

# **The Middle East in Global Order – 952M1**

**(30 Credits)**

**Masters Option**

**Contemporary War and Peace Studies**  
**Global Political Economy**  
**International Relations**

**Spring Term 2006**

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## **Course Outline:**

### **The Middle East in Global Order**

Week 2. Introduction

#### **I. The Political Economy of the Middle East**

Week 3. From Imperialism to the Washington Consensus: Historical and Comparative Contexts

Week 4. Key Resources: Oil and Water

Week 5. Human Development

#### **II. State Forms and Social Forces**

Week 6. Authoritarianism, Tradition, Democratisation

Week 7. Ideologies of Revolution and Resistance: Arab Nationalism and Political Islam

#### **III. Conflict, Instability, Intervention: Two Case Studies**

Week 8. The Arab-Israeli Conflict 1900-1991

Week 9. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1991-2006

Week 10. Iraq: The Roots of the Current Crisis

## **Course Description**

The Middle East is almost constantly in the news. From Israel and the West Bank to Iraq and Saudi Arabia, the region is both a byword for political instability, and a recurring site of Western political and military interventions. This course explores some of the political, economic and cultural dynamics that lie behind the crisis-ridden headlines. It considers how and why the Middle East differs from other parts of the world; analyses the roots of Western policy towards the region; investigates the extent to which the region has been structured by international and global as against domestic factors; and also explores how the region is predominantly represented within Western media and society. The course begins by examining major issues in the political economy of the Middle East, specifically the legacies of imperialism; the impacts of neo-liberalism on Middle Eastern politics and economies; the national and global political economies of two key resources, oil and water; and the oft-proclaimed 'crisis' of human development within the contemporary Middle East. We then examine some key political forms and forces, including the authoritarian 'rentier' state, pressures for democratisation and liberalisation, and the rise of political Islam. The final part of the course concentrates on two particularly important sites of conflict and intervention, Iraq, and Israel and the Palestinian territories. Central questions addressed by the course include: To what extent has the Middle East been structured by its late, uneven and dependent incorporation into the global capitalist system? Are Middle Eastern 'water wars' on the horizon? Should we really refer to the Middle East as 'West Asia'? Why are democratic processes and forms so under-developed in the Middle East? Why is the US so supportive of Israel? And what have been the impacts of globalisation on Middle Eastern politics and society?

This syllabus is intended to provide you with all the essential details about the course. It also contains the reading list for the year. You should retain this syllabus for the duration of the course and refer to it frequently. You will find that most questions you have about the course are likely to be answered somewhere in the following pages.

## **Learning Methods**

There will be a series of weekly 2 hour seminars in the Spring Term. The seminars are designed to provide an overview of the course syllabus with commentary on the literature and are an opportunity to explore in depth particular issues and to engage in discussion in a small group context. Students will be expected to contribute every week to discussions. For each seminar session, three broad questions have been set: these will form the bedrock of our discussions. One student will take the lead in introducing and commenting on each question, but each student will also be expected to be able to engage with each of these questions. After the introductory seminar we have eight sessions together, each with three questions that need introducing, so this probably means (depending on numbers) that you'll each be responsible for presenting on two or three of them. Students will be expected to engage in continuous independent study, employing the reading list (below) and other sources to deepen their knowledge of the subject.

## Skills Development

This course will allow students to further develop the following skills: (i) oral skills in weekly seminars, (ii) writing skills through composing an essay that requires them to read widely from the reading list and other sources and to synthesize the information for the purposes of the essay, (iii) problem solving skills by exploring complex issues in Middle Eastern politics and political economy, (iv) reflective skills by critically evaluating competing conceptions and theories of the Middle East in global order, and (v) information technology skills by using word processing for the essay and seminar notes and by drawing on the internet to obtain further information.

## Course Assessment

The course is assessed by a 5,000 word Term Paper due at the start of the Summer Term. The topic and title should be decided in discussion with me towards the end of the course,

## Feedback

The course will be evaluated by you using an anonymous Student Evaluation Questionnaire which will be distributed towards the end of the Spring Term. Feel free, though, to raise issues with me as they arise during the course.

## Useful Books:

There are no essential textbooks for this course. However, the best three I would recommend are:

- William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd edn. (Boulder: Westview, 2004).
- Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford: OUP, 2005).
- Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd edn. (London: Routledge, 2004).

Further especially useful sources include:

- James Bill and Robert Springborg, *Politics in the Middle East*, 4th edn. (New York: HarperCollins, 1994).
- Simon Bromley, *Rethinking Middle East Politics: State Formation and Development* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994).
- Paul Cammack, David Pool and William Tordoff, *Third World Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 2nd edn. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993) - each thematic chapter contains a good section on the Middle East, by David Pool.

