

ISLAM AND EUROPEAN POLITICS

POS 4931 Section 4711 / EUS 4931 Section 6288

Department of Political Science and Center for European Studies

University of Florida

Fall 2009

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*“In making the civilization that modern Europeans inherit, the cultural legacy of al-Andalus [Spain] is at least as important as the legacy of the Catholic Franks. In borrowing from their great Other, they filled out the European Self. ... the project of Charlemagne and los Reyes Católicos—the creation of a totally Catholic Europe—has failed; a failure that began, of course, from within, in the Reformation and took hold in the Enlightenment, both of which, though they have many other ancestors, are heirs to the philosophical traditions transmitted through al-Andalus.” (Kwame Anthony Appiah, *The New York Review of Books* Volume 55, Number 17 November 6, 2008; Review of: *God’s Crucible: Islam and the Making of Modern Europe, 570–1215* by David Levering Lewis)*

DESCRIPTION

The issue of Islam in Europe (and in the West) is of paramount importance to the leaders and citizens of Europe. Millions of Muslims are a constitutive part of the human landscape in Europe. Muslims in Europe form very diverse socio-economic, political, cultural, religious, ethnic, institutional, and organizational and otherwise groupings. Islam and Europe have been in continuous interactions and transactions for centuries in all aspects of what defines or is thought to define humanity. Of paramount importance to the EU are issues such as the diversity of Islam in Europe, conceptions and misconceptions about Islam and Muslim minorities in Europe, whether Muslims in Europe need a ‘European’ brand of Islam, and how and to what extent this is achievable within a ‘more or less’ democratic context, and so on.

The presence of Muslims in Europe is far from being a new phenomenon. The emergence of the ‘new’ Europe in the aftermath of the so-called ‘dark ages’ was marked by lasting impacts of Muslim Spain – *al-Andalus* – for many centuries, the rise and persistence for centuries of the Ottoman Empire, and the era of colonialism which lasted for more than a century and created a framework of unprecedented, dense interactions and transactions between Europe and its Muslim colonial areas. The aftermath of World War II and the subsequent demise of the era of colonialism opened a new chapter of relationships between Muslim countries and Europe. This initiated the era of post-colonial migration to Western Europe and the phenomena of guest-workers, refugee and asylum seeking. Muslims from different parts of the world, speaking many languages, belonging to different cultural, ethnic and religious traditions and socio-economic classes began to migrate toward Europe, ultimately forming a 20 million strong diaspora, dispersed in a variety of minority groups and communities all over Western Europe. Muslims in Western Europe thus found themselves living between the need, if sometimes the necessity, of living and preserving their religious and cultural practices and sense of belonging, the need to adjust to living within very different regimes of governance, and the need to navigate within a transnational environment characterized by increasingly globalized public spaces of religion, culture, politics and economics. The situation of Muslims in Europe is thus a highly complex one and the complexity is in itself a dynamic one, increasingly becoming more challenging. This means that any focus on a small set of actors in seeking to understand this complexity will undoubtedly be shortsighted and self-limiting.

The course seeks to contextualize the understanding and explanation of these issues and similar ones within the evolution of European politics and cultures. More specifically, the course explores the co-evolution of Islamic/Muslim and European thoughts from the ancient Greek thought to the Middle East in the different stages of the Islamic civilization to contemporary Europe. To this end, the course introduces students to a variety of ‘contacts’ that Islam as a religion and systems of thought and doctrines has had and is having with various strands of European politics since early Muslims engaged in translating, commenting, and expanding on the Greek systems of thought. The course will especially retrace the evolution of some major mutual adoptions and adaptations that both Islamic and European peoples have gone through since then.

The course will consist in critically reading, discussing, and comparing as well as contrasting a number of texts to identify points of similarity and difference as well as convergence, continuity, and divergence. Particularly, the course shall analyze the translation movement from the 8th to the 10th century, and its interaction with Greek and Hellenistic traditions of thought. Overall, the readings and discussions/critiques thereof will enable the students to address with much historical and theoretical depths important current challenges.

Equipped with such tools and skills the students should be able to understand and critique current attempts to reform so-called ‘Muslim mind’ and Islam in Europe as well as major policy frameworks that various European states are deploying or project to adopt in their attempts to reform/integrate/assimilate millions of Muslims living in Europe. At the end of the course the students should be able to formulate a knowledgeable and critical view on whether and to what extent a ‘Euro-Islam’ approach is appropriate to the problems of Muslim diaspora in the EU. In addition, the course seeks to provide historical and political-theoretical depths to enable students to have a good grasp on issues such as the effective participation of Muslims into public life, the effective democratic involvement of Muslims in politics, the active participation of Muslims in local and national governments, the effective and equal representation of Muslims in education as teachers and students, the adequate and equitable representation of Muslims in the media, and so on.

REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

GRADES WILL BE BASED ON:

1. Two abstracts of weekly readings
2. Two “thought pieces”
3. Class attendance and participation.

ASSIGNMENT SUBMISSION FORMATS:

All written assignments are to be submitted in two formats:

1. An electronic copy submitted to WebCT on the specified dates (see down blow in the detailed course outline).
2. A hard copy given to the instructor in the classroom on the specified dates.
3. A hard copy without an electronic one (submitted to WebCT) will not be graded and the student will correspondingly receive a failing grade for the assignment, even if he/she turns in the hard copy on time.

BOOK ABSTRACTS:

- Students are required to summarize a long, rich and often-complex text into a short abstract that essentially captures the core of its argument(s). Every student is to choose **only two out of the five possible assignments** and summarize the core arguments. The goal of the exercise is neither to analyze nor critique the readings. Students only need to succinctly summarize the crux of the readings as concisely and clearly as possible in the small amount of allotted space.
- The abstract should summarize the entire set of readings for the chosen week.
- The paper should not exceed **three** typed pages (double-spaced with 1 inch margin on all sides and a 12 pt font) – not even by one line.

- The deadlines for submitting the abstracts are specified down below in the detailed outline of the course. All deadlines will remain in effect even were we to fall behind the reading schedule in the class discussions. Late submissions are not acceptable, except if justified with an officially valid documentation (e.g., a doctor's note or the like).

THOUGHT PIECES:

- Students are required to write a 3-5 page (typed, double-spaced, 12 pt font, 1 inch margin on all sides) essay, in which they will be challenged to demonstrate an acceptable grasp of the key ideas covered in the course.
- **Examples:**
 - ✓ Students might be required to analyze and interpret news reports using one of the ideas covered in the course.
 - ✓ Students might be required to analyze and interpret an official policy statement issued by the EU or any European state using the ideas of one of the books covered in the course.
 - ✓ Students might be required to analyze and interpret a statement issued by an Islamic figure living in Europe using the ideas of one of the books covered in the course.
- The deadlines for submitting the abstracts are specified down below in the detailed outline of the course. All deadlines will remain in effect even were we to fall behind the reading outline in the class discussions. Late submissions are not acceptable, except if justified with an officially valid documentation (e.g., a doctor's note or the like).

CLASS PARTICIPATION:

- Students are required to attend class on a regular basis, for the whole session, every session.
- Students are required to complete all the readings in a timely fashion before coming to class, as specified by the course outline.
- Quizzes might be given at the beginning of any session, randomly and unannounced. These count toward class participation.
- **Ten percent of the total grade** for the class will be based on class participation according to the following criteria:
 1. 100 points for attending class regularly and participating frequently in class discussions
 2. 80 points for attending class regularly and participating sporadically in class discussions
 3. 60 points for attending class regularly and (almost) never participating, or for attending class and participating sporadically
 4. 40 points or less for attending class sporadically and never participating

Entry and Exit Online Survey:

- All students are **required** to complete the same survey (10 questions) online twice in the semester: a first time during the first week of the semester and a second time during the last week of the semester. A failure to take the survey would result in a non-passing grade for the course. Although the survey is required, taking it does not amount to an extra credit. The survey is at the following address:

http://www.ces.ufl.edu/surveys/EUS4931_POS4931_survey.shtml

OVERALL GRADE DISTRIBUTION

- Two abstracts: 15% each
- Two Thought pieces: 30% each
- Attendance and Participation: 10%
- Extra credit: Book abstract: 5%.

IMPORTANT NOTE:

Deadline extensions or incomplete grades may be granted under very special circumstances as supported by valid official documentation. Any student seeking such accommodation must request it prior to the

deadline for the specific assignment. Retroactive extensions/incompletes will not be granted under any circumstances. Final decisions are left to the discretion of the instructor.

RULES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

- 6C1-4.041 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code: Scope and Violations.
<http://regulations.ufl.edu/chapter4/4041-2008.pdf>
- There is a zero-percent tolerance on plagiarism: see file describing plagiarism (posted on WebCT).
- Information on current UF grading policies for assigning grade points:
<http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationgrades.html>.

REQUIRED TEXTS

All texts can be purchased at the local bookstores or online.

