ISLAM AND POLITICS

A Curriculum Resource

Lesson Development and Research by Amy Sanders
Research Compiled by Nicholas Brumsfeld, Kaylee Steck, and Jacob Uzman
Edited by Susan Douglass

The Center *for* Contemporary Arab Studies

Title: *Islam and Politics: A Curriculum Resource*

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Cover Montage Image credits:

Upper left: People take part in Friday prayers in Tahrir Square in Cairo before a mass rally on 25 November 2011 ahead of parliamentary elections. (Peter Macdiarmid/Getty Images)

Upper right: Tunisian Parliament (© Zoubeir Souissi/Reuters)

Lower left: ISIS militants in Syria (AFP/File Photo, Albawaba News)

Lower right: Afghan women walk past by election posters of parliamentary candidates in Kabul, Afghanistan, Wednesday, Sept. 15, 2010 (AP Photo/Musadeq Sadeq)

Foreword

This teaching unit is designed for high school students in world history, world geography, U.S. history and government, and regional studies courses. The Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University embarked upon its development in consultation with curriculum specialists in Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia, to support teachers in fulfilling the academic standards on this challenging topic. The chronological range—from the 1700s to the 2000s—provides the historical context of the pre-modern period that is so often missing from presentist accounts in Western popular and educational materials. The absence of historical context is a particularly acute problem in educational mandates at the state level, which tend to focus on recent, traumatic events since September 11, 2001, and the ensuing wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria.

This unit represents critical moments and influential religious leaders in the pre-colonial and colonial periods when Muslim societies all over the world were undergoing rapid social and political change and re-thinking the relationship between Islam, jurisprudence, and the state. The emergence of nationalist movements and then independent nations, often with secularist, authoritarian rulers or ruling parties favored by western powers, made the role of Islam in social and political life highly contentious. While many global societies, including our own, have struggled with the role of religion in social and political life and institutions, Islam has been made to seem an exceptional, abnormal case. This situation has eroded the middle ground and led to power struggles and ideological distortions that have furthered the truly abnormal tendency toward extremism.

This unit also explores a variety of Islamist movements, including Ennahda in Tunisia, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Students have an opportunity to learn about how internal dynamics, interactions with the state, and international politics all shaped the formation and actions of Islamist political movements.

Finally, this unit provides students an opportunity to learn from contemporary Muslim scholars and jurists about their views on topics including extremism, terrorism, and the rights of minorities in Islam and Muslim societies. These primary sources give students insights into perspectives by Muslim scholars speaking out against the extremist ideologies often espoused by groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS.

Depending on interest, type of course, and time available, teachers can give their students a more in-depth perspective on these crucial issues through the modular, scaffolded readings and activities. We would like to thank the graduate student researchers who laid the groundwork, and Amy Sanders, a master educator and writer who pulled it all together into a cohesive unit. Thanks also to the many reviewers, from expert Dr. Peter Mandaville to the teachers and students who reviewed the unit. We hope this material will support historical and cultural understanding and build a foundation of critical thinking in your classrooms.

Susan Douglass, K-14 Education Outreach Coordinator, CCAS Georgetown University

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PART I: INTRODUCTION TO ISLAM AND POLITICS

To gain an understanding of the relationship between politics and Islam in the contemporary world, students must first gain an understanding of the origins of Islamism and its historical development from the 1700s to 2000s. The first part of this curriculum introduces Islamism as an umbrella concept under which two streams of political, anti-imperial Islam flow: the revivalists and the reformers. These can be understood as two political reactions to colonial domination.

This curriculum resource then explores the historical development of revivalist and reformist movements in the nineteenth century. Building on new learning, students will analyze and categorize examples of revivalist and reformist movements. A brief explanation of Salafism as an example of revivalism precedes a discussion of the life and work of Muhammad Abduh, an Egyptian reformer who contributed to modern Islamic thought.

Global Historical Context: 1700s-2000s

This period saw an intensified exchange of culture due to the emergence of new technologies. It also marks the beginning of European colonial influence in Muslim-majority regions. These encounters produced multiple effects, including the development and circulation of new ideas that responded to transformations across different local contexts.

Technological developments and industrial growth in Europe led Europeans to think of themselves as leaders of progress, even though industrialization depended on global networks of finance, trade, resource extraction, and demand. During this period, non-European perspectives challenged European dominance and imperialism.

Objectives
Students will:

- Consider key terms related to the study of Islamism.
- Explore how European colonial expansion affected Muslim societies and led Muslim scholars and activists to advocate for social change through revivalist and reformist movements.
- Analyze and categorize historical developments of revivalist and reformist movements.

Resources
Handout – Key Terms

Handout – Exploring Terminology – Islamism and Political Islam

Slide presentation – Key Reminders

Video – **Islamism** (Tarek Osman, Yale Press)

Video – **Political Islam** (Melani Cammett, Choices Program, Brown University)

Handout – Colonialism and the Emergence of Islamism

Handout – Differing Viewpoints on Islam and Science

Handout – Reformist and Revivalist Movements

Handout – What's in a Name? The Meaning of "Muslim Fundamentalist"

Handout – Glossary (optional)

Handout – Map of Middle East (optional)

Preparation

For each student or pair of students, photocopy (single-sided) and cut into strips the concepts included in the "Key Terms" handout. Group the terms on the first page, *without* definitions, and place these strips in an envelope (Envelope 1). Group together the terms on the second page, *with* definitions, and place these strips in an envelope (Envelope 2). Label or color code the envelopes to prevent mix up.

Make one photocopy of each of the other handouts for each student. (Glossary and map are optional.)

(Optional) – Gather a variety of paint color samples on cardstock from a paint store or cut 2"x 2" squares from a variety of colored paper.

In the Classroom
1. Understand Key Terms

Activate Prior Knowledge – Provide each student or pair of students with the terms in Envelope 1. Ask students to take the slips of paper with key terms out of the envelope and sort the terms into three groups: a) terms they have heard before and can define or explain; b) terms they have heard before but are not sure of their meaning; and c) terms they have never heard before or with which they are unfamiliar. Circulate around the room to see which term(s) students are familiar with and unfamiliar with and note these trends for the class.

Share Definitions – Leaving the three groups of terms intact, provide each student or pair of students with the terms in Envelope 2. Ask students to match the slips of paper, reading the definition for each of the terms as they do so. For the terms with which students were familiar, did their understanding of a term match definition on paper? What do they notice about the roots of some of the unfamiliar terms (example: reform/reformism)? Indicate to students that these terms will be important for understanding Islamism going forward, so the class will be returning to them. Ask students if they have any clarifying questions.

Explore Complexity — In the exercise above, some students may have identified Islamic extremism/radicalism as a familiar concept. Explain that although some people may associate Islam with extremism and violence, this unit of study aims to explore broader and deeper connections between Islam and politics. Explore the questions below with students:

- Based on media and other accounts, what do extremists want? What are their goals? What tactics do they use to achieve those goals?

- Does this tell the whole story? Do <u>all</u> Muslims share the same goals with extremists and support their tactics?

- Has it always been this way? Why do you think there such a focus on extremism today? Who/what might have caused or influenced these changes?

Explain that students will have an opportunity to explore these topics in the study of Islamism. To understand the diversity and complexity of the modern history of Islam, the class will explore key events, influential scholars, and diverse movements.

Project the slide presentation, "Key Reminders." While viewing the "Exploring Complexities" slide, explain that the study of Islam and politics is complex. Preview and discuss the text in each circle as it relates to your study, encouraging students to keep these questions in mind.

Ask students to read text on the next slide, "Key Reminders," which acknowledges the complexity of studying Islam or any religious tradition. You may wish to return to this slide presentation again.

Watch Video Overviews — Distribute a copy of the handout, "Exploring Terminology – Islamism and Political Islam," to each student. Ask students to read the column related to Tarek Osman's video before showing it, then ask students to complete responses and discuss as a class. Repeat this same process when showing Melani Cammett's video. After viewing the videos, ask students to respond to the synthesis prompts in the center of the page. Discuss as a class. You may wish to refer again to the definitions in Envelope 2, in which Islamism and Political Islam are defined as the same concept.

2. Explore Historical Background

Read about Emergence of Islamism — Ask students to read the handout, "Colonialism and the Emergence of Islamism," and underline or highlight important ideas. Students should respond to the questions on the handout. Discuss responses as a class, paying particular attention to contrasts between revivalism and reformism. It may be helpful for students to refer to the Glossary as they read.

On a whiteboard, flipchart, or slide presentation, create a T-chart and debrief key elements of revivalism and reformism. *Example*:

Key elements of revivalism	Key elements of reformism
• Believe Muslim society in decline because followers strayed from core teachings of the faith • Purify faith by returning to its original essence by engaging with holy texts (Qur'an, Sunna) and teachings of early companions of the Prophet	• Believe Muslim society in decline because of interactions with West and religious stagnation • Rejuvenate faith through inquiry and reinterpretation of holy texts (Qur'an, Sunna) to fit modern times

Read about Differing 19th-century Views on Islam and Science — Students should read the handout, "Differing Viewpoints on Islam and Science," and underline or highlight important ideas. This activity draws on quotes from two scholars and highlights differing perspectives in an era of European colonization of Muslim-majority territories. Ernest Renan, a French scholar, wrote about his views of European cultural superiority. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani highlighted the importance of critical thought and scientific advancement that helped Islamic civilization to flourish. Ask students to respond to the questions on the handout and then discuss as a class.

3. Analyze and Categorize Movements

Activate Prior Knowledge – Remind students that they had an opportunity to learn about the impact that European colonization had on Muslim communities. Ask students to share characteristics of revivalist and reformist movements that developed in response to European colonization. Post or share the T-chart for students to reference as they work through the material in the next lesson.

Explore Historical Development of Movements – Ask students to read the handout, "Reformist and Revivalist Movements," and analyze the passages to determine whether they think the movements represent revivalism or a reformism. After students have completed reading and analyzing the documents, encourage them to discuss their responses with a partner or in a small group. Consider the following with your students:

- Why do you think revivalist and reformist messages appealed to Muslims in the nineteenth century?
- What are contrasts between these movements?
- Are there any elements of either of these movements that you find surprising?

Consider Spectrum of Beliefs – This exercise will ask students to consider key themes from their learning and represent their thinking through a creative activity involving color. Just as paint chips help us to see the spectrum of possible colors, revivalist and reformist movements represent part of the range of ideas and beliefs within Islam.
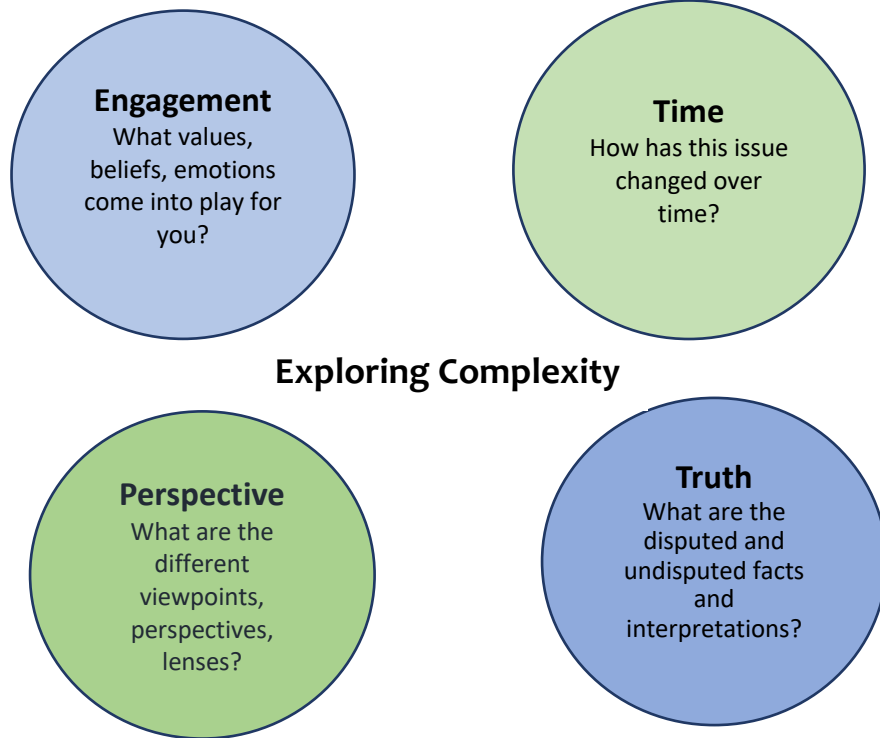
Spread colored paint samples or squares of colored paper on a table. Ask students to consider which colors they associate or feel best represent revivalist and reformist movements. Students should pick up these two samples and return to their seats. Working with a partner or small group, ask students to explain why they chose the colors they did. In their view, how do those colors reflect their understanding of the movements? Ask for volunteers to share their thinking. Indicate that in a future lesson, students will have an opportunity to learn about the historical development of an Islamist movement in the Middle East and to consider where it falls on the revivalist – reformist spectrum.

4. Revisit key terms

Read about Term "Islamic Fundamentalism" — Students should read the handout, "What's in a Name?" and underline or highlight important ideas. Ask students to respond to the questions on the handout and then discuss as a class. It may be helpful for students to refer to the Glossary as they read.

Return to Key Terms — Re-distribute the key vocabulary terms from either Envelope 1 or Envelope 2. Ask students to sort the words into two categories: a) terms they now can define or explain; b) terms for which the meaning is still unclear. Explain to students that they will continue to learn about these concepts through additional examples.

From PowerPoint slides:

Engagement
What values, beliefs, emotions come into play for you?

Time
How has this issue changed over time?

Exploring Complexity

Perspective
What are the different viewpoints, perspectives, lenses?

Truth
What are the disputed and undisputed facts and interpretations?

Adapted from "Exploring Complexity" as part of its Visible Thinking Initiative, Project Zero, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Key reminders

- religious traditions within Islam are diverse
- religions are shaped by and have an impact on internal and external political, economic, social, and historical factors
- religious traditions are always changing and evolving

Diverse traditions

Shaped by internal and external factors

Changing & evolving
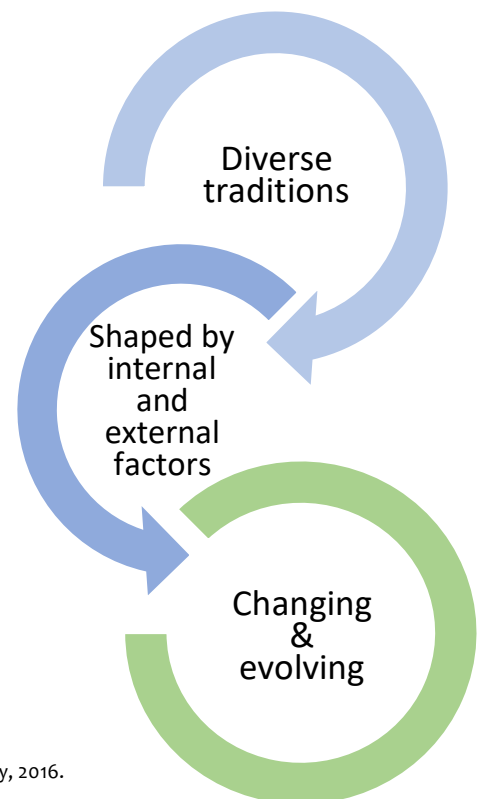
Adapted from "Islam," Pluralism Project and Religious Literacy Project, Harvard University, 2016.

Islamism

Political Islam

Islamic Fundamentalism

Islamic Revivalism

Islamic Reformism

Islamic Extremism/Radicalism

Islamism

Definition – movements by individuals and groups to respond to modern social and political challenges by reordering of government and society in accordance with Islamic laws and/or Islamic traditions. Also referred to as Political Islam.

Political Islam

Definition – movements by individuals and groups to respond to modern social and political challenges by reordering of government and society in accordance with Islamic laws and/or Islamic traditions. Also referred to as Islamism.

Fundamentalism

Definition – an approach religion that upholds belief in the literal interpretation of scripture; strict adherence to a belief system's essential teachings.

Islamic Revivalism

Definition – an approach that seeks to purify Islam and return it to its original essence through a literal interpretation of the Qur'an and other holy texts that share the teachings of the Prophet and his early companions.

Islamic Reformism

Definition – an approach that seeks to reform Islamic thought and scholarship to reinfuse it with a spirit of philosophical inquiry and critical thinking.

Extremism/Radicalism

Definition – holding strong and rigid views and advocating militant measures to retain, restore, or achieve a state of affairs. Since Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance, the terms "Islamic" and "extremist" are contradictory.

Islamic

Definition – (adjective) related to Islam, the religious faith of Muslims. Muslims believe in one God, Allah (the Arabic word for God). Muslims believe God's final prophet was Muhammad, who shared important teachings, ideals, and principles so that people would live in accordance with God's will.

