

## **Sample Syllabus: Politics of the Middle East – Advanced Seminar**

Course meetings: 2-3 hrs/week x 14 weeks

### Course Description:

This course will provide advanced students with a survey of topics in the politics of the Middle East with a focus on the Arab World. The course traces the development of the modern state system in the Middle East, examines regimes and modes of governance, and considers pressing contemporary challenges facing Middle Eastern states and societies.

While we will examine the history of the Middle East as well as states in the region, this is not simply a historical or country-by-country survey of the Middle East. Instead we will focus on four broad themes:

- State formation, the state system, and regional politics in the Middle East
- Regimes, governance, and stability
- Politics and Society in the Middle East
- Contemporary challenges:
  - o The Iraq War/ISIS
  - o The Arab Spring
  - o The rise of Iran

### *Participation and Course Philosophy:*

As an advanced seminar, active engagement is not only expected, it is required in order to achieve a high grade. The course assignments are built around student participation and leadership, and you will be teaching and learning from one another as much as you will be learning from me; I will be keeping my lectures to a minimum.

The goals of this course are to foster teamwork and critical engagement with the ideas presented in the readings, lectures, and student discussions.

Students are strongly encouraged to approach the course materials and your peers' presentations critically. However, such engagement must remain both civil and constructive. Instead of focusing on the negative, you should be focusing on ways you can help your peers can improve their performance.

Finally, perhaps more than any region, the study of the Middle East is politically charged and subject to strong, and sometimes uncomfortable, contention. I aim to present a diverse set of views on the Middle East while keeping the course grounded in the standards of evidence and argumentation demanded by high quality social science. While students are encouraged to express their views, the course requires students to adhere to those same standards. Moreover, any form of prejudice will not be tolerated; at the same time, students cannot expect to be insulated from ideas they find uncomfortable if they merit discussion.

## **Course Requirements and Expectations:**

As an advanced seminar, the expectations of this course are fairly rigorous. Students will be expected complete about 100-120 pages of reading each week. Course assignments include a well-researched final paper and participation in a mid-semester writing workshop, two presentations, one leading a class discussion and one final group project, and a short mid-term examination.

### **Research Paper**

Students are required to produce a well-researched paper connected to one of the themes treated in this course. Topics should focus on the application of a thematic question to one or more cases, either from within a single Middle East state, between multiple states in the region, or comparing the Middle East to other regions. Papers will be 15-20 pages in length (double spaced, 12-pt Times New Roman, 1" margins).

I am open to students developing a wide range of topics according to their interests; topics can be historical or contemporary, but must focus on one of the core themes identified in the course description (State formation and regional politics; states, regimes, and stability; politics and society; contemporary challenges).

Students are encouraged to consult with me regarding their topics and research questions and must have their questions approved by the end of Week 5. No extensions will be given on these papers.

### ***Writing Workshops:***

We will be holding a writing workshop during Week 7. Students will produce a 2-3-page proposal, identifying their question and presenting a synopsis of their argument, which will be circulated the week before. The class will be divided in half, with each half attending one of the two sessions held that week. Each student will be assigned one of their classmate's proposals (depending on course enrollment and time constraints, students may be assigned more) and be responsible for providing constructive feedback in class on how to improve their ideas. While students will be responsible for discussing one paper, they are expected to read all of the proposals (instead of normal course readings for that week) and participate in these discussions. Students will then be expected to incorporate the feedback from their peers in their final papers, which will be due the date of the scheduled final examination.

### **Presentations:**

Students are required to give two presentations throughout the course.

### ***Leading Class Discussion –***

Students will sign up to lead one class discussion. You are asked to review the syllabus and select which session you would like to lead. Students will work in pairs – either selecting their partner beforehand or being matched with another student during sign ups. Discussion leaders are expected to complete all the readings for that week and prepare to respond to them critically in class. What are the readings’ arguments’ strengths and weaknesses? Are they applicable to other cases? Following that response, presentation leaders will pose a set of questions and lead a discussion with the rest of the class.

Sign-ups will occur at the end of week two of the course.

