

**INTS 243: GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST**  
**(Rhodes College, Fall 2011, 4 credits)**  
Class website: moodle.rhodes.edu

**Esen Kirdis**  
120 Buckman Hall  
901-843-3208  
kirdise@rhodes.edu

**Class Schedule/Place**  
M-W-F/2:00-2:50pm  
Barret 214  
**Office Hours**  
M-W-F/9:00-10:00am or  
by appointment

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Commonly, the Middle East is represented as a homogenous bloc of authoritarian, Arab, Muslim, fundamentalist, anti-modern, patriarchal states and societies unable to change. Hence, when the Egyptian people forced a 30-year dictatorship down within 18 days, it came as a surprise to many. What was even more puzzling was the fact that the Egyptian “people” were composed of groups as diverse as leftists, Islamists, Christians, soldiers and liberals. Therefore, the objective of this class is to understand this heterogeneity of the Middle East. To do so, we will first cover the history of the Middle East as well as the international and domestic developments that define Middle East politics today. Starting with the second section, we will look at major actors and themes that influence Middle East politics, such as Iran, Turkey, Arab-Israeli conflict, political Islam, democratization, gender, economy, and minorities. Lastly, we will look at different components of US foreign policy towards the Middle East and the effects of these policies.

### **COURSE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES**

As a result of taking this course, you will be able to:

- gain knowledge about the history of the Middle East
- learn about international and domestic influences on Middle East politics today
- question and analyze common biases from a critical perspective
- learn about themes and actors that define Middle East politics
- understand and evaluate US foreign policy towards the Middle East
- articulate their own opinion on debates concerning international politics
- debate and engage in dialogue respectfully
- relate what they have learned to their own political environment

### **REQUIRED TEXTS**

- Cleveland, William L and Martin Bunton. 2009. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edition.
- All other readings will be available online on Moodle (moodle.rhodes.edu) under “Files” for this course, and on the Academic Sharing Drive.

## **COURSE POLICIES**

**Honor Code:** It is understood that the students will observe the honor code of Rhodes College. *All papers and exams should be your own work.* Any evidence of academic dishonesty or plagiarism will result in a failing grade and notification of college officials. Plagiarism is the use of someone else's information or ideas without proper citation. If you wonder if something should be cited, it probably should. This applies to materials read even if you do not use them directly in the paper. We also highly encourage you to check the Writing Center's page to learn more about plagiarism: <http://www.rhodes.edu/writingcenter/9164.asp>. If you have questions about plagiarism, you can also talk to me directly.

**Diversity and Collegiality:** This course draws students from a variety of widely diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds and hold different values. Because a key to optimal learning and successful teaching is to hear, analyze, and draw from a diversity of views, the instructors expect collegial and respectful dialogue across disciplinary, cultural, and personal boundaries.

**Disabilities:** Every effort will be made to accommodate students with disabilities. To do so as effectively as possible, students who need special accommodations should identify themselves to the instructor at the beginning of the semester. If you have a documented disability and wish to receive academic accommodations, please contact the Office of Student Disability Services at x3885 as soon as possible.

**Counseling:** If you would like to receive individualized support with time management, test anxiety, stress, and general learning skills, please consult the Student Counseling Center at x3128.

**Writing Center:** We highly encourage you to visit the Writing Center before you turn in your written assignments. This will improve your writing skills. The Writing Center can be reached at: <http://www.rhodes.edu/writingcenter/>

**Laptops and cell phones:** Students who use laptops in class must do so exclusively for the purpose of note-taking. Surfing the web, emailing, instant messaging, or playing computer games in class conveys disrespect to your fellow students as well as the instructor, and can be disruptive for the entire class. Please turn off your cell phones before the class begins or put them in silent mode. *Text- messaging is not acceptable while class is in progress.*

**Attendance and Participation:** Sessions incorporate frequent informal writing and discussions related to formal course assignments. Due to the interactive and participatory nature of this course, attendance at each class session is required. We expect students to arrive on time and attend the full class period. We also expect you to come prepared for class discussions. *There will be unannounced pop-quizzes throughout the semester.* Students with extracurricular activities (athletics, mock trial, religious observances etc.) that will require them to miss one or more classes during the semester should talk to me in advance of their anticipated absence. If you miss a class, it is your responsibility to acquire lecture notes from your classmates. *Needless to say, infrequent class attendance will negatively impact your class participation grade.*

**Handouts:** We will distribute handouts on various writing assignments and exams 2 weeks prior to the assignment/exam date. It is your responsibility to acquire those handouts if you miss class.

