

After September 11, many thought a clash of civilizations was inevitable. This book offers a different, more hopeful answer of building bridges instead of burning them. I strongly recommend it.

Jimmy Carter

Benjamin R. Barber

Zbigniew Brzezinski

Lord George Carey

Diana L. Eck

Jean Bethke Elshtain

Amitai Etzioni

Rajmohan Gandhi

Walter Isaacson

President Mohammed Khatami

Bernard Lewis

Martin Marty

Queen Noor of Jordan

Joseph S. Nye Jr.

Judea Pearl

Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks

Sir Ravi Shankar

Tamara Sonn

Dame Marilyn Strathern

Prince El Hassan bin Talal

Shashi Tharoor

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

William L. Ury

Sergio Vieira de Mello

Jody Williams

Edward O. Wilson

Sir James D. Wolfensohn

AFTER TERROR

edited by
Akbar Ahmed and Brian Forst



Table of Contents

Cover

Title page

Copyright page

Dedication

Acknowledgments

Contributor Biographies in Brief

Part I: Introduction

1 Toward a More Civil Twenty-first Century

Central Themes Raised in the Essays
The Imperative of Action

Part II: The Nature and Sources of the Problem

2 The Simple Power of Weakness, the Complex Vulnerability of Power

The Dangers of Demagogy

The Power of Weakness
From Domination to Leadership

3 Dialogue and the Echo Boom of Terror: Religious Women's Voices after 9/11

4 Closing Chapters of Enmity
September 11 and its Aftermath
The West and Islam
A Final Word: Dialogue on Kashmir

5 Benjamin Franklin's Gift of Tolerance

6 God's Word and World Politics
The Persistence of Religious Faith of Some Sort
The Worth of Faiths
Conclusion

Part III: Pathways to Dialogue and Understanding

7 The Role of the Media in Promoting Tolerance

8 Civilization, Human Rights, and Collective Responsibility

What is Civilization?

Globalization, Poverty, and Collective Apathy

The Universality of Human Rights

Corporate Citizenship and Globalism from Below

Toward a Higher Civilization

9 Endless Enemies or Human Security

The New Global Enemy

Is Endless War the Best Answer?

10 Dialogue among Civilizations and Cultures

11 Transnational Moral Dialogues

12 In Other People's Shoes

13 A Universal Language, without Boundary or Prejudice

14 Dialogue among Civilizations

15 The Productive Airing of Grievances

16 All of Man's Troubles

17 Turning Enemies into Friends

Is Religion Primarily a Source of Conflict?

Conversation as Prayer

From Conflict and Violence to Reconciliation and Peace

18 Security through Dialogue

19 The Power of Dialogue: Redefining "Us"

The Ahmed-Pearl Dialogues

Expanding the Power of Dialogue

20 On Clash, Morality, Renaissance, and Dialogue

21 The Just War Tradition and Cultural Dialogue

22 Celebrating Differences on our Melting Pot Planet

Part IV: From Concern to Action

23 Clash or Dialogue of Cultures?

24 The Fellowship of Dialogue

From Dialogue to Action

Different Religions, Common Purpose

One Family: Humanity

25 Hard Power and Soft Power

26 Global Governance in an Interdependent World

Declaration of Interdependence

27 Getting to Peace: Awakening the Third Side

The Challenge

The Potential for Transforming Conflict

The Third Side

Peace is Possible, If . . .

28 Risking Hospitality

Index

**After Terror:
Promoting Dialogue
among Civilizations**

*Edited by
Akbar Ahmed and Brian Forst*

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*To our grandchildren:
Graham, Ibrahim, Mina, and Samuel,
with love*

Acknowledgments

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Our greatest debt of gratitude is to the contributing essayists. In making commitments to support and own a vision for a more book. It was reassuring to receive this support for the enterprise from such extraordinary people, fascinating to see how each essayist responded to the

challenge, and exhilarating to absorb the breadth of their contributions.