### *Final Group Presentation – The Policy Brief*

In lieu of a final examination, the last three weeks of the course will be spent on final presentations. Students will work in teams of X (I envision 6 teams of 5 for a 30-student class, or 5 teams of 4 for a 20-student class) to prepare and deliver a simulated policy briefing.

Students will sign up for one of the following topics:

- The Arab-Israeli Conflict
- The Saudi-Iranian crisis (broadly construed)
- The Syrian Civil War
- Economic and social development in the Middle East (2 or 3 groups)
  - o Economic inequality, stagnation, and corruption
  - o The challenge of radicalism and terrorism
  - o The promotion of civil society and pluralism
- Democracy promotion

Each group will discuss the specific challenge they want to treat, and then will meet with me during office hours to approve/refine that topic, discuss possible approaches, and receive recommendations for resources.

Your group will be responsible for researching these topics, drawing on course materials as well as outside sources, to develop a set of recommendations for a government (either the US/EU or one of the governments in the region) to solve one of these pressing challenges. These briefs will consist of four parts:

- 1- An introduction to the challenge, giving a historical background, its current manifestation, and the reasons it poses problems for states and societies in the region, or for the US/EU or other external actors
- 2- The ideal solution to this problem based on political science theories and course materials
- 3- The identification of obstacles to the implementation of an ideal solution
- 4- Given a consideration of those obstacles, your best “realistic” solution

Presentations will take up a single session (1 hour) and will consist of two parts

- 1- Presenting the briefing (40 minutes)

2- Q&A – each group will take questions from the class and respond to them (20 minutes)

### Mid-term examination:

The midterm exam consists of two sections.

The first is a mapping exercise. Students will be asked to fill in and annotate a map of the Middle East, identifying:

- Countries
- Their regime types
- Their social, ethnic, or sectarian composition
- Current conflicts in which they are involved

The second part of the exam consists of a single well-written essay responding to one of a number of prompts. These prompts will ask students to respond critically to one or more of the themes we have discussed, drawing on course readings, and ideally providing examples from the history or current events of the Middle East.

### Attendance

The core of the final grade revolves around participation, both in the course of regular class discussion, as well as in presentations and workshops. Attendance does not constitute any part of the final grade, but it will be impossible to achieve a passing score without active participation in class. If students need to miss class for any reason, it is advised that they contact me in advance.

### Grade Distribution:

Midterm – 20%

Leading Discussion – 10%

Final Presentation – 30%

Research Paper – 30%

Misc. Participation (including workshop and discussion participation) – 10%

### Required Readings:

There is no course textbook. Instead we will focus on a cross section of classic texts and cutting-edge research on the history and politics of the Middle East. Required readings, consisting of both articles and book chapters, will be available through Blackboard (or whatever).

### Recommended Readings:

Certain sessions on the syllabus will have additional readings, which are not required but are recommended. They will also be made available through Blackboard.

Additionally, when book chapters, especially introductions and conclusions, are assigned, students are encouraged to skim the rest of the book.

For a broad overview of topics and country profiles, the following textbook on the Middle East is recommended as a supplement:

Lust, Ellen ed. (2016). *The Middle East*. 14<sup>th</sup> edition. CQ Press.

The following books are especially encouraged:

Ayubi, Nazih. (1996). *Over-stating the Arab state: Politics and society in the Middle East*. IB Tauris.

Bickerton, Ian J. and Clara L Klausner (2016). *A history of the Arab-Israeli conflict*. Routledge.

Fawcett, Louise. (2016). *International Relations of the Middle East*. Oxford University Press.

Gelvin, James L. (2015). *The Arab uprisings: what everyone needs to know*. Oxford University Press.

Hourani, Albert (2013). *A History of the Arab Peoples: Updated edition*. Faber & Faber.

Kostiner, Joseph (2009). *Conflict and Cooperation in the Gulf Region*. VS Verlag.

Owen, Roger (2002). *State Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. Routledge.

