

POLI 365-001  
Spring 2016, MWF noon-12:50 p.m.  
Office Hours, MW 11:00 a.m.-noon  
TR 1:30-3:00 p.m. and by appointment

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## ***International Relations of the Middle East***

### **Course Objectives**

The unprecedented events of the Arab world's "awakening" that ostensibly began in December 2010 have increasingly fixated media and scholarly attention on the political changes underway within many of the region's states – Arab and non-Arab – in a search for the factors that explain why these moves are occurring. But as these changes (or lack thereof) have emerged, they pose new and intriguing challenges for prevailing international relationships involving the region – whether it is the fate of Israel's peace treaty with Egypt, Iran's relationship with Syria or its recently concluded nuclear agreement with the P5+1, China's increasing engagement with the region and Russia's efforts to remain relevant, or America's record arms sales to allies like Saudi Arabia and Israel. Convulsions in the Middle East's internal politics reverberate through its international relations ... and these international relations in turn can help shape the nature and depth of change within specific countries of the region.

This course is designed to help you gain an understanding of the places the Middle East has occupied in international relations over time and seeks to pose competing explanations for why the region has occupied those spaces and roles in world politics. A specific focus of this course will be to examine why the region has seemingly been so roiled in conflict over the past seven decades and how realist, liberal and constructivist traditions in international relations scholarship account for these outcomes, as well as how these approaches explain the less illuminated examples of cooperation that have prevailed between actors in the region and between regional and global powers. Our analysis will utilize a number of important variables that affect regional decisions and outcomes, including the structure of the international system and the policies of "Great Powers" in the Middle East; the existence of regional subsystems and alliance structures; the fluctuating power of transnational identities and ideologies (Arab nationalism, Zionism, Islam and Muslim identities, sub-nationalist and sectarian identities); and the state as an entity and how the strength and weakness of the state affects regional international politics. Overall, we will strive for a synthesis of knowledge about the international relations of the Middle East rather than a detailed and descriptive survey of individual states and their foreign policies. Though historical information will be provided to set the context, emphasis will be placed on the post-World War II period.

Note: This course serves as a complement to POLI 344 – Politics of the Middle East, which is a course dealing comparatively with the politics of the region itself. So, for example, you will not learn the inner dynamics of political change in Egypt or Syria in this course, but you will learn how and why the region and the world are interacting similarly and differently with Egypt and Syria as each experiences turmoil (as well as what role the outside world may have had in fostering the conditions) and you will learn how political change in these countries may alter their present and future regional and international roles. IR of the Middle East examines the region in the context of the international system; it does not cover material explicitly discussed in 344 and 344 is not a prerequisite for this course, although having knowledge of the region comparatively can always help when thinking about the place of the Middle East in the larger international arena (and vice versa).

### **Course Content**

This course will proceed chronologically and thematically in essentially three parts. It will begin by examining the tenuous nature of defining where the Middle East actually is and the tensions that arise between Middle Eastern area studies and international relations before moving to a consideration of competing frameworks for understanding and explaining the essential nature of Middle East international relations, including the insights offered by realist, liberal and constructivist theoretical traditions as applied to aspects of the region's international politics. It will then use these competing frameworks to first examine the evolution of the region's place in the

international system, with a particular focus on the role of colonizing powers in shaping many of the prevailing patterns found in the region's early 20<sup>th</sup> century international relations, including the formation of the modern Middle East state system and the emergence of conflicts that have come to define the region in some scholarly eyes, including the Arab-Israeli dispute. The advent of the Cold War and the rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union altered the Middle East in significant ways and gave rise to what some scholars referred to as the emergence of a regional subsystem with politics that at times mirrored those present in the larger international arena. We will examine dynamics like the Arab Cold War, the rise of oil politics and its impacts on the region's relationship with the rest of the world, and the seminal changes in regional politics that reverberated through the international system, most notably the coming of the Iranian revolution in 1979.

The second portion of the course examines in detail the dynamics of contemporary Middle Eastern international relations that emerge with the end of the Cold War and the onset of what the late Fred Halliday referred to as the "Greater West Asian Crisis". Here, the focus of attention is on the region's gradual and growing ties with the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Horn of Africa and China. The early portion of this period is shaped by four events that will be a focus here: Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the Oslo Accord of 1993, al-Qaeda's attack of the U.S. in 2001 and the Anglo-US occupation of Iraq in 2003. It marks a period of time where arguably regional alliances and conflicts prevail over the rivalry of great powers and the region tries to assert its autonomy over global trends, autonomy that might be connected to the events underway in the region today.

This consideration then gives way to the third segment of the course which analyzes current and future configurations of the region in the international system, including discussions of political reform and new regional alignments, the role of the Arab-Israel conflict and the collapse of Israel's "Periphery Doctrine", the effects of changing energy markets and growing concerns over climate change on the region's place in the world, and the prospects for identity politics to continue shaping portions of the region's international relations. These discussions will be incorporated into a consideration of how the recent internal convulsions in the region and the international nuclear agreement between Iran and the P5+1 might affect Middle East international relations. The discussion will conclude with a return to the competing frameworks that were established at the start of the course in order to reevaluate their utility in shedding light on the international relations of the region and consider the implications of what has been discussed for the future of American and western interests and foreign policy in the region.

### **Learning Outcomes and Skills This Course Will Seek to Improve**

This course contains several learning outcomes. After having taken this course, you will have a stronger and more informed perspective on where the region called the "Middle East" has fit into the dynamics of contemporary international relations and why the term "Middle East" is problematic when considering these dynamics. You will emerge with a stronger foundation in international relations theory and appreciate how different theories posit explanations for the events and interactions states in this region have had with each other and the rest of the world, and most particularly why the region has been so conflict-ridden in contemporary periods of time. You will also explicitly learn how to apply theories of international relations and/or foreign policy to an issue related to the region's international relations of particular interest to you. By the end of the term, you will better understand the interconnected nature of events in the region and the interests of actors elsewhere in the world and you will be able to better analyze and explain the nature of future challenges posed by the region in international relations.

This course will attempt to challenge and improve a number of your skills that are considered vital for students of Political Science (and students of the Liberal Arts and Sciences more broadly) to master. These include:

- \*\* oral communication (through regular class participation and class discussions);
- \*\* reading comprehension (through regular reading assignments that will provide the basis for many class discussions, take home exam essays, as well as questions on the term and final exams);
- \*\* critical thinking and analysis (through class reading, discussion of scholarly work about the region, take home exam essays);
- \*\* effective, concise writing and development of critical analysis (through class exams and take home

exam essays, research paper assignment);

\*\* applying theories and concepts to new situations (through class discussions, research paper and class exams, take home exam essays);

\*\* research and hypothesis writing, testing (through research paper assignment);

\*\* comprehending the views of others and articulating, defending one's own position (through class readings, discussions, take home exam essays and research paper assignment).

