

**School of Social and Political Science
Department of Politics and International Relations
University of Edinburgh**

**Politics of the Middle East
(PLIT 10036)**

**Semester 1
2012-2013**

**Course convenor:
Dr. Adham Saouli**



I. Course Overview

Course Description and Objectives: The aim of this course is to provide an introduction to the politics of the Middle East (ME). This will include an analysis of the growth and nature of the state in the ME; the prevalence of authoritarianism, neo-patrimonialism and processes towards democratisation; the salience of Arab nationalism and Islamism; the roots of the Arab-Israeli conflict; and an analysis of the latest Arab uprisings.

Divided into three parts, the course will start with an *historical background* of the ME and an introduction of the main *theoretical approaches* to understanding ME politics. The second part will examine several *case-studies* in light of Modernisation, Nationalist, Rentier State, Revolution, and Consociational Democracy theories. The third part will consider three *themes*: the Arab-Israeli Conflict, and the causes and consequences of the latest Arab uprising, and the role of Islamism in the wake of the uprisings

Learning Outcomes: By the end of the course students should: (a) gain a substantive and theoretically informed understanding of ME politics; (b) acquire an understanding of theories pertaining to the region's domestic political processes and institutions and their application to several ME countries; and (3) develop a comparative and critical knowledge of ME states and politics.

II. Course Organisation

Contact Teaching Hours: This course will involve 2 hours of teaching per week: a 1-hour lecture and a 1-hour tutorial seminar. In sum, the course will include 10 lectures divided in 10 weeks and 9 tutorial sessions (starting week 2). In week 11 an exam revision lecture, but no tutorial.

Dates and Locations

Lectures	Monday	10:00-11:00	7 George Square, S.1 (2.01)
Tutorials	Wednesday	9:00-10:00	Appleton Tower, Rm. 3.01
		10:00-11:00	Minto House LR 1
		11:00-12:00	Appleton Tower, Rm. 2.05
		12:00-1:00	7 George Square, S37
		2:00-3:00	Appleton Tower, M3

*****Students should sign up for tutorial groups through Learn.**

Course Team

Course convenor and lecturer

Dr. Adham Saouli

Office: Rm. 4.20, Chrystal Macmillan Building
Office Hours: Mondays: 15:00-17:00, *or by appointment*.
Email: a.saouli@ed.ac.uk

Course Tutors

Ms May Darwich

Office:
Office Hours: *By appointment*
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Ms Jehan Saleh

Office: 17 George Square, Room B29
Office Hours: Thursdays, 2-4pm
Email: s1050620@sms.ed.ac.uk

Course Administrator:

Ms Ruth Winkle, Politics Subject Secretary

Office: Room 1.11 Chrystal Macmillan Building
Email: Ruth.Winkle@ed.ac.uk

III. Assessment and Student Engagement

Students are encouraged to come prepared to both lectures and tutorials. Preparation involves reading ALL of the core readings and at least 2 or 3 of the recommended ones. Tutorials are meant to provide students with the opportunity to discuss theories, concepts, and themes with their peers. For tutorials to succeed, students will have to come prepared to class.

This course will be assessed by:

1. A 2000-word Essay: 40 %
2. A 2- hour Final Exam: 60%

Essay: The following guidelines should be followed in preparing and writing your essay:

1. Essays should be double-spaced throughout
2. The first page should include a title, date, and word count

The essay should:

3. be 2000 words, *excluding* notes and bibliography
4. be relevant to the research question
5. be well structured and organised
6. be clearly written
7. demonstrate a clear understanding of the topic by consulting a range of sources
8. identifying major arguments in the literature
9. present a clear argument, which in essence should answer the question

Essay Questions:

1. The Arab uprisings will revive Pan-Arabism. Say if you agree or disagree.
2. The January 25 Revolution is a step toward an Islamic Republic in Egypt. Do you agree?
3. Why didn't the Arab uprisings affect Lebanon and Iraq?
4. The AK Party is turning Turkey into an Islamic state. Say if you agree or disagree.
5. Why have the Arabs and Israelis failed to achieve peace?
6. Rentier state theory is not sufficient to explain Middle East politics. Say if you agree or disagree by examining the case of Kuwait **OR** the United Arab Emirates.
7. How do we explain the survival of some regimes in the Middle East? Illustrate your answer by examining the case of Morocco **OR** Jordan.
8. Arab satellite channels have been detrimental in the Arab uprisings. Say if you agree or disagree by exploring the role of the Qatari-based Aljazeera.

