

Political Islam

PIA2458, Spring 2013

Monday 6-9pm

3911 Wesley W. Posvar Hall

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In the past several decades and especially since September 11, 2001, policymakers, scholars and individuals have been debating issues related to the compatibility of Islam and democracy, the growth of violent Islamist movements, and the causes of terrorism and suicide bombings. In many instances, such debates seem to boil down to a "clash of civilization." To explore these issues we will examine a diverse body of literature drawing on political science, anthropology, economics, sociology, and history. We will focus our primary attention to Muslim-majority countries in the Middle East as well as Central and South Asia.

This course begins by investigating the nature of the state in Islamic history and thought. We will explore the interaction between religion and the state prior to the rise of 20th century Islamist movements, focusing on the case of the Ottoman Empire. We then explore the rise the origins of contemporary Islamist movements, beginning with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. What are the intellectual origins of such movements? What impact do they have upon domestic politics in the countries where they emerge? Are Islamist movements compatible with democratic forms of governance? When do such groups engage in violence? How have governments responded to such violence and to what result? The course will explore these and other pressing questions by examining a broad range of movements (both violent and non-violent) in authoritarian and democratic settings, as well as in failed or persistently weak states.

Assignments

There are four opportunities for evaluation in this course:

Midterm: 30%

Final Exam: 30%

Two Short Papers: 30% (15% each) – due dates listed below

Class Participation: 10%

Expectations in the Classroom

Students are expected to come to class prepared. Proper preparation requires that you not only read the materials, but that you also spend significant time reflecting and dissecting the materials for that week.

Texting is distracting to drivers and it is equally distracting in the classroom. As a result, during this course you must turn off your cell phone. Furthermore, laptop computers are also not allowed during the class unless you have a special need.

Books

The following books are required books for the course. They are available at the University Bookstore as well as at any number of online retailers.

- Feldman, Noah. 2008. *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press.
- Osman, Tarek. 2011. *Egypt on the Brink: From Nasser to Mubarak*. Yale University Press.
- Khalid, Adeeb. 2007. *Islam After Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Gleis, Joshua L., and Benedetta Berti. 2012. *Hezbollah and Hamas: A Comparative Study*. The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cockburn, Patrick. 2008. *Muqtada: Muqtada al-Sadr, the Shia Revival, and the Struggle for Iraq*. New York: Scribner.
- Pierret, Thomas. 2013. *Religion and State in Syria: The Sunni Ulama from Coup to Revolution*. Cambridge University Press.

Grading Policy

GSPIA's grading policy is based on the premise that work at the graduate level is fundamentally different from that at undergraduate institutions. In general, expectations regarding student

performance will be higher. Grades in the "A" range will be reserved for students who perform exceptionally well in all components of the course. Grades in the "B" range will be considered satisfactory graduate-level performance. Grades in the "C" range are an indication of below satisfactory performance at the graduate level, with marks of "C-" and below not counted toward a student's degree requirements. Students receiving grades of "C+" or lower on early assignments are urged to meet with the instructor at the earliest opportunity to identify potential problems and develop strategies for improvement.

Students occasionally request an extension at the end of the semester if they cannot complete their assignments due to unforeseen work commitments, family problems, illness and so on. A "G" grade will be given *only under exceptional circumstances*, at the discretion of the instructor, and should be discussed with the instructor before the end of the term. Poor time management is not considered an "exceptional circumstance." According to GSPIA policy, a student must remove the G grade by completing the assigned work for the course as soon as possible in the semester following the course.

Finally, you should note that the assigned readings for the course provide only the skeletal framework for the topics we will discuss. Therefore, in your assignments, you are encouraged to use other research materials, resources, data, readings, etc.

Special Needs

If you have a disability for which you may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both your instructor and Disability Resources and Services, 140 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890/ (412) 383-7355 (TTY), as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

Cheating and Plagiarism

Plagiarism is use of written material from any source without proper citation. It is a serious violation of academic ethics. Note that I adhere strictly to the school policy on plagiarism. Any paper found to have plagiarized material will automatically receive a failing grade, and serious cases of plagiarism can result in a failing grade for the class, so take the time to familiarize yourself with the rules of citation and with GSPIA's policy (found in the GSPIA handbook of academic policies and procedures). If you have any questions on how to cite sources correctly, please ask me directly. Unless clearly specified, you are expected to complete all assignments individually.

