



**Федеральное государственное автономное образовательное
учреждение высшего образования
"Национальный исследовательский университет
"Высшая школа экономики"**

Факультет мировой экономики и мировой политики
Школа востоковедения

Рабочая программа дисциплины

«Ислам и политика»

Islam and Politics

для образовательной программы «Социально-экономическое и политическое
развитие современной Азии»
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*Настоящая программа не может быть использована другими подразделениями
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course will introduce students to politics and polities of Muslim majority countries and its neighbours with a particular focus on the Middle East. With the introduction of tailored analytical tools and techniques students will be better equipped to understand the intrinsic Islamic factor shaping Middle Eastern politics.

The course will be structured topically. The first introductory part focuses on the main features of the discussion on the political nature of Islam. The second part briefly deals with the political role of Islam in 7-20 centuries. The third part considers the interplay between Islam and politics in contemporary societies. The fourth part focuses on transnational Islamic political organizations and societies.

The course will be delivered as lectures and seminars. Through classes students will familiarise themselves with the role of Islam in contemporary Muslim societies, as well as with the issue of compatibility of Islam and democracy, Islam and liberal thought etc.

1 STUDENTS' LEARNING OUTCOMES

1.1. Course objectives

The main goal of the course is to equip students with the knowledge of main approaches to the Islamic factor in contemporary politics based on the most demonstrative cases.

Thus, the course seeks to:

1. encourage a critical understanding of the diversity of approaches to the study of Islamic politics' and political Islam;
2. enable students to engage with the wider debates in the field of Political and Islamic studies;
3. develop an understanding of interaction between sources and historical interpretation;
4. enhance students' ability to analyse and explain how Islamic institutions affect politics in various states and regions

1.2. Activities

The course consists of a series of activities and assessments to assist students in achieving the objectives for the course and teaching units. Each week students will work on various combinations of readings and discussions.

1.2.1. Attendance and Participation

Student Learning Outcome #1: Enable students to engage with the wider debates in the field of Political and Islamic studies.

Participation in class discussions is for students to talk about various aspects of Islamic factor in politics and will serve to inform the instructor of how well students are absorbing the course content. They will also enable students to develop and refine skills in scholarly debating, as they will be required to answer questions posed by the instructor and by their peers in a coherent and insightful way.

1.2.2. Analysis of a Historical Text (Secondary Source)

Student Learning Outcome #2: Encourage a critical understanding of the diversity of approaches to the study of Islamic politics' and political Islam.

Students will be required to take part in class discussions based on the study of relevant sources and literature.

1.3. Assessment

1.3.1. Core Knowledge and Core Competencies

At the end of this course students should be able to:

1. understand and provide a critique of the main topics regarding Islam and politics;
2. during discussions, written assignments and examination demonstrate the ability to understand, synthesize and analyse the cases of the influence of Islamic factors on a political process.
3. verbally and through written assignments demonstrate an ability to critically use sources, understand historical context, synthesize and analyse secondary literature.

1.3.2. Assessment Scheme

Type of assessment	Mode of assessment	The first year	Description
		The second module	
Pre-assessment	Test	The fifth week	Written multiple choice test Duration – 45 minutes
Final assessment	Final examination	The last week	Written work - contains one question related to the main topics of the course Duration – 60 minutes

1.3.3. Assessment criteria

Students will have to take one final examination. It will consist of questions dealing with the approaches to the study of Islam and politics, the current state of research of political history of the Middle East, the South Caucasus and Central Asia, and relevant sources and literature.

The pre-assessment multiple choice questions are to test what students know about the material covered in the module. The tests consists of ten questions.

Each question is worth 1 point, and the test score is calculated as follows:

Test score = n multiple-1; where *n* is the number of correct answers.

Results of the pre-assessment test and the final exam are calculated by the instructor according to set criteria that correspond to the general and professional assessment specified above.

Final exam:

End-course credit in a form of written work. Students are required to deliver a detailed answer on a key question of the course. The questions will be formulated and circulated among students by the sixth week of the second module.

