

Notes

Introduction

- 1 The left-wing Islamist Hassan Hanafi employs the term fundamentalism in his book *al-Usuliyya al-Islamiyya* (Islamic Fundamentalism), Cairo, 1989, as the title suggests. In contrast, the reformist Mohammed S. al-Ashmawi, *al-Islam al-siyasi* (Political Islam), 2nd edition, Cairo, 1989, prefers to talk about political Islam. He challenges the claim to authenticity by the Islamic fundamentalists and contests their reference to the Islamic 'fundamentals' (*usul*). The Islamists themselves prefer to speak of 'Islamic awakening'. See note 11 below.
- 2 These are the terms used by Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols, Chicago, 1974.
- 3 Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Caliphate*, 2nd edition, London, 1965 (originally published in 1924); the Muslim reformer M.S. al-Ashmawi, *al-Khilafa al-Islamiyya* (Islamic Caliphate), Cairo, 1990, argues that 'the caliphate' does not belong to the tenets of Islam.
- 4 This is the argument presented by Ali Abdelraziq, *al-Islam wa usul al-hukm* (Islam and Patterns of Government), new printing, Beirut, 1966 (first published in Cairo, 1925). This position has been revived at the present time by al-Ashmawi (see note 3).
- 5 On political Islam, see Gilles Kepel, *La revanche de Dieu: Chrétiens, Juifs et Musulmans à la reconquête du monde*, Paris, 1991; Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam*, London, 1991; and B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley, 1998, updated edition 2002. See also al-Ashmawi, referenced in note 1 above.
- 6 B. Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam: a Preindustrial Culture in the Scientific-Technological Age*, trans. Judith von Sivers, with a foreword by Peter von Sivers, Salt Lake City, 1988. Reviewed by Fred Halliday in *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 489, 14–20 April 1989, pp. 387–8. The original German publication of *The Crisis of Modern Islam* was reviewed by Barbara Stowasser in *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 37, 2 (1983), pp. 284–5. A substantially revised and much enhanced new German edition was published subsequently twice during the Gulf War in 1991.
- 7 B. Tibi, 'The Simultaneity of the Unsimultaneous: Old Tribes and Imposed Nation-States in the Modern Middle East', in Philip Khoury/Joseph Kostiner (eds), *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, Berkeley, 1990, pp. 127–52; partly reprinted in Anthony D. Smith (ed.), *Ethnicity*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 174–9.
- 8 Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Hatmiyat al-hall al-Islami* (The Islamic Solution is Determined), 3 vols. The volumes are: vol. 1: *al-Hulul al-mustawrada wa kaif janat ala ummatina* (The Imported Solutions: How They Are Entrenched in Our Community), Beirut, 1970, reprinted 1980; vol. 2: *al-Hall al-Islami farida wa darura* (The Islamic Solution is an Obligation and a Necessity),

- Beirut, 1974; vol. 3: *Bayinat al-hall al-Islami wa shabahat al-ilmaniyyin wa al-mutaqharibin* (The Characteristics of the Islamic Solution and the Suspicions of the Secularists and the Westernised), Cairo, 1988.
- 9 I use the term 'cultural modernity' in line with Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, Cambridge, MA, 1987.
 - 10 Hedley Bull, 'The Revolt against the West', in Hedley Bull/Adam Watson (eds), *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford, 1984, pp. 217–28.
 - 11 Muhammed Imara, *al-Sahwa al-Islamiyya wa al-tahaddi al-hadari* (The Islamic Awakening and the Civilisational Challenge), Cairo, 1991.
 - 12 Hassan al-Banna's 'Risalat al-jihad' is included in his *Majmu'at rasa'il al-imam al-shahid Hassan al-Banna* (Collected Essays of the Martyr Imam Hassan al-Banna), Cairo, 1990, pp. 271–91. On this movement see also Richard Mitchell, *The Society of Muslim Brothers*, London, 1969.
 - 13 Muhammed Abduh, *al-Islam wa al-nasraniyya bain al-ilm wa al-madaniyya* (Islam and Christianity between Science and Civilisation), new printing, Beirut, 1983.
 - 14 More on this in B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, 1996, 2nd edition, Munich, 1997, Part 2. On science and Islamic rationalism, see Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, London, 1975 (reprinted 1994).
 - 15 B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd enlarged edition, London and New York, 1997.
 - 16 B. Tibi, 'Culture and Knowledge: the Islamisation of Knowledge as a Postmodern Project?', in *Theory, Culture & Society* vol. 12, 1 (1995), pp. 1–24. On this debate, see also Roxanne L. Euben, *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Rationalism*, Princeton, NJ, 1999, pp. 163–7.
 - 17 See The International Institute of Islamic Thought (ed.), *Toward Islamization of Disciplines*, Herndon, VA, 1989. In fact this is an expression of anti-science. See Gerald Holton, *Science and Anti-Science*, Cambridge, MA, 1993. I view de-secularisation of knowledge as an 'anti-science!' See B. Tibi, 'Secularization and De-Secularization in Modern Islam', in *Religion, Staat, Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, 1 (Spring 2000), pp. 95–117.
 - 18 Erasmus Foundation (ed.), *The Limits of Pluralism: Neo-Absolutisms and Relativism*, Amsterdam, 1994 (with contributions by E. Gellner, C. Geertz and B. Tibi).
 - 19 Herbert Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, Averroës on Intellect*, New York, 1992 (see also note 14 above).
 - 20 More references in B. Tibi, 'The Worldview of Sunni Arab Fundamentalists: Attitudes toward Modern Science and Technology', in Martin Marty/Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms and Society*, Chicago, 1993, pp. 73–102.
 - 21 Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Stanford, CA, 1990.
 - 22 See with great caution John Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, New York, 1992; more insightful Fred Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*, London, 1996.
 - 23 Martin Albrow, *The Global Age*, Stanford, CA, 1997; also Barrie Axford, *The Global System: Economics, Politics and Culture*, New York, 1995.
 - 24 Anwar al-Jundi, *Ahdaf al-taghrib fi al-alam al-Islami* (The Targets of Westernisation of the Islamic World), Cairo, 1987.

- 25 Full references in my article referenced in note 16 above.
- 26 See the contributions in Martin Marty and Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economy and Militance*, Chicago, 1993.
- 27 See Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse* (referenced in note 9), p. 17.
- 28 William M. Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, Edinburgh, 1962.
- 29 More on this issue with detailed references in Tibi, *Der wahre Imam* (see note 14 above), Part 2, in particular chapter 5 on Mawardi and Ibn Taimiyya.
- 30 Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*, New Haven, 1985.
- 31 Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (see note 14 above).
- 32 See chapter 5 on the Renaissance in B. Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999; see also notes 14, 19 and 28 above; and Toby Huff, *The Rise of Early Modern Science – Islam, China and the West*, Cambridge, 1995.
- 33 This is the topic of chapters 4 and 5 in Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism* (referenced in note 5).
- 34 Jemaladdin Afghani, *al-A'mal al-kamila* (Collected Writings), Muhammed Imara (ed.), Cairo, 1968.
- 35 See also George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh, 1981.
- 36 I believe that Benjamin Barber, *Jihad vs McWorld*, New York, 1996, is utterly wrong. See my views on globalisation expressed in my book on fundamentalism (referenced in note 5 above).
- 37 Shakib Arslan, *Limadha ta'akhara al-Muslimun wa taqaddama ghairuhum* (Why Are Muslims Backward While Others Have Developed?), new printing, Beirut, 1965.
- 38 B. Tibi, 'Islam and Secularization', in Mourad Wahba (ed.), *Islam and Civilization Proceedings of the First International Islamic Philosophy Conference (November 19–22, 1979)*, Cairo, 1982, pp. 65–79. See also note 17 above.
- 39 Ellen K. Trimberger, *Revolution from Above in Japan, Turkey, Egypt and Peru*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1978; see also Andrew Davidson, *Secularism and Revivalism in Turkey*, New Haven, 1998.
- 40 B. Tibi, 'The Attitudes of Middle Eastern Elites and Counter-Elites towards Political Order: the Islamic-Fundamentalist Challenge to the Secular Domestic and International Order', in Samuel Huntington (ed.), *Conflict or Convergence: Global Perspectives on War, Peace and International Order*, mimeographed (research project of the Harvard Academy for Area and International Studies), Cambridge, MA, 1997. Published version: B. Tibi, 'The Fundamentalist Challenge to the Secular Order in the Middle East', in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 23, 1 (Winter/Spring 1999), pp. 191–210.
- 41 See chapter 8 in Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad* (referenced in note 32 above), for further references.
- 42 B. Tibi, 'The Failed Export of the "Islamic Revolution" into the Arab World', in Frédéric Grare (ed.), *Islamism and Security: Political Islam and the Western World*, published by Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies of the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, 1999, pp. 63–102.

- 43 See Mehrzad Baroujerdi, *Iranian Intellectuals and the West*, Syracuse, 1996.
- 44 Yahya H.H. Farghal, *Haqiqat al-ilmaniyya* (The Truth about Secularism), Cairo, 1989.
- 45 W.M. Watt, *Islamic Fundamentalism and Modernity*, London, 1988; see also Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity*, Chicago, 1982, chapter 4; and my book referenced in note 5.
- 46 See the major books by Muhammed Salim al-Awwa, *Fi al-nizam al-siyasi li al-dawla al-Islamiyya* (On the Political System of the Islamic State), 6th edition, Cairo, 1983; Mustafa Abu-Zaid-Fahmi, *Fan al-hukm fi al-Islam* (The Art of Governing in Islam), Cairo, 1981.
- 47 See note 51 below and B. Tibi, *Die arabische Linke*, Frankfurt/M., 1969. Favourably reviewed by Hisham Sharabi in the *Middle East Journal*, vol. 24, 3 (1970), pp. 391–2.
- 48 B. Tibi, *Nationalismus in der Dritten Welt am arabischen Beispiel*, Frankfurt/M., 1971.
- 49 B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: a Critical Enquiry*, trans. Marion and Peter Sluglett, New York, 1981. Reviewed by Michael Hudson in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 17, 3 (1985), pp. 292–4; and by George Atiyeh in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 76 (1982), pp. 183–4. A 2nd edition followed in 1990. The 3rd substantially enlarged and revised edition with the new subtitle *Between Islam and the Nation-State* was published in 1997 (referenced in note 15).
- 50 Najib Armanazi, *al-Schar' al-duwali fi al-Islam* (International Law in Islam), new printing, London, 1990 (first published in Damascus, 1930).
- 51 See the more elaborated outline in B. Tibi, 'Islam and Modern European Ideologies', in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 18, 1 (1986), pp. 15–29.
- 52 B. Tibi, *Militär und Sozialismus in der Dritten Welt*, Frankfurt/M., 1973. Reviewed by Peter von Sivers in *Muslim World*, vol. 67, 3 (1977), pp. 236–7.
- 53 For more details, see Morroe Berger, *Islam in Egypt Today*, Cambridge, 1970.
- 54 B. Tibi, *Die Krise des modernen Islams*, Munich, 1981 (new enlarged German edition 1991). US edition *The Crisis of Modern Islam* (referenced in note 6).
- 55 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, 2 vols: vol. 1, *The History of Manners*, New York, 1978; vol. 2, *Power and Civility*, New York, 1982. On the meaning of Elias's work for the study of Islam, see Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam* (referenced in note 6), pp. 22–31.
- 56 J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, New York, 1993.
- 57 Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad* (referenced in note 32 above), chapter 1 on Islamic expansion.
- 58 Hedley Bull draws a clear distinction between the international system of states (structure) and international society (a normative consensus about rules). See Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: a Study of Order in World Politics*, New York, 1977, chapter 1.
- 59 See Theodore von Laue, *The World Revolution of Westernization*, New York, 1987.
- 60 Sherry B. Ortner (ed.), *The Fate of Culture: Geertz and Beyond*, Berkeley, 1999.
- 61 See the extensive chapter on German Orientalism in B. Tibi, *Einladung in die islamische Geschichte*, Darmstadt, 2001.

- 62 For a further discussion of this thesis see B. Tibi, 'The Interplay between Social and Cultural Change: the Case of Germany and the Middle East', in G. Atiyeh and I. Oweiss (eds), *Arab Civilization: Challenge and Responses*, Albany, 1988, pp. 166–82.
- 63 My framework goes beyond Geertz, insofar as I do not confine my analysis to 'culture', but rather attempt to place 'culture' first in cross-cultural civilisations (e.g. cultural diversity in Islam existing within the very same Islamic civilisation) and second in the structures of the global system. Geertz noted ironically in one of our enlightening communications at my home during my tenure at Princeton in 1986/87 that 'anthropologists view cultures as if they were islands', thus failing to discern the surrounding international society. I have been authorised to quote this! Geertz does not draw methodological consequences from this insight (see note 60 above).
- 64 Former President Roman Herzog wanted to avert the clash of civilisations and to choose a Jew, a Christian and a Muslim commentator of his views. See B. Tibi, 'International Morality and Cross-Cultural Bridging', in Roman Herzog, *Preventing the Clash of Civilizations: a Peace Strategy for the Twenty-First Century*, New York, 1999, pp. 107–26.
- 65 See the review of my book on fundamentalism (reference 5 above) by the Muslim Cambridge scholar Akbar S. Ahmed, in *International Affairs*, vol. 75, 3 (1999), p. 694. In 1995 Ahmed became Pakistan Ambassador to the United Kingdom.

Part I: Religion, Culture and Development – Islam between Past and Present

Chapter 1: Religion, Culture and Social Reality: Islam as a Cultural System, and its Diversity

- 1 Niklas Luhmann, *Funktion der Religion*, Frankfurt/M., 1977.
- 2 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973, pp. 87ff. On the debate over the evolution of the Geertzian approach, see the contributions in Sherry B. Ortner (ed.), *The Fate of Culture: Geertz and Beyond*, Berkeley, 1999.
- 3 Geertz, *The Interpretation* (referenced in note 2), pp. 93f.
- 4 E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion*, Oxford, 1965.
- 5 See Johan Bouman, *Gott und Mensch im Koran. Eine Strukturform religiöser Anthropologie anhand des Beispiels Allah und Muhammad*, Darmstadt, 1977.
- 6 Wilfred C. Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion*, New York, 1978, pp. 80ff.
- 7 See Adam Kuper, *Culture: the Anthropologist's Account*, Cambridge, MA, 1999 in particular the chapter on Geertz, pp. 75ff.
- 8 Our question thus goes beyond that of Rodinson's formulation in his early but important essay (1961) 'L'Islam, doctrine de progrès ou de réaction', in Rodinson's collection of essays, *Marxisme et Monde Musulman*, Paris, 1972, pp. 95ff.
- 9 Geertz, *The Interpretation* (referenced in note 2), p. 93.

- 10 Ibid., p. 125.
- 11 T.W. Adorno, *Stichworte. Kritische Modelle 2*, 3rd printing, Frankfurt/M., 1970, p. 189.
- 12 This line of thought also concerns Ernst Bloch in his book *Thomas Münzer als Theologe der Revolution*, Frankfurt/M., 1972, pp. 51ff., in which he uses it strictly to repudiate the equally reductionist and 'economistic' view, and specifically the inference of 'convictional complexes . . . of a religious nature' (p. 55).
- 13 For a critique see B. Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam: a Preindustrial Culture in the Scientific-Technological Age*, trans. Judith von Sivers, with a foreword by Peter von Sivers, Salt Lake City, 1988, pp. 11–31.
- 14 For an earlier but not phased-out effort see the published habilitation thesis of Franz Steinbacher, *Kultur. Begriff, Theorie, Funktion*, Stuttgart, 1976. See also note 7 above.
- 15 Geertz, *The Interpretation* (referenced in note 2), pp. 29–30.
- 16 See chapter 8 in Dale F. Eickelman, *The Middle East: an Anthropological Approach*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1981, pp. 175ff., in which this concept is elaborated.
- 17 The great extent to which the political thinking of modern Muslims is pervaded by religio-cultural symbols is documented in anthologies by John J. Donohue and John L. Esposito (eds), *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*, Oxford, 1982 (see also my review in *The Middle East Journal*, 4 [1982], pp. 614–16); and by Kemal Karpat (ed.), *The Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*, 2nd substantially revised and expanded edition, New York, 1982. For a more recent account of contemporary Muslim thought, see Joyce M. Davis, *Between Jihad and Salam: Profiles in Islam*, New York, 1997.
- 18 Geertz, *The Interpretation* (referenced in note 2), p. 90.
- 19 Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*, 2nd printing, Chicago, 1971.
- 20 Dale F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam: Tradition and Society in a Pilgrimage Center*, Austin and London, 1976. This formidable anthropological survey is not matched by the later work of Eickelman in which he quite obviously fails to grasp the culture–politics links. As an example, see Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics*, Princeton, NJ, 1996.
- 21 Gerhard Endress, *Einführung in die islamische Geschichte*, Munich, 1982, p. 106. See also Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society*, Cambridge, 1981.
- 22 Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1991.
- 23 Endress, *Einführung* (referenced in note 21), p. 31.
- 24 See N.J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, 3rd printing, Edinburgh, 1978, pp. 139ff.
- 25 Geertz, *The Interpretation* (referenced in note 2), p. 95.
- 26 Ibid., p. 99.
- 27 Ibid., p. 106.
- 28 Islam was earlier among the empirical subjects of Geertz's research (see note 19 above); his work dates, however, from 1966, so that at that time he could not yet have been familiar with the phenomenon of political Islam, which is dealt with in the present book.