### **Intended Long-Term Impact of the Course**

Beyond helping you learn about international relations and the Middle East, this course seeks to make a more lasting impact on your professional development in anticipation of your transition to the workplace. As one employer of college graduates recently observed, young employees “are very good at *finding information* but not as good at *putting it into context* ... they are really *good at technology*, but not at how to take those skills and *resolve specific problems*” (emphasis added). Skills and abilities that employers repeatedly say they most value in their young employees include: written and oral communication skills, adaptability and flexibility, the ability to deal with ambiguity and complexity, managing multiple priorities, collaboration and interpersonal skills, the capacity to make decisions and the ability to creatively solve complex problems. Firms want graduates with “soft skills” – those who can work well in teams, write and speak clearly, engage in critical thinking, adapt quickly to changing conditions, solve problems on the fly, handle pressure effectively, interact with colleagues from different countries and cultures. As another employer said “soft skills tend to differentiate good college graduates from exceptional college graduates”.

This course seeks to work on many of those “soft skills” both directly and indirectly and it offers you space to improve in many of these areas. In addition, you should consider accessing the many underutilized resources available through the College of Charleston’s Career Center as you begin to think about and plan for life after college. For more information, consult the Career Center’s website at <http://careercenter.cofc.edu>, visit the office in the Lightsey Center, Room 216 or call (843) 953-5692.

### **Method of Presentation**

One underacknowledged truism in education is that we all learn differently. Some of us are primarily visual learners -- we need to see information and we retain and retrieve knowledge through an elaborate mental notecard system. Others of us are more auditory learners -- we thrive on hearing material and we store and access facts and ideas through auditory tapes we play in our minds. Still others of us are more kinesthetic learners -- we need to feel and experience material and we draw upon those feelings and experiences when processing and recounting what we know. While many of us learn using all of these broad channels to some extent, each of us has a "favorite" channel through which we best absorb, process, retain and apply knowledge. Thus, we have our own individual reactions to different modes of communication and teaching techniques.

This class is designed, to the extent possible, to try to hit everyone's primary channels of learning as often as possible and to further develop your less preferred paths through the use of a variety of teaching techniques. Because I am an important source of learning in this course, sessions will tend to be more lecture oriented than some other courses I teach, with lecture material designed to complement the required readings. It is important to underscore that lectures **will not** be a rehashing of the information in the assigned texts. Simply coming to class and digesting the material discussed will not insure your success in the course.

While significant portions of the course will be devoted to the presentation of additional information and context, there will be time set aside in each session for discussion and there will occasionally be group exercises conducted to emphasize points. The interactive nature of the class can increase if you come prepared and are willing to take some initiative in this regard.

If specific techniques work best for you or if you know of additional methods that you've seen work well in other classes, feel free to suggest them and if they can be incorporated into the class, we'll try to do it.

**Please note:** In constructing this class, I do not assume that any of you have previous knowledge of the Middle East region, even though some of you may have had other courses in Middle East history or politics. I do presume, however, that we all have some general familiarity with broad concepts in international relations, as well as some analytical and critical skills. If you sense you need some supplementary help in order to enhance your understanding and performance in this course, do not hesitate to come by and we can talk about your needs and how to meet them.

## **Class Participation**

Class participation is a vital component of this course and your active involvement in class sessions is therefore strongly encouraged. Participation in class discussions and group exercises is expected and will be considered in final course evaluations. Participation includes listening carefully and critically to the views expressed by classmates, as well as the expression of personal views. You should always be prepared during each class session to discuss current political events as they relate to the subject of the course.

The minimum level of class participation is class attendance. Due to the structure of the course, you should not expect to do well without regular class attendance. **A general guideline is that any absence rate greater than fifteen percent (excused and unexcused) is excessive and will lower your grade for participation.** If you do miss a class, you are still responsible for all materials covered.

## **Special Circumstances**

If you have any kind of special circumstances that I should know about, please make me aware **right away**. For example, if you have a diagnosed (or undiagnosed) learning disability, if you have a physical impairment of any kind, or if you are an athlete or club member who will travel, I need to know at the start of the semester in order that we can make certain that your needs can be met. It may be infinitely more difficult to accommodate you sufficiently if you delay in disclosing your needs. In addition, if you are a student who has problems writing, taking exams, or taking class notes, etc., there are many resources and programs you can take advantage of to improve your class performance. All you have to do is ask.

**Please Note: If you are a SNAP student eligible for accommodations, you must provide me with a copy of the notification letter you have been given by the SNAP office well before the need for any accommodation arises. If you are a student athlete who will miss class time due to away events, you must follow the procedures set out by the College in order to expect due consideration. In both cases, I will not guarantee granting your requests if I have not been given sufficient notice.**

## **Office Hours**

I have two sets of office hours scheduled that are for you to use. Do not be afraid to come by my office at these times, **especially if you have questions that are left unanswered from class or if you are experiencing any difficulties or uncertainties in the course.** If these hours conflict with your schedule, we can work out a mutually convenient time to meet. I'm around a lot--don't hesitate to come by and talk.

## **Course Groundrules**

**Attendance:** Absence from more than fifteen percent of the scheduled class sessions, whether excused or unexcused, is excessive. (Note: an absence memo from Student Affairs is for my information only – it does not buy you an “excused” absence. I make no distinctions between “excused” and “unexcused” absences). Students missing more than five class sessions will lose one full letter grade from the participation portion of their total average for

each additional absence.

**Late Work:** Late work will be severely penalized. Work that is turned in after the date and time due will lose five points off the total automatically (i.e. a paper with a numerical grade of 75 becomes a 70) and an additional five points will be deleted for every subsequent extra day. Work is considered late (and the clock begins ticking) if it is not handed in at the time requested. A student who does not inform me of a missed exam within 24 hours and cannot produce a legitimate, substantiated reason for absence will fail the missed exam automatically and will have no opportunities for a make-up test.

**Electronic Submissions:** **NO** work may be submitted to me electronically for credit under any circumstances. You must have legible printed copies of work for me to collect and read when assignments are due.

**Academic Dishonesty:** When you enrolled in the College of Charleston, you were bound by an Honor Code. I expect you to abide by that code. If you are found to have cheated on an exam or plagiarized any of your written work, you will fail this course and be turned over to the Honor Board for further disciplinary action. If you have any doubts about what constitutes cheating or plagiarism, ask before you act.

**Courtesy and Tolerance:** As this course progresses, you will doubtlessly find that your ideas about Middle East international relations do not always match the views of your fellow students, the authors of your texts, or your instructor. This is the stuff of Middle East international relations. However, if this course is to prove rewarding for everyone (as it should), it is absolutely essential for each participant to respect and tolerate the ideas and opinions of others in the class. It is equally important for everyone to discuss issues on the basis of information and analysis rather than emotion and volume. By adopting such a posture, you will hopefully find the class to be a challenging and enlightening experience where you will have many opportunities to rethink what you know or believe to be true about Middle East international relations.

In keeping with courtesy, I will insist that all cell phones and other personal electronic devices must be **turned off** before class and remain OFF throughout the class session. Laptops are permitted for note-taking purposes only; if you employ these devices for other tasks, you will no longer be permitted to use them in class. Keep in mind, however, that research suggests you are more likely to recall information if you actually write it as opposed to type or transcribe it electronically – sometimes “old fashioned” methods have their advantages.

