

**GIP076 Religion and International Relations  
London Metropolitan University**

**Lecture programme**

**Section 1: Religion and international relations: Globalisation, conflict, order and religious fundamentalism**

- 1. Religion and politics**
- 2. Theorising about religion in international relations**
- 3. Religion and globalisation**
- 4. Religion and international conflict**
- 5. Religion and international order**
- 6. Religious 'fundamentalism' and international relations**

**Section 2: Religion and international relations: Regional case studies**

- 7. Islam and the West**
- 8. The Roman Catholic Church as transnational actor**
- 9. India's international relations and Hindu nationalism**
- 10. Confucianism and Buddhism in Pacific Asia**
- 11. Conclusions**

**Synopses of lectures and further reading**

**1. Religion and politics (7 February)**

This introductory lecture examines the relationship between religion and politics, both in domestic and international contexts.

Reading

- J. Haynes, 'Introduction', in J. Haynes, Religion and International Relations, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)
- J. Haynes, Religion in Global Politics (Chapter 1)
- J. Haynes (ed.), Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World (Chapter 1)
- J. Haynes, Religion in Third World Politics
- J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), Religion and Global Order (Chapter 1)
- S. Hoebler Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.) Transnational Religion and Fading States (Chapter 1)
- P. Berger (ed.), The Desecularisation of the World
- C. Hallencreutz & D. Westerlund, 'Introduction: Anti-secularist policies of religion' in D. Westerlund (ed.), Questioning the Secular State
- S. Thomas, 'Religion and international conflict' in K. Dark (ed.), Religion and International Relations

**2. Theorising about religion in international relations (14 February)**

This lecture examines the ways that various approaches – including, Realism, Liberal

Internationalism, and Neo-Marxism – understand the role of religion in contemporary international relations.

### Reading

- J. Haynes, 'Religion and international relations theory', in J.Haynes, Religion and International Relations, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)
- J. Haynes, 'Renaissance of political religion in the Third World in the context of global change' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), Religion and Global Order
- V. Kubálková, 'Towards an international political theology', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 675-704
- K. Dark (ed.), Religion and International Relations (introductory chapter)
- S. Hoeber Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.) Transnational Religion and Fading States (Chapter 1)
- R. Scott Appleby, The Ambivalence of the Sacred
- H.-H.Holm & G. Sorenson, 'International relations theory in a world of variation' in H.-H.Holm & G. Sorenson (eds.), Whose World Order?
- J.-A. Scholte, Globalization. A Critical Introduction
- J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors and international politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 22, 2 (2001), pp. 143-158
- J. Haynes, 'Religion' in B. White, R. Little and M. Smith (eds.), Issues in World Politics

### **3. Religion and globalisation (21 February)**

Globalisation is said to aid the growth and influence of transnational networks of religious actors. They can feed off each other's ideas and perhaps aid each other with funds, while forming bodies whose main priority is the well being and advance of a specific transnational religious community.

### Reading

- J. Haynes, 'Religion and globalisation', in J.Haynes, Religion and International Relations, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)
- J. Spickard, 'Religion and Globalization' (Published in the Newsletter of the American Sociological Association Section on Religion, Fall 2001) available at: [newton.uor.edu/FacultyFolder/Spickard/ OnlinePubs/ReliGlob.htm](http://newton.uor.edu/FacultyFolder/Spickard/OnlinePubs/ReliGlob.htm)
- J.Kurth, 'Religion and Globalization' (The Templeton Lecture on Religion and World Affairs, May 1999) available at: [www.fpri.org/fpriwire/0707.199905.kurth.religionglobalization.html](http://www.fpri.org/fpriwire/0707.199905.kurth.religionglobalization.html)
- P. Beyer, Religion and Globalization (Especially Chapter 1)
- J. Haynes (ed.), Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World (Chapter 1)
- J. Haynes, 'Religion' in B. White et al (eds), Issues in World Politics
- V. Randall, 'The media and religion in third world politics' in J. Haynes (ed.), Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World
- S. Thomas, 'Religious resurgence, postmodernism and world politics' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), Religion and Global Order
- Religion and Globalization
- D. Padgett, Review of Peter Beyer, Religion and Globalization (London: Sage, 1994),

available at: [www.indiana.edu/~wanthro/beyer.htm](http://www.indiana.edu/~wanthro/beyer.htm)

#### 4. Religion and international conflict (28 February)

In this lecture we examine the role of religion in international conflict over time. Not since the 30 Years War of the 17th century has religion been central to conflict in Western Europe; now, however, religion is increasingly associated with international conflict, for example, between certain Islamist groups – such as al-Qaida – and the West. In this lecture, we examine explanations why.

##### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Religion and international conflict', in J. Haynes, Religion and International Relations, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)  
'Religion, Culture, and International Conflict After September 11. A Conversation with Samuel P. Huntington'. Available at:  
[www.eppc.org/publications/xq/ASP/pubsID.1209/qx/pubs\\_viewdetail.html](http://www.eppc.org/publications/xq/ASP/pubsID.1209/qx/pubs_viewdetail.html)  
S. Huntington, **either** The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order, Simon & Schuster, 1996, **or** Huntington's prior article - 'The clash of civilizations?' - in Foreign Affairs, 72, 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49  
D. Smock, 'Religion and International Peacemaking' (The 2000 Perlmutter Lecture on Ethnic Conflict) available at: [www.fpri.org/fpriwire/0904.200103.smock.perlmutter.html](http://www.fpri.org/fpriwire/0904.200103.smock.perlmutter.html)  
J.K. Cooley, Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism  
K. Holsti, International Politics  
S. Thomas, 'Religion and international conflict' in K. Dark (ed.), Religion and International Relations  
C. Kegley and E. Wittkopf, World Politics. Trend and Transformation  
J. Baylis & S. Smith (eds), The Globalization of World Politics  
P. Beyer, Religion and Globalization  
'Religion and International Relations: What are the issues?', *International Politics*, 41, 3, (September 2004), pp. 451-62. **Copy available from Jeff. Email him on: [jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk), and he'll send an electronic version**  
J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors and international politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 22, 2 (2001), pp. 143-158

#### 5. Religion and international order (7 March)

Analysts have claimed that an alleged global resurgence of religion is increasingly impacting upon international political outcomes, facilitated by the processes of globalisation and encouraged by the communications revolution. In this lecture we look at the impact of religion upon international order both in the historical past and the present.

##### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Religion and international order', in J. Haynes, Religion and International Relations, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)  
J. Esposito & M. Watson, 'Overview: the significance of religion for global order in J.

Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), Religion and Global Order  
 J. Esposito, 'Political Islam and global order' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), Religion and Global Order  
 S. Thomas, 'Taking religious and cultural pluralism seriously ...', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 815-842  
 J. Piscatori, 'Religious transnationalism and global order, with particular consideration of Islam' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), Religion and Global Order  
 S. Hoebler Rudolph, 'Introduction: religion, states and transnational society' in S. Hoebler Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.), Transnational Religion and Fading States  
 J. Haynes, 'Religion' in B. White et al (eds.), Issues in World Politics  
 D. Smock, 'Religion and International Peacemaking' (The 2000 Perlmutter Lecture on Ethnic Conflict) available at: [www.fpri.org/fpriwire/0904.200103.smock.perlmutter.html](http://www.fpri.org/fpriwire/0904.200103.smock.perlmutter.html)

## 6. Religious 'fundamentalism' and international relations (14 March)

The controversial notion of 'religious fundamentalism' is central to much concern about religion-orientated conflict in international relations. In this lecture we examine the concept of 'religious fundamentalism' and assess its role in international relations.

### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Religious fundamentalism', in J. Haynes, Religion and International Relations, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)  
 T. Ali, The Clash of Fundamentalisms; Crusades, Jihad and Modernity  
 J. K. Cooley, Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism  
 J. L. Esposito, *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*  
 F. Halliday, Nation and Religion in the Middle East (London: Saqi Books, 2000) or Two Hours That Shook the World (Saqi, 2001)  
 M. Juergensmeyer, Terror in the Mind of God: the Global Rise of Religious Violence  
 B. Tibi, The Challenge of Fundamentalism. Political Islam and the New World Disorder  
 D. Westerlund (ed.), Questioning the Secular State. The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics  
 M. E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds.) 'Introduction' in M. E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, (eds.), Fundamentalism and the State. Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance  
 J. Haynes, Religion in Third World Politics  
 J. Haynes, Religion and Politics in Africa  
 R. Scott Appleby, The Ambivalence of the Sacred  
 P. Berger (ed.), The Desecularization of the World  
 C. Hallencreutz and D. Westerlund, 'Anti-secularist policies of religion', in D. Westerlund (ed.), Questioning the Secular State. The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics  
 J. Haynes, 'Religion, Fundamentalism and Identity. A Global Perspective', Discussion Paper no. 65, Geneva, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

## Section 2: Case studies

### 7. Islam and the West (21 March)

In this lecture, we examine: (1) historical and contemporary international interactions between Islam and the West, and (2) contemporary Islamist 'terrorist' organisations and their potential to undermine state sovereignty.

