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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Unit</th>
<th>Historical, Philosophical &amp; Religious Studies</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Religious Studies</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Religion and Globalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is this a cross-listed course?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Units:</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If yes, please identify course(s)</td>
<td>SGS 107</td>
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<tr>
<td>Is this a shared course?</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Course description:</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Requested designation: Humanities, Fine Arts and Design-HU
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 (SO/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:
Name: Cindy Baade
Phone: 480-965-7183
Mail code: 4302
E-mail: cynthia.baade@asu.edu

Department Chair/Director approval: (Required)
Chair/Director name (Typed): Matthew J. Garcia
Date: 5/20/13
Chair/Director (Signature): [Signature]

Rev. 1/94, 4/95, 7/98, 4/00, 1/02, 10/08, 11/11/ 12/11, 7/12
Rationale and Objectives

The humanities disciplines are concerned with questions of human existence and meaning, the nature of thinking and knowing, with moral and aesthetic experience. The humanities develop values of all kinds by making the human mind more supple, critical, and expansive. They are concerned with the study of the textual and artistic traditions of diverse cultures, including traditions in literature, philosophy, religion, ethics, history, and aesthetics. In sum, these disciplines explore the range of human thought and its application to the past and present human environment. They deepen awareness of the diversity of the human heritage and its traditions and histories and they may also promote the application of this knowledge to contemporary societies.

The study of the arts and design, like the humanities, deepens the student’s awareness of the diversity of human societies and cultures. The fine arts have as their primary purpose the creation and study of objects, installations, performances and other means of expressing or conveying aesthetic concepts and ideas. Design study concerns itself with material objects, images and spaces, their historical development, and their significance in society and culture. Disciplines in the fine arts and design employ modes of thought and communication that are often nonverbal, which means that courses in these areas tend to focus on objects, images, and structures and/or on the practical techniques and historical development of artistic and design traditions. The past and present accomplishments of artists and designers help form the student’s ability to perceive aesthetic qualities of art work and design.

The Humanities, Fine Arts and Design are an important part of the General Studies Program, for they provide an opportunity for students to study intellectual and imaginative traditions and to observe and/or learn the production of art work and design. The knowledge acquired in courses fulfilling the Humanities, Fine Arts and Design requirement may encourage students to investigate their own personal philosophies or beliefs and to understand better their own social experience. In sum, the Humanities, Fine Arts and Design core area enables students to broaden and deepen their consideration of the variety of human experience.

Revised October 2008
Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

**ASU - [HU] CRITERIA**

HUMANITIES, FINE ARTS AND DESIGN [HU] courses must meet either 1, 2, or 3 and at least one of the criteria under 4 in such a way as to make the satisfaction of these criteria A CENTRAL AND SUBSTANTIAL PORTION of the course content.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Identification Documentation Submitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Emphasize the study of values, of the development of philosophies, religions, ethics or belief systems, and/or aesthetic experience.</td>
<td>Syllabus, course readings</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Concerns the comprehension and interpretation/analysis of written, aural, or visual texts, and/or the historical development of textual traditions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Concerns the comprehension and interpretation/analysis of material objects, images and spaces, and/or their historical development.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. In addition, to qualify for the Humanities, Fine Arts and Design designation a course must meet one or more of the following requirements:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Concerns the development of human thought, including emphasis on the analysis of philosophical and/or religious systems of thought.</td>
<td>Syllabus, course readings</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Concerns aesthetic systems and values, literary and visual arts.</td>
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<td>c. Emphasizes aesthetic experience in the visual and performing arts, including music, dance, theater, and in the applied arts, including architecture and design.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>d. Deepen awareness of the analysis of literature and the development of literary traditions.</td>
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</table>

**THE FOLLOWING ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE:**

- Courses devoted primarily to developing a skill in the creative or performing arts, including courses that are primarily studio classes in the Herberger College of the Arts and in the College of Design.

- Courses devoted primarily to developing skill in the use of a language – **However, language courses that emphasize cultural study and the study of literature can be allowed.**

- Courses which emphasize the acquisition of quantitative or experimental methods.

- Courses devoted primarily to teaching skills.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Course Prefix</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Designation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>Religion and Globalization</td>
<td>HU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria (from checksheet)</th>
<th>How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)</th>
<th>Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>This course covers the development of the relationship between religion and globalization</td>
<td>See course description, learning objectives, required readings and course itinerary in syllabus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>This course concerns the development of religious systems of thought</td>
<td>See syllabus, also especially weeks 2, 3, 5, 7 course readings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sample Syllabus
REL 107 / SGS 107: Religion and Globalization
Fall 2011

T/TH: 1:30 PM - 2:45 PM
Location: ECG G237
Class #: REL: 84673
SGS: 86284
Instructor: Christopher R. Duncan
E-mail: crduncan@asu.edu
Office: Coor 6622
Phone: N/A
Office Hours: Thursday 3 - 5 PM

Faculty of Religious Studies
Main Office - Coor Hall, 6th Floor
Phone: (480) 965-5778
UG Advisor: PF Lengel
COOR 3314
(480) 965-8364
PF lengel@asu.edu

Faculty of Global Studies
Main Office - Coor Hall, 6th Floor
Phone: (480) 965-6551
UG Advisor: Jennifer Gordon
COOR 6705
(480)727-3118
Jennifer.Gordon@asu.edu

Course Description:
This introductory course will explore how different religions interact with the various processes of globalization. Students will deepen their understanding of how the world’s major religions have been transformed by economic, political, cultural and technological aspects of globalization, and how certain religious communities have responded to these transformations. In particular we will look at how the values and beliefs of various religions intersect with the processes of globalization. Topics will include: Religious terrorism, human rights, and religion and gender.

