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   Fall 2016   IR 706

IRAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST

All revolutions contain a fundamental contradiction. On the one hand, a revolution is the outcome of very specific social and political conditions in a country. On the other hand, revolutionaries perceive their experience as having universal significance, which means that revolutionary governments try to address and influence foreign populations over the heads of their respective governments. This means that a revolutionary state engages in both government-to-government and government-to-people diplomacy. The Iranian case is not different from this general pattern, except that here the universalist appeal of the revolution was limited by its sectarian (shi'ite) origins.

This seminar is divided into two parts. The first half focuses on Iran's domestic politics. The nature of the Shah's regime, the revolution, and Khomeini's ideology will be examined. The second half analyzes certain key areas of Iranian foreign policy, such as the Iran/Iraq War, the Arab/Israeli conflict, Lebanon, security in the Persian Gulf, and Central Asia, but concentrates on those countries with large Shi'ite populations. How were these affected by the Iranian revolution? Can revolutions be "exported"?

The seminar's format is reading and discussion. Requirements for the course are class participation (20%), a class presentation (30%) and a research paper on a different topic (50%). The paper is due on December 1st. Office hours are T. and Th. 2:00-3:00, and W. by appointment.

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Schedule of Meetings

September 7: Introduction to the Land of Iran

September 14: The Legacy of Pre-Revolutionary Iran

H.E. Chehabi and Arang Keshavarzian, "Politics in Iran," in Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Kaare Strøm, and Russell J. Dalton, eds., *Comparative Politics Today: A World View* (New York: Pearson, 2014), pp. 536-541.

Khosrow Fatemi, "Leadership by Distrust: The Shah's *Modus Operandi*," *The Middle East Journal* 36 (Winter 1982): 48-60.

Ahmad Ashraf, "From the White Revolution to the Islamic Revolution," in Saeed Rahnema and Sohrab, eds., *Iran after the Revolution: Crisis of an Islamic State* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995), pp. 21-44.

Mark Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup d'Etat Against Mosaddeq," and "Conclusion," in Mark

Gasiorowksi and Malcolm Byrne, eds., *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran.*

September 21: The Revolution of 1978-79

Chehabi and Keshavarzian, "Politics in Iran," pp. 541-542.

Hamid Algar, ed., *Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini* (Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1981), excerpts.

Nikki R. Keddie, "Islamic Revival as Third Worldism," in Nikke R. Keddie, *Iran and the Muslim World: Resistance and Revolution* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 213-219.

September28: The Islamic Republic: Constitutional Design

Chehabi and Keshavarzian, "Politics in Iran," pp. 542-547.

H. E. Chehabi and Ali Schirazi, "The Islamic Republic of Iran," *Journal of Persianate Studies Studies* 5:2 (2012): 175-204.

Arang Keshavarzian, "Contestation without Democracy: Elite Fragmentation in Iran," Marsha Prispstein Posusney and Michelle Penner Angrist, eds., *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Contestation and Resistance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005).

Mehrangis Kar, "*Shari'a* Law in Iran," in Paul Marshall, ed., *Radical Islam's Rules: The Worldwide Spread of Extreme Sharia Law* (New York: Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom, 2005), pp. 41-64.

October 5: The Islamic Republic: Politics

Chehabi and Keshavarzian, "Politics in Iran," pp. 547-573.

Farideh Farhi, "The Antinomies of Iran's War Generation," in Lawrence C. Potter and Gary G. Sick, eds., *Iran, Iraq and the Legacies of War* (New York: PalgraveMacmillan, 2004), pp. 121-140.

Kevan Harris, "The Rise of the Subcontractor State: Politics of Pseudo-Privatization in the Islamic Republic of Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45:1 (2013): 45-70.

Abbas Amanat, "Messianic Aspirations in Contemporary Iran," in *Apocalyptic Islam and Iranian Shi'ism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009).

Saeid Golkar, "The Rule of the Basij in Iranian Politics," in Abbas Milani and Larry Diamond, eds., *Politics & Culture in Contemporary Iran: Challenging the Status Quo* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2015), 115-140.

October 12: Post-Revolutionary Iranian Foreign Policy

Chehabi and Keshavarzian, "Politics in Iran," pp. 573-577.

Nikki R. Keddie, "Reflections on the Iranian Revolution and its Influence in the Muslim World," in Nikke R. Keddie, *Iran and the Muslim World: Resistance and Revolution* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 112-126.

F. Gregory Gause, III, "Revolutionary Fevers and Regional Contagion: Domestic Structures and the 'Export' of Revolution in the Middle East," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 14:3 (Spring 1991).

