Middle Eastern Politics

GOVT 3313 / NES 3850 / JWST 3850, Spring 2013
Tuesdays & Thursdays 11:40-12:55, GSH G64 - Kaufman Auditorium
http://blackboard.cornell.edu

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Office hours: Tuesdays 1:30-3:30 pm, WHT 218
Sign up for Prof Patel's office hours at:
http://www.wejoinin.com/patel

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T 2:30-3:20 SBL 318	F 2:30-3:20 WHT 104	W 11:15-12:05 GSH 124
T 3:35-4:25 SBL 318	F 3:35-4:25 WHT 104	W 1:25-2:15 SBL 318
OH: TH 9:30-11:30, WHT B03	OH: TTH 10-11, WHT B03	OH: W 12:15-1:15, WHT B03

Overview: This course introduces students to contemporary Middle Eastern politics. The goal is to provide students with historical background and theoretical tools to answer the following core questions: (i) Why does (or, did!) authoritarianism persist in the Middle East? (ii) What accounts for the rise and spread of popular uprisings in the Arab world since 2010? (iii) Why have Islamists become prominent opposition forces in and across some countries? (iv) Why do some Middle Eastern countries suffer from high levels of political violence while others are spared? (v) What accounts for the region's current economic underdevelopment? (vi) Would the adoption of Western-style political institutions improve governance and stability in the region? We will evaluate possible explanations by scrutinizing the internal logic of theories, identifying their observable implications, and assessing them with data. All of these questions will be examined in the context of the ongoing Arab uprisings.

Lectures: Attendance in lecture is essential for success in the class. Lectures will take place on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 11:40 am to 12:55 pm in Kaufman Auditorium, Goldwin Smith Hall G64. Lectures will reinforce and supplement the readings.

Current events: Students are expected to follow day-to-day regional events and analysis throughout the semester. Regional events covered on the Middle East page of the BBC will be assumed to be common knowledge and may appear on exams. Peruse daily:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/default.stm
We will often discuss stories from *The New York Times* and *al-Jazeera English*.
http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/middleeast/index.html
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/

Students also should follow the Middle East Channel of the Foreign Policy website:
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/

Blackboard: Lecture slides, links to readings, assignments, announcements, and section lists will be posted regularly to the class Blackboard site. Please ensure you can access the site. Many links on this syllabus and Blackboard to journal articles will only work on-campus. When off-campus, students can navigate to journal articles via the Cornell Library: http://erms.library.cornell.edu/ or by using Cornell's off-campus Passkey bookmarklet: https://confluence.cornell.edu/display/CULLABS/Passkey+Bookmarklet

Assignments:

- Two preliminary exams (20% each): The first preliminary exam will take place in class on Tuesday, February 19th and will cover all material up to that point. The first exam will consist of four parts: identifications, short answer questions, essays, and a map component. The map component will cover the names, locations, capitals, and other selected cities of all MENA countries and important geographical features of the region. A list of items will be distributed at least two weeks before the exam and posted on Blackboard. The second preliminary exam will take place in class on Tuesday, April 2nd and will focus on material since the first exam. The second exam will consist of three parts: identifications, short answer questions, and essays. All exams are closed-book and closed-note exams.

- Final exam (30%): The final exam is scheduled for the evening of Tuesday, May 14th from 7:00pm-9:30pm. The final exam will cover all material in the course. The final exam will include identifications, short answer questions, and essays. You must be available to take the final at the scheduled place and time.

- Section participation (15%): Discussion sections will meet once a week on Tuesday, Wednesday, or Friday. You will be assigned to a section the first week of classes, and you must attend and actively participate in that section each week. Be sure to read the assigned texts for that week and any additional material assigned by your TA before section. Your participation grade will depend more on the quality than on the quantity of your contributions to the discussions.

- Short paper (15%): We will investigate whether or not Islamist political movements change as they participate in pluralist political processes. Each student will use primary documents to write a 5-7 page paper that either compares at least two Islamist organizations or evaluates evidence of change in one organization over time. You can choose from several topics and a range of countries and organizations. Topics will likely include assessments of Islamists' conceptualizations of pluralism, democracy, or an Islamic state; whether or not political Islamists become more 'moderate' over time; and Islamists' economic or foreign policies. Manifestos and electoral platforms of parties will be provided. Papers are due in GSH G64 at 11:40 a.m. on Tuesday, April 23rd. Papers can be turned in early, but late papers will not be accepted.

Extensions on assignments and incompletes will be granted only because of circumstances beyond the student's control, e.g. serious illness or family emergencies. A non-refundable airline ticket does not constitute "a circumstance beyond the student's control."