Prerequisites: None

Relationship to overall REL curriculum: This course serves as an introductory course to the Religious Studies Major for students who do not want to take a traditional World Religions survey course. The course will count towards the Religion in Global Contexts concentration for Religious Studies majors, or it could be used as an elective for Religious Studies Majors with other concentrations. The course can also count towards the Undergraduate Certificate in Religion and Conflict offered by CSRC.

Teaching and learning objectives:
• Students will gain a more nuanced understanding of the various ways in which religion influences and is influenced by the various processes of globalization so students can become informed participants in discussions about the role and function of religion in the contemporary world.
• Students will develop the ability to read and critically evaluate primary and secondary texts.
• Students will be able to articulate their own views on the major issues addressed in class through presenting evidence and arguments, and be able to justify their own conclusions.
• Students will cultivate and improve upon critical-thinking in general.

Instructional strategy
To meet the course goals stated above, this course will be taught using a variety of strategies. Information will be presented primarily through assigned readings and lectures. Students and the instructor will discuss these readings in class to highlight and clarify important concepts. Students
• Relating and synthesizing ideas

Class Preparation: One goal of this class is to promote discussion on the issues we are exploring and we cannot do that if you do not come to class prepared. I will assume that if you attend class you have done the reading and will be able to answer basic question about said readings.

| Mid-term Exam | 25 % |
| Second Exam   | 25 % |
| One Page Essays | 20 % |
| Classroom Module Design | 20 % |
| Class Participation | 10 % |
| **Total**      | **100 %** |

Course Itinerary:

Class 1 / Thurs, Aug 19: Introduction to course and instructor

Class 2 / Tues, Aug 24: What is religion?

Class 3 / Thurs, Aug 26: Modernization, secularization and the decline of religion?

Class 4 / Tues, Aug 31: The state of world religion: A global overview
  • Look over the BBC Religion Web Site

Recommended additional readings:
  • Listen to the five part NPR series “The Partisns of Ali”

Class 5 / Thurs, Sept 2: What is globalization? Is it anything new?

Class 6 / Tues, Sept 7: Economic and political globalization
  • Annan, Kofi. 2002 “The Role of the State in the Age of Globalisation” Keynote Address by the Secretary-General to the Conference on Globalisation and International Relations in the 21st Century.

Class 7 / Thurs, Sept. 9: Clash of Civilizations? Islam and the West

Recommended additional readings:

Recommended additional readings:

Class 20 / Tues, Oct. 26: The globalization of Wahhabism
• Noy Thrupkaew, 2004. “Follow the (Saudi) Money: Can a Small Muslim Community in Cambodia Resist Being Pulled Toward Wahhabism?” American Prospect. 1 August.

Class 21 / Thurs, Oct. 28: The shifting nature of global Christianity
• Christianity in Global Context: Trends and Statistics. Prepared for the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. (3 pp.)

Recommended additional readings:

Class 22 / Tues, Nov. 2: Religious freedom and human rights

Class 23 / Thurs, Nov. 4: Religious freedom around the world: An overview
• In-class presentations on countries of particular concern.

Class 24 / Tues, Nov. 9: Religion, globalization and human rights [Women’s rights]

Class 25 / Thurs, Nov. 11: Religious freedom: How Women dress
• Scott, Politics of the Veil. Chapter Introduction, Chapter 1.
• See Blackboard for various media articles about attempts to control women’s dress.

Class 26 / Tues, Nov. 16: Religious freedom: How Women dress
• Scott, Politics of the Veil. Chapter 2 and 4

Class 27 / Thurs, Nov. 18: Religious freedom: How Women dress
• Scott, Politics of the Veil. Chapter 5

Class 28 / Tues, Nov. 23: Religious freedom: How Women dress
• Scott, Politics of the Veil. Conclusion
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 mailbox or put them under my door without having a department secretary 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. If papers are submitted by e-mail it is your responsibility to ensure they are received. If you do not receive 
   an e-mail acknowledging receipt of your paper it has NOT been received and will be marked down for being 
   late. No excuses will be accepted.

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.
   ➢ 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.

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.

Disability Accommodations: Qualified students with disabilities who will require disability 
   accommodations in this class are encouraged to make their requests to me at the beginning of the semester 
   either during office hours or by appointment. Note: Prior to receiving disability accommodations, verification 
   of eligibility from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) is required. Disability information is confidential.

Establishing Eligibility for Disability Accommodations: Students who feel they will need disability 
   accommodations in this class but have not registered with the Disability Resource Center (DRC) should contact 
   DRC immediately. Their office is located on the first floor of the Matthews Center Building. DRC staff can 
   also be reached at: 480-965-1234 (V), 480-965-9000 (TTY). For additional information, visit: 
   www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/ed/drc. Their hours are 8:00 AM to 5:00 PM, Monday through Friday.
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FEATURING NEW CONTENT AND UPDATED ANALYSIS

"[A] thoughtful analysis of America's war on terror."
—THE NEW YORKER

BEYOND

FUNDAMENTALISM

Originally published as How to Win a Cosmic War

CONFRONTING

RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

"Offers a very persuasive argument for the best way to counter jihadism."
—THE WASHINGTON POST

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

RIZA ASLAN

AUTHOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL BESTSELLER
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Thinking about Religion after September 11

BRUCE LINCOLN
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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
Religion can be explained as a set of beliefs concerning the cause, nature, and purpose of the universe, especially when considered as the creation of a superhuman agency or agencies, usually involving devotional and ritual observances, and often containing a moral code governing the conduct of human affairs.

