

17.405/17.406

Seminar on Politics and Conflicts in the Middle East

READINGS

Below are the required texts and optional texts for the course, and readings for each class session.

REQUIRED TEXTS

1. Andersen, Roy R., Robert F. Seibert, and Jon G. Wagner. *Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation*. 6th ed. Englewood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000.
2. Owen, Roger. *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000.
3. Esposito, John L., and John O. Voll. *Islam and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
4. Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2001.
5. Smith, Charles D. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Boston: Bedford/ St. Martin's Press, 2001.

OPTIONAL TEXTS

1. Bickerton, Ian J., and Carla L. Klausner. *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. 3rd ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1998.
2. Bill, James, and Robert Springborg. *Politics in the Middle East*. 5th ed. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2000.
3. Cobban, Helena. *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power, and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
4. Cohen, Michael J. *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict*. Berkeley/ Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987.
5. Cooley, John K. *Unholy Wars*. London/Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, 1999.
6. Du Pasquier, Roger. *Unveiling Islam*. Cambridge (u.k.): Islamic Texts Society, 1994.

7. Eaton, Gai. *Islam and the Destiny of Man*. Cambridge (u.k.): Islamic Texts Society, 1994.
8. El-Baz, Farouk, and R. M. Makharita, eds. *The Gulf War and the Environment*. Switzerland: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1994.
9. Elmusa, Sharif S. *Negotiating Water: Israel and the Palestinians*. Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestinian Studies, 1996.
10. Elon, Amos. *The Israelis: Founders and Sons*. New York: Penguin Books, 1981.
11. Esposito, John L. *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. (Revised edition.)
12. Guazzone, Laura, ed. *The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence Versus Fragmentation*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
13. Hourani, Albert, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson, eds. *The Modern Middle East*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
14. Hunter, F. Robert. *The Palestinian Uprising: A War by Other Means Revised and Expanded*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993.
15. Kandiyoti, Deniz, ed. *Women, Islam & the State*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.
16. Kegley, Charles W. Jr., and Gregory Raymond. *How Nations Make Peace*. New York: St. Martin's / Worth, 1999.
17. Khoury, Philip S., and Joseph Kostiner, eds. *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
18. Lake, Anthony. *After the Wars: Reconstruction in Afghanistan, Indochina, Central America, Southern Africa, and the Horn of Africa*. New Brunswick (u.s.), Oxford (u.k.): Transaction Publishers, 1990.
19. Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
20. Lowi, Miriam R. *Water and Power: The Politics of a Scarce Resource in the Jordan River Basin*. Cambridge G.B.: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
21. Marsot, Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid. *A Short History of Modern Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
22. Said, Edward W. *The Question of Palestine*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.
23. Sharabi, Hisham. *Neopatriarchy: A Theory of Distorted Change in Arab Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
24. Usher, Graham. *Palestine in Crisis: The Struggle for Peace and Political Independence after Oslo*. London: Pluto Press, 1995.
25. Vandewalle, Dirk, ed. *North Africa: Development and Reform in a Changing Global Economy*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

26. Vannedwalle, Dirk, ed. *Qadhafi's Libya 1969 to 1944*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

CLASS SESSION READINGS

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
Context		
1	Introduction: Core Concepts and Strategic Legacies	<i>Required Readings</i>
		Andersen, Roy R., Robert F. Seibert, and Jon G. Wagner. <i>Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation</i> . 6th ed. Engelwood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000, chapters 1 and 8.
		Esposito, John L., and John O. Voll. <i>Islam and Democracy</i> . New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. Introduction and chapter 1.
		Owen, Roger. <i>State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East</i> . 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000, chapter 1.
2	Interconnected Logics: Religion and Politics	<i>Related Readings</i>
		Hourani, Albert. <i>The Modern Middle East</i> . Edited by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and C. Wilson. Berkeley: California Press, 1993. Introduction, pp. 1-20.
		Lewis, Bernard. <i>Islam and the West</i> . New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, chapters 1 and 2.
		<i>Required Readings</i>
		Andersen, Roy R., Robert F. Seibert, and Jon G. Wagner. <i>Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation</i> . 6th ed. Engelwood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000, chapters 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8.
		Esposito, John L., and John O. Voll. <i>Islam and Democracy</i> . New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, chapter 2.

