

Revolution & War: Geopolitics of the Middle East and North Africa, 1951-2011

Graduate International Affairs (GPIA), The New School University, New York City, Fall 2011
Class 8:00 pm - 9:50 pm Tuesdays; Johnson/Kaplan 66 West 12th Room 615
Aug 30, 2011 - Dec 13, 2011 Lecture

Instructor

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|| Syllabus/Assignments || CLICK to go to assignments

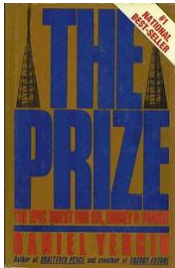
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|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---|
| 1) 30 August | 5) 27 September | 9) 25 October report 1 | 13) 22 November [1] |
| 2) 06 September | 6) 4 October | 10) 1 November | 14) 29 November |
| 3) 13 September | 7) 11 October | 11) 8 November | 15) 6 December report 2 |
| 4) 20 September | 8) 18 October | 12) 15 November | 16) 13 December [2] |

Jump to:

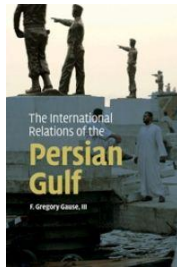
|| [Description](#) || Current affairs [Reading Links](#) || [Syllabus/Assignments](#) || [Student Research-Group Blogs](#) ||

|| Current Affairs Links – Posted by Prof. ||

[Algeria](#) | [Tunisia](#) | [Libya](#) | [Egypt](#) | [Israel](#) | [Syria](#) | [Saudi & Gulf](#) | [Yemen](#) | [Iraq](#) | [Iran](#) | [Turkey](#)
[U.S.A.](#) | [Europe](#) | [Russia](#) | [China](#)



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Required books - purchase ASAP

- 1) Yergin, Daniel, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power*, The Free Press, 1992, New York
- 2) Gause, F. Gregory III, *International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, Cambridge University Press, 2010
- 3) *The New Arab Revolt: What Happened, What It Means, and What Comes Next* Council on Foreign Relations/Foreign Affairs; May 2011, 496 pages; \$19.95 (paper), \$8.95 (PDF online / e-book); <http://www.cfr.org/middle-east/new-arab->

|| Syllabus/Assignments || CLICK to go to assignments

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|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 17) 30 August | 21) 27 September | 25) 25 October report 1 | 29) 22 November [1] |
| 18) 06 September | 22) 4 October | 26) 1 November | 30) 29 November |
| 19) 13 September | 23) 11 October | 27) 8 November | 31) 6 December report 2 |
| 20) 20 September | 24) 18 October | 28) 15 November | 32) 13 December [2] |

Academic Calendar, Fall 2011 <http://www.newschool.edu/student-services/registrars/academic-calendar/university/>

[1] Re: makeup and rescheduled classes: on Tuesday 22 November, classes follow the Thursday Schedule. Thanksgiving holiday starts 23 November.

[2] Optional, depending on number of classes

|| Reading Links & Reference Sites ||

- 1) *Middle East Journal*, published by MEI (Middle East Institute), Washington DC
<http://www.mei.edu/Publications/WebPublications.aspx>
- 2) Middle East web maps <http://www.mideastweb.org/maps.htm>
- 3) *Energy and Geopolitical Risk*, published by MEES (Middle East Economic Survey)
<http://www.mees.com/en/content/23>
- 4) Middle East Economic Survey <http://www.mees.com/en/home>
- 5) *Informed Consent*, Prof. Juan Cole's blog: <http://juancole.com>

- 6) *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, (IJMES) published by Middle East Studies Association
<http://web.gc.cuny.edu/ijmes/>
- 7) *Foreign Affairs*, published by Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) <http://www.cfr.org/>
- 8) EIA at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/> Note the Country Analysis Briefs, CAB
- 9) IEA at <http://www.iea.org/> Especially the World Energy Outlook (WEO)
- 10) CIA Country Briefs at <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/>
- 11) BP Statistical Review of World Energy, and Historical Data Series since 1965:
<http://www.bp.com/productlanding.do?categoryId=6842&contentId=7021390>
- 12) Oil and Gas Journal: <http://www.ogj.com/index.cfm>
- 13) JODI (Joint Oil Data Initiative) of the IEFS (International Energy Forum Secretariat)
<http://www.jodidata.org/FileZ/ODTmain.htm>
- 14) Links to other databases here: UNSD, OPEC, IEF, IEA, EUROSTAT, OLADE
- 15) IAEE (International Association for Energy Economics) <http://iaee.org> and USAEE (US Association for Energy Economics) <http://usaee.org>. The professional and academic society for energy economics and policy. See the "Energy Journal" of IAEE, Newsletters and the Energy Blog
- 16) To be continued ...

