

# Comparative Politics of the Middle East

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Seminar - Fall 2006

Locations: ICC 113

Class Meetings: Thursday 4:15-6:00

This course is an introduction to the comparative politics of the Middle East. As such, students will be introduced to the major questions and theoretical approaches involved in the study of Middle Eastern politics. Some of the substantive topics we will cover include: the dynamics and persistence of authoritarianism in the region; political liberalization, civil society and democratization; nationalism, identity and Arab nationalism; oil; politics and theories of the *rentier* state; political economy approaches to Middle East politics; Islamist politics; the state in the Middle East, etc. We can not hope to be comprehensive in our coverage of these important issues in only one semester. This course, therefore, is designed to provide a foundation in Middle East politics/political science (e.g. theories, debates in the field, political concepts, etc.) that can be useful to you in the future as you pursue more detailed studies of the region's politics.

Although this course is about "Middle East politics," we will focus primarily on the Arab world, and more specifically on the *Mashreq*, Egypt and the Gulf States (we will not deal with Israel, Turkey or Iran explicitly). As an introductory course, we will focus more on theoretical issues and cross-country questions than on the political histories of individual nation-states.

Some of the major topics and questions we will address include:

- 1) The State: What is the character of the state in the Middle East? What are its historical origins and present condition? How can we characterize Middle Eastern states? Are they "strong," "hard," "brittle" or "weak"?
- 2) Nationalism: What is Arab nationalism and pan-Arabism? Is Arab nationalism "dead" and is it related to Islamists politics? Have Islamist political identities come to replace Arab nationalism?
- 3) Politics: Elites & Masses: Is politics in the Middle East exclusively an elite game? Have popular classes engaged in politics in the region? What types of relations exist between political elites and popular classes (populist authoritarianism, patron-client relations; etc.)

4) Islam and Politics: What explains the increasing prominence of Islamist political movements in the region and beyond? What are the competing explanations for the rise of Islamist politics? What is the extent of variation within Islamist politics? What are the main components, goals, and discursive themes in Islamist politics? We often hear the questions, “Is Islam compatible with democracy?” How should we go about addressing such a question? Does the question make sense? How have Islamist political parties and movements fared in different states in the region (e.g. Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Turkey, etc.)? How have different regimes in the region dealt with Islamist political movements?

5) Oil and Politics: Does oil impact the politics of the region? Does oil hinder democracy? Does the *rentier* theory of the state explain the absence of democracy in oil-dominated economies? Are there other political consequences of oil wealth on the politics of individual nation states as well as regional politics?

6) Democracy and Authoritarianism: A) What explains the persistence of authoritarianism in the region – or alternatively – Why is there no democracy in the Middle East? B) Are these questions the same? C) What is democracy and what are its empirical indicators, what accounts for its emergence and what are the obstacles to the development of democracy in the Middle East? D) What is civil society and how is it related to democracy? What is the state of civil society in the region? E) Do countries ‘transition to democracy’? What is ‘liberalized autocracy’ or ‘semi-authoritarianism’? Are these stable regime types? D) Can democracy be imposed from the outside? Can states ‘push’ countries along democratization paths? If so, how? How much variation in “regime types” and politics is there in the region?

7) Economic & Political Reform: How does economic reform impact politics? Are economic reform and political reform related? Do free markets eventually produce free politics? What changes take place in country’s domestic politics as they pursue economic liberalization policies?

8) Middle East “Exceptionalism”: Related to questions 4, 5 and 6 above (Islam, oil and authoritarianism) – is the question of the Middle East’s uniqueness. Are Middle Eastern politics somehow different than politics elsewhere and if so why? Is the Middle East *exceptional*? Which approaches are best for understanding Middle East politics (political economy/culture-symbolic/rational choice)?

9) Regional & International Dimensions: What has been the role of regional and international conflicts in the politics of the region? How has the United States (and/or other powers) impacted Middle Eastern politics? What have been the economic and political consequences of conflict and war in the region?

