

Fall 2009

Johns Hopkins University
Department of Political Science

190.311 **MIDDLE EAST POLITICS**

Time: Mondays and Wednesdays 3:00 pm - 3:50 pm | Location: Shafer 101

Professor Hazbun

hazbun@jhu.edu | Office Hours: Wed. 4-5pm, Fri. Noon-1pm in 258 Mergenthaler Hall

This course presents a survey of state building, political change, and ideological trends across the Middle East since the end of World War I. It is organized around investigations of critical issues including Islam and modernity, nationalism and independence, authoritarian state building, the Palestinian question, Iranian politics since the revolution, the Saudi political system, post-civil war politics in Lebanon, political Islam and democracy, the rise of Dubai and the future of Iraq.

This survey explores several theoretical questions about politics in the region:

- How have the “post-Ottoman syndrome,” geopolitics, and *continuing* external involvement in the region shaped patterns of state building and political change?
- Why did the region’s experience with some seemingly representative/liberal forms of the politics (c. 1930s-1950s) give way to the rise of authoritarian regimes?
- Why have various Islamist political movements come to represent the strongest forces pushing for political reform, government accountability, and democracy in the region? Does political Islam represent an obstacle/threat to the democratization of the Middle East or, alternatively, a *necessary* component for democratization?
- How and why have existing regimes retained power despite eroding legitimacy?
- How have current regional conflict, civil wars, and access to oil incomes shaped patterns of political change?
- How are new forms of populist mobilization and political organization reshaping politics in the region?

Prerequisites: There are no formal prerequisites, but a previous course in comparative politics is recommended.

Section instructors:

Noora Lori (nooralori@gmail.com) Thursdays 1:30 & 3 pm, Bloomberg 172
Nicole Hughes (nicole.hughes@jhu.edu) Fridays 1:30 & 3pm, Bloomberg 276

Course Requirements: You are expected to attend all lectures and are *required* to attend and fully participate in your discussion section having read the assigned reading for the week. **Section participation** is 15% of your course grade. Your section instructor will provide you with guidelines, which will likely include additional assignments, readings, and *penalties for unexcused absences*. There will be a **Midterm exam** (20% of grade), 2 **short papers** (5% and 10% of grade), **final exam** (50% of grade). No “Senior option.”

H1N1 influenza precautions: As per university guidelines, we request you *do not* attend lecture or section if you have H1N1 influenza symptoms. Your section instructor will outline her attendance and alternative assignment policy.

Additional accommodations: Please inform your section instructor as soon as you can regarding any requests for special accommodations.

Ethics: Note that cheating on either exams or plagiarism on the paper will result in failure of the course. For more info, see <http://www.jhu.edu/ethics/>

Required books:

John L. Esposito, *Islam and Politics* (Syracuse, 4th ed., 1998)
Jeremy Jones, *Negotiating Change: The New Politics of the Middle East* (I. B. Tauris, 2007)
Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History* (Princeton, 2007)
Patrick Cockburn, *Muqtada: Muqtada al-Sadr, the Shia Revival, and the Struggle for Iraq* (Scribner, 2008)

The required books are available for purchase at the JHU bookstore and on 2 hr reserve in the library. All other readings should be accessible on electronic reserve (Password = HAZ311).

“*Recommended*” reading generally provide a deeper understanding of issues discussed. Please note that selected readings designated as “*Recommended*” below may be assigned as “required” by your section leader.

Introduction to 190.311 (Sept. 2)

no sections this week

Introduction to the politics of the Middle East (Sept. 9)

“The Arabs: Between fitna, fawda and the deep blue sea,” *The Economist*, January 12, 2008
“Islam and democracy,” *The Economist*, January 12, 2008
“Leader: Waking from its Sleep,” *The Economist*, July 25, 2009
“Special report on Arab world,” *The Economist*, July 25, 2009
Jones, *Negotiating Change*, pp. 1-10 (Introduction)

Islam, modernity and the question of democracy in the Middle East (Sept. 14,16)

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 3-38, 43-54, 62-68, 100-105.
Michael Hirsh, “Bernard Lewis Revisited,” *The Washington Quarterly*, (November 2004): 13-19

Recommended:

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 309-350
Jones, *Negotiating Change*, ch. 8 (Turkey)

Short paper due in Section (Sept 17 or 18)

The ‘invention’ of the modern Middle East state system (1920s-40s) (Sept. 21, 23)

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 68-78.
James Gelvin, “The League of Nations and the Question of National Identity in the Fertile Crescent,” *World Affairs* 158, 1 (Summer 1995): 35-43.
Abbas Kelidar, “States without Foundations: The political evolution of state and society in the Arab East,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, 2 (April 1993): 315-338.
Rashid Khalidi, “The Palestinians and 1948,” in Rogan and Shlaim, eds. *The War for Palestine* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 12-36.

The political economy of state building in Egypt, Iraq, Syria (1950s-60s) (Sept 28, 30)

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 131-6.

William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East* 3rd ed. (Westview, 2004), pp. 301-344.

Philip S. Khoury, "Islamic Revivalism and the Crisis of the Secular State in the Arab World," in I. Ibrahim, (ed.) *Arab Resources* (CCAS, 1983), read only pp. 213-222.

R. Stephen Humphreys, *Between Memory and Desire*, (California, 1999), pp. 113-130.

The Islamist challenge: State exhaustion, ideological critique, democracy (1970s-80s)

(Oct. 5,7)

Khoury, "Islamic Revivalism and the Crisis of the Secular State," read pp. 222-234.

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 136-148.

Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and politics in the Arab world* (Routledge, 1991), pp. 120-145, 155-7.

