

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Department of International Relations
IR 587 – Political Economy of the Middle East

Spring 2014

Friday, 1-4 pm

154 Bay State Road, Room 102

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Office Hours: Friday 1100-1245 and by appointment (156 Bay State Road, Room 202).

The instructor also encourages virtual meetings by telephone and Skype (Charles.dunbar75)

Summary

The 20th Century began and ended badly in the Middle East. At the outset, the Ottoman Empire was "the sick man" of Europe, and Britain and France colonized much of it following World War I. By mid-century, the British and French were leaving, and a new generation of leaders emerged determined to replace the colonial systems with socialist economies and authoritarian politics. With oil serving as the agent of change, the region made impressive progress in economic and social terms, but by the 1980s, what have been described as the contradictions of state-led growth had led to stagnation, dissent, and growing repression by entrenched autocrats. Islam came increasingly to be seen as the solution, and Islamist political parties and movements gained growing popular acceptance.

Then, in December 2011, the Arab spring sprang. It did not come primarily from the mosque but from the ranks of the disaffected, many of them young, many of them with university degrees, and many, many of them unable to find fulfilling employment. Three authoritarian leaders were ousted. President Ben Ali of Tunisia fled into exile in Saudi Arabia, President Hosni Mubarak was jailed, tried and sentenced to life imprisonment in Egypt, and Libyan President Qadhafi was murdered in the course of a short civil war won by insurgent militias supported by British and French air strikes. A fourth ruler, President Saleh of Yemen stepped down under a brokered settlement aimed at ending an incipient civil war. In Bahrain, King Hamad, with military support from Saudi Arabia, put a violent end to demonstrations by a Shi'a majority against his Sunni regime. Finally, Syrian President Assad is fighting a brutal war for the survival of his minority Shi'a regime which has cost more than 130,000 lives, and created 2.1 million refugees. The conflict has divided the region with Iran and Iraq supporting Assad and Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Turkey aiding the divided insurgents.

Once seen by many as a turning point in the modern Middle East, the staying power of what is known in the region as the awakening is in doubt. Leaving aside the Syrian catastrophe, a January 2014 referendum led to the overwhelming approval of a new Egyptian constitution and is seen as having legitimized the military coup in which the country's elected Islamist president was ousted and jailed. The coup leader has announced his plan to run for president and to return Egypt to being the military-dominated authoritarian state it was before Mubarak's ouster. The Libyan government is weak and seemingly incapable of bringing to heel the militias that ended Qadhafi's rule, while in Yemen, a protracted national dialogue in Yemen has failed to produce agreement between the government and its opponents. Only the strong Tunisian civil society has seemingly surmounted a prolonged political crisis and reached a compromise under which the Islamist party which ran the country until late in 2013 ceded power to a caretaker government pending ratification of a new constitution and subsequent election.

The purpose of the seminar is to seek an understanding of the political, economic and social issues and problems that combined to produce the Arab awakening and to use the insights gained to assess how the Middle East is likely to evolve. The seminar's focus is primarily on what is going on within in the region, rather than on the Middle East's place in the international political and economic order. That said, it is not possible to think coherently about subjects such as oil/energy and political Islam, (two principal subjects of the seminar) without reference to region's interaction with the outside world.

After an overview of the region's history, first half of the seminar turns to the modern political economy as set forth in the seminar textbook. The book's analytical framework – a model of reciprocal causation – is a basis for understanding the past successes and present ills of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. The model shows how, in the third quarter of the 20th Century, rapidly rising oil revenues in many states served as agents of structural transformation in most. Economic “rents” gained from the sale of oil empowered governments and enabled them to deliver an impressive rise in living standards to the people they ruled. This created an implicit bargain between governments and the citizens they ruled – governments would make life better for the people, and the people would let leaders rule more or as they chose.

