

Dr. Randall S. Geller
The Making of the Modern Middle East
NEJS 185B
M, T, Th 11a.m. – 1:20 p.m.

One hundred years ago, the borders of modern Middle Eastern states did not exist. With the conclusion of World War I in 1918, however, the European powers divided up the territories of the former Ottoman Empire and created new borders, new states – and new conflicts. Beginning c. 1918, we will explore the development of each Middle Eastern country's unique identity and history and how Middle Eastern countries interact with one another, and with the outside world, today. In this context we will explore the differences between Sunnis and Shiis, Middle Eastern minorities such as Druze, Christians, Alawis, and Ismailis, and the differences between Arabs, Turks, Persians and Kurds. The role of oil, the emergence of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the growth and development of political Islam, and the causes and effects of the turmoil in the Arab world, Iran, and Turkey in the last several years will all be considered as part of this class. The class will include extensive readings, lectures, and class discussions, and relevant video footage will be used to illuminate the region's unique history and political style.

Special attention will be given to ethnic and/or religious minorities in each Middle Eastern country under investigation in this class. We will use a textbook, William L. Cleveland and Martin P. Bunton's *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Westview Press, 2012- 5th edition) as well as a variety of articles from academic journals and chapters from books. Newspaper and/or magazine articles of contemporary significance and relevance will be suggested as well as we approach a particular week's assignment.

As the semester progresses inevitably more time is spent on certain topics, and less so on others. This means that some times we will not stick precisely to the syllabus as currently constituted; we may spend more time on a particular country than intended based on student interest as well as based on the course of contemporary events. Thus the syllabus may be slightly adjusted to reflect such minor changes as the semester unfolds. This is to be expected and you will always be informed of any changes several weeks before they happen.

Class requirements will include 2 papers of about 5-7 pages each, a final exam, and class participation. Attendance in class is important and you are strongly encouraged to attend every class, if possible. Since it's the summer office hours are pretty informal and we can meet right after class, for as long as you like or need, or by appointment.

Your grade will be computed on the following basis: two papers of about 5-7 pages each, a short answer final exam on the last day of class (August 10), and class participation. Each paper will be worth 25% of the grade, the final exam is worth 30% of the final grade, and class participation is worth 20% of your final grade.

Paper topics: you will be asked to compare and contrast key developments in the state formation of multiple Middle Eastern countries. Here are the paper topics:

1). Paper 1 (Due Sunday, July 23, by 8 pm) – After the election of Recep Tayyip Erdogan in 2002, Turkey began a process of diminishing many of the secular reforms established by Turkey’s republican founder, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. But Ataturk’s remarkable transformation of Turkey into a secular country between 1923-1938 had a lasting impact on Turkey and the broader Middle East. Iran under Reza Shah went through a similar process of secularization between 1925 and 1941. Please compare and contrast the initiatives Ataturk and Reza Shah undertook in order to transform their respective citizenries into Turkish and Iranian nationalisms. In order to illustrate the effectiveness of the reforms they made, however, please reflect briefly on events that took place in their countries after their rule came to an end.

2). Paper 2 (Due Tuesday, August 1, by 11:59 pm)– What similarities and differences do you see between Egypt and Syria in terms of geography, religion and ethnicity, and the governmental structures that have evolved in these two countries? You will want to focus on the majority and minority populations in both countries and assess how both have been included and excluded from the centers of power.

Papers should be double-spaced and in 12 point format. Essays should include citations from the assigned sources – the Cleveland and Bunton book, the assigned articles, and class lectures. You may also choose to consult additional articles from peer-reviewed academic journals or book chapters from reputable academic presses. When in doubt, please consult with me. When citing class lectures, please provide the date of the lecture as well as the lecturer’s name.

Our main text will be William L. Cleveland and Martin P. Bunton’s *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Brandeis E-brary, listed as 2013 in library catalogue, you will see when you open the book it is listed as published on December 4, 2012).

It is highly recommended to keep up with news about the contemporary Middle East. Articles will be discussed in class on a regular basis. Some newspapers/websites to keep track of might include The New York Times and the Washington Post from the U.S., The Daily Star (Lebanon), Al-Ahram (Egypt), and Ha’aretz and the Jerusalem Post (Israel). There are, of course, many others as well.

The Middle East news site “Al-Monitor” is highly recommended.

Week 1 – July 10, 11, 13 – Introducing the Modern Middle East, World War I, and begin Modern Turkey

Readings:

1). Cleveland and Bunton, pp. 4-17, 137-158 (2013 ebrary version)

2). David Fromkin, "Britain, France, and the Diplomatic Agreements," Ch. 9 (pp. 134-150) in Reeva Spector Simon and Eleanor H. Tejirian, *The Creation of Iraq, 1914-1921* (Columbia University Press, 2004).

