

This course syllabus may be changed or modified by the instructor before and during the semester. Please use MyCourses to access the most recent document.

POLI341 -001 Foreign Policy: Middle East

McGill University, Fall 2023 Semester (3 credits)

Professor:

Daniel Douek, PhD

email: daniel.douek@mcgill.ca

Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 2:30-3:30pm in Ferrier 460

Course Meetings:

Lectures: Mondays and Wednesdays 1:05-2:25pm, STBIO S1/3

*Lectures will end at 1:55pm starting on the week of September 18

TA Conferences: TBA- each student must register on Minerva for one weekly TA conference; conferences will begin on week of September 18

Course Description:

Why is the Middle East a region of constant turmoil? What factors determine states' foreign policies in this combustible region? This class explores the Middle East through the lenses of international relations theory. We will study dynamics of rivalry and alliance, and how local and international actors have shaped the region during key processes including colonization, state formation, the Cold War, the post-9/11 War on Terror, the Saudi-Iranian rivalry, the Arab Spring, and the Syrian civil war. We will examine the impacts of ideological factors such as religious and ethnic nationalism. We will also interrogate widespread Western perceptions of Middle Eastern peoples and politics, and these perceptions' sources and impacts.

**Please note that this class will not be focused on Middle Eastern domestic politics, covered in POLI340; and will devote minimal time to the Israel-Palestine conflict, covered in POLI347.

Also, whereas the Middle East has been stretched in the post-9/11 American imaginary to encompass Afghanistan and Pakistan, these are not actually in the Middle East, so we will not be studying them very much.

Course Readings:

-**Required:** Louise Fawcett, ed., *International Relations of the Middle East* (Fifth Edition), Oxford University Press, 2019 (the Fourth Edition of this textbook, from 2016, is also acceptable) – referred to below as “**Fawcett**”

-All readings not in the Fawcett textbook will be made available via MyCourses or via the McGill library.

Recommended readings *are not mandatory*; they are intended to give you further perspective, and to serve as suggested sources for your research essay.

Course Delivery:

Lectures: This course will be delivered as a **series of lectures, delivered live in-classroom**. The lectures will also be recorded. **All lecture recordings will be made available through MyCourses.**

Readings: This course uses a combination of journal articles and book chapters. All readings are available as PDF files via MyCourses. **Please note:** recommended readings are not mandatory – they are included for optional further reading and as a resource.

Keep up with the news: You’ll get more out of this class if you read the news regularly. Good news sources on the Middle East include Al-Jazeera, MERIP, Haaretz, New York Times, BBC World, the Nation, the Financial Times, The Guardian, Washington Post, the Economist, Foreign Policy, among others.

Slides: Lectures will be accompanied by PowerPoint presentations; the **slides will be made available** to students via MyCourses.

Communication: I can be reached via email and during my office hours. You are welcome to stop by my office hours any time I will endeavour to respond to emails within 48 hours during weekdays (I’m often offline on weekends). If you have a lengthy question, please ask during my office hours instead of emailing. **Also, please be sure to consult this [handy guide to emailing your professor](#).**

Assignments and Grading:

1- Online Conference Participation (10%): This includes attendance and participation in one conference session per week, led by your teaching assistant. Conferences begin on week 3 of the semester (Sept. 18). You’ll be graded on both quality and quantity of participation.

The following rubric explains the basic criteria for participation grades. Each factor will be considered in assigning grades. Please note that the quality of the contribution is as important as the frequency.

