

Columbia University
Spring 2007 U8290

Democratic Voices in the World's Religions: Islam

Instructor: Professor Alfred Stepan as48@columbia.edu
Associate: Mirjam Künkler mk2081@columbia.edu
CA: Anna Somos as2913@columbia.edu
Place: IAB 1101
Time: Thursdays, 2:00 – 4.00pm
Stepan's Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2:00 – 4:00 pm and by appointment.
Künkler's Office Hours: Mondays, 1:00 – 3:00 pm and by appointment.
Office: IAB 833

Professor Alfred Stepan is the Wallace Sayre Professor of Government in SIPA and the Political Science Department. He is a comparativist with a specialization in the struggles between democratic and non-democratic movements. Since July 2006, Alfred Stepan is the Director of the new Luce-funded “Center for the Study of Democracy, Toleration and Religion (CDTR)” which coordinates numerous Columbia-wide activities on this theme (for more information see <http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/cdtr>).

Mirjam Künkler has conducted extensive field research on Islamic movements and leaders in Indonesia and Iran and their secular and religious opponents. Ms. Künkler is the Deputy Director of the new Luce-funded

Center and the co-coordinator with Stepan of the Spring 2007 university-wide speaker series related to this course.

Purpose, Content and Goals of Course

The class will discuss the work of democratic activists from the Islamic world—and their secular and religious opponents—with a focus on Indonesia, Senegal and Khatami’s Iran. Indonesia and Senegal present two cases of young Muslim-majority democracies that would not have sustained successful democratic transitions without the pivotal contribution of democratically-minded Muslim leaders. These leaders were able to negotiate and have *de facto* coalitions with secular leaders and movements, and they also developed conceptions of Islam that corroborate human rights and democratic values, and are more specifically consistent with the equality of women, religious minorities and non-believers. Iran, the only country we study that did not democratize successfully, came very close to democratic reforms in the years 2000/2001. With the election of reform-minded president Mohammad Khatami in 1997 and reformist majorities in the 2000 parliamentary elections, a reform movement comprised of former revolutionaries-turned Islamic liberals transformed the Islamic Republic into a *de facto* diarchy with the declared intent of strengthening the republican elements of a constitution that invokes both divine and popular sovereignty. The power struggle in Iran would hardly have threatened the core of the theocratic regime, had the ambush been undertaken by secular forces (as in the early years of the revolution). Yet because the democratic challenge was formulated in Islamic terms – in the very language the regime employs, – a reformist president and a reformist majority in parliament succeeded in bringing about the greatest degree of democratic contestation the republic had seen since the 1979

revolution. We study the works of the major religious intellectuals behind this movement and their analyses of whether, or not, a theocratic regime can be reformed to guarantee fundamental political rights and civil liberties.

The course introduces the approaches and theories of Muslim intellectuals and activists involved in the reform and democratization movements in the four societies, and will feature, with funding from the Luce grant, at least four lectures delivered by political activists from Indonesia, Iran and Senegal, in order to present and explain their conceptions of democratic governance in Muslim-majority societies to the class and the wider Columbia community.

Course Requirements

Students will be asked to write a 30 page research paper on core issues raised either in the speaker's talk or his/her publications (70% of the final grade). To that end, students will also meet with the invited speaker for approximately 45 minutes during their visit in order to discuss the research paper. 30% of the final grade will depend on student participation during class.

Visiting Speakers

Invitees include:

- Amien Rais, former chairman of Indonesia's largest modernist Islamic Organization Muhammadiyah (35 million members), former Speaker of the People's Consultative Assembly, and major leader of the opposition against President Suharto in the mid-1990s.
- Azyumardi Azra, rector of the State Islamic University in Jakarta (History PhD from Columbia), specialist on the modernization of religious education, a noted historian and prominent religious intellectual.

- Akbar Ganji, Iran's leading investigative journalist, winner of the 2006 World Association of the prestigious Golden Pen of Freedom Award and winner of the 2006 Martin Ennals Award.
- Abdulkarim Soroush, philosopher and a major religious intellectual behind the Iranian reform movement. Author of *Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam*, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Penda Mbow, former Senegalese Minister of Culture, Associate Professor of History at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, public figure and activist on democracy, civil society and women's rights.
- Soulaymane Bachir Diagne, Senegalese philosopher, former vice-dean of the College of Humanities at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar and former advisor to the Senegalese government.