**Featured religions and beliefs**

- **Atheism**
  Atheists are people who believe that god or gods are man-made constructs.

- **Baha’i**
  One of the youngest of the world’s major religions.

- **Buddhism**
  A way of living based on the teachings of Siddhartha Gautama.

- **Candomblé**
  A religion based on African beliefs, originating in Brazil.

- **Christianity**
  The world’s biggest faith, based on the teaching of Jesus Christ.

- **Hinduism**
  A group of faiths rooted in the religious ideas of India.

- **Islam**
  Revealed in its final form by the Prophet Muhammad.

- **Jainism**
  An ancient philosophy and ethical teaching that originated in India.

- **Jehovah’s Witnesses**
  A Christian-based evangelistic religious movement.

- **Judaism**
  Based around the Jewish people’s covenant relationship with God.

- **Mormonism**
  The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

- **Paganism**
  Contemporary religions usually based on reverence for nature.
The Origins of the Shia-Sunni Split

by MIKE SHUSTER

February 12, 2007  12:01 AM

It's not known precisely how many of the world's 1.3 billion Muslims are Shia. The Shia are a minority, comprising between 10 percent and 15 percent of the Muslim population — certainly fewer than 200 million, all told.

The Shia are concentrated in Iran, southern Iraq and southern Lebanon. But there are significant Shiite communities in Saudi Arabia and Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India as well.

Although the origins of the Sunni-Shia split were violent, over the centuries Shia and Sunnis lived peacefully together for long periods of time.

But that appears to be giving way to a new period of spreading conflict in the Middle East between Shia and Sunni.

"There is definitely an emerging struggle between Sunni and Shia to define not only the pattern of local politics, but also the relationship between the Islamic world and the West," says Daniel Brumberg of Georgetown University, author of Reinventing Khomeini: The Struggle for Reform in Iran.
Class 5 / Thurs, Sept. 2: What is globalization? Is it anything new?


Recommended additional readings:
Editorial introduction. Globalization: Definitions, debates and implications

Ngaire Woods

pages 5-15

Abstract

This introduction contrasts three competing interpretations of globalization which appear in contributions to this issue. The market-centred approach is contrasted with a state-centred perspective, and finally with a people-centred interpretation of the nature and impact of globalization. The paper then draws together the lessons for developing countries which follow from the analyses of trade, investment, finance, policy choices and reactions against globalization.
Spices: How the Search for Flavors Influenced Our World

In the Middle Ages, spices were valued commodities, but not, as most people assume, for their ability to preserve meat. Rather, it was because medieval cuisine placed a premium on a variety of flavors. Spices were also thought to have medicinal properties, adding to their allure. These are only some of the reasons that spices obtained such distinction and ultimately became globally traded products, which in turn helped develop integrated economic networks. The quest for spices drove not only trade-related globalization, but also helped pave the way for colonialism and global empires.

Myth, medicine and medieval tastes created a market for the world’s first globally traded product

Paul Freedman
11 March 2003

The control over gold, silver, precious metals and recently oil has been a source of conflict and driver of economic globalization. However, other products also inspired exploration, war, conquest and ultimately the emergence of a closely integrated world trading system. One such product awaits in small bottles and packages on the shelves of supermarkets and corner markets: spices.

The quest for spice was one of the earliest drivers of globalization. Long before the voyages of European explorers, spices were globally traded products. As spices once created a global economic network in the Middle Ages, other commodities have followed a similar path. And like spice, many of these products have also faded in popularity. Consider some of the first industries listed on the Dow Jones Industrial Average - leather or rubber for instance - that have since lost their privileged place, replaced by products like Coca-Cola or oil. Spices were prized goods in the Middle Ages. The story of the quest for spices is an early model of globalization, since

Harvesting pepper near Quilon, south India in the 14th Century. Desire for flavor fueled building of empires. Image from Marco Polo’s Livre des merveilles.

mirrored by other traded goods.

High prices, a limited supply and mysterious origins fueled a growing effort to discover spices and their source of cultivation. Thus, spices were a global commodity centuries before European voyages. There was a complex chain of relations, yet consumers had little knowledge of producers and vice versa. Desire for spices helped fuel European colonial empires to create political, military and commercial networks under a single power.

Historians know a fair amount about the supply of spices in Europe during the medieval period - the origins, methods of transportation, the prices - but less about demand. Why go to such extraordinary efforts to procure expensive products from exotic lands? Still, demand was great enough to inspire the voyages of Christopher Columbus and Vasco Da Gama, launching the first fateful wave of European colonialism. The desire for aromatic substances has had immense historical repercussions, the effects of which are being felt long after the vogue of spices has diminished.

In a handbook of practical wisdom written by the Florentine merchant Francesco Pagolotti in the early 14th century, some 288 spices are listed, including items like alum, used as a dye fixative. Even so, the variety of imported aromatic substances is astounding and suggests a high demand, including “long pepper” and “grains of Paradise,” both piquant in taste but unrelated to black pepper, as well “dragon’s blood,” a dye and also a drug ingredient.