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		<p>Fromkin, David. <i>A Peace to End All Peace</i>. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2001, chapters 3 and 22.</p> <p>Owen, Roger. <i>State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East</i>. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000, chapter 2 and 4.</p> <p>Tibi, Bassam. "Islam and Modern European Ideologies." <i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i> 18 (1986): 15-29.</p> <p>Lewis, Bernard. <i>Islam and the West</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, chapters 9.</p> <p><i>Related Readings</i></p> <p>Choucri, Nazli. "Demography, Migration and Security in the Middle East." In <i>The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence Versus Fragmentation</i>. Edited by Laura Guazzone. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. 95-134.</p> <p>Joffe, George H. "Disputes Over State Boundaries in the Middle East and North Africa." In <i>The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence Versus Fragmentation</i>. Edited by Laura Guazzone. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. 58-93.</p>
3	Critical Convergence: The Case of Iraq	<p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <p>Andersen, Roy R., Robert F. Seibert, and Jon G. Wagner. <i>Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation</i>. 6th ed. Englewood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000, chapters 6, 9, 10, and 11.</p> <p>Batatu, Hanna. "Of the Diversity of Iraqis, the Incohesiveness of their Society, and their Progress in the Monarchic Period toward a Consolidated Political Structure."</p>

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		<p>In <i>The Modern Middle East</i>. Edited by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson. Berkeley: California Press, 1993. Pp. 504-525.</p> <p>Esposito, John L. <i>The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?</i> Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, chapter 3. (Revised Edition.)</p> <p>Fromkin, David. <i>A Peace to End All Peace</i>. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2001, chapters 3, 43, 51 and 57.</p> <p>Owen, Roger. <i>State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East</i>. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000, chapter 9 and 11.</p> <p>Lewis, Bernard. <i>Islam and the West</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, chapters 8.</p> <p><i>Related Readings</i></p> <p>Picard, Elizabeth. "Arab Military in Politics: From Revolution Plot to Authoritarian State." In <i>The Modern Middle East</i>. Edited by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson. Berkeley: California Press, 1993. Pp. 551-578.</p> <p>Krasner, Stephen D. "The Middle East and the End of the Cold War." In <i>The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence Versus Fragmentation</i>. Edited by Laura Guazzone. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. 201-215.</p>
	<p>Continuity</p>	
4	<p>Roots, Migrations, and State-Building: Arab-Israeli Conflicts</p>	<p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <p>Andersen, Roy R., Robert F. Seibert, and Jon G. Wagner. <i>Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation</i>. 6th ed. Englewood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000, chapter 7.</p>

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		<p>Elon, Amos. <i>The Israelis: Founders and Sons</i>. New York: Penguin Books, 1981.</p> <p>Lewis, Bernard. <i>Islam and the West</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, chapter 9.</p> <p>Fromkin, David. <i>A Peace to End All Peace</i>. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2001, chapters 24, 28, 32, and 34.</p> <p>Smith, Charles D. <i>Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict</i>. Boston: Bedford/ St. Martin's, 2001, chapter 1, 3, and 7.</p> <p>Shlaim, Avi. <i>The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World</i>. New Work: Norton, 2001, chapters 13 and 15.</p> <p><i>Related Readings</i></p> <p>Bickerton, Ian J., and Carla L. Klausner. <i>A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict</i>. 3rd ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1998. Pp. 36-56 and 88-109.</p> <p>Swedenburg, Ted. "The Role of the Palestinian Peasantry in the Great Revolt (1936-1939)." In <i>The Modern Middle East</i>. Edited by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson. Berkeley: California Press, 1993. Pp. 468-502.</p> <p>Cohen, Michael J. <i>The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict</i>. Berkeley / Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987, chapters 1 and 2.</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p>
5	Beliefs and Power Differentials: Israel and the Palestinians	Cobban, Helena. <i>The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power, and Politics</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, chapters 1, 4, 5 and 11.

