

Workshop on Pluralism, Coexistence and Conflict: Majority and Minority Communities in Muslim Societies

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9:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m., October 28

Session One: Between the Nation and the Trans-National

Thompson Room, Barker Center, 12 Quincy Street

There has long been tension between Islam's universal (trans-national) aspects and its ethno-geographic aspects as expressed in nationalism, particularly during and after the colonial experience. Throughout the modern period, each aspect has continuously shaped the other, and the uneasy, post-colonial relationship between individual (minority) rights and state sovereignty has been one expression of this tension.

Moderator: Erez Manela, Professor of History, Harvard University

1. Michael Laffan, Professor of History, Princeton University

Making a Majority Minority: On Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam

Abstract: Sectarianism as Counter-Revolution: Saudi Responses to the Arab Spring, Much as nationalism is the symbiotic partner of internationalism, Islam's regional manifestations have been phrased in relation to both a global ideal and local worlds of difference. With its regimes of observation and control, the colonial experience was crucial in highlighting such differences across maritime Asia. Yet beyond questions of policing and surveillance, one must contend with visions of the proper religious subject. Indeed Indonesia is a remarkable test case, I shall argue, for the ways in which a colonial state could draw on, and then give succour to the self-consciously minoritarian project of Islamic reform. As I shall show, this can help us understand how one influential Dutch scholar could one day describe Indonesian Muslims as being a numerical majority beset with a minority attitude, and perhaps even to rethink why such statements about Indonesia are so often broadcast today.

Bio: Hailing from Canberra, Australia, Michael Laffan has been at Princeton University since 2005, where he teaches on Southeast Asia in the Department of History. He is the author, most recently, of *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (2011).

2. Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Professor Emerita of Anthropology, Adjunct Professor of African Studies, Naval War College

Colonial Constructs of Race and Tribe in Sudan: British Dominion and Native Authority

Abstract: Sudan provided a laboratory for a model colonial anthropology that facilitated a necessary divide and rule strategy for the immense territory it controlled. This included the entire length of the Nile river proper from Uganda to Cairo with its greatest stretch in the territory it called the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Hierarchies of race and tribe were constructed denovo north to south, deploying anthropological ‘science.’ Colonial policies implemented ‘Native Authority’ in the south and the peripheral areas, while the north was favored with a closer relationship to British authority. Further, colonial rule separated the north and south in a series of “Closed Districts” ordinances from 1920 until the eve of independence in 1956. Post-colonial ruling elites and the disenfranchised descended directly from these colonial hierarchies, and the root causes of the 2011 separation of the Sudan into two Sudans are traceable to British policies. That said, 55 years of independence—nearly the same amount of time as the colonial era—did little to alter the colonial paradigm. A long, critical view of the colonial and post-independence Sudan(s) is considered in light of concepts of identity mediated through ‘race,’ ‘tribe,’ ethnicity, and religion.

Bio: Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, PhD, is a Professor Emerita of Anthropology and African Studies at Rhode Island College. She received her Bachelor's and Master's degrees from Temple University and her PhD in Anthropology and African Studies from Northwestern University in 1973. At Rhode Island College she has received both the Award for Distinguished Teaching in 1990 and the Award for Distinguished Scholar in 1998.

She has spent six years since 1970 living and conducting research in three different African countries, including the Sudan, Egypt and Tunisia, and has traveled extensively throughout the world including two trips around the world teaching anthropology with the University of Pittsburgh Semester at Sea program. Her research subjects have covered such topics as Islamic law and Islamic society, women's social and legal status in Muslim societies, ethics and anthropological research, human rights and cultural relativism, and comparative studies in law and society. She is a founder and twice past president of the Sudan Studies Association. Her most recent research was conducted in Sudan from 2007-2009 and was funded by the US Institute of Peace.

She is the author or editor of eleven books, including the following works on Sudan: *Shari`a and Islamism in Sudan: Conflict, Law and Social Transformation*, 2011, I.B. Tauris; *Islamic Law and Society in the Sudan* (1987; Arabic translation 2004) and co-author of *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan* (1991; 2003), and *Race and Identity in the Nile Valley* (2004).

She has authored three textbooks: *Race, and Racism: an Introduction* (2006; *Female Well-Being*(2005; and *Islamic Societies in Practice* (1994; 2004). She brought the writings of Egyptian liberal-humanist intellectual, Muhammad Sa`id al-Ashmawy, from Arabic to English in *Against Islamic Extremism* (1998; 2001).

3. Seema Alavi, Professor of Social Sciences, University of Delhi

Little Men Between Big Empires: Carving a Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the 19th Century,

Abstract: The paper highlights the role of Maulana Imdadullah Makki (1817–1899), an 1857 fugitive who re-located himself in Mecca, in carving out a Muslim cosmopolitanism that was historicist, inclusive and factual rather than normative and exclusive. It brings his biography, journeys and intellectual forays together to show how he used the temporal moment of the mid 19th century ‘age of revolts’, and the spatial connectivity offered by British and Ottoman imperialisms and re-configured them to his own particular interests. Locating Imdadullah in the connected histories of the British and Ottoman Empires it views his in-house cosmopolitanism as a form of public conduct that was shaped by Islamic learning that cultivated urbane civility as Muslim universalist virtuous conduct. This was a form of cosmopolitanism enabled by imperial networks and heavily influenced by the socially diverse port cities of the Indian Ocean, which Imdadullah accessed via them. The paper argues that this cosmopolitanism was a form of trans-nationalism that strived to unite the Muslim community (umma) globally via consensus. In this respect it was a response to the ‘official nationalism’ of Empires that were hardening borders and identities in the high period of imperialism.