Availability of Materials

Note: we will no doubt, make some adjustments to this syllabus and readings when we know exactly which invited speaker will be coming at which dates. Stepan is also the Chair of an SSRC Working Group on the Role of Religion in Society. Some of the other members include the philosopher Charles Taylor and the sociologist Jose Casanova. As members of the Working Group produce papers which may be relevant for our course, Stepan will assign these and therefore there will be some adjustments in the syllabus as we proceed. However, the required readings will be close to the norm for an 8000 level graduate course. Because the major requirement of the course is a 30 page research paper, the syllabus is longer than the norm so that we can indicate readings and possible topics that you may find of use when you select your research topic. In addition to this syllabus, we will also make some special collections of documents available as we produce them in the Luce project.

This syllabus will indicate where to find the required reading. All of the required readings (aside from the books ordered at Labyrinth Book Store) are

on reserve at Lehman Library and/or accessible in electronic form through the Courseworks online system at www.courseworks.columbia.edu.

Books Available for Purchase

We have ordered the following books at Labyrinth Books, 536 West 112th St (between Broadway and Amsterdam).

1. *Koran*. Translated by N J Dawood. (Penguin Classics, 2004). Alternatively, consult online UCS's 'Compendium of Muslim Texts' at <http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran/> which offers English translations for every Sura from the Yusuf Ali, Pickthal and Shakir versions.
2. Michael Cook. *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford University Press, 2000).
3. Seyyed Hossein Nasr. *The Heart of Islam: Enduring Values for Humanity*. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002).
4. Robert W. Hefner, ed. *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005).
5. Charles Kurzman, ed. *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook*. (Oxford University Press, 1998).
6. Robert W. Hefner. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
7. Ali Ansari. *Iran, Islam and Democracy*. (London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000).
8. Abdolkarim Soroush. *Reason, Freedom and Democracy in Islam*. (Oxford University Press, 2000).
9. Leonardo Villalon. *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal. Disciples and Citizens in Fatick*. (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

10. Donal Cruise O'Brian. *Symbolic Confrontations. Muslims Imaging the State in Africa*. (Palgrave, 2003).

**Block 1: Democracy, Secularism,
Religion-State Relations and Islam.**

**January 18: Introduction. Democracy, Secularism,
Religion-State Relations.**

We will begin the course with a discussion of some of the basic concepts of democracy and religion-state relations.

For a classic statement of the eight necessary conditions for a “polyarchy,” or a political democracy, see Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, pp. 1-16 (Reserve at Lehman and Courseworks).

For a very brief attempt to compare the five necessary democratic arenas for a well functioning democracy see the discussion of the tasks of “civil society” and the very different tasks of the arenas of “political society,” “the state”, “rule of law” and “economic society”, in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), chapter 1. For the discussion of multiple and complementary identities see chapter 2.

What does democracy actually require, and not require, vis-à-vis secularism? For a thoughtful analysis of why the “secularization thesis,” as an empirical prediction and a normative prescription, was shared by almost all of the founders of modern sociology, see José Casanova’s “Secularization,

Enlightenment, and Modern Religion” in his *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11-39. For his most current project of studying secularism as the emancipation of the state, law, the sciences and administration from religious authority, see his “Rethinking Secularization. A Global Comparative Perspective,” in *The Hedgehog Review*, Special Issue on “After Secularization” Spring/Summer 2006. Also read the interview with Peter Berger, the most prominent early defendant of the Secularization Thesis, in the same issue of *The Hedgehog Review*, and listen to his talk on “Globalization and the Rise of Religion” in the respective podcast issue of *Speaking of Faith*, stored on Courseworks.

For a valuable reader that brings together important statements about secularism by Charles Taylor, “Modes of Secularism,” and Amartya Sen, “Secularism and its Discontents”, see Rajeev Bhargava (ed), *Secularism and its Critics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). For a trenchant essay about the antidemocratic quality of some arguments that insist on secularism, see John Keane, “The Limits of Secularism,” *Times Literary Supplement*, Jan. 9, 1988, 12-13.