#### Reading

J. Haynes, 'The Middle East', in J. Haynes, *Religion and International Relations*, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)

J. Haynes, 'Religion and globalisation', in J. Haynes, *Religion and International Relations*, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)

J. Haynes, 'Islam, pluralism and politics', *Contemporary Politics*, 2005. **Copy available from Jeff. Email him on: [jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk), and he'll send an electronic version**

J. Haynes, 'Al-Qaeda: ideology and action', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 2005. **Copy available from Jeff. Email him on: [jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk), and he'll send an electronic version**

T. Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms; Crusades, Jihad and Modernity*

S.P. Huntington (**either** *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon & Schuster, 1996, **or** Huntington's prior article in *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 3 [Summer 1993]. See also: 'The West unique, not universal', *Foreign Affairs*, 75, 6 [November-December 1996], pp. 28-46)

J.K. Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*

J. L. Esposito, *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*

F. Halliday, *Two Hours That Shook the World*

F. Halliday, *Nation and Religion in the Middle East*

M. Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: the Global Rise of Religious Violence*

B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism. Political Islam and the New World Disorder*

B. Tibi, 'Post-bipolar order in crisis: the challenge of politicised Islam', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 843-860

J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors and international politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 22, 2 (April 2001), pp. 143-58

J. Esposito & J. Voll, 'Islam and the West: Muslim voices of dialogue', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 613-640

K. Dalacoura, 'Unexceptional politics? The impact of Islam on international relations', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 879-888

B. Helvacioğlu, "'Allahu Ekber". We are Turks yearning for a different homecoming at the periphery of Europe', *Third World Quarterly*, 17, 3 (1996), pp. 755-77

D. Eickelman, 'Trans-state Islam and security' in S. Hoebler Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.) *Transnational Religion and Fading States*

J. Piscatori, 'Religious transnationalism and global order, with particular consideration of Islam' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order* Peter L. Bergen, *Holy War Inc. Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden*

Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain, *The West's Weapons of Mass Destruction and Colonialist Foreign Policy. The Assessment of the Muslim Community in Britain*

Columbia International Affairs Online (**ciao**), excerpts from and analysis of an al

Qaeda recruiting video ([http://www.ciaonet.org/cbr/cbr00/video/cbr\\_v/cbr\\_v.html](http://www.ciaonet.org/cbr/cbr00/video/cbr_v/cbr_v.html))  
 C.C. Combs, Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Part II)  
 J.K. Cooley, Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism  
 Federation of American Scientists, collection of online resources and links on al  
 Qaeda at <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/ladin.htm>.  
 Graham E. Fuller, 'The Future of Political Islam', Foreign Affairs, 81, 2, March/April  
 2002, 48-60  
 A.G. Noorani, Islam and Jihad  
 O. Roy, Globalised Islam. Fundamentalism, De-territorialisation and the Search for a  
 New 'Ummah  
 J. Piscatori, 'The Turmoil Within. The Struggle for the Future of the Islamic World'  
 (review essay), Foreign Affairs, 81,3, May/June 2002, 145-50.  
 A. Rashid, Taliban: The Story of the Afghan Warlords  
 Z. Sardar & M.W. Davies, Why Do People Hate America?  
 Kirsten E. Schulze, 'Islamic Groups. Militants and Moderates', The World Today,  
 58,1, January 2002, 10-13

## **8. The Roman Catholic Church as transnational actor (28 March)**

In this lecture, we examine further the phenomenon of transnational religious actors by assessing the claim that the activities of the Roman Catholic Church undermine state sovereignty.

### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors', in J.Haynes, Religion and International Relations, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)  
 I. Vallier, 'The Roman Catholic Church: A Transnational Actor,' in J. Nye and R.O. Keohane (eds.) Transnational Actors in World Politics  
 R. J. Schreiter, 'The papacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century' (Catholic Theological Union, The Butler University Seminar on Religion and World Civilization, October 20, 1999) available at: [butler.edu/philrel/schreiter\\_paper.html](http://butler.edu/philrel/schreiter_paper.html)  
 J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors and international politics', Third World Quarterly, 22, 2 (April 2001), pp. 143-58  
 P. Henriot, 'What ethics should guide globalisation?' (2002). Available at: [www.jctr.org.zm/ehitic-global.htm](http://www.jctr.org.zm/ehitic-global.htm)  
 J. Daudelin & W. E. Hewitt, 'Churches and politics in Latin America: Catholicism confronts contemporary challenges' in J. Haynes (ed.), Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World  
 J. Casanova, 'Globalizing Catholicism and the Return to a "Universal" church' in S. Hoerber Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.), Transnational Religion and Fading States  
 R. Della Cava, 'Religious resource networks: Roman Catholic philanthropy in Central and East Europe' in S. Hoerber Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.), Transnational Religion and Fading States  
 J. Haynes, Religion and Politics in Africa  
 M. Walsh, 'Catholicism and international relations: papal interventionism in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), Religion and Global Order  
 P. Palmer, 'The churches and the conflict in former Yugoslavia' in K. Dark (ed.), Religion and International Relations

## 9. India's international relations and Hindu nationalism (4 April)

India has had a government led by the Hindu nationalists of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) for a decade. In this lecture we examine the role – if any – of Hinduism in India's international relations.

### Reading

- J. Haynes, 'South Asia', in J. Haynes, *Religion and International Relations*, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)
- C. Raja Mohan, 'A bolder foreign policy?', first appeared in *The Hindu* on October 14, 1999. Available at: [www.indiagov.org/press/New\\_Delhi\\_Press/October\\_1999/bolder\\_foreign\\_policy\\_Oct\\_14\\_1999.htm](http://www.indiagov.org/press/New_Delhi_Press/October_1999/bolder_foreign_policy_Oct_14_1999.htm)
- C. Ram-Prasad, 'Hindu nationalism and the international relations of India' in K. Dark (ed.), *Religion and International Relations*
- M. Gordon, 'Comments about the role of culture as an explanatory concept in international relations and comparative politics (March 2002). Available at: <https://mail.lsit.ucsb.edu/pipermail/gordon-newspost/2002-March/002217.html>
- J. Chiriyankandath, 'The politics of religious identity a comparison of Hindu nationalism and Sudanese Islamism', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 32, 1, (1994) pp. 31-53.
- A. Copley, 'Indian secularism reconsidered from Gandhi to Ayodhya', *Contemporary South Asia*, 2, 1, (1993) pp. 47-65.
- M. Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*
- S. Mitra, 'Desecularising the state: religion and politics in India after independence', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33, 4, (1991) pp. 755-77.
- C. Ram-Prasad, 'Hindutva ideology extracting the fundamentals', *Contemporary South Asia*, 2, 3, (1993) pp. 285-309
- J. Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics* (Chapter 9)
- C. Jaffrelot, 'The Vishva Hindu Parishad: Structures and strategies' in J. Haynes (ed.), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World*
- M. Arslan & J. Rajan (ed.), *Communalism in India. Challenge and Response*
- T. Basu et al., *Khaki Shorts, Saffron Flags. A Critique of the Hindu Right*
- J. Chiriyankandath, "'Creating a Secular State in a Religious Country': The Debate in the Indian Constituent Assembly", *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 38, 2 (2000), 1-24.
- Partha S. Ghosh, *BJP and the Evolution of Hindu Nationalism: From Periphery to Centre*
- S. Gopal (ed.), *Anatomy of a Confrontation: Ayodhya and the Rise of Communal Politics in India*
- T.B. Hansen, *The Saffron Wave. Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*
- T. B. Hansen & C. Jaffrelot (ed.), *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*
- M. Hasan, *Legacy of a Divided Nation: India's Muslims since Independence*
- C. Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics*
- M. Kishwar, *Religion at the Service of Nationalism and Other Essays* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- T.N. Madan, *Modern Myths, Locked Minds: Secularism and Fundamentalism in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- A. Patwardhan (producer), *Ram ke Naam* (In the name of Ram) (video – Channel

Four, Global Image, 1992, 110 minutes)