Grade	Discussion	Reading
9-10	Excellent –Student leads debates; offers original analysis and comments; uses assigned reading to back up arguments. Valuable comments in every conference.	Student clearly has done and understands virtually all the reading; intelligently uses this understanding in discussions.
7.5-8.5	Very Good –Student offers thoughtful comments for the most part; and is a willing, able and frequent contributor.	Student has done most readings; provides competent analysis of reading when prompted.
6.5-7	Good –student has basic grasp of key concepts; arguments are sporadic and at times incomplete or poorly supported.	Student displays familiarity with most reading, but tends not to analyze it or explore connections between different sources.
5.5-6	Fair –student’s remarks in class are marred by misunderstandings of key concepts; only occasionally offers comments or opinions.	Student’s actual knowledge of material is outweighed by improvised comments and remarks.
0-5	Poor –student rarely speaks, and recycles others’ comments when put on the spot to offer an opinion.	Student has little to no apparent familiarity with assigned material.

- 1) **Take-Home Midterm Exam (20%):** Posted online **Thursday 12 October** by 5pm; due **Sunday 15 October** by 11:59pm; consists of several essay questions.
- 2) **Research Essay (35%):** Posted online by **Fri. 29 September**; due by **Sunday 12 November at 11:59pm**. You will be provided with several prompts. The essay should be 10-12 double-spaced pages. You are welcome to choose your own essay topic, but in that case, make sure to get your TA to approve the topic beforehand. I will post an essay-writing guide on MyCourses, which you should follow carefully, and which will contain information about how to choose a topic and organize your essay.
- 3) **Final Exam (35%):** To be scheduled by the University during the final exam period in December. Format TBA.

PLEASE NOTE: Late work submitted without a doctor's note will be accepted with a penalty of 10% per day late. Excuses without a doctor's note will not be accepted. **Make-up assignments** *will be offered only if a student misses an exam for a valid medical reason backed up by a doctor's note.*

Course and University Policies:

Academic Integrity: McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see [McGill's guide to academic honesty](#) for more information).

Special Needs: As the instructor of this course I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and the [Student Accessibility and Achievement Office](#), 514-398-6009.

Language of Submission: In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. This does not apply to courses in which acquiring proficiency in a language is one of the objectives.

Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue).

Course Evaluations: End-of-course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works towards maintaining and improving the quality of courses and the student's learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available. Please note that a minimum number of responses must be received for results to be available to students.

Copyright of Lectures: All slides, video recordings, lecture notes, etc. remain the instructor's intellectual property. As such, you may use these only for your own learning (and research, with proper referencing/citation) ends. ***You are not permitted to disseminate or share these materials;*** doing so may violate the instructor's intellectual property rights and could be cause for disciplinary action.

Content warning: Please be aware that some of the course content, especially as it relates to various forms of **violence and discrimination, may be disturbing** for some students. This content has been included in the course because it directly relates to the learning outcomes. Please contact the instructor if you have specific concerns about this.

Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Statement:

Fostering an environment in which people feel welcome, safe, and included is an intrinsic value that is also essential for deep and positive learning. We should all commit to treating and addressing each other with respect and dignity. Disagreements and debates are a valuable part of learning, and are welcome, so long as they are in good faith and expressed with grace and care. I will endeavor to create a classroom environment that supports these goals.

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES AND READINGS

Week 0 (30 August): Introduction to the Class

Welcome!

Week 1 (4 & 6 September): Studying the Middle East

-Fawcett, "Introduction"

-Edward Said. 1980. "[Islam Through Western Eyes](#)" *The Nation*

-Abu-Lughod, Lila. "Do Muslim women really need saving? Anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others." *American Anthropologist* 104.3 (2002): 783-790.

-Marc Lynch, "[Can there be an ethical Middle East political science?](#)" *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage Blog) 3 July 2014

Recommended:

Ahram, A. (2016). The rise and fall of Iraq in the social sciences. *Social Science Quarterly*, 97(4), 850-861.

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72.3 (Summer 1993), 22-49.