30 August

- 1) Introduction to the course.
 - a) Topics:
 - i) MENA history, chronologically, four periods, post-WWII to present,
 - ii) Current affairs: evolving Arab Spring by country and its regional geopolitical implications
 - b) Pattern of each class:
 - i) Current affairs discussion: Initiated by student groups, by assigned country
 - (1) Students pick countries in first class; minimum three per country or sub-region
 - ii) Lecture and/or close-reading discussion
- 2) Policy on attendance, participation, grading, exams/midterm reports, research blogs, final power point and paper reports
 - a) Re: Research blogs and country reports
 - i) Statistics and data overview: Geographic, resource, demographic, developmental statistics chronologically and comparatively; ethnic, religious and cultural character
 - ii) History, through four post-WWII periods
 - (1) domestic analysis and geopolitical role
 - (2) geopolitical trajectory through these periods
 - iii) Discussion/analysis of previous revolutions, uprisings, regime changes, and history of economic and political development
 - iv) Participation in Arab Spring (or occupation, etc.)
 - (1) History of evolution within the country; historical narrative, political-economic, trajectory of classes and groups.
 - (2) Geopolitical consequences

06 September

- 1) **Current affairs discussion**
 - a) Video: "Struggle Against Authoritarian Rule in the Middle East," University of Michigan, International Institute, February 11, 2011. Round table panel and discussion: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vna1LKFTLLM>
 - i) Joshua Cole, Associate Professor of History
 - ii) **Watch:** Juan Cole, Richard P. Mitchell Collegiate Professor of History
 - iii) Nadine Naber, Assistant Professor, Program in American Culture and Department of Women's Studies
 - iv) Philip Potter, Assistant Professor, Public Policy and Political Science
 - v) **Watch:** Mark Tessler, Vice Provost for International Affairs, Samuel J. Eldersveld Collegiate Professor of Political Science
 - vi) Susan Waltz, Professor of Public Policy
 - vii) **Watch** Discussion.
- 2) **Development: Assessing stages and drivers (as vs. prescriptions and policies).**

Note: This should provide guidance for beginning student's country-report research blogs, using data-driven country-specific comparative social, economic and political developmental measures. *Begin to gather data on your country.*

Later we will discuss resources, especially oil and natural gas reserves and the productive capacity of oil sectors in MENA OPEC states.

- a) **Lecture:** "Historical Overview of Human Economic, Political and Social 'Development'" [PowerPoint](#) (2Mb). T. O'Donnell, Lecture in the Faculty of Economics and Management, U. of Algiers, May 2005
- b) World Values Survey and works by R. Inglehart et al,
 - i) **Look over:**
 - (1) Brochure on World Values Survey (Sixth Wave 2011-12)
 - (2) Inglehart, R. [research website](#)
 - (3) [Graphs presenting WVS data](#)
 - (4) [Wikipedia entry](#) Standard measures of societies differential 'development'
 - (5) [A critique](#) of Inglehart and Baker:
 - ii) **Read:**
 - (1) [Inglehart and Baker](#), ASR, February 2000, Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values (33 pp.)
- c) From the [Arab Human Development Report](#) 2009, Challenges to Human Security in the Arab Countries
 - i) **Read:**
 - (1) [Chapter 5](#), Challenges to Economic Security and
 - (2) Annex I: [Human development indicators in the Arab countries](#)
 - (3) Annex II: [Indicators of governance in the Arab countries](#)
 - ii) **Look over:**
 - (1) Human Development Index correlates with GDP/capita at 0.95. ([Freconomics](#))
 - (2) [World Bank's](#) World Development Indicators, '09
 - (3) World Competitiveness Report 2010-2011 from World Economic Forum. [Entire report](#), [Produce charts](#) . Options include bar and scatter charts, Google Maps overlay, etc.