**Time Spent Outside of Class:** I have high expectations for you in this course and have crafted it with that thought in mind. I envisage that to successfully complete the work in this course, **you will need to consistently spend two to three hours working outside of class for every hour you spend inside the classroom**, and there may be occasional periods where more time is required. Students who are not committed to spending that kind of time studying and preparing for class should expect to struggle. It is important to note, as well, that time alone does not automatically ensure success — the kind of time you devote to studying and how you approach the endeavor may be just as critical. You can devote time to preparing and studying that is effective and ineffective. If you ever wish to discuss these kinds of issues with me, feel free.

One underutilized student resource is the **Center for Student Learning (CSL)**, which offers academic support services for assistance in study strategies, including tutoring, supplemental instruction, study skills consultations and workshops. For example, the Writing Lab is staffed with trained consultants offering one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. For more information on what help is available to you for free as students, visit the CSL website at <http://csl.cofc.edu> or call (843) 953-5635.

## **Method of Evaluation**

Final course evaluations will be based upon class participation and involvement in class discussions, writing a research paper in stages, sitting for two term examinations (including take home essays) and a cumulative final exam in class. Examinations will be primarily composed of two types of questions: identification of key terms and short answer questions; take home essays will require you to integrate theory and substance to build your own explanations of events. The examinations will cover lectures, class discussions and required readings. A detailed

study guide will be distributed prior to each exam containing terms to define and sample short answer questions. Guidelines for the research paper will be distributed in a separate handout. Grading will be based on the following distribution of credit:

Class participation	10 percent
First term exam and take home essay	15 percent
Second term exam and take home essay	20 percent
Research paper assignment	35 percent
Proposal	5 percent
Draft	10 percent
Final version	20 percent
Final exam	20 percent

A numerical and literal translation of grades assigned is as follows:

A – Superior (100-92)	A minus – Excellent (91-89)	B+ -- Very Good (88-86)
B – Good (85-82)	B minus – Promising (81-79)	C+ -- Fair (78-76)
C – Average (75-72)	C minus – Acceptable (71-69)	D+ -- Barely Acceptable (68-66)
D – Merely Passing (65-62)	D minus – Barely Passing (61-59)	F – Failure (58-0)

Opportunities for "extra credit" are not available.

If it appears the class is insufficiently prepared, I reserve the right to give unannounced quizzes and the grades will be factored into your participation totals. However, quizzes waste a lot of everyone's time; it will be a measure of our collective success if we manage to avoid them.

**Note: A failing grade will be given to any student who misses an exam and does not notify me within 24 hours (messages may be left in the Political Science office). A legitimate, substantiated reason for absence (medical excuse from a doctor) must be produced in order to be eligible for a make-up exam.**

## Reading and Texts

Specific reading assignments are listed in the course outline. Students are responsible for completing the assigned reading **prior to the class period date for which it is assigned.**

Assignments will be made in the following books:

Louise Fawcett, ed, International Relations of the Middle East, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013)

F. Gregory Gause III, The International Relations of the Persian Gulf (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Joel Migdal, Shifting Sands: The United States in the Middle East (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014)

Mark L. Haas, The Clash of Ideologies: Middle Eastern Politics and American Security (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

All required texts are available at the College of Charleston Bookstore. There are also a number of other ways to acquire these texts, including renting books, buying books on-line, or buying electronic versions of books. How you handle accessing this material is your choice – the only imperative is that you have access to each of these books throughout the semester in a format that can be used inside and outside of the classroom. Additional course readings are indicated with a (\*) in the course outline and will be made available through the course OAKS content page.

It is also important for you to keep up with current events and developments in the Middle East and international relations as you take this course. Unfortunately, the Charleston Post and Courier will not be much help in that regard. I suggest reading The New York Times as often as possible. Discount subscriptions to The New York Times are available through the New York Times website. This arrangement allows you to purchase the paper on weekdays for a significant savings over the newsstand price. **I highly recommend taking advantage of this opportunity if you do not already have regular access to one of the newspapers listed below.** The additional resources listed below are also helpful in keeping up with the pressing issues and debates in Middle East politics and international relations more broadly; they are strongly recommended:

#### Newspapers

- The New York Times
- The Christian Science Monitor
- The Washington Post
- The Economist
- The Wall Street Journal

#### Middle East Journals

- Middle East Journal
- Middle East Studies
- Middle East Quarterly
- Middle East Policy
- Middle East Review of Int. Affairs
- Middle East Affairs
- Middle East Critique
- British Journal of Middle East Studies
- Contemporary Arab Affairs
- Iranian Studies
- Arab Studies Journal
- Israeli Affairs
- Israel Studies
- International Journal of Middle East Studies
- Journal of Palestine Studies
- Middle East Report
- Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies
- Mediterranean Quarterly
- Mediterranean Politics
- Arab Studies Quarterly
- Turkish Studies
- Cairo Review of Global Affairs
- Middle Eastern Law and Governance
- Digest of Middle East Studies (DOMES)
- Journal of Arabian Studies

#### International Relations Journals

- International Security
- International Organization
- Journal of Conflict Resolution
- Journal of Peace Research
- Cooperation and Conflict
- International Theory
- Security Studies
- Review of International Studies
- International Interactions
- Journal of International Affairs
- International Affairs (London)
- International Social Science Journal
- European Journal of International Relations
- World Politics
- International Studies Quarterly
- International Studies Review
- International Studies Perspectives

#### Websites (with scholarly material)

- Council on Foreign Relations  
[www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)
- Carnegie Endowment  
[www.carnegieendowment.org](http://www.carnegieendowment.org)
- Center for Strategic and International Studies  
[www.csis.org](http://www.csis.org)
- U.S. Institute for Peace  
[www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)
- International Crisis Group  
[www.crisisgroup.org](http://www.crisisgroup.org)

In addition, blogging has become a significant communication and political activity inside the region and outside the region among some scholarly commentators. The scholarly blogs you might peruse during the term include those maintained by the University of Michigan's Juan Cole ([www.juancole.com](http://www.juancole.com)), the University of Oklahoma's Joshua Landis ([www.joshualandis.com/blog/](http://www.joshualandis.com/blog/)), and independent journalist Helena Cobban (<http://justworldnews.org>). The Foreign Policy website ([www.foreignpolicy.com](http://www.foreignpolicy.com)) also hosts important blogs that contain useful updates on topics often ignored by the mainstream media. Take note that while the narrative content of these blogs is typically heavily opinionated, the views of individual bloggers are often informed by scholarly work and they do periodically provide roadmaps to scholarly work and primary source materials originating with

others inside and outside the region.

### **Hints for Reading and Writing -- Survival Tips**

When seeking to understand the Middle East and its place in the world, it is important to wrestle with the region's complexities and appreciate the many key events inside and outside the region that have helped shape the Middle East's international relations. We will be reading several books through the semester that will help us in this endeavor. At times, the reading may prove to be difficult for some of you and reading assignments will quickly become burdensome if you choose to procrastinate and leave them to just before the exam. Thus, I have some suggestions to help you in your reading.

First, complete the assigned reading before you come to class on the day we are slated to discuss the topic. My purpose here is not to torment you. Rather, if you have even a vague familiarity with the subject matter upon entering class, you will find that our discussions will mean more to you. You will be able to more readily recognize important points and add context to what you have read. Our class discussions are also the perfect time to ask questions about readings and get clarification on issues or points you do not fully understand or feel comfortable with. If you wait and read later, you are unaware of what problems you might have and the opportunities to work them out sufficiently have often vanished.