Whatever the normative theories of secularism and democracy may be, empirically democracy seems to co-exist with a great variety of patterns of separation of religion and the state. This is important for us to be aware of when judging patterns in new democracies. For two articles based on a long-term project and an index on degrees of separation of Church and State which will give you data from 1973-2003 for all the European democracies see Jonathan Fox, “World Separation of Religion and State into the 21st Century,” in *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 39, No 5 (June 2006), pp. 537-569, and Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler, “Separation of Religion and State in the 21st Century: Comparing the Middle East and Western Democracies,” in *Comparative Politics*,

37, No. 3, (April 2005). Contact Jonathan Fox at foxjon@mail.biu.ac.il to receive a copy of the dataset.

Alfred Stepan explores the implications for democracy and democratization of institutional linkages between politics and religion, in “The World’s Religious Systems and Democracy: Crafting the Twin Tolerations”, in his *Arguing Comparative Politics*, pp. 213-254.

January 25. Democracy, Islam and Religious Law.

For an overview over the history and different currents within Islam see Seyyed Hossein Nasr’s *The Heart of Islam: Enduring Values for Humanity*, San Francisco: Harper-SanFrancisco, 2002. A solid, concise introduction into the Qur’an is offered in Michael Cook. *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, 2000. Muhammad Abdel Haleem gives insights into the history of the revelations and the early redaction of the Qur’an in *Understanding the Qur’an. Themes and Style*, London, 1999, particularly, chapter 1, ‘The Qur’an’. For further reading on the differences between the Madinan and Meccan Surahs, both in terms of form and content, see Neal Robinson, *Discovering the Qur’an. A Contemporary Approach to a Veiled Text*, Georgetown University Press, 2004), particularly ch. 10. ‘The Madinan Surahs’ and ch. 7. ‘The Structure of the Meccan Surahs’. It is advisable to read all these texts side by side with the *Koran*. Penguin Classics, 2004. Translated by N J Dawood, or UCS’s online ‘Compendium of Muslim Texts’ at <http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran/>.

For an overview over the political role of Islamic authorities and movements, both at times as vehicles of, and at other times as obstacles to, liberalization and democratization processes in Muslim-majority countries

around the world, see Robert Hefner (ed.), 2005. *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, particularly Muhammad Qasim Zaman. ‘Pluralism, Democracy and the ‘Ulama’. (ch. 3)

For a major contemporary philosophical and political defense of the need to integrate democratic principals and practices into Islam see Abdulkarim Soroush, *Reason, Freedom and Democracy in Islam*. Oxford University Press, 2000.

The key element of Islam often believed to conflict with democracy, political rights, and civil liberties are elements of shari’a, Islamic law. Particularly with regard to questions of religious freedom (especially, rights of non-Muslims and agnostics), women’s rights and corporal (‘hadd’) punishments, parts of Islamic law are viewed as inherently illiberal. Debates about sharia and its possible irreconcilability with human rights therefore lie at the core of the Islam-Democracy-Compatibility Debate.

Some solid introductions to this debate are:

- Rudolph Peters, ‘From jurists’ law to statute law, or what happens when the Shari’a is codified’, *Mediterranean Politics*, 7 (3), 2003, pp. 82–95.
- Abdullahi An’Naim, forthcoming, *The Future of Sharia*, <http://www.law.emory.edu/cms/site/index.php?id=2383>, particularly chapters 1 (“Secularism from an Islamic Perspective?”) and 2 (“Islam, State and Politics in Historical Perspective”).
- Kahled-Abou El-Fadl, *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy*, especially ‘Islam and the Challenge of Democracy’ by El-Fadl, ‘Is Liberalism Islam’s Only Answer?’ by Saba Mahmood and ‘Revealed Law and Democracy’ by David Novak. Princeton University Press. 2004.

- Farish Noor, 'Muslims must realize that there is nothing magical about the concept of human rights. Interview with Abdullahi An'Naim', in Noor, Farish. *New Voices of Islam*. ISIM, Leiden, 2003. Available on Courseworks and http://www.isim.nl/files/paper_noor.pdf.
- Heiner Bielefeldt, '*Western*' versus '*Islamic*' Human Rights Conceptions? *A Critique of Cultural Essentialism in the Discussion of Human Rights*. Manuscript, 1999. Available on CourseWorks.

