

Rollins College
Hamilton Holt School
Spring 2007

Understanding Islamist Politics in the Middle East and North Africa

(10719 - INAF 315S H4)

Professor: Stephen Day

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Location: CSS 221

(407) 929-9946

Time: Tuesday, 6:45-9:25 pm

Description of the Course:

After September 2001 the Bush administration adopted a two-pronged foreign policy in the Muslim world. On the one hand it went to war against enemies it perceived to be responsible for horrific terrorist assaults. On the other hand it launched a democratic initiative stretching across the Middle East to North Africa and South Asia. This dual policy resembles a classic “carrot and stick” approach with the US seeking to destroy enemies abroad by military means while at the same time cultivating new allies by peaceful means. Typically the “carrot” is meant to lessen the severity of the “stick,” ensuring the overall policy works more effectively in US interests. Today, however, US policy is badly conflicted because the “carrot and stick” currently in use are serving cross purposes.

During the last five years as America encouraged democratic elections across the region, the results predictably failed to bring to power moderate, secular elements that would support US interests. Instead these elections were repeatedly won by America’s strongest Islamist critics, occasionally the same forces fighting American soldiers on the battlefield. This is true from Afghanistan and Pakistan to Iraq, Lebanon, and Palestine. In fact since 2001 more Islamist oriented politicians have come to power in traditional allies like Turkey and Egypt. It is essential to understand that for three decades the popular Islamist trend in the Middle East and North Africa has been moving in an anti-US direction. Thus it should come as no surprise that the “carrot” of America’s mission to spread democracy in the Muslim world empowers groups deeply hostile to American soldiers bearing the “stick.” In a region of the world that has centuries old antagonisms with “the West,” it was never possible for America to build friendly secular democracies at gunpoint. The challenge for Americans now is how to come to terms with Islamist politics.

This course analyses recent Islamist politics in the Middle East and North Africa to illustrate just how flawed America’s “carrot and stick” approach actually is. Political Islam is a diverse phenomenon. While there are radical militants within the mix, the majority of Islamists speak with moderate voices. They support social and political freedoms, free market economic principles, civil and human rights, and democracy. In fact moderate Islamists began calling for democracy as early as the 1980s, when the US still supported military authoritarian regimes in the region. While noticeable barriers exist to “Islamist democracy,” it is the Islamists who will define the region’s political future. This point is best understood by reviewing the experience of countries across the region. The main countries covered in our course this semester include Egypt, Iran, Turkey, Jordan, and Algeria, but readings and discussions will also address Iraq, Palestine, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Tunisia, and Yemen.

Course Books:

Mary Habeck, Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2006.

Jennifer Noyon, Islam, Politics and Pluralism: Theory and Practice in Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, England, 2003.

Fatima Mernissi, Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World, Perseus Publishing, Cambridge, MA, 2002.

Raymond William Baker, Islam without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2003.

Recommended:

Akbar S. Ahmed, Islam Under Siege: Living Dangerously in a Post-Honor World, Polity Press, Oxford, England, 2003.

Akbar S. Ahmed, Journey Into Islam: The Crisis of Globalization, Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2007.

Structure of the Course:

The first four weeks of the semester provide context for the case studies we will compare and contrast in the rest of the course. Week One defines what is and is not the connection between Islamist politics and the events in America on September 11, 2001. During the next three weeks we will cover the ideological basis of Islamist politics, beginning with its classical and early modern history, then looking at its radical phase around the Iranian revolution, and finally concluding with the militancy of groups like al-Qaeda. There will be an oral quiz given in Week Five, as explained below.

During the remainder of the semester the course primarily follows a country-by-country comparative method. Students will play a more active role during class time as they share responsibility for presenting the reading material. There will be two paper assignments the rest of the semester: the first on an assigned topic related to the required readings by Mary Habeck and Jennifer Noyon is due in Week Nine; and the second on an assigned topic from the books by Fatima Mernissi and Raymond Baker is due in Week Fourteen. A final comprehensive examination will be given at the end of the semester.

