

PSCI4302A / PSCI 5305S
POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE MODERN MUSLIM MIDDLE EAST
Monday and Wednesday 2:35 - 5:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Prof. Farhang Rajaee
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Office: Loeb C672
OHs: Monday 1:00-2:15 and
Wednesday 1:00-2:15

Description: The instructor focuses on the unfolding of political thought among Muslims in the 20th Century Middle East. Concentration will be on the most important paradigm shift in Muslim thinking about politics and society that occurred as a result of the encounter of Islam with modernity. In the process, the region neither became colonized nor could master the nuances of the Modern World. What body of ideas or system of government was in place in the region in the wake of modernity? How did modernity come to the region? When did the encounter occur? What were the responses to it? Who were the protagonists of such responses? These are some of the questions that guide the discussion in the seminar.

Synopsis: In the first half of the twentieth century it was hegemonic face of modernity (what I call modernism) that dominated the Middle East. The irony is that the local political regimes and discourse mirrored it by trying to imitate modernism. As a result, Islam-minded Middle Easterners took a defensive posture to modernist regime and discourse and tried to revive their religion. Empowered by such trends as the liberation movements for decolonization, Muslim groups became powerful and a strong sense of revolt with the aim of a “return to the self” set in. Many turned to Islam and reformulated it as an “ideology” of activism and liberation. Radicalization of the Muslim world began. The course concentrates on the two important regions of the Middle East where this paradigm shift became vociferous and later influenced and even set the tone for the rest of the Muslim world, namely Egypt and Iran. I will focus on individual thinker as well as groups that have been epoch makers and influenced socio-political developments. Special attention will be paid to the works of people such as Qutb and Khomeini as well as to the movements they shaped and influenced i.e., the Muslim Brothers of Egypt and the Islamic Movement of Iran.

Organization: This is a combined higher-level undergraduate course and a graduate seminar, thus, I would like the readings for the week to be discussed in class. The first part of every session (at least half an hour) will be devoted to the discussion of the readings for the day and I would expect everyone to participate. There might be presentation(s) by the member of the seminar also, particularly graduate students. Then, I will lecture on the topic at hand, but would welcome discussions during the lecture.

Required Text(s)

Adnan A. Musallam. *From Secularism to Jihad: Seyyed Qutb and the Foundation of Radical Islamism*. Westport CT: Praeger, 2005 (BP80.Q86 M85 2005).

Farhang Rajaee. *Islamism and Modernism: the Metamorphosis of the Islamic Discourse in Iran*. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2007 (BP63.I68 R354 2007).

Hamid Enayat. *Modern Islamic Political Thought*. Forward by Roy Mottahedeh. London: I. B. Tauris, 2005 (BP173.7.I52.2005).

Course Requirements

To obtain credit for this course, students must meet all the requirements; attendance, two reviews, and a final paper. Students who do not meet these criteria will be assigned a grade of "F." Late 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:

The first review*	16% (May 20)
The second review*	16% (June 1)
Final paper **	38% (June 24)
Participation***	30%

*Each review should be about 3-4 pages (double-spaced and typed). Books to be reviewed are the required texts. If anyone desires to review a book other than the assigned texts it is fine, provided it is related to the course and cleared by the instructor (Any of the books in the recommended reading would do). The content of your review should address the following questions: What is the main objective of the author? What is the methodology utilized? Did the author achieve the stated objective(s)? Answer to each question obtains is worth 4% and presentation (clean and clear writing) obtains 4%.

** The final paper should be a well-argued research paper, focusing on an individual thinker, a group, or an issue that has been on the political agenda in the region. Undergraduate papers are to be at least 8-12 pages and the graduate one should be 14-18 pages, double-spaced and the deadline is June 24th.

*** Participation is evaluated based on regular attendance and active engagement in class discussion.

Course Calendar

Part I: Islam, Muslims and Modernity

Session 1 (May 11): Introduction and Orientation

A. Introducing the Course

B. Historical Context

Film: "Middlemen"

Enayat, pp. 1-17 and Farhang Rajaee, "Islam in History,"

(<http://www.fedcan.ca/english/fromold/breakfast-rajaee1201.cfm#1>) (RR).

Recommended: Karen Armstrong. *Islam; a Short History*. New York: Modern Library, 2002 (BP50.A69 2002); Carl W. Ernst. *Following Muhammad: Rethinking Islam in the Contemporary World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003 (BP161.3.E76 2003); Marshal Hodgson. *The Venture of Islam*. 3 Volumes. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1974 (DS35.6).

H63); Kemal H. Karpat (Ed.). *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*. New York: Praeger, 1982 (JA84.N18P64 1982); Ira M. Lapidus. *A History of Islamic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988 (DS35.63.L37); and William Montgomery Watt. *The Majesty that was Islam: The Islamic World, 661-1100*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1974 (DS36.85.W37).

