

Political Islam and U.S. Foreign Policy
DePaul University

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PSC 341, Sec 301
Spring 2019
Arts and Letters Hall Rm 408
Tues/Thurs, 9:40 pm – 11:10 pm

Course Description:

This course examines the development of the international Islamist movement, and the U.S. government's response to it. The class will begin by reviewing the origins of the Islamist ideology, the evolution of the movement as a political force, and the changing strategies used by American foreign policy makers to alternately coopt, contain and destroy the Islamist movement. A central part of the course will be an examination of the debates over how best to deal with the challenge of Islamist militancy. The latter half of the course will be dedicated to the post-9/11 period, and will examine different aspects of the "Global War on Terror." The class will conclude with an analysis of both the Obama and Trump Administrations' approach to Islamist militancy, the rise and fall of ISIS, and a reflection on the nature of America's on-going wars.

Course Requirements

Each student is expected to read the assigned material before class and to be prepared to discuss its contents each week. Class attendance and participation is mandatory, and will comprise 10 percent of your grade. There will also be a brief writing assignment due every week (2 – 3 pages, double spaced, analytical summary of a given class reading) for weeks 2 - 10. These short papers will be worth 25 percent of your grade, and must be submitted via the Desire2Learn (D2L) Dropbox. *You are allowed to miss this weekly assignment twice during the term (which means that 7 short papers are required from each student).*

There will also be a final exam (worth 40 percent), and an 8 - 10 page research paper (worth 25 percent) on a topic of your choosing. The topic needs to correlate with one covered in class, and should draw from the readings listed on the syllabus, though it is by no means limited to the assigned readings. More on the writing assignments (along with examples of analytical summaries) can be found on the course D2L website.

Required Reading

The texts listed below are available in the school bookstore. Asterisked readings (*) will be available electronically through the course D2L site. Books and articles listed under "*Additional Material*" are *NOT* required reading.

Books to purchase:

- Joseph Margulies, *Guantanamo and the Abuse of Presidential Power* (2006)
- Patrick Cockburn, *The Rise of the Islamic State: ISIS and the New Sunni Revolution* (2015).

Academic Dishonesty/Plagiarism: Plagiarism is the effort to pass someone else's work off as one's own. This includes turning in papers that you did not write, cutting and pasting material from the internet without proper citation, or turning in a paper that you purchased either on-line or from another source. Any paper submitted with plagiarized material will result in a failing grade for the assignment. More than one infraction will lead to your failing the course. For more on the University policy on plagiarism and academic integrity, see the DePaul University Website.

Learning Disabilities: For students with learning disabilities, please contact me at the beginning of the course. The school has a clear policy on this issue, and I am happy to accommodate students with legitimate needs. All conversations along these lines will remain in confidence. You should also be in touch with the CSD Program office, which is located in the Student Center (Room 370).

Learning Objectives: There are two sets of learning objectives in this course. The first involves understanding and mastering the course content. This course will expose you to ideas, debates and historical material that few Americans readily understand. Second, the emphasis on reading and writing is intended to improve the basic skills essential for professional success: reading, writing and analytical thinking.

How to get the most from this course: Reading the assigned material, and otherwise coming to class prepared, is the single most important thing one can do to be successful in this class. There is a direct correlation between the amount of work one does outside of the classroom and the final grade. In-class participation is also crucial, though this includes everything from participating in seminar discussions to simply being present. In short, be engaged, whether that is with the reading outside of class or being mentally present in the classroom. You will get out of this class exactly what you put into it.

Technology: The use of cell phones, tablets and laptops is prohibited in the classroom without prior permission.

