

PSCI 3203 (B)
Government and Politics in the Middle East
Monday & Wednesday 6:05 -- 8:55 p.m.
Please confirm class location on Carleton Central

Subject to Minor Revisions up to and Including the First Scheduled Class

Instructor: Hassan Hussein
Office: B641 Loeb Building
Office Hours: By appointment.
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Course Description:

This course aims to develop students' critical thinking with respect to the geo-politics of a fast changing Middle East and Arab World. Thinking and analyzing "outside the box" and beyond the headlines of the daily news is a prerequisite for a course that examines the political, social and economic developments within this region. Such developments are investigated through a historical, theoretical and thematic approach. Special attention will be paid to the "Arab Spring" and its aftermath in countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen. The long-standing Palestinian-Israeli Conflict will also be analyzed and so will other contemporary issues significant to the relationship between politics and the state. These include: the political economy of the region, the role of Islam, gender relations and the impact of Western colonialism.

Students are highly encouraged to express a variety of views, provided that these views are evidence-based – in other words students should always take the time to ground themselves in the basic facts needed to underpin an argument.

Texts and Course Readings:

Tareq Y Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael. 2011. *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*. London and New York: Routledge.

Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch (eds.). 2013. *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Textbooks are available for purchase from **Octopus Books** located at 116 Third Avenue @ Bank (Glebe), Tel. 613-233-2589.

Please note: all required readings that are not accessible online will be at the reserve desk at the MacOdrum Library.

Course Requirements and Grading:

-Attendance & class participation:	13%
-Research Essay:	35% (due: July 27)
-In-class test (Quiz):	12% (in class: August 10)
-Final Exam (Take Home):	40% (Instructions provided in class. Due August 24)

Attendance (13%)

Attendance is required for all students enrolled in PSCI 3203 A. One (1) point will be awarded for attending class and engaging in class discussions.

Research Essay (35 %)

All students will complete a research paper on a select topic (see list below), or a topic of your choosing with prior discussion and approval with course instructor. If you wish to write on another topic that is not listed below, you must seek approval no later than July 20th. **The paper is due on July 27th.** The paper will be 10-12 pages in length, typed and double-spaced (12 point font size). Paper must include a proper citation style and have a complete and properly organized bibliography. The research paper must integrate course readings as well as sources derived from your own research.

Late submission of papers will result in a penalty of two-thirds of a letter grade per day (e.g., B to C+). Please remember that it is not acceptable to hand in the same paper for two or more courses. **Please Note:** students may use the departmental drop box to drop assignments off. If you choose to do so, please note that the drop box is emptied and date stamped Monday-Friday at 4:00 pm. Papers submitted after 4:00 pm will be date stamped for the following week day.

Quiz (12%)

One (1) in-class multiple choice quiz will be given on August 10th. It will cover material up to the class of **August 5th**. Attending classes and reading the required course materials will be sufficient to do well on the quiz. Students who are unable to take the quiz on the specified date, will have to make alternate arrangement with the course instructor.

Final Take-Home exam (40%)

This will be a take-home exam. It is due on the last day of the exam period (**August 24**) and must be submitted to either the course instructor or the TA no later than 4:00 pm. More information will be provided in class.

Suggested paper topics:

1. Discuss the political economy of state transition and reform in the Middle East. What is the relationship between politics and economics in the region (compare 2-3 countries in the region)?
2. Discuss gender dynamics and the state in the Middle East and the Arab world. What role does/could feminism play in state formation and reform (Egypt, Iran, Palestine or Lebanon are good example countries to choose from)?

