

HIST489SWR-002/JS490SWR-001/MES370SWR-002
Topics in 20th Century Middle Eastern History
Spring 2006

Professor Kenneth W. Stein
121 Bowden Hall
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Office Hours: 11:30am-1:00pm
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North Decatur 107
Tuesday, 2:30-4:30pm

Course Objectives:

The purpose of this course is twofold. First, it is designed to acquaint students with an in-depth understanding of the major issues affecting the Middle East in the 20th century. Students will review the origins and development of the modern Middle East and understand the social, economic, and political foundations that set the stage for the region this century. Second, students will become familiar with original source material that frame the key issues in the modern Middle East and engage in non-partisan discussion through written and oral presentations.

Course topics will include, among others, evolution and development of Arab political culture, the legacy of Islam, the socio-economic-demographic underpinnings of the modern Middle East, the transformation of the ME in the 1908-1923 period, the controversial legacies of European colonial and imperial presence in the region during the first half of the 20th century, establishment of independent Arab states, political economies, Islam in contemporary politics, Palestinian nationalism, Jewish political culture, Zionism and Israel, evolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the cold war in the region, inter-Arab politics, American/European interests toward the Middle East, chances of democratic reform, the explosion of the media upon Middle Eastern societies, the role of the foreigner in shaping change, and understanding how historical narratives are created and written.

Required texts and supplemental readings:

Students are expected to purchase and read the books listed below. These texts are supplemented by readings on-line at Woodruff Library Reserves Direct.

Bill, James A and Robert Springborg. *Politics in the Middle East*, Addison and Wesley Longman, 1999 (paperback), ISBN: 0321005376.

Bates, Daniel G. and Amal Rassam. *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Second Edition, 2001 (paperback), ISBN: 0-13-656489-5.

Gibb, Hamilton. *Mohammadenism*, Oxford, 1969 (paperback), ISBN:0195002458.

Goldsmith, Arthur. *A Concise History of the Modern Middle East*, Eighth Edition, 2005 (paperback), ISBN: 0813338859.

Humphries, R. Stephen. *Between Memory and Desire The Middle East in a Trouble Age*, University of California Press, 1999 (paperback), ISBN: 0520229185.

Kepel, Gilles. *Jihad The Trial of Political Islam*, Harvard University Press, 2002 (paperback), ISBN: 0674008774.

Waterbury, John and Alan Richards. *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, Westview Press, 1996 (paperback) ISBN: 0813324114.

Course Grading:

It is understood that students are expected to have considerable prior knowledge about the modern Middle East; for those who do not, they are expected to read completely before the first class meeting Arthur Goldschmidt's, *A Concise History of the Middle East*, Westview Press, Eighth Edition. It is understood that students who have not had a previous class on the Middle East and are enrolled in the course will be judged in their course performance based on the level of performance with those who have had previous course work on the modern Middle East.

For each topic on the syllabus, there will be class round table discussion. Class participation is essential. Each student will write two papers, a 25-page research paper and a 10-page paper on a particular issue/topic. A written in-class mid-term examination will be given on March 7, 2006. Please bring two blue books to class that day.

The final grade for the course will be determined by the degree of performance in the following areas: research paper - 40%; short paper - 20%; mid-term examination 20%; and class participation - 20%. Students may fulfill a history and/or college writing requirement. Per the college writing requirement, all students will submit drafts of each paper for review; due dates of drafts are on the syllabus. Delay in handing in drafts or final edition of papers is highly discouraged. There is no written final examination in the course.

Guidelines for Fulfilling the Course's Paper Requirements:

For the short paper, each student will be asked to analyze the same topic: the July 2000, Camp David II Summit. Students will use Israeli, Palestinian, American, and other sources. Each student will use the same source material, but will work independently of one another. The source material consists of more than 500 pages of primary sources translated from Arabic, Hebrew, and English as assembled by the instructor. Each student will discuss what happened before, during, and after the Arafat, Barak, Clinton Summit. Each student will answer the question "what happened, and why?"

