Islam and Politics Past and Present: A Bibliographical Essay

Islamic studies specialists often dismiss the many works on radical Islam as much chaff and little wheat. Yes, there is no lack of the shrill, the sensational, and the superficial. Make no mistake, however. Many well-researched and thoughtful books and articles has been produced. So much has been written on this subject during the past several decades that any attempt at an an exhaustive listing would result in a book-length compilation. Indeed, such a compilation already exists—in two volumes, *The Contemporary Islamic Revival* (1991) and *The Islamic Revival Since 1988* (1997), both edited by Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and others.

Even the limited selections made in this essay have produced more pages than many readers may wish to review and certainly more titles than all but those planning to write their own books on the subject require. To accommodate the busy reader I have sought out shorter works (slim books, journal articles, or chapters in books), but a sufficient number of the big books have also been included to satisfy those seeking greater detail on one aspect or another of this large and protean subject.

Discussing the literature on Islamist thought and action in today's Muslim world is a large enough assignment in itself, but this subject can be set in proper context only with some background knowledge of Islamic history throughout its fourteen-plus centuries. A few general works are cited to serve the needs of those readers with little knowledge of Islamic history.

Full bibliographical information is to be found in the alphabetically arranged list of works cited that follows this essay.

General Studies of Islamic History and Civilization

For overall orientation the two-volume *Cambridge History of Islam*, the three-volume *Venture of Islam*, by Marshall G. S. Hodgson,or the large one-volume *A History of Islamic Societies* by Ira Lapidus can be recommended. All three have the advantage of treating the entire Muslim world and not just the Middle East. By contrast, André Miquel's *L'Islam et sa civilisation*, in spite of the name, deals essentially with the Middle East from the rise of Islam to this century. Miquel does, however, offer a 72-page "Tableaux chronologiques" divided into four concurrent categories—"Histoire politique et militare," "Histoire religieuse," "Histoire economique, social et culturelle," and "En dehors de l'Islam"—which are very useful for ready chronological orientation.

Hodgson's *Venture of Islam* is by no means an introductory text. It is perhaps best read by those possessing more than rudimentary knowledge of the subject. His was a pioneering work in seeing Islamic civilization as a whole, in challenging the longstanding interpretation of Muslims as having been in a state of decline since the time of the Prophet Muhammad and the early community (volume 3 is significantly entitled "The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times," referring to those impressive Muslim polities: the Ottoman, Safavid, and Moghul Empires).

Hodgson also sought to distinguish between Islam as religion, the political arrangements of Muslims past and present, and the overall culture of Muslims. For the first, he used the terms *Islam* or *Islamic*. For the second, he coined *Islamdom*, comparable to *Christendom*, and for the latter, *Islamicate* (as one might speak of Italianate architecture or art). The terminology has caught on only fleetingly, but the substantive importance of such distinctions must be appreciated. The reductio ad absurdum of labeling all aspects of life among Muslim peoples as "Islamic" is reached, so the story goes, with the monograph written on "Atheism in Islam." The extent to which the values and institutions of the religion called Islam shape the institutions, attitudes, and mores of Muslims is precisely what needs to be examined. The profligate use of the adjective *Islamic* for all aspects of life among Muslims obscures what most needs to be analyzed.

Lapidus divides his *History of Islamic Societies* into three parts treating 1. the origins of Islamic civilization in the Middle East c. 600 to c. 1200, 2. the worldwide diffusion of Islamic societies from the tenth to the nineteenth centuries, and 3. "The Modern Transformation: Muslim Peoples in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." The modern period (part 3) get fuller coverage. It is almost one-half of the book. At the same time, those earlier

twelve centuries are well covered. This book is perhaps more accessible than Hodgson's, and it is equally learned. Both Hodgson and Lapidus provide excellent annotated bibliographies.

