

Book Reviews

The Specific Vulnerability of Religious Minorities

Dennis P. Petri

VKW: Bonn, 2021, 302 pp., ISBN 9783862692354, free download from iirf.global

Over the past few decades, religious restrictions and hostilities have risen steadily around the world. In response, scholars and policy analysts have collected a considerable amount of cross-national data on religious persecution. Government officials now rely frequently on this evidence to advance policies to protect and promote freedom of religion or belief across the globe.

These parallel trends make Dennis Petri's monograph such a timely and valuable contribution. While Latin America remains the empirical focus of this provocative manuscript, its contribution extends well beyond a specific world region. Petri's analysis challenges us to rethink some of our most widely held assumptions about how we document and understand religious persecution in the first place.

The work is organized into two main parts. The introductory half of the volume reviews the study's theoretical approach and introduces a new assessment tool designed to specifically assess the vulnerability of religious minorities. Both the theory and method are motivated by a desire to redirect attention away from traditional conflict theories to a human security perspective. Petri argues that such a shift helps to overcome some of the most persistent limitations of existing religious freedom assessment tools, such as state-centric theories and data collection methods that overlook subnational and local variation in religious regulation and discrimination.

The empirical instrument Petri develops – the Religious Minorities Vulnerability Assessment Tool (RM-VAT) – is an especially valuable contribution in its own right. It offers a systematic method of evaluating the types and levels of threats faced by religious minorities across multiple spheres of society (e.g., social, business, political). As Petri notes, this tool should be seen as a complement to rather than a replacement for existing cross-national data collection methods.

The second half of the volume explores the empirical implications of the RM-VAT. Each case study provides a wealth of information based on primary data collection (through interviews) and secondary sources. The three empirical chapters

consider the vulnerability of actively practicing Christians in three Mexican states; the experience of Christian converts among the Nasa ethnic group in Colombia; and the situation faced by Christians in Cuba.

As a whole, the empirical chapters bring into focus both persecuted religious communities and persecutors who are often overlooked by existing global datasets, other empirical studies, and the popular media. For example, the analysis of Colombia draws attention to religious persecution within indigenous communities in the southwestern highlands of the country. The chapter on Mexico reveals the leading role organized crime plays in harassing religious minorities even though such incidents often go unreported to the authorities. The case studies also document a number of ways in which religious minorities have tried to remain resilient in the face of ongoing persecution.

The book concludes with a discussion of the scholarly and policy implications of the research, along with recommendations for religious minorities, faith-based organizations, and human rights agencies. Perhaps the most jolting proposal is Petri's call for Latin American civil society organizations to redouble, or in many cases initiate, efforts to more systematically document threats to religious minorities. As the study's empirical findings suggest, global datasets that consistently rank levels of religious discrimination in Latin America among the lowest in the world may not be capturing the full picture.

Of course, no single study can tell the whole story. Exactly how the RM-VAT might be integrated into cross-national data collection efforts, for instance, is a question left unanswered in this volume. Guidance on how to improve the rigor of data collection for the RM-VAT is also not as clear as it could be. Petri acknowledges that much of his analysis relies on anecdotal evidence gathered through interviews but does not explain in detail how triangulation might address this issue. Finally, all three empirical chapters focus on the persecution of Christians, a decision largely guided by the regional focus of the study. Still, the analysis could have benefited from more attention to other religious minorities, such as Jewish diaspora communities or the growing persecution of Muslim communities in Brazil, to show the broader reach of its claims.

These quibbles notwithstanding, Petri's study is to be commended for the questions it raises, the novel assessment tool it offers, and the attention it directs to subnational levels of religious persecution. It stands out as a valuable source for scholars, practitioners, and policymakers who seek to develop a deeper understanding of local realities and context-specific, locally owned policies and practices that promote freedom of religion or belief for all.

From Toleration to Religious Freedom: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives

Mariëtta van der Tol, John Adenitire, Carys Brown, and E. S. Kempson (eds.)

