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## INTS 244-01, An Introduction to Selected Nationalisms and Islamist Ideologies of the Middle East, Fall 2009

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**An Introduction to Selected Nationalisms and Islamist Ideologies of the  
Middle East**

INTS 244-1 CRN 10315

**Rhodes College, Fall 2009**

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**Course Description**

This is an introductory course on selected ideologies of the Middle East; it presupposes only basic knowledge of the region as well as previous exposure to comparative politics. The course surveys the historical and political trajectories of selected nationalisms and Islamist ideologies in the Middle East: Pan-Arabism, various Arab territorial nationalisms, Zionisms, Turkish nationalisms, Kurdish nationalisms and various strains of Islamism.

This course provides students with basic background knowledge, analytical tools, and familiarity with key issues necessary to better understand today's Middle East and some of the current ideologies prevalent there. Course exams and written assignments are designed to encourage students to arrive at their own analyses and conclusions regarding key issues in the region. Core texts provides a structured basis for the course, with class lectures and additional readings designed to further elucidate material not covered in the required books.

*This syllabus is subject to change during the course of the semester. Please check your e-mail regularly for any announcements to this effect.*

**Course Objectives**

1. Learning fundamental principles, generalizations and theories relating to the Middle East.
2. Learning to analyze and critically evaluate ideas, arguments, and points of view about the region.
3. Acquiring an interest in learning more about the area by asking appropriate questions and seeking answers.
4. Moving beyond stereotypes.

**Required Texts:**

1 – Bernard Lewis, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East* (1998), London: Phoenix ISBN 0-75380-874-9

2 – Kemal Karpat (ed.), *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (1982), Westport: Praeger ISBN 0-275-91541-7.

3 – David Romano, *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement* (2006), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press ISBN 0-521-68426-9

4 – Sami Zubaida, *Islam, The People and the State: Political Ideas & Movements in the Middle East* (1993), New York: I.B. Taurus ISBN 1-85043-734-3

– PDFs of additional readings available in the professor’s public folder on the Rhodes fileserver system, and marked with an asterix (\*) in this syllabus.

– Additional readings not listed in this syllabus may be assigned as the course progresses, as the professor deems necessary.

– *Readings should be completed before the first discussion class (typically Wednesday) for the week they are assigned.*

**Evaluation:**

Attendance and Participation --	10%
Mid-Term --	20%
Pop Quizzes –	10%
Research Paper --	20%
Readings Paper --	15%
Final Examination --	25%

The mid-term and final exam consist of identifications and essays questions.

**Other Course Requirements**

News media: Students must keep abreast of current events in the Middle East. Print media such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *The Economist*, *The Guardian*, *Ha’aretz* (Israeli paper available in English – <http://www.haaretz.com/>), and *Al-Ahram Weekly* (Egyptian paper available in English – [www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/](http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/)) are all useful sources. Worldfocus.org, BBC World News or CNN International (more so than North American CNN) also provide useful broadcast media information. Various news radio sources, especially NPR, may also prove informative. Especially regarding the Middle East, every news media provides only a partial picture of complex issues, however, and students are encouraged to remain wary of sometimes very subtle bias (particularly when viewing documentaries or various web sites). One of the

objectives of this course is to help students gain valuable information on the Middle East from a variety of news sources while remaining alert to various editorial biases.

Films: Films may be shown in or outside of class times during the semester (details on showing time and location will be announced as soon as they are available). Films are fair game for pop-quizzes.

Academic Integrity: All provisions of the *Rhodes Honor Code* will be vigorously enforced. Definitions of *plagiarism* are available from the *Honor Code* description, and any students having additional questions (such as proper citation practice in essays) are encouraged to see me during office hours or by appointment.

Classroom Etiquette: Active student participation is essential and greatly encouraged. At the same time, everyone (including the course's professor) must try to remain humble about their opinions, courteous to their fellows, curious, and eager to engage in polite debate. Uncivil discourse, personal attacks, or disruptions to the classroom atmosphere (cell phones, consistent tardiness or leaving early, etc.) will not be tolerated.

