

Pol. Sci. 121
Government and Politics of the Middle East

Fall 2012 Tuesday-Thursday 9:30-10:50 a.m.

Professor Sanford Lakoff

Office Hour: Tuesday 11:15-12:15 SSB 442. Home telephone 619-296-1039; fax 619-688-1684

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Course requirements: mid-term exam (25 percent), final exam (75 percent). **Midterm exam (80 minutes) will cover material in Part I only. Final exam (3 hours) will cover the work of entire course, emphasizing Parts II-IV. Term paper is optional.** Term paper grade will be counted only if it raises the course grade. Course grade would then be composed of midterm (20 percent), paper (40 percent) and final exam (40 percent). Term paper must be on a suggested (see list below) or approved topic, between 2,000 and 2,500 words. **Final deadline for submission of term paper** is Dec. 4. If submitted **by no later than Nov. 20**, it will be returned with comments and a provisional grade **one week later**, and may be revised and resubmitted by the final deadline; the higher of the two grades will count.

Written versions of each week's lectures will be posted, along with other required or optional readings, on the Geisel Library website by Friday or Saturday of the week in which they are scheduled. They are accessible via reserves.ucsd.com. You will need a student network ID and password for access, or, from off campus, a browser configuration. For info on this see <http://www-no.ucsd.edu/documentation/squid/index.html>. If you encounter problems of access, contact the Geisel Library Reserves desk.

Required for purchase: Mary Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror* (Yale UP, paperback); Ellen Lust, ed., *The Middle East* (Congressional Quarterly Press, twelfth edition only); ***recommended:*** a subscription to the Monday-Friday editions of *The New York Times* for the ten weeks of the course.

Recommended for Purchase: For prior history of the Arab-Israeli conflict: either Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (paperback), or Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel* (paperback). For the recent history: Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: the Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (strongly recommended for its detailed account of the negotiations) and Asher Susser, *Israel, Jordan, and Palestine: the Two-State Imperative* (the best analysis of why it is preferable to a one-state solution). For the U.S. role in Iraq: Larry Diamond, *Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq*; Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*; and Peter J. Munson, *Iraq in Transition*. For the rise of al Qaeda, Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*.

For Consultation: CIA, *The World Fact Book* (maps, basic data country by country) – on the internet.

I. Overview, History, and Background

Sept. 27 Lecture 1: The Region in Transition: An Overview

Oct. 2 Lecture 2: The Middle East in Early Modern History

Oct. 4 Lecture 3: The Middle East Since World War I

Oct. 9 Lecture 4: Islam, Islamism, and Jihadism

Oct. 11 Lecture 5: Conflict, Insecurity, and Political Violence in the Region

Oct. 16 Midterm Exam Prep: Class discussion of assigned reading

Reading:

The Middle East, chapters 1-3, 5 (pp. 1-142, 193-237)

Habeck, entire

optional: Lakoff, "The Reality of Muslim Exceptionalism," *Journal of Democracy* (October 2004), pp. 133-139; Lakoff, "Making Sense of the Senseless: Analyzing the 'War on Terror'" (public lecture)

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, MID-TERM EXAM (on material in Part I)

II. Comparing the Regimes

Oct. 23 Lecture 6: Regime Types and Explanatory Variables

Oct. 25 Lecture 7, 7a: Authoritarian-Dynastic: Saudi Arabia and other Arab Gulf states; Authoritarian-Dictatorial: Syria; Proto-Totalitarian: Iraq under Saddam Hussein, Libya under Qadhafi

Oct. 30 Lecture 8: Authoritarian-Theocratic: Iran (and Sudan for a time, Afghanistan under the Taliban)

Nov. 1 Lecture 9: Semi-Authoritarian Constitutional Monarchies: Jordan, Morocco; Semi-Authoritarian/Republican: Algeria

Nov. 6 Lecture 10: Democratic (1): Turkey, Lebanon (1943-1975)

Nov. 8 Lecture 11: Democratic (2): Israel

Nov. 13 Regimes in Transition: Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen

Reading: *The Middle East* chaps. 4, 9-24 (pp. 143-192, 371-778).

