

POL 266: Introduction to Middle East Politics

Convener: Dr Gennaro Gervasio

W6A 426 phone ext 9660

Consultation times to be advised, or by appointment

Day Lectures:

Tuesday 11 am W5A T2

Thursday 2 pm W5A T1

(Repeat) Evening Lectures:

Tuesday 6 pm W6B 320

Thursday 6 pm W5C 220

Tutorials Times:

Tuesday 10 am C3B 306

Tuesday 1 pm C3B 302

Tuesday 7 pm C5A 404

Thursday 11 am C3B 306

Thursday 3 pm W5C 310

Thursday 5 pm C5C 310

Macquarie University Division of Humanities Department of Politics and International
Relations Semester 1 2008

Lecture tapes will be posted to External students through COE and other material will be
posted on the Web page of the unit – see <http://learn.mq.edu.au>

Unit Description:

The situation in Iraq and the ongoing War on Terrorism has focused world attention on the Middle East and its relations with the West as never before. The primary objective of this course is to introduce students to the domestic politics of the Middle East, and to the intellectual and ideological currents, which shape those politics. The first four weeks will be devoted to the examination and discussion of broad-ranging theoretical concepts necessary for an understanding of Middle Eastern political processes, and different ways of looking at those processes. The course will then move to a more detailed examination of the government and politics of the region, using some of the ideas from the earlier part of the course. Particular attention will be paid to the influence of Arab nationalism and Zionism, globalisation and the region's relations with the West. We will also look at US policies toward the region and the War on Terrorism, the Iraq situation, religious fundamentalism, and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Unit Requirements and expectations:

Attendance at lectures is expected and attendance at tutorials is compulsory. If you don't meet these requirements, you may fail the unit.

Assessment:

There are four components for the assessment for this course. Failure to complete any of these will result in your automatic failure of the course.

Assessment will be based on:

- A mid-term "quiz" on Thursday 10 April (15%);
- Class participation together with a formal tutorial presentation [25%];
- An essay of 2,000 words, due on Thursday 1 May (30%);
- A final one hour in-class examination on Thursday 5 June (30%)

Required and recommended texts:

Students should purchase the **course reader** from the Bookshop. Further specialized readings may be assigned throughout the course, but the following books can be considered as central and should be available in the Reserve section of the University Library. Although you are not required to purchase them, copies should also be available in the University Bookshop:

- Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, Routledge 2004 (updated edition)
- Fred Halliday, *100 Myths About the Middle East*, Saqi Books, 2005
- Ilan Pappé, *The Modern Middle East*, 2005
- Robert Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in a New Era*, 2005
- William R. Polk, *Understanding Iraq*, 2006

Items in the course reader should be considered as compulsory. Students will also be expected to become familiar with the periodical literature on the Middle East. Journals such as *The Middle East Journal*, *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *The Journal of Palestine Studies*, and *Middle East Reports (MERIP)* should be consulted. So too should periodicals such as *The Jerusalem Report*, and *Middle East International*. Students should also follow the news from the region, and consult quality news journals such as *The Economist* and the *Guardian Weekly*. The proliferating Internet sources on the Middle East should also be utilised as much as possible. Some starting sites are listed below.

Gulf 2000	http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/
Counterpunch	http://www.counterpunch.org/
American Enterprise Institute	http://www.aei.org/
Z-Net	http://www.zmag.org.weluser.htm
Heritage Foundation	http://www.heritage.org/
Zionist Organisation of America	http://www.zoa.org/
Al-Jazeera News Network	http://www.aljazeera.net/
HomePage US State Department	http://www.state.gov
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)	http://www.cia.gov
United Nations	http://www.un.org/

Tutorials:

Tutorials will begin in the second week of classes. Attendance is compulsory and attendance records will be kept. Each student will be expected to lead the discussion in at least one tutorial (see assessment above), and a timetable for these presentations will be arranged during the first tutorial in week 2.

WEEK ONE: Introduction and overview of the course.

There are no tutorials this week but you are expected to read the following for discussion in week 2.

Compulsory:

- Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations”, *Foreign Affairs*, Summer, 1993, pp. 22-49.
- Richard N. Haass, “The New Middle East”, *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec., 2006, Vol. 85 (6).

Recommended:

- Yahya Sadowski, “The New Orientalism and the Democracy Debate”, in Joel Beinin and Joe Stork (eds.) *Political Islam*, pp. 33-50.
- Michael C. Hudson, *Arab Politics: the Search for Legitimacy*, pp. 107-125
- John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality*.
- Maxime Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*.