- 29 See Barry Rubin, *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics*, New York, 1990; and on rationality, see Roxanne L. Euben, *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalists and the Limits of Modern Rationalism*, Princeton, NJ, 1999.
- 30 Luhmann, *Funktion der Religion* (referenced in note 1 above), p. 115.
- 31 Geertz, *The Interpretation* (referenced in note 2), p. 109.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 35 See Maxime Rodinson, *Islam et capitalisme*, Paris, 1966 (see my lengthy introduction to the German edition *Islam und Kapitalismus*, Frankfurt/M., 1986). See also Maxime Rodinson, *La fascination de l'Islam*, Paris, 1980; and on the Orientalism debate, B. Tibi, *Einladung in die islamische Geschichte*, Darmstadt, 2001, chapter 4.
- 36 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Cambridge, 1978; and E. Said, *Covering Islam*, New York, 1981. See also Valerie Kennedy, *Edward Said: a Critical Introduction*, Cambridge, 2000, chapter 1.
- 37 On the Orientalism debate, its major themes and exponents, see B. Tibi, 'Orient und Okzident, Feindschaft oder interkulturelle Kommunikation? Anmerkungen zur Orientalismus-Debatte', in *Neue Politische Literatur*, vol. 29, 3 (1984), pp. 267–86. As much as there is a need to go beyond Geertz, there is also a need to go far beyond Edward Said, and I do this in my most recent book on Islamic history referenced in note 35 above.
- 38 Arvind Sharma (ed.), *Our Religions*, San Francisco, 1993. On Islam chapter 7.
- 39 Martin Marty and Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms Observed*, Chicago, 1991.
- 40 See chapter 5 on 'The Case of the Non-Arab Peoples of West Africa', in Tibi, *The Crisis* (referenced in note 13), pp. 67–80.
- 41 See my detailed report in *Orient*, vol. 23 (1982), pp. 370–7 (on this point, pp. 375ff.). See also the coverage on this in the most important Dakar daily newspaper, 'Islam et Cultures Africaines', in *Le Soleil* of 30 June 1982.
- 42 Mukti Ali, 'Islam and Indonesian Culture', in Mourad Wahba (ed.), *Proceedings of the First Islamic Philosophy Conference (Nov. 19–22, 1979)*, Cairo, 1982, pp. 15–34; and also my report, 'Islamische Weltkonferenz über islamische Philosophie', in *Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit*, vol. 21, 2 (1980), pp. 11–f.
- 43 The Koran is quoted here in comparison to the Arabic original and with appropriate modification of the translation by N.J. Dawood, 4th revised edition, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974.
- 44 In the Koran (sura 12, verse 2) it is written, for example, that God revealed the Koran 'in the Arabic tongue'. See also verse 16/103 and 26/195; for more on this, see Tibi, *The Crisis* (referenced in note 13 above), chapter 4.
- 45 See the chapter on Arabiyya in B. Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Boulder, CO, 1990, pp. 76–101.
- 46 Maxime Rodinson develops this theme systematically with extensive use of historical material in his work *Mohammed*, Lucerne and Frankfurt, 1975 (originally in French, Paris, 1961).
- 47 See Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, Princeton, NJ, 1994; and Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam: Musa al-Sadr and the Shi'a of Lebanon*, Ithaca, 1986. In

- Lebanon the Hezbollah is the political party of the Shi'a. See Hala Jaber, *Hezbollah: Born with Vengeance*, New York, 1997.
- 48 The most comprehensive, reliable, and brilliant cultural history of Islam so far is contained in the lifework of Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols, Chicago, 1974.
- 49 The attempt to employ Elias for conceptualising Islamic history is contained in Tibi, *The Crisis* (referenced in note 13), pp. 22ff., 57ff., 67ff.
- 50 The life and work of Muhammed are examined in the two seminal works by W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mekka*, Oxford, 1953; and *Muhammad at Medina*, 6th printing, Oxford, 1977. See also W.M. Watt, *Muhammad – Prophet and Statesman*, 4th printing, Oxford, 1978. See also the biography by Rodinson referenced in note 46.
- 51 See B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, 1996 (new edition, 1998).
- 52 See on this S.H.M. Jafri, *The Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam*, London and Beirut, 1979. See also Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, New Haven, 1985, pp. 11ff. and 23ff.
- 53 See M. Fischer, *Iran: from Religious Dispute to Revolution*, Cambridge, MA, 1980; and Said A. Arjomand, *The Turban for the Crown: the Islamic Revolution in Iran*, New York, 1988.
- 54 On the Abbasid history, see J.J. Saunders, *A History of Medieval Islam*, 2nd printing, London, 1978, pp. 95ff. Also worth reading R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History*, Princeton, NJ, 1991, pp. 104ff.
- 55 On the Ottoman period of Islamic history, see B. Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Djihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999, chapter 4.
- 56 See Sandra Mackey, *The Iranians: Persia, Islam and the Soul of a Nation*, New York, 1996, Parts 3 and 4. On contemporary history see also Nikki Keddie, *Roots of Revolution: an Interpretive History of Modern Islam*, New Haven, 1981.
- 57 Rodinson, *La fascination de l'Islam* (referenced in note 35), p. 58.
- 58 Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Djihad* (see note 55 above).
- 59 On this and the following, see B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd edition, London and New York, 1997, pp. 88 ff.
- 60 R. Hartmann, 'Die Wahhabiten', in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 78 (1924), part 2, pp. 176–213, here p. 177. For a recent view, see Aziz al-Azmeh, *Islams and Modernities*, London, 1993, chapter: Wahhabite Polity, pp. 104–21.
- 61 The American Afghani editor Nikki Keddie thus adequately calls her collected texts, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism*, 2nd printing, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983.
- 62 On this, see B. Tibi, 'Management und Kultur im Entwicklungsprozeß. Bericht über eine entwicklungspolitische Konferenz in Kairo', in *Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit*, vol. 25, 3 (1984), pp. 29–30.
- 63 On Abduh, see Othman Amin, *Ra'id al-fikr al-misri: Muhammed Abduh (A Pioneer of Egyptian Thought: Muhammed Abduh)*, Cairo, 1955, pp. 141ff.; and also Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, 2nd printing, New York, 1968 (first published in 1933).
- 64 On the Islamic fundamentalist dream of semi-modernity, see B. Tibi, 'The Worldview of Sunni Arab Fundamentalists: Attitudes toward Modern

- Science and Technology', in Martin Marty and Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms and Society*, Chicago, 1993, pp. 73–102; and also B. Tibi, 'Islamic Dream of Semi-Modernity', in *India International Centre Quarterly*, vol. 22 (Spring 1995), pp. 79–87.
- 65 This happened to me in Cairo when I expounded views along these lines in a paper on 'Islam and Secularisation' presented at the First Islamic Conference on Philosophy. After heavy debate and corresponding delay, this lecture – see Wahba, *Proceedings* (as in note 42 above), pp. 65–80 – was published in Cairo. An Arabic version was published in Beirut in *Oadaya Arabiyya*, vol. 7, 2 (1980), pp. 12–23. For a more recent piece, see B. Tibi, 'Secularization and De-Secularization in Islam', in *Religion, Staat, Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, 1 (2000), pp. 95–117.
- 66 An example of this is Ali al-Shabi, *al-Shi'a fi Iran* (The Shi'a in Iran), Tunis, 1980, p. 5 and (in more detail) pp. 169ff.
- 67 John Waterbury, *The Commander of the Faithful: the Moroccan Political Elite*, New York, 1970, p. 5.
- 68 R.A. Nicholson, *Islamic Mysticism*, 4th printing, Cambridge, 1980, p. 3.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 79. See also James Fadiman and Robert Frager (eds), *Essential Sufism*, San Francisco, 1997.
- 71 Husain Ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, *Märtyrer der Gottesliebe*, Annemarie Schimmel (ed.), Cologne, 1968, p. 37.
- 72 Nicholson, *Islamic Mysticism* (see note 68).
- 73 See B. Tibi, 'Islam and Secularization, Religion and the Functional Differentiation of the Social System', in *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, vol. 66 (1980), pp. 207–22; see also note 65 above.
- 74 J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Influence of Islam upon Africa*, London and Beirut, 1980, p. 5. See also the reference in note 40 above.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 76 See J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971.
- 77 Trimmingham, *The Influence* (see note 74), p. 9.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- 79 More on this in Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam* (see note 20 above), pp. 65ff.
- 80 J.N.D. Anderson, *Islamic Law in Africa*, 2nd printing, London, 1978.
- 81 M. Piamenta, *Islam in Everyday Arabic Speech*, Leiden, 1979, p. 1; see also note 45 above.
- 82 See Howard R. Turner, *Science in Medieval Islam*, Austin, TX, 1995. On its impact, see Toby E. Huff, *The Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China and the West*, Cambridge, 1995.
- 83 See Mohammed Abed al-Jabri, *Arab-Islamic Philosophy: a Contemporary Critique*, Austin, TX, 1999, pp. 120ff.
- 84 Bouman, *Gott und Mensch im Koran* (referenced in note 5), p. 19.
- 85 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 86 *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
- 89 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

Chapter 2: Cultural Patterns and the Perception of Change in Islam. A Religious Model for Reality: the Islamic Worldview

- 1 On this Islamic worldview and on its politicisation, see B. Tibi, 'The Worldview of Sunni Arab Fundamentalists', in M. Marty/S. Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms and Society*, Chicago, 1993, pp. 73–102.
- 2 These processes of internal differentiation within the Islamic religious system form the subject of Part II, pp. 74ff., in B. Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam: a Preindustrial Culture in the Scientific-Technological Age*, trans. Judith von Sivers, Salt Lake City, 1988, pp. 55ff.
- 3 For more on this subject, see Charles Lindholm, *The Islamic Middle East: an Historical Anthropology*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 259ff.
- 4 Barrie Axford, *The Global System: Economics, Politics and Culture*, New York, 1995.
- 5 The perception of these vexed questions in the works of six modern Islamic thinkers is analyzed by Rotraud Wielandt, *Offenbarung und Geschichte im Denken moderner Muslime*, Wiesbaden, 1971; on this book, see my review article in the collection of articles B. Tibi, *Internationale Politik und Entwicklungsländer-Forschung. Materialien zu einer ideologiekritischen Entwicklungssoziologie*, Frankfurt/M., 1979, pp. 136–40.
- 6 On this central theme in modern Muslim thought, see the works by Hichem Djait, *Urubba wa al-Islam* (Europe and Islam), Beirut, 1980 (US edition, Hichem Djait, *Europe and Islam: Cultures and Modernity*, Berkeley, 1985); and Abdallah Laroui, *Azmat al-muthaqqafin al-Arab* (The Crisis of Arab Intellectuals), Beirut, 1978 (French edition, *La crise des intellectuels arabes*, Paris).
- 7 See the widely disseminated book by Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *al-Hall al-Islami farida wa darura* (The Islamic Solution is a Duty and a Necessity), Beirut, 1974. This highly influential book by al-Qaradawi is vol. 2 out of a 3-volume work. The third volume of this trilogy has the title: *Bayanat al-hall al-Islami wa shabahat al-ilmaniyyin wa al-mutagharibin* (The Characteristics of the Islamic Solution and the Suspicions of the Secularists and the Westernised), Cairo, 1988.
- 8 See B. Tibi, 'War and Peace in Islam', in Terry Nardin (ed.), *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, Princeton, NJ, 1996, pp. 128–45. See also H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: a Study of the Impact of Western Civilisation on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, 2 vols., London, 1950 and 1957.
- 9 Najib Armanazi, *Al shar' al-duwali fi al-Islam* (International Law in Islam), new printing, London, 1990 (Original Damascus, 1930). On democratic peace, see Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, Princeton, NJ, 1993. See also B. Tibi, 'Democracy and Democratization in Islam: a Quest of Islamic Enlightenment', in Michèle Schmiegelow (ed.), *Democracy in Asia*, New York, 1997, pp. 127–46.
- 10 On the European expansion, see chapter 6, on Arab jihad chapter 1, on Ottoman jihad chapter 4, in B. Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Djihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999; and also Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture*

- of *Islam*, 3 vols, Chicago, 1974, here vol. 3; see also Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East and the West*, 2nd printing, New York, 1966.
- 11 An example of such an Islamic answer is the major work originally published in 1930 and still influential today, available in reprint, by Shakib Arslan, *Limatha ta'akhara al-Muslimun wa limatha taqaddama ghairuhum?* (English translation, *Our Decline and Its Causes*, 2nd printing, London, 1952).
 - 12 An exhaustive account of this situation is given by Maxime Rodinson, *Muhammed*, Lucerne and Frankfurt/M., 1975, chapters 1 and 2 (originally in French, Paris, 1961).
 - 13 W. Montgomery Watt in conjunction with A.T. Welch, *Der Islam I*, Stuttgart, 1980, in the chapter entitled 'Ursprung und Werden des Islams', pp. 39–161, see p. 97.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
 - 15 On this debate, see B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998.
 - 16 Johan Bouman, *Gott und Mensch im Koran. Eine Strukturform religiöser Anthropologie anhand des Beispiels Allah und Muhammad*, Darmstadt, 1977, p. 226.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
 - 18 This shari'a legal position was representatively propounded by Sabir Tu'aima, *al-Shari'a al-Islamiyya fi asr al-ilm* (Islamic Law in the Age of Science), Beirut, 1979, pp. 208ff. A reconstruction of Islamic international law is provided in the classical work by Najib Armanazi, *al-Shar' al-duwali fi al-Islam* (referenced in note 9).
 - 19 See Nasr H. Abu-Zaid, *al-Tafkir fi al-zaman al-takfir* (Thinking in the Age of Accusation of Unbelief), Cairo, 1995. On the Abu-Zaid affair and on its broader context, see B. Tibi, *Fundamentalismus im Islam*, Darmstadt, 2000, chapter 7. On the dismissal of critique of Islamic fundamentalism in the diaspora, see Abu-Zaid, *Leben mit dem Islam*, Freiburg, 1999, P. 197. In fact this is an indication of hypocrisy.
 - 20 Watt, *Islam I* (referenced in note 13), p. 170; see also R. Bell and W.M. Watt, *Introduction to the Qur'an*, 2nd printing, Edinburgh, 1977.
 - 21 On the early epoch of the Islamic schism between Sunna and Shi'a, see S.H.M. Jafri, *The Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam*, London, 1979. See also Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, New Haven, 1985.
 - 22 On modern Koranic exegesis, see J.M.S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880–1960)*, Leiden, 1968; and J.J.G. Jansen, *The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt*, Leiden, 1974.
 - 23 Watt, *Islam I* (referenced in note 13), p. 17.
 - 24 Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York, 1982, chapter IX.
 - 25 See Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: a study of the Early Modern Reform Movement*, 2nd printing, New York, 1968 (originally published in 1933).
 - 26 Watt, *Islam I* (referenced in note 13), p. 17.
 - 27 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

