NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE
WASHINGTON, DC 20319

ISLAM and THE WEST

ELECTIVE COURSE 6068

SYLLABUS

ACADEMIC YEAR 2020-21

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COURSE SCHEDULE – ELECTIVE COURSE 6068

ISLAM AND THE WEST

TOPIC	TITLE	PAGE

COURSE OBJECTIVES

- Identify the major economic, social and political challenges faced by countries such as Britain, France, Germany, and Holland in integrating their Muslim communities.

- Enhance our understanding of issues such as assimilation, multiculturalism and marginalization.

- Analyze the social, economic, cultural and ideological factors that fuel Islamist extremism in Europe

- Enhance our understanding of factors contributing to radicalization and polarization between Muslims and the host societies.

- Analyze the different models of secularism in major European countries and their relevance for Muslim minorities.

- Analyze the diversity of Muslim communities in Europe and the diversity of problems they are facing.

- Understand the dynamics of Turkey-EU relations

- Review the complexity of US-Islamic world relations

- Enable participant to avoid sweeping generalization about Islam as a religion and Europe a single geographic unit.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course on Islam and the West explores the complex interaction between Islamic and European civilizations from early encounters between the two civilizations until the contemporary era. The course opens with an introductory overview and a discussion of the current dynamics characterizing the Muslim Presence in Europe.

After this introductory overview, the first part of the course will be broadly historical. In addition to providing basic familiarity with Islam and Muslims, this "early encounters" part of the course will draw heavily on the cultural, political and military patterns of interaction between Islam and Europe. Issues covered will range from Islam in Andalusia, to the advent of the Crusades, and from Ottomans in Europe to modern European imperialism in the 20th Century. The transformation of the terms of co-existence and competition between Islam and Europe from an asymmetry in favor of the Islamic world to one favoring Europe (in terms of power and prestige) will be an important theme in this historical section.

The second part of the course will deal with the contemporary presence of Muslims and Islam in Europe. The interaction between Muslim communities and their European hosts will be analyzed in two different frameworks.

- First, the presence of Islam in Europe will be analyzed based on the different experiences of Muslim communities in France, Germany, Britain and Holland. The diversity of Muslims in Europe will be a major theme.

- Second, different models of secularism and citizenship in Europe will be studied as they relate to Muslim integration. Issues such as the current backlash against multiculturalism, and concepts such as assimilation and marginalization will also be discussed in this second part of the course. The diversity of Europe, just like the diversity of Muslims, and the relevance of socio-economic problems, will be major themes.

After a session on the root causes of Islamic Radicalism in Europe, the third and final part of the course will focus Europe's relationship with its Muslim periphery. Europe's relations with Turkey and the larger Muslim Middle East will provide the two main case studies. An important question to consider will be whether the Muslim presence in Europe has an impact on European foreign policy towards the Middle East. The differences between Europe and the United States concerning the Middle East will also be discussed in this final part.

REQUIREMENTS:

Readings for specific topics are noted in the syllabus. Many of the readings are recent, and will be supplemented as relevant commentary is published. Older selections are also included because of their value in establishing the background and context for Middle Eastern politics. Members of the seminar will volunteer for class presentations based on readings and their own analytical commentary of the topic. There will also be a 10-page research paper with a country or thematic/conceptual focus.

GRADING POLICY:

Students must meet all stated course objectives to pass a course. In determining the student's final grade, the course director will evaluate seminar performance, the research paper, oral reports, and other requirements assigned, but will award decisive weight to seminar performance.

Students who fail to complete all course requirements in the time allotted will receive an overall grade of Incomplete (I), and students who cannot meet all course objectives will receive an overall grade of Fail (F). In both cases, the student will enter a remediation program in effort to bring the student's performance up to passing standards.

Any student may appeal any course grade. First, within a week of the release of the grade, request a review by the course director. Should this review not lead to a satisfactory resolution, submit a written petition to the NWC Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs within two weeks of the release of the grade. The Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs will convene a faculty panel to conduct a formal review; the decision of that panel will be final.

ABSENCE POLICY:

Regardless of absences, students must still meet all stated course objectives to pass the course. Thus students who have missed one or more class sessions may be required to complete compensatory assignments at the course director's discretion. Additionally, any student who has missed one or more classes and questions his/her ability to meet the course objectives regardless of compensatory work completed should ask the course director for further remedial assistance.

