



Department of Government
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Govt 40.01: The Arab Uprisings Winter 2013

Prof. Dirk Vandewalle
Office hours: Wed 10-12
Office: 232 Silsby
Class: Tue, Thu 2-3:50
X-hour: Wed 4:15-5:05

Description:

The political transitions that were set in motion in the Middle East and North Africa in December 2010--collectively described as the Arab Spring or the Arab Uprising--are but the beginning of a long process of adjustments local regimes and societies will need to make to account for greater, and more viable, demands for accountability and transparency of local rulers.

It is virtually impossible, however, to understand both the emergence of this latest wave of contestation in the Arab world and its likely future without comprehending first the emergence of the highly authoritarian regimes in the Middle East since the region's independence roughly half a century ago. The first part of this course covers this historical emergence of middle eastern regimes since the early 1950s.

In each country--Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Bahrain, Morocco, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait--elites have responded differently to the uprising, depending in part on the institutional repertoire each country possessed and on how the different regimes perceived their strategies for survival. As yet, it is unclear what the different trajectories of each country's period of upheaval will be, but they all share important common political elements and developments: transitional arrangements as the first phase of contestation comes to an end, proposed elections leading to constitution-making processes and to referendums that are meant to introduce--or re-introduce--forms of constitutional government.

In order to understand this protracted process and a possible move toward more democratically-inclined political systems, we will study the mechanics of transition through a comparative case-study approach in particularly Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria. Peripherally we also study the question of why the Arab Gulf states have been relatively immune from popular uprisings, and we incorporate in our discussion as well the role international actors (the United Nations, the Arab League, the African Union, the European Union) have played in the unfolding of the uprisings and beyond.

Requirements:

- First midterm, 25% of grade
- Second midterm 25% of grade
- Final paper 25% of grade
- Class participation 25% of grade
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We will devote part of one class period discussing sources for writing your papers, with the help of Fran Oscadal from the Baker Library staff.

For students who are not familiar with the Middle East, I would urge you to read as quickly, and as much as possible, the James Gelvin, *The Arab Uprising* book as well as James Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History*. Although we will cover some individual chapters in different session throughout the seminar, the more you read up front, the better your understanding of the later materials will be.

Attendance and class requirements:

- You are required to read each day's assignments from the syllabus before you come to class. **Attendance is mandatory** Exams in this course will cover materials from the required readings and lectures
- Students are at all times expected to adhere to Dartmouth's honor code.
- Only under exceptional circumstances will exams be rescheduled for individual students. Students must keep their X-hours free for possible additional classes and office hours.

Required Books

- James L. Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford University Press, 2012)
- James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (Oxford University Press, third edition, 2011)
- Steven A. Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square* (Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Mark Lynch, *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East* (Public Affairs, 2012)
- Dirk Vandewalle, *A History of Modern Libya* (Cambridge University, second edition,

2012)

BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTS

8 January: INTRODUCTION – The Arab Uprisings

9 January (X-hour) – Concepts: Upheaval or Revolutions?

- “Islam and the Arab Awakening” – **on Blackboard**
- Eva Bellin, “A Modest Transformation: Political Change in the Arab World after the “Arab Spring”” – **on Blackboard** in Clement Henry and Jang Ji-Hyang, *Arab Awakenings, Democratic Transitions?*

10 January and 15 January: History: State and Nation-building in the Middle East

- Chapters from Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History*
- Lynch, Chapter 2, “The Arab Cold War”
- Steven Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 (pages 9-154)
- Dirk Vandewalle, *A History of Modern Libya*
- Christopher Davidson, *After the Sheikhs*, Chapter 1

16 January (X-hour): State and Nation-building in the Middle East: Concepts

- Nazih Ayubi, Chapter 3, “State Formation in the Modern Era: the Colonial/Indigenous Mix”
- Nazih Ayubi, Chapter 9, “Bureaucratic Growth: Development Versus Control”

17 January and 22 January: Explaining the Arab Uprisings

- **Discussion of paper topics and sources, with Fran Oscadal**
- Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings*, Chapter 1, “Revolutionary Wave?”
- Lynch, *The Arab Uprising*, Chapter 3, “Building Toward Revolution”
- Lynch, *The Arab Uprising*, Chapter 4, “A New Hope”
- Steven Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt*, Chapter 5, “A Tale of Two Egypts”

CASE STUDIES

5 February: Tunisia

- Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings*, Chapter 2, “The Beginning: Tunisia and Egypt”
- Additional readings TBA

6 February (X-hour) – FIRST MIDTERM

7 February: Arab Uprisings: The Greatest Treasure - Egypt

- Steven Cook, *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square*, Chapter 7, “Uprising”

- Additional readings TBA

12 and 14 February: Libya

- Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings*, Chapter 3, "Uprisings in Weak States: Yemen and Libya"
- Dirk Vandewalle, *A History of Modern Libya*, Chapters 6 and 7

19 February: Syria

- Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings*, Chapter 4, "Two Surprises: Algeria and Syria"
- Bassam Haddad and Ella White, "Government, Opposition, and Authoritarian Breakdowns: The Case of Syria" – **on Blackboard**

20, 21 February. Arab Uprisings: The Immutable Gulf States?

- Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings*, Chapter 5, "The Monarchies"
- Lisa Anderson
- Mark Lynch, Chapter 6, "The Empire Strikes Back: The Counterrevolution"
- Christopher Davidson, *Beyond the Sheikhs*, Chapters 2, 3, 6
- Quinn Meecham, "Bahrain's Evolving Social Contract: Political Mobilization, Regime Responses, and the New Authoritarianism" – **on Blackboard**
- Russell Lucas, "The Gulf Monarchies and the Arab Spring" – **on Blackboard**

ARAB UPHEAVALS, REVOLUTION, AND DEMOCRACY

26 February. The Arab Uprisings and the Future: Are These Revolutions?

- John Foran, "Taking Power, Re-Making Power: The Threads of the Cultures of Resistance behind the Arab Spring" – **on Blackboard**
- Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "The Arab Counterrevolution" – **on Blackboard**
- Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "This is Not a Revolution" – **on Blackboard**
- Dirk Vandewalle, "After Kaddafi" *Foreign Affairs*, Nov-Dec 2012 – **on Blackboard**

28 February. SECOND MIDTERM

5 and 7 March. After the Arab Uprising: Moving Toward Democracy?

- Mehran Kamrava, "The Rise and Fall of Ruling Bargains in the Middle East" – **on Blackboard**
- Dirk Vandewalle, "Illusive Revolutions? Elusive Social Movements? The Arab Spring, Democracy, and Some Possible Lessons from Libya" – **on Blackboard**
- Jason Brownlee, "Democratic Sequels, Autocratic Calm: Why Arab Regimes Survived the 'Fourth Wave'" – **on Blackboard**
- Mark Lynch, *The Arab Uprising*, Chapter 8, "America's Challenge"
- Olivier Roy, "The Transformation in the Arab World" in *Journal of Democracy* – **on Blackboard**

