

The New Middle East

The New Middle East is one of the first comprehensive books written by prominent scholars of the region and of comparative politics to critically examine the Arab popular uprisings of 2010–2012. While these uprisings prompted a number of cursory publications, this volume contains meticulous and thoughtful reflections on the causes, drivers and effects of these seminal events on the internal, regional and international politics of the Middle East and North Africa. Although specific conditions in individual countries that have experienced large-scale popular mobilizations are investigated, they are neither treated in isolation nor separated from broader developments in the region. Instead, the authors highlight connections between individual case studies and systemic conditions throughout the Arab arena. These include the crisis of political authority, the failure of economic development and new genres of mobilization and activism, especially communication technology and youth movements. The careful analysis and reflection on the prospects for democratic change in the region ensures the book will have an immediate and enduring appeal.

Fawaz A. Gerges is a Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science, where he directs the Middle East Centre. Gerges is the author of several acclaimed books, including Obama and the Middle East: The End of America's Moment?; The Rise and Fall of Al-Qaeda and The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global. He has written extensively on Arab politics and the international relations of the Middle East. His articles have appeared in Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, Newsweek, the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Guardian and the Independent.





The New Middle East

Protest and Revolution in the Arab World

Edited by FAWAZ A. GERGES

Middle East Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107616882

© Cambridge University Press 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data Gerges, Fawaz A., 1958–

The new Middle East: protest and revolution in the Arab World / Fawaz A. Gerges.

London School of Economics.

pages cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-02863-0 (hardback) – ISBN 978-1-107-61688-2 (paperback)

1. Arab Spring, 2010– 2. Protest movements – Middle East – History – 21st century.

3. Protest movements – Arab countries – History – 21st century. 4. Middle East – Economic conditions – 21st century. 5. Arab countries – Economic conditions – 21st century. 6. Revolutions – Middle East – History – 21st century. 7. Revolutions – Arab countries – History – 21st century. 1. Title.

JQ1850.A91G374 2013 909'.097492708312-dc23 2013018643

> ISBN 978-1-107-02863-0 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-61688-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of Figures and Tables	
Contributors	xi
Acknowledgments	
1. Introduction: A Rupture Fawaz A. Gerges	I
PART I: CONTEXT AND CAUSES	
2. Authoritarian Legacies and Regime Change: Towards Understanding Political Transition in the Arab World Lisa Anderson	41
3. Egypt's Modern Revolutions and the Fall of Mubarak <i>Juan Cole</i>	60
4. A Depressive Pre–Arab Uprisings Economic Performance <i>Ali Kadri</i>	80
5. Bread and Olive Oil: The Agrarian Roots of the Arab Uprisings Rami Zurayk and Anne Gough	107
PART II: THEMATIC AND COMPARATIVE ASPECTS	
6. The Politics of Resistance and the Arab Uprisings Charles Tripp	135
7. Egypt's 25 January Uprising, Hegemonic Contestation, and the Explosion of the Poor <i>John Chalcraft</i>	155



vi Contents

8.	The Military amidst Uprisings and Transitions in the Arab World Philippe Droz-Vincent	180
9.	Women, Democracy and Dictatorship in the Context of the Arab Uprisings Sami Zubaida	209
10.	Dangers and Demon(izer)s of Democratization in Egypt: Through an Indonesian Glass, Darkly John T. Sidel	226
	PART III: COUNTRIES IN TURMOIL	
II.	Egypt and Tunisia: From the Revolutionary Overthrow of Dictatorships to the Struggle to Establish a New	
	Constitutional Order Roger Owen	257
12.	Arab Nationalism, Islamism and the Arab Uprisings Sadik Al-Azm	273
13.	Yemen: Revolution Suspended? Gabriele vom Bruck, Atiaf Alwazir and Benjamin Wiacek	285
14.	Libya in Transition: From <i>Jamahiriya</i> to <i>Jumhūriyyah? Karim Mezran</i>	309
15.	Bahrain's Uprising: Domestic Implications and Regional and International Perspectives Kristian Coates Ulrichsen	332
	PART IV: REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS	
16.	Saudi Internal Dilemmas and Regional Responses	
	to the Arab Uprisings Madawi Al-Rasheed	353
17.	Israel, Palestine, and the Arab Uprisings <i>Avi Shlaim</i>	380
18.	Turkey and Iran in the Era of the Arab Uprisings <i>Mohammed Ayoob</i>	402
19.	U.S. Policy and the Arab Revolutions of 2011 William B. Quandt	418
20.	Europe and the Arab Uprisings: The Irrelevant Power? <i>Federica Bicchi</i>	429



