

## **GOVT 331: Introduction to Middle Eastern Politics – Regional and International Politics of the ME**

Professor Joshua Goodman

Course meetings: Monday and Wednesday, 2:30-4:00 pm; Hepburn 19

Office: Hepburn 208

Office Hours: Tuesdays 3:00-5:00; Wednesdays 10:30-12:00

- You can book appointments at: <https://calendly.com/joshuagoodman/office-hours>  
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### **Course Description:**

This course aims to present students with an introduction to the regional and international politics of the Middle East, tracing the emergence, consolidation, and development of the Arab state system and its relationship with the three non-Arab regional powers (Iran, Israel, and Turkey) as well as relations with the international system. Additionally, we will examine the interplay between international and domestic political forces, especially at the level of regimes and rulers. Finally, we will consider the challenges of studying the Middle East due to the heavily politicized nature of the field, examining some of the controversies and debates that have emerged in the field.

We will adopt a historical and thematic approach, tracing the development of the Middle Eastern state system beginning with the fall of the Ottoman Empire during World War I and examining the major themes from four core periods of regional politics:

- The interwar period (1920-1945)
  - o The emergence and consolidation of the Arab state and system under colonial rule
- The Cold War (1945-1979)
  - o East v. West in the Middle East: The rise and fall of Arab Nationalism
  - o The Arab-Israeli conflict as a projection of the Cold War
- Between the Gulf Wars (1979-2003)
  - o From Nationalism to Islamism
  - o The Iranian Revolution and regional realignment: The origins of the Saudi-Iranian rivalry
  - o The road to 9/11 – Economic liberalization and the regional order in the 1990s
  - o The Israel-Palestinian Conflict and the Failure of the Peace Process
- The post-9/11 period (2001-today): Contemporary Challenges
  - o The Iraq War and ISIS
  - o The Arab Spring
  - o Conflict and cooperation in the Persian Gulf: Iran v. Saudi Arabia Round 2
  - o Iranian Nuclear Development

While we will be dealing with particular countries in the region and their foreign policies, which requires an understanding of their political systems, ideologies, and identities, this course is designed with a focus on regional and international politics rather than domestic or comparative politics, internal regime dynamics, and state-society relations. Students hoping for a class with a stronger focus on the latter should wait until next fall, when the same class will adopt a comparative/domestic politics focus.

However, as part of the build-up to the final project, the mock Arab League Summit, each of you will be responsible for getting to know a particular Arab state in the region over the course of the semester. Working in teams, you will select your country early in the semester and in the second half of the course, each group will give a short presentation on the historical and political background of that country.

### **Course Requirements and Expectations:**

This course is designed for students with little to no background knowledge of the history or politics of the Middle East, so there are no prerequisites, although a basic working knowledge of international relations theory will be helpful and students who have taken **Introduction to International Relations** will have an easier time working through the theoretical materials in the first part of the course.

The course is also designed to increase student involvement over the course of the semester. We will begin with more of a lecture format during the sections on the origins and development of the Arab State system, transition to more of a discussion format for the section on contemporary challenges, and by the end of the semester, students will be responsible for leading class through group policy presentations and a final group activity, the mock Arab League Summit.

#### *Participation and Course Philosophy:*

Active engagement is not only expected, it is required in order to achieve a high grade. The main course assignments, especially the final evaluations, are built around student participation, leadership, and collaboration. One of the main goals of this course is to foster teamwork and critical engagement with the ideas presented in the readings, lectures, and student presentations.

Students are strongly encouraged to approach the course materials and your peers' presentations critically. However, such engagement must remain both civil and constructive. 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 of evidence and argumentation. 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. Students have the right not to be attacked for their beliefs; however, they do not have the right to demand that other students cannot express their beliefs or raise potentially uncomfortable issues.

