

PS 134: COMPARATIVE POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Malik Mufti

Spring 2012

Packard 211 (x 72016)

Office Hours: Tuesdays & Thursdays (9:30 – 10:30)

Purpose

This survey course looks at the political development of the Arab states, Turkey, and Iran since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in World War I. It analyzes the various factors that shape the political institutions, actors, and ideologies of these states – factors such as history, culture, religion, economics, and foreign intervention – and tries to reach some conclusions about the prospects for future socio-economic and political change, including liberalization, in the Muslim Middle East. As such, the course seeks to provide students with an empirically rich regional case study of some of the central concerns of comparative politics theory in general.

Requirements

Class will meet from 12:00 to 1:15 on Tuesdays and Thursdays (F+ block) in Tisch 304. There will be one map quiz (worth 5% of the final grade) on 7 February, one mid-term (30%) on 15 March, and a final exam (40%). Students are expected to do all the assigned readings as well as participate in class discussions, which will count for 25% of the final grade.

Readings

The following books (indicated in **bold** in the Course Outline) should be bought at the Tufts Bookstore:

1. Larry Diamond et al. (eds.). **Islam and Democracy in the Middle East**
2. John L. Esposito. **Islam: The Straight Path**
3. David E. Long et al. (eds.). **The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa**
4. Roger Owen. **State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East**

The rest of the readings can either be downloaded via the URLs provided or via Tufts University Libraries – Electronic Journals (**TUL-EJ**) at <http://www.library.tufts.edu>, or they will be provided to you in scanned form.

COURSE OUTLINE

Week One (19 January): Introduction

Week Two (24-26 January): Comparative Politics and State Building

- Gabriel Almond. "Introduction: A Functional Approach To Comparative Politics" in Gabriel A. Almond & James Coleman, eds., The Politics of the Developing Areas (1960), pp. 3-64.
- Seymour Martin Lipset. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy", American Political Science Review, vol. 53, no. 1 (1959): 69-105. [TUL-EJ]
- Samuel P. Huntington. "Will More Countries Become Democratic?", Political Science Quarterly, vol. 99, no. 2 (Summer 1984), pp. 193-218. [TUL-EJ]
- Charles Tilly. "War Making and State Making As Organized Crime" in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., Bringing the State Back In (1985), pp. 169-191. [<http://www.jesusradicals.com/library/tilly/warmaking.pdf>]
- **Owen**: Introduction and Chapter 1 (pp. 1-22).

Week Three (31 January – 2 February): Political Culture and Islam

- **Esposito**: Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-140).
- **Diamond**: Chapters 20-21 (pp. 193-219).
- Sadik J. 'Azm. "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse"; Khamsin (1981), pp. 5-26.

Week Four (7-9 February): The Post-Ottoman Order

- **Long**: Chapter 1 (pp. 1-13).
- **Owen**: Chapters 2-5 (pp. 23-89).
- Elie Kedourie. "The Nation-State in the Middle East"; The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, vol. 9, no. 3 (1987), pp. 1-9.
- Lisa Anderson. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa", Comparative Politics, vol. 20., no. 1 (October 1987), pp. 1-18. [TUL-EJ]

7 February: **Map Quiz**

Week Five (14-16 February): Tradition and Modernity – The Parable of Balgat

- **Esposito:** Chapter 4 (pp. 141-186).
- Daniel Lerner. The Passing of Traditional Society (1958), Chapters 1, 2, 11 (pp. 19-75; 398-412).
- **Diamond:** Chapters 24, 25, 27 (pp. 237-257; 263-267).
- **Owen:** Chapters 7, 9 (pp. 113-130; 154-177).
- Valerie J. Hoffmann. "An Islamic Activist: Zaynab al-Ghazali" in E. W. Fernea, ed., Women and Family in the Middle East (1985), pp. 233-254.

Week Six (21 February): Turkey – Kemalism and Its Critics

- **Long:** Chapter 2 (pp. 15-47)
- Şerif A. Mardin. "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?" in Engin D. Akarlı with Gabriel Ben-Dor, eds., Political Participation in Turkey (1975), pp. 7-32.
- Reşat Kasaba. "Populism and Democracy in Turkey, 1946-1961" in Ellis Goldberg, Reşat Kasaba & Joel Migdal, eds., Rules and Rights in the Middle East: Democracy, Law, and Society (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), pp. 43-68.
- Philip Robins. "The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue", International Affairs, vol. 69, no. 4 (October 1993), pp. 657-676. [TUL-EJ]
- Mark Tessler & Ebru Altınoğlu. "Political Culture in Turkey: Connections among Attitudes toward Democracy, the Military and Islam", Democratization, vol. 11, no. 1 (February 2004), pp. 22-51. [polisci.lsa.umich.edu/documents/111dem02.pdf]
- **Diamond:** Chapters 18-19 (pp. 162-190).

