

POMED Seminar for Policy Professionals, Summer 2011

Between Reform and Revolution: Sources and Varieties of Change in the Middle East

Tuesdays, 7:00-8:30pm

May 31– August 2

Courses will take place at:

*International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)
2121 K St NW, Suite 700, Washington DC 20037*

Purpose:

The purpose of this seminar is to equip participants with an understanding of the internal dynamics that led to the historic uprisings currently sweeping the Middle East, to assess the prospects for genuine democratic change in the region, and to identify ways in which the United States can support democratic development in countries undergoing transitions. These skills will be particularly important for professionals who design, review and implement project proposals in the area of democracy and governance in the Middle East. Lectures will highlight conditions and factors common to the region through the lens of particular country cases.

The seminar will begin with an overview of recent developments in the region and the implications of these changes for U.S. policymakers. The following seven lectures will examine the various actors within the region that push, or in some cases, hinder reform. The final two sessions will present a case study on Egypt, in which participants will review the current political and economic situation in the country and then develop potential strategies for U.S. actors to support democratization there.

Points of Contact:

Stephen McInerney
Executive Director, POMED
202-828-9660, ext. 20
stephen.mcinerney@pomed.org
1820 Jefferson Place NW
Washington, DC 20036

Daphne McCurdy
Senior Research Associate, POMED
202-828-9660, ext. 22
daphne.mccurdy@pomed.org
1820 Jefferson Place NW
Washington, DC 20036

Lecturers:

Lectures will be delivered by leading experts from academic institutions, think tanks, and related organizations. Lecturers will have both a theoretical understanding of their subjects and a practical knowledge of how these issues relate to U.S. policy. The seminar will be facilitated by POMED Senior Research Associate Daphne McCurdy.

Expectations:

To maximize the benefit of the course and to enhance the quality of discussion, we highly encourage participants to attend every lecture. Participants may opt to receive a grade. For those students who opt to receive a grade, the grade will be based on three components: a) attendance and participation in class discussions during the first 9 weeks (25%), b) participation in the final class discussion on week 10 (25%), and c) the quality of a final paper (50%). The final paper will require participants to synthesize material from the course and draw recommendations for U.S. policymakers in the form of a 5-page (double-spaced) memo. Suggested readings for each week are available below. Participants will benefit most from the course if they complete the suggested readings prior to class and engage fully in class discussions.

Schedule:

1. **Between Reform and Revolution: Understanding the Present Climate and Implications for Democracy Support (May 31)** – Michele Dunne, Senior Associate and Editor of *Arab Reform Bulletin* at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

- Lisa Anderson, “Demystifying the Arab Spring,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2011, 2 – 7.
http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Lisa-Anderson_Demystifying-the-Arab-Spring.doc
- Thomas Carothers, “Think Again: Arab Democracy,” *Foreign Policy*, March 10, 2011.
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=42991#>
- Larry Diamond, “A Fourth Way or a False Start?” *Foreign Affairs*, May 22, 2011.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67862/larry-diamond/a-fourth-wave-or-false-start>
- Jack A. Goldstone, “Understanding the Revolutions of 2011,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2011, 8 – 16.
http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Jack-Goldstone_Understanding-the-Revolutions-of-2011.doc

2. **Opposition Actors: Islamist Organizations (June 7)** – Michael W.S. Ryan, Senior Fellow at the Jamestown Foundation

- Nathan J. Brown and Amr Hamzawy, *Between Religion and Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2010), 181-188.
<http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Between-Religion-and-Politics.pdf>
- Nathan Brown, “Testimony on the Muslim Brotherhood before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Subcommittee on Terrorism, HUMINT, Analysis, and Counterintelligence.” (Date: 4/13/11). (Date: 5/23/96).
http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/0413_testimony_brown.pdf

- Shadi Hamid, “The Rise of the Islamists,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2011, 40 – 47.
http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Rise-of-the-Islamists_May-June20111.pdf
- Marina Ottaway and Amr Hamzawy, “Islamists in Politics: The Dynamics of Participation,” in *Getting to Pluralism: Political Actors in the Arab World* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2009).
<http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Islamists-in-Politics.pdf>
- Tamara Wittes, “Three Kinds of Movements,” *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 2, 2008.
<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Wittes-19-3.pdf>

3. Opposition Actors: Secular Parties (June 14) – Scott Mastic, Regional Director for the Middle East and North Africa at the International Republican Institute

- Marina Ottaway and Amr Hamzawy, “Fighting on Two Fronts: Secular Parties in the Arab World” in *Getting to Pluralism: Political Actors in the Arab World* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2009).
<http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Secular-Parties-in-the-Arab-World.pdf>

4. Civil Society Organizations (June 21) – Les Campbell, Regional Director for the Middle East and North Africa at the National Democratic Institute

