

The Politics of the Contemporary Middle East
The Norman Patterson School of International Affairs
Carleton University
INAF 5207
River Building, Room 3201
Thursdays (18:05-20:55)
Fall Term (2015)

1) Instructor: Michael Bell

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Office Hours: Wednesday 18:00-20:00 or by prior appointment. Email and phone welcome.

2) Course Description:

This course constitutes an exploration of the issues which affect the Middle East today, examining conflict management and resolution, domestic and regional instability and the influence and role of outside players, emphasizing cause, effect and consequence. How these challenges affect the international community through war, terrorism, oil and the persistence of the Arab-Israeli dispute will be discussed.

Success will depend on student's reading of relevant texts and active class participation. The instructor will provide context, background and lessons learned from his own experience.

3) Readings:

Readings are available online, on two-hour reserve in the library and from the bookstore:

State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East, Roger Owen, Routledge, 2004, is recommended as a background text.

Specific readings for each class will be provided in the full syllabus.

4) Methodology:

The first two hours of each class will consist of one **oral presentation** by (a) pre-selected student(s) followed by a wide-ranging class **discussion** of the topic.

Emphasis will be put on the analysis and synthesis of facts and ideas.

The third hour will be devoted to discussion of current issues as they effect the implications for conflict resolution. **Outside speakers** will participate. Confirmed to date are: Michael Atallah (x2), John Bell, Roula El Rifai, Thomas Juneau, Rafi Barak, Paul Adams

Grades will be based on the ability to:

- examine critically, and successfully integrate, separate events into a larger whole, to demonstrate context, meaning and implication;

- explain why events happen, their implications for present and future developments, and why political actors comport themselves as they do;

- assess the role of ideology, narrative, religion, legitimacy, economic and social factors and governance in determining outcomes;

- appreciate the importance of needs based analysis and perspective in problem solving.

If more than two sessions are missed without appropriate documentation, the particular student's participation mark will be lowered by one letter grade.

5) Evaluation:

10% - weekly summaries – 2 pages double-spaced to be handed in at the beginning of each class.

20% - seminar presentation – 30 to 45 minutes with clear, convincing, lucid, well organized and compelling arguments, devoid of argot with due attention to grammar and sentence structure, with minimal reliance on power points, videos; the presenter will be required to submit a bibliography with a minimum of 9 sources, in addition to the set course readings; 7 of these readings must be academic.

20% - class participation – active participation, demonstrated knowledge, the ability to critique, synthesize, analyze, establish context, and establish perspective and relevance

20% - mid-term exam on problem solving: students will be asked to recommend conflict management and resolution options to solutions to actual situations which have actually arisen in the last to decades. The reference background text will be: **Managing a Mediation Process**, Amy Smith, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, 2008.

30% - research paper: topic to be addressed: The Role of Identity and its Consequences in one of the following countries: Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia.

6) Requirements for written material include:

- i) Type face: New Times Roman 12
- ii) Footnotes: Chicago style
- iii) Pages numbered in the lower right hand corner
- iv) Late assignments: A deduction of 2% per assignment per each day
- v) Word count minus footnotes on all written material, save weekly summaries.

7) Grade Determination:

As per the University norm, raw scores will be converted to letter grades based on University regulations for grading in graduate classes as attached.

8) Seminar Subjects

- *Introduction – 03 Sept*

Readings:

- a) "Middle East Realities and Western Responses," Michael Bell, Canadian Global Affairs Institute, July 2015: http://www.cgai.ca/middle_east_realities_and_western_responses

- ***Legitimacy – 10 Sept***

Readings:

- a) State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East, Roger Owen, Routledge, 2004, pgs. 5-19, 23-53, 56-72.
- b) “The Politics of Identity in Middle Eastern International Relations”, Raymond Hinnebusch, in International Relations of the Middle East, Louise Fawcett ed., Oxford University Press, 2009 pgs. 148-169.
- c) Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On, Sean Yom, Journal of Democracy, Vol. 23 #4, October 2012 <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/resilient-royals-how-arab-monarchies-hang>

