

## ISLAM & POLITICS IN ASIA

PSC 345.001/MES345.M001

Fall 2005

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### COURSE DESCRIPTION

Islam is one of the world's largest religious traditions as attested to by the fact that one in every five persons in the world is a Muslim. While in the general Western psyche Islam is viewed as an essentially “Arab” or “Middle Eastern” phenomenon, the reality is that more than half of all Muslims live in Asia. Furthermore, while many Westerners consider Islam to be a monolithic and militant religion, the fact remains that Islam comes in myriad forms and is geographically spread in close to 70 countries across many cultures, languages, nationalities, races and regions.

The aim of this course is to survey the diverse and protean role Islam plays in Asian public life by analyzing the variegated cultural, political, religious and social milieu that it has encountered in such countries as Afghanistan, India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Pakistan. We will attempt to address the following set of central questions: What are some of the themes and motifs as well as historical, religious and philosophical matrices that are salient to Islam as a system of belief? In what ways has the discourse of “Islamic identity” undergone a metamorphosis from the pre-modern to the modern times? How did Islam promulgate in Asia? In what ways has Islam influenced the domestic, foreign and geopolitical realities of Asian countries? How have women fared under Islamic law? What are some of the factors that aid or hamper the development of militant Islam in Asia?

To answer these questions, the course will emphasize the sociopolitical history of Asian Islam. In addition, we will make extensive use of multimedia presentations to further familiarize you with the region and the religion that are the focus of this course.

### COURSE PHILOSOPHY

A Chinese proverb says, “teachers open the door, but you must enter by yourself.” A Western sage (Karl Jaspers) supplemented this maxim by maintaining, “university life is no less dependent on students than on professors. The best professors flounder helplessly at a school where the student body is unfit. Hence, it is all up to the young people who are supposedly entitled to study. They must show themselves worthy of this privilege to the best of their ability.”

This course has been organized on the premise that you are worthy of this privilege and that the teacher only opens the door. The success of this course depends entirely on your

continued and sustained participation. Therefore, I ask that you be agile participants and intervene as often as possible in class discussion. Please keep in mind that in this course you will be exposed to a wide range of alternative views some of which may force you to question, rethink (and if needed, abandon) your present "understanding" of historical events and problems. Who knows, by the end of the course you might feel that you have taken part in a serendipitous voyage of discovery!

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Attendance: Since my presentations will complement rather than reiterate the assigned readings, it is expected that you attend *all* class meetings. You will be held responsible for all the material we cover in readings, lectures, and films. Attendance is also mandatory for all exams, and make-ups will be given only for bona fide emergencies (i.e., severe illness documented by a physician).

Participation: In addition to being physically present, I expect you to be mentally present as well! As such, you should complete all assigned readings *before* each class meeting, so that you are familiar with the concepts, facts, theories, and controversies with which we are dealing. Furthermore, you should try to engage in cyber discussion through the listserv I will set up for this course. You and I will use this listserv to (a) elaborate and respond to points and issues mentioned in class by class members; (b) engage in debates with one another; and (c) post interesting or informative e-mails about Islam in Asia.

Quizzes: To assess your understanding of the course material and ensure that you are keeping up with the readings, I will administer unannounced quizzes from time to time.

Research/Reflection Papers: You are expected to write two 8-10 pages typed and double-spaced retrospective essays in this course. The papers should show the "Four C" rule: clear, concise, coherent and creative. The first paper will address the following question: "How should one teach the topic of Islam and Politics in Asia to students studying in the United States?" For this paper, you are expected to research and think about what are the best venues, strategies and pedagogical styles that an instructor can use to encourage his or her students to understand this subject matter. This paper is due on *October 25*. As for the second paper assignment, you can either write a research and/or a "reflection/opinion" paper. In a research paper, students are expected to undertake an in-depth examination of an event, dilemma, or controversy concerning Asian Islam in which they are interested. In a reflection/opinion paper, students are expected to critically reflect on a topic of their choice whereby they engage in a dialogue with the materials raised in films, class lectures, and assigned readings. The choice of subject for the second paper, which will be due on *December 8*, should be first cleared in individual discussions with the instructor. Further guidelines on how to write the papers will be provided in class

Exams: You will have an in-class midterm exam on *October 18*.

Please note that in this course we follow the Maxwell School's [policy of academic integrity](http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/maxpages/faculty/merupert/Teaching/plag.htm) (<http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/maxpages/faculty/merupert/Teaching/plag.htm>). Those who engage in plagiarism will get an automatic F and will be referred to the university officials for further disciplinary actions.

