

**History 151  
Fall 2015**

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office hours Wednesdays 12 noon-1 pm, Fridays 2:30 pm-3:30 pm**

## **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, including the trajectory of the 2011 Arab uprisings.

**Teaching assistants:** Ms. Robin Bunton (e-mail rbunton@sfu.ca) and Mr. Scott Bursey (e-mail rbursey@sfu.ca).

### **Evaluation:**

1500-word essay, based on materials distributed to all students (November 4, 2015) 20%  
In-class mid-term examination (October 7, 2015) 30%  
Final examination (December 19, 2015) 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 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, third edition (Grove Press, 2012).

**Laptop computers, tablets, and smartphones** are not permitted in the lecture hall or tutorial room. This is due to the distractions these devices offer to concentration on in-class lectures and discussions. For information on the nature of these distractions and their impact, please refer to:

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2014/09/25/why-a-leading-professor-of-new-media-just-banned-technology-use-in-class/>

Students must take notes on paper unless they have documented permission from the Centre for Students with Disabilities to use a tablet or laptop.

**Food** is not permitted in the lecture hall or tutorial room. Please leave eating for before or after class time.

**The mid-term and final examinations** will each consist of a series of identification and essay questions. Identification questions are intended to test students' knowledge of specific personalities, places, and events of historical significance, while essay questions reach beyond these specific details to test students' ability to make connections across history in line with particular themes. During both the mid-term and the final, students will have several questions in both the identification and essay sections from which to choose.

**The 1500-word essay** will analyze a primary source provided to all students in the course at the end of lecture on October 23, 2015. The essay is due at the beginning of lecture on November 4, 2015. Instructions for the essay will be provided to students together with the primary source at the time of distribution. Generally students are asked to compare and contrast primary sources, and/or to place primary sources in their historical context(s).

**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. Three or more recorded absences from tutorial will lead to a participation grade of zero.
3. 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.
4. 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 9, 2015: Introduction**

**Friday, September 11, 2015: Islam and the Ottoman World**

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

*No tutorials this week*

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Week II

**Wednesday, September 16, 2015: Egypt Under Mehmed Ali**

- Cleveland and Bunton, 56-69.

**Friday, September 18, 2015: 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.

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

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Week III

**Wednesday, September 23, 2015: The Nature of Colonial Rule**

- Cleveland and Bunton, 86-101.

**Friday, September 25, 2015: 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.

*Discussion:* In what ways were the reforms introduced by Lord Cromer and the British occupation of Egypt a departure from the reforms introduced by Mehmed Ali?

Week IV

**Wednesday, September 30, 2015: 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.

**Friday, October 2, 2015: 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.

*Discussion:* Should scholars regard the rise of Arabism, Turkism, and Zionism as parallel developments – part of a single 'nationalist moment' – or were their creation and advance fundamentally distinct?

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Week V

**Wednesday, October 7, 2015: *Mid-term examination***

**Friday, October 9, 2015: 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.

*No tutorials this week*

## Week VI

### **Wednesday, October 14, 2015: 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.

### **Friday, October 16, 2015: 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?

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## Week VII

### **Wednesday, October 21, 2015: 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.

### **Friday, October 23, 2015: Nasser and Pan-Arabism**

- Cleveland and Bunton, 280-300.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
  - Jamal Abd al-Nasser, "Arab Socialism," 289-291
- *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?

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## Week VIII

### **Wednesday, October 28, 2015: 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.

**Friday, October 30, 2015: 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?

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Week IX

**Wednesday, November 4, 2015: 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.]

**Friday, November 6, 2015: 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"?

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Week X

**Wednesday, November 11, 2015: Remembrance Day (no classes)**

**Friday, November 13, 2015: Authoritarianism**

- Cleveland and Bunton, 414-437.
- Gettleman and Schaar:
  - Michel Aflaq, "Purifying the National Ideal: *Baath* Ideology," 132-135.

*No tutorials this week*

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Week XI

**Wednesday, November 18, 2015: 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.

**Friday, November 20, 2015: Film Screening, "Bahrain: Shouting in the Dark"**

*Discussion:* How significant was the demonstration effect of the Tunisian revolution – that is, the effect of the Tunisian example – on the revolutions that followed elsewhere in the Arab world in 2011?

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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 available for reference in your tutorial.]

**Wednesday, November 25, 2015: 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>

**Friday, November 27, 2015: 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?

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### Week XIII

#### **Wednesday, December 2, 2015: Conclusion**

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

#### **Friday, December 4, 2015: Review Session**

*Discussion:* Were the Arab uprisings of 2011 a failure?

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