(Atallah)

- ***Authoritarianism – 17 Sept***

Readings:

- a) State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East, Roger Owen, Routledge, 2004, pgs. 131-153.
- b) “Why Are There No Arab Democracies?” Larry Diamond, Journal of Democracy, January 2009, 21 (1), pgs. 93-112.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v021/21.1.diamond.html
- c) “Islam and Authoritarianism”, Steven Fish, World Politics, January 2002, 55 (1), pgs. 4-37.
<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/worldpolitics/v055/55.1fish.html>

(El Rifai)

- ***Political Economy – 24 Sept***

Readings:

- a) “Oil and Political Economy in the International Relations of the Middle East”, Giacomo Luciani, in International Relations in the Middle East, Louise Fawcett ed., Oxford University Press, 2009, pgs. 81-101.
- b) “The Political Economy of the Resource Curse”, Michael Ross, World Politics, January 1999, 51 (2), pgs. 297-322.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v051/51.2er_karl.htm
- c) “Does Oil Hinder Democracy”, Michael Ross, World Politics, April 2001, 53 (3), pg. 325-361.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v053/53.3ross.html
- d) “How the Iran Deal Will Affect Oil Markets in the Short Term,” Stratfor, 16 July 2015, pgs. 1- 4.
- e) “How the Iran Deal Will Affect Oil Markets in the Long Term,” Stratfor, 17 July 2015, pgs. 1- 4.

- ***Ethno-nationalism – 01 Oct***

- a) Ethno-nationalism: The Quest for Understanding, Walker Connor, Princeton University Press, 1994, pgs. 90-113, 196-208.
- b) Minorities and the State in the Arab World, Ofra Bengio and Gabreil Ben-dor, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999, pgs. 1-20, 191-203.
- c) “The Rise of Politicized Shiite Religiosity and the Territorial State in Iraq and Lebanon”, Yusri Hassan, Middle East Journal, Vol.64, no.4, Spring 2011.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/the_middle_east_journal/toc/mej.64.4.html
- d) “The New Sectarianism: The Arab Uprising and the Rebirth of the Shia Sunni Divide,” Geneive Abdo, Analysis Paper #29, April 2013, The Saban Center, Brookings.
<http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2013/04/sunni-shia-divide-abdo>

- ***Ideology & Political Islam – 08 Oct***

Readings:

- a) State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East, Roger Owen, Routledge, 2004, pgs.154-177.
- b) “The Rise of the Islamists”, Shadi Hamid, Foreign Affairs, May/June 2011, Vol.90, issue 3, pgs. 40-47. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67696/shadi-hamid/the-rise-of-the-islamists>
- c) “Whither Political Islam”, Mahmood Mamdani, Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2005.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/60445/mahmood-mamdani/whither-political-islam>
- d) Issues of Power of Modernity in Understanding Political and Militant Islam, Tariq Amin-Khan, Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East, Vol. 29 #3, 2009, pgs. 544-555.
<http://cssaame.dukejournals.org/content/29/3/544>

- ***Extremism – 15 Oct***

Readings:

- a) “The Islamic State’s Appeal,” Scott Stewart, Stratfor, 26 March 2015:
<https://outlook.office365.com/owa/?realm=uwindsor.ca&cdn=1&ver=16.817.13.1742256#path=/mail>
- b) “Inside the Islamic State,” Malaise Ruthven, The New York Review of Books, 09 July 2015
- c) “Is the Islamic State Now Evolving into a Transnational Movement?” Paul Rogers, Oxford Research Group, 18 May 2015:
http://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/publications/middle_east/islamic_state_now_evolving_transnational_movement
- c) “What ISIS Really Wants,” Graeme Wood, The Atlantic, March, 2015