Exploring Terminology – Islamism and Political Islam   Name:

Directions: As you watch video segments discussing the meaning of Islamism and Political Islam, record key ideas from each video. Which ideas seem to be similar in both explanations? Add those ideas in the center box and be ready to share your ideas with classmates.

Tarek Osman – Islamism

Mr. Osman defines Islamism as "the manifestation [or demonstration] of the faith in society and in the state [government].... Islam is not just a faith. It is the basis of a state, it is the basis of political legitimacy [accepted authority], of legislation. It is a frame of reference for society and a basis for identity.... That definition of Islamism has been the norm in the Arab world, in Persia (today's Iran), and Turkey for centuries...."

What does he argue happened in the late 18th/early 19th centuries that caused a shock in the wider Middle East?

In the last 150 years, what have Islamists and secularists (individuals who advocate for separation of government from religious institutions) been trying to figure out in the wider Middle East?

Idea Synthesis

What similarities do you hear in these two explanations?

What do you think are the most **important ideas** shared?

Melani Cammett – Political Islam

Dr. Cammett identifies the term Political Islam as one referring to "movements, organizations, or even political parties that advocate a role for religion (in this case, Islam) in public life and in government. So not just in the personal sphere and how we practice our religion at home or in our communities, but also to guide government policy making even as a source of law."

From her explanation, what are the range of tactics Islamist movements use?

What are some other ways in which these Islamist movements may differ?

Colonialism and the Emergence of Islamism
Effects of Colonialism in the Muslim World

Islamism refers to individuals, groups, and organizations attempting to reshape the social and political dimensions of their societies based on the foundation of Islamic tradition. Islamism emerged in response to encounters with the West. It is essential to explore the historical roots of these relationships to understand Islamist movements today.

European colonial powers (Portugal, Spain, France, Netherlands, Britain, and Russia) began expanding into Muslim-majority regions starting in the seventeenth century. This foreign influence and control threatened the authority of Muslim rulers (see map) and the very foundations of Islamic society.

European colonial rulers replaced traditional Muslim educational, legal, and government institutions with Western institutions. To gain and maintain power, European rulers also encouraged divisions among ethnic and religious groups.
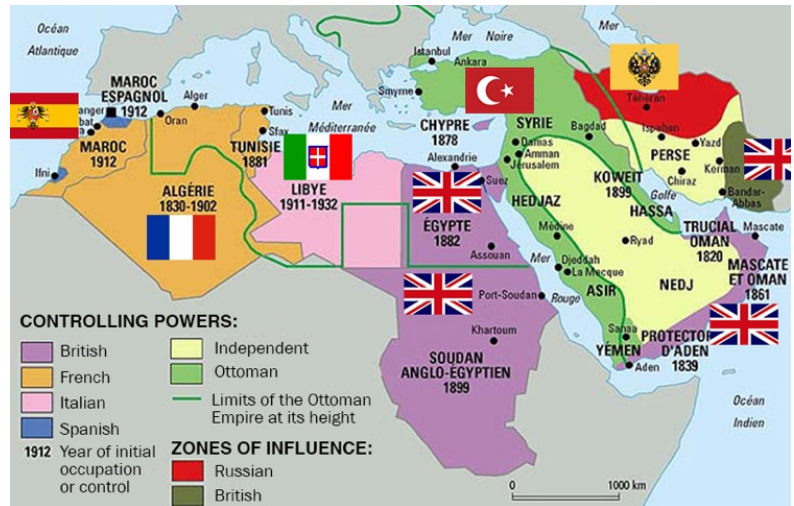
Image source : https://www.vox.com/a/maps-explain-the-middle-east#map-7

The experience of living under European colonial rule led many Muslims to challenge foreign domination and support the struggle for freedom and independence. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Muslim scholars sought to explain the reasons for the decline of Muslim societies and developed two quite different responses. These two movements were commonly known as *revivalism* and *reformism*.

Islamic Revivalism

Movements of Islamic revivalism emerged during the eighteenth century in various regions where Europeans colonized Muslim countries, including Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East. One main branch of this movement has its roots in the teachings of Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab (1703–91). Wahhab was a religious cleric who lived in the heart of the Arabian Peninsula (modern-day Saudi Arabia). According to Ibn Abdul Wahhab, the Muslim world was in decline because Muslims had strayed away from core teachings by engaging in un-Islamic practices such as worshipping idols. He encouraged Muslims to reject scholarly interpretations of Islam that had developed over centuries and instead return to the core teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunna (the living example of the Prophet Muhammad).

Ibn Abdul Wahhab formed a religious and political alliance with Muhammad Ibn Saud, a local tribal chief and the founder of the Saud dynasty (and a direct ancestor of Saudi Arabia's current king). Ibn Abdul Wahhab spread his message of reform across the Arabian Peninsula while Ibn Saud used Wahhabism to justify his efforts to defeat rival tribes. Wahhabis regarded all Muslims who did not agree with their version of Islam as unbelievers to be fought and killed in the name of Islam. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, pilgrims encountered these ideas in Mecca and transmitted them throughout the Muslim world to places as far away as modern-day Indonesia, India, and West Africa.

This handout was adapted for student use from the following sources:
Ayoob, Muhammad. "Defining Concepts, Demolishing Myths." *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics of the Muslim World,* University of Michigan Press, 2007, pp. 1-22.
Esposito, John. "Faith." *What Everyone Needs to Know about Islam*, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 5-71.
Mandaville, Peter. "Islam and Politics: History and Key Concepts." *Global Political Islam,* 2nd ed., Routledge, 2014, pp. 28-63.
Pluralism Project and Religious Literacy Project. *Islam.* Harvard University, 2016. Web

Islamic Reformism

In contrast to Ibn Abdul Wahhab, whose experience was limited to the Arabian Peninsula, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839–97) had a broader worldview, in part because of his experiences living in what is modern-day Iran, India, Egypt, Turkey, and Europe. This scholar-activist traveled widely, rallying Muslims around his ideas of anti-imperialism and religious reform. He advocated for reform in response to colonial occupation. In his essay entitled "An Islamic Response to Imperialism," he explained that superior military technology enabled European countries to be imperial powers. However, he refuted the idea that any country or culture had an exclusive claim to scientific or technical capacity. Instead, he argued that the center of scientific production continually changes over time. In the tenth to twelfth centuries, the Muslim world was the hub of global scientific innovation.

Afghani expressed concern that Islamic scholars had grown intellectually stagnant and linked problems in the Muslim world to the lack of willingness to engage in original inquiry and critical thinking. Whereas Ibn Abdul Wahhab sought to rescue Islam through a strict, literal reading of religious texts, Afghani appealed for reform through philosophical inquiry and reinterpretation. Afghani's project of reformism was also a path of resistance against colonial rule. Through calls for Muslim unity, he hoped to mobilize Muslims around a vision of emancipation from foreign rule as well as internal religious stagnation. Afghani's ideas influenced several figures in reformist circles. Perhaps the most important of these was Muhammad Abduh, one of the founders of the reformist movement in Islam.

Read and Respond

1. What factors shaped the emergence of Islamic revivalist and reformist movements?

2. What is a key goal or feature of Islamic revivalism?

3. What is a key goal or feature of Islamic reformism?

4. How might you contrast these two movements?

Differing Viewpoints on Islam and Science

Instructions: Read the excerpts below from speeches or essays written by nineteenth century scholars.

• Highlight or underline any words or phrases that you do not understand.

• Star one key phrase in each passage.

• Summarize the main idea(s) from each passage.

• Compare and contrast these statements and identify differences between them.

Ernest Renan (1823-1892) French Scholar	Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani (1839-1897) Persian/Afghan Scholar and Activist
"All who have been to the Orient [Asia] or to Africa are struck by what is the inevitably narrow-mindedness of a true believer, of that kind of iron ring around his head, making it absolutely closed to science, incapable of learning anything or of opening itself up to any new idea. From the beginning of his religious initiation, at the age of ten or twelve years, the Muslim child, until then still quite aware, suddenly becomes fanatical, full of a foolish pride in possessing what he believes is the absolute truth, happy with what determines his inferiority, as if it were a privilege. This senseless pride is the radical vice [severe flaw] of the Muslim."	"The first Muslims had no science, but, thanks to the Islamic religion, a philosophic spirit arose among them, and owing to that philosophic spirit they began to discuss the general affairs of the world and human necessities. This was why they acquired in a short time all the sciences with particular subjects that they translated from the Syriac, Persian, and Greek into the Arabic language at the time of Mansur [political leader from 754-775 CE]." "…The strangest thing of all is that our ulama' [religious scholars] these days have divided science into two parts. One they call Muslim science, and one European science. Because of this they forbid others to teach some of the useful sciences. They have not understood that science is that noble thing that has no connection with any nation... Rather, everything that is known is known by science... The truth is where there is proof, and those who forbid science and knowledge in the belief that they are safeguarding the Islamic religion are really the enemies of that religion. The Islamic religion is the closest of religions to science and knowledge, and there is no incompatibility between science and knowledge in the foundation of the Islamic faith."
Summarize your understanding of this passage:	Summarize your understanding of this passage:

What are some key differences between the ideas expressed in these statements?

Consider the time in which these statements were made. How might these statements be reflective of attitudes either justifying or resisting European colonization of Muslim-majority territories?

Sources:

Ernest Renan, "Islam and Science," Lecture, The Sorbonne, Paris. March 29, 1883. Translated by Sally P. Ragep, McGill University, 2011.
Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political Writings of Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani*, translated from Persian and French by Nikkie R. Keddie, 101-108, 181-187. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Reformist and Revivalist Movements

Is this an example of Islamic Reformism or Islamic Revivalism? As you read the following passage, underline key language that supports your decision.	Is this an example of Islamic Reformism or Islamic Revivalism? As you read the following passage, underline key language that supports your decision.
Ibn Abdul Wahhab's emphasis on the Prophet and the Prophet's devoutly religious companions, the *salaf al-salih*, built on earlier movements that relied on teachings and texts from the earliest period of Islam. A movement known as *Salafism* spread to many areas in the Muslim world in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Influenced by religious scholars from Alexandria, Damascus, and Baghdad, *Salafists* reacted to changes in their societies such as Western legal reform as a result of European colonialism. *Salafists* rejected changes to religious practice, doctrine, and/or laws either imposed by outside influences or by Muslim religious scholars seeking to adapt to political and social change. *Salafists* encouraged Muslims to return to the beliefs and practices of Islam as they existed during the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his early companions. *Salafists* considered their beliefs and practices to be free from the distortions of foreign influences and modern sociocultural change.	Jamal al-Din al-Afghani rallied students around the cause of religious revitalization in response to European intervention. One of his students, Muhammad Abduh, studied with him in Cairo, Egypt at al-Azhar University, one of the oldest institutions for Islamic learning. Abduh wrote about his desire to modernize Islamic society as well as his opposition to the pro-British occupation policies of Egyptian political leaders. Abduh was exiled for three years, during which time he joined Afghani in Paris and founded a society to unite Muslims. Together, they warned Muslims of the dangers of European intervention. Abduh later lived and taught in Beirut, where he wrote his most important work, "The Theology of Unity." Abduh returned to Egypt in 1888 and became a judge and later Grand Mufti (a legal expert who gives rulings on religious matters). Abduh sought to address economic, political, and social issues facing Muslim communities. He promoted social welfare reforms, legal reforms, education reforms, and advances in science. He wanted students to learn how to reason instead of learning only through rote memorization. He also wanted students to develop pride in their Islamic heritage. He argued that Muslims can progress and be part of the modern world while still following the principles of Islam. He asserted that Islam is a rational religion that can serve as the basis for life in the modern world.

Circle one – this is an example of:
 	
    Islamic Revivalism   Islamic Reformism
 	
Explain, drawing on evidence from the text to support your response. Be prepared to explain your reasoning.
	Circle one – this is an example of:
	
	    Islamic Revivalism Islamic Reformism
	
	Explain, drawing on evidence from the text to support your response. Be prepared to explain your reasoning.

The student handout is adapted from the following sources:

Haddad, Yvonne. "Muhammad Abduh: Pioneer of Islamic Reform." *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, Ali Rahnema, ed.*, Zed Books, 2006, pp. 30-63.

Esposito, John. "Faith." *What Everyone Needs to Know about Islam*, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 5-71.

Pluralism Project and Religious Literacy Project. "Muhammad 'Abduh." Harvard University, 2016. https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/faq/muhammad-%E2%80%98abduh

Pluralism Project and Religious Literacy Project. "Salafism in Egypt." Harvard University, 2016. https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/faq/salafism-egypt

Pluralism Project and Religious Literacy Project. "Salafism in Syria." Harvard University, 2016. https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/faq/salafism-syria

What's in a Name? The Meaning of "Muslim Fundamentalist"

By David Watt

Language and Politics

What does the phrase "Muslim fundamentalist" (sometimes referred to as "Islamic fundamentalist") mean? In general, the phrase is often used to refer to Muslims who are thought to adhere strictly to ancient doctrines and literal readings of the Qur'an and who resist modernity and modernization, the notion that society is advancing and must cast aside traditional values and ideas. However, the phrase is also sometimes applied to Muslims who want to use the traditions of Islam as a blueprint to build a more just society by applying Islamic law.

Phrases can mean different things to different people in different contexts. The words we use shape the way we perceive our reality and should be considered carefully.

The History of the Term

In order to understand how the term "fundamentalist" may be interpreted today, it may help to trace its origins. Its use began in the 1920s, primarily in reference to some Protestant Christians who held strong core beliefs about the "fundamentals" of Christianity and advocated for a more literal understanding of the Bible.[1] In the decades that followed, some critics associated fundamentalism with backwardness and opposition to modern intellectual thought.

The term "fundamentalist" was associated with Christianity until the 1970s, when a revolution in Iran brought an Islamic cleric, Ayatollah Khomeini, to power. Since that time, use of the term has more frequently referred to Muslims than to Christians.

The Appeal of this Language

Here are some reasons why the phrase "Muslim Fundamentalist" may be used today.

- Using the phrase may give some people who are not especially knowledgeable about the Muslim world a way of trying to make sense of people like Ayatollah Khomeini. It provides a way to talk about unfamiliar developments in other parts of the world.

- Using the phrase may help some people oppose the idea that all Muslims are dangerous. When some claim that many Muslims are peaceful and moderate, they imply they have no problems whatsoever with these Muslims. The problem, they argue, is with fundamentalists. Others may extend this argument to make the point that all religions can give rise to fundamentalism. From this perspective, a Christian fundamentalist is as dangerous as a Muslim one.

- Using the phrase may be used to identify a dangerous "other" against which all people of good will can unite. It can be used to mark a boundary between oneself and those who are perceived to be threatening or who are perceived as disregarding important values like human rights, women's rights, and religious freedom. It can fuel an "us" vs. "them" mindset as in, "Our mindset is progressive, rational, and rooted in the Enlightenment. Your mindset is medieval."

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[1] Thompson, Matt. "The Origins of 'Fundamentalism.'" *The Atlantic*. 30 Jun. 2015.

Scholarly Skepticism

Religious scholars argue that while the term "Muslim Fundamentalist" continues to be used widely in politics and the media, it is not helpful.

- Given the way the phrase is commonly used, calling someone a fundamentalist is not much different than calling someone an extremist, fanatic, or radical. The term seems to predispose people to assume that fundamentalism is a problem or even a danger. Using the term seems to involve a moral judgement and ultimately does not help us understand the world in which we live.

- Some scholars question the premise that Muslim fundamentalism is a reaction against the modern world. They point out that Muslim traditionalists could be struggling against something else, such as corrupt governments that fail to meet the basic needs of their citizens.

Where Do We Go from Here?

Religious scholars have been creating new ways of thinking and talking about Islam.

- Scholars are rethinking the relationship between Western Christianity and the rest of the world. The history of the West does not have to be the yardstick against which the rest of the world should be judged. The history of Western Christendom, like the history of India or Africa, simply illustrates one of a number of ways societies change over time.

  For example, many scholars are reconsidering the separation of church and state in European history. Rather than assuming that it is somehow natural or inevitable for religious organizations to be separate from governmental ones, scholars are emphasizing that what happened in Europe may be something of a historical irregularity.

- Many scholars are experimenting with the language they use to describe Muslim religious movements. Phrases such as *revivalist*, *reformist*, and *traditionalist* are not perfect, but they are not as disparaging as *fundamentalist*.

- Scholars are engaging in research that provides a clearer picture of Muslim religious movements in the world today. This research helps us to move beyond caricatures of Muslim fundamentalists as dangerous "others" who must be subdued or eradicated. Instead, new research helps us understand these movements as complex and distinctive. Ultimately, these portrayals help us understand better the world in which we live.