1.3.4. Grading

Attention: the grade for final assessment task is of **blocking nature**. In case of a failing grade, it is equal to the overall grade.

The Instructor will grade the class work as well as students' independent work. Scores in decimals are rounded arithmetically.

Grades are allotted on the scale of one to ten:

10, 9, 8 – «excellent»,

7, 6 – «good»,

5, 4 – «satisfactory»,
 3, 2, 1 – «fail».

Evaluation

Grade components:

Final grade = 0.5*cumulative grade + 0.5* grade for exam

Cumulative grade consists of:

- class attendance – 30%
- participation at the class work – 40%
- test – 30%

2 COURSE OUTLINES

Week	Topic	Total hours for the topic	Total class hours		Self-study
			Lectures	Seminars	
1	Islam and Politics: Introduction to the Course	22	2	2	18
2	History of Islam and Politics until the 20th Century	28	4	6	18
3	Islam and Politics in the Modern World	36	6	8	18
4	Transnational Political Islam	28	6	8	18
	TOTAL HOURS	114	18	24	72

	Lectures	Seminars and discussions
I. Islam and Politics: introduction to the course		
1.	The Study of Islam and Politics (2 hours)	Discussion “Is Islam Compatible with Democracy?” (2 hours)
II. History of Islam and Politics until the 20th Century		
2.	Politics in the Early Islamic State (2 hours)	Discussion “The Quran and Politics” (2 hours)
3.	Muslim Empires (2 hours)	Discussion “Shariah, <i>Fiqh</i> and Policymaking” (2 hours) Seminar “Universalism and Islamic Rule: The Case of the <i>Dhimmi</i> ” (2 hours)
III. Islam and Politics in Modern Societies		
4.	<u>The Middle East: Reforming States and Societies in 20-21 Centuries</u> (4 hours)	Discussion “Is Islamic Republic of Iran a Democracy?” Discussion “Turkey in the 21 st Century: Towards Islam or Secularism?” (2 hours)
5.	Non-Middle Eastern societies and states: the Post-Soviet Countries (2 hours)	Discussion “Islam and Politics in the Far East, South and South East Asia: the Variety of Cases” (2 hours) Discussion “Islam and Politics in Africa” (2 hours)
VI. Transnational Political Islam		

6.	Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Outside (2 hours)	Discussion “Seyyid Qutb and His Vision of the Islamic Order” (2 hours)
7.	Islamic Movements Worldwide (4 hours)	Discussion “Political Islam, Gender and Modernity” (2 hours) Discussion “Transnational Jihadi Movements” (2 hours) Discussion “Whose Islam? Sufi and Salafi visions” (2 hours)
	Final Exam	

3 COURSE PROGRAMME AND READING

3.1. Required Reading List

These books are intended to provide students with important factual and background information as well as review and reference works. It is highly recommended that students search also for other studies as reference works.

- Bayat A. *Post-Islamism. The Changing Faces of Political Islam*. 2013.
- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013.
- Hourani A. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. 2002.
- Knysh A. *Islam in Historical Perspective*. 2011.

3.2. Programme and Readings

I. Islam and Politics: Introduction to the Course

- **Lecture The Study of Islam and Politics (2 hours)**

Islam and Islamic studies. Political nature of Islam: The Quran and other sources. Discussions on religion and state in Islam: internal and external approaches. Political Islam and Islamism. Islamism as a form of Islamic activism. Studying Islam and politics in 20-21st centuries. Nationalism vs. Islamism in the Muslim world in the 20th century. Islamic revolution in Iran, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its implications for an academic study of Islam. Historiography of the Muslim politics in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Islam in Political Studies and Politics in Islamic Studies. The Study of Islam and Politics in Russia.

Supplementary reading list:

- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013. Pp. 1-4.
- Knysh A. *Arabic and Islamic studies in Russia* (unpublished).
- Lahoud N. *Political Thought in Islam: A Study in Intellectual Boundaries*. 2005. Pp. 50-68.
- Прозоров С. Заметки об исламе // *Исламоведение*. 2011. №1. С. 77-88.