Contents	vii
21. Conclusion: Rebellious Citizens and Resilient Authoritarians Valerie Bunce	446
Selected Bibliography	469
Index	483





List of Figures and Tables

Figures

4.I	Actual and foregone GDP in the Arab world as a result	
	of the Gulf War	page 86
4.2	Long-run average per capita growth rate	89
4.3	Annual growth rates of real GDP per capita	91
4.4	Investment rate for the Arab world	93
5.1	Proportion of rural population in selected Arab	
	countries	III
5.2	Annual percentage of rural population growth	
	in selected Arab countries	112
5.3	Share of agricultural population as percentage of total	
	population considered economically active in selected	
	Arab countries	113
5.4	Percentage of rural and urban poverty in selected	
	Arab countries	114
5.5	Rural and national poverty levels in selected	
	Arab countries	115
5.6	Gini coefficients for diet, income, and land in selected	
	Arab countries	116
5. 7	Agriculture, value added (percentage of GDP) for selected	
	Arab countries	117
5.8	Share of government expenditure in agriculture and	
	defence (percentage of total expenditure) for selected	
	Arab countries in 1995, 2003, 2007	118



 \mathbf{x}

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-02863-0 - The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World Edited by Fawaz A. Gerges Frontmatter More information

List of Figures and Tables

Tables

4.1	Military spending as a percentage of GDP for selected	
-	Arab countries, 1988–2005	87
4.2	List of selected conflicts and wars in the Arab world	88
4.3	Growth in real GDP per capita in the Arab world	91



Contributors

Sadik Al-Azm is Professor Emeritus of Modern European Philosophy at the University of Damascus and is currently a Fellow at the Käte Hamburger Institute at the University of Bonn. He was a Visiting Professor at Princeton University until 2008. His area of specialisation is the philosophy of Immanuel Kant with a more current emphasis on the Islamic world and its relationship to the West. He has also contributed to the discourse on Orientalism. The most recent of his long list of publications is an English translation of *Al-Naqd al-dati ba'd al-hazimah* (*Self-Criticism after the Defeat*) (2011).

Madawi Al-Rasheed is Professor of Anthropology of Religion at King's College, London. She has worked on Saudi history, society, politics and religion, Arab migration to Britain, Christian minorities in the Arab world, the Islamist movement and Gulf transnational connections. Her most recent publications include Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation (2007); Kingdom without Borders: Saudi Arabia's Political, Religious and Media Frontiers (2008); A History of Saudi Arabia (2010); Demystifying the Caliphate: Historical Memory and Contemporary Contexts (with Carool Kersten and Marat Shterin) (2012); and A Most Masculine State: Gender, Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia (2013).

Atiaf Alwazir is a researcher and development consultant working with civil society organizations in the Middle East and North Africa on programmes related to social justice. She also blogs at 'womanfromyemen', providing analysis on the situation in Yemen. She is currently working on several assignments in research and her work has been featured in several



xii Contributors

outlets including the Arab Reform Initiative, *Jadaliyya*, *Foreign Policy*, Project on Middle East Democracy, *Al-Akhbar* and the *Guardian*.

Lisa Anderson was appointed president of The American University in Cairo in January 2011. A specialist on politics in the Middle East and North Africa, Anderson served as the university's provost from 2008 to 2010. Anderson has served as the James T. Shotwell Professor of International Relations at Columbia University and is the former dean of the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia. Her publications include *Pursuing Truth*, *Exercising Power: Social Science and Public Policy in the Twenty-First Century* (2003) and *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya*, 1830–1980 (1986). Anderson is past president of the Middle East Studies Association and past chair of the board of the Social Science Research Council.

Mohammed Ayoob is University Distinguished Professor of International Relations at Michigan State University. He is the author of The Many Faces of Political Islam (2008). His edited volume, Assessing the War on Terror, is forthcoming. He is currently working on a book Will the Middle East Implode? scheduled for publication in early

Federica Bicchi is Lecturer in the International Relations of Europe in the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science, where she teaches European Foreign Policy, with a special emphasis on the Middle East and Arab-Israeli relations. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the European University Institute in Florence. Her research interests focus on EU foreign policy towards its southern neighbourhood, on which she has published, inter alia, *European Foreign Policy Making towards the Mediterranean* (2007), as well as on the role of information exchanges within the EU foreign policy system.