Oxford, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, New York, Wien: Peter Lang Ltd, 2021, 316 pp., ISBN 9781789975765, US \$75.95

In the past decade or so, there has been a substantial increase in the number of publications on religious freedom. This multi-authored volume, carefully curated by a clutch of young scholars in the field, is a welcome addition to the burgeoning library. Much of the content derives from a conference which was convened in Cambridge in 2019 under the title, *Toleration and Religious Freedom in the Early Modern and Contemporary Worlds*. Inevitably, therefore, the contents are diverse and eclectic. But, as the sub-title makes clear, the purpose of the volume is to examine this broad and enduring topic from the vantage point of more than one discipline. Indeed, the short concluding chapter of E S Kempson takes as its theme, the distinct benefits of cross-disciplinary study as demonstrated both at the conference and in this resultant volume. Amongst these chapters are some telling insights into familiar territory, and in places the contributors venture into fresh ground and otherwise uncharted waters. Students of history, law, political science, philosophy and theology will find amongst the disparate content something to inform and challenge, and a great deal with which to engage.

The span of history is large. Early modern, howsoever defined, embraces thinkers such as John Locke (1632-1704) and Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694) who opined freedom of conscience from within a time and context of religious persecution. As the introduction reflects: "Toleration was, in most cases, a pragmatic compromise designed to limit the instability caused by continuing religious strife" (4). It is rightly noted that the Toleration Act of 1689, which allowed protestant dissenters from the established church in England and Wales to worship in their own registered buildings, was not a shining beacon of religious freedom, but rather a grudging concession recognising a political reality in the wake of revolution and unrest. Subjecting this 17th century legislation to scrutiny under contemporary human rights standards is both sterile and artificial, as the actions of one society are not amenable to judgment under the mores of a much later one, but the observations of the contributors on this subject are illuminating of conceptual and linguistic differences and provide an opportunity for critical and comparative forensic study. A pervasive truth is wisely encapsulated in the introduction: "in contemporary discourse as in historical scholarship, the concepts of toleration and religious freedom are foes rather than natural bedfellows" (9).

Likewise, freedom of religion and freedom of conscience may once have been regarded as synonymous terms, since in the early modern period ethical world views were fundamentally religious in origin, drawn from within the doctrines of the institutional church. In today's times, moral beliefs may well not be religious in character; humanism, secularism, pacifism, vegetarianism etc. all engage the conscience and attract some level of protection under the law although they have no religious content. Pointedly, the European Convention on Human Rights, in Article 9, speaks of 'freedom of religion or belief,' clearly bringing every belief system within its scope. The convenient shorthand of scholars, even amongst those who abbreviate it to FoRB, can tend to devalue the breadth and reach of this core human right.

Many of the chapters focus on English law, and a relatively narrow period of English history, which this reviewer found engrossing, although it is possible that the wider international readership may find the overall balance of the ten substantive chapters a little uneven. But there are well-crafted vignettes from elsewhere, which provide useful counterpoints and contra-narratives, designed to stimulate reflection and discussion. For example, one chapter, by Sarah Scholl, is a detailed and perceptive critique of events in Switzerland, tracing an historic trajectory from toleration into religious freedom, then receding into toleration once again over the course of several centuries; whilst another, by Mirela Krešić, draws on the experience of immigrant Muslims in Croatia. A formal treaty in 2002 seems to have provided a bilateral settlement, successfully integrating Muslim inheritance with European citizenship, at a higher level than the begrudging toleration of former times. Likewise, though perhaps less convincingly, Hans Leaman's chapter examines enduring Lutheran cultural legacies in the migration policies of the USA and Germany.

John Coffey's opening chapter begins with a brief *rundschau* of post war articulations of freedom of religion, noting the lack of unanimity as to its lineage. It then proceeds to chart a path whereby concepts of natural rights were taken up during the 17th and 18th centuries, finding expression at the time of the American Revolution as rights of conscience, and propounded by leading Baptist and Quaker thinkers. Coffey draws on a wide range of commentators excavating a claimed (Protestant) Christian genealogy for religious freedom, noting that even the 'tolerationists' excluded atheism from the reach of toleration. He notes that "religious freedom as a natural right was not the invention of mainstream Protestantism, but of marginalised minorities" (54).