- *Changing Political Spaces of Civil Society Organizations* (Act Alliance, February 2011).
http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/ACT_Changing-Political-Spaces-of-CSOs.pdf
- John Gaventa and Gregory Barrett, “So What Difference Does it Make? Mapping the Outcomes of Citizen Engagement,” *Working Paper*, vol. 2010, no. 347 (Institute of Development Studies October 2010).
http://www.drc-citizenship.org/system/assets/1052734701/original/1052734701-gaventa_etal.2010-so.pdf
- Amy Hawthorne, "Middle Eastern Democracy: Is Civil Society the Answer?" in *Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East* (2004).
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CarnegiePaper44.pdf>
- Shadi Hamid, “Civil Society in the Arab World and the Dilemma of Funding,” (Brookings, 2010).
http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2010/10_middle_east_hamid.aspx

5. Labor, Business, and the Political Economy (June 28) – Steven Heydemann, Senior Vice President at the United States Institute of Peace

- George Abed, David Hedley, Garbis Iradian, and Nafez Zouk, “The Arab World in Transition: Assessing the Economic Impact,” (Institute of International Finance, 2011).
<http://www.iif.com/emr/resources+1200.php>
- Anna Nadgrodkiewicz and John Sullivan, “Middle East and North Africa Reform: Rooted in Economic and Political Ground,” *Economic Reform Issue Paper*, no. 0804 (Center for International Private Enterprise, February 2008).
http://www.cipe.org/publications/papers/pdf/IP0804_MENAreform.pdf
- Michael Ross, “Does Oil Hinder Democracy?” *World Politics* 53 (April 2001), 325-361.
<http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/ross/doesoil.pdf>
- Michael Herb, “No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy,” *Comparative Politics* (April 2005), 297-316.
http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Herb_No-Representation-without-Taxation.pdf
- *Justice for All: The Struggle for Workers’ Rights in Egypt* (Solidarity Center, February 2010).
www.solidaritycenter.org/files/pubs_egypt_wr.pdf

6. Youth Movements and Social Media (July 5) – Adel Iskandar, Adjunct Instructor at Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University

- Samantha Constant and Mary Kraetsch, “Taking Stock of the Youth Challenge in the Middle East: New Data and New Questions” (Brookings, 2010).
http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2010/06_middle_east_youth.aspx
- Navtej Dhillon, Paul Dyer, and Tarik Yousef, “Generation in Waiting: An Overview of School to Work and Family Formation Transitions,” in *Generation in Waiting: The Unfulfilled Promise of Young People in the Middle East*, 11 – 35.
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/Press/Books/2009/agenerationinwaiting/agenerationinwaiting_chapter.pdf
- Jeffrey Ghannam, “Social Media in the Arab World: Leading up to the Uprisings in 2011,” (Center for International Media Assistance, 2011).
http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/CIMA_SocialMediaintheArabWorld_LeadinguptotheUprisingsof2011.pdf

7. Women's Groups (July 12) – Manal Omar, Director of Iraq Programs at the United States Institute of Peace; Former Regional Coordinator for Afghanistan, Iraq and Sudan at Women for Women International

- “Islamic Feminism and Beyond: The New Frontier” ed. Haleh Esfandiari and Margot Badran, *Occasional Paper Series* (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2010).
<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/Islamic%20Feminism%20and%20Beyond.pdf>
- Isobel Coleman, “Are the Mideast Revolutions Bad for Women’s Rights?” *Washington Post*, February 20, 2011.
<http://www.cfr.org/middle-east/mideast-revolutions-bad-womens-rights/p24170>
- *The Arab Human Development Report 2005* (United Nations Development Program, 2006).
<http://www.arab-hdr.org/publications/other/ahdr/ahdr2005e.pdf>

8. The Military (July 19) – Steven Cook, Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations

- Steven A. Cook, "The Egyptian, Algerian, and Turkish Military Enclaves: The Contours of the Officers' Autonomy," in *Ruling but not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 14-31.
<http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Ruling-But-Not-Governing.pdf>
- Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (Jan 2004), 139-157.
http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Eva-Bellin_Robustness-of-Authoritarianism-in-the-Middle-East.pdf

9. Setting the Scene in Egypt (July 26) – Nathan Brown, Director of Institute for Middle East Studies at The George Washington University; Senior Associate at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

- Nathan Brown, “Why Nobody Noticed What Egypt’s Opposition Has Won,” *Foreign Policy*, March 28, 2011.
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=43313>
- Dina Shehata, “The Fall of the Pharaoh: How Hosni Mubarak’s Reign Came to an End,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2011, 26 – 32.
http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Dina-Shehata_The-Fall-of-the-Pharaoh.doc
- Joshua Stacher, “Egypt without Mubarak,” Middle East Research and Information Project, April 7, 2011. <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero040711>
- “Guide to Egypt’s Elections,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
<http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/>

10. Designing Democracy Support Strategies in Egypt (August 2) – Brian Katulis, Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress

- John D. Sullivan, “Rethinking Development Assistance in the Middle East,” *POMED Policy Brief*, (2011).
http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/policy-brief-series_sullivan.pdf