Schedule and Readings

Week 1: Introduction and Origins of Islamist Thought (April 2, 4)

Class 1: Introduction

Class 2: al-Banna, Mawdudi, and early Islamist Thought

-Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World* (Chapter 6, "Political Islam: Intellectual Sources"), pp. 120-134.*

-Ibrahim Abu-Rabi, *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World*, Chapter 3 (pp. 62-66 and 79 – 91 only).*

-Hasan al-Banna, "The New Renaissance," in Donohue and Esposito, eds., *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*.*

-Abu-L-Ala Mawdudi, "Political Theory of Islam," in Donohue and Esposito, eds., *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*.*

Week 2: Islamist Politics in 1960's and 70's (April 9, 11)

Part 1: Sayyid Qutb

-Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and the Pharaoh*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), Chapter 2 ('Signposts')*

-Ayubi, *Political Islam*, Chapter 6, pp. 134-145 (only).*

Part 2: Islamist Opposition and the Question of Violence

-Euben and Zaman, *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, pp. 321-330 (Farak reading).*

-Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Islamic Activism and Political Opposition in Egypt," in Ibrahim, *Egypt, Islam and Democracy: Twelve Critical Essays* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002).*

Part 3: The Iranian Revolution

-Fred Halliday, "The Iranian Revolution," in Halliday and Alavi, *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*.* (pp. 31-57)

-Ayubi, *Political Islam*, Chapter 6, pp. 146-155 (only).*

Additional Material:

-Roxanne Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

-Johannes Jansen, *The Neglected Duty: The Creed of Sadat's Assassins and Islamic Resurgence in the Middle East* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1986).

Week 3: The Afghan War and its Consequences (April 16, 18)

Class 1: War in Afghanistan

-Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam*, Chapters 4 & 5.*

-Abdallah Azzam, selections from Kepel, Milelli and Ghazaleh, *Al-Qaeda in its Own Words*.*

Class 2: U.S. Foreign Policy Debates in the 1990's

-Hibbard and Little, *Islamic Activism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Introduction and Conclusion.*

-Mark Tessler, "The Origins of Popular Support for Islamist Movements: A Political Economy Analysis," in John Entelis, ed., *Islam, Democracy and the State in North Africa*. (pp. 93-115 only)*

Additional Material:

-Mary Anne Weaver, "Blowback," *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1996.*

-Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (Penguin Press, 2004).

-Ahmed Rashid, *Descent Into Chaos* (Viking Press, 2008).

Week 4: September 11, 2001 (April 23, 25)

Class 1: Bin Laden and 9/11.

-Euben and Zaman, *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, pp. 425-435.*

-Osama Bin Laden, "Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders," World Islamic Front Statement, issued February 23, 1998.*

-Selections from Raymond Ibrahim, ed., *The Al Qaeda Reader* (Broadway Books, 2007), pp. 192 – 212.*

-Wiktorowicz and Kaltner, "Killing in the Name of Islam: Al-Qaeda's Justifications for September 11," *Middle East Policy*, Summer 2003 (pp. 76-85, and 90-91 only)*

-See 9/11 video clips on D2L site.*

Class 2: Interpreting 9/11

-Lisa Anderson, "Shock and Awe: Interpretations of the Events of 9/11" *World Politics* (January 2004).*

-President George Bush, Address to Joint Session of Congress, September 20, 2001.*

-George Bush, Remarks at National Cathedral, September 16, 2001.*

-Bill Broadway, "War Cry from the Pulpit," *Washington Post*, September 22, 2001.*

-Sifry and Cerf, *The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions*. Susan Sontag and Charles Krauthamer selections only.*

Additional Material:

-Paul Berman, "Terror and Liberalism," *The New York Times*, December 19, 2001.*

-Fouad Ajami, "The Sentry's Solitude," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2001.*

-Fawaz Gerges, *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Week 5: The Bush Doctrine, the Iraq War and the War on Terror (April 30, May 1)

Class 1: The Bush Doctrine and Invasion of Iraq

-Jeffrey Record, The Bush Doctrine and War with Iraq, *Parameters*, Spring 2003*

-President George Bush, The Case for War, Cincinnati, Ohio, October, 2002.*

-Sifry and Cerf, *The Iraq War Reader*, selections (pp 222-240, 268-271, 295-299 and 307-308 only).*

