

“The Inter-Arab System: Unity and Division From World War I to the 'Arab Spring'”

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Wednesdays— 12:15-15:45

This course seeks to understand one of the most important factors shaping the modern and contemporary politics of the Middle East: the complicated relationships between Arab countries, and the interaction between inter-Arab dynamics and other dimensions of Middle Eastern political life such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, Great Power penetration, and the rise of political Islam. Employing both "realist" and "constructivist" theories of international relations, it will analyze the evolution of the system from its infancy at the beginning of the 20th century, through the pan-Arab heyday of Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1950s and 1960s, the subsequent consolidation of a more normative state system and its eventual, albeit partial undermining by the “Arab Spring” upheavals. In examining inter-Arab dynamics against the background of challenges posed from within the Arab world, by non-Arab regional actors – Israel, Turkey and Iran – and by Great Powers, the course will seek to understand matters such as the changing nature of modern Arab identity, Arab state formation, the effect of supra-national and sub-national ideologies on the behavior of Arab elites, and the underpinnings of the foreign policies of Arab states.

Course Requirements:

1. Paper –50% of grade
2. Final take-home exam –50% of grade
3. Class Attendance and Participation - mandatory

I. Introduction - State, Nation and Region –Varying Perspectives on Inter-Arab Relations and Arab Nationalism

Readings on Nationalism and Ethnicity: *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism*, (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016).
(<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/book>)

Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 1-53.

C. Ernest Dawn, "The Origins of Arab Nationalism," in Rashid Khalidi, et. al, (eds.) *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, (NY: Columbia UP, 1991), (eds.), pp. 3-30.

Rashid Khalidi, "Ottomanism and Arabism in Syria Before 1914: A Reassessment," in pp. 50-69.

Documents:

Kawakibi – "The Excellence of the Arabs"

Azoury – "Program for the Arab Fatherland"

Sharif Hussein – "Territorial Demands"

Jurji Zaydan – "Arabs and Turks Before the Constitution", pp. 395-408

"Are the Syrians Arabs? Or What Are They", pp. 409-416

II. World War I and the Emergence of Arabism

George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, (NY: Capricorn Books, 1965), pp.149-83.

William L. Cleveland, "The Arab Nationalism of George Antonius Reconsidered, in James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, (eds.), *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (NY: Columbia UP, 1997), pp. 65-86, 302-03.

Efraim Karsh and Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand : The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999), pp. 185-269.

Muhammad Muslih, "The Rise of Local Nationalism in the Arab East," in Khalidi, et. al., pp. 167-85.

James L. Gelvin, "The Social Origins of Popular Nationalism in Syria: Evidence for a New Framework," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol . 26, no. 4 (November 1994), pp. 645-661.

(Fuller picture in Gelvin, *Divided loyalties : nationalism and mass politics in Syria at the close of Empire* (Berkeley, CA:, Univ. of California Press, 1998)).

Documents:

Husayn-McMahon Correspondence

Sykes-Picot Agreement

III. The Inter-War Years – An Arab Proto-System

Israel Gershoni, "Rethinking the Formation of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East, 1920-1945: Old and New Narratives," in Jankowski and Gershoni (eds.), pp. 3-25, 291-96.

Phillip S. Khoury, "The Paradoxical in Arab Nationalism: Interwar Syria Revisited," in Jankowski and Gershoni, pp. 273-87, 333-36.

C. Ernest Dawn, "The formation of Pan-Arab Ideology in the Inter-War Years," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 20 (1988), pp. 67-91.

Itamar Rabinovich, "Inter-Arab Relations Foreshadowed: The Question of the Syrian Throne in the 1920s and 1930s," in H. Ben-Shahar, et. al., *Festschrift in Honor of Dr. George S. Wise* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Univ., 1981), pp. 237-50.

Yehoshua Porath, *In Search of Arab Unity, 1930-1945* (London: Frank Cass, 1986), pp. 149-96, 339-47.

IV+V. The Creation of the Arab League, and the Crystallization of the Arab State System, 1942-1954

Y. Porath, pp. 257-319, 353-60.

B. Maddy-Weitzman, *The Crystallization of the Arab State System, 1945-1954* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 1993), pp. 55-142, 198-221.

Patrick Seale, *The Struggle For Syria*, 2nd edition (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1986), pp. 1-63, 100-117, 148-63.

Michael Doran, *Pan-Arabism before Nasser : Egyptian Power Politics and the Palestine Question* (NY: Oxford UP, 1999), pp. 94-196, 208-220.