The course assignments are broken down as follows:

Reading Responses (x2) – 10% (5% each)

Midterm examination (in-class) – 25%

Group policy presentations – 30%

- Presentation – 20%
- Participation during Q+A – 5%
- Post-presentation group evaluation – 5%

Arab League Summit – 25%

- In-class country presentations – 5%
- Pre-summit policy paper – 10%
- Summit participation 10%

Attendance and Participation – 10%

The course will be graded on the following scale:

95 and above	4.0	A
92-94	3.75	A
89-91	3.5	A-
86-88	3.25	B+
83-85	3	B
80-82	2.75	B-
77-79	2.5	C+
73-76	2.25	C
70-72	2.0	C-
67-69	1.75	D
65-66	1.5	D
62-64	1.25	D-
60-61	1.0	D-
Below 60	0	F

## **Course Policies:**

### *Attendance and Participation*

Attendance is mandatory. You will be permitted **two** unexcused absences, no questions asked. Each additional absence will be penalized **two points** off of your final grade (on a 100 point scale). If students need to miss class for any reason, it is advised that they contact me at least 48 hours in advance. In certain circumstances, a student's anticipated absence will be excused if they write an extra reading response focusing on the readings for the missed session. This must be arranged at least 24 hours beforehand.

The core of the final grade revolves around participation, both in the course of regular class discussion, as well as in presentations and workshops. Students are expected to come to class prepared (having completed the readings) and are encouraged to ask questions during lecture and participate in class discussions. I understand that some students are uncomfortable participating, so I will never cold-call on people (as long as they appear engaged in class). This will allow you to avoid participation if you so desire, but it will impact your grade. If you feel particularly nervous or uncomfortable talking in class, I encourage you to discuss this with me during office hours and alternative arrangements can be made. This, however, will not excuse you from group presentations.

### *Student Accessibility Services:*

If you have a disability and need accommodations please be sure to contact the Student Accessibility Services Office (315.229.5537) right away so they can help you get the accommodations you require. If you will need to use any accommodations in this class, please talk with me early so you can have the best possible experience this semester. Although not required, I would like to know of any accommodations that are needed at least 10 days before a quiz or test, so please see me soon. For more specific information visit the Student Accessibility Services website:

<https://www.stlawu.edu/student-accessibility-services> or

[Email: studentaccessibility@stlawu.edu](mailto:studentaccessibility@stlawu.edu)

### *Academic Honesty:*

St. Lawrence University operates a zero-tolerance policy regarding academic dishonesty from its students, as do I. Cases of cheating or plagiarizing papers, arguments, or any material that is not your original thought but is attempted to be passed as your own will result in a **ZERO** for the assignments and will be referred to Academic Honor Council for further action, which will endanger your academic standing and your future at St. Lawrence University. Please note that drawing from readings or other sources in papers without citing the source is the same as attempting to pass someone's work off as your own and constitutes an act of plagiarism.

You can access the University's policies on Academic Integrity here:

<http://www.stlawu.edu/sites/default/files/resource/AcademicHonorPolicy.pdf>

### *Avoiding Plagiarism:*

- You need to cite all sources used for papers, including drafts of papers, and repeat the reference each time you use the source in your written work.
- You need to place quotation marks around any cited or cut-and-pasted materials, IN ADDITION TO footnoting or otherwise marking the source.
- If you do not quote directly – that is, if you paraphrase – you still need to mark your source each time you use borrowed material. Otherwise you have plagiarized.
- It is also advisable that you list all sources consulted for the draft or paper in the closing materials, such as a bibliography or roster of sources consulted.
- You may not submit the same paper, or substantially the same paper, in more than one course. If topics for two courses coincide, you need written permission from both instructors before either combining work on two papers or revising an earlier paper for submission to a new course.

### *Technology Policy*

It is my policy not to prohibit the use of technology in the classroom, so at the beginning the use of laptops will be permitted. If it is clear that their use becomes a distraction, I reserve the right to disallow their continued use at any point during the semester. While I cannot see your screens, it is very easy for me to tell who is paying attention and who is surfing the web – not only will it undermine your ability to learn in class, but it will also harm your participation grade. Additionally, there may be times during discussion where I ask students to put away their laptops to be more fully engaged with their peers.

The use of cell phones is not permitted.

### *Office Hours:*

I encourage all students to attend office hours at least once per semester (outside of required meetings as part of the course). This gives you a chance to introduce yourselves and for me to learn a bit about your interests, and for you to raise any questions or issues that may have come up during class.

