The Gulf Strategic Environment

MEAS8113

Course description

The Persian Gulf is a contested political terrain. The security of regional countries is influenced by a complicated web of strategic, political and cultural variables. It is also a key focus for the national security strategy of the United States. Notwithstanding the diversity of the region, the countries within it face a unique set of social, political, and economic challenges, particularly in comparison to other developing regions. The central focus of the course will be the forces for continuity and change in the Gulf, and the interaction of domestic and external actors and factors shaping the Gulf security environment. It will review internal political and economic trends, the dealings of Gulf states with each other, and their relations with the United States. It will then discuss the role and interests of the United States in the region, and the implications for the United States and its alliance partners of regional developments in the Gulf and surrounding areas. It will conclude with an examination of political and security developments and the regional outlook following the removal of the Saddam Hussein regime.

Staff

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Course website

Study@ http://studyat.anu.edu.au/courses/MEAS8113;details.html

Wattle TBA

Wattle will be used as an important method of communication in the course, including for information such as the course guide, copies of handouts and notes, copies of assessment information, and announcements. Please check the Wattle site regularly (at least once a week is recommended).

Mode of delivery and workload

The course will be delivered in seminar style, using a mixture of semi-formal lectures/presentations by the course convener and informal discussion sessions among students and between students and the convener.

The course will meet for two hours once per week, Thursdays 5.00pm-7.00pm, over Weeks 1-7 and 9-13 inclusive, in the CAIS Tutorial Room (Room 1.14 in the CAIS Building, Bldg 127, Ellery Cres.)

The workload for the course will encompass:

- Reading, thought and preparation for seminars of some 4-5 hours per week over 12 weeks (50-60 hours);
- Attendance at seminars (advisable and expected but not compulsory) for 2 hours per week over 12 weeks (24 hours);
- Reading, preparation and writing of the major essay (the workload for which varies, but can be expected to be a minimum of 50-60 hours in total);
- Preparation for and attendance at the final examination (20-30 hours in total); and
- Possibly other or additional work as the course progresses, or longer on the tasks above than the total times indicated.

Learning outcomes

By the end of the course, students should achieve most or all of the following specific learning outcomes for the course:

1. Identify domestic and external actors and factors shaping the security environment of the Gulf;
2. Understand the global strategic importance of Gulf energy reserves;
3. Understand the security perceptions of the United States and regional countries, and the challenges they face;

4. Discuss and debate critically the ideas and theories that have been advanced to understand Gulf politics, political economy and international relations, and to deal with core unresolved regional issues; and
5. Discuss and debate alternative futures for the region, their strategic implications and prospects for developing regional security architecture.

Course schedule

	Week starting	*Topic*
Week 1	20 February	Introduction
Week 2	27 February	Political and economic structures in the Gulf
Week 3	5 March	Oil, gas and energy issues in the Gulf
Week 4	12 March	The US and the Gulf
Week 5	19 March	Saudi Arabia
Week 6	26 March	Iran
Week 7	2 April	Iraq
Mid-semester break Friday 6- Friday 20 April		
Week 8	23 April	No class: *essays due 4pm Thursday 26 April*
Week 9	30 April	Small states' security perspectives
Week 10	7 May	Issues in regional security architecture
Week 11	14 May	New and emerging security issues
Week 12	21 May	To be determined: spare/student choice of topic
Week 13	28 May	Course conclusion

See also the week-by-week topic outline and reading list later in the course guide.

Assessment details

Major essay

- The major essay is due no later than 4pm Thursday 26 April 2012.
- It must be on a topic selected from the list to be supplied in Week 1 and on Wattle.
- It should be 4,500-5,000 words in length (strictly).
- It will count for 60% of the total course assessment and final mark.
- The essay will be assessed against one or more of Learning Outcomes 1, 2, 3, or 4, and will be assessed on (in descending order of importance):
  - Whether and how well the question is answered;
  - Whether and how well an argument is presented;
  - The factual accuracy of the essay;
  - The depth and sophistication of research demonstrated in the essay;
  - Whether academic conventions have been followed; and
  - The technical quality of the essay.
- The essay should be handed to the CAIS Administrator (Room 2.09 in the CAIS Building), or deposited in the essay box chute in the Library door (on the ground floor of the CAIS Building), no later than 4pm on the due date. Essays should not be left anywhere else, and if they are, they may not be received or accepted.