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		<p>Hunter, F. Robert. <i>The Palestinian Uprising: A War by Other Means Revised and Expanded</i>. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993, chapters 2 and 3.</p> <p>Khalidi, Walid. "Thinking the Unthinkable: A Sovereign Palestinian State." <i>Foreign Affairs</i>. Pp. 695-713.</p> <p>McDowell, David. "Dilemmas of the Jewish State." In <i>The Modern Middle East</i>. Edited by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Houry, and Mary C. Wilson. Berkeley: California Press, 1993. Pp. 643-662.</p> <p>Smith, Charles D. <i>Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict</i>. Boston: Bedford/ St. Martin's, 2001, chapter 2.</p> <p>Shlaim, Avi. <i>The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World</i>. New York: Norton, 2001, chapters 12.</p> <p><i>Related Readings</i></p> <p>Elmusa, Sharif S. <i>Negotiating Water: Israel and the Palestinians</i>. Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestinian Studies, 1996.</p> <p>Usher, Graham. <i>Palestine in Crisis: The Struggle for Peace and Political Independence after Oslo</i>. London: Pluto Press, 1995, chapters 3 and 6.</p>
6	Diversity and Complexity: Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan	<p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <p>Cobban, Helena. "The Shia Community and the Future of Lebanon." <i>The Muslim World Today</i>. No. 2 (1985): 1-12.</p> <p>Esposito, John L. <i>The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?</i> Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. 140-151. (Revised edition.)</p>

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		<p>Fromkin, David. <i>A Peace to End All Peace</i>. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2001, chapters 37 and 48.</p> <p>Lowi, Miriam R. <i>Water and Power: The Politics of a Scarce Resource in the Jordan River Basin</i>. Cambridge G.B.: Cambridge University Press, 1995, chapters 1, 2, 3, 5 and 9.</p> <p>Owen, Roger. <i>State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East</i>. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000, chapter 8.</p> <p>Shlaim, Avi. <i>The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World</i>. New Work: Norton, 2001, chapter 10.</p> <p><i>Related Readings</i></p> <p>Smith, Charles D. <i>Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict</i>. Boston: Bedford / St. Martin's, 2001, chapter 9.</p> <p>Choucri, Nazli. "Environmental Flash Points in the Middle East and North Africa." In <i>Environmental Flash Points Workshop</i>. 1997. Pp. 177-196.</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <p>Carley, Patricia. <i>Turkey's Role in the Middle East</i>. Washington D.C., Institute of Peace, 1995.</p>
7	Dangerous Disequilibria: Iran and Turkey	<p>Esposito, John L. <i>The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?</i> Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. 103-110. (Revised edition.)</p> <p>Esposito, John L., and John O. Voll. <i>Islam and Democracy</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, chapter 3.</p>

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		<p>Fromkin, David. <i>A Peace to End All Peace</i>. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2001, chapters 4, 16, 42, 47, and 52.</p> <p>Fuller, Graham E. "Turkey and the Middle East Northern Tier." In <i>The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence Versus Fragmentation</i>. Edited by Laura Guazzone. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. 43-57.</p> <p>Kheddi, Nikki R. "Iranian Revolutions in Perspective." In <i>The Modern Middle East</i>. Edited by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson. Berkeley: California Press, 1993. Pp. 601-624.</p> <p>Mardin, Serif. "Religion and Secularism in Turkey." In <i>The Modern Middle East</i>. Edited by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson. Berkeley: California Press, 1993. Pp. 347-374.</p> <p>Owen, Roger. <i>State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East</i>. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000, chapter 5 and 10.</p> <p><i>Related Readings</i></p> <p>Ismael, Tareq Y. <i>Iraq and Iran: Roots of Conflict</i>. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982. Pp. 1-39.</p> <p>King, R. H. P., Gary Sick, and Brian Urquhart. <i>United Nations and the Iran - Iraq War</i>. New York: Ford Foundation, 1987.</p>

Complexity

8	Elusive Gains and Strategic Costs: Saudi Arabia and Gulf	<i>Required Readings</i>
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LEC #**TOPICS****READINGS**

Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2001, chapter 8.

Gellner, Ernest. "Tribalism and the State in the Middle East." In *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*. Edited by Philip S. Khoury, and Joseph Kostiner. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Pp. 109-126.

Kostiner, Joseph. "Transforming Dualities: Tribe and State Formation in Saudi Arabia." In *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*. Edited by Philip S. Khoury, and Joseph Kostiner. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Pp. 226-251.

Owen, Roger. *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000, chapter 2.

Tibi, Bassam. "The Simultaneity of Unsimultaneous: Old Tribes and Imposed Nation-States in the Modern Middle East." In *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*. Edited by Philip S. Khoury, and Joseph Kostiner. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Pp. 127-152.

Salame, Ghassan. "Political Power and the Saudi State." In *The Modern Middle East*. Edited by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson. Berkeley: California Press, 1993. Pp. 580-600.