Amartya Sen, "[What Clash of Civilizations?](#)" *Slate*, 29 March 2006

Robin Wright, "[Imagining a Remapped Middle East](#)," *New York Times* 28 Sept 2013

Week 2 (11 & 13 September): Forming and Knowing Middle Eastern States

-Rogan, "The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System" (Fawcett Ch.2, p.39)

-Martin, Thomas. 2007. "The Development of Intelligence Services and Security Policing in North Africa and the Middle East" Ch.1 in *Empires of Intelligence: Security Services and Colonial Disorder after 1914* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press) ****e-book****

Recommended:

-Kelly, Jennifer. 2019. "Technologies of Empire and the Rejection of Warfare's Refrains" *Radical History Review* (January) pp.163-76

Week 3 (18 & 20 September): The Cold War

-Sluglett and Payne, "The Cold War in the Middle East" (Fawcett Ch.3, p.63)

-Dannreuther, "Russia, China, and the Middle East" (Fawcett Ch.17, pp.394-402 ONLY)

-Abrahamian, Ervand. 2001. "The 1953 Coup in Iran" *Science & Society* Vol. 65, No. 2, (Summer) 182-215

-Golan, G. 1990. "The Soviet Union and Syria" in *Soviet Policies in the Middle East: From World War Two to Gorbachev* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Recommended:

Walt, Stephen. 1987. *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press)

Mark Gasiorowski, "The CIA Looks Back at the 1953 Coup," Middle East Report, Fall 2000

-[CIA documents on the 1953 coup](#) obtained by the New York Times

Week 4 (25 & 27 September): Gender and Security

-V. Spike Peterson. 2009. "Gendering Informal Economies in Iraq" Ch.1 in in Nusair et al., *Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives* (London: Zed Books) ***e-book***

-Ross, M. (2008). Oil, Islam, and Women. *The American Political Science Review*, 102(1), 107-123.

Recommended:

Sophie Richter-Devroe. 2009. "'Here It's Not about Conflict Resolution- We Can Only Resist': Palestinian Women's Activism in Conflict Resolution and Non-Violent Resistance" Ch.5 in Nusair et al., *Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives* (London: Zed Books)

Golan, Galia, and Walid Salem. 2014. *Non-State Actors in the Middle East: Factors for Peace and Democracy*. U Center for Middle East Development (Cmed), 5. London: Routledge.

-Simona Sharoni. 2012. "Gender and Conflict Transformation in Israel/Palestine" *Journal of International Women's Studies* Vol.13 No.4 (September), pp.113-128

Week 5 (2 & 4 October): Identity and Religion

-Hinesbusch, "The Politics of Identity in Middle East IR" (Fawcett Ch.7, p.158)

-Mandaville, "Islam and International Relations in the Middle East: From *Umma* to Nation State" (Fawcett Ch.8, p.176)

-Norton, Augustus R. 2009. "Being a Shi'i Muslim in the Twenty-first Century," Ch.3 in *Hezbollah: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press) ***e-book***

Recommended:

Fouad Ajami, 'The End of Pan-Arabism,' *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 57, (Winter 1978-79)

Gregory Gause, "Sovereignty, Statecraft, and Stability in the Middle East," *Journal of International Affairs* 45. 2 (Winter 1992), 441-67.

Ajami, F. (1977). Stress in the Arab Triangle. *Foreign Policy*, (29), 90-108.

Michael N. Barnett, "Nationalism, Sovereignty, and Regional Order in Arab Politics," *International Organization*, 49, 3 (Summer 1995): 479-510.

Fall Reading Break, 6-11 October: No Class.

******Midterm exam posted 12 October, due 15 October******

Week 6 (16 & 18 October): The Persian Gulf as a Security Region

-Legrenzi, "The International Politics of the Gulf" (Fawcett Ch.14, p.317)

-Takeyh, Ray. 2010. "The Iran-Iraq War: A Reassessment" *Middle East Journal* 64 (3) 365-83

Recommended:

Gause, G. 2002. "Iraq's Decision to Go to War, 1980 and 1990" *Middle East Journal* Vol.56 No.1, pp.47-70

Gause III, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Daniel Brumberg, "Reinventing the Islamic Republic of Iran," *Foreign Policy* (February 2014).