13 September

- 1) Current affairs
 - a) Student country-specific reports: Maghreb, Iran, Iraq
 - b) **Read**
 - i) [The Revolution Stops Here](#), [Richard N. Haass](#), President, Council on Foreign Relations, *Op-Ed*, April 7, 2011
 - ii) [How to Read the Second Arab Awakening](#), [Richard N. Haass](#), President, Council on Foreign Relations *Op-Ed*, March 8, 2011
 - a) **Watch:**
 - i) Arab Democracy Uprisings: Causes, Prospects and Consequences, The New School, GPIA & Milano,, Mar 6, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OgyhTlstdjwQ> Speakers include:
 - (1) Zackery Lockman, professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies and History, New York University.
 - (2) Karima Bennoune, professor of Law and Arthur L. Dickson Scholar, Rutgers Law School.
 - (3) John VanderLippe, professor of History, New School for Social Research.
 - (4) Golbarg Bashi, professor, Rutgers University
 - (5) Introduced by Neil Grabois, Dean of GPIA/Milano, The New School for General Studies
 - (6) Moderated by Tom O'Donnell, The New School Graduate Program in International Affairs.
 - ii) The Arab Uprisings: Initial Observations (Video), June 23, 2011; Introductory Speaker: Paolo Scaroni, Chief Executive Officer, ENI; Speaker: Robert Danin, Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies, CFR; Presider: Richard N. Haass, President. The causes that sparked the Arab Spring and projections of the outcome <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KqgtdEom57E> and transcript: <http://www.cfr.org/middle-east/arab-uprisings-initial-observations/p25352>
- 2) Energy Geopolitics and Arab Spring: Historical overview of MENA oil issues: neo-colonial system, OPEC nationalizations, end of neo-colonial oil system, emergence of a global, market-centered oil system, special role of Gulf, US predominance, etc. illustrate points in today's reading):
 - a) **Lectures** (excerpts from) :
 - i) O'Donnell, T.W., "After the Arab Spring: Is a New Oil Security System Needed?" [arab spring energy security 20may11a.pptx](#) The Ohio State University, Middle East Studies, and International Institute, 20 May 2011
 - ii) Political-Economy of Global Oil Order: Demand, Resources, Technology and U.S. Policy." http://www.umich.edu/~twod/oil-ns/lectures/ns_oil_17nov06bsent.ppt
 - b) **Read** (students will each introduce discussion of a section):

- i) O'Donnell, Thomas, 2006. "The political-economy of the globalized oil order: How "objective conditions" drove the OECD and OPEC from confrontation to collusion," at: http://www.umich.edu/~twod/oil_s2011/ijmes_oil_13aug06cc-11apr11.pdf) Draft article
- ii) Politics Plays Part in Achieving Rich-Nation Status, Wall Street Journal, The Outlook, May 16, 2011, Mark Whitehouse, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703730804576315092409367956.html>
- iii) Another Challenge to China's Growth, Antonio Fatás and Ilian Mihov, Harvard Business Review online <http://hbr.org/2009/03/another-challenge-to-chinas-growth/ar/1>
- iv) Avoiding the Middle Income Trap, Alan Wheatley, NY Times, Published: October 25, 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/26/business/global/26inside.html>
- v)

