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
Thomas W. O’Donnell, PhD
e-mail: twod@umich.edu | blog http://GlobalBarrel.com | homepage http://TomOD.com

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

Required books - purchase ASAP
2) Gause, F. Gregory III, International Relations of the Persian Gulf, Cambridge University Press, 2010

Academic Calendar, Fall 2011 http://www.newschool.edu/studentservices/registrar/academiccalendar/university/;
[2] Optional, depending on number of classes

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

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
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/


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)


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


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
      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.


b) World Values Survey and works by R. Ingelhart et al,

i) **Look over:**
   - (1) Brochure on World Values Survey (Sixth Wave 2011-12)
   - (2) Ingelhart, R. research website
   - (3) Graphs presenting WVS data
   - (4) Wikipedia entry for Standard measures of societies differential ‘development’
   - (5) A critique of Inglehardt 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. (Frekonomics)
   - (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:**
     - (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.
     - (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, Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies, CFR; President: Richard N. Haass, President. The causes that sparked the Arab Spring and projections of the outcome http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KgqtdEom57E 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):


v) The “Great Wall”

(incomes stagnate here if institutions don’t improve)

Figure 1: Harvard Business Review, March 2009, online

Govern Well and Prosper
Countries with poor governance have a hard time getting rich. How 179 selected countries measure up in their per-capita GDP and government practices.

$60 thousand per capita

Russia: $14,927

Democratic Republic of the Congo: $312

Libya: $13,390

Luxembourg: $79,163

Kuwait: $37,503

South Korea: $27,938

China: $6,736

Egypt: $6,106

Note: Economic output adjusted for purchasing power; governance rating based on average of World Bank scores for accountability, stability, effectiveness, regulation and rule of law.

Sources: World Bank, International Monetary Fund, WSJ research

Figure 2: WSJ, May 16, 2011 online.

c) Research resources


iii) What Works in Development, Brookings Institute


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]


ix) Foreign Affairs guide to reading about oil.

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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 Mossadeg  
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/Yeman, 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

   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

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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 e) Iran-Iraq War 1980-88
  nationalizations, 1st Oil Crisis f) Saudi "net back" 3rd Oil Crisis; OPEC-IEA
  c) Decade of north-south confrontation 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
      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/Yeman, 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 1983; Saudi Arabia as swing producer, balances market (720-21).
      iii) Students: Saudi group
   b) Yergin, Chapter 36: The Good Sweating, How Long Can it Go?
      ii) Students: Iran
   c) Optional: Pelletiere, Stephen, America's Oil Wars, 2004 (senior CIA analyst on Iraq during Iraq-Iran 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”
   b) Energy globalism emerges with a market-centered oil order
   c) U.S. as sole hyper-power, 1991 Gulf War
   d) Algerian anti-jihadist civil war
   e) post-9/11 US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq
   f) 2006 Iraq Study Group and “surge”
   g) U.S-Iran "nuclear" crises
   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) Pelletiere, Introduction, p. ix
   e) Pelletier, Conclusions, pp. 149-152.
      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  
   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:
   a) Post-war Mideast oil and political order
   b) Iran oil nationalization and US-British coup against Mossadeq;
   c) Nasser, pan-Arab movement, the Suez Crisis,
   d) Algerian Revolution
   e) 1967 Arab-Israeli war
   f) Fall of royal houses to nationalistic military coup
1970-80’s:
   g) Later Cold War,
   h) October War; Arab oil embargo; OPEC nationalizations, 1st Oil Crisis
   i) Decade of north-south confrontation
   j) Iranian Revolution, 2nd Oil Crisis
   k) Iran-Iraq War 1980-88
   l) Saudi “net back” 3rd Oil Crisis; OPEC-IEA north-south accommodation
Late-1980-to-1990’s:
   m) “New world order” globalization, a market-centered oil order
   n) U.S. sole hyper-power, 1991 Gulf War
   o) Algerian anti-jihadist civil war
   p) post-9/11 US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq
   q) 2006 Iraq Study Group and “surge”
   r) U.S-Iran “nuclear” crises
   s) Palestinian Intifadas and Israeli-Lebanese wars
2000-2011:
   t) “Arab Spring” revolts against autocratic regimes, for political liberty and economic reform.
      i) Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia, Libya
      ii) Egypt
      iii) Syria
   u) Regional geo-strategic ramifications
      i) MENA’s OPEC states
      ii) MENA’s role in global oil/energy security issues
      iv) Saudi, Gulf, Yemen
      v) Iran
      vi) Iraq
      iii) Interests of external powers: US, Europe