Class 2: More Perspectives

- President Bush, "President Discusses War on Terror at the National Endowment for Democracy," Washington, DC, October 6, 2005.*
- Tony Blair, "Battle for Global Values," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2007.*
- Thomas Carothers, "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2003.*
- Mohamed El-Sayed Said, "Lessons Unlearned," *Al-Ahram Weekly*, September 2002.*
- Mark Danner, "The Secret Way to War (with The Downing Street Memos)," *New York Review of Books*, June 9, 2005.*

Additional Material:

- Richard Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror*. Alternately, you can view the "60 Minutes" interview with Richard Clark. A link to the video clips (two segments) can be found on course blackboard.
- "Truth, War and Consequences," a Frontline (PBS) documentary on the debate over the Iraq War. This can be viewed on-line at:
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/truth/view/>

Week 6: Freedom, Rights and Torture (May 7, 9)

Class 1 and 2: Civil Liberties, Torture and Guantanamo Bay

- Joseph Margulies, *Guantanamo and the Abuse of Presidential Power* (2006), Preface, Introduction, Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11 and Afterward.

Additional Material:

- "The Torture Question," a Frontline (PBS) documentary. It can be viewed on-line at:
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/torture/view/>
- John Yoo and James Ho, "The Status of Terrorists," Draft Paper SSRN, 2003.*
- Charles Krauthammer, "The Truth About Torture," *The Weekly Standard*, 2005.*
- Jane Mayer, *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How the War on Terror Turned into a War on American Ideals* (New York: Doubleday, 2008)
- Mark Danner, *Torture and Truth: America, Abu Ghraib and the War on Terror* (New York Review of Books, 2004).

Week 7: The Rise of ISIS (May 14, 16)

Class 1: The Origins and Evolution of ISIS:

- Max Fisher, The Rise of ISIS, VOX Video –
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pzmO6RWy1v8>
- Patrick Cockburn, *The Rise of the Islamic State*, Preface and Chapters 1 – 5.

Class 2: Understanding the Phenomenon:

- Anonymous, "the Mystery of ISIS," *The New York Review of Books*, August 13, 2015.*
- Cole Bunzel, *From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State* (Brookings Institution), pp. 4 – 20, and 30 – 37.*

Additional Material:

-Quynhanh Do, *The Evolution of ISIS*, New York Times Video, February 18, 2015
<http://www.nytimes.com/video/world/middleeast/100000003240417/the-evolution-of-isis.html>

-C.J. Chivers, "Behind the Black Flag: The Recruitment of an ISIS Killer," New York Times, December 21, 2015.*

Week 8: ISIS (Part II) (May 21, 23)

Class 1: Is ISIS Islamic?

-Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic*, March 2015.*

-Haroon Moghul, "The Atlantic's big Islam Lie: What Muslims really believe about ISIS," *Salon*, February 2015.*

-Jack Jenkins, "What The Atlantic Gets Dangerously Wrong About ISIS and Islam," *Think Progress*, February 2015.

Class 2: The Geopolitical Context

-Ezra Klein, *The Syrian Civil War Explained*,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKb9GVU8bHE>

-Patrick Cockburn, *The Rise of the Islamic State*, Chapters 6 through Afterward.

-Daniel Byman, "What Comes After ISIS?" *Foreign Policy*, February 22, 2019.*

Additional Material:

-Jason Burke, *The New Threat: The Past, Present and Future of Islamic Militancy* (The New Press, 2015).

-William McCants, *The ISIS Apocalypse* (St. Martin's Press, 2015).

-Weiss and Hassan, *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror* (Regan Arts, 2015).

