

**History 151
Fall 2013**

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office hours Wed. 12:30-1:20 pm, Thurs. 10:30-11:20 am**

The Modern Middle East

The Middle East is frequently described as a “problem region” by journalists and policymakers, where passion prevails over reason, where primordial loyalties are privileged over socio-economic or political coalitions. This course aims to step beyond such generalizations, by way of an overview of the region's modern history. This overview will provide a context with which students can approach further work in modern Middle Eastern studies. Perhaps more importantly, the course will, in its own right, enable students to adopt an informed, critical perspective on the region's current conflicts and challenges. Specifically, the course covers Egypt, Turkey, Iran, the Fertile Crescent, and the Arabian Peninsula. After surveying the Ottoman world in the nineteenth century, students will examine the emergence of the principal nation-states of the Middle East in the wake of the First World War. Although political currents are considered in depth, much discussion is devoted to associated social, intellectual, cultural, and economic developments.

Teaching assistants: Mr. Khash Hemmati (e-mail kha31@sfu.ca) and Ms. Reema Faris (e-mail rfaris@sfu.ca).

Evaluation:

1500-word essay, based on materials distributed to all students (November 13, 2013) 20%
In-class mid-term examination (October 2, 2013) 30%
Final examination (December 13, 2013) 40%
Tutorial participation 10%

Texts (available through bookstore):

- William Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, fifth edition (Westview Press, 2013).
- Marvin Gettleman and Stuart Schaar (editors), *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader: An Historical Reader for the 21st Century*, third edition (Grove Press, 2012).
- David McMurray and Amanda Ufheil-Somers (editors), *The Arab Revolts: Dispatches on Militant Democracy in the Middle East* (Indiana University Press, 2013).

Class Discussions/Participation:

1. Repeated absences from lectures or tutorials will lead to a failing participation grade. You must consult the instructor should you have to miss classes for health or family reasons.
2. Discussions in tutorials are based heavily on the discussion question and primary source for the week, listed in the syllabus below. Regardless of whether the professor has dealt with the topic of the discussion question in lecture, students are expected to come to their weekly tutorial having completed all readings relevant to the discussion question for the week.

3. Completion of the readings before class and a consistent effort to contribute to class discussions will be rewarded with high participation marks. Lateness and poor preparation for class will be penalized.

News: At the beginning of the term, students must select one Middle Eastern news source and one non-Middle Eastern news source to consult on a regular basis online during the term. There is a wide range of Middle Eastern news sources available in English editions on the web, and students may choose whatever source they wish, as long as the source is headquartered in a Middle Eastern country. As for the non-Middle Eastern source, again the choice is up to the student, as long as the source has a reporter or bureau based in the Middle East.

Lecture Recordings: The instructor has agreed to have his lectures recorded and made available to students enrolled in the course through <http://www.sfu.ca/lectures>. Students are *strongly* advised *not* to view listening to these recordings as a substitute for attending lectures. Attendance at lectures is a course requirement. Failure to attend lectures will be noted and will result in a reduction of the participation grade.

Cheating and Plagiarism: I will not tolerate cheating or plagiarism. If you are having trouble with a concept or assignment, meet with the instructor well before the relevant deadlines. Poor, but legitimate, performance in a given assignment is far preferable to jeopardizing your academic career through fraud.

Week I

Wednesday, September 4, 2013: Introduction

No tutorials this week

Week II

Monday, September 9, 2013: Islam and the Ottoman World

- Cleveland and Bunton, 35-47.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Women's Lives," 62-65

Wednesday, September 11, 2013: Egypt Under Mehmed Ali

- Cleveland and Bunton, 56-69.

Discussion: Was Mehmed Ali the 'founder of modern Egypt'? If not, how should one view him and his legacy?

Week III

Monday, September 16, 2013: The Politics of the Notables

- Cleveland and Bunton, 71-86.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - “Decrees from the Ottoman *Tanzimat*,” 80-84.
 - “Social and Economic Change in the Ottoman Empire,” 84-97.

Wednesday, September 18, 2013: The Nature of Colonial Rule

- Cleveland and Bunton, 86-101.

Discussion: In what specific ways were the reforms of the *tanzimat* a departure from past practice in the Ottoman Empire?

Week IV

Monday, September 23, 2013: Islamic Reform

- Cleveland and Bunton, 7-13 and 114-117.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - “The *Quran* and other Islamic Texts,” 12-21.
 - Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, “Plan for Islamic Union,” 97-99.