The multiauthored *Cambridge History of Islam* offers chronological coverage of the world of Islam divided into "The Central Islamic Lands" (volume 1), essentially the Middle East, and "The Further Islamic Lands" (volume 2), everything else (including, surprisingly, the Maghrib). Volume 2 also contains fifteen separate chapters on all aspects of Islamic civilization. Chapters 2 through 7 treat "The Sources of Islamic Civilization," "Economy, Society, Institutions," "Law and Justice," "Religion and Culture," "Mysticism," and "Revival and Reform in Islam." A thematic chapter in volume 1 on "The Political Impact of the West" should be noted.

Islamic Political Thought

Both present-day Islamists and their opponents appeal to an earlier tradition of political thought, emphasizing especially the time of the Prophet Muhammad and the early community as the appropriate model but actually drawing on a much more extensive chronological chain of writers such as Ibn Taimiyya (1263–1328) or Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406). For this body of Islamic thought one can consult E. I. J. Rosenthal's *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* or Ann Lambton's *State and Government in Medieval Islam*, which I find more satisfying. W. M. Watt has written a number of short books on aspects of Islam. One of these, entitled *Islamic Political Thought*, can serve as a primer.

Those seeking to get a general sense of what might be called classical Islamic thinking regarding government and politics might well consult some combination of the following shorter pieces:

David de Santillana, "Law and Society" in the original *The Legacy of Islam*;

Ann Lambton, "Islamic Political Thought" in the new *Legacy of Islam*;

plus two writings, both entitled "The Body Politic," the first by Claude Cahen in *Unity and Variety in Islamic Civilization* and the second constituting two chapters in Gustave von Grunebaum's *Medieval Islam*.

Ira Lapidus, "State and Religion in Islamic Societies," as well as his earlier "The Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic

Society" are also important in challenging the oft-stated idea that there can never be a separation between state and religion in Islam.

A useful way to study political thought is by probing the meaning and content of the terminology used. Here, we are especially well served by the splendid *The Political Language of Islam* by Bernard Lewis. This meaty little book is divided into five chapters—"Metaphor and Illusion," "The Body Politic," "The Rulers and the Ruled," "War and Peace," and "The Limits of Obedience"—all clearly relevant. This is a book to read and reread.

No one scholar did more than H. A. R. Gibb to present an interpretation of Islamic political thought that remains generally accepted to this day. Several of his seminal writings on this subject are conveniently collected in his *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*.

The above works treat essentially the political thought of the ulama. The Muslim philosophers, reluctant to challenge Islamic orthodoxy, usually chose a compartmentalized intellectual existence and had less direct impact on shaping the Muslim *umma*'s approach to politics. Still, their ideas did filter into the mainstream. An appealing book for this aspect of classical Islamic thought is that edited by Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi, *Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook*, which has the added advantages of offering examples and commentary concerning the three religious traditions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In addition to the several selections and commentaries found in Lerner and Mahdi, one can consult an interesting article by Charles Butterworth. In "Prudence Versus Legitimacy: The Persistent Theme in Islamic Thought" he distinguishes the legalistic tradition of the ulama from that of the philosophers.

As for that third strand in premodern Islamic political thought, the mirrors for princes literature, a number of representative "mirrors" have been translated into English. An important example is *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, a translation of the *Siyasat-name* written by the celebrated vizier, Nizam al-Mulk (1018–1092). A good quick description of this more pragmatic princely tradition in political thought is set out in chapter 3, "The Islamic Intellectual Heritage of the Young Ottomans," of Serif Mardin's *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*.

Mardin's book also serves as a bridge to studies on political thought (not just Islamist political thought) in modern times, which is very much tied up with the response of the several different Muslim societies to the impact of the West. This is a huge subject, and only a few titles can be mentioned. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* by Bernard Lewis traces the Ottoman efforts to respond to the new world imposed by the West during almost a century and a half from the late eighteenth century until after the First World War,

when there emerged out of the ashes of this long-lived empire a Turkish nation-state in Anatolia plus a number of would-be nation-states through the Arab world. Lewis's account, which treats much more than political ideas, offers a model for equivalent states such as Egypt and Tunisia (technically part of the Ottoman but autonomous and virtually independent) or Morocco and Iran. Yet another study of the same period is *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* by the Turkish scholar, Niyazi Berkes. The title is significant: Berkes presents secularism as a great achievement.