Final examination

- The final examination will be held during the First Semester examination period (7-23 June).
- It will be three hours' duration plus 15 minutes reading time.
- It will consist of three sections and both short answer questions and longer essay style questions. Further advice on the structure and content of the examination will be provided at one of the seminars late in the semester.
- It will count for 40% of the total course assessment and final mark.
- The essay will be assessed against one or more of Learning Outcomes 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5, and will be assessed on (in descending order of importance):
  - Whether and how well the questions posed are answered;
  - Whether and how well facts and arguments, as applicable, are presented in the answers;
  - The depth and sophistication of knowledge and understanding demonstrated in the examination; and
  - Technical quality, while much less of an issue with handwritten assessment such as an examination, is important in that writing must be legible and clear.

Penalties, extensions and 'blind marking'

All essays submitted by the due date will be assessed and returned as soon as possible and before the final examination.

In fairness to students who meet the deadlines for assessment work, RSSS imposes a penalty upon all essays submitted after the due date or later than an approved extension of the due date. The penalty is two percentage points subtracted from the assessed mark for the essay, for each working day by which the essay is overdue.

Once essays on a particular topic have been returned to students, no further essays on that topic will be accepted. Some notice will be provided as to when essays are likely to be returned, but this notice may not be lengthy.

Note that essays which are submitted late may be returned with only a mark attached and no feedback.

Students seeking an extension of the essay deadline must make the request before the due date or if this is not possible then as soon as practicable after it. Extensions may be granted on medical, compassionate, or other reasonable grounds, but are not granted automatically. Supporting evidence is usually required.

Please note that the College has introduced the practice of 'blind marking' for examination scripts only. This applies only to formal examinations: students must provide their name, student number and signature on all essay cover sheets when submitting essays.

Learning resources, prescribed texts and readings

The week-by-week list of topics, key questions and readings later in this course guide provide guidance as to expectations regarding preparation for seminars. Readings

should be read and absorbed before the seminar for which they have been set. Other readings may be provided or suggested during the course.

The essential readings are provided through Wattle, with scans, saved copies or links provided. Where films are set as preparation for a seminar, these will be publicly available and free material: a URL and/or search terms is provided.

Students should conduct their own searches for additional material, which usually will be available through the library or online.

The course assumes only basic background knowledge of the Middle East, and the early few weeks are devoted to background political and related issues. However, students with no background knowledge are advised to consult a textbook on Middle East politics or international relations before commencing the course. Some books to consult include:

- On Middle Eastern politics in general: Beverley Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006, 2nd Edn);
- On modern Middle Eastern history: Peter Mansfield, *A History of the Middle East* (London: Penguin, various edns);
- On Middle Eastern international relations more particularly (including good theoretical discussion): Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and
- On the Gulf specifically: Lawrence G. Potter and Gary G. Sick (eds), *Security in the Persian Gulf: Origins, Obstacles, and the Search for Consensus* **(**New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002).

Students are strongly encouraged to keep up to date with relevant journals on the Middle East, including *The Middle East Journal*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, *Middle East Policy*, *Arab Studies Quarterly*, and *Middle East Report*. All of these routinely have articles on contemporary Gulf issues that are of use for weekly seminar preparation and essay research. As of 2011 a new journal, *Journal of Arabian Studies*, is due to begin being published by Routledge for the Centre for Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter, and may be of use to students as well.

Broader political science and international relations journals are also useful, especially *Foreign Affairs*, *Third World Quarterly*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *Survival*, *International Affairs*, and *International Organization*, among others.

More specialised thematic journals such as *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *Civil Wars*, *World Development*, and *Journal of Strategic Studies* may be useful for particular or specialized topics.

Dedicated news magazines on the region include *The Middle East* magazine (available through Proquest) and *Middle East Economic Digest* (available through Factiva). *The Economist*, while a broader business publication, is often of use as well.