- 28 See W.M. Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, 5th printing, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 37ff.
- 29 Herbert A. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, Averroës on Intellect*, New York, 1992. See also the essays in honour of Muhsin Mahdi, ed. by Charles Butterworth, *The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy*, Cambridge, MA, 1992.
- 30 Details may be found in T.J. de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, Stuttgart, 1901. The Arabic translation of this work, *Tarikh al-falsafa fi al-Islam*, Cairo, 1957, by the Egyptian professor of philosophy Muhammed Abdulhadi Abu-Zaida (University of Cairo).
- 31 See B. Tibi, 'Islam and Secularization, Religion and the Functional Differentiation of the Social System', in *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, vol. 66 (1980), pp. 207–22. See also B. Tibi, 'Culture and Knowledge', in *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 12, 1 (1995), pp. 1–24; and most recently B. Tibi, 'Secularization and De-Secularization in Modern Islam', in *Religion, Staat und Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, 1 (2000), pp. 95–117.
- 32 Watt, *Islam I* (referenced in note 13), p. 232.
- 33 On right-wing radical militant Islam see G.H. Jansen, *Militant Islam*, New York, 1979; and my book on political Islam referenced above in note 15, as well as Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam*, New Haven, 1985.
- 34 See Tibi, *Challenge* (referenced in note 15), chapters 7 and 8.
- 35 See W.M. Watt, *Muhammad. Prophet and Statesman*, 4th printing, Oxford, 1978.
- 36 See Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, 5th printing, Oxford, 1979; and N.J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, 3rd printing, Edinburgh, 1978; as well as chapter 7 of this book.
- 37 Schacht, *An Introduction* (referenced in note 36), p. 1.
- 38 On the tensions between scriptural fiqh and rational philosophy in Islam see B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, 1996, Part 2.
- 39 See Subhi al-Salih, *Ma'alim al-shari'a al-Islamiyya* (Basic Features of Islamic Law), Beirut, 1975, p. 116.
- 40 Schacht, *An Introduction* (referenced in note 36), pp. 94ff.
- 41 On this, see Maxime Rodinson, *Islam et capitalisme*, Paris, 1966, new German edition with a lengthy introduction by B. Tibi, Frankfurt/Main, 1986.
- 42 For a reform-Islamic critical view of the caliphate, see M. S. al-Ashmawi, *al-Khilafa al-Islamiyya* (Islamic caliphate), Cairo, 1990. The standard work on this subject remains Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, 2nd printing, London, 1965 (originally published in 1924).
- 43 Schacht, *An Introduction* (referenced in note 36), pp. 54ff.
- 44 See the critical views by M.S. al-Ashmawi, *Usul al-shari'a* (The Origins of the Shari'a), Cairo and Beirut, 1983. See also chapter 8 in my book *Challenge* (referenced in note 15 above).
- 45 Watt, *Islam I* (referenced in note 13), p. 24.
- 46 On both of these aspects of the encounter between the Middle East and the West under new global conditions, see B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd edition, London, 1997, pp. 53ff. and 70ff.
- 47 See David B. Ralston, *Importing the European Army: the Introduction of European Military Techniques and Institutions into the Extra-European World*,

- Chicago, 1990, chapters 3 and 4. Also Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1979, chapter 3, 'The Impact of the West', pp. 40–73; and Tibi, *Arab Nationalism* (referenced in note 46), Part II.
- 48 Rifa'a R. al-Tahtawi, *Takhlis al-ibriz ila talkhis Baris* (The Refinement of Gold: toward the Summarising Description of Paris), (originally published in 1834), German trans. Karl Stowasser, *Ein Muslim entdeckt Europa. Die Reise eines Ägypters im 19. Jahrhundert nach Paris*, Munich, 1989, p. 150.
- 49 See Tibi, *The Crisis* (referenced in note 2) and Tibi, *Arab Nationalism* (referenced in note 46).
- 50 Tahtawi, *Ein Muslim* (referenced in note 48), p. 9.
- 51 See B. Tibi, 'The Failed Export of the Islamic Revolution into the Arab World', in Frédéric Grare (ed.), *Islamism and Security: Political Islam and the Western World*, Geneva, 1999, pp. 63–101.
- 52 See B. Tibi, 'Post-Bipolar Order in Crisis: the Challenge of Politicised Islam', in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (ed. LSE), vol. 29, 3 (2000), pp. 843–59.

Chapter 3: Culture and Social Change: Tradition and Innovation in Cultural Analysis

- 1 See Adam Kuper, *Culture: the Anthropologists' Account*, Cambridge, MA, 1999, and also the reader edited by John Rundell and Stephen Mennell, *Classical Readings in Culture and Civilization*, London, 1998.
- 2 The essay of Alfred Weber is reprinted in Hans Peter Dreitzel (ed.), *Sozialer Wandel*, Neuwied, 1967, pp. 239ff., particularly p. 242. Anglo-Saxon readers are requested not to confuse Max with Alfred Weber.
- 3 Anthony Giddens, *Beyond Left and Right*, Cambridge, 1997.
- 4 The seminal work is Robert Wuthnow, *Meaning and Moral Order: Explorations in Cultural Analysis*, Berkeley, 1987. See also R. Wuthnow, J. Habermas et al., *Cultural Analysis*, London, 1984.
- 5 On the virginity issue and sexuality as a cultural dimension in Islam, see Dale F. Eickelman, *The Middle East: an Anthropological Approach*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1981, pp. 127ff. and 141ff.
- 6 B. Tibi, 'The Interplay between Social and Economic Change', in George Atiyeh/Ibrahim Oweiss (eds), *Arab Civilization: Challenges and Responses*, Albany, NY, 1988, pp. 166–82.
- 7 Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, Glencoe, IL, 1958. See also the new thinking by David E. Apter, *Rethinking Development*, London, 1987.
- 8 See Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, New York, 1994; and B. Tibi, *Krieg der Zivilisationen*, Hamburg, 1995 (new revised edition, Munich, 1998).
- 9 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973, p. 13.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 11 B. Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam: a Preindustrial Culture in the Scientific-Technological Age*, Salt Lake City, 1988; and B. Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Boulder, CO, 1990, reprinted 1991.
- 12 See Stephen K. Sandersson, *Social Evolutionism: a Critical History*, Cambridge, 1990.

- 13 Karl Marx, 'Die britische Kolonialherrschaft in Indien', in Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, vol. 9, East Berlin, 1960, pp. 127ff., particularly p. 133.
- 14 Hugo C.F. Mansilla, *Entwicklung als Nachahmung. Zu einer kritischen Theorie der Modernisierung*, Meisenheim/Glan, 1978; and the same Latin-American author, *Die Trugbilder der Entwicklung in der Dritten Welt*, Munich and Vienna, 1986.
- 15 S.N. Eisenstadt, *Tradition, Change and Modernity*, London, 1973. Simply for technical reasons I am using here the German translation *Tradition, Wandel und Modernität*, Frankfurt/M., 1979.
- 16 David Apter, *The Politics of Modernization*, Chicago, 1965, followed two decades later by Apter's book, *Rethinking Development* (referenced in note 7).
- 17 Eisenstadt, *Tradition* (referenced in note 15), p. 373.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 92f.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 237ff. A relevant monograph on this is Bryan S. Turner, *Weber and Islam*, London, 1974; and, more recently, the proceedings of an international conference on *Max Webers Sicht des Islams. Interpretation und Kritik*, ed. Wolfgang Schluchter, Frankfurt/M., 1987.
- 20 On Afghani, see the biography by Nikki Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972; as well as the selected texts of Afghani edited by Keddie and published under the title *An Islamic Response to Imperialism*, 2nd printing, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983.
- 21 Jemaladdin Afghani, *al-A'mal al-kamila* (Collected Works), Muhammed Imara (ed.), Cairo, 1968, p. 328.
- 22 See B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd enlarged edition, London and New York, 1997, pp. 88ff.
- 23 Eisenstadt, *Tradition* (referenced in note 15), pp. 242f.
- 24 Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*, Frankfurt/M. and Lucerne, 1975.
- 25 Niklas Luhmann, *Funktion der Religion*, Frankfurt/M., 1977.
- 26 Eisenstadt, *Tradition* (referenced in note 15), p. 206.
- 27 See the chapter on monarchies legitimised by Islam in Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation* (referenced in note 11), pp. 160–77.
- 28 See the chapter on religion in J.E. Goldthorpe, *The Sociology of the Third World: Disparity and Development*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 207–27; and the special issue of the journal *Millennium*, December 2000 on Religion and International Relations.
- 29 See the pathfinding work of Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: a Study of Order in World Politics*, New York, 1977; and *The Expansion of International Society*, ed. Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, 3rd printing, Oxford, 1988.
- 30 Jürgen Habermas, *Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne*, Frankfurt, 1985 (for the English version see note 40).
- 31 See also John Hall et al. (eds), *Europe and the Rise of Capitalism*, Oxford, 1989.
- 32 See David Harrison, *The Sociology of Modernization and Development*, London, 1988, chapter 2 and pp. 149ff.
- 33 See Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, London, 1994.
- 34 Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation* (see note 11).
- 35 Eisenstadt, *Tradition* (referenced in note 15), p. 359.
- 36 See B. Tibi, 'The Fundamentalist Challenge to Secular Order in the Middle East', in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 23, I (Winter/Spring 1999), pp. 191–210.

- 37 On this concept see Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam* (see note 11), Introduction.
- 38 René König (ed.), *Aspekte der Entwicklungssoziologie*, Cologne and Opladen, 1969, p. 30 (italics in the original).
- 39 See the monograph on this issue by Marco Orru, *Anomie: History and Meaning*, London, 1987.
- 40 See Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, Cambridge, MA, 1987 (for the German original see note 30 above).
- 41 See Binaz Toprak, *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*, Leiden, 1981; and more recently B. Tibi, *Aufbruch am Bosphorus. Die Türkei zwischen Europa und dem Islamismus*, Munich, 1998; the Turkish edition was published in Istanbul 2000.
- 42 On the Egyptian variant of Fabian socialism see the remarkable monograph by Vernon Egger, *A Fabian in Egypt: Salamah Musa and the Rise of the Professional Classes in Egypt, 1909–1939*, Lanham and New York, 1986.
- 43 Fuad Kandil, *Nativismus in der Dritten Welt. Wiederentdeckung der Tradition für die Gegenwart*, St. Michael (Austria), 1983. The empirical part of Kandil's study is concerned with Egyptian Islam.
- 44 For more on this see B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley, 1998.

Part II: The Context: the Politicisation of Islam in the Global Age

Chapter 4: The Dichotomy of Structural Globalisation and Fragmenting Cultural Self-Assertion: the Case of Islamic Civilisation

- 1 On this dichotomy with case studies on Asia-Pacific, see: *Global-Local – Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, ed. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake, Durham, 1996, in particular Part 1: Globalisations.
- 2 See Martin Albrow, *The Global Age*, Stanford, 1997; and also Barrie Axford, *The Global System: Economics, Politics, Culture*, New York, 1995; from a conceptual perspective Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London, 1992 (reprinted 1998).
- 3 On this concept see B. Tibi, 'International Morality and Cross-Cultural Bridging', in Roman Herzog (President of Germany 1995–99), *Preventing the Clash of Civilizations: a Peace Strategy for the Twenty-First Century*, New York, 1999, pp. 107–26.
- 4 See the debate conducted in Amsterdam at The Erasmus Foundation (ed.), *The Limits of Pluralism: Neo-Absolutisms and Relativism*, Amsterdam, 1994 (for my contribution on Islamic Neo-Absolutism, see pp. 29–35). See also John Kekes, *The Morality of Pluralism*, Princeton, NJ, 1993, for new major theses on pluralism, see pp. 17–37.
- 5 Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity*, Oxford, 1997, p. 8.
- 6 See Immanuel Kant, 'Entwurf zum ewigen Frieden', in Richard Saage (ed.), *Friedensutopien. Kant, Fichte, Schlegel, Görres*, Frankfurt/M., 1979, pp. 37–82;

- and Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, Princeton, NJ, 1993. See also the contributions in Michael Brown *et al.* (eds), *Debating the Democratic Peace*, Cambridge, MA, 1996.
- 7 Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*, Princeton, NJ, 1997.
 - 8 For a close examination of these processes, see B. Tibi, 'Secularization and De-Secularization in Modern Islam', in *Religion, Staat, Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, 1 (2000), pp. 95–117; and by the same, 'Post-Bipolar Order in Crisis: the Challenge of Politicised Islam', in *Millennium*, vol. 29, 3 (2000), pp. 843–59.
 - 9 The flaws in Inglehart's analysis are related to his ignorance about the research on this topic pursued by the American Academy of Arts and Science (The Fundamentalism Project). See the five volumes edited by Martin Marty and Scott Appleby, *Fundamentalisms Observed*, Chicago, 1991; *Fundamentalisms and Society*, Chicago, 1993; *Fundamentalisms and the State*, Chicago, 1993; *Accounting for Fundamentalisms*, Chicago, 1994; *Fundamentalisms: Comprehended*, Chicago, 1995. I have co-authored vol. 2. See also my book that grew from this project *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998.
 - 10 Inglehart, *Modernization* (see note 7), p. 72.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, p. 106. For an alternative view see Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism* (note 9 above).
 - 12 On this see Charles Lindholm, *The Islamic Middle East: a Historical Anthropology*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 17ff. and 219ff.
 - 13 Najib al-Armanazi, *al-Shar' al-duwali fi al-Islam* (International Law in Islam), new reprint, London, 1990 (first published in Damascus, 1930).
 - 14 Muhammed Imara, *al-Sahwa al-Islamiyya wa al-tahaddi al-hadari* (The Islamic Awakening and the Civilisational Challenge), Cairo, 1991.
 - 15 For more on this with extensive references, see B. Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999. Chapters 1 and 4 deal with Islamic expansion. Chapter 6 is on European expansion. Sources are referenced there.
 - 16 Jemaladdin Afghani, *al-A'mal al-kamila* (Collected Works), ed. M. Imara, Cairo, 1968, p. 328. See his biography completed by Nikki Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din 'al-Afghani'*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972.
 - 17 See Ivan Hannaford, *Race: the History of an Idea in the West*, Baltimore, 1996.
 - 18 See Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad* (referenced in note 15 above).
 - 19 See, for example, Rudolf Wendorff, *Dritte Welt und westliche Zivilisation*, Opladen, 1984, p. 65. On the German cultural roots of the moralising worldview see the masterpiece by Helmuth Plessner, *Die verspätete Nation*, reprint, Frankfurt/M., 1974. See also B. Tibi, *Europa ohne Identität? Die Krise der multikulturellen Gesellschaft*, Munich, 1998 (new edition 2000), Part 1, pp. 59–133.
 - 20 See, for example, Benjamin R. Barber, *Jihad vs McWorld*, New York, 1995.
 - 21 See Reinhard Bendix, *Kings or People*, Berkeley, 1978; and also his essay 'Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered', published in his collection of articles, *Nation-Building and Citizenship: Studies of Our Changing Social Order*, new and substantially revised edition, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977, pp. 361–434, especially pp. 411ff. Of particular significance is Bendix's

- thesis that the modernisation of some spheres of life in non-European societies does not necessarily contribute to bringing about modernity.
- 22 On this debate, see B. Tibi, *Islamischer Fundamentalismus, moderne Wissenschaft und Technologie*, Frankfurt/M., 1992. See also my chapter, 'The Worldview of Sunni Arab Fundamentalists: Attitudes toward Modern Science and Technology', in *Fundamentalisms and Society* (full reference in note 9 above), pp. 128–45.
 - 23 See the standard work of the Frankfurt School on this subject by Franz Borkenau, *Der Übergang vom feudalen zum bürgerlichen Weltbild*, reprint, Darmstadt, 1980, new edition, Frankfurt, 1988 (it was first published in 1934 while in exile in Paris but in German).
 - 24 On the Islamic Weltanschauung and its historical development, see B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, 1996, 2nd edition, 1997, paperback 1998, Part 1.
 - 25 Niklas Luhmann, 'Die Weltgesellschaft', in Luhmann, *Soziologische Aufklärung*, vol. 2, Opladen, 1975, pp. 51–61.
 - 26 See B. Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam: a Preindustrial Culture in the Scientific-Technological Age*, Salt Lake City, 1988.
 - 27 Inglehart, *Modernization* (referenced in note 7) p. 281.
 - 28 Hedley Bull, 'The Revolt against the West', in Hedley Bull/Adam Watson (eds), *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford, 1984, pp. 217–28.
 - 29 Tibi, *The Crisis* (see note 26), chapter 3.
 - 30 See Gérard Leclerc, *Anthropologie et Colonialisme*, Paris, 1972.
 - 31 For the history of ideas of this approach see Stephan K. Sanderson, *Social Evolutionism*, Cambridge, MA, 1990.
 - 32 Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, Glencoe, IL, 1958. Thinking on development has since then gone far beyond Lerner's most influential work. See David E. Apter, *Rethinking Development*, Newbury Park, CA, 1987; and David Harrison, *Sociology of Modernization and Development*, London, 1988.
 - 33 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 2 vols, vol. 1: *The History of Manners*, New York, 1978, vol. 2: *Power and Civility*, New York, 1982.
 - 34 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 247.
 - 35 *Ibid.*, p. 256.
 - 36 *Ibid.*, p. 255. On the groundbreaking work of Norbert Elias, see Stephen Mennell, *Norbert Elias: Civilization and the Human Self-Image*, Oxford, 1989.
 - 37 Max Horkheimer cited in the dedication by Tibi, *Europa ohne Identität?* (referenced in note 19 above). I owe Horkheimer, the founder of the Frankfurt School of Social Theory who was my academic teacher in my Frankfurt years of learning a great deal in my transition from an Arab nationalist to an enlightened Muslim.
 - 38 See also Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism* (referenced in note 9). For earlier works on this subject in Western languages see Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam*, London, 1991, and Gilles Kepel, *La Revanche de Dieu*, Paris, 1991. The foremost critical work in Arabic is by Mohammed Said al-Ashmawi, *al-Islam al-siyasi* (Political Islam), 2nd edition, Cairo, 1989.
 - 39 Mohammed Arkoun, *Rethinking Islam*, Boulder, CO, 1994; and B. Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Boulder, CO, 1990.