Document: Arab League Charter

Map: Arab Invasion of former Mandated Palestine - 1948

VI. The Heyday of Pan-Arabism, 1955-1967

Elie Podeh, *The Quest for Hegemony in the Arab World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), pp. 91-171.

Adeed Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the 20th Century: From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2003), pp. 135-251.

Avraham Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998), pp. 57-97.

Malik Mufti, *Sovereign Creations: Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1995), pp. 99-194.

VII. The Watershed – June 1967

Nadav Safran, *From War to War* (NY: Praeger, 1969), pp. 83-88, 266-316.

Michael Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Oxford and NY: Oxford UP, 2002), pp. 61-169.

Patrick Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1989), pp. 117-41.

Hisham Sharabi, "Prelude to War: The Crisis of May-June 1967," in Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (ed.), *The Arab-Israeli Confrontation of June 1967: An Arab Perspective* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 1970), pp. 49-65.

Documents: Nasser's Speech to Arab Trade Unionists, May 26, 1967

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/nasser1.html>

Nasser's Resignation Speech, June 10, 1967

<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1967/06/10/page/5/article/text-of-president-nassers-resignation-speech#text>

VIII. From Thawra to Tharwa – 1967-1980

Sadiq al-Azm, *Self-Criticism After the Defeat* (London: Saqi Books, 2012)

A. Dawisha, p. 252-313

F. Ajami, *The Arab Predicament* (Cambridge: Cambridge, UP, 1981), pp. 137-200, 207-11.

Fouad Ajami, "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs*, 52 (Winter 1978-79), pp. 355-373.

Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "The Concerns and the Challenges," in Tawfiq Farah, (ed.) *Pan-Arabism and Arab Nationalism: The Continuing Debate* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), pp. 57-67.

Documents :

Khartoum Summit Resolutions:

<http://www.sixdaywar.org/content/docs.asp#khartoum>

IX. The Iran-Iraq War and the Return to Geography – 1980-1990

Ghassan Salame, "Inter-Arab Politics: A Return to Geography," in William B. Quandt (ed.), *The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1988), pp. 319-353.

A. Sela, pp. 221-320.

X. Gulf War - Arab Quake

Yezid Sayigh, "The Gulf Crisis: Why the Arab Order Failed," *International Affairs*, 67 (1991), pp. 487-507.

Y. Sayegh, "System Breakdown in the Middle East?," Martin Kramer, (ed.), *Middle Eastern Lectures*, No. 2 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Univ., 1997), pp. 57-68.

B. Maddy-Weitzman and Joseph Kostiner, "From Jidda to Cairo: The Failure of Arab Mediation in the Gulf Crisis," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 7 (1996), pp. 466-490.

Kanan Makiya, *Cruelty and Silence* (NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1993), pp. 233-83, 312-27, 345-51, 356-57.

XI. Searching for a New Regional Order

B. Maddy-Weitzman and J. Kostiner, "The Damascus Declaration: An Arab Attempt at Regional Security," *Security Regimes: Israel and Its Neighbors*, Efraim Inbar (ed.), SUNY Press, NY, 1995, pp. 107-25.

A. Sela, pp. 320-40, 403-05.

Emmanuel Sivan, "Arab Nationalism in the Age of Islamic Resurgence," in Jankowski and Gershoni, pp. 207-228, 325-28.

A. Dawisha, "Requiem for Arab Nationalism," *Middle East and Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 1 (Winter 2003) pp. 25-41.

Nazih N. Ayubi, *Over-stating the Arab State* (London, NY: I.B. Tauris, 1995), pp. 135-63.

F. Ajami, *Dream Palace of the Arabs* (NY: Pantheon Books, 1998), pp. 253-312

Document: The Beirut Declaration

XII and XIII. From Gulf War III to the Arab Spring – the End of the Arab State System?

Readings:

Paul Noble, "From Arab System to Middle East System?: Regional Pressures and Constraints," in *The Foreign Policies of Arab States*, B. Korany and A. Dessouki (eds.), third edition (Cairo and NY: AUC Press, 2008), pp. 67-165

Maddy-Weitzman, "North Africa's Democratic Prospects,"
<http://www.fpri.org/enotes/2011/201112.maddy-weitzman.northafrica.pdf>,

Maddy-Weitzman, *A Century of Arab Politics* (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), pp. 185-211, 237-40.

Documents: Arab Human Development Reports <http://www.arab-hdr.org/>
Key Social and Economic Indicators