic alternative to the two types of hijra, either social withdrawal or emigration. Ismail Faruqi related this sense of mission to a special kind of hijra, seeing Muslims in the West as having made a hijra *to* the West, rather than preaching that they should undertake a hijra *from* Western society. In this sense he was calling for active daʿwa. Faruqi urged Muslims in the West to see themselves as "ambassadors of Islam" with a mission to bring Islam to Western society. He said, in an address to Muslims living in the West, "we want to live as if we were . . . Companions of Mohammad from Makkah [Mecca] to Madinah [Medina]. . . . This is our Madinah, we have arrived, we are here. Now that you are in Madinah, what is your task? . . . Your task is . . . the saving, the salvation of life, the realization of the values of dignity, of purity, of chastity, all the nobility of which humans are capable."[21]

This vision of the West as the Medina of contemporary American Muslims is a powerful one. It recalls the efforts of the first Muslims to create an Islamic community where none had existed in the days of the Prophet Muhammad. The charge is that if the early Muslims could transform the non-Islamic society of Arabia, contemporary Muslims should also be able to transform the society to which they have come. For the person who might say that the task is too great, there is the reminder that an "individual imbued with a message and mission may look like an insignificant, ineffective entity. But was not there only one Daʿiya [person engaged in daʿwa] in Makka? You may say: Ah, but he was a prophet. Yes, but he is *the* example."[22]

This type of thought represents the foundation for a statement of the Islamic mission (daʿwa) and identity within the secular, non-Muslim society of the West. It goes beyond the suggestions of traditional Muslim teachers who urge emigration from non-Muslim societies to avoid the contradictions of trying to live Islam as a way of life in a society where that is difficult. It sets a long-term goal for Muslims of the transformation of their society but does not necessarily insist that that goal be achieved immediately. It makes it possible for Muslims to have a sense of Islamic mission while participating in a non-Islamic social order.

The classical Islamic issues for Muslims in the United States are those related to Islam as a way of life. Although many of the general aspects of these issues are similar to issues raised by being a Christian or a Jew in American society, specific Islamic characteristics give these issues a distinctive tone for Muslims. In response to these challenges, basic Islamic concepts such as hijra, jihad, and daʿwa take on new implications while maintaining much of their traditional significance. Sectarian hijra and actual emigration are not effective alternatives for most American Muslims. Instead, active, nonmilitant jihad and daʿwa appear to be the most effective classical Islamic responses for contemporary American Muslims.

Issues of Islam and American Modernity

In addition to the classical Islamic issues raised for Muslims who are minorities, Muslims in the United States face complex issues raised by the great social transformations of contemporary world history. The emergence of postindustrial or postmodern society creates special problems. All faiths, not just Islam, have had to confront and cope with the conditions created by the modernization of societies. Some people believe there is an inherent contradiction between all "traditional religions" and modernity, and others feel that only if such faiths are significantly altered can they be compatible with the needs of modern society.

The dynamic condition of Muslim communities in the United States represents a significant refutation of these kinds of assertions when they are applied to Islam. It is possible for Muslim communities to survive and thrive in a variety of contexts within American society. There certainly are problems in fulfilling Islamic obligations in the midst of a secular society, but these problems can be resolved in many ways.

It is, however, important to go beyond these observations to the long-term evolution of faith and religion in the United States (and, in fact, in the world in general). The major evolution is in the direction of what some people have called postmodern faith.[23] There is a move away from the secularist perspective and a growing sense, in the major religious communities, of the public dimensions and obligations of their faiths.

Globally, major religious traditions have had an increasingly visible role in the political arena. The forces of the Islamic resurgence have been very important here, although the emergence of Liberation Theology in Latin America and the roles of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and elsewhere show that this broadening of the sphere of religion is not simply an Islamic phenomenon. One important aspect of this has been in areas beyond the strictly political. The moral and ethical implications of science have become important

topics of debate in societies where science has traditionally been considered a "value-free" activity.

Shortly after World War II, Arnold Toynbee identified special contributions that might be made by Islam to the social life of the emerging global "great society." Toynbee, writing in the late 1940s, felt that the race consciousness of modern Western society was a source of danger for humanity and that the message and achievements of Islam in this area were a source of possible strength that could "decide this issue in favour of tolerance and peace."[24] Although it has been argued that the Muslim record was idealized by people like Toynbee,[25] in the context of American society Islam has provided a way to move against at least some aspects of racism. The message of Islam provided a way for a Malcolm X to break away not only from the racism of American whites but also of the early Black Muslim movement, led by Elijah Muhammad. Islam has provided a new perspective for the emerging morality of identity and pluralism in the American context.

