

Professor Max Weiss  
301 Dickinson Hall  
Office Hours: Mon. 2:20-4:20 PM

Aaron Burr 219  
Mon. & Wed. 11-11:50 AM  
maxweiss@princeton.edu

## The Modern Middle East

History 267 / Near Eastern Studies 267  
Princeton University, Spring 2017

This course provides an introduction to the political, social, intellectual and cultural history of the Middle East from the late eighteenth century through the turn of the twenty-first, with an emphasis on the Arab East, Iran, Israel and Turkey. Topics covered include: the end of the Ottoman and Qajar Empires; the integration of the Middle East into the world economy; the establishment of the Middle East state system; the political economy of oil; colonialism and imperialism; the development of political institutions, varieties of nationalism, and religious revivalism; Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict; women's movements; literature and culture; gender and sexuality; and political Islam.

### Course Readings

The following books are available for purchase at Labyrinth Books on Nassau Street; copies are also on reserve at Firestone Library:

Irfan Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*  
Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia*  
S. Yizhar, *Khirbet Khizeh*  
Waguih Ghali, *Beer in the Snooker Club*  
Sadik al-Azm, *Self-Criticism After the Defeat*  
Mahmoud Darwish, *Memory for Forgetfulness: August, Beirut, 1982*

\* Readings indicated with an asterisk (\*) appear in the coursepack, which is available for purchase at Pequod and on reserve in Firestone.

### Course Requirements

Final grades will be determined according to the following criteria:

<u>Precept Attendance &amp; Participation</u>	20%
<u>Midterm</u>	20%
<u>Term Paper</u> (8-10 pages, double-spaced)	25%
<u>Final Exam</u>	35%

#### **Week 1:** Thinking about the Modern Middle East

2/6: What is the modern Middle East?

2/8: State, Society, Economy in Safavid & Qajar Iran; Constitutional Revolution

- \* Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables"
- \* Beinin, "Ottoman reform and European imperialism 1839-1907"
- \* Khalidi, "The 'Middle East' as a Framework of Analysis"

**Week 2:** The fin-de-siècle Middle East

2/13: Ottoman and Iranian Constitutionalisms

2/15: Origins of Zionism, Ottoman Palestine, and Early Zionist Colonization

\* Mirza Malkhum Khan, "The Law"

\* Herzl, "A Solution of the Jewish Question"

\* Pinsker, "Jewish Homeland"

\* Ahad Ha-Am, "The Jewish State and the Jewish Problem"

Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, 7-130

Precept: Reform and Constitutionalism in Ottoman and Iranian Worlds

**Week 3:** Birth of the Middle East State System

2/20: WWI, Imperialism, and the Establishment of the Middle East State System

2/22: Egypt Between Colonialism and Liberal Democracy; Islamic Modernism

\* "The Husayn-McMahon Correspondence"

\* Al-Afghani, "Lecture on Teaching and Learning" / "Answer to Renan"

\* `Abduh, "Laws Should Change" & "The Theology of Unity"

\* Cromer, "The Dwellers in Egypt"

\* Amin, "Liberation of Women"

\* Ahmed, "Discourse of the Veil"

Precept: Zionism, Nationalism, and the Post-WWI Settlement

**Week 4:** The Interwar Period (I): Politics, Economy, Religion

2/27: Islamic Modernism; Political Economy of Oil in Saudi Arabia and Iraq

3/1: Authoritarian Modernization in Turkey and Iran

\* "Saudi Oil Concession to Standard Oil of California, 29 May 1933"

\* Kemal, "Design for a Modern Secular Turkish State (1925)"

\* Edib, "Dictatorship and Reform in Turkey (1929)"

Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia*, 49-137

Orga, *Portrait of a Turkish Family*, 194-299

Precept: Islamic Modernism, Politics, and Gender

**Week 5:** The Interwar Period (II): League of Nations Mandates System

3/6: French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon

3/8: Palestine under British Mandate

\* Antonius, "Syria and the French Mandate"

\* "Abu Ali al-Kilawi: A Damascus Qabaday"

\* Jabotinsky, "The Iron Wall" & "The Ethics of the Iron Wall"

\* Begin, *The Revolt*, 26-91, 212-230, 378-380

\* Ha-Shomer Ha-Zair, "The Case for a Bi-National Palestine"