With the exception of absences due to required International Student Management Office (ISMO) events, any student who misses four or more

sessions of a course will meet a faculty board that will consider whether to recommend disenrollment to the NWC Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs and the Commandant. The Board will consider both extenuating circumstances and the student's potential to meet the course objectives. The Commandant will make the final decision on the student's status.

The above policies apply equally to U.S. students, International Fellows, and students from other NDU components.

The following books will be issued:

Malise Ruthven, **Islam: A Very Short Introduction**, (Oxford University Press, 2012)

Jocelyne Cesari, (ed.) **The Oxford Handbook of European Islam** (Oxford University Press, 2014)

Graham Fuller, **A World Without Islam**, (Little Brown and Company, 2010)

Andrew Hussey, **The French Intifada: The Long War Between France and its Arabs** (New York; Farrar, Straus and Giroux,2014)

Ian Buruma, **Murder in Amsterdam : The Death of Theo Van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance** (New York/London : Penguin Press, 2006)

Omer Taspinar, **What the West is Getting Wrong About the Middle East: Why Islam is Not the Problem** (London, IB Tauris, 2020)

TOPIC 1
Course Introduction and Methodology

The attacks of September 11, 2001 escalated the debate initiated by Samuel Huntington in his 1996 book "The Clash of Civilizations". Much ink has been spilled over Huntington's notion of an inherent conflict between Islam and the West. It is certainly tempting to talk about a single Muslim tradition or a single "West" in generic and generalized terms, as Huntington often does. Yet, in reality, neither Islam nor the West are monoliths. There are 1.3 billion Muslims across the globe. They belong to 57 different nation states with different levels of socio-economic development, ethnic identities, languages and cultural traditions. Even the most learned theologians of Islam have different interpretation of the Koran, the revealed message of God to Muhammad.

The West is equally diverse. Europe, for instance, has more than three dozen nation-states with different interpretations of Christianity, secularism, citizenship and minority rights. An important part of this course will deal with Muslims in Europe. The diversity of Muslims in Europe illustrates the variety within Islam. There are about 15 to 20 millions Muslims who live in the European Union. They constitute about 5 percent of the total population of the EU. Europe's Muslims come from different ethnic backgrounds, nation states, and Islamic sects.

The three main European countries where Muslims are located, namely France, Germany, the United Kingdom have significantly different histories and trajectories of nation building and church-state relations. These differences matter greatly for their religious minorities.

The first class will introduce the course structure and methodology. It will also address the ongoing debate on Huntington's "clash of civilizations" that depicts a rather monolithic view of Islam and the West. Yet, instead of bashing Huntington's thesis, we will try to understand the logic behind it and why it has gained so much validity in the post-9-11 world. Since the first part of the course, dealing with the history Islam's interaction with the West require some familiarity with Islam, you are also encouraged to read sections from Esposito's primer on Islam.

Required Readings (105 pages)

1. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs, Summer 1993
https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1993-06-01/clash-civilizations

2. Malise Ruthven, Islam: A Very Short Introduction, (Oxford University Press, 2012) pp. 1-99

TOPIC 2
Islam, Muslims, and the West

Is Islam an inherently different religion than Christianity or Judaism? According to "essentialists", a group of scholars who consider that the essence of Islam is in fundamental conflict with values and norms associated with the Judeo-Christian "West", the answer is "yes". To make their point, essentialists often point out that: "Islam is not just a religion but a way of life" or that "Islam is not compatible with democracy or secularism." The implicit premise of such viewpoints is that Christianity and Judaism are more open to democratization or secularization.

A different school of thought called "structuralism" often challenges basic essentialist premises. Instead of focusing on religion or culture to explain complex political phenomena, structuralists look at social and economic dynamics in different societies with the "**same**" religion. And they point out that as economic and social structures change so does the interpretation of religion. In that sense, structuralists argue that unless we look at changing social and economic patterns, we risk developing a "static" and "generic" understanding of Islam, which fails to capture the diversity and clash **within** this faith.

Is there a way to reconcile the essentialist and structuralist schools? Learning more about the history of Islam may help. Islam has indeed a different history compared to Christianity or Judaism. Yet, theologically, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have also striking similarities. All three are monotheistic; come from the same pratimonial lineage that goes back to Abraham, and worship the same God. Those points are often emphasized by writers like John Esposito, Karen Armstrong and Graham Fuller. Yet, it is equally true that these three religions were born into radically different social, political and cultural contexts. Rather than engaging in theological or essentialist debate, the goal of this topic will be to gain familiarity with the historic context where Islam was born.