1. Tibi, Bassam. 2008. Political Islam, World Politics and Europe: Democratic Peace and Euro-Islam versus Global Jihad. Routledge Publisher.
2. Sayyid, S. 2003. Second Edition. A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism. Zed Books Ltd.
3. Lewis, David Levering. 2008. God's Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe, 570-1215. W. W. Norton Publisher.
4. Graham, Mark. 2006. How Islam Created the Modern World. Amana Publications.
5. Gutas, Dimitri. 1998. Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries). Routledge Publisher.
6. Other readings are on reserve (online at the library).

RECOMMENDED (NOT REQUIRED) TEXTS

- Ramadan, Tariq. 2004. Western Muslims and the Future of Islam. Oxford University Press.
- Rubenstein, Richard E. 2003. Aristotle's Children: How Christians, Muslims, and Jews Rediscovered Ancient Wisdom and Illuminated the Middle Ages. Harcourt Inc.
- Aslan, Reza. 2006. No God but God: The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam. Random House Publisher.
- Hodgson, Marshall G. S. 1993. Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History. Cambridge University Press.
- Euben, Roxanne L. 2006. Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge. Princeton University Press.
- Euben, Roxanne L. 1999. Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism: A Work of Comparative Political Theory. Princeton University Press.
- Lerner, Ralph and Muhsin Mahdi. Editors. 1972. Medieval Political Philosophy. Cornell University Press.

- Almond, Ian. 2007. The New Orientalists: Postmodern Representations of Islam from Foucault to Baudrillard. I. B. Tauris. Publisher.
- Roy, Olivier. 2004. Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah. Columbia University Press.
- Esposito, John. 2002. What Everyone Needs to Know about Islam. Oxford University Press.

WEEKLY READING ASSIGNMENTS AND OUTLINE OF THE COURSE

Week 1 / August 25 – 27: Stakes, Issues, and Questions

- Zemni. Islam, European Identity and the Limits of Multiculturalism. On Reserve (online).
- Savage. Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing. On Reserve (online).
- Glavanis. Political Islam within Europe: A Contribution to the Analytical Framework. On Reserve (online).

Week 2 / September 1 – 3: Tibi: Political Islam, World Politics and Europe I

- Introduction: The Impact of the Politicization of Islam on World Politics as a Context for Europe and Islam in the 21st Century. pp. 1-37.
- Chap. 1: From Classical Jihad to Global Jihadism. pp. 38-66.
- Chap. 2: Polity and Rule. pp. 67-92.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th: LABOR DAY

Week 3/ September 8 – 10: Tibi: Political Islam, World Politics and Europe II

- Chap. 3: The World-Political Sunni Fallacy. pp. 93-129.
- Chap. 4: The Shi'ite Option. pp. 130-152.

ABSTRACT I: READINGS FOR WEEK 4: Tibi's Chaps. 5, 6, 7

Due on Tuesday, September 15th

Electronic copy submitted to WebCT before class

Hard copy submitted at the beginning of class

Week 4/ September 15 – 17: Tibi: Political Islam, World Politics and Europe III

- Chap. 5: Political Islam and Europe in the 21st Century. pp. 153-187.
- Chap. 6: the European Diaspora of Muslim Migrants and the Idea of Europe. pp. 188-215.
- Chap. 7: Political Islam and Democracy's Decline to a Voting Procedure. pp. 216-234.

Week 5/ September 22 – 24: Sayyid: A Fundamental Fear I

- Preface to the second edition.
- Prologue: The Return of the Repressed. pp. 1-6.
- Chap. 1: Framin' Fundamentalism. pp. 7-30.

- Chap. 2: Thinking Islamism, (re-)thinking Islam. pp. 31- 51.
- Chap. 3: Kemalism and the Politicization of Islam. pp. 52-83.

ABSTRACT II: READINGS FOR WEEK 6: Sayyid's Chaps. 4, 5, Epilogue
Due on Tuesday, September 29th
Electronic copy submitted to WebCT before class
Hard copy submitted at the beginning of class

Week 6/ September 29 – October 1: Sayyid: A Fundamental Fear II

- Chap. 4: Islam, Modernity and the West. pp. 84-126.
- Chap. 5: . Islamism and the Limits of the Invisible Empire. pp. 127- 154.
- Epilogue: Islamism/Eurocentrism. pp. 155-161.

THOUGHT PAPER I: TOPIC ASSIGNED ON:
Tuesday, October 6th

Week 7/ October 6 – 8: Graham: How Islam Created the Modern World I

- Foreword
- Introduction. pp. 15-16.
- Chap. 1: Islam Becomes an Empire. pp. 17-36.
- Chap. 2: The House of Wisdom. pp. 37-50.
- Chap. 3: Hippocrates Wears a Turban. pp. 51-62.
- Chap. 4: The Great Work. pp. 63-76.
- Chap. 5: Beyond the Arabian Nights. pp. 77-96.

