Islamic Politics
GOVT 3344 / NES 3844, Fall 2009
TR 11:40-12:55, Baker Laboratory (BKL) 335
http://blackboard.cornell.edu

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Sections:

Thurs 10:10-11 in RCK B16
Fri 12:20-1:10 in WHT 104

Tues 1:25-2:15 in URH 498
Wed 12:20-1:10 in GSH G24

Overview: In recent decades, many of the best organized, most popular and most effective opposition movements in the Muslim world call for reforms of state and society that they claim are based on Islamic traditions and principles. Why do Islamic social and political movements appear and assume the forms that they do? Are such movements a product of the modern world or a reaction against it? How does 'Islam' mobilize adherents? Why do some Islamists, but not others, espouse violence? Do Islamist movements change as they participate in pluralist political processes?

This course introduces students to contemporary Islamic politics. We will discuss the key institutions and norms of Islamic constitutionalism, explanations for Islamic political mobilization, domestic and transnational Islamic radicalism, the rise of sectarianism in Iraq, the 'Shia revival,' modernity and public piety, and Islamist participation in democratic political processes. The main goal of the course is to provide students with historical background and theoretical tools to understand the role of Islamic institutions and symbols in contemporary political developments. We will draw on examples from numerous countries.

Lectures: Attendance in lecture is essential for success in the class. Lectures will take place on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 11:40 a.m. in Baker Lab 335. Lectures will supplement the readings, and examinations will cover material from both readings and lectures.

Assignments:

- Class participation (15%): The teaching staff will assign students to one of four weekly discussion sections. You must attend and actively participate in your assigned section each week. Be sure to read the assigned texts and any additional material assigned by the TA before section. Your participation grade will depend more on the quality than on the quantity of your contributions to the discussions. Students are expected to follow and regularly contribute to on-line course bulletin boards. Attendance at lecture will also be considered.

- In-class midterm (25%): A preliminary exam will take place in class on Thursday, October 15th which will cover all material up to that point. It will consist of three parts: identifications, short answer questions and essays.

- Short paper (20%): Late in the semester we will investigate if and how Islamist political organizations change as they participate in pluralist political processes. Each student will use primary documents (e.g. manifestos, electoral platforms and speeches) to write a 4-5 page paper that either compares at least two Islamist organizations or evaluates evidence of change in one organization over time. You can choose from several topics and a range of countries and organizations. Topics will likely include assessments of Islamists' conceptualizations of pluralism, democracy or an Islamic state; the degree to which the Muslim Brothers are an ideologically-unified transnational movement or a set of distinct national movements; and Islamists' economic or foreign policies. Manifestos and electoral platforms of parties will be provided. Two copies of your paper are due in Baker Laboratory 335 at 11:40 a.m. on Tuesday, December 1st. An electronic copy must also be e-mailed to your TA. Papers can be turned in early, but late papers will not be accepted.

- Final examination (40%): The final examination is scheduled for Tuesday, December 15th, from 7:00 p.m.-9:30 p.m. It will be cumulative but emphasize post-midterm material. It will consist of three parts: identifications, short answer questions and essays.

Extensions on assignments and incompletes will be granted only because of circumstances beyond the student's control, e.g. serious illness or family emergencies. A non-refundable airline ticket does not constitute "a circumstance beyond the student's control."

Cornell University policies and regulations: Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity, which is available at: http://www.cuinfo.cornell.edu/Academic/AIC.html. This code includes the following statements: "A Cornell student's submission of work for academic credit indicates that the work is the student's own. All outside assistance should be acknowledged, and the student's academic position truthfully reported at all times."

It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with university policies regarding plagiarism and other violations of academic integrity. A Cornell tutorial called "Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism" can be found at: http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm

The members of the teaching staff observe all university policies addressing racial, ethnic, gender, sexual preference, or religious discrimination and all forms of harassment. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with pertinent policies and to bring any concerns related to them and other Cornell University policies and regulations to the attention of the instructor.

Readings: This course relies heavily on seven recently-published books, which are available for purchase in paperback in the Cornell Bookstore, Kraftees and on-line. They are also on reserve in Uris Library. Others readings will be available via Blackboard.
The books are:

- Cole, Juan. 2009. *Engaging the Muslim World*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Deeb, Lara. 2006. *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Eickelman, Dale, and James Piscatori. 2004. *Muslim Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Feldman, Noah. 2008. *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sedgwick, Mark J. 2006. *Islam & Muslims: A Guide to Diverse Experience in a Modern World*. Boston: Intercultural Press.
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan, ed. 2004. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press
- Wright, Lawrence. 2006. *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. New York: Vintage Books.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND OUTLINE

Other than the books listed above, all items will be available via Blackboard. Readings are to be completed by the assigned date.

