

UCSD, Department of History  
HINE 118: Middle East in the Twentieth Century  
 Spring Quarter 2011  
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 Office: H&SS 3045; phone: (858) 534 0777  
 Office Hrs: Tu/Th 6:00-6:30 PM, and by appointment

Class: Tu/Th, 6:30-7:50 PM, H&SS 1330

Tests:

- Midterm: Week 6, Thursday, May 5, 6:30-7:50 PM, in class
- Final: Tuesday June 7, 7:00-10 PM. Room: TBA

### **Middle East in the Twentieth Century**

This course will provide an introduction to the political and intellectual history of modern Middle Eastern societies from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present, with particular focus on the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It will study certain common features of these societies as well as their manifold cultural and ethnic diversities. The emphasis will be given to the 19<sup>th</sup> century background, encounters with the West, erosion of traditional structures, and the ideas of national and administrative reform. Further discussions will include the 20<sup>th</sup> century power politics and its role in reshaping the political geography of the region, modernization and its impact on the social fabric and cultural climate of these societies, the ideological composition of fundamentalist movements, and current debates on democratization and civil society.

**Evaluation and Grading:** There will be two tests: one midterm (40 points) and a cumulative final (60 points). These tests will consist of a mixture of short essays (detailed identifications) and long essays (which will be comparative and analytical). Two study guides are attached to this syllabus, relating to each section of the course. Exam questions could mainly, though not exclusively, be drawn from these study guides and students are advised to pay special attention to them. Attendance is assumed and required; grades will be reduced for lack of class attendance or if persistently late for class. Midterm and final tests will be graded up to their maximum percentage points (total of 100 points = 100%).

**Learning Goals:** This course will have a comparative and interdisciplinary orientation and will aim to examine the history of modern and contemporary Middle East from different analytical and interpretive perspectives, to familiarize the students with various categories and genres of historical analysis, and to provide them with in-depth knowledge of different periods.

**Required Reading:** Notes taken during lectures are important. Relevant chapters of the following books will serve as the essential background reading for each class. Students are expected to prepare for lectures by reading the material in advance and bring questions to class for discussion. Required books and the Optional titles are available at the UCSD Bookstore.

1. William L. Cleveland and Martin P. Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, Fourth Edition, Westview Press, 2009.
2. Ali Gheissari and Vali Nasr, *Democracy in Iran* (Oxford University Press, 2006; paperback edition, 2009)
3. Azzedine Layachi, *Global Studies: The Middle East* (13<sup>th</sup> edition, 2011)
4. Iraq Study Group, *Report* (Filiquarian, 2007)

**Optional:**

1. Ali Gheissari (ed.), *Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, Politics*
2. Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*
3. Ali Rahnema (ed.), *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*
4. Charles Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents*

**Further Recommended Readings:**

- Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*
- Ervand Abrahamian, *Khomeinism*
- Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*
- James Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History*
- Ali Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*
- Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*
- Albert Hourani, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*
- Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and the Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*
- Michael Meeker, *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity*
- Roy Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet*
- Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*
- Vali Nasr, *Shi'a Revival*
- Sydney Nettleton Fisher & William Ochsenwald, *The Middle East: A History*
- Don Peretz, *The Middle East Today*
- Ali Rahnema, *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*
- Edward Said, *Orientalism*
- Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World.*

**Recommended Documentary Films:**

- Weeks 1-5:
  - Michael Wood, *Legacy* (Part I): Mesopotamia (Iraq).
  - Islam: 600-1200
  - The Ottoman Empire: 1280-1600
  - The World of Islam: Orient – Occident
- Weeks 6-10:
  - The Suez crisis: 1956 (20min)
  - Palestine, 1890-1990 (34min)
  - History of a Conflict (28min)

Gaza Strip (74min)  
 Hamas: The Untold Story (50min)  
 August 2, 2006. Charlie Rose in conversation with Henry Kissinger on Israel-Lebanon conflict  
 Beirut: The Last Home Movie (125min)  
 Edward Said on Orientalism  
 The 50 years war: Israel and the Arabs (1998), (pts. 1, 2) (294mins)  
 Iran: veiled appearances  
 End of Empire (Iran: Oil Crisis and the Coup of 1953)  
 The Century (Iran: Evolution of a Revolution)  
 Iran and the West (history after the revolution): BBC4 report in 3 parts:  
 I: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FfrJ2rBobGs>  
 II: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wLjRkrTxkzY>  
 III: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cf3fcoXx0pI>

### Course Outline:

#### **Weeks 1-2:**

- General historical introductions.
- Underpinnings of political culture.
- Reform in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Ottoman Empire and the *Tanzimat*.

#### **Reading:**

- Cleveland & Bunton, Chapters 1-6.

