

**Radical Islam in Comparative Perspective**  
CRN 25738-POLS 30551 Sec. 01  
Spring Semester 2010 Syllabus  
Political Science Department lecture  
Edward J. DeBartolo Hall 125, T R 2:00p-3:15p  
3 Credit Hours

Office: 460 Decio Hall; Phone: 574-631-7214; Email: [abligh@nd.edu](mailto:abligh@nd.edu)  
Office Hours: Tuesday and Thursday, 11:15-12:00 a.m., 1:00-1:45 p.m.  
and by appointment.

**Course Description**

The appearance of radical Islamic movements is not a new phenomenon. The Wahhabi movement, which was the predecessor of modern-day Saudi Arabia, appeared as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Notably, however, the last few decades had witnessed a very wide expansion of the phenomenon of using Islam as a means of achieving political goals. Many of the Islamic movements active today define themselves in terms of Muslim assemblies, but operate as actors in national systems. From this position, these movements are forced to define their practical stances on purely political issues, such as participation in accepted state instruments (elections, parliament, cabinet) and the formation of coalitions with groups indifferent or hostile to their traditional Muslim viewpoints, as well as dealing with the overarching question of whether Islamic movements can accept upon themselves the rules of the democratic game therefore losing the legitimacy of their appeal for returning to the fundamentals of Islam.

This course will analyze the different and varying processes that the numerous modern Islamic movements are currently undergoing, and also the formation of their unique paths of participation in the political systems of the Middle East.

**Course Objectives**

By the end of the semester, it is hoped that the student will:

- a) Have developed an understanding of the historical roots of radical Islam in the context of the Greater Middle East.
- b) Be able to identify and apply core theories to help understand and explain the phenomenon of radical Islam.
- c) Understand and explain the role radical Islam plays in Arab politics.

d) Understand and explain the challenges to conventional theories and practices of democracy posed by radical Islamic ideas on topics such as democratization and the political process.

### **Grading**

<b>Component</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Class participation	10%
Mid-term Essay exam	20%
Home essay I	20%
Home essay II	20%
Final Examination	30%
May 6, 2010; 1030-1230	

### **Required reading**

R. Scott Appleby. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000.

### **Paper**

- To be submitted electronically by e-mail as attachment to the course TA, Mr. Faisal Baluch, [fbaluch@nd.edu](mailto:fbaluch@nd.edu), and a copy to: [abligh@nd.edu](mailto:abligh@nd.edu).
- The subject line should be clearly marked: last name, first name, course subject, assignment # (Doe, John, Radical Islam, assignment #01).
- Must be double spaced and typed up on Word Processing software. Maximum length: 10-12 pages (including notes and bibliography).
- The papers are due on February 23, 2010 and April 6, 2010 until midnight.
- Failure to submit the paper on time will automatically result in a deduction of half a letter grade for each week or part of it the paper is late.
- The student should maintain a complete copy of the paper, including all appendixes for the student's records.

### **Topics and Assignments**

The division by weeks is tentative only; changes may occur since all classes will not necessarily cover less or more than 75 minutes.

Each class reading material is divided between required (in bold fonts) reading and optional reading.

All required readings and most of the recommended readings are found at the reserve desk at the library.

### Week 1 – Introduction; What is Radical Islam?

*Class business, general overview of course; Defining Islam, defining radical Islam, and discussing radical Islam's place in contemporary Islamic thought*

#### **Required reading**

**Mozaffari, Mehdi. "What is Islamism? History and Definition of a Concept." *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions* 8:17-33 (no. 1, March 2007).**

#### **Optional reading**

Marin-Guzman, Roberto. "Fanaticism: A Major Obstacle in the Muslim---Christian Dialogue. The Case of Twentieth Century Islamic Fundamentalism." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 63-96.

Shahrugh, Akhavi. "Islam and the West in world history." *Third World Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (June 2003): 545-562.

### Section 2 – The Arab World and the Roots of Radical Islam

#### **Week 2 - Defining regional political systems and Islam's role within these systems**

#### **Required reading**

**Zubaida, Sami, "Islam and nationalism: continuities and contradictions", *Nations & Nationalism* 10: 407-420 (no. 4, Oct 2004).**

#### **Optional reading**

Kamrava, Mehran, "The Middle East's Democracy Deficit in Comparative Perspective", *Perspectives on Global Development & Technology* 6: 189-213 (no. 1-3, 2007).

Ajami, Fouad, "The Arab Inheritance", *Foreign Affairs* 76:133-148 (no. 5, 1997).

### **Week 3 - Outlining the historical background of national and fundamental Islam, with special emphasis on the Iranian Islamic Revolution.**

#### **Required reading**

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin, "Islamic Utopian Romanticism and the Foreign Policy Culture of Iran", *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 14: 265-292 (no. 3, fall 2005).

#### **Optional reading**

Shahrugh, Akhavi, "The Ideology and Praxis of Shi'ism in the Iranian Revolution", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25: 195-221 (no.2, 1983).