Attendance: 5% of the course mark will be based on class attendance, with another 5% based on in-class participation. Any student who receives below a 'C' in any of the class assignments must thereafter attend all classes without exception; failure to do so will provoke referral to the Dean of Students and may lead to a failing mark in the course. Unexcused absences from an examination will lead to a failing mark for that examination (no make-ups or alternate exam days). Excused absences (illness, death in the family, and jury duty, for example, but not personal travel arrangements, participation in athletic events, and other extra-curricular activities) are subject to approval from the course instructor. At the course instructor's discretion, students who miss too many classes may also be asked to follow the same attendance policy as those with a grade below 'C' on an assignment.

Students With Disabilities: If you have a disability recognized by Rhodes College, I encourage you to register with Student Disability Services (843-3994) to help me accommodate your needs as well as possible.

**Schedule    M/W/F 10:00-10:50    Buckman 214**

*Readings should be completed before the first discussion class (typically Wednesday) for the week they are assigned.*

**Week 1    Introduction – The Middle East**

- Readings:*
- \*1. Roskin, Michael G. and James J. Coyle, *Politics of the Middle East: Cultures and Conflicts 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* (2008), Chapter 1.
  - \*2. Anderson, Roy R., Robert F. Seibert and Jon G. Wagner, *Politics and Change in the Middle East*, 9th edition (2009), Chapters 2 and 3.

**8/26** Introduction

**8/28** Discussion

## **Week 2 Multiple Identities of the Middle East**

- Readings:*
1. Bernard Lewis, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East* (1998).

**8/31** Lecture

**9/2** Discussion

**9/4** Discussion

## **Week 3 Nationalism and Colonialism in the Middle East**

- Readings:*
- \*1. Wayne Norman, *Negotiating Nationalism* (2006), Chapter 1.
  - \*2. Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (1991), pp.308-349.
  - \*3. Juan Cole and Deniz Kandiyoti, "Nationalism and the Colonial Legacy in the Middle East and Central Asia: Introduction", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34:2 (2002).

**9/7** *Labour Day – no class*

**9/9** Lecture

**9/11** Discussion

## **Week 4 Arab Nationalisms**

- Readings:*
1. Darwish al-Jundi, "The Foundations and Objectives of Arab Nationalism," in Kemal Karpat (ed.), *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (1982).
  2. 'Abd al-Aziz al-Duri, "The Historical Roots of Arab Nationalism," in Kemal Karpat (ed.), *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (1982).
  - \*3. Robert Gale Woolbert, "Pan-Arabism and the Palestine Problem," *Foreign Affairs* 16:2 (1938).

\*4. Henry, Amara & Al-Tauqi, "Sport, Arab Nationalism, and the Pan-Arab Games," *International Review for the Sociology of Sports*, 2003.

**9/14** Lecture

**9/16** Discussion

**9/18** Discussion

**Week 5 Arab Nationalisms (cont'd)**

*Readings:*

- \*1. Fouad Ajami, "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs* 57:2 (1978).
- \*2. Amatzia Baram, "Territorial Nationalism in the Middle East," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 26:41(990).
- \*3. Eyal Zisser, "Who's Afraid of Syrian Nationalism? National and State Identity in Syria," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42:2 (March 2006).
- 4. Yasser Arafat, "The Palestinian Problem: Causes and Solutions," in Kemal Karpat (ed.), *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (1982).
- 5. Sabri Jiryis, "The PLO and the Palestinian State," in Kemal Karpat (ed.), *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (1982).

**9/21** Lecture

**9/23** Discussion

**9/25** Discussion

**Week 6 Zionisms**

*Readings:*

- \*1. Mark Tessler, "Jewish History and the Emergence of Modern Political Zionism," in *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (1994), pp.7-68.
- 2. "Introduction to Political and Social Thought in Israel," in Kemal Karpat (ed.), *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (1982), pp. 285-312 (including articles by Aba Eban, Yosef Hermoni, Menachem Begin, etc...).
- \*3. David Ben-Gurion, 1944 Haifa speech, available at:  
[http://zionism-israel.com/hdoc/Ben-Gurion\\_Jewish\\_revolution.htm](http://zionism-israel.com/hdoc/Ben-Gurion_Jewish_revolution.htm)

**9/28** Lecture

**9/30** Discussion

**10/2** Discussion

**Week 7 Turkish Nationalisms**

*Readings:* \*1. Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (1993), chapters 3-4.  
\*2. Bora, T., "Nationalist Discourses in Turkey," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102 (2003).

