Carleton University **Winter 2022**
Department of Political Science
https://carleton.ca/polisci/

PCSI 3203A
Government and Politics in the Middle East

Lecture: Monday 11:35 – 2:25
Online Synchronous Course

Instructor: Dr. Said Yaqub Ibrahimi
Office Hour: Virtual, by appointment
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I. Course Description

This course introduces students to governance, politics and political development in the Middle East. The course first provides a brief history of politics in the region and next it concentrates on government and politics since the First World War. How sovereign states emerged in the Middle East? How traditionalism, colonialism, Islamism, and nationalism affected governance and politics in the region? Why the Middle East is unstable? What are the sources of conflicts, rebellions, and state failure in this region? Is there any solutions for the ongoing instabilities and conflicts? In this course, we address such questions and study a range of political issues and topics that influence politics and governance both in the Middle East and in specific countries. The issues covered in this course includes religion, European colonialism, state-building, Islamism, modernism, nationalism, Zionism, political development during the Cold War and post-Cold War era, revolutions and coup d'états, oil, conflict, democratization, and terrorism. Although it is impossible to examine all single country in the region within the parameters of a term-length course, the course will provide students with historical, theoretical, and analytical tools and examples that enable them to study any case of their interest.

II. Course Structure/Class Format

This course is taught synchronously and online through Zoom learning platform. Every class includes a lecture on the framework of the week's topic, a thematic discussion about the issue and/or country that is focussed in the lecture, and an open class debate or presentation with reference to both the required readings and on going observations. The instructor will create the weekly zoom classes which will be open for students to join every Monday from 11:35 to 2:25.

III. Readings

- James L. Gelvin (2016). *The Modern Middle East: A History*. Fourth edition. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. *Available at Carleton bookstore for purchase.*
- 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 electronically in Ares.*

All other supplementary readings are available in Carleton library website

IV. Course Evaluation

Course evaluation includes an essay proposal, a term paper, a final exam and will be calculated on the following basis:

Attendance and Participation (20%)

Students are expected to attend every class and participate in class discussions and group works. However, for those who cannot attend particular classes, alternatives will be provided.

B) Essay Proposal (10%)

Due February 7, electronically in Brightspace drop-box

A proposal is an introduction to the course's term paper and should present a topic that a student wants to research in their term paper. Proposals should clearly address three main questions as follows: what is the topic of your research? How do you research it? Why is the proposed topic worth researching? In general, proposals should contain:

- An introduction to the topic and case study(s)
- A research question
- A central argument, or a clear thesis statement
- An explanation of the significance of the question and argument
- A potential bibliography of 12-15 scholarly sources (including books/book chapters, journal articles, or think tank research papers). These sources will be used for writing the final essay.

Proposals should not exceed **600 to 800 words** excluding the list of bibliography, cover page, and endnotes.

C) Essay (35%)

Due April 11, electronically in brightspace drop-box,

Essays should be expanded on the proposals that students have already submitted and be based on the sources that are listed in the proposals. Students can also supplement their papers with media or other content if needed, but this should be discussed with the instructor in advance. In the essay, students must express what they clearly think of the issue or the country and how their finding contributes to our knowledge on the Middle East and/or the country they have studied. An essay should not exceed **3000 to 3500 words** excluding the cover page, bibliography, and endnotes. Essay should critically engage with the literature, develop a logic argument, and make a clear conclusion about an issue relevant to the course material/topics. Essays that are a simple summarization of the literature, lack a central argument, and incapable of connecting the argument to the finding and evidence will receive a lower grade. You can use MLA, APA, or Chicago Manual of Style citation in your papers, but every essay should use one single style constantly.

D) Final Exam (35%)

The final exam will be scheduled during the formal exam period and include two essay questions. Students are required to submit their answers electronically in brightspace. A drop-box will be created in due course.

V. Submission Policy

Research proposals and papers are due as electronic copies and must be submitted in brightspace drop box. E-mailed assignments will not be accepted. Late submissions will be penalized on a

daily basis (i.e., 3% of the overall grade for the assignment per day). I regularly give extension but expect requests to be submitted before an assignment's due date.

VI. Course Program

Date	Topic	Assignments
Jan. 10	Introduction to course	
Jan. 17	From Muhammad to the Ottoman Empire	
Jan. 24	From Muhammad to the Ottoman Empire	
Jan. 31	The Modern World and the Decline of the Ottoman Empire	
Feb. 7	The Modern Middle East State System	**Essay Proposal Due**
Feb. 14	Nationalism	
Feb. 21	Statutory Holiday & **Winter Break**	
Feb. 28	Israel and Palestine	
Mar. 7	Religion and Political Thought in the Middle East	
Mar. 14	The Iranian Revolution	
Mar. 21	States and Their Opponents	
Mar. 28	Oil, the United States, and the Middle East	
Ap. 4	The Arab Spring and the Future of the Middle East	
Ap. 11	Course Overview & Final Exam Discussion	**Essay Due**

