



ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
GENERAL STUDIES COURSE PROPOSAL COVER FORM

Course information:

Copy and paste current course information from Class Search/Course Catalog.

Academic Unit Sch of Hist, Phil & Rel Studies Department Religious Studies

Subject REL Number 480 Title Religion and Global Politics Units: 3

Is this a cross-listed course? (Choose one)
If yes, please identify course(s) SGS 441

Is this a shared course? No If so, list all academic units offering this course _____
Course description: _____

Requested designation: Literacy and Critical Inquiry-L

Note- a separate proposal is required for each designation requested

Eligibility:

Permanent numbered courses must have completed the university's review and approval process.
For the rules governing approval of omnibus courses, contact the General Studies Program Office at (480) 965-0739.

Area(s) proposed course will serve:

A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study.

Checklists for general studies designations:

- Complete and attach the appropriate checklist
- Literacy and Critical Inquiry core courses (L)
 - Mathematics core courses (MA)
 - Computer/statistics/quantitative applications core courses (CS)
 - Humanities, Fine Arts and Design core courses (HU)
 - Social and Behavioral Sciences core courses (SB)
 - Natural Sciences core courses (SQ/SG)
 - Global Awareness courses (G)
 - Historical Awareness courses (H)
 - Cultural Diversity in the United States courses (C)

A complete proposal should include:

- Signed General Studies Program Course Proposal Cover Form
- Criteria Checklist for the area
- Course Syllabus
- Table of Contents from the textbook, and/or lists of course materials

Contact information:

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Mail code 4302 E-mail: cynthia.baade@asu.edu

Department Chair/Director approval: (Required)

Chair/Director name (Typed): Matthew J. Garcia Date: 5/9/13

Chair/Director (Signature): *Matthew J. Garcia*

Arizona State University Criteria Checklist for
LITERACY AND CRITICAL INQUIRY - [L]

Rationale and Objectives

Literacy is here defined broadly as communicative competence in written and oral discourse. **Critical inquiry** involves the gathering, interpretation, and evaluation of evidence. Any field of university study may require unique critical skills which have little to do with language in the usual sense (words), but the analysis of spoken and written evidence pervades university study and everyday life. Thus, the General Studies requirements assume that all undergraduates should develop the ability to reason critically and communicate using the medium of language.

The requirement in Literacy and Critical Inquiry presumes, first, that training in literacy and critical inquiry must be sustained beyond traditional First Year English in order to create a habitual skill in every student; and, second, that the skills become more expert, as well as more secure, as the student learns challenging subject matter. Thus, the Literacy and Critical Inquiry requirement stipulates two courses beyond First Year English.

Most lower-level [L] courses are devoted primarily to the further development of critical skills in reading, writing, listening, speaking, or analysis of discourse. Upper-division [L] courses generally are courses in a particular discipline into which writing and critical thinking have been fully integrated as means of learning the content and, in most cases, demonstrating that it has been learned.

Students must complete six credit hours from courses designated as [L], at least three credit hours of which must be chosen from approved upper-division courses, preferably in their major. Students must have completed ENG 101, 107, or 105 to take an [L] course.

Notes:

1. ENG 101, 107 or ENG 105 must be prerequisites
2. Honors theses, XXX 493 meet [L] requirements
3. The list of criteria that must be satisfied for designation as a Literacy and Critical Inquiry [L] course is presented on the following page. This list will help you determine whether the current version of your course meets all of these requirements. If you decide to apply, please attach a current syllabus, or handouts, or other documentation that will provide sufficient information for the General Studies Council to make an informed decision regarding the status of your proposal.

Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

ASU - [L] CRITERIA			
TO QUALIFY FOR [L] DESIGNATION, THE COURSE DESIGN MUST PLACE A MAJOR EMPHASIS ON COMPLETING CRITICAL DISCOURSE--AS EVIDENCED BY THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA:			
YES	NO		Identify Documentation Submitted
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CRITERION 1: At least 50 percent of the grade in the course should depend upon writing, including prepared essays, speeches, or in-class essay examinations. <i>Group projects are acceptable only if each student gathers, interprets, and evaluates evidence, and prepares a summary report</i>	Syllabus, title pages and tables of contents from reading materials
1. Please describe the assignments that are considered in the computation of course grades--and indicate the proportion of the final grade that is determined by each assignment.			
2. Also: <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; padding: 10px; margin: 10px 0;"> <p>Please circle, underline, or otherwise mark the information presented in the most recent course syllabus (or other material you have submitted) that verifies this description of the grading process--and label this information "C-1".</p> </div> <p>C-1</p>			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CRITERION 2: The composition tasks involve the gathering, interpretation, and evaluation of evidence	Syllabus, title pages and tables of contents from reading materials
1. Please describe the way(s) in which this criterion is addressed in the course design			
2. Also: <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; padding: 10px; margin: 10px 0;"> <p>Please circle, underline, or otherwise mark the information presented in the most recent course syllabus (or other material you have submitted) that verifies this description of the grading process--and label this information "C-2".</p> </div> <p>C-2</p>			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CRITERION 3: The syllabus should include a minimum of two substantial writing or speaking tasks, other than or in addition to in-class essay exams	Syllabus, title pages and tables of contents from reading materials
1. Please provide relatively detailed descriptions of two or more substantial writing or speaking tasks that are included in the course requirements			
2. Also: <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; padding: 10px; margin: 10px 0;"> <p>Please circle, underline, or otherwise mark the information presented in the most recent course syllabus (or other material you have submitted) that verifies this description of the grading process--and label this information "C-3".</p> </div> <p>C-3</p>			

ASU - [L] CRITERIA			
YES	NO		Identity Documentation Submitted
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CRITERION 4: These substantial writing or speaking assignments should be arranged so that the students will get timely feedback from the instructor on each assignment in time to help them do better on subsequent assignments. <i>Intervention at earlier stages in the writing process is especially welcomed</i>	Syllabus, title pages and tables of contents from reading materials
1. Please describe the sequence of course assignments--and the nature of the feedback the current (or most recent) course instructor provides to help students do better on subsequent assignments			
2. Also: <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; padding: 10px; margin: 10px auto; width: 80%;"> Please circle, underline, or otherwise mark the information presented in the most recent course syllabus (or other material you have submitted) that verifies this description of the grading process--and label this information "C-4". </div>			
C-4			

Course Prefix	Number	Title	Designation
REL/SGS	480/441	Religion and Global Politics	L

Explain in detail which student activities correspond to the specific designation criteria. Please use the following organizer to explain how the criteria are being met.

Criteria (from checksheet)	How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)	Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)
Criterion 1	A total of 60% of the overall course grade is determined by written assignment projects, not including written portions of the midterm exam.	Please see page 2 of the syllabus: 35% of the grade comes from written quizzes and reflection papers, and 25% from a semester-long research paper project. All of these projects are intended to help students develop critical thinking skills
Criterion 2	The research paper is expected to be of high quality, with in-depth analysis of ideas and the synthesis of information into a novel thesis	Please see the research project outlined on page 2 of the syllabus. Students are expected to be aware of what constitutes opinion, and avoid this in favor of scholarly research.
Criterion 3	A total of 60% of the overall course grade is determined by written assignment projects, not including written portions of the midterm exam.	Please see page 2 of the syllabus: 35% of the grade comes from written quizzes and reflection papers, and 25% from a semester-long research paper project. All of these projects are intended to help students develop critical thinking skills .
Criterion 4	Assignments are dispersed throughout the semester to ensure timely feedback and verifiable improvement from the students.	Written quizzes and reflection papers are spread throughout the semester. The final research project includes deadlines for a bibliography, rough draft, and final draft. Instructor will provide feedback to students within a timely manner after each of these stages to ensure a quality final product.