Dealing only with the Arab world but revealing an intellectual ferment not unlike that throughout the entire Muslim world in modern times is Albert Hourani's *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*. Nationalism (Arab or other) and Islamism are, of course, at one and the same time in contention and thoroughly intertwined. An excellent short statement is the seventy-page introduction by Sylvia G. Haim to her *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology*. Note that both Hourani and Haim treat al-Afghani and Muhummad Abduh. Bernard Lewis has much to say on the linkages between nationalism and religion in his *The Shaping of the Modern Middle East*, especially the chapters "Patriotism and Nationalism" and "The Revolt of Islam."

E. I. J. Rosenthal, some years after his book *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* (1958), followed with *Islam in the Modern National State* (1965). This book thus appeared several years before the great outburst of Islamist activity and the scholarly monitoring of that phenomenon, which was in large measure unexpected. This book presents different case studies, e.g., "Islam and Turkish Nationalism," "Islam and Arab Nationalism," and "For and Against the *Khilafa*." It also has the advantage of treating Islam east and west of the Middle Eastern core with coverage not only of Pakistan but also of Malaya (later Malaysia) plus Morocco and Tunisia.

The best single book on modern Islamic political thought is Hamid Enayat's work by that title. Enayat also gives considerable attention to political thought in Shi'ism and offers as well a separate chapter on "Shi'ism and Sunnism: Conflict and Concord."

Islamic Fundamentalism

Turning now to works treating more directly Islamist thought and action in modern times, first a word about terminology. Many object to the term *fundamentalism*, seeing it as a borrowing from another time and place (the word was used first to describe American Protestant scriptural literalists

early in this century). Others maintain that the term has no utility since the dogma of the uncreated Qur'an makes all Muslims fundamentalists. They necessarily embrace the "inerrancy" of their scripture. The scholarly debate over terminology itself, which continues, can provide insights into several contending ways of understanding what is being studied. I find the term *fundamentalism* useful, and like the way it evokes the comparative approach. *Islamist* is increasing accepted, it would seem, as a word that avoids debate over terminology, but that term has its problems, too, implying that those so designated are somehow more "Muslim" than others. In any case, the most convincing argument I have found for describing the subject of our study as fundamentalism is in the first several pages of "Islamic Fundamentalism Reconsidered: A Critical Outline of Problems, Ideas, and Approaches" by Sadik J. al-'Azm. That entire long article, which goes on to offer comparative insights into Protestant, Catholic, and Islamic fundamentalism, merits a careful reading. On defining fundamentalism see also Bruce Lawrence's *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt Against the Modern Age*, passim, and especially his listing of five fundamentalist traits (pp. 100–101).

No scholarly consensus exists about how to describe and explain Islamic radicalism. In simplest terms, interpretations range from those seeing Islamists as largely nonthreatening to established order, or, at least, capable of being co-opted by established order, to those lumping all Islamists as revolutionaries bent on replacing the status quo with an authoritarian Islamic state. To the former, the hard-core terrorists are unrepresentative exceptions. To the latter, those same terrorists simply express more openly what all Islamists believe and aspire to achieve. There are, as well, interpretations opting for some middle point between these two extremes (as I have done in this book). I will try to present a sampling of these contending interpretations.

John Voll's *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World* is a good way to begin our listing. It is by no means confined to Islamists and modern Islamic fundamentalism. It is, rather, a solid text treating just what the title states. Only the penultimate chapter zeros in on "The Resurgence of Islam." Voll also provides equal treatment to all parts of the Muslim world. Anyone lacking the time to select readings from the many books and articles listed earlier can rely on this one book to set the general context.