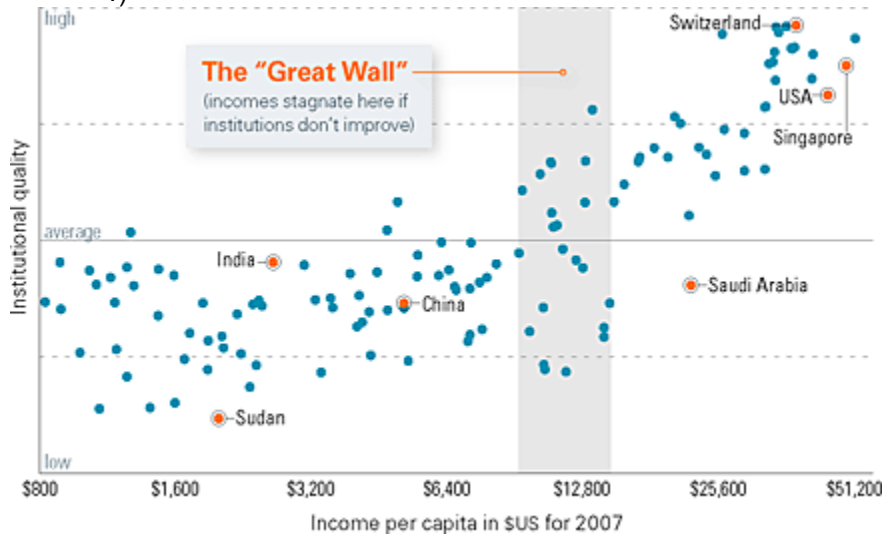


Figure 1: Harvard Business Review, March 2009, online

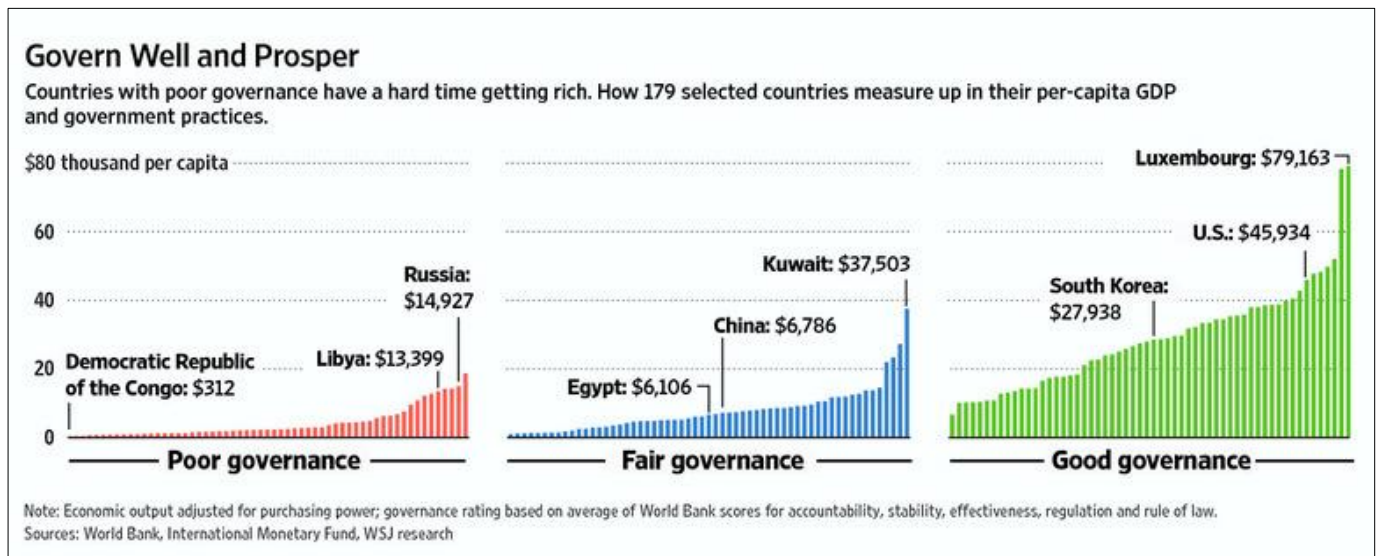


Figure 2: WSJ, May 16, 2011 online.

c) Research resources

- i) Brumberg, Daniel, The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy, Journal of Democracy - Volume 13, Number 4, October 2002, pp. 56-68, Volume 13, Number 4, October 2002. (E-ISSN: 1086-3214 Print ISSN: 1045-5736. DOI: 10.1353/jod.2002.0064) Addresses "liberalized authoritarian" Middle East regimes' resilience.
- ii)
- iii) The Mystery of Economic Growth, Letter from India, Akash Kapur, NY Times Published: October 21, 2010 <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/22/world/asia/22iht-letter.html>
- iv) What Works in Development, Brookings Institute
 - (1) Book: What Works in Development? Thinking Big and Thinking Small, Jessica Cohen and William Easterly, eds., Brookings Institution Press 2009 c. 250pp., <http://www.brookings.edu/press/Books/2009/whatworksinddevelopment.aspx>

- (2) Video, A Global Economy and Development Event: What Works in Development? Thinking Big and Thinking Small, 21 Jan 2010. http://www.brookings.edu/events/2010/0121_development.aspx
- v) Yergin, Daniel, "Ensuring Energy Security," *Foreign Affairs*, March / April, 2005, pp. 69–82. http://www.umich.edu/~twod/oil-ns/articles/yergin_for_aff_energy_security_mar-apr05.html
- vi) Yergin, Daniel, "Supply Diversity No Longer Key to Energy Security, Daniel Yergin Says; Entire Supply Infrastructure Must be Protected; Conservation is 'Underrated'," *Foster Natural Gas Report*, Section: Report No. 2586; Pg. 7, April 7, 2006. http://www.umich.edu/~twod/oil-ns/articles/yergin_energy_supply_diversity_conservation_7apr07.htm
- vii) *Foreign Affairs* by Victor et al 2010. [xxx]
- viii) *The Geopolitics of Energy: Emerging Trends, Changing Landscapes, Uncertain Times*", By Frank A. Verrastro, Sarah O. Ladislaw, Matthew Frank, Lisa Hyland, Contributor: James R. Schlesinger, Oct. 29, 2010 http://csis.org/files/publication/101026_Verrastro_Geopolitics_web.pdf
- ix) *Foreign Affairs* guide to reading about oil.