- Deborah Gerner (ed.), *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000).
- Clement Henry and Robert Springborg, *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).
- Dilip Hiro, *Dictionary of the Middle East* (London: Macmillan, 1996).
- Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (London: Faber, 1991).
- Albert Hourani, Philip Khoury and Mary Wilson, *The Modern Middle East: A Reader* (London: Tauris, 1993).
- David Long and Bernard Reich (eds.), *The Government and Politics of the Middle East*, 4th edn. (Boulder: Westview, 2002).
- Peter Mansfield, *A History of the Middle East*, 2nd edn. (London: Penguin, 2003).
- Beverley Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000).
- William Polk, *The Arab World Today*, 5th edn. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
- Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 2nd edn. (Boulder: Westview, 1996).
- Malcolm Yapp, *The Near East Since the First World War*, 2nd edn. (London: Longman, 1996).

## **Weekly Readings:**

You will find a comprehensive list of reading materials for each week in the reading list below. These should all be available in the library or on the web. The core readings are ones that I have photocopies of, and that will be available from my office letter box for the week preceding the seminar in question. I should emphasise that these core readings are **NOT** all essential readings. Some of them are essential, by virtue of the fact that they make particular arguments which we will be discussing directly. However, others of them simply provide useful overviews: these are not essential readings.

So, it's partly up to you the extent to which you follow the core readings or not. That said, I will be expecting you to read at least the equivalent of the core readings for each session, i.e. at least three articles/book chapters per week. If you are doing a weekly presentation or writing your term paper on a topic, it is expected that, in addition to the core readings, you read widely amongst the further reading list.

There is plenty of material in the library which is not listed below. If you come across any such readings which you find especially useful, I would be more than happy to receive the bibliographical information for these items.

## Week 2. Introduction

This session will be an introductory one, but you will nonetheless be expected to come prepared. In the first half of the session we will go through some of the tedious administrative and introductory stuff. I will give an overview of the course. More importantly, you will be asked to sign up for presentations, so you're advised to have a good look through the syllabus beforehand to decide what you'd rather present on.

In the second half of the session, we will make a start at tackling two key theoretical questions. Please come prepared by reading the essential readings below in advance.

### **Study Questions:**

1. Can one escape Orientalism?
2. Which of Marxian and Weberian social theory provides the sounder footing for analysing the modern Middle East? (Or perhaps you think neither does?)

### **Core Reading:**

#### Essential (q.1):

Said, Edward, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), introduction.

#### Essential (q.2):

Bromley, Simon, *Rethinking Middle East Politics: State Formation and Development* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), ch. 1.

### **Further Reading:**

#### On Orientalism and Said:

Ahmad, Aijaz, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1992).

Cannadine, David, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin, 2001).

Halliday, Fred, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation* (London: IB Tauris, 1996), ch. 7.

Halliday, Fred, *Two Hours that Shook the World. September 11, 2001: Causes and Consequences* (London: Saqi, 2002).

Kabbani, Rana, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of the Orient*, 2nd edn. (London: Pandora, 1994).

Lewis, Bernard, 'Islam and the West', in Edward Ingram (ed.) *National and International Politics in the Middle East: Essays in Honour of Elie Kedourie* (London: Cass, 1986).

Lewis, Bernard, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1998).

Little, Douglas, *American Orientalism* (London: IB Tauris, 2003).

Malik, Kenan, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).

Rodinson, Maxime, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991).

Said, Edward, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).

Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993).

Said, Edward, *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures* (London: Vintage, 1994).

- Said, Edward, *The Pen and the Sword: Conversations with David Barsamian* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1994).
- Said, Edward and Christopher Hitchens (eds.), *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (London: Verso, 1988).
- Selby, Jan, 'Edward Said: truth, justice and nationalism', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* (forthcoming 2006). Available from JS.
- Shaheen, Jack, *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (New York: Olive Branch Press, 2001).
- Sprinkler, Michael (ed.), *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

Marxian Accounts:

- Amin, Samir, *The Arab Nation* (London: Zed, 1978).
- Amin, Samir, *Eurocentrism* (London: Zed, 1989).
- Anderson, Perry, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: New Left Books, 1974).
- Callinicos, Alex, *Theories and Narratives: Reflections on the Philosophy of History* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), ch. 3.

Weberian Accounts:

- Zubaida, Sami, *Islam, The People and the State: Essays on Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1989).
- Gellner, Ernest, *Muslim Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983).

