

Jackson County Diversity Task Force

REPORT

to

**The Honorable Katheryn Shields,
Jackson County Executive,**

and to

The Residents of the Greater Kansas City Area

September 10, 2002

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Jackson County Diversity Task Force Report
Executive Summary

1. The Jackson County Diversity Task Force was created by County Executive Kathryn Shields to examine the extent of tolerance in Jackson County and the metropolitan region following unending reports of incidents of bias, especially directed against Muslims, following the September 11 attacks. The composition and procedures of the Task Force are outlined in the Letter of Transmittal.
2. We as Kansas City area residents have many values in common, even as we can find strength in our diversity. Understanding the role of religion in American life is a critical to many problems attributed to diversity.
3. Our research shows that we *do* have a problem with intolerance in the area, and that sometimes this problem is dangerous. We also learned of many cases where the residents of the area have reached out to those they considered under threat with offers of protection and assistance. Nonetheless, intolerance is a daily reality for thousands of Kansas City area residents and must be vigorously addressed.
4. We also found that to understand this problem, because of family and economic ties between us here and those elsewhere, it is necessary to place Kansas City area issues in the context of national and international history and current circumstances.
5. We discovered that the instruments of government established to protect us and our freedoms are themselves on occasion threats to those very freedoms. In these times of uncertainty and fear, Kansas City area residents must be assured that their civil and religious liberties are being guarded and guaranteed.
6. We have identified resources which can be accessed by religious institutions, governments, media, businesses, non-profit organizations, and the residents, to further understanding among various populations in the area.
7. Our study has led us to make three recommendations, which are detailed on pages 5-7, immediately preceding the Report proper. In brief, those recommendations are:
 - A. **A Crisis Response Plan** is proposed to protect the physical safety, and the civil and religious liberties of vulnerable ethnic and religious minority communities in the event of further terrorist activities at the local or national level.
 - B. **A Public Education Plan** to continually promote a stronger “community consciousness” about the importance of pluralism and tolerance through a fuller understanding of and greater appreciation for the diverse ethnic and religious communities in the metro area.
 - C. **A Tolerance Monitoring Plan** to build the capacity to monitor the state of tolerance in the greater Kansas City metropolitan area.
8. The report contains appendices to supplement and support the main text.

Jackson County Diversity Task Force

Letter of Transmittal

To the Honorable Katheryn Shields, Jackson County Executive, and to Residents of the Greater Kansas City Metropolitan Area:

Following September 11, 2001, Kathryn Shields learned of fresh reports of bias seemingly related to the terrorist events of that day, in Jackson County, the larger metropolitan area, and elsewhere. Because these reports continued, ad hoc responses seemed inadequate, and additional measures were considered. On February 14, 2002, after preliminary discussions, in response to requests from Arab-Americans, Muslims, and others, Shields appointed us to a Diversity Task Force.

In announcing the effort, she stated that she wanted to remind the citizenry that diversity is America's strength, not a weakness. She said that “in this time of national unity, we must truly come together as Americans. We must resolve to respect each others' differences. Above all, we must take positive action to ensure that no one has to live in fear.”

We were asked to volunteer time to fulfill three assignments:

1. to promote understanding of our differences,
2. to encourage respect for our diversity, and
3. to combat hate crime in our community.

Our report was requested by September 10, 2002. In setting this date, Shields said, “There are times when America must wage war against the enemies of freedom, but we must take great care not to wage war against ourselves, against our friends and neighbors. As Americans, we must fight discrimination, we must fight hate, and we must respect diversity. We owe this to ourselves, to our children, and to the men and women serving in our armed forces even now, to keep America not only the home of the brave, but always and utmost: the land of the free.”

We want the public to know that our work has been conducted with the support we requested from Shields and her office. We worked independently and at no time did anyone seek to interfere with how we best thought to respond to the charge we had received. We appreciate the concern, the vision, and the commitment Shields has shown to the residents of Jackson County and the entire region.

We take full responsibility for our work and offer it to her, to governments, to businesses, to non-profit organizations (and particularly religious groups), and to the residents of the region. We hope our study and recommendations will be worthy of serious consideration and early implementation.

While our work is directed to the Kansas City region, we are pleased that one of our sessions was filmed by network CBS-TV from New York and may be part of a broadcast in October. We hope that what we have done will serve as a model for other communities.

The Task Force is grateful for the extraordinary assistance it received from the Reverend Rodger Kube, who provided us with liaison with the Mayor's Task Force on Bias Intimidation and Harassment appointed by Mayor Kay Barnes, and other community consultation. He assisted us in our research into both the situation in our community and in the historical and global context for understanding our situation. Under our direction, he drafted materials for this report. His skills, sensitivity, and passion for understanding and justice in our community were perfectly aligned with the project.

All of our meetings were public, with three meetings especially devoted to hearing from the public, April 18 (at the University of Missouri, Kansas City), August 15 (at the Islamic Center of Greater Kansas City), and August 22 (at the Antioch branch of the Johnson County Library). On July 22, we met with Michael Tabman, the Assistant Special Agent in Charge of the Kansas City Field Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. We also met February 14, March 7, March 21, April 4, May 2, May 23, June 6, June 20, July 18, August 27, August 29, and September 3. In addition, in April, we established a web site to further enable public comment. Although we have devoted a great deal of time as volunteers to this project, we recognize that we have still only a basic understanding of the situation, and that many areas of bias affected by 9/11, such as within the black, Hispanic, and gay communities, deserve further exploration.

Respectfully submitted,

Vern Barnet

The Reverend Vern Barnet, DMn, chair (CRES/ the Kansas City Interfaith Council)

Lama Chuck Stanford, secretary (Rime Buddhist Center and Monastery)

The Reverend Wallace Hartsfield (Metropolitan Missionary Baptist Church), member of the African-American community

Professor Syed E Hasan (University of Missouri, Kansas City), member of the Muslim community

Diane Hershberger (Kansas City Harmony)

Karta Purkh Singh Khalsa, member of the Sikh community

Dick Kurtenbach (Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union of Kansas and Western Missouri)

George M Noonan, (chancellor of the Catholic Diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph)

Professor Thomas Poe, member of the Gay and Lesbian community

Rabbi Joshua Taub (now on sabbatical from B'nai Jehudah), member of the Jewish community

Rita Valenciano member of the Hispanic community

Saad Wakas, member of the Muslim community

Staff:

The Reverend Rodger Kube, research associate for the Task Force

Randy Collins, counsel to the Task Force

Jackson County Diversity Task Force

Recommendations

These recommendations are presented to Jackson County Executive, Kathryn Shields, who authorized the formation of this Task Force, and to the citizens of the metropolitan Kansas City area. This plan is based on the findings and research of the Task Force into the state of diversity and tolerance in the metropolitan Kansas City area following the events of September 11, 2001.

The Diversity Task Force perceives this moment in our history as an opportune time to both affirm the diversity of our metropolitan population, and to bolster the consideration of the complex set of social, religious and political issues that face our wider community.

The recommendation consists of *three major elements*: a crises response plan, a public education plan, and a tolerance monitoring plan.

A. A Crisis Response Plan is proposed to protect the physical safety, and the civil and religious liberties of vulnerable ethnic and religious minority communities in the event of further terrorist activities at the local or national level. While the identity of any possible terrorist cannot be known, and future terrorist activities cannot be foreseen, there is predictability about the “backlash” that targets innocent people.

1. The Task Force recommends the following action steps for governmental crisis management planners and law enforcement agencies be completed within 90 days:

- creation of a catalog of the religious institutions (mosques, gurdwaras, temples, synagogues, churches, religious educational institutions and community centers, etc.) where harassment and violence are most likely to occur
- creation of a directory of contact persons within those religious institutions to insure definitive communication between them and governmental and law enforcement bodies
- affording the opportunity to vulnerable religious institutions for security advice, audits, and safety checks
- development of a set of emergency procedures for the protection of the physical security of those institutions, including evacuation plans
- creation of a directory of specific contact persons within governmental and law enforcement agencies to be distributed to religious institutions and their contact persons

2. The Task Force recommends that the Mid-America Regional Council, within its purpose of regional governmental cooperation, be requested and empowered to coordinate the elements of the crisis plan listed above.

3. The Task Force recommends that faith communities and religious institutions, in conjunction with civil liberties organizations, develop a network to provide immediate support for vulnerable ethnic and religious communities in the event of further terrorist activities. A ‘buddy system’ among congregations and institutions needs to be created.

4. The Task Force recommends that Kansas City media outlets, including newspapers, radio, and television:

- provide opportunities for public service announcements to promote understanding and tolerance. The emphasis would be on the democratic and pluralistic values of America we are currently defending
- cultivate relationships with authoritative spokespersons from within the ethnic and religious communities to deliver credible messages about the diversity of religion and ethnicity and the need for tolerance in Kansas City

5. The Task Force calls upon the Kansas City Area Joint Terrorism Task Force to develop and to make public its crisis management plans specifically designed to reassure citizens from at-risk communities that their safety is being protected, and to include the steps listed above in such a plan.

B. A Public Education Plan is proposed to continually promote a stronger “community consciousness” about the importance of pluralism and tolerance though a fuller understanding of and greater appreciation for the diverse ethnic and religious communities in the metro area. Wider cooperation between local, state, regional and federal governmental jurisdictions, law enforcement agencies, religious communities, private corporations, and not-for-profit institutions needs to be encouraged. The recruitment of local media outlets to be partners in creating a long term, metro wide campaign to promote tolerance is deemed essential to educating the public.

1. The Task Force recommends the following actions be undertaken by governmental bodies and law enforcement agencies:

- declare their municipalities or jurisdictions be “Diversity Acceptance Zones, or “Hate Free Zones,” a national program that allows access of its educational materials, through formal legislative resolutions
- provide continual leadership in forming public opinion by making religious understanding, civil liberties and tolerance a priority, including devoting website pages to those concerns, providing materials for citizens to reference, publicly denouncing bias harassment and hate crimes, and convening quarterly public meetings for citizen input about religious, diversity and tolerance issues
- encourage public and private financial support for agencies working on these issues
- assist law enforcement officials in developing the ability to understand religious differences, in making ongoing contact with minority religious and ethnic communities, and to respond to the victims of hate crimes with appropriate knowledge and sensitivity
- provide law enforcement officials with a pocket-sized card developed by the Anti-Defamation League to help them determine if, in fact, a hate crime has occurred
- address the issue of due process of law and jury bias in civil and criminal cases where one of the parties might be discriminated against because of national origin or religious background

2. The Task Force recommends the following actions to faith communities and religious institutions:

- support the establishment of a metropolitan wide religious umbrella organization or network to encourage consideration of increased understanding, religious liberties, and other issues of common interest
- revitalize the Jewish, Muslim, Christian dialogue forum
- respond to distorted statements about religious affairs made by nationally known religious leaders and personalities
- inform new and emerging religious minority community members about their religious and civil liberties using materials developed by the American Civil Liberties Union and adapted to local usage
- encourage involvement by their members, and through them their places of employment, in inter-religious programming and understanding through the 'Interfaith Passport' program developed by the Kansas City Interfaith Council
- teach their members about tolerance, diversity and religious liberties

3. The Task Force recommends the following action to all media outlets:

- develop extended programming plans to promote a 'community consciousness' of the importance of diversity, tolerance and religious and civil liberties as a strength of our metropolis

4. The Task Force recommends the following actions to not-for-profit agencies, specifically those who are engaged in diversity efforts, tolerance building, and advocating civil and religious liberties:

- create a widely inclusive interagency forum for dialogue, cooperation, collaboration, and keeping abreast of emerging and continuing issues and common interests
- develop methods for regular communications with law enforcement and crisis management agencies to facilitate cooperation and collaboration

C. A Tolerance Monitoring Plan is proposed to build the capacity to monitor the state of tolerance in the greater Kansas City metropolitan area.

The Task Force recommends the following actions for consideration:

- facilitation of a conversation with existing not-for-profit organizations with the current mission of promoting diversity, tolerance and civil and religious liberties about adding a monitoring/clearinghouse role to their programs. (We recommend a non-governmental agency because of the distrust of government we have heard in our public meetings and interviews. The multitude of jurisdictions in the metro area would logically point to the Department of Justice, but it is not fully trusted by minority religious communities.)
- provide financial resources, or assist in encouraging philanthropic organizations to invest resources, to make the addition of such a clearinghouse feasible for an organization
- establish protocols for recording bias intimidation and harassment incidents that are not 'illegal' but should be part of the community's awareness
- create and disseminate an annual 'report card' on the state of tolerance in the metropolitan area
- develop a metro wide 'hotline' mechanism for reporting bias and harassment incidents

Jackson County Diversity Task Force

R E P O R T

to

The Honorable Katheryn Shields, Jackson County Executive,
and to
The Residents of the Greater Kansas City Area

September 10, 2002

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Out of Many, One People

Dale Berra kept a family tradition alive when he was asked to compare himself with his famous father, Yogi, "I'm a lot like him, only our similarities are different."

The Jackson County Diversity Task Force was formed by County Executive, Katheryn Shields, to investigate the state of diversity in the Kansas City metropolitan area following the tragic events of September 11, 2001. The Task Force has found that the American values of pluralism and tolerance are alive and well in Kansas City in these times of national uncertainty and fear, but are being tested, particularly among new and emerging religious communities. Like the Berra family, Kansas Citians have similarities that are different. The task always before us is to find a way to advance difference and similarity simultaneously.

The metropolitan Kansas City area's history is a story of wave after wave of immigration. From the pre-historic Hopewell civilization that dwelt on the fertile lands overlooking the Missouri and Kansas Rivers to the historic Osage, Missouri and Konza tribes who called this land home; from the Europeans of every national origin who settled here, to the African-Americans brought to Missouri as slaves, or seeking freedom in Kansas; from the Hispanics to the more recent arrivals from South Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and the Far East, all have come to Kansas City seeking opportunities to prosper and live in freedom. The search for 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' has not always been untroubled, especially for people of color and those whose religious beliefs and practices somehow make them 'different.'ⁱ The strength of their perseverance in seeking an equal share of the 'American way of life' is a testimony to not only their courage, but also to the democratic values we hold so dearly. Our community has been undeniably enriched by the presence of diverse people with 'different' customs, languages, and religions. Hospitality is not only a moral grace; it is practical, and leads to the strengthening of our culture, giving it a greater variety of skills and perspectives.

As the 21st century begins, Kansas City's population is growing increasingly diverse. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, 1,776,062 people call our metro area their home. 78.3% of our population is white, and 21.7% is non-white. The non-white population includes 238,440 African-Americans, 120,000 Hispanics or Latinos, 20,635 American Indians or Alaska Natives, 34,900 Asians, 3,241 Native Hawaiians or Pacific Islanders, and 51,445 people who claimed some other race. The Kansas City Missouri School District has students who speak 34 different languages. There is every indication the trend toward ethnic and cultural diversity will continue.

Various demographers, social scientists and politicians have been predicting for years that the end of the white majority in the United States is near, and that there will be a majority of minorities in the near future. A 1997 CNN special program was devoted to the forthcoming majority of people of color in America.ⁱⁱ That same year, then-President Bill Clinton called attention to this shift in an address at the University of California at San Diego on a renewed national dialogue on race relations.ⁱⁱⁱ His argument was that such a dialogue would be especially needed as a preparation for the forthcoming end of the white majority, which will occur sometime in the middle of the 21st century. In his January 2000 State of the Union address, Clinton claimed, "within ten years there will be no majority race in our largest state, California. In a little more than fifty years, there will be no majority race in America. In a more interconnected world, this diversity can be our greatest strength."^{iv} He asked rhetorically if we should not act now to avoid America's division into "separate, unequal and isolated camps."^v

Some commentators have reacted to the expected demise of the white majority with alarm or distress. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., bemoans the “cult of ethnicity” that has undermined the concept of Americans as “one people.”^{vi} He writes, “Watching ethnic conflict tearing one nation after another apart, one cannot look with complacency on proposals to divide the United States into distinct and immutable ethnic and racial communities, each taught to cherish its own apartness from the rest.”^{vii} He also criticizes diversity and multiculturalism, arguing that “the United States has to set a monocultural example in a world rent by savage ethnic conflict; the United States must demonstrate ‘how a highly differentiated society holds itself together.’”^{viii} James Q. Wilson writes, “The third condition for democracy is homogeneity... as Daniel Patrick Moynihan has observed, the deepest and most pervasive source of human conflict is ethnic rivalry.”^{ix}

In sharp contrast, John Ibister, a professor of economics at the University of California at Santa Cruz, ponders whether America is ‘too white.’ He contends, “The decline of the white population is a healthy development for the country... The principal case for a falling white population is simply this: it will be easier for us to transform a society of hostility and oppression into one of cooperation if we are dealing not with a majority versus several small minorities, but with groups of roughly equivalent size.”^x

While both of these positions can become politicized—that of alarm and that which celebrates the end of a white majority and the rise of a majority of minorities—we believe both are basically wrong. They are implicitly and inadvertently racist, because they assume that people’s pigmentation, or more generally, racial attributes, determine their vision, values and participation in the American social and political compact.

We believe the very opposite is true. The fact is that America is blessed with an economic and political system, a culture, and core values that, while far from flawless, are embraced by the vast majority of Americans regardless of race, national origin or religion. It is a great error to suggest that, because skin tones or religions may be more diverse 50 years from now, most Americans who hail from different social backgrounds will hold a different creed or agenda than a white majority. While, of course, no one can predict what people will believe or do 50 years from now, there is strong evidence that if they behave in any way that resembles the current behavior of people of color, they will share the same basic aspirations, core values, and social customs. And current trends, during a period when the non-European proportion of the population has increased, further support the thesis that while American society may change in the future, Americans of all national origins, races, and religions will change together. We will be different, but we will be alike.

A word about the inadvertent racism involved in the opposite position is appropriate here. *To argue that all or most members of a given social group behave the same way is the definition of prejudice.* This holds true not merely when one argues that all members of a given social group have some unsavory qualities, but also when one contends that all or most of a given group are angry or alienated because some (actually a small minority) are.

A wide variety of public opinion surveys, conducted over the past several years, indicate that American society is basically much more alike than different—if one looks at values and conduct rather than pigmentation and other such external, skin-deep characteristics.

At the core of American political culture is what many have called the ‘American way of life’ and the values that bind us together as a nation. In a survey of people from a broad array of national

origins and religious backgrounds on American political culture, *The State of Disunion*,^{xi} conducted by the University of Virginia in 1999, the data showed a remarkably high level of collective American identity:

- Nearly nine out of ten respondents (87%) agreed that it is important to believe that America from its beginning ‘has had a destiny to set an example for other nations.’
- More than nine of ten Americans (94%) are assured that ‘America’s contribution is one of expanding freedom for more and more people.’
- By about the same margin (92%), Americans said ‘Our founders limited the power of government, so government would not intrude too much into the lives of its citizens.’
- Another part of the American legacy is the idea that ‘America is the world’s greatest pluralistic society, in which people from different countries are united into one nation.’ Here again more than nine of ten (95%) agree it is important to place reliance on this principle.
- Despite some failures to fully live up to the principles of social equality and justice for all, Americans hope for freedom and betterment is alive. The vast majority (96%) agrees with the principle that ‘with hard work and perseverance, anyone can succeed in America.’
- So too, there is widespread agreement (95%) with Alexis deTocqueville’s dictum that ‘democracy is only as strong as the virtue of its citizens.’

Regarding the American political system, the very diverse respondents expressed highly positive sentiments:

- When asked if they had ‘pride in living under our system of government,’ 76% agreed.
- A majority (80%) also expressed a high degree of ‘support for our systems of law.’
- Nearly seven of ten respondents (69%) felt that ‘our system of government is the best possible system in all the world.’

A Lot to Be Thankful For: What Parents Want Children to Learn About America,^{xii} a study conducted by Public Agenda, focused on what the parents of America’s children considered to be the key American values that should be taught in public schools. The survey specifically sought out parents who recently immigrated to the U.S., as well as a racially diverse representation of those born here.

- Foreign-born and U.S.-born parents of all backgrounds share a belief that America is a special nation. When asked if they thought ‘The U.S. is a unique nation that stands for something special in the world,’ 84% of all parents, 73% of the African-Americans, 87% the of Hispanics and 80% the of foreign-born responded positively.
- The chief components of the American ideal—identified by very strong majorities of all groups—are individual freedom, equal opportunity and hard work, combined with a commitment to tolerance and a respect for

others. When asked which ‘American ideal was absolutely essential’ to them, 89% said ‘Everyone should have the right to their religious beliefs,’ 88% said ‘There should be equal opportunity for people regardless of race, religion or gender,’ and 79% said ‘With hard work, people have a chance to move up and prosper.’

- When asked ‘do you always appreciate the freedoms you have in the United States?’ 45% of all respondents, 62% of the African-Americans, 64% of the Hispanics, and 71% of the foreign born, said ‘Yes.’
- Large numbers of both U.S. and foreign-born parents expect the schools to teach all children about the ideals and history of our nation. When asked if ‘students should be required to understand the common history and ideals that tie all Americans together in order to graduate from high school,’ 85% of all parents, 83% of the African-Americans, 89% of the Hispanics, and 88% of the foreign-born said that statement was very close or close to their own view.