The Essay DEADLINE is Friday, 02 November 2012, by noon time.

***** Important! *****

Please see the 'Honours Handbook' for further information on submission of coursework; 'Late Penalty Waivers'; plagiarism; learning disabilities, special circumstances; common marking descriptors, re-marking procedures and appeals

Exam:

The final exam is 2 hours. In Week 11 we will hold a revision session to discuss preparation for the exam. Also note that a generalised feedback will be available for students after the exams are marked.

Learn and Email

The *Learn* Virtual Learning Environment application will be used throughout the course. Students are advised to check the course page on *Learn* on regular basis for announcements, tutors office hours, lecture or tutorial cancellation.

Students with Learning Difficulties

Advice, guidance and a range of support materials is available to students with learning difficulties from the Disability Office: <http://www.disability-office.ed.ac.uk/>
Tel.: 0131 650 6828

Further Information

Further information on assessment and teaching matters can be found in the Politics Honours Handbook and the International Relations Handbook

IV. Course Readings and Sources

**** *Where possible recommended readings will be supplied through Learn*

Key Texts:

--David Long and Bernard Reich, *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* (**AVAILABLE ONLINE—University Library**)

-- Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury & Mary C. Wilson, eds., *The Modern Middle East: A Reader*

--Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 2000

--Nazih Ayubi, *Over-stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. 1995

Other Recommended texts on the History, Politics and International Relations of the Middle East

History

Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*. 1991.

Peter Mansfield, *A History of the Middle East*

David Fromkin *A peace to end all peace: creating the modern Middle East, 1914-1922*. 1991

M.E Yapp, *The Near East Since the First World War*

International Relations

Raymond Hinnebusch, *International Politics of the Middle East*, Manchester University Press, 2003.

Louise Fawcett, *International Relations of the Middle East*, Oxford, 2005.

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations: power, politics and ideology*, Cambridge, 2005.

L. Carl Brown, *International Relations of the Middle East: Old Rules, Dangerous Game*. 1984

Tarek Y. Ismail, *International Relations of the contemporary Middle East: a study in world politics*. 1986

Foreign Policy

Gerd Nonneman, *Analyzing Middle East Foreign Politics*. 2005

Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*. 2002

Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett (eds.), *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*. 2002

Main Middle East Politics Journals

International Journal of the Middle East

Middle East Policy

Middle East Report

Middle East Studies

Mediterranean Politics

Arab Studies Quarterly

Journal of Palestine Studies

Middle East Review of International Affairs (Electronic Journal)

Third World Quarterly

Electronic Sources:

Middle East Documentation Center : <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/mideast/medoc.html>

Middle East Virtual Library: <http://ssgdoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/>

Centre for Arab Unity Studies:

http://www.caus.org.lb/Home/publication_popup.php?ID=3743&Lang=en

Arab Decision: http://www.arabdecision.org/index.php?lang_id=3

Aljazeera English: <http://english.aljazeera.net/>

Al-Sharq al-Awsat (The Middle East Newspaper): <http://www.asharq-e.com/>

Al-Hayat Newspaper: <http://english.daralhayat.com/>

Angry Arab: <http://www.angryarab.blogspot.com/>

V. Course Outline

Lectures and Seminar Titles

Historical Background and Theory

- Wk 1** **Politics of the Middle East: An introductory Session**
- Wk 2** **Theoretical Approaches: Understanding Middle East Politics**

Case-Studies

- Wk 3** **Modernisation and Nationalism: Republican Turkey**
- Wk 4** **Modernisation and Arab Nationalism: Nasserite Egypt**
- Wk 5** **Rentier State Theory and Arab Monarchies: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**
- Wk 6** **Revolution and Islam: Islamic Republic of Iran**
- Wk 7** **Control and Consociational Politics in Divided Societies: Lebanon and Iraq**

Themes

- Wk 8** **The Arab Uprisings: Causes and Consequences**
- Wk 9** **The Arab-Israeli Conflict: states and non-state actors**
- Wk 10** **Islamism and the Arab Revolutions (Dr. Ewan Stein)**
- WK11** ***Exam Revision session***

Wk 1 Politics of the Middle East: An introductory Session

This lecture will first introduce the course and the main themes the course will cover. Second, it will examine the 'Middle East' as an analytical concept, considering the origins of (and the elements that bind) this area as geo-political entity.