# I. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MIDDLE EAST

## Week 3. From Imperialism to the Washington Consensus: Historical and Comparative Contexts

### Study Questions:

1. How do the impacts of European imperialism and colonialism on the Middle East compare with those experienced in other parts of the non-European world?
2. Has the Middle East been reshaped by the neo-liberal Washington Consensus?
3. Is the Middle East 'exceptional', and if so, what accounts for this 'exceptionalism'?

### Core Reading:

#### Introductory (q.1):

Owen, Roger, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd edn. (London: Routledge, 2004), ch. 1.

#### Introductory (q.2):

Clement Henry and Robert Springborg, *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), ch. 1.

or:

Owen, Roger, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd edn. (London: Routledge, 2004), ch. 7.

#### The Imperial Moment in the Middle East:

Cammack, Paul, David Pool and William Tordoff, *Third World Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 2nd edn. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), ch. 1.

Cannadine, David, *Ornamentalism: How The British Saw Their Empire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2001).

Fisher, John, *Curzon and British Imperialism in the Middle East, 1916-1919* (London: Frank Cass, 1999).

Fromkin, David, *A Peace To End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East 1914-1922* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1989).

Issawi, Charles, *An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa* (London: Methuen, 1982).

Kedourie, Elie, *England and the Middle East: the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1921* (London: Bowes, 1956).

Kiernan, Victor, *European Empires From Conquest to Collapse* (London: Fontana, 1982), ch. 13.

Lapidus, Ira, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).

Monroe, Elizabeth, *Britain's Moment in the Middle East 1914-1971* (London: Chatto, 1981).

Owen, Roger, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914* (London: Methuen, 1981).

Owen, Roger and Sevkett Pamuk, *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century* (London: IB Tauris, 1998).

Stivers, William, *Supremacy and Oil: Iraq, Turkey and the Anglo-American World Order, 1918-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

Yapp, Malcolm, *The Making of the Modern Near East, 1792-1923* (London: Longman, 1987), ch. 5.

The Washington Consensus and Liberalisation:

- Beinin, Joel, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), ch. 6.
- Ehteshami Anoush and Emma Murphy, 'Transformation of the corporatist state in the Middle East', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1996), pp. 753-772.
- Henry, Clement, 'The clash of globalisations in the Middle East' in Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford: OUP, 2005).
- Niblock, Tim and Emma Murphy (eds.), *Economic and Political Liberalization in the Middle East* (London: British Academic, 1993).
- Nonneman, Gerd, 'Rentiers and autocrats, monarchs and democrats, state and society: the Middle East between globalisation, human "agency", and Europe', *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (January 2001), pp. 175-195.
- Owen, Roger and Sevet Pamuk, *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century* (London: IB Tauris, 1998).
- Richards, Alan and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 2nd edn. (Boulder: Westview, 1996), ch. 9.
- Wilson, Rodney, *Economic Development in the Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1995), ch. 7.

## **Week 4. Key Resources: Oil and Water**

### **Study Questions:**

1. Who controls the political economy of oil in the Middle East: the oil majors, the Western powers, or the oil producing states?
2. What impacts have oil and aid rents had on the Middle East?
2. Is increasing pressure on scarce water resources likely to result in 'water wars'?

### **Core Reading:**

#### Introductory (qs.1, 2):

Luciani, Giacomo, 'Oil and political economy in the international relations of the Middle East', in Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), ch. 4.

#### Essential (q.2):

Saad Eddin Ibrahim, 'Oil, migration and the new Arab social order', in Malcolm Kerr and El Sayed Yassin, *Rich and Poor States in the Middle East: Egypt and the New Arab Order* (Boulder: Westview, 1982), pp. 17-70.

#### Introductory (q.3):

Selby, Jan, 'The geopolitics of water in the Middle East: fantasies and realities', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (March 2005 forthcoming).