Session 2 (May 13): Muslims and the Modern World

- A. Modern Middle East
- B. Revivalism and Islamic Movements
Enayat 51-68 and Rajaei 10-26 and 42-51

Recommended: John Cooper, Ronald Nettler and Mohamad Mahmoud (Eds.). *Islam and Modernity: Muslim Intellectuals Respond*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2000 (BP42.I86); A. L. Macfie. *The End of the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1923*. New York: Longman, 1998 (DR583.M38); Justin McCarthy. *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire*. New York: Arnold, 2001 (DR568. M33 2001); Alan Palmer. *Decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire*. London: J. Murray, 1992 (DR486. P35); William R Polk and Richard L. Chambers (Eds.). *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East; the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968 (DS62.C6 1968); Fazlur Rahman. *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1982 (BP42. R33); and Malcolm Yapp. *The Making of the Modern Near East, 1792-1923*. London: Longman, 1987 (DS62.4.Y35).

Session 3 (May 18): Victoria Day, University Closed

Part II: The Sunni Muslim Discourses

Session 4 (May 20): The Intellectual Context

- A. Egypt goes Revolutionary
- B. The Idea of an Islamic State
Enayat, pp. 69-83; and Musallam, pp. 1-27

Recommended: Niyazi Berkes. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964 (DR557.B4); Issa Boullata. *Trends and Issues in Contemporary Arab Thought*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990 (DS36.88.B68); Albert Hourani. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Updated Edition, 1993 (JA84.N1P64 1982); Jacob M. Landau (Ed.). *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey* Boulder: Westview Press, 1984 (DR590. A837); Boddy A. Sayyid. *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism*. New York: Zed Books, 2nd edition, 2003 (BP 163.S358.2003); and Hisham Sharabi. *Arab Intellectuals and the West; the Formative Years, 1875-1914*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970 (DS36. 8. S5. 1970).

Week of May 25-29; no class because of the Congress Session at Carleton

Session 5 (June 1): The Response; Muslim Brothers

- A. Qutb's Environment
- B. Programs and Objectives of MB
Enayat, pp. 83-93; and Musallam, pp. 27-72

Recommended: Geneive Abdo. *No God but God: Egypt and the Triumph of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000 (Web Resource); Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi'. *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996, (BP60.A26); Lia Brynjar. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: the Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement, 1928-1942*. Reading: Ithaca Press, 1998 (DT107.82.L53); Hrair R. Dekmejian. *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab world*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2nd Edition, 1995 (BP63.A4A724 1995); Gilles Kepel. *The Prophet and Pharaoh: Muslim Extremism in Egypt*. Translated by Jon Rothschild. London: Al Saqi Books, 1985 (BP64.E3K4413); and Richard P. Mitchell. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. London, Oxford University Press, 1969 (DT107.82.M5 1969).

Session 6 (June 3): Qutb, the Social Critic

- A. Poet, Novelist, and Critic
 - A. Propagator of Social Justice
- Musallam, 73-109

Recommended: Ahmed Bouzid, "Man, Society and Knowledge in the Islamist Discourse of Sayyid Qutb," Ph.D. Dissertation. Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1998; Olivier Carré. *Mysticism and Politics: a Critical Reading of Fi-zilal al-Qur'an by Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966)*. Translated from the French by Carol Artigues and revised by W. Shepard. Boston: Brill, 2033 (BP80. Q86. C3613 20030); Sayyid Qutb. *In the Shade of the Qur'an*. London: M.W.H., 1979 (BP130.4. Q7713); and Emmanuel Sivan. *Radical Islam: Medieval Theory and Modern Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Enlarged Edition, 1990 (BP163.S63 1990).

Session 7 (June 8): Qutb, the Revolutionary

- A. America and Jahiliyya
 - B. Radical Islamist
- Musallam 111-165

Recommended: Raymond William Baker. *Islam without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2003 (DT107. 87. B347 2003); Roxanne L. Euben. *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism; a Work of Comparative Political Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999 (BP166.14 F85 F93); Sayed Khatab. *The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb: the Theory of Jahiliyyah*. New York: Routledge, 2006 (JC49.K473. 2006); Ahmad S. Moussalli. *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism; the Ideological and Political Discourse of Sayyid Qutb*. Beirut, Lebanon: American University of Beirut, 1992 (BP80.Q86M68); and Sayyid Qutb. *Social Justice in Islam*. Translated from Arabic by John B. Hardie, revision and introduction by Hamid Algar. New York: Islamic Publishing International, 2000 (HN40. M6 Q683 2000).