Questions to Consider

- How might you explain the big idea of this article in your own words? Write it here in one to two sentences.

- After reading this article, why does the language we use to talk about Muslim religious movements and groups matter?

PART II: CASE STUDIES

Case studies introduce students to a variety of Islamist movements over time in different countries and regions. Students will have an opportunity to learn about how internal dynamics, interactions with the state, and international politics all shaped the formation and actions of Islamist political movements. The cases focus on Ennahda in Tunisia, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

Global Historical Context: 1900s-present

The twentieth century saw the culmination of colonial projects in the Middle East and North Africa. This was met with growing resistance from local populations, who drew on a range of ideologies to justify their fight against colonial powers and criticize power relations in their own societies. World Wars I and II shifted European power dynamics in the region and created new openings for local actors to play a role in domestic politics. Some Islamist movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Ennahda in Tunisia, emerged as organized political actors that challenged government policies and advocated for reform. In Iran, a revolutionary movement brought religious clerics to power. Al-Qaeda and ISIS are examples of non-state actors who have played a major role in regional and international politics.

Objectives
Students will:
- Analyze the historical development of an Islamist movement.
- Work cooperatively with classmates to compare and contrast Islamist movements.
- Evaluate which factors may contribute to the rise of Islamist movements.

Resources
Handout – Case Studies graphic organizer

Handout – Image Analysis graphic organizer

Case study – Tunisia

Case study – Egypt

Case study – Iran

Case study – Al-Qaeda/ISIS

Handout – Map of Middle East (optional)

Preparation
1. Make a photocopy of a case for each student (each student will read one case).

2. Make a photocopy of both graphic organizers for each student.

In the Classroom
1. **Activate Prior Knowledge –** Ask students to identify a country or location where Islamist movements currently exist. How are Islamist groups often portrayed in the media? Explain that although a group like ISIS may get a lot of press coverage, Islamist movements do not all promote violence, are quite diverse, and play various roles in Muslim societies.

2. Case study groups – Explain to the class that students will be working in two different sets of groups. First, they will form "case study groups" where they will have an opportunity to learn about an Islamist movement in one country. Later, they will form "jigsaw" groups made up of students from each of the case study groups.

Divide the class into "case study groups" so that an equal number study each of the Islamist movements: Tunisia, Egypt, Iran, and Al-Qaeda/ISIS. Distribute a copy of both graphic organizers to each student (one for text-based documents and the other for image analysis). You may wish to provide students with a map of the Middle East to provide a geographic context for the country they study.

Ask students in each group to read the case they have been asked to study. Vocabulary support and guiding questions are included in the right sidebar of text documents to facilitate student understanding of the text. Encourage students to mark up the text and respond to questions as they read. They also should add notes to the graphic organizers as they read documents and analyze images. Encourage students to talk to one another and share ideas. The cases contain challenging concepts; it will be helpful for students to process what they read together.

You may consider completing this part of the lesson over one or more days. You could do this by assigning the case studies one day and conducting the "jigsaw" group discussion the following day.

3. Jigsaw groups – After students have had an opportunity to meet together and discuss the documents in country groups, organize students into "jigsaw groups" so that each of the cases is represented in the new groups. Students should tell the story about their case study, sharing key information from both the Case Studies graphic organizer and the Image Analysis graphic organizer. Encourage students to expand beyond these prompts to share one passage they found interesting or significant, an image that gave them insight into the movement, etc.

Other students should listen carefully, take notes on the graphic organizer, and ask questions.

You may wish to collect students' notes to assess for accuracy and completion.

4. Concluding Discussion - You may wish to ask students to discuss these questions in their jigsaw groups or in a whole-class discussion.

- What key similarities and differences do you see between Islamist movements in these cases? (It would be helpful to record student ideas on a T-chart on a board, flipchart, or projector.)

- Are the Islamist political parties and/or movements you read about different from other political parties? Explain.

- What are some of the factors contributing to the rise of Islamist movements?

- What similarities do you see between the socioeconomic and political conditions that prompted Iran's revolution and the conditions that fueled Islamist movements in other countries?

- What are the key issues facing each of these movements today?

- What is the difference between Islamist movements that pursue politics through non-violent, even democratic means and those that emphasize violence? Do they relate to each other? How?

- Like many people, your ideas about Islamism may have been shaped by the events of 9/11, Al-Qaeda, and ISIS. As a result of our study, have your ideas about Islamism changed? Explain.

Case Studies

Name:

Directions: Record notes as you read documents related to your case study. As you read, identify and mark a passage you would like to share with classmates in a small group. Later, you will share your notes and learn about other cases from classmates.

	Tunisia	Egypt
Who has been influential in shaping this Islamist movement? Summarize key contributions.		
What factors shaped the development of this Islamist movement?		

To what extent was this Islamist movement involved in electoral politics? Did this change over time?		
What are current issues or tensions related to this Islamist movement?		

	Iran	Al-Qaeda / ISIS
Who has been influential in shaping this Islamist movement? Summarize key contributions.		
What factors shaped the development of this Islamist movement?		

To what extent was this Islamist movement involved in electoral politics? Did this change over time?		
What are current issues or tensions related to this Islamist movement?		

Image Analysis

Name:

Directions: Spend one minute looking closely at the image. Follow the prompts below to record details you observe. As you consider each of these questions, look to the image for clues to support your ideas. Your notes can be brief and do not need to be in complete sentences.

Image 1	Image 2
Zoom in on key aspects of the image: What do you notice about the people or symbols?	**Zoom in** on key aspects of the image: What do you notice about the people or symbols?
Zoom out: What do you observe about the surroundings or other symbols?	**Zoom out**: What do you observe about the surroundings or other symbols?
Why do you think a photographer took this picture or an artist created this image? What message(s) is communicated? What evidence from the image supports this idea?	Why do you think a photographer took this picture or an artist created this image? What message(s) is communicated? What evidence from the image supports this idea?
What question(s) do you have based on your observations?	What question(s) do you have based on your observations?

Tunisia Case Study – Document A
Tunisian Independence and Bourguiba's Rule

Reading	Reading support and questions
Located on the northern coast of West Africa, Tunisia was colonized by France in the late 1800s. Many Tunisians resented French colonial control and fought for independence. One of these leaders, Habib **Bourguiba**, studied law in Paris. He was influenced there both by young pro-independence leaders from other North African countries and by France's **secular** government.	*Can you find Tunisia and France on a map?* **Bourguiba** – pronounced boor-GHEE-bah. **secular** – not connected with religious or spiritual matters; a secular government (in theory) separates government and religion. *How did Bourguiba try to gain support for Tunisian independence from France?*
When he returned to Tunisia in 1927, he participated in the struggle for independence. When not imprisoned by French authorities, he traveled throughout Tunisia and the world seeking support for his pro-independence movement. As tensions rose and violence increased in the early 1950s, the French government negotiated an end to colonial rule. Tunisia gained its independence in 1956.	*After he returned to Tunisia in 1927, approximately how long did it take for Tunisia to become independent?*
Bourguiba became president in 1957 and established a new secular government. Although the government recognized Islam's importance in the country, officials took steps to minimize its influence. For example, they updated and modernized the education curriculum to reduce the emphasis on religion.	**authoritarian** – enforcing obedience to authority at the expense of personal freedom. In an authoritarian government, power is often concentrated in the hands of a leader who restricts the ability of other political groups to compete for power.
Despite promises to share power with Tunisian political parties, Bourguiba became more **authoritarian** and ruled a one-party government from 1957-87. **Dissidents** began breaking away and forming **underground** political movements.	**dissidents** – people who oppose government policy, especially in an authoritarian government. **underground** – group or movement organized secretly to work against an existing government. *After working to free Tunisia from French control, why do you think Bourguiba did not share power with other political parties?*

Reading

Reading support and questions

One of these underground political movements had roots going back to the late 1960s. A group of people came together, concerned about the policies of Bourguiba's government. Some had spent time in Egypt and Syria and had encountered the ideas of the **Muslim Brotherhood**. A young leader named Rachid al-**Ghannouchi** emerged and later said, "I remember we used to feel like strangers in our own country. [Although we were] educated as Muslims and as Arabs, we could see the country totally molded in the French cultural identity."[1] The group began to focus on religious and social issues as an alternative to **Western** secular culture. A popular leader and teacher, Ghannouchi attracted many young, poor, working-class university students, as well as people from other parts of society.

Muslim Brotherhood – a political movement that began in Egypt and promoted a greater role for Islam in society and politics.

Ghannouchi – pronounced gah-NOO-shee.

Western – cultural traditions and/or beliefs originating in Europe or North America.

Why do you think Ghannouchi's movement attracted many Tunisians?

[1]Alexander, Christopher. "Tunisia: The Best Bet." *The Islamists Are Coming: Who They Really Are*, Robin Wright, ed., United States Institute of Peace Press, 2012, p. 40.

The 1979 **Iranian Revolution** shaped many Muslims' ideas about how they might enact political, economic, and social reforms in their countries. In 1979, Ghannouchi created the Islamic Association, which addressed these critical social issues:

• higher wages and efforts to reduce poverty
• workers' rights and human rights
• a more significant role for Islam in society and politics

Members called for an end to Bourguiba's one-party system and pushed for the creation of multi-party democracy. In 1981, the Islamic Association became a political party, known as the Islamic Tendency Movement (MTI).

Although the government refused its license to operate as a political party, the Islamic Association built a movement based on Tunisia's Arab-Islamic identity and found support from across society. Many Tunisians grew increasingly dissatisfied with Bourguiba's rule and his government's efforts to limit the influence of Muslim groups.

Iranian Revolution – Iranians, led by a Muslim religious leader, overthrew the *shah*, or king, in a popular rebellion in 1979. The religious leader then claimed power and created a government that gave a great deal of authority to religious leaders and created a legal system based on Islamic law. Although people in other countries did not necessarily seek to achieve these same objectives, Iran's revolution influenced others' ideas about the role Islam should have in society and politics.

What do you find interesting or surprising about the issues the Islamic Association or Islamic Tendency Movement supported?

After the Iranian Revolution, the Tunisian government grew more concerned about the influence of **Islamists**. Bourguiba accused Islamists of using Islam for political purposes. During the early and mid-1980s, his regime arrested Ghannouchi and other activists, shut down Islamist magazines and newspapers, and limited expressions of religion in public spaces.

Islamists – Muslims who respond to social and political challenges by seeking to reorder government and society in accordance with Islamic laws and/or Islamic traditions.

Are you surprised that Bourguiba would react in this way? Why or why not?

Tunisia Case Study – Document B
Ennahda under Ben Ali's Rule

<u>Reading</u>

Growing civil unrest in Tunisia prompted Zine al Abidine **Ben Ali** to oust Bourguiba in 1987. Seeking to provide stability, he enacted reforms that allowed for more political openness. His administration also passed a new law that prevented political parties from having names that contained religious references. MTI leaders changed the name of their party to **Ennahda** (Arabic for "Renaissance"). Ennahda emerged as one of the main opposition parties in Tunisia under Ben Ali's rule. Although the government did not allow candidates to run for office as Ennahda members, it did allow them to run as independent candidates.

During national elections in 1989, several candidates connected to Ennahda won a significant portion of the national vote. Ben Ali grew concerned about their public support and used the party's religious orientation as a reason to crack down on it. His administration outlawed the party. Authorities arrested hundreds of party members on terrorism charges, forcing confessions and torturing members. Leaders of Ennahda, including Rachid Ghannouchi, fled the country and spent years in **exile** in London. The party was forced to operate secretly but continued to oppose Ben Ali's rule, embracing democratic values and human rights as vehicles for creating change.

In the early 2000s, amid mounting economic problems and charges of **corruption**, domestic and international pressure grew on Ben Ali to enact reforms. Then, in December 2010, a young street vendor, Mohamed **Bouazizi**, set himself on fire and died after repeated harassment from government authorities. His act of desperation resonated with others and demonstrations broke out in his hometown and across Tunisia. Ben Ali's government launched a brutal security crackdown and arrested protestors and shut down the internet after social media reports of violence sparked more protests.

Ben Ali reassigned members in his cabinet and promised to create 300,000 jobs to help address youth unemployment. Protesters called for his immediate **resignation**. In January – just thirty days after protests began – Ben Ali and his family fled the country. Tunisia's protest movement spread across North Africa and the Middle East. It inspired protests in countries with long histories of authoritarian rule such as in Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Yemen. This protest movement became known as the **Arab Spring**.

<u>Reading support and questions</u>

Ben Ali – pronounced behn ah-LEE. Ben Ali was Tunisia's second president after independence.

Ennahda – pronounced Nah duh. A Tunisian Islamist party that advocated for social justice and a place for religion in society.

exile – living outside one's native country, typically because of political reasons.

How were Ben Ali's actions similar to or different from Bourguiba's?

corruption – dishonest behavior by those in power, often involving bribery.

Bouazizi – pronounced BOO-a-ZEE-zee. A young Tunisian street vendor, he was frustrated by the lack of employment opportunities and by government harassment.

How do you think you would react if the government shut down the internet?

resignation – announcement of giving up or leaving a position or office.

Arab Spring – a series of uprisings in various countries in North Africa and the Middle East that called for freedom, democracy, human rights, and an end to decades of authoritarian rule.

Tunisia Case Study – Document C
Image Analysis

Street art by Zoo Project, a Franco-Algerian graffiti artist who visited Tunisia in March 2011.

Translation of sign at top: "Long Live the People."

Tunisia Case Study – Document D
After the Arab Spring

Reading

The revolution in 2011 led to free elections in Tunisia in October 2011. More than sixty political parties competed for seats in parliament. Ennahda's name recognition, strong grassroots organizing structure, and financial resources allowed it to draw on a broad base of voters. Ennahda emerged with the largest share of the vote, securing forty percent of the seats. The lack of an outright majority, however, required Ennahda to form a **coalition government** with two **secular** political parties. Ennahda Secretary-General Hemadi Jebali became Prime Minister.

Reading support and questions

coalition government – an alliance of political parties that form a government. In a parliamentary system with many political parties, one party may not win a majority of seats in parliament. In this case, the party with the largest percentage of votes (seats in parliament) seeks to create an alliance with other parties in order to have enough support to form a government.

secular – not connected with religious or spiritual matters.

As a coalition government, the Jebali government had to navigate the competing interests of the other two coalition parties while simultaneously responding to the considerable challenges facing Tunisia after the revolution. Unemployment and corruption remained high, and the government faced mounting security problems from terrorist groups. Secular parties were also distrustful of the religiously-oriented Ennahda party. Some members of opposition parties voiced concerns that Ennahda would try to seize power or push through reforms such as restricting women's rights or free speech.

What were some of the challenges facing Ennahda as they came into power in 2011?

Despite these suspicions, the Ennahda party sought to reach compromises with other political groups. In some cases, it sacrificed goals of integrating Islam into political life for the sake of achieving political agreement. The most notable examples were the decision by the party to remove provisions mandating **Shari'a** as the source of Tunisia's laws and criminalizing **blasphemy** from drafts of the new constitution. Both decisions were responses to criticism from secular and civil rights groups. On the other side, Ennahda faced criticism for these compromises from more conservative religious groups who wanted laws to be based on Shari'a.

Shari'a – pronounced shuh ree uh. Islamic law as established in the Qur'an and Hadith.

blasphemy – the act of insulting or speaking disrespectfully about God or other sacred religious matters.

Why do you think some other Islamist groups criticized Ennahda for its willingness to compromise with secular political parties?

Reading

Ultimately, secular groups' suspicions that Ennahda was secretly anti-democratic were unfounded. When labor unions organized political demonstrations against economic and political problems, Ennahda yielded to their demands. When rival parties won the 2014 elections, Ennahda accepted the results and sought to work with the victors to form a new government.

Reading support and questions

In the 2014 elections, a secular party, Nidaa Tounes, won 85 seats in parliament, while Ennahda won 69 seats.

Ennahda continues to evolve as it navigates its relationship with secular political parties, more radical Islamist parties, and with its membership. Some Ennahda members wanted to separate the party's religious and political activities, which the party formally did in 2016. Other members do not see a need for such a division and want to keep the party focused on key grassroots issues relevant to Muslims. Other, more conservative Islamist groups and political parties put additional pressure on Ennahda to take on a more revolutionary role. Conservative Islamist groups want Ennahda to deal with continued social and economic problems in Tunisia in line with Islamic principles.

Ennahda and other political parties will have to continue to be flexible and compromise to reinforce Tunisia's developing democracy.

Do you think Ennahda will continue to be successful as a party? Explain.

Tunisia Case Study – Document E
"How Tunisia Will Succeed"

Rachid Ghannouchi is one of the founders of Ennahda. In this 2014 opinion piece for the New York Times, he shared his views on the successes of and challenges for Tunisia's emerging democracy.