So, why were spices so highly prized in Europe in the centuries from about 1000 to 1500? One widely disseminated explanation for medieval demand for spices was that they covered the taste of spoiled meat. Spices were more expensive than meat, and fresh
KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE CONFERENCE ON GLOBALISATION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

7 June 2002

"The role of the State in the age of globalisation"

Following is the keynote address by United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan to the Conference on Globalisation and International Relations in the 21st Century, delivered on 7 June 2002 at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva.

"C'est pour moi un grand honneur et un grand plaisir de revenir, en tant que Secrétaire général de l'ONU, dans cet Institut dont les fondateurs, il y a septante-cinq ans, entendaient apporter un soutien intellectuel au travail de la Société des Nations.

Un honneur, cela va sans dire. Mais un grand plaisir aussi, car cela me rappelle les beaux jours où je faisais moi-même mes études ici. Saint-Exupéry a dit qu'on était de son enfance comme on était d'un pays. Pour moi, c'est vrai aussi de ma jeunesse. Ici, je me sens un peu chez moi.

Parmi les dettes que j'ai envers mon alma mater genevoise, ma connaissance de la langue française n'est pas la moindre. Cette connaissance, comme vous devez l'entendre, reste toute relative. C'est que cette grande école est vraiment internationale, et permet aux anglophones de continuer à s'exprimer en anglais sans complexe. Avec votre permission, je vais profiter de nouveau de cette tolérance exemplaire...

In other words, I hope you will forgive me if I deliver the rest of this address in English.

Your theme at this conference is one of great interest to the United Nations.

Already, globalisation has transformed the context of our work.

The United Nations was founded in 1945 as the centrepiece of a new international order, in which it was taken for granted that nation-states were the main actors. It was assumed that the main threat to world order would come from the aggression of one State against another. And the international economy was made up of separate national economies trading with each other.

The world of today is very different. In recent decades, far more people have been killed in civil wars, ethnic cleansing and acts of genocide than in conventional war
The Clash of Civilizations?

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.”
The Roots of Muslim Rage

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

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 precedent in the writings of Spinoza, Locke, and the philosophers of the 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

THE REVOLT OF ISLAM

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

BY BERNARD LEWIS

NOVEMBER 19, 2001
The Clash of Ignorance

Edward W. Said, October 4, 2001

The Nation

The Clash of Ignorance

Edward W. Said

Tribune

WASHINGTON, D.C. (AP) — The view that the United States is the world's number one superpower is a false one, said President George W. Bush, in a speech delivered on Monday. He said that the United States must be more proactive in its foreign policy and must work more closely with other nations to achieve its goals.

The essential point is that the United States cannot rely solely on military power to achieve its goals. It must work with other nations to achieve its goals.

The United States must also be more willing to compromise in its foreign policy. It must be willing to negotiate with other nations, even when it disagrees with them.

The United States also must be more willing to use its economic power to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its economic power to influence other nations.

The United States must also be more willing to use its soft power. It must be willing to use cultural and diplomatic influence to achieve its goals.

The United States must also be more willing to use its military power to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use military power to protect its interests.

Finally, the United States must be more willing to use its influence to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its influence to shape events.

The United States must also be more willing to use its wealth to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its wealth to finance development projects.

The United States must also be more willing to use its people to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its people to influence events.

The United States must also be more willing to use its technology to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its technology to create new industries.

The United States must also be more willing to use its aid to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its aid to create new markets.

The United States must also be more willing to use its trade to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its trade to create new jobs.

The United States must also be more willing to use its diplomacy to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its diplomacy to create new alliances.

The United States must also be more willing to use its intelligence to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its intelligence to create new opportunities.

The United States must also be more willing to use its ability to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its ability to create new solutions.

The United States must also be more willing to use its courage to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its courage to take risks.

The United States must also be more willing to use its kindness to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its kindness to create new relationships.

The United States must also be more willing to use its knowledge to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its knowledge to create new ideas.

The United States must also be more willing to use its wisdom to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its wisdom to create new policies.

The United States must also be more willing to use its strength to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its strength to create new victories.

The United States must also be more willing to use its spirit to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its spirit to create new hope.

The United States must also be more willing to use its vision to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its vision to create new futures.

The United States must also be more willing to use its courage to achieve its goals. It must be willing to use its courage to take risks.

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

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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, as well as 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 civilisations, interstate conflict was significantly less likely only within the West; dyads in other civilisations were as likely to fight as were states split across civilisations, 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.

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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 analysis can be obtained from: http://www.yale.edu/uscis/democ/democ1.htm and http://bama.ua.edu/~joneal/jpr2000_data.
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
MARTHA C. NUSSBAUM

The Clash Within
DEMOCRACY, RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE, AND INDIA'S FUTURE
Islamophobia and the 'Ground Zero Mosque' Debate

By Jonathan Tipograph - Associated Press  June 27, 2012

Opposition to a proposed mosque near Ground Zero swelled into a chorus this week after its planners on Aug. 3 passed the last municipal hurdle barring them from building it. New York City Mayor Mike Bloomberg spoke passionately in defense of the project. “Let us not forget that Muslims were among those murdered on 9/11 and that our Muslim neighbors grieved with us as New Yorkers and as Americans,” Bloomberg said in a speech that day. “We would betray our values and play into our enemies’ hands if we were to treat Muslims differently than anyone else.”