### **Further Reading:**

#### Oil:

- Akins, James, 'The oil crisis: this time the wolf is here', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 51 (1973).
- Alnasrawi, A., *Financing Economic Development in Iraq: The Role of Oil in a Middle Eastern Economy* (Praeger, 1967).
- Alnasrawi, A., *Arab Nationalism, Oil and the Political Economy of Dependence* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991).
- Amuzegar, Jahangir, *Oil Exporters' Economic Development in an Interdependent World* (Washington DC: IMF, 1983).
- Amuzegar, Jahangir, *Managing the Oil Wealth: OPEC's Windfalls and Pitfalls* (London: IB Tauris, 1999).
- Anderson, Irvine, *Aramco, the United States and Saudi Arabia: A Study of the Dynamics of Foreign Oil Policy, 1933-1950* (Princeton: PUP, 1981).
- Blair, John, *The Control of Oil* (London: Macmillan, 1976).
- Bromley, Simon, *American Hegemony and World Oil: The Industry, The State System and the World Economy* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).
- Campbell, John, 'Oil and Power in the Middle East', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 56 (1977-78).
- Choucri, Nazli, 'The hidden economy: a new view of remittances in the Arab world', *World Development*, Vol. 14, No. 6 (1986), pp. 697-712.
- Claes, Dag, *The Politics of Oil-Producer Cooperation* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001).
- Diwan, Ishac and Lyn Squire, 'Private assets and public debts: external finance in a peaceful Middle East', *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (1995), pp. 69-88.
- Fitzgerald, Edward, 'France's Middle Eastern Ambitions, the Sykes-Picot Negotiations, and the Oil Fields of Mosul, 1915-1918', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 66 (December 1994).

- Gause, Gregory, 'The political economy of national security in the GCC States', in Gary Sick and Lawrence Potter (eds.), *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economics, Security and Religion* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 61-84.
- Gelb, Alan et al, *Oil Windfalls: Blessing or Curse?* (Oxford: OUP, 1988).
- Gerner, Deborah (ed.), *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003), ch. 7.
- Kent, Marian, *Moguls and Mandarins: Oil, Imperialism and the Middle East in British Foreign Policy 1900-1940* (London: Frank Cass, 1993).
- Kerr, Malcolm and El Sayed Yassin, *Rich and Poor States in the Middle East: Egypt and the New Arab Order* (Boulder: Westview, 1982).
- Lesch, David, *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment*, 2nd edn. (Boulder: Westview, 1999).
- Luciani, Giacomo, *The Oil Companies and the Arab World* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).
- Majd, M.G., 'The 1951-53 oil nationalisation dispute and the Iranian economy', *Middle Eastern Studies* (Vol. 31, No. 3).
- Mejcher, Helmut, 'Oil and British policy towards Mesopotamia 1914-18', *Middle Eastern Studies* (Vol. 8, No.3).
- Mohamedi, F, 'Oil, gas and the future of the Arab Gulf Countries', *Middle East Report*, July 1997, pp. 2-6.
- Monroe, Elizabeth, *Britain's Moment in the Middle East 1914-1971* (London: Chatto, 1981), ch. 4.
- Nitzan, Jonathan and Shimshom Bichler, 'Bringing capital accumulation back in: the Weapondollar-Petrodollar Coalition - military contractors, oil companies and Middle East "energy conflicts"', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Summer 1995), pp. 446-515.
- Nitzan, Jonathan and Shimshom Bichler, *The Global Political Economy of Israel* (London: Pluto, 2002), ch. 5.
- Richards, Alan, 'Oil wealth in the Arab world: whence, to whom, and whither?', in D. Tschirgi, *The Arab World Today* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1994), pp. 67-76.
- Richards, Alan and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 2nd edn. (Boulder: Westview, 1996), ch. 15.
- Sampson, Anthony, *The Seven Sisters: The Great Oil Companies and the World They Made* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975).
- Sayigh, Yezid, *The Determinants of Arab Economic Development* (London: Croon Helm, 1978).
- Sayigh, Yezid, *The Economies of the Arab World: Development Since 1945* (London: Croon Helm, 1978).
- Sayigh, Yezid, *Arab Oil Policy in the 1970s: Opportunity and Responsibility* (London: Croon Helm, 1983).
- Sherbiny, N. and Mark Tessler, *Arab Oil: Impact on the Arab Countries and Global Implications* (Praeger, 1976).
- Shwadran, B. *The Middle East, Oil and the Great Powers* (Jerusalem: Israel UP, 1973).
- Skeet, Ian, *OPEC: Twenty-five Years of Prices and Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).
- Spero, Joan and Jeffrey Hart, *The Politics of International Economic Relations*, 5th edn. (London: Routledge, 1997), chapter 9.
- Stocking, G.W. *Middle East Oil: A Study in Political and Economic Controversy* (London: Allen Lane, 1971).
- Venn, Fiona, *Oil Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986).

- Wilson, Rodney, *The Economies of the Middle East* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1979).
- Wilson, Rodney et al, *Economic Development in Saudi Arabia* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).
- Yapp, Malcolm, *The Near East Since the First World War* (London: Longman, 1996), chs. 14, 27.
- Yergin, Daniel, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991).