By the 1980s, the governments were out of money and ideas for dealing with economic stagnation and rising political and social discontent. This time, the potential agents of change were the IMF and the World Bank, supported and cheered on by the United States in what has become known as the Washington Consensus. The Consensus and its successor, the expanded Post-Washington Consensus, offered to help ease the regimes' financial woes if the latter agreed to accept so-called Structural Adjustment Packages of market-based reforms. Arab governments and societies (“social actors” in the textbook's terminology) that had shaped, and been shaped by, the structural transformation that had earlier produced positive changes have in varying degrees proven reluctant and unable to reforms called for by the Washington Consensus.

After the spring break and mid-term exam, the remainder of the seminar is devoted two subjects: energy and the Arab awakening and to a summing up that how each is likely to affect the future course of the Middle East's economic, political and social development. The energy discussions will begin with a look at the history of Middle Eastern oil and natural gas and as well as the alternate sources of fossil fuels – notably gas and oil obtained via the hydraulic fracturing (“fracking”) process and beyond - and the place in the picture of alternate, usually renewable, energy sources. Discussions of the Arab awakening will focus first and foremost on the six states that woke up and the others that stirred but remain dormant, often with the aid of government-administered sleep medication. The focusing questions in these sessions are the extent to which the socio-economic condition of the region was the root cause of the awakening, and whether what began in 2011 and beyond will come to be seen a fundamental change of course.

Requirements

There are four requirements for completing the seminar:

1. Mid-term examination (20% of the grade): This exam will be based on the more heavily economic chapters of **RW** and divided into two parts: a) brief definitions of several terms and concepts drawn from a longer list; and b) a longer essay on one of several principal subjects of the seminar..

2. 3000-4500-word research paper for undergraduates –6000-7500-words for graduate students (35% of the grade): These essays should be based on a central hypothesis stated at the outset and developed in the body of the paper. Topics should be selected as early as possible and an outline of the paper should be submitted for the instructor's approval. Comparative studies are welcome, including comparisons involving other parts of the world. The following are among subjects that could usefully be addressed:

Land reform: Land reforms were carried out in a number of Middle Eastern countries for various, usually political purposes. A single-country analysis – Algeria, Egypt and Iran are all good cases – could assess the economic benefit or cost of reform, while a comparative study could defend a thesis that one reform succeeded better than another (or others).

The status of women: The status of Tunisian women is widely regarded as being closest to that of women in the West, and the country's family code codified that status not long after Tunisia became independent of France. Possible paper topics within the status of women rubric are: the affect of the Tunisian family

code, as opposed to other social and political forces, on the status of women; a comparative study of the Tunisian family code and the code (called the *moudouana*) recently adopted in Morocco; the status of women in the Gulf states; the status of women in Iraq “before and after.”

Democratization in the Gulf states: In a talk last spring, an Egyptian intellectual began his assertion that democracy was beginning to take hold in the Arab world with a discussion of the Gulf states, whose governments have been regarded as the least democratically inclined in the region. Is democratization in the Gulf states to be taken seriously?

Monarchies and political change: Iran’s, Jordan’s and Morocco’s former and present kings sought to manage political change in different ways. Single-country or comparative studies would be useful. One possible hypothesis in a single-country essay would be to support or dispute the assertion that the changes are so closely managed by the monarchy as to be merely cosmetic. There are many others.

Political Islam: The governments and societies in Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Morocco, and Yemen have a variety of strategies and attitudes with respect to Islamist movements in their countries. There are many possible single-country or comparative studies.

Dutch Disease: This term, taken from The Netherlands experience with North Sea oil, describes the skewing of economies which tends to occur when a state-owned, “rent-producing” resource such as oil, is developed and marketed. Middle Eastern political economies in most of the oil-producing states seem to have suffered from the illness more than have those in European states such as The Netherlands, Norway, and the U.K. that own and successfully manage large oil deposits. Why does this appear to be so?

Education: It is asserted that Middle Eastern governments spent too much on higher education rather than on primary and secondary schools, but the data in **RW** does not support this argument as well as it might. A statistical study, comparing the region with either Asia or Latin America, or a narrower comparison involving smaller groups of countries, would be welcome.