Lakoff, "Power to the People? Prospects for Democracy in the Middle East" (work in progress, on Library web reserve)

III. The Arab/Muslim/Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Nov. 15 Lecture 12: Zionism as Ideology and Movement

Nov. 20 Lecture 13: Palestine during British Rule under the League of Nations Mandate (1920-1948)

NOV. 20: DEADLINE FOR EARLY SUBMISSION OF OPTIONAL TERM PAPER

Nov. 22 Lecture 14: From War to War—and Partial Peace (1948-1979)

Nov. 27 Lecture 15: The Rise of Palestinian Arab Nationalism and the Split Between Fatah and Hamas

Nov. 29 Lecture 16: The "Peace Process:" from the Oslo Accords (1993) to the Present

Reading: *The Middle East*, chapter 6 (pp.238-311); optional: Lakoff, "Herzl as an Intellectual" (public lecture)

Recommended: Tessler, Sachar, Quandt, *Peace Process*; Ross; Susser.

DEC. 4 FINAL DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF OPTIONAL TERM PAPER

IV. The U.S. and the Middle East

Dec. 4 Lecture 17 and class discussion: Defining and Pursuing the National Interest: U.S. Policy in the Middle East

Reading: *The Middle East*, chaps. 7-8; optional: Lakoff, "Desert Snowstorm: Revisionism and the Gulf War" (*Journal of Policy History*, 6:2, 1994), pp. 209-231

Suggested Topics for Optional Term Paper (Other topics acceptable with approval)

1. The Two-State Solution: Can It Be Made to Work?

The premise underlying the 1993 Oslo Accords between Israel and the PLO and the later "Road Map" and Annapolis Summit agreement is the creation of a viable Palestinian state in territories on the West Bank of the Jordan River and Gaza, coupled with a permanent agreement on boundaries, the status of refugees, and other issues. What are the major obstacles to the achievement of such a solution? Might an alternative be more feasible?

2. Islam and Democracy

Common to most Middle Eastern Muslim societies, David Pryce-Jones notes, "is the rule of a single power holder around whose ambitions the state has been arranged.... Every Arab state is explicitly Muslim in confession. Nowhere is there participation in the political process corresponding to any conception of representative democracy. No parliament or assembly except by appointment of the power holder, no freedom of expression throughout rigidly state-controlled media, no opinion polls, nothing except a riot to determine what public opinion might be." But some Muslim-majority countries (such as Indonesia and Turkey) are democratic to a significant degree and others (Iraq,

Egypt, Libya) are undergoing democratization. How might these countries reconcile Islam and democracy – or is that too difficult?

3. Religion and State

Is a “wall of separation” between religion and politics essential to civil liberty? Discuss in regard to tensions between religion and secular culture in one or two Middle East countries, such as Israel, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, or Egypt.

4. What Future for Iran?

In view of the dissatisfaction of so many of its people, especially the young and middle class, as evident in the “Green movement,” could Iran’s “Islamic Republicanism” evolve in the direction of western-style democracy, as other authoritarian regimes have? Or does its foundation on religious principles enforced by an entrenched clerical regime united with the Revolutionary Guard militate against a peaceful transition?

7. Electoral Reform in Israel.

Many democracies rely on proportional representation (PR) as an electoral system. In Israel’s case, however, PR has been criticized for encouraging a destabilizing fragmentation and political irresponsibility. Would Israel’s democracy be strengthened or weakened if its reliance on proportional representation were seriously modified or replaced?

8. Islam and the Status of Women

What is the status of women in Islam and in practice in the Islamic countries of the Middle East? Is their status compatible with universal standards of human rights? (You may wish to restrict the number of countries you consider.)

9. “Holy Terror:” “Islamism” and the New “Jihadis”

Various groups of Middle Eastern origin that engage in terrorism—Al Qaeda, Hamas, the Algerian A.I.G., Hezbollah, and others—portray themselves as “jihadis,” religious warriors defending Islam and the Muslim *umma* against attacks from “infidels” and corruption by “apostates.” Others who do not engage in terrorism also embrace the doctrine that has been called “Islamism” or “Islamic fundamentalism”—a highly politicized form of Islamic belief. Are these movements using a distorted version of Islamic belief or does their widespread existence point to a “clash of civilizations”—i.e., some deep fundamental antagonism between Islamic and modern non-Islamic values?