Oral Quiz:

The oral quiz in Week Five tests each student's understanding of the readings in the first five weeks. The class will not meet as a group during this fifth week. Instead each student will be given a 10-15 minute appointment with the professor in the regular classroom during the regular class time. In the oral quiz the professor will ask a series of general questions on the readings during weeks 1-5. These questions will follow an informal conversation pattern, where the professor's interest is to see how each student personally interprets the reading material, not how each student retains detailed information from the readings.

Paper Assignments:

These are mid-size paper assignments 6-8 pages in length. The first assigned topic is based on the course reading materials, whether required or recommended. The assigned topic will be provided by

Week Seven, and is due in Week Nine. The second paper is also based on the course readings, but it may also include outside reading materials. This paper is due in Week Fourteen, the last class before the final exam, and it will be provided in class during Week Twelve.

Both papers should be double-spaced with a standard font set at 11 or 12 point. Please use one inch margins, and leave plenty of time to spell check and proofread your papers! If you leave many simple errors in your paper, then this will detract from your grade.

It is preferred that you hand in a hard copy of your paper the date it is due. Late papers will be given a deduction at the rate of one-half letter grade each day. There are no extensions for late papers. If a paper is late due to a documented health or family emergency, then the late penalties will be waived.

Presentation of Reading Materials:

One week during the semester (between weeks 7 and 13), each student will be assigned a date to share responsibility for presenting a summary of that week's reading material. These individual presentations should focus on the central themes of the required reading, and any specific issues or questions the student wants to raise. Students are encouraged to supplement their presentations with additional readings, and they may use power point or other multi-media.

Final Exam:

The final exam is comprehensive, covering all the required course material. The exam will include one long essay question dealing with a general subject explored during the semester plus additional short answer questions related to important course concepts. The emphasis in the final exam's essay section is the student's writing clarity, organization of ideas, and development of a persuasive argument.

Grading:

All components of this course, including attendance and regular participation in class discussions, will contribute to a student's final grade. Grades are assigned on the following basis:

A = 91-100 B = 82-90 C = 73-81 D = 64-72 F = 63 or less

Each student's final grade is calculated according to the following percentages:

Attendance and participation:	20%
Oral quiz:	10%
Two papers:	30%
Class presentation:	10%
Final exam:	30%

The percentage for attendance/participation is broken down on a 3:2 ratio. Attendance is calculated on an overall scale, while participation is evaluated by the professor in terms of how well each student joins in classroom discussions (actively or passively), question/answer sessions, and other in-class activities. If a student misses more than two class sessions, or is regularly disruptive by using a cell phone, surfing the internet, or leaving the classroom, then he or she may forfeit this entire portion of the grade.

Course Schedule

Week One

August 28, 2007

Introduction: The Intersection between America, 9/11, and Islam?

Required: Mary Habeck, Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror, Chapter 1.

Also complete at least two of the following four readings (all four if possible) to be found on-line or in library reserve. The Olin Library reserve desk will assist you in finding any on-line sources.

James Bill and Rebecca Bill Chavez, "The Politics of Incoherence: The United States and the Middle East," Middle East Journal, Autumn '02, 56:4, p. 562-575.

Henry Munson, "Islam, Nationalism, and Resentment of Foreign Domination," Middle East Policy, Summer 2003, Vol. X, No. 2; pp. 40-53. (Some MEP articles available at MEP website).

A. Richard Norton, "The US in The Middle East: Grand Plans, Grand Ayatollahs and Dark Alleys," p. 97; and Louis Cantori, "Accelerating Islam: Bush Policy in the Middle East," p. 102; Middle East Policy, Spring 2005, Volume XII, No 1.

Mohammed Ayoob, "Deciphering Islam's Multiple Voices: Intellectual Luxury or Strategic Necessity?," Middle East Policy, Fall 2005, XII, No 3, pp. 79-90.

Recommended: (These readings may be used as resources throughout the semester.)

Thomas Stauffer, "The Cost of Conflict in the Middle East, 1956-2002: What the US has spent," MEP, Spring 2003, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 45-102; with statistical charts and tables.