Population: A paper on population policies in one or more countries in the region could reach tentative conclusions about how family planning has fared. It is argued that the Iranian case proves that family planning and Islamist regimes need not necessarily be in conflict. Are there other examples that support or counter this view?

“Solidarism.” **RW** note that the best efforts of Middle Eastern authoritarian leaders have failed to produce political systems based on an “integrated, cohesive” (**RW** 309) body politic described variously as “solidarist” or “corporatist.” Instead, according to **RW**, the Middle Eastern citizenry has looked to tribe, clan and family as appropriate agents of influence rather than to the state political structure. An essay could confirm or challenge this contention, using one or more countries as examples.

Oil: Analysts are currently debating whether Saudi Arabia still has the oil reserves to enable it to act as the “swing producer” capable of keeping the price of oil stable by increasing or reducing its production according to the exigencies of the market. An essay could affirm or deny that proposition and assess future prospects under either scenario.

OPEC: Economists tell us that cartels cannot maintain discipline over time. OPEC has suffered from most of the ills of other cartels and yet has been a major force on the world of petroleum for 44 years. An essay could look at OPEC’s effectiveness measured against the standards economists set for cartels and/or assess whether the organization will become irrelevant in a world where the price of oil continues to rise and new technologies for exploiting oil and other energy sources are developed.

Islamic Banking: Islamic banking, which is often said to be non-Islamic banking dressed up in Islamic clothing, occupies a significant and growing niche in the Muslim world’s financial system. An essay could assess the nature and future of Islamic banking.

Country Studies: Studies assessing the political economic future of individual countries can be useful. “The Big Three” – Egypt, Iran and particularly Turkey – are obvious candidates; Algeria, Morocco, and Syria are also of interest.

The Rentier State: The conventional wisdom shared by many scholars is that large revenues coming to a government from outside a country eventually stifle political liberalization and broad-based economic development. The current state of the political economies of several large Middle Eastern countries suggests that this wisdom is sound. Are there variables which rentier-state theory fails to recognize?

Style, format, etc: Papers should be double-spaced and include a bibliography and notes to references. Notes may be within the text, at the end of each page, or at the end of the paper and should enable the reader to look them up easily. Extra credit of one or two percentage points will be given for annotated bibliographies. Please use sub-headings wherever possible. Paragraphs should have a topic sentence followed by sentences that serve only to develop the point made by the topic sentence. If you have a new thought, start a new paragraph. Kudos for simple, direct prose; a small word is often better than a big one.

Note: Students should plan to meet with the instructor (face-to-face or virtually) to discuss their term paper topics and should turn in a preliminary outline and bibliography. The instructor is also ready to look over and comment on draft term papers. The quality of his comments will decline as the due date for the final paper approaches.

Dates: Feb 7: By this date, the instructor and student will have agreed on paper topic; Feb 21: outline and preliminary bibliography May 1: finished paper due

3. Final examination (25% of the grade): Graduate students should draw on seminar (and other) readings, classroom discussion, and a close study of **RWCD**, to write a 4000-4500-word essay commenting on the three following propositions:

- A. **RWCD's** model of “reciprocal causation” (**RWCD**) describing interaction among structural transformation, state structure and policy, and social actors is a key insight into understanding both the dynamism of political economies in the Middle East in the third quarter of the 20th Century and the stasis in economic and political development in much of the region since then.
- B. The importance of oil and gas from the Middle East on the international energy scene will decline in the next 25 years. The number of years may increased at the student's discretion
- C. The Arab awakening will prove to be a turning point in the history of the Middle East comparable to the disappearance of European colonialism from the region in 1971.

Undergraduates should either write a 3000-3500-word essay on the above proposition or take a final “blue-book” examination similar to the mid-term that will cover the entire seminar.

Due date for essays: The day and time of the end of the final examination.