### Current Events

Students are strongly encouraged to stay up-to-date on current events in the Middle East. I have compiled a list of English-language internet resources that provide an especially good source for news on the Middle East. It is important to keep in mind that all media sources contain certain biases, and I have attempted to find credible websites that present a diverse set of political viewpoints:

### US and European Sources on the Middle East

*Al-Monitor* – <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/home.html>

*Foreign Policy*'s Middle East Channel – <http://foreignpolicy.com/channel/middle-east-africa/>

*Jadaliyya* – <http://www.jadaliyya.com/>

*Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)* - <http://www.merip.org/>

*Muftah* – <https://muftah.org/>

*Sada* – Middle East Analysis at the Carnegie Endowment – <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/>

#### Middle Eastern English Language Press:

Al-Arabiya (Saudi Arabia/UAE – Regional) – <https://english.alarabiya.net/>

Al-Jazeera (Qatar - Regional), <http://english.aljazeera.net>

Arab News (Saudi Arabia - regional) – <http://www.arabnews.com/>

Gulf News (UAE – Gulf regional) – <http://www.gulfnews.com>

Al-Ahram Weekly (Egypt) – <http://english.ahram.org.eg/>

Jordan Times (Jordan), <http://www.jordantimes.com/>

Daily Star (Lebanon), [www.dailystar.com.lb](http://www.dailystar.com.lb)

Kuwait Times (Kuwait) – <http://news.kuwaittimes.net/website/>

The Moroccan Times (Morocco) – <http://themoroccantimes.com/>

All Iraq News Agency (AIN) – <http://en.alliraqnews.com/>

Haaretz (Israel – Liberal) [www.haaretzd.com](http://www.haaretzd.com)

The Jerusalem Post (Israel – Conservative), [www.jpost.com](http://www.jpost.com)

Iran Daily (Iran), [www.iran-daily.com](http://www.iran-daily.com)

Tehran Times (Iran) <http://www.tehrantimes.com>

Hurriyet Daily News (Turkey) – <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/>

Inspire Magazine (al-Qaida) – can be accessed through <http://jihadology.net/category/inspire-magazine/>

#### **Course Schedule:**

#### **Week 1: Introduction**

Session 1: Introduction to the study of the Middle East: Politics and Area Studies

- Ghassan Salame Interview: The Middle East and Pan-Arabism.  
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s66THL4eE08>>
- Ghassan Salame – “Middle East, Old and New”  
[http://www.sciencespo.fr/psia/sites/sciencespo.fr/psia/files/Oil\\_Money.pdf](http://www.sciencespo.fr/psia/sites/sciencespo.fr/psia/files/Oil_Money.pdf)

## Session 2: The Challenges of Studying the Middle East:

### Required Readings

- Introduction and Chapter 6, “Said’s *Orientalism*, a book and its aftermath” – Zachary Lockman (2009). *Contending visions of the Middle East: the history and politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Exchange between Bernard Lewis and Edward Said on *Orientalism*
  - o Bernard Lewis (1982). “The Question of Orientalism.” *The New York Review of Books*. < <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1982/06/24/the-question-of-orientalism/>>
  - o Edward Said (1982). “Orientalism: An Exchange.” *The New York Review of Books*. < <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1982/08/12/orientalism-an-exchange/>>

### Recommended

- Edward Said (1978). *Orientalism*. Introduction and Chapter 1
- Zachary Lockman (2009). *Contending visions of the Middle East: the history and politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge University Press. Ch 7 – After Orientalism?
- Bernard Lewis (2003). *What Went Wrong: The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East*

## **Week 2: State Formation in the Middle East**

### Session 3: General conceptions of State Formation in the Middle East

#### Required Readings

- Nazih Ayyubi – “State Formation in the Modern Era: The Colonial/Indigenous Mix,” Chapter 3 in *Overstating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. (1996)
- Ghassan Salame – “‘Strong’ and ‘Weak’ States, a Qualified Return to the *Muqaddimah*,” Chapter 8 in *The Foundations of the Arab State*. (1987)

#### Recommended Readings:

- Albert Hourani (1981). “Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables,” Chapter 3 in *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*.

- Ibn Khaldun. *Al-Muqaddimah*, esp. Ch 3, “On dynasties, royal authority, the caliphate, government ranks, and all that goes with these things.”
- Kostiner, Joseph (1993). *The making of Saudi Arabia, 1916-1936: From chieftaincy to monarchical state*. Oxford University Press.

