

**GOVT 40**  
**ISLAMIC POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST**  
**Fall 2012**

2A: Tuesdays and Thursdays 2:00-3:50

X Period: Wednesday 4:15-5:05

Room: Thornton 104

Antonia Barry

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Office Hours: Mondays 9-11 or by appointment, 229 Silsby

**Course Description:**

The most dynamic political forces today in countries across the Middle East are Islamist parties and movements. In recent years, Islamists have, through elections, come to dominate the parliaments of Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Iraq and Kuwait. This course provides an overview of the key concepts underlying political Islam and the development of modern Islamic politics – from the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood through the Iranian Revolution to the present focus on the electoral process. We will also take an in-depth look at the role of political Islam in select countries and organizations in the Middle East.

**Course Requirements:**

1. Class Participation (5%)
2. Pop Quizzes (10%)
3. Mid-Term (30%)
4. Paper (15%)
5. Wiki (10%)
6. Final Exam (30%)

Quizzes: I will give 5-7 unannounced quizzes throughout the term. Quizzes will test your knowledge of the readings assigned for the given day. They should take 5-10 minutes and will address major points from the readings. The lowest quiz grade will be dropped. There are no make-up quizzes.

Wiki: Working in groups of two-three, you will create a wiki on the meaning and use of a selected Islamic term. Throughout the term, you may update your entries based on lectures and readings. No outside reading is required to create the wiki.

Paper: A 4-6 page paper will be due in class October 30.

**Required Texts:**

John Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path*

Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds., *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, Princeton University Press (2009).

Other readings as indicated below.

### **Class Policies:**

**Class attendance is required.** You are required to attend class, complete all the assigned reading before class and to participate actively in class discussions. Absences will lower your participation grade, except under extraordinary circumstances (documented medical or family emergency). Participation will be graded on the frequency and quality of your participation. In general, I am looking for you to show that you have done and thought about the reading and that you are engaging with the arguments from the readings during class discussions.

**Late assignments** will be penalized one-third grade per day (including weekends). If you have a problem meeting a deadline, contact me before the assignment is due.

**Learning Disabilities.** Students with disabilities are encouraged to make an appointment to see me before the end of the second week of the term to arrange accommodations.

**Religious Observance.** If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me before the end of the second week of the term to discuss appropriate accommodations

**Honor Principle:** All students are reminded of their obligation to conduct themselves in accordance with the Standards of Conduct in general and with the Academic Honor Principle in particular. Plagiarism will not be tolerated. If you plagiarize, you will fail the class and your case will be sent to the academic integrity committee. The Academic Honor Principle is available at [www.dartmouth.edu/~uja/honor/](http://www.dartmouth.edu/~uja/honor/).

### **Tuesday, September 11: Introduction**

Alfred Stepan, "Religion, Democracy and The "Twin Tolerations," in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *World Religions and Democracy*, pp. 3-26.

## **I. The Big Picture**

### **Thursday, September 13: Islam: An Introduction**

Esposito, Islam: The Straight Path, pp. 1-73; 85-139.

**Tuesday, September 18: Political Islam: Some Key Terms (Shari'a, Umma, Jihad)**

Ron Geaves, *Aspects of Islam*, Georgetown University Press (2005), Chapters 4-5, pp. 53-95.

Micahael Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, Princeton University Press (2006), Chapter 1, pp. 1-19

**Thursday, September 20: Islam and Democracy: The Clash of Civilizations Debate**

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.  
<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&hid=14&sid=b48185d7-d57c-4976-80c5-723c8f4afa0f%40sessionmgr15>

M. Shahid Alam, "A Clash of Civilizations? Nonsense," *The Journal of the Historical Society*, (11 September: A Symposium).

Optional Reading:

Tessler, Mark, "Do Islamic Orientations Influence Attitudes Towards Democracy in the Arab World?" *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 2002, 43: 229.  
<http://cos.sagepub.com/content/43/3-5/229.full.pdf+html>

**Tuesday, September 25: The Clash of Civilizations Debate: An Islamist Response**

Khaled Abou El Fadl. "Islam and the Challenge of Democracy." *Boston Review* 28, no. 2 (April/May 2003).  
<http://bostonreview.net/BR28.2/abou.html>

Responses by Mohammad H. Fadel and M.A. Muqtedar Khan

Yusuf al-Qaradawi, "Islam and Democracy," in Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds., *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*.

