

## **DHP--P 268 Religion and Power in World Affairs: Islam and Politics**

**Ibrahim Warde**

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Although it had long been assumed that secularism was on an inexorable march and that religion would be confined to the margins of the political system, Islamic ideas and actors have come to play a central role in global politics. The course seeks to explain, through historical, comparative, and international perspectives, how political Islam has come to play such a central role in international affairs.

After a general introduction to the topic of religion and politics, the course will discuss the media-driven 'clash of civilizations' discourse and the impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks on perceptions of political Islam. It will then move on to a historical overview, tracing the evolution of Islam from its early days, when politics and religion were inextricably linked, to new forms of "mosque and state" relations through the ages. Such a perspective will help understand the diversity of contemporary Islam

A substantial part of the course will be devoted to contemporary forms of political Islam, from the democratic and moderate strands to the extremist and violent ones. The course will focus in particular on Sunni and Shia differences, on the Iranian revolution and its consequences, the Afghan jihad and its offshoots, the role of Islam in the "Arab Spring," and more recently the rise and fall of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and the question of radicalization and de-radicalization of Islamic militants.

In addition to thematic discussions, case studies about individuals (such as Abul Ala Maududi, Sayyid Qutb, Ayatollah Khomeini, Fethullah Gulen, Usama Bin Laden, Abu Baqr Al-Baghdadi, etc.), movements and parties (Wahhabism, Muslim Brothers, Jamaat-i-Islami, Taliban, Hamas, Hezbollah, AKP, An Nahda, ISIS, etc.) and countries (Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Senegal, Nigeria, Yemen, Mali) will be introduced throughout the semester to illustrate the diversity and complexity of political Islam.

The final part of the course will broaden the discussion to other religions, such as Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism, which have undergone their own political revivals. This comparative dimension will also allow us to review dominant modernization and secularization theories and revisit the question of the impact of religion, and Islam on particular, on political and economic development.

## GRADES AND REQUIREMENTS

Grading will be based on a midterm (40%) and a research paper (60%). The midterm will be in class on October 24. The paper topic should be selected in consultation with the instructor. The paper (about 12 pages double-spaced) will be due on December 9 before 5pm. An electronic copy should be e-mailed to the instructor and a hard copy should be brought to the Fares Center (129 Mugar). All students are expected to participate actively in class discussions and demonstrate command of the assigned readings. Class participation will be considered when assigning the student's final grade (10% bonus/penalty).

In accordance with federal and state law, Tufts University provides reasonable accommodations to students with documented disabilities. If you believe you require an accommodation, e-mail [accessibility@tufts.edu](mailto:accessibility@tufts.edu), or [Catherine.Flynn@tufts.edu](mailto:Catherine.Flynn@tufts.edu).

## REQUIRED READINGS

The following books will be read in their entirety:

- Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, *A Theory of ISIS, Political Violence and the Transformation of the Global Order*, Pluto Press 2017.
- Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future*, W.W. Norton 2006.
- Sadakat Kadri, *Heaven on Earth: A Journey Through Shari'a Law from the Deserts of Ancient Arabia to the Streets of the Modern Muslim World*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux 2012
- Mohammed Ayoob, *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World*, University of Michigan Press 2008.
- Monica Duffy Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Samuel Shah, *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*, W. W. Norton 2011.

In addition, each week, current events articles relevant to the course will be posted on Canvas, alongside with relevant articles and book chapters. Those readings will serve as a basis for class discussions

## IMPORTANT DATES

- October 24: midterm
- December 9: term papers due.

## LECTURES AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

### Week 1- September 5: Islam and Politics in Comparative and International Perspective

#### Required Readings:

Juan Cole, "Ali Bonaparte," in *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East*, Palgrave-McMillan 2004.

Monica Duffy Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Samuel Shah, *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*, W. W. Norton 2011, Chapters 1 and 6.

Sadakat Kadri, *Heaven on Earth: A Journey Through Shari'a Law from the Deserts of Ancient Arabia to the Streets of the Modern Muslim World*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux 2012. Prologue: Infinite Justice.

Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future*, W.W. Norton 2006, Introduction.

Mohammed Ayoob, *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World*, University of Michigan Press 2008, Introduction.

Current Events Readings on Canvas

### Week 2 - September 12: The Clash of Civilizations Discourse and the perceptions of Islam in the post-September 11 environment

Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," *The Atlantic* 1990

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 1993

Edward Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," *The Nation* 2001.