The School of Global Studies / Religious Studies

SGS 441 / REL 480

Course Title: Religion and Global Politics

Semester: Fall 2011



T/TH: 3:00 PM – 4:15 PM
Location: Tempe - EDB208
Schedule Lines: REL 480: 80290
SGS 441: 83349

Instructor: Christopher R. Duncan
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Tel: NA
Office: Coor 6622
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Social theorists and historians of the 19th and 20th century saw modernization, development and scientific progress as processes that would eventually lead to the secularization of society. As we enter the 21st century we can see that they were wrong. Rather than fading from the scene, religion is often at the forefront of global politics. Whether we look at the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran, the rise of Hindu nationalism in India, the current war on terrorism, or the increasing religiosity of American society, religion seems to be influencing global politics from every corner and from every faith.

Teaching and learning objectives:

- To gain a more nuanced understanding of the various ways in which religion influences global affairs so students can become informed participants in discussions about the role and function of religion in the contemporary global politics.

C-2 [- The ability to read and critically evaluate primary and secondary texts.]

C-2 [- The ability to combine description and analysis of religious and political phenomena in written and oral work in such a way as to construct a coherent and cogent argument for an original thesis.]

Required Texts: (Available at the ASU Bookstore and on reserve at Hayden library):

- Ivan Strenski. 2010. *Why Politics Can't Be Freed From Religion*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Allen Hertzke. 2004. *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Roy Olivier. 2006. *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. Columbia University Press.
- Other readings are available online or will be made available via electronic reserve at the library.

Course Requirements:

Exams: There will be an in class mid-term exam for this course.

Class Participation: Class participation will account for 15% of your grade. Class participation is NOT the same thing as class attendance. You are expected to take an active role in this class, discussing the readings and raising further topics of interest for discussion. Here is how it works: Each day in class I will note who adds to class discussion by writing down their name. People who speak in class get one point for that day. People who simply attend receive zero points; those who do not attend class receive negative one point. At the end of the semester these will be tallied up and divided by the total number of classes (minus days for

tests, reviews, and film days) and that percentage will be factored into your grade. I will assume you come to class prepared and have done the reading, and thus I will not hesitate to call upon you to answer questions.

C-1

Quizzes and reflection papers: At various points throughout the semester I will give short take home essay assignments or reflection papers. I also reserve the right to give in-class pop quizzes.

C-1

The Research Paper. Your research paper will examine an example of the intersection of religion and global politics that interests you. Discuss your intended paper topic with me by Sept. 13. I will assign paper topics to people who have not chosen a topic by that date. I reserve the right to approve your paper topic, and assign a topic if I feel yours is not appropriate, or duplicates work you have done in a previous course. The paper will be a research paper based on primary and secondary sources, not an opinion piece. Internet blogs (unless being used as examples of opinion pieces) and Wikipedia are not acceptable sources for your paper and your grade will be lowered if these sources are used inappropriately. They may be used as examples of opinions, but not as representatives of factual statements. Statements from these sources must be backed up by actual peer-reviewed sources or main-stream media reports (for example New York Times, BBC, Reuters, etc.). If you submit an opinion piece not based on research you will receive a grade of zero for your paper. If you are unsure of the distinction between an opinion piece and a research paper please meet with the instructor.

C-2

The paper will be 3500-4500 words in length (about 12-15 pages). Papers will be double-spaced, stapled on the upper left-hand corner (no covers/cover sheets please), and prepared in a consistent style with embedded references and a bibliography at the end. Consult journals such as *Current Anthropology* or *American Anthropologist* for a clear style guide. You should have a good, solid introduction consisting of a statement of your topic or problem and a preview of how you intend to explore and/or resolve it. Write and proofread your paper carefully (Note: Spell checking and proofreading are not the same thing). I expect you to have an early draft for me to look over by Nov. 17 (worth 20% of your final paper grade) The final paper is due on Dec. 6 at the start of class. No late papers will be accepted.

Additional guidelines will be discussed and distributed in class, thus this statement does not constitute a binding description of what is required for the paper.

C-A

The grading on your paper will break down as follows:

Initial Bibliography	10 % of final paper grade (Due Oct. 20)
Rough Draft	20 % of final paper grade (Due Nov. 4)
Final Paper	<u>70 % of final paper grade</u> (Due April 25)
Total	100 %

Grading: Grades will be determined as follows:

Mid-term Exam	25 %
Class participation	15%
*Quizzes and reflection papers	35%
*Research Paper	25%
Total	100%

C-3

COURSE SCHEDULE

Class 1 / Thurs, Aug 18: INTRODUCTION TO COURSE AND INSTRUCTOR

Class 2 / Tues, Aug 23: WHAT IS RELIGION? WHAT ARE RELIGIONS?

- *Why Politics Can't Be Freed from Religion*, Chapter 1

Recommended additional readings:

- Garvey, J. F. (1993), "Introduction: Fundamentalism and Politics", in M.E. Marty and R.S. Appleby (eds.), *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 13-27.

Class 3 / Thurs, Aug. 25: MODERNIZATION, SECULARIZATION AND THE DECLINE OF RELIGION?

- Berger, Peter. 1997. "Secularism in Retreat." *National Interest* 46: 3-11.

Class 4 / Tues, Aug. 30: CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS? ISLAM AND THE WEST

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72(3): 22-49.
- Lewis, Bernard. 1990. "The Roots of Muslim Rage," *The Atlantic*.

Recommended additional readings:

- Lewis, Bernard. 2001. "The Revolt of Islam: When Did the Conflict with the West Begin, and How Could it End?" *The New Yorker*

Class 5 / Thurs, Sept. 1: CRITICS OF THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS

Recommended additional readings:

- Said, Edward W. 2001. "The Clash of Ignorance," *The Nation*, 273 (12): 11-13.
- Naim, C.M. 1992. "The Outrage of Bernard Lewis," *Social Text* 30.
- Russett, B., J. Oneal, and M. Cox. 2000. "Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Déjà Vu? Some Evidence" *Journal of Peace Research* 37(5): 583-608.
- McNeill, William H. 1997. "Decline of the West?" *New York Review of Books* 44(1). 9 January.

Class 6 / Tues, Sept. 6: SECULARISM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE UNITED STATES AND IRAN

- Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. 2004. *The International Politics of Secularism: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Islamic Republic of Iran*. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 29(2): 115-138.

Class 7 / Thurs, Sept. 8: THE DIFFERENCE A DECADE MAKES RELIGION, POLITICS, AND PUBLIC LIFE

- A Center for the Study of Religion and Conflict panel discussing developments in the decade since 9/11
- Class will meet in West Hall 135
- *Why Politics Can't Be Freed from Religion*, Chapters 2, pp. 8 – 28.

