

Revised//01-18-10

The U.S., the Gulf and Its Neighbors
 WWS 556f; NES 559
 Spring 2010
 Monday 7:00-10:00 pm; Room 015 Robertson

Instructor: Barbara K. Bodine (bbodine@princeton.edu)
 Office: 432 Robertson; x 87765
 Office hours: Tuesday by appointment
 Assistant: Bernadette Yeager 423D Robertson x 84830

Seminar will examine the political, social, economic and strategic dynamics within the Other Middle East, i.e., the six member nations of the Gulf Cooperation Council and the primary neighbors, Iran, Iraq, and Yemen.

The Persian Gulf region has been of vital US policy concern since at least the Carter Doctrine of 1980, promulgated in response to the twin threats of the Iranian Revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, both in 1979. Carter's declaration on the need to ensure the free flow of oil at reasonable prices, to preclude domination by hostile outside powers, and to ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Arab littoral states has remained the core principle of US policy over the past 30 years, even as the nature and source of the threat has shifted. At the same time, the US and the Persian Gulf littoral states are increasingly co-dependent across a broad range of bilateral, regional and global political and economic issues.

What are the origins and current state of the US relationship in the Persian Gulf region, and the context and complexities of the regional actors? How have recent policy changes under the Obama Administration, including the drawdown in Iraq, the up-tic in Afghanistan and efforts at engagement with Iran, affected these states and our relations? Our focus will be on the conduct of diplomacy, the impact of economics and the prospects for reform and governance within these states. Topics will focus on three clusters of issues:

- Domestic Dynamics: reform/democratization; Islam, Islamism and Islamic parties and movements; the new media and new political spaces; and regime stability
- Economic Realities: Oil and energy; role in and impact on global economies; and the future of rentier states.
- Regional Security: Sunni-Shia competition; the rise of regional powers; the limits and alternatives to a militarized US foreign policy and shifts in the military presence. Special attention will be paid to the role of Iran and threats to the stability of Yemen.

Students will prepare one brief policy memo on a bilateral issue (35% of grade) and a 20-25 page policy analysis and recommendations memo on a regional issue as the final (45% of grade). Balance of the grade (20%) will be based on class participation. Students will also be expected to discuss and to defend their policy options and recommendations in class.

Readings, approximately 150 pages per week, will be drawn from major policy and region-specific journals, government publications and from the following books (chapters to be assigned). Students will also be expected to keep current on regional developments via the New York Times, Washington Post and other major media sources.

*Readings are subject to change and modification, with notice thereof given to the class.
 This is particularly true for Yemen readings.*

Readings and Sources

Basic References: CIA Fact book on each of the six members of the GCC and Yemen (online)
 University of Texas Austin has a superb map collection online www.lib.utexas.edu/maps

Books on order at Labyrinth (chapters noted in normal font on syllabus)

- 1979: The Year That Shaped the Modern Middle East David Lesch
- The Shia Revival: How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future Vali Nasr
- All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in Middle East Monarchies Michael Herb
- Thicker than Oil: America's Uneasy Relationship with Saudi Arabia Rachel Bronson
- Negotiating Change: The New Politics of the Middle East Jeremy Jones
- Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East Carothers/Ottaway

Books on eReserve (selected chapters in italics on syllabus)

- *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, al-Jazeera and Middle East Politics Today* Marc Lynch
- *Security in the Persian Gulf: Origins, Obstacles and Search for Consensus* Potter/Sick
- *Iran, Iraq and the Legacies of War* Potter/Sick
- *Beyond the Façade: Political Reform in the Arab World* Ottaway/Choucair-Vizoso
- *A History of Modern Yemen* Paul Dresch
- *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power and Performance in Yemen* Lisa Wedeen
- *Great Powers and Regional Orders: The US and the Persian Gulf* Markus Kaim

Journal Articles on eReserve also in italics on syllabus

Useful Websites and Think Tanks

- Gulf Research Center
- US-UAE Chamber of Commerce (clipping service on Gulf and regional news)
- Brookings Institution
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- AIPAC (clipping service)
- Middle East Institute (especially podcasts of speakers program)
- International Crisis Group
- The Stanley Foundation

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Week One February 1	1979	The Long Shadow of the Iranian Revolution and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan - From the Carter Doctrine through the Iran-Iraq War
	Lesch	Chapters 1 and 2; Conclusion and Appendix C
	Bronson	Prologue, Chapters 5 (p. 106-113), 7, and 9 (p. 168-177)
	Nasr	Introduction, Chapter 4
	✓	NPR "Morning Edition" on August 17, 19, 20, 2009 on 1979 (www.npr.org)

Week Two February 8	Who are the Gulfies?
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Potter/Sick	<i>Security in the Persian Gulf</i> Chapter 2 “The Gulf’s Ethnic Diversity: An Evolutionary History” M.R. Izady; p. 33-87 (skip the European explorers)
Herb	Chapters 1,2,and 3
Jones	Chapter 5
Nasr	Chapters 1 and 2