My regular office hours are posted at the beginning of this syllabus, but I am often available to meet outside of these hours if you email me. It is strongly recommended that you make an appointment before coming in to ensure that I am not speaking with another student. However, no appointment is necessary and you are welcome to drop in.

### Late Assignments

The course assignments and due dates are all listed in the syllabus, so it will be difficult to secure an extension barring serious issues. Written assignments (in this case, the reading responses and the foreign policy paper) will be due by the start of class *unless otherwise noted*. Late assignments will be penalized **10% per day**.

## **Assignments**

### Written Evaluations

Over the early part semester, there will be a number of written evaluations including two reading responses and an in-class midterm examination.

### Reading Responses – 5% each x2

Students are expected to produce two reading responses of three pages (at 1.5 spacing), approximately 1000 words. While these responses should briefly summarize the reading, they are expected to go beyond a book report. Rather, students will focus on critiquing the article/chapter and drawing wider connections, either to other readings, to wider historical or current events, or to theoretical topics in the study of politics and international relations (for example, if the reading is about the origins of alliances in the Middle East, a reading response could engage with balance of power theory more generally).

You have the option of choosing to respond to any two weeks on the syllabus up until the deadline, which is **October 24<sup>th</sup>** (the last class before we begin Part III on contemporary challenges).

### Midterm Examination – 25%

The objective of the midterm is to test students' comprehension of the historical and thematic readings that constituted the first half of the course, as well as test students' knowledge of the physical and political geography of the region.

The Midterm will be held on **Monday, October 22 in class**

It will consist 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 (Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Israel/Palestine, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Yemen)
- Their regime types
- Current conflicts in which they are involved and their close regional and global allies

The map exercise includes compiling information that we will not explicitly treat in class. However, there will be no surprises on the midterm – if you prepare this information beforehand, you will succeed on the exam.

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.

### Group Presentations:

The final course evaluations will be based on collaborative group projects, including a final policy presentation, which will occur in the last two weeks of class, as well as participation in a mock Arab League Summit, which will take place in lieu of a final examination and will occur during the time allotted for the final exam.

### Final Group Presentation – The Policy Brief

The last three weeks of the course will be spent on final presentations. Students will work in teams of 4 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)
- Iranian Nuclear Development
- The Syrian Civil War
- ISIS and Terrorism
- Democracy Promotion and Human Rights

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 three parts:

- 1- An introduction to the challenge, giving a historical background and origins, 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 proposed solution, including a statement of the objective (what is the end state we are aiming for?) and an articulation of the ways in which that objective will be achieved.
- 3- The identification of obstacles to the implementation of an ideal solution and a consideration of the potential unintended consequences.

Each presentation will last for 40 minutes (approx. one half of class time) and consist of two parts

- 1- Presenting the briefing (25 minutes)
- 2- Q&A – each group will take questions from the class and respond to them (15 minutes)

### *The Arab League Summit*

Instead of a written examination, our final activity will be a mock summit of the League of Arab States. Working in teams of 3, students will assume the role of an Arab country attending an annual summit to discuss pressing regional issues and coordinate a response. The following countries will be in attendance:

- Egypt
- Iraq
- Jordan
- Morocco
- Qatar
- Saudi Arabia/UAE
- Syria
- The Palestinian Authority
- Tunisia

Sign-ups for delegations will occur at the end of Add/Drop, and the procedure for assigning groups will depend on course enrollment and demand.

### *In-Class Country Presentation:*

The reason we will sign up for countries so early in the semester is that you will be responsible for getting to know your country over the course of the semester. After groups are selected at the beginning of class, I will randomly assign country presentations into the schedule. In the weeks following the mid-term, each group will give a short (15 minute) presentation on their country which includes:

- Historical trajectories of state formation
  - o Pre-colonial and colonial development
- Demographics (ethnic and sectarian groups)
- System of government (and changes over its history)
- Economics
- Key Foreign Policy Interests

The assignments and expectations for the summit itself can be broken down into three main components:

### 1- The Foreign Policy Statement:

Students must develop background knowledge of the countries they are representing. By the last day of class, each student, individually, will submit a written foreign policy statement that identifies their country's core foreign policy concerns and their preferred outcomes. This is an opportunity for each of you to get to know a single country's foreign policy in greater detail and prepare for the summit itself. Papers are expected to be about 4-5 double-spaced pages.