3. Discuss Islamism as a protest movement in the Middle East (draw on Iran, Palestine, Lebanon and Egypt for examples)?
4. Discuss the role of conflict and politics in the Middle East. How has conflict contributed to authoritarianism? How has conflict shaped other kinds of politics and/or the state in the region?
5. How has colonialism shaped contemporary politics and the state in the region?
6. Discuss Islamism and gender. What prospects does Islamism hold for women and for the state?
7. Many experts point to the Israel-Palestine conflict as the core issue to be resolved in the Middle East. Do you agree? Disagree? What other conflicts are also significant? Discuss the causes of conflict in the region, and what you think conflict means for the future of the Middle East and the Arab World, and how it will be/should be resolved?
8. Discuss any of the following aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (refugees, settlements, the wall/fence, one-state vs. two-state solutions, peace process, partition, apartheid, self-determination, etc.)
9. Discuss the root causes and implications of the ongoing changes in the Middle East, otherwise known as "The Arab Spring". Here, you may choose to focus on one country case study or conduct a comparative analysis of 2 or more countries.
10. Discuss the regional and international context and implications of "The Arab Spring". Special attention should be paid to the role of countries such as, Turkey, Israel, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the US and Russia.

Class Schedule

Background

Week 1

July 6: Introduction & Historical Context

Required Readings:

Owen, Roger. 2004. "**Introduction**" and **Chapter 1**, in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. London and NYC: Routledge.

Ismael and Ismael. 2011. "**Introduction**" in *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*. London and New York: Routledge.

July 8: Theoretical Context

Required Readings:

Anderson, Lisa. "2003 MESA Presidential Address: Scholarship, Policy, Debate and Conflict: Why We Should Study the Middle East and Why it Matters," *Middle East*

Studies Association Bulletin 38, 1 (June 2004).

<http://fp.arizona.edu/mesassoc/Bulletin/Pres%20Addresses/Anderson.htm>

Huntington, Samuel. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, 3 (Summer), 22-49.

Said, Edward. 2001 (22 October). "The Clash of Ignorance." *The Nation*.

<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20011022/said>

Optional Readings:

Lewis, Bernard. 1982 (24 June). "The Question of Orientalism," *New York Review of Books*.

Said, Edward. 1978. "Introduction" and "The Latest Phase" in *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, pp. 1-28, 284-328.

Said, Edward and Bernard Lewis. 1982 (12 August). "Orientalism: an Exchange." *The New York Review of Books*.

State and Society in the Middle East & Arab World

Week 2

July 13: The State in the Middle East & Arab World

Required Readings:

Owen, Roger. 2004. **Chapters 2-3 and 5**, in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. London and NYC: Routledge, pp. 23-55, 73-89.

Ismael and Ismael. 2011. **Chapter 2**, in *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*. London and New York: Routledge.

Optional Readings:

Abrahamian, Ervand. 2009 (Spring). "Why the Islamic Republic Has Survived." *Middle East Report Online*. <http://merip.org/mer/mer250/abrahamian.html>

Ghanem, As'ad, Nadim Rouhanna and Oren Yiftachel. 1998. "Questioning 'Ethnic Democracy': A Response to Sammy Smooha," *Israel Studies* 3, 2 (Fall), 253-67.

Smooha, Sammy. 1997. "Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype," *Israel Studies* 2, 2 (Fall), 198-241.

July 15: Islamism

Required Readings:

Ismael and Ismael. 2011. **Chapter 3**, in *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*. London and New York: Routledge.

Optional Readings:

Milton-Edwards, Beverly. 2004. Chapters 1, 6 and 7, in *Islam and Politics in the Contemporary World*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 9-33, 149-207

Deeb, Lara. 2006 (31 July). "Hizbollah: A Primer." *Middle East Report Online*.
<http://merip.org/mero/mero073106.html>

Kundsen, Are. 2005. "Crescent and Sword: The Hamas Enigma," *Third World Quarterly*, 26, 8: 1373-1388.

Leiken, Robert S. and Steven Brooke. 2007. "The Moderate Muslim Brotherhood," *Foreign Affairs*, 86, 2 (March/April): 107-121.

Week 3

July 20: Gender, Patriarchy and Politics

Required Readings:

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1991. "**Introduction**" in *Women, Islam and the State*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, pp. 1-21.