Source: Excerpted from Rachid Ghannouchi, "How Tunisia Will Succeed*," New York Times*, November 19, 2014.

Reading

"In this time of great change in the Arab region, political struggles are often viewed exclusively through an **ideological** lens, creating the impression of a **binary** choice between Islamists and **secularists**. But the fundamental choice facing the citizens living through this **tumultuous** period in Tunisia, Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Libya is not between Islamism and secularism, but between democracy and **despotism**."

Reading support and questions

ideological – ideas and ideals held by an individual or group that form the basis of economic, political, social, and/or cultural beliefs.

binary – involving a choice or condition of two opposite alternatives.

secularists – Individuals who advocate for separation of government from religious institutions.

tumultuous – confused, chaotic.

despotism – a system of government in which the ruler holds absolute power.

"The binary view also overlooks the considerable **pluralism** within the political trends in both Tunisia and other Arab countries. Islamists are not only diverse in type, but have also evolved over the last century. Whereas their primary focus was once on protecting religious freedom and defending an identity that had undergone **repression**, many Islamists have come to participate in political parties whose principal focus is economic and social programs aimed at protecting individual rights and achieving social justice."

pluralism – system of power-sharing among a number of political parties.

repression – the action of subduing or oppressing an individual, group, or society by force.

How have Islamist parties evolved over time in Tunisia and other countries?

"For my own party, Ennahda (which means renaissance), the Oct. 26 [2014] legislative elections in Tunisia were not about the role of Islam in society. They were an opportunity to address issues of unemployment, more inclusive economic growth, security, regional development and income inequality — in other words, the bread-and-butter issues that matter to ordinary Tunisians. When Ennahda conceded defeat in the parliamentary elections, … the atmosphere at our party headquarters was not downcast, but festive — a testament to our belief that this was nonetheless a victory for Tunisian democracy.

Establishing the people's **sovereignty** through the ballot box was one of the most important aims of the 2011 revolution, and of the Ennahda party itself. Holding our second free and fair election was, regardless of the result, a key step to securing Tunisia's long-term democratic future. . . ."

sovereignty – self-determination, freedom.

Although Ennahda had the largest share of votes in the 2011 elections, the party finished second in 2014 elections. Despite not coming in first, how would you describe Ghannouchi's views about his party and the strength of Tunisia's democracy?

Reading	Reading support and questions
"But democracy means more than just elections. Ennahda supports the concept of a strong civil authority, as defined in Tunisia's Constitution, where the state [government] is the **guarantor** of all freedoms and rights. This fabric, with a clear 'made in Tunisia' label, is what will make the democratic transition succeed. And it includes the contribution of **reformist Islam**, to which my party adheres and which has argued, for more than 150 years, that democracy and Islam are not in conflict. Today, in Tunisia, we are proving that true. . . ."	**guarantor** – backer, protector. **reformist Islam** – an approach to that seeks to reinfuse Islamic thought and scholarship with a spirit of inquiry and critical thinking. *What do you think the most important word or phrase in this passage is? Why?*
"It would be a **grave** mistake to respond to the threat of terrorism and extremism by forcibly excluding religious values from public life. This kind of repression has been at the root of terrorism in our region. Under the former presidents of Tunisia, the institutions of **mainstream** reformist Islamic thought were shut down or restricted, leaving the way for extremist ideas to fill the vacuum. . . ."	**grave** – serious, significant. **mainstream** – established, accepted. *What factors does Ghannouchi think may lead to the development of extremism?*
"The solution to extremism is not less freedom, but more. The solution to terrorism is not less religion; it is freedom of religion and the **cultivation** of moderate, balanced religious thought. Muslim democrats have an important role to play in combating the spread of extremist interpretations by upholding democratic values of freedom and **pluralism**…"	**cultivation** – development, growth. **pluralism** – system of power-sharing among a number of political parties. *Do you agree with Ghannouchi's ideas about solutions to combat extremism and terrorism? Explain.*
"Nearly four years have passed since a man named Mohamed **Bouazizi** so despaired of the system that he set himself on fire in protest. With every decision we make, politicians in Tunisia must never forget what he died for. We need to protect freedom and dignity, and provide hope and opportunity. This was the dream of the Tunisian Awakening, and it is how Tunisia will succeed today."	**Bouazizi** – a young Tunisian street vendor who set himself on fire after repeated harassment from government authorities. His death in 2010 sparked the Arab Spring protests that spread across Tunisia and the Arab world. *If you could either write a brief reply to Mr. Ghannouchi's article or ask him a question, what would you say? Write it below.*

Tunisia Case Study – Document F
Image Analysis

Dual Protest Marches in Tunisia – October 2011

Translation of sign in foreground: "Free to speak without saying anything."

How do you interpret the messages in these protest signs?

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Egypt Case Study – Document A

Hassan al-Banna and The Muslim Brotherhood

Reading

In 1928, Hassan Al-**Banna** (1906-1949) founded the **Muslim Brotherhood**, an organization that would grow to have branches throughout the Middle East, North Africa, South Asia, and beyond. From an early age, Banna was active in demonstrations against British rule in Egypt and participated in Muslim student associations devoted to moral reform. He was a school teacher, and his first teaching position was in Ismailia, Egypt, a site of several British military camps on the Suez Canal.

Influenced by the ideas of Muhammad **Abduh** and his student, Rashid **Rida**, Banna opposed both British political authority and **Western** cultural influences in Egypt. He sought to educate Egyptians about the importance of religion in public life and to make changes in Egyptian society. He was a **charismatic** speaker and effective organizer and activist. He lectured on the importance of reviving Islam and worked to build a broad base of membership for the Muslim Brotherhood. The organization undertook a wide range of social welfare projects, such as establishing adult education for migrant workers, building schools, providing food for the needy, bringing electricity to villages, creating health clinics, and building mosques. These efforts generated support for the organization from the poor and growing middle class.

Egyptian politics also influenced the development of the Muslim Brotherhood. Although Egypt gained independence from Britain in 1922, the British still controlled Egyptian security and foreign policy. The issue of Egyptian independence became more **contentious** leading up to World War II. The Muslim Brotherhood **lobbied** the Egyptian government against playing an even more significant role in support of **Allied forces**.

Reading support and questions

Banna – pronounced BAHN-nuh.

Muslim Brotherhood – a political movement that began in Egypt and promoted a greater role for Islam in society and politics.

Can you find Egypt on a map?

Abduh – pronounced AHB-doo.
Rida – pronounced REED-uh.
Abduh and Rida opposed the pro-British occupation politics of Egyptian political leaders and supported the modernization of society in line with Islamic tradition. They advocated for scientific advancements, social welfare reforms, legal reforms, and education reforms.
Western – cultural traditions and/or beliefs originating in Europe or North America.
charismatic – compelling.
What do you find surprising *or* interesting *about the kinds of projects the Muslim Brotherhood worked on?*

contentious – controversial, debated.
lobbied – tried to influence or pressure.
Allied forces – during World War II, U.S. and British forces fought Axis forces in Egypt and Libya as part of the Western Desert Campaign.

Reading

Although Banna ran for elected office twice in the 1940s, he was defeated. After the government attempted to **suppress** the organization, the Muslim Brotherhood became increasingly active in leading protests and uprisings against the government. Banna established a wing of the movement with members trained in violent tactics. Relations between the government and the Brotherhood grew more hostile, and Banna struggled to maintain control over the **militant** wing of the organization as it took on many characteristics of a **resistance movement**. In 1948 the Prime Minister of Egypt issued a **proclamation dissolving** the Muslim Brotherhood, and later that year a member of the Muslim Brotherhood assassinated the Prime Minister. Hassan Banna was killed the following year, likely by the government's secret police.

Banna's agenda was a continuation of earlier efforts to consider how Islam can serve as a foundation against both the negative influences of foreign powers and the weakening of society. Like Abduh, Banna saw education as essential to Muslim society in order for it to flourish in the modern world. Banna's conception of **Islamism** would continue to evolve after his death, both among leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood and among Islamists outside of Egypt.

Reading support and questions

suppress – repress or inhibit.

militant – aggressive, confrontational, and/or violent.

resistance movement – a movement fighting for freedom, often secretly or illegally, against an occupying power or against own's own government.

proclamation – an official announcement.

dissolving – closing down or disbanding.

Islamism – movements by individuals and groups to respond to modern social and political challenges by reordering government and society in accordance with Islamic laws and/or Islamic traditions.

Egypt Case Study – Document B
The Muslim Brotherhood under Nasser, Sadat, and Mubarak

Reading	Reading support and questions
After Banna's death, the Muslim Brotherhood grappled with crucial questions: how could Egypt develop and grow as a modern society while staying true to Islamic values and traditions? How could it modernize while avoiding the **eroding** effects of foreign influences on its culture, political life, and economy?	**eroding** – weakening, deteriorating *Re-read this section. How would you either phrase this key dilemma in your own words or draw it?*
In the years following Banna's death, the Muslim Brotherhood sought to regain its standing with the government and operate openly. Although not involved directly, the Muslim Brotherhood supported a military **coup** in 1952 that ended King Farouk's rule and British control of Egypt. Soon after, General Abdel **Nasser** proclaimed himself prime minister (and later president) of Egypt. Following an assassination attempt in 1954, Nasser (President, 1954-1970) suspected the militant wing of the Brotherhood. He banned the Muslim Brotherhood for **sedition** and jailed, exiled, or executed thousands of its members. One member, Sayyid **Qutb**, wrote from prison about the need to create an Islamic order and argued that this struggle, "***jihad***," may require violence. While the Muslim Brotherhood continued to be active, it did not operate openly as a political party for more than fifty years.	**coup** – the overthrow of an existing government or the illegal seizure of power, usually by a dictator or the military. **Nasser** – pronounced NASS-suhr. **sedition** – conduct or speech calling for resistance to government authority. **Qutb** – pronounced KUT-ib. *jihad* – literally, "to struggle." It has two important meanings in Islam. "Greater" jihad is the struggle within oneself to live a righteous life and submit oneself to God's will. "Lesser" jihad is the defense of Islam and the Muslim community against aggression within strict limits of what is permitted in warfare.
Nasser's successor, Anwar **Sadat** (President, 1970–81), gave the Muslim Brotherhood some space to operate after it officially renounced violence. It continued its work as an organization focused on promoting education and social services. After Sadat's administration cut social welfare programs as part of major economic reforms, Islamic organizations provided needed services such as schools, hospitals, and other social welfare services. Some of its members, however, wanted to promote more radical political and social change and formed militant, underground branches.	**Sadat** – pronounced suh-DAHT. Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin signed a peace treaty as part of the Camp David Accords, the first time an Arab country reached a peace agreement with Israel. Sadat and Begin won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978. *Why do you think Sadat allowed the Muslim Brotherhood to operate as a provider for social services?*

Reading	Reading support and questions
After extremists assassinated Sadat, Hosni **Mubarak** (President 1981–2011) allowed the Brotherhood's charitable services to continue. The Brotherhood avoided highly politicized issues for fear of provoking a crackdown. They maintained a variety of charities and other social services, allowing the organization to uphold its Islamic values without actually occupying positions of power within the government. Although still not allowed to operate as an official political party, candidates associated with the Muslim Brotherhood had some success winning seats in parliament. Muslim Brotherhood members also had a significant influence on society through leadership roles in civil society organizations such as engineering, medical, and legal associations, and youth outreach.	**Mubarak** – pronounced moo-BAH-rahk.
Mubarak's **authoritarian** regime declared a **state of emergency** that lasted for decades. His government imprisoned many members of political and militant groups, especially those suspected of connections to terrorist attacks on government targets, **Coptic Christians** and their churches, and foreign tourists. In the early 1990s, the government sought to make a connection between the violent actions of militant groups and the Muslim Brotherhood as an Islamist group. In the mid-1990s, the government arrested Muslim Brotherhood activists and accused them of illegal political activities. The organization retreated and kept a low profile.	**authoritarian** – enforcing obedience to authority at the expense of personal freedom. In an authoritarian government, power is often concentrated in the hands of a leader who restricts the ability of other political groups to compete for power. **state of emergency** – when a government suspends constitutional rights, prohibits gatherings, limits free speech, and extends police powers. In some instances, this may also include holding people in detention indefinitely without trial. **Coptic Christians** – Coptic Christians make up about 10% of Egypt's population. The Coptic church is part of the Eastern Orthodox branch of Christianity and has ancient roots in Egypt based on the teachings of St. Mark, who traveled to Egypt around 60 CE.
In the early 2000s, Egyptian dissatisfaction with Mubarak's decades-long authoritarian rule continued to grow. His tight political control, economic stagnation (high unemployment, inflation), media censorship, corruption, and other concerns led to massive protests. Inspired by protests in countries like Tunisia pushing for **regime change** – in what became known as the **Arab Spring** – a broad cross-section of Egyptian society took to the streets demanding Mubarak resign.	**regime change** – replacing one administration or government for another. **Arab Spring** – a series of uprisings in various countries in North Africa and the Middle East that called for freedom, democracy, human rights, and an end to decades of authoritarian rule.
Mubarak's security forces cracked down on protesters, fueling anger against the regime. After days of protests – but decades of frustration – Mubarak resigned on February 11, 2011. The armed forces dissolved the parliament and paved the way for a new constitution to be written and a new government to form.	*How do you think many Egyptians felt when Mubarak resigned after more than thirty years in power?*

Egypt Case Study – Document C
Image Analysis

Street art on city wall in Cairo, April 2011

Photograph by Amy Sanders

Egypt Case Study – Document D
After the Arab Spring – Mohamed Morsi

Reading	Reading support and questions
When the 2011 revolution overthrew Mubarak, the Muslim Brotherhood's pre-existing organizational structures gave it an advantage in parliamentary elections. The Muslim Brotherhood formed the Freedom and Justice Party in June 2011, and the new party drew on the Muslim Brotherhood organization to mobilize support. Its networks of charities gave it name recognition and increased its popularity among Egyptians. In contrast, other parties had to create new organizations and learn how to build political support entirely from scratch.	
The Muslim Brotherhood's success at the ballot box provoked concern among **secular** political parties, the sizeable Coptic Christian population in Egypt, and the military, which plays a significant role in both Egypt's politics and its economy. The military was very concerned about losing power in a new democratic Egypt. On the eve of Egypt's first free presidential elections since Mubarak, new laws enabled the military to retain its influence in Egyptian politics and the economy.	**secular** – not connected with religious or spiritual matters. *Why do you think some Egyptians (including secularists and Coptic Christians) might have been concerned about the Muslim Brotherhood gaining power in elections?*
The Muslim Brotherhood had initially stated that it would not run in presidential elections, but it changed its position due to concerns about the Egyptian military's efforts to hold on to power. The first presidential candidate the Muslim Brotherhood put forward was ruled ineligible to run because the Mubarak administration had charged him as a criminal. Mohamed **Morsi** was the group's backup candidate and won the presidential election.	**Morsi** – pronounced MOOR-see. *Why do you think the Muslim Brotherhood decided to run candidates for elected office?*

Reading

Reading support and question

Morsi's election in 2012 immediately set the presidency and the military on a collision course – one that Morsi would eventually lose. Morsi reversed efforts by the military to retain its influence, but secular groups and non-Muslim groups remained critical of the Muslim Brotherhood. They feared that the group would not seek compromise and **consensus** with other parties on important issues, including a new Egyptian constitution. Many of these opposition groups were unwilling to accept that the Muslim Brotherhood's electoral victory was legitimate. They charged the Muslim Brotherhood with **subverting** democratic structures. In many cases, Morsi's policies lent truth to these concerns. He increased the government's control over the media and issued declarations to give his presidency greater power and authority.

consensus – general agreement.

subverting – undermining, weakening, or damaging.

These political conflicts combined with economic problems that had contributed to the Arab Spring protests in the first place. Unemployment remained high and inflation grew rapidly. The country's budget deficit already was high, which limited the government's ability to provide social services. The fact that Morsi's government was unable to address these problems effectively increased the public's dissatisfaction with his administration. A popular protest movement grew against the Muslim Brotherhood-led government.

Opposition to the Morsi government culminated in protests in June 2013 when millions called for Morsi to resign. A widespread media campaign against Morsi and the Brotherhood sought to reverse the popular election outcome. Fearing the instability created by another revolution, the military intervened and forcibly removed Morsi from power. Morsi's Defense Minister, Abdel Fattah al-**Sisi**, came to power. The military engaged in an extensive, nation-wide crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood, labeling it a terrorist group. In one particularly violent incident, the military killed over 800 Morsi supporters at a mosque in Cairo. Courts ruled that the group was illegal and had to disband. Violent political repression under Egypt's new military dictatorship has forced the Muslim Brotherhood to retreat from politics and return to providing social services and running charities.