Do not hesitate to drop by my office should you have problems with the course, or just want to talk. Students who may need special consideration because of any sort of disability should make an appointment to see the instructor in private. You should be advised that late papers would be substantially penalized (one letter grade for each day late) and no incomplete grade will be allowed.

### GRADING CRITERIA

<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Due Date</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Classroom & Listserv contribution	NA	10%
Quizzes	Periodic	10%
Mid-term Exam	October 18	20%
1 <sup>st</sup> paper	October 25	30%
2 <sup>nd</sup> paper	December 8	30%

### REQUIRED TEXTS (available at Orange Student Bookstore and SU Bookstore)

Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

V.S. Naipaul, *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions Among the Converted Peoples* (New York: Vintage, 1999).

Asne Seierstad, *The Bookseller of Kabul* (New York: Back Bay/Little Brown, 2004).

Course Reader (#1125) available at Campus Copy Center located in Marshall Square Mall

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“...the ancient wisdom – which for some cultures is also an everyday truism – that knowledge without ethics is not so much bad ethics as inferior knowledge.”

-- Ashis Nandy

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## CLASS ASSIGNMENTS

### Aug. 30: **Introduction - The Nature and Structure of the Course**

- Syllabus review; questionnaire
- Video: *Quran Controversy at University of North Carolina*

### Sept. 1: **Encountering Asia**

- Visit [http://www.asiasource.org/profiles/ap\\_mp\\_01.cfm](http://www.asiasource.org/profiles/ap_mp_01.cfm) and <http://www.askasia.org/> and read as much as you can. Make sure you read John S. Major, "Asia Through a Glass Darkly: Stereotypes of Asians in Western Literature" available at: [http://www.askasia.org/teachers/Instructional\\_Resources/Materials/Readings/Asia\\_General/R\\_asia\\_1.htm](http://www.askasia.org/teachers/Instructional_Resources/Materials/Readings/Asia_General/R_asia_1.htm)
- Video: *Sentimental Imperialists* (VC 8043) (60 min.)

### Sept. 6: **Understanding Islam (I)**

- Read "Quick Reference Glossary," "Terminology," in the Course Reader
- Abdulaziz Sachedina, "What is Islam?" *The World & I* (September 1997).
- Video: *Islam: Empire of Faith* (VC 9646) (180 min.)

*Recommended:*

- <http://www.salon.com/books/feature/2002/01/08/alphabet/print.html> provides an alphabetical reminder of the contributions of Muslim World to global heritage

### Sept. 8: **Understanding Islam (II)**

- Hefner, Robert, "Multiple Modernities: Christianity, Islam and Hinduism in a Globalizing Age." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998): 83-104.

*Recommended:*

- Visit <http://www.uga.edu/islam/> and read as much as you can
- "Sufism," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Modern Islamic World*, vol. 4 (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 102-117; 124-132
- Video: *I am a Sufi, I am a Muslim* (VC 7580) (52 min.)

### Sept. 13: **Muslim India: 16<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

- Bose and Jalal, xi-xiv and chapters 1-5
- Marshall Hodgson, "The Indian Timuri Empire: Coexistence of Muslims and Hindus, 1526-1707," in Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 3 (University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 59-98
- "Shah Abbas and Emperor Jahangir Debate the Persian Conquest of Kandahar," in Marvin Gettleman and Stuart Schaar (eds.), *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader* (New York: Grove Press, 2003), pp. 58-61

- Video: *Taj Mahal: The Story of Muslim India* (SA40) (24 min)

*Recommended:*

- Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

**Sept. 15: From Decline to Colonialism: 18<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

- Bose and Jalal, chapters 6-10
- Marshall Hodgson, "Muslim India: Communalism and Universalism," in *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 3, pp. 333-356.

**Sept. 20: Colonialism and Resistance in 20<sup>th</sup> Century India**

- Bose and Jalal, chapters 11-15
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan, "Lecture on Islam," in Charles Kurzman (ed.), *Modernist Islam 1840-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 291-303.
- Muhammad Iqbal, "Islam as a Moral and Political Ideal," in *Modernist Islam 1840-1940*, pp. 304-313
- Video: *Pandit Nehru* (VC 7906) (22 min.)

**Sept. 22: Partition of India and Pakistan**

- Bose and Jalal, chapters 16-17
- Muhammad Ali Jinnah, "The Theory of Two Nations in the Subcontinent," in Aziz Ahmad and G. E. von Grunebaum (eds.), *Muslim Self-Statement in India and Pakistan 1857-1968* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), pp. 153-155
- Video: *Stories My Country Told Me: With Eqbal Ahmad* (VC 10140) (55 min)

*Recommended:*

- Video: *Earth* (VC 9674; 101 min.)