#### Session 4: Colonialism and State Formation in the Middle East

##### Required Readings

- Roger Owen – “The End of Empires: The Emergence of the Modern Middle Eastern States.” Chapter 1 in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (1992).
- Toby Dodge – Chapters 1 and 2 of *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied* (2003).

##### Recommended Readings

- Lawrence, Adria (2013). *Imperial rule and the politics of nationalism: Anti-colonial protest in the French empire*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wyrzten, Jonathan (2016). *Making Morocco: Colonial intervention and the politics of identity*. Cornell University Press.

*Signups for in-class presentations*

#### **Week 3: The Arab State System and Inter-Arab Relations**

##### Session 5: The Arab State System

##### Required Readings

- Fred Halliday – Introduction and Chapter 1 in *The Middle East in international relations: power, politics and ideology* (2005).
- Michael Barnett – “The Game of Arab Politics,” Chapter 2 in *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order* (1998).

##### Recommended Readings

- Raymond Hinnebusch (2003) *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Manchester University Press
- Fawcett, Louise (2016). *International relations of the Middle East*. Oxford University Press.

##### Session 6: Inter-Arab Relations

## Required Readings

- Malcolm Kerr – *The Arab Cold War: Gamal Abd al-Nasir and his Rivals, 1958-1970* (1971). Selections.
- Fouad Ajami – “The End of Pan Arabism.” *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1978/79). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/yemen/1978-12-01/end-pan-arabism>
- Michael Barnett – “The End of the Arab State System? Arab Politics since the Gulf War,” Chapter 7 in *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order* (1998).

## Recommended Readings

- Kostiner, Joseph (2009). *Conflict and Cooperation in the Gulf Region*. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Walt, Stephen (1987). *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell University Press.

## **Week 4: Authoritarianisms of the Middle East**

### Session 7: Republics and Party Systems in the Middle East

#### Required Readings:

- Jason Brownlee – “The Political Origins of Durable Authoritarianism.” Chapter 1 in *Authoritarianism in the Age of Democratization* (2007).
- Michelle Penner Angrist – Chapters 1 and 2, on the emergence of Single Party and Multiparty Systems, in *Party Building in the Modern Middle East* (2011).

### Session 8: Monarchy

#### Required Readings:

- Michael Herb – “The Emergence of Dynastic Monarchy and the Causes of its Persistence,” Chapter 2 in *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies* (1999).
- Lisa Anderson – “Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East.” *Political Science Quarterly* 106(1), (1991).

### *Final Group Project Signups*

## **Week 5: Elections and Regime Durability**

### Session 9: Elections and Parliaments in the Middle East

#### Required Reading:

- Ellen Lust-Okar – “Elections Under Authoritarianism: Preliminary Lessons from Jordan.” *Democratization* 13(3), (2006).
- Lisa Blaydes – “Who Votes in Authoritarian Elections and Why? Determinants of Voter turnout in Contemporary Egypt.” APSA (2006).

Recommended Reading:

- Blaydes, Lisa (2010). *Elections and distributive politics in Mubarak’s Egypt*. Cambridge University Press.
- Herb, Michael (2004). “Princes and parliaments in the Arab world.” *The Middle East Journal*, 58(3), 367-384.
- Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski – “Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats.” *Comparative Politics Studies* 40(11), (2007)
- Gandhi, Jennifer (2008). *Political Institutions Under Dictatorship*. Cambridge University Press

Session 10: The Durability of Authoritarian Regimes in the Middle East

Required Readings:

- Eva Bellin. “The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East.” *Comparative Politics* 36(2), (2004).
- Michael Ross – “Does Oil Hinder Democracy?” *World Politics* 53(3), (2001).
- Lisa Wedeen – “Believing in Spectacles,” Ch 1 in *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*
- Larry Diamond – “Why Are There No Arab Democracies?” *Journal of Democracy* 21(1), (2010).