Cornell University policies and regulations: Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity, which is available at: http://www.cuinfo.cornell.edu/Academic/AIC.html

It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with university policies regarding plagiarism and other violations of academic integrity. A Cornell tutorial called "Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism" can be found at: http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm

The members of the teaching staff observe all university policies addressing racial, ethnic, gender, sexual preference, or religious discrimination and all forms of harassment. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with pertinent policies and to bring any concerns related to them and other Cornell University policies and regulations to the attention of the instructor.

Readings: This course relies heavily on five books, which are available for purchase in the Cornell Bookstore, Kraftees, and on-line. They are also on reserve in Uris Library. All others readings will be available on the Blackboard site; there is no course reader. The books are:

- Angrist, Michele Penner, ed. 2010. *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Reinner Publishers.
- Al Aswany, Alaa. 2006. *The Yacoubian Building: A Novel*. Translated by H.T. Davies. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Lynch, Marc. 2012. *The Arab Uprisings: The Unfinished Revolutions in the New Middle East*. New York: PublicAffairs.
- Richards, Alan, and John Waterbury. 2007. *A Political Economy of the Middle East.* 3rd ed. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press. [Page numbers on this syllabus refer only to the 3rd edition.]
- Wright, Lawrence. 2006. *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. New York: Vintage Books.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND OUTLINE

Aside from the four books listed above, all other items and links are available via Blackboard. Many links below work only on-campus. Readings are to be completed by the assigned date.

Jan 22 (Tue): Introduction, course overview

Whitaker, Brian. 2002. "Lost in translation." *The Guardian*, 10 June. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/jun/10/israel1

Follow the Jordanian parliamentary elections, which are scheduled for January 23rd.

- Ryan in Angrist volume (chapter 14, pp. 311-333)
- Curt Ryan, "What to expect from Jordan's elections" http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/01/18/what_to_expect_from_jordan_s_elections
- Laurie Brand and Fayez Hammad, "Identity and the Jordanian elections" http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/01/17/identity_and_the_jordanian_elections
- Other Middle East Channel pieces on Jordan http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/category/topic/jordan
- Follow election coverage on *The Jordan Times* http://jordantimes.com/section/local

Unit 1 – The resiliency of authoritarianism

Jan 24 (Thurs): Is there a democracy 'deficit' in the Middle East?

El-Ghobashy in Angrist volume (chapter 2, pp. 29-47)

Diamond, Larry. 2010. "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?" *Journal of Democracy* 21, 1 (January): 93-104. http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Diamond-21-1.pdf

Richards & Waterbury, chapter 11 (pp. 289-324)

Shadid, Anthony. 2011. "In Peril: The Arab Status Quo." *The New York Times*, January 15. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/16/weekinreview/16shadid.html

Jan 29 (Tue): Drawing versus making states

Angrist and Patel in Angrist volume (chapters 1 and 7, pp. 1-25, 133-153)

Jan 31 (Thurs): Associational life and civil society

Carapico in Angrist volume (chapter 5, pp. 91-109)

Wiktorowicz, Quintan. 2000. "Civil Society as Social Control: State Power in Jordan." *Comparative Politics* 33, 1:43-61.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/422423

Lynch, chapter 1 (pp. 7-28)

Gladwell, Malcolm. 2010. "Small Change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted." *The New Yorker* October 4.
http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/10/04/101004fa_fact_gladwell?printable=true

Feb 5 (Tue): States of the military and *mukhabarat*

Richards & Waterbury, chapter 13 (pp. 344-361)

Lynch, chapter 2 (pp. 29-42)

Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36, 2:139-157.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/4150140

Al-Marashi, Ibrahim. 2002. "Iraq's Security and Intelligence Network: A Guide and Analysis." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 6, 3 (September).
http://www.gloria-center.org/2002/09/al-marashi-2002-09-01/

Feb 7 (Thurs): The political economy of oil

Moore and Herb in Angrist volume (chapters 4 and 15, pp. 69-90, 335-365)

Richards & Waterbury, chapter 3, pp. 44-70.

Ross, Michael Lewin. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, 3:325-361.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/25054153

Feb 12 (Tue): Manipulation through liberalization

Lynch, chapter 3 (pp. 43-65)

Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2008. "Competitive Clientelism in Jordanian Elections." In Ellen Lust-Okar and Saloua Zerhouni, eds. *Political Participation in the Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. pp. 75-94.

Shehata, Samer. 2008. "Inside an Egyptian Parliamentary Campaign." In Ellen Lust-Okar and Saloua Zerhouni, eds. *Political Participation in the Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. pp. 95-120.