### 2- Setting the Agenda

The week after Thanksgiving, each delegation will meet and propose three items they wish to be included on the summit's agenda, focusing on a pressing regional (or global) challenge they believe merits a coordinated response from the members of the League. Once I have received these proposals, they will be circulated to the delegations, who will vote on the items to be added to the agenda. Those votes should reflect the foreign policy interests of their countries.

Once the agenda has been set and circulated, delegations will then prepare for the summit by planning the positions they will take and considering the probable responses of other countries. Delegations are free to consult and coordinate with one another both before and during the summit.

### 3- The Summit and the Resolution

The Summit will take place during the allotted time for the final examination. The goal of the summit is to produce a final statement articulating a pan-Arab policy that addresses the issues on the agenda. In order for a resolution to be accepted by the League, it must be approved by a unanimous vote, so the objective is to produce a statement that will receive the endorsement of every delegation.

The meeting will be divided into three parts.

- The opening session will be dedicated to opening statements, where delegations will address the items on the agenda and state their positions and proposed course of action.
- The second session will focus on negotiation in order to produce a final statement that will be subject to a League vote in the third session. Delegations will propose solutions, engage in bargaining and compromise, and produce a statement.
- The third session will be the vote on the document produced in the second session. Before that vote is held, delegations will be free to consult one another and propose revisions or amendments. If the resolution receives unanimous support, it will be adopted and the summit will be judged a success. If it does not, the resolution will fail, as will the summit. Following the vote, we will debrief by discussing the challenges of coordinating a regional policy using this system.

### Optional Film Screenings: Extra Credit

Over the course of the semester, I will be showing a number of films in the evenings. Attendance at these screenings is optional but encouraged (and I promise the movies themselves are quite enjoyable). Those who do attend will receive 1 point extra credit per movie. We will discuss the best evening to hold these screenings once course enrollment becomes a bit clearer.

The films will be:

Lawrence of Arabia (Session 2, September 3 – Orientalism and the making of the Middle East, but we will likely schedule the viewing for some time in week 3 – Warning – this is an extremely long movie, but it is a classic)

Syriana (Session 14, October 15 – The Triumph of (neo)Liberalism)

Charlie Wilson's War (Session 18, October 24 – al-Qaeda)

Paradise Now (Session 19, October 31 – The Arab-Israeli Conflict)

The Square (Session 23, November 19 – The Arab Spring)

### Readings

#### Required Readings:

This course does not use a single text as a main source of readings but rather draws on chapters and articles from a number of sources to ensure that you will have access to the best readings from across the many works examining the politics of the Middle East. You will not be required to purchase any of these books; the readings will be made available to you online through Sakai.

#### Recommended Readings:

Many sessions on the syllabus will have additional readings, which are not required but are recommended. These recommended readings are intended to supplement the required readings and provide additional resources for your research, course preparation, and personal interest. Many of these recommended readings are longer books which are excellent but too detailed and long to be appropriate for class preparation.

The following books provide excellent resources, as we will be drawing on chapters from many of them for our weekly readings:

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.

Halliday, Fred. (2005). *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*. Cambridge University Press.

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

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>

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

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

## **Course Schedule:**

### **Part 1: Introduction to the Study of the Middle East**

#### **Session 1 – Wednesday, August 29: Introduction to the study of the Middle East: Politics and Area Studies**

- 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 – Monday, September 3: The Challenges of Studying the Middle East**

Film in class: Reel Bad Arabs – How Hollywood Vilifies a People

Required Readings

- **“Introduction” and Chapter 6, “Said’s *Orientalism*, a book and its aftermath.”** Chapters 1 and 6 in Zachary Lockman. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge University Press. (2009). (1-7; 182-214)
- **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*. Penguin. Introduction and Chapter 1
- Zachary Lockman (2009). *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge UP. Chapter 7, “After Orientalism?”
- Bernard Lewis (2003). *What Went Wrong: The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East*. Oxford UP.