Quintan Wiktorowicz and John Kaltner, "Killing in the Name of Islam: al-Qaeda's Justification for September 11," MEP, Summer 2003 Vol. X, No. 2, p. 76-92.

Alan Richards, "Modernity and Economic Development: The New American Messianism," MEP, Fall 2003, Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 56-78.

Craig Calhoun, Paul Price, and Ashley Timmer, eds., Understanding 9/11, New Press, New York, NY. (5 topics: Islamic Radicalism, Globalization, New World Order, Competing Narratives, and Terrorism and Democratic Virtues.

Eric Hershberg and Kevin Moore, eds., Critical Views of September 11: Analyses from Around the World, New Press, New York, NY. (Companion to Calhoun, book above).

Thierry Hentsch, Imagining the Middle East, Black Rose Books, Montreal, Canada, 1992.

Mohammed Arkoun, Rethinking Islam, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 1994.

Emran Qureshi and Michael Sells, eds., The New Crusades: Constructing the Muslim Enemy, Columbia University Press, New York, NY, 2003.

Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam: Theory and Practice, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, FL, 2003.

Week Two

September 4, 2007

Historical Background: Political Aspects of Islam and Its Ideologies

Required: Mary Habeck, Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror, Chapter 2.

Jennifer Noyon, Islam, Politics and Pluralism: Theory and Practice in Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria, Chapters 1 and 2.

Mahmoud Ayoub, (book on reserve) "Islam between Ideals and Ideologies," in Barbara Stowasser, ed., The Islamic Impulse, Chapter 20, pp. 297-317. Also excerpts of Chapter 3 by Eric Davis in same book, pp. 48-57, sub-titled "Islamic Radicalism...Class Struggle."

Anthony Shadid, (book on reserve), Legacy of the Prophet, Chapter 1, "...Islam as a Refuge in Troubled Times," pp. 11-41.

Recommended: Anthony Shadid, Legacy of the Prophet, Chapter 2, "Intersections and Messages: Islam Interpreted and Reinterpreted," especially pp. 61-74.

Charles Kurzman, ed., Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: A Sourcebook, Oxford University Press, Oxford, England, 2002.

Beverly Milton-Edwards, Islamic Fundamentalism Since 1945, Routledge, London, England, 2005.

Ibrahim Abu-Rabi', Contemporary Arab Thought: Studies in Post-1967 Arab Intellectual History, Pluto Press, London, England, 2004.

Lawrence Davidson, Islamic Fundamentalism: An Introduction, Greenwood Press, 2003.

Week Three

September 11, 2007

Iran's 1979 Revolution: The Shia and the Spread of Radical Islam

Required: Jennifer Noyon, Islam, Politics and Pluralism: Theory and Practice in Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria, Chapter 4.

Mary Habeck, Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror, Chapters 3 and 4.

Richard Cottam, (book on reserve) "The Iranian Revolution," in Nikki Keddie and Juan Cole, Shi'ism and Social Protest, Chapter 2, pp. 55-87

Sami Zubaida, (book on reserve) "Is Iran an Islamic State?," in Joel Beinin and Joe Stork, Political Islam, Chapter 9, pp. 103-119.

Recommended: Nikki Keddie and Juan Cole, Shi'ism and Social Protest, especially Chapters 5 and 6 on Lebanon.

Anthony Shadid, Legacy of the Prophet, Chapter 6, "Iran's Lesson: The Iranian Revolution and the Rebirth of Political Islam," pp. 187-222.

Roy Mottahedeh, The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran, One World Press, Oxford, England, 1985.

Nikki Keddie, Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran, Yale University, New Haven, CT, 1981.

Mansour Farhang, "How the Clergy Gained Power in Iran," in Barbara Stowasser, ed., The Islamic Impulse, Chapter 11, pp. 157-174.

Mehdi Moslem, Factional Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran, Syracuse Univ. Press, 2002.

Yitzhak Nakash, The Shi'is of Iraq, Princeton University Press, 1994.

Faleh Abdul-Jabar, Ayatollahs, Sufis and Ideologues (in Iraq), Saqi Books, London, 2002.

