Religion and State in Syria

While Syria has been dominated since the 1960s by a determinedly secular regime, the uprising that began there in 2011 has raised many questions about the role of Islam in the country's politics. This book, which is based on the author's extensive fieldwork in Syria's mosques and schools and on interviews with local Muslim scholars, is the first comprehensive study of the country's little-known religious scene and its most influential actors, the ulama. It demonstrates that with the eradication of the Muslim Brothers after the failed insurrection of 1982, Sunni men of religion became the only voice of the Islamic trend in the country. Through educational programmes, the establishment of charitable foundations, and their deft handling of tribal and merchant networks, they took advantage of popular disaffection with secular ideologies to increase their influence over society. In recent years, with the Islamic resurgence, the Alawi-dominated Ba'thist regime was compelled to bring the clergy into the political fold. This ambiguous relationship was exposed in 2011 by the division of the Sunni clergy among regime supporters, bystanders, and opponents. This book affords an entirely new perspective on Syrian society as it stands at the crossroads of political and social fragmentation.

Thomas Pierret is a Lecturer in Contemporary Islam at the University of Edinburgh. He has edited two volumes on contemporary Islam and published numerous journal articles, book sections, and entries for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Since the beginning of the Syrian uprising in 2011, he has been featured extensively in media such as the *New York Times, Foreign Policy, Le Monde*, the BBC, France 24, Al Jazeera English, and AFP.

Cambridge Middle East Studies

Editorial Board Charles Tripp (general editor) Julia Clancy-Smith F. Gregory Gause Yezid Sayigh Avi Shlaim Judith E. Tucker

Cambridge Middle East Studies has been established to publish books on the nineteenth- to twenty-first-century Middle East and North Africa. The series offers new and original interpretations of aspects of Middle Eastern societies and their histories. To achieve disciplinary diversity, books are solicited from authors writing in a wide range of fields including history, sociology, anthropology, political science, and political economy. The emphasis is on producing books affording an original approach along theoretical and empirical lines. The series is intended for students and academics, but the more accessible and wide-ranging studies will also appeal to the interested general reader.

A list of books in the series can be found after the index.

Religion and State in Syria

The Sunni Ulama from Coup to Revolution

THOMAS PIERRET

University of Edinburgh



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107609907

© Presses universitaires de France 2011 © Cambridge University Press 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published in French as *Baas et islam en Syrie: la dynastie Assad face aux Oulémas* by Presses universitaires de France 2011 First English edition 2013

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data
Pierret, Thomas.
[Baas et islam en Syrie. English]
Religion and state in Syria: the Sunni ulama from coup to revolution / Thomas Pierret.
pages cm - (Cambridge Middle East studies; 41)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-107-02641-4 (hardback) - ISBN 978-1-107-60990-7 (paperback)
I. Syria - Politics and government - 20th century. 2. Syria - Politics and government - 21st century. 3. Ulama - Political activity - Syria. 4. Hizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabi al-Ishtiraki (Syria) I. Title.
DS95.5.P5413 2012
322'.1095691-dc23 2012016897

18BN 978-1-107-02641-4 Hardback 18BN 978-1-107-60990-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To the martyrs of the Syrian revolution To Mériam and Loueï

Contents

Acknowledgements A Note on Conventions		<i>page</i> xi xiii
	Prologue: Aborted Institutionalisation (1946–1979)	17
I	The Era of the 'Founding Sheikhs' (1920–1979)	23
2	Landscapes after the Battle (1979–2007)	64
3	(Re)defining Orthodoxy against Reformist Trends	100
4	The Turban and the Chequebook: Political Economy of the Syrian Religious Elite	144
5	Ulama and Islamists in the Political Field	163
6	Reforms and Revolution	212
	Conclusion	239
Bibliography		245
Index		263