Class 8 / Tues, Sept. 13: RELIGION AND POLITICS: "RELIGION"

- *Why Politics Can't Be Freed from Religion*, Chapters 2, pp. 38 – 61.
- Research Paper Topics Due

Class 9 / Thurs, Sept. 15: LIBRARY TUTORIAL AT HAYDEN LIBRARY

- Class will meet in Hayden Library Room C-41
- *Why Politics Can't Be Freed from Religion*, Chapters 3, pp. 62-81.

Class 10 / Tues, Sept. 20: RELIGION AND POLITICS: "POWER"

- *Why Politics Can't Be Freed from Religion*, Chapters 3, pp. 81-99.

Class 11 / Thurs, Sept. 22: RELIGION AND POLITICS: "POLITICS"

- *Why Politics Can't Be Freed from Religion*, Chapters 4

Class 12 / Tues, Sept. 27: RELIGION AND POLITICS: A TEST CASE: SUICIDE BOMBERS

- *Why Politics Can't Be Freed from Religion*, Chapters 5

Class 13 / Thurs, Sept. 29: FILM: TBA

Class 14 / Tues, Oct. 4: MID-TERM REVIEW

Class 15 / Thurs, Oct. 6: IN CLASS MID-TERM

Class 16 / Tues, Oct. 11: ISLAM AND GLOBALIZATION

- *Globalized Islam*, Chapter 1

Class 17 / Thurs, Oct. 13: ISLAM AND GLOBALIZATION

- *Globalized Islam*, Chapter 2

Class 18 / Tues, Oct. 18: ISLAM IN THE WEST

- *Globalized Islam*, Chapter 4, skim chapter 3

Recommended additional readings:

- Zolberg, A. R. and L. L. Woon. 1999. Why Islam Is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States. *Politics & Society* 27: 5-38.

Class 19 / Thurs, Oct. 20: FILM: ISLAM IN THE WEST

- Bibliographies Due C-4

Class 20 / Tues, Oct. 25: ISLAM IN THE WEST

- *Globalized Islam*, Chapter 6, skim chapter 5

Class 21 / Thurs, Oct. 27: ISLAM, THE WEST AND AL-QAEDA

- *Globalized Islam*, Chapters 7-8

~~**Class 22 / Tues, Nov. 1: AFGHANISTAN AND THE RISE OF TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM**~~

- Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2008. "Transnational Networks: Global Jihad" Chapter 5 from his *Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State, from Christian Militias to Al Qaeda*. Univ. California Press, pp. 193-211.
- **Take Home Essays on Globalized Islam Due**

Class 23 / Thurs, Nov. 3: RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS

- *Freeing God's Children*, Chapters 1

Class 24 / Tues, Nov. 8: RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS

- *Freeing God's Children*, Chapters 2-3

Class 25 / Thurs, Nov. 10: RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS

- *Freeing God's Children*, Chapters 4 and 6

Class 26 / Tues, Nov. 15: RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS

- *Freeing God's Children*, Chapters 8

Class 27 / Thurs, Nov. 17: GUEST LECTURE: SUDAN

- Rough Draft Due C-A

Class 28 / Tues, Nov. 22: RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS

- CLASS DISCUSSION
- **Take Home Essays on Freeing God's Children Due**

Thursday, Nov. 24 – Thanksgiving Break

Class 29 / Tues, Nov. 29: US FOREIGN POLICY: ISRAEL AND THE END TIMES

- Mearsheimer, J. and S. Walt. 2006. "The Israel Lobby." *London Review of Books* 28(6).
- Bacevich, A. and E. Prodromou. 2004. "God Is Not Neutral: Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy after 9/11." *Orbis* 48(1): 43-54.
- Weber, T. 1998. "How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend." *Christianity Today*.

- Unger, C. 2005. "American 'Rapture.'" *Vanity Fair.com*
- Perlstein, R. 2004. "The Jesus Landing Pad." *Village Voice*, May 11th 2004.
- Falwell, J. 2004. "God is Pro-war." *WorldNetDaily Commentary*.
- Short media readings to be posted on Blackboard.

(Class 30 / Thurs., Dec. 1: Film *CONTROL ROOM*)

- Take Home Essays on US Foreign Policy: Israel and the End Times

C-1,3

(Class 31 / Tues, Dec. 6: Class Discussion of Research Papers)

- Papers Due at Start of Class

C-4

Grading

A/A- = consistently outstanding achievement in the course

B+/B = work of good to very good quality, but not consistently outstanding

B-/C+/C = acceptable level of competence and basic understanding of material

C-/D+/D = minimally adequate; student may not be ready for further related coursework

E = unsatisfactory and unworthy of credit

THE FINE PRINT

- I reserve the right to change course readings or the class schedule throughout the course of the semester.
- Readings for this course in no way reflect the opinions of the instructor, the Department of Religious Studies, the School for Global Studies or Arizona State University. Readings have been selected to show a diversity of views on the topics under discussion and to enhance class-room discussions on the topics.

CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR: In this class we will discuss complex issues about which some class members may have strong feelings. However, this class is for learning about these issues, not trying to convince other students that your viewpoint is the correct one or that theirs is the wrong one. Classroom discussion is not a platform for you to denounce religions other than your own, rather it is aimed at discussing the topic at hand to enhance our mutual understandings of complicated issues from a variety of nuanced perspectives. To encourage broad participation and in the name of creating a comfortable and secure academic environment in which all class members feel free to express their reasoned opinions in class, I will have a zero tolerance policy for the following behaviors:

- Hate speech of any kind
- Violent, threatening or disruptive behavior
- Any other violations of the University's Code of Conduct.

Any students I deem to be violating this code of conduct will be removed and dropped from the class. If you have any questions regarding this policy please contact your dean.

ASSIGNMENTS:

1. Assignments are due at the beginning of class. Papers arriving at the end of, or after, class are considered one day late.
2. Except in the case of emergencies, you should notify me before rather than after a late assignment is due. Late papers unaccompanied by a letter from a doctor, counselor, or funeral director will be penalized a third of a grade (an A- becomes a B+, etc.) for each 24 hour period after it is due. To be clear, turning in an assignment any time during the first 24 hours after it is due is penalized a third of a grade; between 24 and 48 hours two thirds of a grade, etc. Materials submitted more than 7 days after the due date will receive a grade of F. Even with a letter from a doctor, counselor, or funeral director, extension times must be reasonable.
3. Do not leave papers in my mail box or put them under my door without having the department secretary to date and sign them. Otherwise, they are dated by me when I have them in hand.
4. Papers occasionally get lost, so you are required to retain a copy of your paper. Do not hand in your only copy.
5. Do not expect me to answer e-mails sent after 7pm until the next day.

COMMUNICATION WITH INSTRUCTOR:

- I do not have a telephone in my office so you can not call me, please rely on e-mail.
- Please include your name in all e-mails that you send me. Unsigned e-mails will not be answered.

- Do not expect me to answer e-mails sent after 7pm until the next day.
- All course relevant e-mails will be sent to your asu.edu accounts. You are responsible to check this account for any course updates.

ATTENDANCE, MAKE-UPS: Attendance is mandatory for all classes. Missed classes will lead to a lower grade. Class participation constitutes 10% of your grade. There are no make ups for mixed quizzes. If you miss more than three classes you will receive a zero for the semester for class participation.