*****No tutorials for this week.**

Further Readings

Barry Buzan, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*, pp. 6-37

James Bill and Robert Springborg, *Politics in the Middle East*, Chapter Two

Raymond Hinnebusch, *International Politics of the Middle East*, pp. 1-14

Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, Chapter One

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*, pp. 1-16 and Chapter Three

Iliya Harik, "The Origins of the Arab State System" in *The Arab State*, edited by G. Luciani.

Timothy Mitchell, *The Middle East in the Past and Future of Social Science*
<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3618c31x>

S. Heydemann, Defending the Discipline, *Journal of Democracy*, 13. 3 (July 2002)

Fawaz A. Gerges, The Study of the Middle East International Relations: A Critique, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 18. No. 2 (1991), pp. 208-220

Nikki R. Keddie, Is there a Middle East?, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 4 (1973)

Wk 2 Theoretical Approaches: Understanding Middle East Politics

This lecture examines several approaches in the field of Middle East politics. It will start by an analysis of Orientalism and its critics. It will then move on to examine the two predominant approaches of Political Culture and Political Economy, discussing their strengths and weaknesses.

Tutorial Questions: 1. What is the difference between Orientalism and the Political Culture approach? 2. Does the Political Economy approach provide us with a better understanding of the Middle East?

Core Readings:

- Fred Halliday, Orientalism and its Critics, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 1994; also in *Islam: The Myth of Confrontation*, Chapter Seven
- Nazih N. Ayubi, *Over-stating the Arab State*, Chapter Five
- Lisa Anderson, "Policy-Making and Theory Building: American Political Science and the Islamic Middle East" in H. Sharabi, ed., *Theory, Politics and the Arab World: Critical Responses*
- Simon Bromley, *Rethinking Middle East Politics*, Chapter One

Recommended Readings:

- Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam*
Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*
Kedourie, Elie, *Politics in the Middle East*
Abbas Kelidar, States without foundations: The Political Evolution of State and Society in the Arab East. *Journal of Contemporary History* 28 (2):315-339.
Hisham, Sharabi, *Neopatriarchy : a theory of distorted change in Arab society*
Ayubi, *Over-stating the Arab State*, pp. 24-38
Batatu, Hanna. 1978. *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq : a study of Iraq's old landed and commercial classes and of its Communists, Ba'athists, and Free Officers.*
Beblawi, Hazem, and Giacomo Luciani. *The Rentier state, Nation, state and integration in the Arab world ; v.2.*
Luciani, Giacomo. 1990. Allocation vs Production States: A Theoretical Framework. In *The Arab State*, edited by G. Luciani. London: Routledge.
Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A political economy of the Middle East*. Chapter Two
Anderson, Lisa, *The state and social transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*
Raymond A. Hinnebusch *Peasant and bureaucracy in Bathist Syria : the political economy of rural development*
Sadowski, Y "The New Orientalism and the Democracy Debate," *Middle East Report* no 183 (July/August 1993).
Saouli, A, *The Arab State: Dilemmas of Late formation*, chapters 1, 2, 3
Michael C. Hudson, "The Political Culture Approach to Arab Democratization: The Case for Bringing It Back In, Carefully" in Brynen/Korany et al *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World* (Vol. 1)
Lisa Anderson, "Democracy in the Arab World: A Critique of the Political Culture Approach" in Brynen/Korany et al *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World* (Vol. 1)
Evans, Peter June, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. 1985. *Bringing the state back in*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wk 3 Modernisation and Nationalism: Republican Turkey

This lecture examines Modernisation theory, dominant in the 1950's and 1960s, and to consider the case of Turkey as a proto-type ME state that aimed to modernise its society and politics. The lecture probes into Turkey's political system and the role of religion, army and ideology in Turkish political development.

Tutorial Questions: 1. What are the main strengths and weaknesses of Modernisation Theory? 2. Is the rise of Islamists in Turkey a sign of progression or regression?