Sisi – pronounced SEE-SEE.

Egypt Case Study – Document E
Image Analysis

Protest in Cairo, August 2012
Center banner includes partial images of President Morsi (left) and President Mubarak (right)

Left – Political sign & symbols:

Slogan: National Democratic Freedom and Justice Party

 "We carry [bring] goodness for Egypt, for your sake!"

Sign with photos of leaders shows:

President Mubarak (R) who was ousted by Arab Spring protests in 2011 is equivalent to the man elected to replace him, President Muhammad Morsi (L), the Muslim Brotherhood candidate.

Right – Anti-political party sign:

 "The Nahda [or "Renaissance"] Party is the demolition of the people!"

Showing an "X" through the logo of the Nahda Party, which carries the slogan "Re-orientation toward Islam."

Images of people & names on black T-shirts represent people killed or imprisoned.

Statement on flag:

"Wrap me in my shroud [the Egyptian flag] – O Egypt, we sacrifice ourselves for you!"

Egypt Case Study – Document F
"Is the crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood pushing the group toward violence?"

Ammar Fayed is an Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood activist and researcher based in Istanbul, Turkey. The following is excerpted from a longer paper and is intended to give readers insight into an activist's perspective on the movement. The viewpoint here does not represent all Muslim Brotherhood members.

Source: Ammar Fayed, "Is the Crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood Pushing the Group Toward Violence?" *Rethinking Political Islam Series*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2016.

Reading	Reading support and questions
"The military **coup** of July 2013 forced the Muslim Brotherhood to retreat to a climate of secrecy after the group had spent just a year working openly and in power. The authorities soon designated it as a terrorist organization and banned around 1,200 of the **civil institutions** affiliated with the group or its members, to say nothing of the thousands of people killed and imprisoned. The Brotherhood was left with no other option but to protest.…"	**coup** – the overthrow of an existing government, usually the seizure of power by a dictator or the military. In July 2013, Egypt's military officers removed Mohamed Morsi, the country's first democratically elected president, from power. **civil institutions** – organizations (separate from government and businesses) that support the well-being of society.
"This is an important topic to explore especially after the arrest of the group's most **influential** leaders, and the **prevailing** state of uncertainty in the region. Violence, whether from the state or from armed militias, has become the dominant political language in the nations that experienced Arab Spring revolutions, with the possible exception of Tunisia (which itself has not been spared from increasing terrorist threats). Even so, I argue here that the likelihood of the Muslim Brotherhood resorting to violence in Egypt is less than what many observers believe. Much of this has to do with the current structure of the organization, and the model of thought and culture that has governed it for decades.…"	**influential** – important, powerful. **prevailing** – current, existing.
"Since its formation, the Muslim Brotherhood has primarily been a **social movement**, whose program depends on affecting social change as a foundation and a condition for political change."	**social movement** – a loosely organized but ongoing campaign in support of a social goal.
"[Today]… one's motivation for joining the Brotherhood cannot be reduced to a desire to be involved in the social sphere. There are many complex motivations that drive an individual's desire to be a member of the Brotherhood… A field study that I conducted [in] 2013 revealed that, for many members of the Brotherhood, the group's top priority was not social work. Rather, it involved providing the support and care to the families of the victims of the coup and those imprisoned, as well continuing protests against the coup."	

Reading

"In the current environment, it will be difficult to pursue social activities for a number of reasons. First, Brotherhood members and **cadres** are subject to far-reaching **surveillance** by state security, making it almost impossible to carry out any activities unnoticed. Second, the group's social institutions have been almost entirely **confiscated** by the regime. Third, due to the large number of people who have been arrested, disappeared, or made to flee the country, it has become necessary to focus internal efforts of the group on supporting those bearing the brunt of **repression** inside of Egypt, as well as on activities aimed at **delegitimizing** the coup. Though there has been no decision to suspend the group's religious or social activities, they are simply not the priority.…"

Reading support and questions

cadres – a member of an activist or revolutionary group.

surveillance – close observation or investigation.

confiscated – taken over.

repression – the action of subduing or suppressing something by force.

delegitimizing – withdrawing status or authority from something or someone.

"[There] is no doubt that the line between peaceful revolutionary protest and the use of more violent means is sometimes 'blurry'… However… the major trend within the Brotherhood (and the anti-coup movement in general) remains committed to peaceful political action. All groups that have tried to adopt some form of violence continue to be **marginal** with limited appeal. The adoption of violence clearly contradicts the **reigning** cultural model within the Brotherhood. …"

marginal – small, insignificant.
reigning – current, existing.

"The Brotherhood has yet to offer an alternative strategy to protesting and mobilizing opinion against the regime. Many in the group **wager** that the revolutionary moment has not passed, as the factors which inspired the revolution have yet to be addressed (poverty, unemployment, a lack of social justice, oppression by the security forces) …can still encourage others and help them maintain a mindset of protest within society until a new spark takes hold, snapping the spell of fear and frustration that has settled over the 2011 revolution's supporters. …"

wager – bet, pledge.

"Some Brotherhood members have grappled with these questions and presented possible visions, but the group is yet to hold an internal dialogue to develop and adopt a unified stance. Likewise, military leaders have not shown any inclination to reach a settlement with the Brotherhood, which could end their reliance on continuous levels of repression. This makes it likely that the **status quo** will persist, with all its tragic consequences."

status quo – existing situation.
If you could either write a brief reply to Mr. Fayed's article or ask him a question, what would you say? Write it below.

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Iran Case Study – Document A
Dynasties and Foreign Influence in Iran

Reading

Reading support and questions

Iran, once called Persia, is a **Shi'i**-majority country in the Middle East. The country has a rich cultural history dating back centuries. In the early modern period, the **Safavid** ruling dynasty (1501–1736) established Shi'i Islam as the state religion and united varied ethnic and language groups throughout the country.

Can you find Iran on a map?

Shi'i – The two largest branches of Islam are Sunni (approximately 85 percent of Muslims worldwide) and Shi'i (approximately 15 percent of Muslims worldwide). Approximately 90 percent of Iranians practice Shi'i Islam.

Safavid – pronounced SAH-fah-vid. The empire's economy was strong because of its location on trade routes. Its culture flourished with advancements in philosophy, poetry, art, and architecture.

During the **Qajar** dynasty (1785–1925), Persian rulers faced challenges from foreign powers. Both Russia and Britain competed for influence and territory. In armed conflicts, Russia extended its empire to the south while Britain sought to protect its colony in nearby India. Qajar rulers generally embraced **Western** education, science, and technology – and foreign business. While the **shah** grew wealthy selling **concessions**, Iranian people resented Western powers gaining more and more access to Iranian territory and commercial interests. For example, the shah negotiated a concession with a British entrepreneur in 1901, giving the entrepreneur exclusive rights to prospect for oil in most of the country. Under the terms of the deal, Iranians received only sixteen percent of the profits. When oil was discovered in 1908, large-scale drilling projects began. By the start of World War I, Iranian oil was Britain's most important strategic resource.

Qajar – pronounced KUH-jar. This dynasty unified tribes to consolidate power under one king and revived the glory of the Safavid empire.

Western – cultural traditions and/or beliefs originating in Europe or North America.

shah – Persian word for king.

concessions – exclusive rights for foreign (European) merchants to control some aspect of the economy (for example oil or tobacco).

Over time, Iranians increasingly resented foreign control over Iran's natural resources. Iran's ruling class and foreign businesspeople led extravagantly wealthy lifestyles that contrasted sharply with the poverty of the local population. Religious leaders effectively led Iranian opposition to oil, tobacco, and other concessions through the vast network of the country's mosques. Widespread protests called for limits on the authority of Qajar leaders. From 1905-1911, a popular movement led to the establishment of a constitution and parliament, weakening the shah's power. The constitution included a provision for a group of **clerics** to review new laws to make sure they upheld Shi'i Islamic principles in order to ensure a just government.

cleric – a Muslim religious leader.

Reading	Reading support and questions
During World War I, Iran became a battlefield as British, Russian, German, and Turkish forces all sought access to Iranian oil. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the defeat of the Ottomans and Germans in WWI, Britain's power in Iran increased.	
Reza **Khan Pahlavi**, a military officer, led a **coup** and toppled the weak Qajar dynasty in 1921. He began to adopt reforms to build a modern economy and government modeled after European countries. He launched new **infrastructure** projects and enacted education, legal, and social reforms. Education reforms sought to reduce the clerics' influence in education and legal reforms limited the clerics' authority. Social reforms required men and women to wear **Western**-style dress and prohibited women from veiling, a practice customary for many women. The shah also sought to reduce British influence in Iran and began trading with Germany in the 1930s. Concerned about Iran's ties to Germany, British and Russian forces invaded the country at the start of World War II and installed Reza Khan's son, Muhammad **Reza**, as shah.	**Khan** – pronounced KAHN. **Pahlavi** – pronounced pah-luh-VEE **coup** – the overthrow of an existing government, usually the illegal seizure of power by a dictator or the military. **infrastructure** – public works such as roads, bridges, ports, railroads, etc. **Western** – ideas or characteristics originating in Europe and/or North America. **Reza** – pronounced RAY-zuh. *How do you think people with traditional Muslim values might have reacted to the shah's reforms?*
After the war, the United States and British governments pursued policies that furthered their strategic and economic interests in the region. In an effort to contain the Soviet Union during the Cold War and to ensure access to oil, the U.S. government provided the shah with financial and military support needed to maintain the country's security. The shah used that power to repress both religious and **secular** opposition groups.	**secular** – not connected with religious or spiritual matters. *Why did the United States want to maintain a strong relationship with the shah?*
A coalition of political parties, frustrated with foreign exploitation, pushed for an end to the oil concession with Britain. Iran's parliament voted to **nationalize** the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1953. Concerned about the policies of the popularly-elected prime minister, Mohammad **Mossadegh**, U.S. and British intelligence agencies (the CIA and SIS) engineered a coup to overthrow Mossadegh. The shah, who had fled to Rome during the coup, returned to Iran determined to rule with even greater authority. To gain the support of the country's influential clerics, the shah provided additional funding for Islamic religious schools.	**nationalize** – the transfer of industry or commerce from private ownership to government control. **Mossadegh** – pronounced MOE-sah-degh *Why do you think the U.S. and British governments would seek to stop the Iranian government from nationalizing its oil industry?*

Iran Case Study – Document B
Shah's Rule and Growing Dissent

Reading

Once back in power, the shah launched a series of reforms. He renegotiated the terms of the oil contract with Britain, created a new intelligence and security service (SAVAK), and initiated economic and social reforms. His efforts in 1959 to enact land and education reforms sought to ease poverty and expand secular educational opportunities. He ran into significant opposition, however, from wealthy Iranians and religious clerics. Clerics, led by **Ayatollah Khomeini**, organized widespread protests. The government answered by violently suppressing protests. In 1963, armed forces killed several thousand people. Ayatollah Khomeini was expelled from the country, living in **exile** first in Turkey and then in Iraq. He still influenced Iranians through speeches and written statements smuggled into the country.

Reading support and questions

Ayatollah – pronounced ah-yah-TOH-lah. Literally, "Sign of God;" high-ranking Shi'i cleric.

Khomeini – pronounced hoh-MAY-nee.

exile – living outside one's native country, typically because of political reasons.

Through the rest of the 1960s and 1970s, the shah turned Iran into a police state, relying on the climate of fear instilled by his security forces. He retained the support of U.S. administrations that valued access to oil and an **ally** against the Soviet Union.

ally – one government cooperating with another for a military or other purpose.

In 1978, a pro-government newspaper, at the direction of the shah, published an editorial critical of Ayatollah Khomeini. Protesters in the city of **Qom**, which is home to Iran's largest **seminaries,** attacked symbols of the monarchy. The shah's security forces killed several people. In Shi'i tradition, mourning ceremonies are held forty days after someone's death. This mourning ritual turned into a political protest and security forces killed more people. This cycle of violence continued. The shocking violence drew in more Iranians from all parts of society as the growing protest movement spread across the country.

Qom – pronounced KOHM.
seminaries – religious schools.

In September 1978 the shah declared **martial law**. Several hundred people were killed the following day in Tehran during a mass protest. In December 1978, an estimated crowd of two million people from all walks of life protested the regime. The protests were fueled by the growing economic **disparity** in Iran, the influence of the West, and the repressive and corrupt nature of the shah's regime. With dwindling support from the military, the shah fled the country in January 1979.

martial law – when a country or region is put under the control of the military to maintain order; ordinary law is often suspended during the state of emergency.

disparity – a great difference, imbalance.

Iran Case Study – Document C
Islamic Revolution

Reading

Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Iran on February 1, 1979 and led a revolution to establish a new government. Referring to the obligation Muslims had to create a government based on Islamic tradition, Khomeini wrote:

"Both law and reason require that we do not permit government to retain this non-Islamic or anti-Islamic character… In order to assure the unity of the Islamic **umma**, in order to liberate the Islamic homeland from occupation and penetration by the **imperialists** and their puppet governments, it is **imperative** that we establish a government. In order to attain the unity and freedom of the Muslim peoples, we must overthrow the **oppressive** governments installed by the imperialists and bring into existence an Islamic government of justice that will be in the service of the people."[1]

[1]Khomeini, Ruhollah. "The Form is Islamic Government," in H. Algar (trans.), *Islam and Revolution: Writing and Declaration of imam Khomeini (1941-1980),* Berkeley, CA: Mizan Press, 1981, pp. 48–49.

Reading support and questions

umma – community.

imperialists – people who support imperialism, meaning they try to extend their country's power through diplomacy or military force.

imperative – crucial, essential.

oppressive – harsh, brutal.

Why do you think many Iranians supported this political movement?

Khomeini sought to create a government that gave decision-making authority to religious scholars who had the greatest knowledge of Islamic law. Under the new constitution, the governing structure included a complex system of decision-making. The person with the greatest power was the Supreme Islamic Jurist, or Supreme Leader. The Supreme Leader had ultimate authority over decisions by the government and over religious matters. He controlled the security forces and police, appointed the head of the judiciary, regulated the country's media, and set national priorities. He included some aspects of democracy in his vision for Iran's new government. The new system allowed elections for some positions in the newly-formed executive, legislative, and judicial branches. However, a Guardian Council had to approve all candidates running for national elected office and ensure that the actions of the three branches remained consistent with Islamic teachings.

Who holds the most power in Iran's government?

Not all Iranians supported these changes in government and the new roles for religious leaders. When officials passed a law in March 1979 requiring all women to veil in public, more than 100,000 women marched in protest in Tehran. Iranians soon learned how the government responded to anyone who challenged Khomeini's authority. In the months after the revolution, Khomeini ordered the arrest, "disappearance," and execution of secular intellectuals, women's rights activists, and even religious scholars who did not agree with the regime's religious **doctrine** or political goals.

doctrine – a belief or set of beliefs held and taught by a religious group.

Although many Iranians supported a movement to remove the shah from power, they did not support Khomeini's regime. What happened to those who challenged his authority?

Reading	Reading support and questions

Reading

In June 1979, Supreme Leader Khomeini gave a speech remembering those killed during a government crackdown in 1963. He encouraged Iranians to distance themselves from Western influences.

Khomeini said, "Come to your senses; do not try to **westernize** everything you have! Look at the West and see who the people are in the West that present themselves as champions of human rights and what their aims are. Is it human rights they really care about, or the rights of the superpowers? What they really want to secure are the rights of the superpowers. Our **jurists** should not follow or imitate them. …"

"As for those who want to **divert** our movement from its course, who have in mind **treachery** against Islam and the nation, who consider Islam incapable of running the affairs of our country despite its record of 1400 years – they have nothing at all to do with our people, and this must be made clear. How much you talk about the West, claiming that we must measure Islam in accordance with Western criteria! What an error! It was the mosques that created this Revolution, the mosques that brought this movement into being…. So preserve your mosques, O people. Intellectuals, do not be Western-style intellectuals, imported intellectuals; do your share to preserve the mosques!"[1]

westernize – a significant component of the Iranian Revolution was a reaction against the shah's attempts to westernize Iranian society. Many Iranians, including many devout Muslims, felt the shah's reforms had been detrimental to Iranian culture. They rejected what they saw as intrusive Western values and morals.

jurists – legal experts.
divert – re-direct, sidetrack.
treachery – betrayal, disloyalty.

[1] R. Khomeini, "The Uprising of Khurdad 15," June 5, 1979, in *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*, Fordham University, 1998.

Students who supported the revolution drew global attention to Iran when they seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979. Angry that the U.S. government had agreed to let the shah receive medical treatment in the United States and concerned about another possible coup attempt, they seized the U.S. embassy in the capital, Tehran. Revolutionaries held fifty two U.S. diplomats and citizens hostage for 444 days, an event known as the Iran hostage crisis. The crisis dramatically increased tensions between Iran and the United States.

