IPE 380: GODS, GUNS, AND OIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Spring 2016   TuTh  12:30-1:50   McIntyre 309

Professor Bradford Dillman
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Course Description
This course examines efforts by states in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) to resist foreign powers, establish peace, and adapt to the global economy. With mixed results, states have tried to reform their political and economic institutions in the face of religious radicalism, armed conflict, and changes in global markets. Simply stated, gods, guns, and oil have constrained governments (and sometimes provided them with opportunities) as they try to hold on to power and confront pressures from neighbors and the United States. Attention will be paid to the relationships that exist between governments, outside powers, and opposition groups.

The first part of the course looks at the history of the region and contemporary socio-economic characteristics. Second, we survey the Arab Spring and the political role of Islamists, then examine in depth Algeria’s civil war and political reconciliation since 1989. Third, we explore the impact of oil on development and on the MENA’s relations with the rest of the world. Fourth, we turn to Iraq, examining the global sanctions on the country from 1990-2002 and the American occupation. Fifth, we take a detailed look at the Syrian civil war, the role of foreign actors in it, and the humanitarian crisis. Finally, we study Morocco’s occupation of the Western Sahara and the UN’s effort to complete a peace process there. By the end of the course you will have gained a broad understanding of economic and political changes in the MENA and knowledge of relationships between the region and external powers.

Primary Readings
- Samer Abboud, Syria (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2016)
- Other required readings and audio-visual material are listed in the class schedule and are available on Moodle. These materials are an integral part of the course.
**Expectations**

**ATTENDANCE:** Regular attendance and punctuality are required. Advance notice of an absence due to illness or other legitimate reason should be given when possible. More than 3 unexcused absences will affect your participation grade. More than 5 absences will result in a failing grade for the course. After every class I record attendance.

**EXAMS AND WRITING ASSIGNMENTS:** I will hand out a study guide before each exam. Exams will consist of a combination of essays, short answers, and identifications. The final exam is not comprehensive; it primarily covers the material from after the midterm. Exams must be taken on the scheduled date unless there is a legitimate, documented reason for absence. At various times during the semester I will provide you (via Moodle or email) several questions about the assigned readings. You will type short answers to these questions and submit them to me by the next class. Writing assignments must be turned in on the due date. Late papers will be penalized a half grade for each day late unless you provide documentation in advance of legitimate, extraordinary circumstances.

**PLAGAIRISM:** It is your responsibility to be familiar with the Student Integrity Code and UPS’ policies on academic honesty—particularly with regard to the serious consequences for plagiarism—as explained in The Logger and at [http://www.pugetsound.edu/student-life/student-handbook/academic-handbook/academic-integrity](http://www.pugetsound.edu/student-life/student-handbook/academic-handbook/academic-integrity).

**READINGS:** You are expected to read assigned materials before each class and take notes on them. I will often ask you to answer specific questions about the assigned readings during class discussions.

**LAPTOP POLICY:** Notebook computers are not to be used in class unless approved by me or the Office of Accessibility and Accommodation.

**PARTICIPATION:** Your meaningful participation is what leads to a productive class. I expect thoughtful comments, consistent note-taking, and demonstrated ability to engage with class readings. Valuable participation also requires equanimity, respect for the opinions of fellow students, and the ability to assess issues with an open mind. Do not interrupt others who are talking, hog the conversation, or make flippant remarks. You are part of a shared endeavor to gain knowledge; your engagement with the course helps everyone. Your participation grade assesses a variety of factors including your intellectual curiosity, self-motivation, critical thinking, and everyday involvement in the class. Take the initiative to draw connections to new issues and to point out to me relevant news items and articles that you come across. I prefer that discussion proceed via raising of your hand so that each person has an equal opportunity to join in.

**OFFICE VISITS:** I expect you to stop by my office in McIntyre 209 several times in the semester, whether for a quick question or an extended discussion. Take the initiative to ask questions, demonstrate that you understand the readings, and draw connections to new issues. I am
interested in your opinions, observations, and materials that you come across that relate to the Middle East and North Africa.

**Office of Accessibility and Accomodations**
If you have a physical, psychological, medical or learning disability that may impact your course work, please contact Peggy Perno, Director of the Office of Accessibility and Accommodations, 105 Howarth, 253.879.3395. She will determine with you what accommodations are necessary and appropriate. All information and documentation is confidential.

**Bereavement Policy:** Upon approval from the Dean of Students’ Office, students who experience a death in the family, including parent, grandparent, sibling, or persons living in the same household, are allowed three consecutive weekdays of excused absences, as negotiated with the Dean of Students. For more information, please see the Academic Handbook.

**Classroom Emergency Response**
Please review university emergency preparedness and response procedures posted at www.pugetsound.edu/emergency. There is a link on the university home page. Familiarize yourself with hall exit doors and the designated gathering area for your class and laboratory buildings. If building evacuation becomes necessary (e.g. earthquake), meet your instructor at the designated gathering area so she/he can account for your presence. Then wait for further instructions. Do not return to the building or classroom until advised by a university emergency response representative.

If confronted by an act of violence, be prepared to make quick decisions to protect your safety. Flee the area by running away from the source of danger if you can safely do so. If this is not possible, shelter in place by securing classroom or lab doors and windows, closing blinds, and turning off room lights. Lie on the floor out of sight and away from windows and doors. Place cell phones or pagers on vibrate so that you can receive messages quietly. Wait for further instructions.

**Grading**
Your work is assessed on the basis of a number of criteria, including: depth of analysis; clarity; organization; strength of assertions; proper balance between description and analysis; knowledge of (and reflection on) the readings; and attention to style, grammar, and punctuation. I expect you to take advantage of my written feedback and discussions with me to constantly strive to do your best work.

