The Schar School of Policy and Government

Governments and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)
GOVT 332-001
Tuesday & Thursday 10:30 am – 11:45 am Robinson B-201

Syllabus for Spring Semester 2018
WELCOME!

Instructor: Professor Heba F. El-Shazli, Ph.D.
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Office: Research Hall – room 358 (third floor)
Office Hours: Tuesday/Thursday 1:00 pm-2:00 pm
I will also be in class 15 minutes early and after class to respond to any questions and comments. Other times – please contact me via email and we can arrange a convenient time.

Course Description:
There are so many changes that are currently taking place in the political governance of many countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). So, an examination of the history, political systems; the main economic, social and political issues and challenges; and international relations of the countries in the MENA region is a timely and essential endeavor to get a better understanding of these dramatic changes. This course will review the essentials (historical, social, economic and political developments) in the Middle East: Maghreb, Mashreq and the Gulf.

Class Goal: To gain a better understanding of the modern Middle East and North Africa during this most tumultuous time. This will be accomplished through a comprehensive and accessible study of the politics within the MENA countries; and the international relations between the MENA countries and the external influences on this volatile and important region.
Class Objectives:

- Knowledge of the major dates, treaties, events (especially the Arab Spring 2010/11) that shape the current MENA countries
- Strengthen the knowledge of why and how MENA countries behave and the current state of affairs in key countries particularly war, conflict and deteriorating economic conditions
- Enable students to understand the internal and international politics in the MENA region; develop an understanding of the Arab/Middle Eastern culture, traditions, and norms that affect the political behavior
- Support/add to the knowledge of the students who are learning the Arabic language

Required Textbooks: All available in the reserves section of the library in the Johnson Center

1. Understanding the Contemporary Middle East - Fourth Edition, Editor: Jillian Schwedler

   Textbook Binding: 480 pages
   Publisher: Lynne Rienner Publishers; 4th edition (July 25, 2013)
   Language: English

2. The Middle East - 14th Edition Editor: Ellen Lust

   Paperback: 1056 pages
   Publisher: CQ Press; 14th edition (May 13, 2016)

3. A Rage for Order: The Middle East in Turmoil, from Tahrir Square to ISIS
   (Paperback – April 18, 2017) by Robert F. Worth

   Paperback: 272 pages
   Publisher: Farrar, Straus and Giroux; Reprint edition (April 18, 2017)

Optional Text (for those not as familiar with the Middle East)

Fred Halliday, 100 Myths About the Middle East (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), (Paperback) ISBN 0-520-24721-3

- Paperback: 269 pages
- Publisher: University of California Press; 1 edition (February 12, 2005)
- Language: English
- ISBN-10: 0520247213
The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa [Paperback]
Mark Gasiorowski (Editor), David E. Long (Editor), Bernard Reich (Editor)

- Paperback: 544 pages
- Publisher: Westview Press; 8th Edition (July 12, 2016)
- Language: English

Available on-line at the GMU Library:
The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know (Paperback)
by James L. Gelvin (Author) (available on-line at the Library)
- Paperback: 208 pages
- Publisher: Oxford University Press, USA (March 6, 2012)
- Language: English

Persistent Link to this Record: http://magik.gmu.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=3137012
http://site.ebrary.com/lib/georgemason/docDetail.action?docID=10531077

Course Administrative Details:

Introduction:
Welcome to the fascinating and complex world of the Middle East and North Africa – we must explore a few key events and dates in history to comprehend the current political situation in the region to be able to discuss, analyze today’s issues for the future policy makers (that someday you will be) or for the future implementers of foreign policy, mandates, and decisions that you will carry out. My hope that this course will introduce you to several current topics and will give us the opportunity to discuss, analyze and dissect the issues at hand in a constructive critical manner particularly during some interesting and challenging events taking place in the region now.

"Man was born to work towards a peaceful world, but not necessarily to live in one!“ An observer of world affairs

To quote, a noted Middle East scholar, Fred Halliday, “the vocation of an internationalist intellectual, actually is to try and promote informed discussion which may feed into public debate and education.”

(MERIP, Summer 2010, Obituary, page, 47).
In this course, my goal is to ask the questions, encourage “informed” discussion and to add to your knowledge about this most complex and interesting region of the world that today occupies the front pages of the major newspapers, and the lead story of the evening news. Completing this course and going on to your chosen professions – I hope you will feel enriched with the points of view based on scholarship and maybe, you would have formed “new” opinions and thoughts. You are now on your way to becoming a “Middle East Scholar!” …. Let us begin this journey of learning and discovery together!