How do you think these historical tensions might influence U.S.-Iranian relations today?

Iran Case Study – Document D
Image Analysis

Pro-Khomeini rally in Tehran, 1979

Iran Case Study – Document E
Voices of Dissent

Reading

Ayatollah Khomeini led the Islamic Revolution of 1979 and served as the country's political and religious leader until his death in 1989. Ayatollah **Khamenei** replaced him and has been the country's Supreme Leader since 1989.

Iran has held regular elections for president since the 1979 revolution. Election results generally have been respected, although the process—including who is allowed to stand for office—is tightly controlled by the Supreme Leader and Guardian Council. An exception to this was in June 2009, when Mahmoud **Ahmadinejad** ran for a second four-year term as president against reform candidate Mir Hussein **Mousavi**. Many Iranians, concerned about economic, political, and foreign policy challenges facing the country, backed Mousavi. However, only two hours after the polls closed on June 12, the country's election commission announced that Mr. Ahmadinejad had won in a landslide. Many Iranians were stunned at the announcement and openly questioned what they considered to be **fraudulent** election results.

Led by young people utilizing social media to organize protests, a new movement, the Green Movement, was born. Many young people, born after the 1979 revolution, challenged the regime and called for democratic reforms. At its height, up to three million people protested peacefully, often rallying around the slogan: "Where is my vote?"

A week after the election, Ayatollah Khamenei defended his regime and called for an end to protests in his June 19 sermon. "I want everyone to put an end to this. This is not the right thing to do. If they don't stop this, then the consequences … they will be held accountable for all this. It's also wrong that some may assume that through the street riots, they can [put pressure on] the establishment and try to force the officials to actually listen to them. This is also wrong to think that way."[1]

[1]A. Khamenei, "Sermon at Friday Prayers, June 19, 2009," *CSPAN*, National Cable Satellite Corporation, 2009.

Reading support and questions

Khamenei – pronounced hah-mehn-a-EE.

How many Supreme Leaders has Iran had since the revolution in 1979?

Ahmadinejad – pronounced ah-muh-DEE-neh-zhahd.

Mousavi – pronounced Moo-SAH-vee.

fraudulent – dishonest, corrupt.

If you were one of the people protesting Khamenei's government, how might you react to this statement?

Reading

The Khamenei regime responded swiftly by deploying riot police and armed forces to block demonstrations. In clashes with unarmed protesters, security forces used live ammunition, rubber bullets, and tear gas to break up the demonstrations.

Some reform clerics spoke out in support of the protesters. On July 4, 2009, the Association of Researchers and Teachers of Qom issued a statement: "The voice of people seeking justice was marred by violence which unfortunately left several dead and wounded and hundreds arrested. How can one accept the legitimacy of the election just because the Guardian Council says so? Can one say that the government born out of these infringements is a legitimate one?"[2]

[2] "Ayatollah Watch – Tehran Bureau: Statements by Clerical and Theocratic Groups," *Frontline*, Public Broadcasting Service, 2009.

Iranians had another opportunity to elect a reform candidate in 2013 when Ahmadinejad's term ended. Hassan **Rouhani**, a moderate reformer, serves as the current president of Iran. Reformers like Rouhani have promoted policies intended to give women more rights, expand press freedoms, and gradually reduce the power of conservative religious clerics in Iran's government. Rouhani has sought to normalize relationships with Western powers, but must work within the constraints of the regime and the current international political climate.

Reading support and questions

Rouhani – pronounced roh-hah-NEE.

Iran Case Study – Document F
Image Analysis

Translation: "5th Day – They killed my bro koz [because] he asked: "Where's my vote?"
Protest on June 17, 2009

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Al-Qaeda and ISIS Case Study – Document A
Origins and Ideology of Al-Qaeda

Reading

Reading support and questions

Afghanistan, a mountainous country in Central Asia, was at the center of trade networks on the ancient Silk Road. It became strategically important for very different reasons in the 1970s. During the height of the Cold War, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979. The Soviets sought to stabilize Afghanistan's collapsing communist government and prevent any spillover effects from Afghanistan's internal turmoil into its Muslim-majority regions. For the next ten years, Afghanistan was a battleground as Afghan and foreign fighters resisted Soviet occupation. These resistance forces, known as the *mujahideen*, were supported by the governments of the United States, Pakistan, and many Arab countries in the Middle East. The U.S. supplied the *mujahideen* with financial and military aid to stop the spread of communism.

mujahideen – fighters who struggle on behalf of Islam. The term is most frequently used in reference to guerrilla fighters who fought under tribal leaders to oust the Soviets from Afghanistan.

Can you find Afghanistan on a map?

Afghanistan is a Muslim-majority country almost two thousand miles away from the heart of the Arab Middle East and has a distinct history, culture, and language. Arab fighters were drawn to the conflict in Afghanistan by the call to defend their religion – Islam – from the Soviets, whose system was considered hostile to religion. One of the foreign fighters in Afghanistan included a wealthy citizen from Saudi Arabia named Osama **bin Laden**. Bin Laden's and other fighters' initial focus was to remove foreign forces from Muslim territory.

Bin Laden – pronounced bin LAHD-in.

Al-Qaeda, which means "The Base," was founded around the end of the Afghan-Soviet war. Osama bin Laden and other radical Islamists believed they were instrumental in wearing down the Soviets and forcing their retreat from Afghanistan. They thought they could successfully fight other major powers. Bin Laden sought to create a network of fighters who would continue what they considered *jihad* in other countries.

jihad – literally, "struggle." It has two important meanings. "Greater" jihad is the struggle within oneself to live a righteous life and submit oneself to God's will. "Lesser" jihad is the defense of Islam and the Muslim community.

Reading

Reading support and questions

Bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia but disagreed with Saudi officials' decision to allow U.S. military forces to use military bases in Saudi Arabia as part of the first Gulf War against Saddam Hussein in Iraq (1990-91). Bin Laden moved to Sudan, plotting and carrying out global terrorist attacks before being expelled by the Sudanese government. He returned to Afghanistan, where he lived under the protection of the Taliban, an Afghani-Pakistani Islamist group that took power in Afghanistan in 1996. The Taliban allowed Al-Qaeda to operate in Afghanistan.

Bin Laden created terrorist training camps for extremists from around the world. Whereas other radical Islamist groups used violence against the governments of Muslim-majority countries, Al-Qaeda's extremist activity shifted to target foreign countries that either occupied Muslim territory or whose governments Al-Qaeda perceived to **persecute** Muslims. Al-Qaeda became a **transnational** extremist movement.

persecute – mistreatment based on race, gender, ethnicity, or political or religious beliefs.

transnational – extending or operating beyond national boundaries.

Al-Qaeda is perhaps best known for its September 11, 2001 attacks on several targets in the United States. In response, the United States invaded Afghanistan in October 2001, removed the Taliban from power, and destroyed Al-Qaeda training camps. Bin Laden and other Al-Qaeda leaders fled into mountainous terrain on the border with Pakistan which made locating them extremely difficult. Eventually, U.S. intelligence services located bin Laden, living in a compound not far from a military base in Pakistan. U.S. special forces raided his home and killed him in May 2011.

Do you remember hearing about the U.S. raid on Osama bin Laden's compound? What do you remember about either news coverage of that event or reaction in the United States?

Al-Qaeda operated branch cells in countries outside of Afghanistan and had a large presence in Iraq after the U.S. and coalition forces invaded that country in 2003. The organization continues to have numerous, secretive cells operating around the world. Splinter groups also have affiliated with it, making it difficult for intelligence and security forces to anticipate and prevent terror attacks.

Have you heard about Al-Qaeda operating in other countries? Which ones?

Al-Qaeda and ISIS Case Study – Document B
Origins and Ideology of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

Reading

When the United States and allied forces invaded Iraq in 2003, the Bush administration argued that Saddam Hussein's regime had repeatedly defied the United Nations by refusing to cooperate with weapons inspections and failing to disclose suspected **weapons of mass destruction**. The Bush administration also expressed concern that Hussein might have ties to terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda that could use weapons of mass destruction against the United States or U.S. targets.

After U.S. forces and allied forces removed Saddam Hussein from power in 2003, the U.S. government encouraged the participation of all **ethnic groups in Iraq** to participate in the new government. Shi'i Arabs, who Saddam Hussein's government had oppressed for more than twenty years, became the dominant political force in Iraq. Iraq's new Prime Minister, Nouri **al-Maliki**, a Shi'a, asserted power. Sunni Arabs sometimes boycotted elections or were excluded from the political process and positions of power. Iraq descended into chaos as **militias** formed along ethnic and **sectarian** lines to resist U.S. occupation and try to hold on to power. Sunni frustration with the Iraqi government and with U.S. occupation policies led some to join Sunni militias and other militant groups like Al-Qaeda in Iraq, which established a presence there in 2004.

Abu Bakr **al-Baghdadi**, an Iraqi, was affiliated with Al-Qaeda in Iraq before he broke away sometime around 2013. He began a new group that would become known as the **Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)**. Both Al-Qaeda and ISIS seek to create an Islamic political order, share many of the same enemies, and are willing to use violence to achieve their goals. There are key differences between these groups, however. ISIS sought to establish an Islamic state, known as a **caliphate**, to create a government and establish the rule of law according to its interpretation of the Qur'an and **Shari'a** law. ISIS also pursued a strategy of extreme public violence in pursuit of its political goals. Al-Qaeda's leadership even criticized ISIS members as being too violent as they conquered territory in Iraq and Syria.

Reading support and questions

weapons of mass destruction – chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons capable of causing large-scale destruction.

Can you find Iraq on a map?

ethnic groups in Iraq – Shi'i Arabs comprise about 65 percent of the population, Sunni Arabs about 15 percent, and Kurds about 17 percent. Iraq also is home to other religious groups, including a small percentage of Christians.

al-Maliki – pronounced al MAHL-uh-kee.

militias – an armed group made up of civilians that engages in rebellious or terrorist activities in opposition to an army or occupying power.

sectarian – relating to a branch of a particular religious group.

al-Baghdadi – pronounced al bahg-DAHD-ee.

Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) – A radical Islamist group that broke off from Al-Qaeda around 2013. It is known by other names as well: ISIL – the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (greater Syria) and Daesh – an Arab acronym for the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria.

caliphate – a term referring to a political and religious state comprising the lands of the Muslim community in the centuries following the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Power struggles later caused the caliphate's decline and it ceased to exist as a functioning political institution.

Shari'a – Islamic law as established in the Qur'an and Hadith.

<u>Reading</u>

<u>Reading support and questions</u>

After U.S. troops withdrew from Iraq in 2011, ISIS saw an opportunity and targeted Iraqi security forces. The group captured territory in Sunni-dominated areas in the northern part of the country. ISIS also saw a chance to claim territory in Syria (Iraq's northern neighbor). Syria had been weakened by internal conflict that began with nationwide protests as part of the Arab Spring uprising in 2011. Syria was in the midst of a chaotic civil war, and the **Assad** regime did little to slow the advance of ISIS.

Assad – pronounced AH-sahd.

Use the internet to find a map that shows how much territory ISIS controlled in 2015. How do you think ISIS was able to gain so much territory so quickly?

At its peak in 2015, an estimated ten million people lived in ISIS-controlled territory. ISIS based its government on its interpretation of Islamic law and used extreme violence and **propaganda** to enforce its rule. It governed the areas under its control by collecting taxes and organizing basic services such as education and health care. Reports from those who fled ISIS control and ISIS propaganda indicate that the organization used public executions, amputations, sexual violence, and other forms of punishment to achieve its goals. ISIS fighters killed thousands of people, and hundreds of thousands of people fled their homes to live in refugee camps in the neighboring countries of Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey.

propaganda – spreading information (often biased or misleading) to promote a particular cause or viewpoint in order to influence people's ideas.

The United States, Great Britain, France, and over seventy partners formed an alliance to fight ISIS. The **coalition** has been successful in reclaiming all of Iraq's territory; ISIS controls only small pockets of land in Syria.

coalition – a temporary alliance or association to take action on an issue (in this case, governments coordinating military efforts).

The number of ISIS fighters is unclear and has changed over time. Like Al-Qaeda, thousands of fighters – including many foreigners from Europe, the U.S., and other countries – joined its ranks. Many of them now seek to return home.

What do you think should happen to ISIS fighters who traveled from their home countries to fight in Syria and/or Iraq and now want to return home?

Al-Qaeda and ISIS Case Study – Document C
Image Analysis

Kurdish militia fighters, the Peshmerga, take down the ISIS flag and hold up the Kurdish flag.
Near Mosul, Iraq, September 11, 2014

Al-Qaeda and ISIS Case Study – Document D
Interview with Jordan's King Abdullah II

Reading	Reading support and questions
Jordan is a country surrounded by conflict. Over the past several decades, refugees from several conflicts – the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iraq wars, and most recently, the conflict in Syria, have poured into the country of 9.7 million people. More than 750,000 refugees in Jordan are registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Thousands more are undocumented. Forty-eight percent of refugees are children. Jordan struggles to provide jobs, education, and health care for the refugee population.	*Can you find Jordan on a map?*
Jordan has been a trusted ally of the United States in the fight against ISIS in Syria and Iraq. The Jordanian military has flown bombing missions against ISIS in Syria in coordination with the United States' military. When ISIS shot down a Jordanian pilot's plane, ISIS members put him in a cage and videotaped his brutal murder.	
CBS correspondent Scott Pelley interviewed the King of Jordan, Abdullah II, in September 2016. As part of the interview, they talked about how many Muslims view the violence of extremist groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS.	
King Abdullah II: "If anything keeps me up at night, it's giving the younger generation an opportunity at life. And on the flip side of that, if radicalization is going to embed itself anywhere in the world or in this region it's going to be **disenfranchised** youth. And so if young people in this country are not going to have an opportunity because of the pressure on the economy again, that's my concern…."	**disenfranchised –** having no power to have your voice heard or to affect the society in which you live.
Scott Pelley: "Well, in the United States, many people ask, 'What has gone wrong with Islam?'"	
King Abdullah II: "Well, so if you look at the spectrum and understand that 90 percent of us are traditionalists and have an affinity for Christianity, Judaism, I mean, we're all the three **monotheistic** religions, us being the younger one. [Our] faith decrees the understanding of Judaism and Christianity… It's that misperception with the *takfiri* jihadists, that's where the fight is. And they represent probably two percent of Sunni Islam. That's where the problem is. And if we're being pushed into the corner through **Islamophobia**, that's where the danger is, where we as allies, are not understood."	**monotheistic** – the belief in one God. Jews, Christians, and Muslims all share the belief that Abraham was the first to teach the idea that there was only one God. *takfiri* – a Muslim who declares that another Muslim does not believe in the essential principles of Islam and is therefore no longer a Muslim. **Islamophobia** – dislike of or prejudice against Islam or Muslims.

Reading	Reading support and questions

Scott Pelley: "Your concern is that, if Islamophobia takes even greater hold, Muslims who are not radicalized today will be forced into that corner."

King Abdullah II: "Well, they're going to feel isolated. They're going to feel **marginalized**. They're going to feel victimized. Which is exactly what ISIS, Al-Qaeda want. I mean, you know, why fly two aircrafts into the Twin Towers in New York? It's to create hatred from the **West** towards Islam so that you can panic the majority of Muslims to feel that they're victimized and push them over into the extremist camp."

marginalized – treat a person or group as insignificant or unworthy.

West – ideas or characteristics originating in Europe or North America.

Source: King Abdullah II, "Keeping Jordan's Balance Amid Crisis," interviewed by Scott Pelley, *60 Minutes*, CBS, September 25, 2016.

Al-Qaeda and ISIS Case Study – Document E
Image Analysis

Photograph by Mirwais Bezhan (VOA) [Public domain]

ISIS fighters who surrendered to Afghan government forces in April 2018.

Consider: In which country did ISIS originate? Where is this photo taken?
How old do you think these fighters are? Why do you think they joined ISIS?

Al-Qaeda and ISIS Case Study – Document F

Executive Summary of the Marrakesh Declaration on the Rights of Religious Minorities in Predominantly Muslim Majority Communities, 2016

In January 2016, King Muhammad VI of Morocco hosted a conference in the city of Marrakesh for ministers, religious scholars, Muslim legal experts, academics, and representatives from Islamic organizations from more than 120 countries. The conference sought to examine the rights of religious minorities in Muslim-majority countries in response to persecution and violence. The text below includes excerpts from the Executive Summary.