#### **Recommended:**

- Essays:
  - C.H. Dodd, "Revolution in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey."
  - S. Mardin, "Religion and Politics in Modern Turkey."
- Gelvin, all chapters in Part I & II, plus Documents.
- O. Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," see:
- <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/107.3/ah0302000768.html>
- Peretz, Chapters 1 to 4.
- Nettleton Fisher & Ochsenswald, *The Middle East: A History*, relevant chapters from Vol. 1 (Part Three on the 19th century is also included in Vol. 2).
- Albert Hourani, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*, Ch 1: "The Ottoman Background of the Modern Middle East," Ch 3: "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables."
- Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*.

#### **Week 3:**

- The Iranian Constitutional Movement (1906-1911)

#### **Reading:**

- Cleveland & Bunton, Chapters 7-8.
- Gheissari & Nasr, Chapter 1.

#### **Recommended:**

- Essays:

- N.R. Keddie, "The Origins of the Religious-Radical Alliance in Iran."
- A.K.S. Lambton, "The Persian Ulama and Constitutional Reform."
- Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals*, Chapters 1 & 2.
- Rahnama, *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, Chapters 2 & 3.
- Hamid Enayat, Chapter 5 (Background, and part I).
- Albert Hourani, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*, Ch 1: "The Ottoman
- Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapters 1 & 2.
- M. M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution*, Chapter 2.

#### **Week 4:**

- The development of state nationalism in the Middle East.
- Kemal Ataturk and republicanism in Turkey.
- The emergence of the Pahlavi state in Iran.

#### **Reading:**

- Cleveland & Bunton, Chapters 9-10.
- Gheissari & Nasr, Chapter 1.
- Essay:
  - A. Gheissari, "Constitutional Rights and the Development of Civil Law in Iran, 1907-1941."

#### **Recommended:**

- Gelvin, Chapters 11, 12, 13.
- Peretz, Chapters 7 & 17.
- Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals*, Chapter 3.
- Nettleton Fisher & Ochsenswald, relevant chapters from Vol. 2 (Chapters 32, 33).
- Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapter 3.
- Homa Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran*, Part II.
- Amin Banani, *The Modernization of Iran (1921-1941)*.
- Richard W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*.
- Walter F. Weiker, *The Modernization of Turkey: From Ataturk to the Present Day*.

#### **Week 5:**

- The idea of popular nationalism:
- Iran: Mosaddeq and the campaign to nationalize the oil industry.
- Egypt: Nasser, control of the Suez Canal and the idea of Arab Nationalism.

#### **Reading:**

- Cleveland & Bunton, Chapters. 14, 15, 16.
- Gheissari & Nasr, Chapter 2.

#### **Recommended:**

- Essay:
  - Albert Hourani, "Middle Eastern Nationalism Yesterday and Today".
- Gelvin, Chaptr 15, 16, 17.
- Peretz, Chapters 7, 8, 9, & 17.
- Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals*, Chapter 4.
- Nettleton Fisher & Ochsenswald, relevant chapters from Vol. 2 (chapters 39, 41).

- Hamid Enayat, Chapter 4.
- Homa Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran*, Part III.
- Homa Katouzian, *Musaddiq and the Struggle for Power in Iran*.
- Richard W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*.
- M. M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution*, Chapter 3.
- P. J. Vatikiotis, *Nasser and His Generation*.

**Week 6:**

- Discussions and Revision.
- Midterm Test.

**Week 7:**

- Socialism in the Middle East: a comparative and historical overview.
- The ideology of the Ba'th Party: Iraq and Syria.
- The ideology of armed struggle.
- Political factionalism in Lebanon.

**Reading:**

- Cleveland & Bunton, Chapter 18-19.

**Recommended:**

- Gelvin, Chapters 15, 16, 17. / Peretz, Chapters 14 & 15.
- Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals*, Chapters 4 & 5.
- Nettleton Fisher & Ochsenswald, relevant chapters from Vol. 2 (chapters 37, 43-44).
- Peretz, Chapter 10.
- Nettleton Fisher & Ochsenswald, relevant chapters from Vol. 2 (chapters 35, 37, 43).
- Albert Hourani, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*,  
Chapter 8: "Lebanon: the Development of a Political Society"  
Chapter 9: "Lebanon from Feudalism to Nation-State"  
Chapter 10: "Lebanon: Historians and the Formation of a National Image"  
Ch 11: "Ideologies of the Mountain and the City: Reflections on the Lebanese Civil War"
- Michael Gilsean, *Lords of the Lebanese Marches: Violence, Power and Narrative in an Arab Society*.
- Kamal Salibi, *Crossroads to Civil War, Lebanon 1958-1976*.
- Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions* (The History of Lebanon Reconsidered).