- **Discussion “Is Islam Compatible with Democracy?” (2 hours)**

Questions:

- How Mawdudi and Qardawi view democracy? Why their views differ?
- What is an academic approach to the discussion?
- Possible answers to the question: ‘Is Islam compatible with democracy?’ Why?

Reading list:

- Farooqui M. *The Political Thought of Maulana Mawdudi* (Chapter 6, pdf).
- Al-Qardawi Y. *State in Islam*. 2004. Pp. 189-241.

- Voll J. Islam and Democracy: Is Modernization a Barrier? // *Religion Compass* 1/1, 2007. Pp. 170-178.

II. Islam and Politics before the 20th Century

- **Lecture Politics in the Early Islamic State (2 hours)**

Muhammad's prophetic mission and the beginning of Islam. Muhammad as a political leader. Early Islamic states under the rule of Muhammad and the Rashidun Caliphs: theory and practice. Political thought in the Umayyad's era. Politics and political thought during the reign of Abbasids. The concept of state in Kharijite, Shia and Sunni traditions. Legalizing power in Islam: religious and non-religious tools.

Supplementary reading list:

- Hourani A. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. 2002. Pp. 14-37.
- Lahoud N. *Political Thought in Islam: A Study in Intellectual Boundaries*. 2005. Pp. 91-125.

- **Lecture "Islam and Empires" (2 hours)**

The Mongol invasion of the Caliphate and its implications. Ibn Taymiyya's message to the Mongol rulers. The Golden Horde, the Mamluks and Islam. Islam in India: The Delhi Sultanate and the Great Mughals. The Ottoman Empire. The Safavid state and Shias in Persia. Colonial powers: French and British military and colonial administration's dealing with Islam in the Middle East, Africa and India. Russian colonialism vis-à-vis Islam. The fall of the Ottoman Empire and the end of the last caliphate. Legalizing monarchy in the Ottoman and the Safavid states.

Supplementary reading list:

- Favereau M. The Golden Horde and the Mamluks // *Golden Horde Review*. 2017. Vol. 5, no 1. Pp. 93-115.
- Hourani A. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. 2002. Pp. 209-230.
- Morrison A. S., *The Russian Rule in Samarkand. 1868-1910. A Comparison with British India*. 2008.

- **Discussion "The Quran and Politics" (2 hours)**

Students will be requested to work in groups in order to identify Quranic verses dealing with political issues. In class they are to present their findings followed by a general discussion on the follow:.

- The Quran as the primary source of Islam.
- Does politics occupy a significant place in the Quran? How this could be explained?

Reading list:

- *The Quran*.*
- Knysh A. *Islam in Historical Perspective*. Pp. 70-85.
- Wild S. Political Interpretation of the Quran // *The Cambridge Companion to the Quran*. Ed. by Jane Dammen McAulliffe. 2007. Pp. 273-290.

- **Seminar "Shariah, Fiqh and Policymaking" (2 hours)**

Questions:

- What are the main sources of Islamic law?
- Shariah and *fiqh*: what is the difference?

* It is recommended to use the Quran rendered into English by George Sale, or Richard Bell, or Arthur John Arberry.

- How Islamic law addresses the challenges of modernity?

Reading list:

- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013. Pp. 7-26.

- Discussion “Universalism and Islamic Rule: The Case of the *Dhimmis*” (2 hours)

Questions:

- *Dhimmis* in Islamic state and law: protected or prosecuted?
 - Transformation of the social and economic status of *dhimmis* during the evolution of Muslim empires.

Reading list:

- Emon A. *Religious Pluralism and Islamic Law: Dhimmis and Others in the Empire of Law*. 2012. Pp. 34-76.
 - *The Quran: suras ‘al-Baqara’ and ‘al-Kafirun’*.

III. Islam and Politics in Modern Societies

- Lecture “The Middle East: Reforming States and Societies in 20-21 Centuries” (4 hours)

Part 1. Pan-Islamism in the Ottoman Empire and beyond. The significance of WWI and its consequences for the Ottoman Empire and its neighbours periphery. The Sykes-Picot agreement. New states, new boundaries: Mashriq, Turkey, Israel, Palestine. Secularization vs. Islamization of states and societies until the 1990’s: the cases of Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Yemen, Lebanon etc. The rise of Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia. Islamic revolution in Iran and its consequences for the region.