The Jackson County Diversity Task Force assumes the opinions of Kansas City residents are much like those of other Americans on these issues.^{xiii} We share a strong sense that while we do have our differences, a common framework of national values holds us together. The social, cultural and legal elements of that framework are well known. They include a commitment to the democratic way of life, to the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and to mutual respect for all people regardless of national origin, race or religion. While we certainly hold wide divergences of opinion on the policies and strategies needed to make America a great nation, we are united in our desire to see the U.S. be a thriving democracy for the world to emulate, to provide a good society for ourselves and our children, and to be a nation free from racial, ethnic and religious strife.

Threats to Civil and Religious Liberties

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, with its guarantees of protection for the individual from excesses of government, has long been considered a guiding influence in American life. Designed to protect minority viewpoints and faiths, the First Amendment’s provisions can be difficult to remember when there is an overwhelming public call for uniformity. In practice, the First Amendment also protects the majority from rash and shifting excesses that it might later regret. Perhaps the truest test of our nation’s commitment to the First Amendment happens during times of national crisis, when the amendment’s provisions may come into conflict with heightened governmental interests in national security and order.

When President Bush addressed the nation on September 20, 2001, he cautioned us “that freedom and fear are at war.” He noted that the terrorists targeted the United States because we embrace liberty, “The terrorists hate our freedoms...of religion...of speech...to vote and to assemble, and to disagree with each other.”^{xiv} In other words, the terrorists view our personal liberties with contempt and see them as a weakness. The challenge for all Americans, and for Kansas Citians, is to truly embrace the freedoms of the First Amendment and show just how strong we really are.

Annually, the First Amendment Center, in conjunction with the Freedom Forum publishes a “State of the First Amendment Report,” based on a public opinion poll conducted by the Center of Survey Research and Analysis at the University of Connecticut. The 2002 report,^{xv} just released, suggests that many Americans are willing to exchange liberty, usually someone else’s, for security.

- Nearly half of those surveyed (49%) said the First Amendment goes too far in the rights it guarantees, up from 39% last year and 22% in 2000.
- 48% agreed that the government should be able to monitor religious groups in the interest of national security, even if that means infringing upon the religious liberties of the groups' members.
- In light of the federal government's war on terrorism, 42% of those surveyed said government should have more power to monitor Muslims legally living in the U.S. than it has to monitor the activities of other religious groups.

The tragic terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 have had a negative impact on the way Americans view the First Amendment rights of others. To fight a war on terrorism at home and abroad various federal initiatives have been enacted, some of which have put those precious liberties at further risk.

On October 26, 2001, the U.S. Congress passed, and President George W. Bush signed into law, the USA PATRIOT Act, an acronym for "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism."

This lengthy, far-ranging Act contains "the sense of the Congress that...the civil rights and civil liberties of all Americans, including Arab Americans, Muslim Americans, and Americans from South Asia, must be protected, and that every effort must be made to preserve their safety." Yet many Kansas Citians from within those very communities have expressed concerns about the USA PATRIOT Act's impact on the civil liberties of both American citizens and non-citizens.

The Act reduces Constitutional checks and balances and Bill of Rights protections by:

- giving new powers of detention and surveillance to the Executive branch and law enforcement agencies, while depriving the Courts of meaningful judicial oversight to ensure that law enforcement powers are not abused.
- giving the Secretary of State the authority to designate any group, foreign or domestic, as a terrorist organization, an authority that is not subject to review.
- creating a broad new category of 'domestic terrorism' which is defined in Section 802 as "activities that (A) involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the U.S. or any state; and (B) appear to be intended to (1) intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (2) to influence the policy of government by intimidation or coercion; or (3) to affect the conduct of the government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping."
- permitting investigations based on lawful First Amendment activities if those activities can somehow be tied to intelligence purposes.
- undermining the privacy protections of the Fourth Amendment by eroding the line between intelligence gathering and gathering evidence for a criminal proceeding, and expanding the ability of the government to monitor the activities of citizens through wiretaps, computer surveillance, access to medical, financial, business, and educational records, and secret

- searches of homes and offices.
- undermining the due process of law procedures guaranteed by the Fifth, Sixth, and Fourteenth Amendments, which have been extended to non-citizens by over a century of U.S. Supreme Court rulings, by allowing the government to detain non-citizens indefinitely even if they have never been convicted of a crime.^{xvi}

In addition to the Congressional enactment of the USA PATRIOT Act, Attorney General John Ashcroft announced changes in June, 2002 to the General Crime, Racketeering Enterprise and Terrorism Guidelines that had provided a set of limits on FBI investigations. Following the Church Committee's release of its report on Intelligence Activities and Rights of Citizens by the FBI and other intelligence agencies in 1976, then-Attorney General Edward Levi adopted two sets of guidelines for conducting investigations on General Crime, Racketeering Enterprise and Terrorism Enterprise. They were adopted because of the abuses of the investigative agencies during the 1950s-1970s. The FBI and other intelligence agencies had spied on and harassed civil rights activists, including the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., political dissidents, anti-war activists, as well as the political opponents of the sitting Presidents of the U.S. They also infiltrated and disrupted groups from the left to the right of the political spectrum, even though most of those individuals and groups had done nothing more than exercise their First Amendment rights. In the late 1970s, Congress considered enacting laws to prevent these incursions on the rights of Americans, but did not do so when Levi promulgated the Guidelines to protect citizens from overzealous investigative agencies, particularly the FBI.

The Guidelines to which the FBI is subject consist of two parts: a classified set for foreign intelligence and international terrorism; and a second unclassified set for general crimes, racketeering and domestic terrorism.

The Foreign Guidelines apply to investigations inside the U.S. of foreign governments and international terrorist organizations (al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, Hamas, etc.) These guidelines are employed when groups originate outside the U.S., but conduct their activity here. Under these guidelines, an investigation of al Qaeda can be conducted without a suspicion of criminal activity. A person can be investigated on the suspicion that he/she is affiliated with an international terrorist organization or foreign power, even though he/she has done nothing wrong. These guidelines were not changed in Ashcroft's June announcement. One would assume that these guidelines would be adequate to conduct the necessary investigations related to the events of 9/11.

The Domestic Guidelines relate to investigations of groups that originate and operate within the U.S. (like the KKK, neo-Nazis, violent anti-abortion or animal rights groups, etc.) These changes in the domestic guidelines raise concerns because they have little to do with the events of 9/11, which were conducted by international terrorists. The new guidelines generally lift restrictions on FBI activities by separating the ties between investigative activity and crime, and by lessening the accountability of agents in the field to superiors who could rein in or prevent unlawful activities.

Both the old and new guidelines allow agents to begin an investigation if they have "reasonable indication of criminal activity," something far less than probable cause that a crime has been committed. Under the old guidelines, those investigations and inquires were limited to 90 days, with extensions granted by Washington. Now that period has been extended to 180 days, with another 180 days of extensions granted by the local Special Agent in Charge.

There are few restraints on FBI agents in conducting preliminary inquiries. Under the new guidelines they can troll for information on the Net, use commercial data mining services to find out what citizens buy and from whom, and attend any public meeting, even when there is no suspicion of crime. This information may be used to form such suspicions. And once that occurs, the FBI can use all its formidable powers, for up to one year, with the exception of opening the mail and nonconsensual electronic surveillance (they have to have a court order for these).

On July 22, 2002 members of the Jackson County Diversity Task Force interviewed Michael Tabman, Assistant Special Agent in Charge of the Kansas City Field Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to discuss our concerns about the implementation in Kansas City of both the USA PATRIOT Act and the changes in the Guidelines.

Tabman made a distinction between the USA PATRIOT Act, and the changes in the 'Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering and Terrorism.' The former is law, enacted by Congress, while the latter are 'guidelines' set forth by Attorney General Ashcroft to provide working rules for the FBI in its conduct of preventative anti-terrorism activities.

He stated that both the FBI's leadership and the times have changed since the days of the civil rights and anti-war movements, so that any anxiety about the FBI's potential 'spying' on American citizens is not justified by current procedures. During the last 20 years, the FBI has disciplined overzealous agents, has discovered and prosecuted its 'moles,' and has followed the guidelines set forth by the Justice Department. Since the events of 9/11, the focus of the FBI has changed from one of investigating criminal activity to one of preventing terrorism, and the new guidelines are aimed at facilitating that task. He assured us that FBI agents are "working hard to protect our community," and that he will do everything he can in his position as a supervisor to make sure his agents do not violate the civil rights/liberties of American citizens. Tabman, as a supervisor of agents in the field, makes the decisions about whether or not a 'preliminary inquiry' or investigation will be opened. In the past those inquiries were limited to 90 days before FBI headquarters would become involved. Now those inquiries can last up to a year.

When asked specifically about the new guidelines' provisions about FBI agents attending public events, including worship services, Tabman responded by saying that they may do that now. Only information related to potential criminal or terrorist activity will be retained under the new guidelines. He stressed that the FBI is interested only in threats to the U.S. that seemed to be tied to potential harmful action, but that if some other crime were in progress, he alleged perpetrator would be arrested. He minimized the 'chilling effect' these visits might have on freedom of speech and freedom of worship as unrealistic.

Tabman stated that his office is already receiving many 'tips' about suspicious behavior, admitting that most of them are not helpful. Many people attempt to use law enforcement agencies to further their own prejudices. The public and local law enforcement agencies need to be educated about what 'suspicious behavior' really is. The Attorney General's 'TIPS' program, which would ask utility workers, postal carriers and others to report 'suspicious behavior,' has not been implemented at the time of this report.

The Joint Terrorism Task Force in the Kansas City metro area is composed of five FBI agents along with representatives from twelve other criminal justice agencies, including the KCMO Police Dept., the KCK Police Dept., the Kansas Bureau of Investigation, the Missouri State Highway Patrol,

and others. While the JTTF's operational planning is not being disclosed publicly, Tabman did assure the Jackson County Diversity Task Force that consideration has been given to protecting the Muslim and Sikh communities in the event of further terrorist events.

While many individuals from the metropolitan Muslim community have been questioned, none has been detained or arrested for terrorism-related activities. An unspecified number of people have been detained for violations of immigration law.

The Kansas City FBI Field Office has instituted several informal strategies to help its agents be more culturally sensitive to and fluent with Kansas City's minority religious communities. Tabman feels the FBI has an open line of communication with the Muslim community, and has found it to be very helpful in sensitizing his office to Islamic practices and concerns. Tabman, and his spouse, were invited and attended the recent convention of the Islamic Society of North America's Peace and Justice Conference held here in Kansas City.

Tabman stated that the local FBI Citizen's Academy, an 8-week simulated course that covers the entire work of the FBI, is available for anyone to attend. Registration is available on-line at www.fbi.gov. The FBI Field Office will attempt to respond to invitations from community groups to discuss its mission and procedures.

The Task Force appreciates Special Agent Tabman's view that the FBI is deeply committed to protecting the rights of minorities, and that attacks on these rights will be given immediate attention.

While the constitutionality of both the USA PATRIOT Act and the revisions to the Domestic Guidelines promulgated by the Attorney General will undoubtedly face a variety of legal challenges in the days ahead, the process can be lengthy. The Task Force believes continued monitoring by Kansas City citizens of the activities of the law enforcement agencies charged with implementing these laws and rules is necessary.

"How is Life Different for Kansas City Minority Communities Since September 11, 2001"

The question has been asked again and again: 'How is life different almost a year after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001?' Because the ultimate goal of terrorism's violence is the destruction of the bonds of trust that unite a society, the Jackson County Task Force has paid particular attention to the experience of minority religious communities since the attacks. This section of the report delineates the findings of our research.

Jewish Community

A nationwide survey released by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) on June 11, 2002 showed an increase in the number of Americans with anti-Semitic attitudes, revealing that 17% of Americans—or about 35 million adults—hold views about Jews that are "unquestionably anti-Semitic." Previous surveys conducted over the past 10 years had indicated that anti-Semitism had declined from 20% in 1992 to 12% in 1998. The poll also revealed "anti-Israel feelings are triggering anti-Semitism." Negative attitudes toward Israel, concern that U.S. Jews have too much influence over U.S. Middle East policy, and that the U.S. is more likely to be targeted for further terrorist attacks because of its support of Israel are helping to foster anti-Semitic beliefs. Slightly more than half

of Americans (51%) said the U.S. has been tilting too much toward Israel, but 41% said they remain more sympathetic to Israel than to Arab nations. An ADL audit of anti-Semitic incidents from January-May 2002 counted 626 nationwide occurrences, with the activity comprised of 435 acts of harassment or intimidation and 191 acts of vandalism.^{xvii}

“Subtle and sometimes not-so-subtle anti-Semitic remarks and actions are a daily reality for 20,000 members of the Jewish community in the Kansas City metropolitan area,” said Marvin Szneler, Executive Director of the Kansas City Jewish Community Relations Board/American Jewish Committee. “Kids in school repeat what they hear their parents say and are overheard by their Jewish classmates, office colleagues brag about ‘Jewing-down’ the salesperson from whom they purchased their new SUV, or the man wearing a yarmulke gets a strange look from a store clerk. We live with it,” he shrugged, “because it happens all the time.”

“While we have not experienced an escalation of threats, and no Jewish person or institution has suffered an act of violence since September 11th, local synagogues, temples, and Jewish institutions have increased their security measures. We continually monitor the activities of local extremist groups, like the KKK and the neo-Nazi skinheads. The continuing violence and suicide bombings taking place in Israel have made us much more aware that the extremists we really fear are the ones we don’t know about.” Szneler reported.^{xviii}

The Task Force contacted the Anti-Defamation League’s Omaha field office, which gathers reports of hate crimes directed at Jewish people in the state of Kansas and in Kansas City, and the St. Louis field office, which gathers information for Missouri. Neither office reported any hate crimes or incidents of direct harassment of Jewish people in the Kansas City area since September 11, 2001.^{xix}

Sikh Community

Members of the Sikh community in metropolitan Kansas City have been the victims of scores of verbal attacks and other incidents of rudeness and harassment in the aftermath of September 11th, according to Charanjit Hundal, president of the Midwest Sikh Association, which represents over 1,000 participants. The religious and cultural center for the life of the Sikh community is the Gurdwara (temple) located in Shawnee, Kansas.

Historically connected with the Punjab in northern India, Sikhism is not related to Islam. Started 500 years ago as a tolerant alternative to Hinduism and Islam, it is an explicitly pluralistic religion. Because Sikhs understand hair (*kesh*) as a symbol of holiness, they don’t cut their hair or their beards. To protect this sacred symbol, Sikhs who are totally dedicated to their faith wear turbans (*dastar*), along with other distinctive items, including a comb (*kangha*), steel bracelet (*kara*), long drawers (*kachha*), and a ceremonial sword (*kirpan*). “Ironically,” said Hundal, “Sikhs look more like Osama bin Laden, with his turban and long beard, than most Muslims or Arab-Americans do. Wearing the turban has caused every Sikh who travels by air to be delayed, searched, and re-searched at Kansas City International Airport. In spite of special rules regarding Sikhs put in place by the U.S. Secretary of Transportation, which say, among other things, that we do not have to remove our turbans after a walk through the metal detector, some security personnel continue to scrutinize us beyond reason.”

In the days immediately following September’s tragedy, many Sikhs closeted themselves, fearing they might become the targets of violence like that directed at a Sikh gas station owner in Ari-

zona who was shot to death. While exiting a rehabilitation clinic in Overland Park, a Sikh was harassed with a shout of “Go back to your own country,” and threatened with physical harm before security guards intervened. A Sikh-owned business in Edgerton, Kansas was defaced with insulting graffiti. While two ‘road-rage’ incidents were reported to the Mission, Kansas police department, Hundal said that most of the harassment incidents have not been reported to the authorities because the victims either (1) are hesitant to take the time to become involved in the criminal justice system, or (2) are not aware of the existing procedures for reporting bias intimidation incidents. He noted that more information on reporting procedures would be very helpful to his community.

“Many Sikhs in the Kansas City area have continued to restrict their activities in the months following September 11,” Hundal reported, “because they are afraid they will be hassled. Not wanting to be misinterpreted, I personally watch what I say in large groups, and many other Sikhs have told me they do, too. We are still experiencing a lot of harassment, even all these months after 9/11.”

Hundal pointed out, “Over 500,000 Sikhs live in the United States, the majority coming after 1984 to escape persecution and sectarian violence in India. Sikhs are against all injustice, and I hope Muslims here in Kansas City will not be harassed either, because they had nothing to do with the attack and do not support it.” He emphasized the patriotism of Sikhs, saying, “We want to say that we are Americans who love our country, and are willing to sacrifice for it, if necessary.” He noted that a Sikh-American surgeon, Nijher Singh, was a hero of the World Trade Center tragedy, as part of a team who “scavenged supplies from an abandoned ambulance, set up the first triage center at ground zero, just in front of the collapsed towers, and treated injured fire fighters until 2:00 a.m.”^{xx}

Muslim Community

Kansas City’s Muslim community of 20,000 people has, without question, faced the greatest number of acts of bias intimidation, harassment and violence since the events of September 11, 2001. In the weeks immediately following the terrorist attacks, the ‘Bias Crime Incident Report Summary’ of the Kansas City, Missouri Human Relations Department reflects the level of harassment and violence directed at Muslim-Americans:

9/11/01	400 block Westport Road	(Café)	Phone Threat
9/12/01	10500 block Grandview Road	(Islamic School)	Phone Threat
9/13/01	10500 block Grandview Road	(Islamic School)	3 Phone Threats
9/13/01	2400 block of NE 43 rd Street	(Apartment Complex)	Threat
9/13/01	3200 block Brighton Road	(Individual)	Threat Letter
9/22/01	6000 block Kenwood	(Individuals)	Threat Letter
10/01/01	5400 block Blue Parkway	(Individuals)	Phone Threats
10/01/01	10500 Grandview Road	(Islamic School)	Threat Letter
10/12/01	8500 block East 99 th Street	(Individual)	Phone Threat
10/16/01	8200 block Bannister Road	(Individual)	Assault
10/20/01	4700 block Nichols Road	(Individual)	Assault

(The complete Bias Crime Incident Report Summary is attached as an Appendix to this Report. The Task Force did not attempt to gather data from the over 100 law enforcement agencies in the metropolitan area. Many do not currently report bias crimes as a separate category.)

Although no further incidents have been reported to the KCMO Human Relations Department, the intimidation, harassment, and violence have continued. Through a series of interviews, public

meetings, and requests for written statements, the Task Force has had its attention directed to scores of incidents in which members of the Kansas City Muslim community have been the victims of hate speech, and several incidents where hate crimes were committed against them (although those crimes were not reported to the authorities).

On Thursday, August 15, 2002 the Task Force held a fact-finding session at the Greater Kansas City Islamic Center, with over 60 persons in attendance. Members of the public were invited to share their experiences in Kansas City since September 11, 2001. (The names and identifying characteristics of the speakers have been removed from this report to protect them from further harassment.)

Speaker No. 1 was critical of the “interfaith” nature of the panel’s composition, confusing it with the Kansas City Interfaith Council. He also expressed skepticism about the Task Force’s ability to produce any recommendations or plans that would make a difference in the everyday lives of Muslims in Kansas City. He spoke of his fear that discrimination and harassment aimed at Muslims would continue. He spoke generally of his knowledge of many Muslims in Kansas City who have been victims of slurs and other intimidation, and of persons who have been harassed at work, at school, and as they have traveled. He said Muslims know where to turn to report incidents, but that many do not because they don’t think anything positive will happen.

Speaker No. 2 stated, “We Muslims were made suspects, in spite of all the good we do in caring for the poor and oppressed in our community.” Muslims have been “unfairly judged,” and “you can only judge a Muslim by knowing a Muslim.” He reported that he has received five threatening postcards, the most recent arriving on July 19, 2002 at his home address.

The face of the of the most recent postcard contains a poem “God’s Kind Care,” and the handwritten text on the reverse reads: “XXXX: How interesting that Moslims (sic) read the Koran and then go out and kill people. We know they hate all Jews, Christians and Americans—just as you do. Does your Koran lie to you?” (Unsigned)

A second postcard contains the message: “What is evil? A Moslem father teaching his small son to hate and kill Jews, Christians and Americans and then thrusting his kid into the middle of a gunfight to show him how bad Jews are. This is evil. This is everyday life in Gaza.” (Unsigned)

The text of a threatening letter reads:

“Why are you and your Arab friends in the United States of America? Your loyalty is with the mid-east Arabs.

It was half-witted Arabs like you that started a war with Israel in 1967. Israel whipped your rears in 6 days. You lost the Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula, East Jerusalem, Golan Heights and the West Bank. And you are still whining about it.

Get out of the United States of America. You have no loyalty or patriotism for the USA. Get out and live with your Arab friends. I watched the Arabs of Yemen cheer the death of American Navy men your terrorists murdered.

America doesn't want you. Get out! Get out now! Take your lies and print them someplace else. Try the Murdock Sound. But get out of the USA.

(Signed)

[A Kansas City resident whose name is deleted in this report]

P.S. The Palestinian civilians I see on TV news look and act like unwashed half-wits. Go join them.

Another letter from the same sender reads:

“Oh you man of the desert, the Prophet Muhammad, blessings and peace be upon him, has spoken to me. I am the "Expected One!" The Prophet, peace be upon him, commands me to speak to you and all other Arabs who have strayed from the path Allah has set for you.

The Prophet, blessings and peace be upon him, asks are you not Muslim? Great and terrible things must be done. Why do you call yourselves Palestinian and leave the holy land of the Arab? That is the path of the infidel. You make war on the descendants of Abraham and Moses.