William O. Beeman, "Double Demons: Cultural Impedance in U.S.-Iranian Understanding," in Miron Rezun, ed., *Iran at the Crossroads: Global Relations in a Turbulent Decade* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1989).

Moshe-hay S. Hagigat, "Overcoming 'the –isms': The Iranian Role in the Modern World, from the Perspective of Mahmūd Ahmadi-nezhād," in Ronen A. Cohen, ed., *Identities in Crisis in Iran: Politics, Cultue, and Religion* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 83-105.

October 19: Iran and Iraq

H. E. Chehabi, "Iran and Iraq: Intersocietal Linkages and Secular Nationalisms," in Abbas Amanat and Farzin Vejdani, eds., *Iran Facing Others: Identity Boundaries in a Historical Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 191-216.

Shaul Bakhash, "The Troubled Relationship: Iran and Iraq, 1930-80," in Lawrence C. Potter and Gary G. Sick, eds., *Iran, Iraq and the Legacies of War* (New York: PalgraveMacmillan, 2004), pp. 11-28.

Dilip Hiro, "The Iran-Iraq War," in Hooshang Amirahmadi and Nader Entessar, eds., *Iran and the Arab World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

Faleh A. Jabar, "The War Generation in Iraq: A Case of Failed Etatist Nationalism," in Lawrence C. Potter and Gary G. Sick, eds., *Iran, Iraq and the Legacies of War* (New York: PalgraveMacmillan, 2004), pp. 121-140.

Recommended:

P. Sluglett and M. Farouk-Sluglett, "Sunnis and Shi'is revisited: sectarianism and ethnicity in authoritarian Iraq," in Derek Hopwood, ed., *Iraq: Power and Society* (Oxford: Ithaca, 1993): 75-90.

Lawrence Potter, "The Evolution of the Iran-Iraq Border," in Reeva Simon and Eleanor Tejirian, eds., *The Creation of Iraq, 1914-1921* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 61-79.

October 26: Iran and Lebanon and Syria

H. E. Chehabi, ed., *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years*. Selected chapters.

Jubin M. Goodarzi, "Iran and Syria: An Enduring Alliance," in H.E. Chehabi, Farhad Khosrokhavar, and Clément Therme, eds., *Iran and the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century: Essays in Honour of Mohammad-Reza Djalili* (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2013), pp. 266-284.

More to follow!

November 2: Iran and the Persian Gulf

Eric Hooglund, "Iran and the Persian Gulf," in Eric Hooglund, ed., *Twenty Years of Islamic Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002), pp. 156-175.

Michael Herb, "Subordinate Communities and the Utility of Ethnic Ties to a Neighboring Regime," in Leonard Binder, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Politics in the Middle East* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), pp. 155-180.

November 9: Iran and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Trita Parsi, "Israel-Iranian Relations Assessed: Strategic Competition from the Power Cycle Perspective," *Iranian Studies* 38:2 (June 2003): 247-270.

Haggai Ram, "To Banish the 'Levantine Dunghill' from Within: Toward a Cultural Understanding of Israeli Anti-Iran Phobias," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40:2 (May 2008): 249-268.

November 16: The Role of the Military and Intelligence

Nader Entessar, "The Military and Politics in the Islamic Republic of Iran," in Hooshang Amirahmadi and Manoucher Parvin, eds., *Post-Revolutionary Iran* (Boulder: Westview, 1988), pp. 126-149.

Anthony H. Cordesman, "Iranian Military Capabilities and 'Dual Cotainment," in Gary G. Sick and Lawrence G. Potter, eds., *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 189-229.

Saeid Golkar, "Organization of the Oppressed or Organization for Oppression: Analysing the role of the Basig Militia," *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 13 (2012): 455-471.

Elliot Hen-Tov and Nathan Gonzalez, "The Militarization of Iran: Praetorianism 2.0," *The Washington Quarterly* (2011): 45-59.

November 30: The nuclear issue

Gawdat Bahgat, "Nuclear Proliferation: The Islamic Republic of Iran," *Iranian Studies* 39 (September 2006).

Alexander Glaser, Zia Mian, Hossein Mousavian, and Frank von Hippel, "Agreeing on Limitations."

December 7: South and Central Asia

Vali Nasr, "The Iranian Revolution and Changes in Islamism in Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan," in Nikki Keddie and Rudi Matthee, eds., *Iran and the Surrounding World 1501-2001: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), pp. 327-354.

Frédérique Guérin, "Iran and the Twenty-First-Century 'Persian World': A Tajik Perspective," in H.E. Chehabi, Farhad Khosrokhavar, and Clément Therme, eds., *Iran and the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century: Essays in Honour of Mohammad-Reza Djalili* (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2013), pp. 285-302.