The following chapter by Fiona McCall is similarly historical, and equally detailed in its research and argumentation. It identifies an apparent dissonance (or paradox as she describes it) during the English Interregnum between the flourishing of religious toleration and the rigid enforcement of morality in a joyless era

of repression. Seeking to square this ragged circle, she observes “Most were only prepared to concede liberty of conscience for those who remained in fundamental agreement over doctrine, but who disagreed on aspects classed as *adiaphora*, or which involved doubt over finer tenets, which God would ultimately reveal” (60). Quoting Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith* (2007), she identifies “qualitatively different kinds of toleration” (61). She draws on contemporary court records from the period during which the structures of the established Church of England had been disassembled, commenting: “Once both the monarchy and church hierarchy had been abolished, many changes to religious practice were implemented via acts or ordinances of parliament, with the result that an expanded role emerged for judges and justices in interpreting religious policy” (62). Anti-Catholic prejudice was tempered by the need live alongside Papists who retained their place in civil society, and there was a discernible ebb and flow in the number of prosecutions for non-attendance at divine worship, peaking in 1651 coincidentally with England being at war with both the Scots and the Irish. An unlucky bailiff’s servant was apparently stocked for playing football during a sermon in January 1660. Meetings of Quakers attracted intervention by the authorities where they were considered to be socially disruptive, particularly when crowds were animated by incomers from elsewhere: the perceived threat of mobility.

Shannon Stimson’s chapter sets the writings of Sir William Perry within the political debates of the English Civil Wars and Restoration. In the detailed microcosm of Perry’s life and achievements, she finds points of enduring relevance, and the comprehensive biographical details that she unearths provide evidential undergirding for the broader generalities propounded in the preceding chapters. The following chapter by Alex Tebble comprises a sustained comparison between John Locke’s stance on atheism and latter-day writings by John Rawls, particularly his account of the ‘unreasonable’. It provides a clear forensic basis for questioning the presumed relationship between Locke as a forefather of liberalism and Rawls as his legitimate heir. The commonality, Tebble concludes, “is more to be found in liberalism’s limits than in its foundations” (144). But, reflecting a theme which is something of a constant in this collection, what Locke and Rawls particularly hold in common lies in “denying tolerance to those that undermine the basis of their conceptions of society, be that the atheist, for civil and religious society or the ‘unreasonable’ for liberal society in general” (145). Kaisa Iso-Herttua’s chapter also has a basis in Lockean study, but her point of comparison places early Enlightenment religious toleration in juxtaposition with contemporary European toleration, not least islamophobia and islamo-scepticism fuelled by arguments of securitisation. She draws comparisons with concepts of otherness and cultural difference: and suggests that the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights tends to propagate the belief that

Muslim communities constitute a risk to the integrity and stability of civil society as a consequence of a failure to integrate.

Augur Pearce's chapter is founded on the premise that, excepting Charles II's exile, England has always had an official religion, but since the Reformation, has consistently allowed dissent in various forms and manifestations. His chapter traces an historical narrative of promoting orthodoxy by the licensing of particular buildings for worship and other religious purposes. His focus is not exclusively on the state's posture to toleration and accommodation (as with other chapters) but with the willingness (or otherwise) of different denominations or religious organisations to make practical arrangements for sharing the same sacred space. And uniquely among the contributors to this collected work he engages with a current issue (unknown to prior centuries) of the solemnisation of same-sex marriage. Pearce is deft and sure-footed in drawing parallels across history which are of direct relevance to the modern age. And while not everyone may agree with his conclusions, this is a sound and scholarly contribution to a debate which can only become more febrile in the years ahead.

It is difficult, if not impossible, when reviewing a proudly eclectic collected work, to cover in adequate detail the overall trajectory of the volume and the divergent specificities with which it is heavily freighted. All this reviewer can offer is a tasting menu of some of the highlights which caught his eye or tickled his palate. Others may find alternative dishes more appetising. But holistically, the volume helps to tease out – both definitionally and in practical terms – how the terms 'toleration' and 'religious freedom' cannot be used interchangeably either today, or at an earlier time in our history. Only by breaking down the language can we fully understand these complex interlocking concepts, and properly put aside false preconceptions, and easy assumptions.

Much in the volume is theoretical, dealing with matters at a relatively high level of abstraction. But the practical reality is never far away. This review is penned in the immediate aftermath of the horrific attempt on the life of Sir Salman Rushdie, author of *The Satanic Verses* (1988), who was the subject of a brutal knife attack at the Chautauqua Institute in New York state in August 2022. The work of fiction was alleged to contain blasphemous content which prompted the Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini to issue a fatwa in 1989 calling for the writer's death. The attacker claimed to have read only a few pages of the Rushdie's novel, but believed himself to be acting in the defence of Islamic faith. Nothing in this volume anticipates – still less condones – this horrific crime. But the reflections on toleration and 'otherness' over five centuries or more serve as an enduring reminder that despite grandiloquent expressions of lofty religious freedom, we have arguably not travelled far beyond the early modern settlement of begrudging tolerance as a pragmatic compromise, permanently liable to be

upset by those with malevolent intent. Those who advocate religious liberty, across a multitude of disciplines, need to be ever vigilant.