Core Readings:

- Dean C. Tipps, "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 15, No.2 (March 1973), pp. 196-226
- Henri J. Barkey and Omer Taspinar, 'Republic of Turkey' in David E. Long, B. Reich and M. Gasiorowski, *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* [**Library ELECTRONIC VERSION**]
- James Bill and Robert Springborg, *Politics in the Middle East*, pp. 181-193 (On Attaturk)
- R. Quinn Meacham From the Ashes of Virtue, a Promise of Light: The Transformation of Political Islam in Turkey *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2004), pp. 339-358

Recommended Readings:

- David Apter, *The Politics of Modernization*
- Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*
- M. Hakan Yavuz *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey (Religion and Global Politics*
- Ümit Cizre *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party*
- Barry Rubin and Ali Çarkoglu , *Religion and Politics in Turkey*
- Jung D, Dietrich Jung, and Catharina Raudvere, *Religion, Politics, and Turkey's EU Accession (Governance, Security and Development)*
- William Hale and Ergun Ozbudun *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics)*
- Feroz Ahmad, *The making of modern Turkey*, London: Routledge, 1993
- , *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*, Oxford, Eng. : Oneworld, c2003
- Nicole Pope and Hugh Pope, *Turkey Unveiled: A history of Modern Turkey*, Woodstock, N.Y. : Overlook Press, 2004
- Roger Owen, *State, Power, and Politics*, pp. 125-130, 246-50
- Sina Aksin, *Turkey from empire to revolutionary republic*

Wk4 Modernisation and Arab Nationalism: Nasserite Egypt

This lecture examines Arab Nationalism and the attempts of modernisation during the Nasserite regime in Egypt. It will consider the role of ideology and the army in the making of the populist regime in Egypt. It will then look at the 'post-populist' developments during the Sadat and Mubarak periods.

Tutorial Questions: 1. Why did Nasser choose Arab Nationalism as his political ideology? 2. Why did his successors bury it? 3. Is Arab Nationalism dead?

Core Readings:

- Nazih Ayubi, *Over-stating the Arab State*, Chapters 4 and 6
- Marius Deeb "Arab Republic of Egypt", in David E. Long, B. Reich and M. Gasiorowski, *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* [**Library ELECTRONIC VERSION**]
- James A. Bill and Robert Springborg, "Gamal Abdel Nasser: Patrimonialism and Transformation", in *Politics in the Middle East*, pp. 207-218

Recommended Readings:

- Jammal Abdel Nasser, *The Philosophy of the Revolution*
- Beattie, Kirk J. 1994. *Egypt during the Nasser years: ideology, politics, and civil society*.
- Gordon, J *Nasser's Blessed Movement*.
- Waterbury, J *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: the Political Economy of two Regimes*
- Vatikitotis, PJ *Nasser & His Generation*.
- "State and Class in Egypt: A Review Essay" in Bosworth, CE et al eds *The Islamic World: From Classical to Modern Times*.
- "Some Political Consequences of the 1952 Revolution in Egypt" in Holt, PM ed *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*.
- Raymond Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics Under Sadat: The Post-populist development of an authoritarian-modernizing State*
- Nazih Ayubi, *The State and Public Policies in Egypt since Sadat*
- Eberherd Kienle, *A Grand Delusion: Democracy and Economic Reform in Egypt*
- Ajami, F *The Arab Predicament*.
- "The End of Pan-Arabism", *Foreign Affairs*, 57:2 (1978-9).
- Barnett, M [*Dialogues in Arab Politics*](#).
- Doran, M *Pan-Arabism Before Nasser: Egyptian Power Politics and the Palestine Question*.
- Gerges, F *The Superpowers and the Middle East, 1955-1967*.
- Kerr, M *The Arab Cold War: Gamal Abd al-Nasir and his Rivals, 1958-1970* (3rd edition).

Wk 5 Rentier State Theory and Arab Monarchies: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

This lecture will first explore Rentier State Theory and its applicability to political regimes in the Middle East, especially oil-rich monarchies. It will then examine the process of state formation in Saudi Arabia, considering the nature of the Saudi state and the role of oil in reinforcing Saudi power.

Tutorial Questions: 1. What are the main weaknesses of Rentier State Theory? 2. The Saudi Regime relies on oil income for its survival. Say if you agree or disagree (compare with other monarchies).

