

HIST 200

“Islam and Politics: Power and Practice”

In the early twentieth century, a series of movements arose in the Middle East and South Asia, calling Muslims to return to Islam. Today, leaders and members of such groups – now known as Islamists – insist that one cannot live a fully Islamic life in the absence of an Islamic state. How and why did these movements come to focus on building an Islamic state? When did Islam come to be seen as indivisible from Politics, and what does it mean for Islam and Politics to be related? Are contemporary claims to Islam as the basis for political action consistent with the ways in which Muslims have understood their core texts historically? This course will introduce students to the study of Religion and Politics in Islamic History, beginning with the early Islamic community under the rule of the Prophet Muhammad, stretching through a period of rule that saw multiple Islamic Caliphates, and finally, reaching the present day. The bulk of this course, however, will focus on the diverse ways in which Muslims in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have laid claim to their religion as a template for political and social action. In particular, it will push students to consider how Muslim men and women live religion in their daily lives, whether through dress, prayer, or facial hair, and how these claims to religion shape political systems from the ground up.

Course Logistics

Time: MW, 2:30-3:45

Location: Humanities 1131

Office hours: M 1-2, W 11-12

Office: Humanities 4118

Learning Objectives

In this course, you will learn about how Muslims have understood the relationship between religion and politics in both past and present. Specifically, you will gain an understanding of the key moments in Islamic history that have shaped this understanding and a nuanced knowledge of competing Islamic movements, institutions, and approaches that emerged during the twentieth century.

Credit Hours

This 4-credit course meets as a group for 4 hours per week (according to UW-Madison's credit hour policy, each lecture counts as 1.5 hours and each discussion counts as an hour). The course also carries the expectation that you will spend an average of at least 2 hours outside of class for every hour in the classroom. In other words, in addition to class time, plan to allot an average of at least 8 hours per week for reading, writing, preparing for discussions, and/or studying for quizzes and exams for this course.

Digital Devices

You are permitted to use a computer or tablet to take notes on my lectures or to record key points of class discussions. That said, the discussion portion of this course depends on your active participation, whether listening to your classmates' ideas or offering your own. Given this, I will frequently request that all digital devices be put away. To reduce our dependence on computers in class, I expect you to arrive having printed out and

marked up the text and any notes on which you wish to draw. If this digital device policy will pose an unnecessary hardship for you, please let me know. We will find a solution that meets your needs and my pedagogical goals.

Accommodations

I welcome open communication regarding your learning needs. If you intend to request accommodations in this course, please contact the McBurney Disability Resource Center as soon as possible in order to register. I work according to the University's policy, as articulated by the Committee on Access and Accommodation in Instruction:

The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy (Faculty Document 1071) require that students with disabilities be reasonably accommodated in instruction and campus life. Reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities is a shared faculty and student responsibility. Students are expected to inform faculty [me] of their need for instructional accommodations by the end of the third week of the semester, or as soon as possible after a disability has been incurred or recognized. Faculty [I], will work either directly with the student [you] or in coordination with the McBurney Center to identify and provide reasonable instructional accommodations. Disability information, including instructional accommodations as part of a student's educational record, is confidential and protected under FERPA.

Academic Integrity

My expectation is that you will adhere to the university's policies on academic integrity, available at <https://conduct.students.wisc.edu/academic-integrity/>. While we will discuss particular questions that pertain to academic integrity in class –such as correct citation, how to paraphrase an argument –you are responsible prior to addressing these particular questions. Broadly speaking, the guidelines are simple A) when in doubt, cite B) cite not only language, but also ideas and c) when paraphrasing, change the language.

Late Policy

If an assignment for this course coincides with assignments in other courses, students may request an extension *no less than one week in advance*. Extensions will not be granted beyond this point, and late assignments lose one letter grade/day. In other words, the onus is on you to structure your time so that you can successfully complete the assignments by the due date.

Contact Information

My email address is rocksinger@wisc.edu. Your TA Brahim Lafdouk's email address is lafdouk@wisc.edu and his office is located at 4255 Humanities.

Email Hours

I will do my best to respond to your questions as quickly as I can during business hours (8:00 AM-4:00 PM). I may also be able to respond outside of those hours, but I will generally respond the next morning. It is your responsibility to think ahead on this front! When you email, please also be mindful of the difference between texting and emailing; the following guide may be of help:

<http://udel.edu/~jsoares/How%20to%20Use%20Proper%20Email%20Etiquette%20When%20Writing%20to%20a%20Professor.pdf>. In short, more punctuation, fewer emojis.