**Requirements:** This is a seminar based primarily on the close reading and focused discussion of set texts. The success of such an enterprise depends on the *active participation* of everyone. Therefore, you are required to:

- 1) Come to class prepared - having read the assignments carefully and ready to discuss them. Everyone will lead class discussion at least once during the semester.
- 2) Seminar participants are required to write weekly one page response papers distributed via email to all members of the seminar by Wednesday at 3:00 pm. These are not intended to be highly polished pieces of writing. Nor are they meant to be summaries of the week's readings. Rather, they are your critical reactions to the readings and are intended to promote discussion, generate debate and raise critical questions about the topics to be discussed in class.
- 3) You are required to write three 'review essays' (ranging between 6-7 double-spaced pages each) focusing closely on one week's readings and one or two of the 'Further Readings' from that week. Please note that these review essays are not to be serial reviews of the works under discussion but are intended as opportunities for you to *critically* engage with the ideas presented in the texts. Review essays should be textually focused and based on your analysis of the readings.
- 4) Subscribe to *Arab Reform Bulletin* published monthly by the Carnegie Foundation. You can subscribe by clicking the link at the bottom of the following web page:  
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1302>

**Grading:**                   30% Attendance, Participation & Weekly Response Papers  
                                  20% Review Essay #1  
                                  25% Review Essay #2  
                                  25% Review Essay #3

**Books to Purchase:**

Ghassan Salame, *Democracy without Democrats* (Tauris, 1994) paperback.

R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (vol. I Theoretical Perspectives) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 1995.

Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation* (Princeton: PUP) 1995.

Beverly Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity Press) 2000.

Nazih N. Ayubi, *Overstating the Arab State* (New York & London: St. Martin's Press) 1995. paperback.

**Optional:**

Simon Bromley, *Rethinking Middle East Politics* (Austin: University of Texas Press) 1994. paperback.

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press) 2002.

### **Readings:**

Readings marked with an asterisk (\*) are available through electronic reserves. Readings that include a web address beside them are available on the internet. All other readings are in the books to be purchased.

### **Thursday, August 31**

**Introduction:** Syllabus; Assignments; Mechanics, etc...

### **Thursday, September 7**

#### **Topic 1: The Study of Middle East Politics**

- \*Lisa Anderson, 'Policy-Making and Theory Building: American Political Science and the Islamic Middle East,' in Hisham Sharabi (ed) *Theory, Politics and the Arab World: Critical Responses* (New York: Routledge)1990, pp. 52-80.
- \*James Bill, 'The Study of Middle East Politics, 1946-1996: A Stocktaking,' *Middle East Journal* vol. 50, no. 4, Autumn 1996, pp. 501-512.
- \*Lisa Anderson, 'Politics in the Middle East: Opportunities and Limits in the Quest for Theory,' in M. Tessler (ed), *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics* (Bloomington: Indian University Press).
- \*Mark Tessler, Jodi Nachtwey and Anne Banda, 'Introduction: The Area Studies Controversy,' in *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics* (Bloomington: Indian University Press) pp. vii-xxi.
- Beverly Milton-Edwards, Introduction and chapter 1 in *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity Press) 2000.
- \*Michael Hudson, 'The Middle East,' *PS: Political Science and Politics*, December 2001, vol. Xxxiv, no. 4, pp. 801-804.

#### **Further Reading:**

Martin Kramer, *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America* (Washington: Washington Institute for Near East policy) 2001.

Summary of a panel session which included Martin Kramer and Lisa Anderson on Middle East Studies and the impact of *Ivory Towers on Sand*.

<http://www.martinkramer.org/pages/899527/>

*Journal of Democracy* (Middle East Studies After 9/11) (July 2003) 13:3  
Articles by Marc Plattner and Larry Diamond; Ibrahim Karawan, 'Time for an Audit,';  
Steven Heydemann, 'Defending the Discipline'; Daniel Brumberg 'Islamists and the  
Politics of Consensus.'

Greg Gause, 'Who Lost Middle Eastern Studies?' *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2002.

Bernard Reich, (ed.) *Handbook of Political Science Research on the Middle East and  
North Africa* (Westport: Greenwood Press) 1998.

Jerrold D. Green, 'The Politics of Middle East Politics,' *PS: Political Science* 27, no. 3  
(September 1994)

Jerrold D. Green, 'Where are the Arabs?' *Survival* 40, no. 2 (Summer 1998).

