Rothberg International School
בית הספר לתלמידים מחו"ל ע"ש רוטברג

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM
האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

Between Hamas and ISIS: Radical Islamic Movements in a Changing Middle East (48782)

Instructor: Mr. Adam Hoffman

Summer Semester: July 3 - 25, 2018

Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday: 9:00 – 12:00

45 Academic Hours, 3 Academic Credits

Contact Details Instructor

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Course Description

This course examines major contemporary Islamist movements and ideologies in the Sunni Muslim world, and the major changes within Islamism and jihadism since the events of the Arab Spring of 2011. The course will discuss the following questions: What are the key Islamist movements active today? What motivates them? What is their relation to traditional Islamic thought and how do they relate to modernity? Against whom do they fight and why? How do different movements maneuver between Islamic religious principles and political imperatives? What are the main similarities and differences between the different militant movements in contemporary Islam? Finally, how did the Arab Uprisings of 2011 (the "Arab Spring") affect the discourse and political behavior of radical Islamic movements?

The course will focus on major Sunni Islamist thinkers, schools, and movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Sayyid Qutb and post-MB Egyptian radicalism, Palestinian Hamas, the Islamic Movement in Israel, al-Qa'ida and global jihad and the Islamic State (also known as ISIS). Finally, the course will examine the impact of the Arab Uprisings and the regional turmoil in the Middle East since 2011 on radical Islamic thought and behavior. The course will incorporate theoretical and comparative perspectives in addition to close study of primary sources (in translation), with the aim of understanding the diversity of modern Islamism and assessing the correlation between differences in ideology and divergent patterns of political and militant behavior.

Course Requirements:

- ***Class attendance***
  - It is mandatory for all students to attend classes and participate in class activities. Failure to attend classes will result in a student being denied the right to partake of the final assignment and receive a final grade in a course. Students who have a justified reason to miss class (illness, mourning, etc.) must communicate with their instructors and the Department of Summer Courses and Special Programs, and complete the material that they have missed.
  - Students who have missed class due to illness must obtain a signed and stamped sick note from a treating physician and submit it to the Dept. of Summer Courses and Special Programs immediately following their return to class. Failure to do so will result in an unexcused absence.
  - The Department reserves the right to refer the issue to an Academic Committee. In some cases, the Academic Committee may decide, in light of the requirements of the course, that it is not possible to make up the missing course work.

- ***Student Participation - Class Presentations:***

  Students will be required to make <u>one</u> presentation during the course: either on a key term in Islamic political thought, or on a particular militant movement. <u>Presentations will be done either in pairs or individually.</u> The choice of topic will be geared toward each student's individual interests in consultation with the instructor. Students listening to each presentation are expected to respond with constructive analytical questions and comments using the conceptual tools learned in the course. Presentations should use PowerPoint or paper hand-outs, and also be submitted as a short essay (400 words). The presentations should be based on class discussions, reading items from the course syllabus and further research based on relevant bibliography. Students are welcome to consult the instructor regarding the relevant sources for each presentation.

  Presentations on key Islamic terms should include the literal meaning of the term, the term's classical meaning and its political use by modern-day Islamic movements.

  The list of key Islamic terms includes:

Da'wa	*Jihad*	*Fatwa*
Bay'a	*Jahiliyya*	*Hakimiyya*
Tawhid	*Shirk*	*Umma*
Bid'a	*Takfir*	*Taghut*
Ghuraba	*Khilafa*	*Shari'a*
Hadith	*Shura*	*'Aqida*
Manhaj	*Dar al-Islam/Dar al-Harb*	

- ***Final Exam***

Earning Graduate Credits for this course:

Graduate students are expected to inform the Rothberg International School at rissummer@savion,huji.ac.il of their interest in earning graduate credit for their summer course(s).

Graduate students must complete a 15-page, double-spaced, seminar paper with bibliography for the course in place of the course's standard final assessment (in most cases, an exam). The topic and bibliography for these papers must be chosen in conjunction and agreement with each course instructor. Students must approach course instructors by the end of the first week of the course and arrange a time to meet and define their paper topic and bibliography.

The graduate seminar papers must be submitted within 2 months following course completion in order for the graduate student to fulfill requirements for this course.

Grading Rubrics:

- ***Participation***: 30% [Including class presentation]
- ***Final Exam***: 70%

Course Outline:

Class One: Introduction

(No readings)

Class Two: What is Islamism?

Readings:

- Wittes, Tamara Cofman. "Three kinds of movements." *Journal of Democracy* 19.3 (2008): 7-12. **Free access**: https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/07_islamist_parties_wittes.pdf

Further readings:

- Hamid, Shadi and Rashid Dar, "Islamism, Salafism, and jihadism: A primer". *Markaz,* The Brookings Institution, July 15, 2016. **Free access:** https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/07/15/islamism-salafism-and-jihadism-a-primer/
- Wright, Robin. "The Islamist Spectrum." *The Wilson Center*, August 28, 2015. **Free access**: https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/the-islamist-spectrum

Class Three: Islamism as a modern phenomenon

Readings:

- Mandaville, Peter. "State Formation and the Making of Islamism", in Mandaville, Peter. *Islam and Politics* (2nd edition). Routledge, 2014, Ch. 3, p. 64-120**. Overseas Library 297.19 M271**; **ERESERVE**

