George Mason University  
Department of Public & International Affairs  

GOVT345-001  
Political Islam  
Fall 2004  
MW, 3:00—4:15pm  
Innovation Hall, Room 204  

Dr. Peter Mandaville, Director, Center for Global Studies  
Office: Robinson A228  
E-mail: pmandavi@gmu.edu  
Telephone: (703) 993-1054  

Office Hours: Mon 12-1pm, Wed 4:30-5:30pm  
* In order to guarantee my availability during these times, please give me a couple days’ notice of your intention to visit during office hours so that I can put you on my schedule.  

AIMS & OBJECTIVES  
This course will give you an understanding of the many ways in which the religion of Islam plays a political role in the world today. We will begin with a brief history of Islam, paying particular attention to how ideas about political community and governance have evolved over time. We will then address a number of key themes such as the relationship between religion and politics, the compatibility of Islamic and Western ideas about democracy, the role of women in political society, and the impact of new media and IT technologies on religio-political discourse. These issues will be illuminated through case studies of contemporary political Islam in a broad range of geographical and cultural settings including the Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia and Europe/North America. The course will conclude with some consideration of the future of political Islam in the context of increasing globalization. The emphasis throughout will be on the diversity and plurality of political Islam—in short, the idea that it is impossible to speak in terms of a singular Islamic ‘fundamentalism’ today. Instead, we need to understand that the politicization of Islam (or its political mobilization—for Islam is inherently political) can only be understood by reference to particular circumstances in the societies in which it occurs.  

COURSE FORMAT & REQUIREMENTS  
The class will consist of a mixture of lectures, group discussion (general & text-based), and independent study/investigation. It is vital that, as an absolute minimum, you complete your weekly reading assignments and show up to class ready to discuss the week’s material. For certain weeks, particular students may be asked to make short presentations in order to lead off group discussion.  

Your grade for the course will be derived from the following elements:
“Gobbet” exercise  
Due: Sept. 27  
10%

Midterm exam (take home)  
Due: Oct. 18  
25%

Position paper (2000-2500 words)  
Due: Nov. 8  
15%

Term paper (3000-4000 words)  
Due: Dec. 1  
25%

(or Web Essay – see below)

Final exam (December 13)  
25%

Grading scale
When it comes to converting number grades to letter grades, I use the following widely-accepted scale (adjusted to fit GMU’s grading policy):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Range</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98+</td>
<td>A+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93-97</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-92</td>
<td>A-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88-89</td>
<td>B+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83-87</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-82</td>
<td>B-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78-79</td>
<td>C+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73-77</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-72</td>
<td>C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 60</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please note that the grades of A+ and C- are relatively new at GMU. It is the official policy of the Department that Government & International Politics (GVIP) majors must obtain a minimum grade of C in this course in order to count it towards their degree.

Writing Guidelines
Your written assignments for this class will be graded according to the following criteria. The relative weight given to each of these categories will vary depending on the nature of the assignment.

1. Clear and sound content, including a well-stated thesis, related points to support that thesis, and applicable, logically presented, and specific evidence; clarity of argument.
2. Depth of engagement with ideas; originality; seriousness of thought; conceptual complexity.
3. Well-organized structure; text “flows” with coherent and effective transition between and among ideas; appropriate voice, tone, and style for audience and purpose (e.g. no slang); accurate word choice.
4. Sufficiently and consistently cited and documented; one style of citation used throughout the paper; references adequate number and appropriate type of sources; uses quotations and reference marks appropriately.
5. Correct mechanics including grammar, syntax, spelling, and punctuation.

All papers should be proofread before being handed in, and will be marked down for excessive typographical errors.

References and citation
Unless otherwise specified, it is expected that your written work will make proper use of references and citations. Your ability to learn from, integrate, and synthesize other sources in the context of your own arguments is a large part of what you will be graded on. In particular, any time you use the words or ideas of another author, you must provide a reference. Whenever another author’s exact words are used, they must be set
apart from your text "in quotes," with a proper foot/endnote or parenthetical citation included.

Learning to make proper use of referencing and citation systems is a part of your overall education at college. I expect you to choose and make consistent use of one of the following systems in your papers:

1. American Psychological Association (APA) style

2. Modern Language Association (MLA) style

For guidelines on citing electronic media (such as Internet sources) see: http://www.apastyle.org/elecmedia.html

** Our Department makes available to you an online guide to ‘Writing in Public and International Affairs,’ and you are encouraged to familiarize yourself with its content and follow its suggestions. You can find this guide at:

http://classweb.gmu.edu/piaguide/

Required Sources
For the most part, it is up to you to determine how much supporting material you need to make your argument effectively. Suffice it to say that it will be obvious if your topic is poorly or narrowly researched, or if the exact same book gets referenced over and over again! Evidence of wide reading always comes through and, inevitably, has a positive impact on your grade.