Note: Term papers and final essays should be submitted to the instructor as Microsoft-Word attachments to e-mails. The instructor will acknowledge receipt of each e-mail; should he fail to do so, please follow up.

4. Seminar Participation (20% of the grade): Participation in discussions is essential for the success of any seminar including this one. As a catalyst for such discussion, each student will be asked to lead a discussion of one or more of the readings assigned for the day of the presentation. Those who lead the discussion early in the semester will be required to cover less material and their presentations are not expected to be as long or as fluent as those made later in the seminar. **Students who are not presenting**

will be expected to have read the material being presented, and their comments during the discussion will be well and favorably noted. Students, with the exception noted in the next paragraph may but are not asked to use PowerPoint in support of their presentation. With the prior permission of the instructor, undergraduates who present later in the semester may substitute a presentation of their research provided that the subject is relevant to that/those being covered in the seminar on the day of the proposed presentation and provided that research presenters suggest an article approved in advance by the instructor to read in preparation for the discussion.

Each graduate student enrolled in the seminar will make a longer, more formal presentation, one or more on energy and one or more on the Arab awakening. Dates for those presentations are noted in the syllabus. PowerPoint presentations are encouraged, and each graduate student should meet, preferably face-to-face but virtually at a minimum to discuss the presentation.

Students are expected to attend each seminar session and to attend each class and Students are also encouraged to raise questions and to comment on material being presented and to keep abreast of the news. 10 minutes will be set aside at the opening of each class for discussion of subjects related to the Middle East political economy. The instructor will from time to time e-mail to the class news items and other material to serve as a basis for discussions. Students are urged to e-mail similar items to the instructor for forwarding to the class; those who do so should be ready to lead a discussion on the item.

Readings

The five following texts will be used in the seminar, in whole or in part. Catherwood and Richards, Waterbury, Cammett and Diwan and the two Yergin volumes will be available at Barnes & Noble and Mansfield and Yergin are being ordered there. The instructor will put copies of Mansfield and Yergin on reserve in Mugar Library.

Catherwood, Christopher, A History of the Middle East, London, Running Press, 2011, (hereafter **C**)

Nabli, Mustapha Kamel, "Long-Term Economic Development Challenges and Prospects for the Arab Countries, Breaking the Barriers to Higher Economic Growth, Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2007. All readings from this book are available on Blackboard Learn.

Richards, Alan, John Waterbury, Melanie Kammett, and Ishac Diwan, A Political Economy of the Middle East, Updated 2013 Edition, Boulder, Westview Press, 2007 (hereafter **RWCD**) Will be available for purchase at Barnes & Noble

Yergin, Daniel, The Prize, New York: Free Press, 2008 (hereafter **YP**)

_____, The Quest, New York: Penguin, 2011 (hereafter **YQ**)

The following materials books and article may be useful to students who are newcomers to MENA:

- Ajami, Fouad, "The Arab Inheritance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 76, Number 5, Sept/Oct 1997, e-journals.
- Armstrong, Karen, Islam, New York, Modern Library, 2000
- *The Economist*, August 6, 1994, "Islam and the West – The Next War, They Say," Blackboard
- Hourani, Albert, A History of the Arab Peoples, New York, Warner Books, 1991
- Lapidus, Ira M., A History of Islamic Societies, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge U Press, Mugar Reserve.
- Roberts, Paul, The End of Oil, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 2004
- Sabini, John, Islam: a Primer, 6th Edition, Washington, Amideast, 2001

Finally, the websites of the International Crisis Group (www.crisisgroup.org/), Middle East Report www.merip.org, and Sada Report (<http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/>) are

particularly rich sources of material for term papers. *The Middle East Journal* (www.mei.edu/Publications/TheMiddleEastJournal.aspx) is also useful although its on-line resources are limited, and it may therefore be necessary to use the printed copies of the journal available in Mugar Library.