WITHDRAWALS AND INCOMPLETES: It is the student's responsibility to inform the professor if they are withdrawing from the class or seeking an incomplete. For University policies on withdrawals see <http://www.asu.edu/aad/catalogs/general/ug-enrollment.html#49444>

ACADEMIC HONESTY: The Department of Religious Studies abides by ASU's Office of Student Life: "Student Academic Integrity Policy." See: <http://provost.asu.edu/academicintegrity>

Academic honesty is fundamental to the activities and principles of a university. All members of the academic community must be confident that each person's work has been responsibly and honorably acquired, developed, and presented. Any effort to gain an advantage not given to all students is dishonest whether or not that effort is successful. The academic community regards academic dishonesty as an extremely serious matter, with serious consequences that range from probation to expulsion. *It is your responsibility to know what constitutes plagiarism.* Claiming to not understand what constitutes plagiarism will not be accepted as an excuse and you will fail the class.

You may not submit a paper written for another class to meet the requirements for this class. If you do you will, minimally, receive a zero on that paper, and could receive an F for the course, as well as be referred to the dean's office for further sanctions.

FOOTNOTE 18: I am willing to discuss the possibility of doing a Footnote 18 honors contract for the course. However, I **require** that all Footnote 18 contracts be completed. *Thus if you fail to submit your Footnote 18 honors project at the end of the semester you will FAIL the class regardless of your grade on other assignments, as well as have your Footnote 18 contract rejected.* This is not open for negotiation. If you have any doubts as to your ability to finish a Footnote 18 contract do not sign up for one.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES: Students with disabilities or special needs are advised to contact the Disability Resource Center at (480) 965-1234 for information regarding its services or its website at: <http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/ed/drc/>

OLIVIER ROY

Globalized Islam

The Search for a New Ummah



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New York

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FREEING GOD'S
CHILDREN

C2

The Unlikely Alliance for
Global Human Rights

ALLEN D. HERTZKE

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Why Politics Can't Be
Freed From Religion

02

Ivan Strenski

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Remaking Polities, Economies, and Militance

EDITED BY
Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby

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MARTIN E. MARTY AND R. SCOTT APPLEBY direct the Fundamentalism Project. Marty, the Fairfax M. Cone Distinguished Service Professor of the History of Modern Christianity at the University of Chicago, is senior editor of *The Christian Century* and the author of numerous books, including the multi-volume *Modern American Religion*, also published by the University of Chicago Press. Appleby, a research associate at the University of Chicago, is the author of "Church and Age Unite!" *The Modernist Impulse in American Catholicism*.

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A FEW YEARS AGO the first volume coming out of the Fundamentalism Project landed on my desk. The Fundamentalism Project was generously funded by the MacArthur Foundation and chaired by Martin Marty, the distinguished church historian at the University of Chicago. While a number of very reputable scholars took part in it, and although the published results are of generally excellent quality, my contemplation of this first volume evoked in me what has been called an Aha! experience.

Now, the book was very big. Sitting there on my desk, massively, it was of the "book-weapon" type, the kind with which one could do serious injury. So I asked myself: Why would the MacArthur Foundation pay out several million dollars to support an international study of religious fundamentalists? Two answers came to mind. The first was obvious and not very interesting: The MacArthur Foundation is a very progressive outfit; it understands fundamentalists to be anti-progressive; the Project, then, was a matter of knowing one's enemies. The second was a more interesting answer: So-called fundamentalism was assumed to be a strange, difficult-to-understand phenomenon; the purpose of the Project was to delve into this alien world and make it more understandable.

But here came another question: Who finds this world strange, and to whom must it be made understandable? The answer to that question was easy: people to whom officials of the MacArthur Foundation normally talk, such as professors at American elite universities. And with this came the Aha! experience: The concern that must have led to this Project was based on an upside-down perception of the world. The notion here was that so-called fundamentalism (which, when all is said and done, usually refers to any sort of passionate religious movement) is a rare, hard-to-explain thing. But in fact it is not rare at all, neither if one looks at history, nor if one looks around the contemporary world. On the contrary, what is rare is people who think otherwise. Put simply: The difficult-to-understand phenomenon is not Iranian mullahs but American university professors. (Would it, perhaps, be worth a multi-million-dollar project to try to explain the latter group?)

The point of this little story is that the assumption that we live in a secularized world is false: The world today, with some exceptions attended to below, is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever. This means that a whole body of literature written by historians and social scientists over the course of the 1950s and '60s, loosely labeled as "secularization theory", was essentially mistaken. In my early work I contributed to this literature and was in good company so doing--most sociologists of religion had similar views. There were good reasons for holding these views at the time, and some of these writings still stand up. But the core premise does not.

The key idea of secularization theory is simple and can be traced to the Enlightenment: Modernization necessarily leads to a decline of religion, both in society and in the minds of individuals. It is precisely this key idea that has turned out to be wrong. To be sure, modernization has had some secularizing effects, more in some places than in others. But

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The Clash of Civilizations?

CZ

Samuel P. Huntington

THE NEXT PATTERN OF CONFLICT

WORLD POLITICS IS entering a new phase, and intellectuals have not hesitated to proliferate visions of what it will be—the end of history, the return of traditional rivalries between nation states, and the decline of the nation state from the conflicting pulls of tribalism and globalism, among others. Each of these visions catches aspects of the emerging reality. Yet they all miss a crucial, indeed a central, aspect of what global politics is likely to be in the coming years.

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.

Conflict between civilizations will be the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world. For a century and a half after the emergence of the modern international system with the Peace of Westphalia, the conflicts of the Western world were largely among

SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON is the Eaton Professor of the Science of Government and Director of the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University. This article is the product of the Olin Institute's project on "The Changing Security Environment and American National Interests."

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34

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The Roots of Muslim Rage

Magazine

The Atlantic



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SEPTEMBER 1990

The Roots of Muslim Rage

C2

Why so many Muslims deeply resent the West, and why their bitterness will not easily be mollified

BERNARD LEWIS | SEP 1 1990, 12:00 PM ET

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In one of his letters Thomas Jefferson remarked that in matters of religion "the maxim of civil government" should be reversed and we should rather say, "Divided we stand, united, we fall." In this remark Jefferson was setting forth with classic terseness an idea that has come to be regarded as essentially American: the separation of Church and State. This idea was not entirely new; it had some precedents in the writings of Spinoza, Locke, and the philosophers of the European Enlightenment. It was in the United States, however, that the principle was first given the force of law and gradually, in the course of two centuries, became a reality.

If the idea that religion and politics should be separated is relatively new, dating back a mere three hundred years, the idea that they are distinct dates back almost to the beginnings of Christianity. Christians are enjoined in their Scriptures to "render ... unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's." While opinions have differed as to the real meaning of this phrase, it has generally been interpreted as legitimizing a situation in which two institutions exist side by side, each with its own laws and chain of authority—one concerned with religion, called the Church, the other concerned with politics, called the State. And since they are two, they may be joined or separated, subordinate or independent, and conflicts may arise between them over questions of demarcation and jurisdiction.

