

Government and Politics in the Middle East

Prof. Stephen Zunes
University of San Francisco
Fall 1995

Course Description

This course will explore the politics of the contemporary Middle East, including the historic, religious, ideological, and cultural forces which shape the government policies, international relations, social movements, and military conflicts of the region. Special emphasis will be placed on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the impact of the Gulf War and United States policy in the region. The primary objectives of this course are for students to gain a broad knowledge of this important region and its peoples, to challenge any prejudices and stereotypes pervasive in the United States regarding the Middle East which may have been internalized, and to engage in independent topical research of their choice.

Students are expected to complete all readings in the syllabus before class on the dates assigned. In addition, students are expected to keep track of ongoing events in the Middle East through newspapers, news magazines, radio, and/or television in order to use the class as a means of fully participating in discussion of the current applications of the material studied in texts and lectures. This course does demand a lot of reading, though most of it is not particularly difficult. The reading load decreases somewhat later in the semester to allow students more time to work on their term paper.

Regular attendance is expected and active participation in class discussions is strongly encouraged. Please check in with the instructor regarding any absences or any problems you may have in fully participating in class. Similarly, those of you to whom meeting any of the class requirements may be particularly challenging due to disabilities, lack of fluency in English, employment obligations or other reasons are encouraged to discuss these issues with the instructor early in the semester.

There will be a mid-term exam in class on Friday, October 13. There will be a final research paper of approximately 10 pages due in class on December 6. All topics must be discussed and approved by the instructor prior to November 6. Those who wish to hand in a (draft of the paper for comments and suggestions must do so by November 27; this will not affect your grade. The final exam will be at 8:00 am on December 14. There will also be periodic in-class quizzes based on recent readings.

Each student is encouraged to meet with the instructor one-on-one at least twice during the semester to discuss progress in the class or any other concerns.

Course Reading

A set of photocopied readings is available for sale through the instructor. In addition, the following books and magazines are available for purchase at the bookstore:

Required:

Don Peretz, *The Middle East Today*, sixth edition, Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1994
Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, second edition, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992
Middle East Report, May-June/July-August 1995, #194-195

Optional:

Elise Boulding, *Building Peace in the Middle East: Challenges for States and Civil Society*, Boulder:

Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994

Course Schedule

Part I: The Context

Aug. 25 Introduction

Aug. 28 Defining Terms

Don Peretz, ch. 1 "What is the Middle East?" from *The Middle East Today*
Map Study

Aug. 30 Islam

Peretz, ch. 2 "Islam: Past and Present"

Sept. 1 The Rise of Political Islam

Judith Miller, "The Challenges of Radical Islam," *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1993 [reader]
Leon T. Hadar, "What Green Peril?" *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1993 [reader]
Mahmud A. Faksh, "The Prospects of Islamic Fundamentalism in the Post-Gulf War Period," *International Journal*, Spring 1994 [reader]

Sept. 6 Ottoman Rule and Early Conflicts With the West

Peretz, ch. 3 "Rise and Fall of the Ottomans"
Peretz, ch. 4 "The Middle East and the West Before World War I"

Sept. 8 The Rise of Arab Nationalism

Peretz, ch. 5 "The Middle East and the West Since World War I"
Peretz, ch. 6 "Arab Nationalism"

Sept. 11 The Political Economy of the Middle East

MERIP, "Rich and Poor States in the Arab World," *Middle East Report*, May-June 1991 [handout]
Alan Richards and John Waterbury, pp.1-51 and 430-439 of *A Political Economy of the Middle East* [on reserve]
Sallama Shaker, "Development and Islamic Values," from Elise Boulding, ed. *Building Peace in the Middle East: Challenges for States and Civil Society*, pp. 237-240
Abdul Aziz Said, "The Problem of Development in Muslim Countries," *Fellowship*, May/June 1994 [reader]

Part II: Country Survey

Sept. 13 Turkey and its Contemporary Challenges

Peretz, ch. 7 "Modern Turkey"
Haldun Gulalp, "Islamist Party Poised for National Power in Turkey," *Middle East Report*, May-June/July-Aug. 1995, pp. 54-56
Peri Paunir, "Turkey in Its Regional Environment in the Postpolar Era: Opportunities and Constraints," in Boulding, pp. 133-145

Sept. 15 The Former Communist States of Central Asia

Russell Gordan, "A People Beyond Suffering: Afghanistan After The Holy War," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 1994 [reader]
Ted Galen Carpenter, "The Unintended Consequences of Afghanistan," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XI, #1 [reader]
James Chavin, "Independent Central Asia: A Primer," *Current History*, April 1994 [reader]
Michael Collins Dunn, "Central Asian Islam: Fundamentalist Threat or Communist Bogeyman?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 1 [reader]