Bio: Seema Alavi is a professor of history at Delhi University, New Delhi, India. She specializes in early modern and modern South Asia, with an interest in the transformation of the region’s legacy from Indo-Persian to one heavily affected by British colonial rule. She has written books on the military and medical cultures of the region from the early modern to modern times. Her most recent book is *Islam and Healing: Loss and Recovery of an Indo-Muslim Medical Tradition, 1600–1900* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Alavi earned her PhD from the University of Cambridge in England. She has twice been a Fulbright Scholar and a Smuts Visiting Fellow at Cambridge and was a visiting scholar at the Harvard-Yenching Institute. She has also been at the Radcliffe institute at Harvard as the William Bentinck-Smith Fellow in 2010. She wrote *Sepoys and the Company: Tradition and Transition*

in Northern India, 1770–1830 (Oxford University Press, 1995) and co-authored with Muzzafar Alam, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The I‘jaz-i Arsalani (Persian Letters 1773–1779)* of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier (Oxford University Press, 2001). She edited *The Eighteenth Century in India* (Oxford University Press, 2002) and serves on the editorial board of several journals, including *Modern Asian Studies*, and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

4. Cemil Aydin, Professor of Islamic Studies, George Mason University

Transnational Muslim Identity and the Origins of Global Norms

Abstract: A careful genealogy of the global norms of minority rights, sovereignty and nationalism, which are often seen as Eurocentric ideals that were later diffused to Muslim societies, indicates that their origins owes much to debates on transnational Muslim politics and intellectual history. From the debates on the “Eastern question” to the struggles of the Muslims under colonial rule, a set issues related to Muslims were crucial in the origins, development and universalization of various contemporary global values. As seen in examples of Gladstone’s championing of the rights of Christian minorities under the rule of the Ottoman Empire or in Indian Muslims’ nationalist demand for connection with both the Ottoman caliph and the British Queen, there has always been close ties among modern Muslim nationalism, grand strategy of the Ottoman Empire, and the history of global norms. This paper will discuss the links between transnational Muslim identity, with a case study on the politics of the idea of the Muslim World, and evolution of values of nationalism, sovereignty and minority rights from the period of 1870s to the 1930s.

Bio: Dr. Cemil Aydin, Dr. Aydin studied at Boğaziçi University, İstanbul University, and the University of Tokyo before receiving his PhD from Harvard University in 2002 in the fields of history and Middle Eastern studies. He was an Academy Scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, and a post-doctoral fellow at Princeton University’s Department of Near Eastern Studies. Dr. Aydin is currently a faculty member at George Mason University, where he holds the IIIT Endowed Chair of Islamic Studies and serves as the director of Ali Vurak Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies. Cemil Aydin’s publications include a book on *Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (Columbia University Press, Global and International History Series; 2007) and a co-edited special volume on the *Critiques of the ‘West’ in Iran, Turkey and Japan in Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* (Vol. 26:3-Fall 2006). He is currently preparing a book on the “Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History” for Harvard University Press.

1:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

Session Two: Pluralist and Sectarian Movements

Thompson Room, Barker Center, 12 Quincy Street

This session focuses on the accommodation and tension between theological institutions and socio-political movements – whether pluralist or sectarian in orientation. The past century has witnessed the emergence of powerful Islamist political movements that view Islam as a means of political organization, with profound implications for plural societies.

Moderator: William Graham, John Lord O'Brian Professor and Dean of Harvard Divinity School

1. Madawi al-Rasheed, Professor of Anthropology, King's College, London

Sectarianism as Counter-Revolution: Saudi Responses to the Arab Spring

Abstract: In response to the Arab Spring, sectarianism became a Saudi pre-emptive counter-revolutionary strategy that exaggerates religious difference and hatred and prevents the development of national non-sectarian politics. Through religious discourse and practices, sectarianism in the Saudi context involves not only politicising religious differences, but also creating a rift between the majority Sunnis and the Shia minority. At the political level, the rift means that Sunnis and Shia are unable to create joint platforms for political mobilisation. Sectarian conflict between Sunnis and Shia can never be understood without taking into account the role played by an agency much more powerful than the sects themselves, namely the authoritarian regime. In addition to massive oil rents, the Saudi regime has at its disposal a potent religious ideology, commonly known as Wahhabism, that is renowned for its historical rejection of the Shia as a legitimate Islamic community. This article examines the increasing polarisation of Saudi society along the sectarian divide, which mitigates against national mobilisation in pursuit of wider political reforms.

Bio: Madawi Al-Rasheed is Professor of Social Anthropology at King's College, London. Her research focuses on history, society, religion and politics in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, Middle Eastern Christian minorities, Arab migration, Islamist movements, transnational Gulf connections and state and gender relations in Saudi Arabia.

Recent publications include *Politics in an Arabian Oasis* (I.B. Tauris 1991), *A History of Saudi Arabia* (second edition CUP 2010), *Counter Narratives: History, Contemporary Society and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen* (Palgrave 2004), *Transnational Connections and the Arab Gulf* (Routledge 2005), *Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation* (CUP 2007), *Kingdom without Borders: Saudi Political, Religious and Media Frontiers* (Hurst 2008) and *Dying for Faith: Religiously Motivated Violence in the Contemporary World* (I.B. Tauris 2009).

2. Joshua Stacher, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Kent State University

Continuity or Change in Sectarian Relations in Post-Mubarak Egypt?

Abstract: As an effect of unprecedented popular mobilization, the Egyptian military was forced to depose their colleague and patron, Hosni Mubarak, last February. The media relied on a frame where debate about the Muslim Brothers and their role filled the news vacuum: Would the Brothers seek power? What did this mean for Egypt's large Coptic Christian minority? Protesters resisted the frame. They insisted that the protest were bigger than a political ideology. The protesters argued that they for speaking on behalf of Egypt. Their actions supported their case. The epicenter of the protests, Tahrir Square, came to symbolize their ambition. Indeed, the images of Muslims forming chains to protect Christians as they observed mass while Christians did the same for praying Muslims underscored the national unity. The identity of the nation would appear to supersede that of religion.