Generic skills

By the end of the course, students should achieve most or all of the following general learning outcomes for the course:

1. Communication skills: Students will learn to present well reasoned arguments and to critically engage the arguments of others, both in writing and verbally.
2. Critical thinking: Students will learn to look at arguments about Middle Eastern politics, specifically those on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and related issues, and to evaluate the strengths, weaknesses and biases of these arguments. This skill should be transferable to other analytical tasks.
3. Research: Students will learn to evaluate and utilise a wide variety of sources and collections.

General information

Academic Integrity

http://academichonesty.anu.edu.au/index.html
Academic misconduct can seriously jeopardize your academic career, your future, and, if you are an international student, your ability to stay in Australia to study. It is the responsibility of each individual student to ensure that:

- they are familiar with the expectations for academic honesty both in general, and in the specific context of particular disciplines or courses
- work submitted for assessment is genuine and original
- appropriate acknowledgement and citation is given to the work of others
- they do not knowingly assist other students in academically dishonest practice.

When in doubt about anything, ASK...and...ask EARLY – don't leave it until the assignment due date. Your lecturers, tutors and College administration staff are here to help you.

It is the responsibility of everyone at the ANU to uphold and promote fundamental principles of quality and integrity in scholarly work.

Academic Skills and Learning Centre

https://academicskills.anu.edu.au/
The Academic Skills and Learning Centre (ASLC) offers ANU students free and confidential help with their academic work through individual consultations, workshops, courses, podcasts and handouts. Our aim is to assist students to develop the academic, critical thinking and communication strategies that are foundational to all scholarly activity. For ANU students, the ASLC offers:

- individual consultations
- workshops/courses
- online and print materials and publications
- the Language Exchange Program
- podcasts
- the Essay and Report Writing File

The ASLC is located on the lower ground floor of the Pauline Griffin Building and is only closed on weekends and public holidays.

Appeals Procedure

http://cass.anu.edu.au/current-students/rules-and-policies/appeals
If you genuinely believe you have received an inappropriate or incorrect result in a course, there are steps you can take to have that result reviewed. This must be done within 30 working days of the formal notification of results.

Your first point of contact should always be your tutor or the course convenor.

ANU Library

http://library.anu.edu.au
The Library has a wide range of print and electronic information resources to help you research your assignment topics. Some of the useful resources and services available are:

- Library Discovery Sessions at the beginning of semesters
- a reserve collection of high-use course material, including lecture tapes
- exam papers from previous years available online
- AskANU where you can get help with computer skills
- subject access to electronic and internet resources
- Frequently Asked Questions to help you find your way

AskANU IT Consultants

http://ilp.anu.edu.au/AskANU/
AskANU IT Consultants provide a combined library and IT help service. Consultants can give you one-to-one assistance and training with ANU IT services, including accessing the ANU wireless network, email, printing and passwords, as well as any other Library or Information Commons issues. The AskANU IT Consultants are based in the Chifley Library.

Information Literacy Program

http://ilp.anu.edu.au
The Information Literacy Program runs a number of training and presentation activities, including:

- Generic information & IT skills training for academic and general staff and all students, with a specialised program for graduate students
- Working with academic staff to support learning outcomes for undergraduate and postgraduate courses
- Tailored and one-off activities as required. In-curriculum sessions are developed in consultation with course convenors
- Tutors Induction Programs
- Online interactive tutorials, guides and help sheets

ANU Counselling Centre

http://counselling.anu.edu.au/
The ANU offers a free and confidential counselling service to all current ANU students and staff. Counselling services to students are provided by Counsellors in the Counselling Centre, while services to staff are provided by the Adviser to Staff or by external advisers.

Your counsellor will help you to:

- get a better understanding of your problem
- strengthen your resources for handling the problem
- find an effective solution.

Counselling is generally short-term, and your counsellor will aim to help you resolve your problem in the shortest possible time.