Sept. 18 Kurdistan and the Caucasus

Zoltan Grossman, "War in the Caucasus," *Nonviolent Activist*, Jan./Feb. 1994 [reader]
Sheri Laizer, "Kurdistan: A Homeland Divided," *Nonviolent Activist*, June-July-Aug. 1992 [reader]
Omar Sheikmous, "The Kurdish Question: Conflict Resolution Strategies at the Regional Level," in Boulding, pp. 147-161

Sept. 20 North Africa

Joe Stork, "North Africa Faces the 1990s," *Middle East Report*, March-April 1990 [reader]
James A. Paul, "The Emerging Maghreb: North Africa and the New World Order," in Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, eds. *Beyond the Storm: A Gulf Crisis Reader* [on reserve]
Yahia Zoubir and Daniel Volman, International Dimensions of *the Western Sahara Conflict*, ch. 1, 10 [reader]
Michael Collins Dunn, "Algeria's Agony: The Drama So Far, the Prospects for Peace," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. III, No. 3 (1994) [reader]
Martha Wenger, "Sudan: Politics and Society," *Middle East Report*, May-June 1991 [reader]
Milton Viorst, "Sudan's Islamic Experiment: Fundamentalism in Power," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1995 [reader]
Rob Buchanan, "Sudan : Twenty-Five Years of Civil War," *Nonviolent Activist*. March-April 1993 [reader]

Sept. 22 Modern Egypt

Peretz, ch. 8 "Origins of Modern Egypt"
Peretz, ch. 9 "Revolutionary Egypt"

Sept. 25 Challenges in Contemporary Egypt

Tim Mitchell, "America's Egypt: Discourse of the Development Industry," *Middle East Report*, March-April 1991 [reader]
Mamoun Fandy, "The Tensions Behind the Violence in Egypt," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. II, No. I [reader]
Michael Collins Dunn, "Fundamentalism in Egypt," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. II, # 3 (1993) [reader]
Mona Makram-Ebeid, "Democratization Egypt: The 'Algeria Complex'," *Middle East Policy*, Vol III, No. 3 (1994) [reader]
Karim el-Gawhary, "Report from a War Zones: Gama'at vs. Government in Upper Egypt," *Middle East Report*, May-June/July-August 1995, pp. 49-51

Sept. 27 Jordan

Peretz, ch. 12 "The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan"

Sept. 29 Syria

Peretz, ch. 14 "The Republic of Syria"

Oct. 2 Lebanon

Peretz, ch. 13 "The Republic of Lebanon"
Martha Wenger, "Lebanon's Fifteen-Year War 1975-1990," *Middle East Report*, January-February 1990 [reader]

Oct. 4 Iran and the fall of the Shah

Peretz, ch. 17 "Iran"
Eqbal Ahmed, "Iran auld the West: A Century of Subjugation," from *Christianity and Crisis*, March 3, 1980 [reader]
Michael Klare, "Arms and the Shah: The Rise and Fall of the Surrogate Strategy," *The Progressive*, August 1979 [reader]
Lymle Shivers, "Inside the Iranian Revolution," from David Albert, ed., *Tell the American People: Perspectives on the Iranian Revolution* [reader]

Oct. 6 The Islamic Republic

Mansour Fehrang, "Khomeini's New Order in Iran," *The Nation*, March 1, 1986 [reader]
Nikola Schal galdian, "Iran After Khomeini," *Current History*, February 1990 [reader]

Jerold D. Green, "Iran's Foreign Policy: Between Enmity and Reconciliation," *Current History*, January 1993 [reader]

Oct. 9 Iraq

Peretz, ch. 15, "Iraq"

Judith Miller and Laurie Mylorie, "The Rise of Saddam Hussein," from Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf, *The Gulf War Reader* [reader]

Oct. 11 The Arabian Peninsula

Peretz, ch. 16 "The Arabian Peninsula"

Dilip Hiro, "A Few of Our Favorite Kings," *The New Statesman and Society*, Aug. 24, 1990 [reader]

Dilip Hiro, "Shaking the Sheiks: Saudi Dissenters go Public," *The Nation*, June 28, 1993 [reader]

Abdilatif Abdalla, "The Islamic Republic of Arabia?" *Forecasts*, June 1995 [reader]

Michael Collins Dunn, "Saudi Arabia: Is the Sky Falling?," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. II, No. 4, (1995) [reader]

Michael Collins Dunn, "Wrong Place, Wrong Time: Why Yemeni Unity Failed," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. III, No. 2 (1994) [reader]

