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
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


**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 Republicism” 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.)

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
Baakalini, Aldo, Guilain Denoeux, and Robert Springborg. Legislative Politics in the Arab World
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
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
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
Merweither, 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)
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
Sachar, Howard M. The Emergence of the Middle East 1914-1924
Sadiki, Larb. Rethinking Arab Democratization
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.

The Arabs
Ajami, Fouad. The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice Since 1967
Ajami, Fouad. The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation’s Odyssey
Antonius, George. The Arab Awakening
Dawisha, Adeed. Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century
Doumato, Eleanor A. and Marsha P. Pososny, eds. Women and Globalization in the Arab Middle East
Field, Michael. Inside the Arab World
Gelvin, James L. The Arab Uprisings
Hitti, Philip. The Arabs: A Short History
Hourani, Albert. A History of Arab Peoples
Hudson, Michael. Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy
Kerr, Malcolm. The Arab Cold War, 1958-1964; A Study of Ideology in Politics
Khalidi, Rashid. The Origins of Arab Nationalism
Kimche, David. The Second Arab Awakening
Laqueur, Walter. The Israel-Arab Reader.
Lewis, Bernard, The Middle East
Polk, William. The Arab World Today
Pryce-Jones, David. The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs
Springborg, Patricia. Western Republicanism and the Oriental Prince
Tibi, Bassam. Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State (third edition)
Viorst, Milton. Sandcastles: the Arabs in Search of the Modern World

Iraq
Al-Khalil, Samir. (pseudonym of Kanan Makiya). Republic of Fear: the Politics of Modern Iraq
Amnesty International. Iraq: Evidence of Torture
Baram, Amatzia. Building Toward Crisis: Saddam’s Strategy for Survival
Barnaby, Frank. The Invisible Bomb. The Nuclear Arms Race in the Middle East
Barzani, Massoud. Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdish Liberation Movement
Bengio, Ofra. Saddam’s Word: Political Discourse in Iraq
Farouk-Sluglett, Marion and Peter Sluglett. Iraq Since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship
Jaber, Faleh A. Ayatollahs, Sufis and Ideologies: State, Religion, and Social Movements in Iraq
Jaber, Faleh A. The Shi’a Movement in Iraq
Khadduri, Majid. Independent Iraq: A Study in Iraqi Politics from 1932 to 1958
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Mackey, Sandra. The Reckoning: Iraq and the Legacy of Saddam Hussein
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McDowell, David. A Modern History of the Kurds
Munson, Peter J. Iraq in Transition: The Legacy of Dictatorship and the Prospects for Democracy
Nakash, Yitzhak. The Shi’is of Iraq
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Styan, David. France and Iraq: Oil, Arms and French Policy Making in the Middle East
Tripp, Charles. A History of Iraq
Vali, Abbas. Modernity and the Stateless: The Kurdish Question in Iraq