As a general guideline, I require you to use at least four sources. Of these, at least one should be an online source, and another should be an academic/scholarly book or journal article found in the library. Your textbook does not count as one of these, nor do encyclopedias. In fact, you should move away from using encyclopedias for anything other than the most basic of factual information. This is college, after all.

Bibliography
Please include a full bibliography at the end of your term paper—again, formatted according to one of the standard bibliographic styles. Do not simply list authors and book titles or make up your own system of listing sources.

Other technical requirements

- All term papers MUST be typed with double line spacing.
- Any supporting materials (graphs, charts, illustrations, etc.) do not count towards the overall page count.
• Make sure your name and course/section number are on the paper!
• You must hand in a hard copy (i.e. printed) of your assignments. Unless I give you specific permission, e-mail only submissions are not acceptable.

If you want to show me an outline of your paper before you start writing (and I would encourage you to write an outline; it helps to keep you on track), I am always happy to provide feedback. It’s best to e-mail it to me (along, of course, with a note of your title/topic). I do not, however, read paper drafts.

Late work will have one letter grade deducted for each day it is overdue. This turns into an F very quickly, so make sure you meet your assignment deadlines! Unless exemption has been granted by the instructor on an individual basis, a final grade for the class will not be issued unless all assigned work has been completed.

WHAT’S A FREAKIN’ “GOBBET”?! Good question. It’s an exercise used in the history departments of British universities, but can be applied to any sort of textual analysis. Here’s the general idea: I will provide you with several short passages of text taken from the works of major Muslim intellectuals and political thinkers. You will write a two page paper in which you contextualize and analyze the text passage, explaining both its historical and contemporary significance. Further guidance will be given in class.

POSITION PAPER
Write a five-page paper in which you consider the compatibility between Islamic and Western conceptions of democracy. Your goal in this paper is to put forward and argue a particular position—e.g. that the two are compatible, that they are partially compatible, that they are incomparable, etc.
Your paper should:
☐ Be well-organized and logically developed;
☐ Contain a thesis statement in one of the first two paragraphs;
☐ Support the argument with appropriate references to academic sources and/or assigned readings;
☐ Use quotations appropriately;
☐ Be proofread carefully for spelling and grammar; and,
☐ Accurately and consistently use one style of citation throughout the paper.

TERM PAPER
Your term paper may be based on one of the topics we cover in class (a list of potential essay questions appears later in this syllabus) or it may cover a subject of your own choosing. If the latter, you must (and I mean MUST) have your topic approved by me by April. Further guidelines, technical requirements and style hints at:

http://mason.gmu.edu/~pmandavi/termpaper.html

In lieu of a term paper, you may prepare a ‘Web Essay’ on a topic of your own choice, which must—however—be cleared with me as per above. Instruction for the preparation of this assignment can be found at:
http://mason.gmu.edu/~pmandavi/webessays/

CLASS COMMUNICATIONS
Outside the classroom I use e-mail as the primary form of communicating with you. I will set up a class e-mail list based on your GMU e-mail addresses. If you do not use your gmu.edu account as your main e-mail address, it is your responsibility to set up your GMU e-mail so that it forwards to whatever account you prefer to use. If not, then you should at least check your GMU MEMO account several times per week at http://mail.gmu.edu I accept no responsibility for the consequences of missed e-mail communications!

CLASS WEBSITE
The class website is available at:

http://mason.gmu.edu/~pmandavi/govt345/

You will also be able to track your progress and check your grades at anytime using the WebCT system at http://webct.gmu.edu If you have never used WebCT, you will find login instructions on this page. You should find GOVT345 on your list of courses once you have logged into the system.

REQUIRED & RECOMMENDED TEXTS
The texts for the course are:


[E] = signifies that book is available as an e-Book through the GMU library system.

You are also strongly encouraged to read beyond the prescribed chapters in the textbook in order to deepen your knowledge of particular topics. The class website contains a guide to further reading.

You are encouraged to familiarize yourself with and follow current events related to political Islam. Some countries to watch include: Iraq, Palestine, Sudan, Iran, Egypt, Turkey, Afghanistan, the Central Asian republics, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Indonesia, among others. The *New York Times* is an excellent source of world news and should be
read regularly. Many newspapers published in the Muslim world are available online with selected extracts translated into English. For example:

Al-Ahram Weekly Online (Egypt) – http://www.ahram.org.eg/
The Jakarta Post (Indonesia) – http://www.thejakartapost.com/
The Independent (Bangladesh) – http://independent-bangladesh.com/

…and many others!