Since the protests ended, however, much has changed as the Coptic Christian community has experienced violence at the hands of Muslim Egyptians. Yet, the problem is not new. Sectarian tension had been on the rise in the late Mubarak period. It is, therefore, not surprising that it resurfaced after the movement of collective unity. The purpose of this paper is to ask why? Assuming that primordial ties to one's religious community are not driving the periodic clashes, what accounts for this uptick in communal strife? Who is behind it? Will sectarianism derail the larger Egyptian drive for a democratic transition? This paper will explore these issues as well as try to make sense of sectarian violence in Egypt.

Bio: Joshua Stacher is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Kent State University. Prior to joining KSU, Stacher was a post- doctoral fellow at Syracuse University. Stacher's scholarship focuses on authoritarian durability and maintenance. In addition, Stacher also researches social movements and the Egyptian Society of Muslim Brothers in particular. He is the author of the forthcoming *Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria* (Stanford UP, 2012). He is also a frequent contributor to *Middle East Report*. Stacher earned his BA from Washington & Jefferson College, MA in Political Science from the American University in Cairo, and a PhD in International Relations at the University of St. Andrews.

3. Mumtaz Ahmad, President, Islamic International University, Islamabad

The Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan and Pluralism,

Abstract: The paper will discuss the doctrinal orientations and the political imperatives that have defined the actual policies of the Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan toward the idea and the practice of pluralism, negotiating their commitment to Islamic universal-ism on the one hand with a political

reality of ethnic, linguistic, sectarian and religious divisions in Pakistani society, on the other. The tensions between their perception of an ideal Islamic society as a homogeneous entity, i.e., "we are all Muslims and Islam does not acknowledge differences on the basis of race, color, ethnicity, nationality, sect and caste" on the one hand, and their very participation in a political process that often strengthens these parochial loyalties, especially in electoral process, seem not to have been resolved in a coherent manner in the ideology of the Jamaat. The only pluralism that has been wholeheartedly accepted by the Jamaat so far is the pluralism of wives. The idea of pluralism in political arena still remains ambiguous.

Bio: Dr. Mumtaz Ahmad is currently President of International Islamic University (IIU) Islamabad, Pakistan, the second largest public sector university in the country. Before he joined the IIU in 2010, he was Professor of Political Science at Hampton University, Hampton, VA. where he served for 20 years. He obtained M.A. in Political Science from University of Karachi, another M.A. in Development Administration from American University in Beirut, and Ph.D. in Political Science from University of Chicago. Before joining Hampton University in 1990 Dr. Ahmad taught at the National Institute of Public Administration, Karachi, Columbia College, Chicago and Chicago State University. He was a Research Fellow at the Brookings Institution, Washington DC and Senior Research Fellow at MRM, Inc. in Hyattsville, MD. Dr. Ahmad is co-editor of the journal *Studies in Contemporary Islam*, President of South Asian Muslim Studies Association, and member of editorial advisory boards of several professional journals. Dr. Ahmad was a member of the "Islam and Social Change" project of the University of Chicago, a member of "Fundamentalism Project" of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a Senior Consultant on "Muslims in American Public Square" project of Georgetown University. He was a Senior Fulbright Fellow in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh; the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Fellow in Sudan, Malaysia and Pakistan; and Senior Fellow of American Institute of Pakistan Studies and American Institute of Bangladesh Studies. He has published extensively on Islamic political movements and radical groups, madrasa education in South Asia, and the politics of Islamic resurgence in the Middle East and South Asia. Dr. Ahmad is the author of nine books and numerous journal articles, book chapters, and encyclopedia entries on Islam and politics. Dr. Ahmad is a regular commentator on the BBC World Service on Middle Eastern and South Asian political developments.

4. Joseph Chinyong Liow, Associate Dean and Professor of Comparative and International Politics, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Deepening the Divide: Discourses, Dynamics, and Dichotomies of Muslim Primacy and Christian Mobilization in "Ketuanan Melayu" Malaysia

Abstract: Malaysia is frequently celebrated in the international media as an example where ethnic and religious harmony and tolerance anchors a multiracial society. To be sure, Malaysian

pluralism has much to commend it. Nevertheless, the country has in recent times also witnessed a disconcerting turn towards religious discrimination, particularly of its Christian minority. This has included attempts to deny non-Muslim rights to use the term 'Allah', arson attacks on Christian churches, curbs on conversions of Muslims, and confiscation of bibles. This paper seeks to analyze these events, and the discourses and dynamics of politico-religious polarization behind them.

Bio: Joseph Chinyong Liow is Associate Dean and Professor of Comparative and International Politics at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research interests lie in the comparative study of Muslim social and political movements in Southeast Asia as well as ethnonationalist insurgencies in the region, and in the broader international politics of East Asia. He is the author of *Piety and Politics: Islamism in Contemporary Malaysia* (Oxford, 2009), *Islam, Education, and Reform in Southern Thailand* (ISEAS, 2009) and editor of *Islam in Southeast Asia*, 4 Volumes (Routledge, 2010).

5. M. Syafi'i Anwar, Senior Indonesia Research Fellow, Harvard Kennedy School

Faith, Politics, and the Predicament of Pluralism: Re-Examining the Contest Between Militant-Islamist and Liberal-Pluralist Groups in Indonesia

Abstract: The term "pluralism" has become a crucial issue in Indonesia since the last several years as the MUI (The Indonesian Ulama Council) released a fatwa (edict), declaring that pluralism is haram and against Islam. This fatwa is not only controversial, but also being capitalized by militant Islamist groups to justify their intolerance attitudes addressed to religious others. Meanwhile, the liberal-pluralist Islamic groups have organized religio-political activities in countering the offensive of militant-Islamists. Indeed, the liberal-pluralist groups are relatively successful in gaining support both from Muslim intellectuals and secular nationalist groups. However, they failed to gain support from the grassroots and moderate Muslim groups as well as the State. In fact, the State seems to develop "laissez faire" politics, which creates a complicated problem for Indonesia as a plural and multicultural society.