Recommended Readings:

- Bellin, Eva (2012). “Reconsidering the robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring.” *Comparative Politics*, 44(2), 127-149.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2006). “Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique.” *Democratization*, 13(3), 373-395.
- Albrecht, Holger and Oliver Schlumberger (2004). “Waiting for Godot”: Regime change without democratization in the Middle East. *International political science review*, 25(4), 371-392.

*Paper Topics due*

**Week 6: Islam and Politics in the Middle East**

## Session 11: Midterm Exam

## Session 12: Islam and Politics

### Required Readings:

- Nathan Brown, Amr Hamzawy, and Marina Ottoway – “Islamist Movements and the Democratic process in the Arab World.” *Carnegie Papers Middle East Series*, (2006). < [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/cp\\_67\\_grayzones\\_final.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/cp_67_grayzones_final.pdf)>
- M Steven Fish – “Islam and Authoritarianism.” *World Politics* 55(1), (2002).
- Mara Revkin – “Legal Pluralism in North Sinai: Mapping the Rise of Non-State Islamic Courts,” Yale Program on Governance and Local Development (2015)

## Week 7: Writing workshops

## Week 8: Political Economy and Social Movements

### Session 15 – Political Economy in the Middle East

#### Required Readings

- Paul Rivlin – “Demography and Economics,” Chapter 2 in *Arab Economies in the Twenty-First Century*
- Richards and Waterbury – “Structural Adjustment and the Rise of Crony Capitalism,” Chapter 8 in *A Political Economy of the Middle East*.
- Richards and Waterbury – “The Effects of Oil on Development and the Rise of the Gulf Cooperation Council,” Chapter 9 in *A Political Economy of the Middle East*.

#### Recommended Readings

- Mitchell, Timothy (2002). *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics, Modernity*. Univ of California Press.
- Beinin, Joel and Zachary Lockman (1998). *Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian working class, 1882-1954*. American Univ in Cairo Press.
- Timur Kuran – “Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(3), (2004).

## Session 15 – Social Movements in the Middle East

### Required Readings:

- Quintan Victorowicz – “Islamic Social Movement Organizations and the Muslim Brotherhood,” Chapter 3 in *The Management of Islamic Activism* (2001).
- Rabab al-Mahdi – “Enough! Egypt’s Quest for Democracy.” *Comparative Political Studies* 42(8), (2009).
- Assef Bayat – *Social movements, activism and social development in the Middle East*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, (2005).

#### Recommended Readings:

- Beinin, Joel and Frederic Vairel Eds. (2013). *Social movements, mobilization, and contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. Stanford University Press.
- Wickham, Carrie R. (2015). *The Muslim Brotherhood: evolution of an Islamist movement*. Princeton University Press.
- Khatib, Lina and Ellen Lust Eds. (2014). *Taking to the Streets: The Transformation of Arab Activism*. JHU Press.
- Batatu, Hanna (1982). *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of its Communists, Bathists and Free Officers*. Saqi.

## **Week 9: Contemporary Challenges 1 – The Arab Spring**

### **Session 17 – The causes and study of the Arab Spring**

#### Required Readings

- Timur Kuran (1991). “Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989.” *World politics*, 44(1), (1991) – skim.
- Jeff Goodwin – “Why We Were Surprised (Again) by the Arab Spring.” *Swiss Review of Political Science* 17(4), (2011).
- Charles Kurzman – “The Arab Spring Uncoiled.” *Mobilization* 17(4), (2012).
- Marc Lynch – “The big think behind the Arab Spring.” *Foreign Policy* 190, (2011).

#### Recommended Readings

- Howard, Phillip N., Mozammil M. Hussain. (2013). *Democracy's Fourth Wave?: Digital Media and the Arab Spring*. Oxford University Press.
- Lynch, Marc (2011). “After Egypt: The limits and promise of online challenges to the authoritarian Arab state.” *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(2), 301-310.
- Dahi, Omar S. (2011). “Understanding the Political Economy of the Arab Revolts.” *MERIP* 41(259)

## Session 18 – The dynamics and outcomes of the Arab Spring

### Required Readings

- Eva Bellin – “Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring,” *Comparative Politics* 44(2), (2012).
- Sean L. Yom and F Gregory Gause III – “Resilient Royals: How the Arab Monarchies Hang On,” *Journal of Democracy* 23(4), (2012).
- Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds – “Theorizing the Arab Spring,” Ch 1 in *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*, (2014).