The Prophet, peace be upon him, asks did they not also live in the Holy Land of sand and dwell in Jerusalem? The Prophet Muhammad, blessings and peace be upon him, asks who is this betrayer of Allah called “Arafat?” Why do you follow the path of this infidel?

You no longer pray in the Mosques at Mecca, the birthplace of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. Nor in the Mosques at Cairo or Baghdad or Constantinople. Why do you live in a foreign land far from our holy lands?

Too often you have followed evil leaders: Turkey in World War I and Germany in World War II and then the Soviets and the evil Saddam Hussein.

Go back to the land of your ancestors. Renounce your evil leaders. You now live in a nation that does not follow the path the Prophet, blessings and peace be upon him, they do not worship Allah. Go back to the lands of the Prophet, peace be on him. You are anti-Semitic and always have been. You live a life of sin. You offend the eyes and ears of the Prophet, peace be on him.

You kill for the love of killing, not for the love of Allah. Your fate will be that of a non-believer. You disturb the tranquility of the day of the Prophet, peace be on him. You have become blind with hate, you lie without repentance, your days are numbered by Allah. Repent before your hate becomes your fate.

The Expected One

P.S. Beloved, the Prophet, peace be upon him, George Will has your number.

Speaker No. 2 hides these communications from his family, and does not report them to the authorities because of his concern for his family members. He reported that he knows another person who has been receiving threatening mail and does not report it to the authorities.

Speaker No. 3 commented that individuals in Kansas City are generally supportive of and helpful to their Muslim neighbors, but that something must be done to curb the ignorance of Islam displayed by such national religious figures as Franklin Graham and Pat Robertson. Their anti-Islamic remarks set a tone for harassment and persecution in our nation. Muslims are being persecuted around the nation because of their religion, because of their Middle Eastern heritage. He questioned the Task Force's ability to accomplish anything, and stated that governmental, religious and civic leaders have not done enough to set a tone of tolerance toward peace-loving Muslims.

Speaker No. 4 stated that the Islamic School (this is not the same Islamic School mentioned in the KCMO Bias Incident Report) had received many threatening phone calls and letters over the past several months, including a picture of a person being hanged with an inscription, "you and your children will be next." He is particularly worried about the impact of such hatred on children, and the school has taken special measures to counsel them. The school has had to increase its security efforts. He reported that his daughter was detained at the Kansas City International Airport and questioned. A member of the school's staff was detained for 7 hours at KCI because his last name was the same as one of the 9/11 hijackers. He does not understand how loyal Muslim-Americans can be subjected to these violations of their civil liberties, and worries that the injustices will only grow worse.

On the other hand, many different local congregations, community institutions, schools, and individuals have been very supportive of the Islamic School, sending letters, cards, and a signed petition of support. Local and federal law enforcement officials have been very helpful in providing security, and responding to threats. This increased interaction, in spite of the cause, has been an opportunity for many people, ranging from school children to police officers, to learn more about Islam. The Muslim community is taking every opportunity to teach the wider community about Islam, and this has been helpful to everyone involved.

Speaker No.5 reported many bomb threats and threatening phone calls to the Islamic Center of Greater Kansas City, located on East 99th Street. Around-the-clock police protection was necessary in the days immediately following 9/11. The Islamic Center has worked closely with KCMO Police Department, and other local and Federal agencies, and he has been pleased with their responsiveness. The Kansas City community has been supportive, sending notes, letters, cards, and flowers in condemnation of bias. A neighboring Christian congregation sent a large poster, signed by its members expressing their concern.

He said, "The Muslim community has been closed for too long, but now we are reaching out to the wider community. This is a great chance for us to share more about ourselves." 400-plus people, including County Executive Katheryn Shields, attended an educational forum about Islam on September 14, 2001, and the Islamic Center is planning more events to educate the community. Assistance in publicizing the events was requested. The Muslim community is making every effort to be better known, providing speakers at churches, schools, civic organizations, and governmental functions.

Speaker No. 6 reminded the Task Force, “Muslims have been contributing to American society with their faith and deeds for many years.” He also stated, “Many Muslims were among those killed on 9/11. It is not fair that we Muslims are being ‘profiled’ when we have done nothing wrong. Those religious extremists who committed suicide and murdered those people are not representative of peace-loving Muslims.” The powerful media has not fairly represented either Muslim-Americans or Muslims generally. The local Muslim community needs assistance in dealing with public relations, and particularly with the media, to carry positive messages about Islam to a wide audience.

He reported his employer has been very supportive, as have his neighbors, including those who offered physical protection of his home, and those who called to learn more about Islam.

His daughter, who attends a KCMO public school, was harassed by her fellow students, including a sexual picture drawn on a piece of her homework. Her fellow students reported to her teacher that her father was a terrorist. His daughter was suspended from school. The incident was reported to the US Department of Justice and the KCMO Board of Education, and as it was sorted out, three students were dismissed from school, a formal letter of apology was issued to his daughter, and she was reinstated at school.

Speaker No. 7 said individuals in Kansas City, and the U.S., are generally friendly and well-mannered toward Muslims, however the federal government’s policies, while filled with fine sounding rhetoric, discriminate against Muslims. Portions of the USA PATRIOT Act, and the proposed TIPS program are proof of that discrimination. In addition, at the local level, he bemoaned the discriminatory bias of the *Kansas City Star’s* reporting of issues related to Islam and the local Muslim community.

Speaker No. 8 reiterated that Islam is a religion of neighbor love, and Muslims desire to live at peace with their neighbors. She has experienced suspicious looks, rudeness and intimidation on several occasions. She feels political leaders must do more to create a positive climate of public opinion regarding Islam and Muslims.

Speaker No. 9, an attorney who represents Muslims in both civil and criminal courts, worries that juries will not treat his clients fairly. In addition, particularly in personal injury cases where settlements are often made out of court, attorneys for insurance companies are taking advantage of the public perception of Muslims to offer lower damage amounts. He cited several cases where this has already happened.

Speaker No. 10 said that racism in the U.S. is not new, discrimination is real, and the solution is not to change individuals rather the entire system. Muslims are just the latest victims of the systemic problems that affect all people of color in the US. He doubted that the Task Force could do anything positive about it.

Speaker No. 11 reminded the Task Force that thousands of Muslims have been killed all around the world in recent times, but America has paid little attention to the oppression and injustice. American foreign policy has supported these atrocities directly and indirectly by not doing anything about it. He challenged the Task Force to take this into consideration as it completes its report, makes its recommendations, and offers its plan of action.

In a series of interviews with other individuals, the Task Force has found further evidence of anxiety about continuing discrimination and harassment of Muslim-Americans in Kansas City.

Tariq Abdullah, a plaintiff's attorney in medical malpractice/personal injury law, expressed fear about his client's ability to receive fair trials due to "latent discrimination" by jury members against Arab-Americans, South Asian-Americans, Muslims, or those who appear to be Muslims. In addition, if an out-of-court settlement is sought, the defendant's attorney will seek to reduce the amounts because the plaintiff is Muslim. While Muslims prefer to "do business with Muslims," Abdullah wonders if it would be better for his clients to be represented by non-Muslim attorneys. He also wonders if criminal defense attorneys feel the same anxiety. Two non-Muslim judges and several colleagues have raised the issue with him.

Dr. Syed E. Hasan, professor of geology at UMKC, and faculty advisor to the Muslim Students Association, reported that several female students dressed in traditional head coverings/dress have been verbally harassed and given "mean looks" on campus and in local grocery stores. One woman had gravel thrown at her. Another was spat upon. An abusive phone message was left on the answering machine at the house used by Muslim students for their Friday gathering and prayers. A Pakistani female graduate student who wears traditional dress is being ill-treated or sexually harassed by the chair of her department. Campus police have been very supportive, as was a neighbor of the Muslim house.

Habeel Gazi, the past-president of the UMKC Muslim Student Association, estimates there are roughly 400 UMKC students who "look" Middle Eastern of approximately 1,000 foreign students. He indicated that international students, especially females, are generally reluctant to bring any incidents to the attention of campus or law enforcement authorities for several reasons: cultural styles and traditions, fear of "making waves," and possible negative repercussions because their parents have invested so much in making an education in the U.S. possible.

Gazi reported several incidents of intimidation and racial profiling. A Muslim woman, running for Court Warming Queen, had several of her posters defaced with "go back to your evil country," and "go to hell." Other posters appeared on bulletin boards with anti-Muslim, anti-Arab messages. A Jordanian graduate student reported being questioned by the FBI about his frequent travels to Jordan (he was working on a geological project in Jordan, and was also planning his wedding to a Jordanian woman.). A Kuwaiti dental student became lost on his way to a home visit with a patient, stopped at a dental clinic to ask for directions, was detained and handcuffed by police officers, and was released without charges being filed.

Gazi's experience (and reports from other students) is that all "Middle Eastern-looking travelers" are "randomly" checked at airports. Of special concern to UMKC foreign students is the reiteration of class attendance policies, especially in light of the USA PATRIOT Act's provision about college class attendance files now being open to inspection by federal investigative authorities (foreign students cut class as often as others!) Some professors, who may be adherents of particular ideological stances, need to be more sensitive to foreign student concerns. A Palestinian professor, who is hosting a seminar on "Palestinians and Terrorism," advertised it with a flyer with a gun-toting person wearing a *kateffiyeh*.

There can be no doubt that Kansas City's Muslim community has been the most vulnerable to deplorable acts of ignorance and hatred in the days since September 11, 2001. In spite of their con-

demnation of the terrorist acts, in spite of their loyalty as American citizens, in spite of their desire to live peaceful and productive lives, and in spite of their extensive efforts to reach out to the wider community with educational programs about their faith, Muslims have been threatened and attacked in the metropolitan area. Simultaneously their friends and neighbors have offered support and encouragement. Their experience is comparable to that of other Muslims across the U.S.

According to a poll released by the Council of American-Islamic Relations^{xxi} on August 21, 2002, a majority (57%) of American Muslims has experienced bias or harassment in the past eleven months. Verbal abuse, religious or ethnic profiling, and workplace discrimination were the most frequently cited forms of bias. Almost half (48%) of the respondents said their lives are worse than they were before September 11, 2001. Those who said their lives changed for the better (16%) often cited a deeper knowledge of Islam made necessary by requests to explain their faith to their friends.

The poll also showed, however, that 79% of American Muslims have been the recipients of kindness or support from friends and colleagues from other faith traditions. The kindness took the form of verbal reassurances, support in the immediate aftermath of September 11, and offers to help guard local mosques from vandalism.

Hindu Community

When the Task Force began its fact-finding process, we suspected that members of the growing Hindu community in Kansas City might have been the subject of intimidation and harassment. Composed primarily of people from the Indian sub-continent, the Hindu community is composed of approximately 2,500 families, or 6,000 individuals. Hindu life is centered around the Hindu Temple and Cultural Center in Shawnee, Kansas.

According to Ramesh Patel, the president of the India Association of Greater Kansas City, there have been no recently reported acts of intimidation or harassment aimed at the Hindus and Jains who are members of the Association. Patel commented positively on the state of interfaith relations between the Hindu/Jain community and other faith communities, saying, "Kansas City is a good place for us. We are pleased to be involved in many efforts to build an understanding and a deeper appreciation for the many great world religions here in the metro area."^{xxii}

Anand Bhattacharyya, a past-president of the Hindu Temple and Cultural Center, reminded the Task Force of a series of 1997 events, when the Temple was vandalized and desecrated.^{xxiii} Vandals threw eggs, considered impure, at the front door of the temple in one incident. A cross, stolen from the nearby Full Faith of Church of Love West, was placed on the temple lawn. The most insulting incident occurred when a pound of raw ground beef was left on the top step of the temple porch. Hindus hold cattle sacred, and believe that beef is unclean. The entire Hindu community felt violated by the action.

M.M.C. Bhattar, the Hindu priest at that time, paraphrased Jesus in commenting on the incident, "God, these people don't know what they're doing. Please forgive them," adding, "The temple cannot fight anti-Hindu bigots."^{xxiv} With his peaceful response, the priest turned an insulting violation into an opportunity for learning. In fact, an interfaith dialogue group, Pathways, composed of Hindu, members of the Full Faith Church of Love West, and individuals from other traditions, was formed in response to those incidents. The Pathways group continues in 2002 to be a leading forum for interfaith conversations in the greater Kansas City area.

Additional Notes

American Indian poet and storyteller, Sherman Alexis, recently coined the phrase “the ambiguously ethnic” to describe “all those ‘people of brown skin’ in the U.S. who have been ‘racially profiled’ since 9/11. “I am a victim of the ‘crime of irony,’” he observed, “because I have been told ‘to go back to my own country’ by numerous persons who obviously came to America after my ancestors did. I’ll go ‘back’ after they do.”

One of the most notable shifts in the political terrain as a result of 9/11 is the public discourse on racial profiling. Up until recently, racial profiling was an indictment of institutional racism practiced by law enforcement agencies. The term had begun to be employed by advocates of racial justice as a substitute for racism on a whole set of issues like education, welfare and access to public services. 9/11 changed that, turning the majority of U.S. residents, including 60% of people of color, into supporters of some form of selective profiling. In the guise of national security, the proponents of the war on terrorism have convinced the general public of the need for such profiling. It is a loss for advocates of racial justice at a time when some modest victories had just begun to be achieved.^{xxv}

The Task Force has heard of many accounts about bias intimidation, harassment, and racial profiling aimed at American Indians and Native Alaskans, Hispanics and Latinos, South Asians, East Asians, and mixed-race persons. Although attempts have been made to verify those incidents, we regret that we have not had the time or the resources to hear every story. Each incident deserves to be heard, in the opinion of the Task Force, because each one is a violation of the human dignity of the person who has been unjustly treated.

The Task Force has enjoyed a close working relationship with the Kansas City Missouri Task Force on Bias Intimidation and Harassment, formed by Mayor Kay Barnes, and staffed by LaSandra Pearl of the Human Rights Commission. The Mayor’s Task Force is in the process of preparing a report and set of recommendations dealing with racial profiling by area police departments. The impetus for the formation of the Mayor’s Task Force was a series of events involving African-Americans in Kansas City’s “North-of-the-River” neighborhoods. The Jackson County Task Force is confident that in its report, the Mayor’s Task Force will focus on the issues of racism that continue to plague our metropolitan area in a way that this report has not.

The Task Force also wants to mention its awareness of the discrimination that is daily experienced by gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered persons in our wider community. Jamie Rich, the executive director of the Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Kansas City, reported that, while no overt hate crimes have been committed against gays, lesbians, bisexuals, or transgendered persons in Kansas City, “the bias is subtle, but real.” He noted that gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered persons “tend to be invisible in the hate crimes of others.” Rich estimates there are as many as 200,000 gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered persons living in the metropolitan area. Issues of sexual orientation also impact their family members. Gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered persons are especially concerned that their sexual orientation may cause them to be denied services as they seek access to both publicly funded and non-profit social service systems. While there are probably equal numbers of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered persons living in the central city and the suburbs, those living in the suburbs, particularly in Eastern Jackson County, must “blend” into the general population, and do not have safe local “central places” where they can be with one another.^{xxvi}

America's Global Role Considered: "Why Do 'They' Hate Us?"

A nation's foreign policy is rarely changed in one day. But September 11, 2001 was no ordinary day.

By the end of that day, some 3,000 Americans were dead, the World Trade Center's twin towers no longer existed, the Pentagon was aflame, the nation's air traffic control system was shut down, and soldiers patrolled the streets of U.S. cities. September 11 saw the worst act of terrorism in modern history, and it made fighting terrorism the undisputed first principle of U.S. foreign policy.

Terrorism by nature is difficult to define. There is no single, universally accepted definition of terrorism; even different U.S. government agencies have their own working definitions. Most definitions, however, have common elements, oriented around terrorism as the intentional, systematic and illegal use of violence against non-combatants, but with a wider audience than the immediate victims in mind, to create a general climate of fear in a target audience, in order to further some political or social cause. The victims may be random, or symbolic, as in the case of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, but the statement being made is always political.

The FBI defines terrorism as "the use of unlawful force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or change government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."

Terrorism is often called a 'seam' threat, operating in a fluid, ever changing manner in the 'seams' between nations, between law enforcement, intelligence and national security agencies. A national strategy to combat acts of terror would be to close those 'seams' with a systematic approach that coordinates many elements—electronic and human intelligence gathering, military action, law enforcement investigations, domestic emergency response, and international diplomatic partnerships.

Acts of terror are premeditated by their perpetrators and are conspiratorial in nature. Terrorists conspire in their activities to generate fear, which is the means they employ to motivate the affected public or government to make the desired changes in policy or activity. The destruction of the bonds of trust and the rule of just law that unite a society is unfortunately a by-product of the terrorist's activity. Fear can, and does, short-circuit freedom.

Despite the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center and periodic attacks on U.S. interests and facilities overseas, Americans, perhaps naively, never seemed to believe that attacks of such magnitude could happen on their soil. For those who focus on terrorism, the warning signs that America could be subject to attacks were readily apparent. The U.S. Commission on National Security for the 21st Century (known, for its co-chairs, as the Hart-Rudman report) predicted in the spring of 2001 that there would likely be a catastrophic terrorist attack on American soil within the next two decades.

By last summer, it was clear to those monitoring Osama bin Laden that al Qa'ida was plotting an attack; the only question was where or when. The arrests of al Qa'ida associates in Yemen and India in June, 2001 had revealed plans to blow up the American embassies in those countries, and a propaganda video, which was widely circulated in the Middle East during the summer, showed bin Laden calling for more such assaults.

"Why do they hate us?" is partially answered by Michael Scott Doran's essay, "Somebody

Else's Civil War."^{xxvii} Doran insists that the more pertinent question is: "Why do they want to provoke us?" When a terrorist kills, the goal is not murder itself but something quite different—for example, a police crackdown that will create a rift between government and society that the terrorist can exploit for religious or revolutionary purposes. Osama bin Laden has sought and received an international military crackdown, one he wants to exploit for his own religious purposes. He has no intention of winning a war with America, but rather understands the conflict as an instrument designed to assist his brand of Islamic supremacy to survive and flourish among the believers.

Doran contends that the U.S. has been sucked into a struggle within the Muslim world. This battle pits those, such as bin Laden, who seek to re-create the era when the Prophet Mohammed ruled the Islamic lands, against those who actually govern Muslim nations today. Bin Laden launched a 'holy war' across the Muslim world, hoping to bring 'apostate' regimes such as Saudi Arabia within the fold of 'true' Islam and restore the caliphate from Indonesia to Spain. In this view, the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were collateral damage in a struggle for the hearts and minds of the *umma*—the worldwide spiritual community of Muslim believers. Bin Laden hoped that the attacks against America would spark uprisings by Muslims against their own American-backed governments. His 'ultimate' twin towers are Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. The streets of Riyadh and Karachi were not filled with thousands of bin Laden's admirers on September 11, 2001. While bin Laden wanted to provoke a clash between the believers and the infidels, he clearly underestimated the 'internal pluralism' of Islam, and his project has turned out to be a spectacular failure.

Terrorism was certainly important to U.S. policy makers, but not the central theme. Now it is.

Perspectives on America's Role in the World

All international problems and choices that vexed the U.S. throughout the 1990's remain today. The U.S. is the world's sole economic and military superpower. The questions of how we relate to the world—whether on globalization, human rights, missile defense, or relations with other nations of the world—all still exist, and all need to be addressed, whatever happens in the pursuit of Osama bin Laden and his network of terrorists.

Despite the current war on terrorism, using soldiers, spies and diplomats is not the only way that the U.S. influences the world, possibly not even the major way. Most of the world watches entertainment produced here, surfs the English-language Internet on computers equipped with Microsoft Windows, and eats at American fast-food restaurants. A McDonald's is as likely to be the site of protest as an American military base or embassy.

It is also helpful to remember that the rest of the world does not see us the way we see ourselves. The average American citizen's understanding of the roles this nation plays around the world is a combination of 'we're-the-good-guys-innocence' and an 'if-it's-good-for-America, it's-good-for-the-world' nationalism. Our status as both a superpower and the world's largest economy continues to disturb even some of our allies, who speak about the danger of American power turning into 'hegemony,' an arrogant political and cultural dominance that no other nation or culture can resist for long.

Indeed, part of the international response to the September 11 attacks has been the declaration that the U.S.'s encouragement of globalization, its alliances with authoritarian and repressive regimes, and its continuing support of Israel have inevitably caused the rage that led to the acts of 9/11, as well

as previous incidents of violence aimed at U.S. interests. At the same time, millions of people around the globe support the campaign against terrorism, and still look to the United States as a role model for democratic government.

Several major conflicts around the world in the past decade—the Middle East, Bosnia, Africa, and Kosovo—have each shown how dramatically different the role of the United States can be on the world stage. Each shows what can go right or wrong when the U.S. intervenes. Some provide a useful reminder that U.S. foreign policy cannot do everything it might like to do. Historically, the U.S. has pursued three goals in its foreign policy initiatives.

Alliance Builder: The Persian Gulf War was a great military success, and showed that the U.S. can be an effective *alliance builder*, as a worldwide coalition was organized to force Iraq out of Kuwait. The war blocked Iraq's attempt to become a dominant regional power, with all the implications that may have had for the world's supply of crude oil. More than a decade later, however, U.S. warplanes still patrol 'no-fly' zones set up to contain the Iraqi military. And despite long-term economic sanctions, and a program of U.N. weapons inspections, Saddam Hussein's ability to develop and deploy weapons of mass destruction is still an open question. Even as this report is being produced, an intense national debate is underway concerning the use of military force to depose Hussein's government from power.

