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1. On this scholarship, see R. Hrair Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab World* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1985); Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics on the Arab World* (London: Routledge, 1991); John L. Esposito, *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform?* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997); Bassam Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Mansoor Moaddel and Kamran Talattof, eds., *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Salwa Ismail, *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003); Gilles Kepel, *The Roots of Radical Islam* (London: Saqi, 2005); Mary R. Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); Meghnad Desai, *Rethinking Islamism* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007); Mohammed Ayoub, *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008); Frédéric Volpi, *Political Islam Observed* (London: Hurst, 2010); John Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism* (London: Hurst, 2010); Sayed Khatab, *Understanding Islamic Fundamentalism* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2011); and Daniel Lav, *Radical Islam and the Revival of Medieval Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
2. There are, however, a few critical studies that reconstruct the development of the term “political Islam” and the emergence of Islamism as a political discourse in the postcolonial context and during the Cold War period through leftist and postmodernist perspectives. These cannot be categorized as parts of the dominant paradigm on political Islam. See Armando Salvatore, *Islam and the Political Discourse of Modernity* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1997); Bobby Sayyid, *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism* (London: Zed Books, 1997) and Susan Buck-Morss, *Thinking Past Terror: Islamism and Critical Theory on the Left* (London: Verso, 2003). For a concise and up-to-date summary of Islam and politics in modern history, see Peter Mandeville, *Islam and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2014).
3. Mehdi Mozaffari, “What Is Islamism? History and Definition of a Concept,” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 8, no. 1 (2007): 17–33.
4. See Bassam Tibi, “Political Islam as a Forum of Religious Fundamentalism and the Religionisation of Politics: Islamism and the Quest for a Remaking of the World,” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 10, no. 2 (2009): 97–120; Christoph Schuck, “A Conceptual Framework of Sunni Islamism,” *Politics*,

*Religion & Ideology* 14, no. 4 (2013): 485–506; and Haroon K. Ullah, *Vying for Allah's Vote: Understanding Islamic Parties, Political Violence, and Extremism in Pakistan* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014).

5. Throughout the seventeenth century, traditional German Lutheran theologians and scholars such as Daniel Clasen (1622–1678), Johann Heinrich Boecler (1611–1672), Michael Wendeler (1610–1671), and Daniel Morhof (1639–1691) argued that one had to maintain the strength of Christianity, spirituality, and religiosity against the opportunist “Catholic” Machiavellians and political elites (*politici* in Latin). Lutheran scholars were analyzing the concept of “political religion” from the early seventeenth century onward. Lutherans understood “political religion” not as a component of “reason of state,” but as the political dimension and function of religion that the political elites were using as a tool for domination. Many Lutherans of the late seventeenth century saw this development as a dangerous form of politics. They believed religion must never be used to achieve political ends since religion contributes only to the spiritual good. Most prominent Islamists such as Sayyid Qutb, Abul A’la Mawdudi, Ayatollah Khomeini, Mahmoud Taleghani, and Ali Shariati during the Cold War period held the diametrically opposite opinion. For a summary of Daniel Clasen’s thought, see Martin Mulsow, *Enlightenment Underground: Radical Germany, 1680–1720* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015). In my book *Islamic Thought through Protestant Eyes* (London: Routledge, 2021), I explore the post-Reformation Lutheran perception of Islamic thought and political religion.
6. German biblical scholarship, under the influence of Lutheran “Two Kingdoms Theology,” has highlighted the “nonpolitical” character of the Christian Gospel, from the early seventeenth century onward. This interpretation has contributed to the view that earlier Christianity was nonpolitical and spiritual, dominated by the eschatological expectation (end of the world) and thus free from worldly political and material concerns. Therefore, this view emphasized that the Christian religion is separate from politics. For a detailed examination of the Christian political thinking in the Bible, see Christopher Rowland, “Scripture,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Political Theology*, ed. Craig Hovey and Elizabeth Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 157–75.
7. Since around the turn of the century, the definition of “secular” has become intricate and convoluted. This has been the result of the resurgence of religion or the “triumph of religion” in the words of Jacques Lacan, within so-called secular societies. As a result, Jürgen Habermas, Charles Taylor, John D. Caputo, Jose Casanova, Talal Asad, and Hent de Vries have redefined the term “secular” and have proposed a postsecular model for understanding the relationship

between religion and democracy. Although they all agree on this issue, their postsecular models differ to varying degrees.

8. Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 36–39.
9. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 189–91.
10. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 27.
11. For a review of the recent scholarship on Ottoman Islamist thinkers, see Mehmet Karabela, “Islamist Thinkers in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic,” *Insight Turkey* 19, no. 1 (2017): 225–27.
12. On Islam and politics, see their respective works available in English translation: *The Sayyid Qutb Reader*, trans. Albert Bergesen (London: Routledge, 2008); Abul A’la Mawdudi, *Human Rights in Islam* (Lahore: Islamic Publishing, 1976); Ayatollah Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, trans. Hamid Algar (London: Kegan Paul, 1985); and Ali Shariati, *Marxism and Other Western Fallacies*, trans. R. Campbell (Berkeley, CA: Mizan Press, 1980).
13. Francis Fukuyama, “End of History?” *National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989): 3–18. For Muslim critiques of the “end of history” thesis, see Ali A. Mazrui, “Islam and the End of History,” *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 10, no. 4 (1993): 512–35, and Abdelwahab El-Affendi, “Islam and the Future of Dissent after the ‘End of History,’” *Futures* 31 (1999): 191–204.
14. Samuel Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993): 22–49.
15. Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 1–27.
16. Asef Bayat, *Post-Islamism: The Changing Faces of Political Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 7–34.
17. Following in the footsteps of Asef Bayat, Mojtaba Mahdavi sees Islamism as a reaction to “the economic and ecological violence of neo-liberalism” and post-Islamism as a Muslim modernism. See Mojtaba Mahdavi, “Muslims and Modernities: From Islamism to Post-Islamism?” *Religious Studies and Theology* 32, no. 1 (2013): 57–71.
18. As part of my quest, Forough Jahanbakhsh and I launched an international conference at Queen’s University in Canada in 2015 on the religious and political transformations in modern Muslim societies. The conference, titled “Islamism and Post-Islamism: Religious and Political Transformations in Muslim Societies,” brought together established scholars from around North America and the globe to discuss the changing faces of political Islam and its implications for the

- continued validity of post-Islamism in contemporary scholarship raised by Roy and Bayat. The significance of the conference comes from the fact that it was a reconsideration of the ongoing relevance of post-Islamism as a project and as a historical condition in the wake of Arab Spring and ISIS. For a summary of the conference, see Mehmet Karabela and Brenna Drummond, "A Distinctive Form of Muslim Politics," *Turkish Review*, 5/4 (2015): 349-352.
19. Bassam Tibi, *Islamism and Islam* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 7-17.
  20. Tibi, "Political Islam as a Forum of Religious Fundamentalism," 99-100.
  21. *Ibid.*, 107-8.
  22. *Ibid.*, 105-7.
  23. Mozaffari, "What Is Islamism?" 18-20.
  24. *Ibid.*, 21.
  25. *Ibid.*, 22.
  26. José Casanova, "Rethinking Secularization: A Global Comparative Perspective," *Hedgehog Review* 8, no. 1-2 (2006): 14.
  27. Asef Bayat, "Islamism and Social Movement Theory," *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 6 (2005): 891-908.
  28. *Ibid.*, 894-95.
  29. *Ibid.*, 900-901.
  30. Andrew March, "Political Islam: Theory," *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (2014): 105.
  31. *Ibid.*, 106-7.
  32. *Ibid.*, 105-6.
  33. *Ibid.*, 107-8.
  34. *Ibid.*, 108.
  35. *Ibid.*
  36. *Ibid.*
  37. *Ibid.*, 108-17.
  38. There is also literature on the reception of Schmitt in the Muslim world. See Joshua Ralston, "Political Theology in Arabic," *Political Theology* 19, no. 7 (2018): 549-52. For the use of Schmitt in the postrevolutionary Iranian context, see Milad Odabaei, "The Outside (*Kharij*) of Tradition in the Aftermath of the Revolution: Carl Schmitt and Islamic Knowledge in Postrevolutionary Iran," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 39, no. 2 (2019): 296-311; and for different interpretations of political theology in the Indian context, see SherAli Tareen, "Competing Political Theologies: Intra-Muslim Polemics on the Limits of Prophetic Intercession," *Political Theology* 12, no. 3 (2011): 418-43.
  39. Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, 19-27.

40. *Ibid.*, 28.
41. In his later work, Derrida engages and critiques Schmitt at length by questioning the sovereignty in the Schmittian sense and the opposition of friend and enemy as Schmitt defines it. For Derrida's critique, see his *The Politics of Friendship* (London: Verso, 2006); *Rogues: Two Essays on Reason* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005); and *The Beast and the Sovereign*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). Also see Jacob Taubes's critique of Schmitt's friend-enemy distinction, *The Political Theology of Paul* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).
42. Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, 22.
43. *Ibid.*, 26–27.
44. *Ibid.*, 36.
45. *Ibid.*, 34.
46. Paul W. Kahn, *Political Theology: Four New Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 7.
47. *Ibid.*, 22–27.
48. I do not consider Islam as being universally unified by the idea of one collective friend-enemy split and do not minimize internal differences in Islam such as the well-known Sunni and Shi'ite division, among many others. In this chapter, so far, I have focused on the external enemy (public enemy) as the sign of "the political" and chiefly on the friend-enemy paradigm. However, a different type of enemy, what I would call the internal enemy, is the less studied question. To illustrate, an individual who transgresses against the state or religious community by committing a crime or sin, transgresses not only against another, which is a private "enemy," but also against a state or religious community, thus making the lawbreaker a public enemy of the State or God. Therefore, I think internal enemy is an interesting development in the concept of the political as it transforms an "expected friend" into a public enemy despite belonging to the same community. The idea of the enemy within is certainly an interesting one since it locates the "potential enemy" not just in the public sphere, but within the individual, or the inner circle, or within a community. I will elaborate on the category of the enemy within in my future work.