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Spring 2016

## DIPL 6510 The Persian Gulf in the 21st Century

Maureen Quinn Ambassador  
*Seton Hall University*

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## THE PERSIAN GULF IN THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY

DIPL 6510

Spring 2016

Mondays 7:35 – 9:45pm

Instructor: Ambassador (ret.) Maureen Quinn

Email: [maureenquinn356@aol.com](mailto:maureenquinn356@aol.com)

### **Course Description and Objectives**

This course will provide basic knowledge of the Gulf region, analyze current trends and challenges, and require critical thinking on choices for regional and non-regional policymakers and their implications for the region's future. The course will begin with a brief discussion of the recent history of the Gulf region. It will then be divided into four sections: (1) politics and governance; (2) economic trends; (3) security, political-military issues and military issues; and (4) case studies and class presentations.

The class will be conducted as a seminar. Attendance and active student participation throughout the course is essential. Students need to complete the assigned readings before class, submit written summaries on time, and participate actively in class discussions. Students also need to stay abreast of current events in the region and can easily do so by choosing from among relevant articles in the major newspapers or magazines (New York Times, Washington Post, the Economist, etc.), the analytical articles on the web sites of major think tanks, and reporting in regional media (Al Arabiya, Al Jazeera, etc.) which are available in English.

### **Student Responsibilities**

Class Participation (30% of course grade): Class will be conducted seminar style, so reading prior to class, submission of weekly summaries (one page type written answer to question related to weekly readings), **attendance and participation in class discussions are essential.**

Research Proposal, Paper and Presentation (10% for proposal, 30% for Paper and Presentation): Students are required to do in depth research on a topic of their choice regarding the Persian Gulf region. Research papers will be analytical not just descriptive. Students will prepare a fifteen page, double spaced research paper. Students should draw on at least three primary sources, as well as secondary sources and papers should be appropriately footnoted. A bibliography is required with the paper.

Students will submit their **proposal and annotated bibliography on Feb. 22 for 10% of the grade.** The proposal will outline in a few paragraphs (approximately three-quarters of a page) the research topic and list at least ten sources with brief summaries of the

perspectives of the sources. Three of the ten sources must be primary sources. At the end of the semester students will present their research for class discussion. Exact dates for presentations will be determined and set by the end of February. All research papers are due in final on April 25.

Take Home Final Exam (30% of grade) Questions for the exam will be given out on May 2. Questions for the exam will relate to the material and discussions from the entire semester. Exam questions are to be answered essay style, type written (double spaced), one page per question. **The take home final exam is due on May 9 by email to maureenquinn356@aol.com.**

## **Policies**

The penalty for late work is one half of a letter grade per day. Laptops and other electronic devices can be used in class **only for class purposes**. If you have any questions on the course or these two policies, please contact the instructor

Under the Americans with Disabilities Act and Section 504 of the Civil Rights Restoration Act, students at Seton Hall University who have a disability may be eligible for accommodations in this course. Should a student require such accommodation, he or she must self-identify at the Office of Disability Support Services (DSS), Room 67, Duffy Hall, provide documentation of said disability, and work with DSS to develop a plan for accommodations. The contact person is Ms. Diane Delorenzo at [\(973\) 313-6003](tel:9733136003).

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here: <http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/community-standards.cfm> <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.

## **Course Materials**

The Making of the Modern Gulf States by Rosemarie S. Zahlan, 1999 Ithaca Press, ISBN-10 0863722296, ISBN-13 978-0863722295

The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf -- edited by Mehran Kamrava

International Politics of the Persian Gulf edited by Mehran Kamrava

The Iran Primer: Power, Politics, and U.S. Policy edited by Robin Wright Available online

The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World by

Mohammed Ayoob

Additional assigned readings will be available on line at think tank, government or other websites. Several online readings are listed below. Additional readings will be drawn from current periodicals.

## **Course Topics, Readings, and Assignments**

### **January 11 – Course Introduction**

Course Introduction: Discussion of Course Objectives, Strategy and Content The Middle East – considering the historical context.

### **January 18**

School Holiday

### **January 25 - A Brief History of the Gulf States**

Monarchy, the Secular State, and Theocracy

Making of the Modern Gulf States by Rosemarie Said Zahlan pages 7 - 154

The Modern History of Iraq by Phoebe Marr, pgs. 113-138, handout

The Iran Primer pages 11-34 online

## **Section 1: Politics and Governance**

### **February 1 – Religion and Politics Politics and Governance Class 1**

Islam, Islamism, Secularism, Pluralism

Many Faces of Political Islam, by Mohammed Ayoob, pages 1-130, Debate between Manal Omar and Ayaan Hirsi Ali on usip.org at

<http://www.usip.org/publications/2015/11/09/islam-religion-of-peace>

### **February 8 – Politics and Governance Class 2**

International Politics of the Persian Gulf, by Mehran Kamrava,

Chapter 2 *Sovereignty and Boundaries in the Gulf States Settling the Peripheries* by J.E. Petersen, pages 21-49 and

Chapter 11 *Political Reform and Foreign Policy in Persian Gulf Monarchies* by Katja Niethammer, pages 234 – 256

Iran Primer – pages 35-56

*In the Shadow of Qaboos Contemplating Leadership Change in Oman* by Gary Grappo at [http://www.agsiw.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Grappo\\_Oman\\_rev2.pdf](http://www.agsiw.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Grappo_Oman_rev2.pdf)

*Can Iraq be saved?* By Toby Dodge, in Survival: Global Politics and Strategy, October-November 2014, Pages 7-20, available on the IISS web site

**Monday Feb. 15 – Politics and Governance – Class 3 - Voices from the Gulf** Read the writings or listen to a speech by a leader from the region, write one page

summary, present in class why the speaker, the chosen speech is significant and what does it portend/portended for the Persian Gulf region.

