

Carleton University
Fall 2015
Department of Political Science

PSCI 3203 A
Government and Politics in the Middle East
Monday, 8h35–11h25 AM
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Matthew A. MacDonald
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Course Description

This course introduces students to the political development of the Middle East since the First World War, and the history necessary to understand the contemporary political situation in the Middle East. It also aims to hone the analytical abilities of students so that they may better understand and address a range of political issues that the Middle East has faced in the past or is facing today. To these ends, we will focus on certain key themes and examine the role they play or have played in the political development of the Middle East in general and of certain states in particular. These include Islam and religion in general; European colonialism; the influence of Western, and especially Enlightenment and modern, political philosophy; nationalism, Zionism, and Pan-Arabism; the Cold War; American foreign policy; state/society relations; economic development; war; terrorism; and democratization.

Class sessions will typically include:

- A thematic discussion to put a subsequent discussion of a specific country, group of countries, or issue in context;
- A discussion of a specific country, group of countries, or issue, typically with reference to the required readings;
- An open class debate or discussion, presentation, or the viewing of a motion picture (documentary or other movie of specific relevance)

The following resources may be useful in helping you follow developments in the Middle East and to gain further insight into topics covered in this course:

- Al-Jazeera English (<http://english.aljazeera.net/news/middleeast/>)
- The Middle East Channel, Foreign Policy (<http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/>)
- BBC (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/middle_east/)
- The New York Times (<http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/middleeast/index.html>)
- The Guardian (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/middleeast/roundup>)
- The Arabist blog (www.arabist.net)

- The Daily Star – Lebanon (<http://www.dailystar.com.lb>)
- The Jordan Times (www.jordantimes.com)
- Ha'aretz – Israel (www.haaretz.com)
- Jerusalem Post – Israel (www.jpost.com)
- The National – UAE (www.thenational.ae)

Readings

James L. Gelvin (2016). *The Modern Middle East: A History*. Fourth edition. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. *Available at the Carleton University Book Store.*

Mehran Kamrava (2013). *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War*. Third edition. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. *Available at the Carleton University Book Store.*

Other readings are available electronically on the Carleton University Library website, freely available on other websites, or instructions will be given in class.

Course Evaluation (requirements listed in the order they are due)

*Answers to some frequently asked questions: Yes, you may write in the first person. I prefer that you cite sources using the Chicago style format and generally follow the guidelines in the Chicago Manual of Style (current edition available electronically through the Carleton University Library), but any standard academic citation format used consistently is acceptable. **Friendly advice:** Impress with your ideas more than your words; if your writing sounds too academic, it probably isn't very good.*

1. **Opinion Article** (due in class on Monday, September 28, 2015) – 10%
Read a few opinion articles from various newspapers and blogs that relate to an issue of relevance to government and politics in the Middle East today. Then, write your own such article (minimum of 600 words, absolute maximum of 750 words). Make your thesis statement absolutely clear and make your argument as direct and as strong as you can. This is not a research assignment (of course, you must cite all sources you make reference to properly, but you are not required to refer directly to any outside sources as long as you do not plagiarize anything). Express an opinion about something related to government and politics in the Middle East, and then defend it. You may later come to disagree with your original opinion article, and that is ok. **IMPORTANT NOTE RELATED TO THE INTENDED PURPOSE OF THIS ASSIGNMENT:** do the *least* amount of research you think is necessary so as to not sound completely ignorant about the topic you are discussing. You will be reflecting on your own opinion article later in a subsequent assignment and this is *not* a research paper. *The primary goal of this early assignment is to get you thinking about the various issues that are of concern in the region today, and to warm-up your analytical skills and further hone your writing skills.*

EVALUATION CRITERIA:

Quality and clarity of writing (75%), relevance (25%)

2. **Essay Proposal** (due in class on Monday, November 9, 2015) – 15%
(1) Develop an “interesting question” related to a theme or issue discussed in this course, (2) propose a “compelling answer” to this question (your thesis statement), (3) explain briefly how you intend to research and defend your argument in your essay, (4) explain briefly some of the challenges you anticipate in researching and writing your essay, (5) and identify at least four sources you intend to rely on in researching and writing your essay. 5–6 pages double-spaced, page numbers, cover page, 12-point Times New Roman, Chicago style.
Additional instructions given in class.
EVALUATION CRITERIA:
Parts 1–5 of the assignment are each worth up to 20% of the assignment grade.