Core Readings:

- Nazih Ayubi, Over-stating the Arab State, Chapter 7
- Sebastian Maisal, "Kingdom of Saudi Arabia", in David E. Long, B. Reich and M. Gasiorowski, *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa [Library ELECTRONIC VERSION]*
- Hertog, Steffen, The Sociology of the Gulf Rentier Systems: Societies of Intermediaries, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 52 (2), 2010.
- Guido Steinberg, The Wahhabi Ulama and the Saudi State: 1975 to the Present in Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman. *Saudi Arabia in the balance : political economy, society, foreign affairs*

Recommended Readings:

- Saouli, Adham, *The Arab State: Dilemmas of late formation*, Chapter 4
- Shambayati, Hootan. 1994. The Rentier State, Interest Groups, and the Paradox of Autonomy: State and Business in Turkey and Iran. *Comparative Politics* 26, 3: 307–31
- Schwarz, Rolf, The Political Economy of state-formation in the Arab Middle East: rentier states, economic reform, and democratization, *Review of International Political Economy* 15:4 October 2008.
- Hazem el Beblawi, "The Rentier State" in *The Arab State* edited by G. Luciani. London: Routledge.
- Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman. *Saudi Arabia in the balance : political economy, society, foreign affairs*. London: Hurst & Company, 2005.
- Steinberg, Guido Steinberg, "The Wahhabi Ulama and the Saudi State:1745 to the Present", in *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs*
- Niblock, Timothy *Saudi Arabia : power, legitimacy and survival, The contemporary Middle East*. London: Routledge. 2006.
- Joseph Kostiner. *The making of Saudi Arabia, 1916-1936 : from chieftaincy to monarchical state*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1993
- Brian Lees, 2006. The Al Saud Family and the Future of Saudi Arabia. *Asian Affairs* XXXVII (1):40-51
- Glosemeyer, Iris. 2004. Saudi Arabia: Dynamism Uncovered. In *Arab Elites: Negotiating the Politics of Change*, edited by V. Perthes. Boulder: Co: Lynne Rienner.
- F. Gregory Gause The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis In *Middle East Monarchies: The Challenge of Modernity* edited by J. Kostiner. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.,
- Davis, Eric. "Theorizing Statecraft and Social Change in Arab oil-producing countries" In *Statecraft in the Middle East*, edited by E. D. a. N. Gavrielides. Miami: Florida International University Press. 1991. (This book contains several case studies from the oil-rich gulf)
- Kiren Aziz Chaudhry. *The price of wealth : economies and institutions in the Middle East*. Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University,1997. (A comparative study on oil remittance in Saudi Arabia and Yemen)
- Daryl Champion 2003. *The paradoxical kingdom : Saudi Arabia and the momentum of reform*. London: C. Hurst.

Wk 6 Revolution and Islam: Islamic Republic of Iran

This lecture examines the roots and processes of revolutions. It will then examine the case-study of Iran in two ways: first, it will analyse the underlying forces that led to the Islamic revolution in Iran; and second, it will look at the Islamic regime that the revolution has generated.

Tutorial Questions: 1. Why did the revolution in Iran take an Islamic identity and not a national or Communist one? 2. The Islamic regime in Iran is a form of democracy. Say if you agree or disagree.

Core Readings:

--Goldstone, Jack (2009) 'Rethinking Revolutions: Integrating Origins, Processes, and Outcomes', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* Volume 29, Number 1, 2009: 18-32

-- Mark Gasiorowski, "Islamic Republic of Iran", in David E. Long, B. Reich and M. Gasiorowski, *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* [**Library ELECTRONIC VERSION**]

Keddie N., 1983, "Iranian Revolution in Comparative Perspective", *The American Historical Review*, 88, 3 : 579-598

--Ervand Abrahamian, *Khomeinism: Essays on the Islamic Republic*, Chapter 1

Recommended Readings:

Arjomand, SA *Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran* Chapters 5-7.

Cleveland, WL *A History of the Modern Middle East* Chapter 20.

Keddie, N *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran*. Chapters 8 & 9

Owen, R *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Middle East* Chapter 9.

Yapp, M *The Near East since the First World War* Chapter 13.

Abrahamian, E *Iran Between Two Revolutions: Iran and the Islamic Revolution*

Bakhash, S *The Reign of the Ayatollahs*.

Gasiorowski, MJ *US Foreign Policy and the Shah: Building a Client State in Iran*

Green, JD "Countermobilization as a Revolutionary Form," *Comparative Politics*, 16:2 (January 1984).