## Session 3 – September 5: Ordering Regional Politics – Realist Approaches and World Systems

### Required Readings

- Skim: **“Introduction: The Analytical Framework,”** Raymond Hinnebusch. Chapter 1 in Hinnebusch, Raymond and Anoushiravan Ehteshami. *The Foreign Policies of Middle Eastern States*. Lynne Rienner. (2002). (1-27)
- **“Core and Periphery: The International System and the Middle East.”** Raymond Hinnebusch, Chapter 2 in *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Manchester UP (2003). (14-53)

### Recommended

- Stephen Walt (1987). *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell UP.
- Frank Lawson (2016). “Introduction: The Middle East in International Relations.” Chapter 1 in Fawcett, Louise (ed). *International Relations of the Middle East* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford UP.

## Session 4 – September 10: Ordering Regional Politics: Constructivist Approaches, Identity, and Ideology

### Required Readings

- **“The Game of Arab Politics,”** Michael Barnett. Chapter 2 in *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order*. Columbia UP, (1998). (25-54).

### Recommended Readings:

- Choueiri, Youssef M. (2001). *Arab Nationalism: A History*. Wiley-Blackwell.

## Session 5 – September 12: International Relations and Domestic Politics – Liberal and Regime Approaches

### Required Readings

- **“The Impact of International Politics.”** F Gregory Gause. Chapter 3 in Angrist, Michelle Penner. *Politics and Society in the Middle East*. Lynne Rienner, (2013). (53-74).
- **“Comparative Foreign Policies: Explaining Foreign Policy Variation.”** Raymond Hinnebusch. Chapter 6 in *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Manchester UP (2003). (121-153).

### Recommended Readings

- Lenczowski, George. (1966). “Radical Regimes in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq: Some Comparative Observations on Ideologies and Practices.” *Journal of Politics* 28: 29-56.

## Session 6 – September 17: No class

### Part II: Historical Trajectories and Themes in the Regional Politics of the Middle East

#### • **IIA. Colonialism and State Formation – The Interwar Years (1914-1945)**

#### Session 7 – September 19: The Interwar Years: Colonialism and the Transition from Empire to State

##### Required Readings

- **“The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System.”** Eugene Rogan. Chapter 2 in Fawcett, Louise (ed). *International Relations of the Middle East* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford UP. (39-61)
- **“Genesis.”** Bruce Maddy-Weitzman. Chapter 1 in *The Crystallization of the Arab State System*. Syracuse UP (1993). (5-24).

##### Recommended Reading

- Porath, Yehoshua. (2014). *In Search of Arab Unity 1930-1945*. Routledge.

#### Session 8 – September 24: State Formation during the Interwar Years

##### Required Readings

- **“State Formation in the Modern Era: The Colonial/Indigenous Mix.”** Nazih Ayubi. Chapter 3 in *Over-stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. IB Tauris (1995). (86-134).

##### 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.
- Dodge, Toby. (2003). *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied*. Columbia UP.
- Wyrzten, Jonathan (2016). *Making Morocco: Colonial intervention and the politics of identity*. Cornell University Press.

## • IIB. The Cold War in the Middle East (1945-1979)

### Session 9 – September 26: The Superpower Confrontation in the Middle East

#### Required Readings

- “The Cold War in the Middle East.” Salim Yaqub. Chapter 15 in Immerman, Richard H., and Petra Goedde, (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*. Oxford UP, (2013). (246-264).
- “The Cold War in the Middle East.” Peter Sluglett. Chapter 3 in Fawcett, Louise (ed). *International Relations of the Middle East* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford UP. (62-78).

#### Recommended Readings:

- Gerges, Fawaz A. (1994). *The Superpowers and the Middle East: Regional and International Politics, 1955-67*. Westview Press.

### **Sign-up for Policy Briefing Groups**

### Session 10 – October 1: The Arab Cold War

#### Required Readings

- **“Trial and Error: The United Arab Republic, 1958-1961.”** Malcolm Kerr. Chapter 1 in *The Arab Cold War, 1958-1967: The Study of Ideology in Politics*. Oxford UP, (1965). (1-36 – skim for context)
- **“Rebound: The Cairo Summit, January 1964.”** Chapter 5 (129-140)
- **“The Unmaking of the Summit.”** Chapter 6 (141-169)

### Session 11 – October 3: The Arab-Israeli Conflict – Origins to Camp David

#### Required Readings

- **“Palestine During the Mandate.”** Ian Bickerton and Carla Clausner. Chapter 2 in *A History of the Arab Israeli Conflict*. 6<sup>th</sup> edition. Routledge. (34-64).
- **“The Context.”** Michael Oren. Chapter 1 in *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. Ballantine Books (2002). (1-32).