Objectives

- To introduce a basic understanding of Islam and its history.
- To emphasize that Islam is not a monolith.
- To understand the different perceptions of Islam, Muslims, and the West.

Key Questions

1. Who represents Islam?

2. Is Islam inherently different than Christianity? Is it more political?

3. Does it make sense to speak of "Islam" in a world of nation-states?

Required Readings (98 pages)

1. Graham Fuller, <u>A World Without Islam</u>, (Little, Brown and Company, 2010) pp.3-44

2. Malise Ruthven, Islam: A Very Short Introduction, (Oxford University Press, 2012) pp. 100-157

TOPIC 3
Patterns of Interaction I:
Co-existence and Confrontation

Though Islam was established in the Arabian Peninsula, Islamic civilization blossomed as it spread outward. For nearly five hundred years, the Umayyad and Abbasid Empires, whose capitals were Damascus and Baghdad respectively, were the centers of wealth, science and commerce of the largest, most advanced civilization on earth. Islam became a global civilization in which knowledge, technology and arts were transported back and forth across a vast domain. Besides its own achievements such as algebra and a robust literature, the empire transmitted the heritage of Greek and Roman civilizations to the European Renaissance. When Europe was in its "Dark Ages," Islamic civilization in Andalusia Spain and in Baghdad was in its glory. Andalusia, particularly, became a geography where Muslims, Christians, and Jews were able to co-exist in relative harmony.

But there was also confrontation. The first confrontation between Islam and Christendom dates as far back as the rise of Islam itself: the conquest of Christian Spain by the Muslims in the seventh century C.E. The Crusades, far better remembered in the Middle East than the West, ebbed and flowed through the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the fourteenth century, the rise of the Ottomans on the margins of the crumbling Byzantine Empire initiated a new phase of interaction and conflict that endured for over five hundred years, until the final collapse of the Ottomans in the wake of the First World War.

Objectives

- To understand the logic of tolerance in Muslim history.
- To discuss the historical and contemporary perception of the Crusades.
- To analyze the Islamic "Golden Age."

Key Questions

1. Muslim Empires were much more tolerant during the "golden age of Islam". Why?

2. What are the connections between the Islamic Golden Age and the European Renaissance?

3. What is the historical impact of the Crusades?

4. What is the contemporary view of the Crusades and how does it impact the Muslim psyche?

Required Readings (87 pages)

1. Graham Fuller, A World Without Islam, (Little, Brown and Company, 2010) pp. 61-138 (77 pages)

2. Jeremy Walton, "Beyond Convivencia and Conflict? Reflections on the History and Memory of Andalusian and Ottoman Religious Belonging" Jadaliyya (January 22, 2017)

   http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/25916/beyond-convivencia-and-conflict-reflections-on-the

3. Karen Armstrong, "The Crusades, Even Now" (The New York Times Magazine, September 19, 1999)
   https://partners.nytimes.com/library/magazine/millennium/m4/armstrong.html

4. As'ad Abukhalil, "The Legacy of the Crusades in the Contemporary Muslim World" (Al-Jazeera, 28 December 2016)
   http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/12/legacy-crusades-contemporary-muslim-world-161224124349711.html

TOPIC 4
Patterns of Interaction II:
Colonialism and Orientalism

This class looks into the impact and ramifications of colonialism and imperialism in the Muslim world. Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another. One of the difficulties in defining colonialism is that it is difficult to distinguish it from imperialism. Frequently the two concepts are treated as synonyms. Like colonialism, imperialism also involves political and economic control over a dependent territory.

Since the Crusades and the conquest of the Americas, political theorists have struggled with the difficulty of reconciling ideas about justice and natural law with the practice of European sovereignty over non-Western peoples. In the nineteenth century, the tension between liberal thought and colonial practice became particularly acute, as dominion of Europe over the rest of the world reached its zenith. Ironically, in the same period when most political philosophers began to defend the principles of universalism and equality, the same individuals still defended the legitimacy of colonialism and imperialism. One way of reconciling those apparently opposed principles was the argument known as the "civilizing mission," which suggested that a temporary period of political dependence or tutelage was necessary in order for "uncivilized" societies to advance to the point where they were capable of sustaining liberal institutions and self-government.