Halliday, F "The Iranian Revolution" in Halliday, F & Alavi, F *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*.

——— *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*.

Keddie, N *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran*.

Mottahadeh, R *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*.

Zubaida, S *Islam, the People and the State* Chapters 2 & 3.

Wk 7 Control and Consociational Politics in Divided Societies: Lebanon and Iraq

This lecture first examines attempts at governance in divided societies of the Middle East, looking at the two main variables of control and consociational politics. In the second part, it will consider the cases of Lebanon and Iraq asking: why have divisions in Lebanon generated a different political system from that of Iraq? It will finally raise the question on whether the post-Occupation Iraqi system converges with that of Lebanon.

Tutorial Questions: 1. Is control or consociational politics a better means to govern the divided societies of Lebanon or Iraq? 2. Is Lebanon's political system different from that of post-occupation Iraq?

Core Readings:

--Lustick, Ian, "Stability in Deeply divided societies: consociationalism versus control," *World Politics*, vol.31, 3 (April 1979), 325-344.

--William Harris, "Republic of Lebanon", in David E. Long, B. Reich and M. Gasiorowski, *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* [**Library ELECTRONIC VERSION**]

--Judith S. Yaphe, "Republic of Iraq", in David E. Long, B. Reich and M. Gasiorowski, *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* [**Library ELECTRONIC VERSION**]

--Adham Saouli 'Stability Under Late State Formation: The Case of Lebanon', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol.19 No.4 (December, 2006) pp.701-717

Recommended Readings:

IRAQ

Saouli, Adham (2012), *The Arab State: dilemmas of late formation*, Chapter 5

Reilly, Benjamin (2006), 'Political Engineering and Party Politics in Conflict-Prone societies', *Democratization*, vol.13 (December 2006), 5, 811-827

Charles Tripp, *A history of Iraq*. 3rd ed. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2007.

Dodge, T *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied*

Owen, R *State, Power and Politics*. Chapter 2.

Sluglett, MF & P, *Iraq Since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship* (3rd edition).

Tripp, C *History of Iraq* Introduction; Chapter 6; Conclusion.

Kienle, E *Ba'th versus Ba'th: The Conflict Between Syria and Iraq*

Makiya, K *Republic of Fear: the Politics of Modern Iraq* (1998 edition).(earlier editions under pseudonym, al-Khalil)

Nakash, Y "The Shi'ites and the Future of Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, 82:4 (July/August 2003).

ICG See International Crisis Web-site www.crisisgroup.org

_____ 'Unmaking Iraq: A Constitutional process gone Awry'

Rathmell, A 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Iraq' *International Affairs* 81:5 2005

LEBANON

Kamal S. Salibi, *A house of many mansions : the history of Lebanon reconsidered*

Picard, E *Lebanon: A Shattered Country*, (Revised Edition. Holmes & Meier) pp. 49-153 (Chapters 5-11).

Rabinovich, I *The War for Lebanon, 1970-83* ch 1-2

- Wenger, M et al, "Lebanon's Fifteen-Year War 1975-1990," *Middle East Report*, No 162 (January-February 1990).
- Yapp, M E *The Near East since WWI* Chapters 3 & 10.
- Barak, O "Intra-Communal and Inter-Communal Dimensions of Conflict and Peace in Lebanon," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34:4 (November 2002). [Links to the issue TOC]
- Hudson, M: "Trying Again: Power-Sharing in Post-Civil War Lebanon," *International Negotiation*, 2:1, (1997): 103-22.
- Khalaf, S *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon: A History of Internationalization of Communal Conflict* pp. 15-22
- Picard, E: *Lebanon: a Shattered Country*. Chapter 13 and epilogue
- Salem, Paul "The future of Lebanon," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 2006).

Wk 8 The Arab Uprisings: Causes and Consequences

The aims of this lecture are to analyse the possible causes and consequences of the recent uprisings in the Arab world. The first part of the lecture will assess the causes by exploring state formation processes in different Arab states and by emphasising some of the attributed failures of these processes that have contributed to the latest revolts. The second part will examine some of the varying consequences of these revolts on different Arab states.

Tutorial Questions:

What is the main drive behind the latest uprisings in the Arab world, economic, religious or political?