## **II. Three Strands of Political Islam**

**Thursday, September 27: First Strand: The Muslim Brotherhood**

Esposito, Islam: The Straight Path, pp. 141-186.

Optional Reading:

Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, pp. 103-129; 130-160. (On Jamal al-Din Al-Afghani and Mohammad ‘Abduh)

## **Tuesday, October 2: Second Strand: The Salafi/Wahhabi Movement**

Esposito on Wahhabism

Wiktorowicz Q. “Anatomy of the Salafi Movement,” *Studies In Conflict & Terrorism*. April 2006; 29(3):207-239.

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=20189664&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

## **Thursday, October 4: Third Strand: Sayyid Qutb, the Godfather of al-Qaeda**

Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*, Alfred A. Knopf (2006), pp. 7-31.

Sayid Qutb, *Milestones*, Chapters 1 – 4.

Optional Reading:

Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, pp. 222-244. (On Rashid Rida)

## **III. Modern Islamic Politics**

### **Tuesday, October 9: The Iranian Revolution**

Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival*, Norton (2006), pp. 119-168.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, “Islamic Government,” in Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, Princeton University Press (2009), pp. 155-180.

### **Thursday, October 11: Film: “Iran: A Righteous Republic”**

### **Tuesday, October 16: Contemporary Islamist Parties**

Guilain Denoeux, "The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam," in Frederic Volpi, ed., *Political Islam: A Critical Reader*, Routledge (2011).

Hamzawy and Ottoway, "When Islamists Go Into Politics," 33 Fletcher F. World Aff. 37 (2009).

## **Thursday, October 18 – Mid-Term**

### **IV. Case Studies in Islamic Politics**

#### **Tuesday, October 23: Egypt: Evolution of a Party**

International Crisis Group, Islamism in North Africa II: Egypt's Opportunity, April 20, 2004.

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,ICG,,EGY,,408d0f104,0.html>

Sami Zemni and Koenraad Bogaert, "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and Competitive Politics," in M.A. Mohamed Salih, ed., *Interpreting Islamic Political Parties*, pp. 149-166.

#### **Thursday, October 25: Egypt (Part 2)**

Samuel Tadros, "Egypt's Elections: Why the Islamists Won," *World Affairs*, March 2012.

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mfh&AN=74194044&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

Dr. Morsi's Electoral Program – General Features of Nahda (Renaissance) Project

<http://fjponline.com/article.php?id=654&ref=search.php>

#### **Tuesday, October 30 – Saudi Arabia: The Wahhabi State**

### **(PAPER DUE)**

Nathan Brown, "Why Won't Saudi Arabia Write Down Its Laws?" *Foreign Policy*, January 23, 2012.

<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/2012/01/23/why-won-t-saudi-arabia-write-down-its-laws/950d#>

Stéphane Lacroix, "Between Islamists and Liberals: Saudi Arabia's New "Islam Liberal" Reformists," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Summer, 2004), pp. 345-365

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4330029>

May Yamani, "The Two Faces of Saudi Arabia." *Survival*, February 2008;50(1):143-156.  
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=28829505&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

#### **Thursday, November 1: Hamas**

Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine, in *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, pp. 356-386.

Wagemakers, J, "Legitimizing Pragmatism: Hamas' Framing Efforts From Militancy to Moderation and Back?" *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2010, Volume 22, Issue 3, pp. 358 – 378.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09546551003765942>

Klein, M. (2007), "Hamas in power," *The Middle East Journal*, 61(3), 442-459.  
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/218510967/abstract?accountid=10422>

#### **17. Tuesday, November 6: al-Qaeda and Global Jihad**

Usama bin Laden, "Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places," in *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, pp. 425-459.

Wiktorowicz, Q., & Kaltner, J. (2003). Killing in the Name of Islam: Al-Qaeda's Justification for September 11. *Middle East Policy*, 10(2), 76-92.  
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/203662303?accountid=10422>

William McCants, "Al Qaeda's Challenge: The Jihadists' War with Islamist Democrats." *Foreign Affairs*, 90(5), 20-32 (2011).  
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/885100303>

Optional Reading:

Bernard Lewis, "License to Kill: Usama bin Ladin's Declaration of Jihad," *Foreign Affairs* 77 (November-December 1998): 19.  
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/214286826>

### **V. The Future of Islamist Democracy**

#### **Thursday, November 8: Islamists and the Arab Spring**

Totten M. "Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?" *World Affairs*. January 2012;174(5):23-42.

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mfh&AN=71239783&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

**19. Tuesday, November 13 – Wrap-Up**