**Dornsife College**

**Sovereignty in the Middle East**

**MDES 345p**

**Professor: Dina Jadallah**

**Spring 2015**

**Time: TuTh 11:00-12:20**

**4 units**

**Location: WPH 205**

**Office: Taper Hall 449F**

**Office Hours: Wednesdays, 10:30 am – 12:30 pm, and by appointment**

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**Course Description**

 This course will cover the evolution of the notion and practice of sovereignty in the Middle East from the pre-modern era to the present. We will start by exploring the centrality of the concept of Justice (*al-‘adala*) as a key to legitimizing power as it was historically-transmitted across the region. Justice expressed a relationship between a ruler or ruling entity and a populace and still echoes in present-day worldviews and discourses in the Middle East region. This notion of justice is parallel, but not identical, to the modern concept of sovereignty, in that it expresses some of the internal dimensions of rule, or the relationship between the sovereign power and its subjects. While the notion of sovereignty co-developed with the emergence of the nation-state (at the Peace of Westphalia), and while this nation-state model was successfully imposed and/or spread around the world, the relationships between state and society, between authority and citizens/subjects remains problematic. Specifically, what is the nature of power and authority, where are they manifested politically, how are the nation’s publics formed and whether and how these publics’ views are substantively and effectively represented – remain contentious issues, especially in authoritarian states such as many in the Middle East. This dominant relationship has a reciprocal dimension, in that it is the populace that either endows or withholds the granting of authority to the ruler, and as such, the notions of justice and sovereignty are inter-linked.

This class will evaluate justice, sovereignty, and nationalism as analytic categories – as causes and consequences – in the Middle East context and explore their interaction. We will study how the region’s pre-modern history, followed by its experiences of colonialism and imperialism, affected the institutions, practices, and oppositions that emerged in the region. Shifting to the contemporary period, students will also explore the seminal themes that predominate in the discourses about sovereignty (*al-siyada*) and justicein Arab political and popular debates; the political economy of ‘post’-colonialist subordination in the international system; various forms, manifestations and practices of sovereignty; transgressions of sovereignty by state and non-state actors; and struggles for justice and representation in the sovereign state.

**Course objectives**

Upon completion of this course, students should:

1. Be familiar with the history of the notion and practice of sovereignty in the Middle East.
2. Understand the persistence of historically-antecedent ideas about Justice in regional worldviews and their transmission and effects on contemporary institutions, practices, and ideas.
3. Understand the analytical categories of sovereignty, nationalism, and nation-state.
4. Be familiar with significant texts and writers on the topic of sovereignty and just rule as well as with main practitioners and practices in the region.
5. Explore the different perspectives by which just rule and sovereignty have been analyzed in different eras and contexts across the region.
6. Think critically about the effects of changes in the international system and economy on domestic politics, economic development, society, and oppositions in the Middle East.
7. Speak and write knowledgeably about the impacts of great power interventions and of authoritarian rule on political development, ideological debates, and oppositions in the region.
8. Assess how the practice of sovereignty in Middle East states may co-produce domestic and international domination and how that may impact resistances in various forms and forums.

**Course Requirements**

 Each week, students will be assigned an average of *100 pages* to read.

This course involves both lectures and extensive class discussions. Students are therefore required to complete all assigned readings prior to class and to come prepared to participate effectively. Missing 3 classes (unexcused) will affect your final grade. If you are experiencing any problems that are affecting your school work and/or class attendance, please meet with me as soon as possible. Please do not wait until the end of the semester to inform me about early problems. I will be glad to help you.

Students are required to write and discuss in class *four response papers* commenting on the assigned readings. At the start of the semester, students will sign up for four topics of their choosing. These papers should be 2-3 pages, double spaced, 12 font, paginated, and stapled. Students *mus*t make an argument in their essays! Students are expected to (1) synthesize the readings by characterizing the question, problem, or theme; (2) integrate the readings with other contexts or other course readings, where applicable; and (3) analyze and evaluate the argumentation and evidence that are presented in the assigned works. Students will each have 5-10 minutes to present and discuss their papers in class. Papers will be turned in at the end of the class session. It is not fun for me to chase late papers! Please submit all papers on time. One grade will be deducted for each day that the paper is late.