Select Bibliography

General

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 Brynen, Rex, Baghat Korany, and Paul Noble, eds. Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World (vol. I, Theoretical Perspectives; vol. 2, Comparative Experiences)
 Cleveland, William. A History of the Modern Middle East
 Cook, Michael: The Koran: A Very Short Introduction
 Cook, Michael and Patricia Crone. Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World
 Crone, Patricia. Slaves on Horses: the Evolution of the Islamic Polity.
 Duran, Khalid. Children of Abraham: An Introduction to Islam for Jews
 Encyclopedia of Islam
 Esposito, John. What Everybody Needs to Know About Islam
 Freedom House. Freedom in the Middle East and North Africa (report on 19 countries)
 Fromkin, David. A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East
 Goldschmidt, Arthur, Jr. A Concise History of the Middle East (Seventh Edition)
 Harrison, Lawrence and Samuel P. Huntington, eds. Culture Matters
 Henry, Clement M. and Robert Springborg, eds. Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East
 Hoge, James F., Jr. and Gideon Rose, eds. How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War
 Hourani, Albert et al., eds. The Modern Middle East
 Howard, Philip N. The Digital Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Information Technology and Political Islam
 Huntington, Samuel P. The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order
 Irwin, Robert. Dangerous Knowledge. (See Said, Orientalism.)
 Jabar, Faleh and Hosham Dawood, eds. Tribes and Power: Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Middle East
 Karsh, Efraim. Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1787-1923.
 Karsh, Efraim. Rethinking the Middle East
 Kedourie, Elie. Democracy and Arab Political Culture
 Kedourie, Elie. Politics in the Middle East

Kepel, Gilles. *Beyond Terror and Martyrdom: the Future of the Middle East*
 Koonings, Kees and Dirk Kruijt, eds. *Political Armies: The Military and Nation Building in the Age of Democracy* [includes discussion of Turkey and Algeria]
 The Koran (trans. N.J. Dawood; Penguin)
 Kramer, Martin. *Sandstorm*. (See Said, Orientalism.)
 Lakoff, Sanford. *Democracy: History, Theory, Practice*
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 Lapidus, Ira. *A History of Islamic Societies*
 Laqueur, Walter and Yonah Alexander, eds. *The Terrorism Reader*
 Laqueur, Walter. *The Age of Terrorism*
 Lewis, Bernard. *The Middle East: 2000 Years of History from the Rise of Christianity to the Present Day*
 Lewis, Bernard. *Notes on a Century: Reflections of a Middle East Historian*
 Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democratic Government*
 Lockman, Zachary. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*
 Long, David E. and Bernard Reich, eds. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*
 Meriweather, Margaret Lee and Judith E. Tucker. *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East*
 Meyer, Karl E. and Shareen Blair Brysac. *Kingmakers: The Invention of the Modern Middle East*
 Niblock, Tim, and Rodney Wilson, eds. *The Political Economy of the Middle East (six volumes)*
 Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
 Pappe, Ilan. *The Modern Middle East*
 Quandt, William. *The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David*
 Nisan, Mordechai. *Minorities in the Middle East: A History of Struggle and Self-Expression*
 Richards, Alan and John Waterbury. *A Political Economy of the Middle East*
 Rueschmeyer, Dietrich et al., *Capitalist Development and Democracy*
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 Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. (See for counter-views, Kramer, Sandstorm, and Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge*.)
 Sharabi, Hisham. *Government and Politics of the Middle East in the Twentieth Century*
 Sick, Gary G. and Lawrence G. Potter, eds. *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economy, Security, and Religion*
 Tanter, Raymond. *Rogue Regimes: Terrorism and Proliferation*
 Wistrich, Robert. *Anti-Semitism*

Journals

Foreign Affairs; *The Middle East Contemporary Survey* (annual); *Middle East Journal*; *International Journal of Middle East Studies*; *Israel Studies*; *Jerusalem Report*; *Journal of Democracy*; *Middle Eastern Studies*; *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights*; *The Jerusalem Quarterly*; *The Journal of Palestinian Studies*; *Arab Reform Bulletin* (available online at www.ceip.org/ArabReform)

Newspapers: *Ha'aretz* (Israel) and the *Jerusalem Post* (Israel) are accessible free via the internet, as are *The Daily Star* (Lebanon) and *al-Ahram Weekly* (Egypt). Selected translations from Arab media are provided on MEMRI.com.