Last, not least, we are deeply in the debt of our wives, Judith Forst and Zeenat Ahmed, who have once more indulged us in a project of yet again utmost urgency. Our appreciation for their unwavering support, love, and patience cannot be adequately expressed or sufficiently compensated. They made possible the birth and nurturance of our children and, in turn, their children, to whom we dedicate this book - and to grandchildren everywhere. We hope and intend that they will have the good judgment to steward humankind in a better direction than has our generation.

Contributor Biographies in Brief

Akbar Ahmed is the Ibn Khaldun Chair of Islamic Studies and Professor of International Relations at American University, Washington, DC. He is former high commissioner (ambassador) of Pakistan to the United Kingdom (1999–2000), a distinguished anthropologist, filmmaker, and the author of numerous articles and books on contemporary Islam, including *Islam under Siege* (Polity, 2003) and *Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society* (Routledge, 1988), which was the basis of the BBC six-part TV series, “Living Islam.” His *Postmodernism and Islam: Predicament and Promise* (Routledge, 1992) was nominated for the Amalfi Award, and his book *Islam Today: A Short Introduction to the Muslim World* (I. B. Tauris, 1999) was awarded best nonfiction book of the year by the *Los Angeles Times*, and his “Jinnah Quartet,” a four-part project on Pakistan’s founding father, M. A. Jinnah, has won numerous international awards. He has been actively involved in interfaith dialogue and the study of global Islam and its impact on contemporary society. Dr Ahmed has co-edited several books, including *The Future of Anthropology: Its Relevance to the Contemporary World* (Athlone, 1995). Prior to coming to American University, Dr Ahmed was visiting professor and Stewart Fellow in Humanities at Princeton University and held appointments at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, Harvard University, and Cambridge University, where for five years he was the Iqbal Fellow. He is the recipient of the Star of Excellence in Pakistan and the Sir Percy Sykes Memorial Medal given by the Royal Society of Asian Affairs in London. He was recently appointed Trustee of the World Faiths Development Dialogue by the Archbishop of Canterbury and received the 2002 Free Speech Award from the Muslim Public Affairs Council in

Washington, DC. He received the PhD degree in anthropology from the University of London. He was named 2004 District of Columbia Professor of the Year by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Council for Advancement and Support of Education.

Kofi Annan is Secretary-General of the United Nations, the first to be elected from the ranks of United Nations staff, in 1997. Since joining the UN in 1962, Mr Annan has worked to revitalize the UN through a comprehensive program of reform: to strengthen the UN's traditional work in the development and maintenance of international peace and security, to encourage and advocate human rights, the rule of law, and the universal values of equality, tolerance, and human dignity found in the United Nations Charter, and to restore public confidence in the UN by reaching out to new partners and, in his words, by "bringing the United Nations closer to the people." He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001. In conferring the Prize, the Nobel Committee said that Mr Annan "had been pre-eminent in bringing new life to the Organization."

Benjamin R. Barber is the Gershon and Carol Kekst Professor of Civil Society at the University of Maryland and a principal of the Democracy Collaborative, with offices in New York, Washington, and the University of Maryland. A distinguished, internationally renowned political theorist, Dr Barber brings an abiding concern for democracy and citizenship to issues of politics, culture, and education in America and abroad. Professor Barber's 17 books include the classic *Strong Democracy* (University of California Press, 1984) and the best-seller *Jihad vs. McWorld* (originally published by Ballantine in 1995, with a post-9/11 edition in 2001, translated into 20 languages). Professor Barber is a recipient of the Palmes Academiques (Chevalier) from the French Government (2001), the Berlin Prize of the American Academy of Berlin (2001), and the John Dewey Award

(2003). He writes frequently for *Harper's*, *The New York Times*, *The Atlantic*, and *The Nation*. He holds a certificate from the London School of Economics and Political Science and MA and Doctorate degrees from Harvard University.