Iran
Arjomand, Said Amir. After Khomeini: Iran Under His Successor
Azimi, Fakhrreddin. The Quest for Democracy in Iran: A Century of Struggle Against Authoritarian Rule
Bakhash, Shaul. The Reign of the Ayatollahs: Iran and the Islamic Revolution
Bahari, Maziar with Aimee Molly. Then They Came for Me: A Family’s Story of Love, Captivity and Survival
Brumberg, Daniel. Reinventing Khomeini: the Struggle for Reform in Iran
Buchta, Wilfried. Who Rules Iran? The Structure of Power in the Islamic Republic
Clawson, Patrick et al. Iran Under Khatami: A Political, Economic, and Military Assessment
De Bellaigue, Christopher M. Patriot of Persia: Muhammad Mossadegh and a Tragic Anglo-American Coup
Fischer, Michael M.J. Iran; from Religious Dispute to Revolution
Ganj, Manouchehr. Defying the Iranian Revolution: From a Minister of the Shah to a Leader of Resistance
Gheissari, Ali and Vali Nasr. Democracy in Iran: History and the Quest for Liberty
Hiro, Dilip. The Iranian Labyrinth: Journeys Through Theocratic Iran and its Furies
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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
Pipes, Daniel. In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power
Pipes, Daniel. Militant Islam Reaches America
Quitt, Sayyid. Milestones
Rahman, Fazlur. Islam
Rashid, Ahmed. Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia
Roy, Olivier. The Failure of Political Islam
Roy, Olivier. Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah
Rubin, Barnett, The Fragmentation of Afghanistan
Ruthven, Malise. A Fury for God: the Muslim Attack on America
Ruthven, Malise. Encounters with Islam.
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
Spencer, Robert. Islam Unveiled: Disturbing Questions About the World’s Fastest Growing Faith
Takey, Ray, and Nikolas K. Gvosdev. The Receding Shadow of the Prophet: The Rise and Fall of Political Islam
Tibi, Bassam. Islam Between Culture and Politics [a call for reform]
Tibi, Bassam. The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder
Timmerman, Kenneth. Preachers of Hate: Islam and the War on America
Toubia, Nahid, ed. Women in the Muslim World
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
Vatikiotis, P.J. Islam and the State
Wiktorowicz, Quintan, ed. Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach
Wright, Robin. Sacred Rage: the Crusade of Modern Islam

Israel and Zionism
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Arian, Asher. The Second Republic: Politics in Israel
Avineri, Shlomo. The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State
Avishai, Bernard. The Tragedy of Zionism: Revolution and Democracy in the Land of Israel
Begin, Menachem. The Revolt
Ben-Eliezer, Uri. The Making of Israeli Militarism
Ben-Gurion, David. Israel: A Personal History
Benvenisti, Meron. Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948
Cohen, Ayner. Israel and the Bomb
Dowty, Alan. The Jewish State: A Century Later
Bligh, Alexander, ed. The Israeli Palestinians
Eban, Abba. My Country; the Story of Modern Israel
Eban, Abba. Personal Witness: Israel Through My Eyes
Efron, Noah J. Real Jews: Secular vs. Ultra-Orthodox and the Struggle for Jewish Identity in Israel
Elath, Eliyahu. Zionism at the UN
Evron, Boaz. Jewish State or Israeli Nation?
Gilbert, Martin. Israel: A History
Gilbert, Martin. Exile and Return
Goldberg, David J. To The Promised Land: A History of Zionist Thought
Gorenberg, Gershom. The Unmaking of Israel
Grossman, David. Sleeping on a Wire: Conversations with Palestinians in Israel
Grossman, David. Death as a Way of Life: Israel Ten Years After Oslo
Halpern, Ben. The Idea of the Jewish State
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Hazony, Yoram. The Jewish State: The Struggle for Israel’s Soul
Herzl, Theodor. The Jewish State
Hertzberg, Arthur, ed. The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader
Korn, Dani, ed. Public Policy in Israel
Kretzmer, David. The Legal Status of the Arabs in Israel
Kretzmer, David. The Occupation of Justice: The Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories
Jones, Clive and Emma C. Murphy. Israel: Challenges to Identity, Democracy and the State
Laqueur, Walter. A History of Zionism
Mahler, Gregory S. Politics and Government in Israel
O’Brien, Conor Cruise. The Siege: The Saga of Israel and Zionism
Reinharz, Jehuda. Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Zionist Leader
Rodgers, Peter. Herzl’s Nightmare: One Land, Two Peoples
Sachar, Howard M. A History of Israel
Safran, Nadav. Israel, The Embattled Ally
Schneer, Jonathan. The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict
Segal, Jerome M. et al. Negotiating Jerusalem
Shafir, Gershon. The New Israel: Peacemaking and Liberalization
Shafir, Gershon, and Yoav Peled. Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship
Shafir, Gershon and Yoav Peled. The New Israel: Peacemaking and Liberalization
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