The Islamic ideal of informing the total way of life by divine revelation is in tune with the broader movements of moral awareness in the United States. Muslims in the United States have a special opportunity which has been articulated by Muslim activists in terms of da'wa (mission). Ismail Faruqi, for example, has said, "if you look upon this as an event in world history, you will see that Allah, *subhanahu wa ta'ala*, has prepared the course of history to welcome you in the West. . . . By bringing you here . . . Allah, *subhanahu wa ta'ala*, has carved out a vocation for you, a new mission, and this mission is to save the West."[26] Suzanne Haneef, at the conclusion of her introduction to Islam, states, "As the number of indigenous and immigrant Muslims continues to increase in the Western world, it is hoped that they will make very significant contributions to the societies in which they live, side by side with other likeminded people, by making Islam's point of view known, and drawing upon the vast legacy of its teachings to work toward solutions of the many grave problems and dilemmas confronting mankind."[27]

These statements point to two somewhat different types of Islamic issues facing Muslims in the United States. First, there are the classic issues of community survival in a minority context. Islam as a way of life requires certain things that are sometimes difficult to do in the context of a secular society. In that context, concepts such as emigration (hijra), religious exertion (jihad), and mission (da'wa) have special meaning and represent obligations for Muslims.

Second, there are the grand issues of the mission of Muslims in contemporary world history. As modern societies enter the postmodern era, new issues are raised and new approaches must be developed. In this, there is a move away from the old modernist–secularist approaches. Worldviews that see faith and practice as a total way of life may have a particular contribution to make. American Muslims are in a special position and have a special challenge of finding ways to have postmodern society in the United States reflect the Judaeo-Christian-Muslim tradition most Americans share.

Notes

1. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Adair T. Lummis, *Islamic Values in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 155.

2. See, for example, the discussions in John P. Rasmussen, ed., *The New American Revolution: The Dawning of the Technetronic Era* (New York: John Wiley, 1972), Part 1.

3. See, for example, Harvey Cox, *Religion in the Secular City: Toward a Postmodern Theology* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984); and Stephen Toulmin, *The Return to Cosmology: Postmodern Science and the Theology of Nature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

4. See, for example, Suzanne Haneef, *What Everyone Should Know about Islam and Muslims* (Chicago: Kazi, 1982), p. vii; and Michael Gilsenan, *Recognizing Islam: Religion and Society in the Modern Arab World* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), chap. 1.

5. Gilsenan, *Recognizing Islam*, p. 17.

6. See, for example, the discussions in Robert N. Bellah, *The Broken Covenant, American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (New York: Seabury, 1975); and Duncan Howlett, *The Fourth American Faith* (Boston: Beacon, 1968).

7. A helpful summary of the views of many organizations involved in the issue of prayers in the schools can be found in Patricia Theiler, "Should States Be Permitted to Allow a Formal Moment of Silence in the Classroom?" *Common Sense* 1:1 (Jan.–Feb. 1985), 35–39.

8. Haneef, *What Everyone Should Know*, p. 43.

9. A short summary of these principles can be found in *1983 Annual Survey of American Law*, published by New York University School of Law. Important cases in establishing this situation are *Price* v. *Johnston*, 334 U.S.266 (1948); *Cooper* v. *Pate* 378 U.S.546 (1964); *Cruz* v. *Beto*, 405 U.S.319 (1972); *Pell* v. *Procunier*, 417 U.S.817 (1974).

10. See, for example, Bryan Wilson, *Religious Sects* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

11. See, for example, Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Anatomy of Egypt's Militant Islamic Groups: Methodological Note and Preliminary Findings"; and Nazih N. M. Ayubi, "The Political Revival of Islam: The Case of Egypt." Both of these are in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12:4 (1980).

12. Some of the issues and sources for this subject are discussed in John O. Voll, "The Mahdi's Concept and Use of 'Hijrah'," *Islamic Studies*, 26:1 (1987).

13. An interesting discussion of the relationships between the African return movements and the early Islamic organizations can be found in Clifton Ernest Marsh, "The World Community of Islam in the West: From Black Muslims to Muslims (1931–1977)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977), chap. 3.

14. Yvonne Y. Haddad, *A Century of Islam in America* (Washington, D.C.: American Institute for Islamic Affairs, 1986), p. 1.

15. See, for example, the discussion in John Obert Voll, "Soviet Central Asia and China: Integration or Isolation of Muslim Societies," in *Islam in Asia: Religion, Politics, & Society*, ed. John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

16. For one widely read presentation of this type of analysis, see Syed Qutb, *Milestones*, trans. S. Badrul Hasan (Karachi: International Islamic Publishers, 1981).

17. S. Abul A'la Maududi, *The Process of Islamic Revolution* (Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1977), pp. 17–21 and passim.

18. *New York Times*, February 25, 1988.
19. *New York Times*, September 26, 1988.
20. Khurram Murad, *Da'wah Among Non-Muslims in the West* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1986/1406), p. 12.
21. Ismail R. Faruqi, "The Path of Dawah in the West," *The Muslim World League Journal* 14: 7–8 (Rajab–Shaban 1407/March–April 1987), 56.
22. Murad, *Da'wah Among Non-Muslims*, p. 14.
23. See, for example, Cox, *Religion in the Secular City*.
24. Arnold Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948; reprinted with *The World and the West*. (New York: Meridian Books, 1958), p. 182.
25. Bernard Lewis, *Race and Color in Islam* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 1–6 and passim.
26. Faruqi, "The Path of Dawah in the West," p. 55.
27. Haneef, *What Everyone Should Know*, p. 184.