Course Grading and Assessment Details: You will need a laptop for this course to take the tests and the final exam. Please be prepared to have a laptop with the Respondus Lockdown Browser downloaded (available via Blackboard)

1. Homework & Reading assignments: There is a reading assignment to complete to be prepared for course sessions. Plus, there are THREE (3) homework assignments due before class by no later than 10:00 am. Please answer all questions. Thank you! Instructions: One page minimum per question; 1.5 spaced. Please place your name & date at the top of the page. Then please write the question(s) you are answering first then your response. Please use a consistent form of citations throughout your response paper. Referencing our readings does support your arguments and greatly helps your grade :)

The dates are: 20th February, 22nd March, and 5th April.
Homework is 30% of your grade.

2. Final Exam: There will be a final exam that will count for 20% of your final grade. Final Exam: TBD. The Final Exam will be cumulative of all tests and homework assignments.

3. Tests: There will be three tests during the semester = 30% of your grade. The dates are: 13th February = Test #1, 1st March = Test #2, and 17th April = Test #3.

4. Class Attendance & Participation; and In-Class Country/Chapter Presentations are very important. Please ask questions, raise issues, and present arguments to support your point of view – participation is the key to learning. Please sign-up for country/chapter (Worth book) presentations – there will be a sign-up sheet available on: Thursday, 25th January 2018. Please prepare notes or power-point slides and submit by
midnight the day before you are presenting. I will post those in the Course Contents section on Blackboard for everyone to review. **Class attendance & participation (10%) & in-class presentations (10%) will count towards 20% (total) of your final grade.** It will be your job to please come and introduce yourself to me and ensure that I know your name so that I can correctly give you the deserved participation grade. I look forward to meeting you!

**Grade Summary:**
- Reading & Homework Questions (3 during semester) = 30%
- A total of 3 tests includes Mid-term exam = 30%
- In-class Presentations (10%), Attendance & Active participation in class (10%) = 20%
- Final Exam = 20%

**Grading Scale:**
A+ = 97–100; A = 94-96; A- = 90-93; B+ = 87-89; B= 84-86; B- = 80-83; C+ = 77-79; C = 74-76; C- = 70-73; D+ = 67-69; F = 0-59

**A few key policies to help make our lives easier, to enjoy the course, and to learn together about the Middle East:**

**Class Conduct:**
To help create a beneficial active learning environment in class, I would appreciate that we are conscientious and respectful of the others in class. Class conduct guidelines include, but are not limited to, the following:

- **Please no cell phone use in class and laptop use in class is for taking notes only 😊**
- Class attendance, in-class presentations, and active participation to foster discussion are mandatory and will contribute greatly to your grade – it will be (as mentioned above) 20% of your grade. I am very interested in your opinions and especially after you have completed the readings.
- Please listen to each other as allies, attentively and without judgment to others’ opinions in class.
- **I expect assignments to be turned in on time please.** An assignment that is turned in late will receive a deduction of a letter grade per day until it is turned in. An assignment that is more than three days late without an excuse from the Dean or the student’s
medical professional will receive a failing grade. **After seven days – the assignment will not be accepted.**

**George Mason University Honor Code:**

**Plagiarism:** It is assumed that all written work submitted is entirely your own. If you obtain ideas, data, phrases, etc. from elsewhere, you must cite the source. **A violation of the University Honor Code your final grade will become automatically an “F” and you will be reported to the student/faculty honor committee.**

I take the Honor Code and its enforcement very seriously with a zero tolerance policy.

The Honor Code in its entirety can be found in your Student Handbook. All violations of the honor code will be reported to the Honor Committee.

[http://www.gmu.edu/academics/catalog/9798/honorcod.html](http://www.gmu.edu/academics/catalog/9798/honorcod.html)

**Academic Integrity:** It is expected that students adhere to the George Mason University Honor Code as it relates to integrity regarding coursework and grades. The Honor Code reads as follows: “To promote a stronger sense of mutual responsibility, respect, trust, and fairness among all members of the George Mason University community and with the desire for greater academic and personal achievement, we, the student members of the University Community have set forth this: Student members of the George Mason University community pledge not to cheat, plagiarize, steal and/or lie in matters related to academic work.” More information about the Honor Code, including definitions of cheating, lying, and plagiarism, can be found at the Office of Academic Integrity website at [http://oai.gmu.edu](http://oai.gmu.edu)

**Students with Disabilities:** Students who self-identify and provide sufficient documentation of a qualifying disability are entitled to receive reasonable accommodations, such as modifications of programs, academic adjustments, or auxiliary aides as a means to participate in programs and activities. If you need academic accommodations, please see me and contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) at (703) 993-2474. All academic accommodations must be arranged through that office.