Edward Said's evaluation and critique of the set of beliefs known as Orientalism forms an important background for postcolonial studies. His work highlights the inaccuracies of a wide variety of assumptions as it questions various paradigms of thought which are accepted on individual, academic, and political levels. In that sense, the term orientalism has come to acquire a negative connotation since it refers to the study of the East by Westerners shaped by the attitudes of the era of European imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Objectives

- To understand the roots of victimization in the Islamic world.
- To analyze the controversy and polemic about orientalism.
- To analyze the current democratization debate from an orientalist angle.

Key Questions

1. Was the Middle East colonized?

2. How can we analyze the relationship between imperialism, knowledge, and political discourse?

3. What is the main thesis of Edward Said?

4. What is the main thesis of Bernard Lewis?

5. What are the current of implications for the democracy debate in the Islamic world?

Required Readings (92 pages)

1. Edward Said, "Orientalism" (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 9-57 (in the pdf format below)
https://sites.evergreen.edu/politicalshakespeares/wp-content/uploads/sites/33/2014/12/Said_full.pdf

2. Bernard Lewis, "The Question of Orientalism" (NewYork : Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 99-130

http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1982/06/24/the-question-of-orientalism/

3. Graham Fuller, A World Without Islam, (Little, Brown and Company, 2010) pp. 243-266

TOPIC 5
Europe and Islam: Defining the Challenge

For many Muslims, Western Europe is associated with vast wealth and unlimited economic opportunities. The newly adopted countries of Western Europe provided thousand of immigrant workers and their families with a safe haven and an escape from economic oppression and poverty. Muslims flocked from such diverse cultures such as Pakistan and India, Bangladesh and Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania, Morocco and Algeria, Turkey and Iran, and Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt. These Muslim migrants were often welcomed as guest workers. Like good guests, one day, they were supposed to leave. Yet, they stayed. A second and third generation came to emerge.

Today, the Islamic challenge Europe is facing is twofold. Internally, Europe needs to integrate 15 to 20 million Muslims who are on average younger, more religious, less educated and highly unemployed compared to the non-Muslim Europeans. This, in itself, is a daunting challenge. Externally, the European Union faces the equally formidable challenge of devising a constructive approach to the Muslim perihery stretching from Morocco to the Caucasus. Europe's declining demographics, due to an aging population, is an additional problem. In order to maintain its generous welfare states, with large pensions and social benefits, Europe will need more labor. And such labor is likely to come from the Muslim periphery, further exacerbating problems of integration and radicalism. Yet, paradoxically, Europe currently suffers from high unemployment. The political, cultural and economic dynamics between Islam and Europe are therefore very complex.

Objectives

- To understand concepts such as integration, assimilation, multiculturalism.
- To discuss the economic, social, cultural dynamics in host societies.
- To analyze Muslim alienation, victimization, and radicalization in Europe.

Key Questions

1. What factors account for the exclusion and inclusion of the Muslim communities of Western Europe into the political mainstream of European societies and states?

2. What are the roots of Muslim political alienation in Western Europe?

3. What are the main differences between the first and second generation of Muslims in Europe?

4. What is the impact of globalization on Muslims in Europe?

Required Readings (79 pages)

1. Bichara Khader, "Muslims in Europe: The Construction of a 'Problem' "
(OpenMind, 2016)
https://www.bbvaopenmind.com/en/articles/muslims-in-europe-the-construction-of-a-problem/

2. Olivier Roy, "Is Europe Christian ?" (The Immanent Frame, July 2020)
https://tif.ssrc.org/2020/07/07/is-europe-christian-an-introduction/

3. Omer Taspinar, <u>What the West is Getting Wrong About the Middle East: Why Islam is Not the Problem</u> (London, IB Tauris, 2020) pp.15-56

4. Kenan Malik, "The Failure of Multiculturalism" Foreign Affairs, (March/April 2015)
https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/failure-multiculturalism

Recommended

1. Graham Fuller, A World Without Islam, (Little, Brown and Company, 2010)
pp. 187-209

TOPIC 6
Islam in France

French influence has historically been strong in the Maghreb states – linguistically, culturally, and economically.   But the influence is not all in one direction. The Maghreb is separated from Europe by only six miles at the Straits of Gibraltar, and tens of thousands of Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians have made the crossing in search of better lives. The Straits are Europe's Rio Grande. To the south lies poverty, political turmoil and explosive population growth. To the north is an affluent Europe inhospitable to immigrants, particularly Muslims from North Africa. With the huge income disparities across the Mediterranean, poor job prospects in the Maghreb and political instability, especially in Algeria, the untoward flow of people will continue. France remains the destination of choice for most, and this means immigrants have had a significant social, economic and political impact. The inflow of immigrants from North Africa was a major issue in the French Presidential election in 2002 and 2007. This seminar will address the political and social volatility of the Muslim communities in France on a comparative basis. The key issues to be addressed are political formation, key historical events, the socio-economic make up, the question of ethnicity, secularism and citizenship in France.