93-100 (A), 90-92 (A-) – Excellent
87-89 (B+), 83-86 (B) – Good
80-82 (B-) 77-79 (C+) – Satisfactory
73-76 (C), 70-72 (C-) – Below average
67-69 (D+), 63-66 (D), 60-62 (D-) – Poor
Below 60 (F) – Failing
Performance Measures
• Midterm (25%)
• Final exam (25%)
• Research Paper (25%)
• Writing Assignments (15%)
• Preparation, Participation and Attendance (10%)

Guidelines for the Research Paper
The paper will examine a key issue in the Middle East and North Africa related to the themes of the course. Choose a topic you are interested in and can find library material on. It is always a good idea to narrow the focus of your paper; it will make your task easier. At the beginning of the paper, state clearly what you are trying to explain, why it is important, and what the reader should expect to find by the end of the paper. Your conclusion should be a reformulation—not repeat—of what you wrote earlier. Keep in mind that you should try to support your thesis, not “prove” it. Maintain nuance and balance, pose reasonable explanations, acknowledge competing explanations, and include supporting data.

A strong paper will use a mix of books, journal articles, and Internet sources. The paper will be approximately 13 pages, using 1-inch margins and a 12-point font. Use the Chicago style of author-date parenthetical citation and referencing. Include a bibliography and a title page. Number every page. Identify the sources of all quotes, ideas, and paraphrased material. Opinions that are not originally yours must be cited. Direct quotations must be entirely enclosed in quotation marks. Avoid excessively close paraphrasing or use of just one source for several consecutive pages. Take time to proofread for errors of spelling, grammar, and punctuation. Keep copies of your rough drafts. Don’t hesitate to seek assistance from me, the Writing Center, and the reference librarians. The paper is due on April 21st.
Class Schedule

PART I: HISTORY, PERCEPTIONS, AND ECONOMIES

Jan 19: Introduction to the Course

Jan 21: An Overview of the Middle East and North Africa


Jan 26: Perceptions of the Middle East: From Orientalism to the So-Called War on Terror

- Rashid Khalidi, “The United States in Middle Eastern Eyes,” in Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East (Boston: Beacon, 2004), pp. 30-36

Jan 28: Socio-Economic Conditions

- Cammett and Diwan, ch. 2 (pp. 35-71) and pp. 147-158

Feb 2: Economic Constraints

- Cammett and Diwan, pp. 199-208, 258-269, 273-287

PART II: ISLAMISM, DEMOCRATIZATION, AND THE ARAB SPRING

Feb 4: The Arab Spring and Islamists in Comparative Perspective

- Cammett and Diwan, ch. 12 (pp. 437-474)

Egypt

Feb 9: The Legacy of Tahrir Square


Algeria

Feb 11: Economic Crisis and the Roots of Political Upheaval

- Le Sueur, pp. 1-52
Feb 16: Islamism and Civil War
- Le Sueur, pp. 53-73, 122-131, 143-168, 178-182

Feb 18: US Policy towards Algeria and Reconstruction in Comparative Perspective
- Bradford Dillman, “Round Up the Unusual Suspects: U.S. Policy Toward Algeria and Its Islamists,” Middle East Policy 9:3 (September 2001): 129-143

Feb 23: Amnesty and Amnesia during the Bouteflika Era
- Le Sueur, pp. 74-97, 195-206

PART III: THE TROUBLE WITH OIL

Feb 25: Oil, Development, and Democracy
- Cammett and Diwan, ch. 9 (pp. 319-354)

Mar 1: MENA Oil and the Global Economy
- Cammett and Diwan, ch. 13 (pp. 475-513)

Mar 3: Oil and War in the Middle East
- Jeff Colgan, “Fueling the Fire: Pathways from Oil to War,” International Security 38:2 (Fall 2013): 147-180

Mar 8: Midterm Exam

PART IV: SUPERPOWERS, SECTARIANISM, AND SANCTIONS

The Tragedy of Iraq

Mar 10: The Sanctions Setup
- Joy Gordon, chs. 1-3 (pp. 1-60)

Mar 12-20: Spring Break – No Class
Mar 22:  Destruction of a Society
• Joy Gordon, chs. 4-6 (pp. 61-124)

Mar 24:  Congress, Sanctions, and Oil-for-Food
• Joy Gordon, chs. 7-9 (pp. 125-189)

Mar 29:  Sanctions Unravel (Prelude to War)
• Joy Gordon, chs. 10-12 (pp. 190-245)

Mar 31:  The American Occupation

The Syrian Tragedy

Apr 5:  Syrian History
• Samer Abboud, Introduction and ch. 1 (pp. 1-47)

Apr 7:  Uprising and Civil War
• Samer Abboud, chs. 2 and 3 (pp. 48-119)

Apr 12:  Foreign Intervention in Syria
• Samer Abboud, chs. 4 and 5 (pp. 120-187)

Apr 14:  The Humanitarian Crisis
• Samer Abboud, ch. 6 and Conclusion (pp. 188-228)

Apr 19:  ISIS and US Policy in the Middle East
• No reading

Apr 21:  Research Paper Due
• Presentations of research paper findings
### PART V: OCCUPATIONS AND “PEACE PROCESSES”

**The Western Sahara and Morocco**

** Apr 26: Africa’s Last Anti-Colonial Struggle**

** Apr 28: Elusive Conflict Resolution**

** May 3: Middle East Occupations in Comparative Perspective**
- No reading

** May 12: Final exam (12:00-2:00 pm)**

Note: This syllabus is subject to change