Please find the Rubrics for the response papers on Blackboard.

Assigned readings will be posted on Blackboard or are available on-line. Links to online articles are included in the syllabus and on Blackboard.

**Grading**

1. Participation: Complete each week's assigned reading before class, attend classes, and participate in class discussions: 10%.

2.Written Requirement and Presentation*:* Four response papers on the themes and works assigned.Each paper counts for 10%, for a 40% total.

3- **Midterm in Week 8 March 8: 20%.**

4- **Final Exam, Tuesday, May 12, 2016, 11 am – 1 pm: 30%.**

**Required Books**

Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, (Routledge, Taylor, and Francis, 2013).

Elizabeth F. Thompson, *Justice Interrupted: The Struggle for Constitutional Government in the Middle East*, (Harvard University Press, 2013).

Roger Owen, *State Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, (Gallup Press, 2007). Book Available for free (automatic) e-download [here](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CB8QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ibrarian.net%2Fnavon%2Fpaper%2FState__Power_and_Politics_in_the_Making_of_the_Mo.pdf%3Fpaperid%3D15143685&ei=96eIVdX5FYHSsAXL7pWoBw&usg=AFQjCNG-EtDoaA76xyRsvtGr7fuhEp2RpQ&sig2=VJc9rYk1G85noHxkcwbkGA).

**Weekly Readings**

**Week 1: Class Introduction; Historical background – the relationship between the concept of Justice and political power in the Middle East; Sign up for Response Papers**

**1/12:**

Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, (Routledge, Taylor, and Francis, 2013). Chapter One, “Introduction: The Circle of Justice,” pp. 2-12.

**1/14:**

Darling, Chapter 2, “Mesopotamia: “That the strong might not oppress the weak”,” pp. 15-31.

Darling, Chapter 3, “Persia: “the deeds God likes best are righteousness and justice”,” pp. 33-46.

**Week 2: Historical background, cont. - Justice as a foundation for legitimate government**

**1/19:**

Darling, Chapter 4, “The Islamic Empire: “No prosperity without justice and good administration,” pp. 49-65.

‘Ali ibn Abi Taleb, “Letter 53: An Order to Malik al-Ashtar,” *Nahj al-Balagha*, Available [here](http://www.al-islam.org/nahjul-balagha-part-2-letters-and-sayings/letter-53-order-malik-al-ashtar).

**1/21:**

Patricia Crone, “Ninth Century Muslim Anarchists,” *libcom.org*, March 17, 2015.

Darling, Chapter 5, “Politics in transition: “Curb the strong from riding on the weak,” pp. 67-82.

Darling, Chapter 6, “The Turks and Islamic Civilization: “The most penetrating of arrows is the prayer of the oppressed,” Introduction p. 86, The Seljuks and their advisors, pp. 89- 91, The Book of Counsel for Kings, pp. 93-94, Conclusion, p. 101.

**Week 3: Historical Background, cont. - Socio-political transformations and changing patterns of authority and identity**

**1/26:**

Darling, Chapter 7, “Mongols and Mamluks: “Fierce toward offenders, and in judgements just,” pp. 103-125.

Stephen Frederic Dale, “Ibn Khaldun: The Last Greek and the First *Annaliste* Historian,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 38, (2006: 431-451).

**1/28:**

Darling, Chapter 8, “Early Modern empires: “The World is a garden, its wall is the state,” pp. 127-154.

**Week 4: Concepts: Sovereignty**

**2/2:**

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, Excerpts from *Empire*, (Harvard University Press, 2001). “2.2 Sovereignty of the Nation-State,” pp. 93-113. And “2.3 The Dialectics of Colonial Sovereignty,” pp. 114-136. Available [here](http://www.angelfire.com/cantina/negri/HAREMI_printable.pdf).

Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*, (Princeton University Press, 2000), Chapter 1 ‘Sovereignty and its Discontents,’ pp. 3-42. Book available through USC: [http://uscp.sirsi.net/uhtbin/cgisirsi/x/0/0/5?searchdata1=4442079{CKEY}](http://uscp.sirsi.net/uhtbin/cgisirsi/x/0/0/5?searchdata1=4442079%7bCKEY%7d). Chapter also available [here](https://gsari.files.wordpress.com/2014/03/krasner-sovereignty-cap-1.pdf).