Week 7 (23 & 25 October): The US in the Middle East

-Hudson, "The United States in the Middle East" (Fawcett, Ch.16, p.368)

- [National Security Directive 54](#), ordering the U.S. attack on Iraq, 1990 (from the National Security Archive)

Daniel Douek. 2020. "[Iran's Strategy: Deter Trump by Threatening Regional War](#)" *The Globe and Mail* (8 January) Toronto, Canada

Recommended:

Nugent, E., Masoud, T., & Jamal, A. A. (2018). Arab Responses to Western Hegemony: Experimental Evidence from Egypt. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(2), 254–288.

Mitchell Bard, "The Arab Lobby: The American Component," *Middle East Quarterly* XVII: 4 (Fall 2010), pp. 3-15.

Marc Lynch, "[What the Libyan Intervention Achieved](#)," *ForeignPolicy.com*, October 27, 2011

James Bill and Rebecca Bill Chavez, "The Politics of Incoherence: The United States and the Middle East", *Middle East Journal*, 56:4, 2002, pp. 562-575.

Michael Hudson, "Imperial Headaches: Managing Unruly Regions in an Age of Globalization", *Middle East Policy*, Vol. IX:4, 2002.

Charles Kegley and Gregory Raymond, Chapter 7 "The Persian Gulf War: A Hollow Victory", in Kegley and Raymond, *From War to Peace: Fateful Decisions in International Politics*, St. Martin's, 2002, pp. 187-213.

-Zoubir, Yahia H. 2012. "Qaddafi's Spawn." *Foreign Affairs*, July 24.

Week 8 (30 October): Europe in the Middle East

-Hollis, "Europe in the Middle East" (Fawcett, Ch.18, p.415)

Recommended:

Volker Perthes, "Europe and the Arab Spring," *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 53.6 (2011), 73-84.

1 November: Nations and Statelessness: the Kurds

-Darden, Jessica Trisko, Alexis Henshaw, and Ora Szekely. 2019. "The Kurdish Regions: Fighting as Kurds, Fighting as Women" in *Insurgent Women: Female Combatants in Civil Wars* (Georgetown University Press) pp.34-56

-Soguk, Nevzat. 2015. "With/Out a State, Kurds Rising: The Un/Styled Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq" *Globalizations*, 12:6, 957-968

Recommended:

Wright, Robin. 2019. "[How Trump Betrayed the General Who Defeated ISIS](#)" *The New Yorker* (8 April)

Ross, Norbert, and Ahmad Mohammadpur. 2018. "Imagined or Real: The Intersection of Tribalism and Nationalism in the Kurdish Regional Government (KRG)" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 45 (2): 194-211

Rubin, Avshalom. 2007. "Abd-al-Karim Qasim and the Kurds of Iraq: Centralization, Resistance, and Revolt, 1958-63" *Middle Eastern Studies* 43 (3): 353-382

Week 9 (6 & 8 November): 9/11 and "Operation Iraqi Freedom"

-Barkawi, T. (2004). On the Pedagogy of 'Small Wars'. *International Affairs* 80(1), 19-37.

-Gregory, Derek. 2004. *The Colonial Present* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing) Chapter 8, "Boundless War", pp. 180-248.

-Beetham, David. 2009. "The Contradictions of Democratization by Force: The Case of Iraq" *Democratization* 16 (3) pp.443-55

Recommended:

Khalidi, Rashid. 2005. *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press)

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (9/11 Commission), [Final Report, Chapter 2](#)

Packer, George. 2005. *The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Chomsky, Noam. 2006. *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt)

Whitehead, Laurence. 2009. "'Losing 'the Force?': The 'Dark Side' of Democratization After Iraq," *Democratization* 16 (2) pp.215-42

Mayer, Jane. 2009. "The Predator War." *The New Yorker*, October 26.