3. **Movie Review** (due in class on Monday, November 16, 2015) – 15%
Review one of the following two movies, both of which are on reserve at the Carleton University Library: *The Battle of Algiers* or *Syrianna*. In your review, (1) offer a brief summary of the movie, (2) discuss two or three major themes from the movie, and (3) discuss what you believe the major message or messages the movie has about government and politics in the Middle East are. Finally, (4) offer your own analysis of the movie and explain how it does, or does not, either help deepen your understanding of an aspect of government and politics in the Middle East or particular challenges facing the Middle East today or that people in the Middle East have faced in the past. Your review must be a minimum of 1000 words and a maximum of 1200 words.
EVALUATION CRITERIA:
Parts 1–4 of the assignment are each worth up to 20% of the assignment grade. The remaining 20% of your grade will depend on the quality and clarity of your writing.

4. **Critical Reflection on Opinion Article** (due in class on Monday, November 23, 2015) – 20%
Submit a copy of your original opinion article assignment attached to this assignment. For this assignment, write a short essay of a minimum of 1000 words and maximum of 1400 words, reflecting on your original opinion article. Very briefly summarize your original argument, and then state whether or not your thinking on the subject has changed. Explain why or why not with reference to a minimum of two other sources. Find sources that you can cite that help back up the argument you are making now, and clearly demonstrate how this new insight alters, or affirms, your original argument. Essentially, reflect on what you have learned since you wrote your original opinion article.
EVALUATION CRITERIA:
Quality and clarity of writing (40%), quality of argument and analysis (40%), appropriate use of at least two sources (20%)

5. **Essay** (Due In Class Monday, December 7, 2014) – 40%

Follow your essay proposal as a guide (see above). Must be 12 pages. Other requirements: single-sided, double-spaced, 12-point type size, Times New Roman font, normal one inch margins, Chicago citation format. Essays not meeting these basic criteria will not be marked, although you may reformat and reprint your document and resubmit it, although it will be considered late and assessed the appropriate penalty. If in doubt, please see instructor prior to due date). *Further instructions to be given in class.*

All assignments must be completed and submitted to receive a passing grade in this course. **If an assignment is not submitted in class on the due date, without a valid medical excuse, it is considered late.** Late assignments will be accepted only up to one week after the due date and will be assessed a penalty of 5% (approximately half a letter grade) per day they are late.

Weekly Program and Associated Required Readings

A note on the readings for this course: the vast majority of the readings for this course are from two textbooks, one by a political scientist named Mehran Kamrava and one by a historian named James L. Gelvin. You will encounter some repetition in the readings, which I hope will not be too tedious for you. What I hope you will notice, and benefit from, however, is the difference in the approaches the authors take. Gelvin, as a historian, is concerned with telling a particular kind of story and making a particular kind of argument, while Kamrava, as a political scientist, tells a similar story but in a different way, focusing on different kinds of questions and making different kinds of arguments. Pay close attention to the different approaches the authors take and consider how they complement each other, and perhaps even conflict at times.

Class 1 (Friday, September 4, 2015): Introduction and Review of Course Outline; The Study of Government and Politics in the Middle East

- Kamrava—Introduction
- Gelvin—Introduction and Part I: The Advent of the Modern Age (pages 7–9)

LABOUR DAY HOLIDAY, NO CLASS ON SEPTEMBER 7.

Class 2 (Monday, September 14, 2015): From Muhammad to the Ottoman Empire *GUEST LECTURE BY HAMED MOUSAVI*****

- Kamrava—Chapter 1 (From Islam to the Great War)
- Gelvin—Chapter 1 (From Late Antiquity to the Dawn of a New Age), Chapter 2 (Gunpowder Empires)

Class 3 (Monday, September 21, 2015): The Modern World Economy and the Decline of the Ottoman Empire

*****GUEST LECTURE BY HAMED MOUSAVI*****

- Gelvin—Chapter 3 (The Middle East and the Modern World System), Chapter 4 (War, Diplomacy, and the New Global Balance of Power), Chapter 4 (War, Diplomacy, and the New Global Balance of Power), Part II: The Question of

Modernity, Chapter 5 (Defensive Developmentalism), and Chapter 6 (Imperialism)

Class 4 (Monday, September 28, 2015): The Modern Middle East State System

*****OPINION ARTICLE DUE IN CLASS*****

- Kamrava—Chapter 2 (From Territories to Independent States)
- Gelvin—Part III: World War I and the Middle East State System (pages 189–192)
- Gelvin—Chapter 11 (State-Building by Decree)
- Gelvin—Chapter 12 (State-Building by Revolution and Conquest)

Class 5 (Monday, October 5, 2015): Nationalism

- Kamrava—Chapter 3 (The Age of Nationalism)
- Gelvin—Chapter 13 (The Invention and Spread of Nationalisms)

THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY, NO CLASS ON OCTOBER 12.