\_\_\_\_\_, Father, Son and Holy War. 1. Trial by Fire (video-Channel Four, 1996, 70 minutes)

I. Talbot, India & Pakistan

A. Vanaik, The Furies of Indian Communalism: Religion, Modernity and Secularization

D. Westerlund (ed.), Questioning the Secular State. The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics (Part III)

Bharatiya Janata Party Web site: <http://www.bjp.org/>

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Web site: <http://www.rss.org/>

## **EASTER VACATION: 10-21 APRIL NO CLASSES DURING VACATION PERIOD**

### **READING WEEK (25 April: NO CLASS)**

#### **10. Confucianism and Buddhism in Pacific Asia (2 May)**

This lecture has several objectives. First, it presents a brief examination of the emergence of what is called New or Neo-Confucianism in China.. Second, it focuses on the relatively poorly-documented relationship between politics and Buddhism in Burma, Thailand and Cambodia.

#### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Pacific Asia', in J. Haynes, Religion and International Relations, forthcoming (**electronic copies available from Jeff**)

#### **Ask Jeff for other 'Neo-Confucianism in China' sources**

D. McCargo, 'The Politics of Buddhism in Southeast Asia', in J. Haynes (ed.), Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World

J. Haynes, 'Buddhism and politics in South-east Asia', in J. Haynes, Religion in Global Politics

K. R. Dark, 'The political consequences of large-scale religious change in China and the Asia-Pacific region', in K. R. Dark (ed.), Religion and International Relations  
Sulak Sivaraksa, 'Buddhist response to global development' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), Religion and Global Order

D. Baker, 'World religions and national states: competing claims in East Asia' in S. Hoerber Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.), Transnational Religion and Fading States

M. Alagappa (ed.), Political Legitimacy in Southeast Asia: The Quest for Moral Authority

B. Anderson, The Spectre of Comparisons. Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World

C.J. Christie, A Modern History of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism

K. Hewison (ed.), Political Change in Thailand: Democracy and Participation

J.S. Kahn, Southeast Asian Identities: Culture and the Politics of Representation in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand



C.F. Keyes, Thailand: Buddhist Kingdom as Modern Nation-State

T. Ling, Buddhism, Imperialism and War (Chapters 4-6)

I. Mabbett, 'Buddhism and Freedom' in D. Kelly & A. Reid (ed.), *Asian Freedoms. The Idea of Freedom in East and Southeast Asia*, pp.19-36.

D. McCargo, Chamlong Srimuang and the New Thai Politics

P. A. Pardue, Buddhism: a historical introduction to Buddhist values and the social and political forms they have assumed in Asia

John Pilger, Inside Burma: land of fear (video – ITV, 1998)

M. Smith, Burma. Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity

S. Suksamran (ed.), *Political Buddhism in Southeast Asia: the Role of the Sangha in the Modernization of Thailand*

D. Swearer, 'Fundamentalistic Movements in Theravada Buddhism' in R.S. Marty & R.S. Appleby (ed.), *Fundamentalisms Observed*, pp.628-690.

M.R.J. Vatikiotis, *Political Change in Southeast Asia: Trimming the Banyan Tree* (Chapter 5)

D. Westerlund (ed.), *Questioning the Secular State. The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics* (Part III)

E. Emmerson, 'Will Indonesia Survive?', *Foreign Affairs*, 79, 3 (2000), 95-106.

E.T. Gomez, 'Tracing the Ethnic Divide: Race, Rights and Redistribution in Malaysia' in J. Pfaff-Czarnecka et al, *Ethnic Futures. The State and Identity Politics in Asia*, pp. 167-202.

Hyung-Jun Kim, 'The Changing Interpretation of Religious Freedom in Indonesia', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 29, 2 (1998), 357-373.

T.M. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels. Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines*

Patricia A. Martinez, 'The Islamic State or the State of Islam in Malaysia', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 23, 3 (2001), 474-503.

R.S. Milne & D.K. Mauzy, *Malaysian Politics under Mahathir*

M. Nash, 'Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia and Indonesia' in M.E. Marty & R.S. Appleby (ed.), *Fundamentalisms Observed*, pp.691-739.

D.E. Ramage, *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance*

M.L. Weiss, 'What Will Become of Reformasi? Ethnicity and Changing Political Norms in Malaysia', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 21, 3 (1999), 424-450.