Description:

The goal of this course is to introduce students to some of the most significant examples of Muslim political thought from the past 150 years, mostly through a close and careful reading of selected primary texts. Our task will be to discover what we may learn from these authors not only about Islam in the modern, or postmodern, world, but also about truth, reason, revelation, politics, and ourselves, and the relationship among these. In the process, we will learn about the historical and political context in which these authors wrote or continue to write. We will not study these authors as “Muslim others,” but as thinkers addressing specific issues from whom we may or may not be able to learn something. We will, of course, also take note of how and why they differ from each other, and the implications of these differences.

Since at least the eighteenth century, the ideas of modern liberal European political thought and the Enlightenment, and the encounter between modern European powers and Muslim rulers, lands, and peoples, have wrought great intellectual, sociopolitical, economic, and technological changes, affecting Muslim lands and peoples, Muslims individually and collectively wherever they find themselves, and indeed, virtually the entire world. Muslim political thinkers who have witnessed and experienced these changes have attempted to respond to them, and especially the ideas behind them, in a variety of ways. Virtually all of them have sought to better understand the political teachings of certain modern European thinkers, albeit in sometimes very different terms and to greater or lesser degrees. At a minimum, they have attempted to identify the intellectual origins of the very real changes that have occurred in the Muslim world in the wake of, if not always or exclusively as a result of, the European Enlightenment and European imperialism and colonialism. Some have done so with a view to reconciling modern ideas, modernity, modernism, or liberalism as much as possible with Islam; others with a view to defending Islam against modernity, modernism, or liberalism; some with a view to better understanding the nature of and the relationship between reason and revelation in the modern context, usually with a view to reconciling the two; and still others with a view to drawing on the revealed message of Islam to critique modernity, modernism, liberalism, secularism, or different ideas about reason, revelation, the sacred, and the secular. The major intellectual effort of many Muslim thinkers over the past century has been to instigate a reform of one kind or another, in one way or another, of either Islam, or the way people understand Islam, often in response to a variety of internal and external pressures.

Course Organization:

This is an advanced undergraduate and graduate seminar course. As such, each class session will consist of brief remarks and occasional lectures by the instructor, followed by presentations by students on assigned readings, followed by open discussions of the course material. Attendance and active participation are mandatory. You are expected to have read, thought about, and taken notes on the assigned readings before each class session and to be prepared to discuss them in detail in class. If you require special accommodation
or if you have any concerns at all about your ability to participate fully in class, or any other concerns about the course, please speak with the instructor directly as soon as possible. This 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.

Evaluation:

**Undergraduate Students:**

1 x **20 minute** class presentation on assigned, primary-source readings (15%)

**VARIOUS DATES, ASSIGNED IN CLASS**

Presentation should begin with a brief summary of the reading, followed by a discussion of the context in which the author was writing and any biographical information about the author that may help in better understanding the reading. Presenters are strongly encouraged to make connections between the specific primary-source reading they are presenting on and the other required readings for that class session, and any other readings they feel are relevant and would contribute to a lively discussion of the primary-source reading in question. For example, a required secondary-source reading may advance a theory about or particular interpretation of the reading in question that you disagree with, or that you find particularly insightful. Please conclude your presentation with at least one interesting question to be discussed in class.

1 x **800-word** reading review (a written version of your class presentation) (15%)

**DUE ONE (1) WEEK AFTER CLASS PRESENTATION**

1 x **3-page** essay proposal with proposed bibliography, including proposed topic, thesis statement, sample arguments and rebuttals. Make it clear what your essay is about, what your argument is, and why someone should bother reading your essay (10%) **DUE IN CLASS 6 MARCH**

1 x **2500-word** final essay, instructions to be given in class (40%) **DUE IN FINAL CLASS 3 APRIL**

General participation (10%)

Attendance (10%)

**Graduate Students:**

1 x **30 minute** class presentation on assigned, primary-source reading (15%)

**VARIOUS DATES, ASSIGNED IN CLASS**

Presentation should begin with a brief summary of the reading, followed by a discussion of the context in which the author was writing and any biographical information about the author that may help in better understanding the reading. Presenters are strongly encouraged to make connections between the specific primary-source reading they are presenting on and the other required readings for that class session, and any other readings they feel are relevant and would contribute to a lively discussion of the primary-source reading in question. For example, a required secondary-source reading may advance a theory about or particular interpretation of the reading in question that you disagree with, or that you find particularly insightful. Please conclude your presentation with at least one interesting question to be discussed in class.