Humanitarian: Shortly after the Gulf War, U.S. forces entered Somalia as part of a multinational force to allow *humanitarian aid* organizations to fight famine in the midst of a civil war. The aid organizations were able to feed far more people under military protection. But the United States withdrew in frustration after its attempts to arrest a major warlord and build a stable government ended with the deaths of 18 U.S. soldiers. That bitter precedent made the U.S. reluctant to act when a campaign of genocide began in Rwanda. More than 800,000 people were killed there in 1994, and then-President Clinton visited there in 1998 to apologize for Western inaction during the bloodshed.

The question of whether the United States ought to use its military power for humanitarian purposes arose again soon afterwards in the Serbian province of Kosovo. But this time, during a campaign of murderous 'ethnic cleansing,' the U.S. and NATO acted more forcefully, bombing Serbia when it refused to accept a settlement. The air strikes forced Serbian armies out of Kosovo, stopped the mass expulsion of Kosovar Albanians, and allowed the refugees to return home under NATO protection. But the campaign hurt NATO relations with Russia, which saw the intervention as meddling in the internal affairs of another nation. The Chinese, whose embassy in Belgrade was accidentally destroyed by cruise missiles, were also angry. And as Serbs, once the aggressors, fled in turn from vengeful Kosovar Albanians, some viewed the moral victory as hollow. A multinational force, including U.S. troops, maintains a fragile peace there now, and the region is moving slowly to rebuild its ability to be self-governing.

Peacemaker: The United States has attempted to broker and sustain peace deal between Israel and the Palestinians for over two decades. By hosting numerous summit talks between the parties, and maintaining relationships with the leaders of neighboring Arab nations, the U.S. had been a powerful influence in peace negotiations. While consistently backing the Oslo peace process in 1993, the U.S. has tried several strategies. After several years of intensive diplomatic efforts by President Clinton's administration, the Bush administration first tried a 'hands off' approach, arguing that the two sides should take the responsibility for their own settlement. With the increase of violent attacks and counter-attacks in the last two years, the U.S. reopened its mediation efforts. The success of U.S.

peace endeavors is tenuous at best, and the violence continues on a daily basis.

The U.S. has had more apparent success as a peacemaker in Bosnia, where diplomats negotiated a settlement after United Nations efforts failed, but the peace is maintained by the presence of a U.S. led multinational military force.

The U.S. rarely wears just one of these hats. It may enter a region as a peacemaker, but then engages in humanitarian actions while building alliances to maintain order. Most Americans think our nation should remain actively involved around world, and work with the United Nations in a leading role in world affairs, but they have different perspectives on how that is best accomplished.

One perspective asserts that America's basic domestic needs should be the first priority. The United States cannot solve all the world's problems, and should not act militarily, except when our own interests are threatened. In this view, the strength of our economy is the real source of the nation's security. Expensive overseas commitments should be scaled back, with the resources directed to urgent needs at home, like providing better educational opportunities, shoring up the Social Security system, and reducing taxes.

A second perspective focuses on America's global role in maintaining stability and preventing chaos around the world. The post-Cold War world is coming apart at the seams. The U.S. is the only nation with economic, military and moral might to ensure global order. Because our interests are threatened in several regions, we must pay close attention to the civil wars, ethnic and religious violence, and a host of other deteriorating political situations that could grow into major conflicts. The U.S. must, the proponents of this perspective argue, play a central role as peacekeeper with the military capability to act on our own, while making every effort to strengthen and expand our alliances with other nations.

A third perspective is concerned above all with the promotion of democracy and human rights. Winning the Cold War was a great moral victory, but if the new democracies of Europe, Latin America, and the former Soviet Union fail, then the damage will be irreparable. So foreign aid to struggling nations needs to be increased to combat anti-democratic forces, and American influence should be employed at every opportunity to promote human rights. Ultimately, this line of argument concludes, this is the most practical way to promote world peace, and to expand markets for U.S. goods abroad.

The Impact of Globalization

Since the end of the Cold War, symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the tense balance of ideological and military power between the U.S. and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been replaced by a new phenomenon: globalization. According to Thomas Friedman, the author of *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*,^{xxviii} globalization is a dynamic, ongoing process that leads to:

“... the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before—in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before, and in a way that is enabling the world to reach into individuals, corporations, and nation-states farther, faster, deeper, cheaper, than ever before.”

Integration is the overarching feature of globalization, impacting the organization of human

affairs in unprecedented ways. Although societies around the world have always been interconnected with each other to some degree, what is new is the speed with which international interactions are now taking place.

The energy driving globalization is free-market capitalism—the more market forces are allowed to rule, the more national economies are open to free trade and competition, the more efficient and prosperous the economy will become. Virtually every country in the world is now being affected by free-market capitalism. Globalization has its own set of economic rules: to make an economy attractive to foreign investment it must be open to competition, transparent and stable, deregulated, and free of corruption. While other ideological alternatives to free-market capitalism may be able to more equally distribute income, what has made globalization so attractive is its ability to rapidly generate income in a way that raises standards of living.

Global integration is reinforced by the spread of fast, and relatively inexpensive, technologies: computerization, digitalization, fiber optics, cellular telephones, satellite communications, and the Internet, which, when taken together, allow nations, corporations and individuals to communicate instantly. Once the elites of a nation have access to the advantages of these technologies, they internalize them, and try to locate themselves in a global perspective. As the mass of the world's population has more and more access to this informational network, they compare themselves to their global neighbors, and have begun to demand the standard of living enjoyed in free market economies.

Globalization also tends toward cultural homogenization with its own dominant theme: Americanization. An American culture of consumer capitalism, American values of individualism, moral relativism, democracy and pluralism, American products and technologies, and American lifestyles are known everywhere through the process of globalization, for better or worse. A combination of American political and economic interests, backed by military power, along with the made-in-America information revolution, has made globalization possible, and given it a distinctly American face.

People around the world have a love-hate relationship with America. For most of the world's people, American globalization is extremely attractive and empowering, a tempting path to better living standards. For many others, it breeds a sense of envy or resentment: envy because America is so wealthy, and resentment because it seems to them that America is imposing its cultural values upon them.

Many people around the world have been left behind or have been brutalized by the power and speed of the globalization process. A broad backlash against globalization, expressed in different forms in different societies, is an important consideration in answering the question raised by so many Americans after 9/11: "Why do they hate us?"

There are those Friedman calls the "turtles," people and nations without the skills, resources, or energy to compete in the globalization process, who feel threatened when their traditional economies and jobs are transformed or made obsolete. For the most part, the turtles have little political clout, and will turn to local crime—grabbing what they need—without worrying about ideology or theory. The poorest "turtles" in the developing world will simply consume whatever resources are available in order to survive.

Then there are the "used-to-be's," people and nations whose economies were once protected

from the global marketplace by the national government with its state-owned factories, tariffs, and subsidies to keep consumer prices low. In these societies, the backlash will tend to populist and reactionary solutions that claim to offer the same benefits and standard of living as globalization. These people have the political clout to organize in an attempt to hold on to the way of life they have known.

Many Americans can easily identify with globalization's modernization, technology and free markets because it allows us to have increased individual choices, which is consistent with one of our important cultural values. We feel empowered and freed by our ability to choose. But in many societies, the group is much more important than the individual, and allowing freedom of choice to individuals is equated with dividing the society. The approach of globalization in those societies is a matter of despair and necessity, not opportunity. Globalization changes the relationship of the individual with the group in a way that is experienced as social disintegration.

This creates a third backlash, which comes from all those millions of people who detest the way globalization homogenizes people, erasing the distinctiveness of local or regional cultures, and taking away a sense of identity and community. Many people are ready to either abandon a lot of their local culture in favor of an Americanized consumer culture, or are able to "glocalize," to absorb the influences that naturally fit into and can enrich their culture, to resist those things that are truly alien, and to compartmentalize those things that, while different, can nevertheless be enjoyed and celebrated as different." But some people are not into such juggling. In fact, they are ready to go to war to protect their traditional, local cultures from the global. For these people, the 'disconnections' between globalization and their source of truth are the issues for which they are willing to fight and die.

When this cultural backlash is married to one of the other backlashes, when groups that feel they are being economically marginalized merge with those who feel culturally aggrieved, the potential for political destabilization and violence is greatest. This phenomenon is most apparent in the Middle East, where religious "fundamentalists" of many stripes have become highly sophisticated in weaving together the cultural, economic and political backlashes into one broad political movement that seeks to take power and shut out the world.

The Role of Religion in Kansas City's Reaction to September 11

The national horror experienced on September 11, 2001 has focused the community's attention in new ways on the role of religion in public life. The nation's response to those events is a reminder of how closely religion and public life are often linked in our world, our nation, and our metropolitan area. No government decree forced Kansas City citizens of every faith to engage in spontaneous acts of worship, prayer and meditation in response to this frightening public moment—or to the acts of generosity and mercy so quickly following in its wake. No legislation was needed to produce the many instances of interfaith dialogue and cooperation, let alone the mutual assistance that arose after the attacks. Along with people around the nation, metro residents were, and continue to be, gripped by discussions about the urgency of religious tolerance. They were struck by the paradox that religious commitment, depending on how it is understood, can bring people closer together or divide them from each other, or can be a source of violence or peacemaking.

In order to more fully understand the religious dynamics at work in the events of September 11, 2001, this report goes into some depth about the place of religion in American society, as well as

about the patterns of belief and practice that lead to religious extremism and violence. There are several sound reasons for this approach. During the second half of the 20th century many non-European immigrants brought their hallowed religions with them to America. In spite of this trend, which is predicted to accelerate in the 21st century, the experience with religion of most Americans is limited to their own local congregation. They often know little about the historical roots, doctrine, and practice of their own unique faith tradition, and may have never had the opportunity to learn anything about the world's other great religious traditions. Because of the practice of separating religion and politics in the U.S., public educational curriculums have not, for the most part, included any knowledge of religion. Perhaps the need to understand and appreciate the newly emerging religious communities in the U.S. is greater than ever before. Surely the association of religious motives, however extreme, with the attacks of September 11, 2001 has caused Americans, in every sector of our society, to wonder about beliefs other than their own. This report seeks to bring some modicum of understanding to that wonderment.

The importance of a fuller understanding is underscored by a quick assessment of the minority religious populations living in the greater Kansas City metropolitan area. Although religious preference is not included in the 2000 U.S. Census data, and Kansas City has not been the subject of any scientific research on religion for many decades, some rough figures can be reported. Kansas City residents are overwhelmingly Christian, but there are an estimated 20,000 Jews, 15,000 Muslims, 6,000 Hindus, 1,000 Sikhs, and an unspecified number of Buddhists, reflected in 9 different ethnic communities, residing in the metro area (estimates are provided by representatives of the respective communities.) Without the benefit of statistical research it is difficult to determine the number of practitioners of other non-Christian faith traditions, but the size of that population may be significant.

Many Americans, in the understanding and practice of their religion, are informed by a distinction between the 'public' and the 'private' realms of their life. The assumption prevails in our secular society that religion is primarily a private—that is, non-public—matter; the principle of church-state separation dictates it remain so in the strictest sense. While the debate among constitutional lawyers and religious scholars on the proper interpretation of the religion clause of the Bill of Rights is by no means settled, many governmental officials, policymakers, and civic leaders tend to adopt a 'minimalist' attitude toward religion's possible roles vis-à-vis the larger society.

Yet the impact of religious values on the public arena, and particularly on the realm of governmental activity cannot be overlooked. The wall of separation between church and state does not preclude religious people and institutions from actively seeking to influence decision-makers in their creation and maintenance of governmental policy. In addition, Robert Putnam's 2001 survey of the sources of 'social capital' found that religious people are more likely to vote, to serve on juries, and to be politically involved and civically active than other citizens.

The minimalist approach pioneered in the U.S. continues to survive in our nation and in Kansas City, despite the fact that religiously motivated individuals and communities make important contributions to the public debate about a range of contested issues, receive funds to conduct nonprofit charitable work, and have recently assumed a greater role in administering state and local welfare programs.

The poor record of religions whose theocratic or missionary ambitions were advanced by state power lends powerful support to the minimalist position. The core values of our social compact, including freedom of speech and freedom of religion, were developed in response to inquisitions, cru-

sades, pogroms, and wars conducted in the name of God. Religion was the motivating factor for the fanatic devotion and vicious hatred spawning the wars that ravaged Europe from the 1560s to the 1650s. Spanish conquistadors and English theocrats carried the crusading mentality to the New World, where the indigenous populations were the subjects of forced ‘conversions,’ the destruction of their cultures, and the dispossession of their lands in the name of ‘the faith.’ Religion was used to legitimize the colonial expansion of the European Empires, which among them controlled all of North and South America, large territories in Africa, the Middle East, the Far East, the Indian sub-continent, Australia, New Zealand, and Micronesia.

In the nations of Europe, where religious decline is most pronounced, the minimalist merely invokes the bitter memory of absolutist monarchs who reigned during a period when altar and throne were united to prove the point. In the United States, where church and state have been separated and where religion thrives, the minimalist objects to any expansion of religion’s public role on the grounds that its entrance into public realms might weaken the metaphorical wall of separation.

To a greater or lesser degree, then, reflecting their different histories, the nations of North America and Europe have come to observe the public-private distinction with the aim of containing religion’s influence over public affairs. But, it must be remembered, all of the ‘West’ represents less than one-sixth of the world’s population, and millions of non-westerners, as well as countless people living in the West, do not share these assumptions about the place of religion in society.

Literally billions of people around the world, and thousands in Kansas City, structure their daily routines around the spiritual practices created by a religious tradition, and they often do so quite ‘publicly.’ Dress, eating habits, family relations, negotiations of time, space and social calendar—all unfold under a ‘sacred canopy.’ Around the greater part of the world, politics and civil society are suffused with religion. In regions of Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, for example, it is a requirement for political leaders and governmental officials to publicly demonstrate the depth of their formal religious commitments. The complex roles and multiple functions of religion in societies populated by believers who reserve final obedience to a sovereign deity or by those who adhere to a particular spiritual order are often overlooked or completely misunderstood by citizens of the Western secularized nations who have internalized the privatization of belief.

Religion, once predicted by secular thinkers to become not only privatized but also eventually marginalized in modern times, has not disappeared. In fact, there is much evidence to suggest a religious resurgence, both in the West and in the rest of the world. While religion is deeply privatized in some quarters, religious institutions are increasingly assuming prominent public roles in others. Religion and politics keep forming symbiotic relationships: “The New Christian Right,” “Hindu nationalism,” “political Islam,” and “Jewish fundamentalism” are noteworthy examples of the hybridization. It has become clear, in other words, that religion in many cultures remains largely unaffected by the public-private distinction, while in others religion has been significantly ‘deprivatized’ and can hardly be said to be in decline.

A second objection to the expansion of religion’s role in public affairs is the persistence of religiously motivated intolerance and violence among some groups and movements operating apart from (and sometimes in open rebellion against) government. Violent radicalism in Northern Ireland, Iran, the Balkans, Sudan, Algeria, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (as well as the United States) has been cloaked in religious garb in recent decades. Religious extremism seems to be an unrelenting threat, an anarchic political force that is rarely understood and is not easily subdued.

Meanwhile, new technologically enhanced acts of terrorism have achieved a prominence disproportionate to the actual number of perpetrators or their sympathizers. Today a tiny minority of violent religious actors, those persons that Thomas Friedman calls ‘the Super-Empowered Angry Men,’ has commanded the attention of the entire world with the attacks of September 11, 2001.

The sheer mass of incidents and reports of violent actions perpetrated by religious actors reinforces the conventional wisdom that religious fervor inevitably leads to intolerance and violence. Extremist intolerance and violence have indeed divided communities from Wichita, Kansas to Colombo, Sri Lanka. Even though the accounts of those events can be accurate in their details, they are nevertheless misleading when presented as the dominant motif in a global portrait of world religion. Those who perpetrate violence in the name of their religious tradition are a tiny minority of the world’s faithful people.

History paints a complicated picture of religious agency. Religious radicals of the Christian Reformation condemned violence in matters of religion and were prominent proponents of religious liberty and freedom of speech; Baptists, the original advocates of religious autonomy, were champions of church-state separation. In the 20th century Hindu and Christian leaders, including M.K. Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., were the most influential pioneers of active nonviolent resistance as both a personal spiritual practice and a public political strategy. Buddhism, Islam and Judaism have produced their own militant nonviolent peacemakers.

The legacy of religious peacemaking grows more complex in our own time. It includes Christian ethicists who are refining pacifist and just war traditions in light of current circumstances; Muslim theologians and jurists who are upholding the integrity of Islamic law while showing its ability to build just and stable and democratic Muslim societies; Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu and Confucian scholars who are translating the insights and values of their respective traditions into accessible language, especially as they address the issues of human rights and dignity; courageous local religious leaders who participate in cross-cultural and interfaith dialogues; and many religious people of good will who work for genuine understanding and reconciliation within their local communities.

The unique social location and cultural power of religious institutions compels us to pay close attention to those elements within them that foster harmonious and just relations among people of diverse backgrounds. Their daily contacts with many people, their long record of charitable service, and their reputation for integrity are virtues giving local religious leaders and institutions a decided advantage in nurturing the seeds of reconciliation when conflict erupts or after it occurs.

Kansas City’s religious communities are uniquely situated to offer encouragement and to lend insightful guidance to the whole community as it remembers, responds, and recovers on this anniversary of the occurrences of September 11. The greater Kansas City metropolitan area is the home of over 2,600 congregations, representing over 100 Christian denominations, as well as the dozens of ‘communities of religious practice’ springing from the traditions of the great religions of the world. This religious pluralism is complicated by the ‘internal pluralism’ within each of the world religious traditions represented in Kansas City. Generalizations must be made with great care. In this sense there is no ‘Judaism,’ no ‘Christianity,’ no ‘Islam,’ no ‘Buddhism’—only Jews, Christians, Muslims and Buddhists attempting to respond to the presence of the sacred in their daily lives. Yet the fact remains that no other group of institutions in our metropolis, when taken together, is as numerous or commands the real-life participation of so many people. The sheer pervasiveness of religious institutions makes them impossible to ignore for anyone who is seeking avenues for mobilizing energy for

the good of the whole community.

The fact that the media, with its extensive coverage of 9/11, were slow to recognize their duty to report condemnations by local Muslim leaders, may be part of the reason that there persists many people in the metro area who do not believe local Muslims have denounced the terrorist attacks.

On September 11, reporters were present at the previously scheduled news conference called by the Kansas City Interfaith Council to announce the first interfaith conference in Kansas City history, set for October 27-28, 2001. As the attacks were being replayed on a TV positioned for the reporters to see, every member or designate of the Interfaith Council spoke. Another Muslim leader joined the Council's Muslim member, and both of them joined with other members of the Council to condemn the attacks in the strongest terms.

Despite our making these Muslim leaders available to the media, to our best knowledge, except for KCUR, these condemnations were not reported.

The next day, September 12, 2001, the Interfaith Council issued the following statement:

“Members of the Kansas City Interfaith Council join with religious leaders throughout the world in condemning the terrorism which struck the United States Tuesday, September 11, 2001. Our prayers are with the victims and their families and all of us affected by the enormity of these events.

Our faiths teach us to work for understanding, peace and justice. We call upon all citizens of the region, whatever their faiths, to deepen their commitments and to enlarge their compassion. We must open our hearts to all peoples as we grieve together.

We are concerned that stereotyping may impede our sense of human kinship, and fear may stifle our trust in those of other faiths. We need to grow with mutual reassurance. This is why leaders of the various faiths here join in this common statement.

At the very moment we were learning about the attacks, we were announcing plans for Kansas City's first Interfaith Conference, October 27-28. The need for such a conference is made even clearer by the tragic events we have just witnessed.

We have much work to do, and that work must be guided by compassion and understanding.”

Despite representatives of Kansas City's religious communities immediately addressing the meaning of September 11, and particularly the significant reassurance provided to those who were questioning the nature of Islam, the media did not report this statement.

On September 16, the 13-member Interfaith Council led an observance of “Remembrance and Renewal,” with remarks by a Christian, Jewish, and Muslim leader, as well as by Congressman Dennis Moore. The Muslim speaker condemned the terrorist attacks vigorously, but this was not included

in the media reports of the event. One Muslim leader did appear later that day on KKFI and was able to broadcast his condemnation.

An Olathe event, attended by government officials and religious figures, including Muslim and Jewish leaders, statements at Rockhurst University, an event at the University of Missouri - Kansas City, and another event in Independence were under-reported, even though they were aimed in part at providing information and reassurance about the nature of Islam.

All of us at the time were struggling to understand what needed to be said and how to say it, and this included the media. While the media has since included local Muslim responses to the horrors of 9/11, and The Kansas City Star has been particularly fair in its attention to local Muslim figures, one lesson that can be drawn is that immediate attention to the statements and availability of Muslim leaders might have helped reduce the anxiety some felt about the Muslim population in Kansas City.