- ✓ “United Arab Emirates: Statehood and Nation-building in a Traditional Society”; Frauke Heard-Bey; *Middle East Journal* Summer 2005 Vol. 59 No. 3 p. 357-375

Week Three February 15	The Long Decade: From The Gulf War to the Bush Doctrine
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Bronson	Chapters 11 and 12
Carothers	Chapter 11
Nasr	Chapter 6

- ✓ “Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism and Democracy Promotion in US Strategy” Jonathan Monten; *International Security*; Winter 2005
- ✓ “America’s Uncomfortable Relationship with Nationalism” Graham Fuller; *The Stanley Foundation*; July 2006

Week Four February 22	The Domestic Landscape: Rulers as Reformer; Islamists as Pragmatists
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Jones	Introduction, Chapters 6, 7 and 8
Herb	Chapters 4-6, 9 and 10 (don’t get bogged down in family trees etc.)
Carothers	Chapters 2 and 3
Ottaway	Chapter 9

- ✓ “Democratization in the Gulf Monarchies: A New Challenge to the GCC” Joseph A. Kechichian; *Middle East Policy*; Vol. XI, No. 4 Winter 2004, p. 37-53
- ✓ “Pushing Toward Party Politics: Kuwait’s Islamic Constitutional Movement” Nathan Brown; *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*; January 2007; p. 1-20
- ✓ “Royal Factionalism and Political Liberalization in Qatar”; Mehran Kamrava; *Middle East Journal*; Vol. 63, No. 3; p. 401-420

Week Five March 1	The Public Landscape: Media and Civil Society
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Carothers	Chapters 4, 5 and 10
Lynch	Chapters 2 and 6

- ✓ “The Arab Street: Tracking a Political Metaphor” Regier & Khalidi; *Middle East Journal* Vol. 63 No. 1 Winter 2009; p. 11-29
- ✓ “Border Guards of the “Imagined” Watan: Arab Journalists and the New Arab Consciousness” Pintak; *Middle East Journal*; Vol. 63 No. 2 Spring 2009 p. 191-212
- ✓ “Battle for Muslim Hearts and Minds” Esposito; *Middle East Policy* Issue 1 spring 2007 p. 27-41

THURSDAY, MARCH 4 – MID-TERM PAPERS DUE 5 p.m.

Week Six March 8	The Security Landscape: Keep Your Friends Close and Your Enemies Closer
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Lesch Chapter 3
Bronson Chapter 10

- ✓ “Internal and External Security in the Arab Gulf States”; Kristian C. Ulrichsen; *Middle East Policy* Vol. XVI No. 2 Summer 2009 p. 39-58
- ✓ “Conflict and Cooperation in the Persian Gulf: An Inter-regional Order and US Policy”; Henner Furtig; *Middle East Journal* Fall 2007 Vol. 61 No. 4 p. 627-640
- ✓ “Assessing Alternative Security Frameworks for the Persian Gulf” Michael Kraig; *Middle East Policy* Vol. XIV No. 2 Summer 2007; p. 141-148
- ✓ “The Persian Gulf’s Collective-Security Mirage”; Richard Russell; *Middle East Policy*; Vol. XII No. 4, Winter 2005; p. 77

TOPICS FOR FINAL PAPERS DUE MARCH 12TH 5 P.M.
MARCH 13-21 SPRING BREAK

Week Seven March 22	The Special Case of Saudi Arabia: A Crouton of Sand on a Soup of Oil
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Bronson Chapters 1, 4, 8 and 11
Nasr Chapter 5 and 8
Ottaway Chapters 7 and 8

- ✓ “The Two Faces of Saudi Arabia”; Mai Yamani; *Survival* Vol. 50 No. 1; Feb-March 2008; p. 143-156
- ✓ “From Fragility to Stability: A Survival Strategy for the Saudi Monarchy”; Mai Yamani; *Contemporary Arab Affairs*; June 2009
- ✓ “Between Islamists and Liberals: Saudi Arabia’s New Islamo-Liberal Reformists”; Stephen Lacroix; *Middle East Journal*; Vol. 53 No. 3 Summer 2004; p. 345-365
- ✓ “Terrorist Recruitment in Saudi Arabia” Thomas Hegghammer; *Middle East Policy*; Winter 2006 Vol. XIII No. 4 p. 39060 (skim only)
- ✓ “Oil and Security”; Clifford Singer; *Stanley Foundation policy analysis brief*; January 2008

Week Eight March 29	The Economic Landscape: More Than a Gas Station in the Desert Guest Lecturer: Dr. Eckart Woertz, Director, Economics Department, Gulf Research Center
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Kaim Chapter 4, “United States Oil Diplomacy in the Persian Gulf” *Gawdat Bahgat*; p. 53-70