A political social history dismantling the notion of an omnipotent and unequivocal notion of shari'a as myth is to be found in Sami Zubaida, *Law and Power in the Islamic World*. New York: I.B. Tauris. 2003. For 'Muslim Voices in the Human Rights Debate' see Heiner Bielefeldt's article by the same title in *Human Rights Quarterly* 17.4 (1995) 587-617. Those interested in very advanced reading on change in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and on the extent to which contingency and non-religious considerations have traditionally been accommodated in *fiqh*, may consult Baber Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law: Legal and Ethical Norms in the Muslim Fiqh* Leiden: Brill Publishers 1999, particularly chapter 5 on 'Political Authority as Foundation of Social Integration' which describes how governance was conceptualized outside the realm of religious law for the longest part of Islamic history (and how calls to the contrary only emerged in the 14th century, in particular by Ibn Taimiyyah, but were largely ineffective).

For global comparative perspectives on Human Rights and the extent to which Muslim states do or do not present outliers in complying with internationally recognized human rights standards, see Wade Cole, 'Sovereignty relinquished? Explaining commitment to the international human rights covenants, 1966-1999' in *American Sociological Review*, 2005, vol. 70, 3, pp. 472-495. Cole analyzes accession rates to International

Human Rights standards and finds that they are not correlated with civilizational membership. Susan Waltz' article, 'Universal Human Rights: The Contribution of Muslim States' in *Human Rights Quarterly* 26.4, 2004, pp. 799-844, discusses the *de facto* contribution of Muslim states to the formulation of International Human Rights standards, arguing that Muslim states were quite proportionally involved in the conception and formulation of international rights standards.

For a comprehensive overview over the extent to which the constitutions of Muslim-majority countries guarantee religious freedom, see the report commissioned by the US Commission on International Religious Freedom, 'The Religion-State Relationship And The Right To Freedom Of Religion Or Belief: A Comparative Textual Analysis of the Constitutions of Predominantly Muslim Countries' in *Georgetown Journal of International Law*, Vol. 36, 4, 2005, by Tad Stahnke and Robert Blitt (placed on Courseworks and available at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Delivery.cfm/SSRN_ID761746_code491678.pdf). If you would like to learn more about the motivations behind and products of the International Religious Freedom Act, see Paul Martin's graduate research seminar 'On Religion, Rights And International Affairs' this semester (http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/cdtr/courses/research_seminar_on_religion.html).

For a comparative survey-based study of world attitudes and practices concerning individual rights and religion, see Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge, 2005.

On the nature of Islamic education and its role in creating or obstructing the emergence of toleration, see Robert W Hefner and Muhammad Qasim

Zaman (eds.), *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007, chapter 1 placed on Courseworks and available at <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/s8412.pdf>.

Block 2: Religion, Democracy and Democratization in Indonesia

February 1, 8, 15 and 22.

February 8: Visit of Dr. Amien Rais.

For a solid introduction to the democratization efforts in Indonesia, and its relationship to various democratic and non-democratic currents in Islam, see Hefner, Robert W. 2000. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Read this book in its entirety so that you have a solid grounding in the overall political context of the world's most populous Islamic majority country. The article 'Islam In Southeast Asia: Tolerance And Radicalism' by Azyumardi Azra, Rector of the State Islamic University in Jakarta, who received his 1992 PhD in History from Columbia University, gives an overview over the current state of Islam in post-Suharto Indonesia and the extent to which Southeast Asian Islam has for long been misconceived as a less authentic and more syncretistic Islam than its Middle Eastern counterparts (manuscript placed on Courseworks).

On the (neither secular nor Islamic) state doctrine of Pancasila, and the relationship of Islamic organizations and their leaders vis-à-vis the Suharto regime, see Douglas Ramage, *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance*, (Routledge, 2002), particularly the introduction and

Chs. 2, on “Abdurrahman Wahid and *Nahdlatul Ulama*,” and 3, on “The Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals’ Association (ICMI)”.

For an overview over state-Islam relations in post-independent Indonesia, see Martin van Bruinessen “Islamic State Or State Islam? Fifty Years Of State-Islam Relations In Indonesia” available at <http://www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/State-Islam.htm>.