Week Four

September 18, 2007

Is there a "Clash of Civilizations" between Islam and the West?

Required: Mary Habeck, Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror, Ch. 5 to end.

Lisa Wedeen, "Beyond the Crusades: Why Huntington and Bin Laden are Wrong," Middle East Policy, Summer 2003, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 54-61.

<http://proquest.umi.com.ezproxy.rollins.edu:2048/pqdweb?index=2&did=353321901&SrchMode=3&sid=1&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1187818149&clientId=394&aid=1>

Recommended: Charles Kurzman and Michaelle Browers, eds., An Islamic Reformation?, Lexington Books, 2003.

Louay Safi, Tensions and Transitions in the Muslim World, Univ. Press of America, 2004.

Omid Safi, ed., Progressive Muslims, Oneworld Publications, Oxford, England, 2003.

Week Five

September 25, 2007

***** ORAL EXAM *****

NO CLASS -- Individual appointments for Oral Exam

Required: Jennifer Noyon, Islam Politics and Pluralism: Theory and Practice in Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria, Chapters 3 and 5.

Gudrun Kramer, (book on reserve), "Islamist Notions of Democracy," in Joel Beinin and Joe Stork, Political Islam, Chapter 6, pp. 71-80. Also excerpts of Chapter 1 in same book, pp. 5-10.

Recommended: Quintan Wiktorowicz, ed., Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach, Indiana University Press, 2004.

Janine Clark, Islam, Charity, and Activism: Middle Class Networks and Social Welfare in Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen, Indiana University Press 2004.

Week Six

October 2, 2007

Islamist Reactions to Events in Iraq and Palestine

Required: Ken Silverstein, "Parties of God," *Harper's Magazine*, March 2007, pp. 33-43.
<http://www.harpers.org/archive/2007/03/0081425>

Husain Haqqani, "Islam's Weakened Moderates," *Foreign Policy Magazine*, July-August 2003, http://www.ciaonet.org.ezproxy.rollins.edu:2048/olj/fp/fp_julaug03w.html

Christopher Parker and Pete W. Moore, "The War Economy of Iraq," *Middle East Report*, Summer 2007, # 243. http://www.merip.org/mer/mer243/parker_moore.html

Thomas Hegghammer, "Global Jihadism After the Iraq War," *Middle East Journal*, Winter 2006, Vol. 60, No. 1, pp. 11-32.
<http://proquest.umi.com.ezproxy.rollins.edu:2048/pqdweb?index=43&did=985448041&SrchMode=3&sid=7&Fmt=4&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1187709222&clientId=394&aid=10>

John L Esposito, Dalia Mogahed, "BATTLE FOR MUSLIMS' HEARTS AND MINDS: THE ROAD NOT (YET) TAKEN," *Middle East Policy*, Washington: Spring 2007. Vol. 14, Iss. 1; pg. 27.
<http://proquest.umi.com.ezproxy.rollins.edu:2048/pqdweb?index=3&did=1248221611&SrchMode=3&sid=2&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1187707987&clientId=394&aid=2>

Week Seven

October 9, 2007

Islamists in Turkey and Jordan

Required: Jennifer Noyon, *Islam Politics and Pluralism: Theory and Practice in Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria*, Chapters 6-7, pp. 53-93.

Diamond, Plattner, and Brumberg, (book on reserve), *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East*, Chapter 1, Russell Lucas, "Deliberalization in Jordan, pp. 99-106; Chapter 18, Soli Ozel, "Turkey at the Polls: After the Tsunami," pp. 162-176; Chapter 19, Ziya Onis and E. Fuat Keyman, "A New Path Emerges, pp. 177-189.