Jerrold D. Green, 'Is Arab Politics Still Arab?' *World Politics* 38 (July 1986): 611-  
625. 1986.

Ian S. Lustick, "The Quality of Theory and the Comparative Disadvantage of Area  
Studies." *MESA Bulletin* 34, 2 (Winter): 189-192, 2000.

## **Thursday, September 14**

### **Topic 2: The State in the Middle East**

- \*Lisa Anderson, 'The State in the Middle East and North Africa,' *Comparative  
Politics* (October 1987).
- \*Emile Sahliyeh, 'The Limits of State power in the Middle East,' *Arab Studies  
Quarterly* vol. 22, no. 4, Fall 2000, pp. 1- 29.
- Nazih Ayubi, 'The Middle East and the State Debate: A Conceptual Framework,' in N.  
Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State*, ch. 1.
- Beverly Milton-Edwards, Introduction and chapter 1 in *Contemporary Politics in the  
Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity Press) 2000 (review).
- \*Ilya Harik, 'The Origins of the Arab State System,' in G. Luciani (ed.) *The Arab State*  
(Berkeley: UC Press) 1990.

### **Further Reading:**

Bahgat Korany, 'Alien and Besieged Yet Here to Stay: The Contradictions of the Arab  
Territorial State,' in G. Salame (ed.), *The Foundations of the Arab States* (London: Croom Helm)  
1987.

Sami Zubaida, *Islam, The People and the State: Essays on Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East* (London: Routledge) 1993. (the chapter on state formation in the Middle East).

**Thursday September 21 – No Class**

**Thursday, September 28**

**Topic 3: Nationalism, Identity & Politics**

- \*Rashid Khalidi (ed.) *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press) Introduction & Chapter 1.
- \*C. Ernest Dawn, 'The Origins of Arab Nationalism,' pp. 3-30, in R. Khalidi (ed.) *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Beverly Milton-Edwards, chapter 2 – 'Nationalism,' in *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity Press) 2000.
- Nazih. Ayubi, 'The Arab-State: Territorial or Pan-Arabist?' in N. Ayubi, *Overstating the Arab State*, chapter. 4.
- Adeed Dawisha, 'Requiem for Arab Nationalism,' *The Middle East Quarterly* (Winter 2003) vol. x, no. 1. [[http://www.meforum.org/article/518#\\_ftnref4](http://www.meforum.org/article/518#_ftnref4)]

**Highly Recommended:**

Israel Gershoni James Jankowski, Editors, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press) 1997.  
<http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski/index.html>

Joseph A. Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press) 2001.

**Further Reading:**

Fouad Ajami, "The End of Arab Nationalism," *The New Republic* 23 (August 12, 1991).

Joseph A. Massad, *Colonial Effects: The making of National identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). selections

Aziz al-Azmeh, "Nationalism and the Arabs," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 17:1-2 (winter-spring, 1995), pp. 1-17.

Adeed Dawisha *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton Univ. Press: February 2003).

Bassam Tibi, 'Between Arab Nationalism and Islam,' in *Arab Nationalism: between Islam and the Nation-State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997) chs. 11-12, pp. 201-233.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (revised edition)* (London: Verso) 1983, esp. chs. 1-3, 5-6, 10-11.  
<http://www.oup.co.uk/pdf/0-19-829898-6.pdf>

Special Issue on 'Nationalism and the Colonial Legacy in the Middle East and Central Asia,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2, May 2002 (esp. Introduction and article by Sami Zubaida).

## **Thursday, October 5**

### **Topic 4: Authoritarianism & Authoritarian Politics**

- \*Jill Crystal, 'Authoritarianism and its Adversaries in the Arab World,' *World Politics* 46, no. 2 (January 1994) pp. 262-289.
- \*Russell E. Lucas, 'Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 36 (2004), pp. 103-119.
- *TBA* (Possible: Special Issue of *Comparative Politics*, "Enduring Authoritarianism") 36:2004.
- \*Isam al-Khafaji, "State terror and the degradation of politics in Iraq" in *IRAQ Since the Gulf War - Prospects for Democracy*, ed. by Fran Hazelton, 1994 by Zed Press, London.
- *Arab Human Development Report 2002*, chapter 7, 'Liberating Human Capabilities: Governance, Human Development and the Arab World,' available at: <http://www.undp.org/rbas/ahdr/CompleteEnglish.pdf>

<http://www.pogar.org/ongov/ahdr7.pdf>

#### Further Reading:

Roger Owen, chapters 2 and 3 ('The growth of State power in the Arab World: the single party regimes,' and 'The growth of State power in the Arab world under Family rule, and the Libyan alternative), pp. 32-80, in his *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Routledge: London) 1992.