20 September

1st Period, 1950-60's:

- | | |
|--|---|
| a) Post-war Mideast oil and political order | d) Algerian Revolution |
| b) Iran oil nationalization; US-British coup against Mossadeq | e) 1967 Arab-Israeli war |
| c) Nasser, pan-Arab movement, the Suez Crisis | f) Fall of royal houses to nationalistic military coup |

1) Current affairs

- a) Student country-specific reports: Saudi/Gulf/Yemen, Syria, Egypt
- b) **Read:**
- i) [Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring](#), (New School [library document link](#)) F. Gregory Gause III, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Vermont, *Foreign Affairs Article*, July/August 2011.
- ii) [Unholy Alliance: How Syria is Bringing Israel, Iran, and Saudi Arabia Together](#), [Steven A. Cook](#), Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies, *Op-Ed*, *Foreign Affairs*, May 9, 2011

2) Read

- a) Gause, Chapter 1. The Persian Gulf as a Security Region, pp. 1-15
i) Students: Iran group
- b) Yergin, Chapter 21: The Postwar Petroleum Order. Saudi, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Marshall Plan, huge oil demand
i) Students: Iraq group
- c) Yergin, Chapter 23: "Old Mossy" and the struggle for Iran" pp. 450-478. Mossadegh; nationalization of Iranian oil; U.S. & British coup, 1950's
i) Students: Maghreb group
- d) Yergin, Chapter 24: The Suez Crisis, pp. 479-498. Suez Crisis; 1956; U.S., Nasser, British, French, Israeli roles, Cold War.
i) Students: Saudi group

3) Resource/optional:

- a) Outline of Yergin's *The Prize* http://www.umich.edu/~twod/oil-ns/articles/yergin_prize_outline.html
- b) Yergin, Chapter 18: "Japan's Achilles' Heel," pp. 351-367. Japanese oil problems in WWII; military and geo-strategic role of oil
- c) Yergin, Chapter 20: The New Center of Gravity. The new centrality of the Gulf and Saudi Arabia post-WWII
- d) Hero, Dilip, *The Iranian Labyrinth* Chapter 7, *Oil: Life Blood of Modern Iran*, pp. 183-208

27 September

1) Current affairs

- a) Student country-specific reports: Maghreb, Iran, Iraq

2) Read:

- a) Yergin, Chapter 26, OPEC and the Surge Pot, pp. 519-540, Formation of OPEC; late-50's-early 60's
i) Students: Syria group
- b) Yergin, Chapter 28: The Hinge Years: Countries versus Companies, pp. 561-568
i) Students: Egypt group

2nd Period, 1970-80's:

- | | |
|---|--|
| a) Later Cold War, | d) Iranian Revolution, 2nd Oil Crisis |
| b) October War; Arab oil embargo; OPEC nationalizations, 1st Oil Crisis | e) Iran-Iraq War 1980-88 |
| c) Decade of north-south confrontation | f) Saudi "net back" 3rd Oil Crisis; OPEC-IEA north-south accommodation |

2) Read:

- a) Gause, Chapter 2: The emergence of the Gulf Regional system 1971-1978, pp. 16-44.
 - i) **Students:** Iran group
- b) O'Donnell, T.W., Book Review: "International Relations of the Persian Gulf," F. Gregory Gause III; Cambridge University Press, 2010, in [Middle East Journal](#), Summer 2010
 - i) **Students:** Iraq group
- c) Yergin, Chapter 29: The Oil Weapon, pp. 588-612. First energy crisis
 - i) **Students:** Maghreb group