Bios: M. Syafi'i Anwar is former Executive Director of ICIP (International Center for Islam and Pluralism, 2003-2011) and currently he is Senior Indonesia Research Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School, Indonesia Program. He obtained his Ph.D. in history and political sociology at the Department of Indonesian-Islamic Studies, The University of Melbourne, Australia in 2004. Prior to his current position, Anwar was Editor-in-Chief of two leading Islamic magazines in Indonesia (*Panji Masyarakat*, 1986-1988) and *Ummat* (1995-1999). Anwar has written articles on Islam and contemporary politics, democracy and pluralism, interfaith dialogue, and others in several journals, magazines, and book chapters. In December 2006-September 2007, he was

selected by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights as one of five independent experts representing group of Asian states. He was also Ford Foundation Visiting Fellow at The Brookings Institution (July-September 2007), writing a monograph on “The Interplay between U.S. Foreign Policy and Political Islam in Indonesia” (published in 2008). His current research topic is “Reconstructing Citizenship: Observing the Dilemma and Restriction of Religious Minority Rights in Modern Indonesia”. It will focus on critical observation towards the existing condition of pluralism and religious freedom in Indonesia.

4:30 p.m. – 6:30 p.m., October 28

Session Three: Political and Legal Institutions and Minority Communities

Thompson Room, Barker Center, 12 Quincy Street

This session explores the role of the state, examines decentralized versus centralized states, states with weak political institutions and states where the praetorian guard (the military) continues to play a significant role. Legal and political institutions may mediate or significantly shape the state's relationship to minority communities.

Moderator: Malika Zeghal, Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Professor in Contemporary Islamic Thought and Life, Harvard University

1. Vivian Ibrahim, Croft Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern Studies and International Relations, University of Mississippi

The Coptic Minority in Egypt

Abstract: This presentation will examine the social, political and legal challenges that are faced by the Copts in contemporary Egypt. The Copts, an orthodox Christian community, comprise approximately ten percent of the population although official and unofficial statistics vary considerably. This paper will trace the recent history of the community throughout the reign of Mubarak (1981-2011) through to the 25th January 'revolution' of this year which brought to power a military junta in the shape of the ruling Supreme Council for Armed Forces (SCAF).

Whilst the vast majority of studies have accounted for wide discrimination against the Copts as a question of majority/minority dynamics, placing it within a wider framework of the rise of Islamist groups and ideologies, this paper will suggest that it is also necessary to look towards the Coptic Church itself as a bulwark against further socio-political inclusion in legal, bureaucratic and government institutions. The presentation will examine the hierarchy of the church, its reluctance for internal reform, particularly in cases of personal status such as divorce, which has led to a tense dynamic with the positioning of the community within the state itself. The aim of the paper is to provide a more nuanced narrative of state-minority relations in contemporary Egypt.

Bio: Vivian Ibrahim is Croft Assistant Professor of History and International Relations at the University of Mississippi. She completed her PhD in the History of the Modern Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London where she was also a Senior Teaching Fellow and is currently a Research Associate for the London Middle East Institute (LMEI). She holds degrees from the London School of Economics (LSE) and King's College London (KCL). Ibrahim has regularly appeared and commentated on Bloomberg TV, the

BBC and Al-Jazeera on issues related to the Middle East. She has also published extensively including in *The Arab Reform Bulletin* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) and for *Fair Observer*. She is the author of *The Copts of Egypt: Challenges of Modernisation and Identity*, London: IB Tauris, 2010 and the forthcoming book *Political Leaderships, Nations and Charisma*, Routledge, 2012.

2. Sadia Saeed, ACLS New Faculty Fellow, Department of Sociology, Yale University

The Nation and Its Heretics: Courts, State Authority and Rights of Ahmadiyya Community in Pakistan

Abstract: This paper analyzes shifts in the institutional, political and discursive contexts within which Pakistani courts have rearticulated the rights of the heterodox minority community, the Ahmadiyya. In 1984, Pakistan's military ruler General Zia-ul-Haq passed an Ordinance making it a criminal offence for Ahmadis to refer to themselves as Muslims and practice Islam in public. Ahmadis challenged this Ordinance in both the Supreme Court and the Federal Shariat Court on the grounds that it violated their constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of religion and the shari'a, respectively. In a clear departure from legal precedents on the rights of Ahmadis, the Ordinance was upheld in both cases. Drawing on personal interviews and court judgments, I examine the triangular relationship between courts, state authority and legal discourses on national imaginaries and social order, demonstrating both continuities and disjunctures in sociopolitical relations and legal reasoning through which this shift was constituted.

Bio: Sadia Saeed received her PhD in sociology from University of Michigan in 2010. She is an ACLS New Faculty Fellow at the department of sociology at Yale University. Before joining Yale, Saeed held a postdoctoral fellowship at the Maurer School of Law at Indiana University, Bloomington.

Sadia's research interests include historical sociology, political sociology, law and society and religion. Her work focuses on intersections between state formation, nationalism, law and religion in Pakistan. She is currently working on her book manuscript, provisionally titled "Criminalizing Heterodoxy: Politics, Identity and Law in Pakistan" which examines the relationship between state formation, Islamist social movements and nationalist discourses in Pakistan through a focus on the shifting legal representations of the heterodox religious minority, the Ahmadiyya community. In particular, she considers the meanings that Islamic statehood, religious rights, and nationalism have acquired through interactions among state building imperatives and religious movements. She is also beginning work on a project that undertakes a comparative examination of minority rights in Muslim societies in South-east Asia and the Middle East.

3. Bahtiar Effendy, Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Science, State Islamic University, Jakarta

Managing Religious Relations in Indonesia: Implications for Muslim-Christian Coexistence,

Abstract: Religion has long been regarded as an important aspect in Indonesia's public life. Being one of the most religiously heterogeneous countries, the state is in the position to manage religious relations accordingly. This does not imply that the state has the right to interfere in the public practices of the respective faiths, but only to make sure that religions coexist harmoniously.