Aug 27 (Thurs): Introduction, course overview

- Cole, introduction (pp. 1-6); chapter 1 is optional (pp. 7-40)
- Eickelman & Piscatori, chapter 1 (pp. 3-21)

Sep 1 (Tue): The Prophet and the Message, geography and demography of Islam

- Sedgwick, chapter 1 and parts of 4 and 8 (pp. 1-20, 51-57, 139-149)
- Eickelman & Piscatori, chapter 2 (pp. 22-45)
- Lester, Toby, "What is the Koran?" *The Atlantic Monthly* 283, 1 (January 1999):43-56. http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/print/199901/koran

Sep 3 (Thurs): No lecture; replaced with a film later in the semester

- Begin reading Feldman

Sep 7 (Tue): Islamic 'constitutionalism' – ulama, the Sharia, and rulers

- Sedgwick, chapter 2 (pp. 21-33)
- Feldman, introduction and parts I-II (pp. 1-102)

Sep 10 (Thurs): *din wa dawla* today [*din wa dawla* = religion and state]

- Feldman, part III and conclusion (pp. 105-151)
- Eickelman & Piscatori, chapter 3 (pp. 46-79)
- Brown, Nathan J., and Amr Hamzawy. 2008. "The Draft Party Platform of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Foray Into Political Integration or Retreat Into Old Positions?" Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
  [Focus on the section entitled "Shari'a and the 'Ulama Council" on pages 2-4.]
  http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp89_muslim_brothers_final.pdf
- Sami Zubaida. 1988. "An Islamic State? The Case of Iran." *Middle East Report* 153 (July-Aug.), pp. 3-7.
  http://www.jstor.org/stable/3012122

Optional:

- Buchta, Wilfried. 2004. *Who Rules Iran: The Structure of Power in the Islamic Republic* (Washington: WINEP), read the executive summary at:
  http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC04.php?CID=7
- Khalaji, Mehdi. 2009. "House of the Leader: The Real Power in Iran," *WINEP PolicyWatch* #1524 (June 1)
  http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=3061

Sep 15 (Tue): Varieties and typologies of Islamism

- Sedgwick, chapters 3 and 10 (pp. 35-50, 171-186)

- Cole, chapter 2 (p. 41-81)
- Tamara Cofman Wittes. 2008. "Three kinds of movements." *Journal of Democracy* 19, 3:7-12.
- Bernard Haykel. 2001. "Radical salafism: Osama's ideology." *Dawn*. http://muslim-canada.org/binladendawn.html
- Metcalf, Barbara D. 2002. "'Traditionalist' Islamic Activism: Deoband, Tablighis, and Talibs," Leiden: ISIM. http://www.isim.nl/files/paper_metcalf.pdf

Optional, but useful references:

- International Crisis Group. 2005. "Understanding Islamism," Middle East/North Africa Report No. 37 (2 March). http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/middle_east___north_africa/egypt_north_africa/37_understanding_islamism.pdf
- Guilain Denoeux. 2002. The forgotten swamp: navigating political Islam. Middle East Policy 9, 2:56-81.

Sep 17 (Thurs): The Society of Muslims Brothers

- Hasan al-Banna. 1978. "Between Yesterday and Today." In *Five Tracts of Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949): A selection from the Majmu'at Rasa'il al-Imam al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna*, ed. and trans. Charles Wendell. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 13-39.
- Mona El-Ghobashy. 2005. "The metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, 3:373-395.
- Lynch, Marc. 2007. "Young Brothers in Cyberspace." *MERIP* 245 (Winter). http://www.merip.org/mer/mer245/lynch.html

Sep 22 (Tue): Networks, service provision

- Singerman, chapter 5 in Wiktorowicz (pp. 143-163)
- Clark, chapter 6 in Wiktorowicz (pp. 164-184)
- Smith, chapter 7 in Wiktorowicz (pp. 185-204)
- Iannaccone, Laurence R. 1992. "Sacrifice and Stigma: Reducing Free-riding in Cults, Communes, and Other Collectives," *Journal of Political Economy*, 100, 2:271-291. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2138608

Sep 24 (Thurs): Ideological outreach

- Wickham, chapter 9 in Wiktorowicz (pp. 231-249)
- Yavuz, chapter 11 in Wiktorowicz (pp. 270-288)
- Listen to August 8, 2006 talk at USIP by Eva Borreguero on the Tablighi Jamaat http://www.usip.org/files/file/tablighi_jamaat.mp3
  Summary at: http://www.usip.org/resources/islamist-networks-case-tablighi-jamaat
- Start reading Wright