Valerie Bunce is Professor of Government and the Aaron Binenkorb Chair of International Studies at Cornell University. She received her doctorate in Political Science from the University of Michigan and taught at Northwestern University and the University of Zagreb. She is the coauthor, most recently, of *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries* (2011). She is a former president of the Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies Association and Vice President of the American Political Science Association. In 2010, she was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.



Contributors

xiii

John Chalcraft is a Reader in the History and Politics of Empire/Imperialism at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Previous posts include a Lectureship at the University of Edinburgh and a Research Fellowship at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. His research focuses on history from below in the Middle East. He is the author of *The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories: Crafts and Guilds in Egypt*, 1863–1914 (2004) and *The Invisible Cage: Syrian Migrant Workers in Lebanon* (2009). He is currently writing a book on transnational popular politics and protest movements in the making of the modern Arab world, focusing on how hegemony is made and unmade 'from below'.

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen is the Baker Institute Fellow for Kuwait and an Associate Fellow of Chatham House. He was formerly a Research Fellow in the Department of Government at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His research focuses on the changing international relations and international political economy of the Gulf states, on political and economic reformulation and on the rise of new security threats and challenges. He is the author of *Insecure Gulf: The End of Certainty and the Transition to the Post-Oil Era* (2011) and the editor of *The Transformation of the Gulf: Politics, Economics and the Global Order* (2011) and *The Political Economy of Arab Gulf States* (2012).

Juan Cole is the Richard P. Mitchell Collegiate Professor of History at the University of Michigan and Director of its Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies. He is the author of numerous articles and books on the Middle East and South Asia. His most recent are *Napoleon's Egypt* (2007) and *Engaging the Muslim World* (2009). Cole is a public intellectual and a frequent guest on television and radio, and he maintains the blog *Informed Comment*.

Philippe Droz-Vincent is an Assistant Professor of Political Science in International Relations and Comparative Politics. He is the author of *The Middle East: Authoritarian Regimes and Stalled Societies* (2004) and numerous articles, including 'Authoritarianism, revolutions, armies and Arab regime transitions' (*The International Spectator*, June 2011) and 'A return of armies to the forefront of Arab politics?' (Working Paper 11/21, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, 2011.)

Anne Gough is a Researcher on food sovereignty, farming systems and landscapes. She is currently based in Beirut. After working on small farms in the United States, she became dedicated to issues of food justice and



xiv

agrarian livelihoods. With Dr Rami Zurayk, she has co-authored a monograph on the use of food as a tool of control, which is currently being prepared for publication.

Contributors

Ali Kadri is a Senior Research Fellow at the National University of Singapore. Kadri was a visiting Fellow in the Department of International Development at the London School of Economics and Political Science and Head of the Economic Analysis Section at the United Nations regional office for Western Asia. He is currently conducting research on the political economy of the Arab world.

Karim Mezran is a Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council's Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East and Adjunct Professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. He was an assistant professor of political science at the John Cabot University and acted as a visiting professor at the Libera Università per gli Studi Sociali in Rome. His most recent publications are (with Alice Alunni) 'Power shifts in the Arab spring: A work in progress' (Bologna Center Journal of International Affairs, 2012), Libia: Fine o rinascita di una nazione? (ed. with Arturo Varvelli 2012) and 'Libya's wars' (The American Interest, September/October 2011).

Roger Owen is A.J. Meyer Professor of Middle East History at Harvard University. His main research interests are the economic and political history of the Middle East since 1800 and theories of imperialism, including military occupations. Professor Owen's publications include Lord Cromer: Victorian Imperialist: Edwardian Proconsul (2004); State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East revised version (2004); and, with Şevket Pamuk, A History of the Middle East Economies in the 20th Century (1999).

William B. Quandt holds the Edward R. Stettinius Chair in the Department of Politics at the University of Virginia where he teaches courses on the Middle East and American foreign policy. He has been a Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution and served as a staff member on the National Security Council (1972–1974, 1977–1979). Dr Quandt has also worked at the University of Pennsylvania, the Rand Corporation, UCLA and MIT. His publications include Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967, third edition (2005); Between Ballots and Bullets: Algeria's Transition from Authoritarianism (1998) and The United States and Egypt: An Essay on Policy for the 1990s (1990).