Milton-Edwards, Beverly. 2004. **Chapter 5**, in *Islam and Politics in the Contemporary World*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 118-148.

Optional Readings:

Abdellatif, Omayma and Marina Ottaway. 2007. Women in Islamist Movements: Towards an Islamist Model of Women's Activism. Carnegie Papers, #2, Carnegie Middle East Center, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Beirut.
http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cmec2_women_in_islam_final1.pdf

Nachtwey, Jodi and Mark Tessler. 1999. "Explaining Women's Support for Political Islam," in *Asia Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics*, Mark Tessler, ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Peace and Conflict in the Middle East

July 22: Middle East Conflict from the early 20th century to today

Required Readings:

Halliday, Fred. 2007 (22 June). "Lebanon, Gaza, Iraq: Three Crises." *openDemocracy*.
http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflicts/middle_east/lebanon_gaza_iraq_three_crises

Halliday, Fred. 2007 (15 June). "Crises of the Middle East: 1914, 1967, 2003," *openDemocracy*.
http://www.opendemocracy.net/globalisation/global_politics/crisis_middle_east_2003

ICG, 2006 (5 October). The Arab-Israeli Conflict: To Reach a Lasting Peace, Middle East Report #58. Amman/Jerusalem/Brussels: *International Crisis Group*.
http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/middle_east_north_africa/arab_israeli_conflict/58_the_arab_israeli_conflict_to_reach_a_lasting_peace.pdf

Optional Readings:

Bitterlemons. 2006 (14 December). "How Middle East Crises Interact: I." *Bitterlemons-international.org*, 46, 4. <http://www.bitterlemons-international.org/previous.php?opt=1&id=160>

Bitterlemons. 2006 (21 December). "How Middle East Crises Interact: II." *Bitterlemons-international.org*, 47, 4. <http://www.bitterlemons-international.org/previous.php?opt=1&id=161>

Keshavarzian, Arang. 2007(Spring). "The Muslim World is Not Flat," *Middle East Report*, 242. <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer242/keshavarzian.html>

Rubin, Barry. 1998. "The Geopolitics of Middle East Conflict and Crisis." *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 2, 3 (September).
<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1998/issue3/jv2n3a7.html>

Week 4

July 27: Creation of Israel and the Palestinian Nakba: Roots of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

Required Readings:

Beinin, Joel and Lisa Hajjar. Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer. *Middle East Report Online*. http://www.merip.org/palestine-israel_primer/Palestine-Israel_Primer_MERIP.pdf

Haaretz. 2004 (9 January). "Survival of the Fittest" (an interview with Historian Benny Morris).
<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=380986&contrassID=2>

Said, Edward. 1992. "The Question of Palestine" or "Zionism from the Standpoint of its Victims," in *The Question of Palestine*. NYC: Vintage Books.

Pappe, Ilan. 2006. "The 1948 Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 141 (Fall). <http://palestine-studies.org/final/en/journals/printer.php?aid=7175>

Optional Readings:

Bitterlemons. 2008 (May 12). "60 Years"
<http://www.bitterlemons.org/previous/bl120508ed17.html>

Husseini, Hassan. 2008. "A 'Middle Power' in Action: Canada and the Partition of Palestine." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 30 (Summer): 41-55

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2000. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52 (July): 437-484

UN General Assembly Resolution 181 on the "future government of Palestine," 29 November 1947.
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/038/88/IMG/NR003888.pdf?OpenElement>

UN General Assembly Resolution 194, 11 December 1948.
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/043/65/IMG/NR004365.pdf?OpenElement>

UN General Assembly Resolution 242, 22 November 1967.
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/240/94/IMG/NR024094.pdf?OpenElement>

July 29: The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: the Road to Nowhere?

Required Readings:

Ismael and Ismael. 2011. **Chapter 8**, in *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*. London and New York: Routledge.

Malley, Robert and Hussein Agha. 2001 (9 August). "Camp David: Tragedy of Errors." *New York Review of Books*. <http://nybooks.com/articles/14380>

Robinson, Glenn. 2001. "The Peace of the Powerful." *The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid*, Roane Carey, ed. London: Verso.