Text	Reading support
"In the Name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate WHEREAS, conditions in various parts of the Muslim World have **deteriorated** dangerously due to the use of violence and armed struggle as a tool for settling conflicts and imposing one's point of view;	**deteriorated** – become progressively or steadily worse.
WHEREAS, this situation has also weakened the authority of legitimate governments and enabled criminal groups to issue **edicts** attributed to Islam, but which, in fact, alarmingly distort its fundamental principles and goals in ways that have seriously harmed the population as a whole;	**edict** – a public and official order or proclamation.
WHEREAS, this year marks the 1,400th anniversary of the **Charter of Medina**, a constitutional contract between the Prophet Muhammad, God's peace and blessings be upon him, and the people of Medina, which guaranteed the religious liberty of all, regardless of faith;"	**Charter of Medina** – agreements between Muhammad and tribes forming the first Muslim community around 622 CE. The agreement also guided the relations of Muslims with Jews in Medina.

"WHEREAS, hundreds of Muslim scholars and intellectuals from over 120 countries, along with representatives of Islamic and international organizations, as well as leaders from diverse religious groups and nationalities, gathered in Marrakesh on this date to reaffirm the principles of the Charter of Medina at a major conference…."

"AND NOTING the gravity of this situation afflicting Muslims as well as peoples of other faiths throughout the world, and after thorough deliberation and discussion, the convened Muslim scholars and intellectuals:"

"DECLARE HEREBY our firm commitment to the principles articulated in the Charter of Medina, whose provisions contained a number of the principles of constitutional contractual citizenship, such as freedom of movement, property ownership, mutual solidarity and defense, as well as principles of justice and equality before the law; and that,"

"The objectives of the Charter of Medina provide a suitable framework for national constitutions in countries with Muslim majorities, and the United Nations Charter and related documents, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are in harmony with the Charter of Medina, including consideration for public order."

"NOTING FURTHER that deep reflection upon the various crises afflicting humanity underscores the inevitable and urgent need for cooperation among all religious groups, we AFFIRM HEREBY that such cooperation must be based on a "Common Word," requiring that such cooperation must go beyond mutual tolerance and respect, to providing full protection for the rights and liberties to all religious groups in a civilized manner that **eschews** coercion, bias, and arrogance."

eschews – rejects, renounces.

"BASED ON ALL OF THE ABOVE, we hereby:
Call upon Muslim scholars and intellectuals around the world to develop a **jurisprudence** of the concept of "citizenship" which is inclusive of diverse groups. Such jurisprudence shall be rooted in Islamic tradition and principles and mindful of global changes."

jurisprudence – a theory or philosophy of law.

"Urge Muslim educational institutions and authorities to conduct a courageous review of educational curricula that addresses honestly and effectively any material that instigates aggression and extremism, leads to war and chaos, and results in the destruction of our shared societies;"

"Call upon politicians and decision makers to take the political and legal steps necessary to establish a constitutional contractual relationship among its citizens, and to support all formulations and initiatives that aim to fortify relations and understanding among the various religious groups in the Muslim World;"

"Call upon the educated, artistic, and creative members of our societies, as well as organizations of civil society, to establish a broad movement for the just treatment of religious minorities in Muslim countries and to raise awareness as to their rights, and to work together to ensure the success of these efforts."

"Call upon the various religious groups bound by the same national fabric to address their mutual state of selective amnesia that blocks memories of centuries of joint and shared living on the same land; we call upon them to rebuild the past by reviving this tradition of **conviviality**, and restoring our shared trust that has been eroded by extremists using acts of terror and aggression;"

conviviality – friendship.

"Call upon representatives of the various religions, sects and denominations to confront all forms of religious **bigotry**, **vilification**, and **denigration** of what people hold sacred, as well as all speech that promote[s] hatred and bigotry; AND FINALLY,"

bigotry – intolerance toward those who hold different beliefs or opinions.

vilification – damaging or abusive false statements.

denigration – abusive attack or criticism.

"AFFIRM that it is **unconscionable** to employ religion for the purpose of aggressing upon the rights of religious minorities in Muslim countries."

unconscionable – not right or reasonable.

Marrakesh, Morocco
January 27, 2016

Access the website for more information about the conference, organizers, and the declaration:
http://www.marrakeshdeclaration.org/index.html

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PART III: CONTEMPORARY STATEMENTS BY MUSLIM SCHOLARS AND JURISTS

This lesson focuses on giving students an opportunity to learn from contemporary Muslim scholars and jurists about their views on topics including extremism, terrorism, and the rights of minorities in Islam and Muslim societies. These primary sources give students important insights into perspectives by Muslim scholars speaking out against the extremist ideologies often espoused by groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS.

Teachers may wish to have students read and analyze one of more of these primary sources using the graphic organizer provided. To make these ideas accessible to students, this lesson includes either a summary or excerpts from the full document. At the bottom of each document, a link to the full text is provided to allow for further study if desired. After students have had an opportunity to read and analyze the documents, invite students to share the insights they gained from reading these resources.

Global Historical Context: Contemporary

Objectives

Students will:
• Analyze primary source documents authored by Muslim scholars and jurists.
• Explore and identify significant themes that counter extremist ideologies espoused by groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS.

Resources

• Handout – Primary source document graphic organizer
• Handout – Open Letter to Al-Baghdadi
• Handout – The Amman Message
• Handout – Marrakesh Declaration
• Handout – This is Not the Path to Paradise
• Video segment with Sheik Abdullah bin Bayyah speaking about the importance of tolerance at the World Economic Forum, 2017 (watch from 9:45-15:45)

Preparation

1. Make a photocopy of the graphic organizer for each student.

2. Make photocopies of each of the primary sources available (each student should read at least one source).

In the Classroom

1. Access primary sources – Students should read one or more primary source document that represents responses by religious scholars and academics to the acts of terrorism and expressions of extremism by groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS. Either assign or ask students to choose one of the sources to read and analyze. Distribute a copy of the graphic organizer to each student, which provides a framework for student analysis of the documents.

You may wish to encourage the group reading "This is Not the Path to Paradise" to watch the video segment featuring Sheik Abdullah bin Bayyah, the author of the document, or watch it as a class.

2. Discuss new learning – After students have had an opportunity to read one or more of the documents, encourage them to share their learning with classmates. Engage in a whole-class discussion using the following prompts:

- Whose voices are represented in the source?
- Who do you think the audience for this source is?
- What ideas and/or themes were prevalent in the source you read?
- Have you heard ideas like these expressed in the media or society before? Why do you think these views are not more widely heard?
- Do the ideas communicated in these sources change your views about support for extremist violence within the broader Muslim community? Explain.

Primary Source Graphic Organizer

Directions: Use the graphic organizer to record notes as you analyze a primary source document. You may need to access the full text (linked at the bottom of the document) or conduct additional research to learn more about the context in which your document was written. As you read, place a star next to statements or ideas that you find particularly interesting or surprising.

Who created this document? In what ways is this person/group representative of the Muslim community?	Who do you think the audience is for this document? Explain.

Summarize the main ideas, drawing on specific evidence in the document.	What questions do you have about the ideas or statements in this document?

Open Letter to Al-Baghdadi

More than 120 leading Muslim scholars from around the world issued an open letter to the leader of ISIS, Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi, in September 2014. The 17-page document condemns twenty-four acts committed by the extremist group that scholars consider to be violations of Islam. In refuting the statements made by Baghdadi and other ISIS representatives, the letter includes short summaries of the opinions of Sunni scholars throughout Islamic history on issues such as *jihad*, minority rights, and women's rights. Although the letter is addressed to Baghdadi, it also was aimed at potential ISIS recruits. It says, "You have misinterpreted Islam into a religion of harshness, brutality, torture and murder… This is a great wrong and an offense to Islam, to Muslims and to the entire world."

Executive Summary

Text	Reading support
1. "It is forbidden in Islam to issue ***fatwas*** without all the necessary learning requirements. Even then *fatwas* must follow Islamic legal theory as defined in the **Classical texts**. It is also forbidden to cite a portion of a verse from the Qur'an—or part of a verse—to derive a ruling without looking at everything that the Qur'an and Hadith teach related to that matter. In other words, there are strict subjective and objective prerequisites for *fatwas*, and one cannot 'cherry-pick' Qur'anic verses for legal arguments without considering the entire Qur'an and Hadith."	***fatwa*** – pronounced foht-wah. Legal opinion issued by a religious scholar (as opposed to a judge in a court of law). May be used by a judge when giving a legal ruling. **Classical texts** – sacred texts, including the Qur'an and Hadith.
2. "It is forbidden in Islam to issue legal rulings about anything without mastery of the Arabic language."	
3. "It is forbidden in Islam to oversimplify **Shari'a** matters and ignore established Islamic sciences."	***Shari'a*** – Islamic law as established in the Qur'an and Hadith.
4. "It is permissible in Islam [for scholars] to differ on any matter, except those fundamentals of religion that all Muslims must know."	
5. "It is forbidden in Islam to ignore the reality of contemporary times when deriving legal rulings."	
6. "It is forbidden in Islam to kill the innocent."	
7. "It is forbidden in Islam to kill **emissaries**, ambassadors, and diplomats; hence it is forbidden to kill journalists and aid workers."	**emissaries** – a representative sent on a mission or assignment.
8. "***Jihad*** in Islam is defensive war. It is not permissible without the right cause, the right purpose and without the right rules of conduct."	***Jihad*** – literal meaning is "struggle" with two important meanings in Islam. "Greater" *jihad* is the struggle within oneself to live a righteous life and submit oneself to God's will. "Lesser" *jihad* is the defense of Islam and the Muslim community against aggression within strict limits of what is permitted in warfare.
9. "It is forbidden in Islam to declare people non-Muslim unless he (or she) openly declares disbelief."	

10. "It is forbidden in Islam to harm or mistreat—in any way—Christians or any **'People of the Scripture'**."

People of the Scripture – Muslims believe in the teachings of the earlier prophets of the Jews and Christians, such as Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Muslims also consider holy the teachings of the Jewish Torah and Christian Gospels.

11. "It is obligatory to consider **Yazidis** as 'People of the Scripture'."

Yazidis – a member of a Kurdish-speaking people whose religion draws on elements of Christianity, Islam, and Zoroastrianism (an ancient Persian faith). Yazidis were persecuted by ISIS members in northeastern Iraq.

12. "The re-introduction of slavery is forbidden in Islam. It was abolished by **universal consensus**."

universal consensus – general agreement.

13. "It is forbidden in Islam to force people to convert [to Islam]."

14. "It is forbidden in Islam to deny women their rights."

15. "It is forbidden in Islam to deny children their rights."

16. "It is forbidden in Islam to enact legal punishments without following the correct procedures that ensure justice and mercy."

17. "It is forbidden in Islam to torture people."

18. "It is forbidden in Islam to disfigure the dead."

19. "It is forbidden in Islam to destroy the graves and shrines of Prophets and **Companions**."

Companions – followers of Muhammad, the closest of whom provided the most important record of the Prophet's sayings and activities, which comprise the Hadith.

20. "Armed **insurrection** is forbidden in Islam for any reason other than clear disbelief by the ruler and not allowing people to pray."

insurrection – violent uprising against a government.

21. "It is forbidden in Islam to declare a **caliphate** without consensus from all Muslims."

caliphate – a term referring to the political-religious state comprising the lands of the Muslim community in the centuries following the death of the Prophet Muhammad.

22. "It is forbidden in Islam to attribute evil acts to God ﷻ."

23. "Loyalty to one's nation is permissible in Islam."

24. "After the death of the Prophet ﷺ, Islam does not require anyone to **emigrate** anywhere."

emigrate – leave one's own country.

Access the website to read the full letter, learn more about each of the twenty-four points, and see the letter's signatories.
http://www.lettertobaghdadi.com/

The Amman Message

Jordan's King Abdullah II started a project in November 2004 to declare what Islam is and what it is not, and what actions represent Islam and what actions do not. He undertook this project in the context of the global war on terror, in which terror networks claiming allegiance to Islam committed acts of horrific violence.

His goal was to clarify to the modern world the true nature of Islam. To give this statement more religious authority, King Abdullah II consulted twenty-four of the most senior religious scholars from all around the world representing all the branches and schools of Islam. King Abdullah II then convened an international Islamic conference with two hundred of the world's leading Islamic scholars ('ulama) from fifty countries. In Amman, Jordan, the scholars unanimously issued the Amman Message. The text below includes excerpts from the Amman Message. Text in italics indicates verses from the Qur'an.

Text	Reading support
"… In this declaration we speak frankly to the [Islamic] nation, at this difficult juncture in its history, regarding the **perils** that beset it. We are aware of the challenges confronting the nation, threatening its identity, assailing its **tenets,** and working to distort its religion and harm what is sacred to it. Today the… message of Islam faces a vicious attack from those who through distortion and fabrication try to portray Islam as an enemy to them. It is also under attack from some who claim affiliation with Islam and commit irresponsible acts in its name.…"	**perils** – dangers, threats, hazards. **tenets** – principles and beliefs.
"Islam is founded upon basic principles, the fundamentals are attesting to the unity of God*;* belief in the message of His Prophet; continuous connection with the Creator through ritual prayer*;* training and rectifying the soul through the fast of Ramadan; safeguarding one another by paying the **alms** tax*;* the unity of the people through the annual pilgrimage to [Mecca], … and [observing] His rulings that regulate human behavior in all its dimensions. Over history these [basic principles] have formed a strong and cohesive nation and a great civilization. They bear witness to noble principles and values that verify the good of humanity, whose foundation is the oneness of the human species, and that people are equal in rights and obligations, peace and justice, realizing comprehensive security, mutual social responsibility, being good to one's neighbor, protecting belongings and property, honoring pledges, and more…"	**alms** – charity.
"Islam honors every human being, regardless of his color, race or religion…"	
"Islam also affirms that the way of calling [others] to God is founded upon kindness and gentleness… Furthermore, it shuns cruelty and violence in how one faces and addresses others…"	
"Islam confirms the principle of justice in interacting with others, safeguarding their rights, and confirms that one must not deny people their possessions: *And let not the hatred of others make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just: that is closer to* **piety;** (5:8)…"	**piety** – devotion to God.

"Islam recognizes the noble station of [human] life, so there is to be no fighting against **non-combatants**, and no assault upon civilians and their properties, children…, students in their schools, nor upon elderly men and women. Assault upon the life of a human being, be it murder, injury or threat, is an assault upon the right to life among all human beings. It is among the **gravest** of sins; for human life is the basis for the **prosperity** of humanity: *Whoever kills a soul for other than slaying a soul or corruption upon the earth it is as if he has killed the whole of humanity, and whoever saves a life, it is as if has revived the whole of humanity.* (5:32)…."

non-combatants – people not engaged in conflict or war.
gravest – most serious, important.
prosperity – success, well-being.

"We denounce and condemn extremism, radicalism and fanaticism today, just as our forefathers tirelessly denounced and opposed them throughout Islamic history. They are the ones who affirmed, as do we, the firm and unshakeable understanding that Islam is a religion of [noble] character traits in both its ends and means; a religion that strives for the good of the people, their happiness in this life and the next; and a religion that can only be defended in ways that are **ethical**…."

ethical – morally correct.

"On religious and moral grounds, we **denounce** the contemporary concept of terrorism that is associated with wrongful practices, whatever their source and form may be. Such acts are represented by aggression against human life in an oppressive form that **transgresses** the rulings of God, frightening those who are secure, violating peaceful civilians, finishing off the wounded, and killing prisoners; and they employ unethical means, such as destroying buildings and **ransacking** cities… We condemn these practices and believe that resisting oppression and confirming justice should be a legitimate undertaking through legitimate means…"

denounce – reject.
transgress – defy, violat
ransacking – raiding, robbing, looting.

"At the same time, we decry the campaign of **brazen** distortion that portrays Islam as a religion that encourages violence and institutionalizes terrorism. We call upon the international community to work earnestly to implement international laws and honor the international **mandates** and resolutions issued by the United Nations, ensuring that all parties accept them and that they be enacted without double standards, to guarantee the return of rights to their [rightful] holders and the end of oppression. Achieving this will be a significant contribution to uprooting the causes of violence, fanaticism and extremism…"

brazen – bold.
mandates – official order, requirement.

"Hope lies in the scholars of our Nation, that through the reality of Islam and its values they will enlighten the intellects of our youth… The scholars shield our youth from the danger of sliding down the paths of ignorance, corruption, close-minded-ness… It is our scholars who **illuminate** for them the paths of tolerance, moderation, and goodness, and prevent them from [falling] into the **abysses** of extremism and fanaticism that destroy the spirit and body…."

illuminate – shed light on, reveal.
abyss – hole, cavern, pit.

Amman
The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Ramadan 1425 Hijri
November 2004 A.D.

Access the website to read the full declaration, endorsements, and other comments: http://ammanmessage.com/.