**10/5** Lecture

**10/7** Discussion

**10/9** Discussion

**Week 8 Catch-up and Review**

*Readings:* None – review all readings up to this point.

**10/12** Catch-up, Review and Discussion

**10/14** **Mid-Term Exam**

**10/16** Discussion

*Fall Recess begins Oct.16 5 p.m. until Oct.22 8 a.m.*

**Week 9 Turkish Nationalisms (Cont'd); Kurdish Nationalisms**

*Readings:* \*1. Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (2005), Chapter 4.  
2. David Romano, *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement* (2006), Chapters 1-2.

**10/19** *No class (Fall Recess)*

**10/21** Discussion

**10/23** Lecture. *Readings Review due in class.*

**Week 10 Kurdish Nationalisms (Cont'd)**

*Readings:* 1. David Romano, *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement* (2006), Chapters 3, 4, 6-8.

**10/26** Lecture

**10/28** Discussion

10/30 Discussion.

**Week 11      Islam – Introduction**

*Readings:*      \*1. Roskin, Michael G. and James J. Coyle, *Politics of the Middle East: Cultures and Conflicts 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* (2008), Chapter 2.  
                      \*2. Mir Zohair Husain, *Global Islamic Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (2003), Chapter 1.

11/2      Lecture

11/4      Discussion

11/6      Discussion. *Research paper due in class*

**Week 12      The Many Faces of Political Islam**

*Readings:*      \*1. Guilan Denoeux, “The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam,” *Middle East Policy* 9:2 (June 2002).  
                      \*2. Bassam Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State* (1997), Chapters 11-12.

11/9      Lecture

11/11     Discussion

11/13     Discussion

**Week 13      Political Islam (Case Studies)**

*Readings:*      \*1. Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World* (1991), Chapters 1 and 4-5.  
                      \*2. David Romano, “An Outline of Kurdish Islamist Groups in Iraq.” *Jamestown Occasional Papers Series*, September 17, 2007.

11/16     Lecture

11/18     Discussion

11/20     Discussion

**Week 14      Political Islams (Cont’d)**

*Readings:* 1. Sami Zubaida, *Islam, The People and the State: Political Ideas & Movements in the Middle East* (1993).

**11/23** Lecture

**11/25** Discussion

*Thanksgiving Recess begins Nov. 25 10 p.m. until Dec.1 8 a.m.*

**11/27** *No class (Thanksgiving)*

**Week 15 Managing Diversity (Federalism, Civic Nationalism, Liberalism and other Structures)**

*Readings:* \*1. David Laitin, *Nations States and Violence* (2007), Chapter 5 (“Managing the multinational state”).  
\*2. Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World* (1991), Chapters 9-10 (“The Islamic liberals answer back” and “Political Islam: Why, and where to?”).

**11/30** Lecture

**12/2** Discussion

**12/4** Discussion

**Week 16 Conclusion and Review**

*Readings:* Current events.

**12/7** Discussion

**12/9** *Last day of class, course review – exam period Dec.11-16*

***Final exam Friday December 11, 17:30. Please make a note of this immediately and be sure not to schedule or allow your family to schedule holiday travel before or on this date.***

**Readings Review**

For this assignment, you will choose one of the section topics in this syllabus, and read widely on the topic. For the readings you do (7 academic journal articles or 1 academic press book), you will prepare a review – either comparing the main analytical points and arguments of each article (for the

journal articles option) or a full book review if you choose to read a book. Please submit for approval book titles or article titles to me 3 weeks before this assignment is due. For this assignment, *you may not choose any of the readings assigned in this course*. The readings you do for this assignment may prove useful, of course, for your research papers.