Part 2. Islam as a reaction to Westernization. Islam, constitutions and law in the region. Institutionalized Islam: Al-Azhar in Egypt, the Council of Senior Scholars in Saudi Arabia, *welayat-e faqih* in Iran etc. Islam in the rhetoric of Middle Eastern rulers. Official and underground Islamic political parties. The case of the AKP in Turkey. “The Arab Spring” and its effect on politics of Muslim states. Islam and Politics in Europe. ‘Euro-Islam’.

Supplementary reading list:

- Hourani A. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. 2002. Pp. 315-372.
 - Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013. Pp. 289-306, 352-378, 399-410, 411-439.

- Lecture “Non-Middle Eastern societies and states: the Post-Soviet Countries” (2 hours)

The historical role of Islam in the societies of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Islam under the Russian and Soviet rule. Antireligious policies and their impact on Islam and Muslims. The impact of external factors on Islam in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Iranian revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Islam, nationalism and transnationalism in the regions on the eve of the collapse of the USSR. Secular authoritarianism and the Islamic reaction to it. The case of Tajikistan. Islam, politics and conflict in the North Caucasus: Chechnya and Daghestan. Religious tensions in the South Caucasus. Azerbaijan between Shia Iran and Sunni Turkey. State Islam in the region. Islam in Ukraine as a political factor.

Supplementary reading list:

- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013. Pp. 307-323.

- Discussion “Is Islamic Republic of Iran a Democracy?” (2 hours)

Questions:

- What are the main democratic institutes and mechanisms in the political system of Iran?

- What are the main limits of the democracy in Iran?

Reading list:

- Momayesi N. Iran's Struggle for Democracy // *International Journal on World Peace*. Vol. 17, No. 4 (December 2000). Pp. 41-70.

- Banuazizi A. *Islamic State and Civil Society in Iran* (pdf). 2001.

- Discussion “Turkey in 21st Century: Towards Islam or Secularism?” (2 hours)

Questions:

- How Islamic traditions and institutions survived during the 20-21 centuries and why?

- What are the main Islamic and secular forces and institutions in Turkey today? How the interplay with each other?

Reading list:

- Topal S. Everybody Wants Secularism – But Which One? Contesting Definitions of Secularism in Contemporary Turkey // *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*. Vol. 25, No. 1/3 (September 2012). Pp. 1-14.

- Çınar A. The Justice and Development Party: Turkey's Experience with Islam, Democracy, Liberalism, and Secularism // *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Vol. 43, No. 3 (August 2011). Pp. 529-541.

- Discussion “Islam and Politics in the Far East, South and South East Asia: Variety of Cases” (2 hours)

10-15-minute presentations followed by five-minute discussion and questions are required. The purpose is to provide students with a comparative vision of the political role of Islam in non-Middle Eastern societies.

Suggested topics to be presented: China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines.

General reading list:

- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. Pp. 324-351.

- Discussion “Islam and Politics in Africa” (2 hours)

10-15-minute presentations followed by five-minute discussion and questions are required. The purpose is to provide students with a comparative vision of the political role of Islam in African (including African Arab) societies.

Suggested topics: Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, Tanzania, Mali, Nigeria, Sudan.

General reading list:

- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013. Pp. 352-393.

IV. Transnational Political Islam

- Lecture “The Muslim Brotherhood (MB) inside and outside Egypt (2 hours)

Hassan al-Banna; his teaching and biography. The beginning of the MB: goals, structure and ideology. The MB and Egyptian monarchy. The MB and the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. The death of al-Banna. The MB and the July Revolution 1952 in Egypt. Nasser's persecution of the Islamists. The MB's revival in the 1970's. The MB's participation in Egyptian elections in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The Arab Spring: the rise and fall of the MB in Egypt. The MB in Tunisia, Jordan, Syria and Palestine. The MB as a matrix of contemporary Islamism.