Marrakesh Declaration

In January 2016, King Muhammad VI of Morocco hosted a conference in the city of Marrakesh for ministers, religious scholars, Muslim legal experts, academics, and representatives from Islamic organizations from more than 120 countries. The conference sought to examine the rights of religious minorities in Muslim-majority countries in response to the persecution of and violence against minorities. The text below includes excerpts from the Executive Summary.

Text

"In the Name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate WHEREAS, conditions in various parts of the Muslim World have **deteriorated** dangerously due to the use of violence and armed struggle as a tool for settling conflicts and imposing one's point of view;

WHEREAS, this situation has also weakened the authority of legitimate governments and enabled criminal groups to issue **edicts** attributed to Islam, but which, in fact, alarmingly distort its fundamental principles and goals in ways that have seriously harmed the population as a whole;

WHEREAS, this year marks the 1,400th anniversary of the **Charter of Medina**, a constitutional contract between the Prophet Muhammad, God's peace and blessings be upon him, and the people of Medina, which guaranteed the religious liberty of all, regardless of faith;"

"WHEREAS, hundreds of Muslim scholars and intellectuals from over 120 countries, along with representatives of Islamic and international organizations, as well as leaders from diverse religious groups and nationalities, gathered in Marrakesh on this date to reaffirm the principles of the Charter of Medina at a major conference…."

"AND NOTING the gravity of this situation afflicting Muslims as well as peoples of other faiths throughout the world, and after thorough deliberation and discussion, the convened Muslim scholars and intellectuals:"

"DECLARE HEREBY our firm commitment to the principles articulated in the Charter of Medina, whose provisions contained a number of the principles of constitutional contractual citizenship, such as freedom of movement, property ownership, mutual solidarity and defense, as well as principles of justice and equality before the law; and that,"

"The objectives of the Charter of Medina provide a suitable framework for national constitutions in countries with Muslim majorities, and the United Nations Charter and related documents, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are in harmony with the Charter of Medina, including consideration for public order."

Reading support

deteriorated – become progressively or steadily worse.

edict – a public and official order or proclamation.

Charter of Medina – agreements between Muhammad and tribes forming the first Muslim community around 622 CE. The agreement also guided the relations of Muslims with Jews in Medina.

"NOTING FURTHER that deep reflection upon the various crises afflicting humanity underscores the inevitable and urgent need for cooperation among all religious groups, we AFFIRM HEREBY that such cooperation must be based on a "Common Word," requiring that such cooperation must go beyond mutual tolerance and respect, to providing full protection for the rights and liberties to all religious groups in a civilized manner that **eschews** coercion, bias, and arrogance."

eschews – rejects, renounces.

"BASED ON ALL OF THE ABOVE, we hereby:
Call upon Muslim scholars and intellectuals around the world to develop a **jurisprudence** of the concept of "citizenship" which is inclusive of diverse groups. Such jurisprudence shall be rooted in Islamic tradition and principles and mindful of global changes."

jurisprudence – a theory or philosophy of law.

"Urge Muslim educational institutions and authorities to conduct a courageous review of educational curricula that addresses honestly and effectively any material that instigates aggression and extremism, leads to war and chaos, and results in the destruction of our shared societies;"

"Call upon politicians and decision makers to take the political and legal steps necessary to establish a constitutional contractual relationship among its citizens, and to support all formulations and initiatives that aim to fortify relations and understanding among the various religious groups in the Muslim World;"

"Call upon the educated, artistic, and creative members of our societies, as well as organizations of civil society, to establish a broad movement for the just treatment of religious minorities in Muslim countries and to raise awareness as to their rights, and to work together to ensure the success of these efforts."

"Call upon the various religious groups bound by the same national fabric to address their mutual state of selective amnesia that blocks memories of centuries of joint and shared living on the same land; we call upon them to rebuild the past by reviving this tradition of **conviviality**, and restoring our shared trust that has been eroded by extremists using acts of terror and aggression;"

conviviality – friendship.

"Call upon representatives of the various religions, sects and denominations to confront all forms of religious **bigotry**, **vilification**, and **denigration** of what people hold sacred, as well as all speech that promote[s] hatred and bigotry; AND FINALLY,"

bigotry – intolerance toward those who hold different beliefs or opinions.

vilification – damaging or abusive false statements.

denigration – abusive attack or criticism.

"AFFIRM that it is **unconscionable** to employ religion for the purpose of aggressing upon the rights of religious minorities in Muslim countries."

unconscionable – not right or reasonable.

Marrakesh, Morocco
January 27, 2016

Access the website for more information about the conference, organizers, and the declaration:
http://www.marrakeshdeclaration.org/index.html

This is Not the Path to Paradise
A Statement to the Muslim World and its Leaders in Response to ISIS

In March 2014, more than 250 Islamic scholars and thinkers from around the world attended the Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies in Abu Dhabi. One of the goals of the Forum was to establish a unified position in response to grave threats facing the Muslim world during this critical phase of its history. The text below includes excerpts from a published statement.

Text	Reading support
"The gravity of the situation is manifested in the following ways: • The uncommon nature of the threat is evidenced by **unprecedented** levels of violence utilizing every type of warfare. This even includes **weapons of mass destruction**, which citizens of the same country are using against one another. This violence has a broader reach, as evidenced by the expanding geography that covers a large region of the Muslim and Arab nations. Conflicts are on the verge of spreading to other regions as well. • This conflict is different in its duration. Perpetual conflicts, with no end in sight, are becoming the norm… • This conflict has international implications and tarnishes the image of Islam worldwide…"	**unprecedented** – unheard of, exceptional. **weapons of mass destruction**– chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons capable of causing large-scale destruction.
"Some of the recommendations that came out of the Forum for Promoting Peace include the urgent and **dire** need to reorder the house of the Muslims… The time is now for Muslim societies—individuals and political **entities**—to work together towards what is right and good and to place the higher interests of humanity and the world above personal interests. They must adopt dialogue and cooperation as the sole strategy to address their concerns."	**dire** – urgent, pressing. **entities** – organizations.
"In recent weeks and months, the incidences of violence have only accelerated and become more **indiscriminate** and destructive in nature, leaving no segment of society or religious community unaffected… Thus, for all who are troubled about the state of the Muslim world and long for its reformation, the Forum for Promoting Peace would like to remind you of and alert you to the following:"	**indiscriminate** – random, haphazard.
"The responsibility of the scholars and religious authorities at this time in particular is to protect life. No sane person can remain indifferent to the loss of life and suffering in the Muslim world. What then of those who have pledged to God that they will do their part to set the world right? The reality is that much of what is happening today relies on religious **justification** as a **pretext**…"	**justification** – grounds or reasons. **pretext** – a reason given for a course of action that is not the real reason.
"The relationship between means and end has been distorted… That is because the means to evil ends are also evil, and noble ends can be reached only by noble means. So one cannot use genocide, murder, oppression, or vengeance to establish truth and justice…"	
"The four values upon which Islamic law is built—wisdom, justice, mercy, and the common good—have been **degraded**…."	**degraded** – diminished, deteriorated.

"***Jihad*** is not synonymous with fighting. Hence, not all *jihad* is fighting, and not all fighting is *jihad*… Obeying God is also a form of *jihad*, as the Hadith states, 'The real *jihad* is to strive against the ego in order to obey God.' For this reason, we call on you to embark on a *jihad*… invoke God often, build mosques, be kind to people, and promote civilization…"

Jihad – Literal meaning is "struggle." It has two important meanings in Islam: "Greater" jihad is the struggle within oneself to live a righteous life and submit oneself to God's will; "Lesser" jihad is the defense of Islam and the Muslim community against aggression within strict limits of what is permitted in warfare.

"As for military jihad, that was prescribed for times when there were no global treaties or pacts leaving no means to convey the message of Islam other than with military support, and there were no borders that were acknowledged… Also, there were no weapons of mass destruction at this time. All of these premises are no longer the case. How can any Muslim who understands the texts and aims of Islamic law call for war against all other nations? One who does so is foolish, ignorant of the true nature of Islam as well as the realities of today, and seeks to sow corruption in the land…"

"All forms of oppression and aggression against religious minorities are in direct contradiction to the values of our religion. In fact, Islam calls us to do well by religious minorities, to place them under our protection, and threatens those who harm them with punishment in the afterlife… Hence, any aggression of any kind or **coercion** to convert is unacceptable. Coerced conversion is invalid in Islamic law. Islam has nothing to do with this, as the Qur'an states, 'There is no compulsion in religion' (Qur'an, 2:256)…"

coercion – persuading someone to do something by using force or threats.

"For these reasons, we call yet again upon religious scholars, philosophers, writers, pioneers, the media, bloggers, and social media activists to take on the task to carry this message, assert its importance in creating harmony in society, and develop a roadmap towards promoting a culture of peace in Muslim societies…"

"Lastly, a warning to the youth of the Muslim world in particular… We call on them to remain **steadfast** in the face of the empty claims and promises made before them and to live the Islamic law properly so that they will not be confused and **duped** into confusing falsehood with truth. This applies, in particular, to those who do not have a command of Arabic and do not understand the language of the Qur'an…"

steadfast – committed, dedicated, unwavering.

duped – deceived, tricked.

Abdallah bin Bayyah, President, Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies September 14, 2014.

For the full document, see Abdullah bin Bayah, "This is Not the Path to Paradise: Response to ISIS." http://binbayyah.net/english/fatwa-response-to-isis/.

GLOSSARY

Authoritarian – enforcing obedience to authority at the expense of personal freedom. In an authoritarian government, power is often concentrated in the hands of a leader who restricts the ability of other political groups to compete for power.

Autonomy – freedom from external control.

Ayatollah – literally, "Sign of God." Ayatollahs hold the highest rank of Shi'i Muslim clerics and are respected for knowledge and piety.

Binary – involving a choice or condition of two alternatives.

Blasphemy – the act of insulting or speaking disrespectfully about God or other sacred religious matters.

Caliph – title for a successor to the Prophet Muhammad, who was a political leader of the Muslim community.

Caliphate – a term referring to the political-religious state comprising the lands of the Muslim community in the centuries following the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Power struggles later caused the caliphate's decline, and it ceased to exist as a functioning political institution.

Despotism – a system of government in which the ruler holds absolute power.

Ennahda – an Islamist party in Tunisia with a long history of advocacy for social justice.

Fatwa – legal opinion issued by a religious scholar (as opposed to a judge in a court of law). May be used by a judge when giving a legal ruling.

Fundamentalism – a form of a religion, especially Islam or Protestant Christianity, that upholds belief in the literal interpretation of scripture; strict adherence to the basic principles of any subject or discipline.

Hadith – a collection of traditions containing the deeds and sayings of the prophet Muhammad which, with accounts of his daily practice (the Sunna), constitute the primary source of guidance for Muslims apart from the Qur'an.

Ideology – a system of ideas and ideals held by an individual or group which form the basis of economic, political, social, and/or cultural beliefs.

Islamism – movements by individuals and groups to respond to modern social and political challenges by reordering government and society in accordance with Islamic laws and/or Islamic traditions. Also referred to as Political Islam.

Islamic Reformism – an approach that seeks to reform Islamic thought and scholarship to reinfuse it with a spirit of philosophical inquiry and critical thinking.

Islamic Revivalism – an approach that seeks to purify Islam and return it to its original essence through a literal interpretation of the Qur'an and other holy texts that share the teachings of the Prophet and his early companions.

Jihad – literal meaning is "struggle" or "exertion." It has two important meanings in Islam. "Greater" jihad is the struggle within oneself to live a righteous life and submit oneself to God's will. "Lesser" jihad is the defense of Islam and the Muslim community against aggression within strict limits of what is permitted in warfare.

Mufti – a Muslim legal expert who is empowered to give rulings or opinions, known as *fatwas*, on religious matters.

Muhammad – Prophet of Islam who received the revelation of the Qur'an. Muslims seek to emulate his example (Sunna), as recorded in the *hadith*.

Muslim Brotherhood – an Islamist party that originated in Egypt and now has branches in other countries.

Pluralism – system of power-sharing among a number of political parties.

Political Islam – movements by individuals and groups to respond to modern social and political challenges by reordering of government and society in accordance with Islamic laws and/or Islamic traditions. Also referred to as Islamism.

Qur'an – the central religious text of Islam, which Muslims believe to be a revelation from God.

Salafi – a member of a sect of Sunni Islam who advocates a return to the early Islam of the first generations of Muslims. Also refers to a specific approach to legal philosophy or theory and the core tenets of faith, defined by its exclusive reliance on sources and evidence from the earliest period of Islam. The literal meaning of "*Salaf*" is pious ancestors.

Secular – not connected with religious or spiritual matters.

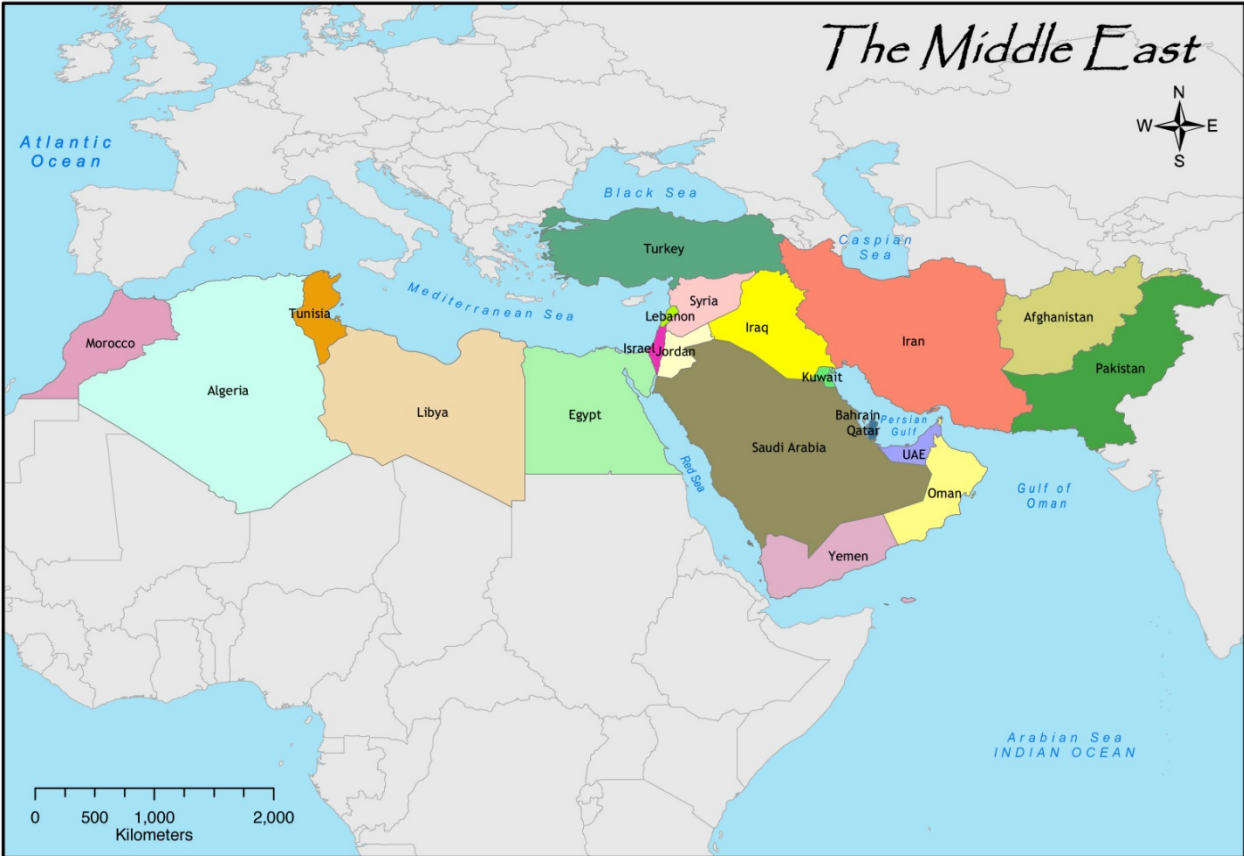**Secularists** – individuals who advocate for separation of the government from religious institutions.

Shari'a – Islamic law as established in the Qur'an and Hadith.

Shi'a – one of the two main branches of Islam; Muslims who believe that succession of the political and religious leadership of the Muslim community should be hereditary through the Prophet's descendants. About 15 percent of the world's Muslims are Shi'as.

Sunna – second only to the Qur'an, the Prophet's tradition was regarded as a living model for the correct application of Islamic law.

Sunni – one of the two main branches of Islam; Muslims who believe that succession of the political and religious leadership of the Muslim community should belong to the most qualified and pious person, rather than being hereditary. About 85 percent of the world's Muslims are Sunnis.

Umma – the whole community of Muslims bound together by ties of religion.

The Middle East