WEEK TWO: Political modernization, development, the question of legitimacy and the role of ideology. Regime “types” and popular participation.

Compulsory:

- Ian S. Lustick, “The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political ‘Backwardness’ in Historical Perspective”, *International Organisation*, Vol. 51 (4), autumn, 1997, pp. 653-683.
- Roy R. Andersen, Robert F. Seibert and Jon G. Wagner, *Politics and Change in the Middle East*, seventh edition, 2004, Chapter 10, pp. 177-200.

Recommended:

- Michael C. Hudson, *Arab Politics, The Search for Legitimacy*, pp. 1-30.
- James Bill and Robert Springborg, *Politics in the Middle East*, fifth edition, 2000 pp. 1-31.
Paul Salem, *Bitter Legacy: Ideology and Politics in the Arab World*, chapter 1.
- Samir Amin, *The Arab Nation*.
- Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, ch. 3.

Discussion Points:

1. What are the difficulties we have in looking objectively at the Middle East?
2. What is “Orientalism”, and how relevant is it to the study of Middle East politics?

3. How balanced is the media coverage of the Middle East?
4. Has militant Islam or “Islamism” now replaced Communism as the West’s new adversary?

WEEK THREE: The secular Arab ideologies (nationalism, socialism, communism and democracy) and Zionism

Compulsory:

- Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, pp. 64-91.
- Michael C. Hudson, *Middle East Dilemma: the Politics and Economics of Arab Integration*, Chapter 1 “Arab Integration: An Overview”, pp. 1-32.

Recommended:

- James Bill and Robert Springborg, *Politics in the Middle East*, fifth edition, 2000, pp. 31-84.
- Paul Salem, *Bitter Legacy: Ideology and Politics in the Arab World*, chapters 2 and 4.
- Don Peretz, *The Arab World Today*, pp. 131-155, and on Zionism pp. 271-296.
- Fouad Ajami, *The Arab Predicament*.
- Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Israel’s Fateful Hour*, chapter 3.
- Norman G. Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry*; pp. 11-38.
- Ephraim Nimni (ed), *The Challenge of Post-Zionism*.
- Marc H. Ellis, *Beyond Innocence and Redemption*.
- Ian Lustick, *For The Land and the Lord: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*.
- Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky, *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*.

Discussion Points:

1. What, if any, is the legacy of Nasser and Nasserism?
2. Have the secular ideologies really failed in the Middle East? If so, why?
3. How significant is nationalism in the politics of the Middle East today, and what sort of nationalism is it?
4. Should we describe Zionism as a single ideology, or as a kind of cluster, containing a number of sub-ideologies? Is Zionism a secular or religious ideology?

WEEK FOUR: Islam as a political ideology, Globalisation and Terrorism.

Compulsory:

- William E. Shepard, "Islam and Ideology: Towards a Typology" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 19, 1987, pp. 307-336.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism", in *International Security*, Vol 27 (3), Winter, 2002/03.

Recommended:

- Roy R. Andersen, Robert F. Seibert and Jon G. Wagner, *Politics and Change in the Middle East*, chapters 2 and 3.
- Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, chapters 1, 3 & 4.
- John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality*
- Clement M. Henry and Robert Springborg, *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, pp. 1-30.
- John Gray, *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism*, chapters 1, 2 and 8.
- Hans-Peter Martin and Harald Schumann, *The Global Trap*, chapters 1 and 2.

Discussion Points:

1. How effective is Islam as a political ideology?
2. What, if any, is the connection between the failure of secular movements in the Middle East, the emergence of globalisation and the rise of fundamentalism?
3. Why did Islamic militants choose to attack the United States on September 11 2001?
4. Is the so-called "War against Terrorism" a new crusade against Islam, and can the War be won?

WEEK FIVE: Iran.

Compulsory:

- Vali Nasr, "Iran's Peculiar Election: The Conservative Wave Rolls On" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 16 (4), October, 2005, pp. 9-22.
- Christopher de Bellaigue, "Who Rules Iran?" *New York Review of Books*, 27 June, 2002.
- Philip Bowering, "Who's Afraid of Big, Bad Iran", in *International Herald Tribune*, 18 January, 2006.
- Gareth Porter, "US Tries to Pressure Iran With Attack Stories", *Washington Post*, 25 January, 2006.

Recommended:

- Jahangir Amuzegar, "Khatami: Folk Hero in Search of Relevance", *Middle East Policy*, Vol 11 (2), Summer, 2004, pp. 75-93.
- Sami Zubaida, "Is Iran an Islamic State" in Joel Beinin and Joe Stork (eds.) *Political Islam*, pp. 103-119.