Zbigniew Brzezinski is an internationally recognized authority on global security. He was President Carter's National Security advisor, has taught at Harvard and Columbia universities, and is now a faculty member of The Johns Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, DC. Born in Poland in 1928, Dr Brzezinski is the son of a Polish diplomat, spending much of his youth in Canada, France, and Germany. He received a PhD from Harvard in 1953 and became a US citizen in 1958. He was a director of the Trilateral Commission and officer of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Dr Brzezinski is author of several books on global security and strategy, including *Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser, 1977-1981* (Giroux, 1983) and *Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century* (Collier Books, 1990). His essay in this volume derives largely from his most recent book, *The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership* (Basic Books, 2004).

Lord George Carey was the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1991 until 2003, a position to which he rose from humble working-class origins. As Archbishop he established an extraordinary record as independent thinker and activist – for his courageous support for the ordination of women, which received a chilly response from many quarters, for his support of military intervention in Afghanistan, and for his unprecedented efforts to promote inter-faith dialogue worldwide. He was the first prominent Western figure to visit Rwanda, in the wake of the genocide in 1995. He subsequently visited Sudan, Mozambique, Egypt, and other spots in the interest of cross-cultural and interfaith dialogue.

He is author or editor of several books, including *Freedom and Virtue: The Conservative/Liberation Debate* (ISI Books, 2004), *The Bible for Everyday Life* (Wm B. Eerdmans, 1996), *The Cruelty of Heresy: An Affirmation of Christian Orthodoxy* (SPCK, 1994), *The Church in the Marketplace* (Morehouse, 1991), and *The Zodiac and the Salts of Salvation* (Kessinger, 2003).

Diana L. Eck is Professor of Comparative Religion and Indian Studies at Harvard University. She is a member of the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies as well as the Faculty of Divinity. In 1996, Professor Eck was appointed to a US State Department Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom Abroad, a 20-member commission that advises the Secretary of State on enhancing and protecting religious freedom and human rights. Her book *Encountering God: A Spiritual Journey from Bozeman to Banaras* (Beacon Press, 1993), a comparative study of religion and religious diversity, won the 1994 Melcher Book Award and the 1995 Louisville Grawemeyer Book Award in Religion. Professor Eck's books on India include *Banaras, City of Light* (Knopf, 1982) and *Darsan: Seeing the Divine Image in India* (Columbia University Press, 1996). In 1998, she received the National Humanities Medal and the National Endowment for the Humanities for her work on American religious pluralism. She received her BA from Smith College (1967) in Religion, her MA from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1968), in South Asian History, and her PhD from Harvard University (1976) in the Comparative Study of Religion.

Jean Bethke Elshtain is the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Professor of Social and Political Ethics at the University of Chicago, a position to which she was appointed in 1995. She has been a visiting professor at Oberlin College, Yale University, and Harvard University. She is recipient of seven honorary degrees and was elected Fellow of the American

Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1996. She is author of *Just War against Terror: The Burden of American Power in a Violent World* (Basic Books, 2003), *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy* (Basic Books, 2002), *Who Are We? Critical Reflections and Hopeful Possibilities* (Wm B. Eerdmans, 2000), *Augustine and the Limits of Politics* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), *Democracy on Trial* (Basic Books, 1996), *Women and War* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), *Meditations on Modern Political Thought* (Praeger, 1986), and *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought* (Princeton University Press, 1993). Professor Elshtain has also authored over 400 articles and essays in scholarly journals and journals of civic opinion. She has been a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; a Scholar in Residence, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Conference and Study Center, Como, Italy; and a Guggenheim Fellow (1991-2).