**Problems that may arise** – Please if you are experiencing any problems that are affecting your schoolwork and/or class attendance --- please feel free to meet with me and let us see what we can do to help. I will be glad to listen and assist to help you. There are many available resources. Please do not wait until the end of the semester to inform me that you are dealing with a problem(s) since the beginning of the semester. Let us talk and work on getting you the needed assistance early on in the semester so it does not affect your school work down the road. **I am here to help you succeed!**

**Student Support Resources:** We have several academic support and other resources to facilitate student success. Please be sure to include links to relevant student support resources (e.g.,
Counseling and Psychological Services, Learning Services, University Career Services, the Writing Center, etc.).

**Sexual Misconduct and Interpersonal Violence**

*George Mason University* is committed to providing a safe learning, living and working environment free from discrimination. The University’s environment is meant to be experienced as vibrant and dynamic, and one that includes ample opportunities for exploration of self, identity and independence. Sexual misconduct and incidents of interpersonal violence deeply interrupt that experience, and *George Mason University is committed to a campus that is free of these types of incidents in order to promote community well-being and student success.*

*George Mason University* encourages individuals who believe that they have been sexually harassed, assaulted or subjected to sexual misconduct to seek assistance and support. Confidential resources are available on campus at Counseling and Psychological Services (caps.gmu.edu), Student Health Services (shs.gmu.edu), the University Ombudsperson (ombudsman.gmu.edu), and Wellness, Alcohol and Violence Education and Services (waves.gmu.edu). All other members of the University community (except those noted above) are not considered confidential resources and are required to report incidents of sexual misconduct to the University IX Coordinator. For a full list of resources, support opportunities, and reporting options, contact the University Title IX Coordinator at integrity.gmu.edu and/or at 703-993-8730. Our goal is to create awareness of the range of options available to you and provide access to resources.

Class Schedule, Topics to be discussed and Reading Assignments

[Please note: this schedule is a guide and is subject to change/adjustment based on our discussion needs]

1. **Tuesday, 23rd January 2018 – First Day of Class WELCOME!**

   Welcome, introductions, review of syllabus, review of readings, expectations, goals & objectives, homework and tests, and grades…. All that good stuff on the first day of class!!
   Power point overview & MENA Map discussion and review

2. **Thursday, 25th January 2018**

   **Part One: Introduction & Overview of the Middle East and North Africa**

   **Reading assignment:** Introduction – Jillian Schwedler Textbook pp. 1-9

   “The Middle East: A Geographic Preface” by Ian R. Manners

3. Tuesday, 30th January 2018 (Last day to drop/add class)

Optional yet highly recommended: “The Historical Context” by Arthur Goldschmidt - Reading Assignment: Schwedler Textbook pp. 41-89

4. Thursday, 1st February 2018
In-Class presentations: Algeria & Egypt

Reading Assignment: Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 403-454

5. Tuesday, 6th February 2018

Middle Eastern Politics by Philip A. Schrodt and Deborah J. Gerner
Reading Assignment: Schwedler Textbook pp. 89-139

6. Thursday, 8th February 2018
In-class Presentations: Iran & Iraq
Reading Assignment: Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 455-515

7. Tuesday, 13th February 2018 -- Test #1 on Overview, Historical Overview, MENA Map, Middle Eastern Politics, Geography and four countries: Iran, Iraq, Egypt, and Algeria

8. Thursday, 15th February 2018

9. Tuesday, 20th February 2018

Chapter 2 - Social Change in the Middle East by Valentine Moghadam and Tabitha Decker Reading Assignment: Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 74-105


Homework Assignment #1 Due Today via Blackboard: Questions – Please answer all the following questions –
1) What were the major agreements that contributed to and redraw the maps of the Middle East during and after WWI? And What were the implications for nationalist identities? (Lust Textbook);
2) What accounts for the Muslim Brotherhood’s (MB) rise to power in post-Mubarak Egypt? (Lust Textbook);
3) Explain the struggle between Arab Nationalism and Zionism (Ch. 3 in Schwedler)
4) Why do you think Bashar al-Assad’s approach of social and economic reform first, political reform second ultimately resulted in instability?
5) What are some of the events and reasons that an “East Bank-West Bank” cleavage persists as a source of tension in Jordanian society?