John Esposito has, like Voll, devoted his scholarly attention almost exclusively to Islamic studies. Among his many publications, the two that most directly treat our subject are his *Islam and Politics* and *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* Esposito has also edited several books on this subject

including *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform? Islam and Development: Religion and Sociopolitical Change*, *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, and *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives* (coedited with John J. Donohue). The latter is a very able selection of writings by Muslims themselves, covering a spectrum ranging from such liberal Muslim thinkers as Sadik al-Azam, Hichem Djait, and the late Muhammad Nuwayhi to adamant Islamists Mawdudi and Qutb. *Voicesof Resurgent Islam* contains a mix of writings by non-Muslim and Muslim scholars. Esposito and Voll have also collaborated on a work, *Islam and Democracy*, that is relevant to our subject.

Are Islam and nationalism incompatible? This is a subject about which even Islamists differ. Hasan al-Banna, for example, held that nationalism and Islamism could be reconciled. James Piscatori's stimulating *Islam in a World of Nation-States* argues that most Muslim states have accommodated themselves to the prevailing nation-state system quite well. See also Nikki Keddie's "Pan-Islam as Proto-Nationalism," which, while treating the earlier period of Pan-Islam, deftly indicates the possibility of blending together Islamism and nationalism.

Edward Mortimer's *Faith and Power* (1982) is a very readable early account that sets the stage with a good chapter on "Traditional Muslim Attitudes to Power," and then sketches the "Western Impact and Muslim Responses" before turning to six twentieth-century cases studies of the interaction of Islam and politics, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iran, plus an overview chapter entitled "Arab Nationalism and Muslim Brotherhood."

A year later, Daniel Pipes, a scholar well-versed in Islamic studies, both premodern and modern, provided a penetrating account in his *In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power*. His early chapters take the customary vantage point as adopted by Mortimer (and, for that matter, this book and most studies) of describing an Islamic civilization that developed over the centuries its own approach to politics and then was obliged to confront in modern times a threatening but also enticing West. His chapter "The Islamic Revivial: A Survey of Countries" gets much said in few pages. Nothing mincing about the Pipes approach, his is a well-informed, hard-eyed study enriched by many comparative insights. Pipes, in a penultimate chapter, also ties in the availability of oil wealth as a factor facilitating Islamic revivalists movements across national borders.

Another forceful writer whose natural intelligence and scholarly flair was enriched by his having grown up as a Greek Christian insider/outsider in Egypt and Palestine was the late P. J. Vatikiotis (he died in December 1997). His little book, *Islam and the State*, is stimulating but, in my view,

overly inclined to view Islam (not just Islamists) as incapable of adjusting to the basic requirements of modernity. Read the book and read as well Abbas Kelidar's excellent obituary appreciation of Vatikiotis, which also sums up the major points raised in *Islam and the State*. Let one example suffice:

> Vatikiotis was constantly conscious of the clash between religion, with its extensive cultural complex or ethos, and secular modernity under which the national secular state emerged. . . . For him "the essence of secularism, apart from the separation between religion and state, is the acceptance of the proposition that there is no finality to forms, no exclusive possession of absolute and indivisible truth. A corollary of this is the recognition of alternative notions about man and the world and, more significantly, the toleration of these alternative views." (Kelidar, *Islam and the State*, p. 98)

It is a position that he did not believe either Islam could sustain or the traditional jurists and their modern Islamist counterparts would ever entertain.

My own review of *Islam and the State* sets out my reservations.