The local problem immediately after 9/11 reflects the national experience. Within hours of the attacks, “nearly every Muslim organization in America put out statements condemning the violence. But rumors persist that American Muslims never condemned the acts, because the groups’ statements got little or no press attention,” according to Salam Al-Marayati, director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council.^{xxix}

It has been very frustrating for Muslims to speak without the press paying much attention or the public listening. Despite their repeated and unqualified statements relating to 9/11 and to the Middle East, we continue to hear questions like, “When are the Muslims going to condemn violence?”

Because of the persistence of such questions, we include one such statement here, published on June 1, 2002 in *The Kansas City Star*, in the “As I See It” column on the opinion page by Tanweer Papa, director for the Center for Islamic Education in North America. He is the past chairman of the Islamic School of Kansas City.

“American Muslims and especially Muslims in Kansas City have strongly condemned the violence and the senseless slaughter of innocent persons on both sides of the Mideast crisis.

We applaud and urge the Bush administration to use timely diplomacy to end this cycle of mutual aggression and retaliation. Many Americans recognize the direct relationship of deep resentment in the Muslim world, due to our U.S. foreign policy.

We vigorously support the U.S. position of two secure states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and prosperity. We support the U.S. position on dismantling the illegal settlements in the Palestinian territories. This would help to lead the way toward peace. We have a direct stake in making sure that our foreign policy is fair, balanced, and adheres to the highest moral values of peace, equality and justice for all.

We grieve at the deaths, injuries and destruction on all sides, and offer our sincere and heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims. Our ear-

nest prayer is that our leaders will move us quickly toward a just and equitable peace.

Muslims and every American support the values of democracy, freedom, justice and human rights. Those who use violence against civilians in the name of their faith, blaspheme their faith. Muslims in Kansas City join all peace-loving peoples in condemning terrorism here and everywhere.

We denounce all acts of bias and prejudice. We are concerned that the conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere could lead here to discrimination, threats of violence against our friends in Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Sikh and other communities including our own. We pledge to work to create a healthier, and more understanding metropolitan Kansas City.

We Muslim-Americans need to rededicate ourselves to the public good and set an example of excellence in self-government for other nations. Every American is a proponent of prosperity, liberty, justice and freedom. Let us nurture the leader who will propagate courage, diversity, multiculturalism, and capture the inherent capabilities of our hugely diverse population that includes people of all faiths. It is at times such as these that we must reaffirm our commitment to this great nation of ours, indivisible and united.”

As late as August 23, a resident who e-mailed the Task Force’s web site addressed the Diversity Task Force:

“Many Americans have been waiting for almost a year to hear Muslem [sic] clerics/leaders denounce terrorism and for a definitive statement that murder and mayhem directed toward non-Muslems is not a part of Islam.

Due to the silence on this point (or lack of effective communication from the Muslem community to make this point), I am left to believe that Muslems intend to kill me because I am a ‘non-believer.’

Perhaps you should spend less time whining about profiling and bias and exert more effort educating non-Muslem Americans on the tenets of your faith, i.e., what is it about your faith that prevents you from condemning the radical elements that have led to world terrorism? I CANNOT RECALL ONE LEADER OF YOUR FAITH DENOUNCING THE TERRORISTS OR CONDEMING THEM FOR FOLLOWING A FALSE DOCTRINE. Mainstream Muslems will continue to be lumped in with the fundamentalist crazies until they aggressively work to differentiate themselves. So far I haven't seen any strong attempt to make this distinction.

I suspect many people feel as I do and tend to lump all Muslems together, be they Sunni, Shite [sic], Wahabi (sp) [sic] or Black - where is the outcry of shame and denunciation of misguided people committing [sic]crimes in the name of God? Are there a lot of people in your community who are

proud of these terrorists? Why doesn't the diversity task force make a joint statement condemning [sic] 9/11 - not some mealy mouthed platitude - a real strong statement, repeated over and over. Statements from leaders - Louis Farakan [sic] doesn't seem to have a problem praising the 'freedom fighters' - why are mainstream leaders silent? The issue for you may be bias, but for non-muslims it is an issue of survival."^{xxx}

When the writer was contacted with Mr. Papa's statement, he rejected it at great length as lacking in credibility.

Mr. Papa's statement has also been perceived to be lacking by at least one spokesperson of another Kansas City faith community. That spokesperson wanted to know whether Muslims denounced suicide bombing, and accused Mr. Papa of writing "platitudes." He wanted a specific statement that Mr. Papa unequivocally condemned the "suicide bombers" who attacked civilians. We quoted Mr. Papa's article to him: "Those who use violence against civilians in the name of their faith, blaspheme their faith. Muslims in Kansas City join all peace-loving peoples in condemning terrorism here and everywhere" and "American Muslims and especially Muslims in Kansas City have strongly condemned the violence and the senseless slaughter of innocent persons on both sides of the Mideast crisis." We said that we thought that included his concern.

Nonetheless we contacted Mr. Papa and asked: "Do you unequivocally condemn the 'suicide bombers' who attacked civilians?" Mr. Papa replied, with "an unequivocal yes."

Mr. Papa told a story of his ophthalmologist grandfather, who took his grandchildren on visits to villages where he would treat the poor for cataracts and other ailments. On one occasion, when Papa was seven years old, the doctor encountered a peasant woman who had cut her hand while harvesting rice. Papa writes:

"May God bless my grandfather: he saw this as a teaching moment," and asked the children "if we would be brave enough to give this lady some of the blood she lost, he said he would just prick the end of our thumb and take out one drop of blood. One brave cousin stood up to the challenge. When the blood oozed out of his thumb, he asked us to compare it to the blood of the peasant woman, and we all observed it was identical, red in color. He then reminded us that in the sight of God we are all one, her being born into a different faith and in lower strata of society had no bearing on the fact that God created us all."^{xxxi}

Other such examples of deep suspicion would lengthen this report beyond measure. Four conclusions may be drawn from the difficulties Muslims have in making their good will believable.

- the media have not always cooperated.
- Muslims have not found an effective voice.
- political interests promote fear and misunderstanding of Islam.
- some people's prejudice will never be overcome, though we can hope that education and the development of relationships can ameliorate the problem.

And while the media have considerable responsibility, it is perhaps the religious communities

who need to be in the forefront in teaching understanding.

Religion, in the most generic sense, holds a great deal of appeal for Americans, and the same is true of Kansas Citians. As religious people, Americans overwhelmingly see religion's influence in the world and the nation as a good thing. And by 51% to 28%, they think the lesson of September 11 is that there is too little, not too much religion in the world.^{xxxii} An earlier survey by Public Agenda found that "...of those who want religion to become more influential in America, 76%, say it does not matter to them which religion it is."^{xxxiii} Deborah Wadsworth, president of Public Agenda, commented on those findings, "Most Americans today wind up talking about moral decay. And in their view, the antidote to this problem is a greater dose of religion in American life. For most citizens, the primary benefit of faith is its capacity to improve individual behavior and personal conduct."^{xxxiv} The embrace of the power of religion—any religion—reflects the idea that good citizenship is somehow encouraged by religion, simply because most faith traditions involve teachings regarding an individual's adherence to community and ethical norms. This generic, utilitarian religion is often called 'civil' religion.

And while many Americans embrace a generic brand of religion, and its assumed moral usefulness, a large number of them are influenced by specific religious commitments and beliefs. When questioned about several particularly controversial public policy issues, 61% said that religion was the most important influence on their opinion about those issues.^{xxxv} These clear, specific positions might best be called 'prophetic' religion. It is unlikely that generic religion can impact the development of specific positions on public policy issues, particularly where religious traditions are quite clear about the theological foundations of their teachings.

Faith is far more credible when it insists on aspirations beyond those of one's own political sentiments, communities, or nations. The prayers of prophetic faith do not express the certainty that God is on America's side; rather it espouses the hope that because of how we live day-to-day, and how we reach out to neighbors with respect and compassion, it might prove to be the case that we are following God's agenda. Faith is always brought down by an arrogance that expresses the unwavering conviction that our own desires and interests coincide perfectly with that of the divine. Speaking in a prophetic voice, the Rev. Kenneth Carder, the United Methodist Church's bishop of Mississippi, cautioned against assuming that America has the first place in God's heart:

"Prayer for God's blessings is presumptuous when we expect God to bestow blessings in accordance with national boundaries and preconceived notions... To seek God's blessing for America, and not for the rest of the world, fails to recognize the wideness of God's mercy and the expanse of God's love."^{xxxvi}

Paradoxically, faith's greatest contribution to public life has always come when it provides a critical perspective. Contrary to conventional wisdom, religious people play a positively critical role in our society when they know their own traditions fully, not when they moderate their faith or marginalize their deeply held, and often highly particular, beliefs in a higher order of justice, compassion, love and peace.

Prophetic religion requires a specific tradition with teachings and moral arguments that can be brought to bear on public questions. And while the generic or civil role of religion seeks to build up the moral fabric of the nation by inculcating necessary shared values, the prophetic role of religion is

less likely to uphold the existing order than to critique it and, sometimes, disrupt it. One has only to consider the historic involvement of religious communities in the movements for the abolition of slavery, for the suffrage and equality of women, and for civil rights for African-Americans and other minorities to see that prophetic role in action. The ongoing public debates about abortion, human sexuality, and the death penalty are fueled by differing understandings of prophetic religion.

Religious Militants, Fundamentalists, and Extremists

Popular discourse about the religious motivations for the events of 9/11, the war in Afghanistan, the violence between Israelis and Palestinians, and other conflicts generated or exacerbated by religious extremism, makes liberal usage of the religious categories of ‘militancy,’ ‘fundamentalism,’ and ‘religious nationalism.’ Some commentators automatically equate ‘fundamentalism’ with extremism, and use the term as a broad brush to paint every religiously pious, literate and committed believer. In this uninformed view, every believer is a militant, every militant is a fundamentalist, and every fundamentalist is an extremist. To confuse matters further, these are loaded words, often functioning as shorthand for ‘terrorist.’ The clear definition of these terms is a necessity if the complex relationship between religion and violence is to be properly understood.

In choosing terminology the authors of this report are aware that no set of terms will satisfy everyone. Explaining why a certain word is chosen (e.g. *extremist*), what is meant by it (one who employs violence as a privileged means of purifying the community or waging war against outsiders), and why it applies to some religious actors rather than others (whereas the extremist sees physical violence against enemies as a sacred duty, peacemakers strive to resist legitimizing violence) is the best that can be done. Both the extremist and the peacemaker are ‘militants.’ Both types ‘go to extremes’ of self-sacrifice in devotion to the sacred; both claim to be ‘radical,’—rooted in and renewing the basic tenets of their religious traditions. In these ways they distinguish themselves from people not motivated by religious precepts—and from the great middle ground of ordinary, everyday believers. The peacemaker renounces violence as an acceptable extreme and seeks to restrict conflict to techniques of diplomatic persuasion and methods of nonviolent activism. The peacemaker may resort to violence to defend human dignity, to actively protect the rights of persons—but they *resort* to violence, under strictly limited conditions. They do not embrace violence as a privilege of the righteous or as a divinely sanctioned means of achieving political goals. The peacemaker is committed to the cessation of violence and the resolution of conflict—*reconciliation or peaceful coexistence with the enemy is the ultimate goal*. The extremist, by contrast, exalts violence as a religious prerogative or even as a spiritual *imperative* in the quest for justice—*victory over the enemy is the ultimate goal*.^{xxxvii}

A real note of caution needs to be sounded regarding anti-Muslim stereotyping at this point. Being an observant Muslim, even a Muslim who does not wish to be accommodated to the surrounding culture, or a Muslim who questions U.S. foreign policy actions in the Middle East and South Asia, does not mean that one automatically supports intolerance, violence or terrorism.

This typology can be further examined by describing three broad orientations to religious and ethnic diversity.

The *exclusivist* is an enclave builder—one who insists that there is only one way of understanding reality and interpreting the sacred.

The *inclusivist*, by contrast, holds that while there are many viable religious traditions, com-

munities, and truths, one particular tradition is the culmination of the others and is superior to the others.

The *pluralist* holds that truth is not the exclusive possession of any one tradition or community; rather a diversity of communities and traditions is not seen as an obstacle to be overcome but as an opportunity for energetic engagement and dialogue with others. The pluralist does not give up particular religious commitments, but risks their transformation by participating in dialogue that can lead to mutual discovery.^{xxxviii}

(A fourth religious type, the *blender*, who brings elements from many different religious traditions into one systematic understanding, might also be elaborated. Classically known as syncretism, this practice may tend toward a form of intolerance because it fails to recognize the historical, cultural, doctrinal and practical uniqueness of each of the religious traditions from which it draws its characteristics.)^{xxxix}

These three orientations correspond to types of behavior toward the outsider, a category encompassing the ‘insufficiently orthodox’ co-religionist, the ‘fallen away,’ the adherent of a ‘false religion,’ the indifferent, the agnostic, and the nonbeliever. The best way to locate religious actors on this spectrum of description is to determine the degree of tolerance they exhibit toward outsiders. To be *tolerant* is, at a minimum, to respond to a set of beliefs and practices regarded as deviant or objectionable without forcible interference. Conversely, to be *intolerant* is not to practice such forbearance under the same circumstances. To be tolerant, then, is to resist the temptation to use violence or coercion against an individual or group of which one disapproves. Tolerance, in its strongest form, extends beyond disapproval, and even beyond an indifference or disregard; it is, rather, an attitude of respect for, affirmation of, and defense of the rights of others. Some thinkers have labeled this approach *pro-versity*. Proponents of this form of tolerance believe that they can benefit from the process of open give-and-take and mutual criticism, and gain from the new insights and knowledge gained from the dialogue. The pluralist practices the strongest form of tolerance, while the inclusivist adopts a weaker form (allowing but not affirming the differences). For the exclusivist, tolerance is an interim attitude and behavior required by law (or by weakness of political power or lack of arms) rather than embraced as a good in itself.^{xi}

The behavior of the religious extremist, who subordinates human life to what is understood as the divine purpose, falls consistently in the range of an exclusivist who will employ civic and/or violent intolerance. The nonviolent religious activist embraces tolerance as the equal of peace, and works to strengthen social and legal structures supporting religious freedom. It is important to remember that few people, religious or otherwise, are tolerant of everything or everybody.

Like all constructs, these are only relatively adequate as a guide to the behaviors of religious people. Nonetheless it may be said that broad patterns of inclusion/tolerance/nonviolence and exclusion/intolerance/violence recur as options confronting people caught in situations of heightened racial, ethnic or religious tension.

Most Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, Hindus and Jews object to the use of the term ‘fundamentalism’ within their respective traditions because it implies that their extreme co-religionists, who are a tiny minority of every religious tradition, are upholding or defending the basic ‘truths’ of the faith. The majority of believers do not see it that way; instead they consider the ‘fundamentalists’ in their midst to be an irresponsible minority whose claim to represent the ‘essence’

of the tradition is bankrupt. The overuse of the term, ‘fundamentalism,’ overlooks the details of individual religious movements and their unique social contexts, and so downplays their vast differences, which are far greater than their similarities. Strictly speaking, ‘fundamentalism’ should only be applied to the heirs of those North American Protestant Christians who coined the term in the early 20th century. Muslim ‘fundamentalists’ should more properly be called “Islamic supremacists,” (this report will use that term) Jewish ‘fundamentalists’ by specific Jewish designations, and so on.

But, when carefully defined, a comparative term such as ‘fundamentalism’ can help to differentiate broader patterns of religious activity in the real world. ‘Fundamentalism,’ in this sense, refers to a specific *pattern of religious militancy* by which self-styled true believers attempt to arrest the erosion of religious identity, fortify the barriers of religious community, and create viable alternatives to secular structures and processes.^{xli} Nothing in this definition suggests that fundamentalism necessarily promotes extreme violence and intolerance. The shared goal of fundamentalists, in their separate traditions, does not violate the tenets of a pluralist society.

The fundamentalist pattern of militancy begins as a reaction to the penetration of the religious community by secular or religious outsiders. In this situation the seeker of religious purity is tempted to build an enclave, a social and cultural system dedicated to the fortification of communal boundaries. Fundamentalists define outsiders to include a wide range of ‘others,’ ranging from compromising co-religionists to foreign troops, from their own governmental officials to Western businesspeople. These ‘outsiders’ are seen as agents of secularization, which is characterized as a ruthless process by which religious concerns are relegated to the margins of society.

The reaction takes the form of a selective retrieval of the sacred past—passages from the holy book, traditional teachings of a prophet or guru, heroic deeds or episodes from some ‘golden age,’ or some tragedy of the past. The purpose of this retrieval is to legitimate an innovative ideology and plan of action designed to protect the besieged ‘fundamentals’ of the faith and to fend off or conquer the outsider. With success comes an expansion of the agenda to include the attainment of greater political power, the transformation of political culture, and the moral purification of society. The movements begin as local religious enclaves but are increasingly capable of rapid response to their environment, and to international networking with like-minded groups from the same religious tradition. They draw their new members disproportionately from young, educated, underemployed or unemployed males; and they impose strict codes of personal discipline, dress, diet and other markers that set group members apart from others. They see sacred truths as the foundation for all genuine knowledge and religious values as the basis for all morality. They present their sacred texts and traditions as absolutely free from error. Secular knowledge is subordinated to sacred knowledge. They establish, then, their own set of intellectual resources and vocabulary, and feel free to engage and even develop new forms of computer and communications technologies, scientific research, and political organizations.

No matter how expertly or awkwardly fundamentalists imitate moderns, they remain dualists; they image the world divided into unambiguous realms of good and evil peopled by the elect and the reprobate, the pure and impure, the orthodox and the infidel. Most fundamentalists further dramatize this light-and-darkness thinking by setting it in an apocalyptic framework: the world is in a spiritual crisis, perhaps near its end, when God will bring terrible judgment on the ‘children of darkness.’ The ‘children of light’ understand themselves to be the agents of divine wrath, thereby justifying their violent intolerance toward outsiders on theological grounds. Fundamentalists tend to be ‘exceptionalists:’ they believe themselves to be living in an extraordinary time of cosmic struggle and danger. This special time is ‘exceptional’ not only in the sense of being unusual; its urgency requires true believers to

make exceptions, to depart from the general rules of the tradition.

How does a religion that normally advocates peace, compassion, forgiveness, justice and tolerance come to adopt a position of intolerance, hate, and violence? The answer is that ‘these are not normal times.’ The way of intolerance and extremism opens when and if believers come to think that their spirituality demands an obligation to trounce the unrighteous by whatever means necessary. The young person who joins a ‘fundamentalist’ movement feels, or is persuaded to feel, that the religious establishment has not adequately responded to the increasingly aggressive, secular, pluralistic, amoral threat of modern life. Shunning what they see as the passivity of the orthodox, fundamentalist leaders and followers transform a militant religious attitude (absolute devotion to the ‘will’ of God) into an extremist tactic (naming the infidel, demonizing the other, expelling the lukewarm.) The ability of religion to inspire ecstasy—literally, to lift the believer psychologically out of a worldly environment—stands behind the distinctive logic of religious violence. As illogical and unpredictable as this violence may appear to outsiders, it falls within a pattern of world-denial leading to the ecstasy of self-sacrifice that runs as a continuous thread through most religions.^{xlii}

Because Islam has been the subject of special attention since the events of 9/11, the Task Force has paid much attention to the widely publicized allegations that Islam is a violent religion. The Task Force finds such allegations to be utterly false. In fact, the very name of the faith tradition we know as Islam means “peace.” As we have noted in other sections of this report, Muslims in Kansas City are people who want to live in peace. A wide variety of statements by national and local Muslim leaders have repeatedly condemned the acts of 9/11, and have repudiated violence in general. We urge the following: Fearing a Muslim, or a Jew, or a Christian, or any other person of faith, simply because others also claiming that faith are violent is a form of prejudice which condemns us all.

Other Violent Movements

Fundamentalism is best understood as both a religious response to the marginalization of religion and an accompanying characteristic pattern of religious activity. While some militant religious movements or groups display similar patterns, fundamentalist movements strive to remain independent of forces that would reduce religion to an equal or subordinate position with ethnicity or nationalism as markers of group identity.

Some religious movements and groups collaborate willingly and openly with secular nationalists and ethnic extremists, and may share their goals. As in the former Yugoslavia, such religious movements and groups may be protecting a long-standing identification of religion and nation, and they may find themselves recruited or forced into playing political roles during times of intense crisis in society. Manipulated by secular political leaders, or in heated competition with other religious groups, they may devolve into violent extremism. Although segments of the Serbian Orthodox, Croatian Catholic and Bosnian Muslim communities developed characteristics of fundamentalism, the extremism on display in the former Yugoslavia was more ethnic than religious in character.

Extremist groups that are not fundamentalist, but are better categorized as ‘Christian white supremacist’ also perpetrate religious violence. The bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma in 1995 brought to public attention a network of violent Christian white supremacists, including the American Christian Patriots and the Christian Identity movement, both of which are ‘exceptionalists’ in outlook. Unlike fundamentalists, who draw their intellectual and organizational resources from religious traditions, the Christian supremacist movements and ‘citizen’s militias’ re-

cruit their members on radical political ideologies (opposition to the Internal Revenue Service, to legislation controlling ownership of firearms, and to other expressions of the supposed despotism of the U.S. government). After the individual joins the militia, the turn to violence is then supported by arcane and distorted theological interpretations of the scriptures.