This formulation of the problems posed by the relations between religion and politics, and the possible solutions to those problems, arise from Christian, not universal, principles and experience. There are other religious traditions in which religion and politics are differently perceived, and in which, therefore, the problems and the possible solutions are radically different from those we know in the West. Most of these traditions, despite their often very high level of sophistication and achievement, remained or became local—limited to one region or one culture or one people. There is one, however, that in its worldwide distribution, its continuing vitality, its universalist aspirations, can be compared to Christianity, and that is Islam.

Islam is one of the world's great religions. Let me be explicit about what I, as a historian of Islam who is not a Muslim, mean by that. Islam has brought comfort and peace of mind to countless millions of men and women. It has given dignity and meaning to drab and impoverished lives. It has taught people of different races to live in brotherhood and people of different creeds to live side by side in reasonable tolerance. It inspired a great civilization in which others besides



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ANNALS OF RELIGION

THE REVOLT OF ISLAM

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When did the conflict with the West begin, and how could it end?

BY BERNARD LEWIS

NOVEMBER 19, 2001

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Christianity Today

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TIMOTHY P. WEBER

How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend

In its fiftieth anniversary year, the State of Israel has no better friends than American evangelicals. So it seemed to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu when he addressed the Voices United for Israel Conference in Washington, D.C., in April 1998. Most of the 3,000 in attendance were evangelicals, including Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition, Kay Arthur of Precept Ministries, Jane Hanson of Women's Aglow, and Brandt Gustavson of the National Religious Broadcasters. (Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson supported the conference but did not attend.)

On the day before he met with President Bill Clinton, who urged him to trade West Bank land for peace with the Palestinians, Netanyahu told the conference: "We have no greater friends and allies than the people sitting in this room."

To many observers, the close relationship between Israel and many American evangelicals seems baffling. Many American evangelicals pledge their love for the State of Israel, support its claims against those of the Palestinians, and resist anything that might undercut Israel's security. But they also target Jews for evangelism and sometimes blame them for the mess the world is in. Israel eagerly accepts evangelicalism's public support and aggressively courts its leaders. But many Jews bitterly condemn Christian proselytism and do what they can to restrict the activities of missionaries in Israel. Nevertheless, both sides seem to be getting more than enough out of their relationship.

The close tie between evangelicals and Israel is important: It has shaped popular opinion in America and, to some extent, U.S. foreign policy. To understand how it developed, one must know something about how many evangelicals interpret Bible prophecy and what difference their beliefs have made in the world of politics.

Why do evangelicals care so much about Israel? How did this special relationship develop? What has it produced? On the most basic level, evangelicals love Israel because of the Bible. Many evangelicals have vivid memories of sitting in Sunday school rooms, staring at maps of Bible Lands and listening to Bible stories week after week. Through such experiences, evangelicals came to view the Bible's story as their own and the land of the Bible as a kind of home away from home. Israel is where the Lord

Jesus was born, ministered, was crucified, and rose again. Every year thousands of evangelicals take what amounts to a religious pilgrimage to Israel to "walk where Jesus walked" and see for themselves places they have read about their whole lives.

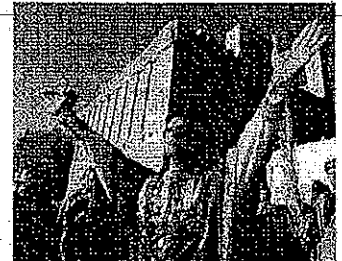
Evangelicals' view of the Bible gives them a proprietary interest in Israel. It is the Holy Land, the site of God's mighty deeds. In a way, they think the Promised Land belongs to them as much as it does to Israelis.

Writing the end-times script

But there is much more to the evangelical-Israel connection: Most of those who gathered in Washington to show their support for Israel believe that the Holy Land will be ground zero for events surrounding the second coming of Jesus Christ. Such evangelicals read the Bible as though it were a huge jigsaw puzzle of prophecies, with Israel in the center. They believe that human history is following a predetermined divine script, and they and Israel are simply playing their assigned roles.

These beliefs come out of a complex system of biblical interpretation known as dispensationalism, which is a version of premillennialism (the belief that Christ will return *before* setting up his millennial kingdom). As the name implies, dispensationalism divides up the Bible and human history into various eras or dispensations, based on how God deals with humanity. Basic to the system was the way it detected two distinct divine plans, one for an "earthly" people (Israel) and the other for a "heavenly" people (the church). According to John Nelson Darby, the Englishman who shaped dispensationalism in the mid-1800s, biblical prophecies for one group do not apply to the other, and God deals with only one group at a time. Thus "rightly dividing the word of truth" (2 Tim. 2:15) means keeping the two peoples and programs completely separate.

God's dealings with Israel are the key to the dispensational



State support: During a 1996 rally where 500 people converged to support Jewish settlers living in Hebron, a Christian pilgrim acts the part of King David.

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Record Number

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American 'Rapture

Magazine

Vanity Fair

VANITY FAIR

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American Rapture

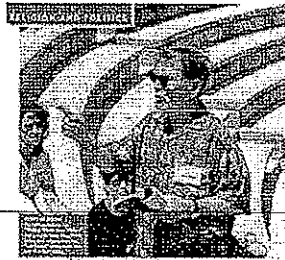
C2

Best-selling author and evangelical leader Tim LaHaye has contacts that extend to the White House. That could spell trouble, since his theology espouses a bloody apocalypse in Israel.

by Craig Unger

On a scorching afternoon in May, Tim LaHaye, the 79-year-old co-author of the "Left Behind" series of apocalyptic thrillers, leads several dozen of his acolytes up a long, winding path to a hilltop in the ancient fortress city of Megiddo, Israel.

LaHaye is not a household name in the secular world, but in the parallel universe of evangelical Christians he is the ultimate cultural icon. The author or co-author of more than 75 books, LaHaye in 2001 was named the most influential American evangelical leader of the past 25 years by the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals. With more than 63 million copies of his "Left Behind" novels sold, he is one of the best-selling authors in all of American history. Here, a group of about 90 evangelical Christians who embrace the astonishing theology he espouses have joined him in the Holy Land for the "Walking Where Jesus Walked" tour.



AMERICAN RAPTURE
The 79-year-old author of the "Left Behind" series of apocalyptic thrillers leads a tour of the ancient fortress city of Megiddo, Israel. LaHaye is one of the most influential American evangelical leaders of the past 25 years. Photo by [unreadable]

Megiddo, the site of about 20 different civilizations over the last 10,000 years, is among the first stops on our pilgrimage, and, given that LaHaye's specialty is the apocalypse, it is also one of the most important. Alexander the Great, Saladin, Napoleon, and other renowned warriors all fought great battles here. But if Megiddo is to go down in history as the greatest battlefield on earth, its real test is yet to come. According to the book of Revelation, the hill of Megiddo—better known as Armageddon—will be the site of a cataclysmic battle between the forces of Christ and the Antichrist.

To get a good look at the battlefields of the apocalypse, we take shelter under a makeshift lean-to at the top of the hill. Wearing a floppy hat to protect him from the blazing Israeli sun, LaHaye yields to his colleague Gary Frazier, the tour organizer and founder of the Texas-based Discovery Ministries, Inc., to explain what will happen during the Final Days.

"How many of you have read the 'Left Behind' prophecy novels?" asks Frazier.

Almost everyone raises a hand.

"The thing that you must know," Frazier tells them, "is that the next event on God's prophetic plan, we believe, is the catching away of the saints in the presence of the Lord. We call it 'the Rapture.'"