Water:

- Allan, Tony (ed.), *Water, Peace and the Middle East: Negotiating Resources in the Jordan Basin* (London: IB Tauris, 1996).
- Allan, Tony, *The Middle East Water Question: Hydropolitics and the Global Economy* (London: IB Tauris, 2000).
- Biswas, Asit (ed.), *International Waters of the Middle East: From Euphrates-Tigris to Nile* (Bombay: Oxford UP, 1994).
- Bulloch, John and Adel Darwish, *Water Wars: Coming Conflicts in the Middle East*, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1993).
- Cooley, John, 'The war over water', *Foreign Policy*, No. 54 (1984), pp. 3-26.
- Dolatyar, Mustafa and Tim Gray, 'The politics of water scarcity in the Middle East', *Environmental Politics*, 9(3), 2000.
- Katouzian, M., 'Oil versus agriculture: a case of dual resource depletion in Iran', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1978), pp. 347-69.
- Lowi, Miriam, *Water and Power: The Politics of a Scarce Resource in the Jordan Basin Area*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Richards, Alan and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 2nd edn. (Boulder: Westview, 1996), ch. 6.
- Selby, Jan, *Water, Power and Politics in the Middle East: The Other Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (London: IB Tauris, 2003).
- Selby, Jan, 'Oil and water: the contrasting anatomies of resource conflicts', *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (July 2005 forthcoming).
- Shapland, Greg, *Rivers of Discord: International Water Disputes in the Middle East* (London: Hurst, 1997).
- Shiva, Vandana, *Water Wars: Pollution, Profits and Privatisation* (London: Pluto, 2002).
- Soffer, Arnon, *Rivers of Fire: The Conflict over Water in the Middle East* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999).
- Starr, Joyce, 'Water wars', *Foreign Policy*, No. 82 (1991).
- Wolf, Aaron, *Hydropolitics Along the Jordan River: Scarce Water and its Impact on the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1995.

Agriculture:

- Baroudi, Sami, 'Egypt's agricultural exports since 1973', *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (1993), pp. 63-76.
- Beaumont, Peter and K. McLachlan, *Agricultural Development in the Middle East* (Chichester: Wiley, 1985).
- Elmusa, Sharif, *A Harvest of Technology: The Super-Green Revolution in the Jordan Valley* (Georgetown University: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1994).
- Kazemi, Frahad and John Waterbury (eds.), *Peasants and Politics in the Modern Middle East* (Miami: Florida International UP, 1991).

Kontos, Stephen, 'Farmers and the failure of agribusiness in Sudan', *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (1990), pp. 649-67.  
Richards, Alan, *Egypt's Agricultural Development 1800-1980: Technical and Social Change* (Boulder: Westview, 1982).

## **Week 5. Human Development**

### **Study Questions:**

1. What have been the impacts of rapid population growth on the Middle East?
2. What factors explain the subordinate position of women within Middle Eastern societies?
3. Why does the Middle East rank so poorly in terms of human development?

### **Core Reading:**

#### **Introductory (q.1):**

Richards, Alan and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 2nd edn. (Boulder: Westview, 1996), ch. 4.

#### **Introductory (q.2):**

Taraki, Lisa, 'The role of women' in Deborah Gerner (ed.), *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000), ch. 10.

#### **Essential (q.3):**

UNDP, *Arab Human Development Report 2002*. I'd advise reading the 30 page press kit for the report at <http://www.undp.org/rbas/ahdr/englishpresskit2002.html>.

Mark Levine, 'The UN Arab Human Development Report: A Critique', *Middle East Report Online* at <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero072602.html>.

### **Further Reading:**

#### **Population:**

Moghadam, Valentine, 'Population growth, urbanisation and the challenges of employment' in Deborah Gerner (ed.), *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000), ch. 8.

Richards, Alan and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 2nd edn. (Boulder: Westview, 1996), ch. 5, 10.

#### **Women:**

Abu-Lughod, Lila (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Afshar, Haleh (ed.), *Women in the Middle East: Perceptions, Realities and Struggles for Liberation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993).

Al-Ali, Nadjie Sadig, *Secularism, Gender and the State in the Middle East: The Egyptian Women's Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Gocek, Fatma Muge and Shiva Balaghi, *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity and Power* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1994).

Jabbara, Joseph G. and Nancy W. Jabbara (eds.), *Women and Development in the Middle East and North Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

Meriwether, Margaret L. and Judith E. Tucker, *Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: Westview, 1999).

Milton-Edwards, Beverley, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), ch. 7.

Moghadam, Valentine, *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993).

Moghadam, Valentine M., *Women, Work, and Economic Reform in the Middle East and North Africa* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998).

Nashat, Guity and Judith E. Tucker, *Women in the Middle East and North Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).  
Roded, Ruth (ed.), *Women in Islam and the Middle East: A Reader* (London: Tauris, 1999).