Oct. 13 MIDTERM EXAM

Part III: The Gulf War

Oct. 16 Prelude to the Gulf War

Micah Sifry, "U.S. Intervention in the Middle East: A Case Study," *The Nation*, March 11, 1991 [reader]

Marion Farouk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett, "Iraq Since 1986: The Strengthening of Saddam," *Middle East Report*, November/December 1990 [reader]

Munray Waas, "What Washington Gave Saddam for Christmas," *Village Voice*, Dec. 18, 1990 [reader]

Stephen Solarz, "The Case for U.S. Intervention," *New Republic*, Jan. 7 & 14, 1991 [reader]

Joe Stork and Ann Mosely Lesch, "Why War? Background to the Crisis," *Middle East Report*, November/December 1990 [reader]

Oct. 18 The Gulf War and Its Impact

Phyllis Bennis, "False Consensus: George Bush's United Nations," in Phyllis Bennis and Michel Moushabeck, eds. *Beyond the Storm: A Gulf Crisis Reader* [on reserve]

Steve Niva, "The Battle is Joined," in Bennis & Moushabeck [on reserve]

Walid Khalidi, "Why Some Arabs Support Saddam," Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf, *The Gulf War Reader* [reader]

Mary Ann Tetreault, "Kuwait: The Morning After," *Current History*, January 1992 [reader]

Dennis Bernstein & Larry Everest, "Post-War Kuwait," *Z*, October 1992 [reader]

Louise Cankar, "Desert Sin: A Post-War Journey Through Iraq," in Bennis & Moushabeck [on reserve]

Oct. 20 Aftermath of the Gulf War

Joni Seager, "Operation Desert Disaster: Environmental Costs of the War," from Cynthia Peters, ed. *Collateral Damage: The 'New World Order' at Home and Abroad* [reader]

Sarah Graham-Brown, "Intervention. Sovereignty and Responsibility," *Middle East Report*, #193 March-April 1995

Selma al-Radi, "Iraqi Sanctions--A Postwar Crime," *The Nation*, March 27, 1995 [reader]

Thomas Mattair & Stephen Brannon. "The U.N. Sanctions Against Iraq: Issues Influencing Continuation or Removal," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. III; #1 (1994) [reader]

Oct. 23 Regional Implications

Barbara Gregory Ebert, "The War and Its Aftermath: Arab Responses," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. I; No. 4 [reader]

Joe Stork, "The Gulf War and the Arab World," *World Policy Journal*, Fall 1991 [reader]

Yasumasa Kuroda, "A Structural Analysis of Instability and Conflict in the Gulf," in Bennis and Moushabeck, *Altered States: A Reader in the New World Order* [on reserve]

Emile A. Nakhleh, "The Arab World After the Gulf War: Challenges and Prospects," in Boulding, pp. 111-120

Clovis Maksoud, "The Arab World's Quandary," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. VII, #3, (Summer 1991) [reader]

Oct. 25 The Politics of Oil

Paul Rogers, "Crazy for Oil," *New Internationalist*, October 1992 [reader]

Paul Aarts, "The New Oil Order: Built on Sand," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 16; No. 2 (Spring 1994) [reader]

Dorothea El Mallakh, "Middle East Oil Resource Policies," in Boulding, pp. 241-250

Part IV: The Israeli-Arab Conflict

Oct. 27 Origins of the Conflict in Israel/Palestine

Smith, ch. 1-4

Oct. 30 Zionism

Peretz, ch. 10 "Zionism"

Nov. 1 The Creation and Expansion of Israel

Smith, ch. 5-7

Nov. 3 War and Peace

Smith, ch. 8-9

Nov.6 The Rise of Palestinian Nationalism

Lhia Haijar & Joel Beinin, "Palestine for Beginners," *Middle East Report*, Sept/Oct. 1988 [reader]

Smith, ch. 10

Edward Said, "Intifada and Independence," from Zachary Lochman and Joel Beinin, *Intifada (~ e Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation)* [reader]

Palestine National Council, "Proclamation of the Independent Palestinian State" [reader]

Nov. 8 Resistance Against Israeli Occupation

R. Scott Kennedy, "The Druze of the Golan: A Case of Non-violent Resistance," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1984 [reader]

Salim Tamari, "Limited Rebellion and Civil Society: The Uprising's Dilemma," *Middle East Reports*, May-August 1990 [reader]

Bashar Tarabieh, "Education, Control and Resistance in the Golan Heights," *Middle East Policy*, May-June/July-Aug. 1995, Pp. 43-47

Nov. 10 Israel

Peretz, ch. 11, "The State of Israel"

William Steif, "The Struggle for Israel's Soul," *The Progressive*, June 1992 [reader]

