

History 151
Fall 2014

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office hours Mondays 2:30-3:30 pm, Thursdays 10:30-11:30 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: Ms. Stephanie Porowski (e-mail sbp2@sfu.ca) and Mr. Adam Bielka (e-mail abielka@sfu.ca).

Evaluation:

1500-word essay, based on materials distributed to all students (November 3, 2014) 20%
In-class mid-term examination (October 1, 2014) 30%
Final examination (December 8, 2014) 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).
- Layla al-Zubaidi and Matthew Cassel (editors), *Diaries of an Unfinished Revolution: Voices from Tunis to Damascus* (Penguin, 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 3, 2014: Introduction

No tutorials this week

Week II

Monday, September 8, 2014: Islam and the Ottoman World

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

Wednesday, September 10, 2014: 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 15, 2014: 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 17, 2014: 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 22, 2014: 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 24, 2014: 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 29, 2014: 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 1, 2014: Mid-term examination

No tutorials this week

Week VI

Monday, October 6, 2014: 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 8, 2014: 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 13, 2014

Thanksgiving

Wednesday, October 15, 2014: Lebanon from Confessionalism to Civil War

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

Discussion: Has Lebanon's confessional system of political representation contributed to, or diminished, the likelihood of civil strife in the country?

Week VIII

Monday, October 20, 2014: 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.
- Al-Zubaidi and Cassel: Safa Al Ahmad (on Saudi Arabia), 157-178.

Wednesday, October 22, 2014: 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.]
- *Essay topic distributed in lecture*

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

Week IX

Monday, October 27, 2014: 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 29, 2014: 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 3, 2014: Islamism in Theory

- *Essays due at the beginning of lecture*
- Cleveland and Bunton, 369-379.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Anwar Sadat, “*Infitah*: 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.]

Wednesday, November 5, 2014: 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.

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

Week XI

Monday, November 10, 2014: Authoritarianism

- Cleveland and Bunton, 414-437.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
 - Michel Aflaq, “Purifying the National Ideal: *Baath* Ideology,” 132-135.
- Al-Zubaidi and Cassel: Khawla Dunia (on Syria), 179-208.

Wednesday, November 12, 2014: 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.

- Al-Zubaidi and Cassel: Malek Sghiri (on Tunisia), 9-47; Yasmine El Rashidi (on Egypt), 48-65; Mohamed Mesrati (on Libya), 66-91; Ghania Mouffok (on Algeria), 92-109; Jamal Jubran (on Yemen), 110-129.

No tutorials this week

Week XII

[The readings this week are drawn from scholarly journals that are accessible to you through the library website. If you click through the links below, you will be directed to PDF versions of the articles. Please download these and have a copy (print or electronic) available for reference in your tutorial.]

Monday, November 17, 2014: Gender

- *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* (via web):
 - Margot Badran, "Between Secular and Islamic Feminism/s: Reflections on the Middle East and Beyond," <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/stable/40326847>

Wednesday, November 19, 2014: Sectarianism

- *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (via web):
 - Julie Peteet, "How Useful Has the Concept of Sectarianism Been for Understanding the History, Society, and Politics of the Middle East?" <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/stable/40206004>
 - Suad Joseph, "Sectarianism as Imagined Sociological Concept and as Imagined Social Formation," <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/stable/40206005>
 - Eric Davis, "A Sectarian Middle East?" <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/stable/40206006>
 - Ussama Makdisi, "Moving Beyond Orientalist Fantasy, Sectarian Polemic, and Nationalist Denial," <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/stable/40206007>

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 24, 2014: Film Screening, "Bahrain: Shouting in the Dark"

- Al-Zubaidi and Cassel: Ali Aldairy (on Bahrain), 130-156.

Wednesday, November 26, 2014: Conclusion

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

Discussion: Were the Arab uprisings of 2011 a failure?

Week XIV

Monday, December 1, 2014: Review Session

No tutorials this week