



### Global Islamic Politics, 2nd Edition

The picture on the cover of Global Islamic Politics, 2nd ed. is of the Dome of the Rock located in Jerusalem. This imposing blue-tiled octagonal building with its glittering golden dome, that dominates old Jerusalem's skyline, is known as Qubbat al-Sakhra in Arabic and was built by Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (685-691 CE). This venerable shrine, which is one of the oldest and most important artistic monuments of Islamic civilization, stands in the sacred sanctuary that Muslims reverentially refer to as Haram al-Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary) and Jews and Christians call the Temple Mount. Muslims believe that Prophet Muhammad ascended to Heaven for a meeting with God from this site. Therefore, this shrine illustrates the connection between earth and Heaven and between man and God.

#### Book Description:

Throughout the 1990s, particularly from the end of the U.S.-led Operation Desert Storm in Spring 1991, the West has not paid sufficient attention to the Muslim world. The tragic events of September 11th, 2001, the ongoing cycle of violence in the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, and America's "war on terrorism" worldwide, have made it clear that a deeper understanding of Islamic politics and Islamism is needed.

The size and economic power of the Muslim world makes the subject important for any student in international relations. There are over 1.2 billion Muslims in the world, comprising one-fifth of humanity. They constitute a majority in at least fifty-five countries, a substantial minority in another seven countries, and a sizable minority in at least nine others.

A closer examination of global Islamic politics is further merited by the proximity of the Muslim world to seven strategically important sea routes, namely, the Mediterranean Sea, the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Straits of Malacca. In addition, Muslim countries possess innumerable raw materials, produce nearly half the oil consumed in the West, and control two-thirds of the world's known oil reserves. Moreover, the Muslim world possesses a substantial pool of inexpensive labor and is a lucrative market for goods and services.

In spite of the tremendous potential of the Muslim world, much of the region--stretching from Morocco in Northwest Africa to Indonesia in Southeast Asia--suffers from terrible poverty, inequality, political oppression, and all the political and socioeconomic ills of the developing world. Consequently, political changes in the Muslim world are inherently significant and deserve our interest and concern as part of a globally interdependent community.

In the West today, Islamism is as reviled an ideology as Fascism and Communism were in their heyday. However, Western fear of Islamism is rooted in misunderstanding rather than reality. The Western mass media, focusing on the most sensational aspects of extremist Islamism, have contributed to this distortion of Islamism by characterizing it as a monolithic, menacing, and inherently anti-modern and anti-Western force. The primary intention of this book is to explore and analyze global Islamic politics. In doing so, however, this book will also describe, analyze, explain, and illustrate the root causes, characteristics, consequences, and implications of Islamism.

Written in a simple and clear style and providing in-depth definitions of key terms, Global Islamic Politics aims to make this important and complex subject accessible to all readers. In addition, the book offers suggestions for ameliorating the relations between the Muslim world and the West in a way that promotes mutual understanding and peace, rather than misunderstanding and conflict.

\* Chapter One, "An Overview of Islam," succinctly covers the meaning of Islam, Salaam, and Muslim; a brief profile of Prophet Muhammad; Islam's holy book, the Qur'an; Iman (Five Articles of Faith); Faraidh (the Five Pillars of Islam, also called the obligatory duties); Prophet Muhammad's hadith (sayings) and sunnah (sayings and deeds); shariah (Islamic law); Islam's first four rightly-guided caliphs; a comparison of the Sunni and Shi'ah sects; the status of women in Islam; and the heterogeneous nature of the Muslim world.

In addition, there are eight fascinating boxes in this chapter: “Vital Facts about Islam and the Muslim World,” “The Islamic Calendar,” “The Ka`abah and the Story of the Hajj,” “Islam Condemns Terrorism and Suicide,” “Sufism,” “The Nation of Islam,” “Five Women Who Have Governed Muslim Countries,” and “Crescent and Star: The Symbol of Islam.”

\* Chapter One’s Table 1.1, succinctly and clearly compares and contrasts “Islam, Judaism, and Christianity,” so that readers can learn about them at a glance.

\* Chapter Two, “Islamism and Islamic Revivals,” has integrated and condensed Chapters One and Two from the first edition of *Global Islamic Politics*. There is one new box in Chapter Two, namely, “Anti-Western Sentiments in the Muslim World.” The other two boxes, “Ikhwan al-Muslimun” and “Jama`at-i-Islami,” have been completely reworked and shortened.