3) Resources and/or optional**4 October****1) Current affairs**

- e) Student country-specific reports: Saudi/Gulf/Yemen, Syria, Egypt

2) Read

- a) Yergin, Chapter 30: Bidding for Our Life, pp. 613-632. First energy crisis, cont'd
 - i) **Students:** Saudi... group
- b) Yergin, Chapter 31: OPEC's Imperium, pp. 633-652 Mid-70's OPEC north-south struggle and power shift
 - i) **Students:** Syria group
- c) Yergin, Chapter 32: The Adjustment, pp. 653-(679, Read first 5-6 pages on north shifting "objective conditions")
 - i) **Students:** Egypt group

3) Resources**11 October****1) Current affairs**

- g) Student country-specific reports: Maghreb, Iran, Iraq

2) Read

- a) Yergin, Chapter 33: The Second Shock: The Great Panic, pp. 674-698 The Iranian Revolution and oil crisis
 - i) **Students:** Iran group
- b) Gause, Chapter 3: The Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War, pp. 45-87.
 - i) **Students:** Iraq group
- c) Yergin Chapter 34: We're Going Down, pp. 699-714, Iranian hostages, Iran-Iraq War begins, OPEC disarray
 - i) **Students:** Maghreb group

18 October

The focus this week is the full emergence of the modern, market-oriented oil system during the third oil shock/crisis: the Saudi net-back crisis that, in turn, was largely a reaction to a neo-liberal energy offensive against OPEC by Reagan-Thatcher during the Iran-Iraq war. This resolved a decade of North-South confrontations with MENA-OPEC states after the OPEC Revolution. The new N-S resolution of this crisis marked the start of a new 'global' era in energy.

Geo-politically, this crisis, and the Gulf-regional imbalance at the end of the Iran-Iraq war were the prelude to "the New World Order" that emerged with Gulf War I and the fall of the USSR. (See 25 October class). Three important currents in the period were that (1) thereafter, the Saudi-OPEC faction's special relationship with the US-OECD stood increasingly in contrast to the relation of the other MENA-OPEC faction (the so-called "rogues" and "price hawks," esp. Iraq, Iran and Libya). (2) The growing jihadist challenge throughout the 1990s (e.g., in Algeria, Saudi Arabia, etc.) that led to 9/11 and was a major obstacle to the U.S. in pacifying resistance in Iraq during the first few years of the war. (3) This period represents also the rise and crash of the neo-cons in US policy.

This period reached an end in 2006, during the low point in the US occupation of Iraq, and led to adoption of the Iraq Study Group marked the collapse of neo-cons and a new doctrine for Iraq,

Afghanistan, Iran, and the larger MENA region. That bi-partisan U.S. geo-strategic consensus has persisted till now.

However in the past year (2011) the ISG framework is being challenged by the Arab Spring, which is removing long-time national leaders and bringing pressure from popular democratic movements into MENA geo-strategy. This threatens to outstrip the geo-strategic breadth of the ISG doctrine. The U.S. planned withdrawal from Afghanistan and draw-down in Iraq, if successful (which would have to include blocking or containing Iranian regional influence) could begin a new period with the US less tied down in MENA geo-strategic matters (primarily in defense of the global oil market, in the Gulf Region), and free to again become more active in other regions (principally vis-à-vis both Russia and China's peripheries, meaning in Eastern Europe, Asia-Pacific and South Asia, etc.)

1) Current affairs

a) Student country-specific reports: Saudi/Gulf/Yeman, Syria, Egypt

2) Read

a) Yergin, Chapter 35: Just another Commodity? (to p.724, 1992 edition.)

i) The "greatest boom": [Exxon](#) buys into (1980), then abandons (1982), the Colony Shale Oil Project on the Western Slope (715-16). Collapse in demand, build-up of non-OPEC supply, and "Great Inventory Dump" produce oil glut and falling prices (717-18). OPEC sets production limits, becomes true cartel (718-19). OPEC cuts price from \$34/barrel to \$29 in Mar. 1983; Saudi Arabia as swing producer, balances market (720-21).