Iran –

The Shah – Interview with History – Oriana Fallaci in Chapter 11

Islam and Revolution Writings of Imam Khomeini - select a chapter

A speech of former President Ahmedinejad or the speech of President Rouhani at UNGA at <http://gadebate.un.org/70/iran-islamic-republic>

Iraq –

Saddam Hussein from the Wilson Center Digital Archive, Sayid Ali Al Sistani, or Prime Minister Al Abadi <http://gadebate.un.org/70/Iraq>

Saudi Arabia

King Abdullah, King Salman, current Crown Prince or other selected leader

Arabian Gulf

any one of the Gulf Leaders speaking at the UNGA in 2015, for example

<http://gadebate.un.org/70/qatar>

Al Qaeda in Its Own Words edited by Gilles Kepel and Jean-Pierre Milelli– Osama bin Laden, Zawahiri, or Abu Musab Al Zarqawi  
DAESH – Al Baghdadi online

## **Section 2 - Economic Trends**

### **Monday Feb. 22 - Economic Trends: Class I Research Paper Proposal and Annotated Bibliography Due**

The Political Economy of the Gulf, Trends in the Political Economy of the Gulf

Part I, *Page 1-122*

The Iran Primer - pages 95-126

*War and the Iraqi Economy* – A Case Study by Anthony Cordesman at

[http://csis.org/files/publication/150915\\_Cordesman\\_Iraq\\_War\\_Economy.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/150915_Cordesman_Iraq_War_Economy.pdf) pages 1-30

### **Monday Feb. 29**

Spring Break

### **March 7 - Economic Trends Class 2**

The Political Economy of the Gulf, *Part II Money, Banking and Demography*

Page125-191

Human Capital and the Gulf by Carolyn Barnett CSIS at

<http://csis.org/publication/human-capital-and-future-gulf>

### **Monday March 14 – Economic Trends Class 3**

The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf , Pages 195-267

**Case Studies: Dubai, Saudi Arabia, Iran**

*War and the Iraqi Economy* – A Case Study by Anthony Cordesman at

[http://csis.org/files/publication/150915\\_Cordesman\\_Iraq\\_War\\_Economy.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/150915_Cordesman_Iraq_War_Economy.pdf) pages 31 -76

**Section 3 - Military, Political-Military, Security Issues**

**Monday March 21 – Security Trends (GCC Focus)**

International Politics of the Persian Gulf - Pages, 1-20, and Pages 50-183

*Ideologies, Alliances, and Underbalancing in the New Middle East Cold War* by Gregory Gause on the Project on Middle East Political Science Web site link below

<http://pomeps.org/2015/08/26/ideologies-alliances-and-underbalancing-in-the-newmiddle-east-cold-war/>

**Monday March 28**

School Closed

**April 4 – Security Trends (Iran Focus)**

International Politics of the Persian Gulf - Page 184 – 233

Iran Primer – Pages 59-92

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and Annexes, listed on the Department of State website at the link

<http://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/iran/jcpoa/>

JCPOA pdf at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/245317.pdf>

*How to Prevent an Iranian Bomb* by Michael Mandelbaum in Foreign Affairs, November /December 2015 Issue, Pages 19-24

**April 11 Security Trends Class 3 – (Iraq focus)**

*Iraq Stability and the War on ISIS* by Anthony Cordesman at the link below pages 1-18

[http://csis.org/files/publication/150812\\_Iraq\\_Stability\\_and\\_the\\_War\\_on\\_ISIS.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/150812_Iraq_Stability_and_the_War_on_ISIS.pdf) and

listen to the Future of Iraq conference proceedings at

<https://law.wm.edu/news/stories/2015/experts-explore-and-debate-the-future-of-iraq-at-october-conference.php>

**Section 4 – Research Presentations and Case Studies**

**Monday April 18**

Student Research Presentations and Case

Study on Yemen– as time permits

readings to be added on Yemen, as appropriate

## **Monday April 25**

Research Papers are due at the beginning of class

Research Presentations Continued

And Case Study on Yemen, as time permits

Readings to be added as appropriate

## **May 2 Take Home Final Exam Questions to be handed out at the end of class**

Case Study & Class Wrap Up

**May 9** - Final exam is due. Please submit your take home final exam.

## **Background Reading and References**

A History of the Arab Peoples by Albert Hourani,

Islam A Short History by Karen Armstrong, 2002 Modern Library Paperback Edition, ISBN 0-8129-6618-x

The J Curve A New Way to Understand Why Nations Rise and Fall by Ian Bremmer, 2006 Simon & Schuster, ISBN-13 978-0-7432-7471-5, ISBN-10: 0-7432-7471-7;

Thicker than Oil America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia by Rachel Bronson, 2006 Oxford University Press, ISBN-13: 978-0-19-516743-6, ISBN-10: 0-19-516743-0

Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar by Jill Crystal, 1995 Cambridge University Press, ISBN 10:0521466350, ISBN-13 978-0521466356

The Modern History of Iraq by Phoebe Marr, 2003 Westview Press, ISBN 0813336155

The International Relations of the Persian Gulf by Gregory Gause

Political Order in Changing Societies by Samuel Huntington

Forces of Fortune by Vali Nasr

Al Qaeda In Its Own Words edited by Gilles Kepel and Jean-Pierre Milelli

Interview with History – Oriana Fallaci, Chapter 11 Mohammed Riza Pahlavi

The Gulf Military Balance Volume 1: The Conventional and Asymmetric Dimensions By Anthony Cordesman with Bryan Cold and Garrett Bernstein

Islam and Revolution Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini (1941-1980)  
Translated and Annotated by Hamid Algar