\* Shertok, "Bi-Nationalism is Unworkable"

\* Swedenburg, "The Role of the Palestinian Peasantry in the Great Revolt"

Precept: The Mandates System

**Week 6:** From World War II to 1948

3/13: From World War II to 1948

3/15: Midterm

S. Yizhar, *Khirbet Khizeh*

"UNSCOP Partition Plan and Responses"

\* Magnes, "UNSCOP Partition Plan Is Opposed, Bi-Nationalism Urged"

\* "Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel"

\* Ben-Gurion, "Address to the Knesset on the Law of Return"

\* "The Law of Return"

\* "The Nationality Law (5712/1952)"

\* "Netanyahu's "Jewish State" Bill"

\* Lynd, "1948"

\* Zurayk, *The Meaning of the Disaster*, 1-50

\* Alami, "The Lesson of Palestine"

Precept: 1948

### **Week 7:** State, Society, and Politics in the Early Postwar Period

3/27: Operation Ajax, U.S. Intervention, and the Cold War in the Middle East

3/29: Pan-Arab Nationalism and the Suez Crisis

\* al-Husri, "The Primacy of Arabism"

\* `Aflaq, "Purifying the National Ideal: Baath Ideology"

\* Wilber, "Summary," *Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran*

Ghali, *Beer in the Snooker Club*

Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia*, 138-202

Precept: Nasserism, Arab Nationalism, and *Beer in the Snooker Club*

### **Week 8:** Social Movements, Ideology, and Varieties of Nationalism

4/3: Authoritarian Populism, Nationalist Ideology, and the Cold War

4/5: The Palestinian Struggle from Radicalism to Revolution

\* Nasser, *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, 25-78

\* Khaled, *My People Shall Live*, 21-66; 125-157; 179-206

\* Hinnebusch, "Liberalization Without Democratization"

Precept: Arab Nationalism, Palestinian Nationalism

### **Week 9:** 1967 and After

4/10: Causes and Consequences of the 1967 War: Setback and Occupation

4/12: U.S. Foreign Policy, Petro-Politics, and Radical Religious Movements

Al-Azm, *Self-Criticism After the Defeat*, 33-141

\* "UN Security Council Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973)"

\* "The Palestinian National Charter" & "PLO Resolution on 242"

\* "Arafat Address" & "Tekoa Response"

\* Qabbani, "The Catastrophe of Arab Defeat (1967)"

\* Al-Banna, "Toward the Light"

\* Qutb, "The America I Have Seen"

\* Qutb, "Signposts Along the Road/In the Shade of the Qur'an"

Precept: 1967 and After

### **Week 10:** The Iranian Revolution and its Aftermaths

4/17: The Iranian Revolution

4/19: The Iran-Iraq War

\* Shari`ati, "Humanity Between Marxism and Religion"

\* Khomeini, "The Necessity of Islamic Government"

\* *The Saddam Tapes*, 132-138, 152-164, 229-236

Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia*, 205-389

Precept: The Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War

### **Week 11**: Politics, Culture, and Constant Conflict

4/24: The Lebanese Civil War: A Short History

4/26: The Palestinian Intifada and the Struggle for Peace

Mahmoud Darwish, *Memory for Forgetfulness: August, Beirut, 1982*

\* Makdisi, "Summer, 1982: The Israeli Invasion"

\* Anziszka, "A Preventable Massacre"

\* "Charter of the Amal Movement" / "Open Letter by Hizb Allah"

\* "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)"

\* Hanna Batatu, "Syria's Muslim Brethren" *Merip Reports*

(November/December 1982): 12-20 + 34.

\* Fred Lawson, "Social Bases for the Hamah Revolt" *Merip Reports*

(November/December 1982): 24-28.