**Course webpage:** If you have problems with Moodle or Academic folders, please use the Help Desk at: [helpdesk@rhodes.edu](mailto:helpdesk@rhodes.edu)

## COURSE ASSIGNMENTS

**Midterms and Final:** There will be 1 midterm (September 30) and 1 final (Dec 14, 8:30am). We will hold review sessions before each exam. Study guides and guidelines for all the exams will be distributed in class later in the semester.

**Opinion Pieces:** Students are expected to prepare 3 sets of 4-page (Times New Roman font, size 12 pt., double-spaced, with up to 1" margins) opinion pieces on a given political question distributed in class (due on: September 9, October 14, November 18). These pieces should (1) argue in favor of a political stance, (2) reference class readings and lectures, (3) refute alternative viewpoints, and (4) cite two outside sources (Wikipedia, MSN Encarta, Britannica Online are NOT acceptable sources.) Details on this assignment will be distributed at a later time. We highly encourage you to read the Writing Center's guide for effective writing for this assignment, at: <http://www.rhodes.edu/writingcenter/9076.asp>

**Literature Review:** Students are expected to submit a 10-page page (Times New Roman font, size 12 pt., double-spaced, with up to 1" margins) critical literature review composed of at least 10 academic resources (due October 28). Details on this assignment will be distributed at a later time. We highly encourage you to read the Writing Center's guide for effective writing for this assignment, at: <http://www.rhodes.edu/writingcenter/9076.asp>

**Participation:** The participation grade for the course is not a given but is earned, and is composed of three components: (1) keeping up with the readings, (2) submit two one page, single-spaced reflection on any news article (from the news sources below) pertaining to Middle East Politics anytime during the semester, and (3) active participation throughout lectures.

Feel free to bring news items relating to the international relations to discuss into class. For instance, you will benefit greatly if you read on a regular basis from the *BBC World News* ([www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk)), *Foreign Policy Magazine* (<http://blog.foreignpolicy.com>), or *Al Jazeera* (<http://english.aljazeera.net/>).

THE DATES FOR EACH ASSIGNMENT ARE INDICATED WITHIN THE COURSE SCHEDULE AND AT THE END OF THE SYLLABUS.

## GRADING

Graded Activities	Weight of Each Activity
Participation	%10
Opinion Pieces (3 in total)	%30 (%10 each)
Literature Review	%15
Midterm	%20
Final	%25

**Make-up Exams:** Make-up exams will *not* be offered except in rare circumstances. Should you have an unanticipated emergency that causes you to miss the scheduled exam, contact me as soon as possible by email or telephone. Note that you may be expected to provide evidence (e.g. a doctor's note). I also reserve the right to require students to take a make-up exam on a specific date.

**Incompletes:** A grade of "I" ("Incomplete") will be given only under special circumstances following discussion with the instructor.

**Late Work:** Late work will be downgraded by a grade for each day late, e.g. a B+ assignment will be downgraded to a B after 1 day late, to a B- after 2 days late, etc. - Unless there is a medical emergency. Do not email your work, we need hard-copies.

**Absence:** Excessive (as determined by the instructor) absences may result in a diminished (or failing) course grade.

## **COURSE EXPECTATIONS**

- Please make it a point to complete the assigned reading before the week we discuss. You will learn more from this class and it will be more interesting to you if you are prepared.
- *It is very likely that during the semester all students will discover perspectives with which they agree or disagree. To facilitate such discoveries, the course requires that abrasive attitudes toward others be left at the doorway.*
- I will be happy to discuss individual student progress at any time.
- *This syllabus is subject to change. Please check your emails regularly for announcements.*

## **COURSE CALENDAR**

### **Section 1: INTRODUCTION TO MIDDLE EAST POLITICS**

---

---

#### **AUGUST 24, WEDNESDAY: Why Should You Care about Middle East Politics?**

#### **AUGUST 26, FRIDAY: The Birth of Islam**

Cleveland and Bunton. 2009. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press, ch.1

#### **AUGUST 29, MONDAY: The Islamic Civilization**

Cleveland and Bunton. 2009. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press, ch. 2

Information on Opinion Piece Assignment will be distributed in class.

#### **AUGUST 31, WEDNESDAY: The Era of Empires**

Cleveland and Bunton. 2009. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press, ch. 3

#### **SEPTEMBER 2, FRIDAY: Using the Library**

We will meet at Barret Library, Lab128. Presentation on using library resources by Ms. Nikki Rech

#### **SEPTEMBER 5, MONDAY: LABOR DAY-NO CLASS**

#### **SEPTEMBER 7, WEDNESDAY: Colonialism**

Knickerbocker, Ellen. 2006. "The Woman Who Put Iraq on the Map: Gertrude Bell, Resting in Relative Peace." *Washington Post Foreign Service Sunday*, March 5.