Academic Misconduct

All class members are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the university. For more on the definition of plagiarism and the standards to which you will be held, see the CAS Academic Conduct Code, available at <http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/> or the GRS Academic Conduct Code: <http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/graduate/forms-policies-procedures/academic-discipline-procedures/>

Schedule

Note: Important semester “drop-dead” dates are:

January 19: Last day to ADD a standard class

February 20: Last day to DROP a standard class without “W” grade and to change from credit to audit status in standard courses

March 28: Last day to DROP a standard course with a “W” grade

April 9: Last day to take an official leave of absence or withdraw from the University for spring 2014

SESSION 1, JANUARY 17 – INTRODUCTION: HISTORY, SCREENING OF THE ALGERIAN FILM *BAB EL OUED CITY* – Explanation of the nature and requirements of the seminar. A brief hour of history – origins, the rise of Islam and the flowering of Muslim civilization, the Ottoman Empire, the coming of European colonization, and “the peace to end all peace” following the end of World War I. The League of Nations Mandates, independence and initial economic success, the rise and fall of Arab nationalism.

Bab El Oued City is a “worm’s eye view” of Algerian dilemmas. Many of its themes are applicable elsewhere in the Middle East and North Africa (hereafter MENA). The instructor will make a brief commentary on the film either at the end of the seminar session or before Session 2.

Note: The **C** and **YP** readings cover the history of the Middle East and of the development of the oil and gas industry. For some, this is familiar ground while others will know less about it. Without a basic understanding of this history, students will have trouble using **RWCD** and other readings to gain an in-depth insight into the political economy of the region. The **C** and **YP** assignments are not specific to particular sessions of the seminar but should be covered as quickly as possible. Those with less knowledge of the history will need to read more carefully than those with more. Both examinations will provide all an opportunity to show this knowledge.

SESSION 2, JANUARY 24 – SUMMING UP HISTOR AND DISCUSSION OF BAB EL OUED CITY AND AJAMI’S “THE ARAB INHERITANCE:” THE RWCD MODEL; ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STRUCTURAL CHANGE – Interaction of structural transformation, state structure and policy and social actors; purchasing power parity; the rentier state and Dutch disease, economic and strategic rents, development strategies.

Reading:

- **RWCD:** Introduction, Chapters 2 and 3
- Ajami, Fouad, “The Arab Inheritance” (distributed in class)

- Beblawi, Hazem, "The Rentier State in the Arab World," in Beblawi, Hazem and Giacomo Luciani, eds., The Rentier State (hereafter The Rentier State), pp 49-62. Blackboard Learn
- Nabli, Mustapha Kamel, "Long-Term Economic Development Challenges and Prospects for the Arab Countries, Breaking the Barriers to Higher Economic Growth, Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2007 (hereafter Breaking the Barriers), pp 3-28 Blackboard Learn

SESSION 3, JANUARY 31 – POPULATION, HEALTH AND EDUCATION, WATER AND FOOD, URBAN POLITICAL ECONOMY, MIGRATION – DISCUSSION OF YERGIN'S ARTICLE, "IT'S STILL THE ONE" The political economy of population growth; Islam and family planning; life, human development, health and habitat; education and scientific research. The food gap and the chimera of food self-sufficiency; the effect of migration on sending and receiving countries; urbanization, and the politics of urban unrest

Reading:

- **RWCD**: Chapters 4-6, and 10, Demographic Change, Health and Education, Water and Food Security
- Rand Corporation, "Future Challenges for the Arab World: The Implications of Demographic and Economic Trends, 2011 (hereafter **Rand**) Preface etc, and Chapters 1 and 2)
http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CDYQFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.rand.org%2Fcontent%2Fdam%2Frand%2Fpubs%2Ftechnical_reports%2F2011%2FRAND_TR912.pdf&ei=sqLhUouMF-7NsQSc14GoBQ&usq=AfQjCNFicjlay5c5z6fJ01sPj5wFNyFBKg&sig2=rVg1EyNUL-ucHmdX2ovh_Q&bvm=bv.59930103,d.cWc
- Romani, Vincent, "The Politics of Higher Education in the Middle East: Problems and Prospects," Middle East Brief, The Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University, 2009; download a PDF of the article from <http://www.brandeis.edu/now/2009/may/romanimiddleeastbrief.html>
- Rugh, William A., "Arab Education," *The Middle East Journal*, Volume 56, #3, 2002, Blackboard Learn, "Middle East Journal," folder