Contemporary intellectual debates, particularly among Muslim communities in the West, can be followed online at sites such as:

The Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy – http://www.islam-democracy.org

The newsletter of the Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM) in Leiden, Holland is an excellent source for general coverage of the modern Muslim world. Find it at:
http://www.isim.nl/

I particularly encourage you to explore some of the various Islamic websites on the Internet. Some of the major portals and metasites in Europe and North America include:

Islamicity – http://www.islamicity.com
Ummah.com – http://www.ummah.com

COURSE OUTLINE & READING ASSIGNMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Readings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 30</td>
<td>Course Introduction: What is Political Islam?</td>
<td>Eickelman &amp; Piscatori, <em>Muslim Politics</em>, pp. 3-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 6</td>
<td>NO CLASS – LABOR DAY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 8</td>
<td>NO CLASS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought*, pp. 18-31 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Readings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
2. Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, pp. 52-83  
| September 27 | The Islamic State and Islamist Alternatives     | 1. Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 136-157  
| September 29 | Review Class                                    |                                                                          |
| October 4   | NO CLASS                                        |                                                                          |
| October 6   | Pakistan                                        | 1. Esposito, pp. 171-196  
| October 11  | NO CLASS – COLUMBUS DAY                         |                                                                          |
| October 12  | Egypt                                           | 1. Esposito, pp. 235-260  
| October 13  | Algeria                                         | 1. Esposito, pp. 302-307 |

**October 18**  
**Sudan**

Readings: 1. Esposito, pp. 260-273  
**OR**  

**October 20**  
**Lebanon & Palestine**

Readings: 1. Esposito, pp. 227-233; 273-289  

**October 25**  
**Saudi Arabia**

Readings: 1. Gwenn Okruhlik, “Networks of Dissent: Islamism and Reform in Saudi Arabia”; available online at:  

**October 27**  
**Iran**

Readings: 1. Esposito, pp. 196-227  

**November 1**  
**Turkey**

1. Review Esposito, pp. 100-105  
2. Arthur Bonner, 'An Islamic Reformation in Turkey' in *Middle East Policy* (Spring 2004). [This is accessible through library.gmu.edu by choosing ‘e-journal finder’ and then entering the journal title into the search field.]  
3. Thomas Patrick Carroll ‘Turkey’s Justice and Development Party: A Model for Democratic Islam?’ online at:
### November 3  Afghanistan

**Readings:**

### November 8  Chechnya & Central Asia

**Readings:**

### November 10  Islam in Africa

**Readings:**
1. ‘Faithful, but not Fanatics: Islam in Africa,’ *The Economist,* June 28, 2003, p. 50 [available online]

### November 15  Southeast Asia: Indonesia & Malaysia

**Readings:**
2. Martin van Bruinessen, 'Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in post-Suharto Indonesia' online at: [http://www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/genealogies_islamic_radicalism.htm](http://www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/genealogies_islamic_radicalism.htm)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Readings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 24</td>
<td>NO CLASS: THANKSGIVING RECESS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Asghar Ali Engineer, 'Islam and Pluralism,' online at: http://www.islam21.net/pages/keyissues/key3-1.htm |
2. Robin Wright, 'Islam & Liberal Democracy,' online at: http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/rwright.htm  
December 8  “Islam” and “The West”: Prospects, Challenges & Opportunities

Reading: Sadiq al-Azm, ‘Islam, the West and Terrorism’ Erasmus Prize Essay 2004 [to be circulated].

December 13  FINAL EXAM: 1:30 – 4:15pm (Note: different from regular class time!)

SAMPLE TERM PAPER QUESTIONS
Your are welcome to write your term paper on one of the following questions—or, as specified above, on a topic of your choice with the approval of your instructor.

1. How can we best explain the prevalence of political Islam today?
2. The ‘Islamic threat,’ myth or reality?
3. Explain the impact of globalization and transnational forces on political Islam in a country of your choice.
4. Is Iran’s Islamic Revolution sustainable?
5. Assess the likely outcome of the current reformist/conservative impasse in Iranian politics.
6. What are the major issues faced by Muslims living as minorities in the West and how does this impact orientations towards and forms of religiosity?
7. Are Western and Islamic conceptions of democracy compatible?
8. To what extent is Islam a competitor to Western liberal democracy as a political system?
9. Assess the impact of information and communications technologies on traditional structures of knowledge in Islam.
10. Critically evaluate Fazlur Rahman’s distinction between ‘normative’ and ‘historical’ Islam?
11. How, if at all, have the roles of women in Muslim societies evolved in recent years?
12. Was Muhammad a feminist?
13. What is the role of Islam Algeria’s political violence?
14. Can Muslim countries integrate into the European Union?
15. How does an Islamic state differ from other kinds of states?