Acknowledgements

The last lines of this book were written in February 2012, at a time when the bloody suppression of the popular uprising in Syria had been ongoing for almost a year. During these past months, I have thought unceasingly of my many friends and acquaintances who live in, and in some cases have been forced to flee, this country that is so dear to me. It is to them that I address my greatest thanks - although, to my regret, the future is still too uncertain to allow me to mention the full names of people currently in Syria. At the top of the list are my guardian angels, the religious students who guided me through the mosques of Damascus and Aleppo: Mostafa, Bara', 'Ammar, Faris, Ali, Mahmud, Muhammad, and many more - may God protect you. Sheikh Ahmad Mouaz al-Khatib has not only been incredibly helpful and generous, but he also taught me much about human values. I also had the chance to meet astute observers such as 'Abd al-Rahman al-Hajj Ibrahim, Mohamad Berro, and Isam Abdulmola. Finally, I express my gratitude to the protagonists of this book, who agreed to receive me despite the difficult context, and especially to all those who granted me more time and attention than mere courtesy could ever demand.

This book would never have seen the light of day without the support of several institutions whose respective directors provided me with invaluable encouragement and advice. My doctoral research was funded by the Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique of Belgium and supervised by Professor Gilles Kepel at Sciences Po Paris (Chaire Moyen-Orient Méditerranée), as well as by Professor Felice Dassetto at the Université catholique de Louvain (Centre for Interdisciplinary Research on Islam in the Contemporary World). During my fieldwork in Syria, I appreciated

xi

xii

Acknowledgements

the helpfulness of the staff and Fellows of the French Institute (IFPO). The transformation of my dissertation into a book was facilitated by a postdoctoral fellowship at Princeton University funded by the Belgian American Educational Foundation and supervised by Professor Michael Cook. The translation into English of the French manuscript was carried out during a visiting fellowship at the Zentrum Moderner Orient in Berlin under the supervision of Professor Ulrike Freitag. For their help in various circumstances, I am also indebted to Amin Aït-Chaalal, Andrew Arsan, Francis Balace, Annabelle Böttcher, François Burgat, Baudouin Dupret, Jean-Pierre Filiu, Michael Gilsenan, Bernard Haykel, Steven Heydemann, Raymond Hinnebusch, Amaney Jamal, Gudrun Krämer, Brigitte Maréchal, Tarek Mitri, Élizabeth Picard, Bernard Rougier, and Ghassan Salamé. The insightful and friendly comments of Mohammad Al Attar, Souhail Belhadj, Cécile Boëx, Farid El Asri, Thomas Hegghammer, Steffen Hertog, Boris James, Stéphane Lacroix, Paulo Pinto, Laura Ruiz de Elvira, Kjetil Selvik, Ward Vloerberghs, and Odai Al Zoubi greatly enriched the content of this book. Sincere thanks also to Benedict Young of Babel Editing for his outstanding job in correcting my translation of the original French text. For reasons that are too numerous to be mentioned here, I cannot overstate my gratitude to Benjamin White.

Last but not least I thank my close friends, my parents, and my sister for their unceasing support during all these years. Above all, I thank Mériam for her patience and for being by my side from the first lines of this project until its completion. This book is dedicated to her as well as to our son Loueï, who has brought so much joy in our life in the midst of this tragic Syrian revolution.

A Note on Conventions

TRANSLITERATION

Arabic words are transliterated according to a simplified version of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*' system (no special characters, diacritic signs, or long vowels). Arabic words in unabridged English dictionaries are not italicised. Other Arabic words are italicised only in the first instance.

NAMES

Arabic names are transcribed according to the preceding system unless a different transcription is dominant in English-language texts (e.g. Hussein, not Husayn; Abdullah, not 'Abd Allah).

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

Consultation date of Internet sources has been omitted, but all cited documents have been stored electronically by the author. Full URLs are provided only when the title of a page is not mentioned in the footnotes. When the title is mentioned, typing it in a search engine will allow the reader to find the text despite possible URL change or original website closure.

xiii