**Further Recommended Reading:**

- E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapters 6, 7, & 8.
- E. Abrahamian, *Radical Islam* (The Iranian Mojahedin).
- M.S. Agwani, *Communism in the Arab World*.
- Tareq Y. Ismael, *The Arab Left*.
- Bizhan Jazani, *Capitalism and Revolution in Iran*.
- Eberhard Kienle, *Ba'ath Versus Ba'ath* (The Conflict Between Syria & Iraq).
- Abdallah Laroui, *The Crisis of the Arab Intellectual*, Chapter 5.

- Maxime Rodinson, *Marxism and the Moslim World*.
- Sepehr Zabih, *The Communist Movement in Iran*.
- Sepehr Zabih, *The Left in Contemporary Iran*.

**Week 8:**

- The Arab Israeli conflict and the genesis of Jewish and Palestinian nationalism.
- Discussion.

**Reading:**

- Cleveland & Bunton, Chapters 12-13, 16-17.

**Recommended:**

- Gelvin, Chapter 18. / Peretz, Chapters 11, 13.
- Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*.
- Nettleton Fisher & Ochsenwald, Vol. 2 (Chs. 36-37, 48-50).
- Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*.
- J. W. Amos, *Palestinian Resistance: Organization of a Nationalism Movement*.
- Aaron Cohen, *Israel and the Arab World*.
- Muhammed Y. Muslih, *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*.
- Roger Owen (ed.), *Essays on the Crisis in Lebanon*.
- Don Peretz, *The Government and Politics of Israel*.
- Don Peretz, *Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising*.
- Don Peretz, *The West Bank: History, Politics, Society, and Economy*.
- G. Sabbagh (ed.), *The Modern Economic & Social History of the Middle East*.
- Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine*.
- Holocaust Living History Workshop
  - <http://libraries.ucsd.edu/hlhw/events.html>
  - <http://libraries.ucsd.edu/hlhw/resources.html>

**Week 9:**

- Islamic revivalism in the Middle East.
- Ideological crisis and Islamic opposition in Iran (1960s & 1970s).
- The Iranian revolution of 1978/79.
- Iran: thirty-two years after the revolution.

**Reading:**

- Cleveland & Bunton, Chapters 20-21.
- Gheissari & Nasr, Chapters 3-6.

**Recommended:**

- Gheissari (ed), Chapters 1-8, 9-12.
- Essays:
  - Bayat-Philipp, "Shi`ism in Contemporary Iranian Politics: The Case of Ali Shariati".
  - Abrahamian, "Ali Shariati: Ideologue of the Iranian Revolution".
  - Yann Richard, "Contemporary Shi`i Thought".
  - N R Keddie, "Islamic Revival in the Middle East: A Comparison of Iran and Egypt".
  - Hamid Enayat, "Revolution in Iran 1979: Religion as Political Ideology".

- Hamid Enayat, "Iran: Khomeini's Concept of the 'Guardianship of the Jurisconsult'".
- Shaul Bakhash, "The Islamic Republic of Iran, 1979-1989".
- Arjomand, "The Emergence of Islamic Political Ideologies".
- Gheissari & Nasr, "Democracy Debate in Iran."
- Gheissari & Nasr, "Conservative Consolidation in Iran."
- Gelvin, Chapter 19.
- Peretz, Chapters 2, 17, & 18.
- Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals*, Chapter 5 & Epilogue.
- Nettleton Fisher & Ochsenswald, Vol. 2 (chapters 39, 40, 42, 50).
- Rahnema, *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, Chapters 4, 6, 7, 8 & 9.
- Hamid Enayat, Chapters 3 & 5.
- Roy Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet*.
- M. M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution*.
- Jahangir Amuzegar, *The Dynamics of the Iranian Revolution*.

#### **Week 10:**

- Iraq: US invasion and ouster of Saddam.
- Iraq: current situation.
- Egypt: February 2011.
- Discussions and Revision.

#### **Reading:**

- Cleveland & Bunton, Chapters 18 (section on Iraq), 22-25.
- Layachi (ed), relevant sections.
- The Iraq Study Group, *Report*.

#### **Recommended:**

- Gelvin, Chapter 20.
- Fouad Ajami, *The Arab Predicament*.
- Youssef M. Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism*.
- Oliver Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*.
- Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*.

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HINE 118: Middle East in the Twentieth Century

Study Guide (I), relating to topics covered in weeks 1-5.

Short essays:

Hijra, Shari'a, Shi'ism, Ummah Caliphate, Janissaries, Millet System, Iltizam, Capitulations, Ijtihad, Rose Chamber Rescript, Qajar Dynasty, Tobacco Protest (Iran), Seyyed Jamal al-Din (al-Afghani), Mashrutiyat, Ulema, Najaf, Zia Gokalp, Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt), Wafd Party (Egypt), National Front (Iran), Arab Nationalism, Free Officers (Egypt), Tudeh Party.