Nazih Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State*, Skim pp. 164-288.

Elizabeth Picard, 'Arab Military in Politics: From Revolutionary Plot to Authoritarian State,' in *The Arab State*, (ed.) G. Luciani (UC Press) 1990, pp. 189-219.

Samir Al-Khalil, *The Monument: Art, Vulgarity, and Responsibility in Iraq* (Berkeley: UC Press) 1991 (pp. 1-77, and pp. 101-115).

Kanan Makiya, *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising, and the Arab World*

Kanan Makiya, *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq* (Introduction to the 1998 Paperback Edition and pp. 3-73).

Samer Shehata, 'In the *Basha*'s House: The Organizational Culture of Egyptian Public Enterprise,' in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (February 2003).

\*For different cultural analyses of authoritarianism see:

Abdellah Hammoudi, *Master and Disciple: the cultural foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press), 1997.

Hisham Sharabi, *Neopatriarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

#### **Thursday, October 12**

##### **Topic 5: Politics from Below**

- Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics, and Urban Quarters of Cairo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1995). *Selections*.
- Asef Bayat, 'The Street and the Politics of Dissent in the Arab World,' MERIP (Spring 2003)[http://www.merip.org/mer/mer226/226\\_bayat.html](http://www.merip.org/mer/mer226/226_bayat.html)

##### Further Reading:

Asef Bayat, 'Activism and Social Development in the Middle East,' in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* vol. 34, no. 1, February 2002, pp. 1-28.

Asef Bayat, *Street Politics* (Columbia University Press).

\*TBA

#### **Thursday, October 19**

##### **Topic 6: Oil & Politics**

- \*Hazem Beblawi, 'The Rentier State in the Arab World,' in *The Arab State*, ed. Giacomo Luciano (Berkeley: University of California Press) 1990, pp. 85-98.
- \*Giacomo Luciani, 'Resources, Revenues, and Authoritarianism in the Arab World: beyond the Rentier State?' in R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble, *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (1995), chapter 11.



- Michael Ross, 'Does Oil Hinder Democracy?' *World Politics* 53 (April 2001), pp. 325-361. Available at: <http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/ross/doesoil.pdf>

\* *TBA*

Further Reading:

\*Kiren A. Chaudhry, 'The Price of Wealth: Business and State in Labor Remittance and Oil Economies, *International Organization* (Winter 1989).

Kiren Aziz Chaudhry, 'Economic liberalization and the Lineages of the Rentier State,' *Comparative Politics* 27 (October 1994).

Hussein Mahdavi, 'The Patterns and Problems of Economic Development in Rentier States: the case of Iran,' in Michael Cook, ed. *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1970, pp. 428-467. (This is one of – if not *the* – earliest treatment of the idea of the rentier state in a Middle Eastern context).

H. Beblawi and G. Luciani, *The Rentier State* (New York: Croom Helm) 1987.

Giacomo Luciani, 'Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework' also in *The Arab State*, pp. 65-84.

Gwenn Okruhlik, 'Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law, and the Rise of Opposition,' in *Comparative Politics* (April 1999).

Michael Ross, 'The Political Economy of the Resource Curse,' in *World Politics* 51:2, January 1999, pp. 297-322.

Terry Lynn Karl, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States* (Berkeley: University of California Press) 1997. (esp. chapters 1, 9-10).

H. Beblawi and G. Luciani, eds. *The Rentier State* (London: Croom Helm) 1987.

*Arab Studies Quarterly* (two issues) vol. 10, no. 2 & 3.

Michael Herb, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democratic Prospects in the Middle East Monarchies* (SUNY Press) 1999.

