### **Pol. Sci. 121**

# **Government and Politics of the Middle East**

Fall 2014 Tuesday-Thursday 2:00-3:20 Pepper Canyon Hall Room 122 Professor Sanford Lakoff

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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. 9. If submitted **by no later than Nov. 25**, 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 <a href="http://www-no.ucsd.edu/documentation/squid/index.html">http://www-no.ucsd.edu/documentation/squid/index.html</a>. If you encounter problems of access, contact the Geisel Library Reserves desk.

<u>Required for purchase</u>: Mary Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror* (Yale UP, paperback); Ellen Lust, *ed.*, *The Middle East* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 13th 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; for the possible resolutions: Asher Susser, Israel, Jordan, and Palestine: the Two-State Imperative. For the rise of al Qaeda, Lawrence Wright, The Looming Tower. For the "Arab Spring," see Bruce K. Rutherford, Egypt After Mubarak (2013 edition with a new introduction, in paperback) and essays from the Journal of Democracy in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World.

For Information: CIA, The World Fact Book (maps, basic data country by country) - on the internet.

# I. Overview, History, and Background

Oct. 2 Lecture 1: Turmoil and Transition: An Overview of the Region

Oct. 7 Lecture 2: The Middle East in Early Modern History

Oct. 9 Lecture 3: The Middle East Since World War I

Oct. 14 Lecture 4: Islam, Islamism, and Jihadism

Oct. 16 Lecture 5: Conflict, Insecurity, and Political Violence in the Region

Oct. 21 Midterm Exam Prep: Class discussion of assigned reading

### Reading:

*The Middle East*, chapters 1-3, 5 (pp. 1-160, 209-245)

Habeck, entire.

Recommended: Introduction to the paperback edition, Rutherford, *Egypt After Mubarak* 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 23, MID-TERM EXAM (on material in Part I)

# II. Comparing the Regimes

Oct. 28 Lecture 6: Regime Types and Explanatory Variables

Oct. 30 Lecture 7, 7a: Authoritarian-Dynastic: Saudi Arabia and other Arab Gulf states; Authoritarian-Dictatorial:

Syria; Proto-Totalitarian: Iraq under Saddam Hussein, Libya under Qadhafi

Nov. 4 Lecture 8: Authoritarian-Theocratic: Iran (and Sudan for a time, Afghanistan under the Taliban)

Nov. 6 Lecture 9: Semi-Authoritarian Constitutional Monarchies: Jordan, Morocco; Semi-Authoritarian/Republican: Algeria

Nov. 11 Lecture 10: Democratic (1): Turkey, Lebanon (1943-1975)

Nov. 13 Lecture 11: Democratic (2): Israel

Nov. 18 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. 20 Lecture 13: Zionism as Ideology and Movement

Nov. 25 Lecture 14: Palestine during British Rule under the League of Nations Mandate (1920-1948)

### NOV. 25: DEADLINE FOR EARLY SUBMISSION OF OPTIONAL TERM PAPER

### Nov. 27 THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY

Dec. 2 Lecture 15: From War to War—and Partial Peace (1948-1979)

Dec. 4 Lecture 16: The Rise of Palestinian Arab Nationalism and the Split Between Fatah and Hamas

Dec. 9 Lecture 17: 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: Books by Tessler, Sachar, Quandt, *Peace Process*; Ross; Susser.

# DEC. 9 FINAL DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF OPTIONAL TERM PAPER

### IV. The U.S. and the Middle East

Dec. 11 Lecture 17 and class discussion: Defining and Pursuing the National Interest: U.S. Policy in the Middle East

Reading: Lakoff, "Leading from Behind: the 'Obama Doctrine' and the Middle East,' IINS, Strategic Survey (2013); 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 the 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 to democracy?

# 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, ISIS, 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?

# 10. The Arab Spring and the Prospects for a Democratic Transition

What are the main obstacles to a transition to liberal democracy in Egypt and the other Arab countries in which authoritarian regimes have been overthrown? What measures might be taken to improve the prospects for transition?

### Select Bibliography

#### General

Anderson, Scott. Lawrence in Arabia: War, Deceit, Imperial Folly and the Making of the Modern Middle East

Baakalini, Aldo, Guilain Denoeux, and Robert Springborg. Legislative Politics in the Arab World

Beinen, Joel and Frederic Vairel, eds. Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa

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

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

Lakoff, Sanford, "Democracy," Encyclopedia of Nationalism (Volume I)

Lakoff, Sanford. Ten Political Ideas that have Shaped the Modern World

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.

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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

Sachar, Howard M. The Emergence of the Middle East 1914-1924

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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

Tolan, John, Gilles Veinstein and Henry Laurens. Europe and the Islamic World: A History

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.

#### The Arabs

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Gregorian, Vartan: Islam: A Mosaic, Not a Monolith

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

Hafez, Mohammed M. Suicide Bombers in Iraq: The Strategy and Ideology of Martyrdom

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

Hamdi, Mohamed E. The Politicization of Islam: A Case Study of Tunisia

Hamid, Shadi. Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in the Middle East

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.

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Lewis, Bernard. Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople.

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

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Milton-Edwards, Beverley. Islamic Politics in Palestine

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Mitchell, Richard. The Society of the Muslim Brothers.

Moghadam, Valentine M. Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East

Momen, Moojan. An Introduction to Shi'i Islam

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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

Norton, Anne. On the Muslim Question

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Oliver, Anne Marie and Paul F. Steinberg. The Road to Martyrs' Square: A Journey into the World of the Suicide Bomber

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Pipes, Daniel. Militant Islam Reaches America

Qutb, Sayyid. Milestones

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