Bloomberg’s predecessor didn’t agree. The former mayor of New York City, Rudy Giuliani, claimed that the project, which is partially intended to be an interfaith community center, would be a “desecration,” adding that “peaceful” Muslims ought not object to his opinion. Other anti-terrorism politicians and talking heads who have long failed to do with the events of 9/11 – 09, for that matter, New York — have joined the chorus, arguing in some instances that a mosque near Ground Zero would be a monument to terrorism.

(See the moderate imam behind the “Ground Zero mosque.”)

Such Islamophobia is unsurprising in the post-Cold War age of al-Qaeda and sleeper cells. And Islam, of course, has long been a bogeyman for the West. For centuries, a more advanced, more powerful Islamic world humbled the imagination of snow-kissed Christendom. When the Spanish arrived in the Americas, they brought the language of the Reconquista with them, sometimes referring to Aztecs and Mayans as “Mongols” and to their architects as mosquitos. “The Sultanate of Morocco was the first government in the world to recognize the existence of an independent United States, in 1772. But it was America’s naval expeditions to North Africa — the two early—nineteenth-century Barbary Wars — that first ended the U.S.’s arrival on the global stage and crystallized a new American patriotism at home.

(See pictures of the richness and diversity of Muslims in America.)

The early history of Muslims in the U.S. was a lonely one. But while there are isolated reports of “Moorish” sailors and even an Egyptian dwelling in corners of the colonies, the first significant populations were slaves from West Africa. Bilal Mohammed was born in Onatra in roughly 1770 and died in 1857 on a plantation on Sapelo Island in Georgia, leaving behind a 186-page transcript in Arabic. It’s a treasure of religious jurisprudence specific to the society of Muslim West Africans and one of the earliest Arabic diary narratives. Abdurahman Ibrahim Inba Sori, like the literary figure of Oromo in Achebe’s famous 1685 novel of the same name, was a royal from a Guinea kingdom before being abducted and whisked away to slavery in Mississippi. As word of a lettered, regal “Prince of Slaves” spread across the country, Inba Sori won allies and friends and was eventually freed in 1828 by an order from President John Quincy Adams. He left the U.S. for the former slave republic of Liberia in Africa but died of fever soon thereafter, never to return to the land of his birth.

Most Muslim African slaves were far less lucky, and memory of their varied cultural heritage disparaged over generations of enslavement. Black Islam would be revived in the first half of the 20th century as a creed of www.time.com/travel/article/0,281959,2C20102147%2C00.html
Sacrosanct at Ground Zero

By Charles Krauthammer
Friday, August 13, 2010

A place is made sacred by a widespread belief that it was visited by the miraculous or the transcendent (Lourdes, the Temple Mount), by the presence there once of great nobility and sacrifice (Gettysburg), or by the blood of martyrs and the indescribable suffering of the innocent (Auschwitz).

When we speak of Ground Zero as hallowed ground, what we mean is that it belongs to those who suffered and died there -- and that such ownership obliges us the living, to preserve the dignity and memory of the place, never allowing it to be forgotten, trivialized or misappropriated.

That's why Disney's 1993 proposal to build an American history theme park near Manassas Battlefield was defeated by a broad coalition that feared vulgarization of the Civil War (and that was wiser than me; at the time I obliviously saw little harm in the venture). It's why the commercial viewing tower built right on the border of Gettysburg was taken down by the Park Service. It's why, while no one objects to Japanese cultural centers, the idea of putting one up at Pearl Harbor would be offensive.

And why Pope John Paul II ordered the Carmelites runs...
Build the Ground Zero Mosque
Aug 6, 2013 7:50 PM EDT
I believe we should promote Muslim moderates right here in America. And why I'm returning an award to the ADL.

Ever since 9/11, liberals and conservatives have agreed that the lasting solution to the problem of Islamic terror is to prevail in the battle of ideas and to discredit radical Islam, the ideology that motivates young men to kill and be killed. Victory in the war on terror will be won when a moderate, mainstream version of Islam—one that is compatible with modernity—fully triumphs over the world view of Osama bin Laden.

As the conservative Middle Eastern expert Daniel Pipes put it, "The U.S. role in this struggle is less to offer its own views than to help those Muslims with compatible views, especially on such issues as relations with non-Muslims, modernization, and the rights of women and minorities." To that end, early in his tenure the Bush administration began a serious effort to seek out and support moderate Islam. Since then, Washington has funded mosques, schools, institutes, and community centers that are trying to modernize Islam around the world. Except, apparently, in New York City.

The debate over whether an Islamic center should be built a few blocks from the World Trade Center has ignored a fundamental point. If there is going to be a reformist movement in Islam, it is going to emerge from places like the proposed institute. We should be encouraging groups like the one behind this project, not demonizing them. Were this mosque being built in a foreign city, chances are...
Class 10 / Tues, Sept. 21: Confronting Religious Extremism in the Age of Globalization
• Beyond Fundamentalism, Read Introduction and Chapter 1

Class 11 / Thurs, Sept. 23: FILM: In the Name of God: Holy Word, Holy War
• Beyond Fundamentalism, Chapter 2

Recommended additional readings:

Class 12 / Tues, Sept. 28: Confronting Religious Extremism in the Age of Globalization
• Beyond Fundamentalism, Chapter 3

Class 13 / Thurs, Sept. 30: FILM: Soldiers of God
• Beyond Fundamentalism, Chapter 4