\* Chapter Three, “Revolutionary Islamists,” has been significantly revised and now has five boxes: “Kharijites: The First Revolutionary Islamists,” “Muhammad ibn Abdel al-Wahhab,” “Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ali al-Sanusi,” “The Wahhabi and Sanusi Movements Compared,” “Muhammad Ahmad Abdullah al-Mahdi,” “Hasan al-Banna,” “Sayyid Qutb,” “Sayyid Abul Al`a Maududi,” “Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini,” “Seizure of the Grand Mosque,” “Al-Qaeda,” and “Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq.”

\* Chapter Four, “Traditionalist Islamists,” has been revised in this new edition. Three boxes from the previous edition have been abridged: “Ahmad Raza Khan Berelvi,” “Ayatollah Sayyid Kazem Shariatmadari,” and “Qayyam-ud-Din Muhammad Abdul Bari.”

\* Chapter Five, “Modernist Islamists,” also has been revised with two new boxes, namely, “Al-Azhar” and “Muhammad Rashid Rida.” The other five boxes in this chapter: “Jamal ud-Din al-Afghani,” “Muhammad Abduh,” “Sir Sayyid Ahmad Kahan,” “Muhammad Iqbal,” and “Ali Shariati,” have been improved and condensed.

Removing the category of Muslim Pragmatists from the revamped typology in the second edition allows Chapter Five to conclude with Table 5.1: “A Typology of Islamists,” describing three types of Islamists--Revolutionary Islamists, Traditionalist Islamists, and Modernist Islamists--instead of “A Typology of Islamic Revivalists” in the first edition that included four types of Islamic Revivalists, namely, Muslim Fundamentalists, Muslim Traditionalists, Muslim Modernists, and Muslim Pragmatists.

\* Chapter Six, “Failure of Muslim Secularists in the Postcolonial Muslim States,” has been completely restructured. A key feature of this chapter is a box entitled “Who are the Muslim Secularists?” In the previous edition, I referred to “Muslim Secularists”--who manipulated Islamic symbols and rhetoric and unintentionally contributed to Islamic Revivals--as “Muslim Pragmatists,” and included them, along with “Muslim Fundamentalists,” “Muslim Traditionalists,” and “Muslim Modernists,” in “A Typology of Islamic Revivalists.” But since “Muslim Pragmatists” cannot be considered Islamists, I have excluded them from “A Typology of Islamists” in this edition.

Other new boxes in Chapter Six include “Mustafa Kemal Ataturk,” Ba`athism and Nasserism,” “Saddam Hussein,” “Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat,” Ja`afar Muhammad al-Numeiri,” and the Revolutionary Islamist Hasan al-Turabi (who is in this chapter because Sudan has been discussed in it).

\* Chapter Seven, “Islamic Politics in the Arab-Israeli Conflict” has been expanded and significantly updated because much has happened in the region since the publication of the first edition. All four boxes in this chapter have been introduced for the first time, namely, a profile of “Yasser Arafat,” “Gamal Abdel Nasser,” “Shaykh Ahmed Yassin” (who is the spiritual leader of the Palestinian Islamist Hamas organization), and “Jerusalem: A Flashpoint in the Middle East.” Chapter Seven’s Table 7.1 provides vital statistics on Middle Eastern Countries.

\* Chapter Eight, “OPEC, OAPEC and the OIC: Institutionalizing Pan-Islamism,” has been updated and expanded. This chapter appears with three new boxes: “Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC),” “Muammar al-Qaddafi” (who started the oil price explosion in the early 1970s), and the “Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)” that represents the Islamic bloc of fifty-seven countries.

\* Chapter Nine, “The Islamic Revolution in Iran,” has also been updated and expanded. Several new boxes have been added: “Reza Shah Pahlavi (1877-1944) and Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1919-1980),” “A Comparison of Ayatollahs Khomeini and Shariatmadari,” “Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khomeini,” “Abdul Karim Saroush,” and “Muhammad

Khatami." A new section, entitled "Key Events in the History of Iran," has also been added at the end in order to help readers learn at a glance about the major landmarks in Iranian political history. The other boxes in this chapter, namely, "Ayatollah Khomeini and Gamal Abdel Nasser Compared," "The Role of Shariati and Khomeini in the Iranian Revolution," "Mehdi Badar Bazargan," "Abul Hasan Banisadr," and "Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani," have been completely revised and abridged.