Amitai Etzioni is an internationally known scholar and a prolific author of books and articles on a vast array of social policy issues. Dr Etzioni was Professor of Sociology at Columbia University for 20 years, after receiving his PhD in Sociology from the University of California in 1958. He was Senior Advisor to the White House on domestic affairs in 1979-80. In 1980, Dr Etzioni was named the first University Professor at The George Washington University, where he directs the Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies. From 1987 to 1989, he served as the Thomas Henry Carroll Ford Foundation Professor at the Harvard Business School. In 1989-90 Dr Etzioni served as founding president of the international Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics. In 1990, he founded the Communitarian Network, a nonprofit, non-partisan organization dedicated to shoring up society's moral and political foundations. He is editor of *The Responsive Community*, the organization's quarterly journal. Dr Etzioni is the author of 22 books,

including *The Monochrome Society* (Princeton University Press, 2001), *The New Golden Rule* (Basic Books, 1996), *The Spirit of Community* (Crown Books, 1993), *The Moral Dimension* (Free Press, 1988), and *From Empire to Community* (Palgrave, 2004).

Brian Forst is Professor of Justice, Law, and Society at the School of Public Affairs, American University, in Washington, DC. Following a distinguished 20-year career in nonprofit research, including service as research director at the Institute for Law and Social Research (1977-85) and the Police Foundation (1985-9), he joined the faculty of The George Washington University in 1989, and then the American University faculty in 1992. He is author of several books, including *Errors of Justice: Nature, Sources and Remedies* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), *The Privatization of Policing: Two Views* (Georgetown University Press, 1999) with Peter Manning, and *Power in Numbers* (Wiley & Sons, 1987), as well as numerous articles, book chapters, and essays on public policy. He chairs the Department of Justice, Law, and Society's doctoral program, serves on the Faculty Senate, and has played cello with the University Orchestra. He was awarded the School of Public Affairs Bernard H. Ross Teaching Excellence Award in 2002. Dr Forst received BS and MBA degrees from The University of California at Los Angeles and a PhD from The George Washington University.

Rajmohan Gandhi is Visiting Professor of Political Science and Director of the Global Crossroads program at the University of Illinois at Urbana/Champaign. Grandson of Mohandas Gandhi, he is an internationally known human rights activist and jury member of the Nuremberg Human Rights Award; a member of the International Council, Initiatives of Change; co-chair of Centre for Dialogue & Reconciliation in Gurgaon, India; and a commentator in *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*. He is renowned for his

efforts to promote peace between Hindus and Muslims in his home country, where he has also served as a member of the Rajya. He has authored several books, including *The Good Boatman: A Portrait of Gandhi* (South Asia Books, 2000), and holds BA and MA degrees in economics from St Stephen's College in New Delhi, India.

Walter Isaacson is President of the Aspen Institute, former President and Chief Executive Officer of the CNN News Group, and Managing Editor of *Time Magazine*. He is also a widely published author. Mr Isaacson achieved prominence through his journalism and went on to further acclaim as a leading biographer, in his books on such figures as Benjamin Franklin, Henry Kissinger, Dean Acheson, Averill Harriman, and George F. Kennan. His most recent book, *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life* (Simon and Schuster, 2003), has received much critical acclaim and became a best-seller on all major book review lists.

President Hojjatoleslam Seyed Mohammed Khatami is the fifth president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Born in 1943 in Ardakan, son of the respected Ayatollah Ruhollah Khatami, President Khatami attended Qom Theology School in 1961, then earned his BA in philosophy from Isfahan University. He entered the University of Tehran in 1970, graduated with an MA, and then returned to Qom to resume his philosophical studies at Qom Seminary. President Khatami represented Ardakan and Meibod constituencies in the first term of Majlis (Parliament) in 1980, and was appointed head of Kayhan newspaper institute by late Ayatollah Khomeini in 1981. In 1992 he was appointed cultural advisor to President Rafsanjani and head of Iran's National Library. In 1996 he was appointed member of the High Council for Cultural Revolution, which he now heads as President. He has written several books and articles on social and cultural issues. In 1998, President Khatami appeared before the United Nations to propose that the UN

designate the year 2001 as the Year of Dialogue among Civilizations, with the expressed hope that such a dialogue would contribute to the realization of justice and liberty through- out the world.