Week 9: Debating Obama's Foreign Policy (May 28, 30)

Class 1 & 2: Obama Foreign Policy

Part I:

-Barak Obama, Address at National Defense University, May 23, 2013.*

-John Bolton, "Obama Declares Defeat in the GWOT," *The Daily Beast*, May 28, 2013.*

-David Cole, "Obama and Terror: The Hovering Questions," *The New York Review of Books*, July 12, 2012.*

Part II:

-Barack Obama, "We Will Degrade and Ultimately Destroy ISIL," September 10, 2014.*

-Barak Obama, Address to the Nation, December 6, 2015.*

-Peter Beinart, "How Obama Thinks About Terrorism," *The Atlantic Monthly*.*

-Stephen Walt, "The Unbearable Lightness of America's War Against the Islamist State," *Foreign Policy*, December 2015.*

Part III: Top Secret America

-Top Secret America – First Two stories.*

-Interview with Edward Snowden <https://www.wired.com/2014/08/edward-snowden/#ch-7>

Additional Material:

-Joseph Lelyveld, "Obama Abroad: The Report Card," *The New York Review of Books*, August 16, 2012.*

Week 10: The War on Terror in the Trump Era (June 4, 6)

Class 1: Trump's War on Terror

-Saskia Brechenmacher and Steven Feldstein, "Trump's War on Terror," *The National Interest*, Nov-Dec 2017.*

-Hal Brands and Peter Feaver, "Trump and Terrorism: U.S. Strategy After ISIS," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2017.*

-Micah Zenko, "Bush and Obama Fought a Failed War on Terror. It's Trump's Turn," *New York Times*, August 2017.*

Class 2: Looking Back, Looking Forward

-John Mueller, "Is there Still a Terrorist Threat?" *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2006.*

-Paul Pillar, et. al., "Are We Safe Yet? A Foreign Affairs Roundtable," *Foreign Affairs*, September 7, 2006.*

-Brown, et. al., "The Python Problem: Reflections on the War on Terror, 17 Years Later," *War on the Rocks*, September 11, 2018.*

Additional Material:

-Trevor Thrall and Erik Goepner, "Step Back: Lessons for U.S. Foreign Policy from the Failed War on Terror," *CATO Institute*, June 26, 2017.*

-Ian Lustick, *Trapped in the War on Terror* (University of Pennsylvania, 2006).

Final Exam: Thursday June, 13, 2018, 8:30 AM to 11:45 PM

Final Papers are due by on Sunday, June 16, 5:00 pm.

- Roundtable, “Are We Trapped in a War on Terror?” *Middle East Policy*, December 2006. (pp. 1 – 15 only).*
- Washington Post Series, Obama’s Wars, Article One and Two. Review other material on the Washington Website:
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/nation/woodward-obamas-wars/>
- Peter Baker, “Inside Obama’s War on Terrorism,” *New York Times Magazine*, January 17, 2010.*
- Mohsin Hamid, “Why They Get Pakistan Wrong,” *The New York Review of Books*,” September 29, 2011.
- Ahmed Rashid, “The Way Out of Afghanistan,” *The New York Review of Books*, January 13, 2011.
- David Kravets, “Former CIA Chief: Obama’s War on Terror Same as Bush’s, but with more Killing,” *Wired Magazine*, September 10, 2012.
<http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2012/09/bush-obama-war-on-terror/>
- Frontline Documentary: “Obama’s War,” available on-line at:
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/obamaswar/>
- Jonas Gahr Store, “Why We Must Talk,” *New York Review of Books*, April 7, 2011

Class 1 and 2: Top Secret America

- “Top Secret America,” *The Washington Post*. Read the articles, view the maps.
<http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/>
- Dana Priest and William Arkin, *Top Secret America: The Rise of the New Security State*, selections.*
- Dana Priest, “CIA Holds Terror Suspects in Secret Prisons,” *Washington Post*, November 2, 2005.*
- Frontline Documentary: Spying on the Home Front
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/homefront/>
- David Cole, “Uncle Sam is Watching You,” *The New York Review of Books*, November 18, 2004.*

Additional Material:

- Nick Turse, “The Secret War in 120 Countries,” *The Nation*, August 4, 2011.*
- Frontline Documentary: *Top Secret America*
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/topsecretamerica/>