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Iraq

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 Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck and Barbara F. Stowasser, eds. *Islamic Law and the Challenges of Modernity*
 Hafez, Mohammed M. *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World*
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 Halliday, Fred. *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*
 Halliday, Fred. *Nation and religion in the Middle East*
 Halm, Heinz. *Shi'ism*
 Hamdi, Mohamed E. *The Making of an Islamic Political Leader: Conversations with Hasan al-Turabi*
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 Henry, Clement and Rodney Wilson, eds.. *The Politics of Islamic Finance*
 Hiro, Dilip. *War Without End: The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and Global Response*
 Hollanmd, Tom. *In the Shadow of the Sword: The Birth of Islam and the Rise of the Global Arab Empire*
 Huband, Mark. *Warriors of the Prophet: the Struggle for Islam*
 Hunter, Shireen. *The Future of Islam and the West: Clash of Civilizations or Peaceful Coexistence?*
 Hunter, Shireen and Huma Malik, eds. *Modernization, Democracy, and Islam*
 Kandiyoti, Deniz, ed. *Women, Islam and the State*
 Karsh, Efraim. *Islamic Imperialism: A History*
 Keddie, Nikki. *Women in the Middle East: Past and Present*
 Keddie, Nikki R. and Beth Baron, eds. *Women and Gender in Middle Easter History: Shifting Boundaries*
 Kelsay, John. *Arguing the Just War in Islam*
 Kepel, Gilles. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*
 Kepel, Gilles. *The War for Muslim Minds*
 Kepel, Gilles, and Jean-Pierre Milelle, eds. *Al Qaeda in its Own Words*
 Kramer, Martin, ed. *Shi'sm, Resistance, and Revolution*
 Kurzman, Charles, ed. *Liberal Islam*
 Lewis, Bernard. *The Political Language of Islam.*
 Lewis, Bernard. *Faith and Power: Religion and Politics in the Middle East*
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 Mahmood, Saba. *Polityics of Piety: the Islamic Revival and the Feministg Subject*
 Marsden, Peter. *War and Religion in Afghanistan*
 Mayer, Ann Elizabeth. *Islam and Human Rights: Tradition and Politics*
 Meddeb, Abdelwahab. *The Malady of Islam*
 Mernissi, Fatima. *Beyond the Veil*
 Mernissi, Fatima. *Islam and Democracy*
 Mernissi, Fatima. *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam*
 Mernissi, Fatima. *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood*
 Mernissi, Fatima. *Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World*
 Milton-Edwards, Beverly. *Islamic Politics in Palestine*
 Milton-Edwards, Beverly. *Islamic Fundamentalism Since 1945*
 Moghadam, Valentine M. *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*
 Momen, Moojan. *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*
 Munson, Henry Jr. *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East*
 Murden, Simon W. *Islam, the Middle East, and the New Global Hegemony*
 Naipaul, V.S. *Among the Believers*
 Naipaul, V.S. *Beyond Belief: Excursions Among the Converted Peoples*
 Nakash, Yitzhak. *Reaching for Power: The Shi'a in the Modern Arab World*
 Nojumi, Nematollah. *The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan*
 Noyon, Jennifer. *Islam, Politics, and Pluralism: Theory and Practice in Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria*
 Oliver, Anne Marie and Paul F. Steinberg. *The Road to Martyrs' Square: A Journey into the World of the Suicide Bomber*
 Pipes, Daniel. *In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power*
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 Qutb, Sayyid. *Milestones*
 Rahman, Fazlur. *Islam*
 Rashid, Ahmed. *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*
 Roy, Olivier. *The Failure of Political Islam*
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 Rubin, Barnett. *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan*
 Ruthven, Malise. *A Fury for God: the Muslim Attack on America*
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 Schacht, Joseph and C. E. Bosworth, Eds. *The Legacy of Islam*
 Schwartz, Stephen. *The Two Faces of Islam: the House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*

Shadid, Anthony. Legacy of the Prophet: Despots, Democrats, and the New Politics of Islam
 Sidahmed, Abdel Salem and Anoushiravan Ehteshami. Islamic Fundamentalism
 Sivan, Emmanuel. Radical Islam
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 Tugal, Cihan. Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism
 Turam, Berna. Between Islam and the State: the Politics of Engagement
 Viorst, Milton. In the Shadow of the Prophet: The Struggle for the Soul of Islam
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