Youssef M. Choueiri's *Islamic Fundamentalism* (London 1990) offers another overview with thoughtful insights. He sees Islamic fundamentalism as the

> latest and perhaps the last attempt to establish a totalitarian Islamic state. . . . Its ideology is closely related to the anxieties and ambitions of certain strata of society: small merchants, middle traders, artisans, students, teachers and state employees. Hence, it is an ideology shot through with the precarious position of these social groups. (p. 12)

Choueiri also explicates one of those seemingly minor points that actually is very revealing (pp. 142–149). This is the extent to which Sayyid Qutb was influenced by Alexis Carrel (1873–1944). Carrel, a medical doctor, received the Nobel Prize in 1912, but his importance here was his later book, *Man, the Unknown* (a best-seller in the 1930s and 1940s) and his easily fitting as an official in the government of Vichy France. Carrel put himself forward as a social philosopher (if not, indeed, a prophet) deploring the presumed dehumanizing impact of modern Western materialism (especially capitalism). A social Darwinist elitist, he went all the way into advocating eugenics and euthanasia to breed the best and weed out the unfit. Qutb, Choueri argues, adapted Carrel's ideas (not, in fairness, eugenics and euthanasia) to come up with "a Third World version of fascism." Choueiri shrewdly suggests that

what Carrel called modern Western "barbarism" could be transposed into Qutb's *jahiliyya*. An excellent insight, which also demonstrates that even Islamists most intent on rejecting the "other" in favor of a postulated cultural authenticity often rely on theories and ideologies advanced by outsiders.

One of the most insightful studies is Nazih Ayubi's *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*. Although, as the title indicates, he deals only with the Arab world, Ayubi addresses major themes relevant elsewhere in the Muslim world. His first chapter on "Theory and Practice of the Islamic State" is an excellent survey, consistent with the main lines of the works cited above treating Islamic political thought but offering thoughtful new twists. Other chapters treat "The Politics of Sex and the Family," discuss Islamic banking, and survey both the intellectual sources and the socioeconomic bases of political Islam. He even has a stimulating chapter entitled "The Islamic Liberals Answer Back."

Islam and Revolution in the Middle East by Henry Munson Jr. is another good general study. Munson elsewhere offers an entrée into the scholarly debate over comparative fundamentalisms. These exchanges took place in the short-lived and regrettably now defunct journal *Contention*. In "Not all Crustaceans Are Crabs: Reflections on the Comparative Study of Fundamentalism and Politics" Munson critically reviewed the multivolume fundamentalisms project edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (to be noted later). There followed in later issues exchanges with Appleby, who took issue with Munson's criticism. Then came Munson's longer "Intolerable Tolerance: Western Academia and Islamic Fundamentalism," a hard-hitting critique of what he saw as a tendency among several Western scholars to condone or turn a blind eye to the seamier side of the Islamists in word and deed. This is a core issue, and Munson handles it bluntly but fairly. In an effort to give fair treatment to the "Other," do scholars risk falling into a double standard, explaining away or passing over statements or deeds that they would not, for a moment, countenance at home?

A more recent book is *The Future of Islam and the West: Clash of Civilizations or Peaceful Cosexistence?* (1998) by Shireen T. Hunter. As the subtitle suggests, this book was written in the wake of the "clash of civilizations" argument initiated by Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington. Hunter's book is a very readable general essay, which offers a sanguine interpretation by arguing that today's Muslim world contains much more than the Islamists. Two interesting case studies on "the role of Islam in shaping foreign policy" treat Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Also taking their distance from the "clash of civilizations" school are

Scott W. Hibbard and David Little in their short book *Islamic Activism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. In greater detail, and more recently still, Fawaz A. Gerges addresses this subject in *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* Gerges's major focus is American perceptions of and policies toward Islamism, but that in itself is an interestingly different way to study the subject.

The just published *Jihad: Expansion et déclin de l'islamisme* by Gilles Kepel is an excellent, in-depth study concluding that Islamism as a political force has peaked. An English translation is planned.