- 40 See Ayubi, *Political Islam*, (referenced in note 38). See also Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, Cambridge, MA, 1996, and the other works referenced in note 38 above.
- 41 Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York, 1982.
- 42 Martin Kramer, *Arab Awakening and Islamic Revival: the Politics of Ideas in the Middle East*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1996.
- 43 Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed*, 2nd printing, Chicago, 1971, p. 56.
- 44 I. Mörth and F. Fürstenberg, 'Religionssoziologie', in R. König (ed.), *Handbuch der empirischen Sozialforschung*, vol. 14, 2nd printing, Stuttgart, 1979, pp. 1–84, particularly p. 46.
- 45 Ibid., p. 35.
- 46 Robert Wuthnow, *Meaning and Moral Order: Explorations in Cultural Analysis*, Berkeley, 1987.
- 47 See Michael Willis, *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria*, New York, 1996, pp. 241–3.
- 48 B. Tibi, 'Culture and Knowledge: the Islamization of Knowledge as a Postmodern Project?', in *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 12, 1 (1995), pp. 1–24.
- 49 R. Bendix, 'Modernisierung in internationaler Perspektive', in W. Zapf (ed.), *Theorien des sozialen Wandels*, 2nd printing, Cologne and Berlin, 1970, pp. 505ff., particularly p. 506.
- 50 Ibid., p. 507.
- 51 Ibid., p. 511.
- 52 Bendix, *Kings or People* (see note 21 above), p. 582.
- 53 Ibid., p. 594.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid., p. 603.
- 56 See my Harvard Academy paper on 'The Attitudes of Middle Eastern Elites and Counter-Elites towards Political Order', published under the title, 'The Fundamentalist Challenge to the Secular Order in the Middle East', in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 23, 1 (1999), pp. 191–210. On elites see also chapter 3 in this book.
- 57 See the references in note 8 above.
- 58 R. Bendix, *Freiheit und historisches Schicksal. Heidelberger Max-Weber-Vorlesungen*, Frankfurt/M., 1982, p. 132.
- 59 See Castells, *The Power of Identity* (referenced in note 5 above), pp. 8ff.
- 60 Jean-Paul Charnay, *Sociologie religieuse de L'Islam*, Paris, 1978. For a combination of the approaches of Islamic studies and social history see Maxime Rodinson, *Islam et capitalisme*, Paris, 1966.
- 61 See Gerald Holton, *Science and Anti-Science*, Cambridge, MA, 1993, in particular pp. 145–89.
- 62 See, in particular, Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society*, Cambridge and London, 1981 (collection of essays).
- 63 Ernest Gellner, *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion*, London, 1992, in particular pp. 40ff., 80ff. See also my article referenced in note 48 above.
- 64 See the classical work by Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, new printing, Oxford, 1979, here, in particular, pp. 239ff.
- 65 See the new print of the classical Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, New York, 1998, chapter 17. For the ensuing develop-

- ments and the surge of political Islam, see B. Tibi, *Aufbruch am Bosporus. Die Türkei zwischen Europa und dem Islamismus*, Munich, 1998.
- 66 On the conflict between fiqh and rational philosophy, see Tibi, *Der wahre Imam* (referenced in note 24 above), Part 2.
- 67 On this debate, see C. Seyfarth and W. Sprondel (eds), *Seminar: Religion und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung. Studien zur Protestantismus-Kapitalismus-These Max Webers*, Frankfurt/M., 1973, p. 9. See also Wolfgang Schluchter (ed.), *Max Webers Sicht des Islam*, Frankfurt/M., 1987.
- 68 See Muhammed Imara, *al-Islam wa al-uruba wa al-ilmaniyya* (Islam, Arabism, and Secularism), Beirut, 1981, particularly pp. 57ff.
- 69 Yahya H.H. Farqhal, *Haqiqat al-ilmaniyya* (The Truth about Secularism), published by al-Azhar, Cairo, 1989.
- 70 B. Tibi, 'Islam and Secularization', in *Islam and Civilization: Proceedings of the First International Islamic Philosophy Conference* (19–22 November 1979). The papers were published by Mourad Wahba, Cairo, 1982, my paper pp. 65–79. (Arabic version in: *Qadaya Arabiyya*, Beirut, vol. 7, 3 [1980], pp. 12–23). See also the concluding chapter in my book *The Crisis* (referenced in note 26), on the 'Secularization of Islam', pp. 127–48.
- 71 Tibi, 'Secularization and De-Secularization in Islam', paper presented to the international conference 'Science and Secularization', The Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem (31 May–3 June 1999). Published in 2000 (see note 8 above).
- 72 T.G. Carroll, 'Secularization and States of Modernity', in *World Politics*, vol. 36, 3 (1984), pp. 362–82, particularly pp. 375 and 380.
- 73 This debate is well documented in the reader edited by Heinz Horst Schrey, *Säkularisierung*, Darmstadt, 1981.
- 74 See Ali M. Jarisha and Muhammed Sh. Zaibaq, *Asalib al-ghazu al-fikri li al-alam al-Islami* (Methods of Intellectual Invasion of the Islamic World), Cairo, 1987, pp. 37ff., 92ff.
- 75 See also Theodore H. von Laue, *World Revolution of Westernization: the Twentieth Century in Global Perspective*, New York, 1987.
- 76 Daniel Bell, 'The Return of the Sacred? The Argument on the Future of Religion', in Daniel Bell, *The Winding Passage: Essays and Sociological Journeys 1960–1980*, New York, 1980, pp. 324ff., particularly p. 332.
- 77 See Gerrit W. Gong, *The Standard of 'Civilization' in International Society*, Oxford, 1984, chapters 1 and 2.
- 78 Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad* (referenced in note 15), chapters 1 and 3.
- 79 *Ibid.*, chapter 5.

Chapter 5: The Politicisation of Religion: Political Islam as a Defensive-Cultural Response to Global Challenges. A Social-Scientific Interpretation

- 1 On the two waves of Islamic expansion, see B. Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999, chapter 1 on Arab futuhat (conquests), chapter 4 on Ottoman conquests. Chapter 6 deals with the European expansion.
- 2 Maxime Rodinson, *La Fascination de l'Islam*, Paris, 1980, pp. 63ff., 95ff. In contrast, the German Orientalist Tilman Nagel argued in his lecture on the

- occasion of the 250th Anniversary of Islamic Studies in Göttingen that Orientalist philology needs to halt the social-scientific intrusion into its domain. In my view Nagel stands in the tradition of German parochial Orientalism. On Nagel and on his community, see the respective sub-chapter in B. Tibi, *Europa ohne Identität? Die Krise der multikulturellen Gesellschaft*, Munich, 1998, pp. 344–52.
- 3 A classic example of this view can be found in M. Muslehuddin, *Philosophy of Islamic Law and the Orientalists: a Comparative Study of the Islamic Legal System*, Lahore (Pakistan), no date.
 - 4 Critically Bernard Lewis, 'The State of Middle Eastern Studies', in *The American Scholar*, vol. 48 (1979), pp. 365–81.
 - 5 See the classic work by Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*, 2nd printing, Chicago, 1971. German translation edited and with commentary by B. Tibi, Frankfurt/M., 1988 and 1991.
 - 6 A combination of the study of realities with a knowledge of the scripture is my approach to studying Islam. I call it *social-scientific historical Islamology*. I believe my two books on Islam, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1997 (Paperback-Edition, 1998); and *Kreuzzug und Dihad*. (referenced in note 1), are cornerstones for this approach.
 - 7 For an alternative interpretation, see B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998.
 - 8 For more details, see B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd enlarged edition, London and New York, 1997. In contrast to the Arab East, the nationalist movement in the Maghreb was always markedly Islamic in character, as there is no Christian elite there. With the exception of Tunisia, salafiyya Islam was a part of nationalism. Taking Algeria as an example, this is illustrated by Ali Merad, *Le réformisme Musulman en Algérie*, Paris, 1967; see also the article by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, 'Retreat from the Secular Path? Islamic Dilemmas of Arab Politics', in *Review of Politics*, vol. 28 (1966), pp. 447–76; it continues to be topical.
 - 9 One of the seminal works presenting this programme is Salim al-Awwa, *Fi al-nizam al-siyasi li al-dawla al-Islamiyya* (The Political System of the Islamic State), 6th edition, Cairo, 1983.
 - 10 A misleading interpretation that confuses the religion of Islam with political Islam, hence confusing religion and ideology, is John Voll and John Esposito, *Islam and Democracy*, New York, 1996. See my critical review in: *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 78, 4 (1998), pp. 667–9.
 - 11 See Maxime Rodinson, *Islam et Capitalisme*, Paris, 1966; see also the German edition with a lengthy introduction by B. Tibi (ed.), *Islam und Kapitalismus*, Frankfurt/M., 1986, pp. ix–li, on Rodinson and his work.
 - 12 *The Koran*, trans. N.J. Dawood, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974, here sura 33, verse 40.
 - 13 Bouman states: 'The important thing here is the new idea "Seal-Khatam," a word that appears only in this verse. The Arabic word originates from Aramaic and means ensealment (*obsignatio*), and definitive conclusion (*conclusio*).' Johan Bouman, *Gott und Mensch im Koran. Eine Strukturform*

religiöser Anthropologie anhand des Beispiels Allah und Muhammad, Darmstadt, 1977, p. 31.

- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- 15 See the comprehensive work by Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols, Chicago, 1974.
- 16 B. Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam: a Preindustrial Culture in the Scientific-Technological Age*, Salt Lake City, 1988.
- 17 Shakib Arslan, *Limadha ta'khara al-muslimun wa limadha taqaddama ghairahum* (Why Are Muslims Backward While Others Have Developed?) new edition, Beirut, 1965 (first published in Cairo, 1930). English trans.: *Our Decline and Its Causes*, 2nd printing, London, 1952.
- 18 Tibi, *The Crisis* (referenced in note 16), Part 3.
- 19 R. Peters, *Islam and Colonialism: the Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History*, The Hague and Paris, 1979, especially pp. 105–21.
- 20 On both variants, see the appropriate section in Tibi, *Arab Nationalism* (see note 8 above).
- 21 See the case study by Daniel Crecelius, 'The Course of Secularization in Modern Egypt', in John L. Esposito (ed.), *Islam and Development: Religion and Sociopolitical Change*, Syracuse, 1980, pp. 49ff.; and B. Tibi, 'Islam and Secularization, Religion and Functional Differentiation of the Social System', in *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, vol. 66 (1980), pp. 207–22.
- 22 Ali Abdelraziq, *al-Islam wa usul al-hukm* (Islam and Patterns of Government), new printing, Beirut, 1966 (first published in Cairo 1925). French trans. in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* vols 7 and 8 (1933–34).
- 23 Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Hatmiyyat al-hall al-Islami* (The Determination of the Islamic Solution), 3 vols, vol. 1: *al-Hulul al-mustawrada wa kaif janat ala ummatina* (The Imported Solutions: How They Became Entrenched in Our Community), Beirut, 1974, especially pp. 88ff.; vol. 3: *Bayinat al-hall al-Islami wa shabahat al-ilmaniyyin wa al-mutagharibin* (The Salient Features of the Islamic Solution and the Suspicions of the Secularists and the Westernised), Cairo, 1988.
- 24 Unlike Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, New York, 1977, pp. 13ff., the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann, 'Die Weltgesellschaft', in Luhmann, *Soziologische Aufklärung*, vol. 2, Opladen, 1975, pp. 51–61, equates international system and international society.
- 25 See Barrie Axford, *The Global System: Economics, Politics and Culture*, New York, 1995. We need however to be wary of the misleading injection of postmodern questionable fashions into serious issues, see Bryan Turner, *Orientalism, Postmodernism and Globalism*, London, 1994 and the Contributions in *Islam, Globalization and Postmodernity*, eds, A.S. Ahmed and H. Donnan, London, 1994.
- 26 See an analysis of Arabic literature on this subject, 'Fi al-fikr al-Arabi al-mu'asir, al-kitaba al-wasfiyyat wa al-kitaba al-thawriyya' (On Contemporary Arabic Thought: the Revolutionary and the Descriptive Writings), in Adonis (ed.), *Mawaqif* (Beirut), 3 (March/April, 1969), pp. 93–117. Fouad Ajami refers to this article in his *Arab Predicament*, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 28f.
- 27 See Michael C. Hudson, *Arab Politics: the Search for Legitimacy*, New Haven, 1977, in particular pp. 1–30. See also B. Tibi, 'Structural and Ideological

- Change in the Arab Subsystem since the Six-Day-War', in Y. Lukacs/A. Batah (eds), *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Two Decades of Change*, Boulder, CO, 1988, pp. 147–63.
- 28 See 'Arab Integration' revisited in the contributions edited by Michael Hudson, *Middle East Dilemma: the Politics and Economics of Arab Integration*, New York, 1999, with my contribution on pp. 92–106.
- 29 See John Waterbury and R. El-Mallakh, *The Middle East in the Coming Decade*, New York, 1980, particularly pp. 21ff. and 41ff.
- 30 For more details see chapters 5, 6 and 7 in: B. Tibi, *Conflict and War in the Middle East. From Interstate War to New Security*, 3rd revised and enlarged edition, London and New York, 1998.
- 31 Philip Khoury, 'Islamic Revivalism and the Crisis of the Secular State in the Arab World: a Historical Appraisal', in Ibrahim Ibrahim (ed.), *Arab Resources: the Transformation of a Society*, London, 1983, pp. 213ff., particularly p. 215.
- 32 Michael C. Hudson, 'Islam and Political Development', in Esposito, *Islam and Development* (referenced in note 21), pp. 1–24.
- 33 See chapter 11 on Morocco and Saudi-Arabia in B. Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1990.
- 34 C.H. Moore, *Tunisia since Independence*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965; and the chapter on Tunisia in G. Grohs and B. Tibi, *Zur Soziologie der Dekolonisation in Afrika*, Frankfurt/M., 1973, pp. 80–121.
- 35 See Rifaat S. Ahmed, *Rasa'l Juheyman al-Utaibi qaid al-muqtahimin lil masjid al-haram bi Mecca* (Treatises of Juheyman al-Utaibi, the leader of the Invaders of the Holy Mosque in Mecca), Cairo, 1988.
- 36 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 2 vols, New York, 1978 and 1982. On the relevance of Elias's concept for understanding modern Islam and its position in this global context, see Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam* (referenced in note 16), pp. 21–31.
- 37 Franz Borkenau, *Der Übergang vom feudalen zum bürgerlichen Weltbild*, new edition, Darmstadt, 1980. Also relevant in this regard is the study by Ernst Topitsch, *Erkenntnis und Illusion, Grundstrukturen unserer Weltauffassung*, Hamburg, 1979, especially pp. 50ff.
- 38 See B. Tibi, 'The Simultaneity of the Unsimultaneous', in Philip Khoury/Joeph Kostiner, *Tribes and States Formation in the Middle East*, Berkeley, 1990.
- 39 Niklas Luhmann, *Funktion der Religion*, Frankfurt/M., 1977, pp. 115ff. and pp. 121ff., for the following quotations.
- 40 Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*, Lucerne and Frankfurt/M., 1975, p. 281.
- 41 See the seminal work by al-Awwa, *Fi al-nizam al-siyasi* (referenced in note 9) and chapters 7 and 8 in my book *The Challenge of Fundamentalism* (referenced in note 7) with further references.
- 42 Wilfred C. Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion*, paperback edition, New York, 1978, p. 117.
- 43 Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, 2nd printing, London, 1965.
- 44 S.H.M. Jafri, *The Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam*, London and Beirut, 1979, especially pp. 289ff. See also Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, New Haven, 1985.
- 45 Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, Austin, TX, 1982, p. 3; see also my review in *MESA Bulletin*, vol. 17, 2 (1983), pp. 210–11.