ANUSA – ANU Students' Association

http://sa.anu.edu.au/about-us/our-structure/college-arts-social-sciences
The Australian National University Students' Association (ANUSA) is the representative body of undergraduate students on campus. If you are an undergraduate student at ANU, then you are an ANUSA member, and ANUSA is your student voice. ANUSA consists of a number of elected students. They present student issues to the University Council, to College committees and on other official bodies. ANUSA also represents student issues outside the campus, organises social events and provides some student services which are not otherwise provided by the University.

Dean of Students

http://www.anu.edu.au/dos/index.html
The Dean of Students offers confidential, impartial advice, and can help to resolve problems by acting as a neutral intermediary between students and the academic or administrative areas of the University. The Dean can ensure that student concerns are communicated to important deliberative and decision making University committees. So even if you feel there is nothing to be done about an issue you've confronted, or you have only indirect awareness of a problem facing students, it's still worth making the Dean aware of the issues.

PARSA – Postgraduate and Research Students' Association

http://parsa.anu.edu.au/
PARSA's primary focus is the welfare of all postgraduate students at the ANU, particularly with respect to their studies.

PARSA provides the following services to ANU's Postgraduate and Research Students:

- Information and referral for postgrad students
- Representation on University committees
- Advocacy for individual postgraduates
- Campaigning & Lobbying on postgrad issues
- Free legal advice to postgrad students
- An annual Postgrad Survival Guide
- Social functions for postgrad students
- Administration of Emergency Loan Scheme

Jabal Indigenous Higher Education Centre

http://indigenous.anu.edu.au/
Jabal Indigenous Higher Education Centre provides a meeting place for Australian Indigenous students studying at the Australian National University in Canberra. You will find Indigenous students and staff strongly committed to improving education outcomes that benefit Australian Indigenous communities.

JIHEC focuses on:

- supporting the teaching and learning issues of Indigenous students;
- retention by having a dedicated Academic Coordinator to assist each student on campus;
- undertaking advocacy on issues of concern to the Indigenous students and community
- graduation, providing a uniquely ANU Indigenous graduation stole and by joining in your success by attending your graduation, and;
- providing advice and expertise in Indigenous areas as a contribution to the ANU community, the ACT Indigenous community and the Australian Community.

International Office

http://info.anu.edu.au/studyat/International_Office
The International Office provides information, support and activities for international students, staff, and other people and organisations associated with international students at the ANU.

The Disability Services Centre (DSC)

http://www.anu.edu.au/disabilities/index.php
The DSC is the first point of contact for students with disabilities at the ANU. The Unit works to facilitate access to the ANU for students with a disability. This involves making "reasonable adjustments" to address the effects of the disability so that students with disabilities are not disadvantaged by these effects, nor unfairly advantaged by these adjustments, and have a fair chance of demonstrating their knowledge and skills. The Disability Services Centre offers the following services:

- provision of a DSC card, registering the holder as having a medically verified disability;
- assessment and organisation of support or adjustments such as note-taking, exam arrangements and tutoring;
- advice on and use of assistive technological equipment;
- referral to other services or agencies (Counselling, Health, Academic Skills & Learning Centre, etc.);
- advice to staff on teaching and assessment practices;
- other support and advice as needed, including contributing to ANU policy development.

College of Arts and Social Sciences Website

http://cass.anu.edu.au
The College of Arts and Social Sciences website provides information about College disciplines, structure, staff contacts, as well as information and links for current students about:

- Honours
- tutorial registration
- travel and travel grants
- internships
- studying abroad and exchange
- workshops, and more

Weekly seminar guide

Week 1: Introduction and overview

This week provides an introduction to the course, covering:

- Administrative matters;
- An introduction to some of the terms, issues and concepts that are central to the course; and
- Some basic background on the Gulf.

J. E. Peterson, "The Historical Pattern of Gulf Security", in Lawrence G. Potter and Gary G. Sick (eds) *Security in the Persian Gulf: Origins, Obstacles, and the Search for Consensus* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 7-31.

Students without any background in studying the Gulf may want to consult an historical/background text such as Lawrence G. Potter and Gary G. Sick (eds), *Security in the Persian Gulf: Origins, Obstacles, and the Search for Consensus* **(**New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002).