(i) **OPTIONAL:** Oil industry and companies "de-integrate"; decentralized commodity trading replaces integration as norm (721-24). West Texas Intermediate and the emergence of [futures contracts](#) in crude oil (724-26). Era of [deregulation](#) leads to aggressive restructuring of industry (726-27). [T. Boone Pickens](#) pioneers share holders' value-fueled acquisitions (727-30). Great financial crises averted: Mexico, Penn Square/Continental Illinois (730-32). [Mukluk](#) (Alaska), a dry hole (733). [Getty Oil](#) acquired by Texaco (734). Pickens initiates bidding on Gulf, first major to be purchased, by [Chevron](#), for \$13.2b cash in Mar. 1984 (734-40). Restructuring (740-41). Exxon spends \$16b on share buyback (741). U.S. interferes with European purchase of Soviet natural gas, early 1980s (742-43). Excess oil capacity up to 20% of free world's consumption — oil "indeed just another [commodity](#)" (743-44).

ii) **Students:** Saudi group

b) Yergin, Chapter 36: The Good Sweating, How Long Can it Go?

i) OPEC quota cheating (745-46). British National Oil Co. abolished (746). Saudis, frustrated, devise netbacks; price of oil collapses (747-50), produces Third Oil Shock (750-51). Consumers jubilant (752). George Bush (753-54). On Mideast trip, [Bush](#) defends U.S. oil industry, claims falling price threatens national security by making U.S. dependent on imported oil (755-58). Consensus forms for quotas to support \$17-19/barrel price (758-61). Saudi oil minister Yamani fired after 24 years, Oct. 1986 (761-63). OPEC quota system (absent Iraq) holds; \$15-18/barrel price range (763-64). U.S. reflags 11 Kuwaiti tankers, patrols [Persian Gulf](#) (765). [Iran-Iraq War](#) ends in stalemate, [1988](#) (766-67). Venezuelans, Saudis, & Kuwaitis acquire outlets (767). Priority of [economics](#) over [politics](#)? — Doubtful (768).

ii) **Students:** Iran

c) **Optional:** Pelletiere, Stephen, *America's Oil Wars*, 2004 (senior CIA analyst on Iraq during Iran-Iraq War; later prof. at U.S. Army War College) [I'm trying to get a PDF- If so, I'll put a link here](#), Chapter 3, "The Political Effects of the Third Oil Shock," pp. 69-102

i) **Students:** Iraq

25 October

3rd Period, Late-1980-to-1990's:

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) "New world order" | e) post-9/11 US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq |
| b) Energy globalism emerges with a market-centered oil order | f) 2006 Iraq Study Group and "surge" |
| c) U.S. as sole hyper-power, 1991 Gulf War | g) U.S-Iran "nuclear" crises |
| d) Algerian anti-jihadist civil war | h) Palestinian Intifadas and Israeli-Lebanese wars |

1) Current affairs

d) Student country-specific reports: Maghreb, Iran, Iraq

3) Read

a) Gause, Chapter 4: The Gulf War I and the Late-1990's pp. 88-135

i) **Students:** Syria group

b) Pelletiere, S., *America's Oil Wars*, 2004, Chapter 4, Techno War in the Gulf, pp. 103-130 [PDF to be posted](#)

i) **Students:** Saudi Group

Optional PDFs to be posted

c) Pelletier, Introduction, p. ix

d) Pelletier, Chapter 5, The Neo Cons Silver Bullet Strategy, pp. 131-148.

e) Pelletier, Conclusions, pp. 149-152.

f) Hiro, Dilip, *The Iranian Labyrinth*, First edition, 2005. Chapter 8, Iran and Iraq: Neighbors, Not Friends, pp. 209-240. (Journalist who has gone to Iran over 14 times for British, U.S. and Canadian press)

i) **Students:** ...

1 November

1) Current affairs

a) Skip this week: Student country-specific reports: Saudi/Gulf/Yeman, Syria, Egypt)

2) **Visiting Lecturer:**

Professor G. Reza Ghorashi, Professor of Economics, Richard Stockton College of New Jersey

- **Topic: Modern Iran and the Opposition movement in context of the Arab Spring.**
- **Reading: Prof. Ghorashi will likely e-mail a reading directly to students via mena-2011@umich.edu**

8 November

1) Current affairs

- a) Student country-specific reports: Maghreb, Iran, Iraq– **OUTLINE/SKETCH presented of final reports**

2) **Read**

- a) Gause, Chapter 5: 9/11, the Iraq War and the future of the Persian Gulf pp. 136-183
- b) Pellitier, Chapter 4, Techno War in the Gulf, pp. 103-130
- c) Gause, Chapter 6: The Iraq War: American decision making pp 184-240

3) **Resources and/or optional****15 November**

1) Current affairs

- a) Student country-specific reports: Saudi/Gulf/Yeman, Syria, Egypt– **OUTLINE/SKETCH presented of final reports**