The short paper should be no longer than 12 pages in length, including **endnotes** and bibliography. It first rendition must be turned in at the beginning of class on February 7, 2006, and the final version at the beginning of class on February 28, 2006.

For the longer research paper, the topic will be chosen in consultation with the professor. The bibliography (articles and books) for the research paper will be turned in on February 21, 2006. The first draft of the research paper is due at the beginning of class period on April 11, 2006. The final paper is due in my office on April 28, 2006, by 5pm. In terms of length, the research paper must be no longer than 25 pages (not including endnotes and bibliography).

In writing both the short and long papers, the following presentation format **must** be used (described below). Every paper must be typed, double-spaced (for the long paper, no more than a 6500 words--approximately 25 pages), and paginated with **endnotes** and bibliography following. For a stylistic outline of how the notes and bibliography are to be arranged and presented in the research paper, see the *Chicago Manual of Style*. For guidance of acceptable citation style, arrangement of the endnotes and bibliography, please use the same style employed in Stein, *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939* (1984). Please note that the abbreviated citation method (Stein, p.2) used in political science and scientific papers is **not** an acceptable format.

For the major paper, students may not use source material from web-based origins; in other words, research papers in this course must be completed with the use of scholarly books and journals. These journals may be secured on-line of course, but blogs, organization web-sites, chat-rooms etc., may not be used. In special cases newspapers may be used. Primary source use is encouraged. For the short paper, everyone will use the identical sources.

For each class session, except January 24, four students will be responsible for outlining the problems and leading the discussion during class. Students responsible for leading the day's discussion will decide between themselves how the topic will be divided and presented. The four students are expected to make a 30 minute collective presentation; everyone else is expected to join in the discussions.

Important Class Assignment Dates:

January 24, 2006 - material distributed for first paper

February 14, 2006 - first rendition for short paper due

February 21, 2006- bibliography for research paper due

February 28, 2006 – short paper due (typed, etc.)

March 4, 2006- mid-term examination

April 11, 2006- first draft for research paper due

April 28, 2006 - final research paper due at 5pm in Room 121 Bowden Hall (typed, etc.)

COURSE SCHEDULE

January 24

Class introduction and background to the Modern Middle East

Legacy of geography, Arab political culture, Islam, and the Ottoman Empire

Handout of material for writing the first paper

Readings:

*Michael Hudson, Arab Politics, Yale, 1977, Chapters 1-5 (on reserve)

Discussion questions:

- a. Describe Arab politics in pre-Islamic Arabia.
- b. What were/are family, tribe, and kinship relations?
- c. What was the Sunni-Shia divergence? What impact does it have today?
- d. What legacy remains in Arab world politics today from the overlay of Arab political culture and Islamic precepts?

e. What are the sources of political power and regime legitimacy in the Arab world today?

January 31

World War I Diplomacy: Egypt, modern Arab nationalism, and the Arab state

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Readings:

Humphries, pp.23-147.

*Anderson, Lisa. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa," *Comparative Politics*, 20:1, October 1987, pp. 1-15.

*Dawn, C. Ernest. "The Rise of Arabism in Syria," *Middle East Journal*, 1961, pp. 145-168.

*Gershoni, Israel. "The Arab League as an Arab Enterprise," *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, No. 40, 1986, pp. 88-101.

*Kramer, Martin. "Arab Nationalism: Mistaken Identity," *Reconstructing Nations and States*, Vol. 122, No. 3, Summer 1993, pp. 171-206.

*Mishal, Shaul. "Nationalism through Localism," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4, October 1981, pp. 477-491.

*Razi, G. Hossein. "Legitimacy, Religion, and Nationalism in the Middle East," *American Political Science Review*, 84:1, March 1990, pp. 69-91.

Discussion questions:

- a. What were the origins of Arab nationalism?
- b. Is the Arab nation-state the answer to Arab identity?
- c. What were the causes and consequences of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution?
- d. Did the British and French use local Arab leaders or did local Arab leaders use the British and French?
- e. Why was Egypt different/ similar to the rest of the Arab Middle East, before, during, and after World War I?
- f. Describe the evolution and development of the Egyptian-British relationship from 1882 to 1954.