Week 2: Political and economic structures in the Gulf

This week provides an outline of the politics and economic structures and dynamics of the Gulf. Discussion will include:

- The various forms of leadership and leadership styles in the Gulf
- A discussion of Iran's and Iraq's political system; and
- Outlines of various theories of politics in the Gulf: issues will be covered such as neopatrimonial politics, cooptive vs. coercive approaches, rentier state theory, pluralized autocracy arguments, etc.

Michael Herb, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies* (Albany: State University of New York, 1999), Chapter 2 (pp. 21-50).

Greg Power, "The difficult development of parliamentary politics in the Gulf: parliaments and the process of managed reform in Kuwait, Bahrain and Oman" in David Held and Kristian Ulrichsen (eds), *The Transformation of the Gulf: Politics, economics and the global order* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 29-46.

Matthew Gray, "A Theory of 'Late Rentierism' in the Arab States of the Gulf", *Center for International and Regional Studies Occasional Paper No. 7* (Doha: Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, 2011), also online at http://cirs.georgetown.edu/files/MatthewGrayOccasionalPaperWEB_1.pdf.

Madawi Al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 2nd Edn), Chapter 9 (pp. 242-274).

Week 3: Oil, gas and energy issues in the Gulf

This week has several aims, revolving around energy issues. These include:

- To discuss oil and gas as background; this includes a general introduction to hydrocarbons;
- To survey the oil and gas sectors in the Gulf: the region's reserves, the importance of hydrocarbons, and current reserves and issues;
- To consider the geopolitics of oil and gas; and
- To consider the implications of current trends in global oil and gas, especially 'peak oil' and the gas glut that both seem to be emerging as medium-term or even longer-term trends in the sectors.

Mahmoud A. El-Gamal and Amy Myers Jaffe, *Oil, Dollars, Debt, and Crises: The Global Curse of Black Gold* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Chapter 3 (pp. 51-74).

Stuart Harris, "Global and regional orders and the changing geopolitics of energy", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 64, 2, April 2010, pp. 166-185.

Nader Elhefnawy, "The Impending Oil Shock", *Survival*, 50, 2, 2008, pp. 37-66.

BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2011 (London: BP, June 2011), online at http://www.bp.com/statisticalreview [Focus on the various Gulf states' oil and gas reserves; output levels of oil and gas now and in recent years; and some of the global trends in energy.]

Week 4: The US and the Gulf

This week we will look at the role of the United States in Gulf security and the Gulf's strategic environment. Specific questions to be considered include:

- What has been the past US role in the region, and how and why has that role changed over the past few decades?
- Has the US been a source of stability or instability in the region?
- What issues related to US military posture are of importance in or to the Gulf?
- How do elites and publics in the US and the Arab Gulf states see the other?

Gary Sick, "The United States and the Persian Gulf in the Twentieth Century", in Lawrence G. Potter (ed.), *The Persian Gulf in History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), Chapter 15 (pp. 295-310).

Bradley L. Bowman, "After Iraq: Future US Military Posture in the Middle East", *The Washington Quarterly*, 31, 2, Spring 2008, pp. 77-91.

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The US Invasion of Iraq: Explanations and Implications", *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 16, 3, 2007, pp. 209-228.

F. Gregory Gause, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Chapter 4 (pp. 88-135).

Week 5: Saudi Arabia

This week considers the role of Saudi Arabia in the Gulf and more widely. Some specific questions and issues to be covered include:

- What is the modern history of Saudi Arabia, and how has this shaped the state's and society's strategic culture and perspectives?
- How important have factors such as oil, water, and the US relationship been to Saudi security? Are these the fundamental factors in the durability of the al-Sa'ud family's rule?
- How are Saudi Arabia's political, diplomatic and military dynamics changing (or not) and what do these mean for dynamics in the Gulf?

"The House of Saud", *PBS Frontline*, 8 February 2005. Online at: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saud/ or http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Z9RTa-1dho (Running time: 116 minutes).

Madawi Al-Rasheed, "Circles of Power: Royals and Society in Saudi Arabia", in Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman (eds), *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs* (London: Hurst & Co, 2005), pp. 185-213.