\* Chapter Ten, "Afghanistan: One Nation, Divisible," is completely new to this second edition. It has been added for seven major reasons. First, Afghanistan, along with Iran (Chapter Nine), represents a fascinating case study of an Islamic Revolution and the establishment of an Islamic state in the late twentieth century. Second, Afghanistan, like Iran, enlightens us about different types of Islamists, albeit Sunni Islamists (unlike Iran's Shi'ah Islamists). In fact, Afghan Islamists Mullah Omar, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Burhanuddin Rabbani, and Ahmed Shah Massoud envisioned very different kinds of Islamic states. Third, Afghanistan was in the world news for much of the 1980s. During that decade, the U.S. in particular, and the non-Communist world in general, gave the Afghan mujahideen weapons and training as well as facilitated the arrival of "Arab Afghan" jihadists from several Arab countries to fight the jihad against the Soviets and their Marxist surrogates governing Afghanistan. Fourth, Afghanistan under the Revolutionary Islamist Taliban regime (1996-2001), was in the global spotlight for its puritanical, iconoclastic, xenophobic, and sexist version of Islam. Fifth, the Western news media focused on the Taliban regime after it decided to provide sanctuary to Osama bin Laden and Ayman Zawahiri--leaders of the Revolutionary Islamist al-Qaeda organization that was attacking U.S. interests around the world. Sixth, when the U.S. government determined that the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks were masterminded by al-Qaeda, U.S. President George W. Bush decided to militarily overthrow Afghanistan's Taliban regime and uproot al-Qaeda from that country. Lastly, the U.S. is actively assisting the post-Taliban regime with the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

The Afghanistan chapter also has ten concise, though informative, boxes focusing on: "Muhammad Zahir Shah," "The Afghan Resistance," "Ahmad Shah Massoud," "Gulbuddin Hekmatyar," "Burhanuddin Rabbani," "Mullah Muhammad Omar," "Osama bin Laden," "Ayman Zawahiri," "Hamid Karzai," and the issue of "Blowback." The latter issue-box suggests that U.S. assistance to the Afghan mujahideen in their jihad to vanquish and drive out the Soviet colonialists from Afghanistan substantially fortified global Islamism and emboldened the Arab Afghans to take on pro-U.S. Muslim Secularist regimes and ultimately the U.S. itself. Chapter Ten ends with an "Afghanistan Timeline" to help readers easily and quickly understand the major milestones in Afghanistan's political history.

\* Chapter Eleven, "Perceiving Islam: The Causes and Consequences of Islamophobia in the Western Mass Media," is also an entirely new chapter in this second edition. This chapter describes, analyzes, and explains some of the principal reasons for and consequences of the West's Islamophobia—suspicion, fear, and animosity--towards Islam, Muslims, and Islamdom. It also delves into the major reasons for the Islamic ummah's distrust of, and antipathy towards, the West. As a result, this chapter features "The Clash of Civilizations Debate" started by Samuel P. Huntington in 1993.

\* Chapter Twelve, the "Conclusion," has been expanded, updated, and thoroughly revised. Besides reiterating the central ideas in each chapter and forthrightly presenting some of the principal reasons for anti-Americanism in the Muslim world, the author provides feasible and realistic suggestions for ameliorating the relations between the Muslim world and the West in a way that promotes mutual understanding and peace, rather than misunderstanding and conflict.

\* The "Glossary" has been significantly expanded and revised, thereby giving readers an invaluable reference to the key terms used in the book.

\* The "Bibliography" of this second edition provides readers with numerous Internet sites on Islam, the Muslim world, and global Islamic politics, as well as a vastly expanded and updated list of articles and books.

\* As many as forty-three new boxes have been added to the twenty-five from the previous edition. The sixty-eight boxes in the second edition profile influential Islamists as well the most prominent Muslim Secularist leaders, highlight key concepts that are central to an understanding of global Islamic Politics, and summarize topical issues. These boxes are concise and written in a lively and straightforward style to capture and retain the reader's interest.

\* "Summary" and "Internet sites" at the end of most chapters.

\* An expanded and revised "Glossary" provides a valuable reference to the key concepts and Islamic terms used in the book and aids the reader's comprehension.

\* A vastly expanded and updated “Bibliography” of articles, books, and Internet sites.