After you read a chapter for the first time, consider going back and taking some notes as well. Much of what we read we do not retain for very long. However, committing information to paper in our own words can help stretch our retention capabilities. Attempting to summarize what someone is saying in your own words can also be a useful way of discovering what you understand and do not understand. In addition, notes are a helpful study tool when you are reviewing for exams or considering ideas for papers. The notes you take on readings need not be extensive or recount every detail. You might simply seek to identify what the major themes and key points of a chapter are, identify and try to define new terms used in the chapter, and think about why the material is important and how it relates to other topics we have already discussed in the course.

Once we have discussed a topic in class, you should consider reviewing the assigned readings and your notes to see that you have indeed identified the major points and that you feel you understand the material sufficiently. If the readings were very confusing when you read them before class or you did not feel you got much out of them, you might even reread the material after the discussion to see if you understand it any better. There is an unstated (and faulty) assumption among many students that we should only read pieces once in order to gain a full appreciation of them; however, it often takes two or three readings to attain the full measure of what an author has to offer. We often see more if we give ourselves the opportunity of a second time around.

\*\*\*If you want more information on developing strategies for critical reading, please ask for the handout with examples which I am happy to provide you.

To succeed in this class, it will also be important for you to hone your writing abilities. During the semester, you will complete two take home exam essays and a staged research paper assignment designed to help you develop your skills in synthesizing other's ideas and constructing your own. Just as reading effectively is a process with many often overlooked stages, so too is writing. As you prepare written work for this class, consider the following steps:

**Invention:** When you prepare to write, allow yourself ample time to think about what it is you intend to say, how you wish to say it, and who will be your intended audience. The process of invention is one that can and probably should begin long before you actually begin writing your assignment. This is the time when you should be finding out about what it is you intend to write about, which strategies for writing you intend to employ to reach your audience effectively, and what tentative main point or thesis you hope to express and substantiate in your paper. As you make decisions and come up with ideas, it is useful to commit them to paper.

**Drafting:** Once you think you have some direction for your written work, begin setting more concrete goals of what you want or need your paper to say, what kind of opening you will use, what kind of end



message you want your reader to walk away with. Plan the organization of your paper by constructing an outline of the entire work and then after refining that plan, write a rough draft. Allow yourself plenty of time before the due date to complete a rough draft. No paper ever emerges from one's head to paper in perfect form and most do not emerge in anything close to what we are finally capable of producing. The more opportunities we allow ourselves to create, rethink and rewrite, the stronger our final effort will be.

**Revising:** With a rough draft of your ideas committed to paper, it is infinitely easier to begin the process of recrafting your thoughts and words into a successful final version. Hopefully, you've given yourself time to allow your paper to sit idle (preferably for at least a day or two) before you go back to working on it. Getting a little distance and perspective on your ideas often helps you to see weaknesses, flaws and areas of new potential that otherwise go unnoticed. When you return to your paper, evaluate your work in terms of its focus (Am I saying exactly what I want to say?), organization (Is my paper structured appropriately to make my points?), content (Is my work complete and authoritative? Does it include all the necessary information but not too much?), and readability (If I were the reader and not the author, could I follow my points easily?). Revise your draft until you are satisfied that you have attained your goals.

**Proofreading:** Once you have finished making substantive changes in your draft, always proofread it for errors in spelling, usage and punctuation.

In both the case of reading and writing, allowing yourself plenty of time to do the work required is vital -- last minute efforts are always less successful and often reflect badly on your abilities and performance.

### Dates to Remember

Friday, February 5	First Term Exam
Friday, February 12	First Take Home Exam Essay due (by 4:30 in my office)
Monday, February 15	Research Paper Proposal and Preliminary Outline Due (in class)
Wednesday, March 23	Second Term Exam
Wednesday, March 30	Second Take Home Exam Essay due (by 4:30 in my office)
Monday, April 4	Rough Draft of Research Paper Due (4:30 p.m. in my office)
Friday, April 22	Final Draft of Research Paper Due (4:30 p.m. in my office)
Monday, April 25	Final Exam (noon-3:00 p.m.)

## Course Outline and Required Readings

(\*) denotes reading on course OAKS content page

### *I. Course Introduction (January 8)*

Key questions: How did United States policy toward the Middle East in the George W. Bush administration resemble the approach taken by his predecessors? How did it represent a clear break with the past? According to Migdal, what are the primary ingredients that have shaped the US relationship with the region since the mid-twentieth century? How does this differ from the perspectives offered by others and what does it specifically emphasize about the peoples of the region that other interpretations of the US role in the region deny? How has the US responded to the changes underway in the region today? How does this compare with the responses of other states in the world? What challenges does the “awakening” in the region hold for international relations? Why is the “Arab Spring” an inappropriate metaphor to describe the recent uprisings in the region? What transnational factors have made all states in the Arab world vulnerable to popular anger? Why must assessments of the region’s uprisings remain provisional?

Key concepts: long war, preemptive war, preventive war, revolution

Key terms: Bush Doctrine, Bernard Lewis, Kefaya (Enough)

**Readings:** Migdal, pp. ix-xiii;  
Fawcett in Fawcett, pp. 1-15;  
(\* ) Jentelson, Bruce. 2011. “Beware the Duck Test,” Washington Quarterly 34 (3): 137-149;  
(\* ) James Gelvin, 2013. “Conclusion: The Arab World at the Intersection of the National and Transnational” in The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East. eds. Mark Haas and David Lesch. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 238-255.

### *II. Where is the Middle East -- Geographically and Academically? (January 11-13)*

Key questions: Where is the Middle East? Why is that question not so easy to answer? Where did the term “Middle East” come from and why are its defining characteristics so ambiguous? What Middle East transformations have re-ordered the political and social dynamics of the region? How was the U.S. impacted by these changes? Why was 9/11 so important to studying the IR of the Middle East? What controversies were given additional voice by the attacks? What have been the central tensions between area studies and international relations when it comes to the Middle East? Why have these tensions emerged and what effects have they had on scholarship and scholars? Why has interdisciplinary research on the Middle East been so rare? What is constructivism and why might its approach to IR hold some level of hope for increasing the amount of cross fertilization between Middle Eastern Studies and IR? What cultural baggage and racial stereotypes do many Americans bring to their encounters with the Middle East? What are the roots of these perceptions and ideas? How do these perceptions emerge in contemporary American society and popular US conceptions of the Middle East as a region? How is this connected to Said’s concept of orientalism? How is this reflected in, combated by scholarly depictions and investigations of the region?