Required Texts

Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (eds.), *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Course requirements:

1. Lecture classroom participation (10%): Come to class ready to discuss and analyze the assigned secondary texts.
2. Primary source discussion section participation (10%): come to section ready to analyze the primary sources and their relation to the course's secondary readings.
3. Blog participation (10%): You will be responsible for posting to the class blog weekly.
4. Midterm exam (30%): This take home exam will include two long essay questions, of which one must choose one.
5. Final: (40%): the take-home final will include three long essay questions, of which you must pick two to answer in roughly 1,000 words each.

Course Policies

1. All readings will be available, organized according to week, on Blackboard.
2. Students are expected to do their own work and cite correctly. If you need an example of this, see the *Chicago Manual of Style* or www.easybib.com.
3. Late assignments will lose one letter grade each day. For emergencies, please contact me by email and, when relevant, obtain a doctor's note. The same is true of the final exam.
4. Plagiarism: any students caught plagiarizing in any way (copying quotations without attribution, taking ideas without attribution, etc.) will receive an F for the assignment.
5. Absences: there's no official absence policy in this course but you will not be able to succeed in it without attending regularly.
6. This class does not require prior knowledge of either Islamic or Middle Eastern history. It does, however, require a willingness to think critically about the key terms, approaches and questions that surround the study of religion and politics generally, and Islam and politics in particular.

How to Succeed in This Course

1. *Reading preparation:* Lectures will not replicate the readings; if I've assigned you a text, I will not go over that information in any significant detail. It is thus incumbent upon you to come having read carefully and to come prepared with questions.
2. *Prior knowledge:* In this course, prior knowledge of leading events, figures and topics in Islamic and Middle Eastern history will be useful, yet they are hardly necessary to succeed. The last time I taught this course, a significant number of my most successful students had no prior background in the study of Islam or the Middle East. What they did all have in common, however, was a commitment to working their tails off.
3. *Lecture style:* My lecture style is concise and geared towards helping you understand basic conceptual issues. Put differently, I take no great joy in minutia; what I seek to do is to teach you how to think about Islam and politics.
4. *In class:* while part of the class will be taken up with lecture, this is not a unidirectional learning exercise. The success of this course depends on your engagement with our classroom discussion; you should come out of our class feeling a bit fatigued!

Grading Expectations for Essays (both in-class and take-home)

A-/A: Exceptional essay that makes a clear argument, supports it with well-chosen examples and does not include an inordinate number of typos.

B-/B/B+: Essay that nearly makes a clear argument but doesn't quite reach the goal. Alternatively, a paper may begin with a clear statement but not support it sufficiently. This involves a student clearly having read the material.

C-/C/C+: Essay doesn't make a clear argument, doesn't use sources and doesn't think critically about the question.

D: Essay is unfocused, doesn't consider assigned readings, and shows no evidence of student engagement in the question.

F: Assignment not handed in/the submitted essay shows no evidence of effort.

Course Structure

In this course, I will give a 20-minute lecture each day. We will then break out into groups to discuss the key arguments of the secondary sources, before coming back together to collectively analyze broader questions that arise from them.

PART I: Formative Moments in Islamic History

Week 1: An Introduction to the Study of Islam and Politics

January 22: Key concepts and terms: Islam, Politics, Society, Religion, the Secular, and the State

Week 2: Religion and Politics in Pre-Modern Islam I

January 27: Islam's formative moment: a fusion of religion and politics

Reading:

- Vernon O. Egger, *A History of the Muslim World to 1405*, 20-32.

January 29 Religion and Politics Under the Umayyads and Abbasids

Secondary:

- Egger, *A History of the Muslim World to 1405*, 44-52, 54-61, 69-73, 85-93.

Section:

- "The Constitution of Medina" in Fred M. Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 227-32.
- "Abu Hamza's comments on the caliphs" in Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 129-32.

Week 3: Religion and Politics in Pre-Modern Islam II

February 3 Theories of Islamic Rule

- Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 3-16, 286-314.

February 5 The Bases of Islamic Revival

- Jonathan Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (Oxford, England: Oneworld publications, 2009), 1-13.
- William A. Graham, "Traditionalism in Islam: An Essay in Interpretation," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXIII:3 (Winter 1993), 495-522.

Section:

- Michael Cooks (trans.), Ziya' al-Din Baranī (au.) "The Dilemma of a Muslim ruler"

PART II: MODERN ISLAMIC TRENDS

Week 4: Revivalist Movements of the 18th and 19th centuries

February 10 Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab

- David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 7-39.

February 12 Muhammad al-Shawkani

- Bernard Haykel, *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkani* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-24.

Section:

- Muhammad bin Abdul-Wahhab, *Kitab at-Tauhid* (N.P: Islamicbasics.com, N.D) 12-15, 29-38

Week 5: The Shari'a

February 17: The Pre-Modern Shari'a

- Bernard Weiss, *The Spirit of Islamic Law* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2006), xi-xiv, 1-24

February 19: The Modern Shari‘a

Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 87-110.