3). George Friedman and Kamran Bokhari, "Five Maps that Explain the New Middle East," *Business Insider*, Summer 2017.

<http://www.businessinsider.com/5-maps-that-explain-the-new-middle-east-2017-6>

4). Please get a head start and begin reading on Turkey and Iran for the following week; your first paper is due on Friday June 16 – the end of week 2!

Week 2 – July 17, 18, and 20 – Turkey and Iran

Readings on Turkey:

1). Cleveland and Bunton, (on Turkey) – pp. 159-171, 255-267, 487-494

2). H. Akin Unver, "The Forgotten Secular Turkish Model," *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2013

3). Burak Cop and Ozge Zihnioglu, "Turkish Foreign Policy Under AKP Rule: Making Sense of the Turbulence," *Political Studies*, 15:1 (2017), 28-38.

4). Yale Ferguson, "Competing Identities and Turkey's Future," *European Review*, February 2017, 81-95.

Recommended:

1). Soner Cagaptay, "Race, Assimilation, and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s," *Middle Eastern Studies* (40:3), 2004

2). Sener Akturk, "Persistence of the Islamic Millet as an Ottoman Legacy: Mono-Religious and Anti-ethnic Definition of Turkish Nationhood," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45:6 November 2009

3). H. Birsen Ors, "The Perception of the Army by Armenian Minorities Living in Turkey," *Armed Forces and Society*, 2010 36:4

4). Ahmet T. Kuru, "The Rise and Fall of Military Tutelage in Turkey: Fears of Islamism, Kurdism, and Communism," *Insight Turkey*, 14:2, 2012

Readings on Iran:

- 1). Cleveland and Bunton (On Iran) - pp. 171-178, 267-279, 347-368, 494-500, 516-521
- 2). Yoel Guzansky, "Iran and the Arab Gulf States: Change Amidst Continuity," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 9:1 (January 2015), 63-74.
- 3). Emile Hokayem, "Iran, the Gulf States and the Syrian Civil War," *Survival*, 56:6 (2014), 59-86

Recommended:

- 1). Touraj Atabaki and Erik Zürcher, eds., *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization Under Atatürk and Reza Shah* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004).
- 2). Hamid Mavani, "Ayatullah Khomeini's Concept of Governance (*wilayat al-faqih*) and the Classical Shi'i Doctrine of Imamate," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 47:5 (October 2011), 807-824.
- 3). Najibullah Lafraie, *Revolutionary Ideology and Islamic Militancy: the Iranian Revolution and Interpretations of the Quran* (I.B. Tauris, 2009), chs. 9-10

Week 3 – July 24, 25, 27 – Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon

Egypt - Readings:

- 1). Cleveland and Bunton, (On Egypt) - Pp. 179-189, 280-300, 314-321, 369-380, 388-392, 522-529
- 2). J.D. Pennington, "The Copts in Modern Egypt," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 18:2 (April 1982), pp. 158-179

Recommended:

- 1). Zaynab El Bernoussi, "The Postcolonial Politics of Dignity: From the 1956 Suez Nationalization to the 2011 Revolution in Egypt," *International Sociology*, 30:4 (2015), 367-382
- 2). Limor Lavie, "The Idea of the Civil State in Egypt: Its Evolution and Political Impact Following the 2011 Revolution," *The Middle East Journal*, Winter 2017, 23-44.
- 3). Gamal Nassar, "Coups in Turkey and Egypt: Internal and External Dynamics," *Insight Turkey*, 18:3 (Summer 2016), 55-69

Syria

Readings:

1). Cleveland and Bunton – (On Syria) – 201-208, 301-304, 414-424, 531-533

Recommended:

1). Michael Provence, *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism* (University of Texas Press, 2005), chapter 3, "Mobilizing the Mountain" (online access through Brandeis University Library)

2). Fouad Ajami, ch. 7, "The Truth of the Sects," in *The Syrian Rebellion* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2012), (online access through Brandeis University Library)

Recommended:

1). Eyal Zisser, "The Alawis, Lords of Syria: From Ethnic Minority to Ruling Sect," in Ofra Bengio and Gabriel Ben-Dor, editors, *Minorities and the State in the Arab World* (Boulder: Lynn Rienner Publishers, Inc. 1999), pp. 129-145

2). Daniel Pipes, "The Alawi Capture of Power in Syria," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 25:4 (October 1989), pp. 429-450.