Human development:

The most important sources are UNDP's annual *Human Development Report* (at: <http://www.undp.org>), their annual *Arab Human Development Report* specifically, and the numerous commentaries and discussions on human development in the Middle east that you'll find on the web.

## II. STATE FORMS AND SOCIAL FORCES

### Week 6. Authoritarianism, Tradition, Democratisation

#### Study Questions:

1. Why are there so many authoritarian states in the Middle East?
2. Is the contemporary Middle East still characterised by 'traditional' forms and practices of political authority?
3. What are the prospects for democratisation in the Middle East?

#### Core Reading:

##### Essential (q.1):

Beblawi, Hazem, 'The rentier state in the Arab world' in Giacomo Luciani, *The Arab State* (London: Routledge, 1990), ch. 4.

##### Essential (q.1,2):

Bill, James and Robert Springborg, *Politics in the Middle East*, 4th edn. (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), ch. 4.

##### Introductory (q.3):

Beverly Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), ch. 6.

#### Further Reading:

Ayubi, Nazih, *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East* (London: IB Tauris, 1995).

Baaklini, Abdo, Guilain Denoeuz and Robert Springborg, *Legislative Politics in the Arab World: The Resurgence of Democratic Institutions* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999).

Bromley, Simon, *Rethinking Middle East Politics: State Formation and Development* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), chs. 4-5.

Brynen, Rex, Baghat Korany and Paul Noble (eds.), *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World - Volume 1: Theoretical Perspectives* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995).

Butenschon, Nils, Uri Davis, and Manuel Hassassian (eds.), *Citizenship and the State in the Middle East: Approaches and Applications* (Syracuse: SUP, 2000).

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- Salame, Ghassan (ed.), *Democracy Without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World* (London: Tauris, 1994).
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## **Week 7. Ideologies of Revolution and Resistance: Arab Nationalism and Political Islam**

### **Study Questions:**

1. What has happened to Arab Nationalism?
2. What explains the rise of political Islam in the late twentieth century?
3. Does Islamism present a challenge to regional and global order?

### **Core Reading:**

#### Introductory (q.1):

Owen, Roger, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd edn. (London: Routledge, 2004), ch. 4.

#### Introductory (q.2):

Ayubi, Nazih, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World* (London: Routledge, 1991), ch. 7.

#### Essential (q.3):

Kepel, Gilles, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, 2nd edn. (London: IB Tauris, 2004), conclusion.

or :

Burke, Jason, *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam*, 2nd edn. (London: Penguin, 2004), ch. 1.

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- Jawad, Haifaa, 'Pan-Islamism and Pan-Arabism', in Jawad (ed.), *The Middle East in the New World Order* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 140-161.
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- Owen, Roger, 'Arab nationalism, Arab unity and Arab solidarity', in Talal Asad and Roger Owen (eds.), *The Middle East* (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 16-22.
- Seale, Patrick, *The Struggle for Syria: A Study of Post-War Arab Politics, 1945-58*, 2nd edn. (London: Tauris, 1987).
- Tibi, Bassam, 'Redefining the Arab and Arabism in the aftermath of the Gulf crisis', in D. Tschirgi, *The Arab World Today* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1994), pp. 135-146.
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#### Political Islam:

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- Beinin, Joel and Joe Stork (eds.), *Political Islam: A Reader* (London: IB Tauris, 1996).
- Beyer, Peter, *Religion and Globalization* (London: Sage, 1994).
- Booth, Ken and Tim Dunne (eds.), *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
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- Rashid, Mohammed, *Taliban: The Story of the Afghan Warlords* (London: IB Tauris, 2001).

- Roy, Oliver, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1994).
- Rubin, Barnett, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan*, 2nd edn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
- Zubaida, Sami, *Islam, The People and the State: Essays on Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1989).

### III. CONFLICT, INSTABILITY, INTERVENTION: TWO CASE STUDIES

#### Week 8. The Arab-Israeli-Conflict 1900-1991

##### Study Questions:

1. Is Israel a 'colonial-settler state'? Is it an 'apartheid state' (Uri Davis)?
2. What general factors explain the repeated conflicts between Israel and the Arab states from 1948 onwards?
3. How should we make sense of US policy towards Israel?

##### Core Reading:

###### Introductory (q.1):

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###### Introductory (q.2):

Shlaim, Avi, 'The Middle East: the origins of the Arab-Israeli wars', in Ngaire Woods (ed.), *Explaining International Relations Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 219-40.