Wednesday, September 25, 2013: Arabism, Turkism, Zionism

- Cleveland and Bunton, 109-114, 117-132, and 222-224.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Theodor Herzl, “Zionism: The Vision of an Eventual Jewish State,” 165-168.

Discussion: Were Islamic modernists entirely hostile to the spread of Western influence in the Middle East?

Week V

Monday, September 30, 2013: World War I

- Cleveland and Bunton, 137-158 and 225-226.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - *Sharif* Husayn bin Ali, “Desire for Arab Independence,” 113-115.
 - Sir Henry McMahon, “Qualifying British Pledges,” 115-116.
 - “The Sykes-Picot Agreement on Dividing up Arab Lands,” 116-118.
 - Vahakn N. Dadrian, “The Fate of the Armenians in World War I,” 119-122.

- “The Balfour Declaration: A Jewish Home in Palestine,” 170-171.

Wednesday, October 2, 2013: Mid-term examination

No tutorials this week

Week VI

Monday, October 7, 2013: The Palestine Mandate

- Cleveland and Bunton, 221-241.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Rashid Rida, “Pay Attention to Zionist Encroachment,” 168.
 - Tiberias, “Warning of Zionist Colonization,” 169.
 - The General Syrian Congress, “Our Objections to Zionism and Western Imperialism,” 171-173.
 - James Ramsay MacDonald, “Letter to Chaim Weizmann,” 173-174.
 - Vladimir Jabotinsky, “Let Us Settle Palestine and Transjordan,” 174-176.
 - Ted Swedenburg, “The Palestinian Revolt, 1936-39,” 177-182.
 - “The Arab Response to the Proposed Partition of Palestine,” 182-184.
 - “The British Government’s White Paper on Palestine,” 184-186.
 - “The Biltmore Program,” 186-188.

Wednesday, October 9, 2013: The Emergence of the State of Israel

- Cleveland and Bunton, 241-251.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - UN General Assembly, “The Partition Plan: Resolution #181,” 189-191.
 - UN General Assembly, “Palestinian Right of Return: Resolution #194,” 191-192.
 - The Israeli *Knesset*, “The Law of Return,” 192-193.

Discussion: What were the guiding principles behind British policy in Palestine during the Mandate? Were these consistent through the period? Were there guiding principles at all?

Week VII

Monday, October 14, 2013: Nasser and Pan-Arabism

- Cleveland and Bunton, 280-300.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Jamal Abd al-Nasser, “Arab Socialism,” 289-291
 - [Recommended: “The Truman Doctrine,” 245-247.]
 - [Recommended: “The Eisenhower Doctrine,” 247-248.]

Wednesday, October 16, 2013: Sectarianism: The Lebanese Case

- Cleveland and Bunton, 202-214, 310-314, and 380-388.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - “The Taif Agreement: Syrian Influence over Lebanon,” 293-296.

Discussion: What was the most significant legacy of Nasser’s rule (1) for Egypt and (2) for the Arab world?

Week VIII

Monday, October 21, 2013: The Legacy of Oil Wealth in the Arabian Peninsula

- Cleveland and Bunton, 214-217 and 393-413.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - “OPEC: Getting Our Share,” 262-263.
 - Crown Prince Fahd ibn Abd al-Aziz, “Oil and the World Economy,” 263-265.
 - Wikileaks, “Saudi Royal Wealth: Where Do They Get All That Money?” 344-346.

Wednesday, October 23, 2013: The Politics and Economics of Development

- *Essay topic distributed in lecture*
- McMurray and Ufheil-Somers:
 - Stephen Juan King, “Structural Adjustment and Rural Poverty in Tunisia,” 39-44.
 - Timothy Mitchell, “Worlds Apart: An Egyptian Village and the International Tourism Industry,” 76-82.
 - Shana Marshall and Joshua Stacher, “Egypt’s Generals and Transnational Capital,” 107-116.
 - Sheila Carapico, “The Economic Dimension of Yemeni Unity,” 128-136.

Discussion: Is development a culturally-specific term? Are there various paths to development appropriate for the various peoples of the world, or is there a single, established path to development that all peoples of the world must pursue?

Week IX

Monday, October 28, 2013: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict to 1967

- Cleveland and Bunton, 314-319.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Nizar Qabbani, “The Catastrophe of Arab Defeat,” 194-198.
 - Palestinian National Council, “The National Charter,” 198-201.
 - “UN Resolution #242: Withdrawal from Occupied Territory,” 201-203.
 - “UN Resolution #338: End the Fighting,” 203.