To see Indonesia (and Bangladesh, Iran and Turkey) in the context of religion and democratization theory in the world, see Alfred Stepan, “The World’s Religious Systems and Democracy: ‘Crafting the Twin Tolerations’”, in his *Arguing Comparative Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 213-254.

Our invitee, Amien Rais, chairman of Indonesia’s largest modernist Islamic Organization Muhammadiyah (35 million members) 1995-2000, Speaker of the People’s Consultative Assembly 1999-2004, and major leader of the opposition against President Suharto in the mid-1990s, expresses his views on the relationship between Islam and Democracy in his “Islam and Politics in Contemporary Indonesia,” in Geoff Forrester, ed., *Post-Suharto Indonesia: Renewal or Chaos?* (Singapore: ISEAS, 1999), and “There Is No Islamic State” in *Panji Masyarakat* No. 376/1982 (Coursework).

For a profile of Abdurrahman Wahid, the country’s leading pro-democratic Islamic thinker and reformer, chairman of the largest Islamic Organization Nahdlatul Ulama from 1985-1995 and the country’s first post-Suharto democratic president, read John L. Esposito and John O. Voll, eds., *Makers of Contemporary Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Chapter 9.

The most fervent Indonesian Islamic voice of secularism speaks in

Madjid, Nurcholish. 2003. 'Democracy and the Universalism of Islam'. In Farish Noor. *New Voices of Islam*. ISIM, Leiden. Available at http://www.isim.nl/files/paper_noor.pdf and 'The Necessity of Renewing Islamic thought and reinvigorating Religious Understanding' in Charles Kurzman (ed), *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook*. (Oxford University Press, 1998).

For an overview over the role of Islam as a factor during the transition and consolidation phase of Indonesia's democratization, see Azyumardi Azra, 'Islam and the Indonesian Transition to Democracy' and 'The Islamic Factor in Post-Soeharto Indonesia' (chapters 1 and 2) in his *Indonesia, Islam and Democracy. Dynamics in a Global Context*. (Jakarta: Solstice Publishing, 2006) and Robert Hefner. 'Muslim Democrats and Islamic Violence in Post-Soeharto Indonesia,' (chapter 11) in his edited *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005.

For an overview over the adherence of Islamic groups and parties to democratic processes in post-Suharto Indonesia, read Nakamura, Mitsuo. 2005. *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia: Observations on the 2004 General and Presidential Elections*. Islamic Legal Studies Program Harvard Law School. Available at <http://www.law.harvard.edu/programs/ilsp/publications/nakamura.pdf>; and for the results of a 2002 public opinion survey on religious and political attitudes, see Saiful Mujani and William Liddle, "Politics, Islam and Public Opinion" in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 15, 1, 2004.

A prism of the political role of religious authorities in the late Suharto years is offered in Van Bruinessen, Martin. 1990. 'Indonesia's Ulama and Politics. Caught between Legitimizing the Status Quo and searching for Alternatives', *Prisma* 49:52-69. On the process of theological reasoning,

producing judgments and legal recommendations within *Muhammadiyah*, see Syamsul Anwar, long-time member and vice chairman of the central board of *Muhammadiyah's Majles Tarjih* (Consultative Assembly). 2005. 'Fatwa, Purification and Dynamization: A Study of Tarjih in Muhammadiyah' in *Islamic Law and Society*, 12, 1.

Comparative perspectives on religious law and religious norms between France, as a laicist consolidated democracy, on the one hand, and Indonesia, as a non-secular democratizing society on the other, see John Bowen. *Sharia, State and Social Norms in France and Indonesia*. ISIM Papers 3. Available at http://www.isim.nl/files/paper_bowen.pdf. A comparative perspective with Malaysia is offered in Hamayotsu, Kikue. 2002. 'Islam and Nation-Building in Southeast Asia: Malaysia and Indonesia in comparative perspective', *Pacific Affairs*, 75 (3), pp 353–375.

For a fascinating overview of theological reform and its relation to social change see Hooker, M.B. 2003. *Indonesian Islam. Social Change Through Contemporary Fatawa*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Advanced reading on the diverse landscape of religious schools (particularly *pesantren* (Islamic Boarding Schools) and *madrasah* (state-funded religious schools)) and their political relevance in Indonesia can be found in Martin van Bruinessen. 2004. '*Traditionalist*' and '*Islamist*' *pesantren in contemporary Indonesia*. (ISIM, Netherlands). Full text available at http://www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/pesantren_2.htm.