Key concepts: orientalism, constructivism, othering, globalization

Key terms: area studies, international relations, interdisciplinarity, Middle East Studies (MES), Middle East Studies Association (MESA), “Greater Middle East”, Arab world, clash of civilizations, Edward Said, strategic partnerships

**Readings:** Migdal, pp. 3-19;  
(\* ) Culcasi, Karen. 2010. “Constructing and Naturalizing the Middle

- East” The Geographical Review 100 (4): 583-597;
- (\*) Khalidi, Rashid. 1998. “The ‘Middle East’ as a Framework for Analysis: Re-mapping A Region in the Era of Globalization” Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East 18 (1): 74-81;
- (\*) Bilgin, Pinar. 2004. “Is the ‘Orientalist’ Past the Future of Middle East Studies?” Third World Quarterly 25 (2): 423-433;
- (\*) Teti, Andrea. 2007. “Bridging the Gap: IR, Middle East Studies and the Disciplinary Politics of the Area Studies Controversy” European Journal of International Relations 13 (1): 117-145.

## Part I – The Context for Today – January 15-March 4

### *III. Frameworks for Understanding the International Relations of the Middle East (January 15-25)*

Key questions: So again, where is the Middle East? Why do conceptions of the region differ and why does this matter? How does IR typically represent the Middle East region as compared to other regions of the world? Where do many of these images come from? Why are many of these images distortions or oversimplifications? What do they potentially conceal about the region? Where has the study of regions fit in the discipline of international relations? What tensions exist between the study of one world and many worlds? What are the advantages to studying regions in international relations? How do structural realists make sense of the world and the Middle East? What do they disagree over amongst themselves and why? How do neoliberal institutionalists compare with structural realists in terms of their expectations for the world and the Middle East? What contributions does the English School make to explanations of Middle Eastern international relations? How do these ideas compare with the insights of historical sociology? Where do constructivists – pragmatic and radical – fit into the mix? What does post-structuralism and post-modernism have to offer? What has quantitative research on the Middle East tended to focus on and what has it revealed? How have Middle Eastern and International Relations scholars understood power transitions in the region? Why does distance remain between IR and ME studies? What does it mean to view a region like the Persian Gulf as a regional security complex? What factors have driven outside powers in their behavior toward the Persian Gulf? How might it be useful to view the entire region as a “system”? What have been the prevailing patterns of cooperation and conflict in the region throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century?

Key concepts: realism, neo-realism, structural realism, liberalism, (neo)liberal institutionalism, English School, constructivism (idealism), structuralism, regional systems, balance of power, hegemony, power transition theory, power cycle theory, historical sociology, bandwagoning, democratic peace theory, dependency theory, the state, post-structuralism, post-modernism, alliances, self-determination, unilateralism, illiberal transnational forces, security regions, regional balancing, offshore balancing, unipolarity, multipolarity, fundamentalism, unitary state, political culture, globalization, security dilemmas, Westphalian sovereignty, hierarchies, networks, supranational organizations, discursive power, militarized interstate disputes (MIDs), conflict cycles, diffusion theory

Key terms: Millennium Challenge program, international institutions, Persian Gulf, Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Arab Cooperation Council (ACC), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), United Arab Republic (UAR), Iranian revolution, foreign policy analysis (FPA), clash of civilizations, core states, peripheral states, Shi’a, Sunni, Kurd, tribe, global war on terrorism, worker remittances, foreign direct investment, Baghdad Pact (CENTO); Martin Wight

- Readings:** Gause, pp. 1-15;  
 Lawson in Fawcett, pp. 19-36;  
 (\*) Halliday, Fred. 2005. “International Relations Theory and the Middle East” in The Middle East in International Relations. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 21-40;

- (\*) Snyder, Glenn. 1984. "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics" World Politics 36 (4): 461-495;
- (\*) Hurrell, Andrew. 2007. "One World? Many Worlds? The Place of Regions in the Study of International Society" International Affairs 83 (1): 127-146;
- (\*) Korany, Bahgat. 2010. "Looking at the Middle East Differently: An Alternative Conceptual Lens" in The Changing Middle East: A New Look at Regional Dynamics, ed. Bahgat Korany. Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, pp. 7-42.

*Monday, January 18 – Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday (no class)  
Consider engaging in service to the community*

#### *IV. The Role of Ideology in Explaining Middle Eastern International Relations (January 27-29)*

Key questions: What are the key hypotheses that Haas seeks to test? How is each derived? How does each align with existing international relations theory? What do these hypotheses predict for U.S. relations with Muslim-majority states of the Middle East if they are confirmed? What methods does Haas utilize to conduct his studies? What does Migdal argue has determined America's place in the Middle East? How has America's place in the Middle East evolved in the post-World War II era since FDR? Why did the region become the center of global affairs? What was different about the prevailing patterns of behavior between the region and the great powers when comparing these dynamics to what prevailed in Europe?

Key concepts: security threats, regime change, liberalization, ideological distance, ideological polarity, balancing, bandwagoning, democratic peace thesis, alliances, ideological bipolarity vs. multipolarity

Key terms: Greater Middle East Initiative

**Readings:** Haas, pp. xiii-xvii; 3-65;  
Migdal, pp. 20-38.

#### *V. Applying Those Frameworks to Think About War in the Middle East (February 1-3)*

Key questions: What has distinguished 20<sup>th</sup> century war in the Middle East from regional wars in other historical periods? What have been the records of war in the region throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century? What conflicts have been the most significant and why? How do international relations theorists and Middle East area studies scholars explain outbreaks of war in the Middle East? What theories do they employ and what insights to their studies, theories reveal? What do the differences among their explanations say about their approaches? What do the differences among their explanations say about the nature of great power penetration and struggle in the region? What do the results say about regional rivalries and the internal dynamics of states when seeking to account for war? How do revolutions (especially as understood by Halliday) fit into these discussions? Why has conflict resolution often proven so difficult to achieve in the Middle East?

Key concepts: wars, arms races, balance of power, state-to nation balance, offensive realism, defensive realism, civil war, Middle East exceptionalism, authoritarianism, legitimate authority, revolution, inequality, freedom, justice and rights

Key terms: Young Turks, regional wars, Algerian war of independence, Six-day war, October war, Iran-Iraq war, Suez war, gulf wars, Collier-Hoeffler model, Northern Tier, pan-Arabism, pan-Islam, Zionism, Kurds, ethnic fragmentation, Greater Syria, Greater Israel, right of return, Bella Levantina, Pax Asiatica, ASEAN, rentier states, rubber cages

**Readings:** (\*) Halliday, Fred. 2005. "Military Conflict: War, Revolt, Strategic Rivalry" in The Middle East in International Relations. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 167-192;

- (\*) Lawson, George. 2011. "Halliday's Revenge: Revolutions and International Relations" International Affairs 87 (5): 1067-1085;
- (\*) Stoligen, Etel. 2007. "Pax Asiatica versus Bella Levantina: The Foundations of War and Peace in East Asia and the Middle East," American Political Science Review 101 (4): 757-780;
- (\*) Sorli, Mirjam, Nils Petter Gleditsch and Havard Strand. 2005. "Why is There So Much Conflict in the Middle East?" Journal of Conflict Resolution 49 (1): 141-165;
- (\*) Miller, Benjamin. 2006. "Balance of Power or the State-to-Nation Balance: Explaining the Middle East War Propensity" Security Studies 15 (4): 658-705.