THOUGHT PAPER I:
Due on Tuesday, October 13th
One electronic copy submitted to WebCT before class
One hard copy submitted at the beginning of class

Week 8/ October 13 – 15: Graham: How Islam Created the Modern World II

- Chap. 6: Islam's Secret Weapon. pp. 97-116.
- Chap. 7: A Medieval War on Terror. pp. 117-138.
- Chap. 8: The First World War. pp. 139-156.
- Chap. 9: Raiders of the Lost Library. pp. 157-174.
- Chap. 10: Children of Abraham, Children of Aristotle. pp. 175.-182.

Homecoming: October Friday 16 - Saturday 17

Millennium Conference: October Friday 16 – Thursday 22

Week 9/ October 27 – 29: Lewis: God’s Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe I

- Preface.
- Chap. 1: The Superpowers. pp. 3-28.
- Chap. 2: “The Arabs Are Coming!” pp. 29-56.
- Chap. 3: “Jihad!” pp. 57-84.
- Chap. 4: The Co-opted Caliphate and the Stumbling Jihad. pp. 85-104.

ABSTRACT III: READINGS FOR WEEK 10: Lewis’s Chaps. 5-8

Due on Tuesday, November 3rd

One electronic copy submitted to WebCT before class

One hard copy submitted at the beginning of class

Week 10/ November 3 – 5: Lewis: God’s Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe II

- Chap. 5: The Year 711. pp. 105-136.
- Chap. 6: Picking Up the Pieces after Rome. pp. 137-159.
- Chap. 7: The Myth of Poitiers. pp. 160-183.
- Chap. 8: The Fall and Rise of the Umayyads. pp. 184-208.

Week 11/ November 10 – 12: Lewis: God’s Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe III

- Chap. 9: Saving the Popes. pp. 209-223.
- Chap. 10: An Empire of Force and Faith. pp. 224-250.
- Chap. 11: Carolingian Jihads: Roncesvalles and Saxony. pp. 251-267.
- Chap. 12: The Great Mosque. pp. 268-281.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11: VETERANS DAY

ABSTRACT IV: READINGS FOR WEEK 12: Lewis’s Chaps. 13-16

Due on Tuesday, November 17th

One electronic copy submitted to WebCT before class

One hard copy submitted at the beginning of class

Week 12/ November 17 – 19: Lewis: God’s Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe IV

- Chap. 13: The First Europe: Briefly. pp. 282-303.

- Chap. 14: Equipose – Delicate and Doomed. pp. 304-332.
- Chap. 15: Disequilibrium, Pelayo’s Revenge. pp. 333-366.
- Chap. 16: . Knowledge Transmitted, Rationalism Repudiated: Ibn Rushd and Musa ibn Maymun. pp. 367-380.

Week 13/ November 24: Gutas: Greek Thought, Arabic Culture I

- Introduction. pp. 1-10.
- Chap. 1: The Background of the Translation Movement: Material, Human, and Cultural Resources. pp. 11-27.
- Chap. 2: Al-Mansur: Early ‘Abbasid Imperial Ideology and the translation Movement. pp. 28-60.

THURSDAY & FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 26-27: THANKSGIVING

ABSTRACT V: READINGS FOR WEEK 14: Gutas’s Chaps. 3-6

Due on Tuesday, December 1st

One electronic copy submitted to WebCT before class

One hard copy submitted at the beginning of class

THOUGHT PAPER II: TOPIC ASSIGNED ON:

Tuesday, December 1st

Week 14/ December 1 – 3: Gutas: Greek Thought, Arabic Culture II

- Chap. 3: Al-Mahdi and His Sons: Social and Religious Discourse and the Translation Movement. pp. 61-74.
- Chap. 4: Al-Ma’mun: Domestic and Foreign Policies and the Translation Movement. pp. 75-106.
- Chap. 5: Translation in the Service of Applied and Theoretical Knowledge. pp. 107-120.
- Chap. 6: Patrons, Translators, Translations. pp. 121-150.

THOUGHT PAPER II:

Due on Tuesday, December 8th

One electronic copy submitted to WebCT before class

One hard copy submitted at the beginning of class

Week 15/ December 8: Gutas: Greek Thought, Arabic Culture III

- Chap. 7: Translation and History: Developments from the Translation Movement. pp. 151-186.
- Epilogue. pp. 187-192.

5-PAGE EXTRA-CREDIT (5%) ABSTRACT: THE WHOLE BOOK

Graham: How Islam Created the Modern World

Due on Tuesday, December 8th

One electronic copy submitted to WebCT before class

One hard copy submitted at the beginning of class