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 Mar. 15.** If submitted by no later than Mar. 1, 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](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.


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

### I. Overview, History, and Background

Jan. 10 Lecture 1: The Region in Transition: An Overview
Jan. 12 Lecture 2: The Middle East in Early Modern History
Jan. 17 Lecture 3: The Middle East Since World War I
Jan. 19 Lecture 4: The Islamic Factor: Religion and Politics
Jan. 24 Lecture 5: Conflict, Insecurity, and Political Violence in the Region
Jan. 26 Midterm Exam Prep: Class discussion of assigned reading

Reading:

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

Habeck, *entire*


**TUESDAY, JANUARY 31 MID-TERM EXAM (on material in Part I)**
II. Comparing the Regimes
Feb. 2 Lecture 6: Regime Types and Explanatory Variables
Feb. 7 Lecture 7, 7a: Authoritarian-Dynastic: Saudi Arabia and other Arab Gulf states; Authoritarian-Dictatorial: Syria; Totalitarian: Iraq under Saddam Hussein, Libya under Gaddafi
Feb. 9 Lecture 8: Authoritarian-Theocratic: Iran (and Sudan for a time, Afghanistan under the Taliban)
Feb. 16 Lecture 10: Democratic (1): Turkey, Lebanon (1943-1975)
Feb. 21 Lecture 11: Democratic (2): Israel
Feb. 23 Regimes in Transition: Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen

Reading: *The Middle East* chaps. 4, 9-24 (pp. 143-192, 371-778).
Lakoff, “Building Democracy in the Middle East: Challenges and Opportunities” (work in progress, on web reserve)

III. The Arab/Muslim/Palestinian-Israeli Conflict
Feb. 28 Lecture 12: Zionism as Ideology and Movement
Mar. 1 Lecture 13: Palestine During British Rule Under the League of Nations Mandate (1920-1948)

Mar. 1: DEADLINE FOR EARLY SUBMISSION OF OPTIONAL TERM PAPER

Mar. 6 Lecture 14: From War to War—and Partial Peace (1948-1979)
Mar. 8 Lecture 15: The Rise of Palestinian Arab Nationalism and the Split Between Fatah and Hamas

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

MAR. 15 FINAL DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF OPTIONAL TERM PAPER

IV. The U.S. and the Middle East
Mar. 15 Lecture 17 and class discussion: Defining and Pursuing the National Interest: U.S. Policy in the Middle East

Reading: *The Middle East*, chap. 3 (pp. 97-139) and chapter 5 (pp. 159-214); 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

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. What explains the failure of democracy to take root in most of the Muslim-majority countries of the region? How might the current transitions succeed?
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 their 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?

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