**Thursday, October 26**

**Topic 7: Political Liberalization & Democratization**

- Beverly Milton-Edwards, chapter 6 – 'Democratization,' in *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity Press) 2000.

- \*Michael Hudson, 'Democratization and the Problem of Legitimacy in Middle East Politics,' *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 22:2 1988, pp. 157-172.
- \*Lisa Anderson, 'The Prospects for Democracy in the Arab World,' in *Middle Eastern Lectures* (Number One), Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University (1995) pp. 59- 71.
- \*Eva Bellin, 'Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries,' in *World Politics* 52 (January 2000), pp. 175-205. (about democratization).
- Ghassan Salame, 'Introduction: Where are the Democrats?' in his (ed.), *Democracy Without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Tauris) 1994.
- John Waterbury, 'Democracy without Democrats? The Potential for Political Liberalization in the Middle East,' in Ghassan Salame (ed.) *Democracy without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Taurus) 1994, pp. 23-47.

### **Further Reading:**

\*Michael Hudson, 'Obstacles to Democratization in the Middle East,' *Contention*, vol. 5, no. 2, winter 1996, pp. 81-105

Gary C. Gambill, 'Explaining the Arab Democracy Deficit: Part I, Middle East intelligence Bulletin (February-March 2003) vol. 5, no. 2. [http://www.meib.org/articles/0302\\_me.htm](http://www.meib.org/articles/0302_me.htm)

Larbi Sidki, *The Search for Arab Democracy* (Columbia Univ. Press 2002).

Look over additional articles in Brynen, Noble and Korany (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World*.

M Hudson, 'The Political Culture Approach to Arab Democratization,' (pp. 61-76) in R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (vol. I Theoretical Perspectives) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 1995.

Lisa Anderson, 'Democracy in the Arab World: A Critique of the Political Culture Approach,' (pp. 77-92) both in R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (vol. I Theoretical Perspectives) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 1995.

Dankwart Rustow, 'Transitions to Democracy,' *Comparative Politics* 2:3 1970.

Responses to Michael Hudson in the same issue of *Contention* by Farhad Kazemi and A. R. Norton; Suad Joseph; Clifford Chanin; Ellis Goldberg.

Ghassan Salame (ed.) *Democracy without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Taurus) 1994

**Thursday, October 28**

**Topic 8: Civil Society**

- \*R. Norton (ed), *Civil Society in the Middle East* (vol. 1) 1995 (Leiden: Brill) Introduction and selections.
- \*Augustus Richard Norton, 'Associational Life: Civil Society in Authoritarian Political Systems,' in Mark Tessler (ed.) *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press) 1999, pp. 30-47.
- Nazih Ayubi, 'Prospects for Democracy: Is Civil Society Striking Back?,' in N. Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State*, chapter. 11, pp. 396-446.
- \*Yahya Sadowsky, "The New Orientalism and the Democracy Debate," in Joel Beinin and Joe Stork, eds., *Political Islam*, pp. 33-50 (originally in *MERIP* Jan-Feb (special issue: Democracy in the Arab World) 1992.
- Amy Hawthorne, "Middle Eastern Democracy: Is Civil Society the Answer?" Number 44, March 2004, Democracy & Rule of Law Project, Carnegie Endowment. Available at:  
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CarnegiePaper44.pdf>

Further Reading:

\*Robert Vitalis, 'The Democratization Industry and the Limits of the New Interventionism' in *MERIP* March-June 1994, pp. 46-50.

\*Tim Niblock, 'Democratization: A Theoretical and Practical Debate,' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 25 (November 1998): 221-234.

A.R. Norton, 'The Future of Civil Society in the Middle East,' *Middle East Journal* 47, 2 (Spring 1993).

Mohammed Talbi, 'A Record of Failure,' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 11, no. 3 (July 2000).

Laith Kubba, 'The Awakening of Civil Society,' *Journal of Democracy* vol. 11, no. 3 (July 2000).

Michael Walzer, 'The Civil Society Argument,' in Gershon Shafir, ed. *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press) 1998.

Seymour M. Lipset, "The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited," *American Sociological Review*, 59,1: 1-22, 1994.