Terrorist violence associated with religious cults also follows a different pattern than fundamentalist extremism. Cults stand at a distance from traditional religious organizations. Cult members pledge allegiance to an individual, who claims to have a 'direct' revelation from God, and claims to be exempt from the constraints of religious law, scripture or tradition. David Koresh, the leader of the Branch Davidians who died in the 1993 confrontation with federal officials, was such a charismatic leader.

Cult violence tends to follow one of two patterns. Caught up in anticipation of the day of judgment, cult members turn on themselves and perform ritual suicides (as in the case of Jonestown) or incite a deadly confrontation with the 'forces of evil (as with Koresh). At the other extreme, cult members foment indiscriminate violence against unsuspecting bystanders, as Aum Shinrikyo, an idiosyncratic mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism with end-of-the world notions of personal redemption, did by releasing nerve gas in the subways of Tokyo in 1995.

Fundamentalist extremist groups are willing to sacrifice their own members, but they do so in pursuit of concrete political or religious goals. Experts on terrorism describe religious violence as being more intense and leading to greater number of fatalities than secular terrorism. Their tendency to seek the elimination of broadly defined categories of enemies means that religious extremists are more inclined to risk large-scale violence to reach their goals than their secular counterparts.

Dehumanizing and Demonizing The 'Other'

Dehumanization is a social-psychological process that occurs when one group or nation prepares its people for the repression of or aggression against another group, leading to conflict, all-out war or even genocide. Combining unconscious denial of the truth, depersonalization, and a compartmentalization of moral reasoning, dehumanization ranges from treating the 'other' as superior to one's self, to considering the 'other' as a non-individual, to understanding the 'other' as someone to be feared or eliminated. In *Sanctions for Evil*, a study of the way societies prepare the way for destructive behavior, Nevitt Sanford and Craig Comstock write that dehumanization

“...protects the individual from the guilt and shame he would otherwise feel with primitive or antisocial attitudes, impulses, and actions that he directs toward those perceived in these categories: if they are subhuman, they do not merit treatment as human beings; if they are bad humans, their maltreatment is justified since their defects are their own fault.”

Identification of enemies, the seeking out of scapegoats, is a regular feature of inter-group relations in times of stress. Insults, degradation, and dehumanization are the early warning indicators in groups and nations that one part of the community is preparing itself psychologically to kill another.

The terrorist assaults of September 11, 2001, have raised the anxiety and fear levels of our society to new heights, tearing at the social fabric. Muslims, Arabs, Sikhs and South Asians have been the primary target of verbal harassment and violent assaults ranging from being spit upon to murder.

As was noted earlier, extreme religious leaders, perceiving ‘exceptional’ times, will make statements about their perceived enemies that do not directly call for violence, but make their intentions otherwise clear to their audience. The dehumanization process begins when a Christian leader, like the Rev. Dr. Franklin Graham, calls Islam a “wicked and evil religion,” says that “terrorism is part of mainstream Islam,” and opines that “the Koran teaches violence.” When the president of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Rev. Jerry Vines, says, “Muhammed was a demon-possessed pedophile,” and then refuses to retract it, he has sent an ambiguous message for his hearers to interpret. It is the perfect example of how a militant religious attitude (only Christians know the ‘truth’) leads to an extremist tactic.

Hate speech inspires hate crimes. On Friday, August 23, 2001, a Florida man, Robert Goldstein, was arrested for allegedly planning to blow up 50 mosques and an Islamic education center in the Tampa and St. Petersburg areas. He had possession of large amounts of explosives, a .50 caliber machine gun, and several rifles. A member of Jews for Jesus, a fundamentalist Christian sect comprised of converted Jews, Goldstein had prepared an elaborate plan to attack an Islamic education center. While the incident is still being investigated as of this writing, it does point to the disturbing pattern so commonly found in religious extremism.

(Another section of this report will deal specifically with the experiences of Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians in the Kansas City metropolitan area.)

Human Rights and Religious Traditions

Increasingly strong voices in the world’s faith traditions are focused on the dignity and rights of the individual as central to all religion. The basic importance of the protection of the rights of human beings of all races and religions is seen as foundational for any conception of justice and peace. There is a direct correlation between the state of human rights and domestic, regional, or international security.

Christianity

From a Christian perspective, Father Theodore Hesburgh, president emeritus of Notre Dame University, has written that the central point of Pope John XXIII’s encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*, is that all social systems based on justice and peace must be built on the concept of the human person and human rights. Further:

“There will be no peace where there is no justice, and no justice where human persons do not have these basic human rights. Too often these human rights are demanded for one’s own religious or ethnic group but not for the human person, whatever his or her group or location. It is their search for justice that inspires the exemplary religious leaders to guarantee people, whatever their nationality, religion, or ethnic back-ground, an opportunity to pursue these fundamental human rights. Indeed, the

significant religious leaders of our time see the pursuit of justice as a sacred obligation.”^{xliii}

This theme dominated a special address Pope John Paul II made to the UN General Assembly

in 1995. He said:

“In the context of the community of nations, the church’s message is simple, yet absolutely crucial for the survival of humanity and the world: The human person must be the true focus of all social, political, and economic activity. This truth... will point the way to healing the divisions between rich and poor, to overcoming the inequality between the strong and the weak, and to reconciling humans with themselves and with God. *For men and women are made in the image and likeness of God.* So people may never be regarded as mere objects, nor may they be sacrificed for political, economic or social gains. We must never allow them to be manipulated or enslaved by ideologies or technology. Their God-given dignity and worth as human beings forbid this.”^{xliv}

Dr. Carl Evans, chair of the religion department at the University of South Carolina, extends the human-centered theme in a paper called, “The Scriptural Basis for Peace among Islam, Judaism, and Christianity.”^{xlv} He starts with the recognition that Scripture can often serve to create conflict and division among groups; an appeal to Scripture is no guarantee that peace and harmony will result. A basic problem is the presuppositions that various all-too-human interpreters bring to Scripture.

Another problem arises from the fact that Scripture itself is a collection of many pieces of writing by many authors at different time periods. The writings are naturally shaped by the authors’ personal experience with the Divine and social location in the world. So, when one reads Scripture one should remember that the writer of a given passage *claims* that God said whatever is recorded. The encounter with God through Scripture is necessarily indirect. Evans says, “God is reflected in Scripture, yes, but just as importantly, God is beyond Scripture as the living, sovereign deity of the universe.” The challenge, then, is to discern the presence of God within and beyond Scripture, and this is much harder than simply quoting Scripture. One must work to determine the core values in Scripture.

The first core value is that **we all live in God’s world**. Muslims, Christians and Jews answer to the same God. God’s authority is not there to confirm our sectarian biases, but for us to become attuned to the presence of God in all of life. Non-theistic faiths may express this idea in different language, but the core value of the Infinite invariably places the finite in context.

The second core value, in Christian language, is the recognition that **all humans are created in God’s image**. While the world’s great religions may use different metaphors to teach this truth, a;; find ways of declaring that human beings have sacred worth as a birthright, and are deserving of dignity and respect in all relationships.

The third core value is the recognition that **our faith requires us to cross the boundary lines that normally divide us from each other**.

The fourth core value is the recognition that **justice is required for human societies to flourish and live in peace**. There is no peace without justice.

The moral imperative in the expression of inclusion of ‘all of God’s children’ is clear and inescapable. It is often, however, a struggle for ordinary people—and religious leaders—to accept. Indeed, it takes a great deal of work. The introspective work of Father Raymond Helmick, a Jesuit

peacemaker, is an example. In a speech delivered at a meeting of Christian and Muslim divinity students from the former Yugoslavia, he offered his thinking:

“As I pondered this question, I recognized that God, who reveals himself, can require of me that I remain faithful to his revelation as it is transmitted to me through the Christian tradition. Equally clearly, I have to admit that I cannot own God. I cannot demand that God act or disclose himself only as I know him through the tradition I have received. God remains free. God can reveal himself as he chooses.

I do not have the experience of knowing God through the tradition of Islam. But as I see the piety and the life of faith of the Muslim community—imperfect, of course, like my own—I find myself bound, even in faithfulness to God as he reveals himself in my own tradition, to recognize God at work in the faith of Muslims. This constitutes, I believe, no derogation of my Christian faith, but actually springs from it.”^{xlvi}

This statement of faith reveals the special problem for exclusivist doctrines in any religious system: Does any religion have the authority to tell God whom God may embrace and whom God cannot? Is not God free to love and save anyone?

Judaism

The greatest challenge faced by the Jewish people has been to physically survive Christian attempts to eradicate them from the earth. The Holocaust, the mass murder of six million Jewish men, women and children by the Nazis in Europe from 1933 to 1945, marked the most extreme measure of Christian anti-Semitism which is centuries old. Coexistence with Muslims has historically been a much easier road for the Jews, since the Qur’an accommodates them as a People of the Book. Jews and Muslims together created an extraordinary level of civilization in medieval Spain under Muslim rule from the 8th to the 14th century. And Jews do have a scriptural sanction for embracing the gentile ‘other.’

Marc Gopin, an Orthodox Jewish rabbi and an expert in the art of conflict resolution, describes the *ger*, the stranger, in Hebrew Bible law. The *ger* is not a Jew but

“...must be included in Jewish celebrations, cared for, and even loved. He is the quintessential outsider, which is a litmus test of the ethical conduct of the majority group. In fact, it is the loving care of strangers that is stated by the Hebrew Bible as the essential lesson of the Hebrew enslavement in Egypt. Furthermore, the religious law is meant to counteract the natural tendency of an abused group to pass that abuse on to others.”^{xlvii}

While attempting to characterize the command for compassion and hospitality toward the ‘other’ in Judaism, Gopin does not avoid the destructive pole of the ‘sacred.’ The “Day of the Lord,” both in the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Bible, is described by prophets as the most horrible of punishments for the ‘enemies of the Lord’ or ‘infidels.’ Both Testaments anticipate a cosmic battle between good and evil, “between those who follow God and those who are less than human, ‘the beast,’ which will be utterly destroyed in the most horrible way imaginable.” Note that psychological

early warning terms, the use of ‘beast’ and other epithets to describe enemies, is classic dehumanization.

Gopin notes one way of interpreting the Hebrew God’s retribution, citing a rabbinic discussion of Exodus 15:3: “The Lord is a man of war, the Lord is his name.” In this discussion, the Lord is acknowledged as a warrior, who fought the Egyptians. But in the Lord’s name lies the principle of compassion for all creatures. God hears the prayers of everyone who inhabits the world, and God’s ‘full name’ serves to circumscribe the definition of God as a warrior. In fact, if God is a warrior, then humans who fully trust God’s providence will not need to resort to violence themselves. The terms used by the rabbis indicate a specific intention to emphasize that God’s compassion is universal, not just for the ‘chosen people,’ but for all humanity, even the Egyptians who have been punished for their injustice and cruelty.^{xlvi}

There is a poignant account of the teachings of Samuel David Luzzato, (1800-1865), an Italian Orthodox Jewish theologian whose central ethical theme was Jewish sense of *hemleh*, compassion. This sentiment extended to all God’s creatures, even the non-human. Luzzato wrote:

“The compassion that Judaism commends is universal. It is extended, like God’s, to all of His creatures. No race is excluded from the Law, because all human beings, according to Jewish teaching, are brothers sisters, are children of the same Father, and are created in the image of God.”^{xlvi}

The poignancy comes from the fact that post-Holocaust translations of Luzzato’s work by Orthodox scholars substitute ‘all Jews’ for ‘all human beings’ in the quotation above. The misrepresentation reflects the pessimism and defensiveness of the Orthodox in particular, who were the targets of vicious repression and pogroms by Eastern European Christians, and who suffered indescribable losses in the Holocaust. It is little wonder that the all-embracing, ‘all God’s children’ theme has been hard to sell in the modern period.

Islam

The Muslim dilemma in embracing the ‘other’ is not unlike that of Judaism. The guidance of the Qur’an is explicit, even though there are apparent contradictions over the issue of whether Islam supercedes Judaism and Christianity as the latest of God’s self-disclosures. Adulaziz Sachedina, a professor of religious studies at the University of Virginia, maintains that the cornerstone of the creative narrative in the Qur’an is the principle of diversity, supporting the idea of democratic pluralism in Islam. The Qur’an suggests that the variety in humankind is one of the riches in God’s world. The guiding verse is:

“O humankind, we have created you male and female, and appointed you races and tribes, that you may know one another. Surely the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the most god fearing of you. Allah is All-Knowing, All-Aware.” (Qu’ran 49:14)

The principle that Allah is the God of all creation and one who recognizes and embraces all creation is clearly established. Another key verse rejects the idea of exclusivism in Islam, offering salvation to, at least, the other people of the Book:

“Surely they that believe, and those of Jewry, and the Christians, and those Sabaeans, who so believe in God and the Last Day, and the works of righteousness—their wage awaits them with their Lord, and no fear shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow.” (Qur’an 2:62)

Sachedina notes that the Qur’an is remarkably inclusive toward the people of the Book. He says:

“The unique characteristic of Islam is its conviction that belief in the oneness of God unites the Muslim community with all humanity because God is the creator of all human beings, irrespective of their religious traditions. The Qur’an declares that on the Day of Judgment all humans will be judged, irrespective of their sectarian affiliation, about their moral performance as citizens of the world community.”¹

The preciousness of the individual and the embrace by Allah of all peoples is the dominant theme of the Qur’an. It is, indeed, the essence of monotheism. The Qur’an reveals a set of ‘core values’ similar to those identified by the Christian, Dr. Carl Evans, and by the Jew, Marc Gopin.

Hinduism

The Hindu faith has a long history, going back several centuries before the Common Era, before even the name ‘Hinduism’ was known. It may well be the oldest of the world’s ‘classic’ religions.

Hindu beliefs about the equality of all beings are contained in the *Bhagavad Gita*, the most popular and influential of the holy writings of Hinduism. Hinduism’s theological understanding of diversity is reflected there, asserting that all forms of privilege, elitism, and prejudice are contrary to the Oneness of spirit that functions as the ground of all beings: The same Lord, or Self, dwells equally in all people, regardless of race, social status, or religion.

The following sections of the *Bhagavad Gita* are especially meaningful to Hindus in their understanding of the pursuit of justice and peace:

“One truly sees who sees the Supreme Lord dwelling equally in all beings, deathless in the dying.” XIII.27

“One who sees Me (the Lord) everywhere and sees everything in Me, never becomes separated from Me, nor do I become separated from him.” VI.30

“One who judges of pleasure or pain everywhere by the same standard he applies to himself, that Yogi is regarded as the highest.” VI.32

“One who, established in unity, worships Me (the Lord) dwelling in all beings, whatever his mode of life, that Yogi abides in me.” VI.31

One of the greatest proponents of modern Hinduism was Swami Vivekananda, a prolific

writer and public speaker. He was an advocate for social justice, education, poverty relief, and equality for all.

“This is the gist of all worship—to be pure and to do good to others. He who sees Shiva (God) in the poor, in the weak, and in the diseased, really worships Shiva; and if he sees Shiva only in his image, then his worship is only preliminary. He who has served, and helps one poor man seeing Shiva in him, without thinking of his caste, or creed, or race, or anything, with him Shiva is more pleased than with the man who sees Him only in temples.”

“What good is it if we acknowledge in our prayers that God is the Father of us all, and in our daily lives do not treat each man as our brother?”

“...the most tyrannical privilege of all is that of spirituality. If some persons think they know more of spirituality, of God, they claim a spiritual privilege over everyone else. They say, ‘Come down and worship us, ye common herds; we are the messengers of God, and you have to worship us.’ None can be Vedantists (Hindus), and at the same time admit of privilege for anyone. The same power is in everyone...”

Sikhism

The Sikh faith strongly opposes discriminatory practices wherever they might be found. The Guru Nanak founded Sikhism in Northern India over 500 years ago, on reformist and egalitarian principles. In his propagation of this new faith, Nanak spread messages of equality and peace. These messages, along with the writings of later Gurus are recorded in the *Guru Granth Sahib*, the sacred text of the Sikh faith. Sikhs place a high priority on personal freedom, believing that all persons have civil rights, including the freedom of religion. They have a long tradition of working for justice and defending the rights of the oppressed.

Sikhism opposes discrimination of all sorts, on the grounds that it is not for us very fallible human beings to judge one another. Human beings are all fashioned in the image of the Creator, and all life is sacred.

“The entire universe is made of the same clay. The Potter has it into all sorts of vessels. So who can say who is good, and who is bad? O people, O Siblings of Destiny, do not wander deluded by doubt. The Creation is in the Creator, and the Creator is in the Creation, totally pervading and permeating all things. The clay is the same, but the Fashioner has fashioned it in various ways. There is nothing wrong with the pot of clay. There is nothing wrong with the Potter. The One True Lord abides in all; by his making everything is made.”

Buddhism

What is religion? Harold Kushner answers this question in his book, *Who Needs God?* where he states: “Religion is not primarily a set of beliefs, a collection of prayers, or a series of rituals. Religion is first and foremost a way of seeing. It can’t change the facts about the world we live in, but it

can change the way we see those facts, and that in itself can often make a real difference.” His thoughts are very much in line with Buddhist thinking.

Buddhism does not feel it has a corner on truth when it comes to religion. Because Buddhism is not based upon articles of faith, its practitioners are encouraged to find the truth for themselves. So if one reserves the right to find the truth for oneself, then one must logically accord the same right to others—and must respect them if they arrive at different conclusions. Even His Holiness the Dalai Lama discourages seekers from converting to Buddhism. Instead he tells them, “Don't convert to Buddhism; instead if you are a Jew, become a better Jew, if you are a Christian, become a better Christian.”

Buddhism places a very high value upon the dignity and the rights of the individual. This is especially true when it comes to the role of peacemaking. From the Buddhist perspective nearly all of the suffering and conflicts in the world today comes from the attachments to the afflictive emotions of our mind. Afflictive emotions such as anger, greed, lust, and delusion result in a great deal of suffering. Powerful emotions such as anger and hate begin with thoughts in one's own mind.

From the *Pali Canon*, the original words of the Buddha, he said:

“Entangled by the bonds of hate, he who seeks his own happiness by inflicting pain on others, is never delivered from hatred.”
Dhammapada 291

His Holiness Dalai Lama was once asked the best way to achieve world peace. His simple response contained such a universally profound truth. He said: “To achieve world peace, we must first have peace in our own hearts.”

When asked to explain the true meaning of compassion, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said:

“I would like to explain the meaning of compassion, which is often misunderstood. Genuine compassion is based not on our own projections and expectations, but rather on the rights of the other: irrespective of whether another person is a close friend or an enemy, as long as that person wishes for peace and happiness and wishes to overcome suffering, then on that basis we develop genuine concern for his or her problem. This is genuine compassion. Usually when we are concerned about a close friend, we call this compassion. This is not compassion; it is attachment.

Even in marriage, those marriages that last only a short time do so because of attachment—although it is generally present—but because there is also compassion. Marriages that last only a short time do so because of a lack of compassion; there is only emotional attachment based on projection and expectation. When the only bond between close friends is attachment, then even a minor issue may cause one's projections to change. As soon as our projections change, the attachment disappears, because that attachment was based solely on projection and expectation. It is possible to have compassion without attachment, and similarly, to have anger without hatred. Therefore, we need to clarify the distinctions between compassion and attachment, and between anger and hatred. Such clarity is useful in our daily

life and in our efforts toward world peace. I consider these to be basic spiritual values for the happiness of all human beings, regardless of whether one is a believer or a nonbeliever.”

It is, of course, not enough to highlight the universality of God’s embrace of all human beings as though a presentation of these core values will suddenly arrest the hatred among so many religious people of the world.

Interfaith Considerations

The Kansas City Interfaith Council has developed a model that helps to understand the levels of interfaith engagement.

1. Many people now know the dangers of religious prejudice. They believe that everyone has the right to one’s own religion, or none. This is the first, most superficial level of engagement with other faiths. It is an advance from the days when people were forcibly converted to another faith or denied opportunities because of their traditions. Home associations can no longer prevent Jews from buying in their areas. While Wiccans and other minorities still encounter discrimination from time to time, we have come a long way.

2. We can move from only respecting the others’ rights to their own faiths to respecting their faiths as well. This is a subtle but crucial distinction. It is one thing to agree you have the right to have whatever painting you wish in your living room, and it is another thing to learn why it is beautiful to you, even if I do not want it in my living room.

3. We take another step toward deeper understanding when we participate in interfaith exchange. We need a mirror to see ourselves. When Christians discover why Jesus is so revered by Muslims, when Tibetan Buddhists and Jews tell their stories of suffering, when Hindus and American Indians share dances, all can see their own heritage more clearly with the mirror of the other. Rather than confounded, faiths in mutual encounter are mutually purified.

4. But there is an even fuller engagement. The mirrors of faith transmit and reflect the holy from many angles. Bringing and focusing them together, a powerful, curative light can shine to heal the three great wounds of our fragmented age: we can apply the wisdom of the world’s faiths to the endangered environment, the violation of personhood, and the broken community.

A more fundamental problem may arise simply from the metaphor by which we understand the events of September 11. A religious analysis can provide us with alternatives. Religion is a field in which metaphors are essential. Our attempts to speak about the Infinite are defeated by finite language, so we resort to metaphors to point to that which is beyond our limited understandings. While metaphors can be useful, they become dangerous when we mistake the metaphor for the reality; as Alfred Korzbyski said, “the map is not the territory.”