Week Seven (28 February – 1 March): Egypt – Authoritarian Arab Nationalism

- **Long:** Chapter 13 (pp. 397-421).
- **Owen:** Chapters 8, 10 (pp. 131-153; 178-199)
- **Diamond:** Chapter 5 (pp. 48-57).
- Mona El-Ghobashy. "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers", International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol. 37, no. 3 (August 2005), pp. 373-395. [TUL-EJ]
- Amr Hamzawy & Nathan J. Brown. "Can Egypt's Troubled Elections Produce a More Democratic Future?" Carnegie Endowment, Policy Outlook (December 2005): 10 pp. [<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/PO24.brown.hamzawy.FINAL1.pdf>]
- Michele Dunne. "Evaluating Egyptian Reform." Carnegie Endowment, Carnegie Paper No. 66 (January 2006): 24 pp. [<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CP66.Dunne.FINAL.pdf>]

Week Eight (6-8 March): Jordan & Saudi Arabia – Monarchy and Opposition

- **Long:** Chapters 4 & 10 (pp. 91-122; 297-319).
- Lisa Anderson. "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East"; Political Science Quarterly, vol. 106, no. 1 (1991); pp. 1-15. [TUL-EJ]
- Malik Mufti. "Elite Bargains and the Onset of Political Liberalization in Jordan", Comparative Political Studies (February 1999), pp. 100-129. [TUL-EJ]
- Ellen M. Lust-Okar. "The Decline of Jordanian Political Parties: Myth or Reality?" International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol. 33 (2001), pp. 545-569. [TUL-EJ]
- Hazem Beblawi. "The Rentier State in the Arab World" in Giacomo Luciani, ed., The Arab State (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 85-98.
- **Diamond:** Chapters 8 & 11 (pp. 76-83; 99-106).

Week Nine (13-15 March)

13 March: Catch-up and Review

15 March: **Mid-term Examination**

Week Ten (27-29 March): Iraq & Syria – After Ba`thism?

- **Long:** Chapters 5 & 9 (pp. 123-159; 267-296).
- Samir Khalil. Republic of Fear (1989), Chapters 1-2 (pp. 3-72).
- Adeed Dawisha. "The Unraveling of Iraq: Ethnosectarian Preferences and State Performance in Historical Perspective", Middle East Journal, vol. 62, no. 2 (Spring 2008), pp. 219-230. [TUL-EJ]
- International Crisis Group. "Syria Under Bashar (II): Domestic Policy Challenges", ICG Middle East Report No. 24 (11 February 2004): 37 pp.
[<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=2516&l=1>] (Register for free)
- Ali Bayanouni. "The Battle Within Syria: An Interview with Muslim Brotherhood Leader Ali Bayanouni", Terrorism Monitor, vol. 3, No. 16 (11 August 2005), pp. 8-11.
[<http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369769>]
- Stephen Ulph. "Jihadi After Action Report: Syria", United States Military Academy, Combating Terrorism Center (2006): 20 pp.
[<http://ctc.usma.edu/publications/pdf/CTC-JAAR-Syria.pdf>]

Week Eleven (3-5 April): Iran – Revolution and Reform

- **Long:** Chapter 3 (pp. 49-90).

- Said Amir Arjomand. "Iran's Islamic Revolution in Comparative Perspective", World Politics, vol. 38, no. 3 (April 1986), pp. 383-414. [TUL-EJ]
- **Diamond**: Chapters 12-17 (pp. 109-161).
- Abdolkarim Soroush. "Views and Reactions"; FBIS-NES-95-241-S (15 December 1995), pp. 1-31.
- Abdolkarim Soroush. "Soroush, Farhadpur on Secularism"; FBIS-NES-96-022-S (1 February 1996), pp. 1-22.
- Vali Nasr. "The Conservative Wave Rolls On", Journal of Democracy, vol. 16, no. 4 (October 2005): 9-22. [TUL-EJ]

Weeks Twelve & Thirteen (10-12-17-19 April): Islam, Islamism, and Democracy

- **Esposito**: Chapter 5 (pp. 187-249).
- **Diamond**: Chapters 28-30 (pp. 268-298).
- Yahya Sadowski. "The New Orientalism and the Democracy Debate"; Middle East Report, no. 183 (July-August 1993), pp. 14-21; 40.
[<http://web.austin.utexas.edu/chenry/civil/2007/Sadowsky/0.pdf>]
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. "Democracy and Religious Politics: Evidence from Belgium", Comparative Political Studies, vol. 31, no. 3 (June 1998): 292-320. [TUL-EJ]
- Mark Tessler. "Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of religious Orientations on Attitudes Toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries", Comparative Politics, vol. 34 (April 2002), pp. 337-354. [TUL-EJ]
- Malik Mufti. "The Many-Colored Cloak: Evolving Conceptions of Democracy in Islamic Political Thought", American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, vol. 27, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 1-27.

Week Fourteen (24-26 April): Conclusions and Prospects

- **Diamond**: Chapters 2, 4 (pp. 13-27; 35-47).
- **Esposito**: Chapter 6 (pp. 250-295).
- Eva Bellin. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective", Comparative Politics, vol. 36, no. 2 (January 2004), pp. 139-157. [TUL-EJ]
- Elizabeth Rubin. "The Jihadi Who Kept Asking Why", New York Times Magazine (7 March 2004): 12 pp.
[<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9807E5DF173FF934A35750C0A9629C8B63>]