Edward Shills, 'The Virtue of Civil Society,' *Government and Opposition* vol. 26, no. 1 (Winter 1991).

**– Case Study – Jordan:**

Stefanie Nanes, 'Fighting Honor Crimes: Signs of Civil Society in Jordan (forthcoming in *Middle East Journal*, Winter 2002-3).

Ellen Lust-Okar, 'The Decline of Jordanian Political Parties: Myth or Reality?' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (2001) 33: 545-569.

Quintan Wiktorowicz, 'Civil Society as Social Control: State Power in Jordan,' *Comparative Politics*, vol. 33, no. 1 (October 2000).

Katherine Rath, 'The Process of Democratization in Jordan,' *Middle Eastern Studies* vol. 30, no. 3 (July 1994), pp. 530-557.

Glenn Robinson, 'Defensive Democratization in Jordan,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* vol. 30, no. 3 (August 1998) pp. 387-410.

Laurie Brand, article on Jordan in A. R. Norton (ed), *Civil Society in the Middle East* (vol. 1 & 2) 1995 (Leiden: Brill).

**Thursday, November 2**

**Topic 9: Islam and Politics**

- \*Dale Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chapter 1, 'What is Muslim Politics?' pp. 3-21.
- Beverly Milton-Edwards, chapter 5 – 'Past, Present and Future Politics: Political Islam,' in *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity Press) 2000.
- \*Vickie Langohr, 'Of Islamists and Ballot Boxes: Rethinking the relationship between Islamists and Electoral Politics,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33 (2001), pp. 591-610.
- Quintan Wiktorowicz, Conceptualizing Islamic Activism, ISIM Newsletter, 14, June 2004. Available at: [http://www.isim.nl/files/news1\\_14/news1\\_14-34.pdf#search=%22wiktorowicz%22](http://www.isim.nl/files/news1_14/news1_14-34.pdf#search=%22wiktorowicz%22)

- Lara Deeb, Hizballah: A Primer, MERIP ONLIN, <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero073106.html>
- M. Steven Fish, 'Islam and Authoritarianism,' *World Politics* 55; October 2002, pp. 4-37. <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~jlbroz/PElunch/Fish.pdf>

**Further Reading:**

\*Mark Tessler, 'Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries,' *Comparative Politics* -34 (April 2002) pp. 337-54.

A. Stepan and G. B. Robertson, 'An Arab more than Muslim Electoral Gap,' *Journal of Democracy* vol. 14, no.3 , July 2003.

What is Liberal Islam? In *Journal of Democracy* (several articles) – volume 14, no.2, April 2003

Jillian Schwedler and Janine Astrid Clark recent piece in *Comparative Politics* (on Islamist political activism) "Who Opened the Window? Women's Activism within Islamist Parties," *Comparative Politics* 35, no. 3 (April).

O. Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press) 1994.

Alan Richards and John Waterbury, 'Is Islam the Solution?' in *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (second edition) chapter 14.

Roger Owen, 'The Politics of Religion,' in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, chapter 7, pp. 166-196 (1992).

Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam* (ch. 1,2,3 (pp. 1-70) and 6,7,8 (pp. 120-200)).

Gudrun Kramer, 'Islam and Pluralism,' in R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (vol. I Theoretical Perspectives) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 1995, chapter 6, pp. 113-.128.

J. Esposito and J. Voll, 'Islam and Democracy,' in *MERIP*

J. Voll and J. Esposito, 'Islam's Democratic Essence,' *Middle East Quarterly* (September 1994).

J. Esposito and J. Piscatori, 'Democratization and Islam,' *Middle East Journal* 45 (summer). 1991.

**More Recent Writings on Islam and Democracy (post 9/11):**

[http://www.csis.org/pubs/2000\\_islamicroots.htm](http://www.csis.org/pubs/2000_islamicroots.htm) .

- Arab Democracy: Dismal Prospects.