- 46 Ali H. al-Khartabuli, *al-Islam wa al-khilafa* (Islam and the Caliphate), Beirut, 1969.
- 47 See the new interpretation of Mawardi by Said Bensaïd, *Dawlat al-khilafa, dirasa fi al-tafkir al-siyasi ind al-Mawardi* (The State of the Caliphate: a Study of the Political Thought of Mawardi), Rabat no date. See also the chapter on Mawardi in Tibi, *Der wahre Imam* (referenced in note 6), pp. 151–77.
- 48 Mustafa Abu-Zaid Fahmi, *Fan al-hukm fi al-Islam* (The Art of Government in Islam), Cairo, 1977.
- 49 Most representative for a great number of writings is Ali M. Jarisha and Mohammad S. Zaibaq, *Asalib al-ghazu al-fikri li al-alam al-Islami* (Methods of the Intellectual Invasion of the Muslim World), 2nd printing, Medina, 1978.
- 50 Ahmad Abbas Salih, *al-Yamin wa al-yasar fi al-Islam* (The Right and the Left in Islam), Beirut, 1973.
- 51 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, reprint 1996.
- 52 Abdelraziq, *al-Islam wa usual al-hukm* (referenced in note 22).
- 53 Mohammed Said al-Ashmawi, *al-Khilafah al-Islamiyya* (The Islamic Caliphate), Cairo, 1990. In the source book *Liberal Islam*, ed. by Charles Kurzman, New York, 1998 we rightly find translations from the work of al-Ashmawi, but most disturbingly also some misleading texts by leading and active Islamists like Y. al-Qaradawi and Rachid Ghannouchi. One is inclined to ask: are there no differences between liberal Islam and political Islam?
- 54 See also Tibi, *Arab Nationalism* (referenced in note 8).
- 55 Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1991, p. 17.
- 56 Jihad does not mean ‘holy war’ but rather ‘effort’, endeavour’, or ‘hard work’. See B. Tibi, ‘War and Peace in Islam’, in Terry Nardin (ed.), *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, Princeton, NJ, 1996 (paperback 1998), pp. 128–45.
- 57 Leonard Binder, *The Ideological Revolution in the Middle East*, New York, 1964, p. 131.
- 58 For additional case studies on political Islam, see my earlier book *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Part IV; see also the following readers by Shireen T. Hunter (ed.), *The Politics of Islamic Revivalism: Diversity and Unity*, Bloomington, IN, 1988; A.S. Sidahmed and A. Ehteshami, eds, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, Boulder, CO, 1996; and R. Scott-Appleby (ed.), *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*, Chicago, 1997.

Chapter 6: From Religious Belief to Political Commitment: the Fundamentalist Revolt against the Secular Order. Between Cultural Modernity and Neo-Absolutism

- 1 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973; and Dale Eickelman, *The Middle East: an Anthropological Approach*, Englewood Cliffs,

- NJ, 1981. See the survey by Adam Kuper, *Culture: the Anthropologists' Account*, Cambridge, MA, 1999.
- 2 Robert Wuthnow, *Meaning and Moral Order: Explorations in Cultural Analysis*, Berkeley, 1987. See also Peter Berger et al., *Cultural Analysis*, New York, 1986.
 - 3 It is important to ascertain that my views are different from those of Huntington, even though I acknowledge his primacy in the debate. See B. Tibi, *Krieg der Zivilisationen*, revised and expanded new edition, Munich, 1998 (first 1995), in particular chapter 7 of the new edition on Huntington; and Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, New York, 1996.
 - 4 Hedley Bull, 'The Revolt against the West', in Hedley Bull/Adam Watson (eds), *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford, 1984, pp. 217–28.
 - 5 For this idea and the supporting sources, see B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, 1996 (3rd edition, 1998), in particular chapter 3.
 - 6 Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, Cambridge, MA, 1986.
 - 7 The Erasmus Foundation (ed.), *The Limits of Pluralism: Neo-Absolutisms and Relativism*, Amsterdam, 1994 (Gellner, pp. 163–6, Geertz pp. 167–72). See herein my contribution on Islamic neo-absolutism, pp. 29–35. I do side with Gellner (see note 8).
 - 8 Ernest Gellner, *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion*, London, 1992, p. 84.
 - 9 Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols, Chicago, 1977, in particular, vol. 2: The Expansion of Islam.
 - 10 M.S. al-Awwa, *Fi al-nizam al-siyasi li al-dawla al-Islamiyya* (On the Political System of the Islamic State), 6th edition, Cairo, 1983.
 - 11 See chapter 6 on the nation-state in B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998.
 - 12 Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798–1939*, Oxford, 1962.
 - 13 Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence*, Berkeley, 1987 (see also note 40 below).
 - 14 B. Tibi, 'The Simultaneity of the Unsimultaneous: Old Tribes and Imposed Nation-States in the Modern Middle East', in Philip Khoury/Joseph Kostiner (eds), *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, Berkeley, 1990, pp. 127–52; see also note 11.
 - 15 Theodore von Laue, *The World Revolution of Westernization*, New York, 1987.
 - 16 B. Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam*, Salt Lake City, 1988 and also by the author, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Boulder, CO, 1990.
 - 17 Herbert A. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, Averroës on Intellect*, New York, 1992.
 - 18 Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York, 1982, chapter: 'Science and Technology', pp. 221–38; and for a historical comparison Howard R. Turner, *Science in Medieval Islam*, Austin, TX, 1995.
 - 19 Muhammed Abduh, *al-Islam wa al-nasraniyya bain al-ilm wa al-madaniyya* (Islam and Christianity between Science and Civilisation), new printing, Beirut, 1983.
 - 20 For references on this debate, see B. Tibi, 'Culture and Knowledge: the Islamization of Knowledge as a Postmodern Project?' in *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 12, 1 (1995), pp. 1–24.

- 21 David Gress, *From Plato to NATO: The Idea of the West and its Opponents*, New York, 1998, pp. 503f.
- 22 B. Tibi, 'The Worldview of Sunni Arab Fundamentalists: Attitudes toward Modern Science and Technology', in Martin Marty/Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms and Society*, Chicago, 1993, pp. 73–102.
- 23 On this issue see the classic works by Franz Borkenau, *Der Übergang vom feudalen zum bürgerlichen Weltbild*, new printing, Darmstadt, 1980; and Edgar Zilsel, *Die sozialen Ursprünge der neuzeitlichen Wissenschaft*, Frankfurt/M., 1976.
- 24 B. Tibi, *Islamischer Fundamentalismus, moderne Wissenschaft und Technologie*, Frankfurt/M., 1992 (new printing 1993).
- 25 Even the most respected reform-Muslim Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity*, Chicago, 1982, fails to meet this challenge.
- 26 On the debate among intellectuals on *asalah* and *turath*, see Centre for Arab Unity Studies/Beirut (ed.), *al-Turath wa tahadiyyat al-asr fi al-watan al-Arabi* (On Cultural Heritage and the Contemporary Challenges in the Arab World), Beirut, 1985.
- 27 See Syed Alatas, *Islam, Secularism and the Philosophy of the Future*, London, 1985.
- 28 Z. Sardar, *Exploration in Islamic Science*, London, 1989.
- 29 See Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, Averroës on Intellect* (referenced in note 17); and Tibi, *Der wahre Imam* (referenced in note 5); and on the Hellenisation of Islam W.M. Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, Edinburgh, 1962, parts 2 and 3.
- 30 Leslie Lipson, *The Ethical Crises of Civilization*, London, 1993.
- 31 *Ibid*, p. 62.
- 32 Hassan al-Sharqawi, *al-Muslimun hukama wa ulama* (The Muslims as Scientists and as Wise Men), Cairo, 1987, p. 12.
- 33 See Institute of Islamic Thought (ed.), *Toward Islamization of Disciplines*, Herndon, VA, 1989. For a critique see also my article referenced in note 20 above.
- 34 Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, London, 1992.
- 35 On this distinction, see George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh, 1981. See also Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999, chapter 3.
- 36 See William McNeill, *The Rise of the West*, Chicago, 1963; and more recently Gress, *From Plato to NATO* (referenced in note 21).
- 37 See chapter 6 in Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism* (referenced in note 11).
- 38 Everett Mendelsohn, 'The Social Construction of Scientific Knowledge', in Mendelsohn (ed.), *The Social Production of Scientific Knowledge*, London, 1977, pp. 3–26.
- 39 Shakib Arslan, *Limatha ta'akhara al-Muslimun wa limatha taqadama ghairuhum* (Why Are Muslims Backward While Others Have Developed?), new printing, Beirut, 1965.
- 40 B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd edition, London and New York, 1997.
- 41 Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Hatmiyat al-hall al-Islami* (The Islamic Solution is Determined), 3 vols, Beirut and Cairo, 1970–88.

- 42 For more details, see B. Tibi, *Conflict and War in the Middle East: from Interstate War to New Security*, London and New York, 1998, chapters 3 and 4.
- 43 Anwar al-Jundi, *Ahdaf al-taghrīb fi al-alam al-Islami* (The Targets of Westernisation of the Islamic World), Cairo, 1987.
- 44 On this subject, see John Kelsay, *Islam and War*, Louisville, KY, 1993, in particular chapter 5. Kelsay calls these 'warriors of Allah' (it is their own understanding: Junud Allah) 'irregular soldiers'. Mark Huband, *Warriors of the Prophet: the Struggle for Islam*, Boulder, CO, 1999 prefers a different label in the title.
- 45 See Kalevi Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*, Cambridge, 1996; and chapter 11 in Tibi, *Conflict and War in the Middle East* (referenced in note 42).

Part III: The Framework: the Means of Politicisation. The Revival of the Shari'a and the Islamisation of Education

Chapter 7: Social Change and the Potential for Flexibility in Islamic Law: the Shari'a between Ethics and Politicisation

- 1 H.L.A. Hart, *The Concept of Law*, 2nd printing, Oxford, 1970, p. 221. See also on international law H.L.A. Hart and Michael Akehurst, *A Modern Introduction to International Law*, 6th edition, London, 1987, pp. 21f. See also the classic, fortunately reprinted, work by F.S.C. Northrop, *The Taming of the Nations: a Study of the Cultural Basis of International Policy*, 2nd edition, Woodbridge, CT, 1987. The basic issues of international law are discussed by Terry Nardin, *Law, Morality and the Relations of States*, Princeton, NJ, 1983.
- 2 Ralf Dreier, *Recht – Moral – Ideologie. Studien zur Rechtslehre*, Frankfurt/M., 1981, p. 24.
- 3 Abdullah An-Na'im, *Toward an Islamic Reformation*, Syracuse, NY, 1990. See also Tore Lindholm and Kari Vogt (eds), *Islamic Law Reform and Human Rights*, Copenhagen and Oslo, 1993.
- 4 On the European expansion, see B. Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Jihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999, chapter 6; see also Barrie Axford, *The Global System: Economics, Politics and Culture*, New York, 1995.
- 5 An-Na'im, *Toward an Islamic Reformation* (referenced in note 3), chapters 6 and 7; see also B. Tibi, 'Islamic Law/Shari'a, Human Rights, Universal Morality and International Relations', in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 16, 2 (1994), pp. 277–99.
- 6 See Brun-Otto Bryde, *The Politics and Sociology of African Legal Development*, Frankfurt/M., 1976; as well as my review in *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, vol. 65 (1979), pp. 433f. Bryde was promoted in 2000 to judge at the German Federal Supreme Court.
- 7 See also J.N.D. Anderson, *Islamic Law in Africa*, 3rd printing, London, 1978.
- 8 Theodor Viehweg, *Topik und Jurisprudenz. Ein Beitrag zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung*, 5th printing, Munich, 1974, p. 118.

- 9 For an authentic account, see Subhi Salih, *Ma'alim al-shari'a al-Islamiyya* (Essential Characteristics of Islamic Law), Beirut, 1975, pp. 122ff. See also Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *al-Halal wa al-haram fi al-Islam* (The Permitted and the Forbidden in Islam), 20th printing, Cairo, 1991.
- 10 On the de-Westernisation of law on the example of the *shari'a*, see B. Tibi, 'Die Entwestlichung des Rechts. Das Hudud-Strafrecht der islamischen Schari'a', in Klaus Lüderssen (ed.), *Aufgeklärte Kriminalpolitik oder Kampf gegen das Böse*, 5 vols, here vol. 5, Baden-Baden, 1998, pp. 21–30.
- 11 See Najib Armanazi, *al-Shar' al-duwali fi al-Islam* (International Law in Islam), new printing, London, 1990 (first published, Damascus, 1930). See also W.M. Watt, *Islamic Political Thought: the Basic Concepts*, Edinburgh, 1969, p. 91. See also B. Tibi, 'War and Peace in Islam', in Terry Nardin (ed.), *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, Princeton, NJ, 1996, pp. 128–45.
- 12 See the textbook by Werner Levi, *Contemporary International Law*, 2nd edition, Boulder, CO, 1991.
- 13 Dreier, *Recht* (referenced in note 2), pp. 116–17.
- 14 Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*, Lucerne and Frankfurt, 1975, p. 27.
- 15 See B. Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam: a Preindustrial Culture in the Scientific-Technological Age*, Salt Lake City, 1988, pp. 57–66.
- 16 This is also the view of the legal Muslim reformer Mohammed Said al-Ashmawi, *Usul al-shari'a* (The Origins of the Shari'a), Cairo, 1983.
- 17 Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, 5th printing, Oxford, 1979, p. 1.
- 18 For a detailed account, see the contributions in Nikki Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972; see in particular the editor's introduction.
- 19 On the Koran, see Rudi Paret, *Mohammed und der Koran*, 4th printing, Stuttgart, 1976; as well as the internationally leading monograph by R. Bell and W.M. Watt, *Introduction to the Qur'an*, 2nd printing, Edinburgh, 1977. Interesting interpretations of the Koran are given by Johan Bouman, *Gott und Mensch im Koran. Eine Strukturform religiöser Anthropologie anhand des Beispiels Allah und Muhammad*, Darmstadt, 1977.
- 20 On the interpretation of revelation in Islam, see W.M. Watt, *Islamic Revelation in the Modern World*, Edinburgh, 1969.
- 21 See the introduction to N.J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, 3rd printing, Edinburgh, 1978.
- 22 On the notion of de-Westernisation, see note 10 above, on the crisis of the secular nation-state, see B. Tibi, 'The Simultaneity of the Unsimultaneous: Old Tribes and Imposed Nation-States in the Modern Middle East', in Philip Khoury/Joseph Kostiner (eds), *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, Berkeley, 1990, pp. 127–52.
- 23 Maxime Rodinson, *Islam und Kapitalismus*, Frankfurt/M., 1971, p. 77. See also my introduction ('Maxime Rodinson, der Islam und die westlichen Islam-Studien') to the 2nd edition of this book (1986), on the work of Rodinson, pp. ix–li.
- 24 John Waterbury, *The Commander of the Faithful: the Moroccan Political Elite*, New York, 1970, p. 5.