### **Theme 3 – Radical Islam and Western based political norms.**

### **Week 4: The formation of perceptions on democracy in the context of the struggle between secularization and Islamism.**

#### **Required reading**

Hansen, Hendrik, and Peter Kainz. "Radical Islamism and Totalitarian Ideology: a Comparison of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism with Marxism and National Socialism." *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions* 8, no. 1 (March 2007): 55-76.

#### **Optional reading**

Ahmad, Khurshid, "Islam and Democracy : Some Conceptual and Contemporary Dimensions.", *Muslim World*, 90 no 1-2 Spring 2000, 1-21.

### **Week 5 – Pluralism and civil society in the Middle East.**

#### **Required reading**

Amineh, Mehdi Parvizi, "The Challenges of Modernity: The Case of Political Islam", *Perspectives on Global Development & Technology* 6: 215-228 (nos. 1-3, 2007).

### **Optional reading**

Schlumberger, Oliver , "The Arab Middle East and the Question of Democratization: Some Critical Remarks." *Democratization*, winter 2000, Vol. 7 no. 4, 104-132.

Gilbraith, Martin, "Civil Society in the Arab World", *Civil Society* 5:11-15 (no. 58, 1996).

### **Week 6, part I: Notions in Islam and radical Islam regarding the principles of democracy.**

#### **Required reading**

Minkenberg, Michael. "Democracy and Religion: Theoretical and Empirical Observations on the Relationship between Christianity, Islam and Liberal Democracy. " *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies* 33:887-909 (no. 6, Aug 2007).

#### **Optional reading**

Ayubi, Nazih, *Political Islam*, London & New York: Routledge (1991), 1-34, 48-69 (chapters 1 & 3).

### **Week 6, part II: Is radical Islam placing obstacles in the path of democratization?**

#### **Required reading**

Takeyh, Ray. "The Lineaments of Islamic Democracy", *World Policy Journal* 18:59-67 (no. 4, Winter 2001/2002).

#### **Optional reading**

Richards, Alan , "Democracy in the Arab Region: Getting There from Here". *Middle East Policy* 12, summer 2005, no. 2, 28-35.

Abukhalil, As'ad, "A new Arab ideology? Rejuvenation of Arab nationalism", *Middle East Journal* 46:22-36 (no 1, 1992).

### **Week 7, part I: Perspectives in radical Islam movements regarding the principle of representation.**

#### **Required reading**

Burhanettin Duran & Engin Yildirim, "Islamism, Trade Unionism and Civil Society: The Case of Hak-İş Labour Confederation in Turkey", *Middle Eastern Studies* 41:227-247 (no. 2, Mar2005).

### Optional reading

Abu-Jaber, Kamel S. and Schirin H. Fathi, "The 1989 Jordanian parliamentary elections", *Orient* 31: 67-86 (no. 1, 1990).

**Week 7, part II: Women's rights and the status of minority groups in Arab countries, in the context of the struggle between secular and Islamist movements.**

### Required reading

Weiner, Lauren , "Islam and Women ", *Policy Review* 127: 49-66 (Oct/Nov2004).

### Optional reading

Razavi, Shahra, "Islamic politics, human rights and women's claims for equality in Iran", *Third World Quarterly* 27: 1223-1237 (no. 7, Oct 2006).

### Theme 4 – Islam, the Law, and Shari'a

**Week 8, part I: Radical Islam and the concept of constitutionality.**

### Required reading

Gesink, Indira Falk. "'Chaos on the Earth': Subjective Truths versus Communal Unity in Islamic Law and the Rise of Militant Islam." *American Historical Review* 108: 710-733 (no. 3, June 2003).

### Optional reading

Baali, Abdallah, "The Algerian Constitution Based on the Separation of Powers and the Protection of Individual and Collective Freedoms", *The Review* 60: 103-112 (July 1998).

Aba-Namay, Rashed, "The dynamics of individual rights and their prospective development under the new constitution of Saudi Arabia.", *Journal of South Asian And Middle Eastern Studies* 18: 21-40 (no. 3, Spring 1995).

Or:

Aba-Namay, Rashed ,“Constitutional Reform: a systematization of Saudi politics.”, *Journal of South Asian And Middle Eastern Studies* 16: 43-88 (no. 3, Spring 1993).

**Week 8 part II: Ideas of human rights from outside the Islamic world and Shari’a and their clash with radical Islam.**

#### **Required reading**

Carroll, John. "Universal rights, singular culture: on the clash of civilisations", *Irish Journal of Sociology* 15: 99-105 (no. 1, June 2006).

#### **Optional reading**

Kamali, Mohammed Hashim, “Law and Society: The Interplay of Revelation and Reason in the Shariah” in: John Esposito, (ed.), *The Oxford History of Islam*. Ch. 3 (pp 107-153) (1999).

Najjar, Fauzi, “The Application of Sharia Laws in Egypt”, *Middle East Policy* 1: 62-73 (no. 3, 1992).

#### **Theme 5 – Test cases.**

**Week 9: Mid term break – no classes.**

**Weeks 10-11: The Egyptian case: action and counteraction: radical Islam and the central government.**

- A. The Muslim Brotherhood: Political activity from the 1920’s through the 1940’s, including organizational structure, modus operandi vis-à-vis the authorities, social base, mass mobilization, and participation in the 1948 War.**

#### **Required reading**

Leiken, Robert S.; Brooke, Steven. ,“The Moderate Muslim Brotherhood”, *Foreign Affairs* 86:107-121 (no. 2, Mar/Apr 2007).