Field Trip to the Museum for Islamic Art, Jerusalem

Class Four: The Muslim Brotherhood

Readings:

- Banna, Hasan, and Charles Wendell (trans.). *Five Tracts of Hasan Al-Banna (1906-1949): A Selection From the Majmu'at RassaIl Al-iman Al-shahid Hasan Al Banna*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978, pp. 46-47, 103-131. **Main Library BP 88 B25 M32; ERESERVE**
- Lia, Brynjar. "To make a vision come true," in *The Society of Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement 1928-1942*, Reading: Ithaca Press, 1998, pp. 53-91. **Main Library DT 107.82 L51; ERESERVE**

Class Five: Sayyid Qutb and Egyptian Radical Groups

Readings:

- Qutb, Sayyid. *Milestones*. Maktabah, 2006, ch. 7-9, pp. 63-98. **Main Library BP 163 Q83 2000; free access online:** http://www.kalamullah.com/Books/MILESTONES.pdf
- Sivan, Emmanuel. "The Sunni Revolution." *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*. Yale University Press, 1990, pp. 83-129. **Overseas Library 297.19 S624 (1985 ed.); Main Library BP 163 S63 1990 (1990 ed.); ERESERVE**

Further readings:

- "The Lasting Legacy of Sayyid Qutb", *The Soufan Group*, August 29, 2016. **Free access online**: http://www.soufangroup.com/tsg-intelbrief-the-lasting-legacy-of-sayyid-qutb/

Class Six: Ḥamās

Readings:

- "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine" in Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009, pp. 356-386. **Overseas Library 297.9 E86; ERESERVE**
- Litvak, Meir. "The Islamization of The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Case of Hamas", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34/1 (1998): 148-163. **E-journal**

Class Seven: The Islamic Movement in Israel

Readings:

- "The Islamic Movement Inside Israel, an Interview with Shaykh Ra'id Salah." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 36.2 (Winter 2007), pp. 66-76. **E-journal**
- Ghanem, As' ad, and Mohanad Mustafa. "Explaining Political Islam: The Transformation of Palestinian Islamic Movements." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 41.4 (2014), pp. 335-354**.** **E-journal**

Class Eight: al-Qāʿida and Global Jihad

Readings:

- Bin Laden, Usama. "Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places" in Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009, pp. 436-459. **Overseas Library 297.9 E86; ERESERVE**
- Hegghammer, Thomas. *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 99-112. **Overseas Library 297.938 H463; ERESERVE**

Further readings:

- Kepel, Gilles and Milelli, Jean-Pierre. "Al Qaeda, the Essentials." *Al Qāʿida in Its Own Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 1-8. **Overseas Library 322.42 K38; ERESERVE**

Class Nine: The Arab Spring and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood

Readings:

- Ajami, Fouad. "The Arab Spring at One: A Year of Living Dangerously." *Foreign Affairs*, 91/1 (2012): 56-65. **E-journal**.
- Al-Anani, Khalil. "Upended Path: The Rise and Fall of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood." *The Middle East Journal* 69/4 (2015): 527-543. **E-journal**

Class Ten: Salafi-Jihadism Since the Arab Spring

Readings:

- Lia, Brynjar. "Jihadism in the Arab World after 2011: Explaining Its Expansion." *Middle East Policy* 23/4 (2016): 74-91. **E-journal**
- Hoffman, Adam. "Jihadi Soft Power: The Changing Importance of Da'wa in Salafi-Jihadi Discourse since the Arab Uprisings." In: Itzchak Weismann and Jamal Malik (eds.), *Da'wa: Preaching Islam in the Modern World*. Oxford University Press, 2017 [forthcoming].

Further Readings:

- Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed and Vassefi, Tara, "Perceptions of the 'Arab Spring' Within the Salafi-Jihadi Movement." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 35/12 (2012): 831-848. **E-journal**

Class Eleven: the Islamic State (ISIS)

Readings:

- Al-'Adnani, Abu Muhammad, "This is the Promise of Allah (Caliphate Declaration)", *Al Hayat Media Center*, June 19, 2014. **Free access online**: https://scholarship.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/bitstream/handle/10066/14242/ADN20140629.pdf
- McCants, William. "Caliphate Reborn." *The ISIS Apocalypse: The History, Strategy, and Doomsday Vision of the Islamic State*. Macmillan, 2015, ch. 6, pp. 121-144. **Main Library HV 6433 I722 M333 2015; ERESERVE**

Further readings:

- Video: "The Islamic State," *Vice News*, December 26, 2014. **Free access online**: https://news.vice.com/video/the-islamic-state-full-length
- Whiteside, Craig. "New Masters of Revolutionary Warfare: The Islamic State Movement (2002-2016)." *Perspectives on Terrorism 10.4* (2016). **Free access online**: http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/523/html
- Hoffman, Adam. "From Hijra to Terror: The Islamic State's Threat to France", *Tel Aviv Notes*, Vol. 10 (19), The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies (MDC), December 13, 2016. **Free access online**: http://dayan.org/content/hijra-terror-islamic-state%E2%80%99s-threat-france

July 25th: Final exam