PSCI 4302A / PSCI 5305W  
POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE MODERN MUSLIM MIDDLE EAST  
Time: Mondays 18:05 - 20:55 pm  
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Professor Farhang Rajaee  
Office: Loeb C672  
Phone: 613-520-2600 X 2800 or 8143  
Office Hours: Mondays 16:15-17:45 and Weds: 11:00-12:30 (Paterson 300)  
Email: farhang.rajaee@carleton.ca

Aims and Objectives: The instructor focuses on the political thought of Muslim thinkers in the twentieth Century Middle East. He hopes to introduce students to some paradigm setting Muslim political thought, through a close and careful reading of selected primary texts. There may be many individual Muslim thinkers who have offered novel ideas and even sophisticated system of thought. Here, the focus is on those individuals whose ideas have become thinking paradigm and have generated serious followings. At the same, Muslims offered these paradigms in reaction to their most crucial issue yet, namely the challenges of Modernity that proved political, economic, cultural, philosophical, and even ethical. The main reason is that the people of the region known as “the Muslim world” neither became directly colonized nor successfully were able to master the nuances of modernity. Yet, they were affected enough to fall into a state of disequilibrium. How have Muslims thought these through and what types of responses have they formulated? This question guides the lectures, discussions, and the readings.

Content: Unlike the nineteenth century when Muslims were in serious dialogue with the challenges of Modernity, at the turn of the century and particularly in the conclusion of WWI, modernity process in the Middle East was replaced with the hegemonic face of modernity (what I have called modernism). Modernism in its manifestation as Imperialism became the dominant military, political, and cultural force in the Middle East. The irony is that the local political regimes and discourses imitated modernism as well; in some cases, they became Herodians, or the agents of safeguarding the interests of hegemonic powers rather than providers of order and welfare for their own people. This in turn caused a zealot reaction in the form of Traditionalism. Both cases led the Middle East a state of “on holiday from History,” to utilize Dariussh Shayegan’s notion. As a result, there has occurred a great rift in the minds, thoughts, and practices of the peoples of the Middle East. While over enthusiasts about modernity created modernist discourse and polity, the more Islam-minded Middle Easterners took refuge in their local tradition and mores by trying to defend the local religions or present then as alternative path, state or party. Empowered by such trends as the liberation movements for decolonization, economic power of petro-dollar, and revolution in the rise of expectation, Islam-minded groups ignited the people to uprising and revolution. Encouraged by the passion of the resurgence of religion, these groups presented Islam as an alternative to modernity.

Ironically, the victory of the Muslim revolutionaries in Iran in 1979 ended for many any hope that Islam could serve as an alternative to modernity. The tragedy of September 11, 2001 and now the “Islamic State” demonstrate the poverty of Islamism and the so-called “Islamic alternative.” At the same time, there are many Muslims within and outside the Muslim world
who are thinking of reconstruction of religious understanding in such a way as to make sense of modernity within the bound of the their religious conviction. These developments have taken the forms of what I have called trends of “revivalism, revolution, radicalism, and reconstruction” towards Islam, concepts that influences the organization of the course.

**Organization:** This course is an advanced undergraduate and a graduate seminar. The first two sessions are mainly lectures by the professor with expectation of some discussion. Starting with the fourth session, each class begins with a general discussion of the readings for the week, followed by the formal presentation by the students. After a short break, the second part of the session will be devoted to remarks by the professor as well as general discussion.

Attendance and active participation are mandatory. I expect everyone to have read and contemplated on the assigned readings before each class session. The course does not assume any prior knowledge of Islam or the Middle East, but it does assume that students are familiar with some of the major themes of political philosophy and political thought.

**Required Text(s)**


**Evaluation**

To successfully finish this course, students must meet all the requirements stated below. Students who do not meet these criteria will be assigned a grade of “F.” Late papers or reviews will be penalized one fraction of a grade (i.e., B to B-) for each weekday they are late. All works must be handed to the instructor. Marks will be calculated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading Review</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper proposal/Review (Graduates)</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>40%</td>
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Undergraduate Students:
**Presentation:** 20 minute class presentation on assigned, primary-source readings (15%)
Assigned in class, each presentation should begin with a synopsis of the reading, followed by a discussion of the context in which the author was writing and any biographical information if necessary for better understanding the reading. Presenters are strongly encouraged to make connections between the text they present and the rest of arguments in the class.