VII. Course Schedule

Lecture 1: Introduction to Course
- Kamrava, Introduction
- Gelvin, Introduction & Part I

Lecture 2 and 3: From Muhammad to the Ottoman Empire
- Kamrava, Chapter 1: From Islam to the Great War
- Gelvin, Chapter 1: From Late Antiquity to the Dawn of a New Age
- Gelvin, Chapter 2: Gunpowder Empires

Lecture 4: Modern World and Decline of the Ottoman Empire
- Gelvin, Chapter 3: The Middle East and the Modern World System
- Gelvin, Chapter 4 War, Diplomacy, and the New Global Balance of Power
- Gelvin, Part II: The Question of Modernity
- Gelvin, Chapter 5 & 6: Defensive Developmentalism & Imperialism

Lecture 5: The Modern Middle East State System
- Kamrava, Chapter 2: From Territories to Independent States
- Gelvin, Part III: World War I and the Middle East State System

- Gelvin, Chapter 11: State-Building by Decree
- Gelvin, Chapter 12: State-Building by Revolution and Conquest

Lecture 6: Nationalism
- Kamrava, Chapter 3: The Age of Nationalism
- Gelvin, Chapter 13: The Invention and Spread of Nationalisms

(February 21-25): Statutory Holiday and Winter Break, no class

Lecture 7: Conflict: Israel and Palestine
- Kamrava, Chapter 4: The Arab-Israeli Wars
- Kamrava, Chapter 9: The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict
- Gelvin, Chapter 14: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
- Yosef Kuperwasser & Shalom Lipner, "The Problem is Palestinian Rejectionism," *Foreign Affairs*, (November/December 2011), pp. 2-9
- Ronald Krebs, "Israel's Bunker Mentality," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2011), pp. 10-18.

Lecture 8: Political Thought
- Gelvin, Chapter 8: The Life of the Mind
- Gelvin, Chapter 9: Secularism and Modernity
- Gelvin, read documents by Ali Shariati; Ayatollah Khomeini; and Sayyid Qutb (pp. 362-368)
- Margaret Kohn, "Afghani on Empire, Islam, and Civilization," *Political Theory* Vol. 37(3), 2009: 398-422

Lecture 9: Islamic Revolutions: The Case of Iran
- Kamrava, Chapter 5: The Iranian Revolution
- Akbar Ganji, "Who Is Ali Khamenei? The Worldview of Iran's Supreme Leader," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2013), pp. 24–48
- Shahrough Akhavi, "Islam, Politics and Society in the Thought of Ayatullah Khomeini, Ayatullah Taliqani and Ali Shariati," *Middle Eastern Studies* 24(4), 1988: pp. 4, 404–431.

Lecture 10: States and Their Opponents
- Kamrava, Chapter 7: States and Their Opponents
- Gelvin, Part IV: The Contemporary Era
- Gelvin, Chapter 15: The Autocratic State
- Gelvin, Chapter 18: Resistance

Lecture 11: Oil & the United States in the Middle East
- Gelvin, Chapter 16: Oil
- Gelvin, Chapter 17: The United States and the Middle East
- Douglas Little "Mission Impossible: The CIA and the Cult of Cover Action in the Middle East," *Diplomatic History,* 28(5), 2004: 663–701

Lecture 12: The Arab Spring and the Future of the Middle East

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

Lecture 13: Course overview and final exam discussion

Appendix

Covid-19 Information

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow COVID-19 prevention measures and all mandatory public health requirements (e.g. wearing a mask, physical distancing, hand hygiene, respiratory and cough etiquette) When accessing campus you much fill in the COVID-19 Screening Self-Assessment in cuScreen each day before coming to campus. You must also check-in to your final destination (where you plan on being longer than 15 minutes) within a building using the QR location code.

If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately, self-isolate, and complete the mandatory symptom reporting tool. For purposes of contact tracing, attendance will be recorded in all classes and labs. Participants can check in using posted QR codes through the cuScreen platform where provided. Students who do not have a smartphone will be required to complete a paper process as indicated on the COVID-19 website.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow guidelines regarding safe movement and seating on campus (e.g. directional arrows, designated entrances and exits, designated seats that maintain physical distancing). In order to avoid congestion, allow all previous occupants to fully vacate a classroom before entering. No food or drinks are permitted in any classrooms or labs.

For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and required measures, please see the University's COVID-19 webpage and review the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca

Please note that failure to comply with University policies and mandatory public health requirements, and endangering the safety of others are considered misconduct under

the Student Rights and Responsibilities Policy. Failure to comply with Carleton's COVID-19 procedures may lead to supplementary action involving Campus Safety and/or Student Affairs.

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf.

Religious accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf.

Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more information, please visit carleton.ca/pmc.

Accommodation for student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline.

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support.

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 includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

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.

More information on the University’s Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/.

Intellectual property

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. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

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

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 Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

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. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, 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 our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which

aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.