How do we explain the absence of uprisings in Arab monarchies, such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan or Morocco?

Core Readings:

--Jack A. Goldstone, "Understanding the Revolutions of 2011" **FOREIGN AFFAIRS**, May 2011 (Vol. 90, No. 3)

--Lisa Anderson, "Demystifying the Arab Spring" **FOREIGN AFFAIRS**, May 2011 (Vol. 90, No. 3)

-- Michael Sakbani, "The Revolutions of the Arab Spring: Are Democracy, Development and Modernity at the Gates?" [127-147] **CONTEMPORARY ARAB AFFAIRS**, (Vol. 4, No. 2, 2011)

Recommended Readings:

Middle East Policy (Volume 19, Issue 1 Pages 1–170) **2012**

*** This volume is online and can be accessed. The volume examines the changing balance of power in the Middle East and the latest uprisings in several states.

CONTEMPORARY ARAB AFFAIRS, (Vol. 4, No. 2, 2011)

Khair El-Din Haseeb, "On the Arab 'Democratic Spring': Lessons Derived" [113-122]

Ziad Hafez, "The Arab Revolution is Marching On: Arabs Recover Their Dignity" [123-126]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, May 2011 (Vol. 90, No. 3)

Michael Scott Doran, "The Heirs of Nasser" [*]

Dina Shehata, "The Fall of the Pharaoh" [*]

Mark Blyth and Nassim Nicholas Taleb, "The Black Swan of Cairo" [*]

Shadi Hamid, "The Rise of the Islamists" [*]

INSIGHT TURKEY, Spring 2011 (Vol. 13, No. 2)

Marina Ottaway, "The Middle East is in Transition – To What?" [1-8]

Asef Bayat, "Arab Revolts: Islamists Aren't Coming!" [9-14]

Nader Hashemi, "The Arab Revolution of 2011: Reflections on Religion and Politics" [15-22]

Alper Y. Dede, "The Arab Uprisings: Debating the 'Turkish Model'" [23-32]

Kemal Kirişçi, "Turkey's 'Demonstrative Effect' and the Transformation of the Middle East" [33-56]

Mohammed Ayoob, "Beyond the Democratic Wave in the Arab World: The Middle East's Turko-Persian Future" [57-70]

THE ISRAEL JOURNAL OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, (Vol. 5, No. 2, 2011)

Shlomo Avineri, "The Dawn of Democracy in the Middle East?" [9-16]

Shmuel Bar, "The Revolution in the Middle East: The Arab Awakening" [17-24]

David Sultan, "Egypt the Morning After" [25-30]

Babieldin H.Z. Elibrachy, "An Egyptian View of the Revolution in Egypt" [31-38]
Moshe Ma'oz, "Quo Vadis Syria?" [39-42]
Yonatan Touval, "A Spring of Discontent: European Politics in the Face of the Arab
Upheaval" [43-52]

Wk 9 The Arab-Israeli Conflict: states and non-state actors

The aims of this lecture are to provide an introduction of the roots of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the reasons for its continuity. It will first explore the origins of Zionist ideology and the birth of the Israeli state. Then it will examine Arab resistance in the form of inter-state Arab-Israeli wars. And finally, it will consider the conditions for the rise of non-state actors in the context of that war.

Tutorial Questions: 1. Is the Arab-Israeli conflict a religious, cultural, or national war? 2. How do we explain the increased salience of non-state actors in the Arab-Israeli conflict?

Core Readings:

--Joel Beinin and Layla Hajjar, "Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer", Middle East Report. Available at:

http://www.merip.org/palestine-israel_primer/intro-pal-isr-primer.html

--Charles Smith, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict" in Louise Fawcett, *International Relations of the Middle East*

-- David H. Goldberg and Bernard Reich, "State of Israel", in David E. Long, B. Reich and M. Gasiorowski, *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* [**Library ELECTRONIC VERSION**]

--Glenn E. Robinson, "The Palestinian", in David E. Long, B. Reich and M. Gasiorowski, *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* [**Library ELECTRONIC VERSION**]

Recommended Readings:

Herzl, Theodore, *The Jewish State: an attempt to a Modern Solution for the Jewish Question*

Brown, LC *International Politics and the Middle East*, Part 2

——— *Palestine: Retreat From the Mandate: The Making of British Policy, 1936-45.*

Louis, WR et al eds *The End of the Palestine Mandate.*

Ovendale, R *The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Wars*. Chapters 2-7.