**2/4:**

Roger Owen, *State Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, (Gallup Press, 2007), Chapter 1 “The end of empires: the emergence of the modern Middle Eastern states,” pp. 5-22. Book Available for free (automatic) e-download [here](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CB8QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ibrarian.net%2Fnavon%2Fpaper%2FState__Power_and_Politics_in_the_Making_of_the_Mo.pdf%3Fpaperid%3D15143685&ei=96eIVdX5FYHSsAXL7pWoBw&usg=AFQjCNG-EtDoaA76xyRsvtGr7fuhEp2RpQ&sig2=VJc9rYk1G85noHxkcwbkGA).

Murtaza Hussein, “The Myth of the 1,400 Sunni-Shia War,” *Al-Jazeera*, July 9, 2013, Available [here](http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/07/2013719220768151.html).

**Week 5: Concepts: Nation, State, and Arab Nationalism**

**2/9:**

Benedict Anderson, Excerpt from Chapter 4, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso, 2006)*.* Available [here](https://www2.bc.edu/marian-simion/th406/readings/0420anderson.pdf).

Timothy Mitchell, “The Limits of State,” *The American Political Science Review,*

Vol. 85(1) (March 1991), pp. 77-96. Available [here](http://www.eden.rutgers.edu/~spath/385/Readings/Tim%20Mitchell%20-%20The%20Limits%20of%20State%20-%20Beyond%20statist%20approaches%20and%20their%20critics.pdf).

**2/11:**

Yaseen Noorani, "Sovereign Virtue and the Emergence of Nationality," in *Culture and Hegemony in the Colonial Middle East*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 23-49.

Earnest P. Dawn, “The Origins of Arab Nationalism,” Chapter 1 in Rashid Khalidi et al. (eds.), *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, (Columbia University Press, 1991), pp. 3-30.

**Week 6: Seeking just sovereign rule: Models of constitutional government and novel sovereign practices**

**2/16:**

Darling, Chapter 9, “Modernization and revolution: “No justice without law applied equally to all,” pp. 157-181.

Elizabeth F. Thompson, *Justice Interrupted: The Struggle for Constitutional Government in the Middle East*, (Harvard University Press, 2013). “Introduction,” pp. 1-12.

**2/18:**

Thompson, Chapter 2, “Tanyus Shahin of Mount Lebanon: Peasant Republic and Christian Rights,” pp. 37-60.

Thompson, Chapter 3, “Ahmad ‘Urabi and Nazem al-Islam Kermani: Constitutional Justice in Egypt and Iran,” pp. 61-88. Substitute Juan Cole,

**Week 7: Constituting Nation-States out of Empires; ‘Decolonization’ as a process**

**2/22:**

Prasenjit Duara, “Introduction,” in Prasenjit Duara (ed.), *Decolonization - Perspectives from Now and Then*, (Taylor & Francis, 2003), pp. 1-20.

Frantz Fanon, “Algeria Unveiled,” in Prasenjit Duara (ed.), *Decolonization - Perspectives from Now and Then*, (Taylor & Francis, 2003).

**2/24:**

Jalal Al-i Ahmad, "Diagnosing an Illness," *Occidentosis: A Plague from the West* (trans. R. Campbell), (Berkeley, Mizan Press: 1984), pp. 27-36.

John D. Kelly and Martha Kaplan, "'My ambition is much higher than independence': US Power, the UN World, the Nation-state, and their Critics," in Prasenjit Duara (ed.), *Decolonization - Perspectives from Now and Then*, (Taylor & Francis, 2003), pp. 131-151.

**Week 8: After Independence from colonial rule - Identity & Authority – internal sovereign relationships with external repercussions**

**2/29:**

Darling, Chapter 10, “The Middle East in the twentieth century: “The regime will endure with unbelief, but not with injustice,” pp. 183-210.

Michael C. Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, (Yale University Press, 1977), Chapter 1 “The Legitimacy Problem in Arab Politics,” pp. 1-30.

**3/2:**

Raymond Hinnebusch, *International Politics of the Middle East*. (Manchester, GBR: Manchester University Press, 2003), Chapter 3, “Identity and Sovereignty in the Regional System,” pp. 54-72.