10. Thursday, 22nd February 2018

Chapter 4 - Institutions and Governance by Ellen Lust - Reading Assignment: Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 160-204

Chapter 6 - Actors, Public Opinion, and Participation by Janine A. Clark and Lina Khatib
Reading Assignment: Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 242-287

11. Tuesday, 27th February 2018

In-Class Presentations: Kuwait & Lebanon [Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 570-614] and Saudi Arabia [Lust Textbook pp. 737-754]

12. Thursday, 1st March 2018

Test #2: Social Change in the ME, Role of Women, Actors, Public Opinion, and Participation & Institutions and Governance plus five countries: Jordan, Syria, Kuwait, Lebanon, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

13. Tuesday, 6th March 2018

Chapter 3 - The Political Economy of Development in the Middle East by Melani Cammett and Ishac Diwan (Lust Textbook) - Reading Assignment: Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 106-159

14. Thursday, 8th March 2018

**In-Class Presentations:** The Lower Gulf States: The United Arab Emirates (UAE), Oman, Qatar, Bahrain; [Ellen Lust Textbook pp.644-673] & Yemen [Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 895-915]

**SPRING BREAK: 12th March – 18th March 2018**

15. Tuesday, 20th March 2018

The Political Economy of Middle East Oil by Mary Ann Tetreault - **Reading Assignment:** Schwedler Textbook pp. 259-287


16. Thursday, 22nd March 2018

**In-Class Presentations:** Tunisia and Turkey [Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 808-894] and Sudan & South Sudan [Lust Textbook pp. 755-779]

**Homework Assignment #2 Due Today via Blackboard:** Please answer all the following Questions:

1) How did the historical path to state-building differ between the MENA states and Europe? What are the implications of these differences?

2) Explain the relationship between Rentier state system and democracy? In other words does a Rentier state promote or believe in democratic practices?

3) What factors made Tunisia a likely starting point for the Arab Spring? What factors made it an unlikely starting point?

4) Can Turkey be a “model” for the rest of the Middle East? And what are the perils embedded in Turkey’s own democratic experience?
17. Tuesday, 27th March 2018

Religion, Society and Politics in the Middle East


18. Thursday, 29th March 2018

In-Class Presentations: Libya and Morocco [Ellen Lust Textbook pp. 615-643 and 674-706] Somalia and Mauritania

19. Tuesday, 3rd April 2018

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict by Simona Shari and Mohammed Abu-Nimer

Reading Assignment: Schwedler Textbook pp. 175-215
Reading Assignment: 1) Farsakh and Witkin articles available on Blackboard; 2) “Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, A Primer” By Joel Beinin and Lisa Hajjar, MERIP, February 2014 [On Blackboard]

Optional yet highly recommended: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict by Mark Tessler [Lust Textbook pp. 288-368]

20. Thursday, 5th April 2018

Documentary Film: Encounter Point

Homework Assignment #3 Due Today via Blackboard: Please answer all the following questions –

1) Who was Sayyid Qutb (1906-66) and what were his contributions to religious extremism?

2) What are the key factors leading up to the uprisings that led to the fall of Qadaffi?

3) How does the centrality of the “makhzen” manifest itself in the Moroccan political system?

4) What are some of the factors that contributed to Hamas’ establishment and growth in popularity?

5) What is the difference and relationship between the PA and the PLO?
21. Tuesday, 10th April 2018

Documentary Film: Encounter Point (continued) & complete worksheet

22. Thursday, 12th April 2018


23. Tuesday, 17th April 2018

Test #3 will cover the following topics: Political Economy of Development in the Middle East; The Political Economy of Oil; Religion, Society & Politics; and Israeli –Palestinian Conflict plus the following countries: Tunisia, Turkey, Persian/Arabian Gulf Countries, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Morocco, Israel and Palestine

24. Thursday, 19th April 2018: The Arab Uprisings and Thereafter

A Rage for Order: The Middle East in Turmoil by Robert F. Worth

Readings: Introduction, One People (Egypt) and Revenge (Libya) pp. 3-61

No Class on Thursday, 23rd November – Happy Thanksgiving!

25. Tuesday, 24th April 2018

A Rage for Order: The Middle East in Turmoil by Robert F. Worth

Readings: Sects (Syria); Prisoners of the Sheikh (Yemen) pp. 61-127

26. Thursday, 26th April 2018

A Rage for Order: The Middle East in Turmoil by Robert F. Worth

Readings: Brothers (Egypt); In the Caliph’s Shadow (Yemen & Syria) pp. 127-196

27. Tuesday, 1st May 2018

A Rage for Order: The Middle East in Turmoil by Robert F. Worth

Readings: Reconciliation (Tunisia); Epilogue; and Timeline pp. 196-241
28. Thursday, 3rd May 2018 [Last Class]


Final Exam: TBD