Class 6 (Monday, October 19, 2015): Israel/Palestine

*****GUEST LECTURE BY HAMED MOUSAVI*****

- Kamrava—Chapter 4 (The Arab-Israeli Wars)
- Kamrava—Chapter 9 (The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict)
- Gelvin—Chapter 14 (The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict)
- Yosef Kuperwasser and Shalom Lipner (2011). “The Problem is Palestinian Rejectionism,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December, 2-9.
- Ronald Krebs (2011). “Israel’s Bunker Mentality,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December, 10-18.
- Robert Home (2003). “An ‘Irreversible Conquest’? Colonial and Postcolonial Land Law in Israel/Palestine,” *Social & Legal Studies* Vol. 12, No. 3, 291–310.

FALL BREAK, NO CLASS ON OCTOBER 26.

Class 7 (Monday, November 2, 2015): Religious and Political Thought in the Modern Middle East

- Gelvin—Photo Essay: The Great Nineteenth-Century Transformation and Its Aftermath, Chapter 8 (The Life of the Mind), Chapter 9 Secularism and Modernity)
- Margaret Kohn (2009). “Afghani on Empire, Islam, and Civilization,” *Political Theory* Vol. 37, No. 3, 398–422.
- Gelvin—Read the documents by Ali Shariati (pages 362–364), Ayatollah Khomeini (pages 364–365), and Sayyid Qutb (pages 366–368)

Class 8 (Monday, November 9, 2015): The Iranian Revolution

*****ESSAY PROPOSAL DUE IN CLASS*****

- Kamrava, Chapter 5 (The Iranian Revolution)
- Akbar Ganji (2013). “Who Is Ali Khamenei? The Worldview of Iran’s Supreme Leader,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October, 24–48.

- Shahrough Akhavi (1988). “Islam, Politics and Society in the Thought of Ayatullah Khomeini, Ayatullah Taliqani and Ali Shariati,” *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. 24, No. 4, 404–431.

Class 9 (Monday, November 16, 2015): States and Their Opponents

*****MOVIE REVIEW DUE IN CLASS*****

MOVIE IN CLASS: *The Islamic State* (2014)

NOTE AND TRIGGER WARNING: *This is a documentary produced by Vice News. It provides a visceral, sometimes very disturbing, inside view of the early days of the organization calling itself the Islamic State, and its efforts to establish a new “caliphate” in the Middle East. There will be ample time to discuss the documentary from a variety of perspectives in class, and it is my hope that the material covered earlier in the course will help you to appreciate the significance of the events depicted in the documentary, and thus to appreciate one of the most significant developments in the Middle East in recent history. That said, this documentary contains some very disturbing images, notably the aftermath of a crucifixion of a man accused of murder, and the severed heads of Syrian soldiers and others. These images are only displayed briefly in the documentary. If you have any concerns, feel free to speak with me at any time.*

- Kamrava—Chapter 7 (States and Their Opponents)
- Gelvin—Part IV: The Contemporary Era (Pages 259–269), Chapter 15 (The Autocratic State), Chapter 18 (Resistance), Conclusion: The End of an Era? (pages 347–358)

Class 10 (Monday, November 23, 2014): Oil, The United States, and the Middle East

*****CRITICAL REFLECTION ON OPINION ARTICLE DUE IN CLASS*****

MOVIE IN CLASS: *Syriana* (2005)

Gelvin—Chapter 16 (Oil), Chapter 17 (The United States and the Middle East), Douglas Little (2004). “Mission Impossible: The CIA and the Cult of Covert Action in the Middle East,” *Diplomatic History* Vol. 28, No. 5, 663–701.

Class 11 (Monday, November 30, 2014): The Arab Spring and “The Failure of Political Islam”

- Kamrava—Chapter 8 (Repression and Rebellion)
- Gelvin—Chapter 19 (The Arab Uprisings)
- Ann Lesch (2011). “Egypt’s Spring: Causes of the Revolution,” *Middle East Policy*, 18(3), 35-48.
- Seth Jones (2013). “The Mirage of the Arab Spring,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 55-63.
- Olivier Roy (2012). “The Transformation of the Arab World,” *Journal of Democracy* 23(3), 5-18.

Class 12 (Monday, December 7, 2014): Final Discussion

*****ESSAY DUE IN CLASS*****

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 may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline 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. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

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

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.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

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 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, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/> 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.