Bernard Lewis, Freedom and Justice in the Modern Middle East, *Foreign Affairs* 2005

Current Events Readings on Canvas,

### Week 3 - September 19: Historical Legacy and Theological Roots

#### Required Readings:

Sadakat Kadri, *Heaven on Earth: A Journey Through Shari'a Law from the Deserts of Ancient Arabia to the Streets of the Modern Muslim World*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux 2012, Chapters 1-5

Current Events Readings on Canvas,

**Weeks 4 and 5 – September 26 and October 3: Political Islam, the Cold War and the Post-Cold War: The Reinvented Traditions of Jihad, Revolution, and Islamic State; Al—Qaeda and Salafism**

**Required Readings:**

Sadakat Kadri, *Heaven on Earth: A Journey Through Shari'a Law from the Deserts of Ancient Arabia to the Streets of the Modern Muslim World*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux 2012, Chapters 6-12

Current Events Readings on Canvas

**Weeks 6 and 7- October 10 and October 17: The Iranian Revolution, the Iraq Wars and the Shi'a Revival**

**Required Readings:**

Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future*, W.W. Norton, 2006.

Current Events Readings on Canvas

**Week 8 – October 24 - Midterm**

**Weeks 9 and 10- October 31 and November 7: Political Islam, the “Arab Spring” and the Rise of ISIS**

**Required Readings:**

Mohammed Ayoob, *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World*, University of Michigan Press 2008.

Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, *A Theory of ISIS, Political Violence and the Transformation of the Global Order*, Pluto Press 2017, Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2.

Current Events Readings on Canvas.

## **Weeks 11 and 12 – November 14 and November 21: Religious Revival in Comparative Perspective**

### **Required Readings:**

Monica Duffy Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Samuel Shah, *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*, W. W. Norton 2011, Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8.

William McGowan, Buddhists Behaving Badly, *Foreign Affairs* 2012.

Ibrahim Warde, "Which God Is on Whose Side," *Le Monde Diplomatique* 2002.

Current Events Readings on Canvas

## **Week 13- December 5: The Future of Political Islam**

### **Required Readings:**

Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, *A Theory of ISIS, Political Violence and the Transformation of the Global Order*, Pluto Press 2017, Chapters 3 and 4 and Conclusion.

Current Events Readings on Canvas

## **RECOMMENDED READINGS**

Fawaz Gerges, *ISIS: A History*, Princeton University Press 2016.

Christopher de Bellaigue, *The Islamic Enlightenment: The Struggle Between Faith and Reason--1798 to Modern Times*, Liveright Publishing 2017

Olivier Roy, *Jihad and Death: The Global Appeal of Islamic State*, Hurst Publishers 2017

Nadia Marzouki, *Islam: An American Religion*, Columbia University Press 2017

Graeme Wood, *The Way of the Stranger: Encounters with the Islamic State*, Random House 2016

Peter Bergen, *United States of Jihad: Investigating America's Homegrown Terrorists*, Crown Publishers 2016

Jack Snyder, *Religion and International Relations Theory*, Columbia University Press 2011

Yaroslav Trofimov, *Siege Over Mecca: The Forgotten Uprising in Islam's Holiest Shrine and the Birth of al-Qaeda*, Doubleday, 2007

Madeleine Albright, *The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs*, Harper Perennial 2007.

Olivier Roy, *Secularism Confronts Islam*, Columbia University Press 2007

Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*, Knopf 2006

Eric O. Hanson, *Religion and Politics in the International System Today*, Cambridge University Press 2006.

Barbara Victor, *The Last Crusade: Religion and the Politics of Misdirection*, Constable and Robinson 2005.

Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: the Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*, Princeton University Press, 2005

Natana De-Long Bas, *Wahhabi Islam*, Oxford University Press 2004

Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*, Penguin Press 2004

Robert Hefner, in *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization*, Princeton University Press 2004

Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, Harvard University Press 2003

Carrie Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam*, Columbia University Press 2002

Peter L. Berger, *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, Eerdmans 1999

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Free Press 1997

Gilles Kepel, *The Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the Modern World*, The University of Pennsylvania University Press 1994

Matthew C. Moen and Lowell S. Gustafson, *Religious Challenge to the State*, Temple University Press 1992