Wednesday, October 30, 2013: From 1967 to Oslo

- Cleveland and Bunton, 322-343, 441-445, and 463-473.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Yasir Arafat, "We Recognize Israel," 204-205.
 - Hanan Mikhail-Ashrawi, "The Meaning of the *Intifada*," 205-207.
 - "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement of Palestine (*Hamas*)," 207-211.
 - "Principles of a Peace Agreement – Oslo, Norway," 212-214.

Discussion: On balance, has the intervention of external forces – whether the Arab states, the Soviet Union, or the United States – intensified or reduced the level of conflict in Israel-Palestine since World War II? Why?

Week X

Monday, November 4, 2013: Mass Culture

- *Film screening in lecture:* "Umm Kulthum: A Voice Like Egypt"

Wednesday, November 6, 2013: From Nasser to Qutb

- *Film screening in lecture:* "The Power of Nightmares: Baby It's Cold Outside"

N.B. There are no readings from the textbooks assigned for this week, but students are expected to use the time to work on their essays and begin the heavy readings assigned for coming weeks. Tutorial discussions will be based on the films screened in the lecture sessions. Attendance at the films is required.

Discussion: Was the revolutionary culture of post-independence Arab elites, so heavily focused on nationalist themes, a diversion from the failures of Arab unity and Arab socialism?

Week XI

Monday, November 11, 2013: Statutory holiday

Wednesday, November 13, 2013: Islamism in Theory

- *Essays due at the beginning of lecture*
- Cleveland and Bunton, 369-379.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Anwar Sadat, "*Infatih*: Opening to the West," 291-293.
 - Sayyid Qutb, "Corruptions of the Western World," 303-306.
 - Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Egypt's Islamic Militants," 307-309.
 - [Recommended: Hasan al-Banna, "Overcome Western Materialism," 300-303.]
 - [Recommended: "*Jihad* Against Jews and Crusaders: The 1998 Fatwa," 326-328.]

- McMurray and Ufheil-Somers:
 - Francesco Cavatorta and Rikke Hostrup Haugbolle, "Beyond Ghannouchi: Islamism and Social Change in Tunisia," 49-56.

Discussion: Are Islamists, on the whole, "anti-modern"?

Week XII

Monday, November 18, 2013: Islamism in Practice: The Iranian Case

- Cleveland and Bunton, 267-278 and 347-368.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Muhammad Mossadeq, "Nationalizing Iranian Oil," 254-255.
 - Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini, "Iran in Imperialism's Clutches," 255-257.
 - Ervand Abrahamian, "Democracy or Theocracy: Iran's Islamic Republic," 257-261.

Wednesday, November 20, 2013: Authoritarianism

- Cleveland and Bunton, 414-437.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Michel Aflaq, "Purifying the National Ideal: *Baath* Ideology," 132-135.
- McMurray and Ufheil-Somers:
 - Christopher Alexander, "Authoritarianism and Civil Society in Tunisia," 32-38.
 - Bassam Haddad, "Behind the Resilience of the Syrian Regime," 169-176.
 - Donatella Della Ratta, "Dramas of the Authoritarian State," 188-195.
 - Justin Gengler, "Bahrain's Sunni Awakening," 232-238.

Discussion: Is the Middle East an "exceptional" region, or is it subject to the same social and political forces as any other?

Week XIII

Monday, November 25, 2013: Revolution 2011

- Cleveland and Bunton, 522-540.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Wikileaks, "Corruption in Tunisia: What's Yours Is Mine," 346-348.
 - Paul Amar, "Why Mubarak Is Out," 357-362.
- McMurray and Ufheil-Somers:
 - Laryssa Chomiak and John P. Entelis, "The Making of North Africa's Intifada," 45-48.
 - Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution," 60-75.
 - Sheila Carapico, "No Exit: Yemen's Existential Crisis," 120-127.
 - Cortni Kerr and Toby Jones, "A Revolution Paused in Bahrain," 208-214.

Wednesday, November 27, 2013: Conclusion

- McMurray and Ufheil-Somers:
 - Amy Aisen Kallander, "Tunisia's Post-Ben Ali Challenge: A Primer," 24-31.
 - Issandr El Amrani, "Sightings of the Egyptian Deep State," 100-106.
 - Peter Harling and Sarah Birke, "Beyond the Fall of the Syrian Regime," 196-203.

Discussion: Were the Arab uprisings of 2011 a failure?

Week XIV

Monday, December 2, 2013: Review Session

- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Edward W. Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," 367-372.

No tutorials this week