Nasr, S. V. R. 1999. "European Colonialism and the Emergence of Modern Muslim States." In *The Oxford History of Islam*, ed. John L. Esposito. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**SEPTEMBER 9, FRIDAY: Arab Independence**

Cleveland and Bunton. 2009. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press, ch. 11+12

**SEPTEMBER 12, MONDAY: Authoritarianism and Cold War**

Lucas, Russell. 2004. "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36(1): 103-119.

Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: A Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36(2): 139-157.

**Assignment: Opinion Piece #1**

**SEPTEMBER 14, WEDNESDAY: The State and Institutions**

Lust, Ellen. 2010. "Institutions and Governance." In *The Middle East*, ed. Ellen Lust. CQ Press.

*(skim through, you don't need to remember every detail, but have an idea of different states in the Middle East)*

**SEPTEMBER 16, FRIDAY: Arab Nationalism under Nasser**

Cleveland and Bunton. 2009. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press, ch. 15.

Information on the Midterm will be distributed in class

**Section 2: MAJOR ACTORS AND MAJOR THEMES IN MIDDLE EAST POLITICS**

---

**SEPTEMBER 19, MONDAY: Iran (1): The Iranian Revolution**

Keddie, Nikkie R. 2006. *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Ch 9.

**SEPTEMBER 21, WEDNESDAY: Iran (2): The Nuclear Arms Debate**

Dueck, Colin and Ray Takeyh. 2007. "Iran's Nuclear Challenge." *Political Science Quarterly* 122(2).

Diamond, Larry, Michael McFaul, and Abbas Milani. 2006. "A Win-Win U.S. Strategy for Dealing with Iran." *The Washington Quarterly* 30(1): 121-138.

**SEPTEMBER 23, FRIDAY: Turkey (1): The Kemalist Revolution and Secularism**

Ahmad, Feroz. 2003. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. London and New York: Routledge Press, ch. 4+5.

**SEPTEMBER 26, MONDAY: Turkey (2): Justice and Development Party and Muslim Democracy**

Ozel, Soli. 2003. "After the Tsunami." *Journal of Democracy* 14(2): 80-94.

Onis, Ziya and Emin Fuat Keyman. 2003. "A New Path Emerges." *Journal of Democracy* 14(2): 95-107.

**SEPTEMBER 27, WEDNESDAY: Midterm Review**

**SEPTEMBER 30, FRIDAY: MIDTERM**

**OCTOBER 3, MONDAY: Israel/Palestine (1): The History of a Conflict**

Cleveland and Bunton. 2009. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press, ch. 13

Information on Opinion Piece Assignment will be distributed in class.

**OCTOBER 5, WEDNESDAY: Israel/Palestine (2): The Current State of Affairs**

Cleveland and Bunton. 2009. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Westview Press, ch. 22

Foreign Policy Roundtable on "The Israeli Lobby."

**OCTOBER 7, FRIDAY: Literature Review and Midterm Evaluation**

**Midterm Evaluations**

Information on Literature Review will be distributed in class.

**OCTOBER 10, MONDAY: Political Islam (1): The Muslim Brotherhood**

Ghobashy, Mona. 2005. "The Metamorphous of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37(3): 373-395.

**OCTOBER 12, WEDNESDAY: Political Islam (2): Wahabism**

Al-Dakhil, Khalid S. 2008. "Wahhabism as an Ideology of State Formation." *In Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State*, ed. Mohammed Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban. Lynne Rienner.

**OCTOBER 14, FRIDAY: Political Islam (3): Radical Islam**

Gerges, Fawaz. 2005. *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch 3.

**Assignment: Opinion Piece #2**

**OCTOBER 17, MONDAY: FALL RECESS-NO CLASS**

**OCTOBER 19, WEDNESDAY: Political Islam (4): Islamic Civil Society**

Berman, Sheri. 2003. "Islamism, Revolution, and Civil Society." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(2).

Wickham, Carrie. 2002. *Mobilizing Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press, ch. 5.

**OCTOBER 21, FRIDAY: Political Islam (5): Islamic Political Parties**

Zeghal, Malika. 2008. "Participation without Power." *Journal of Democracy* 19(3): 31-36.

Wickham, Carrie. 2004. "The Path to Moderation," *Comparative Politics* 36(2).

**OCTOBER 24, MONDAY: Democracy (1): Islam and Democracy**

Jamal, Amaney and Mark Tessler. 2008. "The Democracy Barometers: Attitudes in the Arab World." *Journal of Democracy* 19(1).

Tibi, Bassam. 2008. "Why They Can't Be Democratic." *Journal of Democracy* 19(3): 43- 48.

Masoud, Tarek. 2008. "Are They Democrats? Does It Matter?" *Journal of Democracy* 19(3): 19-24.

Kubba, Laith. 2008. "Institutions Make the Difference." *Journal of Democracy* 19(3): 37- 42

Hamzawy, Amr and Nathan J. Brown. 2008. "A Boon or a Bane for Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy* 19(3): 49-54.