Bernard Lewis is Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Emeritus, at Princeton University. He is widely regarded throughout the West as the preeminent “Orientalist” scholar, the world’s leading authority on the history and culture of Islam. He taught at the University of London until 1974, and afterward until 1986 at Princeton. His books include *The Arabs in History* (Harper Collins, 1950), *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 1961), *The Assassins* (Basic Books, 2002), *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (W. W. Norton, 1985), *The Political Language of Islam* (University of Chicago Press, 1988), *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (Oxford University Press, 1992), *Islam and the West* (Oxford University Press, 1993), *Islam in History* (Open Court Publishing, 2001), *The Shaping of the Modern Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 1994), *Cultures in Conflict* (Oxford University Press, 1996), *The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2,000 Years* (Scribner, 1995), *The Future of the Middle East* (Orion, 1999), *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East* (Schocken, 2001), *A Middle East Mosaic: Fragments of Life, Letters and History* (Random House, 2000), *What Went Wrong?* (Perennial, 2003), and *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (Modern Library, 2003). His essays in *The New Yorker*, *The Atlantic*, and in scholarly journals have been widely read and discussed in recent years, and are considered required reading for Westerners interested in understanding the “clash of civilizations,” a phrase he coined in a famous essay in *The Atlantic* in 1990, “The Roots of Muslim Rage.”

Martin Marty is Fairfax M. Cone Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus at the University of Chicago, where he

taught for 35 years, and George B. Caldwell senior scholar at the Park Ridge Center for the Study of Health, Faith, and Ethics. Professor Marty is author of more than 50 books, including the three-volume *Modern American Religion* (University of Chicago Press, 1997); *The One and the Many: America's Search for the Common Good* (Harvard University Press, 1998); *Education, Religion and the Common Good* (Jossey-Bass, 2000); *Politics, Religion and the Common Good* (Jossey-Bass, 2000); and with photographer Micah Marty, *Places along the Way; Our Hope for Years to Come* (Augsburg Fortress Publisher, 1994) and *When True Simplicity Is Gained* (Wm B. Eerdmans, 1998). His *Righteous Empire* (Harper Collins, 1977) won the National Book Award. His *Martin Luther* (Lipper, 2004) is part of the Penguin Lives series. Past President of the American Academy of Religion and recipient of numerous awards, including the National Humanities Medal and the Medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Professor Marty has served on two Presidential commissions.

Her Majesty Queen Noor of Jordan was born Lisa Najeeb Halaby in 1951 to a distinguished Arab-American family. She attended schools in Los Angeles, Washington, DC, New York, and Massachusetts, before entering Princeton University in its first coeducational freshman class. After receiving a BA in Architecture and Urban Planning from Princeton in 1974, Queen Noor participated in several international urban planning and design projects in Australia, Iran, the United States, and Jordan. In 1978 she married the late King Hussein of Jordan. Queen Noor has played a significant mediating role and promoted international exchange and understanding of Middle Eastern politics, Arab-Western relations, and current global issues at world affairs organizations, international conferences, and academic institutions. In 1985 Queen Noor established the Noor Al Hussein Foundation (NHF), which initiates and

supports national, regional, and international projects in the fields of integrated community development, education, culture, children's welfare, family health, women, and enterprise development.

Joseph S. Nye Jr is Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy and former dean of the Kennedy School at Harvard University. He joined the Harvard faculty in 1964, serving as Director of the Center for International Affairs and Associate Dean of Arts and Sciences. From 1977 to 1979, he was Deputy Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance, Science, and Technology and chaired the National Security Council Group on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. He returned to Harvard in December of 1995 after serving as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs and Chair of the National Intelligence Council. His most recent books are *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (Public Affairs, 2004), *The Paradox of American Power* (Oxford University Press, 2002), and *Understanding International Conflicts*, fourth edition (Longman, 1999); *Power and Interdependence* (Longman, 2000), the third edition of his classic study co-written with Robert O. Keohane; and an edited volume, *For the People: Can We Fix Public Service?* (Brookings, 2003). Professor Nye received his bachelor's degree from Princeton University, did postgraduate work at Oxford University on a Rhodes Scholarship, and earned a PhD in political science from Harvard. A Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Academy of Diplomacy, Professor Nye has also been a Senior Fellow of the Aspen Institute and Director of the Aspen Strategy Group.