*****Research Essays Due Sunday 12 November*****

Week 10: (13 & 15 November): The Arab Spring and its Impacts

-Sadiki, "The Arab Spring: The People in International Relations" (Fawcett, Ch.15, p.339)

-Korany, "The Multi-Layered (In)Security Dilemma" (Fawcett, Ch.4, p.80)

-Bassel F. Salloukh "The Arab Uprisings and the Geopolitics of the Middle East" *The International Spectator*, Vol. 48, No. 2, June 2013, 32-46

Recommended:

Ayoob, Mohammed. 2012. *The Arab Spring: Its Geostrategic Significance*, Policy Brief No. 59. Washington, DC: Institute for Social Policy and Understanding.

Kenneth Pollack, "[America's Second Chance and the Arab Spring](#)," ForeignPolicy.com, December 5, 2011

Week 11 (20 & 22 November): Securitization and the "New Middle East Cold War"

-Calculli, "The Politics of Violence after the 2003 Iraq War" (Fawcett Ch.10, p.226)

-Gause, F. Gregory. 2014. "[Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War](#)" Brookings Doha Centre Analysis Paper No.11 (July)

Recommended:

Imad Mansour, "Iran and Instability in the Middle East: How Preferences Influence the Regional Order," *International Journal* 63, no. 4 (Autumn 2008): 941 – 964.

Marc Lynch, "The Arab Cold War," chapter 2 in *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East*, (Public Affairs, 2012)

Juan Cole, "A 'Shiite Crescent'? The Regional Impact of the Iraq War," *Current History* (Jan. 2006): 20-26

Bosco, R. M. (2009). The Assassination of Rafik Hariri: Foreign Policy Perspectives. *International Political Science Review*, 30(4), 349–361

Zweiri, Mahjoob. 2016. "Iran and Political Dynamism in the Arab World: The Case of Yemen." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 25 (1): 4–18.

-Shahram Chubin, [The Politics of Iran's Nuclear Program](#)

Milani, Mohsen M. "Tehran's Take." *Foreign Affairs*. 6 Jan. 2009 International Crisis Group, Implementing the Iran Nuclear Deal: A Status Report Middle East Report N°173 | 16 January 2017

Garrett Nada [Trump and Iran in 2017](#) *United States Institute of Peace*.

Worth, Robert F. 2018. "[Kidnapped Royalty Become Pawns in Iran's Deadly Plot](#)" *New York Times* (14 March)

Dexter Filkins "A Saudi Prince's Quest to Remake the Middle East" *New Yorker* 9 April 2018

Week 12 (27 & 29 November): The Emergence of Daesh/IS/ISIL/ISIS

-Revkin, Mara. 2016. "ISIS' Social Contract." *Foreign Affairs* (January).

-Callimachi, Rukmini. 2016. "[How a Secretive Branch of ISIS Built a Global Network of Killers](#)" *New York Times*, 3 August.

Recommended:

Hegghammer, Thomas. 2011. "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad." *International Security* 35 (3): pp.53-94

Dalgaard-Nielsen, Anja. 2010. Violent Radicalization in Europe: What We Know and What We Don't Know." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 33: pp.797-814

-Müller, M. (2017). Terror or terrorism? the "Islamic State" between state and nonstate violence. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 26(2), 442-462.

Week 13 (30 November & 4 December): The Syrian Civil War and Beyond

-Ahmad, Aisha, and Daniel Douek. 2017. "[Invisible Red Lines: How Trump's Mixed Signals Risk Global War](#)" *Globe and Mail* (8 April)

-Dannreuther, "Russia, China, and the Middle East" (Fawcett Ch.17, pp.403-414 ONLY)

-Christopher Philips. 2017. "Enter Russia: Putin Raises the Stakes" in *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press) ****e-book****

-Melamedov, Grigory. 2018. "Moscow's Middle East Resurgence: Russia's Entrenchment in Syria." *Middle East Quarterly* 25 (1): 1–9.