SESSION 4, FEBRUARY 7 – MIGRATION, EMERGENCE OF PUBLIC SECTOR; CONTRADICTIONS OF STATE-LED GROWTH, MIXED RECORD OF STATE-LED ECONOMIC REFORM – State-led structural transformation, the Turkish experience, state capital and the state bourgeoisie

Reading:

- **RWCD**: Chapters 7-8, and 15
- Diwan, Ishac *et al*, "Economic Reforms and People Mobility for a More Effective EU-MED Partnership," in Breaking the Barriers, pp 267-295 Blackboard Learn
- Nabli, Mustapha, "Restarting Arab Economic Reform," Breaking the Barriers, 89-102 Blackboard Learn
- **Rand**, Chapters 3-5
- UNDP, Arab Knowledge Report 2009, "Towards Productive Communication for Knowledge"
<http://www.undp.org/content/ahdr/en/home/resources/knowledge-reports/akr-2009/>

SESSION 5, FEBRUARY 14 – EMERGENCE OF PUBLIC SECTOR; CONTRADICTIONS OF STATE-LED GROWTH – State-led structural transformation, the Turkish experience, state capital and state bourgeoisie;

Reading:

- **RWCD**, Chapter 7 and 8
- Luciani, Giacomo, "The Oil Rent and the Fiscal Crisis of the State and Democratization, in Salamé, pp 130-155, Blackboard Learn
- Nabli, Mustapha K, "The Political Economy of Industrial Policy in the Middle East and North Africa," in Breaking the Barriers, pp 135-165 Blackboard Learn

SESSION 6, FEBRUARY 21 – THE WASHINGTON CONSENSUS, THE POST-WASHINGTON CONSENSUS, THE POST-WASHINGTON CONSENSUS (NOTE: REPETITION OF "CONSENSUS" IS NOT A TYPO)

Reading:

- **RWCD**, Chapter 9
- Stiglitz, Joseph E, “Is There a Post-Washington Consensus?” Chapter 4 in The Washington Consensus Reconsidered, Narcis Serra and Joseph E. Stiglitz, Eds, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 41-65 (to be handed out in class)
- UNDP, Arab Knowledge Report 2010/2011 “Preparing Future Generations for the Knowledge Society” <http://www.undp.org/content/ahdr/en/home/resources/knowledge-reports/akr-2010-2011/>

SESSION 7, FEBRUARY 28 – POLITICAL REGIMES, SOLIDARISM AND ITS ENEMIES, THE MILITARY AND THE STATE

Reading:

- **RWCD**, Chapters 11-13
- Marshall, Shana and Joshua Stacher, “Egypt’s Generals and Transnational Capital,” Middle East Report (MERIP), Fall 2013
http://www.merip.org/mer/mer262/egypts-generals-transnational-capital?ip_login_no_cache=93874f1762cf1ed983cbec1fbab11005

SESSION 8, MARCH 7 – ISLAMISTS IN POWER; REVIEW OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEMINAR

Reading:

- **RWCD**, Chapter 14

March 14 – No Class (Spring Break)

SESSION 9, MARCH 21 – MID-TERM EXAMINATION; ENERGY

Reading:

- YP, Prologue and Parts IV and V

SESSION 10, MARCH 28 – ENERGY (CONTINUED)

Reading:

- *The Economist*, August 10 2006, “Really Big Oil” and “Oil’s Dark Secret,” Blackboard Learn, Oil Articles, 3 Economist Articles on Oil
- Yergin, Daniel, “It’s Still the One,” *Foreign Policy*, August 17, 2009 distributed in class
- Lovins, Amory, “Farewell to Fossil Fuels,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, 2012, distributed in class