First Term Exam – Friday, February 5

**VI. Legacies of the Past (February 8-10)**

Key questions: What factors fuelled western hostility toward Muslims from the Crusades forward? What led this hostility to transition to more peaceful relations – and then to more suspicion of the Ottomans? Why were some prominent Europeans not persuaded to adopt the new hostility? How did the rise of "Orientalism" alter this relationship between the west and the "Middle East" further? How did the gradual decline of the Ottoman Empire influence European perceptions of Islam? How did European commercial ventures to India and beyond influence relations with the Ottoman Empire and what would become an emerging "Middle East"? What explanations have been posed for the "rise of the west" and why do many of these explanations fail to account for events? How do different schools of thought in international relations account for the west's rise during this time? What distinguishes "internalist" and "externalist" accounts and how might each contribute to a coherent explanation? How did the "rise of the west" alter the west's conception of Islam again? How did accounts of travelers to the region affect these conceptions? What myths about European penetration of the Muslim world are challenged by Ansary's account? Why was the continued expansion of the Ottoman Empire so critical to its survival? How did the European trader presence complicate the *economics* of the Ottoman Empire? How did it alter the *administration* of the Ottoman Empire? How did the Ottomans sow some of the seeds of their own demise? How did the Ottoman Empire's decline compare with what was happening in Safavid Persia and Moghul India? How did these dynamics contribute to what became known as the "Great Game"? How did the "Great Game" affect the international relations of the "Middle East"? Why did the British change their perspective on Sharif Husain? Why did this betrayal become a pivotal moment in modern Middle Eastern history? What had the British wanted from Husain and what did they promise in return? What territories did the British want excluded from any agreement and why did these become so critical? How did the French subdue Syria? How do British and French mandate governing structures differ? How were these differences displayed in Britain's rule of Egypt and French rule in Syria? What were the initial indications of an "Arab revolution" in response to the mandates?

Key concepts: orientalism, mandates, liberal age, veiled protectorates, imperialism, oriental despotism, dualism

Key terms: Sharif Husain, Hashemites, Sykes-Picot agreement, Sir Henry McMahon, Husain-McMahon correspondence, Ibn Saud, Yawm Maysalun, King Faruq, Ottomans, Crusades, Enlightenment, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Safavids, Qajar dynasty, Great Game, the Eastern Question, Mohammad Ali, Napoleon

- Readings:**
- (\*) Salt, Jeremy. 2008. "Exit the Sharif" in The Unmaking of the Middle East: A History of Western Disorder in Arab Lands. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 79-90;
  - (\*) Lockman, Zachary. 2010. "Islam, the West and the Rest" in Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 38-65;
  - (\*) Ansary, Tamim. 2009. "West Comes East" in Destiny Disrupted:

**A History of the World Through Islamic Eyes. New York: Public Affairs, pp. 217-246.**

### ***VII. Creation of the Modern Middle East (February 12-15)***

Key questions: How did the Versailles Peace conference constitute the Arab world's "entry" into international relations? Why did the Europeans assume the region had no prior experience with statehood and therefore with "international relations" as it was known and why were these assumptions false? How did such conceptions nonetheless inform European plans for partitioning the region? What impacts did these actions have on European relations with the Arabs and other peoples of the region? What did the colonial experience create in terms of new regional structures and leave in terms of ideological legacies? How did these structures and ideas align with notions of identity in the region? What did the tensions between identity and territory bring in terms of regional events and how did the outside world begin to react to these developments? How has Europe's relationship with the Middle East evolved since the period of imperial retreat?

Key concepts: nationalism, identity, irredentism, nation-building, regional state systems, states, sovereignty, supra-states, partition, neo-realism, constructivism, soft power

Key terms: Versailles peace conference, Wafd, Amir Faisal, King-Crane commission, mandate system, Balfour Declaration, Arabism, New Security Agenda, Barcelona Declaration, Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), Gulf Cooperation Council

**Readings:** Rogan in Fawcett, pp. pp. 37-59;  
Hinnebusch in Fawcett, pp. 148-166;  
(\* ) Lawson, Fred. 2006. "Westphalian Sovereignty Comes to the Arab World" in Constructing International Relations in the Arab World. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 19-50.

**Friday, February 12 –First Take Home Exam Essay due (by 4:30 in my office)**

**Research Paper Proposals and Preliminary Outlines due (in class)**  
**Monday, February 15**

### ***VIII. The Cold War Arena – Regional and Beyond (February 17-19)***

Key questions: How did the Cold War play out in the Middle East region? What were the initial US/USSR flashpoints in the region and why did they emerge? How did the region's relationships with the competing superpowers evolve over time? What factors most contributed to explaining these ebbs and flows in relationships? How did American presidential doctrines reflect these factors? How did they specifically motivate and justify American approaches to the region during the Cold War? To what extent were the states of the region manipulated by one or both superpowers and to what extent did the states of the region manipulate the superpowers? How are these trends reflected in the evolution of revolutionary nationalism in the region? What contrasting outcomes emerged from the Cold War in the Middle East region? How did the Cold War raise expectations regarding modernization in the Middle East? Why did it exacerbate rivalries among Arab anti-colonial movements? What legacies did the Cold War leave in the region and what legacies did the region leave the Cold War? Why do some analysts suggest there was a Cold War underway within the Middle East regional subsystem during much of this period of time? What states were contending powers and what was the Arab Cold War fought over? How did regional alignments shift over time and what factors affected these changes primarily? How did U.S. policy toward the Middle East evolve from Truman to Eisenhower? Why did the two decades after 1947 not go well in the Middle East for American policymakers? What were the lasting impacts of the Cold War on the Middle East?

Key concepts: pan-Arabism, Arab Cold War, containment, deterrence, correlation of forces, Arab socialism, revolutionary nationalism, Arc of Crisis, stages of economic growth, chastened doctrine, hedges, client states

Key terms: Truman Doctrine, Aswan Dam, Eisenhower Doctrine, Baghdad Pact, Suez Crisis, Nixon Doctrine, Carter Doctrine, Non-aligned Movement, revolutionary democracies, Sayyid Qutb, Hassan Fathy, ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Bazzaz, the People’s Court, William Polk, Seven Sisters

- Readings:**
- Migdal, pp. 41-58;**
  - Sluglett in Fawcett, pp. 60-76;**
  - (\*) Halliday, Fred. 1997. “The Middle East, the Great Powers and the Cold War” in The Cold War and the Middle East ed. Yezid Sayigh and Avi Shlaim. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 6-26;**
  - (\*) Miller, Benjamin. 2001. “The Global Sources of Regional Transitions from War to Peace” Journal of Peace Research 38 (2): 199-225;**
  - (\*) Tal, David. 2009. “The Making, Operation and Failure of the May 1950 Tripartite Declaration on Middle East Security” British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 36 (2): 177-193;**
  - (\*) Citino, Nathan. 2012. “The ‘Crush’ of Ideologies: The United States, the Arab World and Cold War Modernization” Cold War History 12 (1): 89-110;**
  - (\*) Ferris, Jesse. 2008. “Soviet Support for Egypt’s Intervention in Yemen, 1962-63.” Journal of Cold War Studies 10 (4): 5-36.**

#### ***IX. Internationalizing the Arab-Israeli Conflict (February 22-24)***

Key Questions: Why has the Middle East proven to be a “graveyard” for many contemporary theories of international relations? What has been especially challenging about the region’s dynamics and the theories of conflict and peace developed in international relations? How have the Arab-Israeli wars and the conflicts between Israel and the Palestinians more specifically proved difficult to fully explain in the context of existing theories of international relations? What factors led to the U.S. recognition of the Israeli state and why was this controversial? How has the conflict itself been “internationalized”? What role have the superpowers played in stoking and cooling the conflict over time? How have other external states like the Europeans historically approached the conflict? What have been the regional and extra-regional alliances and alignments toward this conflict? What was particularly important internationally about the Six Day war? How did this war change the nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict? Why is it a myth to suggest that opposition to Israel has been the one policy stance that unites all the Arab states in the region? What brought about the American “special relationship” with Israel? What was Black September and why was this event crucial to the reassessment of Israel’s relationship with the U.S.? How did the emergence of that relationship change the nature of the conflict? What was significant about the 1973 war and its outcome for U.S. relations with the Middle East and U.S.-USSR relations? How did the superpowers approach efforts at resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict during the Cold War?