**Sept. 27: Post-Colonial South Asia**

- Bose and Jalal, chapters 18-20
- Hamza Alavi, "The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh," *New Left Review*, no. 74 (July 1972), pp. 59-81

**Sept. 29: Pakistan's Maturation**

- Naipaul, pp. 245-302
- Charles J. Adams, "The Ideology of Mawlana Mawdudi," in Donald E. Smith (ed.), *South Asian Politics and Religion* (Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 371-397.

*Recommended:*

- Fazlur Rahman, "Currents of Religious Thought in Pakistan," *Islamic Studies*, v. 7, no. 1 (March 1968), pp. 1-7.

- Aqil Shah, “Democracy on Hold in Pakistan,” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 1 (January 2002).
- S.V. R. Nasr, “The Rise of Sunni Militancy in Pakistan: The Changing Role of Islamism and the Ulama in Society and Politics,” *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1 (2000)

**Oct. 4: Sojourn in Pakistan**

- Naipaul, pp. 303-357
- Richard Behar, “Kidnapped Nation,” *Fortune* (April 29, 2002), pp. 84-92.
- Yoginder Sikand, “Islamist Militancy: The Lashkar-i-Tayyeba,” *ISIM Newsletter* (September 2002), p. 14.
- Rory McCarthy, “Professors fight to keep swift on syllabus as Pakistan’s Islamists target “vulgar” classics,” *The Guardian* (July 10, 2003), p. 15.

*Recommended:*

- Oskar Verkaaik, *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

**Oct. 6: Women in Pakistan**

- Anita Weiss, “The Consequences of State Policies for Women in Pakistan,” in Weiner and Banuazizi (eds.), *The Politics of Social Transformation in Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan*, pp. 412-444.
- Kamran Asdar Ali, “Courtesans in the Living Room,” *ISIM Review*, no. 15 (Spring 2005), pp. 32-33.
- Video: *Who will Cast the First Stone?* (VC6594) (59 min.) (1980)

*Recommended:*

- Shahla Haeri, *No Shame For the Sun: Lives of Professional Pakistani Women* (Syracuse University Press, 2002).
- *License to Kill* (VC 10151) (45 min.)

**Oct. 11: Women and Development in India & Bangladesh**

- Video: *The Women’s Bank of Bangladesh* (VC 7802) (51 min.)
- Video: *Technology and Women in India*

*Recommended:*

- Gail Minault, “Women, Legal Reform and Muslim Identity,” in Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *Islam, Communities and the Nation* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1998), pp. 139-158
- Peter Awn, “Indian Islam: The Shah Bano Affair,” in John S. Hawley, *Fundamentalism and Gender* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 63-78

**Oct. 13: No Class** (Yom Kippur)

Oct. 18: *Midterm*

Oct. 20: **“Seeing” Afghanistan (I)**

- Seierstad, pp. ix-66.
- Mahmud Tarzi, “What is to Be Done?” in Charles Kurzman (ed.), *Modernist Islam 1840-1940*, pp. 126-130
- Queen Soraya, “The Liberation of Afghan Women (1922)” in *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*, pp. 122-125
- Video: *U.S.-Afghanistan Relations* (VC 10139) (42 min)

*Recommended:*

- Anthony Hyman, “Nationalism in Afghanistan,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, v. 34 (2002), pp. 299-315
- Angelo Rasanayagam, *Afghanistan: A Modern History* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

Oct. 25: **“Seeing” Afghanistan (II)**

- Seierstad, pp. 67-130
- “Taliban Decrees about Women, Men’s Beards, Children’s Games and Music (1966)” in *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*, pp. 310-313.
- Video: *Kandahar* (VC 11845) (85 minutes)

*Recommended:*

- Video: *Afghanistan: Exporting the Taliban Revolution* (VC 9239; 24 min.)

Oct. 27: **“Seeing” Afghanistan (III)**

- Seierstad, pp. 131-203
- “A Nomad Campaigns to Serve Her People in Afghanistan,” *New York Times* (August 21, 2005).
- M. Nazif Shahrani, “The Challenge of Post-Taliban Governance,” *ISIM Review*, no. 12 (June 2003), pp. 22-23.
- Video: *Osama* (Video DVD 11249; 83 min.)