\* The New York Times, "The Murder of a City," June 5, 1982

Precept: Personal Accounts of Lebanese Civil War and Palestinian Intifada

### **Week 12**: The Middle East in the Twenty-First Century

5/1: Gulf Wars, the "Global War on Terror," and Foreign Intervention

5/3: The Arab Uprisings and Futures of the Region

\* "Glaspie-Hussein Interview"

\* "National Security Directive (NSD) 54, January 15, 1991"

\* "U.N.S.C. Resolution 687" & "Kicking the Vietnam Syndrome"

\* *The Saddam Tapes*, 213-218

\* Osama bin Laden, "The Invasion of Arabia (c. 1995/1996)" / "Declaration of Jihad, 8/23/96" / "To the Americans, 10/6/02"

\* Darwish, "Don't Write History as Poetry"

Precept: The Arab Uprisings in the Light of Modern Middle East History

**Paper Due May 5 by 3 PM**

## **Recommended Textbooks**

The course does not have an assigned textbook. The lectures should be sufficient background for you to historically contextualize our readings. Should you wish to prepare yourself with additional details, you may wish to consider the following works:

James Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*

William Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*

Joel Beinin, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East*

Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*

Betty S. Anderson, *A History of the Modern Middle East: Rulers, Rebels, and Rogues*

John Chalcraft, *Popular Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*

James Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*

Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*

## **Term Paper**

One essay (8-10 pages, double-spaced), due by 3 p.m., May 1, at 129 Dickinson Hall. You shall define your own topic and central questions in consultation with your preceptor. Your essay should be based on at least one additional book (beyond course readings) or a set of essays that deals with your topic (to be selected in consultation with your preceptor). Late papers will be penalized at a rate of one-third of one letter grade per day, and emailed papers will not be accepted.

## **Policy on Laptops and Smart Phones**

Given their capacity to distract, laptops will **NOT** be permitted in either lectures or precepts. Also, text messaging or the use of smart phones is not permitted. For more information: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/04/28/why-students-using-laptops-learn-less-in-class-even-when-they-really-are-taking-notes/>

## **Academic Integrity**

In addition to upholding the honor code, students should familiarize themselves with these norms and expectations of academic integrity at Princeton:  
<http://www.princeton.edu/pr/pub/integrity/pages/intro/index.htm>

## Department of History Grading Practices

### **Thesis, Papers, and Exams**

An **A** or **A-** thesis, paper, or exam is one that is good enough to be read aloud in a class. It is clearly written and well-organized. It demonstrates that the writer has conducted a close and critical reading of texts, grappled with the issues raised in the course, synthesized the readings, discussions, and lectures, and formulated a perceptive, compelling, independent argument. The argument shows intellectual originality and creativity, is sensitive to historical context, is supported by a well-chosen variety of specific examples, and, in the case of a research paper, is built on a critical reading of primary material.

A **B+** or **B** thesis, paper, or exam demonstrates many aspects of A-level work but falls short of it in either the organization and clarity of its writing, the formulation and presentation of its argument, or the quality of research. Some papers or exams in this category are solid works containing flashes of insight into many of the issues raised in the course. Others give evidence of independent thought, but the argument is not presented clearly or convincingly.

A **B-** thesis, paper, or exam demonstrates a command of course or research material and understanding of historical context but provides a less than thorough defense of the writer's independent argument because of weaknesses in writing, argument, organization, or use of evidence.

A **C+**, **C**, or **C-** thesis, paper, or exam offers little more than a mere a summary of ideas and information covered in the course, is insensitive to historical context, does not respond to the assignment adequately, suffers from frequent factual errors, unclear writing, poor organization, or inadequate primary research, or presents some combination of these problems.

Whereas the grading standards for written work between **A** and **C-** are concerned with the presentation of argument and evidence, a paper or exam that belongs to the **D** or **F** categories demonstrates inadequate command of course material.

A **D** thesis, paper, or exam demonstrates serious deficiencies or severe flaws in the student's command of course or research material.

An **F** thesis, paper, or exam demonstrates no competence in the course or research materials. It indicates a student's neglect or lack of effort in the course.

### **Precepts and Seminar**

A student who receives an **A** for participation in discussion in precepts or seminars typically comes to every class with questions about the readings in mind. An 'A' discussant engages others about ideas, respects the opinions of others, and consistently elevates the level of discussion.

A student who receives a **B** for participation in discussion in precepts or seminars typically does not always come to class with questions about the readings in mind. A 'B' discussant waits passively for others to raise interesting issues. Some discussants in this category, while courteous and articulate, do not adequately listen to other participants or relate their comments to the direction of the conversation.

A student who receives a **C** for discussion in precepts or seminars attends regularly but typically is an infrequent or unwilling participant in discussion.

A student who fails to attend precepts or seminars regularly and adequately prepared for discussion risks the grade of **D** or **F**.