February 7

The Struggle for Palestine

Readings:

*Khalaf, Issa. "The Reasons for the Disintegration of Palestinian Society with an Emphasis on the Persistence of Factionalism," in *Politics in Palestine*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991, pp. 231-248.

Discussion questions:

- a. Define the two contending groups—how were they different?

February 14

The Zionist Challenge: the Palestinian and Arab world response; what has the conflict done to the Middle East?

Initial draft of first paper is due

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Readings:

*Alami, Musa. "The Lesson of Palestine," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 4, October 1949, pp. 373-405.

*Baumgarten, Helga. "The Palestinian National Movement in the Arab World, The Example of Jordan and Lebanon," *Orient*, 21:4, December 1980, pp. 511-528.

Discussion questions:

- a. What were the origins of Zionism? Different than Arab nationalism? Why/why not?
- b. How did the Zionists/Arabs relate to the British as overlord in Palestine?
- c. How were the communities organized? Why?
- d. What role did external events play on the emerging Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine?
- e. How did the Palestine Mandate end and what were its consequences?
- f. Who used whom--British/ Zionists or Palestinians/British?

Class exercise:

Writing the Palestinian and Israeli narratives?

February 21

Great Powers and Super Powers leave their mark: Is there an Arab world?

What are American and European interests in the ME?

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Readings:

*Batatu, Hanna. "Some Observations on the Social Roots of Syria's Ruling, Military Group and the Causes for its Dominance," *Middle East Journal*, pp. 331-344.

*Stein, Kenneth W. "Imperfect Alliances: Europe vs. America (and the Arab-Israeli Conflict)" *Middle East Quarterly*, March 1997, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 39-45.

Discussion questions:

- a. Is there an Arab world or just a series of states? UAE Jordan, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon?
- b. How did the Mandate system evolve and operate?
- c. How and why did the United States and the Soviet Union become involved in the ME?
- d. And after the cold war what?

February 28

Arabism, inter-Arab politics, and pan-Arabism, pan-Islamism
Bibliography of research paper is due

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Readings:

*Ajami, Fouad. "The End of Pan-Arabism," Foreign Affairs, Winter 1978-1979, pp. 355-373.

*Salame, Ghassan. "Inter-Arab Politics: Return of Geography," in William Quandt (editor), The Middle East, Ten Years After Camp David, 1988, pp. 319-353.

Discussion questions:

- a. Describe and differentiate Arab socialism as practiced in Egypt and Syria. What legacies were left by each?
- b. What were the elements and power of Nasser's Arab nationalism? Was the Palestinian issue used for inter-Arab purposes? If so how, if not why not?
- d. When did pan-Arabism end? And why?

March 7

Mid-term examination

March 14

Spring break, no class

March 21

What happened at Camp David I and Camp David II?

Discussion questions:

- a. What was the framework for both negotiations?
- b. What do our sources (not) tell us about CD II?
- c. Compare and contrast both summits?

March 28

Role of Religion in Middle Eastern politics: Turkey, the Palestinian Community, Lebanon, Israel, Saudi Arabia, hamas, hizballah, and shas

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Readings:

Humphries, pp. 148-203, 204-226, 227-259.

Kepel, Giles. Jihad The Trial of Political Islam, Harvard University Press, 2002.

*Baer, Gabriel. "Islam and Politics in Modern Middle Eastern History," The Jerusalem Quarterly, No. 29, Fall 1983, pp. 68-83.

*Kazemi, Farhad. "Gender, Islam and Politics," Social Research, Vol. 67, No. 2, Summer 2000, pp. 453-474.

Discussion questions:

- a. What are the options for regimes in their relationship to resurgent Islam? Give examples.
- b. Can church and state be separated in Turkey, Israel, and Saudi Arabia? If so, how? If not why not?
- c. Is Lebanon a model for separating religion from politics? What were its shortcomings and successes?
- d. Can Islam become as potent a force as pan-Arabism? Why? Why not?
- e. How have Arab regimes coped with Islam?
- f. What differentiates hizballah, hamas, and shas in methods and objectives?
(Recruitment and objectives)

April 4

Why is Iraq a problem? Two Gulf Wars--were they necessary--whose rules?