- Eric Hooglund, “Khatami’s Iran”, *Current History*, February 1999.
- James A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations*, pp. 216-260, Nikki R. Keddie, *Roots of ReVolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran*.
- Dilip Hiro, *The Longest War*.

Discussion Points:

1. How did the fundamentalists manage to triumph in the Iranian Revolution?
2. Is Iran now developing a uniquely “Islamic” form of pluralist society or are the present internal tensions being faced by the Ahmadinejad government more likely to lead to collapse?
3. Why did President Bush label the seemingly reformist government of President Khatami as part of the “axis of evil”? Did this contribute to the election of President Ahmadinejad?
4. How significant is the threat of Iran today, and why is so much attention being paid to its nuclear programme?

WEEK SIX: Feminism in the Middle East.

Compulsory:

- Mohja Kahf, *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman*, chapter 1.
- Ahdaf Soueif, “The Language of the Veil”, *Mezzaterra*, pp. 266-274.
- “In the Name of Eve”, in *Survey: Islam and the West*, *The Economist*, 4 August, 1994.

Recommended:

- Fatima Mernissi, *Women and Islam*
- Nawal al-Saadawi, *The Hidden Face of Eve*
- Bo Utas (ed), *Women in Islamic Societies*
- Nahid Toubia (ed), *Women of the Arab World*
- Juliette Minces, *The House of Obedience*
- Yvonne Haddad and Ellison Banks Findly, *Women, Religion and Social Change*.

Discussion Points:

1. Is feminism in the Middle East a Western import? If so, is it just another form of cultural imperialism?
2. In the 1920s, Egyptian women were among the first in the region to abandon the veil. Now their daughters and granddaughters are putting it on again. Why?
3. Are there elements of “Orientalism”, or even worse, paternalism, in our discussions of the “plight” of Middle Eastern women?

4. What is “cultural relativism” and how is this relevant to our understanding of the role of women in the Middle East? Should the treatment of women in patriarchal societies be seen as a human rights issue?

WEEK SEVEN: The US and the Middle East.

Compulsory:

- Michael Hudson, “To play the Hegemon: Fifty years of US policy toward the Middle East”, *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, Summer, 1996.
- F. Gregory Gause III, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?”, in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 84 (5), Sept/Oct., 2004..
- Augustus Richard Norton and Farhad Kazemi, “The Limits of Shock and Awe: America in the Middle East”, in *Current History*, January, 2005.
- Max Boot, “Think Again: Neocons”, *Foreign Policy*, Jan/Feb 2004

Recommended:

- Fawaz A. Gerges, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests*
- Andersen *et al*, *Politics and Change in the Middle East*, chapters 14 and 15.
- Phyllis Bennis, *Before and After: US Foreign Policy and the September 11th Crisis*.
- Joseph Nye, *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World’s Only Superpower Can’t Go It Alone*, Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds.), *Worlds In Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*.

Discussion Points:

1. Since the end of the Cold War, has the US become an “imperial” power? If so, what are the implications for the Middle East?
2. What are the policies of “pre-emption” and “regime change”, and how realistic is the desire to “democratise” the Middle East?
3. What is the Neo-Conservative agenda, and is it still in place in President Bush’s second term?
4. What is the role of the United Nations in the post Cold War Middle East?

WEEK EIGHT: Israel and the Palestinians.

Compulsory:

- Marwan Bishara, *Palestine/Israel: Peace or Apartheid*, Introduction, pp. 1-25.
- Nathan J. Brown, “Getting Real with Hamas”, *Foreign Policy*, (website) February, 2006.

- Galia Golan, "Plans for Israeli-Palestinian Peace", *Middle East Policy*, Vol 11 (1), spring, 2004, pp. 38-51.

Recommended:

- Alan Dershowitz, *The Case for Peace*, Chapter 1.
- Tanya Reinhart, *Israel/Palestine: How to End the War of 1948*.
- Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities*.
- Amos Elon, *Israelis: Founders and Sons*.
- Clayton E. Swisher, *The Truth About Camp David*.
- Kathleen Christison, *Perceptions of Palestine*.
- Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*.
- Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*.
- Andrea Nusse, *Muslim Palestine: the Ideology of Hamas*.
- Edward W. Said, *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After*.
- Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East*, chapters 7 and 8.
- See hardline Israeli website, Masada 2000, at <http://masada2000.org/index.html>.

You will need to keep abreast with latest developments here through the press, periodical literature and especially the Internet.