Class 14 / Tues, Oct. 5: Confronting Religious Extremism in the Age of Globalization
• Beyond Fundamentalism, Chapter 5

Class 15 / Thurs, Oct. 7: Confronting Religious Extremism in the Age of Globalization
• Beyond Fundamentalism, Chapter 6-7
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Part Two
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CHAPTER THREE Zeal for Your House Consumes Me
CHAPTER FOUR An Army of Believers
CHAPTER FIVE The Near and the Far
Class 18 / Tues, Oct. 19: FILM: U.S.-Afghanistan Relations: Gaining Perspective
Global Rebellion

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

Mark Juergensmeyer
Al-Qaeda: the misunderstood Wahhabi connection and the ideology of violence

Maha Azzam

Bewildering descriptions of a shadowy network, undercover terrorist cells, imminent dangers, new arrests, create alarm but not much clarity. Speculation about the extent and strength of Al-Qaeda reach no satisfactory conclusions. A more pertinent line of inquiry would be to focus instead on questions about the nature and appeal of Al-Qaeda: those related to ideology. Can we speak of an ideology behind Bin Laden's and Al-Qaeda's politics of violence? Is theirs a coherent dogma or a fragmented and ill-thought-out understanding of Islam? Do its leaders and members share a common tradition? What lies behind the espousal of Islam, anti-Americanism and the resort to terror?
BERNARD LEWIS

AUTHOR OF WHAT WENT WRONG?

THE CRISIS OF ISLAM

Holy War and Unholy Terror

"A lucid and concise work by the great
Middleast scholar... an indispensable primer."

—The Boston Globe

INCLUDES A NEW EPILOGUE
Follow the (Saudi) Money: Can a Small Muslim Community in Cambodia Resist Being Pulled toward Wahhabism?

By Thrupkaew, Noy
Magazine article from The American Prospect, Vol. 15, No. 8
Article details

Beginning of article

HEAD NORTH OUT OF PHNOM PENH, AND WITHIN A FEW miles the cacophonous traffic of Cambodia’s capital gives way to herds of oxen and water buffalo, their shoulder blades rolling underneath their hides. As you travel, the riverside restaurants—frequented by well-off Khmers and thick with neon lights and the sound of karaoke—grow fewer and farther. Soon there is nothing but rice fields, the great brown swath of the Mekong River, and then, rising out of the flat landscape with surprising suddenness, an onion-shaped dome.

The dome crowns the al-Mukara Islamic School, home to more than 500 Cambodian Muslim students before a police raid in May 2003 sent the children streaming out of the gates with their hastily packed luggage. Three foreign-born men affiliated with the school and the Saudi charity that ran the institution were arrested; a Cambodian teacher at another Islamic school was detained a few weeks later. All were charged with “international terrorism with links to Jemaah Islamiyah,” the Southeast Asian arm of al-Qaeda that was behind the October 2002
The Next Christianity

We stand at a historical turning point, the author argues—one that is as epochal for the Christian world as the original Reformation. Around the globe Christianity is growing and mutating in ways that observers in the West tend not to see. Tumultuous conflicts within Christianity will leave a mark deeper than Islam's on the century ahead.

PHILIP JENKINS | OCT 1, 2002, 12:00 PM ET

Ever since the sexual-abuse crisis erupted in the U.S. Roman Catholic Church in the mid-1980s, with allegations of child molestation by priests, commentators have regularly compared the problems faced by the Church to those it faced in Europe at the start of the sixteenth century, on the eve of the Protestant Reformation—problems that included sexual laxity and financial malfeasance among the clergy, and clerical contempt for the interests of the laity. Calls for change have become increasingly urgent since January, when revelations of widespread sexual misconduct and grossly negligent responses to it emerged prominently in the Boston archdiocese. Similar, if less dramatic, problems have been brought to light in New Orleans, Providence, Palm Beach, Omaha, and many other dioceses. The reform agendas now under discussion within the U.S. hierarchy involve ideas about increased lay participation in governance—ideas of the sort heard when Martin Luther confronted the Roman Catholic orthodoxy of his day. They also include such ideas as admitting women to the priesthood and permitting priests to marry.

Explicit analogies to the Reformation have become commonplace not only among commentators but also among anticlerical activists, among victims' groups, and, significantly, among ordinary lay believers. One representative expert on sexual misconduct, much quoted, is Richard Sipe, a former monk who worked at the sexual-disorders clinic at Johns Hopkins University and is now a psychotherapist based in California. Over the years Sipe has spoken regularly of "a new Reformation." "We are at 1515," he has written, "between when Martin Luther went to Rome in 1510 and 1517 when he nailed his 95 theses on the door in Wittenberg." That act can reasonably be seen as the symbolic starting point of the Reformation, when a united Christendom was rent asunder.

Historians continue to debate the causes and consequences of the Reformation, and of the forces that unleashed it. Among other things, the Reformation broke the fetters that constrained certain aspects of intellectual life during the Middle Ages. Protestants, of course, honor the event as the source of their distinctive religious traditions; many Protestant denominations celebrate Reformation Day, at the end of October, commemorating the posting of the theses at Wittenberg. And liberal Catholics invoke the word these days to emphasize the urgency of reform—changes both broad and specific that they demand from the Church. Their view is that the crisis, which exposes fault lines of both sexuality and power, is the most serious the Church has faced in 500 years—as serious as the one it faced in Luther's time.