- 25 See the interpretation of Islamic law in the article by Ann Elizabeth Mayer, Abdulaziz Sachedina and Norman Calder in *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Middle Eastern World*, 4 vols, New York, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 450–72.
- 26 Salih, *Ma'alim* (referenced in note 9), pp. 89ff. See also chapter 6 on Arabiyya in: B. Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Boulder, CO, 1990, pp. 76–101.
- 27 Ann E. Mayer, 'Law and Religion in the Muslim Middle East', in *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, vol. 35, 1 (Winter 1987), pp. 127–84.
- 28 On this distinction, see the introduction in Donald E. Smith (ed.), *Religion and Political Modernization*, New Haven and London, 1974.
- 29 Salih, *Ma'alim* (referenced in note 9), p. 116.
- 30 Muhammed T. Ben-Ashur, *Maqasid al-shari'a al-Islamiyya* (The Aims of Islamic Law), Tunis, 1978, p. 64.
- 31 I may mention here, as the best problem-oriented introductions to the shari'a, the two internationally known monographs Schacht, *An Introduction* (referenced in note 17); and Coulson, *A History* (referenced in note 21).
- 32 See W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 6th printing, Oxford, 1977.
- 33 Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols, Chicago, 1974. See also Tibi, *Kreuzzug* (referenced in note 4).
- 34 Sabir Tu'aïma, *al-Shari'a al-Islamiyya fi asr al-ilm* (Islamic Law in the Age of Science), Beirut, 1979, pp. 208ff.
- 35 See N.J. Dawood's translation of the Koran, 4th revised edition, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974, pp. 320ff.
- 36 Nardin, *Law, Morality and the Relations of States* (see note 1).
- 37 Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights*, Ithaca and London, 1989.
- 38 See B. Tibi, 'International Morality and Cross-Cultural Bridging', in Roman Herzog, *Preventing the Clash of Civilizations*, New York, 1999, pp. 107–26; see also M.K. Asante and W.B. Gudykunst (eds), *Handbook of International and Inter-Cultural Communication*, London, 1989.
- 39 Mohammed Arkoun, *Rethinking Islam*, Boulder, CO, 1994.
- 40 W.M. Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, 5th printing, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 37ff. and 91ff.
- 41 On medieval Islamic rationalisation, see Herbert Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, Averroës on Intellect*, New York, 1992; and B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, 1996, Part 2.
- 42 Ernst Bloch, *Avicenna und die Aristotelische Linke*, Frankfurt/M., 1963, p. 45.
- 43 M. Wahba, 'The Paradox of Averroës', in *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, vol. 66 (1980), pp. 257–60.
- 44 B. Tibi, 'Islam and Secularization, Religion and the Functional Differentiation of the Social System', in *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, vol. 66 (1980), pp. 207–22.
- 45 Niklas Luhmann, *Funktion der Religion*, Frankfurt/M., 1977.
- 46 See B. Tibi, 'Secularisation and Desecularisation in Modern Islam', in *Religion, Staat, Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, 1 (2000), pp. 95–117.
- 47 Josef Esser, *Vorverständnis und Methodenwahl in der Rechtsfindung*, Frankfurt/M., 1970, p. 32.
- 48 Hart, *The Concept* (referenced in note 1), p. 102.
- 49 Esser, *Vorverständnis* (referenced in note 47), p. 153.

- 50 On this, see Schacht, *An Introduction* (referenced in note 17), pp. 57ff.
- 51 See Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: a Study of the Modern Reform Movement*, 2nd printing, London, 1968 (first published in 1933).
- 52 See Norman Anderson, *Law Reform in the Muslim World*, London, 1976.
- 53 Viehweg, *Topik* (referenced in note 8), p. 31.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid., p. 34.
- 56 Ibid., p. 38.
- 57 Ibid., p. 42.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 See B. Tibi, 'Islam and Social Change in the Modern Middle East', in *Law and State*, vol. 22 (1980), pp. 91–106.
- 60 Ali Abdelraziq, *al-Islam wa usul al-hukm* (Islam and Patterns of Government), Cairo, 1925 (reprinted Beirut, 1966), French translation in: *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, vol. 7 (1933) and vol. 8 (1934). On Abdelraziq, see B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd edition, New York, 1997, pp. 170ff.
- 61 On the use of takfir, see Sayyid Yasin, *al-Kauniyya, wa al-usuliyya wa ma-ba'd al-hadatha* (Globalism, Fundamentalism and Postmodernism), Cairo, 1996, chapter 21, pp. 228ff. On the radical groups and their ideology, see Abdulazim Ramadan, *Jama'at al-takfir* (The Takfir-Groups), Cairo, 1995.
- 62 Malcolm Kerr, *Islamic Reform: the Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966.
- 63 M. Muslehuddin, *Philosophy in Islamic Law and the Orientalists: a Comparative Study of the Islamic Legal System*, Lahore (Pakistan), no date, p. 247.
- 64 Ibid., p. 242.
- 65 Viehweg, *Topik* (referenced in note 8), p. 40.
- 66 Muslehuddin, *Philosophy* (referenced in note 63), p. 242.
- 67 Esser, *Vorverständnis* (referenced in note 47), p. 135.
- 68 N.J. Coulson, *Conflicts and Tensions in Islamic Jurisprudence*, Chicago, 1969, p. 2; see also Coulson, 'The Concept of Progress and Islamic Law', in Robert N. Bellah (ed.), *Religion and Progress in Modern Asia*, New York, 1965, pp. 74–92; as well as N.J. Coulson and Norman Anderson, 'Modernization: Islamic Law', in Michael Brett (ed.), *Northern Africa: Islam and Modernization*, London, 1973, pp. 73–83.
- 69 More on this in the *shari'a* – chapter 8 in B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998, pp. 158–78.

Chapter 8: Institutions of Learning and Education in Islam: between the Cultural Accommodation of Change, Religious Orthodoxy and the Politics of Cultural Islamisation

- 1 See chapter 8 on institutionalisation of science in Robert Wuthnow, *Meaning and Moral Order: Explorations in Cultural Analysis*, Berkeley, 1987, pp. 265ff. Concerning the failure of Islamic rationalism to be institutionalised, see B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, 1996, Part 2.

- 2 See the chapter on Arabic as the language of Islam, in B. Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Boulder, CO, 1985 (reprinted 1991).
- 3 See David C. Lindberg, *The Beginning of Western Science*, Chicago, 1992, chapter 8 on Islam, pp. 161–82; and Toby E. Huff, *The Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China and the West*, Cambridge, 1993, chapters 2 and 3.
- 4 George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh, 1981. The referenced pp. 12ff. and 19ff. support my text.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 75ff.
- 6 On the Mu'tazilites, see the standard work on Islamic philosophy by T.J. de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, Stuttgart, 1901.
- 7 See Richard C. Martin *et al.*, *Defenders of Reason in Islam: Mu'tazilism from Medieval School to Modern Symbol*, Oxford, 1997.
- 8 See also Herbert Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, Averroës on Intellect*, New York, 1992.
- 9 Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges* (referenced in note 4), pp. 75f. (italics added).
- 10 On the Hellenisation of Islam, see W.M. Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, 5th printing, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 37ff. and 91ff.
- 11 Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges* (referenced in note 4), pp. 281ff.
- 12 Ernst Bloch, *Avicenna und die aristotelische Linke*, Frankfurt/M., 1963, p. 45.
- 13 Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges* (referenced in note 4), p. 285.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 282.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 285 and 292.
- 17 See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 2 vols, New York 1978 and 1982; see also William McNeill, *The Rise of the West*, Chicago, 1963.
- 18 On this exposure, see B. Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Jihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999, chapters VI and VII.
- 19 Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges* (referenced in note 4), pp. 80ff.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 99ff.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 105.
- 22 Rifa'a R. al-Tahtawi, *Takhlis al-ibriz ila talkhis Baris* (The Refinement of Gold. Toward the Summarising Description of Paris), (originally published in 1834). The German translation of this diary by Karl Stowasser (note 48 to chapter 2 above). See also chapter 7 on Tahtawi in Tibi, *Der wahre Imam* (referenced in note 1).
- 23 See the books by Lindberg and Huff referenced in note 3 above.
- 24 On the ulema and faqihs, see the appropriate contributions in the book by Nikki Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972.
- 25 See the chapter on African Islam in B. Tibi, *The Crisis of Modern Islam: a Preindustrial Culture in the Scientific-Technological Age*, Salt Lake City, 1988, pp. 67–80.
- 26 Helmuth Plessner, *Die verspätete Nation* (reprint), Frankfurt/M., 1974, pp. 23f.
- 27 See the chapter on the effects of modern education on Islam in B. Tibi, *The Crisis* (referenced in note 25), pp. 95–112.

- 28 For more on this, see B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley, 1998, chapters 1 and 5.
- 29 See Syed H. Alatas, *Intellectuals in Developing Societies*, London, 1977, passim.
- 30 T. Hanf, 'Erziehung und politischer Wandel in Schwarzafrika', in René König (ed.), *Aspekte der Entwicklungssoziologie* (special issue of *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*), Cologne and Opladen, 1969, pp. 276–327, particularly 280ff.
- 31 Sa'id Isma'il Ali, *Usul al-tarbiya al-Islamiyya* (Foundations of Islamic Pedagogy), Cairo, 1978, p. 19.
- 32 Ibid., p. 27.
- 33 Sa'id Isma'il Ali, *Dirasat fi al-tarbiya al-Islamiyya* (Studies on Islamic Pedagogy), Cairo, 1982, p. 256.
- 34 Ibid., p. 257.
- 35 S.S. Husain and S.A. Ashraf (eds), *Crisis in Muslim Education*, Jeddah and Kent, 1979.
- 36 Mohammad Wasiulla Khan (ed.), *Education and Society in the Muslim World*, Jeddah and Kent, 1981.
- 37 Husain and Ashraf, *Crisis* (referenced in note 35), pp. 2f.
- 38 Ibid., p. 4.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Mahmud Sayyid Sultan, *Buhuth fi al-tarbiya al-Islamiyya* (Research Work on Islamic Pedagogy), Cairo, 1979, p. 54.
- 41 Ibid., p. 45.
- 42 Gerald Holton, *Science and Anti-Science*, Cambridge, MA, 1993.
- 43 B. Tibi, 'The Worldview of Sunni Arab Fundamentalists: Attitudes toward Modern Science and Technology', in Martin Marty/Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms and Society*, Chicago, 1993, pp. 73–102.
- 44 See B. Tibi, 'Modern Education, Students and Social Change in Underdeveloped Societies – with Special Reference to the Islamic Middle East', in Mourad Wahba (ed.), *Youth, Intellectuals and Social Change: Proceedings of the Third Euro-Arab Social Research Group Conference*, Cairo, 1983, pp. 65–77.
- 45 B. Tibi, 'Culture and Knowledge: the Politics of Islamization of Knowledge', in *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 12, 1 (1995), pp. 1–24.

Part IV: The Topicality: Islam and the West between Inter-Civilisational Dialogue and Political Antagonisation

Chapter 9: Islam Matters to the West! Islam and Europe, Islam in Europe: Islamic Migration between Cultural Assimilation, Political Integration and Communitarian Ghettoisation

- 1 See the works by Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity*, Chicago, 1982; W.M. Watt, *Islamic Fundamentalism and Modernity*, London, 1988; S. Ahmed and Hastings Donnan (eds), *Islam, Globalization and Postmodernity*, London, 1994.

- 2 Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, Cambridge, MA, 1997.
- 3 On this affair see the documentaton: Lisa Appignanesi and Sara Maitland (eds), *The Rushdie File*, Syracuse, NY, 1990.
- 4 See Jane I. Smith, *Islam in America*, New York, 1999.
- 5 Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on Multicultural Society*, New York, 1992 (expanded new edition 1998).
- 6 B. Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999.
- 7 Malcolm Anderson, *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World*, Cambridge, 1996.
- 8 Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: a Study of Order in World Politics*, New York, 1977, p. 273.
- 9 On this idea, see B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998, in particular chapters 1, 4, 5.
- 10 Hedley Bull and Adam Watson (eds), *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford, 1984. See also note 8 above.
- 11 See the geopolitical history of the Mediterranean by Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad* (referenced in note 6).
- 12 Bull, *The Anarchical Society* (see note 8), pp. 13–14.
- 13 I refer here to the works by the historians Henri Pirenne, *Mahomet and Charlemagne*, Paris, 1937; and Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols, Berkeley, 1995. See also my historical survey of the Mediterranean referenced in note 6.
- 14 Terry Nardin, *Law, Morality and the Relations of States*, Princeton, NJ, 1983.
- 15 John Kelsay, *Islam and War: the Gulf War and Beyond*, Louisville, KY, 1993.
- 16 See the reports in *DAWN* (Karachi) on the Western–Islamic dialogue that took place under this title in Karachi, all in the issues of October 1995.
- 17 This is the title of the interview that Tehmina Ahmed ran with B. Tibi in Karachi ‘The Clash of Civilizations Was not Invented, but it Was Used, Abused for Other Reasons’, published in *Newsline*, November-issue 1995, pp. 99–100.
- 18 Kelsay, *Islam and War* (see note 15).
- 19 For the difference between both, see Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, new printing, Cambridge, MA, 1996.
- 20 Helmuth Plessner, *Die verspätete Nation*, new printing, Frankfurt/M., 1974.
- 21 Fred Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*, London, 1995.
- 22 On this debate see B. Tibi, *Europa ohne Identität? Die Krise der multikulturellen Gesellschaft*, Munich, 1998, Part 1.
- 23 M.K. Masud, ‘The Obligation to Migrate: the Doctrine of Hijra in Islamic Law’, in Dale Eickelman/James Piscatori (eds), *Muslim Travellers. Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination*, Berkeley, 1990. See H. Djait, *Europe and Islam: Cultures and Modernity*, Berkeley, 1985.
- 24 See B. Tibi, *Der Islam und Deutschland – Muslime in Deutschland*, Stuttgart, 2000.
- 25 W.M. Watt, *Muslim–Christian Encounters: Perceptions and Misperceptions*, London, 1991. See also my book referenced in note 6 above.

- 26 Leslie Lipson, *The Ethical Crises of Civilization: Moral Meltdown or Advance?*, Newbury and London, 1993, p. 62.
- 27 B. Tibi, 'Les conditions d'une Euro-Islam', in Robert Bistolfi/François Zabbal (eds), *Islams d'Europe. Intégration ou Insertion Communautaire?*, Paris, 1995; see also the chapter on Euro-Islam in my recent book *Der Islam und Deutschland* (referenced in note 24 above) pp. 325–49.
- 28 Therefore I strongly reject Wil Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, Oxford, 1995. See also Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, Cambridge, MA, 2000.
- 29 On Islam in India, B. Tibi, 'Islam, Hinduism and the Limited Secularity in India: a Model for European–Muslim Relations?', in W.A.R. Shadid/P.S. van Koningsveld (eds), *Muslims in the Margin*, Kampen/Netherlands, 1996, pp. 130–44.
- 30 I am co-author of the book *Right-wing Radicalism in Germany*, ed. Ulrich Wank, Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1996; my contribution: 'Foreigners – Today's Jews?', pp. 85–102.
- 31 Ralph Grillo, *Pluralism and the Politics of Difference*, Oxford, 1998.
- 32 See also Tibi, *Europa ohne Identität?* (referenced in note 22), Part 3; see also my contribution to the Erasmus Foundation (ed.), *The Limits of Pluralism: Neo-Absolutisms and Relativism*, Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 29–36.
- 33 John Kekes, *The Morality of Pluralism*, Princeton, NJ, 1993.
- 34 Michael Teitelbaum and Jay Winter, *A Question of Numbers: High Migration, Low Fertility and the Politics of National Identity*, New York, 1998.
- 35 Jean-François Revel, *Democracy against Itself*, New York, 1993, pp. 199–221.
- 36 Nicholas Capaldi (ed.), *Immigration: Debating the Issues*, Amherst, NY, 1997.
- 37 Robert Audi, *Religious Commitment and Secular Reason*. Cambridge, 2000.
- 38 Andrew Geddes, *Immigration and European Integration: towards Fortress Europe?*, Manchester, 2000.