### Recommended Readings

- Gelvin, James L. (2015). *The Arab uprisings: what everyone needs to know*. Oxford University Press.
- Morten Valbjorn and Frederik Volpi – “Revisiting Theories of Arab Politics in the Aftermath of the Arab Uprisings,” *Rethinking Mediterranean Politics* 19(1), (2014).
- Lynch, Marc (2013). *The Arab Uprising: The unfinished revolutions of the new Middle East*. Public Affairs.

## **Week 10: Contemporary Challenges 2 – The Iraq War and ISIS**

### Session 19: The Iraq War – Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq

#### Required Readings:

- James Fearon – “Iraq’s Civil War,” *Foreign Affairs* 86, (2007).
- Austin Long – “The Anbar Awakening,” *Survival* 50(2), (2008).
- Steven Simon – “The Price of the Surge-How US Strategy is Hastening Iraq's Demise.” *Foreign Affairs* 87, (2008).

#### Recommended Readings:

- Filkins, Dexter (2008). *The Forever War*. Vintage.
- Baram, Amatzia (1997). “Neo-tribalism in Iraq: Saddam Hussein's tribal policies 1991–96.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29(1), 1-31.

### Session 20 – The Aftermath of the Iraq War – the Rise of ISIS

#### Required Readings:

- Andreas Krieg – “Iraq: The Privatization of Security and the Rise of ISIS,” Ch 6 in *Sociopolitical Order and Security in the Arab World*, (2017).

- Andrew March and Mara Revkin – “Caliphate of Law: ISIS’ Ground Rules,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 15, 2015. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2015-04-15/caliphate-law>
- Audrey Cronin – “ISIS is not a Terrorist Group: Why Counterterrorism Won’t Stop the Latest Jihadist Threat,” *Foreign Affairs* 87, (2015).

Recommended Readings:

- Warrick, Joby (2015). *Black flags: The rise of ISIS*. Anchor.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. (2017). *ISIS: A History*. Princeton University Press.

**Week 11: Contemporary Challenges 3 – The Saudi-Iranian Cold War – Emerging regional challenges**

Session 21: The Saudi-Iranian Rivalry before the Arab Spring

Required Readings:

- Joseph Kostiner – “The GCC States and the Security Challenges of the Twenty-First Century.” *Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 86*. The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, (2010). <http://www.biu.ac.il/Besa/MSPS86.pdf>
- Mohammed Ayoob – “American Policy Towards the Persian Gulf: Strategies, Effectiveness, and Consequences,” Ch 6 in Mehran Kamrava (ed) *International Politics of the Persian Gulf* (2011).

Recommended Readings:

- Gause III, F. Gregory (2009). *The international relations of the Persian Gulf*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kostiner, Joseph (2009). *Conflict and cooperation in the Gulf region*. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Session 22: The Saudi-Iranian Rivalry after the Arab Spring

Required Readings:

- Max Fisher – “How the Iranian-Saudi Proxy Struggle Tore Apart the Middle East.” *The New York Times*, Nov 19, 2016.  
<<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/world/middleeast/iran-saudi-proxy-war.html? r=0>>

- Steven Cook, Jacob Stokes, and Alexander Brock – “The New Arab Cold War,” *Foreign Policy*, August 28, 2014. <<http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/08/28/the-new-arab-cold-war/>>
- Martin Reardon – “Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the ‘Great Game’ in Yemen,” *Al-Jazeera*, March 26, 2015. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/09/saudi-arabia-iran-great-game-ye-201492984846324440.html>>
- “Gulf plunged into crisis as countries cut ties with Qatar,” *The Guardian*, June 5, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/05/saudi-arabia-and-bahrain-break-diplomatic-ties-with-qatar-over-terrorism>

### **Weeks 12-14: Policy Briefings**

\*note, if fewer than 6 groups, I will extend sessions on religion and social movements: