

**Princeton University
Department of Politics**

Politics 433: Challenge of Democracy in the Middle East

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Office Hours: Wed. 10-12:00

Course Description:

Today more than ever the US is invested in promoting democracy in the Arab world. The world is awash with images and popular assumptions that both bear concretely on policy decisions and perpetuate the myths of “Arab” and “American” that shape policy recommendations. How does mainstream American popular culture represent the Arab world? How does mainstream Arab popular discourse represent the US? And how, then, do these perceptions guide policy recommendations, as well as local and international reactions to them? Have inaccurate popular perceptions led to misguided policy recommendations? What then are the larger implications for democracy?

To begin answering these questions, we will first examine the popular construction of “The Arab World” and “America” in each of the two regions. Drawing on sources like the World Bank, UN, and USAID, we will consider the most crucial economic, political, and social issues facing Arab countries today and survey policy responses to these existing dilemmas. Through our examination of specific policies aimed at the promotion of democracy in the Arab world, we will ask ourselves whether a) the policy recommendations are suitable for the given issues at hand; b) what understandings of the Arab world shape policy recommendations; and c) what are the determinants of successful policy implementations?

This course will enhance students’ understandings of the theoretical and empirical realities that shape the promotion of democracy worldwide. This course will also add to current understandings about the ways in which social, economic, and political factors have hindered democracy in the Arab world.

Course Requirements:

- Attendance/Participation and Discussion (based on the readings for each week). Grade: 25%
- **Three** 3-5 page response papers to readings. Grade: 25%

- Student must lead the seminar **three** times during the course of the semester. Leaders must send a one-two page analytical memo, outlining the readings, to the entire class by Wed. noon of each week. Students **may not** lead and write about the same topic in a given week. Grade: 25%
- One final 15-20 page paper based on the topics explored in the course. A two-page outline and proposal is due by Wed March 16, 2005. Grade: 25% Final paper due on: Tuesday May 10th, 2005 (Dean's Date)

Required Texts (Available for purchase at Princeton University Bookstore. Books are also on reserve at Firestone Library).

- MENA Development Report: *Better Governance for Development in the Middle East and North Africa: Enhancing Inclusiveness and Accountability*. The World Bank, 2003.
- Afkhami, Mahnaz and Erika Friedl. *Muslim Women and the Politics of Participation*. Syracuse University Press, 1997.
- Barlas, Asma. *Believing Women in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Quran*. Texas University Press, 2002.
- Hamzeh, Ahmad Nizar. *In the Path of Hizbullah*. Syracuse University Press, 2004.
- McAlister, Melani. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and US interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000*. University of California Press, 2001.
- Lockman, Zachary. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Week I: Feb2- Introduction

Week II: Feb 9--Democratization of the Middle East: Why and What Needs to Be Done?

a. Why Democracy?

Rdgs:

- Brynen, Rex, Korany, Bahgat, and Paul Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World (Volume 1.)* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995 pgs. 3-55.
- Gary Gambill. Explaining the Arab Democracy Deficit Part I, 2003. http://www.meib.org/articles/0302_me.htm
- Gary Gambill. Explaining the Arab Democracy Deficit Part II, 2003. http://www.meib.org/articles/0308_me1.htm
- President Bush and the Importance of Democracy: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/02/20040204-4.html>
- World Bank on unemployment: [http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/EmploymentOverview/\\$File/Employment-overview.pdf](http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/EmploymentOverview/$File/Employment-overview.pdf)
- World Bank on Investment: [http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/Trade+Report/\\$File/trade-overview.pdf](http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/Trade+Report/$File/trade-overview.pdf)
- UN Human Development Report 2003—Executive Summary: http://www.undp.org/rbas/ahdr/ahdr2/presskit/6_AHDR03ExSum_E.pdf

b. Who Can help?

- Martina Ottaway. *Promoting Democracy in the Middle East: Problems with US Credibility*, 2003. <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/wp35.pdf>

- Mona Yacoubian. *Promoting Middle East Democracy: European Initiatives*, 2003. <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr127.html>
- Global Concerns: Tamara Cofman Whites. *The International Spectator* Fall 2004. Promoting Democracy in the Arab World: The Problem of Joint Action. <http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/views/articles/fellows/wittes20041231.pdf>

Week III: Feb 16-- *The Arab World and American Popular Culture*

- Melani McAllister. *Epic Encounters*. Entire Book.

Week IV: Feb 23—*America and Arab Popular Culture*

- Zachary Lockman. *Contending Visions of the Middle East*. **Entire Book.**

Week V: March 2nd— *The Greater Middle East Initiative*

- *Changing Minds Winning Peace: A New Direction for US Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World*. Report on the Advisory Group of Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World. Chairman: Edward Djerejian, 2003. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/24882.pdf>
- Marc Lynch. “Taking Arabs Seriously,” *Foreign Affairs*. September 2003. <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030901faessay82506/marc-lynch/taking-arabs-seriously.html>
- Sheila Carapico. “Foreign Aid and Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” *Middle East Journal*. Summer 2002. <http://209.196.144.55/pdf/Carapico379-395.pdf>
- Amaney Jamal. “9-11 and the Detroit Arab and Brooklyn Muslim Communities,” *SSRC: Reframing the Challenge of Migration and Security*, 2004. http://www.ssrc.org/programs/gsc/publications/gsc_activities/migration/jamal.pdf
- Timothy Mitchell. “McJihad: Islam and the US Global Order,” *Social Text*. 2002. (e-journals)
- Abdel Mahdi Abdallah. *Causes of Anti-Americanism in the Arab World. A Socio-Political Perspective*. MERIA, 2003. <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2003/issue4/abdallah.pdf>

- Amy Hawthorne. "Is US 'Beacon of Hope' or Enemy Number One," *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2004. <http://www.cfr.org/publication.php?id=7464>
- David Ignatius. "Real Arab Reform," *Washington Post*. March 12, 2004. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A51888-2004Mar11.html>
- Zbigniew Brzezinski. "The Wrong Way to Sell Democracy to the Arab World," *New York Times*. March, 2004. <http://www.middleeastinfo.org/article4023.html>
- John Esposito, Azim Nanji, and Vail Nasr. *Of Burkhas and Ballots*. 2003. <http://www.uncommonknowledge.org/800/825.html>

Week VI: March 9th--- Better Governance for the Middle East (Part I)

- World Bank. *Better Governance for Development in the Middle East*. Pgs. 1-103.
- *The Arab World Competitiveness Report 2002-2003: Executive Summary*. http://www.weforum.org/pdf/Global_Competitiveness_Reports/Reports/AWCR_2002_2003/Exec_Summary.pdf
- Alan Richards. "Modernity and Economic Development," *Middle East Policy*. Fall, 2003. http://www.mepc.org/public_asp/journal_vol10/0309_richards.asp
- Mustafa al-Sayyid. "Democracy Awakening in the Arab World," *Al Jazeera*. May, 2004. <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/304E377D-0D93-49DA-BF95-8E342649147A.htm>
- John Entelis. "Morocco: Democracy Denied," *Le Monde Diplomatique*. October, 2002. <http://mondediplo.com/2002/10/13morocco>
- Amy Hawthorne. "Political Reform in the Arab World: A New Ferment?," *Carnegie Foundation*. October, 2004. http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_52%20Hawthorne.pdf
- Middle East Online. "US Arab Forum Closes with Differences on Reform." December, 13, 2004. <http://www.middle-eastonline.com/english/morocco/?id=12122>
- Afshin Molavi. "The Arab World Needs a Development Bank," *The Herald Tribune*. August 9, 2004. <http://www.iht.com/bin/print.php?file=533167.html>

Week VII: March 16th—Better Governance for the Middle East (Part II)

- World Bank. *Better Governance for Development in the Middle East*. Pgs. 105-210.
- Nader Fergany. “The Institutional Context of Human Development in the Arab World.” July, 2002.
<http://www.almishkat.org/engdoc02/Institutional/Institutional%20context%20-Princeton.pdf>
- Marc Levine. “The UN Arab Human Development Report: A Critique,” *Middle East Report Online*. July, 2002. <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero072602.html>
- BBC: “US Blocking Arab Freedom Report,” December, 23, 2004.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4121261.stm>
- Al Jazeera. “US Accused of Blocking UN Report.” December, 18, 2004.
<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/22BF513A-4544-4840-8836-E8A671A7980C.htm>
- Al Jaerah. “UN Report Survives US Objectives,”
<http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/3900FCF8-AD2C-4123-89B9-DAC884A932D6.htm>
- Rami Khouri. “Time to Reform the Arab Reform Industry.” June 23, 2004.
<http://www.aljazeera.info/Opinion%20editorials/2004%20opinions/June/23%20o/Time%20to%20reform%20the%20Arab%20reform%20industry,%20Rami%20G%20Khouri.htm>

Week VIII: March 23rd: Spring Break

Week IX: March 30 – Gender and Democracy in the Arab World.

- Asma Barlas. *Believing Women in Islam*. Entire Book.
- Saba Mahmood. “Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival,” *Cultural Anthropology*. 2001.
<http://anthropology.berkeley.edu/CA.2001.pdf>

Week X: April 6: *Gender and Democracy in the Arab World (cont).*

- Afkhami and Friedl (eds). *Muslim Women and the Politics of Participation*. Chapters: 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.
- Martina Ottaway. "Women's Rights and Democracy in the Arab World," *Carnegie Foundation*, 2004. <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/CarnegiePaper42.pdf>
- World Bank. *Gender and Development in the Middle East and North Africa*. [http://Inweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/GenderReport-overview/\\$File/GENDER-REPORToverview.pdf](http://Inweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/GenderReport-overview/$File/GENDER-REPORToverview.pdf)
- Steven Fish. "Islam and Authoritarianism," *World Politics*. 2002. (e-journals) http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/world_politics/v055/55.1fish.html
- Daniello Donno and Bruce Russett. "Islam, Authoritarianism and Female Empowerment: What are the Linkages? *Unpublished manuscript*. http://www.yale.edu/unsy/brussett/Islam_WP.pdf

Week XI: April 13th: *Political Islam and Violence*

- Ahmad Nizar Hamzeh. *In the Path of Hizbullah*. (Entire Book).

Week XII: April 20th: *Islamism and Violence cont:*

- State Department Symposium. *Islam and Democracy: Possibilities, Challenges, and Risks of Bringing Democracy to Islamic Nations, Government and People*. 2003. <http://www.state.gov/s/p/of/proc/22190.htm>
- Charles Kurzman. "Pro-US Fatwas," *Middle East Policy*. Fall, 2003. (e-journals)
- Graham Fuller. "Islamists in the Arab World: The Dance around Democracy," *Carnegie Foundation*, 2004. <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/cp49.fuller.final.PDF>

Does Islam Promote Violence (Evidence from the Texts)

- Asghar Ali. Islamic Ethic: <http://ecumene.org/IIS/csss24.htm>
- Imam Muhammad Shirazi. *Non-Violence in Islamic Teachings*:
<http://www.shirazi.org.uk/non.htm>
- Islam and Violence: http://answering-islam.org.uk/Terrorism/islam_and_violence.html
- Yahya Harun: The Pacifism of Islam:
http://www.islamdenouncesterrorism.com/the_pacifism_of_islam.html
- Ijtihad Org—Fatwa Bank: What does Islam say about Violence:
<http://www.islamonline.net/fatwa/english/FatwaDisplay.asp?hFatwaID=80090>
- What the Islamic Scriptures Really Say About Jihad and Violence:
<http://islam.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http://www.beliefnet.com/story/87/story%5F8753%5F1.html>

Week XIII: April 27th: Iraq and Palestine/Israel

- Gary Gambill. “Democratization, the Peace Process, and Islamic Extremism,” *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*. http://www.meib.org/articles/0407_me1.htm
- Emanuele Ottolenghi. “Don’t Postpone Arab Democracy,” *The Jerusalem Post*. Nov, 30, 2004.
<http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/JParticle/Printer&cid=1101830894032&p=1006953079865>
- Steven Cook. “Which Things Come First,” *Haaretz*. Jan 14, 2005.
http://www.cfr.org/pub7608/steven_a_cook/which_first_things_first.php
- Lamis Andoni. “Arab Democracy and Progress Require Justice for Palestinians.” November 2003. <http://www.jerusalemmites.org/articles/english/nov2003/15.htm>
- Catherine Cook. “Final Status in the Shape of the Wall,” *Middle East Report Online*. September, 2003. <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero090303.html>
- Ariel Natan Pasko. “The Real Wall in Israel,” *The Front Page*. August, 2003.
<http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=9324>
- The Pew Research Center. “Views of A Changing World, 2003.” <http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=185>
- International Crisis Group. *What Can the US Do In Iraq?* December, 2004.
http://www.icg.org/library/documents/middle_east_north_africa/iraq_iran_gulf/34_what_can_the_us_do_in_iraq.pdf

- Michael Hirsch and John Barry. “The Salvador Option,” *News Week*. Jan, 2005.
<http://msnbc.msn.com/id/6802629/site/newsweek/>
- The Economist. “Counting the Casualties,” November, 2004.
http://www.economist.com/science/displayStory.cfm?story_id=3352814
- *Off Target: The Conduct of War and Civilian Casualties in Iraq*.
http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/usa1203/usa1203_sumrecs.pdf
- Mathilde Soyer. “Missing Information: US Media Mishandle the Story on 100,000 Dead Iraqi Civilians,” *Baltimore Chronicle and Sentinel*. November, 2004. <http://baltimorechronicle.com/110304Soyer.shtml>
- Rashid Khalidi. “Fallujah 101,” *In These Times*, November, 2004.
<http://www.inthesetimes.com/site/main/article/1683/>
- “US Arabic Channel [Al-Hurra] A turn-off.”
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/usa/story/0,12271,1149371,00.html>
- Zaid al-Ali. “IMF and the Future of Iraq,” *Middle East Report Online*. December, 2004. <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero120704.html>
- What Went Wrong in Iraq:
 - Larry Diamond. *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2004.
<http://middleeastinfo.org/article4729.html>