3). Shamel Azmeh, "Syria's Passage to Conflict," *Politics and Society*, 44:4 (2016), 499-523

4). Ted Galen Carpenter, "Tangled Web: the Syrian Civil War and its Implications," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 24:1, Winter 2013

5). Veysel Kurt, "The Role of the Military in Syrian Politics and the 2011 Uprising," *Insight Turkey*, 18:2 (Spring 2016), 109-128

6). Dara Conduit, "The Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and the Spectacle of Hama," *The Middle East Journal*, 70:2 (Spring 2016), 211-226

Lebanon

Readings:

1). Cleveland and Bunton – (On Lebanon) – pp. 209-214, 310-314, 380-388, 500-504

2). Omri Nir, "The Sunni-Shii Balance in Lebanon in Light of the War in Syria and Regional Changes," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 18:1 (Spring 2014), 54-75

3). Tamirace Fakhoury, "Debating Lebanon's Power-Sharing Model: An Opportunity or Impasse for Democratization Studies in the Middle East?" *Arab Studies Journal*, (22:1), Spring 2014, 230-255

Recommended:

1). Meir Zamir, "From Hegemony to Marginalism: the Maronites of Lebanon," pp. 111-128, in Ofra Bengio and Gabriel Ben-Dor, *Minorities and the State in the Arab World*, 1999.

2). Oren Barak, "Towards a Representative Military? The Transformation of the Lebanese Officer Corps Since 1945," *Middle East Journal*, Winter 2006

3). Joseph Daher, "Reassessing Hizbullah's Socioeconomic Policies in Lebanon," *The Middle East Journal*, 70:3 (Summer 2016), 399-418

4). Roschanack Shaery-Eisenlohr, *Shiite Lebanon: Transnational Religion and the Making of National Identities* (Columbia University Press, 2008), Ch. 1. "Two Nations and One State: Shi'ite and Maronite Lebanon," 19-49 (online access).

Week 4 – July 31, August 1, 3 – Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia

Iraq

Readings:

1). Cleveland and Bunton, pp. 189-197, 304-307, 505-516

2). Toby Dodge, "State and Society in Iraq Ten Years After Regime Change; the Rise of a New Authoritarianism," *International Affairs*, 89:2, March 2013.

3). Louise Fawcett, "The Iraq War Ten Years on: Assessing the Fallout," *International Affairs*, 89:2, March 2013.

Recommended:

1). G. Fontana, "Creating Nations, Establishing States: Ethno-Religious Heterogeneity and the British Creation of Iraq in 1919-1923," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 46:1, 2010

2). Yitzhak Nakash, Chapter 3, "The Struggle for Power in Iraq," in *Reaching for Power: the Shia in the Modern Arab World*, Princeton, 2006 (online access)

3). Ofra Bengio, "Are Iraq and Turkey Models for Democratization?" *Middle East Quarterly*, 19:3, Summer 2012.

Jordan - Readings:

- 1). Cleveland and Bunton, pp. 198-200, 307-310,
- 2). Fouad Ajami, "The King of Realism: Abdullah's Lessons for the Middle East," *New Republic* (10 April 1989), pp. 23-33.
- 3). Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Modern King in the Arab Spring," *The Atlantic*, April 2013

Recommended:

- 1). Iris Fruchter-Ronen, "Black September: the 1970-1971 Events and Their Impact on the Formation of Jordanian National Identity," *Civil Wars*, 10:3, September 2008
- 2). Luisa K. Gandolfo, "The Political and Social Identities of the Palestinian Christian Community in Jordan," *Middle East Journal*, 62:3, Summer 2008
- 3). Jeremy Sharp, "Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations," *Current Politics and Economics of the Middle East*, 6:2 (2015), 263-289

Saudi Arabia

Readings:

- 1). Cleveland and Bunton, pp. 214-217, 393-404, 533-540
- 2). Muhammad Al-Atawneh, "Is Saudi Arabia a Theocracy? Religion and Governance in Contemporary Saudi Arabia." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45:5 (September 2009).
- 3). Madawi Al-Rasheed, "Saudi Arabia: Local and Regional Challenges." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 6:1 (January 2013).

Recommended:

- 1). Michael Farquhar, "Saudi Petrodollars, Spiritual Capital, and the Islamic University of Medina: A Wahhabi Missionary Project in Transnational Perspective," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 47:4 (November 2015), 701-721
- 2). Yitzhak Nakash, *Reaching for Power: the Shia in the Modern Arab World*, (Princeton, 2011), Ch. 2, "Containment Politics in the Persian Gulf"

Week 5 – August 7, 8, 10 – Introducing the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Middle East Overview and Review, and final exam.

1). Marina Ottoway, “Does the Middle East Need New Borders? The Legacy of Sykes-Picot, 100 Years on,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 14, 2016.

2). Tarek Osman, “Who will Win the Middle East? How New Rivalries are Transforming the Strategic Landscape.” *Foreign Affairs*, May 20, 2014.

Final Exam Thursday, August 10