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###### Or:

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###### Israel:

Avineri, Shlomo, *The Making of Modern Zionism: Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (New York: Wiedefeld, 1981).

Davis, Uri and W. Lehn, 'Landownership, citizenship and racial policy in Israel', in Talal Asad and Roger Owen (eds.), *The Middle East* (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 145-158.

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Jones, Clive and Emma Murphy, *Israel: Challenges to Identity, Democracy and the State* (London: Routledge, 2002).

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- Shalev, Michael, 'The political economy of Labor Party dominance and decline in Israel', in T. J. Pempel (ed.), *Uncommon Democracies: The One-Party Dominant Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 83-127.
- Shahak, Israel, *Open Secrets: Israeli Nuclear and Foreign Policies* (London: Pluto Press, 1997).
- Shahak, Israel and Norton Mezvinsky, *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel* (London: Pluto Press, 1998).
- Shlaim, Avi, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (London: Allan Lane, 2000).
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- Sternhell, Zeev, *The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State* (Princeton: PUP, 1998).
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- Zureik, Elia, *The Palestinians in Israel: A Study in Internal Colonialism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).

#### The Debate on 1948:

- Beinin, Joel, 'No more tears: Benny Morris and the road back from liberal Zionism', *Middle East Report*, No. 230 (2004).
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- Finkelstein, Norman, *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 2nd edn. (London: Verso, 2001).
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- Masalha, Nur, 'A critique of Benny Morris', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1991), pp. 90-7; reproduced in Ilan Pappé (ed.), *The Israel-Palestine Question* (London: Routledge, 1999).
- Masalha, Nur, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of Transfer in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948* (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).

- Masalha, Nur, *A Land Without a People: Israel, Transfer and the Palestinians 1949-1996* (London: Faber & Faber, 1997).
- Masalha, Nur, *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians* (London: Pluto Press, 2000).
- Morris, Benny, 'The course and character of the Arab exodus from Palestine: the Israel Defence Forces intelligence service analysis of June 1948', *Middle Eastern Studies* (Vol. 22, No.1).
- Morris, Benny, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-49* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).
- Morris, Benny, *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).
- Morris, Benny, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).
- Rogan, Eugene and Avi Shlaim (Eds), *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Said, Edward and Christopher Hitchens (eds.), *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (London: Verso, 2001).
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#### Arab-Israeli Conflicts General:

- Chomsky, Noam, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*, 2nd edn. (London: Pluto, 1999).
- Chomsky, Noam, *Peace in the Middle East? Reflections on Justice and Nationhood* (London: Fontana, 1975).
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- Safran, Nadav, *From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation 1948-1967* (New York: Pegasus, 1969).
- Shlaim, Avi, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (London: Allan Lane, 2000), chs. 6-7.

#### Suez:

- Cohen, Michael and Martin Kolinsky, *Demise of the British Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Responses to Nationalist Movements, 1943-55* (London: Frank Cass, 1998).
- Immerman, Richard H. *John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War* (Princeton: PUP, 1990), ch. 5.

- Kunz, Diane, *The Economic Diplomacy of the Suez Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).
- Kyle, Keith, *Suez* (London: Wiedenfeld, 1991).
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- Morris, Benny, *Israel's Border Wars, 1949-1956: Arab Infiltration, Israeli Retaliation, and the Countdown to Suez* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).
- Ovendale, Ritchie, *Britain, the United States and the Transfer of Power in the Middle East, 1945-1962* (London: Leicester UP, 1996).
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#### 1967 and 1973:

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- Gordon, Haim (ed.), *Looking Back at the June 1967 War* (Westport: Praeger, 1999).
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#### Camp David:

- Kamel, Mohamed, *The Camp David Accords: A Testimony* (London: Routledge, 1986).
- Kissinger, Henry, *Years of Upheaval* (London: Wiedenfeld, 1982).
- Quandt, William, *Camp David. Peace Making and Politics* (Washington DC: Brookings, 1986).
- Quandt, William, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*, 2nd edn. (Berkeley: UCP, 2001).
- Riad, Mahmoud, *The Search for Peace in the Middle East* (Quartet, 1981).

#### Lebanon:

- Bulloch, John, *Final Conflict: The War in the Lebanon* (London: Century, 1983).
- Chomsky, Noam, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*, 2nd edn. (London: Pluto, 1999), ch. 5.
- Fisk, Robert, *Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War* (London: Deutsch, 1990).
- Gilmour, David, *Lebanon: The Fractured Country*, 2nd edn. (London: Sphere, 1987).