Section:

- Malik b. Anas, *The Muwatta of Imam Muhammad - the Muwatta of Imam Malik ibn Anas in the narration of Imam Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ash-Shaybani*, *Mālik ibn Anas* (N.P: Turath Publishing, 2004), 51-2, 409-10, 421-22.
- Roland Knyvet Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadan Law: A Digest* (Calcutta, India: Thacker and Spink & Co, 1921), v-xi, xxxv-xxxxix, 157-167.

Week 6: Sectarianism

February 24: Sectarianism in Modern Islam

- Najam Haidar, *Shi‘i Islam: an Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 200-28.

Section

- Contemporary celebrations of Ashura:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHQLYTQ-Lj8>
- Hasan Nasrallah on sectarianism:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qT7M6gqq5H0>

February 26: Midterm

PART III: THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS

Week 7: Secular Nationalism and Islam

March 2: Arab Nationalism and Religion

- Adeed Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 14-48.

March 4: ‘Abd al-Nasir and Islam

- Gregory T. Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 62-86.

Section:

- “Syrian Michael ‘Aflaq Addresses the Relationship Between Arabism and Islam, 1943,” in Akram Fouad Khater, *Sources in the History of the Modern Middle East* (Boston, MA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2004), 130-5.

Week 8: Islamism

March 9: Muslim Brothers pre-1970

- Beth Baron, *The Orphan Scandal: Christian Missionaries and the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014), 117-34.

March 11: Muslim Brothers post-1970

- Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 119-49.

Section:

- Hasan al-Banna, "Towards the Light," in Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (eds.), *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 49-50, 60-2, 74-8.

Week 9: Salafism

March 23: Salafism pre-1970

- Joas Wagemakers, *Salafism in Jordan: Political Islam in a Quietist Community* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 27-59.

March 25: Salafism post-1970

- Aaron Rock-Singer, "The Salafi Mystique: The Rise of Gender Segregation in 1970s Egypt," *Islamic Law and Society* 23:3 (June 2016), 279-305.

Section:

- Muhammad Nasir al-Din al-Albani, "On Remaining in Territories Occupied by Israel," in Alan Verskin (ed.), *Oppressed in the Land? Fatwās on Muslims Living under Non-Muslim Rule from the Middle Ages to Present* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2013), 149-55.

Week 10: Jihad and Contemporary Jihadism

March 30: The Rise of Jihadism

- Barbara Zollner, "Prison Talk. The Muslim Brotherhood's Internal Struggle During the Period of 'Abdel Nasir's Persecution, 1954 to 1971," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39:3 (2007), 411-33.

April 1: Contemporary Jihadism

- Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York: Albert A. Knopf, 2006), 99-144.

Section:

- "Resist the New Rome," in Bruce Lawrence (ed.) and James Howarth (trans.), *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden* (New York: Verso, 2005), 213-21, 227-32.

PART IV: WHEN ISLAM BECOMES THE NORM

Week 11: The Islamic Revolution in Iran

April 6: The Islamic Revolution

- Michael Axworthy, *Revolutionary Iran: A History of the Islamic Republic* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016), 76-132, focus on: 76-78, 89-95, 104-117, and 130-132.

April 8: Institutionalizing the Islamic Revolution

- Nazanin Shahrokni, "The Mothers' Paradise: Women-Only Parks and the Dynamics of State Power in the Islamic Republic of Iran," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 10:3 (2014), 87-108.

Section:

- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, "Islamic Government," *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, 155-80.

Week 12: Turkey Between Secularism and Islamism

April 13: Kemalist Power in Twentieth Century Turkey

- Jenny White, *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turk* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 24-53.

April 15: The Rise of Islamism in Twentieth Century Turkey

- Jenny White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2002), 77-102.

Section:

- "The 18 Directives of February 28, 1997," in M. Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003), 275-6.
- Recep Tayyip Erdogan speaks to AKP conference:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H0jePmkBcu8>

Week 13: Building an Islamic Society: Egypt's Islamic Revival

April 20: The Rise of an Islamic Revival

- Saba Mahmood, *The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 40-78.

April 22: Ambiguities of Islamic Revival

- Samuli Schielke, "Ambivalent Commitments: Troubles of Morality, Religiosity and Aspiration among Young Egyptians," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 39:2 (2009), 158-85.

Section

- Zaynab al-Ghazali, "Days of My Life," *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, 275-301.

Week 14: Concluding Reflections: Are either Islam or Islamic Piety exceptional?

April 27

- Michael Cook, *Ancient Religions, Modern Politics: The Islamic Case in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), xi-xx, 371-98

April 29:

Final exam preparation

In this class, we will practice responding to essay questions and outlining essays similar to those you might see on the final exam. This an opportunity for students to both develop their writing skills generally and to focus on a particular type of concise argumentation.

FINAL EXAM

Exam date TBD; the exam period is May 3-8.