- Provides assistance during an academic evaluation to another person in a manner not authorized by the instructor.
- Receives assistance during an academic evaluation from another person in a manner not authorized by the instructor.
- Practices any form of deceit in an academic evaluation proceeding.
- Submits the work of another person in a manner that represents the work to be one's own.

STATEMENT ON CLASSROOM RECORDING

To address the issue of students recording a lecture or class session, the University's Senate Educational Policy Committee issued the recommended statement on May 4, 2010. While it is optional, the Committee recommends that faculty consider adding the statement to all course syllabi.

"To ensure the free and open discussion of ideas, students may not record classroom lectures, discussion and/or activities without the advance written permission of the instructor, and any such recording properly approved in advance can be used solely for the student's own private use."

Introduction

January 7 – Week 1

Issues and Overview

- Eickelman, Dale F. 2002. *The Middle East and Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach*. 4th ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice Hall. Chapter 10 [Islam and the 'Religions of the Book'], pp. 241-311.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72(3): 22–49.
- Lewis, Bernard. 2002. "What Went Wrong?" *The Atlantic Monthly* 289 (1): 43.
- Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2002. "Islamic Culture and Democracy: Testing the 'Clash of Civilizations' Thesis." *Comparative Sociology* 1(3): 235–63.

January 14 – Week 2

Islam, the State, and the Rise (and Fall) of the Islamic State

- Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press. Introduction, Chapter 8 [al-Turabi]
- Feldman, Noah. 2008. *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-3
- Barkey, Karen. 2005. "Islam and Toleration: Studying the Ottoman Imperial Model." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 19(1): 5–19.
- Hallaq, Wael B. 2012. *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament*. New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 1-36

January 21 – Week 3

MLK Day

Islamism as a Political Strategy

January 28 – Week 4

Egypt and the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood

- Berman, Paul. "The Philosopher of Islamic Terror." *New York Times Sunday Magazine*. March 23, 2003.
- Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 1 [al-Banna], Chapter 5 [Qutb] Chapter , Chapter 11 [al-Ghazali]
- Osman, Tarek. 2011. *Egypt on the Brink: From Nasser to Mubarak*. Yale University Press.

Islamic States and Islamization from Above

February 4 – Week 5

Kemalism and its response in Turkey

Short paper #1

- Rustow, Dankwart A. 1968. "Atatürk as Founder of a State." *Daedalus* 97(3): 793–828.
- Nereid, Camilla T. 2011. "Kemalism on the Catwalk: The Turkish Hat Law of 1925." *Journal of Social History* 44(3): 707–28.
- Turam, Berna. 2006. *Between Islam and the State: The Politics of Engagement*. 1st ed. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press. Chapter 2, Chapter 6
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. 2012. "The Travails of the Secular: Puzzle and Paradox in Turkey." *Economy and Society* 41(4): 513–31.
- White, Jenny. 2010. "Fear and Loathing in the Turkish National Imagination." *New Perspectives on Turkey* (42): 215–36.
- Cornell, Svante E. 2012. "What Drives Turkish Foreign Policy?" *Middle East Quarterly*. <http://www.meforum.org/3129/turkish-foreign-policy>

February 11 – Week 6

Pakistan

- Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 3 [Mawdudi]
- Cohen, Stephen P. 2006. *The Idea of Pakistan*. 2nd ed. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.. Chapter 1
- White, Joshua T. 2012. "Beyond Moderation: Dynamics of Political Islam in Pakistan." *Contemporary South Asia* 20(2): 179–94.
- Kapur, S. Paul, and Sumit Ganguly. 2012. "The Jihad Paradox: Pakistan and Islamist Militancy in South Asia." *International Security* 37(1): 111–41.
- Fair, C. Christine, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2010. "Islam, Militancy, and Politics in Pakistan: Insights From a National Sample." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22(4): 495.