Related Readings

El-Baz, Farouk, et. al. "Detection by Satellite Images of Environmental Change due to the Gulf War." In *The Gulf War and the Environment*. Edited by Farouk El-Baz, and R. M. Makharita. Switzerland: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1994. Pp. 1-29.

Norton, Augustus Richard. "Political Reform in the Middle East." In *The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence Versus*

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		<p><i>Fragmentation</i>. Edited by Laura Guazzone. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. 3-22.</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <p>Cooley, John K. <i>Unholy Wars</i>. London/Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, 1999, chapter 2.</p> <p>Esposito, John L. <i>The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?</i> Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp 77-103. (Revised edition.)</p> <p>Esposito, John L., and John O. Voll. <i>Islam and Democracy</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, chapters 4 and 8.</p> <p>Fromkin, David. <i>A Peace to End All Peace</i>. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2001, chapter 44.</p> <p>Khalidi, Rashid. "Consequences of the Suez Crisis in the Arab World." In <i>The Modern Middle East</i>. Edited by Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson. Berkeley: California Press, 1993. Pp. 536-549.</p> <p>Marsot, Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid. <i>A Short History of Modern Egypt</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, chapters 1, 4, 6 and 7.</p> <p>Shlaim, Avi. <i>The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World</i>. New York: Norton, 2001, chapter 9.</p> <p><i>Related Readings</i></p> <p>Marsot, Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid. <i>A Short History of Modern Egypt</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, chapters 2, 3 and 5.</p> <p>Smith, Charles D. <i>Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict</i>. Boston: Bedford / St. Martin's, 2001, chapter 8.</p>
9	Power and Interdependence: Egypt and Sudan	

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
		<p data-bbox="793 256 1045 289"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <p data-bbox="793 329 1892 431">Anderson, Lisa. "Tribe and State: Libyan Anomalies." In <i>Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East</i>. Edited by Philip S. Khoury, Joseph Kostiner. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Pp. 288-302.</p> <p data-bbox="793 472 1839 537">Esposito, John L. <i>The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?</i> Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. 151-187. (Revised edition.)</p> <p data-bbox="793 578 1803 643">Esposito, John L., and John O. Voll. <i>Islam and Democracy</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, chapter 7.</p> <p data-bbox="793 683 1892 748">Vanderwalle, Dirk, ed. "The Libyan Jamahiriyya since 1969." In <i>Qadhafi's Libya 1969 to 1944</i>. Edited by Dirk Vannedwalle. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995, chapter 1.</p> <p data-bbox="793 789 1892 924">Vanderwalle, Dirk, and Karen Pfeifer. "North Africa as a Region Peripheral Economic Region: Development and Reform. " In <i>North Africa: Development and Reform in a Changing Global Economy</i>. Edited by Dirk Vanderwalle. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996, chapter 1.</p> <p data-bbox="793 964 1877 1099">White, Gregory W. "The Mexico of Europe? Morocco's Partnership with the European Union." In <i>North Africa: Development and Reform in a Changing Global Economy</i>. Edited by Dirk Vanderwalle. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996, chapter 5.</p> <p data-bbox="793 1140 1026 1172"><i>Related Readings</i></p> <p data-bbox="793 1213 1877 1315">Badran, Margot. "Competing Agenda: Feminists, Islam and the State in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Egypt." In <i>Women Islam and the State</i>. Edited by Deniz Kandiyoti. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991, chapters 8 and 9.</p> <p data-bbox="793 1356 1892 1421">Cooley, John K. <i>Unholy Wars</i>. London / Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, 1999, chapter 9.</p>
10	Continuity of Conflicts and Contentions: North Africa	

LEC #	TOPICS	READINGS
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Convergence

Required Readings

Andersen, Roy R., Robert F. Seibert, and Jon G. Wagner. *Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation*. 6th ed. Engelwood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000, chapters 12, 13, and 14.

Esposito, John L., and Voll, John O. *Islam and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. Conclusion.

Guazzone, Laura. "A Map and Some Hypotheses for the Future of the Middle East." In *The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence Versus Fragmentation*. Edited by Laura Guazzone. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. 237-259

Owen, Roger. *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000, chapters 10 and 11.

Related Readings

Owen, Roger. *State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2000. Conclusion.

Zureik, Elia. "Crime, Justice, and Underdevelopment: The Palestinians under Israeli Control." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20 (1988): 411-442.

Said, Edward W. *The Question of Palestine*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992. Pp. 182-213.

11

Exploring "Alternatives": Future Contentions