Key concepts: low intensity conflict, asymmetrical warfare, balance of power, preventive war, learning

Key terms: United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), Suez War, Six-Day War, Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, Arab summits, *intifada*, Zionism, UN Security Council Resolution 242, War of Attrition, Black September, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Rabat Declaration, step-by-step diplomacy, American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Camp David Accords, Madrid conference, Iran-Contra

- Readings:**
- Migdal, pp. 59-103;**
  - Smith in Fawcett, pp. 245-267;**
  - (\*) Podeh, Elie. 1999. “The Desire to Belong Syndrome: Israel and Middle East Defense, 1948-1954.” Israel Studies 4 (3): 121-149;**
  - (\*) Goldman, Zachary. 2009. “Ties that Bind: John F. Kennedy and the Foundations of the American-Israeli Alliance” Cold War History 9 (1): 23-58;**
  - (\*) van der Matt, Eelco. 2011. “Sleeping Hegemons: Third Party**

**Intervention Following Territorial Integrity Transgressions”  
Journal of Peace Research 48 (2): 201-215;**

- (\*) Lesch, David. 2008. “Cold Wars and the Middle East Matrix” in The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 162-194;
- (\*) Slater, Jerome. 1990. “The Superpowers and the Arab-Israeli Political Settlement: The Cold War Years.” Political Science Quarterly 105 (4): 557-577.

***X. The Oil Revolution and the Politics of the Persian Gulf (February 26-29)***

Key questions: What impact has oil had on relations between the region and the rest of the world? What role have American businesses played in the development of Middle East oil? What have been the political effects of these roles? What were the dynamics of struggle over Iraqi oil during the Cold War? How did they represent a collision of raw material sovereignty and energy security? How did Iraq’s successful nationalization contribute to a larger challenge posed to the prevailing international political economy? What are the critical limits to any explanation of oil and Middle Eastern international relations? How did the presence of oil help consolidate the existing Middle Eastern regional state system? What role did it play in regional alliance formation? How did oil lift the profile and influence of the region internationally after the oil revolution? What forces of cooperation and conflict active in the region have been influenced by oil? What forces of cooperation and conflict between the region and other parts of the world have not been influenced predominantly by oil? How have each been in play especially in the Persian Gulf region? How did a regional Gulf system develop? What were the Gulf’s relationships with other states in the region? How and why did alliances shift? How did these dynamics alter the region’s international relations?

Key concepts: rentier states, oil revolution, regionalism, regionalization, quotas, boycotts, nationalization, raw material sovereignty, energy security, budget security

Key terms: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Arab League, Seven Sisters, Arabian American Oil company (ARAMCO), Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Kurds, Algiers Agreement, Dhufar rebellion, Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC), Iraq National Oil Company (INOC), Rumaila oil field

- Readings:** Luciani in Fawcett, pp. 103-126;  
Fawcett in Fawcett, pp. 185-204;  
Gause, pp. 16-44;
- (\*) Campbell, John. 1977. “Oil Power in the Middle East” Foreign Affairs 56 (4): 89-110;
- (\*) Krapels, Edward N. 1993. “The Commanding Heights: International Oil in a Changed World.” International Affairs 69 (1): 71-89.
- (\*) Dietrich, Christopher. 2011. “Arab Oil Belongs to the Arabs’: Raw Material Sovereignty, Cold War Boundaries and the Nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company, 1967-1973” Diplomacy and Statecraft 22 (3): 450-479;
- (\*) Brand, Laurie. 1994. “Economics and Shifting Alliances: Jordan’s Relations with Syria and Iraq, 1975-1981” International Journal of Middle East Studies 26 (3): 393-414.

***XI. The Iranian Revolution, Islamism and Regional Wars (March 2-4)***

Key questions: What factors were critical in ushering in the Iranian revolution in 1979? What was the revolution’s outlook on international relations? What were the immediate geo-political effects of the revolution? What were the reactions of actors elsewhere in the Middle East to the revolution? What factors account for these reactions? What were the reactions to the revolution by the superpowers and other major world actors? What factors account for the US reaction specifically? How did the American hostage crisis come about and what international ramifications did it contain? How did the Iran-Iraq war



come about? What impact did the Iran-Iraq war have regionally and internationally? How were external powers drawn into the conflict? What has made the Iranian revolution the most important contemporary event in the Persian Gulf region (and perhaps the entire Middle East)? How has it compelled scholars and activists to rethink the capacity of political Islam to be an organizing force within the region? How has Islam historically been treated in international relations? How have the geopolitics of Islam changed since the days of the Cold War?

Key concepts: dual containment, revolution, globalization, modernization theory

Key terms: twin pillars, the second oil shock, AWACS, tanker war, ship re-flagging, Vincennes, Iraqi revolution

**Readings:** Mandaville in Fawcett, pp. 168-184;  
Gause, pp 45-87;  
(\* ) Quandt, William. 1979. "The Middle East Crises" Foreign Affairs 58 (3): 540-562;  
(\* ) Sick, Gary 1987. "Iran's Quest for Superpower Status" Foreign Affairs 65 (1): 697-715.

March 7-11 – Spring Break (no classes)

## Part II – The Contemporary Scene – March 14-28

### *XII. The Greater West Asian Crisis (March 14-16)*

Key questions: What is the Greater West Asian crisis? Where is "Greater" West Asia? How did the collapse of the Cold War international system contribute to the emergence of the Greater West Asian crisis? What changes did the end of the Cold War specifically bring to the Middle East? How did the end of the Cold War alter the region's relations with the US, Russia, Europe and other strategic parts of the world? What new regional dynamics emerged in the wake of the Cold War? How are events like the Gulf War of 1990-91 indicative of the new dynamics accompanying the Greater West Asian crisis? What factors led the Iraqis to invade Kuwait and why did the international community respond as it did? To what extent was America's response shaped by elements of its Cold War experience and to what extent did its response diverge from these patterns? How did the region respond to Saddam's invasion and how did this response begin to alter existing regional relationships and structures? How was the war to expel Iraq from Kuwait the last war of the Cold War era ... and how was it the first war of the post-Cold War era? Why did America not respond to the Iraqi *intifada* as many anticipated it would? What prevailing dynamics emerged in the region after the Iraqis had been ousted from Kuwait? How were these shaped by international pressures? How did the US become a real Middle Eastern power during this period? What power shifts emerge within the region during this time and why? How was the nature of war and the nature threats in the region changing? To what extent have the events of 2011-2013 altered conceptions of security and threats to security in the region? What factors contribute to polarization in the region? How is polarization promoting a reconceptualization of the region's security order and what ends is this new order seeking to serve?