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Latin American Perspectives on Law and Religion

Rodrigo Vitorino Souza Alves (ed.)

New York: Springer International Publishing, 169 pp., ISBN: 9783030467166, US \$179.00

This book contains a unique collection of essays from seven outstanding Latin American scholars who specialize in religious freedom and in the relationship between religion and politics, and religious freedom. Perhaps the book would more aptly be called “Perspectives on Law and Religion in Latin America,” because its main contribution is to highlight Latin American phenomena that are understudied in English-speaking academia. Unfortunately, the English in some chapters has been insufficiently proofread, which makes reading at times less fluid.

The disciplinary focus of the book is primary legal and theoretical, although occasionally some other disciplinary perspectives are discussed. Overall, this publication focuses primarily on church-state relations and the regulation of religion by the state but does not, except for one chapter, touch on religious discrimination originating with non-state actors, which arguably represents a large portion of religious freedom violations in the region. Despite this narrow focus, the essays are original and make valuable contributions.

By far the most innovative contribution comes from the book’s editor, Rodrigo Vitorino Souza Alves, who discusses normative conflicts between freedom of religion and belief and the cultural rights of indigenous peoples. This matter has not yet been widely researched (with the exception of a few scholars such as Will Kymlicka, Nazila Ghanea or Anat Scolnicov, but they do not study Latin America specifically). The protection of the cultural rights of indigenous peoples in Latin America is far-reaching and is generally justified as a way to protect the religious traditions of these communities. However, the way in which religious conversion is handled within indigenous communities has received much less attention. Alves tackles this issue in a convincing way, first recognizing the tension and then arguing that religious freedom is both restricted and broadened by cultural protection. The main limitation of his essay is that his findings are not compared with empirical reality.

Five chapters discuss church-state relations in four Latin American countries: Mexico (Medina), Colombia (Prieto), Brazil (Weingarter) and Argentina (Vives);

Navarro). This subject has received broad attention in Spanish-language academic literature, but much less in English. The evaluations of state religious policy almost three decades after Mexico reformed the most anticlerical articles of its Constitution (1992) (Medina) and after Colombia transitioned to a secular state (1991) (Prieto) are particularly timely. So is Navarro's discussion of Argentina's proposed law of religious freedom. Weingarter's interesting essay zooms in on the issues around confessional education in Brazil. Vives looks specifically at internal differences within Argentinian Protestantism and the input they have given to legislation on religious freedom.

The only chapter that discusses societal tensions related to religious discrimination and that adopts an empirical perspective is the one by Alexandre Brasil. This chapter is based on unique nationwide data collected by state-level ombudsmen in Brazil, while at the same time it highlights the need for more data collection. Among other things, the chapter demonstrates that, contrary to conventional wisdom, there is empirical evidence for religious discrimination against different faiths in Brazil, and that the Brazilian state faces important challenges in seeking to manage its growing religious diversity.

Unfortunately, there is no introductory or concluding chapter that compares the findings from the different chapters and reflects on the publication as a whole. This does not, however, diminish the quality of the volume's individual contributions. I highly recommend this book to any scholar interested in gaining a better normative and empirical understanding of the legal implications of religion in Latin America. It may also be useful for scholars with a different geographical focus, as its findings include teachings that may be very relevant for other contexts.

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Secularization, Desecularization, and Toleration: Cross-Disciplinary Challenges to a Modern Myth

Vyacheslav Karpov and Manfred Svensson (eds.)

London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, 348 pp., ISBN: 9783030540456, €129.99

Myth busting is its own genre of academic literature, into which *Secularization, Desecularization, and Toleration* nicely fits. "Pluralism and tolerance," the editors quote famous theologian Harvey Cox, "are the children of secularization." They set forth the myth – amply documenting its sprawling literature – at the beginning

and declare their agenda of pushing back against this happy tale of secular progress. And yet there is no strawman writing here, no easy dismissal of secularization, as has too often become the fashion.