\* An enlarged “Index” helps readers locate key terms, people, institutions, events, and issues in this extensive discussion of Islamism and global Islamic politics.

## **Table of Contents**

Preface

Acknowledgements

### Chapter One: An Overview of Islam

Islam, Salaam, and Muslim

Prophet Muhammad

The Qur'an

Iman

Faraidh

Prophet Muhammad's Hadith

Prophet Muhammad's Sunnah

The Shariah

Reign of the First Four Caliphs

Islamic Sects

Sunnis and Shi'ahs

The Status of Women in Islam

The Heterogeneous Muslim World

### Chapter Two: Boxes

Box 1.1: Vital Facts about Islam and the Muslim World

Box 1.2: The Islamic Calendar

Box 1.3: The Ka'abah and the Story of the Hajj

Box 1.4: Islam Condemns Terrorism and Suicide

Box 1.5: Sufism

Box 1.6: The Nation of Islam

Box 1.7: Five Women Who Have Governed Muslim Countries

Box 1.8: Crescent and Star

Table 1.1: An Overview of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity

Internet Sites

### Chapter Two: Islamism and Islamic Revivals

Islam: A Vehicle for Political Action

Islam: A Historical Religion

Islam: An Organic Religion

Social and Economic Equity and Justice in Islam

Jihad in Islam

Islam: An Idiom of Dissent

Islamism: Past and Present

Internet Sites

### Chapter Two: Boxes

Box 2.1: Anti-Western Sentiments in the Muslim World

Box 2.2: Egypt's Ikhwan al-Muslimun

Box 2.3: South Asia's Jama'at-i-Islami

### Chapter Three: Revolutionary Islamists

Revolutionaries

Puritanical Muslims

Emulators of Prophet Muhammad and His Pious Companions

Crusaders for the Shariah's Implementation  
Zealous Promoters of the Five Faraidh  
Opponents of Taqlid and Proponents of Ijtihad  
Ardent Foes of Secular Nationalism  
Revolutionary Islamists in the Modern Period  
Summary  
Internet Sites

Chapter Three: Boxes

Box 3.1: Kharijites  
Box 3.2: Muhammad ibn Abdel al-Wahhab  
Box 3.3: Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ali al-Sanusi  
Box 3.4: The Wahhabi and Sanusi Movements Compared  
Box 3.5: Muhammad Ahmad Abdullah al-Mahdi  
Box 3.6: Hasan al-Banna  
Box 3.7: Sayyid Qutb  
Box 3.8: Sayyid Abul A`la Maududi  
Box 3.9: Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini  
Box 3.10: Seizure of the Grand Mosque  
Box 3.11: Al-Qaeda  
Box 3.12: Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq

Chapter Four: Traditionalist Islamists

Preservers of Medieval Islamic Traditions Who Tolerate Local Customs  
Generally Apolitical Pacifists But Occasionally Political Activists  
Opponents of Ijtihad, Proponents of Taqlid  
Fatalists  
Opponents of Modernization  
Summary  
Internet Sites

Chapter Four: Boxes

Box 4.1: Ahmad Raza Khan Berelvi  
Box 4.2: Ayatollah Sayyid Kazem Shariatmadari  
Box 4.3: Qayyam-ud-Din Muhammad Abdul Bari

Chapter Five: Modernist Islamists

Ardent Opponents of Taqlid, Vigorous Proponents of Ijtihad  
Reformers of Islamic Thought and Practice  
Advocates of Reconciliation among Islamic Sects  
Summary  
Internet Sites

Chapter Five: Boxes

Box 5.1: Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani  
Box 5.2: Muhammad Abduh  
Box 5.3: Al-Azhar  
Box 5.4: Muhammad Rashid Rida  
Box 5.5: Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan  
Box 5.6: Muhammad Iqbal  
Box 5.7: Ali Shariati

Table 5.1: A Typology of Islamists

Chapter Six: Failure of Muslim Secularists in the Postcolonial Muslim States

Failure of Secular Ideologies  
Manifestations of Six Developmental Crises in Muslim Nations  
Summary  
Internet Sites

## Chapter Six: Boxes

- Box 6.1: Who are the Muslim Secularists?
- Box 6.2: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk
- Box 6.3: Baathism and Nasserism
- Box 6.4: Saddam Hussein
- Box 6.5: Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat
- Box 6.6: Ja`afar al-Numeiri
- Box 6.7: Revolutionary Islamist Hasan al-Turabi