Frazier is referring to a key biblical passage, in the first book of Thessalonians, that says the Lord will "descend from heaven with a shout.... The dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air."

The words "caught up" are sometimes translated as "raptured." As a result, adherents cite this as the essential scriptural depiction of the Rapture.

Reference Type

Newspaper Article

Record Number

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Reporter

Perlstein, R.

Year

2004

Title

The Jesus Landing Pad

Newspaper

Village Voice

<p>LIVE JAM EVERY THURSDAY HAPPY HOUR 5PM-7PM, M-F</p>	<p>WINEGASM Bar & Eatery</p>	<p>31-86 37TH ST ASTORIA 718-932-3331</p>
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The Jesus Landing Pad

Bush White House checked with rapture Christians before latest Israel move

Rick Perlstein

published: May 11, 2004

It was an e-mail we weren't meant to see. Not for our eyes were the notes that showed White House staffers taking two-hour meetings with Christian fundamentalists, where they passed off bogus social science on gay marriage as if it were holy writ and issued fiery warnings that "the Presidents [sic] Administration and current Government is engaged in cultural, economical, and social struggle on every level"—this to a group whose representative in Israel believed herself to have been attacked by witchcraft unleashed by proximity to a volume of *Harry Potter*. Most of all, apparently, we're not supposed to know the National Security Council's top Middle East aide consults with apocalyptic Christians eager to ensure American policy on Israel conforms with their sectarian doomsday scenarios. But now we know.

"Everything that you're discussing is information you're not supposed to have," barked Pentecostal minister Robert G. Upton when asked about the off-the-record briefing his delegation received on March 25. Details of that meeting appear in a confidential memo signed by Upton and obtained by the *Voice*.

The e-mailed meeting summary reveals NSC Near East and North African Affairs director Elliott Abrams sitting down with the Apostolic Congress and massaging their theological concerns. Claiming to be "the Christian Voice in the Nation's Capital," the members vociferously oppose the idea of a Palestinian state. They fear an Israeli withdrawal from Gaza might enable just that, and they object on the grounds that all of Old Testament Israel belongs to the Jews. Until Israel is intact and Solomon's temple rebuilt, they believe, Christ won't come back to earth.

Abrams attempted to assuage their concerns by stating that "the Gaza Strip had no significant Biblical influence such as Joseph's tomb or Rachel's tomb and therefore is a piece of land that can be sacrificed for the cause of peace."

Three weeks after the confab, President George W. Bush reversed long-standing U.S. policy, endorsing Israeli sovereignty over parts of the West Bank in exchange for Israel's disengagement from the Gaza Strip.

In an interview with the *Voice*, Upton denied having written the document, though it was sent out from an e-mail account of one of his staffers and bears the organization's seal, which is nearly identical to the Great Seal of the United States. Its idiosyncratic grammar and punctuation tics also closely match those of texts on the Apostolic Congress's website, and Upton verified key details it recounted, including the number of participants in the meeting ("45 ministers including wives") and its conclusion "with a heart-moving send-off of the President in his Presidential helicopter."

Upton refused to confirm further details.

Affiliated with the United Pentecostal Church, the Apostolic Congress is part of an important and disciplined political constituency courted by recent Republican administrations. As a subset of the

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Electronic Article

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Falwell, J.

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2004

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GOD IS PRO-WAR

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105

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To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven: A time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted; A time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up; A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance; A time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together; a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing; A time to get, and a time to lose; a time to keep, and a time to cast away; A time to rend, and a time to sew, a time to keep silence, and a time to speak; A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace."
(Ecclesiastes 3:1-8)

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Christians have struggled with the issue of war for centuries. Before Jesus arrived on the scene, all good people wrestled with war and the existence of evil. Thankfully, the Bible is not silent on the subject.

Before we examine war, though, let's look at the God of Peace.

One of God's primary attributes is peace. Isaiah said the Messiah would bear these names: Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace (Isaiah 9:6). God longs for all people to live in peace. That is how He created the universe – in total peace and harmony.

Christians are to be people of peace.

One of the most notable biblical commands to live in peace is in Romans 12:18: "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men."

With the Bible clear on our responsibility to live peaceably, it seems that there would be no reason to ever go to war. However, if one depends on the Bible as a guidepost for living, it is readily apparent that war is sometimes a necessary option. In fact, just as there are numerous references to peace in the Bible, there are frequent references to God-ordained war.

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Reference Type

Magazine Article

Record Number

36

Author

Said, Edward W.

Year

2001

Title

The Clash of Ignorance

Magazine

The Nation

Volume

273

Issue Number

12

Pages

11-13

Tell Secretary of State John Kerry: Stop the Keystone XL Pipeline.

CZ



The Clash of Ignorance

Edward W. Said October 4, 2009 | This article appeared in the October 22, 2009 edition of The Nation.

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2

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Samuel Huntington's article "The Clash of Civilizations?" appeared in the Summer 1993 issue of Foreign Affairs, where it immediately attracted a surprising amount of attention and reaction. Because the article was intended to supply Americans with an original thesis about "a new phase" in world politics after the end of the cold war, Huntington's terms of argument seemed compellingly large, bold, even visionary. He very clearly had his eye on rivals in the policy-making ranks, theorists such as Francis Fukuyama and his "end of history" ideas, as well as the legions who had celebrated the onset of globalism, liberalism and the dissipation of the state. But they, he allowed, had understood only some aspects of this new period. He was about to announce the "crucial, indeed a central, aspect" of what "global politics is likely to be in the coming years." Unhesitatingly he pressed on:

About the Author

Edward W. Said

We mourn the loss of Edward Said, who passed away on the morning of Thursday, September 25, 2003. Edward W. Said, the...

Also by the Author

The Essential Terrorist (Essays)

With the "war on terror" now official nomenclature, the problematic conflating of ethnic, religious and "terrorist" identities is now a matter of policy as well as media distortion. In a 1986 book review, Edward Said argues presciently against the dangerous "terrorism craze"—"dangerous because it consolidates the immense, unrestrained pseudopatriotic narcissism we are nourishing."

Edward W. Said

A Configuration of Themes (Poetry)

This essay—Edward W. Said's first piece for The Nation from the magazine's May 30, 1966, issue—is a special selection from The Nation Digital Archive. If you want to read everything The Nation has ever published by Said, click [here](#) for information on how to acquire individual access to the Archive—an electronic database of every Nation article since 1865.

Edward W. Said

ideologist, someone who wants to make "civilizations" and "identities" into what they are not: shut-down, sealed-off entities that have been purged of the myriad currents and countercurrents that animate human history, and that over centuries have made it possible for that history not only to contain wars of religion and imperial conquest but also to be one of exchange, cross-fertilization and sharing. This far less visible history is ignored in the rush to highlight the ludicrously compressed and constricted warfare that "the dash of civilizations" argues is the reality. When he published his book by the same title in 1996, Huntington tried to give his argument a little more subtlety and many, many more footnotes; all he did, however, was confuse himself and demonstrate what a clumsy writer and inelegant thinker he was.