Chapter 10: Islam and the West in the Age of Conflict among Civilisations: the Alternative of Intercultural Dialogue as a Means of Conflict Resolution

- 1 See B. Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, Munich, 1999; and William M. Watt, *Muslim–Christian Encounters: Perceptions and Misperceptions*, London, 1991.
- 2 Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: the Making of an Image*, new edition, Oxford, 1993 (first published 1960). Also Hichem Djait, *Islam and Europe*, Berkeley, 1985.
- 3 B. Tibi, 'Post-Bipolar Order in Crisis: the Challenge of Political Islam', in *Millennium*, vol. 29, 3 (2000), pp. 843–59.
- 4 The suspicion is directed against Huntington; see Fawas Gerges, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?*, Cambridge, 1999; Shireen T. Hunter, *The Future of Islam and the West: Clash of Civilisations or Peaceful Coexistence*, London, 1998.
- 5 Raymond Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations*, Paris, 1962.
- 6 See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-östlicher Divan*, new edition by Henrik Birus, 2 vols, Frankfurt/M., 1994; and on Lessing Karl-Josef Kuschel,

- Vom Streit zum Wettstreit der Religionen. Lessing und die Herausforderung des Islam*, Düsseldorf, 1998.
- 7 B. Tibi, *Europa ohne Identität? Die Krise der multikulturellen Gesellschaft*, Munich, 1998, Part 3 on 'Islam in Europa' and the concluding chapter; for the historical records see chapters 2 and 5 in Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad* (referenced in note 1 above).
 - 8 This is also the argument of Leslie Lipson, *The Ethical Crises of Civilization: Moral Meltdown or Advance?*, Newbury, CA, 1993, who covers all world civilisations. On Islam as a civilisation, see Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols, Chicago, 1974; see also Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History*, Cambridge, 1993.
 - 9 See William McNeill, *The Rise of the West: a History of Human Community*, Chicago, 1963.
 - 10 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, New York, 1996; for a different perspective, see B. Tibi, *Krieg der Zivilisationen*, new expanded edition, Munich, 1998 (first published 1995). See also Roman Herzog, *Preventing the Clash of Civilizations: a Peace Strategy for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Henrik Schmiegelow, New York, 1999, which includes B. Tibi, 'International Morality and Cross-Cultural Bridging', pp. 107–26.
 - 11 On these religions and civilisations, see the contributions in Arvind Sharma (ed.), *Our Religions*, San Francisco, 1993.
 - 12 See the chapter on the Renaissance in Tibi, *Kreuzzug und Dihad* (referenced in note 1 above); and on anti-colonialism as jihad see Rudolph Peters, *Islam and Colonialism: the Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History*, The Hague, 1979.
 - 13 Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, Cambridge, MA, 1996.
 - 14 On Islamic rationalism see B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1997, also available in the Serie Piper-edition, 1998.
 - 15 See Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, new edition, Stuttgart, 1988; and also note 12 above.
 - 16 Malcolm Anderson, *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World*, Oxford, 1996, chapter 5.
 - 17 On these five issue-areas, see chapters 1 to 5 in Tibi, *Krieg der Zivilisationen* (referenced in note 10). The volume includes in its new 1998 edition chapter 7 with a survey of the Huntington debate in which I develop my own position.
 - 18 Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, New York, 1995.
 - 19 Henri Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, Paris, 1937. I revive this interpretation in my book *Kreuzzug und Dihad* (referenced in note 1 above), chapter 2. See also Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed and Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe*, Ithaca, 1983.
 - 20 See Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West (1500–1800)*, Cambridge, 1989; and Wolfgang Reinhard, *Geschichte der europäischen Expansion*, 4 vols, Stuttgart, 1983–90.
 - 21 David Apter, *The Politics of Modernization*, Chicago, 1965; and Theodore von Laue, *The World Revolution of Westernization*, New York, 1987.
 - 22 David E. Apter, *Rethinking Development*, London, 1987.
 - 23 J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, New York and London, 1993.
 - 24 T.K. Oommen, *Citizenship and Nationality: from Colonialism to Globalism*, New Delhi and London, 1997; see my essay on pp. 199–226.

- 25 Benjamin Barber, *Jihad vs McWorld*, New York, 1996.
- 26 B. Tibi, 'The Ethics of War and Peace in Islam', in Terry Nardin (ed.), *The Ethics of War and Peace*, Princeton, NJ, 1996, pp. 128–45.
- 27 This is also the correct argument of Najib Armanazi, *al-Shar' al-duwali fi al-Islam* (International Law in Islam), new printing, London, 1990 (first published in Damascus, 1930).
- 28 Mark Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*, Berkeley, 1993.
- 29 Tibi, 'International Morality' (referenced in note 10 above), pp. 107–26.
- 30 See Barnett Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan*, New Haven, 1995. See also Olivier Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan*, Cambridge, 1990.
- 31 B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998.
- 32 See David Fromkin, *Kosovo Crossing: American Ideals Meet Reality on the Balkan Battlefields*, New York, 1999.
- 33 However, we ought not to confuse Islamism/political Islam with Islam as John Voll and John Esposito consistently do in their book, *Islam and Democracy*, New York, 1996. See my review in *Journal of Religion*, vol. 78, 4 (Oct. 1998), pp. 667–9.
- 34 A very good example serving this end is the work of Francis Deng and Abdullahi A. An-Na'im (eds), *Human Rights in Africa: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, Washington, DC, 1990. This book includes my contribution on Islam and human rights on pp. 104–32.
- 35 On Euro-Islam, see B. Tibi, 'Les Conditions d'un Euro-Islam', in R. Bistolfi/F. Zabbal (eds), *Islams d'Europe. Intégration ou Insertion Communautaire?*, Paris, 1995, pp. 230ff.; and also the parts on Islam in my book on Europe (referenced in note 7).
- 36 See the chapter 'Muhadjirun oder Citoyens' in Tibi, *Europa ohne Identität?* (referenced in note 7 above).
- 37 On the European origin of racism, see Ivan Hannaford, *Race: the History of an Idea in the West*, Baltimore, 1996.
- 38 Wilhelm Heitmeyer et al., *Verlockender Fundamentalismus*, Frankfurt/M., 1997.
- 39 On 'democratic peace', see Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for the Post-Cold War World*, Princeton, 1993.
- 40 More on Euro-Islam in B. Tibi, *Der Islam und Deutschland – Muslime in Deutschland*, Stuttgart, 2000.

Part V: The Predicament of Islam between Culture and Politics Revisited after September 11, 2001 and March 11, 2004

Chapter 11: September 11, the Global Cultural Turn and the Return of the Sacred in Islamic Civilisation: between Religious Revival and the New Totalitarianism of Political Islam

Acknowledgement: this chapter was completed at Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern studies during my tenure as a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University in the academic year 2004/05.

- 1 See Bruce Lincoln, *Holy Terrors. Thinking about Religion after September 11*, Chicago, 2003; and Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Just War against Terror*, New York, 2003.
- 2 On *jihadism* see B. Tibi, 'Islamism, National and International Security after September 11', in *Conflict and Cooperation: Festschrift for Kurt Spillmann*, edited by G. Baechler and A. Wenger, Zurich, 2002, pp. 127–52.
- 3 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York, 1979. As early as 1984 I expressed sympathy, however combined with reservation towards this approach. I did this in many articles (e.g. in *Neue politische Literatur*, vol. 29 (1984), pp. 267–86) and also ten years later in the chapter on the Orientalism debate included in my book: *Einladung in die islamische Geschichte*, Darmstadt, 2004, pp. 136–190.
- 4 The author of this ill characterisation, Charles Kurzman, made it in a contribution to Quintan Wiktorowics (ed.), *Islamic Activism* (2004), on p. 292; he supports his characterisation by quoting my book, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Boulder, CO, 1990. Had he carefully read this book, in particular chapter 4 on 'culture and social change', he would have refrained from making that ill-statement based on allegations. It is worth mentioning that in Kurzman's edited book, *Liberal Islam*, New York, 1998, one finds leading Islamic fundamentalists like al-Qaradawi and R. Ghannouchi listed as representatives of liberal Islam. A comment is superfluous. According to a *New York Times* article Sheik Y. al-Qaradawi calls for *jihad* implying 'all Americans in Iraq could be targeted', while asking 'are there civilians in Iraq?', *New York Times*, December 10, 2004.
- 5 The literature on Bin Laden and al-Qaida is mushrooming. See in particular Yossef Bodansky, *Bin Laden: The Man who Declared War on America*, Rocklin, CA, 1999; and Peter Berger, *Holy War Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Bin Laden*, New York, 2001.
- 6 On this phenomenon in general see the special issue of *Millennium*, vol. 29, 3 (Winter, 2000) on 'Religion and International Relations' (1001 pages), herein on the politicisation of Islam, B. Tibi, 'The Challenge of Political Islam', pp. 843–59; see also Jeff Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics*, London, 1998.
- 7 Edward Said (ed.), *The Arabs Today: Alternatives for Tomorrow*, Columbia, OH, 1973, herein, B. Tibi, 'The Genesis of the Arab Left', pp. 31–42.
- 8 On derailing the critique of Orientalism to an Orientalism in reverse see Sadik J. al-Azm, *Dhihmiyyat al-Tahrim*, London, 1992, pp. 17–86.
- 9 See Herbert Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna & Averroës on Intellect*, New York, 1992.
- 10 Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, Cambridge, MA, 1996.
- 11 See Ernst Bloch, *Die Aristotelische Linke*, Frankfurt, 1963. On these sources see the respective chapters in B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam*, Munich, 1996. This is an intellectual history of Islam from the seventh century to the present.
- 12 See Mohammed Abed al-Jabiri, *Arab-Islamic Philosophy*, Austin, TX, 1999 and among his many books in Arabic, *al-Turath wa al-hadatha*, Beirut, 1991.
- 13 Professor Lawrence Harrison is running the *Culture Matters* project at Fletcher School/Tufts University. The completed papers will be published

- in 2005 in three volumes. My contributions on Islam, and as a case study, 'Egypt' will be included in volumes 1 and 2.
- 14 Niklas Luhman, *Funktion der Religion*, Frankfurt, 1977, p. 26.
 - 15 See Scott Appleby (ed.), *Speakers of the Despised*, Chicago, 1977. Appleby was involved in the appointment of the Islamist Tariq Ramadan at Notre Dame University, who was denied entry to the USA by the Home Security Visa Department. I prefer the earlier work of Appleby critical of fundamentalism.
 - 16 Craig S. Smith, 'Dutch Try to Thwart Terror Without Being Overzealous', in *New York Times*, November 25, 2004, p. A3.
 - 17 M.A. al-Jabiri, *Arab Islamic Philosophy* (note 12), pp. 120ff.
 - 18 These attitudes are related first to the European expansion (on this see Philip D. Curtin, *The World and the West: The European Challenge*, Cambridge, 2000) and second to the admiration of European accomplishments (on this see Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York, 1982). Islamist anti-Americanism is embedded into this context.
 - 19 Maxime Rodinson, *La Fascination de l'Islam*, Paris, 1980.
 - 20 For more details see Richard Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brother*, Oxford 1969, chapter IX.
 - 21 Ali Abdel-Raziq, *al-Islam wa Usul al-hukm* (1925), new printing Beirut 1966 (on al-Raziq, see B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd edition, New York, 1997, pp. 170–7).
 - 22 On the Six-Days-War of 1967 and on its repercussions see Adeed Darwisha, *Arab Nationalism*, Princeton, NJ, 2003, chapter 10, and B. Tibi, *Conflict and War in the Middle East*, new edition, New York, 1998, chapters 3 and 4.
 - 23 See B. Tibi, 'Democratization in Islam in an Age of Islamism', in Alan Olson et al., *Educating for Democracy*, Lanham and New York, 2004, pp. 203–19.
 - 24 B. Tibi, 'Secularization and De-Secularization in Modern Islam', in *Religion, Staat, Gesellschaft*, vol. 1 (2000), pp. 95–117.
 - 25 Jürgen Habermas, 'Glaube und Wissen', in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 15, 2001, p. 9. There is also a booklet of this lecture published under the same title in Frankfurt, 2001, by Suhrkamp Verlag.
 - 26 On the history of *jihad* see Paul Fregosi, *Jihad in the West: Muslim Conquests from the 7th Century to the 21st Century*, New York, 1998, and Reuven Firestone, *Jihad: The Origins of Holy War in Islam*, New York, 1999, and also chapters II and XIII in my book on *jihad, Kreuzzug und Djihad. Der Islam und die christliche Welt*, München, 1999 (new paperback edition, 2001), the first one on *jihad* the latter on neo-*jihad* or *jihadism*, see also note 2 above.
 - 27 See John Kelsay, *Islam and War*, Louisville, KY, 1993, chapter 5.
 - 28 Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, Berkeley, 2000; and Edgar O'Balance, *Islamic Fundamentalist Terrorism, 1979–1995: The Iranian Connection*, New York, 1997.
 - 29 Zalmay Khalilzadeh and Cheryl Benard, *Government of God: Iran's Islamic Republic*, New York, 1984.
 - 30 See the comprehensive Interview with Jürgen Habermas after his visit to Iran, published in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 13, 2002, p. 47.
 - 31 Jürgen Habermas held his 'Toleranz-Rede' at the 'Leibnitz-Tag' at Berlin's Academy of Sciences. See the coverage on this event 'Die fremde Zumutung' by Tom Heithoff, in *Tagesspiegel* (Berlin), June 30, 2002, p. 25,

- and 'Vom Stachel der Intoleranz', by Michael Mayer, in *Berliner Zeitung*, July 1, 2002, p. 20.
- 32 Tom Heithoff on Habermas in *Tagesspiegel*, Berlin, June 30, 2002, p. 25.
- 33 See the classic of the late Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939*, Oxford, 1962.
- 34 Daniel Bell, 'The Return of the Sacred?', published in his collected writings *The Winding Passage, Essays*, New York, 1980, pp. 324–54. Quotes in the text refer to this essay.
- 35 B. Tibi, 'Islam and Secularization: Religion and the Functional Differentiation of the Social System', in *Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy*, vol. LXVI (1980), pp. 207–22.
- 36 Hans Maier (ed.), *Totalitarismus und politische Religionen*, Paderborn, 1996. In a similar manner, secular ideologies, like Marxism, were addressed as 'political religion' at the international conference held at the Hannah Arendt Institute in Dresden, September/October, 2004 (the proceedings are forthcoming ed. Gerhard Besier). In contrast to this approach the volume edited by Georg Pfeleiderer and Ekkehard Stegemann, *Politische Religion: Geschichte und Gegenwart eines Problemfeldes*, Zürich, 2004 (my chapter on political Islam, pp. 223–54) addresses the real issue.
- 37 Martin Marty and Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalism Observed*, Chicago, 1991. B. Tibi, 'The Fundamentalist Challenge to Secular Order in the Middle East', in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 23, 1 (Winter/Spring 1999) pp. 191–210.
- 38 See the essay 'Religion as a Cultural System', by Clifford Geertz in his book *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973, pp. 87–125. For an implementation of this approach on Islam, see Chapter 1 above.
- 39 Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and the End of Religion*, New York, 1978.
- 40 B. Tibi, *Der neue Totalitarismus. Heiliger Krieg und westliche Sicherheit*, Darmstadt, 2004.
- 41 See B. Tibi, 'The Worldview of Sunni-Arab Fundamentalists', in Martin Marty and Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms and Society*, Chicago, 1993, pp. 73–102. This is volume II of Marty and Appleby (eds), 5 vols., *The Fundamentalism Project*, published by Chicago University Press 1991–95. My most recent thinking on this issue is reflected in my essay 'Fundamentalism' included in the 2nd edition of *Routledge Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, edited by Mary Hawkesworth and Maurice Kogan, two volumes, London 2004, here vol. I, chapter 13, pp. 184–200.
- 42 See Mark Juergensmeyer, *A New Cold War: Religious Nationalism Confronts Secular State*, Berkeley, 1993.
- 43 The seminal contribution by Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (note 39) and by Arvind Sharma (ed.), *Our Religions*, San Francisco, 1993. I enjoyed impressive encounters with Smith during my tenure at Harvard in the 1980s and with Sharma in New Dehli.
- 44 Among the sprawling books on Iran see Said A. Arjamand, *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran*, New York, 1988.
- 45 On Khomeini and the world political dimension of his claims see R.K. Ramazani, *Revolutionary Iran: Challenge and Response in the Middle East*, Baltimore, 1986, in particular pp. 19–21 on 'Khomeini's Islamic world order'.