**Reading Review** of 800-word (a written version of your class presentation) (15%, DUE ONE WEEK AFTER CLASS PRESENTATION)

**Proposal:** 3-page essay proposal with specific question or hypothesis and proposed resources to be utilized (bibliography). Make it clear what your essay is about, what your argument is, and why someone should bother reading your essay (10%, DUE IN CLASS 2 MARCH)

**Paper:** 2500-word final essay, instructions to be given in class (40%, DUE IN FINAL CLASS 6 APRIL)

Graduate Students:
**Presentation:** 30 minute class presentation on assigned, primary-source reading (15%)
Assigned in class, each presentation should begin with a synopsis of the reading, followed by a discussion of the context in which the author was writing and any biographical information if necessary for better understanding the reading. Presenters are strongly encouraged to make connections between the text they present and the rest of arguments in the class.

**Reading Review** of 1000-word (a written version of your class presentation) (10%, DUE ONE WEEK AFTER CLASS PRESENTATION)

**Review:** 1200-word review article discussing a book or article not required for this course somehow related to contemporary Muslim political thought in the context of other works and the themes and issues discussed in this course (15%, DUE IN CLASS 2 MARCH)

**Paper:** 3500-word final essay, instructions to be given in class (40%, DUE IN FINAL CLASS 6 APRIL)

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**Course Calendar**

**Session 1 (January 5):** Introduction and Orientation
- Introductory remarks and the review of the syllabus
- (Video on Islam, Carleton Library V190)

**Theme I: Islam, Muslims, and Politics**

**Session 2 (January 12):** Islam and Politics
- Religion and its message
Place of Politics in Islam

Enayat, pp. 1-51; and Rajaee, “Islam in History,” (pdf, WebCT)


Session 3 (January 19): Modern Political Thought in Islam

The Crisis of Caliphate and the Modern Middle East

The Four Dominant Paradigms

Enayat, 52-68; Rajaee 10-26; & Hodgson “Venture…3” 176-205 (pdf, WebCT).


Theme 2: Revival

Session 4 (January 26): Nursi: Islam as the Path

Turkey Going Secular

Nursi’s Discourse

Nursi, pp. 3-60 and 65-114 and 169-196


**Session 5 (February 2): Ridda: Islam as the State**

Emerging New States in the Arab World

The Idea of the Islamic State

Enayat, 69-110; and Rida, From *Modernist Islam*, 77-85 (BP60 M55 2002 online)


**Session 6 (February 9): Ha’iri/Shari’ati: Islam as the Party**

Modernism in Iran

Revival of Islam

Rajaee, pp. 27-44, 46-65, 102-109, and 131-141


**Reading Week (February 16-20)**

**Theme 3: Revolution**

**Session 7 (February 23): Khomeini: Islam as the Path**

- The Cultural Transformation
- Ethics and Philosophy as the path
- Enayat, 93-99; Khomeini, 351-377; and Rajaee, 110-116


**Session 8 (March 2): Khomeini: Islam as Revolution**

- The “Islamic Revolution”
- The Architect of the “Islamic Republic”
- Khomeini, 40-125; and Rajaee, pp. 116-127


**Theme 4: Radicalism**

**Session 9 (March 9): Qutb: Islam as Justice**

- Modernism in Egypt
- Literary Critics and Advocate of Social Justice
- Musallam C 3, 4, and 5 (pp. 53-110) and Qutb C 2 and 3 (pp. 37-92)
Session 10 (March 16): Qutb: Islam as Alternative

The Revolutionary Egypt
The Worlds of Jahiliyya and Ubudiyaa

Khatab, The Political Thought, 147-171 (MyiLibrary) and (Musallam, C 6, 7, and 8 (pp. 111-198)


Session 11 (March 23): Sorouh: Religion and Secularity

Paradox of Islam and Secularity
Essence of Secularity and the place of Ethics
Rajaee, pp. 225-231; and Sorouh, C3, 4, 5, and 11 (pp. 39-87 and 171-183)


Session 12 (March 30): Soroush: Current Deficits; Freedom
The Poverty of Islamism
Reason, Freedom, Tolerance and Governance
Soroush, C6, 8, 9, and 10 (pp. 88-170)

Week 13 (April 6): Concluding Session
A. General Observations
B. Papers due in class

Academic Accommodations
The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make
accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a letter of accommodation. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in “substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Grading:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

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<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Letter grade</th>
<th>12-point scale</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Letter grade</th>
<th>12-point scale</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90-100</td>
<td>A+</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>67-69</td>
<td>C+</td>
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<tr>
<td>85-89</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>63-66</td>
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<td>70-72</td>
<td>B-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50-52</td>
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Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/ or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.