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Readings:

*Baram, Amazia. "Saddam Hussein: A Political Profile," The Jerusalem Quarterly, Fall 1980, pp. 115-144.

*Maddy-Weitzman, Bruce. "Islam and Arabism: The Iran-Iraq War," Washington Quarterly, Autumn 1982, pp. 181-188.

Discussion questions:

- a. What are the similarities/ differences between 1990-91 and 2002-2003?
- b. What was/is the Arab state response to Saddam?
- c. Why is there not an 'Arab solution' to what Iraq portends for the region?

April 11

Political Economy, Demography, self-criticism and efforts at reform in modern Arab states
First draft of research paper is due

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Readings:

Waterbury, John and Alan Richards, A Political Economy of the Middle East, Westview Press, 1996. (All)

*Gilbar, Gad G. "One Arab State, Many Arab States: The Impact of Population Growth and Oil Revenues," Economic History of the Middle East, 1988, pp. 196-211.

*Khadduri, Majid. "The Role of the Military in Middle East Politics," American Political Science Review, 47, 1953, pp. 511-524.

* Sahliyah Emile. "The Limits of State Power in the Middle East," Arab Studies Quarterly, Fall 2000, Vol. 22, Issue 4, pp. 1-29.

*Vatikiotis, P.J. "Between Arabism and Islam," Middle Eastern Studies, 22:4, October 1986, pp. 576-586.

United Nations, Arab Human Development Reports, 2002, 2003, and 2004.

Discussion questions:

- a. Can Middle Eastern economies stay ahead of the population curb?
- b. What is the future status of gender equality in many Arab countries?
- c. What are the structural problems in Middle Eastern societies -- economic, social, political?
- d. Can Globalization allow the Middle East to catch up?
- e. What socio-economic results did the following have on the Arab world? The Palestinian question, Arab oil wealth, the cold war, the end of the cold war, and the 1991 Gulf war?
- f. What are the demographics of the region for tomorrow?
- g. Is regional development like along the lines of the European Union possible in the Middle East? Why? Why not?
- h. What are the value systems that guide Middle Easterners in general today, and in particular tomorrow?

April 18

Palestinian self-determination- why did it not happen sooner?

Readings:

*Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli Concept of National Security," in Avner Yaniv's [ed.] National Security and Democracy in Israel, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1993, pp. 11-53.

*Miller, Aaron D. "The Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1967-1987: A Retrospective," Middle East Journal, Summer 1987, pp. 349-360.

*Sayigh, Yezid. "Arafat and Anatomy of Revolt," Survival, Vol. 43, Autumn 200, pp. 47-60.

Discussion questions:

- a. Trace Palestinian self-determination - who controlled their political options and why?
- b. How was Palestinian rule similar to Arab rule in Egypt, Jordan or Syria?
- c. Did Israel liberate the Palestinians or did the Arab world do that?
- d. What was Arafat's legacy before and after 1993?
- e. What are the ruling constraints on the PA?
- f. What does the Palestinian draft constitution reveal?

April 25

Democracy in the Middle East: Pitfalls and prospects: Can the US help or hinder?

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Readings:

Sean L. Yom. CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE ARAB WORLD, MERIA, December 2005, Vol. 9 No. 4, <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2005/issue4/jv9no4a2.html>

Barry Rubin. WHAT'S WRONG: THE ARAB LIBERAL CRITIQUE OF ARAB SOCIETY, MERIA, December 2005, Vol. 9 No. 4, <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2005/issue4/jv9no4a5.html>
A Roundtable Discussion. THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN MIDDLE EAST STATES, MERIA, September 2005, Vol. 9, No. 3, <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2005/issue3/jv9no3a9.html>

April 28

Final Papers are due no later than 5pm in room 121 Bowden Hall.

If you want your research paper returned, please provide a self-addressed stamped envelope when you turn in your paper.