Sep 29 (Tue): Radicalism & Radicalization

- Wright, chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-113)
- Crone, Patricia. 2007. "'Jihad': idea and history." openDemocracy (January 5). http://www.opendemocracy.net/faith-europe_islam/jihad_4579.jsp
- Selections from the writings of Sayyid Qutb
- McGlinchey, Eric. 2005. "The Making of Militants: The State and Islam in Central Asia," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25, 3: 554-566.
- Robinson, chapter 4 in Wiktorowicz (pp. 112-139)

Optional:

- Hafez & Wiktorowicz, chapter 2 in Wiktorowicz (pp. 61-88)

Oct 1 (Thurs): Radical Islamists turn to far enemies

- Wright, chapters 6-17 (pp. 114-339)
- Osama bin Laden. 1996. "Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places." First published in *al-Quds al-Arabi* http://www.pbs.org/newshour/terrorism/international/fatwa_1996.html Or, http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq/pdf/AFGP-2002-003676-Trans-Meta.pdf
- Lewis, Bernard. 1990. "The Roots of Muslim Rage." *The Atlantic* (September):47-60. http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/print/199009/muslim-rage
- Doran, Michael Scott. 2002. "Somebody Else's Civil War." *Foreign Affairs* 81, 1 (January/February):22-42.

Oct 6 (Tue): The path to 9/11

- Wright, chapters 18-20 (340-421)
- CNN. 2001. "Transcript of bin Laden's October Interview." http://www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/south/02/05/binladen.transcript/index.html
- Lia, Brynjar. 2009. "Explaining Al-Qaida's Continued Appeal," Speech given at a roundtable seminar in Oslo, March 2009. http://www.mil.no/multimedia/archive/00123/Explaining_Al_Qaeda_123381a.pdf

Oct 8 (Thurs): Patterns of violent jihadism since 9/11

- Cole, chapter 5 (pp. 157-192)
- Wright, Lawrence. 2006. "The Master Plan," *The New Yorker* (September 11) http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2006/09/11/060911fa_fact3?currentPage=all
- Hoffman, Bruce. 2008. "The myth of grass-roots terrorism: why Osama bin Laden still matters." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63408/bruce-hoffman/the-myth-of-grass-roots-terrorism
- Sageman, Marc, and Bruce Hoffman. 2008. "Does Osama still call the shots? Debating the containment of al-Qaeda's leadership." *Foreign Affairs*, July/August. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/64460/marc-sageman-and-bruce-hoffman/does-osama-still-call-the-shots

- International Crisis Group. 2005. "Somalia's Islamists." Africa Report No. 100 (December 12). http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/horn_of_africa/100_somalia_s_islamists.pdf

Optional:

- Purported letter by Zarqawi http://www.cpa-iraq.org/transcripts/20040212_zarqawi_full.html
- Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, "This is Our Aqeedah" http://www.missionislam.com/knowledge/ouraqeedah.htm
- http://www.jihadica.com/ blog.

Oct 13 (Tue): No class, Fall Break

Oct 15 (Thurs): In-class midterm

Oct 20 (Tue): The institutionalization of political Shi'ism in Lebanon

- Deeb, chapters 1-2 (pp. 42-95)
- Adam Shatz, "In Search of Hezbollah," *The New York Review of Books* 51, 7 (April 29, 2004). http://www.nybooks.com/articles/17060
- Adam Shatz, "In Search of Hezbollah II," *The New York Review of Books* 51, 8 (May 13, 2004). http://www.nybooks.com/articles/17098

Oct 22 (Thurs): The rise of sectarianism in Iraq

- David Siddhartha Patel. "The rise of local social orders in Iraq" and "Ayatollahs on the Pareto frontier." Unpublished manuscripts.

Oct 27 (Tue): The 'Shia revival' & Iran's influence

- Vali Nasr. 2006. "When the Shiites rise." *Foreign Affairs* July/August.
- Lawson, chapter 3 in Wiktorowicz (pp. 89-111)
- Cole, chapter 6 (pp. 193-236)
- Toby Jones. 2009. "Embattled in Arabia: Shi'is and the Politics of Confrontation in Saudi Arabia," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, Occasional Paper Series (June 3) http://www.ctc.usma.edu/publications/Embattled%20in%20Arabia%20Shi%27is%20and%20the%20Politics%20of%20Confrontation%20in%20Saudi%20Arabia.pdf

Oct 29 (Thurs): Islamist opposition in an Islamic state – the case of Saudi Arabia

- Cole, chapter 3 (pp. 83-113)
- Okruhlik, chapter 10 in Wiktorowicz (pp. 250-269)
- Thomas Hegghammer. 2008. "Islamist violence and regime stability in Saudi Arabia," *International Affairs* 84, 4:701-715.