——— *Britain, the United States and the End of the Palestine Mandate.*

Segev, T *One Palestine, Complete : Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate.*

Lacquer, W *A History of Zionism.*

Nimmi, E ed *The Challenge of Post-Zionism.*

Yiftachel, O "Israeli Society and Jewish-Palestinian Reconciliation," *Middle East Journal*, 51:4 (Autumn 1997).

Shlaim, A *War and Peace in the Middle East* Chapter 1.

Tessler, MA *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Chapters 3 & 4

Wasserstein, B *The British in Palestine: the mandatory government and the Arab-Jewish Conflict*

Cohen, MJ "The Zionist Perspective" in Louis, WR et al eds *The End of the Palestine Mandate.*

Flapan, S *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities*

Huneidi S *A Broken Trust: Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians, 1920-25*

Morris, B *Righteous Victims* Chapter 1 & Conclusion.

Pappé, I *Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-51.*

——— *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1951.*

——— *The Israel/Palestine Question*

——— *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*

Rogan, E et al eds *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*. Chapters 1 & 4.

- Shlaim, A *The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists and Palestine, 1921-1951*.
 ——— *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, Chapter 1.
 ——— “Britain and the Arab-Israeli War of 1948,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 16:4 (Summer 1987).
- Litvak, Meir, ed. *Palestinian Collective Memory and National Identity*
- Sayigh, Yezid, *Armed Struggle and the Search for the State: the Palestinian national movement, 1949-1993*
- Tessler, MA *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Chapter 5.
- Kisten Shulze, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*
- Jihan El-Tahri, *The Fifty Years War: Israel and the Arabs*
- Sherifa Zuhur, Hamas and Israel: Conflict Strategies of Group-Based Politics (Found Online)
- Abu-Amr, Ziad. Hamas: A Historical and Political Background.” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, Summer 1993, pp. 5-19.
- Jeroen Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*
- Judith Palmer Harik, *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism*
- Naim Qassem, *Hizbullah: The Story from Within*
- Adham Saouli, ‘Hizbullah in the Civilising Process: anarchy, self-restraint and violence’, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 32 No. 5 (2011) pp. 925-942
- “Lebanon’s Hizbullah: The Quest for Survival”, *World Affairs*, Vol.166 No.2 (Fall 2003), pp.71-80
- ‘Arab Political Organisations within the Israeli State’, *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Vol.26, No.2 (Summer 2001), pp.443-460
- ‘The Arabs and Israel: The Hundred Years’ War. *The Economist*. January 9, 2009
- ‘Can Israel Survive its Assault on Gaza? *Time*. January 8, 2009

Wk10 Islamism and the Arab Revolutions (Dr. Ewan Stein)

Tutorial Questions

TBC

Core Readings:

TBC

Recommended readings:

Asef Bayat, "Revolution without Movement, Movement without Revolution: Comparing Islamic Activism in Iran and Egypt," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 136-169.

Nathan J. Brown and Amr Hamzawy, *Between Religion and Politics* (Carnegie Endowment, 2010).

Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 3 (2005): 373-395.

Frederic Volpi, *Political Islam Observed*

Mandaville, P. *Global Political Islam*

Ayoob, Mohammad, *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World*

Ayubi, N *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*

Beinen, J et al *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report pt 1*

Choueiri, Y *Islamic Fundamentalism*

Fuller, G et al *A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*

——— "The Future of Political Islam," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2002).

Gerges, FA "The End of Islamist Insurgency in Egypt?," *Middle East Journal* (Fall 2000). 14

Guazzone, L ed *The Islamist Dilemma: The Political Role of Islamist Movements in the Contemporary Arab World*.

Ibrahim, SE *Egypt, Islam and Democracy: Twelve Critical Essays*. Chapters 1-5.

Kepel, Giles *Jihad: the Trail of Political Islam*.

——— *The Prophet and Pharaoh: Muslim Extremism in Contemporary Egypt*.

Lustick, IS *For the Land and For the Lord: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*.

Piscatori, J *Islam in the Political Process*

Zubaida, S *Islam, the People and the State* Chapter

Wk 11

Exam Revision Session

**This week involves only a LECTURE.
There are no tutorials for this week.**

