Fall 2012, University of California, Berkeley

History 109C:
History of the Middle East from the 18th Century:
From Ottoman Rule to the Arab Spring

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MWF 11-12P
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Reader: TBC

What are the root causes of the Arab Spring? How was the US occupation of Iraq related to the Islamic Revolution in Iran? What are the origins of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and how have they impacted other developments in the region? This course focuses on these and other issues fundamental to understanding the modern Middle East from the age of Empires in the 19th century to the era of Pax-Americana and the Arab Spring. Some familiarity with the general history of this region as covered in lower-division survey courses, such as History 12, is helpful but not a pre-requisite.

Goal
This course surveys the key processes, events and personalities that have shaped the societies, states and economies of the Middle East since the 18th century. It is designed to help contextualize current developments, to identify various interpretative frameworks for approaching history in general and for understanding the Middle East in particular, and to acquaint students with a variety of useful sources ranging from film to specialized academic articles.

Requirements
Students are expected to attend every class to hear the lecture, ask questions and participate in discussion. The grade consists of an in-class quiz (20%), a take-home mid-term essay (30%) and a final exam (50%).

Description
The ongoing Arab Spring that began in 2011 has shaken the world and the entire Middle East, toppling dictators in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and perhaps, by the end of this course, Syria. It shocked a world used to analyzing the persistence of authoritarianism in a putatively frozen region, opening a new chapter whose contours will be evolving during this course.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990 had heralded the emergence of a new world order dominated by a single power, the United States. For a variety of reasons, not least of which is oil, the Middle East, has become the geographical center for an intense struggle over the shape of this new global order: by way of illustration, the first two decades of the post Cold-War era began with the US-Iraq war of 1991 and ended with the formal end of the US occupation of Iraq in 2011 after eight years of war and occupation. The Middle East also became the primary symbolic theater for the still open-ended ‘war on terror’ that President George W. Bush declared in the wake of the attacks of September 11, 2001. In the minds of millions of Americans, Muslims and Arabs, the majority population in the Middle East,
replaced communists and Russians as the enemy in a struggle between good and evil both abroad and at home. In the decade since, the future direction of the new world order as well as the future of civil liberties at home has seemed to depend on what happened in Iraq, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the ruling regimes in the oil-producing countries, especially Saudi Arabia. The stakes are high and the choices stark: at one end of the spectrum is an apocalyptic clash of civilizations that erodes civil liberties at home and drives a foreign policy characterized by unilateralism, militarism and neo-liberal economic policies; on the other, a utopian world of universal human rights, international law, multilateralism, and redistributive economic policies. In the ongoing wake of the Arab Spring, rarely has it been more relevant to ask: how did the modern Middle East come into being? And why does it seem to be so central to the underlying forces shaping current events?

Part I of the course is a brief introduction to competing frameworks for understanding the place of the Middle East in the imaginations of peoples in Europe and the United States. Part II traces the historical evolution from empires to states by outlining the forces behind the emergence of new states and identities after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire that, until the First World War, had ruled much of this region for over 400 years. Part III examines how the social structures, economic dynamics, state institutions and ideological worldviews of the peoples of the region were shaped and transformed by nationalist struggles against British and French colonial rule and by state-led nation-building projects. Part IV looks at the post-independence period which was marked by ambitious economic development and social engineering projects on the one hand, and, on the other, devastating regional conflict in the context of the Cold War. The causes and effects of increasing US economic and military interventions in the region are analyzed in Part V which begins with the Islamic Revolution in Iran and ends with the US occupation of Iraq and the Arab Spring. This general outline will be filled in through case studies, thematic comparisons with other regions, and thorough attention to the everyday lives of ordinary men and women as they struggle for survival, economic advancement, justice and human dignity. The social and cultural dimensions will be highlighted through film, fiction, biographies and articles on women and gender.

Requirements
Students are expected to attend every class to hear the lecture, ask questions and participate in discussion. An in-class quiz counts for 20% of the grade. In addition, there will be a take-home mid-term essay (30%) and a final exam (50%).

Readings
All readings are compulsory; optional readings are marked *.
- If unable to find the cited latest version of a textbook, previous versions are authorized; online catalogs will provide respective anitables of contents to identify the equivalent pp.
- The following books can be purchased or checked out from Library Reserve

Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge UP, 2005)
Charles Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict. A history with documents*, 7th ed. (Bedford/St Martin’s, 2009)

Resources
**Lectures & Events** – The Center for Middle Eastern Studies hosts a lecture series every semester, which attracts some of the best scholars on the Middle East. For information, check out the CMES web site at: [www.ias.berkeley.edu/emes](http://www.ias.berkeley.edu/emes)

**Films on the Middle East** – In addition to the holdings at Moffitt & the Pacific Film Archives, take advantage of the Arab Film Festival (in San Francisco October 11\textsuperscript{th} - 14\textsuperscript{th}, arabfilmfestival.org) and the San Francisco Jewish Film Festival (sfjff.org)

**News websites** – News about the Middle East is reported by the corporate media in the US in ways that are strikingly different from the coverage in Europe, Asia or the Middle East itself. Check out the corporate media, such as the *New York Times* & CNN, but also try to become familiar with alternative media coverage. In addition, take a look at websites of news organizations in other country to get a taste of what the rest of the world reads about the Middle East. The following is but a small sample:

Britain: *Guardian* (guardian.co.uk), BBC (bbc.co.uk/news)

Egypt: *Al-Ahram Weekly* (ahram.org.eg), *Egypt Independent* (egyptindependent.com)

France: *Le Monde Diplomatique* in English (mondediplo.com)

Israel: *Haaretz* (haaretz.com)

Lebanon: *Daily Star* (dailystar.com.lb)

Additional sources:

Jadaliyya (jadaliyya.com)

MERIP (merip.org)

The Forward (forward.com)

Al-Jazeera (aljazeera.com)

**Schedule**

**Part I: Introduction**

**Week 0: Introductions**

August 24

**Week 1: Knowledge & Power: Covering the Modern Middle East**

August 27, 29, 31

- James Gelvin, “The Middle East & the Modern World System,” Ch. 3 in *The Modern Middle East*, 33-44


- Bernard Lewis & Edward W. Said in “The Historical Context: the West & Islam”, Ch. 8 in Marvin Gettleman and Stuart Schaar, eds., *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed (Grove Press, 2011), 344-353

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Part II: From Empires to States

Week 2: The Ottoman Legacy: The View from the Centre
September 5, 7 (no class September 3: Labor Day)
• Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge UP, 2005), 1-12, 54-110

Week 3: Land & Labour: The View From Below
September 10, 12, 14
• Judith Tucker, “Decline of the Family Economy in Mid-19th-Century Egypt,” *Arab Studies Quarterly* 1:3 (1979), 245-271

Week 4: The Encounter with Europe & the Formation of the Modern State System
September 17, 19, 21
• Gelvin, “The Question of Modernity”, Chs. 8-10, 143-179
• Quataert, 111-202
• C. Smith, *Palestine & the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Chs 1-3, 13-164

Week 5: Nation-Building in Turkey & Iran
September 24, 26, 28

- Gelvin, “WW1 & the Middle East State System”, 171-196
- Ali Ansari, *Modern Iran*, 1-158

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Part 3: Colonialism, Nationalism & the Social Question

**Week 6: “To Reign but not to Govern.” The Colonial Experience in Egypt & Iraq**
October 1, 3, 5

- Gelvin, “The Introduction & Spread of Nationalism,” Chs. 11-12, 184-207
- Khaled Fahmy, “Mehmed Ali’s Army & the Egyptian Nation” in *All the Pasha’s Men* (Cambridge UP, 1997), 239-277
- Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes & Revolutionary Movements in Iraq* (Saqi, 2004), Chs. 2, 17
- Hanna Batatu, *The Egyptian, Syrian & Iraqi Revolutions* (Georgetown, 1984)
- Ellen Fleischmann, “The Other “Awakening”: The emergence of women’s movements in the modern Middle East, 1900-40” in Meriwhether & Tucker, 89-134
- Tripp, *History of Iraq*, Chs. 2-3, 30-104

**Week 7 (& beginning of 8): Mandate Syria, Lebanon, Palestine; Republican Iraq**
October 8, 10, 12

- Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens. Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege & Gender in French Syria & Lebanon* (Columbia UP, 2000), 19-57
- Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, Ch. 5, 143-84
- Gelvin, “The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Dispute”, Ch.14, 217-31
- Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel* (Princeton UP, 1999), 3-46

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Part IV: Economic Development & Regional Conflicts in the Cold War Era

**Week 8: Arab Nationalism & the Politics of the Cold War**
October 15, 17, 19


**Week 9: Oil & the State: From Import Substitution to Structural Readjustment**
October 22, 24, 26

- Excerpts from speeches by Jamal Abd al-Nasser & Anwar Sadat in Marvin Gettleman & Stuart Schaar, eds., *The Middle East & Islamic World Reader*, 3rd ed. (Grove Press, 2012), Ch.7, 31 (a) & (b): 289-293

**Week 10: The Palestinian National Movement & the Arab-Israeli Conflict to the Oslo Accords**
October 28, 31, November 2

- C. Smith, *Palestine & the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Chs. 7-9, 300-432

**Week 11: The Lebanese Civil War**
November 5, 7, 9

- Salim Nasr, “Lebanon’s War: Is the End in Sight?,” *Middle East Report* 162, 5-8
- Sune Haugbolle, *War & Memory in Lebanon* (Cambridge UP, 2010), 161-193

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**Part V: The Middle East & the US/The US in the Middle East**

**Week 12: The Islamic Revolution in Iran & the US**
November 14, 16 (No class November 12: Veterans’ Day)
• Gelvin, Chs. 17-20, 266-318
• Ansari, Modern Iran, 159-345
• “US Presidential Policies 1947-2002” in Gettleman & Schaar, Ch.7, §27 (a)-(e)

Week 13: Israel Over Palestine: the Political Economy of Occupation
November 19, 21 (No class November 23: Thanksgiving)

• Charles Smith, Chs. 10-11, 333-536
• Peter Lagerquist, “Privatizing the Occupation. The Political Economy of an Oslo development project”, Journal of Palestine Studies 32:2 (Winter 2003), 5-20
• Jeff Halper, “The 94% Solution: A matrix of control,” Middle East Report 30:3 (Fall 2000), 15-19

Week 14: The US & the Middle East from 9/11 to the ‘Arab Spring’
November 26, 28, 30

• Tripp, A History of Iraq, Ch.7
• Gelvin, “The Middle East in the Age of Globalization”, 319-337
• Asef Bayat, “Activism & Social Development in the Middle East”, International Journal of Middle East Studies 34:1 (Feb 2002), 1-28
• “President Obama’s Vision for New Beginnings in the Middle East: Cairo University, Egypt, June 4 2009” (Ch. 8, §36) in Gettleman & Schaar
• Ahmed Kanna, “Dubai in a Jagged World”, Middle East Report 243 (Summer 2007), 23-9