The first Reformation was an epochal moment in the history of the Western world—and eventually, by extension, of the rest of the world. The status quo in religious affairs was brought to an end. Relations between religions and...
Global Christianity and the Re-education of the West

by Lamin Sanneh

Lamin Sanneh teaches missions and world Christianity and history at Yale Divinity School. He is an editor-at-large of The Christian Century. This article appeared in The Christian Century July 19-26, 1995, pp. 715-718. Copyright by the Christian Century Foundation; used by permission. Current articles and subscriptions can be found at www.christiancentury.org. This text was prepared for Religion Online by John C. Purdy.

Church History has generally been defined by a Western perspective. What European Christians have thought and done has been considered superior to what Christians elsewhere have thought and done. Chronology has generally been subservient to biography, and biography has been subservient to dogma and theory, especially when the dogma and theory confirm the idea of Western ascendancy. Attention has been paid, of course, to such issues as demography, economics, social status and political forces. But in the main, the human spirit has been stripped of local color, tone and sound in order to become a fit subject for reflection. The emphasis has been either, on the development of doctrine or on religion as an aspect of general human nature.

The tendency to feel awkward about the historical character of the faith has left us in a poor position to appreciate Christianity as a global reality. It's striking how few of my esteemed colleagues at Yale Divinity School make regular professional use of the resources in the Day Missions Library, which contains a treasure of information about the worldwide expansion of Christianity. This indifference contrasts sharply with the flowering of interest in the Western missionary movement shown by departments of history, political science and anthropology. It's ironic that a divinity school can carry out its mission largely uninterested in Christianity's unprecedented expansion around the world. How do we understand this irony? Perhaps it's a measure of how much we have turned our back on the historical dimension of Christianity and on non-Western societies. Perhaps it also indicates how absorbed we are in our immediate context, which causes us to think in terms of decline and uncertainty rather than growth.

In any case, I wonder what the study of church history would look like if it had a global perspective -- if it viewed world Christianity not with a sense of decline and uncertainty but with a sense of expansion and promise. Indeed, might not the entire structure of theological education change if it began to
freeing God's children

The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights

ALLEN D. HERTZKE
Religion and human rights

The limits of freedom and faith

Opponents of a bid by Muslim states to “protect religion” claim a small success

Mar 31st 2010 | From the print edition

IT DOES not happen often: Christian lobbyists, the sort who favour prayer in American classrooms and crucifixes in Italian ones, lining up on the same side as secularists who battle to curb religion’s role in the public square. But in both those camps there has been some quiet satisfaction after a recent vote at the United Nations. Not over the outcome, but over the slim margin of defeat.

On March 25th the Human Rights Council (HRC), a Geneva-based UN agency which often exasperates its Western members, voted by 20 votes to 17, with eight abstentions, for a text that lists the “defamation of religion” as an infringement of liberty. Nothing amazing there: the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), which groups 56 mainly Muslim states (plus Palestine), has been working to push resolutions of that kind through the General Assembly and other UN bodies since 2005. But the margin was the smallest ever, and opponents think there could be a good chance of defeating a “defamation” motion next time one comes around.

The OIC’s idea is to establish the principle that faiths need protection, just as individuals do. It denies any sinister intention (see article (/node/15833035)). And to some ears, the OIC’s effort sounds like harmless UN-speak, but nothing more. (The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, a congressionally mandated body, has noted a logical flaw: defamation means harming the reputation of a living person or entity: that implies that one can’t defame an idea or a religious founder who is no longer, at least physically, alive on earth.)

But critics of the OIC campaign, who include atheists, Christians and indeed some Muslims, say the “defamation” idea is worse than hot air: far from protecting human rights, it emboldens countries that use blasphemy laws to criminalise dissent. What encourages these critics is that
*Front Cover:* Nearly 3,000 Egyptian mourners gather in central Cairo on October 13, 2011 in honor of Coptic Christians among 25 people killed in clashes during a demonstration over an attack on a church.

MAHMUD HAMS/AFP/Getty Images
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Human rights before religion

Have we forgotten to protect women in our bid to accommodate practices carried out in the name of Islam?

Seyran Ates

guardian.co.uk, Saturday 26 September 2009 04.00 EDT
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Worldwide, women and children are among those most affected by human rights abuses; women and children make up the majority of victims of domestic violence; it is mainly women and girls who are deprived of an education, or even denied an appropriate position in the labour market despite a good education; political opportunities for women are still minimal, despite active and passive suffrage. This is the case regardless of culture or religion. In this sense, achieving gender equality is one of the greatest political challenges of our century.

This standardised picture requires one qualification. Without wishing to relativise violence and human rights abuses or create a hierarchy, there are grave differences between what has already been achieved in some countries and a standard that can be denoted as stable. While women and girls in western countries generally no longer, for instance, have to worry about whether or not they are allowed to work or go to school, or whether they will soon be married off to a cousin or a much older man, this is still a reality for countless women in most Islamic countries and in South America, Asia and Africa.

This global perspective is necessary to understand the particular situation for many Muslim women and girls in European countries, especially those who live in parallel societies. In a plural, open and liberal society such as Germany, different cultures and religions jostle together so closely that conflicts are unavoidable and solutions supposedly hard to find. The fear of ostracising foreign cultures and religions and stoking xenophobia has led to a politically precarious situation, in which every criticism of Islamically justified misogyny can make you a racist, an enemy of Islam or even a Nazi. Such labels are thrown around with abandon.