- ✓ “The GCC and Arab Economic Integration: A New Paradigm” Stephen Hertog; *Middle East Policy* Vol. XIV No. 1 Spring 2007 p. 52-68
- ✓ “Abu Dhabi’s New Economy: Oil, Investment and Domestic Development”, Christopher Davidson; *Middle East Policy* Vol. XVI No. 2 Summer 2009; p. 59-79
- ✓ *Arab Economies at a Tipping Point*”, Noland and Pack; *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XV No. 1 spring 2008; p. 60-69
- ✓ “The Gulf Sovereign Wealth Funds: Myths and Realities” Jean-Francois Seznec; *Middle East Policy* Vol. XV, No. 2, Summer 2008; p. 97-110
- ✓ “Qatar’s Labor Markets at a Crucial Crossroads”, Berrebi, Martorell and Tanner; *Middle East Journal* Vol. 63 No. 3; p. 421-442

Week Nine April 5	In the Land of the Elephants: Regional Players and Regional Powers
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- Jones Chapter 2
 Nasr Chapter 9
 Bronson Chapter 2 and p. 103-105 and p. 261-262
 Potter/Sick *Iran, Iraq and the Legacy of War* Chapter 8 "The Gulf States and the Iran-Iraq War: Pattern Shifts and Continuities" Gerd Nonneman p. 167-192 (skim details on battles)
- ✓ "Qatar and the World: Branding for a Microstate"; J.E. Peterson; *Middle East Journal* Vol. 60 No. 4 Autumn 2006; p.732-748

Week Ten April 12	Yemen: Proto-democracy on the Edge
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- Ottaway Chapter 10
 Wedeen Introduction, Chapter 1 (p.22-31 and p. 49-63), Chapter 2 (p. 67-88) and Chapter 3
- ✓ "Yemen's 2006 Elections: High Water Marks of Islamist Politics"; April Longley; *Middle East Journal* Vol. 61 No. 2 Spring 2007; p. 240-262
 - ✓ "Yemen: Tribal Conflict Management Program Research Report"; National Democratic Institute; March 2007
 - ✓ "Why Democracies Fail"; Kapstein and Converse; *Journal of democracy* Vol. 19; No. 4; October 2008; p. 57-68
 - ✓ "Barriers to Federal Democracy in Iraq: Lessons from Yemen"; Stephen Day; *Middle East Journal*; Vol. XIII No. 3, Fall 2006; p. 121-139

Week Eleven April 19	Yemen: Tectonic Plates and Proxy Wars - al-Qaeda, Rebellions and the Neighborhood
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- ✓ "al-Qaeda in Yemen: Still a Manageable Threat"; Nicole Stracke; *Gulf Research Center*; 15 June 2009
- ✓ "Yemen: Defusing the Sa'ada Time Bomb"; International Crisis Group Middle East Report No. 86; 27 May 2009
- ✓ "Discerning Yemen's Political Future" Middle East Institute Viewpoints No. 11; June 2009
- ✓ "Fighting Brushfires with Batons: An Analysis of the Political Crisis in South Yemen"; April Longley and Abdul Ghani al-Iryani; *Middle East Policy Brief* No. 7; February 2008
- ✓ "Yemen: Coping with Terrorism and Violence in a Fragile State" International Crisis Group Report No. 8; 8 January 2003
- ✓ "Yemen: Avoiding a Downward Spiral" Christopher Boucek; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; *Middle East Program Report* No. 102; September 2009

**TWO-THREE PAGE EXECUTIVE SUMMARIES
 DUE TO INSTRUCTOR AND CLASS
 APRIL 23 AT 5 P.M.**

Week Twelve April 26	Going Forward – Views from the Outside; Views from the Class – Presentation of Executive Summaries
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Bronson Chapter 13

- ✓ “The New Middle East” ; Richard Haas; *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 85 No. 6 November/December 2006; p. 2-11
- ✓ Speech by President Obama at Cairo University 4 June 2009 (www.whitehouse.gov)
- ✓ “The Future of the Middle East: Strategic Implications for the United States”; Gause et al; *Middle East Policy* Vol. XIV; No. 3; Fall 2007; p. 1-28
- ✓ “The Gulf and a New Middle East Security System”; Michael Yaffe; *Middle East Policy* Vol. Xi No. 3 Fall 2004; p. 118-130
- ✓ “Beyond Iraq”; Richard Haas and Martin Indyk; *Foreign Affairs* Jan/Feb 2009; p. 41-58
- ✓ “Arab Media and US Policy: A Public Diplomacy Reset”; Marwan Kraidy; *Stanley Foundation Policy Analysis Brief*; January 2008

MAY 11th DEAN'S DAY
FINALS DUE
5 p.m. electronically to Instructor