Attendance
Attendance at each class session is mandatory (see University policy in your Student Handbook), and you will be penalized for persistent unexcused absences. Students are expected to inform the instructor before any anticipated absence or as soon as possible afterwards in emergency situations. Absence from class does not relieve you of the obligation to complete and graded work or assignment associated with that particular class. Quiz/exam make-ups are not routinely offered, and you must have a seriously good reason for missing them.

If you are having problems—academic, medical, or personal—please let me know as soon as possible. I will do my best to help you and be sympathetic, but only if you are forthcoming with me sooner rather than later. In other words, don’t suddenly tell me at the
end of the semester that you have been experiencing personal problems for several months.

Honor Code
As in all other aspects of community life at George Mason University, the Honor Code applies in this class. I take it extremely seriously and will enforce it with a zero tolerance policy. The policy endorsed by the members of the Department of Public and International Affairs relative to the types of academic work indicated below is set out in the appropriate paragraphs below. The Honor Code in its entirety can be found in your Student Handbook.

“Quizzes, tests and examinations. No help may be given or received by students during the taking of quizzes, tests, or examination, whatever the type given or wherever taken, unless the instructor specifically permits deviation from this standard.

Course requirements: All work submitted in fulfillment of course requirements is to be solely the product of the individual(s) whose name(s) appear on it. Except with permission of the instructor, no recourse is to be had to projects, papers, lab reports or any other written work previously prepared by another student, and except with permission of the instructor no paper or work of another type submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of another course may be used a second time to satisfy a requirement of any course in the Department of Public Affairs.”

Furthermore, no assistance is to be obtained from [or given to] commercial organizations which sell, lease [or otherwise provide] research help or written papers. With respect to all written work as appropriate, proper footnotes and attribution are required.

This last point is particularly relevant to the preparation of your term papers. Whenever you make use of the ideas of others – either indirectly or in paraphrase – they must be accorded due attribution. When you use the words of another author, they must be set apart from your own text in the appropriate manner.
### Islamic Sociopolitical Thought: Some Key Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alim</td>
<td>Religious scholar (singular of ulama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bey’a</td>
<td>Expression of allegiance to a leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar al-ahd</td>
<td>‘Land of Treaty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar al-harb</td>
<td>‘Land of War’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar al-islam</td>
<td>‘Land of Islam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’wa</td>
<td>Propagation of the religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darura</td>
<td>‘Imperative need’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>din wa dawla</td>
<td>‘Religion and state’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faqih</td>
<td>Legal scholar or jurist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatwa</td>
<td>Opinion or edict of a legal scholar (plural: fatawa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiqh</td>
<td>Islamic legal science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadith</td>
<td>Historically transmitted report about the Prophet Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hajj</td>
<td>Pilgrimage to Mecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakuma</td>
<td>Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halal</td>
<td>Permissible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haram</td>
<td>Forbidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hijra</td>
<td>Migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hukm</td>
<td>Sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijma</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijtihad</td>
<td>Independent reasoning or judgement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikhtilaf</td>
<td>Differences of opinion as regards fiqh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>istislah</td>
<td>Reasoning based on a &quot;search for the good&quot; (or for maslaha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jahiliya</td>
<td>Pre- or non-Islamic ignorance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalam</td>
<td>Scholastic theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khilafa</td>
<td>The institution of rule by the Caliph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khutba</td>
<td>The sermon given at a Friday congregational prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madhhab</td>
<td>School of Islamic law (plural: madhahib)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madrasa</td>
<td>Religious school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majlis al-shura</td>
<td>Consultative council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maslaha</td>
<td>Public interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasrha</td>
<td>‘Advice’ given to a ruler by his subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qawm</td>
<td>Solidarity group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiyas</td>
<td>A legal methodology based on analogical deduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharia</td>
<td>Religious law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shura</td>
<td>Consultation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyyasa</td>
<td>Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunna</td>
<td>&quot;Orthodox&quot; traditions of the Prophet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafsir</td>
<td>Qur’anic exegesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawhid</td>
<td>Unity of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulama</td>
<td>Religious scholars (singular: alim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umma</td>
<td>The world community of Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usul al-fiqh</td>
<td>Principles of legal science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watman</td>
<td>Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilayat al-faqih</td>
<td>Sovereignty or guardianship of the legal scholar (Khomeini's doctrine of governance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>