Karmi, Ghada. 2008. "From the Naksa to the Nakba: The 1967 War and the One-State Solution." *The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 8 (Spring), 203-207.
<http://web.mit.edu:80/cis/www/mitejmes/intro.htm>

Optional Readings:

Beinin, Joel. 2004. "No More Tears: Benny Morris and the Road Back from Liberal Zionism." *Middle East Report* 230 (Spring).
http://www.merip.org/mer/mer230/230_beinin.html

Cook, Jonathan. 2009 (17 January). "The Plot against Gaza." *The Electronic Intifada*.
<http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article10202.shtml>

Halevi, Jonathan D. (Lt. Col.). 2006. "Understanding the Direction of the New Hamas Government: Between Tactical Pragmatism and Al-Qaeda Jihadism." *Jerusalem center for Public Affairs*. <http://jcpa.org/brief/brieff005-22.htm>

Judt, Tony. 2003. "Israel: The Alternative." *New York Review of Books* 50, 16 (23 October). <http://nybooks.com/articles/16671>

Tilley, Virginia. 2003. "The One-State Solution." *London Review of Books* 25, 21 (6 November). http://www.lrb.co.uk/v25/n21/till01_.html

Seigman, Henry. 2006. (5 April). " Hamas: The Last Chance for Peace?" *New York Review of Books*.
http://www.fmep.org/analysis/articles/hamas_the_last_chance_for_peace.html

Shikaki, Khalil. 1998. "Peace Now or Hamas Later." *Foreign Affairs* 77, 4 (July/August): 29-43.

Week 5

August 5: Turkey, Iran and Kurdistan.

Required Readings:

Ismael and Ismael. 2011. Part II: **Chapter 4 & 5**, in *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*. London and New York: Routledge.

Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch (eds.). 2013. **Chapter 7 & 8**, in *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Optional Readings:

Walker, Joshua. 2011. (3 October). "Turkey's Muscular Maneuvers on the World Stage." *Foreignpolicy.com*
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/10/03/the_world_leader_you_should_be_paying_attention_to_right_now

Bitterlemons. 2003 (18 December). "The Kurds". *Bitterlemons-international.org*, 21, 1.
<http://bitterlemons-international.org/previous.php?opt=1&id=21>

Keddie, Nikkie. 2004. "What Recent History Has Taught Iranians," *The Muslim World* 94 (October), 421-426.

Lawrence, Quil. 2005 (11 March). "Kurdish Green Line, Turkish Red Line," *Middle East Report Online*. <http://merip.org/mero/mero031105.html>

Week 6

August 10: "The War on Terrorism"...Regional and International Context

Required Readings:

Goldsmith Jr, Arthur and Lawrence Davidson. 2013. **Chapter 20**, in *A Concise History of the Middle East, 10th Edition*. Boulder: Westview Press.

“The Arab Spring”

August 12: Arab Spring I (North Africa and Egypt)

Required Readings:

Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch (eds.). 2013. **“Introduction”, Chapters 1 and 3**, in *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Ismael and Ismael. 2011. **Chapter 9**, in *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*. London and New York: Routledge.

Beinin, Joel and Hossam el-Hamalawy. 2007(March 25). “Egyptian Textile Workers Confront the New Economic Order,” *Middle East Report Online*.

<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero032507.html>

Optional Readings:

Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch (eds.). 2013. **Chapter 10 & 11**, in *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press.

August 14: Arab Spring II (The Gulf and The Levant).

Required Readings:

Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch (eds.). 2013. **Chapters 4 and 5**, in *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Ismael and Ismael. 2011. **Chapters 7 and 10**, in *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*. London and New York: Routledge.

Optional Readings:

Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch (eds.). 2013. **Chapter 7 & 8**, in *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch (eds.). 2013. **Chapter 9 & Conclusion**, in *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention

Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation,

including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can

benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.