1 x **1000-word** reading review (a written version of your class presentation) (10%)

**DUE ONE (1) WEEK AFTER CLASS PRESENTATION**

1 x **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 6 MARCH**
1 x 3500-word final essay, instructions to be given in class (40%) DUE IN FINAL CLASS 3 APRIL

General participation (10%)

Attendance (10%)

There will be a half-letter grade penalty (A becomes A-, B+ becomes B, and so on) for each day that an assignment is overdue without proper medical documentation clearly justifying the delay or other pre-authorized extension.

Required texts (books are available for purchase at the Carleton University bookstore; books are also on reserve at the Carleton Library; prices at amazon.com or amazon.ca are subject to change without notice and are given simply to give you an idea of how much these books generally cost):


Imam Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution I: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini (1941-1980),* translated by Hamid Algar (Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1981). $25 at amazon.com (note, it is $40 from amazon.ca, but Canadian customers can order from amazon.com as well)


Additional readings on reserve at the Carleton University Library and journal articles freely available electronically through the Carleton University library’s online databases.

Outline:

10 January: **Introduction and Orientation**

*What is Islam? What is Muslim political thought?*

Recommended reading:

“There is no god but Allah …” (David Waines, *An Introduction to Islam,* Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 7–32, on reserve)

“Tradition in the making” (Waines, *An Introduction to Islam,* pp. 33–59, on reserve)

**THEME 1: Reason and Revelation**

17 January: **The Past, the Encounter With The West, and the New Muslim Political Thought**

*What is new about contemporary Muslim political thought?*

“Introduction: The Relevance of the Past” (Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political...*
24 January: Al-Afghani: The Reason for Revelation
Al-Afghani’s critique of secular materialism and defence of religion
“The Life of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani” (Keddie, pp. 2–35)
“Sayyid Jamal ad-Din’s Ideas” (Keddie, pp. 73–97)
“The Benefits of Philosophy” (Al-Afghani, pp. 109–22)
Student Presentation:
“The Truth about the Neicheri Sect and an Explanation of the Neicheris”
(Al-Afghani, pp. 130–74)
Student Presentation:
“Answer of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani to Renan”
(Al-Afghani, pp. 181–90)
Student Presentation:

31 January: Iqbal: The Quest for the Absolute
Iqbal on the mutual rejuvenation of philosophy and religion
“Muhammad Iqbal” (Annemarie Schimmel, Gabriel’s Wing (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), pp. 1–85, on reserve)
“Knowledge and Religious Experience”
(Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, online)
Student Presentation:
“The Philosophical Test of the Revelations of Religious Experience”
(Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, online)
Student Presentation:

7 February: Iqbal: The Revelation About Reason
Iqbal on the end of revelation, the beginning of reason, and the possibility of metaphysics
“The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer”
(Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, online)
Student Presentation:
“The Spirit of Muslim Culture”
(Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, online)
Student Presentation:
“The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam”
(Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, online)
Student Presentation:
“Is Religion Possible”
(Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, online)
Student Presentation:

THEME 2: Islam and Politics

14 February: Qutb: The Islamic Solution
Imperialism, Islam, and the yearning for justice and freedom
“Intellectual, Political, and Socioeconomic Transformations in Egypt,
1919–1952” (Musallam, From Secularism to Jihad, pp. 1–26, on reserve)
“The Alienation of Sayyid Qutb, 1939–1947” (Musallam, From Secularism to Jihad, pp. 73–90, on reserve)
“In Search of Social Justice: The Emergence of an Independent Islamic Ideologue, 1947–1948” (Musallam, From Secularism to Jihad, pp. 91–110, on reserve)
“Religion and Society in Christianity and in Islam” (Qutb, pp. 150–159)
Student Presentation:

“Prologue, from In The Shade of the Qur’an, Volume 7: Surah 8, An-Anfal (The spoils of war)” (Qutb, pp. 43–80)
Student Presentation:
Student Presentation:

21 February: WINTER BREAK, NO CLASS

28 February: Qutb: Being Muslim in the Modern World

Human law versus divine law
“The basis for inter-communal relations, from In The Shade of the Qur’an, Volume 8: Surah 9, Al-Tawbah (The repentance)” (Qutb, pp. 81–116)
Student Presentation:
Student Presentation:
Selections from Milestones (Qutb, pp. 35–42)
“Sorrows of the countryside, from A Child from the Village” (Qutb, pp. 160–164)
Student Presentation on BOTH the selected text from Milestones, and the chapter from A Child from the Village: __________________________

Special instructions: A Child from the Village is an autobiographical novel by Qutb, published in 1946. The tone of this work is markedly different from his later works, especially Milestones. In your presentation, try to account for this difference. For example, in “Sorrows of the countryside,” Qutb writes, referring to his childhood self in the third-person, “… thus the first seed of real responsibility was sown in his soul” (p. 162). He concludes this chapter on a decidedly disheartening note. Can you see a connection between the childhood experience he describes and his later works, and specifically Milestones? What is this connection? What can it tell us about his possible reasons for holding the positions he did?


6 March: Khomeini: Mysticism and Politics

The nature of and need for faith
“The way of the Imams” (Waines, An Introduction to Islam, pp.155–172, on reserve)
“Early Years and the Influence of ‘Irfan” (Martin, Creating an Islamic State, pp. 29–47, on reserve)
“Lecture on the Supreme Jihad” (Khomeini, pp. 351–360)
Student Presentation:
“Lectures on Surat al-Fatiha” (Khomeini, pp. 365–425)
Student Presentation:
Student Presentation:

13 March: Khomeini: The Necessity for Islamic Government

The nature of and need for Islamic government
“Visions of the Islamic State I—The Khomeini Version” (Martin, Creating an Islamic State, pp. 100–128, on reserve)
Islamic Government “The Necessity for Islamic Government” (Khomeini, pp. 40–54)
Student Presentation:________________________

Islamic Government “The Form of Islamic Government” (Khomeini, pp. 55–125)
Student Presentation:________________________

Student Presentation:________________________

THEME 2: The Idea of Reform

20 March: Soroush: The Distinction Between Religion and Religious Knowledge
“Islamic Revival and Reform” (Soroush, pp. 26–38)
Student Presentation:________________________
“The Sense and Essence of Secularism” (Soroush, pp. 54–68)
Student Presentation:________________________
“Doctrine and Justification” (Soroush, pp. 69–87)
Student Presentation:________________________

27 March: Soroush and Ramadan: Islam and Democracy
Student Presentation:________________________
“Tolerance and Governance: A Discourse on Religion and Democracy”
(Soroush, pp. 131–155)
Student Presentation:________________________
“Preface” (Ramadan, Western Muslims and the Future of Islam, pp. vii–viii, on reserve)
“Encounter with the Universal” (Ramadan, Western Muslims and the Future of Islam, pp. 11–30, on reserve)
Student Presentation:________________________

3 April: Ramadan: Western Muslims and The Future of Islam
“The Way (al-sharia)” (Ramadan, Western Muslims and the Future of Islam, pp. 31–61, on reserve)
Student Presentation:________________________
“In The West: First Attempts at Reform” (Ramadan, Western Muslims and the Future of Islam, pp. 62–101)
Student Presentation:________________________
“Debtless” (Ramadan, In the Footsteps of the Prophet, pp.199–210, on reserve)

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by (November 11, 2011 for fall term examinations and March 7, 2012 for winter term examinations).

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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor 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. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: The following is the Carleton University grading system.

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<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>67-69</td>
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Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

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.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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 in the after-hours academic life 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, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, 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.