Stark, Jan, "Beyond 'Terrorism' and 'State Hegemony': assessing the Islamist mainstream in Egypt and Malaysia" , *Third World Quarterly* 26:307-327 (no. 2, March 2005).

#### **Optional reading**

Aboul-Enein, Youssef H. "Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimeen: The Muslim Brotherhood", *Military Review* 83: 26-31 (no. 4, Jul/Aug2003).

Mitchell, R.P., *The Society of the Muslim Brothers.*, London (1969), 12-19, 163-166, 185-206, 328-331.

## **B. Radical Islam movements: Relations with the Egyptian republic, 1952 to the present.**

### **Required reading**

Scott, Rachel, "An 'official' Islamic response to the Egyptian al-jihad movement", *Journal of Political Ideologies* 8:39-61 (no. 1, Feb 2003).

### **Optional reading**

Holger, Albrecht. "How can opposition support authoritarianism? Lessons from Egypt", *Democratization* 12:378-397 (no. 3, June 2005).

Moaddel, Mansoor, "Discursive Pluralism and Islamic Modernism in Egypt.", *Arab Studies Quarterly* 24: 1-29 (no.1, Winter2002).

## **C. Islamic Terrorism in Egypt: structure and activity vis-à-vis the Mubarak regime, with attention to the possible threat the Islamic Brotherhood poses to the regime and the possible political or economic responses of the government.**

### **Required reading**

Ali, Farhana, and Jerrold Post. "The History and Evolution of Martyrdom in the Service of Defensive Jihad: An Analysis of Suicide Bombers in Current Conflicts." *Social Research* 75:615-654 (no. 2, summer 2008).

### **Optional reading**

Zeidan, David, "Radical Islam in Egypt: a Comparison of Two Groups", *MERIA Journal* 3 (No. 3, September, 1999).

## **Week 12, part I: Radical Islam in Syria and Lebanon: pawn or local product?**

### **Required reading**



Zisser, Eyal, "Syria, the Ba'th Regime and the Islamic Movement: Stepping on a New Path? ", *Muslim World* 95: 43-65 (no. 1, Jan2005).

### Optional reading

Adrienne L. Edgar , "The Islamic Opposition in Egypt and Syria, a Comparative Study", *Journal of Arab Affairs* 6: 82-108 (no. 1, 1987) .

Michael C. Hudson, "The Islamic Factor in Syrian and Islamic Politics", in J.D. Piscatori (ed.). *Islam in the Political Process*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1983), 73-97.

**Week 12, Part II: Lebanon and fundamentalist Islam: Hezbollah following the Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon- a military, political, or parliamentary organization?**

### Required reading

Alagha, Joseph " Hizbullah: An Islamic Jihadi Movement", *Arab Studies Quarterly* 30: 61-70 (no. 1, winter 2008).

### Optional reading

Bar, Shmuel, "Deterring Nonstate Terrorist Groups: The Case of Hizballah." *Comparative Strategy* 26: 469-493 (no. 5, Oct 2007).

Qasseem, Naim, "Key Milestones in the History of Hizbullah", in: *Hizbullah: The Story from Within* , London: Saqi Books (2005), Ch 3 (pp 87-149).

Hamzeh, A. Nizar. "Lebanon's Hizbullah: From Islamic revolution to parliamentary accommodation" , *Third World Quarterly* 14: 321-337 (no. 2, June 1993).

### Weeks 13-14:

**A. The former Mandatory Palestine: Jordan and the issue of radical Islam, with attention to the Muslim Brotherhood in the West Bank during Jordanian rule, and the process of democratization and its costs.**

### Required reading

Wiktorowicz, Quintan, "Islamists, the State, and Cooperation in Jordan", in: *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 21:1-18 (no.4, fall 1999).

**B. the former Mandatory Palestine: Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the Muslim Brotherhood: Terrorist threat to America and the West?**

**Required reading**

Tibi, Bassam. "The Totalitarianism of Jihadist Islamism and its Challenge to Europe and to Islam." *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions* 8: 35-54 (no. 1, March 2007).

**Optional reading**

Bloul, Rachel A. D. "Muslims, Islamists and "The West"." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 28: 237-246 (no. 2, May 2007).

**C. The former Mandatory Palestine: Does the Islamic movement in Israel meet the definition of fundamental Islam? The Islamic movement in parliamentary and municipal elections; the political competition with the Islamic establishment within Israel.**

**Required reading**

Al-Haj, Majid, "Whither the Green Line? Trends in the Orientation of the Palestinians in Israel and the Territories". *Israel Affairs* 11: 183-206 (no. 1, winter 2005).

**Optional reading**

Spiro, George, "Israeli Arabs turn to Islam", *Swiss Review of World Affairs* 39:29-31 (no. 3, 1989).

**Weeks 15-16: TBA + Final exam guidelines handed out; conclusion of class.**