While the state's stance is well intended, however, in some instances tensions and conflicts seem inevitable. The Christian minority frequently feels discriminated against, and the Muslim majority often thinks that the state is not good enough in upholding laws on religious practices. This has prompted religious adherents to take matters to their own hands that often bring about tensions and conflicts. In the event when the state is weak, as demonstrated during the early years of transition to democracy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, tensions erupted to violence.

Thus, there is a compelling need for the state to reevaluate the substance, level, and intensity of its policy in managing religious relations in Indonesia.

Bio: Bahtiar Effendy holds a Ph.D degree in Political Science from the Ohio State University, Columbus, OH. Currently he is the Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, State Islamic University (UIN), Jakarta. His publications include *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003); *Islam and Politics in Contemporary Indonesia* (Jakarta: UshulPress, 2006); *Putting All the Cards on the Table: Trust as a Factor in the War Against Terror* (Kuala Lumpur: ISIS, 2008).

4. Mark Farha, Visiting Assistant Professor for Government, School of Foreign Service in Doha, Qatar

The Fallout of the Arab Revolts on Inter-Communal Relations in Syria and Lebanon

Abstract: The Arab Uprisings of 2011, hailed for their discourse of civil rights and drive for a restoration of political accountability and civic dignity, have also been feared for their potential to aggravate latent sectarian social divisions. The latter potentially negative fallout has particular pertinence for highly segmented and diverse states such as Syria and Lebanon. While Lebanon has thus far remained unusually placid amidst the brewing regional storm, the repercussions of political instability in Syria have been a cause of concern. The recent support for the Syrian regime expressed by Maronite Patriarch Rai have revived talk of “alliances of minorities”. In fact, each of the Lebanese confessions may see itself as an endangered minority, depending on the reference point. A similar defensive mentality of fear has set in amongst

Syrian communities, threatening to eclipse the discourse of civil rights. The key difference between the two states has been the nature of their respective political systems. Lebanon's consociational democracy – in all its historical iterations since the 19th century – has always been susceptible to regional turmoil, yet against all odds has survived with only minor modifications since 1926. In contrast to Lebanon's constantly shifting alliance governments, Syria's political stability has been guaranteed by rigid regimes which on rare – if bloody - occasion fell prey to military coup d'états. Drawing on the examples of past historical compromises, I will examine the potential for inter-communal mediation and reconciliation as each country grapples with the shifting political tectonic.

Bio: Mark Farha is Visiting Assistant Professor for Government at the School of Foreign Service in Doha, Qatar. In 2007, he obtained his PhD in History and Middle Eastern Studies from Harvard University. Since 2008, he has been teaching core courses on Middle East History and Comparative Political Systems, as well as upper-class electives on Lebanon's History, Society and Politics, Globalization and Geopolitics in the Middle East, Problems of Identities in the Middle East, Secularism in the Middle East as well as Consumerism and Citizenship in the Middle East at the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University in Doha, Qatar. He serves as an editor of the bilingual journal Religions/Adyan (<http://www.dicid.org/english/journals.php>) and as Secretary of Research Committee 37 (Rethinking Political Development) of the International Political Science Association (IPSA).

His publications include: "Demographic Dilemmas" in Lebanon: Liberation, Conflict and Crisis, ed. Barry Rubin, (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, March 2009). "From Beirut Spring to Regional Winter?" in Breaking the Cycle: Civil Wars in Lebanon (London: Stacey International, 2007), "Shared Typologies of Marital Love and Compassion in Islam and Christianity" in Religions/Adiyan, (Doha, DCID, 2010) and "Historical Legacy and Political Implications of State and Sectarian Schools in Lebanon" in Rethinking Education for Social Cohesion: International Case Studies, ed. by Maha Shuayb, (London: Palgrave, 2011).

His forthcoming book is entitled "Secularism under Siege in Lebanon's Second Republic: Global and Regional Dimensions of a Malaise." His most recent public lecture at the University of Copenhagen entitled: "The Arab Revolts: Global Roots and Local Repercussions." http://islamicpublicsphere.hum.ku.dk/calendar/global_roots/.

5. Sener Aktürk, Assistant Professor, Dept. of International Relations College of Administrative Sciences and Economics Koç University, Istanbul

Democracy and Muslim Minorities: Muslim Representation in Western and Post-Communist Legislatures

Abstract: To what extent are Muslim minorities represented in Western and Post-Communist legislatures? This article looks at Muslim minority representation in Western and Post-Communist legislatures comparatively, using descriptive statistics. Muslim members of legislatures in 20 non-Muslim Post-Communist and 25 non-Muslim Western states are counted and compared to the Muslims' share of the population. The first objective is to determine the level of Muslim representation in these legislatures relative to their share of the population, which is expressed in terms of a Muslim Representation (MR) score, where 1 indicates parity, and 0 represents no Muslim representation. On average, Post-Communist countries exhibit MR scores that are about three times higher than Western countries. The article also shows that Muslims remain severely underrepresented in almost all Western legislatures, while they are almost proportionately represented in most Post-Communist ones. What explains this variation? I argue that legacies of Communist-era "affirmative action" and other forms of multiethnic, multi-confessional power sharing, combined with electoral systems based on proportional representation, provide the best conditions for the representation of Muslim minorities. Most post-Communist countries, as well as the Netherlands and Belgium, fulfill these two conditions.

Bio: Sener Aktürk is an Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations at Koc University, Istanbul. He received his B.A. in Political Science and International Studies from the University of Chicago, and his M.A. from the Committee on International Relations, also at the University of Chicago. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley, with a dissertation on the regimes of ethnicity in Germany, Soviet Union, post-Soviet Russia, and Turkey. In 2009-2010 academic year, he was a post-doctoral fellow in the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, and visiting lecturer in the Department of Government, both at Harvard University. His book, "Redefining Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey: Regimes of Ethnicity," is under contract with Cambridge University Press (forthcoming in 2012). He has published articles, including in *World Politics*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *European Journal of Sociology*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Theoria*, *Ab Imperio*, *Insight Turkey*, *Doğu Batı*, *Turkish Studies*, *JAGNES*, *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, *ISEEES Newsletter*, *Journal of Academic Studies*, and *Hemispheres*, book reviews in *Comparative Political Studies*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Cold War Studies*, *Nationalities Papers*, and *Insight Turkey*, several encyclopedia articles, book chapters for five edited books in English and Turkish, and op-eds in Turkish and English for *Radikal*, *Taraf*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Zaman*, *Today's Zaman*, and *Hurriyet Daily News*. He was the recipient of several prizes and awards including, 2011 Baki Komsuoglu Social Sciences Encouragement Award, 2010 Sakip Sabanci International Research Award, 2009 Teaching Effectiveness Award, and 2006 Peter Odegard Memorial Award.