Discussion Points:

1. Israel is sometimes accused of intransigence. Why is this? What are its foreign and domestic policy alternatives, and how effective has the Sharon/Olmert government's approach to the Palestinians been?
2. Why did Yasser Arafat refuse the peace offer made at Camp David in 2000, and what effect has his death had on the peace process?
3. What are the implications of the Hamas election victory, and the apparent eclipse of Fateh?
4. What does the future hold for Israel and the Palestinians under a post-Sharon government, and is a solution to the conflict possible?

WEEK NINE: Syria and Lebanon.

Compulsory:

- Gary C. Gambill, "The Lion in Winter: Bashar Assad's Self-Destruction", in *Mideast Monitor*, Vol 1 (1), February, 2006.
- Stephen Zunes, "US Neo-Conservative Policy Towards Syria", in *Middle East Policy*, Vol 11 (1), spring, 2004.
- Patrick Seale, "Dramatic Initiatives", in *The World Today*, March, 2001, pp. 7-10.
- Maurus Reinkowski, "National Identity in Lebanon Since 1990", in *Orient*, Vol 38 (3), 1997.
- Christopher De Vito, "Outgunned in Lebanon", *Foreign Policy* (website), November, 2005.

Recommended:

- Patrick Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*
- Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation*
- Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a*, pp. 1-12 & 84-106.
- Mona Harb and Reinoud Leenders, "Know Thy Enemy: Hizbullah, 'Terrorism' and the Politics of Perception", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 26 (1), 2005.
- Michael Hudson, *Lebanon: The Precarious Republic*.
- Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War*.
- Theodor Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation*.

Discussion Points:

- 1 To what extent is President Bashar al-Asad of Syria following the policies of his father, and how stable is his government?
- 2 Should the Lebanese civil war be seen as having internal, regional or international causes?
- 3 Was Syrian occupation good, or bad for Lebanon and Syria?
- 4 To what extent have Hizballah and the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon influenced the policy of the Lebanese government?

WEEK TEN: Iraq.**Compulsory:**

- W. Patrick Lang, "Drinking the Kool-Aid", in *Middle East Policy*, Vol 11 (2), summer, 2004, pp. 39-60.
- William R. Polk, *Understanding Iraq*, IB Tauris, 2005. Chapter Six.
- Robert Collier, "Don't Know How to Exit Iraq? Ask the Sunnis", *Foreign Policy* (website), 2005.

Recommended:

- Leila Hudson, "Lessons from Wal-Mart and the Wehrmacht", *Middle East Policy*, Vol 11 (2), summer, 2004, pp. 25-38.
- Denis J. Halliday, "Iraq and the UN's Weapon of Mass Destruction" *Current History*, February, 1999, pp. 65-69.
- Geoff Simons, *The Scourging of Iraq: Sanctions, Law and Natural Justice*, chapters 4 and 5.
- Michael Klare, *Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws*, chapters 1-3.
- E. Sciolino, *The Outlaw State: Saddam Hussein's Quest for Power and the Gulf Crisis*.
- Samir al-Khalil, *Republic of Fear*.
- Andrew Wilkie, *Axis of Deceit*
- Scott Ritter and William Rivers Pitt, *War on Iraq*.
- Tom Barnes, *Iraq: Imperialism and Resistance*.

Discussion Points:

1. Why did Iraq invade Kuwait in 1990?

2. Saddam Hussein was often described as the “Hitler of the Middle East”. How justified was this description?
3. Why was Iraq subject to sanctions from 1991 and invasion in 2003?
4. Is a new, democratic Iraq now being established, and should local opposition to this process be dismissed as terrorism?

WEEK ELEVEN: Saudi Arabia and the Countries of the Gulf

Compulsory:

- F. Gregory Gause III, “Be Careful What You Ask For: The Future of US-Saudi Relations”, *World Policy Journal*, spring, 2002.
- Toby Jones, “Seeking a ‘Social Contract’ for Saudi Arabia”, in *Middle East Report (MERIP)*, number 223.
- Kenneth M. Pollack, “Securing the Gulf” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August, 2003.

Recommended:

- Said K. Aburish, *The Rise, Corruption and Coming Fall of the House of Saud*.
- James P. Piscatori, “Ideological Politics in Saudi Arabia”, in *idem* (ed.), *Islam in the Political Process*.
- Nadav Safran, *Saudi Arabia: the Ceaseless Quest for Security*.
- Robert D. Burrowes, “The Republic of Yemen: The Politics of Unification and Civil War, 1989-1995” in Michael Hudson (ed.) *The Middle East Dilemma*.
- Shiela Carapico, “Yemen: Unification and the Gulf War”, in *Middle East Report*, May-June, 1991.