Objectives

- To understand French secularism.
- To understand the French emphasis on Assimilation.
- To analyze the current economic, cultural and political dynamics in France.

Key Questions

1. What is the impact of French secularism on Muslim integration?

2. What is the impact of French nation-building and citizenship policies on Muslims?

3. What are the differences between assimilation and integration?

4. Why is France against multiculturalism?

5. What were the factors behind urban riots in France

Required Readings (145 pages)

1. Jennifer Selby, "France" in Jocelyne Cesari, (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of European Islam (Oxford University Press, 2014) pp. 23-51

2. Karina Piser, "A New Plan to Create an Islam of France" The Atlantic, March 29, 2018
   https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/03/islam-france-macron/556604/

3. Andrew Hussey, The French Intifada: The Long War Between France and its Arabs (New York; Farrar, Straus and Giroux,2014) pp. 1-62 and 192-256

TOPIC 7
Islam in Germany

Islam and Muslims are becoming increasingly visible in Germany. The first émigrés were primarily political refugees who took advantage of the post-WW II liberalism and prosperity that became part of West Germany during most of the sixties and seventies.   Arrivals were mainly guest workers from Turkish cities and provinces, followed by the Arab countries, Yugoslavia, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. As of 2006, Muslims in Germany made up about 4 % of the total population, reaching about 3 million. Most are Sunnis, and the majority are ethnic Turks, although there is a sizeable Kurdish population as well. As a minority, and as in many other western European states, the first generation of Muslims in Germany remained on the periphery politically. It was isolated from the mainstream political parties and lacked the organizational foundation for sustained conventional political activity. Discriminative German citizenship laws, based on "jus sanguinis" did not help. The citizenship laws changed only after the SPD-Green coalition came to power in the late 1990s. There are signs that the second and third generation of Turks with improved citizenship rights are becoming relatively more integrated. Turkey's current interest in joining the European Union is another interesting factor that has an impact on the main Muslim community in Germany.

Objectives

- To understand the German logic for citizenship and nation-building.
- To analyze German and Turkish secularism.
- To discuss the theory of "low expectations."

Key Questions

1. What is the impact of German secularism on Muslim integration?

2. What is the impact of German of nation-building and citizenship policies on Muslims?

3. Is Turkish Islam an advantage or a problem for Germany?

4. Is Germany becoming multicultural?

5. Why were there no major Muslim riots in Germany?

Required Readings (87)

1. Riem Spielhaus. "Germany' in Jocelyne Cesari, (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of European Islam (Oxford University Press, 2014) pp. 104-155

2. ICG Report, " Islam and Identity in Germany," March 2007,
http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4693&CFID=47395050&CFTOKEN=18886445

3. Tim Lukas, "Why There Were no Riots in Germany" (Max Planck Institute, June 2007), http://academic.shu.ac.uk/aces/franco-british-riots/attachments/Artikel_ANR-ESRC.pdf

4. Alexander Gorlach, "Why Islam Gets Second-Class Status in Germany" The NewYork Times, December 15, 2016.
https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/15/opinion/why-islam-gets-second-class-status-in-germany.html

Topic 8
Islam in Britain

The UK had been a major political force in the Islamic world since the 19th Century. The UK governed Egypt, Iraq, India – just to name a few countries – until the 1950s. This helped establish unique administrative and bureaucratic patterns that tied the UK to these countries long after independence following WWII, and established the emigration rat line that brought hundreds and thousands of Muslim émigrés from those countries to the UK. This seminar will analyze the roots of the great emigration and its intended and unintended consequences in the UK, and will assess the economic, political, and social impact of the newly-arrived émigrés, past, present, and future. In particular, we will delve into the recent rise of extremist ideologies and practices among the Muslim communities to better understand their evolving dynamics. We must keep in mind, however, that terrorism and political violence are manifestation of bigger problems inherent in British Muslims communities — namely the issue of citizen participation, political integration, limited economic opportunities, and racial tensions. Islamic radicalism is another major issue. We will discuss this topic in light of the Attacks on the London subway and bus system in July 2005 and some of the inherent tension between the British-Pakistani Muslim perpetrators and their clash with British political culture.