Judea Pearl is Professor of Artificial Intelligence at the University of California at Los Angeles, since 1970. Award-winning author of numerous books and articles on the representation of reasoning, he is renowned internationally for his pioneering research on probabilistic thinking,

inferences about causal mechanisms, learning strategies, and alternative systems of logic. He is today known more widely as father of Daniel Pearl, a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal* until his tragic killing at the hands of terrorists in 2002 in Pakistan. Professor Pearl has distinguished himself by choosing to honor the memory of his son by committing himself to dialogue and cross-cultural understanding in the wake of the tragedy, including a series of dialogues with Akbar Ahmed. "Hatred took the life of my son and hatred I will fight till the end of my life," said Professor Pearl in acknowledging his son's death as a reason for dialogue. He is president of the Daniel Pearl Foundation, founded largely to promote cross-cultural understanding. Professor Pearl received a bachelor of science degree in electrical engineering from the Technion in Haifa, Israel, in 1960, a master's degree in physics from Rutgers University in 1965, and a PhD degree in electrical engineering from the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn in 1965.

Jonathan Sacks is Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth. Appointed to this position in 1991, he is the sixth incumbent since 1845. Educated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he obtained first class honors in philosophy, Rabbi Sacks pursued postgraduate studies at New College, Oxford, and King's College, London. Rabbi Sacks has been Visiting Professor of Philosophy at the university of Essex, Sherman Lecturer at Manchester University, Riddell Lecturer at Newcastle University, Cook Lecturer at the universities of Oxford, Edinburgh, and St Andrews, and Visiting Professor at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. He is currently Visiting Professor of Theology at Kings' College London. In September 2001, the Archbishop of Canterbury conferred on him a Doctorate of Divinity in recognition of his first ten years in the Chief Rabbinate. He is author of *The Dignity of*

Difference (Continuum, 2003), *The Politics of Hope* (Jonathan Cape, 1997), *Celebrating Life* (Continuum, 2004) *Arguments for the Sake of Heaven* (Jason Aronson, 1991), *Faith in the Future* (Darton, Longman and Todd, 1995), *A Letter in the Scroll* (Free Press, 2000), *From Optimism to Hope: Thoughts for the Day* (Continuum, 2004), and other books. *The Daily Telegraph* wrote of *The Dignity of Difference* that it “stands far above other books about globalization and the so-called clash of civilizations, both for what it has to say and for the grace with which it says it.”

Sir Ravi Shankar is among the world’s best-known and most widely loved and respected musicians. Trained in India on the sitar under guru Baba Allaudin Khan, he collaborated famously with the Beatles in the 1960s, and afterward with the late Lord Yehudi Menuhin, Jean-Pierre Rampal, Philip Glass, and several other renowned Western musicians. Lord Menuhin paid him this tribute: “Ravi Shankar has brought me a precious gift, and through him I have added a new dimension to my experience of music. To me, his genius and his humanity can only be compared to that of Mozart’s.” Sir Ravi is an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters and a member of the United Nations International Rostrum of composers. He has received many awards from India and elsewhere throughout the world, including 14 doctorates, the Padma Vibhushan, Desikottam, the Magsaysay Award from Manila, three Grammy awards, the Fukuoka Grand Prize from Japan, and the Crystal Award from Davos, with the title “Global Ambassador.” In 1986 he was nominated as a member of the Rajya Sabha, India’s upper house of Parliament. He has been granted an honorary knighthood by the Queen of England. Now in his eighties, Sir Ravi continues to tour the world playing sitar with family members and other musicians.