Writings by Islamists

A number of writings by the several different Islamists are available in English. The very influential *Islamic Government* by Ayatullah Khomeini along with others of his writings have been translated by Hamid Algar in *Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini*. For al-Banna, see Charles Wendell's translation entitled *Five Tracts of Hasan al-Banna*. There is also a Pakistani translation of his memoirs, *Memoirs of Hasan al-Banna, Shaheed*. Sayyid Qutb's first major Islamist book, *Social Justice in Islam*, has been twice translated, earlier by J. B. Hardie (1970) and then again in 1996 by William E. Shephard, *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism: A Translation and Critical Analysis of Social Justice in Islam*. Shephard's bibliography lists translations available of other works by Qutb, including his celebrated *Milestones*.

Many of Mawdudi's works have been translated into English, often distributed as small inexpensive pamphlets. To select just two examples: *First Principles of the Islamic State* and *Political Theory of Islam*. The latter lists another fourteen of Mawdudi's books translated into English.

Certainly one of the more chillingly extremist Islamist writings was Muhammad 'Abd al-Salam Faraj's *Al-Faridah al-Gha'ibah*, a short pamphlet setting out the justification for taking extreme action, including political assassination, to replace *jahiliyya* government with true Islamic government. A translation is available in Johannes J. G. Jansen, *The Neglected Duty: The Creed of Sadat's Assassins and Islamic Resurgence in the Middle East*. The first 157 pages of Jansen's book provides a thorough assessment of the background to the book and to Sadat's assassination as well as a responses to *The Neglected Duty* by Al-Azhar ulama, Sufis, and other religious figures.

Other short readings (usually excerpts from longer works) available in English, covering the range of Muslim opinion from liberal to fundamen-

talist, are conveniently grouped in *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook* edited by Charles Kurzman. Esposito's *Voices of Resurgent Islam* and Esposito and Donohue, *Islam in Transition*, noted earlier, also contain short selections from Muslim writers, again of all leanings but including such Islamists as Sudan's Hasan Turabi.

Reportage

One of the offsetting ironies concerning the professoriate and the media professionals is the use of the terms *academic* to mean lacking relationship with the real world and *journalistic* conveying the sense of superficial. In fact, academics and journalists can be equally relevant and profound or irrelevant and slipshod. Their professional standards differ in modalities but not in rigor. Useful insights into the world of Islamists can be obtained from those who rely largely on interviews and in-area encounters with Islamists and the Muslim world. Several such books can be recommended: Judith Miller's *God Has Ninety-Nine Names: Reporting from a Militant Middle East* offers a somber appraisal of the Islamists, with short studies of ten different Middle Eastern countries. Milton Viorst's *In the Shadow of the Prophet: The Struggle for the Soul of Islam*, in spite of the title, deals largely with the Arab world plus to some extent Iran. His interpretation of Arab society over the centuries is perhaps best skipped in favor of such works as Hourani's *Arab Peoples* or Lewis's *The Middle East*, but when he get to what he does best—interviewing selected Middle Easterners—he has much to offer in his account of religion and politics in Egypt, Sudan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and Jordan. Note also his fine chapter on the Muslims in France.

Mary Anne Weaver in her *A Portrait of Egypt: A Journey Through the World of Militant Islam* has the advantage of concentrating on a single country that she knows well. Interviewing, as all Westerners do, those in power plus the usual handful of Egyptian experts, Weaver also took on the more daunting assignment of seeking out representative Islamists living outside the law. The result is a sad, gripping story of violence and mutual miscomprehension between government and the Islamists. Old Egyptian hands will cluck approvingly from time to time, "Yes, she's got it right." Try this test: read the last four pages. Chances are that you will want to sit right down and read the book through.

V. S. Naipaul has two books that can be recommended. His *Among the Believers: An Islamic Journey* appeared in 1981. His "journey" put him in touch with selected representatives of the great and, even more, the less than

great in Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Then, almost two decades later, in *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions Among the Converted Peoples* he revisited the same countries and often the same people. Naipaul thus concentrates on the Muslim peoples from Iran eastward, compensating for the greater Western coverage of the Middle East. Those familiar with his writing (I think especially of his novel, *A Bend in the River*) will not be surprised by his critical, even supercilious, appraisal of his subjects. Perhaps unfair on balance, these are nevertheless insightful accounts.