**OCTOBER 26, WEDNESDAY: Democracy (2): Algeria's War**

Volpi, Frédéric. 2003. *Islam and Democracy: The Failure of Dialogue in Algeria*. London and Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, ch. 1+4.

### **OCTOBER 28, FRIDAY: Democracy (3): Post-Islamist Turn?**

Bayat, Asef. 2011. "A New Arab Street in Post-Islamist Times." *Foreign Policy*, January 26.

Bamyeh, Mohammed A. 2011. "The Egyptian Revolution: First Impressions from the Field." *Al-Qahira, The City Victorious*.

### **Assignment: Literature Review**

### **OCTOBER 31, MONDAY: Gender (1): Family Law and Women's Rights**

Mounira Charrad. 2001. *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Post-Colonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, Ch. 3+9.

### **NOVEMBER 2, WEDNESDAY: Gender (2): Islamist Feminism**

Badran, Margot. *Feminism in Islam: Secular and Religious Convergences*. Oneworld, ch. 9.

Information on Opinion Piece Assignment will be distributed in class.

### **NOVEMBER 4, FRIDAY: Islamic Law and Secularism**

An-Na'im, Abdullah. 2008. *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari'a*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Ch.1.

### **NOVEMBER 7, MONDAY: Economy (1): Oil Economies**

Ross, Michael. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53(3): 325-361. (Skip the statistical analyses.)

### **NOVEMBER 9, WEDNESDAY: Economy (2): Remittances**

Richards, Alan and John Waterbury. 2007. *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. Westview Press, ch. 15.

### **NOVEMBER 11, FRIDAY: Economy (3): Unemployment**

Shaban, Radwan, Ragui Assaad and Sulayman Al-Qudsi. 1995. "The Challenge of Unemployment in the Arab Region." *International Labour Review* 134(1): 63-81.

Kuran, Timur. 2004. "Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(3): 71-90.

### **NOVEMBER 14, MONDAY: Minorities (1): The Kurds**

Bruinessen, Martin van. 1994. "Genocide in Kurdistan? The Suppression of the Dersim Rebellion in Turkey (1937-38) and the Chemical War Against the Iraqi Kurds (1988)." In *Conceptual and Historical Dimensions of Genocide*, ed. George J. Andreopoulos. University of Pennsylvania Press.

### **NOVEMBER 16, WEDNESDAY: Minorities (2): Alawites**

Nisan, Mordechai. 2002. *Minorities in the Middle East: A History of Struggle and Self-Expression*. McFarland & Company, ch. 6.

### **NOVEMBER 18, FRIDAY: Minorities (3): Lebanon's Special Arrangement**

Weiss, Max. 2010. *In the Shadow of Sectarianism: Law, Shi'ism, and the Making of Modern Lebanon*. Harvard University Press, ch.4

### **Assignment: Opinion Piece #3**

**NOVEMBER 21, MONDAY: Minorities (4): Christians in the Middle East**

Nisan, Mordechai. 2002. *Minorities in the Middle East: A History of Struggle and Self-Expression*. McFarland & Company, ch. 7.

Information on the final will be distributed in class.

**NOVEMBER 23+25: THANKSGIVING-NO CLASS**

**NOVEMBER 28, MONDAY: US Foreign Policy in the Middle East (1): Anti-Americanism**

Lynch, Marc. 2006. "Anti-Americanisms in the Arab World." In *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. Cornell University Press.

**NOVEMBER 30, WEDNESDAY: US Foreign Policy in the Middle East (2): Iraq War**

Smith, Tony. 2004. "Was Iraq a Fool's Errand." *Foreign Affairs* 83(6): 130-133.

**DECEMBER 2, FRIDAY: Documentary: No Ends in Sight**

**DECEMBER 5, MONDAY: The Arab Spring, New Media and Al Jazeera: A New Era for the Middle East?**

Lynch, Marc. 2007. "Blogging the New Arab Public." *Arab Media & Society*:  
[http://www.arabmediasociety.com/articles/downloads/20070312155027\\_AMS1\\_Marc\\_Lynch.pdf](http://www.arabmediasociety.com/articles/downloads/20070312155027_AMS1_Marc_Lynch.pdf)

**DECEMBER 7, WEDNESDAY: Review for the Final**

**DECEMBER 14, WEDNESDAY, 8:30AM: FINAL EXAM**

**ASSIGNMENT SCHEDULE**

DUE BY	ASSIGNMENT
SEPT 12	Opinion Piece #1
SEPT 30	Midterm
OCT 14	Opinion Piece #2
OCT 28	Literature Review
NOV 18	Opinion Piece #3
DEC 14, 8:30AM	FINAL EXAM