On the role of women's rights activists in the debates about Islam, law and religious freedom, read Lies Marcoes-Natsir. 2004. 'Visibility and Invisibility: Women and Interfaith Dialogue in Indonesia'. In *Religion and Democratie: Muslimische und Christliche Perspektiven* [Religion and

Democracy: Muslim and Christian Perspectives.] Deutsche Kommission Justitia et Pax. Available at http://www.justitia-et-pax.de/de/shop/img/Heft_106.pdf (go to page 61), and Saskia Eleonora Wieringa ‘Islamization in Indonesia: Women Activists’ Discourses’ in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 2005, vol. 32, no. 1 (CourseWorks and <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/SIGNS/journal/issues/v32n1/60218/60218.web.pdf>). As well as Susan Blackburn, *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Dr. Rizal Sukma, Executive Director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta and Secretary to the International Relations Bureau of Muhammadiyah’s Central Executive Board, will be a Fulbright Visiting Fellow with CDTR and the Weatherhead Institute in March and April. If you are interested in Indonesian politics more generally, consider his 1.5 credit SIPA course on “Islam, Democracy, And Foreign Policy In Indonesia” http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/cdtr/courses/islam_democracy.html, which he will teach in seven sessions from March 27 – April 16.

Block 3: Religion, Theological Contestation and Failed Democratic Reform in Iran

March 1, 8, and 22.

March 8: Visit of Akbar Ganji.

Probably the height of the, to some extent pro-democratic, reform era in contemporary Iran was in mid-2001 when reformers had just won a solid majority in the parliament and Khatami had been re-elected a second time. How and why did this reformist movement emerge? Some of the most

theoretically powerful philosophical arguments for a democratic Islam were developed in this period by scholar-activists such as Abdulkarim Soroush, Mojtabeh Shabestari and Mohsen Kadivar. Why, by 2005, had these movements lost control of the presidency and parliament?

For a comprehensive introduction into the Khatami era and the rise of the reform movement read Ansari, Ali. *Iran, Islam and Democracy*. London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000, and the chapters by Mehrzad Boroujerdi on “The Paradoxes of Politics in Post-Revolutionary Iran” and Mohsen Milani on “Reform and Resistance in the Islamic Republic” respectively in John L. Esposito and R.K. Ramazani. *Iran at The Crossroads*. Palgrave, 2001.

For a good overview over the web of institutions of ‘clerical conciliar rule’ (Arjomand) see ‘Part I: Iran’s Maze of Power Centers’ in the exceptional study by Wilfried Buchta. *Who Rules Iran? The Structure of Power in the Islamic Republic*. Washington DC, Washington Institute for Near East Policy and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2000.

On the extent to which the Iranian revolution also revolutionized the structure of Shi’a clergy by creating new hierarchies of authority, standardizing Islamic education and thereby limiting interpretative pluralism, read ch. 9 and 10 about religious and clerical opposition in Iran in Wilfried Buchta (ibid), as well as Abdulaziz Sachedina, ‘The Rule of the Religious Jurist in Iran’ in John L. Esposito and R.K. Ramazani. *Iran at The Crossroads*. Palgrave, 2001, and Bahman Baktiari. ‘Dilemmas of reform and democracy in the Islamic Republic of Iran,’ (ch. 5) in Robert Hefner (ed.) *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005. As background to the original notion of ‘velayate faqih’ (guardian rule), see Khomeini. *Islamic Government*. 1979. On Reserve.

On the question of religious law, read Sami Zubaida, ‘The Politics of Sharia in Iran’, in his *Law and Power in the Islamic World*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003). Furthermore, one of the three most important religious scholars beside Abdolkarim Soroush and Mohsen Kadivar: Mojtabeh Shabestari, ‘The Secular Nature of Law in Islam: A Basis for Democracy’. In *Global Dialogue*, No. 6 (1/2). Copies on reserve in Lehman Library, 2004. Also, Mehrzad Boroujerdi. “Can Islam Be Secularized?” In Haleh Efandiari, Andreas Bertone and Farideh Farhi. *Intellectual Change and the New Generation of Iranian Intellectuals*. Woodrow Wilson Centre, 2000. Pp. 13-18. Available at <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/mborouje/Documents/English/Secularized.htm>.