#### Recommended Readings

- Bickerton, Ian J., and Carla L. Klausner. (2010). *A History of the Arab–Israeli Conflict*. 6<sup>th</sup> edition. Routledge. Chapters 4-8. (96-203).
- Rogan, Eugene L., and Avi Shlaim, (eds). (2007). *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*. Cambridge UP.

- Stein, Kenneth W. (1984). *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*. UNC Press Books.
- Porath, Yehoshua. (1974). *The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929* (Vol. 1). Frank Cass.
- Porath, Yehoshua. (1977). *The Palestinian Arab National Movement: From Riots to Rebellion 1929-1939* (Vol. 2). Frank Cass.
- Khalaf, Issa. (1991). *Politics in Palestine: Arab Factionalism and Social Disintegration, 1939-1948*. SUNY Press.
- Morris, Benny. (1987). *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*. Cambridge UP.

## Session 12 – October 8: The End of Pan-Arabism and the Rise of Islamism

### Required Readings

- **“The End of Pan Arabism.”** Fouad Ajami, Fouad. *Foreign Affairs* 57(2) (1978): 355-373.
- **“Religion and Politics.”** Jillian Schwedler. Chapter 6 in Angrist, Michelle Penner. *Politics and Society in the Middle East*. Lynne Rienner, (2013). (121-144)
- **“The Rise of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt.”** Mansoor Moaddel. Chapter 9 in *Islamic Modernism, Nationalism, and Fundamentalism: Episode and Discourse*. Chicago UP, (2005). (192-220 – focus on 197-199; 210-220).

### Recommended Reading

- Kepel, Gilles. (2006). *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. IB Tauris.

## **Sign-up for Arab League Summit Groups**

## Session 13 – October 10: Conflict in the Persian Gulf – The Islamic Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War

### Required Readings

- Henner Fürtig. *Iran’s Rivalry with Saudi Arabia between the Gulf Wars*. (2002).
  - o Chapter 1 - **“Iran’s Islamic Revolution and Saudi Arabia”**
  - o Chapter 2 - **“Saudi Arabia in the First Gulf War.”**

## Session 14 – October 15: Regional Conflict in the Gulf – The United States and the Unipolar Moment

### Required Readings

- **“Walking Tightropes in the Gulf.”** Thomas L. McNaugher. Chapter 11 in Karsh, Ephraim (ed). (1989). *The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications*. Palgrave MacMillan. (171-199)
- **“The Middle East After the Storm.”** Steve Yetiv. Chapter 6 in *America and the Persian Gulf*. Greenwood Publishing, (1995). (95-128).

## Session 15 – October 17: The Triumph of (neo)Liberalism in the ME?

### Required Readings:

- **“Dreamland.”** Timothy Mitchell. Chapter 9 in *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, and Modernity*. University of California Press, (2002). (272-304)
- **“More than a Response to Islamism: The Political Deliberalization of Egypt in the 1990s.”** Kienle, Eberhard. *The Middle East Journal* (1998): 219-235.

### Recommended Reading

- **“Structural Adjustment and the Rise of Crony Capitalism,”** Melanie Cammett, Ishaq Diwan, Alan Richards and John Waterbury. Chapter 9 in *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. 4th Edition. Westview Press, (2015). (273-318)
- **“The Political Economy of Structural Adjustment in Tunisia and Algeria.”** Bradford Dillman. *The Journal of North African Studies* 3(3), (1998): 1-24.

## **Session 16 – October 22: Midterm Examination**

## Session 17 – October 24: The Brewing Storm – The Origins of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Opposition

### Required Readings

- **“Egypt: A Decade of Ruptures.”** Rabab el-Mahdi. Chapter 2 in Lina Khatib and Ellen Lust (eds). *Taking to the Streets: The Transformation of Arab Activism*. Johns Hopkins UP, (2014). (52-75)
- **“Peace, Bread, and Riots: Jordan and the IMF.”** Curtis R. Ryan. *Middle East Policy*, 6(2) (1998). (54-66).