Reviews should total approximately 5-8 pages (250 words per page). Please make sure that the paper is double-spaced with 1" margins and a 12 pt font in Times New Roman or Aerial. Please refer to the *Chicago Manual of Style* <http://www.libs.uga.edu/ref/chicago.html> for guidelines on footnote and bibliography styles – for this assignment (as opposed to your research paper), please use the *Harvard citation method* (make sure to include page numbers with each citation) and make sure to include a bibliography of sources.

A late penalty of 2% per weekday will be levied on papers turned in after the due date, and no paper shall be accepted after the last day of class. *For every typo, grammar, spelling, or punctuation error that I notice, 1% will be deducted from the paper's mark. E-mailed, faxed or on-line submissions of assignments will not be accepted.*

### **Papers**

The research paper *should be approximately 10 pages or 2500 words*. Research paper topics are included below, after the syllabus schedule. Please make sure that the paper is double-spaced with 1" margins and a 12 pt font in Times New Roman or Aerial. Please refer to the *Chicago Manual of Style* <http://www.libs.uga.edu/ref/chicago.html> for guidelines on footnote and bibliography styles – please use footnotes as per the “*documentary-note*” style (make sure to include page numbers in each footnote) and use only this style consistently throughout your paper. Include a bibliography of sources you cited in the paper.

A late penalty of 2% per weekday will be levied on papers turned in after the due date, and no paper shall be accepted after the last day of class. *For every typo, grammar, spelling, or punctuation error that I notice, 1% will be deducted from the paper's mark. E-mailed, faxed or on-line submissions of assignments will not be accepted.*

### **Research Paper Topics**

You may choose from the following list of topics (for each topic, do your best to provide a fair appraisal of the main opposing viewpoints on highly contentious issues):

1) *Political Authority*: Choose one or two case studies. How does nationalism or Islamism function as a social glue and legitimating ideology for political authorities? What are the trade-offs and costs of relying on such an ideology?

2) *Colonialism's Impact*: Choose one or two case studies. How has colonialism impacted nationalist or Islamist ideologies in the cases you examine? Is colonialism's legacy still relevant

today? Do political authorities blame colonialism and imperialism for any and all problems, impeding constructive criticism of their own failings?

3) *Contested nationalisms*: Choose one or two case studies. Discuss how competing nationalisms or interpretations of Islam affect the political system. Is there a realistic alternative to politics based on nationalism or Islam, or are some interpretations more amenable to a civil political competition than others?

4) *Questions of Gender*: How has nationalism or Islamism affected the position of women in the Middle East? You may discuss this issue in general terms, or choose one or two case studies. Does the influence of Western societies play a positive or negative role for the position of women in the Middle East or the case(s) you examine?

5) *Democracy and Liberalism*: Can democracy and/or liberalism coexist with nationalism and Islamism in the diverse societies of the Middle East? Is a certain amount of liberalism a prerequisite for democracy? Be sure to provide working definitions (with citations to the relevant literature) for all the important political terms you use.

6) *Conflict and Ideology*: Choose one or two case studies. Discuss how nationalism or Islamism have promoted or settled societal conflicts. Should nationalism or Islamism be viewed as a positive or negative force in the case(s) you examine?

7) *Post-Saddam Iraq*: Whither post-Saddam Iraq? Can Nationalism or Islamism serve as the ideological basis for a new Iraqi state? If so, how? If not, why not? What do you predict the Iraqi system will look like a decade from now?

8) *Political Islam and the West*: Many people have written vociferous rebuttals to Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* argument. Can political Islamist movements and the West coexist peacefully and positively? If so, how? If not, why not? You must discuss this question in general terms, using anecdotal references and examples from several different Islamist movements.

A late penalty of 2% per weekday will be levied on papers turned in after the due date, and no paper shall be accepted after the last day of class. *For every typo, grammar, spelling, or punctuation error that I notice, 1% will be deducted from the paper's mark. E-mailed, faxed or on-line submissions of assignments will not be accepted.*