9:00 a.m. – 11:30 a.m., October 29

Session Four: Secular States and Minority Communities

Thompson Room, Barker Center, 12 Quincy Street

Secular states face similar challenges of accommodating religious and ethnic diversity. This session will explore the spectrum of responses ranging from accommodation to toleration to repression.

Moderator: Shahab Ahmed, Associate Professor of Islamic Studies, Harvard University

1. Ger Duijzings, Reader in the Anthropology of Eastern Europe, University College of London

Shifting Boundaries and Changing Regimes: The Oscillating Status of Balkan Muslims

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to provide an analysis and historical overview of the position of Muslims in South-Eastern Europe since the end of the nineteenth century. It will describe the successive stages in their complex history, from being a politically dominant minority in the Ottoman state, to becoming fragmented into marginalised (ethnic and religious) minorities in the successive post-Ottoman national and post-World War Two socialist states of the region, to being made subject to attempts at expulsion and genocide during the wars in the former Yugoslavia, ending up most recently –quite uniquely in a European context— as a plurality or majority in a number of (old and new) countries such as Albania, Kosovo, and Bosnia. The paper will explore the changed realities and conditions of cultural and religious diversity in the countries of the region and address issues of citizenship and everyday cosmopolitanism, particularly in urban contexts.

Bio: Ger Duijzings is Reader in Anthropology of Eastern Europe at University College London (UCL), the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES). He is Director of the Centre for South-East European Studies at SSEES-UCL and Co-Director of the UCL Urban Laboratory. He published widely on the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, in particular Kosovo and Bosnia, and is currently carrying out research in Bucharest (Romania) relating to post-socialist urban transformations and the nouveaux riches.

2. Güneş Murat Tezcür, Associate Professor of Political Science, Loyola University

Language, Religion, & Violence in the Formation of Kurdish Identity in Turkey

Abstract: This paper discusses the defining characteristics and political implications of Kurdish identity in contemporary Turkey. It addresses three interrelated themes. First, what have been the

prototypical constructions of Kurdish identity in Turkey? I examine the role of religion, state policies, and political violence in shaping the boundaries of Kurdish identity and affecting the salience of Kurdish consciousness. Second, how does Kurdish identity inform political attitudes and action? Following cognitive approaches to ethnicity, I analyze the relationship between Kurdish identity and ways of making sense of the political world. The ability of the Kurdish nationalist movement in representing demands for greater recognition and status among the Kurds has been a primary reason for its continuing popularity. The conclusion builds on bottom-up perspectives of democracy that emphasize the role of conflict in bringing progressive changes. I explore how Kurdish political mobilization affects political struggles for greater rights in Turkey.

Bio: Güneş Murat Tezcür is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Loyola University Chicago. He has received his B.A. from Bogazici University in Istanbul in 2000 and Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor in 2005. His research on democratization, political violence, Muslim political attitudes, judicial activism, and electoral politics have appeared in a dozen of scholarly journals in the last five years. He is also the author of *Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey: The Paradox of Moderation* (University of Texas Press, 2010). His current project examines the conditions under which ordinary people take extraordinary risks and join insurgent movements.

3. Shabnum Tejani, Senior Lecturer in the History of Modern South Asia, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Indian Secularism: An Historical Context for a Contemporary Debate,

Abstract: Secularism was an inextricable part of the Indian nationalist self-conception at independence and has remained central to subsequent debates about citizenship and belonging in the postcolonial state. It signified all that was enlightened and integrative about a modern society. The Indian constitution enshrined freedom of religion as one of the core principles of the new state. Crucially, the practice of religion was to be personal and private. Secularism was defined through and against 'communalism': a politics of a religious identity that many saw as the assertion of sectarian, atavistic world views in the public sphere. It was a politics of communalism that nationalists such as Jawaharlal Nehru held responsible for partition and the creation of Pakistan.

The rise of Hindu nationalism from the late 1980s prompted widespread alarm and rekindled a debate on secularism in India. The debate turned on the binary oppositions of secularism and communalism, modernity and tradition. Liberal scholars and social commentators asked how such religious hatred could take root in a secular society. Many believed the project of secularism and modernization had failed. Deeply troubling has been the targeting of religious minorities, Muslims and Christians, through the argument that they do not properly belong. The

debate on secularism in contemporary India has had little to do with religion in a theological sense or with the separation of religion and politics. Rather, at its core lies the question of how a minority community can legitimately assert its presence within India's liberal democracy and how, in turn, the Indian state recognizes and accommodates social difference within a broader national identity. Central to these debates, from the 1930s on, has been the place of untouchables.

This talk will examine the historical relationship between the measures for protection of religious and caste minorities that were introduced during the late colonial period and the emergence of the category of secularism in India at independence. It will draw out the implications of this for secularism in India in the contemporary moment.

Bio: Dr Shabnum Tejani teaches modern south Asian History at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Her book, *Indian Secularism: A Social and Intellectual History, 1890-1950* was published in 2008. She is beginning a new project on the social history of money in twentieth century India.