Objectives

- To understand British secularism and nation-building.
- To discuss the tension between integration and multiculturalism.
- To analyze the impact of terrorism and the backlash against multiculturalism.

Key Questions:

1. What is the impact of British secularism on Muslim integration?

2. What is impact of British nation-building and citizenship policies on Muslims?

3. Why is there a backlash against multiculturalism in Britain?

4. Was Britain truly multicultural?

5. What differs the British Model from the American one?

Required Readings (59 pages)

1. Sphie Gilliat-Ray, " The United Kingdom" in Jocelyne Cesari, (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of European Islam (Oxford University Press, 2014) pp. 64-102

2. Tariq Modood, Multiculturalism after 7/7: A Scapegoat or a Hope for the Future? RUSI Journal. London: Apr 2008. Vol. 153, Iss. 2;
http://search.proquest.com/docview/212074705/fulltextPDF/13115B4349D6FEC51AB/7?accountid=12686

3. Sarah Wallace Goodman, "The root problem of Muslim integration in Britain is alienation" The Washington Post, October 6, 2014.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/10/06/the-root-problem-of-muslim-integration-in-britain-is-alienation/?utm_term=.2b7f76bcc066

4. Tony Blair, "The Duty to Integrate: Shared British Values" ("Our Nation's Future" lecture, Downing Street, London, 8 December 2006).
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080909022722/http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page10563

TOPIC 9
Islam in Holland

In the Netherlands, the murder of controversial filmmaker Theo Van Gogh in 2004 by an Islamic extremist has revealed a climate of deep mistrust between Muslims and traditional Dutch society. After the assassination, nearly a dozen mosques and churches have been attacked in a wave of religiously motivated reprisals, and passions on both sides still run high. The murder traumatized a country that has long prided itself on its liberalism, but many acknowledge that there is growing alienation among Muslims from the broader Dutch society. In response, the government has begun to cut back on welfare programs that encourage immigrants to maintain strong links with their homelands, and Dutch language classes are now mandatory for new immigrants. Torn between liberal idealism and the declining level of tolerance, Holland is increasingly forced to address several issues concerning: (1) the traditional headscarf worn by female Muslim teachers and students; (2) religious education in public schools; (3) rise of Islamic extremism; and (4) the ever increasing number of mosques being constructed in many traditionally Christian neighborhoods, towns, and cities. Ian Buruma's fascinating account will give us a very rich context for our discussion of these issues.

Objectives

- To understand the roots of tolerance in Dutch multiculturalism.
- To analyze the logic behind the current backlash against multiculturalism in Spain.
- To analyze the importance of turning points such as the assassination of Van Gogh and the Madrid bombings.

Key Questions:

1. Why was Holland known as the most tolerant country towards Muslims?

2. Why is there a backlash against multiculturalism in Holland?

3. Is it justified?

4. What are the common points and differences between Holland, France, Germany and Britain?

5. How can one analyze the "Enlightenment fundamentalism" Ian Buruma writes about?

Required Reading (small book 264 'short' pages)

1. Ian Buruma, "Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo Van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance, (Penguin Press, 2007) *-- pages are short, please read whole book equivalent of around 100 pages in articles)*

Topic 10
Radical Islam and Jihad in Europe

The question about the root causes of Islamist radicalization has generated a very polarized and so far non-conclusive debate. Broadly speaking, two major views have emerged. In one camp, there are those who see ideology, culture and religion as the main drivers of radicalization. In the opposing camp, social and economic factors such as lack of education, unemployment and absence of upward mobility trump culture and ideology.

The correlation between deprivation and radicalism is strongly rejected by the first group focusing on ideology for a simple reason: most terrorists are neither poor nor uneducated. In fact, the majority of terrorists seem to come from middle class, ordinary backgrounds. Terrorism is therefore almost exclusively perceived as 'security threat' with no discernible socioeconomic roots or links to deprivation. As a result, while the second group wants to prioritize development, education and upward mobility, the first group defines the fight against terrorism with a single-minded focus on security and ideology. After having analyzed the integration problems of Muslims in Europe in the last 4 sessions, our focus for this topic will be on radicalization, ideology and jihadist networks.