Part II: The Shi'i Muslim Discourses

Session 8 (June 10): Intellectual Context

- A. Iran and the World
 - B. Intellectual Context
- Enayat, 93-99 and Rajaei, 1-10 and 27-42

Recommended: Jalal Al-e Ahmad. Gharbzadegi = Weststruckness. Translated from the Persian by John Green and Ahmad Alizadeh. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1997 (DS316.4 A4713 1997); Said Amir Arjomand (Ed.). *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988 (BP194.9.G68A94); Ahmad Ashraf. "From the White Revolution to the Islamic Revolution," in *Iran After the Revolution, Crisis of an Islamic State*. Saeed Rahnema and Sohrab Behdad (Eds.). London: I.B. Tauris, 1995, pp. 21-44 (DS 318.8 .I683); Mehrzad Boroujerdi. *Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996; Heinz Halm. *Shi'ism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004 (BP193.5 H2912. 2004); Roy Mottahedeh. *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2000 (BP192.7.I7M67); and Daryush Shayegan. *Cultural Schizophrenia: Islamic Societies Confronting the West*. Translated from the French by John Howe. London: Saqi Books, 1992 (CB251.S4813).

Session 9 (June 15): The Responses; Islamic Movement

- A. Islam of Qom and Tehran
 - B. Programs and Objectives
- Rajaei 52-89

Recommended Readings: Michael Fischer. *Iran: from Religious Dispute to Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980 (BP192. 7. I7. F57); Hamid Dabashi. *Theology of Discontent; the Ideological Foundations of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*. New York: New York University Press, 1993 (BP63.I68D33); Manochehr Dorraj. *From Zarathustra to Khomeini: Populism and Dissent in Iran*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990 (DS272.D67); Mohsen Milani. *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution; from Monarchy to Islamic Rrepublic*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2nd edition, 1994 (DS318.M495 1994); Ali. Rahnema. *An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shariati*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1998 (DS316.9.S53R35); Ali Rahnema (Ed.). *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1994; and Yann Richard. *Shi'ite Islam; Polity, Ideology, and Creed*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995 (BP193.5.R5313).

Session 10 (June 17): Khomeini, the Mystic Revolutionary

- A. The Mystic Poet
 - B. The Architect of a Shi'a State
- Rajaei, 90--150

Recommended: Hamid Algar. "Imam Khomeini, 1902-1962; The Pre-Revolutionary Years," in *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements*. Ira M. Lapidus and Edmond Burke, III (Eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, pp 263-288 (DS35. 63 .I64); Hamid Enayat, "Iran: Khomeini's Concept of the 'Guardianship of the Jurisconsult,'" in *Islam in the Political Process*. James Piscatori (Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 475-518 (BP173. 7. I85); Alexander Kynsh. "Iran Revisited: Khomeini and the Legacy of Islamic Mystical Philosophy," *The Middle East Journal*. 46: 4 (Autumn 1992), 631-655; Vanessa Martin. *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2000 (DS318.84.K48 M37 2000); Baqer Moin. *Khomeini, Life of the Ayatollah*. New York: St. Martin Press, 2000; and Farhang Rajaei. *Islamic Values and World View: Khomeini on Man the state and International Politics*. Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1983 (BP80. K494R3).

Part III: Transnational Islam, Post-Islamism and Future

Session 11 (June 22): Global Islam

- A. The Modern Puritans
- B. Global “Jihad”

Musallam 187-198; and Rajae 151-192

Recommended: Osama Bin Laden. “Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places,”

http://www.pbs.org/newshour/terrorism/international/fatwa_1996.html, 1996. Jason Burke. *Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2003 (HV6431. B862 2003); Muhammad Abd al-Salam Faraj. “Al-Faridah al-Gha’ibah,” in *The Neglected Duty: the Creed of Sadat’s Assassins and Islamic Resurgence in the Middle East*. By Johannes J. G. Jansen. (BP 182.J36), pp.159-234 (0029163404); Khaled Haroub. *Hamas: Political Thought and Practice*. Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000 (DS119.7.H3764413); and Ahmad Nizar Hamzeh. *In the path of Hizbullah*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004 (JQ1828.A98 H6245 2004).

Session 12 (June 24): New Muslim Politics

- A. Post-Islamism
- B. The Future

Musallam 199-204; and Rajae 193-236

Recommended: Khaled Abou El-Fadl. *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004 (BP173.7 A264 2004); Noah Feldman. *After Jihad: America and the Struggle for Islamic Democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003 (BP190.5.D45 2003); Omid Safi (Ed.). *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism*. Oxford: One world Publications, 2003 (BP161.3.P76); Charles Kurzman (Ed.). *Liberal Islam: A Source Book*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998 (BP60.L53); and Abdulkarim Soroush. *Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of Abdulkarim Soroush*. Translated, Edited, and With a Critical Introduction by Mahmoud and Ahmad Sadri. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000 (Web Resource).

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 **June 12, 2009 for early summer examinations**, and **July 31, 2009 for late / full summer 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.

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.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfil all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student’s performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

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.