4. Gardner Bovingdon, Associate Professor of Central Asian Studies, Indiana University

Making Islam Safe for Socialism in China

Abstract: In this paper I discuss the Chinese government's efforts to regulate Uyghurs' Islamic beliefs and practices in order to make them "conform to socialist society." Beijing employs a combination of laws, policies, and evolving "methods of implementation" to do this work. In some respects, Beijing's actions resemble those of the governments in France, Turkey, and Egypt intended to minimize the influence of Islam on politics, and it is illuminating to compare those actions and their official rationales. Yet on closer inspection the measures taken by Beijing are much more incursive, challenging not only public religiosity but private belief and piety. What is more, within China as a whole, observant Uyghurs are regulated more rigorously than the believing members of other religious faiths – and even other Muslims. The explanation for the degree of restrictions placed on Uyghur Muslims should thus be sought not just in the avowed atheism of the Chinese Communist Party, but in the Party's particular concerns about politics in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

Bio: Gardner Bovingdon is Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of Central Eurasian Studies at Indiana University. He also has appointments in Political Science and in East Asian Languages and Cultures. He has conducted fieldwork in Xinjiang, Taiwan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. He teaches courses on nationalism, identity politics, comparative imperialism, and social theory, as well as a number of classes on the politics, history, and cultures of Xinjiang. He has published a number of journal articles and book chapters on Xinjiang. His book, *The Uyghurs: Strangers in Their Own Land* was published

by Columbia University Press in 2010.

5. Respondent: Melanie Adrian, Assistant Professor of Law, Carleton University

Bio: Melanie Adrian received her Ph.D. from Harvard University in 2007, in Social Anthropology and the Study of Religion. Currently, she is Assistant Professor of Law at Carleton University. She has published a number of works on veiling in western Europe, including "France, the Veil and Religious Freedom," published in *Religion, State and Society*, December 2009; and *Laïcité Unveiled: A Case Study in Human Rights, Religion, and Culture in France*.

12:30 p.m. – 3:00 p.m., October 29

Session Five: Policy Implications and Challenges for State Secularism, State Religion, and 21st-Century Values

Thompson Room, Barker Center, 12 Quincy Street

This session will integrate some of the lessons learned into a discussion of current political and legal processes and institutions that support or impede diverse societies. The session will rethink, challenge, or refine prevailing policy wisdom on the administration of ethnically and religiously diverse states. It will necessarily involve participation of policy specialists from various human rights and non-governmental organizations.

Moderator: Charlie Clements, Executive Director, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School

1. Samina Ahmed, Project Director, South Asia, International Crisis Group, Islamabad

Pakistan: Ethnic and Religious Minorities and the Crisis of Governance

Abstract: Although religious extremism in Pakistan is often depicted as the greatest threat to internal stability, in reality ethnic and regional divisions form the main faultlines in an over-centralized state. Ethnic strife, the product of authoritarian rule, had in the past led to the disintegration of the state. Even today, ethnic divisions pose the greatest threat to domestic stability. Although Pakistan is now a parliamentary democracy, the Punjabi-dominated military's hold over internal security policy is thwarting attempts by elected institutions to redress ethnic grievances and demands, which in case of the minority Baloch have assumed the shape of a province-wide low level insurgency. Meanwhile military backing of the minority Muhajir community against the Sindhi majority could destabilize the entire democratic enterprise. Although the Deobandi/Salafi minority's attempts to forcibly impose its ideological agenda on the Sunni Hanafi majority and Shia minority alike could be countered by effective law-enforcement, decentralization and democratic governance alone can overcome ethnic minority dissent.

Bio: Samina Ahmed has a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Australian National University. She is Project Director for South Asia at the International Crisis Group in Islamabad. Her areas of expertise include South Asian affairs, democratic transitions in authoritarian states, ethnic and religious conflict, and nuclear proliferation. She has published in numerous journals and newspapers, including "Pakistan: The Hidden War," which appeared in *Foreign Policy* in 2010, and "Pakistan: No Time to Lose," in *Inside Story* in September of this year.

2. Michael Semple, Research Fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard University

The Rise of the Hazaras and the Challenge of Pluralism in Afghanistan 1978-2011

Abstract: The presentation addresses two core issues. Firstly does the rise of the political and economic power of the Hazara minority constitute a triumph of pluralism or a threat to it? Secondly, since the 2001 international intervention, which policy tools and decisions have affected the terms on which the Hazara minority has been integrated into the socio-political order?

The presentation argues that the Hazara minority has seized upon the opportunities presented by the politics of post-2001 Afghanistan to advance its participation in government, to access social investment and higher status economic activities. Ostensibly this transformation of the status of minority is a triumph of pluralism. But Hazara progress has been overshadowed by significant ethnic polarization of national politics and the incorporation of anti-Hazara grievances in the narrative of insurgency. Those who constructed and led the post-2001 order have failed to develop a sustainable pluralism, with the results that the Hazaras' gains must be considered "fragile and reversible".

Bio: Michael Semple is a Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School's Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, conducting research on the Afghan Taliban Movement and approaches to reconciliation in the region. Michael has worked on Afghanistan and Pakistan since 1985 and speaks Urdu, Dari and Pashto. From 1988 to 1997 he managed an NGO humanitarian assistance program in Afghanistan and Pakistan. From 1998 to 2002 he worked with the series of United Nations missions in Afghanistan, initially in humanitarian coordination and subsequently as a political officer. From 2004 to 2008 he worked with the European Union, serving as deputy to the Special Representative to Afghanistan. Since 2008 he has worked as a scholar and adviser, focusing on opportunities to end the conflict in Afghanistan and the region. Through his career Michael has sought to be a reflective practitioner. His work on Afghanistan since the latter days of the PDPA regime there has allowed him to maintain a dialogue with some of the key actors in the different stages of the country's conflict. In recent years he has been a proponent of political approaches to the conflict, including "talking to the Taliban." He has published widely on this subject, including a 2009 USIP book "Reconciliation in Afghanistan".

3. Azyumardi Azra, Professor of History, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta

Policy Implications and Challenges for Majority-Minority Ethnic and Religious Accommodation in Indonesia

Abstract: Indonesia is a country where ethnic, religious and cultural pluralism are striking realities. Constitutionally, Indonesia since the time of independence on August 17, 1945, has adopted a number of policies that aim to accommodate this pluralism.