Nothing as complex as what was revealed on September 11, 2001 can be comprehended in any single word, or image, or metaphor. We saw unimaginable evil and we also saw bravery beyond telling. We may separate these images in our conversation but they are aspects of one unfolding process underway long before September 11 and which will continue beyond our sight.

Until September 11, terrorism had usually been understood as a ‘crime.’ The violation of life and property in an otherwise orderly society makes the terrorist an especially despised outlaw. We employ a well-established legal system to assure justice by punishing the criminal and removing the criminal from society. International courts have done the same.

Since September 11 we have used a ‘war’ metaphor. Of course the metaphor is hardly new. We have fought the war against poverty and currently fight the war against drugs. But a war against terrorism is new. The metaphor has power because we struggle not just against an isolated attack, but against an organized force seeking not just advantage through harm of a target’ but rather destruction of a government. Though we ourselves use violence in response, we conceive of ourselves as called toward righteousness as we seek victory over evil. The danger here for us is that we too easily can fall into self-righteousness and over-simplification of the forces we think are arrayed against us.

Both the metaphors of crime and war commend themselves because they are simple. We are good—and our opponents are evil.

Perhaps a third metaphor might come closer to the complexity of the situation: ‘disease.’ Here the image is not of two separate, competing powers, but of all humanity composing a sick body. Tiny microbes are now part of the physique's organic system, but threaten it with debilitation or death. Some might say the causes of the disease are the poisons of greed, fear, and ignorance.

Some might view history this way: We overthrew the democratic government of Iran and installed the oppressive Shah. This led to the theocratic revolution in Iran and the taking of the American Embassy and its personnel as hostages. Then we supported Saddam Hussein in Iraq because he fought Iran. Then, after our ambassador gave him the green light to invade Kuwait, we fought him. In order to defeat Soviet advances in Afghanistan we empowered forces there which we later fought to overthrow. We vowed that Osama bin Laden might run, but he could not hide, and yet a year later he has not been found, and some studies suggest that our efforts to end the funding mechanisms of his terrorist groups have been ineffective. Some accounts indicate that we have killed more innocent Afghans than were killed by the terrorists on September 11.

We need not accept this particular narrative (and many others that could be listed) as indictments against ourselves. We did the best we could considering the political interests in our country and the realities of the international scene. But a religious perspective calls upon us to examine ourselves, how others see us, and those actions we may have undertaken even with the best of intent, which have helped to create the situation we now encounter.

The seduction of self-righteousness with a war metaphor can be resisted if we also entertain alternative metaphors. All three metaphors are found in the world's religions. No single metaphor can fully capture the situation. Many metaphors may, like a balanced diet, restore us to spiritual health.

We conclude with the final words of Huston Smith’s book, *The Illustrated World's Religions*.ⁱⁱ

. . . In addition to our own traditions, we listen to the faith of others, including the secularists. We listen first because our times require it. Daily the world grows smaller, leaving understanding the only place where peace can find a home. Those who listen work for peace, a peace built not on religious or political hegemonies, but on mutual awareness and concern. For understanding brings respect, and respect prepares the way for a

higher capacity which is love.

Understanding, then, breeds love; but the reverse also holds. Love brings understanding—the two are reciprocal. So we must listen to understand, while realizing that to the extent that compassion increases we will listen more attentively, for it is impossible to love another without hearing that other. If we are to be true to the wisdom traditions, we must attend to others as deeply and as alertly as we hope that they will attend to us. For as Thomas Merton once noted, God speaks to us in three places: in scripture, in our deepest selves, and in the voice of the stranger.

Said Jesus, ‘Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.’

Said the Buddha, ‘He who would may reach the utmost height, but he must be eager to learn.’

If we do not quote the other religions on these points it is because their words would be redundant.

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Appendices

1. Description of “Religion” for This Report

Religion is the human response to a reality perceived as sacred. Religion, as an interpreter of the sacred, discloses and celebrates the transcendent source and significance of human existence. Such an ambitious enterprise requires a formidable array of symbolic, moral and organizational resources. In a common formula: religion embraces a creed, a cult, a code of conduct, and a confessional community. A creed defines the standard of beliefs and values concerning the ultimate origin, meaning, and purpose of life. It develops from primal narratives—symbol-laden stories of sacred encounters—and finds official expression in doctrines and dogmas. Cult encompasses the prayers, devotions, spiritual disciplines, and patterns of communal worship that give richly suggestive ritual expression to the creed. A code of conduct defines the explicit moral norms governing the behavior of those who belong to the confessional community. **So religion constitutes an integral culture, capable of forming personal and social identity and influencing the experience and behavior of the religious person in profound ways.**

Cultural pluralism rests in large part on the multiple interpretations people give to experiences they understand to be religious. The combinations of creed, code, cult, and type of religious community in the late 20th century are as numerous and diverse as the social identities, political parties, and legal claims that they support. As of community of response to the sacred, a religion can be world affirming or world renouncing, loosely organized or intricately structured, non-theistic, monotheistic or polytheistic.

To complicate matters, in common language the word *religion* may be used to refer not only to the formally organized community of practice, but also to the beliefs and spirituality of individual believers, subgroups, or movements operating at various distances from the institution and the official custodians of the tradition. Individuals and subgroups adapt the sacred stories, laws and rituals of the host tradition to specific purposes. Religious actors may thereby deviate from the strictures of the host religion, even though they have inherited specific spiritual practices. They sometimes consider themselves to be the “bearers of the true faith.” Other spiritually motivated actors act independently from, and even in defiance of, organized religion.

The spiritual freedom of individual religious people notwithstanding, the term religion (from the Latin *religare*, “to bind together,” suggests a communal orientation and common purpose. Most people find their religious bearings in a multigenerational religious community grounded in a distinctive tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation.

In spite of the internal diversity of religions and spiritualities in the modern world, it is still meaningful to speak of the world’s major or “great” religious traditions, those centuries-old families of believers that spawned civilizations, and within whose broad and sometimes fluid boundaries one still finds the vast majority of the world’s population. At the same time, these great traditions are constantly evolving, changing in social composition, theological understanding, ideology, and institutional structures.

2. Personal Statement about Post-September 11 Harassment

Practically every Muslim American can give you a story or two about what has happened to him or her, to a family member, or to a friend in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks. While my story might not be incredibly unique, it definitely changed my personal beliefs on racial profiling and the importance of civil liberties that has now deeply embedded my psyche in a number of social justice issues.

About a couple days after the tragedy, the FBI paid a visit to my older brother Farooq, a Columbia University writing student living in New York City. They questioned him about his roommate (our cousin) Murtaza and his father Shakir. At that time, Murtaza was visiting Shakir Uncle at their house in the United Arab Emirates. Apparently, the FBI was intrigued by the amount of medical equipment that Shakir Uncle had shipped from the United States to the United Arab Emirates (a few weeks ago, Shakir Uncle opened his own hospital in the United Arab Emirates). My brother willingly answered all of the FBI's questions, and they left without a problem. A couple weeks later, the Kansas division of the FBI visited my parents and sister in our house in Leawood, Kansas, a suburb of Kansas City. Apparently, these law enforcement officials stated that Farooq's name had been on a list of people they were supposed to check out. My mother sat down with the FBI and fully discussed the past 25 years of our family's life. She was even told to show them baby and childhood pictures of my siblings and me. A half-hour later, the FBI officers thanked my mom for her time and told her that if my family had any further problems, we could contact them. However, my mother did not take the FBI's visit as well as my brother. She was in a state of bewilderment and could not understand how the law enforcement of the country she loved could even think her family was remotely involved in anything illegal, albeit the deadliest terrorist attack in American history. My mother even tried to convince my father to legally change our last name "Ahmed" so we would not have any more trouble. My parents moved from the slums of India and then the streets of New York to suburban Kansas to escape any slight danger, but it seemed solely because of their faith, the possibility of danger was finding them—and their children. In mid-October, my brother had a more unpleasant post September 11 experience (which made the November 22 issue of Rolling Stone magazine). While he was hanging out in an uptown New York restaurant, a couple of New York City firefighters—yes, the same heroes—threatened to kill my brown-skinned, bearded brother for what "his people" had done.

While these stories upset me, I truly didn't understand how devastated racial profiling can make someone feel until it happened to me. Actually, the FBI stories slightly amused me, because I had faith that the FBI was just doing its job and that my family had nothing to hide; therefore, everything was going to be all right. Flying back from Kansas City to Washington, D.C. after Thanksgiving break—to attend the Stanford in Washington program and continue my internship at the U.S. Department of State—completely changed how I felt. My story begins at the Midwest Express Airlines counter after I hand the attendant my State Dept. ID. He types my name into the computer, looks at the computer, and says, "I've never seen that before." He then calls his manager, who takes a quick glance at the computer screen and disappears in the back to make a phone call. Desperately trying not to look or act "suspicious," I wait about 10 minutes until the manager comes out with a slightly worried look on her face. While on the phone, she quickly asks the attendant where my ID was from. In a surprising, soft tone, he says, "State Department." Not hearing him, the manager responds anxiously, "What state? What state?" The attendant responds more clearly, "No, the U.S. Department of State. He works for the government." The manager then turns to me, asks to see my ID, and then begins

reading all the information on it to the person on the other end of the phone line. About 10 minutes later, after I am apparently fully cleared to fly, the manager takes me to another computer and prints my boarding pass, without offering me an apology for the delay.

As I turn around to head for the boarding gate, I see all the people in line at the ticket counter glaring at me, and I know what exactly is on their minds. As I sit down at the gate, there are similar stares; therefore, I open a book and try not to make eye contact with anyone. I felt disgusted that just because of my brown skin and a “mishap” at the ticket counter, my fellow passengers viewed me as someone who could possibly blow up their airplane. It was at that moment where I, for the first time, felt that racial profiling is 100 percent equivocally wrong, because once American officials and laws start justifying treating people differently solely based on their race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc., the American public will begin to treat those people as outsiders. People who support racial profiling in airports argue that racial profiling will make flying safer for Americans; what they forget is that Muslim Americans and Arab Americans are Americans too and deserve the rights and respect as American citizens. I realized that my story **pales** in comparison to the Muslim women who have been harassed and assaulted, the Sikh convenience store clerk who was shot to death, the mosques that have been bombed or vandalized, or the Arab and South Asian men who were actually kicked off airplanes. With my level of education and interest in law and social justice, I knew from then on, that I had to do something in my life to stop these injustices in the country I love. And I believe I am in the only country where I feel I have the power to change what I know is wrong.

Since the events mentioned in the preceding essay, my brother Farooq was also harassed and questioned by a Midwest Express ticket agent at the Kansas City International Airport. They did not let him board the plane until all of his carry-on and checked luggage was completely manually checked. He was the only one on the flight asked to do this. In addition, just after boarding a flight from Santiago, Chile to Atlanta, Georgia, Farooq was the only passenger removed from the aircraft and forced to talk with Chilean and U.S. officials before re-boarding the plane. He later received an apology from the pilot. Lastly, the “random” security checks they do before flying these days are anything but random for my family. More than 50 percent of the time when flying, a member of my family has been asked to step aside during one of these checks. Since September 11, I have flown from most major airports in the United States, including Washington D.C., New York, Chicago, and Miami, and I can say that Kansas City International Airport by far had done the most amount of racial profiling and harassment toward me and my family.

Submitted by Sameer Ahmed

**BIAS CRIME INCIDENT REPORT SUMMARY
PERPETRATOR INFORMATION CENTER**

Date CRN Detective	Location	Type of Report Suspect(s)	Comments/Type of Bias Involved Case and Suspect Disposition
There were no Bias Crime Incidents Reported to this Office for June, 2001.			
There were no Bias Crime Incidents Reported to this Office for July, 2001.			
There were no Bias Crime Incidents Reported to this Office for August, 2001.			
5. 09-04-01 01-091546	10500 block of Grandview Rd	Phone Threat	Unknown caller stated, 'Did you hear about the bomb that went off in Jerusalem... watch your back...'
6. 09-11-01 01-091608	400 block of Westport	Phone Threat	An unknown male telephoned the café and stated "Payback bitch, you Arabic mother fucker."
7. 09-12-01 01-091931	10500 block of Grandview Rd	Phone Threat	Victim received a threatening phone message stating, "get the fuck out of the country you fucking camel jockey mother fucker's... you just committed mass suicide."
8. 09-13-01 01-092205	10500 block of Grandview Rd	Phone Threats	Two males, one female caller threatening them—telling them to go back to their country, they will die if they don't, etc. One caller identified himself as a member of the 51st Militia of Missouri.

**BIAS CRIME INCIDENT REPORT SUMMARY
PERPETRATOR INFORMATION CENTER**

Date CRN Detective	Location	Type of Report Suspects(s)	Comments/Type of Bias Involved Case and Suspect Disposition
9. 09-13-01 01-092185	2400 block of NE 43rd	Misc Invest - Threats	Suspect asked if victim was watching the news regarding the attack on the United States—stated, “everything is food for thought for Signature (owners of the apartments).”
10. 09-18-01 01-093912	3200 block of Brighton	Misc Invest - Harassment	Victim received threatening letter, statements were made relating to attack at World Trade Center, threat to bomb apartments.
11. 09-22-01 01-095580	6000 block of Kenwood	Harassment - Letter	Victims received very threatening letter in their mailbox—stating “they will suffer consequences of the actions of the Muslims”—the letter also stated “they would meet their maker by October 15.”
12. 10-01-01 01-098757	5400 block of Blue Parkway	Harassments - Phone Threats	Reporting party, who is Pakistani, received threatening phone calls, from an unknown male caller accusing him of hiring illegal aliens, and made threats to come to the store and shoot them.

**BIAS CRIME INCIDENT REPORT SUMMARY
PERPETRATOR INFORMATION CENTER**

Date CRN Detective	Location	Type of Report Suspects(s)	Comments/Type of Bias Involved Case and Suspect Disposition
13. 10-01-01 01-098784	10500 block of Grandview	Harassments - Threatening Letters	The school received a letter stating that "All Muslims must die! US does not want you here! Get out!"
14. 10-09-01 01-101738	7300 block of Cleveland	Arson	Calling party discovered burning cross on the ground in front of the church—each log had writing stating, "KKK, it's like the Bush, Regan, and Nixon, ambulance, Fire and KCPD"
15. 10-10-01 01-101817	7300 block of Cleveland	Property damage	Officers responded to an intrusion alarm call and found several windows broken. Also discovered writing on the windows as follows: "KCPD it's like that. And Holy war in the name of Allah."
16. 10-12-01 01-102704	8500 block of E 99th Street	Harassment - Phone Threats	Victim received a phone call from a caller who stated. "Hi Mustafa, this is your old buddy Sam. I know your full name Mustafa Hussein. If you do not turn those terrorist cells in. I will kill you myself, I know where you live."

**BIAS CRIME INCIDENT REPORT SUMMARY
PERPETRATOR INFORMATION CENTER**

Date CRN Detective	Location	Type of Report Suspects(s)	Comments/Type of Bias Involved Case and Suspect Disposition
17. 10-16-01 01-104143	8200 block of Bannister Road	Assault (Agg)	Subject was walking down the street when the suspects approached in a vehicle and called him, "An Arabic mother fucker," several times. They then pulled in front of him and exited their vehicle and began striking and beating the victim. He suffered a broken leg and arm in the assault.
18. 10-20-01 01-105479	4700 block of JC Nichols	Assault (NAG)	The victim was working as a cab driver and picked the suspect up. During the ride, the suspect began asking questions about the victim's background, eventually becoming irate, saying, "Fuck you, you Afghanistan, Fuck you". The victim stopped the cab at which time the suspect got out, still yelling, hit the top of the cab with his fists, and threw an empty plastic bottle at the victim, striking him in the chest.

4. Governmental Civil Rights/Human Rights Agencies and Commissions

Federal Agencies

U.S. Civil Rights Commission

Central Regional Office

Melvin Jenkins, Director

Suite 908

400 State Avenue

Kansas City, KS 66101

913-551-1400

jdanielsusccr@netscape.net

www.usccr.gov

National Complaint Hotlines: 1-800-552-6643 or 1-866-768-7227

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is an independent, bipartisan, fact-finding agency of the executive branch established under the Civil Rights Act of 1957. The Commission has the following mandate:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of race, color, religion, sex, age, disability, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information relating to discrimination or denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to discrimination or the denial of equal protection of laws;
- Serve as a national clearing house for information in respect to discrimination or denial of equal protection of laws;
- Submit reports, findings and recommendations to the President and Congress;
- Issue public service announcements to discourage discrimination or denial of equal protection of laws.

Since the Commission lacks enforcement powers that would enable it to apply specific remedies in individual cases, it refers complaints to the appropriate Federal, State, or local government agency or private organization for action.

U.S. Department of Education

Office of Civil Rights

Kansas City Enforcement Center

10220 N. Executive Hill Blvd., 8th Floor

Kansas City, MO 64153

816-880-4200

www.ed.gov

The Office of Civil Rights enforces four Federal statutes that prohibit discrimination in pro-

grams and activities receiving Federal financial assistance from the Department of Education:

- Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color and national origin;
- Title IX prohibits sex discrimination;
- Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prohibits discrimination on the basis of disability;
- The Age Discrimination Act of 1975 prohibits age discrimination.

The Office of Civil Rights investigates complaints filed by individuals, or their representatives, who believe they have been discriminated against in those areas as they relate to programs and activities in the field of education. Contact the Regional Office to file a complaint.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Office for Civil Rights, Region VII
601 E. 12th Street, Room 248
Kansas City, MO 64106
816-426-7277
TDD: 816-426-7065
www.dhhs.gov/ocr

The Office of Civil Rights is responsible for ensuring equal opportunity and compliance with laws prohibiting discrimination in the provision of health and human services. Its duties include:

- Receiving and investigating complaints alleging discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, national origin, age, or disability;
- Conducting compliance reviews;
- Conducting studies and surveys, publicizing findings, offering conciliation services, and providing training.

Contact the Regional Office to file a complaint.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity
Gateway Tower II, 400 State Avenue
Kansas City, KS 66101
913-551-6958
TDD: 913-551-6972
www.hud.gov/offices/ftheo

The Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity is responsible for enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the fair housing laws, and the Americans with Disabilities Act, which ban discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, or disability, in Federally assisted or Federally conducted housing programs. Its services include:

- Conciliation services;
- Holding hearings, conducting studies, issuing reports;
- Providing testimony in litigation;

- Offering public education, training and technical assistance programs.
- Contact the Regional Office to file a complaint.

U.S. Department of Justice
Community Relations Service
Region VII
1100 Main Street, Room 320
Kansas City, MO 64105
816-426-7434
www.usdoj.gov/crs

The Community Relations Service assists and aids communities in resolving civil rights disputes, conflicts, and difficulties related to race, color, or national origin. Areas of concern include employment, education, housing, and the administration of justice. Its services include:

- Receiving and investigating complaints;
- Offering conciliation services;
- Conducting educational programs;
- Publicizing its findings;
- Offering training and technical assistance.

Contact the Regional Office to file a complaint.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Kansas City Area Office
Gateway Tower II, 400 State Avenue, Suite 905
Kansas City, KS 66101
913-551-5655

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is charged with enforcing the following Federal statutes:

- Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;
- The Age Discrimination in Employment Act;
- The Equal Pay Act;
- Title I of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which prohibits employment discrimination against people with disabilities in the private sector as well as Federal, State, and local governments;
- Sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

Contact the Regional Office to file a complaint.

5. State Human Rights Commissions

Kansas Human Rights Commission

William V. Minner, Executive Director
900 S.W. Jackson, Suite 851-S
Topeka, KS 66612
Toll Free: 1-888-793-6874
Voice: 785-296-3206
TTY: 785-296-0245
www.khrc.net

The mission of the Kansas Human Rights Commission is to prevent and eliminate discrimination and assure equal opportunities in all employment relations, to eliminate and prevent discrimination, segregation or separation, and to assure equal opportunities in all places of public accommodation and in housing. Its duties include:

- Receiving and investigating complaints of discrimination based on race, religion, color, sex, disability, ancestry, national origin, age in the area of employment, familial status in the area of housing, and retaliation;
- Offering third-party mediation services;
- Offering training, technical assistance and public information presentations and resources.

A complaint may be filed personally or through an attorney with the Topeka office. Employment and public accommodations complaints must be filed within six months, and housing complaints must be filed within one year.

Missouri Department of Labor and Industrial Relations
Commission on Human Rights
4049 Pennsylvania, Suite 150
Kansas City, MO 64111
816-889-5100
TDD: 816-889-5106
www.dolir.state.mo.us/hr

The mission of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights is to develop, recommend and eliminate discrimination in the workplace, public accommodations, and housing. Discrimination may be based on race, color, religion, national origin, ancestry, sex, physical/mental disability, age, or familial status. Its services include:

- Receiving and investigating complaints;
- Providing conciliation services;
- Offering training and informational resources.

6. Local Human Relations and Human Rights Commissions

Jackson County Commission for Human Relations and Citizens' Complaints
Deborah Tircuit, Director

Jackson County Courthouse
415 E. 12th Street, 7th Floor
Kansas City, MO 64106
816-881-3670
www.jacksongov.org

The Office of Human Relations and Citizens' Complaints exists to discourage and resolve unfairness and ensure compliance with the statutes of Jackson County. Its duties include:

- Receiving and investigating complaints of discriminatory acts or practices with respect to employment, public accommodations, or housing, based on race, creed, color, sex, religion, national origin, or ancestry;
- Receiving and investigating complaints of harsh, oppressive, unjust or unfair actions of omission on the part of any county officer, board, commission, or employee in the performance of official duties;
- Improving county personnel policies and practices in these matters;
- Reviewing contracts and commitments of the county to prohibit discriminatory employment practices;
- Encouragement of reconciliation between individuals and groups of diverse circumstances, and between citizens and county government;
- Promoting improvement of human relations and the protection of civil rights and liberties through educational programs and the enactment of ordinances by the legislature;
- Making and publicizing findings and recommendations.