Nov 3 (Tue): The politics of family

- Sedgwick, chapter 6 (pp. 89-116)
- Eickelman & Piscatori, chapter 4 (pp. 80-107)
- Quintan Wiktorowicz and Suha Taji Farouki. 2000. "Islamic non-governmental organizations and Muslim politics: a case from Jordan." *Third World Quarterly* 21, 4:685-699.
  http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993373
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. 2003. "The True Clash of Civilizations." *Foreign Policy.* March/April: 67-74.
  http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris/Acrobat/Inglehart%20Foreign%20Policy.pdf

Nov 5 (Thurs): Islamism and 'modernity'

- Ira M. Lapidus. 1997. "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40, 4: 444-460.
  http://www.jstor.org/stable/3632403
- Deeb, read chapters 3-4 (pp. 99-164) and skim introduction (pp. 3-41)
- Kurzman, Charles. 2002. "bin Laden and other thoroughly modern Muslims." *Contexts* 1, 4:13-20.

Nov 10 (Tue): Public piety

- Arlene Elowe MacLeod. 1992. "Hegemonic relations and gender resistance: the new veiling as accommodating protest in Cairo." *Signs* 17, 3:533-557.
  http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174622
- Deeb, chapters 5-7 (pp. 165-232)

Nov 12 (Thurs): Islam and regime type

- M. Steven Fish. 2002. "Islam and authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55, 1:4-37.
- Tessler, Mark. 2002. "Do Islamic Orientations Influence Attitudes Toward Democracy in the Arab World? Evidence from Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Algeria." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 43, 3-5: 229-249.
- Eickelman & Piscatori, chapter 5 (pp. 108-135)

Nov 17 (Tue): Islamists' 'commitment' to democracy

- Gudrun Krämer. 1993. "Islamist notions of democracy." *Middle East Report* 183:2-8.
  http://www.jstor.org/stable/3012570
- Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2000. "Commitment problems in emerging democracies: the case of religious parties." *Comparative Politics* 32, 4:379-398.
- William F. Case & Liew Chin-Tong. 2006. "How committed is PAS to democracy and how do we know it?" *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28, 3:385-406.
- Suzaina Kadir. 1999. "The Islamic factor in Indonesia's political transition." *Asian Journal of Political Science* 7, 2:21-44.

Nov 19 (Thurs): Faith in moderation?

- Schwedler, Jillian. 2007. "Democratization, Inclusion and the Moderation of Islamist Parties," *Development* 50, 1:56-61.
- Brown, Nathan J., Amr Hamzawy, and Marina Ottaway. 2006. "Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring the Gray Zones." Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_67_grayzones_final.pdf
- Bassam Tibi. 2008. "Why they can't be democratic." *Journal of Democracy* 19, 3:43-48.

Nov 24 (Tue): No lecture; film (*Recycle*) shown in class and placed on reserve

- http://www.sundance.org/festival/film_events/details1.asp?filmid=08F0057

Nov 26 (Thurs): Thanksgiving Break

Dec 1 (Tue): 'Islamic economics' & (under)development

Short paper due

- Kuran, Timur. "The Economic Impact of Islamism," chapter 1 (p. 1-37) in Kuran, Timur. 2004. *Islam & Mammon: The Economic Predicaments of Islamism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/s7731.pdf
- Kuran, Timur. 2004. "Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, 3:71-90. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3216807

Dec 3 (Thurs): Literacy, technology and the *umma*

- Becker, Felicitas. 2006. "Rural Islamism during the 'War on Terror': A Tanzanian case study," *African Affairs* 105/421: 583-603.
- Eickelman & Piscatori, chapter 6 (pp. 136-164)
- "IslamOnline.net: Independent, interactive, popular." Arab Media & Society, 4. http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=576
- Skim http://www.islamonline.net/

Read any two of the following four:

- Wise, Lindsay. 2006. "Amr Khaled vs Yusuf Al Qaradawi: The Danish cartoon controversy and the clash of two Islamic TV titans." *Transnational Broadcasting Studies* 16. http://www.tbsjournal.com/wise.htm
- Wise, Lindsay. 2005. "Whose Reality is Real? Ethical Reality TV Trend Offers "Culturally Authentic' Alternative to Western Formats." *Transnational Broadcasting Studies* 15. http://www.tbsjournal.com/Wise.html
- Field, Nathan, and Ahmed Hamam. 2009. "Salafi satellite TV in Egypt." Arab Media & Society 8. http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=712

- Kubala, Patricia. 2005. “The other face of the video clip: Sami Yusuf and the call for al-Fann al-Hadif.” *Transnational Broadcasting Studies* 14:38-47. http://www.tbsjournal.com/Archives/Spring05/kubala.html

Dec 15 (Tue): Final exam, 7 p.m.-9:30 p.m., room assignment available in October