Despite that, Indonesia saw outbreaks of communal violence in the late 1950s and 1965. More shocking yet, Indonesia has been shaken by bitter, though intermittent, ethno-religious violence from 1996 up to recent times in various places of the country, as democracy was adopted in 1999.

This paper attempts to discuss pluralism in the Indonesian context, where peaceful coexistence generally prevails. It also proposes some lessons to learn in accommodating diversity and resolving communal conflicts peacefully.

Bio: Azyumardi Azra is Professor of history and Director of Graduate School, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta, Indonesia (January 2007-on); and was Deputy for Social Welfare at the Office of Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia (April 2007-October 20, 2009). He earned his MA in Middle Eastern Studies, MPhil and PhD degrees in history all from Columbia University in the City of New York (1992) with the dissertation “The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian ‘Ulama’ in the 17th and 18th Centuries”. He has published 23 books and numerous chapters in internationally edited books. His English books are: *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, published in 2004; *Sharia’ and Politics in Indonesia* (which he co-edited), in 2005; *Indonesia, Islam and Democracy*, in 2006; *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Development*, in 2007; *Islam beyond Conflict: Indonesian Islam and Western Political Theor* (which he co-edited), in 2008; and *The Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20th Century Indonesian Islam* (which he also co-edited), in 2010.

4. Gerald Knaus, Chairman, European Stability Initiative, Istanbul

Secularism, Islam and Turkey's Authoritarian Temptations

Abstract: Turkish secularism was from the early years of the republic linked to an authoritarian vision of society: a vision reinforced since the introduction of multiparty democracy through successive military interventions, and backed up by narratives of Turkish modern history and specific institutions limiting the power of elected institutions. This system has collapsed in the past decade, opening opportunities for the creation of a truly democratic secular regime. Understanding how it has collapsed, and what authoritarian temptations persist to challenge the values of liberal democracy in a post-Kemalist Turkey is the core question explored in this presentation, through looking at three case studies of recent political change: the transformation in civil-military relations and its impact on secularism; the changing position of non-Muslim

minorities in Turkey in recent years; and the enduring fear and persecution of perceived "enemies of the state."

Bio: Gerald Knaus is the founding chairman of ESI, a Berlin-based think tank working on South East Europe, European enlargement and the future of EU foreign policy, and an associate and previously resident fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. He was Director of the Lessons Learned and Analysis Unit (LLA) of the European Union Pillar of UNMIK in Kosovo, worked for different international organisations in Bosnia in the 1990s, and wrote a number of film scripts for the award-winning Return to Europe documentary series. He is a founding member of the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR). Recently, he wrote a book with Rory Stewart on "Can Intervention work?" (Norton, August 2011). Gerald studied at Oxford, Brussels and the School of Advanced International Studies in Bologna. He is based in Istanbul and Paris and writes the Rumeli Observer blog www.rumeliobserver.eu.

5. Abdullahi Gallab, Assistant Professor of African and African American Studies, Arizona State University

When the Center Cannot Hold: Colonization, Religion, Violence and the Fate of the Sudan

Abstract: A referendum took place in the Southern part of the Sudan from the 9th to the 15th of January 2011, on the future status of the Southern region - whether to remain part of a united Sudan or secede as a separate country. The referendum was one of the consequences of the 2005 Naivasha or the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Islamist ruling National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). The agreement called for a six-year interim period, during which the NCP and SPLM share control of a government of national unity and work together to make unity for the Southern Sudanese an attractive option. On the 7th of February 2011 the final result of the referendum was published with 98.83% voting in favor of independence despite centuries of coexistence within the same country.

After decades of violence the Sudan, one of the oldest civilizations and the largest country in Africa and the Middle East is destined to break into two countries. How has colonization of religion and its consequences played a pivotal role in bringing this moment to such an end?

Bio: Abdullahi Gallab, Ph.D., teaches Islamic studies in the African and African American Studies and Religious Studies Department at Arizona State University. He is the author of *The First Islamist Republic: Development and Disintegration of Islamism in the Sudan*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008) and *A Civil Society Deferred: The Tertiary Grip of Violence in the Sudan* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2011). His study of Islamism and power in the Sudan will continue with the third book in the series, *Their Second Republic: Islamism in the Sudan from Disintegration to Oblivion*.

6. Mariz Tadros, Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex

When Justice Means Just Us: What Next for Egypt's Escalating Sectarianism?

Abstract: This paper will focus on the policy implications of the Egyptian revolution on sectarianism in Egypt. It will first give a brief scoping of the actors, relationships, agendas that have influenced sectarianism in Egypt both on a micro and macro level, in particular in the light of the developments in the handling of relations on a state-church-Islamist groups-citizens nexus. The policy proposals are discussed against a backdrop of shifting political configurations in post-Mubarak Egypt in a context of one of the worst backlashes against the rights of non-Muslim citizens in over a century. While the post-Mubarak context has seen the emergence of a vibrant Coptic civil society, it is also one where empowered Islamist groups have substantial influence over state policy via the alliance they have forged with the Armed Forces. Policy discussions will focus on international as well as national actors, governmental and non-governmental forces.

Bio: Mariz Tadros is a fellow with the Participation team at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), University of Sussex, UK specializing in democratization and civil society in the Arab world, Islamist politics and parties, gender and development and Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt. Prior to joining IDS Mariz was an assistant professor of political science at the American University in Cairo, and worked as a journalist for almost ten years for the English language newspaper Al-Ahram Weekly where she published over 300 articles on a variety of subjects. Mariz obtained her doctorate from Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford in 2004. Publications on the politics of sectarianism in Egypt include *Vicissitudes in the Coptic Church-State Entente in Egypt*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, volume 41, issue 02, 2009 pp. 269-287 and a series of articles for the *Middle East Report* and *MERIP* online (October 13th), the latest being "Egypt's bloody Sunday" on the army's assault on protestors on 9th of October 2011.