For overviews over the discourse on reforming the Islamic republic theologically and institutionally: Asghar Shirazi. “Criticism from Outside” in *The Constitution of Iran*. London: Tauris, 1997, pp. 277-287. Also available at <http://www.seraj.org/schirazi.htm>. And Said Amir Arjomand. “The Reform Movement and the Debate on Modernity and Tradition in Contemporary Iran” in *IJMES*, Vol. 34, 2002, pp. 719–731. Furthermore on reformist Shiite theology, read Mohsen Kadivar, *Velayate Faqih and Democracy*. <http://www.kadivar.com/htm/English/Papers/velayate%20Faghih.htm>, 2003; as well as his “Freedom of Thought and Religion” and Ayatollah Mohammad Boujnourdi “Islam and Tolerance” in ‘Voices within Islam: Four Perspectives on Tolerance and Diversity’, in *Current History*, January 2005, Vol. 104 (EJournals). And Mahmoud Sadri, ‘Sacral Defense of Secularism: Dissident Political Theology in Iran’, in Negin Nabavi ed.: *Intellectual Trends in Twentieth-Century Iran: A Critical Survey*. University Press of Florida, 2003.

Study Khatami's writings in his *Islam, Liberty, and Development*. Binghamton, N.Y.: Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, 1998. Also his 2000 publication *Islam, Dialogue and Civil Society*. Canberra: Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies (The Middle East and Central Asia), Australian National University. And Mohammad Khatami, *Dialogue among Civilizations: A Paradigm for Peace*. Pretoria: Unit for Policy Studies, Centre for International Political Studies, University of Pretoria, 2001.

Ayatollah Montazeri, who originally developed the concept of *velayat-e faqih* as applied in post-revolutionary Iran and was designated Khomeini's successor until he openly declared that the revolutionary ideals were being corrupted by Khomeini (he has been under house arrest ever since – 1988), explains his views in an interview with Geneive Abdo, 'Re-thinking the Islamic Republic: a 'conversation' with Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri', *The Middle East Journal*, 55/1, Winter 2001, pp. 9-24.

On Soroush, read as an introduction Valla Vakili, *Debating Religion and Politics in Iran: The Political Thought of Abdolkarim Soroush*. 1997. Available at http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/Religion_Politics_in_Iran.pdf. Then his more developed writings formulated during the early and mid-1990s: Abdolkarim Soroush. *Reason, Freedom & Democracy in Islam: Essential writings of Abdolkarim Soroush*. (translated, edited, and with a critical introduction by Mahmoud Sadri and Ahmad Sadri). New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2000. As a reflection on the foreseeable post-reformist era: 'The Responsibility of the Muslim Intellectual in the 21st Century. Interview with Abdolkarim Soroush' in Noor, Farish. 2003. *New Voices of Islam*. ISIM, Leiden. And <http://www.muslimwakeup.com/main/archives/2003/12/002090print.php>

For further reading, see academic papers and books on the ideas of Abdulkarim Soroush accessible at <http://www.seraj.org/papers.htm>

Secular perspectives by reformist actors are to be found in Morad Saghafi, ‘Crossing the Desert: Iranian Intellectuals after the Islamic Revolution’; and Hamidreza Jalaeipour, ‘Religious Intellectuals and Political Action in the Reform Movement’; both in Negin Nabavi (ed): *Intellectual Trends in Twentieth-Century Iran: A Critical Survey*. University Press of Florida, 2003.

Background reading on Iran’s religions, particularly the history of Islam in Iran, can be found in the recently published Volume 23 of Columbia’s *Encyclopedia Iranica* at <http://www.iranica.com/newsite/>.

For further reading: Said Amir Arjomand. “Modernity, Tradition and the Shiite Reformation in contemporary Iran” in eds. Grazyna Skapska and Anna-Maria Orla-Bukowska, *The Moral Fabric in Contemporary Societies*. Brill, Leiden, 2003. And Shirin Ebadi, Henriette Uichol Kim and Singing Aasen (eds). 2003. *Democracy, Human Rights, and Islam in Modern Iran: Psychological, Social, and Cultural Perspectives*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2003.