Those who still dare to criticise religious practices in the Islamic community or other cultures often receive death threats or are the victims of a character assassination. In both cases, the aim is to strike from public discussion the issue of violence against women done in the name of Islam or some other understanding of cultural values. Some wish to do so because they are themselves rightwing (Islamic fundamentalists and/or nationalists), others (those who are allegedly political correct,leftwingers and do-gooders) because they are afraid that...
Class 25 / Thurs, Nov. 11: Religious freedom: How Women dress

Class 26 / Tues, Nov. 16: Religious freedom: How Women dress
- Scott, *Politics of the Veil*. Chapter 2 and 4

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Class 28 / Tues, Nov. 23: Religious freedom: How Women dress
- Scott, *Politics of the Veil*. Conclusion
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STRAIGHT MAN’S BURDEN

The American roots of Uganda’s anti-gay persecutions

By Jeff Sharlet

A young man who called himself Blessed had agreed to meet me in front of the Speke Hotel, the oldest in Kampala, Uganda’s capital, but he was late, very late, and I had no way to contact him. Emailing me from a café, he’d said he didn’t have a phone; calling from a pay phone, he’d said he didn’t have a watch. The friends who’d put me in touch with him said he didn’t have an address. I’d seen a picture of him: he had a long neck, a narrow face, and a broad smile that made him look both kind and a little shy. I wanted to talk to him precisely because he was hard to find, because he was gay, and because he was on the run.

On October 14, 2009, a Ugandan member of parliament named David Bahati introduced legislation called the Anti-Homosexuality Bill. Among its provisions: up to three years in prison for failure to report a homosexual; seven years for “promotion”; life imprison-

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A few days later, I met Blessed in the middle of a dirt road with an American following, who had ousted him. “I am being hunted by my family at the moment,” he’d written in an email apologizing for his inability to commit to dinner plans. “I am moving place to place now.” Then, in case I didn’t understand: “They want to kill me.”

The Speke is nothing grand, just a succession ofucco arches, but smartly located midway between the business district and the president’s office, just down the hill from the gated gardens of the luxury Sheraton. At night, ruggus (white men—aid workers, oilmen, missionaries) come to shop for twenty-dollar prostitutes at the outdoor bar. By day, the Ugandan elite meet at the sidewalk tables. They ignore the whores, regal women who sip colas while they wait for evening, and likely have no idea that the hotel also serves as one of the city’s few havens for gays and lesbians.

Certainly Miria Matembe didn’t know. I’d been looking for her too. Then one night, there she was, pointed out to me by my friend Robert, a Ugandan journalist I’d hired to show me around. “That is Honorable right there,” he said. Uganda’s first minister


All photographs © Hélène Desruelles/Spa Press
Class 30 / Thurs., Dec. 2: Islam and Europe: Minarets and Danish cartoons

AN UNCERTAIN ROAD
MUSLIMS AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

Throughout Europe today, it is not uncommon to see women wearing headscarves and men with skull caps and beards. On many European streets, shops now sport signs in Arabic and other Near Eastern languages and sell an array of exotic-looking products from the Middle East and other parts of the Islamic world. Indeed, in the space of a few decades, whole neighborhoods in cities like Birmingham, Rotterdam and Paris have been transformed. Streets that have witnessed hundreds of years of European history are now playing host to a decidedly non-Western people and culture.

This is the new Europe, one in which a rapidly growing Muslim population is making its presence felt in societies that until recently were largely homogeneous. Muslims are still very much minorities in Western and Central European countries, making up roughly 5 percent of the European Union's total population. But a number of demographic trends point to dramatic change in the years ahead.

Islam is already the fastest-growing religion in Europe. Driven by immigration and high birthrates, the number of Muslims on the continent has tripled in the last 30 years. Most demographers forecast a similar or even higher rate of growth in the coming decades.

The social impact of this growing population is magnified by a low birthrate among native Europeans. After a post-World War II baby boom, birthrates in Europe have dropped to an average of 1.45 children per couple, far below the 2.1 needed to keep population growth at replacement levels. The continent that gave the rest of the world tens of millions of immigrants and Thomas Malthus' dire predictions of overpopulation is now faced with a shrinking populace.

Amid these demographic shifts lies a host of social challenges. While many European Muslims have become successful in their new homes, many others do not speak their host country's language well, if at all, and are often jobless and poor. Moreover, segregation, whether by choice or necessity, is common, with large numbers of Muslims living in ghettos where the crime and poverty rates are high.

For Europeans, too, Muslim immigration poses special challenges. Unlike the United States — a land of immigrants with no dominant ethnic group — most nations in Europe are built around a population base with a common ethnicity. Moreover, these countries possess deep historical, cultural, religious and linguistic traditions. Injecting hundreds of thousands, and in some cases millions, of people who look, speak and act differently into these settings often makes for a difficult social fit.

The argument over Turkey raises the larger issue of Europe's troubled relationship with Islam.

Tensions also have arisen over religion. The centrality of Islam in the lives of so many European Muslims is hard for increasingly secular Scandinavians, Germans and Frenchmen to comprehend. Europeans worry that Islam will make it difficult for their Muslim neighbors to accept many of the continent's core values, such as tolerance, democracy and equal rights for women.

These social pressures have been compounded by the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States and subsequent events — particularly the