The Fundamentalisms Project and Encyclopedias

Five fat volumes comparing fundamentalist movement worldwide were published between 1991 and 1995. Edited by Martin Marty and Scott Appleby there were:

Volume 1, *Fundamentalisms Observed* (1991)
Volume 2, *Fundamentalisms and Society* (1993)
Volume 3, *Fundamentalisms and the State* (1993)
Volume 4, *Accounting for Fundamentalisms* (1994)
Volume 5, *Fundamentalisms Comprehended* (1995)

That is an intimidatingly large corpus of writings, and even the most diligent scholar may balk at reading them all. Yet, it must be pointed out that the quantity of this undertaking is matched by its quality. It might appear that volume 3, *Fundamentalism and the State*, is most relevant, but equally important articles are found in the other volumes. Perhaps the most convenient way to approach these five tomes is to see them as a high-quality anthology of writings of encyclopedic proportions and breadth. One can find detailed coverage of specific topics (e.g., Hizbullah in Lebanon or the Tajdid movement in Nigeria, both in volume 3, or Shi'ite fundamentalism in Iraq and the Jama'at-i-Islami in South Asia, both in volume 4). One way to decide on what to read and in what order would be to start with the four final chapters (105 pages) of volume 5, coauthored by Gabriel Almond, Emmanuel Sivan, and R. Scott Appleby, an impressive effort to sum up the findings of this ambitious project.

The fundamentalisms project, it was suggested, is somewhat like an encyclopedia. Two recent encyclopedias are directly relevant to our subject. They are the four-volume *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, John L. Esposito, editor in chief, and Robert Wuthnow, editor, *The*

Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion (two volumes). The former, larger and confined to the Islamic world, offers more extensive coverage. The latter, treating Islam along with all other religions, provides a comparative perspective. Both have good short bibliographies following most of the entries. The basic reference work for the specialist in Islamic studies is, of course, the multivolumed *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Several collected works have already been mentioned, and a few others are worthy of note. *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, edited by Ali Rahnema, provides especially well-done short biographies of the principal modern Islamists thinkers. *Islamic Fundamentalism*, edited by Abdel Salam Sidahmad and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, offers several stimulating general studies and eight separate country case studies. The gender issue looms large in Islamist thought and actions. Another useful chapter is "Women and Islam: The Case of Rashid al-Ghannushi of Tunisia."

The journal *Middle East Report* presents articles by scholars that can be described as tough-minded critics of Western "establishment" thinking concerning the Middle East who, as secular leftists, have no great predilection for religious fundamentalism either. The thirty-two articles collected from different issues of *Middle East Report* in *Political Islam*, edited by Joel Beinen and Joe Stork, thus deliver useful perspectives. The subsections include "Islam, Democracy, and Civil Society" (including a stimulating article by Yahya Sadowski and Gudrun Kramer), "The Contest for the State and the Political Economy," "Political Islam and Gender Relations," "The Struggle Over Popular Culture," and "Movements and Personalities."

Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East, edited by R. Scott Appleby, has chapters on fundamentalisms in all three religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, but the latter clearly gets the greatest coverage, with solid chapters on Khomeini's legacy, the Lebanese Shi'i spokesman for Hizbullah, Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, Shaykh Ahmad Yasin of the Palestinian Hamas, and the Sudanese Hasan Turabi. In addition, Patrick Gaffney, who has done in-depth research on the actual text of Muslim preachers in Egypt, has an interesting chapter on "Fundamentalist Preaching and Islamic Militancy in Upper Egypt."