Rachel Bronson, "Rethinking Religion: The Legacy of the US-Saudi Relationship", *The Washington Quarterly*, 28, 4, Autumn 2005, pp. 121-137.

Gawdat Bahgat, "Nuclear Proliferation: The Case of Saudi Arabia", *The Middle East Journal*, 60, No. 3, Summer 2006, pp. 421-443.

Week 6: Iran

This week is focussed on Iran's strategic perspective and security outlook, as well as by the domestic political and economic factors that impact its foreign and defence policies. Some of the issues to be covered are:

- What political challenges does Iran face?
- How legitimate is the post-revolutionary order?
- Does the regime seek to link domestic and international issues, and if so, in what way(s)?
- What is Iran's strategic worldview? How is it shaped? What are the implications of it for the region and for relations with major powers?
- What are the status and goals of the Iranian nuclear program? What are the cases for and against it and how valid are they? How can and should external powers such as the US respond to it?
- How dire is Iran's economic predicament? What can be done to improve economic conditions and performance?
- What are the implications of Iran's economic situation for the Gulf region and the US?
- Where is Iran headed in the coming years?

Steven R. Ward, "The Continuing Evolution of Iran's Military Doctrine", *Middle East Journal*, 59, 4, Autumn 2005, pp. 559-576.

William O. Beeman, "Iran and the United States: Postmodern Culture Conflict in Action", *Anthropological Quarterly*, 76, 4, Fall 2003, pp. 671-691.

James M. Lindsay and Ray Takeyh. "After Iran Gets the Bomb", *Foreign Affairs*, 89, 2, March/April 2010, pp. 33-49.

Week 7: Iraq

This week looks at Iraq, especially the issues of political stability, reconstruction, the insurgency, and Iraq's regional role after Saddam. Some of the issues to be covered include:

- How well or poorly was the US invasion and occupation of Iraq, and then the transfer of sovereignty and power to Iraqis, handled? What could or should have been done differently?
- How have the governments of Iraq handle their responsibilities? Again, what could or should have been done differently?
- What are the prospects for democracy in Iraq? What are the risks of a political fragmentation?
- What challenges are faced by Iraqis and the US in rebuilding Iraq and reconstructing its economy? How do security and stability affect reconstruction?
- What are the sources of the Iraq insurgency? Is it these sources that have made the insurgency so complex?
- How has the 2003 Iraq War and events since then, shaped the politics and political economies of other Middle Eastern states?

"Bush's War", *PBS Frontline*, 24 March 2008. Online at: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/bushswar/ or http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kL_Nx01Xoo4 (Two-part program, total running time: 258 minutes; 144 minutes + 114 minutes).

Daniel Byman, "An Autopsy of the Iraq Debacle: Policy Failure or Bridge Too Far?", *Security Studies*, 17, 4, 2008, pp. 599-643.

Ali Merza, "Iraq: reconstruction under uncertainty", *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 1, 2, 2007, pp. 173-212.

Denise Natali, *The Kurdish Quasi-State: Development and Dependency in Post-Gulf War Iraq* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2010), Chapter 5 (pp. 103-126).

Week 8: No seminar this week

This week has been kept free for students to focus on finalizing their major essay.

Remember that the major essay is due no later than 4pm Thursday 26 April (i.e. the Thursday in Week 8).

Week 9: Small states' security perspectives

This week, as the title suggests, is focussed on the position of the smaller Gulf states and their perspectives on strategic issues, security and stability in the Gulf. Issues covered include:

- How and why do Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE and Oman vary in how they perceive the Gulf and the international and security dynamics of the Gulf?
- To what extent do domestic or international dynamics most dominate their strategic and security thinking?
- What specific threats if any do these states face?
- Does hydrocarbon wealth help or hinder security for small states?
- Are small states driven by the same motivations as large ones such as Saudi Arabia in the relationships they form with the US/ Why or why not?

Christopher Davidson, "Dubai and the United Arab Emirates: Security Threats", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 36, 3, 2009, pp. 431-447.

J. E. Peterson, "Oman Faces the Twenty-First Century" in Mary Ann Téreault, Gwenn Okruhlik, and Andrzej Kapiszewski (eds), *Political Change in the Arab Gulf States: Stuck in Transition* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2011), Chapter 5, (pp. 99-118).