Contact the office to file a complaint.

Independence Missouri Human Relations Commission

City of Independence
Personnel Department
223 N. Memorial Drive
Independence, MO 64050
816-325-7798

The Commission receives, hears and investigates complaints, and initiates its own investigations, and reports to the City Council on all racial, religious, and ethnic group tensions, prejudice, intolerance, bigotry, and discrimination, and breaches of the peace that result from it. Contact the office to file a complaint.

Kansas City Missouri Human Relations Department

Michael Bates, Director
City Hall
414 E. 12th Street, 4th Floor
Kansas City, MO 64106
816-523-1836
www.kcmo.org/humanrights

The Human Relations Department promotes, encourages and stimulates a spirit of understand-

ing among all citizens in Kansas City, Missouri. The Department has four divisions and a Human Rights Commission.

- The Civil Rights Division is responsible for enforcing the city’s Civil Rights Ordinance, which prohibits discrimination in employment, housing and public accommodations on the basis of race, national origin, religion, disability, sex, age, sexual orientation, familial status or marital status. A complaint should be made should be made to the office.
- The Community Relations/Conflict Resolutions Division offers mediation and other alternative dispute resolution for a variety of conflicts (landlord and tenant, neighbors, spouse or mates, employer and employee, etc.). Contact Rhonda Harris at 816-513-1823.
- The Affirmative Action Division is responsible for ensuring that all vendors and contractors doing business with the city are in compliance with the city’s Civil Rights Ordinance. The unit helps vendors and contractors develop positive affirmative action programs to employ minorities and women.
- The Disadvantaged/Minority/Women Business Enterprise Division administers the city’s program and certifies that companies are in compliance before contracts are offered.
- The Human Rights Commission is a seven-member body that monitors, holds hearings, and reports on a variety of civil and human rights issues, including civil rights, hate group activity, hate and bias crimes, and bias practices in employment, housing and public accommodations. It has task forces on education, labor, religion, hate and bias crimes; works with civil rights and community organizations to review patterns of discrimination and hate crimes; and holds hearings on general or specific civil and human rights issues affecting Kansas City Citizens. To report a bias or hate crime, contact the Kansas City Missouri Police Department. To contact the Human Rights Commission, contact LaSandra Pearl at 816-513-1827.

Olathe Kansas Human Relations Commission

Bobby Love, Administrator
Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity
Olathe City Hall
300 North Chestnut
Olathe, KS 66061
913-393-6260

The Human Relations Commission has the power to eliminate and prevent segregation and discrimination, or separation of employment, in all places of public accommodations and housing because of race, religion, color, sex, disability, national origin or ancestry, and in housing because of familial status. Olathe also has a “Bias and Hate Crimes” ordinance. To report a bias or hate crime, contact the Olathe Police Department.

Unified Government of Wyandotte County and Kansas City Kansas
Human Relations Commission

Municipal Office Building
701 N. 7th Street
Kansas City, KS 66101
914-573-5010

The Human Relations Commission has the power to prevent discrimination and segregation in employment, public accommodations, and housing because of race, religion, color, national origin, age, gender, sexual orientation, ancestry and disability. The Unified Government has adopted an ethnic intimidation ordinance, which applies to misdemeanor crimes including assault, battery, criminal damage to property, harassment by telephone and unlawful use of weapons. To report a bias or hate crime, contact the Kansas City Kansas Police Department.

7. Diversity Advocacy Organizations

Note: These organizations represent only the beginning of a more comprehensive database of diversity advocacy and resource organizations being compiled by Kansas City Harmony.

American Friends Services Committee
4405 Gillham Road
Kansas City, MO 64110
816-931-5256
Fax: 816-561-5033
afskc@afsc.org
www.afsc.org

The mission of the Kansas City Program of American Friends Service Committee: To reduce violence and the culture that supports violence with attentions to empowering youth; to increase racial justice; to counter and reduce the influence of militarism in schools; to increase understanding among the diverse members of our community; to communicate and promote nonviolent approaches to injustice and domestic and international conflict.

AFSC's Racial Justice Program: Takes a proactive approach working with affected communities to identify and address systemic and individual racism, through efforts developed in partnership with the communities involved.

Help Increase the Peace Project (HIPP): Offers interactive workshops for middle and high school-aged youth to increase understanding, reduce violence and prejudice, and foster skills of youth leadership, nonviolence and social action.

Forum Theatre: Utilizes theater to identify community-wide concerns and empower individuals to act. Forum theater provides a path to clarify and rehearse choices when responding to social problems. Particular focus is placed on cross-culture exchanges.

Recognizing that youth, especially youth of color, are subject to "a poverty draft," The Youth and Militarism program provides information about life in the military, to enable youth to make informed enlistment decisions and to know about alternatives.

Sanctuary for Freedom Campaign: Invites area residents to join community efforts to defend

civil liberties and the passage of legislation in area city councils.

AFSC offers weekly coffee house discussions, a quarterly newsletter, and volunteer opportunities for individuals interested in helping to impact our community and public opinion to promote greater social justice and peace in our world. Teenagers are also invited to participate in AFSC's youth leadership and social action institute, a year-long program providing training and support for groups of youth in special action projects.

Coalition of Hispanic Organizations (COHO)

5315 Rockhill Road
Kansas City, MO 64110
816-235-6286
Fax: 816-235-6580
estebanc@umkc.edu
www.uoealliances.com/COHO

COHO is a collaborative group of Latino-focused organizations in Kansas and Missouri which work together to improve the quality of life for Latinos through education and advocacy.

Civil Rights Committee: Functions as an advocate and resource on Latino civil rights issues. Committee members often act as a liaison with government and business entities identifying and recommending solutions to issues facing Latinos.

Education Committee: Maintains open communication between COHO and area school districts. Focuses on parental involvement, legislation, policy changes and the advancement of Latino students.

Health & Social Services Committee: Promotes information and education. Serves as a health and social services advocate. Key projects include a health fair, access to language services for health care providers and cultural competency services.

Housing & Community Development: Monitors and promotes housing, community and economic development in Latino communities.

COHO sponsors a Latino Civil Rights Summit approximately once every 18 months.

CRES: Kansas City's Interfaith Network

promoting understanding among peoples of all faiths

P.O. Box 4165
Overland Park, KS 66204
913-649-5114
Fax: 816-756-0895
office@cres.org
www.cres.org

Mission: To experience, honor and share the many paths to the sacred by:

- Promoting interfaith dialogue and cooperation

- Providing insight into the global community
- Supporting and enhancing goals of Kansas City area religious and educational institutions
- Interpreting religious dimensions of American and world culture
- Enriching and refreshing the life of the individual
- Deepening awareness of our participation in the natural environment

Vision: CRES envisions the greater Kansas City area as a model community honoring interfaith relationships ► as a way of deepening one’s own tradition and spirituality, and ► where the wisdom of the many faiths meaningfully addresses our • environmental, • personal, and • social illnesses, and promotes healing, justice, and peace.

Involvement Opportunities:

Interfaith Passport: Visit different faith communities and interfaith events and have your Passport pages endorsed with “visas” as a fun way to learn more about the many faiths practiced by our neighbors. See www.cres.org/passport.

Interfaith Thanksgiving Family Ritual Meal: Held the Sunday evening before Thanksgiving since 1984, with brief remarks from the 13 faiths represented on the Interfaith Council, a full meal eaten, with texts drawn from American history and hopes, and questions kids ask about the food.

Gift of Pluralism Conference: Held every two years to provide a rich context for developing and deepening relationships among people of all faiths, and to explore sacred directions for our lives together in the metro community.

EPS Task Forces: Task forces are gathering wisdom from our many faiths to address the environmental, personal, and social troubles of our time in preparation for our next conference.

Interfaith Speakers Bureau: Provides speakers for educational, religious, and civic groups interested in learning about the various faiths practiced in the metro area. See www.cres.org/ifc.

Mosaic: A set of activities, ranging from a book club to a theater project with personal stories from many faith traditions. See www.cres.org/mosaic.

Other Services & Activities: CRES convenes the Kansas City Interfaith Council which meets monthly to promote understanding of faiths in the metro area, including the media, and to plan special programs, such as 9/11 observances. CRES publishes a monthly newsletter highlighting community-wide interfaith services and programs. The website contains reference information and a calendar of religious holidays.

Crescent Peace Society
P.O. Box 27023
Shawnee Mission, KS 66225
913-491-5509

To enhance the understanding of the Muslim cultures through educational and cultural activi-

ties in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area. It maintains liaisons with educational institutions, religious groups, and local media to better represent the peaceful nature of Muslim cultures existing in the United States and around the world.

Harmony

2700 E. 18th Street. Suite 243

Kansas City, MO 64127

816-231-1077

Fax: 816-231-6165

harmony@kcharmony.org

www.kcharmony.org

Kansas City Harmony is a catalyst for the metropolitan Kansas City community to improve race relations, increase appreciation for cultural diversity and eliminate intolerance.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Youth Celebration: A hands-on arts and culture event held on the federal holiday for children K-8 to learn about civil rights and different cultures. 100 volunteers needed for planning and to help the day of event. Congregational Partners Program matches congregations of different racial and religious backgrounds to build long-term relationships of trust and to the serve in the wider community.”

Diversity Roundtable for Middle and High Schools: A network of students and educators who meet quarterly during the school year to share experiences and ideas, and to ask questions of others working to further diversity concepts within the schools of greater Kansas City.

Interfaith Choral Concert: Held each November to celebrate commonalities and differences in sacred choral music. Concert includes a volunteer massed choir and demonstration choirs.

Diversity Councils Roundtable for Businesses: A bi-monthly network opportunity for diversity council or other representatives of employers to share experiences and ideas and to ask questions of others working to further diversity concepts within the workplaces of greater Kansas City.

Youth Empowerment Summit (YES): One day diversity workshop for metro area high school students, planned and led by students. Co-Sponsored with the Young Lawyers Association.

Community Conversations: Facilitated dialogues, often involving a meal, in which 6 to 10 people from diverse walks of life are in diverse groups to talk about issues of race and diversity over the course of 4 to 6 months. Volunteer facilitators are trained to lead sessions.

Diversity Training Film Festival: Half-day session to preview 6 to 8 videos appropriate for diversity training. Co-Sponsored with HRMA-KC. Generally held in fall.

Harmony 101™, 201™ and Customer Service for All™ Workshops: Day-long interactive experiences to explore the power that diversity offers. Workshops open to the general public are gen-

erally offered 3 times a year. Customized workshops available for workplaces, schools, etc.

Diversity University™ Lending Library: Videos, resource guides and books available for 10-day loan to organizations/individuals not using materials to offer diversity training for a fee.

Higher Education Diversity Roundtable: A network of faculty and staff who meet three times a year to share experiences and ideas, and to ask questions of others working to further diversity concepts, to build collaborations within the higher education institutions of Kansas City.

Harmony staff provides diversity presentations, programs and training in schools, businesses and congregations. Harmony convenes and is represented on various community task forces which further the organization's mission. Special, one-time programs sponsored by Harmony and/or others in the community and diversity resource information is featured in a quarterly newsletter. An on-line calendar of community-wide diversity events under development. Conflict negotiation services and training also offered.

HateBusters, Inc.

P.O. Box 442

Liberty, MO 64069

816-792-2272

Fax: 816-792-2272

hatebusters2aol.com

www.hatebusters.com

HateBusters helps people who have been hurt because someone hated them. We never say no when asked for help. We get more publicity for the good guys than the bad guys. We teach people how to like people who are not like them. We bring people together.

Responding to hate crimes: When an act of hate in Greater Kansas City makes the news, we will have hundreds of people at the site within three days to deliver the message that we do not agree and are not afraid. We bring spiritual, emotional, financial and legal help.

Human Family Reunion: People of all colors, cultures and creeds bring their favorite foods for a giant smorgasbord where who's right is the wrong question and our sole (soul) agenda is getting to know one another.

The VAN Project Visiting Area Neighbors: We board a van for an all day trip to Kansas City faith and ethnic communities. We meet our neighbors. We eat with them and hear their stories. We find new friends. For this program there is a fee.

How to Like People Who Are Not Like You: Without a book by this title we go by invitation into schools and teach students how to like themselves, their families and people of other races and religions.

The HateBusters Hero Campaign shows students how to call each other good names rather than bad. The Greater Kansas City campaign goes where the Kansas City Star is read and KCTV is seen to offer help and hope where hate has been made known. We have no dues and no meetings. We charge no fees. We keep in touch by e-mail.

JCRB/AJC

5801 W. 115th Street, Suite 203
Shawnee Mission, KS 66211
913-327-8126
Fax: 913-327-8110
jcrbajc@jewishkc.org
www.jewishkc.org/agencies/jcrb

JCRB/AJC (Jewish Community Relations Bureau/American Jewish Committee) fights anti-Semitism, racism, bigotry and works in coalition with others to achieve equal opportunity and justice for all Kansas Citizens.

Midwest Center for Holocaust Education

5801 W. 115th Street, Suite 106
Overland Park, KS 66211
913-327-8190
Fax: 913-327-8193
mcekc@org
www.mchekc.org

The mission of the Midwest Center of Holocaust Education is to teach the history and lessons of the Holocaust to people of all races and religious beliefs throughout the Midwest to prevent its recurrence and perpetuate understanding, compassion, and mutual respect for generations to come.

Mosaic of Memories: Slides of personal and archival photographs, with taped narrative, provides a 30-min. overview. Volunteers present to classroom and community groups. Training session and manual provided.

White Rose Student Essay Contest: Metro Kansas City students (grade 8-12) submit research-based, reflective essays on annual Holocaust-related theme. Volunteer judges, identify finalists and prizewinners, all honored, with sponsoring teachers at a reception.

Resource Center: Over 1200 titles available for free loan. Housed at the Jewish Community Campus. Also view videotaped survivor testimonies or use computers for web-based Holocaust research (8:30-5:00 M-F and until 7:00 p.m. on Wednesdays during school year. Occasional Sunday hours.)

Teacher Education: Resource training and annual summer classes provided for middle and high school teachers. MCHE's teaching cadre serve as ambassadors for educational programs and as a consulting network for educators.

Semi-annual newsletter. Community lectures and exhibits. Special program information, including an annual Holocaust Remembrance (Yom HaShoah) service, found on website. Available for purchase are a video documentary, "The Holocaust: Through Our Own Eyes" and a book, "From the Heart: Life Before and After the Holocaust—A Mosaic of Memories," published by Kansas City Star Books. Both based on testimonies of local Holocaust survivors and refugees.

NAACP - KCKS Chapter

334 Parallel Avenue
Kansas City, KS 66101

NAACP – Kansas City Missouri Chapter

1601 E. 18th Street, Suite 250
Kansas City, MO 64108

NAACP - Olathe Chapter

P.O. Box #3
Olathe, KS 66051
913-791-9565
Fax: 913-791-9565
naacp4039@hotmail.com

NAACP – N.E. Johnson County Branch

P.O. Box 2622
Shawnee Mission, KS 66201
913-268-7893

Project Equality

7132 Main Street
Kansas City, MO 64114
816-361-9222
Fax: 816-361-8997
kirkp@projectequality.org
www.projectequality.org

To assist employers to achieve equal employment opportunities for all people.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

1216 Brooklyn Avenue
Kansas City, MO 64127
816-241-8100
Fax: 816-241-1455
www.kcsclc.org

Promotes non-violent, direct action, social change.

Sponsors many Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday Observance Programs

The National Conference for Community Justice - Kansas City Region

4901 Main, Suite 300
Kansas City, MO 64112
816-333-5059
Fax: 816-333-5169
jrangel@NCCJ.org
www.NCCJKC.org

8. Suggested Reading List

Appleby, R. Scott, ed. *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Bergen, Peter. *Holy War Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden*. New York: The Free Press, 2001.

Doniger, Wendy. *Merriam-Webster's Encyclopedia of World Religions*. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1999.

Eck, Diana L. *A New Religious America*. San Francisco: Harper-San Francisco, 2001.

_____ *Encountering God: A Spiritual Journey from Bozeman to Banaras*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

Friedman, Thomas. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. New York: First Anchor Books, April 2000.

Gopin, Marc. *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence and Peacemaking*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Hoge, James F. and Rose, Gideon, eds. *How Did This Happen: Terrorism and the New War*. New York: Public Affairs Books, 2001.

Marty, Martin E. *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

_____ *Fundamentalisms Observed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Pipher, Mary. *The Middle of Everywhere: The World's Refugees Come to Our Town*. New York: Harcourt, Inc., 2002.

Sachedina, Abdulaziz A. *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Talbott, Strobe and Chanda, Nayan. *The Age of Terror: America and the World After September 11*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.

9. Citations

ⁱWhile it is beyond the scope of this report to document the history of pluralism in the metro Kansas City area, it is important to recognize that history, and place our current “state of diversity” in that larger context. As the philosopher, George Santayana once said, “Those who do not understand history are condemned to repeat it.” Many memories of past conflicts, injustices, and the often-bitter struggle for civil rights remain fresh in the minds of minority groups within our metropolis.

ⁱⁱCited in John Leo, “A Dubious ‘Diversity’ Report,” *U.S. News & World Report*, June 23, 1997, 15.

ⁱⁱⁱSpeech by President William J. Clinton Regarding Race Relations in the America, *Federal News Service*, June 14, 1997.

^{iv}President William J. Clinton’s 2000 State of the Union Address, reprinted in *The New York Times*, January 28, 2000.

^vIbid.

^{vi}Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America* (New York: Norton, 1992), pp15-16.

^{vii}Ibid., pp. 17-18.

^{viii}Ibid., p. 20.

^{ix}Speech by James Q. Wilson, “On The History and Future of Democracy,” November 15, 1999.

^xJohn Ibister, “Is America Too White?” in “What, Then, Is the American, This New Man?” Washington, D.C., Center for Immigration Studies, August 1998, p. 29.

^{xi}James Davidson Hunter, *The State of Disunion: A Survey of American Political Culture*, University of Virginia Center for Religion and Democracy, Executive Summary, December, 1999.

^{xii}Public Agenda, *A Lot to Be Thankful For: What Parents Want Children to Learn About America*, November 1998.

^{xiii}This assumption is based on the well-known fact that Kansas City is often considered to be an ideal test market for products and ideas. It is bolstered by the comments of citizens made during interviews and public meetings conducted by the Task Force and its research associate. While the Task Force did not have the time or resources to conduct specific public opinion polling, it believes assumptions made about metro residents’ views of the American way of life are correct.

^{xiv}George W. Bush, “Special Address to the American People,” September 20, 2001.

^{xv}The Freedom Forum/First Amendment Center, “State of the First Amendment, 2002,” Nashville, TN, August 2002.

^{xvi}American Civil Liberties Union, “Briefing Paper on the USA PATRIOT Act,” Summer 2002.

^{xvii}Anti-Defamation League, “2002 Survey of Anti-Semitism in America,” accessed at www.adl.org. July 15, 2002.

^{xviii}Personal interview with Marvin Szneler conducted by Rodger Kube, July 5, 2002.

^{xix}Telephone interviews with Deborah Brown, Associate Director of the Omaha Anti-Defamation League office, July 17, 2002, and Robert Wolfson, Executive Director of the St. Louis Anti-Defamation League office, July 19, 2002 conducted by Rodger Kube.

^{xx}Personal interview with Charanjit Hundal conducted by Rodger Kube, July 1, 2002.

^{xxi}Council on American-Islamic Relations, “Majority of U.S. Muslims Suffered Post-9/11 Bias,” accessed at www.cair-net.org. on August 21, 2002.

^{xxii}Ramesh Patel in an interview conducted by Rodger Kube, July 10, 2002.

^{xxiii}Anand Bhattacharyya in an interview conducted by Rodger Kube, July 20, 2002.

^{xxiv}Richard Espinoza, “Hindu Temple Vandalized,” *The Kansas City Star*, September 30, 1997.

^{xxv}Sherman Alexis, “Myths, Lies, and Exaggerations,” an address at Kansas City Kansas Community College, September 4, 2002.

^{xxvi}Jamie Rich in an interview conducted by Rodger Kube, July 9, 2002.

^{xxvii}Michael S. Doran, “Somebody Else’s Civil War,” in *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War*, edited by James F. Hoge, Jr., and Gideon Rose, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 2002.

- ^{xxviii}Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Random House Books, New York, 2000.
- ^{xxix}*Kansas City Star*, “American Muslims Urged To Stand Up For Their Faith,” A14, September 1, 2002.
- ^{xxx}E-mail communication between Dr. Vern Barnet and unnamed correspondent, August 23, 2002.
- ^{xxxi}E-mail communication between Dr. Vern Barnet and Tanweer Papa.
- ^{xxxii}The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, “Americans Struggle with Religion at Home and Abroad,” March 2002.
- ^{xxxiii}Public Agenda, “For Goodness Sake: Why So Many Want Religion to Play a Greater Role in American Life,” January, 2001.
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