Nov. 1: **Discussing the *Bookseller of Kabul***

- Seierstad, pp. 204-288

Nov. 3: **Islam in Central Asia (I)**

- “There’s Democracy, and There’s an Oil Pipeline,” *New York Times* (May 29, 2005): WK 3.
- Julia Droeber, “Ramadan in Kyrgyzstan: An Ethnographer’s Gaze on Fasting,” *ISIM Review*, no. 12 (June 2003), p. 56.
- Video: *Oil in Azerbaijan*

*Recommended:*

- Fazlur Rahman, “Evolution of Soviet Policy Toward Muslims in Russia: 1917-1965,” *Journal of the Institute for Muslim Minority Affairs* (1979-1980), pp. 28-46
- Ismail Bey Gaspirinskii, “First Steps Toward Civilizing the Russian Muslims,” in *Modernist Islam 1840-1940*, pp. 223-226
- Richard Rose, “How Muslims View Democracy: Evidence from Central Asia,” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 4 (October 2002): 102-111.

Nov. 8: **Islam in Central Asia (II)**

- Ahmed Rashid, “Islam in Central Asia: Afghanistan and Pakistan”
- “Chaos in the Caucasus,” *The Economist* (October 9, 1999), pp. 23-26
- Vladimir Bobrovnikov, “Post-Socialist Forms of Islam: Caucasian Wahhabis,” *ISIM Newsletter* (March 2001), p. 29.
- Video: *Islamic Resurgence and Holy War* (VC 9238) (52 min)

Nov. 10: **Malaysia (I)**

- Michael Peletz, “‘Ordinary Muslims’ and Muslim Resurgents in Contemporary Malaysia,” in Robert Hefner and Patricia Horvatic (eds.), *Islam in an Era of Nation-States* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 231-273

*Recommended:*

- Donald K. Emmerson, “Southeast Asia: What’s in a Name,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15 (March 1984).

Nov. 15: **Malaysia (II)**

- Naipaul, pp. 361-408

Nov. 17: **Malaysian Islam**

- Claudia Derichs, “Politicizing Islam in Malaysia,” *ISIM Newsletter* (July 2001), p. 13.
- Video: *Islam and Pluralism* (VC 10094) (30 min)

Nov. 22: **Indonesia**

- Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed*, pp. v-55
- Video: *Indonesia* (VC 9448) (60 min.)

Nov. 24: No Class (Thanksgiving Holiday)

Nov. 29: **Indonesian Islam**

- Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed*, pp. 56-117
- Andrew Marshall, “The Threat of Jaffar,” *New York Times Magazine* (March 10, 2002), pp. 440-447.



**Dec. 1: Sojourn in Indonesia (I)**

- Naipaul, pp. 3-64
- “Bali: A Paradise Lost,” *World Press* (January 2003), pp. 7-13.
- Ernst Utrecht, “The Muslim Merchant Class in The Indonesian Social and political Struggles,” *Social Compass*, 31, 1 (1984): 27-35.

**Dec. 6: Sojourn in Indonesia (II)**

- Naipaul, pp. 65-129
- Jane Perlez, “With Indonesian Politics Up for Grabs, Islam’s Role Grows,” *New York Times* (April 30, 2002).
- “Indonesian Youth and Islamic Revival,” *ISIM Newsletter* (September 2002), p. 15.

*Recommended:*

- Angel M. Rabasa, *Political Islam in Southeast Asia: Moderates, Radicals and Terrorists* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2003).

**Dec. 8: Evaluations & Open Discussion about the Course**      (*2<sup>nd</sup> paper is due*)

## Hindu-Muslim Conflicts

- Mushir-Ul-Haq, "Secularism? No, Secular State? Well-Yes," in Mushir-Ul-Haq, *Islam in Secular India* (Calcutta: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1972), pp. 6-21
- Surinder Singh Oberoi, "Kashmir is Bleeding," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (1997)
- Video: *Kashmir: Valley of Despair* (SA112) (45 min.)
- Video: *Bombay: A Myth Shattered* (VC 7082) (25 min.)

### *Recommended:*

- Iqbal Ansari, "Hindu-Muslim Conflict in India: Causes and Remedies," in Iqbal Ansari, *The Muslim Situation in India* (Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1989), pp. 173-191
- Mushirul Hasan and M. Asaduddin (eds.), *Image and Representation: Stories of Muslim Lives in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Humayun Kabir, "Minorities in a Democracy," in Charles Kurzman (ed.), *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 145-154
- Videos: *In the Name of God* (VC 6573) (97 min.); *Father, Son and Holy War* (SA67); *Raam Ke Naam* (SA34); *War and Peace* (SA117) (170 min)