- YP, Prologue and Parts IV and V

SESSION 11, APRIL 4 – ENERGY (CONTINUED)

Reading:

- **YQ**, Introduction and Parts One, Two, Four, Five, and Conclusion of Six
- International Energy Agency (IEA) “International Energy Outlook 2013, Executive Summary” <http://www.iea.org/publications/freepublications/publication/name,44381,en.html>
- “Special Report on Energy,” *The Economist*, 2008, Blackboard/Learn
- “Hydraulic Fracturing.” Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hydraulic_fracturing
- Robert Blackwill and Meghan O’Sullivan, “America’s Energy Edge,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2014, distributed in class

Session 12, April 11 – ENERGY (CONCLUDED) ARAB AWAKENING

Reading:

-RWCD, Chapter 16

-“Egypt : The Uprising Two Years On,” Middle East Report (MERIP) MER 265, Winter 2012, <http://merip.org/mer/mer265>, first eight articles plus From the Editors

-“Understanding Islamism,” International Crisis Group, Middle East/North Africa Report No 37, 2 March 2005, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/037-understanding-islamism.aspx>

SESSION 13, APRIL 18 – ARAB AWAKENING (CONTINUED)

Reading:

-“Marching in Circles: Egypt’s Dangerous Second Transition,” International Crisis Group, Middle East/North Africa Briefing No 35, 7 August 2013, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/middle-east-north-africa/egypt-syria-lebanon/egypt.aspx>

-“Struggling for Syria,” Middle East Report (MERIP) MER 269, Winter 2013 <http://merip.org/mer/latest> first six articles plus From the Editors

SESSION 13, APRIL 25 – ARAB AWAKENING (CONCLUDED) SUMMING UP

Reading:

“Yemen: Enduring Conflicts, Threatened Transition,” International Crisis Group, Middle East Report No 125, 3 July 2012 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/middle-east-north-africa/iraq-iran-gulf/yemen/125-yemen-enduring-conflicts-threatened-transition.aspx>

REVIEW SESSION, APRIL 26, 1115 AM, 152 BAY STATE ROAD, ROOM TO BE DETERMINED

- Entelis, John P., "SONATRACH: The Political Economy of an Algerian State Institution," *The Middle East Journal*, Volume 53, #1, 1999, Blackboard, "Middle East Journal" folder;
- Mouawad, Jad, "Irrelevant? OPEC is Sitting Pretty," *The New York Times*, October 3, 2004, Blackboard, "Oil Articles" folder
- Okogu, Bright, The Middle East and North Africa in a Changing Oil Market. IMF publication, 2003, Blackboard, "Oil Articles" folder
- Rose, Euclid, "OPEC's Dominance of the Global Oil Market," *The Middle East Journal*, Volume 58, #3. 2004, Blackboard, "Oil Articles" folder
- **YP**, Parts IV and V (background)

Reading:

- Alhajji, Anas F. "An inconvenient truth about OPEC," *Project-Syndicate*, 15 September 2010, Blackboard, "Oil Articles" folder
- Economist Special Report on energy, June 8, 2008, Blackboard, "Oil Articles" folder
- Forbes, Wallace, "Bracing for Peak Oil Production by Decade's End," *Forbes Magazine*, 13 September 2010, Blackboard Learn, "Oil Articles" folder
- Maass, Peter, "Breaking Point," *The New York Times Magazine*, 21 August 2005, Blackboard Learn, "Oil Articles" folder
- Morse, Edward L. and James Richard, "The Battle for Energy Dominance," *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2002, Blackboard Learn, "Oil" folder;
- Mouawad, Jad, "Swings in Price of Oil Hobble Oil Forecasting," *The New York Times*, July 6, 2009 http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/people/m/jad_mouawad/index.html?offset=0&s=newest
- "Oil & Energy Output to Outstrip Demand," Cambridge Energy Research Associates, 2005, Blackboard Learn, "Oil Articles" folder
-
- **YQ**, Part Two

OIL AND ENERGY (CONCLUDED) – How oil revenues are used; institutional development; the nature and role of OPEC; The future – With oil prices high, have MENA governments learned not to "over-achieve" causing a collapse like the one in the late 1980s? Is "the end of oil" a real prospect? How will a decline in worldwide oil production affect the region?