Ray Takeyh, "The Lineaments of Islamic Democracy," *World Policy Journal* (Winter 2001/2)

Richard Bulliet, "The Crisis Within Islam," *Wilson Quarterly* (Winter 2002): 11-19

Recommended:

Kurzman, "Liberal Islam: Prospects and challenges"

Wiktorowicz, "A Genealogy of Radical Islam"

Ismail, "The Paradox of Islamist Politics"

Kramer, "Islamist Notions of Democracy"

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 309-350

Esposito and Piscatori, "Democratization and Islam,"

Popular sovereignty, populism, and the 'Islamic' revolution in Iran (Oct. 12, 14)

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 84-89, 126-131, 196-227.

Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and politics in the Arab world* (Routledge, 1991), pp. 146-155.

Jones, *Negotiating Change*, ch. 2 (Iran)

Ali Gheissari and Vali Nasr, "The conservative consolidation in Iran," *Survival* (Summer 2005): 175-190.

Ervand Abrahamian, "Why the Islamic Republic Has Survived," *Middle East Report* (Spring 2009): 10-16

Ehsani, Keshavarzian and Moruzzi, "Tehran, June 2009," *Middle East Report Online*, June 28, 2009.

The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East (Oct 19)

Eva Bellin, "Coercive Institutions and Coercive Leaders," in Posusney and Angrist (eds.) *Authoritarianism in the Middle East* (Rienner, 2005), pp. 21-41.

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The politics of economic liberalization: comparing Egypt & Syria" in Hakimian & Moshaver (eds.) *The State and Global Change* (Curzon, 2001), pp. 111-134.

Alan Richards, "Democracy in the Arab region," *Middle East Policy* (Summer 2005): 28-35

MID TERM EXAM (Oct 21)

Religion and rentier state-building in Saudi Arabia (Oct. 26, 28)

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 36-38, 105-116.

Gregory Gause, *Oil Monarchies* (CFR, 1994), pp. 42-77.

Gwenn Okruhlik, "Networks of Dissent: Islamism and Reform in Saudi Arabia," *Current History* (January 2002): 22-28.

Mai Yamani, "The Two Faces of Saudi Arabia," *Survival* 50,1 (Feb.-March 2008): 143-156.

Political Islam, civil society, and democracy: The case of Egypt (Nov. 2, 4)

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 235-260.

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam* (Columbia 2002), pp. 93-118

Sami Zubaida, "Islam, the State and Democracy," *Middle East Report* (Nov./Dec. 1992): 2-10

Jones, *Negotiating Change*, Chapter 1 (Egypt)

Samer Shehata and Joshua Stacher, "The Brotherhood Goes to Parliament," *Middle East Report* (Fall 2006).

The rise of Hizballah in post-civil war Lebanese politics (Nov 9, 11)

Wenger & Denney, "Lebanon's Fifteen-Year War 1975-1990" *Middle East Report* (Jan./Feb. 1990): 23-25.

Richard Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, pp. 1-46, 71-172.

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, 273-289.

Jones, *Negotiating Change*, pp. 103-123

Melani Cammett, "Democracy, Lebanese-Style," *Middle East Report Online*, August 18, 2009

Recommended:

Heiko Wimmen, "Rallying Around the Renegade," *Middle East Report Online*, August 27, 2007

David Wilmsen, "Nasrallah and the compromise and rehabilitation of Hizbullah's reputation," *Arab Media and Society* 7 (Winter 2009)

The Sadrist movement and the future of Iraq (Nov. 16, 18)

Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, pp. 289-297

Jones, *Negotiating Change*, ch. 9 (Iraq)

Cockburn, *Muqtada*, pp. 1-213

The rise of Dubai and the Gulf (Nov 23)

Jones, *Negotiating Change*, ch. 7 (Dubai)

Mike Davis, "Fear and Money in Dubai," *New Left Review*, 41 (September-October 2006): 47-68.

Christopher Davidson, "Dubai: Foreclosure of a Dream," *Middle East Report* (Summer 2009): 8-13.

The end of the peace process and the fragmentations of Palestine (Nov 30, Dec 2)

Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Beacon, 2007), pp. 140-217.

Graham Usher, " Hamas Risen," *Middle East Report* 238 (Spring 2006): 2-11

Jones, *Negotiating Change*, chapter 3 (Palestine)

Paul Scham and Osama Abu-Irshaid, " Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility," *United States Institute of Peace Special Report*, June 2009

Short paper #2 due in section

Recommended:

Khalil Shikaki, "Palestinians Divided," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2002

Yazid Sayigh, "Armed Struggle and State Formation," *Journal of Palestine Studies* (Summer 1997): 17-32

Gary Sussman, "The Challenge to the Two-State Solution" *Middle East Report* (Summer 2004): 8-15.

Anton Shammas, "The Art of Forgetting" *New York Times Magazine* Dec. 26, 1993 pp. 32-33.

Edward W. Said, "The One-State Solution," *New York Times Magazine* January 10, 1999

Rashid Khalidi, "Palestine: Liberation Deferred," *The Nation*, May 26, 2008.

"Palestine Divided," Crisis Group, Middle East Briefing N°25, 17 December 2008

"Gaza's Unfinished Business," Crisis Group, Middle East Report N°85, 23 April 2009

The future of politics in the Middle East (Dec. 7)

Mark LeVine, "Chaos, Globalization, and the Public Sphere: Political Struggle in Iraq and Palestine,"
Middle East Journal 60, 3 (Summer 2006), 467-492.

Jones, *Negotiating Change*, pp. 260-5 (Conclusion)

Re-read:

"Waking from its Sleep" (Leader and Special report) *The Economist*, July 25th, 2009,

AUC Dialogue (Optional) (Dec. 10, Thursday 10am-Noon, location: TBA)

Videoconference with The American University in Cairo

FINAL EXAM (December 17, Thursday)

Thursday, 9:00 AM to 12:00 NOON