Discussion Points:

- 1 How have US/Saudi relations been affected by the events of 9/11?
- 2 What are the development strategies that have been followed by the oil-rich countries of the Gulf?
- 3 The Saudi King is the “Guardian of the Two Holy Sanctuaries”. How important is this role and how stable is his kingdom?
- 4 How significant is the GCC in the war against terrorism and as a force for globalisation?

WEEK TWELVE: North Africa

Compulsory:

- Tim Niblock, “The Foreign Policy of Libya”, in Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (eds.) *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, pp. 213-234.
- Robert Mortimer, “Bouteflika and Algeria’s Path from Revolt to Reconciliation”, in *Current History*, January, 2000, pp. 10-15.

- Cassandra, "The Impending Crisis in Egypt", in *Middle East Journal*, Vol 49 (1), winter, 1995.

Recommended:

- Clement M. Henry, *The Mediterranean Debt Crescent*, chapters 3 and 7.
- William Quandt, *The United States and Egypt*.
- B.M. Rubin, *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics*.
- Mohamed Heikal, *Autumn of Fury: the Assassination of Sadat*.
- Clement M. Henry and Robert Springborg, *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, pp. 99-134.
- Guy Arnold, *The Maverick State: Gaddafi and the New World Order*, pp. 133-159.

Discussion Points:

- 1 Were the policies of *infitah* a precursor to globalisation? Can poverty ever be overcome in Egypt?
- 2 What is the nature of the relationship between Mubarak's Egypt and the United States in the wake of 9/11 and the Iraq war?
- 3 For many years Colonel Qaddafi has been one of the most colourful and idiosyncratic leaders in the Middle East. Why has he now been forgiven his past excesses, and can other rogue states learn from him?
- 4 What are the origins of the crisis in Darfur?

WEEK THIRTEEN: The Middle East in the Twenty First Century.

Compulsory:

- Edward W. Said, "The Clash of Definitions", in Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*.

Discussion Points:

- 1 How can the Middle East "democratise"?
- 2 Should countries in the Middle East democratise?
- 3 How has the war against terrorism changed the Middle East?
- 4 What does the future hold for Iraq?

Essay List:

Essays are to be of 2,000 words and are due by Thursday, 1 May. The essays should be typed, double-spaced, and correctly footnoted. They should also contain a detailed *Bibliography*. For every day an essay is overdue, 2% will be deducted from the essay grade. The essays are to be submitted in the foyer of W6A. Each assignment must have a Division cover sheet, signed by the student.

- 1 "Peace between Israel and the Palestinians is will never be possible while Hamas controls the Palestinian Authority". Discuss.
- 2 Why does Islamic militancy target the West?
- 3 "Despite pitfalls along the way, the Bush Doctrine is leading the Middle East to a new era of democracy and freedom". Discuss.
- 4 "Lack of planning during the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the country's subsequent occupation have caused the current insurgency". Discuss.
- 5 Write a position paper for President Ahmadinejad of Iran on the current foreign policy dilemmas facing his country, setting out at least three viable policy options for the future.
- 6 "When applied to the Middle East, Western Feminism is no more than another form of cultural imperialism". Discuss.
- 7 If the governments of the Arab World lack legitimacy, how can this problem be remedied?

Division of Humanities position in relation to plagiarism and grading procedures:

Plagiarism:

The University defines plagiarism in its rules: "Plagiarism involves using the work of another person and presenting it as one's own." Plagiarism is a serious breach of the University's rules and carries significant penalties. Information about plagiarism can be found in the *Handbook of Undergraduate Studies*, on the web at <http://www.student.mq.edu.au/plagiarism/>, and on the Division cover sheet, which you must sign before you submit your assignments. If you are in doubt consult your lecturer or tutor.

Grading:

The university has a set of guidelines on the distribution of grades across the range from fail to high distinction. These guidelines are designed to ensure comparability across the University. Raw marks or grades are given to students on each assessment task. This is part of the learning feedback. The marks or grades on the assessment tasks are combined into a raw score in the unit, following the distribution of possible marks indicated in the Unit study guide, but the raw score is only an interim stage in the final calculation of the final grade. A scaling process is used to convert the raw score to the final scaled marks (standardized numerical grades or SNGs), using the guidelines for grading as moderators.

The scaled marks indicate that students have satisfied the criteria for inclusion in a particular performance band and rank them by the performance within the band. The scaling process preserves the rank order of the marks.

There is no simple arithmetical relationship between raw marks and scaled marks. The relationship will almost always differ between units and between different performance bands within the same unit.