-Robertson, Nic. 2023. "[China Has Shattered the Assumption of US Dominance in the Middle East](#)" *CNN* (15 March).

Maurer, Kevin. 2023. "[Special Forces Soldiers Reveal First Details of Battle With Russian Mercenaries in Syria](#)" *The War Horse* (11 May).

Recommended:

Hokayem, Emile. "Syria and its Neighbors." *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 54, no. 2 (2012): 7-14.

Curtis Ryan, "[The New Arab Cold War and the Struggle for Syria](#)" Middle East Report, No. 262, Spring 2012

John Turner, "Great Powers as Client States in a Middle East Cold War," *Middle East Policy* 19 (2012): 124–134.

Jenkins, Brian Michael. 2014. "[The Dynamics of Syria's Civil War](#)" RAND Corporation.

"[Military Success in Syria Gives Putin Upper Hand in U.S. Proxy War](#)" New York Times (6 August 2016)

*****Final Exam to be scheduled by the University during the final exam period*****

Resources for Students:

Your Wellness Matters a Lot

Equity Advisors in the Department of Political Science

In the context of ongoing efforts to promote **strong and sustainable departmental responses** to the issues of harassment and sexual misconduct, the Department of Political Science has appointed two professors to the position of **equity advisor**. The aim of this position is to work in cooperation with the chair and other members of the department to promote strengthened norms and practices in the department regarding **preventing and addressing harassment and sexual misconduct**. The equity advisors are available, individually or in tandem, to meet with colleagues and students to discuss questions relating to harassment, sexual misconduct, and related **equity concerns**, and will refer students and colleagues to the **relevant specialized services** and offices at McGill. They will promote awareness and application of policies and guidelines related to these issues in the department, including the Department of Political Science Guidelines on Relationships between Instructors and Students.

Our current equity officers are **Professor Kelly Gordon** (kelly.gordon2@mcgill.ca) and Professor **Will Roberts** (william.roberts3@mcgill.ca). Please feel free to reach out to either Professor Gordon or Professor Roberts with any concerns in relation to this issue.

Political Science Students' Association (PSSA):

The PSSA represents the students enrolled in major, minor, honours, and joint-honours undergraduate degrees in the department of political science at McGill University. They advocate for students' needs and concerns with the aim of **helping to promote students' experience and overall wellbeing**. The team offers many **involvement opportunities**, coordinates **academic and social events and services**, provides advising and student support, and **enhances the relationship** between students, staff, and administration as student liaisons. Office: Leacock 420. Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/McGill.PSSA/> Website: <https://www.mcgillpssa.ca>

[Assessment and Re-Read Policy Department of Political Science](#)

Liaison Librarian for Political Science

Need help doing research for a paper? Our very own library liaison, Sandy Hervieux, is dedicated to helping you find the sources you need as well as providing you access to software and resources to help organize and simplify the process. sandy.hervieux@mcgill.ca 514-398-1087

McLennan Library Building Additional Support: AUS Essay Centre 2

Further Student Support Resources

-The **Student Wellness Hub** offers activities and sessions remotely, available [here](#).

-Resources for **mental health support** during the campus closure can be found [here](#) (many are by phone or online and can be accessed from wherever you are).

-McGill **Student Services** are available to support you now. You can reach them [here](#).

[Sexual Assault Centre of the McGill Students' Society](#) (SACOMSS)

[Office for Sexual Violence Response, Support, and Education](#) (OSVRSE)

[Peer Support Centre SSMU Walksafe / Drivesafe](#)

[McGill Students' Nightline](#) On-Campus Resources / Off-Campus Resources - emotional support and psychological services - medical services - safety and security services (shelters)

*****McGill University is situated on the traditional territory of the [Kanien'kehà:ka](#), a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst nations. We recognize and respect the Kanien'kehà:ka as the traditional custodians of the lands and waters on which we meet today.**