- 46 See the essay in Stanley Hoffman, 'An American Social Science, International Relations', included in his volume, *Jolmus and Minerva Essays* Boulder, CO, 1987.
- 47 See my early books *The Crisis of Modern Islam*, Salt Lake City, 1988, and, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, 1990 (see note 4 above).
- 48 Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*, Paris, 1961, reprinted 1975, on the notion of Islam as an *idéologie mobilisatrice*. For an example of the present see Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam*, New York, 2002.
- 49 Ernst Bloch, *Thomas Münzer als Theologe der Revolution*, reprint Frankfurt, 1972.
- 50 Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, New York, 1977.
- 51 S.E. Finer, *The History of Government*, 3 volumes, Oxford, 1999, here vol. 3, pp. 1478ff.
- 52 See Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*, Chicago, 1984 (see in contrast my contribution in note 41).
- 53 See my contribution in Roman Herzog *et al.*, *Preventing the Clash of Civilizations*, New York, 1999, 'International Morality and Cross-Cultural Bridging', pp. 107–26. This book provides the counter-vision to the one given by Huntington.
- 54 Theodore Von Laue, *The World Revolution of Westernization: The Twentieth Century in Global Perspective*, New York, 1987.
- 55 On this duality see Rob Wilson and Wilmal Dissanayake (eds), *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, Durham, 1996.
- 56 See Praemium Erasmianum Foundation (ed.), *The Limits of Pluralism: Neo-Absolutisms and Relativism*, Amsterdam, 1994, with contributions by E. Gellner, C. Geertz on cultural relativism and also B. Tibi on political Islam as a variety of neo-absolutism.
- 57 On this see B. Tibi, 'Culture and Knowledge: The Politics of Islamization of Knowledge as a Post-Modern Project? The Fundamentalist Claim to De-Westernization', in *Theory, Culture, Society*, vol. 12 (1995), pp. 1–24.
- 58 For both approaches see Raymond Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1962. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, 1996. On the connection between civilisation and religion see F. Braudel, *History of Civilizations*, New York, 1994.
- 59 See note 5 above, and for a general analysis Graham Fuller and Ian Lesser, *A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, Boulder, CO, 1995; and also Adeed Dawisha (ed.), *Islam in Foreign Policy*, Cambridge, 1983.
- 60 Daniel Philpott, 'The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations', in *World Politics*, vol. 55, 1 (October, 2002), pp. 66–95.
- 61 See the articles on Security by L. Freedman (vol. 2, chapter 49) and on Terrorism by D. Rapport (vol. 2, chapter 69) in Routledge, *Encyclopedia* (note 41) and my essay 'Islamism, National and International Security after September 11' (referenced in note 2 above).
- 62 At times, while reading some academic US contributions on Islam and the Middle East I strongly get the impression that the writers are more concerned in tracing what they suspect to be an attitude of 'Orientalism' (and

to involve themselves in acts of condemnation) than in looking at Islam and the Middle East themselves. If this spreading attitude continues to prevail in the inquiry on Islam and does not change, these Middle Eastern and Islamic studies would lead themselves first to the fringe and then to irrelevance. As a Muslim I could learn from the deep knowledge of classic Orientalists while separating their racist views from their scholarship. The new US students of Islam (I address them to their dislike – as the new Orientalists), seem to offer nothing for learning due to their obsession with Orientalism (see note 4 above).

- 63 Mohammed Y. Kassab, *L'Islam face au nouvel ordre mondial*, Algiers, 1991. Islamic views on order are in conflict with the Westphalian order. On the latter see Watson, *The Evolution of International Society*, London, 1992, chapter 17 and on after-Westphalia see Gene Lyons and Michael Mastanduno (eds), *Beyond Westphalia?*, Baltimore, 1995. These contributions focus on sovereignty and do not address the revival of religion against the principles of Westphalia. This awareness did not exist before September 11, 2001.
- 64 Sayyid Qutb, *al-Salam al-alami wa al-Islam* (World Peace and Islam), legal reprint Cairo 1992, p. 171, also pp. 172–3. See also Sayyid Qutb, *Ma'alim fi al-tariq* (Signposts), reprint Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 1989, in particular pp. 201–2.
- 65 On Qutb and his thoughts, see the illuminating study by Roxanne L. Euben, *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the limits of Modern Rationalism*, Princeton, NJ, 1999, pp. 49–92.
- 66 Hedley Bull, 'The Revolt against the West', in H. Bull and A. Watson (eds), *The Expansion of International Society*, reprint Oxford, 1988, pp. 217–28, here p. 223.
- 67 For a positive presentation of political Islam see Raymond Baker, *Islam Without Fears, Egypt and the New Islamists*, Cambridge, MA, 2004. In contrast, I argue the 'Islamic State' is a totalitarian order. The argument is included in my book, *Der neue Totalitarismus*, Darmstadt, 2004.
- 68 This is the phrase used by Nikki Keddie in her review in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 32, 1 (2000), pp. 180–3, making exceptions of the books by Hunter (see note 75) and Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism*, Berkeley, 1998, as 'welcomed two very good books'.
- 69 See Mark Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War* (note 42). The alternative to it is presented by Bruce Russett, *Grasping Democratic Peace*, Princeton, NJ, 1993. See also B. Tibi, *Krieg der Zivilisationen*, new revised and enlarged edition (first published Hamburg, 1995) Munich, 1998 (reprint 2001).
- 70 Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late Twentieth Century*, London, 1991, p. 13.
- 71 For more details on this issue see chapter 6 in Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism* (see note 37), pp. 114–37.
- 72 Muhammad Salim al-Awwa, *Fi al-nizam al-siyasi li al-dawla al-Islamiyya* (On the Political System of the Islamic State), 6th printing, Cairo, 1983.
- 73 Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford, 1924. For an Islamic viewpoint see Mustafa Hilmi, *Nizam al-khilafah bain ahl al-Sunna wa al-Shi'a* (The System of the Caliphate between the People of Sunna and Shi'a), Alexandria, 1988.
- 74 Nazih Ayyubi, *Political Islam*, London, 1991 and Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, Cambridge, MA, 1994. See also Gilles Kepel, *Le prophète et*

- pharaon: Les mouvements Islamistes dans l'Égypte contemporaine*, Paris, 1984; more recent Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam* (note 48), for an Islamist contribution see Mohammed Mahfuz, *al-Lathin zulimu. Al-Tanzimat al-Islamiyya fi Misr* (The Oppressed. Islamist Movements in Egypt), London, 1988.
- 75 On the theory of civilisation see the reader edited by John Rundell and Stephen Mennel, *Classical Readings in Culture and Civilization*, London, 1998. For the application of this approach to International Relations with a focus on Islam see B. Tibi, *Krieg der Zivilisationen* (referred to in note 69 above). The following two books discuss related issues: Fawaz A. Gerges, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?*, Cambridge, 1999; Shireen Hunter, *The Future of Islam and the West: Clash of Civilizations or Peaceful Coexistence?*, Westport, 1998.
- 76 B. Tibi, 'War and Peace in Islam', in Terry Nardin (ed.), *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, Princeton, NJ, 1996 and 1998, pp. 128–45.
- 77 On this issue see Leslie Lipson, *The Ethical Crises of Civilization*, London, 1993 and Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, London, 1994, here pp. 63–6, and on the West as a civilisation see David Gress, *From Plato to NATO: The Idea of the West and its Opponents*, New York, 1998.
- 78 On Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddima*, its many editions and translations as well as academic sources, see the comprehensive Ibn Khaldun chapter 6 in B. Tibi, *Der wahre Imam*, Munich, 1996, pp. 179–209.
- 79 For the dual track in a broader context see B. Tibi, 'Between Islam and Islamism: A Dialogue with Islam and a Security Approach vis-à-vis Islamism', in Tami Amanda Jacoby and Brent Sasley (eds), *Redefining Security in the Middle East*, New York, 2002, pp. 62–82.
- 80 Representative of this approach is the book by John Esposito, *Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, New York, 1992 among others. See my criticism of the book by these authors, *Islam and Democracy*, in *Journal of Religion*, vol. 78, 4 (1998), pp. 667–9 and note 84 below.
- 81 Graham Fuller, *The Future of Political Islam*, New York, 2004, and R. Baker, *Islam without Fears* (note 67).
- 82 On Egypt, Barry Rubin, *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics*, New York, 1990; and Saad Eddin Ibrahim, *Egypt, Islam and Democracy*, Cairo, 1996. On Algeria, Robert Malley, *The Call from Algeria: Third Worldism, Revolution and the Turn to Islam*, Berkeley, 1996; and Michael Willis, *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria*, New York, 1997. On Afghanistan, Barnett Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan*, New Haven, 1995.
- 83 This is among the findings of *The Fundamentalism Project* (see note 37 above).
- 84 Bat Ye'or, *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide*, Cranbury, NJ, 2002. This book includes a stringent critique of Esposito, see note 80 above.
- 85 See John Kekes, *The Morality of Pluralism*, Princeton, NJ, 1993.
- 86 UNDP-Arab Human Development Report, New York, 2002.
- 87 Robert Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton, NJ, 2000.
- 88 M. Horsman and A. Marshall, *After the Nation-State: Citizens, Tribalism and the New World Disorder*, London, 1994 (see also note 92).

- 89 On Westphalia see Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society*, London, 1992, chapter 17. These historical facts are overlooked by James Piscatori, *Islam in a World of Nation-States*, Cambridge, 1986. For a different view see B. Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd edition, New York, 1997, chapter 12 to the new edition.
- 90 Charles Tilly (ed.), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton, NJ, 1975, p. 45.
- 91 Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence*, Berkeley, 1987, pp. 255–6.
- 92 B. Tibi, 'The Simultaneity of the Unsimultaneous: Old Tribes and Imposed Nation-States in the Modern Middle East', in Philip Khoury and Joseph Kostiner (eds), *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, Berkeley, 1990, pp. 127–52.
- 93 See the contributions in the volume *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in Western Civilization*, ed. J. Mitchell and H.B. Mitchell, Gulliford, CT, 2000.
- 94 Munir M. Najib, *al-Harakat al-qawmiyya al-haditha fi mizan al-Islam* (Movements of Modern Nationalism on the Scale of Islam), al-Zarqa/Jordan, 1983.
- 95 Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *al-Hall al-Islami wa al-hulul al-mustawradah*, (The Islamic vs the Imported Solution), vol. 1 of 3 vols., Beirut and Cairo, 1970–88. See also note 4 above.
- 96 For examples of this misconception of al-Qaradawi see Charles Kurzman (ed.), *Liberal Islam*, New York, 1998, pp. 196ff., and Joyce M. Davis, *Between Jihad and Salam: Profiles in Islam*, New York, 1997, pp. 219ff. On Kurzman and Orientalism see notes 4 and 62 above.
- 97 Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, 2 vols., London, 1945. For a revival of the approach with a reference to Islamism see B. Tibi, 'The Open Society and Its Enemies Within', in *Wall Street Journal Europe*, March 17, 2004, p. A10.
- 98 Usamah Khalid, *al-Mustaqbal al-Arabi fi al-asr al-Ameriki* (The Arab Future in the American Age), Cairo, 1992. For an explanation of the incorporation of political Islam in the Palestinian case see Beverley Milton Edwards, *Islamic Politics in Palestine*, London, 1996.
- 99 B. Tibi, 'Habermas and the Return of the Sacred', in *Religion–Staat–Gesellschaft*, vol. 3, 2 (2002), pp. 267–96.
- 100 My contribution to Roman Herzog, *Preventing the Clash of Civilizations* (see note 53) is an effort in this direction as are also my contributions presented in Indonesia and published in the following two volumes. Chaider Bamualim (ed.), *Islam and the West: Dialogue of Civilizations in Search of a Peaceful World Order*, Jakarta, 2003, pp. 15–26, Karlina Helmanita (ed.), *Dialogue in the World Disorder*, Jakarta, 2004, pp. 159–202. See also the excellent new book on this subject by Naika Foroutan, *Kulturdialoge zwischen dem Westen und der islamischen Welt*, Wiesbaden, 2004.
- 101 Max Weber, *Soziologie, Weltgeschichtliche Analysen, Politik*, selected writings, Stuttgart, 1964, p. 117 (Essay: Vom Inneren Beruf zur Wissenschaft).
- 102 Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols., Chicago, 1974.
- 103 Raymond Baker, *Islam Without Fears*, (refer to note 67).

- 104 See the contributions in Part I 'Remaking Polities' in Martin Marty and Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms and the State*, Chicago, 1993, vol. 3 of *The Fundamentalism Project* (see note 37), pp. 13–288.
- 105 Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, London, 1994. On Islamic Rationalism see Herbert Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna and Averroes on Intellect* (note 9).
- 106 On this tradition from Farabi to Ibn Khaldun see my book, *Der wahre Imam* (referenced in note 78).
- 107 Fred Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*, London, 1995, p. 69.
- 108 Husain Fawzi al-Najjar, *al-Islam wa al-siyasa. Bahth fi usul al-nazariyya al-siyasiyya wa nizam al-hukm fi al-Islam* (Islam and Politics: An Enquiry into the Origins of Political Theory and the Political System of Islam), Cairo, 1977, pp. 64.
- 109 See also Hamid Enayat, *Islamic Political Thought*, Austin, 1982, Abdullahi An-Na'im, *Toward an Islamic Reformation*, Syracuse, 1990.
- 110 Bull, 'The Revolt against the West' (see note 66), pp. 217ff.
- 111 On this subject of ethics see Mervyn Frost, *Ethics in International Relations*, Cambridge, 1997.
- 112 Mohammed al-Jabiri (note 12), p. 124 and p. 128.
- 113 Kelsay, *Islam and War* (note 27), and B. Tibi, *War and Peace in Islam* (note 76).
- 114 Fred Dallmayr, *Dialogue Among Civilizations*, New York, 2002, see also note 100.
- 115 Kelsay, *Islam and War*, p. 118.
- 116 It is stated in the special issue of *TIME* magazine on *Islam in Europe* 'B. Tibi coined Euro-Islam', one reads further: 'Bassam Tibi, who coined the term Euro-Islam insists that the integration of Europe's Muslims depends on the adoption of a form of Islam that embraces Western values such as pluralism, tolerance, the separation of church and the state, democratic civil society and individual rights. Says Tibi: "There is no middle way between Euro-Islam and ghettoization of Muslim minorities"', p. 49. This is the difference between me and the approach of the post-secular society by my former teacher Habermas (see note 25).
- 117 M. Horkheimer, *Kritische Theorie*, 2 vols, Frankfurt, 1968, vol. I, preface.
- 118 See the volume, Nezar AlSayyad and Manuel Castels (eds), *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam*, Berkeley and New York, 2002, herein my contribution: 'Muslim Migrants in Europe between Euro-Islam and Ghettoization', pp. 31–52. The title of the book addresses the real issue and this is not an expression of Orientalism.
- 119 B. Tibi, *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*, Boulder, CO, 1990.

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