#### USSR and the Middle East:

- Dawisha, Adeed and Karen Dawisha, *The Soviet Union in the Middle East: Policies and Perspectives* (London: Heinemann, 1982).
- Freedman, Robert, *Soviet Policy Toward the Middle East Since 1970*, 3rd edn. (New York: Praeger, 1982).
- Golan, Galia, *Soviet Policies in the Middle East: From World War Two to Gorbachev* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990).
- Heikal, Mohammed, *Sphinx and Commissar. The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence in the Arab World* (London: Collins, 1978).

Israel and the US:

- Chomsky, Noam, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, israel and the Palestinians*, 2nd edn. (London: Pluto, 1999), ch. 5.
- Chomsky, Noam, 'Rejectionism and accommodation' in *The Chomsky Reader*, ed. James Peck (London: Serpent's Tail, 1988).
- Christianson, Kathleen, *Perceptions of Palestine: Their Influence on US Middle East Policy* (Berkeley: UCP, 1999).
- Cockburn, Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, *Dangerous Liason: The Inside Story of the US-Israeli Covert Relationship* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991).
- Kaufman, Burton, *The Arab Middle East and the United States: Inter-Ara Rivalry and Superpower Diplomacy* (New York: Twayne, 1996).
- Little, Douglas, *American Orientalism* (London: IB Tauris, 2003).
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- Reich, Bernard, *Securing the Covenant: United States-Israel Relations After the Cold War* (Westport: Praeger, 1995).

## Week 9. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1991-2006

### Study Questions:

1. Why did the Oslo process happen?
2. Why did it collapse?
3. Is a two-state solution feasible? Is it desirable?

### Core Reading:

#### Introductory (q.1,2):

Shlaim, Avi, 'The rise and fall of the Oslo peace process', in Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford: OUP, 2005).

#### Essential (q.1,2):

Oz, Amos, 'The Israeli-Palestinian conflict: tragedy, comedy and cognitive block' and 'Clearing the minefields of the heart', in *Israel, Palestine and Peace* (London: Vintage, 1994).

Malley, Robert, and Hussein Agha, 'Camp David: the tragedy of errors', *New York Review of Books* (9 August 2001). See also the exchange that followed: Morris, Benny, 'Camp David and After: An Interview with Ehud Barak', *New York Review of Books* (13 June 2002); Agha, Hussein, and Robert Malley, 'Camp David and after: a reply to Ehud Barak', *New York Review of Books* (13 June 2002); and Morris, Benny, Ehud Barak, Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, 'Camp David and after – continued', *New York Review of Books* (27 June 2002). all available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/>.

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### Further Reading:

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- Rabbani, M., 'Palestinian Authority, Israeli Rule', in *Middle East Report*, No. 201 (Fall 1996), pp. 2-6.
- Said, Edward, *Peace and its Discontents: Gaza-Jericho 1993-1995* (London: Vintage, 1995).
- Said, Edward, *The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination 1969-1994* (London: Vintage, 1995).
- Selby, Jan, 'Dressing up domination as "cooperation": the case of Israeli-Palestinian water relations', *Review of International Studies*, 29(1), 2003, pp 21-38.
- Selby, Jan, *Water, Power and Politics in the Middle East* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), chs. 4 and 6.
- Usher, Graham, *Palestine in Crisis: The Struggle for Peace and Independence After Oslo*, 2nd edn. (London: Pluto, 1997).

#### The Palestinians and internal Palestinian politics:

- Aburish, Said, *Arafat: From Defender to Dictator* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998).
- Cobban, Helena, *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984).
- Freedman, Robert (ed.), *The Intifada: Its Impact on Israel, the Arab World, and the Superpowers* (Miami: Florida International UP, 1991).
- Gresh, Alain, *The PLO: The Struggle Within: Towards an Independent Palestinian State* (London: Zed, 1985).
- Hart, Alan, *Arafat: Terrorist or Peacemaker?* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1984).
- Kimmerling, Baruch and Joel Migdal, *Palestinians: The Making of a People* (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1993).
- Khan, Mushtaq, *State Formation in Palestine* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).
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- Quandt, William et al, *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism* (Berkeley: CUP, 1973).
- Robinson, Glen, 'The growing authoritarianism of Arafat's regime', *Survival*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1997), pp. 42-56.
- Rubin, Barry, *Revolution Until Victory: The Politics and History of the PLO* (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1994).
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## **Week 10. Iraq: The Roots of the Current Crisis**

### **Study Questions:**

1. Why has Iraq been so politically unstable from the pre-independence era right up to the present day?
2. Why did the US opt to invade Iraq in 2003?
3. What accounts for the extent of the instability and chaos in post-Saddam Iraq?

### **Core Reading:**

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