Objectives

- To analyze the ideological factors behind radicalization
- To examine the organization of Jihadist networks
- To understand why young Muslims are attracted to radical Islam

Key Questions

1. What are the political, cultural and economic factors that lead to radicalization?
2. How do European countries differ in their approach to fighting radicalization and Jihadist networks?
3. What is the interplay between European and Middle Eastern dynamics in patterns of radicalization?

<u>Required Reading (40 pages)</u>

1. Daniela Pisou, "Radicalization" in Jocelyne Cesari, (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of European Islam (Oxford University Press, 2014) pp. 770-799

2. Olivier Roy, "Who are the New Jihadis" The Guardian, April 13, 2017
   https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/apr/13/who-are-the-new-jihadis

Topic 11
The US and the Islamic World

It is often argued that when it comes to relations with the Islamic world, America's core interests and values regularly clash. Mounting security challenges have raised concerns about how the United States can best promote political reform while safeguarding its security interests. American policy makers often argue that they are committed to promoting human rights and resolve long-standing conflicts in the Islamic world. But the image of the United States in the Islamic world is often shaped by the US support for Israel, the need to counter Iran's threats and to defeat al Qaida and its extremist allies.

Most Muslims, across the Islamic world, express a negative view of US foreign policy when it comes to the Israeli-Palestinian issue. As if all the challenges facing the United States in the Islamic world, from Iraq and Afghanistan, to Pakistan and Libya were not enough, there are also major economic stakes involved. America's dependence on Saudi Arabia, in terms of the Kingdom's ability to determine the price of oil, is an additional complicating factor. Finally, the Arab Spring heralds the dawn of a new ear in the Middle East, particularly in terms of forging a new relationship between Washington and Islamic political parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood.

Objectives

- To analyze the challenges facing US foreign policy in the Middle East

- To analyze the impact of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute in shaping Muslim public opinion about the US

- To understand the complexity of the Arab Spring and the US reaction

Key Questions:

1. What is the impact of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute on US relations with the Islamic world?

2. Is there a clash between American ideals and interests in the Arab world?

3. What is the impact of the Arab Spring on US foreign policy?

Required Readings (116 pages)

1. Graham Fuller, <u>A World Without Islam</u>, (Little, Brown and Company, 2010) pp. 267-304 (skim)

2. Omer Taspinar, <u>What the West is Getting Wrong About the Middle East: Why Islam is Not the Problem</u> (London, IB Tauris, 2020) pp. 109-236

Topic 12
Turkey and Europe

Today, Turkey's hopes to join the European Union, while boosted by the EU's October 3, 2005 decision to begin accession negotiations, remain distant and uncertain. Such pessimism is justified on many counts. Perhaps most important is the fact that the EU is plagued by enlargement fatigue and a growing sense of Islamophobia. This is clearly bad news for Turkey. Already struggling with problems such as unemployment, immigration, Islamic terrorism, and Muslim integration, Europeans are in no mood to embrace 70 million Muslims.

Therefore, even if Turkey continues to develop its democracy and economy, major obstacles still stand on its way to Europe. Ankara's hopes of membership could easily be dashed by anything ranging from a crisis over Cyprus to a national veto from any one of the 25 EU countries. Equally troubling for Ankara are French and German proposals for a "privileged partnership" instead of full membership. In the mean time, paradoxically, Turkey continues to pursue its European vocation under the leadership of a moderately Islamic political party.

Objectives

- To understand Turkey's Westernization dilemma.
- To analyze secular Europe's Christian reaction to Turkey.
- To analyze the Turkish nationalist backlash against Europe and the United States.

Key Questions:

1. What is behind Europe's reluctance to embrace Turkey?

2. Is Turkey a good model for the Islamic world?

3. Which European countries support Turkey's EU bid and why?

Required Readings (48 pages)

1. Marc Pierini, "Europe's Policy Options on Turkey" September 27, 2017
   http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/73228

2. Sinan Ulgen "A Resilience Approach to a Failed Accession State: The Case of Turkey" IAI Working Paper, October 27, 2017
http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaiwp1730.pdf

3. Nathalie Tocci, "Turkey and the European Union: A Journey in the Unknown" Brookings Turkey Project Policy Paper, November 2014
https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Turkey-and-the-European-Union.pdf

4. March Pierini,"Four Steps to an EU-Turkey Reset" Carnegie Paper (June 29, 2017)
http://carnegieeurope.eu/2017/06/29/four-steps-to-eu-turkey-reset-pub-71389