The Economist, "The Lesson from Turkey; Islam and democracy," July 28, 2007
http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.rollins.edu:2048/us/Inacademic/results/docview/docview.do?risb=21_T1929429534&format=GNBFI&sort=RELEVANCE&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T1929429537&cisb=22_T1929429536&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&selRCNodeID=10&nodeStatId=411en_US,1&docsInCategory=21&csi=7955&docNo=5

Laura King, "Religion at Heart of Turkish vote," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 2007
http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.rollins.edu:2048/us/Inacademic/results/docview/docview.do?risb=21_T1929429534&format=GNBFI&sort=RELEVANCE&startDocNo=76&resultsUrlKey=29_T1929429537&cisb=22_T1929429536&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=306910&docNo=99

Recommended: M. Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, Oxford University Press, 2003.

Amira al-Azhary Sonbol, Women of Jordan: Islam Labor and Law, Syracuse University Press, 2002.

Week Eight

October 16, 2007

Islamists in Tunisia, Algeria, and the Arabian Peninsula

Required: Jennifer Noyon, Islam Politics and Pluralism: Theory and Practice in Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria, Chapters 8-9, pp. 94-134.

Ray Takeyh, "Islamism in Algeria: A Struggle between Hope and Agony," Middle East Policy, Summer 2003, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 62-75.

<http://proquest.umi.com.ezproxy.rollins.edu:2048/pqdweb?index=9&did=353321861&SrchMode=3&sid=1&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1187818533&clientId=394&aid=2>

"Reconciliation, Up to a Point," The Economist, September 2, 2006

http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.rollins.edu:2048/us/lnacademic/results/docview/docview.do?risb=21_T1929624351&format=GNBFI&sort=RELEVANCE&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T1929624354&cisb=22_T1929624353&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&selRCNodeID=21&nodeStatId=411en_US,1&docsInCategory=56&csi=7955&docNo=13

Recommended: Frederic Volpi, Islam and Democracy: The Failure of Dialogue in Algeria.

Azzam S. Tamimi, Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat within Islamism, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Week Nine

October 23, 2007

***** First Paper Due *****

Islam and Democracy through the Eyes of a Muslim Woman

Required: Fatima Mernissi, Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World, Introduction to the Second Edition, pp. ix-xi, and Introduction to the First Edition, pp. 1-10, plus Chapters 1-3, pp. 13-59.

Recommended: Fatima Mernissi, Beyond the Veil, Indiana University Press, 1975.

Asra Nomani, Standing Alone in Mecca, Harpers, San Francisco, 2005.

Week Ten

October 30, 2007

Islam and Democracy through the Eyes of a Muslim Woman (cont.)

Required: Fatima Mernissi, Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World, Chs. 4-9, pp. 60-148.

Recommended: Fatima Mernissi, Beyond the Veil, Indiana University Press, 1975.

Asra Nomani, Standing Alone in Mecca, Harpers, San Francisco, 2005.

Week Eleven

November 6, 2007

Conclusion: Islam and Democracy - With A Muslim Man's Response

Required: Fatima Mernissi, Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World, Ch. 10-Conclusion, pp. 149-174.

Akbar Ahmed, Journey into Islam: The Crisis of Globalization, pp. 139-171. (Photocopies on reserve.)

Raymond William Baker, Islam without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists, Introduction, pp. 1-14.

Week Twelve

November 13, 2007

Islamist Cultural Foundations in Egypt

Required: Raymond William Baker, Islam without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists, Chapters 1-2, pp. 15-80.

Recommended: Anthony Shadid, The Legacy of the Prophet, 2002; Chapters 1-3, especially Chapter 3.

Week Thirteen

November 20, 2007

Egypt's Islamist Social Organizations

Required: Raymond William Baker, Islam without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists, Chapters 3-4, pp. 81-162

Recommended: Davut Ates, "Economic Liberalization and Changes in Fundamentalism: The Case of Egypt," Middle East Policy, Winter 2005, Volume XII, No. 4, pp. 133-144.

Week Fourteen

November 27, 2007

*** **Second Paper Due** ***

Islamist Political Aspirations in Egypt

PLUS FINAL REVIEW SESSION

Required: Raymond William Baker, Islam without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists, Chapters 5-6 and Conclusion, pp. 163-260.

Recommended: Maye Kassem, Egyptian Politics: The Dynamics of Authoritarian Rule, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.

FINAL EXAM -- DECEMBER 4, 2007