Feb 14 (Thurs): Social context: demography, employment, and urbanization

Richards & Waterbury, chapters 4-5, 10 (pp. 71-143, 264-288)

Hoodfar, Homa. "Marriage, Family, and Household in Cairo." Reprinted in Khalaf, Samir, and Roseanne Saad Khalaf, eds. 2009. *Arab Society and Culture*. Saint Paul, MN: Saqi. pp. 262-277.

Swedenburg, Ted. 2007. "Imagined Youths." *Middle East Report* 245 (Winter). http://www.merip.org/mer/mer245/imagined-youths

Feb 19 (Tue): First preliminary exam

Unit 2 – The Arab uprisings

Feb 21 (Thurs): Mobilizations in Tunisia and Egypt

Lynch, Chapter 4 (pp. 67-99)

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44, 1 (October):7-48. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010422 (focus on pp 16-25)

Gause III, F. Gregory, 2011. "The Middle East Academic Community and the 'Winter of Arab Discontent': Why Did We Miss It?" Paper presented at the Stimson Institute, May. http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/Academic_Community.pdf

Brown & Shahin in Angrist volume (chapters 10, pp. 203-228)

Feb 26 (Tue): Transnational diffusion

Lynch, Chapter 5 (101-130)

Patel, David S., Valerie Bunce, and Sharon Wolchik. 2013. "Fizzles and Fireworks: A Comparative Perspective on the Diffusion of Popular Protests in the Middle East and North Africa." In Marc Lynch, ed., *The Arab Upheavals in Comparative Perspective*. Forthcoming from Columbia University Press.

Patel, David S., and Valerie Bunce. 2012. "Turning Points and the Cross-National Diffusion of Popular Protest." *APSA Comparative Democratization Newsletter* 10, 1.

Bellin, Eva. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism: Lessons of the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44, 2:127-149.

Feb 28 (Thurs): Stalled uprisings and counterrevolutions

Lynch, Chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 131-192)

Patel, David S. "Roundabouts and Revolutions: Public Squares, Coordination, and the Diffusion of the Arab Uprisings." Unpublished manuscript.

Diamond, Larry. 2010. "Liberation Technology." *Journal of Democracy* 21, 3 (July):69-83. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jod/summary/v021/21.3.diamond.html

Unit 3 – Islam and politics

March 5 (Tue): Varieties of Islamic states and movements

Schwedler, Keshavarzian, and Okruhlik in Angrist volume (chapters 6, 11, 17, pp. 111-131, 229-259, 387-410).

Richards & Waterbury, chapter 14 (pp. 362-384)

Kurzman, Charles. 2002. "bin Laden and other thoroughly modern Muslims." *Contexts* 1, 4:13-20.
http://www.asanet.org/images/members/docs/pdf/featured/kurzman.pdf

Haykel, Bernard. 2001. "Radical Salafism: Osama's ideology." *Dawn*.
http://muslimcanada.org/binladendawn.html

Lacroix, Stéphane. 2012. "Sheikhs and Politicians: Inside the New Egyptian Salafism." Brookings Doha Center, June.
http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2012/06/07-egyptian-salafism-lacroix

Abrahamian, Ervand. 2009. "Why the Islamic Republic has Survived." *Middle East Report* 205 (Spring).
http://merip.org/mer/mer250/why-islamic-republic-has-survived

March 7 (Thurs): The Society of Muslim Brothers

al-Banna, Hasan. "Between Yesterday and Today." In Charles Wendell, ed. and trans. 1978. *Five Tracts of Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949): A selection from the Majmu'at Rasa'il al-Imam al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 13-39.

Brown, Nathan J., and Amr Hamzawy. 2008. "The Draft Party Platform of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Foray Into Political Integration or Retreat Into Old Positions?" Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. http://carnegieendowment.org/files/cp89_muslim_brothers_final.pdf

El Guindi, Fadwa. "The Veil Becomes a Movement." Reprinted in Khalaf, Samir, and Roseanne Saad Khalaf, eds. 2009. *Arab Society and Culture*. Saint Paul, MN: Saqi. pp. 61-72.

March 12 (Tue): "Islamic" mobilization

Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. 2002. *Mobilizing Islam : Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Chapters 5-6 (pp. 93-149)

Robinson, Glenn E. 2004. "Hamas as Social Movement." In Quintan Wiktorowicz, ed. *Islamic Activism : A Social Movement Approach*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. pp. 112-139.