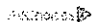
The basic paradigm of West versus the rest (the cold war opposition reformulated) remained untouched, and this is what has persisted, often insidiously and implicitly, in discussion since the terrible events of September 11. The carefully planned and horrendous, pathologically motivated suicide attack and mass slaughter by a small group of deranged militants has been turned into proof of Huntington's thesis. Instead of seeing it for what it is—the capture of big ideas (I use the word loosely) by a tiny band of crazed fanatics for criminal purposes—international luminaries from former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi have pontificated about Islam's troubles, and in the latter's case have used Huntington's ideas to rant on about the West's superiority, how "we" have Mozart and Michelangelo and they don't. (Berlusconi has since made a halfhearted apology for his insult to "Islam.")

But why not instead see parallels, admittedly less spectacular in their destructiveness, for Osama bin Laden and his followers in cults like the Branch Davidians or the disciples of the Rev. Jim Jones at Guyana or the Japanese Aum Shinrikyo? Even the normally sober British weekly The Economist, in its issue of September 22-28, can't resist

"It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future."

Most of the argument in the pages that followed relied on a vague notion of something Huntington called "civilization identity" and "the interactions among seven or eight (sic) major civilizations," of which the conflict between two of them, Islam and the West, gets the lion's share of his attention. In this belligerent kind of thought, he relies heavily on a 1990 article by the veteran Orientalist Bernard Lewis, whose ideological colors are manifest in its title, "The Roots of Muslim Rage." In both articles, the personification of enormous entities called "the West" and "Islam" is recklessly affirmed, as if hugely complicated matters like identity and culture existed in a cartoonlike world where Popeye and Bluto bash each other mercilessly, with one always more virtuous pugilist getting the upper hand over his adversary. Certainly neither Huntington nor Lewis has much time to spare for the internal dynamics and plurality of every civilization, or for the fact that the major contest in most modern cultures concerns the definition or interpretation of each culture, or for the unattractive possibility that a great deal of demagoguery and downright ignorance is involved in presuming to speak for a whole religion or civilization. No, the West is the West, and Islam Islam.

The challenge for Western policy-makers, says Huntington, is to make sure that the West gets stronger and fends off all the others, Islam in particular. More troubling is Huntington's assumption that his perspective, which is to survey the entire world from a perch outside all ordinary attachments and hidden loyalties, is the correct one, as if everyone else were scurrying around looking for the answers that he has already found. In fact, Huntington is an



Reference Type

Journal Article

Record Number

48

Author

Naim, C.M.

Year

1992

Title

The Outrage of Bernard Lewis

Journal

Social Text

Volume

30

The Outrage of Bernard Lewis ~~/~~ ^{*}

C2

The 1990 Jefferson Lecture, nineteenth in the distinguished series sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, was given by Bernard Lewis, Cleveland E. Dodge Professor Emeritus of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. The announced, somewhat modest, title of his lecture was "Western Civilization: A View from the East," but the Associated Press in its report described it as a discourse on "why Muslims hate America." That was perhaps also the original aim, for when the text, slightly re-worked, appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*, it bore the title: "The Roots of Muslim Rage." ~~/~~ The editors complemented the rhetoric of the essay by putting on the cover a painting of a hugely turbaned and scowling "Muslim," his eyes starred and striped with passion.

The NEH Jefferson Lecture is described by its organisers as "the highest honor conferred by the federal government for distinguished intellectual achievement in the humanities." Sadly, the essay by Bernard Lewis is not particularly distinguished. Mostly it consists of stale generalisations and a selective, even disingenuous, use of evidence. In brief, Lewis pits (1) a monolithic, monochromatic Islam against (2) a West whose definition and parameters he changes at will. At the same time, (3) while every action of the West is contextualised in history, actions on the part of the Muslim are only "textualised" within what he calls "the classical Islamic view." Lastly, (4) Lewis indulges in psycho-social generalisations of the silliest kind.

Lewis begins by quoting Thomas Jefferson on the separation of the church and the state, then makes the statement that the problem and its solutions arose "from Christian, not universal, principles and experience." "There are other religious traditions," he continues, "in

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Journal Article

Record Number

37

Author

Russett, B.

J. Oneal

M. Cox

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2000

Title

Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Déjà Vu? Some Evidence

Journal

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5

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583-608

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Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Déjà Vu? Some Evidence CZ

Bruce M. Russett, John R. Oneal and Michaelene Cox

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DOI: 10.1177/0022343300037005003

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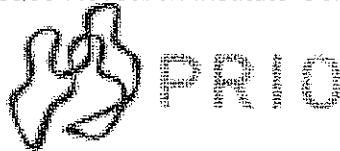
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What is This?

Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Déjà Vu? Some Evidence*

BRUCE M. RUSSETT

Department of Political Science, Yale University

JOHN R. ONEAL

Department of Political Science, University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa

MICHAELENE COX

Department of Political Science, University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa

We assess the degree to which propositions from Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* can account for the incidence of militarized interstate disputes between countries during the period 1950-92. We find that such traditional realist influences as contiguity, alliances, and relative power, and liberal influences of joint democracy and interdependence, provide a much better account of interstate conflict. Pairs of states split across civilizational boundaries are no more likely to become engaged in disputes than are other states *ceteris paribus*. Even disputes between the West and the rest of the world, or with Islam, were no more common than those between or within most other groups. Among Huntington's eight civilizations, interstate conflict was significantly less likely only within the West; dyads in other civilizations were as likely to fight as were states split across civilizations, when realist and liberal influences are held constant. The dominance of a civilization by a core state, democratic or not, does little to inhibit violence within the civilization. Contrary to the thesis that the clash of civilizations will replace Cold War rivalries as the greatest source of conflict, militarized interstate disputes across civilizational boundaries became less common, not more so, as the Cold War waned. Nor do civilizations appear to have an important indirect influence on interstate conflict through the realist or liberal variables. They help to predict alliance patterns but make little contribution to explaining political institutions or commercial interactions. We can be grateful that Huntington challenged us to consider the role that civilizations might play in international relations, but there is little evidence that they define the fault lines along which international conflict is apt to occur.

His book conveys a challenge, like he wants us to refute him
Daring us, by scaring us, to doubt him or dispute him
Which is fine for academic-argument-displaying
As long as someone powerful won't act on what he's saying.

(Tipson, 1997: 168-169)

We are grateful to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, the Norwegian Nobel Institute, the US-Norway Fulbright Foundation for Educational Exchange, and the National Science Foundation for

financial support. The data used in our analyses can be obtained from:

<http://www.yale.edu/usny/democ/democl.htm> and
http://bama.ua.edu/~joneai/jpr2000_data.

Reference Type

Magazine Article

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38

Author

McNeill, William H.

Year

1997

Title

Decline of the West?

Magazine

New York Review of Books

Volume

44

Issue Number

1

Date

9 January

The New York Review of Books



Decline of the West?

JANUARY 9, 1997

William H. McNeill

The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order

by Samuel P. Huntington

Simon and Schuster, 367 pp., \$26.00

Samuel Huntington has written a powerful and disturbing book. He scorns the universalist ambitions and assumptions that have characterized American foreign policy since 1917 or before. He rejects both the hope of a world "safe for democracy" in the idiom of World War I and a world where everyone enjoys the Four Freedoms, in the idiom of World War II, because, he writes, "Western belief in the universality of Western culture suffers from three problems: it is false; it is immoral; and it is dangerous." It is false because other civilizations have other ideals and norms; immoral because "imperialism is the necessary logical consequence of universalism"; and dangerous because "it could lead to a major intercivilizational war." Instead, he advocates an emerging configuration of power requiring mutual accommodation between blocs of different "civilizations," an accommodation which, he argues, is already coming into being, whether we like it or not.