The temptation, especially among more conservatively minded scholars, can be to reverse the argument entirely, contending that it is explicitly and *exclusively* religion that produces toleration. The story the editors steward here is more complex. Citing celebrated historian Herbert Butterfield, they write that the tendency of too much modern scholarship is “to emphasise certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not glorification of the present.” Here is this volume’s genius, in both balance and tone: it does not pick sides in the activist historical ransacking that so often passes as historiography today, but instead it offers alternatives, pushing other plot lines and asking harder questions about what, after all, we mean by the secular and by tolerance. The book asks us to imagine a present that is not entirely uniform or homogeneous and is still – for that reason – very much in the making.

The cast of authors gathered in this book is extremely impressive, and the quality of nearly every chapter is outstanding. The first part tracks concepts of tolerance and dignity in figures that unsettle the secular myth – Aquinas, Augustine, John Owen, Ibn ‘Arabi, William Penn, Moses Mendelssohn, and even the Calvinist Abraham Kuyper. The initiate as well as the expert will find much to learn from these analyses. Reading them comparatively could be of pedagogical value in a university or graduate setting, as the editors have thoughtfully brought together examples of Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, Jewish, and other figures.

The same strength of quality comes through in part two, which, while not historically or conceptually tight, does offer regional variation that, when read comparatively, yields a bounty of insight. Here the chapters encompass early 20th-century Mexico, the rise of the Jewish state, Islam and religious freedom, religious freedom in American politics, China, the European Union, and Russian examples. The last chapter, on Russia and Ukraine, stands out as of particular interest in view of the events of 2022.

The strength of these disparate cases lies partly in the exceptional quality of the authors. Several chapters are distillations of much larger, celebrated works by the same authors, and thus they serve usefully as on-ramps for initiates to these conversations. But the cases also present wide historical, regional, and religious arguments toward deconstructing the myth that secularization precedes tolerance and pluralism. In fact, these chapters argue in sum, it is sometimes the case that secularization precedes *intolerance* and *anti-pluralism*. On the other hand, often theology and religion catalyze the principles and practices of tolerance and a free society.

The disparate nature of the chapters, however, also presents a challenge. The book is too academic to serve reasonably well as a popular introduction to secularization myth busting, but too disconnected to function effectively in most conventional academic contexts, other than those directly related to studying secularization and desecularization. I might, for example, copy George Harinck's excellent summation of "Abraham Kuyper's Vision for a Plural Society" or Daniel Philpott's enviably compact "Religious Liberty and the Muslim Question" for students in seminars on Protestant political theology or comparative political Islam, respectively. But very rarely would I need to have both texts available alongside each other.

This, of course, is the weakness of many edited academic volumes, which begin – as this one did – in a conference setting. Undoubtedly, the original conference was a major and exciting inspiration for its participants. The resulting text might have been helped by the presence of not only a sharp introduction (which the book has) but also a substantial conclusion (which the book lacks). Nevertheless, the wide variation in topics also makes it such a rich, comparative read. Not often, if ever, are the European Court of Human Rights, church-state conflict in Mexico, and William Penn's theory and practice of toleration pressed together into discussion. This book proves that we deeply need such juxtapositions. It succeeds, in a way, not only with its title, but also with its subtitle, which makes the point that cross-disciplinary approaches to myth busting are not just serious but essential. This reader is convinced by their argument, though I fear its price point and packaging will win fewer converts than its authors and editors deserve.

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Humanitarian Islam, Evangelical Christianity, and the Clash of Civilizations: A New Partnership for Peace and Religious Freedom

Thomas K. Johnson

Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 2021, 78 pp., ISBN 9781666704402, € 10,34

Thomas K. Johnson, research vice president of Martin Bucer Seminary and senior theological adviser to the World Evangelical Alliance, is convinced that the conflict between Christians and Muslims, despite its long history, is not inevitable or eternal. He argues for a partnership between evangelical Christianity and the "Humanitarian Islam" of Indonesian Muslim scholars, in a joint global effort to oppose religious authoritarianism and persecution, moral relativism, and political absolutism. He is explicitly not concerned with a "peace of shared religious beliefs," but with a

“peace of compatible approaches to life in society based on similar approaches to public ethics” (47).

Johnson’s analysis (which is not divided into numbered chapters) begins with the sober observation that prominent Muslim responses to Islamist extremism and jihadist terror to date have not fully reassured the non-Muslim public. For example, the 2014 open letter from 126 Sunni leaders to Islamic State (IS) caliph Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (1971-2019), for all its criticism of the group’s atrocities, maintains the fundamental commitment of the Muslim ummah to the creation of a new caliphate. In the Marrakesh Declaration of 2016, citizenship for non-Muslims is advocated, but the crucial problem of religiously defined states is not solved. The same is true of the 2019 Human Fraternity Document signed by Pope Francis and Sheikh al-Azhar Ahmad al-Tayyib, which also ignores the central issue of freedom of conversion and how to deal with converts.