Iannaccone, Laurence R., and Eli Berman. 2006. "Religious extremism: The good, the bad, and the deadly." *Public Choice* 128:109-129. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30026636

March 14 (Thurs): Faith in moderation

Krämer, Gudrun. 1993. "Islamist notions of democracy." *Middle East Report* 183:2-8. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3012570

Tibi, Bassam. 2008. "Why they can't be democratic." *Journal of Democracy* 19, 3:43-48. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v019/19.3.tibi.html

Schwedler, Jillian. 2006. *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. pp. 11-18.

El-Ghobashy, Mona. 2005. "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, 3 (August):373-395. http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?aid=322987

Brown, Nathan J., Amr Hamzawy, and Marina Ottaway. 2006. "Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring the Gray Zones." Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. http://carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_67_grayzones_final.pdf

Brown, Nathan J. 2012. "When Victory Becomes an Option: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood Confronts Success." Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. http://carnegieendowment.org/files/brotherhood_success.pdf

March 16-24: Spring Break – Begin reading Wright's *The Looming Tower*.

Unit 4 – (More) politics beyond borders

March 26 (Tue): Radical Islamists and their near and far enemies

Wright, chapters 1-17 (pp. 1-339)

Qutb, Sayyid. Selections from *Milestones*.

Friedman, Thomas L. 1995. *From Beirut to Jerusalem* Updated. New York: Anchor Books. Chapter 4 – "Hama Rules" (pp. 76-87)

March 28 (Thurs): 9/11

Wright, chapters 18-20 (pp. 340-421)

CNN. 2001. "Transcript of bin Laden's October Interview." http://www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/south/02/05/binladen.transcript/index.html

Lewis, Bernard. 1990. "The Roots of Muslim Rage." *The Atlantic* September:47-60. http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/90sep/rage.htm

Lake, David A. 2002. "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century." *Dialog-IO* 1, 1:15-29. http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S777777770200002X

April 2 (Tue): Second preliminary exam

April 4 (Thurs): Patterns of war and peace

Gause in Angrist volume (chapter 3, pp. 49-68)

Richards & Waterbury, chapter 6 (pp. 144-178)

Patel, David S. “The Myth of a Shia Revival.” Unpublished Manuscript.

April 9 (Tue): Palestinian-Israeli relations

Dowty and Brown in Angrist volume (chapters 13 & 16, pp. 285-310, 367-386)

Pressman, Jeremy. 2003. “Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?” *International Security* 28, 2 (Fall): 5-43.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137467

April 11 (Thurs): In-class film, *The Battle for the Arab Viewer*

Richards & Waterbury, skim chapter 2 (pp. 7-43) in preparation for unit 5

Unit 5 – Development

April 16 (Tue): Patterns of economic (under)development

Richards & Waterbury, chapter 7 & 12 (pp. 179-210, 325-343)

April 18 (Thurs): Social development

Singerman in Angrist volume (chapter 8, pp. 155-173)

Ross, Michael Lewin. 2008. “Oil, Islam and Women.” *American Political Science Review* 102, 1 (February): 107-123.
http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?aid=1720688

Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. 2003. “The True Clash of Civilizations.” *Foreign Policy.* March/April: 67-74.
http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris/Acrobat/Inglehart%20Foreign%20Policy.pdf

April 23 (Tue): The legacy of Islamic institutions, “Islamic” economics

Short paper due

Kuran, Timur. 2004. “Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation.” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, 3:71-90.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/3216807

April 25 (Thurs): Reform and preparing for life after oil

Richards & Waterbury, chapters 8, 9, and 15 (pp. 211-263, 385-406)

Peterson, J.E. 2009. "Life after Oil: Economic Alternatives for the Arab Gulf States." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 20, 3:1-18.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/med/summary/v020/20.3.peterson.html

April 30 (Tue): America and the Middle East

Lynch, chapter 8.

Waterbury, John. 2003 "Hate your policies, Love your Institutions." *Foreign Affairs* 82, 1 (January/February):58-68.
http://www.aub.edu.lb/president/Documents/speeches/2004/love.pdf

Vitalis, Robert. 1994. "The Democratization Industry and the Limits of the New Interventionism." *Middle East Report* 187/188:46-50.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/3012595

The White House, Office of the Press Secretary. 2009. "Remarks by the President on a new beginning." Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt. June 4.
Video: http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/NewBeginning/
Transcript: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09

Begin reading Al-Aswany's *The Yacoubian Building*

May 2 (Thurs): Summary

Finish reading Al-Aswany's *The Yacoubian Building*

May 14 (Tue): Final exam, 7:00 – 9:30 pm, location TBD