- ***The Arab Spring - 22 Oct***

Readings:

- a) “The Arab Spring at One”, Fouad Ajami, *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2012
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1370583/fouad-ajami/the-arab-spring-at-one>
- b) “The Promise of the Arab Spring”, Sheri Berman, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2013.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/138479/sheri-berman/the-promise-of-the-arab-spring>
- c) “The Mirage of the Arab Spring”, Seth Jones, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb, 2013.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/138478/seth-g-jones/the-mirage-of-the-arab-spring>

(J. Bell, Barak)

- ***Egypt: A Case Study – 05 Nov***

Readings:

- a) “Commanding Democracy in Egypt”, Jeff Martini, *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2011.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68218/jeff-martini-and-julie-taylor/commanding-democracy-in-egypt>
- b) “Marching in Circles: Egypt’s Dangerous Second Transition”, *International Crisis Group*, 07 August 2013
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/North%20Africa/Egypt/b035-marching-in-circles-egypts-dangerous-second-transition.pdf>
- c) “The Persistence of the Police in Egypt”, Mohamed El-Shewy, *Middle East Institute*, 08 August 2013
<http://www.mei.edu/content/police-and-persistence-state-egypt>
- d) “Egypt’s Army: Ambitious Men in Uniform”, *The Economist*, 03 August 2013, pgs 38-39
<http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21582564-generals-who-deposed-muslim-brotherhood-are-keener-power-they-let>

- ***Syria: A Case Study – 12 Nov***

Readings:

- a) “Reinterpreting Authoritarian Power: Syria’s Hereditary Succession”, Joshua Stacher, *Middle East Journal*, Vol65, no.2, Spring 2011.
http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=journals/the_middle_east_journal/v065/65.2/stacher.html
- b) “Syria’s Collapse”, Andrew Tabler, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August, 2013.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139457/andrew-j-tabler/syrias-collapse>
- c) “Syria’s Metastasising Conflicts”, *International Crisis Group*, 27 June, 2013
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iraq%20Syria%20Lebanon/Syria/143-syrias-metastasising-conflicts.pdf>

d) “The Assad Regime’s Hold on the Syrian State,” Kheder Khaddour, July 2015, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: <http://carnegie-mec.org/2015/07/08/assad-regime-s-hold-on-syrian-state/id3k>

- ***Iraq: A Case Study – 19 Nov***

Readings:

- a) Inventing Iraq, Toby Dodge, Columbia University Press, 2003, pps. 1-41
- b) The Occupation of Iraq, Ali Alawi, Yale University Press, 2007, pps. 1-16, 453-460
- c) Iraq’s Jihadi Jack-in-the Box, International Crisis Group, 20 June 2014
[http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iraq%20Syria%20Lebanon/Iraq/b038-iraq-s-jihadi-jack-in-the-box.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iraq%20Syria%20Lebanon/Iraq/b038-iraq-s-jihadi-jack-in-the-box.pdf)
- d) Iraq: From War to a New Authoritarianism, Toby Dodge, Routledge, 2013

- ***Iranian Foreign Policy – 26 Nov***

Readings:

- a) “Iran Under Rouhani: Still alone in the World,” Thomas Juneau, Middle East Policy, Volume 21, # 4, Winter, 2014
- b) “Iran’s Foreign Policy,” Kenneth Katzman, Congressional Research Service, 30 June 2015:<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R44017.pdf>
- c) “Iran’s Strategy for Saving Assad,” W. Andrew Terrill, The Middle East Journal, Volume 69, #2, Spring 2015
- d) “Iran’s Power in Context,” Shahram Chubin, The Carnegie Endowment, for International Peace, 2009: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/shahram_survival20090201.pdf

(Atallah)

- ***Tunisia: the Possible Exception and Reasons for It – 03 Dec***

Readings: *to follow*

Remaining Speakers: (Thomas Juneau, Paul Adams and others to be selected to be slotted in.)