## Chapter Seven: Islamic Politics in the Arab-Israeli Conflict

- The Palestinian Catastrophe (al-Nakba)
- The First Arab-Israeli War (1948-1949)
- The Suez War (1956)
- The 1967 Arab-Israeli War
- Arson at Al-Aqsa Mosque and Nasser's Death
- The 1973 Arab-Israeli War
- Israel's 1982 Invasion of Lebanon
- The First Palestinian Intifadah
- The Gulf War and the Palestinians
- The Madrid Peace Process
- Israel Attacks Islamists in Southern Lebanon
- The Oslo Peace Process
- The Ibrahimi Mosque Massacre of Palestinian Worshipers
- The PLO and Israel Continue the Peace Process
- The Second Palestinian Intifadah
- The Mitchell and Tenet Plans
- The Israeli Security Fence on the West Bank
- The Abdullah and Bush Peace Plans
- Summary
- Internet Sites

## Chapter Seven: Boxes

- Box 7.1: Yasser Arafat
- Box 7.2: Gamal Abdel Nasser
- Box 7.3: Shaykh Ahmed Yassin
- Box 7.4: Jerusalem: A Flashpoint in the Middle East

Table 7.1: Characteristics of Middle Eastern and North African Countries

## Chapter Eight: OPEC, OAPEC, and the OIC: Institutionalizing Pan-Islamism

- Prelude to OPEC's Ascendancy
- OPEC Ascendant
- The Future of OPEC
- The OIC and Pan-Islamism
- The OIC's Role in Institutionalizing the Islamic Revival
- Summary
- Internet Sites

## Chapter Eight: Boxes

- Box 8.1: Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC)
- Box 8.2: Muammar al-Qaddafi
- Box 8.3: Organization of the Islamic Conferences (OIC)

Table 8.1: OIC Member States

## Chapter Nine: The Islamic Revolution in Iran

- The Genesis of a Revolution
- Exporting Revolutionary Islam
- The U.S. Embassy Hostage Crisis
- The Post-Khomeini Era

Summary  
Key Events in the History of Iran  
Internet Sites

Chapter Nine: Boxes

Box 9.1: Reza Shah Pahlavi (1877-1944) and Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1919-1980)  
Box 9.2: Ayatollah Khomeini and Gamal Abdel Nasser Compared  
Box 9.3: The Role of Shariati and Khomeini in the Iranian Revolution  
Box 9.4: A Comparison of Ayatollahs Khomeini and Shariatmadari  
Box 9.5: Medhi Badar Bazargan  
Box 9.6: Abul Hasan Banisadr  
Box 9.7: Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani  
Box 9.8: Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei  
Box 9.9: Abdul Karim Saroush  
Box 9.10: Muhammad Khatami

Chapter Ten: Afghanistan: One Nation, Divisible

The Pre-Communist Era  
The Soviet Invasion (1979-1989)  
The Soviets Withdraw  
The Warlords  
The Rise and Reign of the Taliban  
The Afghan Arabs: With Friends Like These  
The Fall of the Taliban  
Summary  
Afghanistan Timeline  
Internet Sites

Chapter Ten: Boxes

Box 10.1: Muhammad Zahir Shah  
Box 10.2: The Afghan Resistance  
Box 10.3: Ahmad Shah Massoud  
Box 10.4: Gulbuddin Hekmatyar  
Box 10.5: Burhanuddin Rabbani  
Box 10.6: Mullah Muhammad Omar  
Box 10.7: Osama bin Laden  
Box 10.8: Ayman Zawahiri  
Box 10.9: Hamid Karzai  
Box 10.10: Blowback!

Chapter Eleven: Perceiving Islam: The Causes and Consequences of Islamophobia in the Western Mass Media

Clash of Western and Islamic Civilizations: Historical Roots  
Anti-Islamic Bias in the Western Mass Media  
The Western Mass Media and the Iranian Revolution  
The American Hostage Crisis  
Western Coverage of the Iran-Iraq War  
The Rushdie Controversy  
The Gulf War  
The War on Terror  
o Summary  
o Internet Sites

Chapter Eleven: Boxes

o The Clash of Civilization Debate

Chapter Twelve: Conclusion

Glossary

Selected Bibliography

o Books

o Articles

o Internet Sites

Index