<http://www.worldpolicy.org/journal/anderson.html>

- Can Islam bring democracy to the Middle East?  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/issue\\_novdec\\_2001/takeyh.html](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/issue_novdec_2001/takeyh.html)

- A Comparative Approach to Islam and Democracy  
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/sais\\_review/v021/21.2gulen.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/sais_review/v021/21.2gulen.html)

- Indonesia, Islam, and the Prospect for Democracy  
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/sais\\_review/v021/21.2woodward.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/sais_review/v021/21.2woodward.html)

- Islamic Identity: Myth, Menace, or Mobilizer?  
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/sais\\_review/v021/21.2schwedler.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/sais_review/v021/21.2schwedler.html)

**Thursday, November 9**

**Topic 10: Political Islam II: Islamist Politics in contemporary Egypt**

- Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press) 2002. *Selections*.
- Mona El-Ghobashy, 'The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 37 (2005), 373-395.
- Samer Shehata and Joshua Stacher, "The Brotherhood Goes to Parliament," *MERIP* 240, Fall 2006. Available at:  
[http://www.merip.org/mer/mer240/shehata\\_stacher.html](http://www.merip.org/mer/mer240/shehata_stacher.html)

**Further Reading:**

Mustapha Kamel Al-Sayyid, *The Other Face of the Islamist Movement* (Carnegie Endowment Working Paper) no. 33 January 2003.  
<http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/wp33.asp?from=pubtype>

\*Ahmed Abdalla, 'Egypt's Islamists and the State,' in *MERIP*, July-August 1993, pp. 28-31.

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"Turkey's Tigers," Wide Angle Documentary about "Islam and capitalism in Turkey," available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/turkey/>

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-Also see the “filmmakers notes”:

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\*Alexander Flores, ‘Secularism, Integralism and Political Islam: the Egyptian Debate,’ in *MERIP*, July-August 1993, pp.32-38.

\*Sami Zubaida, ‘Islam, the State and Democracy: Contrasting Conceptions of Society in Egypt,’ *MERIP*, Nov-Dec 1992, no. 179, vol.22, no. 6., pp. 2-10.

\*Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, ‘Silencing is at the heart of my case,’ Interview with Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, interview in *MERIP*, Nov-Dec, no. 185, vol. 23, no. 6 1993, pp. 27-29.

Max Rodenbeck, ‘Witch hunt in Egypt,’ *New York Review of Books*, November 16, 2000. [Available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/13904>]

Samia Mehrez, ‘Take them out of the ball game: Egypt’s cultural players in crisis,’ *MERIP*, 219, summer 2001. Also available on-line at [http://merip.org/mer/mer219/219\\_mehrez.html](http://merip.org/mer/mer219/219_mehrez.html)

\* On the Samia Mehrez/AUC incident:

<http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast/mehr.htm>

Book Banning at AUC: Didier and the Maxime Rodinson Controversy (Joseph Logan’s article in *Lingua Franca*).

#### Recommended Films:

-*The Terrorist* (film with Adel Imam)

-*Destiny* (film by Youssef Chahine - AFD) 1997.

-*The Closed Door* (film by Atef Hetata, 1999 - AFD)

**Thursday, November 16**

#### **Topic 11: Political Economy of Reform**

- \*Alan Richards and John Waterbury’s *A Political Economy of the Middle East: State, Class and Economic Development* (Boulder: Westview Press), 1990, second edition. (The chapter entitled: ‘The Checkered Course of Economic Reform,’ pp. 222-250).
- Nazih Ayubi, ‘Economic Liberalisation and Privatization: Is the Arab State Contracting?’ in N. Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State*, chapter. 10, pp. 329-395.
- \*Eberhard Kienle, ‘More than a Response to Islamism: The Political Deliberation of Egypt in the 1990s,’ *The Middle East Journal* 52: 2, Spring 1998.

- Thomas Carothers, 'The End of the Transition Paradigm,' *Journal of Democracy*, 13:1: 2002, [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\_of\_democracy/v013/13.1carothers.html]
- Daniel Brumberg's Carnegie Endowment paper 'Liberalization versus Democracy: Understanding Arab Political Reform' available at: http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/wp37.pdf

Further Reading:

John Waterbury, 'The Heart of the Matter? Public Enterprise and the Adjustment Process,' in S. Haggard and R. Kaufman (eds.), *The Politics of Economic Adjustment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 1992, pp. 182-217.