Johnson considers the responses by the Indonesian organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which claims to have 60 million members within and 30 million outside Indonesia, much more promising. In the “Declaration on Humanitarian Islam [HI]” of 2017, there is an unequivocal endorsement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), including the full religious freedom called for in Article 18. HI representatives, who according to Johnson do not see themselves as “secularized half-Muslims” (17), deplore a “weaponization of Islam” (preamble of the HI declaration) in which states such as Saudi Arabia and Iran and terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda and the IS turn issues of faith into tools of war to advance their own worldly goals.

NU sees Muslims as facing a choice of crucial importance. They can strive “to recreate the long-lost ideal of religious, political and territorial unity beneath the banner of a Caliphate” (para 31 of the HI declaration) – with the inevitable consequence of intensifying intra-Islamic and inter-religious conflicts and the uncontrollable spread of violence and terror – or to develop a new sensibility for a modern, multi-religious civilization in which all people enjoy equal dignity and equal rights. To achieve the latter, NU believes that central tenets of Islamic orthodoxy and classical Islamic law that are repeatedly used to authorize hatred and extremism must be openly and critically addressed.

HI advocates combine faith and reason by referring to Ibn Rushd’s commentary on Aristotle. In their own jurisprudential methodology, they reject the equation of shari’ah with Islamic law and distinguish between transcendent, immutable elements (*thawābit*), such as striving for spiritual-moral perfection and a merciful and respectful treatment of fellow human beings, and historically contingent elements (*mutaghayyirāt*), in which category they place the traditional blasphemy laws and corporal punishments. In the context of a revived independent legal reasoning (*ijtihād*) and following influential

thinkers such as al-Ghazali (1058-1111) and al-Shatibi (1320-1388), they focus on the overarching goals (*maqāṣid*) of shari'ah: the protection of religion/faith, life, progeny, reason, and property. In contrast to legalistic Islamists, HI representatives interpret these human goods as worth protecting entirely in the sense of the UDHR; for example, they want to protect religion as a whole (including free religious discourse) and not Islam alone (against criticism and religious alternatives).

In a separate section (33-46), Johnson considers parallels between HI and ethical discourse in Western Christianity, identifying possible topics for future dialogue. These include, among others, the relationship between law and grace; the classical distinction between moral, ceremonial, and judicial laws in the Old Testament; the question of a "natural moral law" (e.g., in the context of Romans 2:14-15); and the relatively similar listing of human goods worthy of protection by Thomas Aquinas.

I share the author's assessment that HI's definition of shari'ah, given adequate support in the global Muslim movement, "would undermine most reasons for Islamophobia" (24). But how likely is this "pilot project" (26) to be replicated in other Islamic regions of the world in the foreseeable future? Johnson acknowledges the close links between HI and the principles of the Indonesian "Nusantara civilization" of the Malay archipelago, which has traditionally been characterized by a wide spectrum of peoples and cultures and able to "transform religious pluralism into a source of social unity and strength" (para 89 of the 2018 Nusantara Manifesto). Advocates of such intercultural openness, however, have struggled for decades, in the Middle East and elsewhere, against a strong Salafization of discourse that propagates the purification of Islam from anything that cannot be derived directly from Islamic sources and early Islamic times.

Johnson's concise analysis of primary and secondary sources on HI (supported by selections and a detailed bibliography in the appendix) broadens our view of the Islamic world, which in the West is often too narrowly focused on Saudi Wahhabism, the Iranian Ayatollah regime, and global Salafism. He can convincingly justify his hope for a deeper dialogue and sociopolitical cooperation with the Indonesian HI. At the same time, there remains ample material for further publications on the topic. A key question, on which Johnson touches only briefly, is how the HI intends to counter the will to power of religious movements that they deplore. The practice or Sunnah of Muhammad, described in the Hadith and the Sira and understood as a model for Muslims of all times to emulate, is the second most important source of Islamic law after the Qur'an. The link between the claim to truth and the claim to power has traditionally been established with Muhammad's emigration to Medina and his rule there, which was established in part by force. How Muslims should deal with this heritage in the future is given too little consideration in the documents discussed here.