Read

- 2. Gause, Chapter 7: Conclusion: war and alliance in the Persian Gulf 241-250
- 3. O'Donnell, T.W., "The Political Economy of Oil in the U.S.-Iran Crisis: U.S. globalized oil interests vs. Iranian regional interests," O'Donnell, Thomas, 39 pp. plus figures, at GPIA Faculty Working Papers: http://www.gpia.info/files/u16/O_Donnell_2009-05.pdf (best format); or homepage: http://www-personal.umich.edu/~twod/writing/iran_oil_usc_01jul09-draft.pdf
- 4. *Iraq Study Group, The Report* facilitated by the U.S. Institute for Peace, <http://www.usip.org/iraq-study-group/the-isg-report>
- 5. **Resources and/or optional**

22 November

- 1) MAKE UP CLASS if necessary. See academic calendar.

29 November**4th Period, 2000-2011:**

- c) **"Arab Spring" revolts against autocratic regimes, for political liberty and economic reform.**
 - i) Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia, Libya
 - ii) Egypt
 - iii) Syria
 - iv) Saudi, Gulf, Yemen
 - v) Iran
 - vi) Iraq
- d) **Regional geo-strategic ramifications**
 - i) **MENA's OPEC states**
 - ii) **MENA's role in global oil/energy security issues**
 - iii) **Interests of external powers: US, Europe**

Note: due to time constraints of the semester, this period is mainly handled concurrently to the previous three as part of discussions on assigned current-affairs articles and on students' research blogs and projects,

1) Current affairs

- a) Student country-specific reports: Saudi/Gulf/Yeman, Syria, Egypt

2) **Read**

- a) Several current-affairs and/or theory articles will be assigned

6 December

1) Current affairs

- a) Student country-specific reports: Saudi/Gulf/Yeman, Syria, Egypt

- 2) **Read**
 - a) Several current-affairs and/or theory articles will be assigned
- 3) **BEGIN FINAL PRESENTATIONS**

13 December – Last Class

CONTINUE FINAL PRESENTATIONS

Description: Since WWII, the Middle East and North African (MENA) states have seen significant economic and political developments whose nodal points have generally included mass movements, revolutions and wars. The geopolitical logic and security interests of MENA states have evolved through these periods to arrive at today's "Arab Spring," a period of mass, democratic uprisings. In each stage, MENA states' geopolitical relations have shifted both vis-à-vis one another and with respect to foreign powers, most significantly the US, Russia, Europe and China.

We study several MENA states across four broad historical periods, seeing regional geopolitics as driven both by internal MENA developmental factors (economic, class, political, religious/cultural, etc.) as well as by the evolution of the material-economic interests of external powers, especially as this is shaped by the evolving character of MENA energy production capacity and of the world's energy-security system.

We hope to invite several MENA experts to contribute invited lectures open to the public. Topics include:

HISTORY

1950-60's:

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|---|--|
| a) Post-war Mideast oil and political order | d) Algerian Revolution |
| b) Iran oil nationalization and US-British coup against Mossadeq; | e) 1967 Arab-Israeli war |
| c) Nasser, pan-Arab movement, the Suez Crisis, | f) Fall of royal houses to nationalistic military coup |

1970-80's:

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|---|--|
| g) Later Cold War, | j) Iranian Revolution, 2nd Oil Crisis |
| h) October War; Arab oil embargo; OPEC nationalizations, 1st Oil Crisis | k) Iran-Iraq War 1980-88 |
| i) Decade of north-south confrontation | l) Saudi "net back" 3rd Oil Crisis; OPEC-IEA north-south accommodation |

Late-1980-to-1990's:

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|---|--|
| m) "New world order" globalism, a market-centered oil order | q) 2006 Iraq Study Group and "surge" |
| n) U.S. sole hyper-power, 1991 Gulf War | r) U.S-Iran "nuclear" crises |
| o) Algerian anti-jihadist civil war | s) Palestinian Intifadas and Israeli-Lebanese wars |
| p) post-9/11 US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq | |

2000-2011:

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|---|---|
| t) "Arab Spring" revolts against autocratic regimes, for political liberty and economic reform. | |
| i) Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia, Libya | iv) Saudi, Gulf, Yemen |
| ii) Egypt | v) Iran |
| iii) Syria | vi) Iraq |
| u) Regional geo-strategic ramifications | |
| i) MENA's OPEC states | iii) Interests of external powers: US, Europe |
| ii) MENA's role in global oil/energy security issues | |