Supplementary reading list:

- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013. Pp. 129-143, 159-168, 222-236, 475-504.

- Zollner B. *The Muslim Brotherhood: Hasan Al-Hudaybi and Ideology*. 2009.

- Discussion “Seyyid Qutb and His Vision of the Islamic State” (two hours)

Questions:

- Who is Seyyid Qutb?
- What is the essence of his theory of Islamic state and society? Which purpose does it serve?

Reading list:

- Qutb S. *Milestones*. 2006. Pp. 56-86.
- Khatab S. *The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb*. Pp. 5-9.

- Lecture “Islamist Movements Worldwide” (4 hours)

Islamic reformism as a forerunner of Islamism. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abdo, Rashid Rida etc. The emergence of the MB in Egypt as a trigger for subsequent emergence of Islamist movements. Islamic opposition to the state. The role of the Palestinian resistance movement in the crystallization of militant Islamism. Militant Islamism as a reaction to the secularism of state and political exclusion. The cases of Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Lebanon. Economic reasons of the rise of Islamism. The birth of Jihadi movements. Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Islamic extremism in the North Caucasus. Islamism vs. nationalism and confessionalism. Non-political Islamic movements and organizations: the case of the Gullen movement.

Supplementary reading list:

- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013. Pp. 27-41, 505-543, 630-642.

- Discussion “Is Islamism Still Alive?” (2 hours)

Questions:

- How Kepel and Bayat answer this question and explain their positions?
- How could we argue with them?

Reading list:

- Kepel G. *Jihad: The Trial of Political Islam*. 2002 (Conclusion).
- Bayat A. *Post-Islamism. The Changing Faces of Political Islam*. 2013 (Introduction and Conclusion).

- Discussion “Political Salafism and Political Sufism” (2 hours)

Questions:

- Academic and non-academic approaches to the notions of ‘Sufism’ and ‘Salafism’.
- Sufism vs. Salafism: confessional conflict inside Islam?
- How and why Sufis and Salafis participate in politics nowadays?

Reading list:

- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013. Pp. 27-41.
- Knysh A. *Contextualizing the Sufi-Salafi Conflict (From the Northern Caucasus to Hadramawt)* (pdf).
- Stepanyants M. *Sufism in the Context of Modern Politics* (pdf).

- Discussion “Political Islam, Gender and Modernity” (2 hours)

Questions:

- Islamic political activists on the role of women in politics and society.
- Islamic feminism vs. secular feminism.
- Is *hijab* nowadays a political symbol?

Reading list:

- Esposito J., Shahin E. El-D. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. 2013. Pp. 112-123.
- Badran M. Between Secular and Islamic Feminism/s: Reflections on the Middle East and Beyond // *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*. Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter, 2005). Pp. 6-28.

4 COURSE AND UNIVERSITY PROCEDURES/POLICIES

4.1 Academic Integrity

As per the University policy, plagiarism or cheating will not be tolerated. Plagiarism is a deliberate use of somebody else's work without proper referencing and representing it as a student's own. That includes ideas as well as text, whether paraphrased or presented verbatim. Anyone caught cheating or plagiarizing will automatically fail the assignment, may summarily fail the course, and could be subject to a disciplinary action by the University.

The instructor's evaluative judgment of tests and exams is final and will not be subject to revision except in cases of a mathematical error.

4.2. Communication and Support

Office hours are given at the top of this syllabus. Arrangements can be made if a student cannot meet with the instructor during regular office hours for consultations. Email is the most reliable method of reaching the instructor outside of the office. Expect a reply within 24 to 48 hours.

4.3. Class Participation & Attendance

Participation and attendance are necessary because lectures and discussions provide the essentials for achieving the course's goals and objectives. Thus, a portion of student's grade will be determined by the in-class performance and presence, aside from graded test and exam (see 1.3.4. *Grading* for the details). Students are required to attend each class, arrive on time, remain attentive, maintain a proper classroom decorum, respond to questions and participate in discussion. Students are encouraged to take notes and ask questions.

4.4. Deadlines

Meeting deadlines is essential. Late papers and projects will not be accepted.