## Session 18 – October 29: The Origins of al-Qaida – From Tora Prison (Cairo) to 9/11

### Country Presentation 1

#### Required Readings

- **“The Rise of al-Qaeda.”** Fawaz Gerges. Chapter 1 in *The Rise and Fall of al-Qaeda*. Oxford UP, (2011). (29-68)

#### Recommended Reading

- Doran, Michael. (2002). “The Pragmatic Fanaticism of al Qaeda: An Anatomy of Extremism in Middle Eastern Politics.” *Political Science Quarterly* 117(2): 177-190.
- Wright, Lawrence. (2006). *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. Alfred a Knopf Incorporated. (or watch it on Hulu).
- *The 9/11 commission report: Final report of the national commission on terrorist attacks upon the United States*. Government Printing Office, 2011.

## Session 19 – October 31: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Between Two Intifadas (1987-2005)

### Country Presentation 2

#### Required Readings

- Pgs 218-228 on the First Intifada in **“Lebanon and the Intifada.”** Ian J. Bickerton, and Carla L. Klausner. Chapter 9 in *A History of the Arab–Israeli Conflict*. 6<sup>th</sup> edition. Routledge (2010).
- **“The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Accord,” and “Epilogue.”** James Gelvin. Chapter 10 in *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*. Cambridge UP, (2005). (228-256).

#### Recommended Readings

- Sayigh, Yezid. (1997). *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*. Clarendon Press.
- Bickerton, Ian J., and Carla L. Klausner. (2010). *A History of the Arab–Israeli Conflict*. 6<sup>th</sup> edition. Routledge. Chs 10-14.
- Brown, Nathan. (2003). *Palestinian Politics after the Oslo Accords: Resuming Arab Palestine*. Univ of California Press.

## **Last Day to Hand in Reading Responses**

## **Part III – Contemporary Challenges in the Middle East**

### **• Contemporary Challenges 1 – The Iraq War and ISIS**

#### **Session 20 – November 5: The Iraq War – Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq**

##### **Country Presentation 3**

###### Required Readings:

- **“What went wrong in Iraq.”** Diamond, Larry. *Foreign Affairs* 83(5). (2004): 34-56.
- **“Iraq’s Civil War.”** James Fearon. *Foreign Affairs* 86, (2007): 2-15
- **“The Anbar Awakening.”** Austin Long. *Survival* 50(2), (2008): 67-94 skim.

###### Recommended Readings:

- Weaver, Mary Anne. (2006). “The Short, Violent Life of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.” *The Atlantic*.
- Filkins, Dexter (2008). *The Forever War*. Vintage.
- Simon, Steven. “The Price of the Surge-How US Strategy is Hastening Iraq's Demise.” *Foreign Affairs* 87, (2008).
- 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 21 – November 7: The Aftermath of the Iraq War – the Rise of ISIS**

##### **Country Presentation 4**

###### Required Readings:

- **“Iraq: The Privatization of Security and the Rise of ISIS.”** Andreas Krieg. Ch 6 in *Sociopolitical Order and Security in the Arab World*. Palgrave MacMillan, (2017). (215-238).
- **“ISIS is not a Terrorist Group: Why Counterterrorism Won’t Stop the Latest Jihadist Threat,”** Audrey Cronin. *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.

## • Contemporary Challenges 2 – The Arab Spring

### Session 22 – November 12: The Causes and Study of the Arab Spring

#### Country Presentation 5

##### Required Readings

- **“Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability.”** Gause III, F. Gregory. *Foreign Affairs* (2011). (81-90).
- **“A Revolutionary Wave?”** James Gelvin. Chapter 1 in *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press, (2015). (1-34)

##### Recommended Readings

- Kurzman, Charles. (2012). “The Arab Spring Uncoiled.” *Mobilization* 17(4): 377-390.
- Kuran, Timur (1991). “Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989.” *World politics*, 44(1).
- Anderson, Lisa. (2011). “Demystifying the Arab Spring,” *Foreign Affairs*, 90(3): 2-7.
- Lynch, Marc (2011). “After Egypt: The limits and promise of online challenges to the authoritarian Arab state.” *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(2), 301-310.
- Morten Valbjorn and Frederik Volpi – “Revisiting Theories of Arab Politics in the Aftermath of the Arab Uprisings,” *Rethinking Mediterranean Politics* 19(1), (2014).