Block 4: Democratization and Sufi Orders in Senegal

March 29, April 5, 12, 19.

April 5: Visit of Soulaymane Diagne.

April 19: Visit of Penda Mbow.

The incoming director of the Institute for African Studies is the social scientist Mahmadou Diouf. Senegal and India have the two earliest and most

continuous encounters with democratic elections of any colonial country. For an important analysis, see his ‘The French Colonial Policy of Assimilation and the Civility of the Originaires of the Four Communes (Senegal): A Nineteenth Century Globalization Project’, in *Development and Change*, Vol. 29, 1998, 671-696. It is possible that Mamadou Diouf may visit our seminar and participate in one of our sessions.

If you are interested in the early voting history, read Wesley Johnson, *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal. The Struggle for Power in the Four Communes 1990-1920*. Stanford University Press, 1971. Also see, David Robinson, ‘French Islamic Polity and Practice in Late Nineteenth Century Senegal’, in *Journal of African History*, 29, 3. 415-36. For a portrait of the country’s first post-independence leader, see Janet Vaillant. *Black, French and African. A Life of Leopold Sédar Senghor*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Arguing that there is a Senegalese tradition of pragmatism characterizing the relationship between religious authorities (predominantly Sufi orders) and the state, see Andrew Clark, ‘Imperialism, Independence and Islam in Senegal and Mali’, in *Africa Today*. 1999, Vol. 46, No. 3-4, 149-167. Furthermore, on Sufism and its implications for political stability, read Villalon’s manuscript on “Sufi Modernities” placed on Courseworks.

The Senegalese philosopher Souleymane Diagne will visit us and assign some readings in French and English for us. The key question is, whether the form of Sufism in Senegal helps generate an important degree of tolerance. Diagne will talk about Senegalese Sufism in comparative perspective both in theological and political terms.

There is a literature on Sufi leaders and their complex relationship to what originated as the French-style secular state. See especially Donal Cruise O’Brian. *Symbolic Confrontations. Muslims Imaging the State in Africa*.

Palgrave, 2003, ch. 1 “Supping with the Devil: The Mouride Brotherhood and the Senegalese State”, ch. 2 “Sufi Symbolism and the State in Senegal, 1975-1981”, ch. 3 “Taking on the Town: Mourid Urbanization, 1945-2001” and ch. 9 “Renegotiating the Senegalese social Contact”. Also Leonardo Villalon, *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal. Disciples and Citizens in Fatick*. Cambridge, 1995.

Alfred Stepan is working on an article with the working title of “Rituals of Respect Between Sufis and Secularists; Senegal”, which will be distributed before Diagne’s visit.

On the question of the slow transition to democracy in Senegal, which begins to put Senegal into the context of democratization theory, see S. Mozaffar and R. Vengroff, ‘A Whole System Approach to the choice of electoral rules in democratizing countries: Senegal in comparative perspective,’ in *Electoral Studies* 21, 2002, 601-616. On the role of religious authorities during the transition and consolidation processes, read Richard Vengroff, Lucy Creevey and Abdou Ndoeye. *Islamic Leaders’ Values and the Transition to Democracy: The Case of Senegal*. Also, Richard Vengroff, Lucy Creevey and Abdou Ndoeye. ‘Party Politics and Different Paths to Democratic Transitions. A Comparison of Benin and Senegal,’ in *Party Politics*, Vol. 11, 4, 471-493.

There are, of course, still some problems for political rights and civil liberties, especially with regard to women. Penda Mbow, the former minister of Culture and major public intellectual, will visit us in mid-April. Read her ‘Démocratie, Droits Humains et castes au Sénégal’, *Journal des Africanistes*, 70 (1-2), 2000, 71-91. On women’s political role, both as a force of and a hindrance to democratic consolidation, see for the former, Penda Mbow, ‘L’Islam et la Femme Sénégalaise,’ in *Ethiopiennes: Revue négro-africaine de*

littérature et de philosophie, No. 66-67, 2001; and for the latter, Erin Augis, 'Dakar's Sunnite Women: The Politics of Person', in Muriel Gomez-Perez (ed.), *L'Islam Politique Au Sud Du Sahara: Identités, Discours et Enjeux*, 2005, Paris, Karthala, pp. 309-326. (library reserves).

April 26. Conclusion. Papers are due.