Justin Dargin, "Qatar's Natural Gas: The Foreign-Policy Driver", *Middle East Policy*, 14, 3, Fall 2007, pp. 136-142.

"Panel Discussion: The Small Gulf States: The Best Case Examples in the Arab World?", *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 13, 2, June 2009, pp. 40-53.

Week 10: Issues in regional security architecture

This week is focussed on the question of why Gulf security architecture is so weak and underdeveloped; how this has come to be the case and why it remains so. Specific questions to be addressed include:

- What factors have shaped regional relations in recent times, especially inter-Arab relations and Arab-Iranian relations?
- What dilemmas does the region face in building/enhancing individual (and in some cases collective) defence?
- How effective is the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) as a regional bloc? Are its benefits mostly in the realm of the economic rather than in security? What are its future prospects…especially the prospects of it expanding as foreshadowed in May 2011 after the Arab protests?
- What are the alternatives to the GCC and how viable are they, given political and strategic structures in the region?

John Duke Anthony, "Strategic dynamics of Iran-GCC relations", in Jean-François Seznec and Mimi Kirk (eds), *Industrialization in the Gulf: A socioeconomic revolution* (London: Routledge, 2011), Chapter 5 (pp. 85-102).

Richard L. Russell, "The Persian Gulf's Collective-Security Mirage", *Middle East Policy*, 12, No. 4, Winter 2005, pp. 77-88.

Michael Kraig, "Assessing Alternative Security Frameworks for the Persian Gulf", *Middle East Policy*, 11, No. 3, Fall 2004, pp. 139-156.

Week 11: New and emerging security issues

This week is focussed on emerging strategic and security dynamics in the Gulf, as well as issues beyond those of conventional strategy and security. Some of the issues to be covered include the following:

- The rising role of China in the region and what this means for both economic and military security in the Gulf;
- The contested and unconventional security challenges that may arise from climate change and its effects;
- Issues surrounding foreign workers in the Gulf (especially on questions of national identity and security and the longer-term economic impacts of labour reliance).

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, "Internal and External Security in the Arab Gulf States", *Middle East Policy*, 16, 2, Summer 2009, pp. 39-58.

Geoffrey Kemp, *The East Moves West: India, China, and Asia's Growing Presence in the Middle East* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2010), Chapter 3 (pp. 64-102).

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, *Insecure Gulf: The End of Certainty and the Transition to the Post-Oil Era* (London: Hurst, 2011), Chapter 6 (pp. 129-145).

Habibul Haque Khondker, "Wanted but not Welcome: Social Determinants of Labor Migration in the UAE", *encounters: an international journal for the study of culture and society*, 2, Spring 2010, 205-233 (Special number on *21st Century Globalization: Perspectives from the Gulf*).

Week 12: To be determined

This week has been kept available either in case it is necessary to cancel/postpone a class during the semester, or otherwise for students to choose the topic for the week.

Possible topics include:

- A survey of Yemen, including its politics, strategic environment, and security issues related to it (terrorism, piracy, etc). This was a topic in previous years.
- Pakistan and its strategic and security outlook and perspectives, including links to the Gulf. This was a topic in previous years.
- The Kurdish quasi-state in northern Iraq and strategic and security issues related to Kurdish-Iraqi politics.

- A thematic issue not covered in other weeks, such as new transnational media in the Gulf, nationalism in the Gulf, Gulf-Asia linkages and relationships, or the history and dynamics of a particular area (the Hijaz, the Shi'i areas of Saudi Arabia, Dhofar, the Buraimi dispute, the Iran-UAE Gulf islands dispute, etc).

For a student-determined topic, readings will be provided once the topic has been agreed and closer to the seminar date.

Week 13: Course conclusion

This week we will wrap up the course, discuss any final issues, and debate the future for the region and specific states in light of the dynamics discussed in the course.

There are no set readings for this week, but some may be provided during the semester. Also, revisit key ones from previous weeks as necessary, and conduct a brief search online for relevant recent media pieces about the Gulf region and its future.