### Session 23 – November 14: The Dynamics and Outcomes of the Arab Spring

#### Country Presentation 6

##### Required Readings

- **“Breakdowns and Crackdowns,”** Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds. Chapter 3 in *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*, (2014). (64-97).
- **“Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring.”** Eva Bellin. *Comparative Politics* 44(2), (2012): 127-149.
- **“[Assad Has Won in Syria. But Syria Hardly Exists.](#)”** David Lesch and James Gelvin, *The New York Times*, January 11, 2016

##### Recommended Readings

- Sean L. Yom and F Gregory Gause III – “Resilient Royals: How the Arab Monarchies Hang On,” *Journal of Democracy* 23(4), (2012).
- Lynch, Marc (2013). *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East*. Public Affairs.

## **November 19-23: Thanksgiving Week – No Classes**

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

### Session 24 – November 26: The Saudi-Iranian Rivalry before the Arab Spring

#### **Country Presentation 7**

##### Required Readings

- *The GCC States and the Security Challenges of the Twenty-First Century*. Joseph Kostiner. The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, (2010). <http://www.biu.ac.il/Besa/MSPS86.pdf>

##### Recommended Readings

- 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).
- Gause III, F. Gregory (2009). *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*. Cambridge University Press.

### Session 25 – November 28: The Saudi-Iranian Rivalry after the Arab Spring

#### **Country Presentation 8**

##### Required Readings:

- **“How the Iranian-Saudi Proxy Struggle Tore Apart the Middle East.”** Max Fisher. *The New York Times*, Nov 19, 2016. [https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/world/middleeast/iran-saudi-proxy-war.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/world/middleeast/iran-saudi-proxy-war.html?_r=0)
- **“The New Arab Cold War.”** Steven Cook, Jacob Stokes, and Alexander Brock. *Foreign Policy*, August 28, 2014. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/08/28/the-new-arab-cold-war/>
- **“Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the ‘Great Game’ in Yemen.”** Martin Reardon. *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>

- **Contemporary Challenges 4: The Iranian Nuclear Program**

Session 26 – December 3: The Iranian Nuclear Program and Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action

**Country Presentation 9**

Required Readings:

- *The Iran Nuclear Deal. A Definitive Guide.* Gary Samore et al. Harvard University, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, August 2015, pp.1-17: [here](#)
- “The Myth of a ‘Better’ Iran Deal.” Colin Kahl. *Foreign Policy*, 26 September, 2017 [here](#)
- “European Diplomats Speak Out Against Trump’s Opposition to Iran Deal.” Gardiner Harris. *New York Times*, September 25, 2017 [here](#)

Session 27 – December 5: Policy Briefs 1

Session 28 – December 10: Policy Briefs 2

Session 29 – December 12: Policy Briefs 3

**Final: The Arab League Summit – Date – Tentatively Wednesday Dec 19**

**Govt 331 – Middle East Politics  
Goodman  
Statement of Acknowledgement**

By initialing and signing below, I \_\_\_\_\_, acknowledge that I have read the Syllabus and understand the following policies and expectations for Govt 331:

\_\_\_\_\_ I have reviewed and understand the Grade Scale and realize that grades will not be rounded up in this class.

\_\_\_\_\_ I have reviewed and understand the Attendance Policy, which states that I can miss two classes with no consequence, but that my final grade will be deducted by a half point per additional class missed.

\_\_\_\_\_ I have reviewed and understand the Late Assignment Policy, which states that assignments submitted after the due date will be penalized 10% per day.

\_\_\_\_\_ I have reviewed the Academic Honesty statement on p. 4-5 and agree to cite any sources electronic or print on every writing assignments. I will not represent the work of others as my own. I also will not cheat on in class writing assignments or quizzes.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Your Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date