Contributors

ΧV

Avi Shlaim is a Fellow of the British Academy and an Emeritus Professor of International Relations at the University of Oxford. He is the author of The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World (2000); Lion of Jordan: King Hussein's Life in War and Peace (2007) and Israel and Palestine: Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations (2009).

John T. Sidel is the Sir Patrick Gillam Professor of Comparative and International Politics at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is the author of Capital, Coercion, and Crime: Bossism in the Philippines (1999); Philippine Politics and Society in the Twentieth Century: Colonial Legacies, Post-Colonial Trajectories (with Eva-Lotta Hedman 2000); Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia (2006) and The Islamist Threat in Southeast Asia: A Reassessment (2007).

Charles Tripp is Professor of Politics with reference to the Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and a Fellow of the British Academy. He is the author of *Islam and the Moral Economy: The Challenge of Capitalism* (2006) and *A History of Iraq* (2007) and co-author of *Iran and Iraq at War* (1988). His most recent book is *The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East* (2013).

Gabriele vom Bruck is a Senior Lecturer in Anthropology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. She has conducted extensive research in Yemen and published on elites, religious movements, consumption, gender and photography. She is the author of *Islam*, *Memory and Morality in Yemen* (2005) and co-editor of *The Anthropology of Names and Naming* (2006).

Benjamin Wiacek is a freelance journalist based in Sana'a since September 2010. He has more than five years of experience working in the Middle East and North Africa with publications in numerous newspapers including *Liberation*, *Egypt Independent* and the *Yemen Times*, in addition to contributions to academic books. Benjamin co-founded the first news web site in French about Yemen, La Voix du Yémen. He also reports on television and radio for various outlets including France 24, RFI, TV5 Monde, BBC and CBC/Radio Canada.

Sami Zubaida is Emeritus Professor of Politics and Sociology at Birkbeck College, University of London, and Research Associate of the London Middle East Institute at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). He has held visiting positions in Cairo, Istanbul, Beirut, Aix-en-Provence, Paris and Berkeley and at NYU, and he has written and lectured



xvi Contributors

widely on themes of religion, culture, law and politics in the Middle East, with particular attention to Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Turkey. His other work is on food history and culture, and he is Professorial Research Associate of the Food Studies Centre at SOAS. His books include *Islam, the People and the State: Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East*, 3rd edition (2009); *A Taste of Thyme: Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, 2nd edition (edited, with R Tapper, 2000); *Law and Power in the Islamic World* (2003) and *Beyond Islam: A New Understanding of the Middle East* (2011).

Rami Zurayk is Professor in the Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences and the Director of the Interfaculty Graduate Environmental Sciences Program at the American University of Beirut. A soil scientist by training, he has worked in rural development in several countries of the Arab world. He publishes a weekly column on food, farming and environment in the Arabic daily *Al Akhbar*. He has authored several books and hundreds of articles. His latest book, *Food, Farming and Freedom: Sowing the Arab Spring*, was published in 2011.



Acknowledgments

The book is the first major publication of the Middle East Centre (MEC) at LSE. Established in late 2010, the Centre promotes innovative interdisciplinary research on the societies, economies, polities and international relations of the region. This book could not have seen the light of the day without the intellectual and material support of many colleagues and friends. First and foremost, I want to thank all the contributors, some of whom travelled from afar, who critically reflected on key questions raised by the popular uprisings. The book is the fruit of their collective insights. Next, the team at the MEC organized participants' individual lectures and the subsequent workshop. Their tireless labours facilitated the production of this book. In particular, I owe special thanks to Robert Lowe who copyedited all the chapters and organized the notes and editorial changes. He went beyond the call of duty in his assistance and his professional touch improved the quality of the book. I am also appreciative of the support that Dania Akkad and Ribale Sleiman Haidar provided throughout the book's conception and birth, and in sourcing the cover image. I hope that my family forgives me for spending countless hours away while working on the book.

Finally, as always, edited books are challenging projects to both editor and contributors. I have spent considerable time and energy putting the book together, treating the project as edited books were once regarded in British academic circles – assembling leading specialists in a field to critically examine the topic of the century or the hour. I hope that the result shows the benefits of joint scholarly minds critically

xvii



xviii

Acknowledgments

reflecting on the momentous events shaping the destiny of the modern Middle East.

Fawaz A. Gerges London School of Economics and Political Science June 2013