In his words:

Spurred by modernization, global politics is being reconfigured along cultural lines. Peoples and countries with similar cultures are coming together. Peoples and countries with different cultures are coming apart. Alignments defined by ideology and superpower relations are giving way to alignments defined by culture and civilization. Political boundaries increasingly are redrawn to coincide with cultural ones.... Cultural communities are replacing Cold War blocs and the fault lines between civilizations are becoming the central lines of conflict in global politics.

As evidence of these tendencies Huntington points to the Soviet-Afghan war of 1979-1989 and the Gulf War of 1990-1991. "Both wars began," he says, "as straightforward invasions of one country by another but were transformed into and in large part redefined as civilization wars. They were, in effect, transition wars to an era dominated by ethnic conflict and fault line wars between groups from different civilizations." After they were concluded, he writes, the new style of "fault line wars" between different civilizations was visibly and definitively launched in Bosnia, just as the ideological warfare of the earlier part of the century was

Reference Type

Journal Article

Record Number

132

Author

Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman

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2004

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The International Politics of Secularism: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Islamic Republic of Iran

Journal

Alternatives: Global, Local, Political

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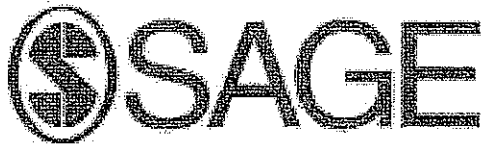
115-138

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The International Politics of Secularism: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Islamic Republic of Iran
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Journal Article

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133

Author

Zolberg, Aristide R.

Woon, Long Litt

Year

1999

Title

Why Islam is like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States

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Volume

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Issue

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Pages

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Politics & Society

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Why Islam is like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States

ARISTIDE R. ZOLBERG and LONG LITT WOON

Politics Society 1999 27: 5

DOI: 10.1177/0032329299027001002

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Juergensmeyer, Mark

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Juergensmeyer, Mark

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Global Rebellion

Religious Challenges to the Secular State, from Christian Militias to al Qaeda

Mark Juergensmeyer

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Author

Mearsheimer, J.

S. Walt

Year

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Title

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London Review of Books

Volume

28

Issue Number

6

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02

The Israel Lobby

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt

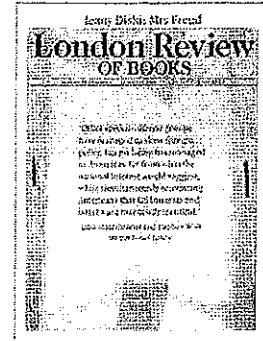
For the past several decades, and especially since the Six-Day War in 1967, the centrepiece of US Middle Eastern policy has been its relationship with Israel. The combination of unwavering support for Israel and the related effort to spread 'democracy' throughout the region has inflamed Arab and Islamic opinion and jeopardised not only US security but that of much of the rest of the world. This situation has no equal in American political history. Why has the US been willing to set aside its own security and that of many of its allies in order to advance the interests of another state? One might assume that the bond between the two countries was based on shared strategic interests or compelling moral imperatives, but neither explanation can account for the remarkable level of material and diplomatic support that the US provides.

Instead, the thrust of US policy in the region derives almost entirely from domestic politics, and especially the activities of the 'Israel Lobby'. Other special-interest groups have managed to skew foreign policy, but no lobby has managed to divert it as far from what the national interest would suggest, while simultaneously convincing Americans that US interests and those of the other country – in this case, Israel – are essentially identical.

Since the October War in 1973, Washington has provided Israel with a level of support dwarfing that given to any other state. It has been the largest annual recipient of direct economic and military assistance since 1976, and is the largest recipient in total since World War Two, to the tune of well over \$140 billion (in 2004 dollars). Israel receives about \$3 billion in direct assistance each year, roughly one-fifth of the foreign aid budget, and worth about \$500 a year for every Israeli. This largesse is especially striking since Israel is now a wealthy industrial state with a per capita income roughly equal to that of South Korea or Spain.

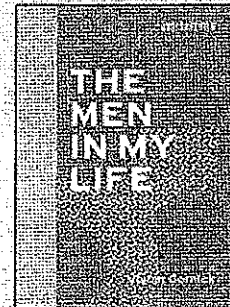
Other recipients get their money in quarterly installments, but Israel receives its entire appropriation at the beginning of each fiscal year and can thus earn interest on it. Most recipients of aid given for military purposes are required to spend all of it in the US, but Israel is allowed to use roughly 25 per cent of its allocation to subsidise its own defence industry. It is the only recipient that does not have to account for how the aid is spent, which makes it virtually impossible to prevent the money from being used for purposes the US opposes, such as building settlements on the West Bank. Moreover, the US has provided Israel with nearly \$3 billion to develop weapons systems, and given it access to such top-drawer weaponry as Blackhawk helicopters and F-16 jets. Finally, the US gives Israel access to intelligence it denies to its Nato allies and has turned a blind eye to Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons.

Washington also provides Israel with consistent diplomatic support. Since 1982, the US has vetoed 32 Security Council resolutions critical of Israel, more than the total number of vetoes cast by all the other Security Council members. It blocks the efforts of Arab states to put Israel's nuclear arsenal on the IAEA's agenda. The US comes to the rescue in wartime



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The MIT Press

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John Lanchester: Five More Years of This?

The Rendition of Abu Omar
John Foot awaits the trial of

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156

Author

Bacevich, A. J.

Elizabeth H. Prodromou

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Orbis (Philadelphia, Pa.)

Volume

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1

Pages

43-54

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God Is Not Neutral: Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy after 9/11

C2

by Andrew J. Bacevich and Elizabeth H. Prodromou

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George W. Bush is a man of genuine religious conviction. Since September 11, 2001, his personal religiosity has had a marked effect on U.S. foreign policy. But observers draw different conclusions as to what the effect has been.

In the eyes of his supporters (who are not all religious believers), Bush has infused U.S. policy with a moral clarity and conviction that it lacked prior to 9/11. He has returned the United States to its true mission as agent of universal human freedom. To his critics (who are not necessarily non-believers), 9/11 caused Bush to see the world in simplistic, even Manichean terms. Critics charge the president with having made U.S. policy not moral, but moralistic. The result, they say, has been to heighten fears abroad that U.S. policy is rigid, arrogant, bellicose, and perhaps even messianic. Critics at home also charge that, in practice, such an approach to policy is unsustainable, and that in the long run it will only open the United States to allegations of cynicism and hypocrisy.

Both sides may be at least partially right. The 2003 Gulf War and policy statements such as the September 2002 *National Security Strategy* suggest that the trauma of 9/11 reinforced preexisting tendencies looking to create a global Pax Americana. This paper considers the role of religion in that process. In particular, we suggest that in the aftermath of 9/11, conceptions of justice, largely evangelical in their origin, became fused with a set of policy prescriptions aimed at transforming U.S. national security strategy. Religion has been rendered an instrument used to provide moral justification for what is, in effect, a strategy of empire.