Owen, Chapter 2, “The Growth of State Power in the Arab World,” pp. 27-44. Book Available for free (automatic) e-download [here](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CB8QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ibrarian.net%2Fnavon%2Fpaper%2FState__Power_and_Politics_in_the_Making_of_the_Mo.pdf%3Fpaperid%3D15143685&ei=96eIVdX5FYHSsAXL7pWoBw&usg=AFQjCNG-EtDoaA76xyRsvtGr7fuhEp2RpQ&sig2=VJc9rYk1G85noHxkcwbkGA).

**Week 9:**

**3/8: Mid-term Examination**

**3/11: Political Economy, a limit on sovereign practices in the Middle East**

Naeem Inayatullah and David L. Blaney, "Realizing Sovereignty," *Cambridge University Press* 21 (1) (1995: 3-20).

#### Mitchell, Timothy, “[Carbon Democracy](https://archivocienciassociales.files.wordpress.com/2015/03/t-mitchell-carbon-democracy.pdf),” Economy and Society 38, no. 3, (August 2009: 399-432).

**Spring Recess: March 13-20**

**Week 10: Political Economy II, Globalization and Peripheral Development**

**3/22:** Raymond Hinnebusch, *International Politics of the Middle East*. (Manchester, GBR: Manchester University Press, 2003), Chapter 8 “The Middle East in an Era of Globalisation, 1991-2001,” pp. 204-239.

Samir Amin, *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*, trans. Brian Pierce, (Monthly Review Press, 1976). Excerpt from Chapter 4 “The Origin and Development of Underdevelopment,” pp. 198-214. Available [here](https://maoistrebelnews.files.wordpress.com/2015/04/unequal-development.pdf).

**3/24: Religious and Secular Debate on Renewal, Justice, and Sovereignty in Modern State and Society**

Halim Barakat, *The Arab World: Society, Culture and State*, (University of California Press, 1993), Chapter 11, “Arab Thought: Problems of Renewal, Modernity, and Transformation,” pp. 239-266.

Muhammad Arkoun, “Present-Day Islam between its Tradition and Globalization,” in F. Daftary (ed.), *Intellectual Traditions in Islam* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), pp. 179-221.

**Week 11: Religious and Secular Discourses - Struggles for Sovereignty and Justice, within and outside of the political framework**

**3/29:**

Thompson, Chapter 10, “Sayyid Qutb and Ali Shariati: The Idea of Islamic Revolution in Egypt and Iran,” pp. 275-308.

**3/31:**

Thompson, Chapter 7, “Comrade Fahd: The Mass Appeal of Communism in Iraq,” pp. 177-206.

Thompson, Chapter 8, “Akram al-Hourani and the Baath Party in Syria: Bringing Peasants into Politics,” pp. 207-235.

**Week 12: Constituting power; Alternative Conceptualizations of Democratic Practices under Authoritarian Conditions**

**4/5:**

Lisa Wedeen, *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen*, (University of Chicago Press, 2008), Chapter 1 ‘Imagining Unity,’ pp. 22-66. Book available through USC at: [http://uscp.sirsi.net/uhtbin/cgisirsi/x/0/0/5?searchdata1=4439239{CKEY}](http://uscp.sirsi.net/uhtbin/cgisirsi/x/0/0/5?searchdata1=4439239%7bCKEY%7d). Chapter available on Blackboard.

**4/7:**

Lisa Wedeen, *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen,* Chapter 3 ‘The Politics of Deliberation: *Qat* Chews as Public Spheres,’ pp. 103-147.

**Week 13: Sovereignty and Occupation – Practices of Sovereignty in Fragmented Spaces**

**4/12:**

Derek Gregory, *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), Chapter 5, “Barbed Boundaries,” pp.76-106.

Nir Gazit, “Social Agency, Spatial Practices, and Power: The Micro-Foundations of Fragmented Sovereignty in the Occupied Territories,” *International Journal of Political Culture and Society*, Vol. 22 (2009: 83-103).

**4/14: Challenges of Sovereignty - Contemporary protest and marginalized groups**

Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, (Zone Books, 2010). Chapter 1 ‘Waning Sovereignty, Walled Democracy,’ pp. 7- 35. Available [here](http://theloon2013.wikispaces.com/file/view/Wendy%2BBrown%2B-%2BWalled%2BStates%2BWaning%2BSovereingty.pdf).

Laura Khouri and Seif Da‘na, “Palestine as a Woman”: Feminizing Resistance and Popular Literature,” *The Arab World Geographer* (June, 2013: 147-176).

**Week 14:**

**4/18:**

Thompson, Chapter 11, “Wael Ghonim of Egypt: The Arab Spring and the Return of Universal Rights," pp. 309-335.

Rashid Khalidi, “Preliminary Historical Observations on the Arab Revolutions of 2011,” *Jadaliyya,* <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/970/preliminary-historical-observations-on-the-arab-re>.

**4/20: Transgressions of Sovereignty – Military Interventionism**

Hinnebusch, Raymond, “The Middle East in the World Hierarchy: Imperialism and Resistance,” *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol. 14 (April 2011: 213-246).

Owen, Chapter 6, “The Remaking of the Middle Eastern Political Environment after the Gulf War,” pp. 103-120. Book Available for free (automatic) e-download [here](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0CB8QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ibrarian.net%2Fnavon%2Fpaper%2FState__Power_and_Politics_in_the_Making_of_the_Mo.pdf%3Fpaperid%3D15143685&ei=96eIVdX5FYHSsAXL7pWoBw&usg=AFQjCNG-EtDoaA76xyRsvtGr7fuhEp2RpQ&sig2=VJc9rYk1G85noHxkcwbkGA).

Timothy Mitchell, "McJihad: Islam in the U.S. Global Order," *Social Text*, Vol. 20 (4), (2002: 1-18).

**Week 15: Transgressions of Sovereignty - Non-State Actors**

**4/25:**

Owen, Chapter 11, “Some Important Non-State Actors,” pp. 200-215.

Elden, Stuart, and Alison J. Williams, “[The Territorial Integrity of Iraq, 2003-2007: Invocation, Violation, Viability](http://dro.dur.ac.uk/6840/1/6840.pdf?DDD14+dgg0se+dul4eg),” *Geoforum*, 40 (2009: 407-17).

**4/27: ISIS and Review for Final**

Roberts, Hugh, “The Hijackers,” *London Review of Books*, Vol. 37(14) (16 July 2015). Available [here](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v37/n14/hugh-roberts/the-hijackers).

Mia Bloom, “Six Things You Need to Know about ISIS and Women,” *The Washington Post*, 4 June 2015.Available [here](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/06/04/six-things-you-need-to-know-about-women-and-isis/).

Hope Lozano Beilat, “Islamic State and the Hypocrisy of Sovereignty,” *E-International Relations,* 20 March 2015. Available [here](http://www.e-ir.info/2015/03/20/islamic-state-and-the-hypocrisy-of-sovereignty/).

**Final Exam: Tuesday, May 12, 2016, 11 am – 1 pm**

**Statement on Academic Conduct and Support Systems**

**Academic Conduct**

Plagiarism – presenting someone else’s ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences.  Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Section 11, *Behavior Violating University Standards* [https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions](https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions/).  Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable.  See additional information in *SCampus* and university policies on scientific misconduct, [http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct](http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct/).

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university.  You are encouraged to report any incidents to the *Office of Equity and Diversity* <http://equity.usc.edu> or to the *Department of Public Safety* <http://adminopsnet.usc.edu/department/department-public-safety>.  This is important for the safety of the whole USC community.  Another member of the university community – such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member – can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person.  *The Center for Women and Men* http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/cwm/ provides 24/7 confidential support, and the sexual assault resource center webpage <http://sarc.usc.edu> describes reporting options and other resources.

**Support Systems**

A number of USC’s schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing.  Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more.  Students whose primary language is not English should check with the *American Language Institute* <http://dornsife.usc.edu/ali>, which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international graduate students.  *The Office of Disability Services and Programs* <http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home_index.html> provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations.  If an officially  declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, *USC Emergency Information* [*http://emergency.usc.edu*](http://emergency.usc.edu)will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.