- Nabli, Mustapha K, "Restarting Arab Economic Reform," Breaking the Barriers, pp 89-102 Blackboard Learn
- Salehi-Isfahani, Djavad, "Microeconomics of Growth in MENA: The Role of Households," in Nugent pp 159-194 Blackboard Learn

OIL AND ENERGY: A VIEW FROM WITHIN THE INDUSTRY; POPULATION AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT –
Guest Speaker: Gary Vogler, Consultant and Retired Exxon-Mobil Official (invited)

Reading:

- **AHDR 2002**, Overview and Chapters 1-5
- Keller, Jennifer and Mustapha K. Nabli, "The Macroeconomics of Labor Outcomes in MENA," in Breaking the Barriers, pp 169-211 Blackboard Learn
- **RWCD**, Chapter 4; Fargues, Philippe, "Demographic Explosion or Social Upheaval," in Salamé, -- Salamé, Ghassan., Democracy Without Democrats?, London: I.B. Taurus, 1994 (hereafter **Salamé**), pp.156-179, Blackboard Learn
- Nabli, Mustapha K, "Challenges and Opportunities for the 21st Century," Breaking the Barriers, pp 203-210, Blackboard Learn
- Lovins, Amory, "A Farewell to Fossil Fuels," *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2012, Blackboard Learn
- **RWCD**, Chapters 4 and 5
- Rugh, William A., "Arab Education," *The Middle East Journal*, Volume 56, #3, 2002, Blackboard Learn, "Middle East Journal," folder
- El-Ghobashy, Mona, *The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers*, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/uploads/lib/RHPT5X8DYBTN5A3.pdf>
- **Counter view – to be supplied**
- International Crisis Group Report 2005, Understanding Islamism, **Blackboard Learn**, International Crisis Group Report, 2005 Folder
- MERIP, Egypt, (Fuller citation to be supplied)
- **RWCD**, Chapter 14
- [Seattle Times, June 23-Jul 7, '02 "The Terrorist Within."](#)

GUEST SPEAKER(S), Retired U.S. foreign service officer(s) Laura Byergo (and Mark Willis) INVITED

Reading: To be assigned

- **AHDR 2002**, Chapters 7 and 8, PDF available at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regionalreports/arabstates/name,3140,en.html>
- **AHDR 2003**, Part I, Part II, Chapters 2-6. 8 and 9
- **AHDR 2004**, Executive summary, Chapters 5-7, PDF available at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regionalreports/arabstates/name,3278,en.html>
- Dunbar book chapter (fuller citation to be supplied)
- Nabli, Mustapha K and Carlos Silva-Jáurequi, "Democracy for Better Governance and Higher Economic Growth in the MENA Region?," in Breaking the Barriers, pp 103-134 **Blackboard Learn**
- Salamé, Ghassan, "Small Is Pluralistic: democracy as an instrument of social peace, in Salamé, pp 84-111, Blackboard Learn

Reading:

- Carothers, Thomas and Marina Ottaway, *Greater Middle East Initiative: Off to a False Start*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Policy Brief 29, March 2004, available on line at <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1480>
- Sharp, Jeremy M, "The Broader Middle East Peace Initiative: an Overview," CRS Report for Congress, February 15, 2005 <http://italy.usembassy.gov/pdf/other/RS22053.pdf>
- Wittes, Tamara Cofman, *The New U.S. Proposal for a Greater Middle East Initiative: An Evaluation*, The Brookings Institution Saban Center, September 1, 2008 http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2004/0510middleeast_wittes.aspx

Reading:

- **AHDR 2002**, Chapter 6
- **RWCD**, Chapter 9