

CONTENTS

List of Figures	xi
Foreword by Asghar Ali Engineer	xiii
Acknowledgments	xvii
Note on Spelling	xix
Introduction	xxi
Key Dates	xxvii

Part I Yesterday

1 Islam in Time	3
Islam: Origins and Historical Trajectory	3
Stage 1: "Classical" Islam	9
Stage 2: The Arab Middle Ages	15
Stage 3: The Era of the Muslim Gunpowder Empires	16
The Middle East Confronts the West	20
Stage 4: The Middle East under Western Influence	20
2 Islam in Space: Islam's Expansion Outside the Middle East	43
Muslim India	44
Southeast Asia	54
Sub-Saharan Africa	58
3 Islam among Others: The Muslim Diasporas	61
Russia	61
China	62
Europe	64
America	71
4 The Other in Islam: Minorities and Women	77
Slaves	77
Non-Muslims	78
Women	79

Part II Today

- 5 Islam and (Post)Modernity 89
 What Is Fundamentalism? 89
 The Three Waves of Islamism 91
- 6 1967–1981: The First Islamist Wave: Qutb's Egypt and the Sunni Jihad 97
 Mawdudi's Influence 98
 Sayyid Qutb's Ideology 100
 Egypt between Jihadist Terror and Islamizing Accommodation 102
 The First Wave of *Jihad* in the Sunni World 105
- 7 The 1980s: The Second Islamist Wave: Shiite Interlude 109
 Who Are the Shiites? 109
 Persia between Shiism and Modernization 112
 The Last Shah: Forced Modernization against Popular Shiite Opposition 114
 The Islamic Revolution 116
 The Islamic Republic 117
 International Impact 119
 Post-Thermidorean Iran? 120
 Hizbullah 123
 Iraq's Shiites 125
- 8 1991–2001: The Third Islamist Wave: The Seven Marks of Current Islamism 127
 The Seven Marks 129
 The Islamization of Politics 130
 Islamization of the Social Sphere 137
 Islamization of Culture: The "Discursive Field" 139
 Islamism's International Integration 140
 Proliferation of *Jihad* Fronts: Islam's Frontiers outside the Arab Core 141
 Islamist Expansion in the Diasporas of the Muslim West 159
 International War: Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda 160
 2003: The War Against Terror Reaches Iraq 163
 Coda: Modernist Islamic Thinkers 173
- 9 What Do the Islamists Want? 177
 Islamism as Ideology 180
 Islamism as a Movement 181
 Islamism as Tribalism 182
 Islamism as Answer to Urban, Generational, and Class Crises 184
 Islamist Strategies between Charismatic Leadership and Institutionalization 184
 Between Withdrawal and Activism 186
 Half-Modernity: Using Technology but Rejecting Its Reason 187
 Results 187

10 Causes of Islamism	191
Modernity's Myth	191
Islamism: Reaction Against Modernity	193
The Failure of Modernizing Development: How Islamism Was Born	194
How Islamism Grows: Social and Psychological Factors	194
Is Islam More Susceptible to Fundamentalism?	195

Part III Tomorrow

11 Islam and the West: Clash of Civilizations or Transcultural Dialogue?	203
Internalists and Externalists	203
Islam and Violence	209
Islam and the West	211
12 The Future of Islam: Five Dilemmas	221
The Critique of Sources	221
Homogeneity or Heterogeneity	222
Modernity, Rationalism, and Science	222
Democracy	224
The Challenge from Western Islam	225
An Islamist Superpower?	226
Islamist Revolution in a Western State?	227
Concluding Remarks	229
Notes	231
Glossary	239
Bibliography	245
Index	253