Israel Amrani, "Kindred Enemies," *The Progressive*, March 1994 [reader]

Nov. 13 Israel and Lebanon

Gilmour, ch. 11 "Israel's Second Invasion of Lebanon," [reader]

Rachelle Marshall, "Israel in Lebanon: Turning Neighbors into Enemies," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, August/September 1992 [reader]

Noam Chomsky, "Limited War in Lebanon," *Z*, Sept. 1993 [reader]

Nov. 15 U.S.-Israeli Relations

Thomas Dine, "Testimony before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations," March 1, 1993 [reader]

Noam Chomsky, "The Origins of a 'Special Relationship'," from *The Fateful Triangle: Israel, the United States, and the Palestinians* [reader]

Nov. 17 The Peace Process and the Oslo Accords

Walid Khalidi, "Thinking the Unthinkable: A Sovereign Palestinian State," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1978 [reader]

David Bar-Illan. "Can Israel Withdraw? No!," *Commentary*, April 1988 [reader]

Camille Mansour. "The Palestinian-Israeli Peace Negotiations: An Overview and Assessment," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring 1993 [reader]

Noam Chomsky, "Middle East Diplomacy," *Z*, December 1991 [reader]

Nov. 20 The Impact of the Oslo Accords

"Text of the Declaration of Principles: Israeli-PLO Accord," *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 25, 1993 [reader]

"Letters Between Arafat and Rabin," *New York Times*, Sept. 10, 1993 [reader]

Clyde Haberman, "How Oslo Helped Mold the Mideast Pact," *New York Times*, Sept. 5, 1993 [reader]

Edward Said, "A Palestinian Versailles," *The Progressive*, December 1993 [reader]

Middle East Report, May-June/July-August 1995, #194-195, pp. 1-42

Part V: Current Challenges

Nov. 22 Terrorism

Hani Faris, "The American and Arab Perspectives on Terrorism," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Spring 1987 [reader]

Naseer Aruri and John J. Carroll, "The Anti-Terrorist Crusade," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Spring 1987 [reader]

Noam Chomsky, "Terrorism Strikes Home," *Z*, May 1993 [reader]

Nov. 27 U.S. Middle East Policy

Edward Djerejian, "U.S. Policy in the Middle East," *The DISAM Journal*, Spring 1993 [reader]

Michael Hudson, "The Clinton Administration and the Middle East: Squandering the Inheritance?" *Current History*, February 1994 [reader]

Mansour Fehraw, "The United States and the Question of Democracy in the Middle East," *Current History*, January 1993 [reader]

Richard Falk, "Can U.S. Policy Toward the Middle East Change Course'?" *Middle East Journal*, Winter 1993 [reader]

Nov. 29 Middle East Arms Race

Yahya Sadowski, "Scuds versus Butter: The Political Economy of Arms Control in the Arab World," *Middle East Report*, July-August 1992 [reader]

Yezid Sayegh, "Reversing the Middle East Nuclear Race," *Middle East Report*, July August 1992 [reader]

Joel Behlin, "Arms Transfers, the New Structure of U.S. Hegemony, and Prospects for Democratic Development in the Gulf," from John O'Loughlin et al, eds. *War and Its Consequences: Lessons from the Persian Gulf Conflict*, pp. 87-104[reader]

Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, "Strategic Balance and Disarmament in the Middle East," in Boulding, pp. 197-203

Dec. 1 Women in the Middle East

Sarah Graham-Brown, "Women and Politics in the Middle East"

Ramla Khalidi & Judith Tucker, "Women's Rights in the Arab World"

Simona Sharoni, "Gender Issues in Democracy: Rethinking Middle East Peace and Security from a Feminist Perspective," in Boulding, pp. 99-110

Souad Dajani, "The Struggle of Palestinian Women in the Occupied Territories: Between National and Social Liberation," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol 16, No. 2 (Spring 1994)

Dec. 4 Human Right and Democracy

James Paul and Joe Stork, "The Middle East and Human Rights," *Middle East Report*, November-December 1987 [reader]

Louise Cantori and others, "Democratization in the Middle East," *Arab-American Affairs*, Fall 1991 [reader]

Sanaa Osseiran. "The Democratization Process in the Arab-Islamic States of the Middle East," in Boulding, pp. 79-90
Mustapha Al-Sayyaid, "Slow Thaw in the Arab World," *World Policy Journal* [reader]

Dec. 6 Looking to the Future

Peretz, "Epilogue," ch. 18

International Peace Research Association Commission on Peace Building in the Middle East, "The Commission Document on Peace Building in the Middle East," in Boulding, pp. 7-66

Dec. 14 FINAL EXAM