\*Daniel Brumberg, 'Survival Strategies v. Democratic Bargains: The Politics of Economic Reform in Contemporary Egypt,' in H. Barkey (ed) *The Politics of Economic Reform in the Middle East* (1992).

\*Kiren A. Chaudhry, 'Myths of the Market and the Common History of Late Developers,' *Politics and Society* (fall, 1993).

S. Haggard and Kaufmann (eds.), *The Politics of Economic Adjustment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 1992

**Thursday, November 23 Thanksgiving Holiday**

**Thursday, November 30**

**Topic 12: The United States & the Middle East:**

- \*Michael Hudson, 'To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of US Policy Toward the Middle East,' *Middle East Journal* vol. 50, no. 3, summer 1996.
- John J. Mearschheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israeli Lobby and US Foreign Policy," <http://ksgnotes1.harvard.edu/Research/wpaper.nsf/rwp/RWP06-011>
- Michael Massing, "The Storm over the Israel Lobby," *New York Review of Books*, volume 53, number 10, June 8, 2006. Available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19062>
- President Bush's speech at the National Endowment for Democracy (November 6, 2003) <http://www.ned.org/events/anniversary/oct1603-Bush.html>
- Nathan Brown, Amr Hamzawy, Marina Ottaway, "Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring the Gray Zones," Carnegie



Paper Number 67, March 2006, Available at:  
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CP67.Brown.FINAL.pdf>

- TBA

Further Reading:

Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and US Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000* (Berkeley: UC Press) 2001.

Ido Oren, 'How America's Foreign Policy Affects its Political Science,'  
*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 6, 2002.

Martin Indyk, 'Back to the Bazaar,' *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2002.  
<http://www.brook.edu/views/articles/indyk/20020114.htm>

Richard Haas, 'Toward Greater Democracy in the Muslim World,' *Washington Quarterly*  
(Summer 2003).  
[http://www.twq.com/03summer/docs/03summer\\_haass.pdf](http://www.twq.com/03summer/docs/03summer_haass.pdf)

Thomas Carothers, 'Is Gradualism Possible? Choosing a Strategy for Promoting  
Democracy in the Middle East? Working Papers – Carnegie Endowment no. 9, June 2003  
(Democracy and Rule of Law Project).

Thomas Carothers & Bethany Lacina, "Quick Transformation to Democratic Middle East  
is Fantasy," March 16, 2003 in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*  
[http://seattlepi.nwsourc.com/printer2/index.asp?ploc=t&refer=http://seattlepi.nwsourc.com/opinion/112637\\_mirage16.shtml](http://seattlepi.nwsourc.com/printer2/index.asp?ploc=t&refer=http://seattlepi.nwsourc.com/opinion/112637_mirage16.shtml)

Marina Ottaway, 'Promoting Democracy in the Middle East: The Problem of US  
Credibility (Carnegie Endowment Working Papers) no. 35, March 2003.  
<http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/wp35.asp?from=pubdate>

Fouad Ajami, 'Iraq and the Arabs' Future,' *Foreign Affairs* Jan/Feb 2003.  
<http://oz.plymouth.edu/~sshirley/Ajami.htm>

President Bush's speech at the National Endowment for Democracy (November 6, 2003)  
<http://www.ned.org/events/anniversary/oct1603-Bush.html>

Marina Ottaway, Thomas Carothers, Amy Hawthorne, Daniel Brumberg, *Democratic  
Mirage in the Middle East* (October 2002)  
[http://www.ceip.org/files/publications/Democracy\\_PB20.asp](http://www.ceip.org/files/publications/Democracy_PB20.asp)

Marina Ottaway and Martha Brill Olcott, *The Challenge of Semi-Authoritarianism*,  
(1999). Available at:  
<http://www.ceip.org/programs/democr/Semi-Authoritarianism%20WP.htm>

Guilain P. Denoeux, 'The United States and the Challenge of Democratization in the Arab World,' Occasional Paper, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1996.

Clement M. Henry, 'USAID and Democracy: At Sea or off to Cyberspace?' *Middle East Policy* (January 1997) 5, 1, pp. 178-198.

C.P. Abdullah, 'Charter to Reform the Arab Stand,'  
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**Thursday December 7 – Last Class**