February 18 – Week 7

Iran

- Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 6 [Khomeini],
- Gasiorowski, Mark J. 1987. "The 1953 Coup D'etat in Iran." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19(3): 261–86.
- Ashraf, Ahmad, and Ali Banuazizi. 1985. "The State, Classes and Modes of Mobilization in the Iranian Revolution." *State, Culture, and Society* 1(3): 3–40.
- Kurzman, Charles. 2001. "Critics Within: Islamic Scholars' Protests against the Islamic State in Iran." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 15(2): 341–59.
- Keynoush, Banafsheh. 2012. "Iran After Ahmadinejad." *Survival* 54(3): 127–46.
- Roundtable, 2012. Echoes: Iranian Uprisings and the Arab Spring, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44(1): 147-165.

Recommended

- Lynch, Charlotte, Jerrold D. Green, Shahram Chubin, David E. Thaler, and Alireza Nader. 2010. *Mullahs, Guards, and Bonyads: An Exploration of Iranian Leadership Dynamics*. Rand Publishing. Skim
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 2012. "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability." *Foreign Affairs* 91: 2-4

Authoritarian reactions

February 25 – Week 8 (Guest Lecture: Farhod Yuldashev)

Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Central Asia

Short paper #2 due

- Khalid, Adeeb. 2007. *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Balci, Bayram. 2012. "The Rise of the Jama'at Al Tabligh in Kyrgyzstan: The Revival of Islamic Ties between the Indian Subcontinent and Central Asia?" *Central Asian Survey* 31(1): 61–76.

March 4 – Week 9

Midterm

March 11 – Week 10

Spring Break

Islamic Movements in Weak and Failing States

March 18 – Week 11

Hezbollah and Hamas

- Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 7 [Baqir al-Sadr], Chapter 16 [Fadlallah], Chapter 15 [Hamas]
- Gleis, Joshua L., and Benedetta Berti. 2012. *Hezbollah and Hamas: A Comparative Study*. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Islam and Insurgency

March 25 – Week 12 (Guest Lecture: Dan Bisbee)

Iraq and the Shia Revival

- Cockburn, Patrick. 2008. *Muqtada: Muqtada al-Sadr, the Shia Revival, and the Struggle for Iraq*. New York: Scribner.
- Lynch, Marc. 2011. "Explaining the Awakening: Engagement, Publicity, and the Transformation of Iraqi Sunni Political Attitudes." *Security Studies* 20(1): 36–72.
- Parker, Ned. 2012. "Iraq We Left Behind: Welcome to the World's Next Failed State, The." *Foreign Affairs* 91: 94-110.

April 1 – Week 13

Afghanistan and the Taliban

- Barfield, Thomas. 2004. "An Islamic State Is a State Run by Good Muslims: Religion as a Way of Life and Not an Ideology in Afghanistan." In *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization*, ed. Robert W. Hefner. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 213-239.
- Rashid, Ahmed. 2002. *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia, Second Edition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. (available online through Pitt Library). Excerpts
- Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 17 [The Taliban]
- Johnson, Thomas H., and Matthew C. DuPee. 2012. "Analysing the New Taliban Code of Conduct (Layeha) : an Assessment of Changing Perspectives and Strategies of the Afghan Taliban." *Central Asian Survey* 31(1): 77–91.

Transnational Islam: Diffusion of the Arab Spring and Transnational Islamist Networks

April 8 – Week 14

The Syrian Uprising

- Pierret, Thomas. 2013. *Religion and State in Syria: The Sunni Ulama from Coup to Revolution*. Cambridge University Press.

April 15 – Week 15

Transnational Islam

- Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. 2009. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 18 [Osama bin Laden], Chapter 19 [Muhammad Ata al-Sayyid]
- Farrall, Leah. 2011. "How Al Qaeda Works - What the Organization's Subsidiaries Say About Its Strength." *Foreign Affairs* 90: 128.
- Hanif, Noman. 2012. "Hizb Ut Tahrir: Islam's Ideological Vanguard." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39(2): 201–25.
- Barkey, Karen. 2011. "Secularism and Its Discontents: Politics and Religion in the Modern World." *Foreign Affairs* 90: 159-163
- Anderson, Lisa. 2011. "Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya." *Foreign Affairs* 90: 2-7