Political Islam, edited by Charles E. Butterworth and I. William Zartman, is highly recommended, offering especially coherent coverage treating the usual major themes (e.g., Islamic political thought, the Muslim brotherhoods, Islam and democracy) as well as good area coverage, including such less covered topics as Islam in Nigeria or the states of the former Soviet Union.

An earlier collected work, *Islamic Resurgence in the Arab World*, edited

by Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, which appeared in 1982, has stood the test of time well and deserves continued attention.

The Islamism Debate, edited by Martin Kramer, offers usefully contrasting views, addressing the topics "Are Islamists for or Against Democracy?" "Are Islamists Ideological or Pragmatic?" "Should the West Promote Rights or *Realpolitik*?" and "Is Islamism the Future?"

Islamism and Egypt has not only received surely the most coverage but also some of the best. The pioneering article by Egyptian sociologist Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Anatomy of Egypt's Militant Islamic Groups," which appeared in 1980, provided just the kind of detailed and organized examination of the individuals directly involved that can lead to understanding of what is taking place. A few years later the French scholar, Gilles Kepel, wrote his forceful study, translated into English as *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and the Pharaoh* (1985). That same year brought what stands out in my judgment as the best single monograph on Islamism, Emmanuel Sivan's *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*. Sivan scoured the bookstores and, even more, the small open-air stalls in Cairo where the many pamphlets, tracts, and sermons of the Islamists could be found. He studied this material—so often slighted if not quite ignored by outside scholars—and fitted it into a compelling interpretation of Islamism in Egypt.

There are many other single-country or single movement studies, but only one more will be cited here. That is Ziad Abu-Amr's *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad*. Whither Palestine and whether a viable settlement between Israel and the Palestinians can be reached is a subject of interest to Muslims and non-Muslims alike, in the region and beyond. How Islamic fundamentalism fits into all this cries out for attention. Abu-Amr's carefully constructed monograph is the place to begin in exploring such issues. Islamism in the West Bank and Gaza also offers a compelling case study of such questions as whether and, if so, how fundamentalist movements can be co-opted or won over to the politics of negotiated compromise.

Finally, a concluding word about the two-volume bibliography compiled by Yvonne Haddad and others, mentioned at the beginning of this essay. The first volume, *The Contemporary Islamic Revival*, covers works published between 1970 and 1988. The number of works published between 1988 and 1997 (the date *The Islamic Revival Since 1988* appeared) required yet another volume. These are substantial books: 230 and 298 pages respectively. The first volume begins with three bibliographical essays by Haddad, and then John Voll followed by John Esposito. The breakdown of the work thereafter is, first, a category of "General Studies" further broken down into:

A. Interpretive Studies
B. Economics
C. Women

The remainder of the book is divided according to area. The second volume follows the same format but adds to "General Studies" a category D entitled "Democracy."

It might be of more than passing interest to note that the first volume (covering 1970–1988) needed only eight pages to list the writing dealing with "Women." That same category in the second volume (1988–1997) had swelled to 40 pages. The considerably greater number of writings on the Middle East is also borne out in this two-volume bibliography as follows:

	Total Pages	
	Middle East	Asia
Volume 1 (1970–1988)	57	40
Volume 2 (1988–1997)	27	19

Many, but not all, of the writings listed are annotated as well. A spot check of the two volumes would seem to indicate that annotation is somewhat more in evidence and longer in the second volume. Author, title, and subject indexes are to be found as well in both volumes. This two-volume work is an important research tool. May the editor and her collaborators be encouraged to continue this good work with later volumes.

Is it, however, overkill to have two books of bibliography? Is it too much even in this book to have filled fifteen pages with this avowedly selective bibliographical essay? Shall we conclude that "of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh" (Ecclesiastes 12:12)?

Much better, surely, to see these many books and articles as indicating that a major issue concerning the somewhat more than one billion of the world's peoples is at least receiving the attention it deserves. Much better to realize that even though little consensus prevails there are many solid works from which to choose.