Long essays:

1. In spite of many differences and diversities, what set of factors justify a common study of the Middle Eastern history?
2. What set of factors were, in your opinion, influential in the historical expansion of Islam? Please elaborate.
3. On what basis did the Ottoman Sultans draw their legitimacy? Also, what were the main features of the Tanzimat reforms?
4. Different historiographies of the Tanzimat have argued that modern reforms did not take root in Ottoman society. Do you agree or disagree? Please discuss and evaluate at least two of such arguments.
5. How reformism and Constitutionalism were conceptualized in the early-20th century Iran? Why the alliance between the pro-Constitutionalist ulama and the secular reformists was short-lived?
6. How do you explain the coming to power of Reza Shah in Iran and Mustafa Kemal in Turkey?
7. How would you compare the ideology of state nationalism in Iran and Turkey during the inter-War period (1920s and 1930s)? What similarities and/or differences do you find between Reza Shah's policies for modernization in Iran and those of Kemal Ataturk in Turkey?
8. Give a brief account of Mosaddeq's campaign for the nationalization of the oil industry in Iran, and Nasser's radical Arab Nationalism in Egypt. What similarities and/or differences do you see between these two cases?



HINE 118: Middle East in the Twentieth Century

Study Guide (II), relating to topics covered in weeks 6-10.

Short essays:

Balfour Declaration, British Mandate, Maronites, Druze, National Pact (Lebanon), South Lebanese Army, PLO, Zionism, Likud, Ba'th Party (Iraq and Syria), Hezbollah (Lebanon), Hamas, White Revolution (Iran), SAVAK, Guardianship of the Jurist, Mahdi Army (Iraq), Ayatollah Sistani, Mohammad Khatami, Basij, al-Qaeda, Wahhabism, Justice and Development Party (Turkey) and its major domestic and foreign policy orientations, Green Movement (Iran).

Long essays:

1. How would you compare Israeli and Palestinian nationalisms?
2. Discuss different stages in the Arab-Israeli conflict. How would you suggest the prospects for peace?
3. How would you assess the prospects of "one state solution" versus "two state solution" in the current stage of Arab Israeli conflict? Discuss.
4. Discuss Lebanon's transition to nation-state and give an outline of the main components of the Lebanese political society. How would you evaluate Lebanon's regional position?
5. Discuss the main variables in the Lebanese civil conflict in the 1980s? Given Lebanon's background and resources, how would you outline a resolution to its domestic crisis?
6. From early 1960s onwards as a reaction to the official pseudo-Westernism we encounter an ideological trend among Middle Eastern intellectuals to "return" to their "authentic roots." Give a brief summary of Shariati's ideas and examine his influence on the Iranian revolution in particular and on the contemporary discourse of Islamic modernism in the Middle East in general.
7. Please discuss Mohammad-Reza Shah's reforms in Iran during the 1960's and 1970's. In your opinion what were the main contributing factors to the crisis of political legitimacy in Iran prior to the revolution of 1979?
8. Causes of the Iranian revolution of 1979. Discuss. How, in particular, religion became a political ideology?
9. To what extent contemporary revivalist (or fundamentalist) movements in the Middle East try to return to the traditional Islamic law? Do you think such return

- is possible? Discuss key issues in current debates (i.e. during the period 1990-2010) on the question of Civil Society in the Middle East.
10. How would you explain Islamic revival in the Middle East during the last quarter of the twentieth century? Please respond with reference to at least two different variations, either in terms of country or doctrine.
  11. Causes and dynamics of Iran-Iraq War. Discuss.
  12. Who are the main players in the current situation in Iraq? Discuss. How would you assess the prospects of the Iraqi state in the post-Saddam and the post-US occupation era?
  13. How would you assess the prospects of US-Iran relations? Discuss problems and potentials.
  14. Does Ahmadinejad's presidency represent a new phase in conservative consolidation in Iran? Do you agree or disagree with this assessment? Discuss. Also discuss at least two major challenges facing Iran's foreign relations after the 2005 and 2009 presidential elections.
  15. Discuss similarities and differences among nation-states in contemporary Middle East, with reference to two examples which are ethnically and politically different. You can substantiate your argument with reference to natural and human resources, political institutions, as well as domestic and international challenges.
  16. How would you assess the main players and forces involved in the events of February 2011 in Egypt? Also discuss diverse political agendas for the post-Mubarak Egypt and evaluate their prospects.
  17. How would you evaluate the impact of political changes of February 2011 in Egypt on the Middle East? Please discuss the impact with reference to at least two regional countries.