Key concepts: state autonomy, transnational armed violence, end of history, flexible response, brushfire wars, armed neutrality, intermestic politics, religio-politics, democracy deficit, state depth, structural illegitimacy, polarization, depoliticization, monarchical axis, fragmented vs. homogeneous societies, state capitalism

Key terms: the Iraqi *intifada*, UNSC Res. 687, Vietnam syndrome, UNSCOM, Khobar Towers, Mohammad Khatami, ruling bargains, Hisb al-Wasat, Hizballah, republics, monarchies, Tin Cup trip, Hashemite dynasty, struggle for Syria, seat of the pants syndrome, *Arab Human Development Report*

**Readings:** Korany in Fawcett, pp. 78-100;

**Legrezi and Calculli in Fawcett, pp. 205-221;**  
**Gause, pp. 88-135;**  
**Migdal, pp. 104-152;**  
**(\*) Brands, Hal. 2011. “Inside the Iraqi State Records: Saddam Hussein, ‘Irangate’ and the United States” Journal of Strategic Studies 34 (1): 95-118.**

### ***XIII. Arab-Israeli Peace -- 1993-2001 (March 18-21)***

Key questions: How did the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait affect the Arab-Israeli peace process? How did the international community respond to the Arab-Israeli conflict in the wake of the Gulf War? How did the peace process itself change and what was different about the international role? What happened publicly and behind the scenes and why were these dynamics ultimately so different? What was the essence of the Oslo process? How did the US respond to the emergence of the Oslo process? How did the Oslo process demonstrate the limits of American diplomacy on this issue? What did Oslo ultimately produce? What were the key obstacles to implementing the Oslo Accords? What did the Clinton administration attempt to accomplish at Camp David? Why did they make this attempt and why did it fail? Why is conventional wisdom about the failure of Camp David flawed?

Key concepts: *Pax Americana*

Key terms: Oslo process, Declaration of Principles, Oslo II, Wye Accord, Camp David II, al-Aqsa *intifada*, Taba

**Readings:** **Shlaim in Fawcett, pp. 268-285;**  
**(\*) Beinlin, Joel. 2006. “The Oslo Process and the Limits of a *Pax Americana*” in the Struggle for Sovereignty: Palestine and Israel 1993-2005 Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 21-37;**  
**(\*) Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley. 2001. “Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors” The New York Review of Books (August 9), pp. 59-60.**

### **Second Term Exam – Wednesday, March 23**

### ***XIV. 9/11 and the Iraq War (March 25-28)***

Key questions: What ironies surround the 9/11 attacks, particularly from an American perspective? What were the regional origins of the 9/11 attacks? How were the origins of the 9/11 attacks rooted in the US-Saudi relationship and Iraq? How did the US respond to the 9/11 attacks and how did the region respond to the American reactions? How did the American invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq shift regional alliances and how did it alter regional relations with the rest of the world? How are many of these trends illustrated by the reactions of small and less powerful states to the war? How has the Iraq war challenged conventional wisdom regarding the causes of war? How has the Iraq war challenged the conventional explanations for international relations and particularly how a hegemon behaves? How did it raise new concerns over orientalism? How have these issues manifested themselves ten years after the war’s end?

Key concepts: neocolonization, preventive war, soft power, imperial overreach, bargaining theory, *jihad*, clash of civilizations, orientalism, regime security, security architecture, external security, hegemonic stability theory, malign and benign hegemony, offshore balancing, bandwagoning

Key terms: Taliban, Bush Doctrine, “Roots of Muslim Rage”

**Readings:** **Gause, pp. 136-240;**  
**Migdal, pp. 211-247;**  
**Robins in Fawcett, pp. 304-320;**  
**(\*) Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2006. “Hegemonic Stability Theory Reconsidered: Implications of the Iraq War” in The Iraq War:**

- Causes and Consequences**, Eds. Rick Fawn and Raymond Hinnebusch. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, pp. 283-322;
- (\*) Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2006. "The Iraq War and International Relations: Implications for Small States" **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** 19 (3): 451-463;
- (\*) Pressman, Jeremy. 2009. "Power without Influence: The Bush Administration's Foreign Policy Failure in the Middle East" **International Security** 33 (4): 149-179;
- (\*) Lake, David. 2010/2011. "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War" **International Security** 35 (3): 7-52;
- (\*) Fawcett, Louise. 2013. "The Iraq War Ten Years On: Assessing the Fallout" **International Affairs** 89 (2): 325-343.

## **Part III – Today's Middle East IR (and Tomorrow's?) – March 30-April 21**

### ***XV. Current Configurations of the Middle East – The IR of Political Reform (March 30-April 1)***

Key questions: Why have authoritarian governments seemingly thrived in the Middle East and what role have outside powers played in this outcome? How did 9/11 change the approach western states adopted toward the states of the region – rhetorically and in terms of policy? How and why have uprisings emerged in some parts of the region and not others? What have been the reactions of outside powers to the attempts at regional change and to what extent have these reactions contributed to promoting regional political reform? What are the key factors that influence foreign policymaking among the Middle Eastern states? How are these factors reflected in the decisions made by key states toward seminal events in the region over the last decade? To what extent does foreign policymaking among the MENA states respond to expectations of realism or other theoretical traditions of international relations? How have ideological thresholds and differences created incentives for adversaries like Iran and Syria to ally? What role have emotions played in the formation of alliances and adversarial relationships between the states of the Middle East and western powers? What barriers of fear have potentially been broken as a result of the recent uprisings and what barriers of fear perhaps remain? What might any successful transitions to democracy in the region depend upon internationally?

Key concepts: humiliation, authoritarian model, democracy deficit, human development, rentierism, complex realism, "black box" of policymaking, bureaucratic politics, betrayal, dignity, fear, civic state, Responsibility to Protect (R2P), cosmopolitanism, traditionalism, cosmopolitan traditionalism, diffusion, neoliberalism, low-intensity democracy

Key terms: Jasmine Revolution, Iran's Green Movement, National Liberation Front (FLN), Hamas, 25 January Revolution, Freedom and Justice Party, Mukhtar revolution, Days of Rage, Pearl Roundabout, Sunnis, Shi'ites, Shi'a Crescent, Saddam Hussein, Hafez al-Asad, Gamal Abdul Nasser, 2006 Lebanon War, Hizbullah, War on Terror, Freedom Agenda

- Readings:** Norton in Fawcett, pp. 127-147;  
 Ehteshami and Hinnebusch in Fawcett, pp. 225-244;  
 Haas, pp. 125-163;
- (\*) Fattah, Khaled and K.M. Fierke. 2009. "A Clash of Emotions: The Politics of Humiliation and Political Violence in the Middle East" **European Journal of International Relations** 15 (1): 67-93;
- (\*) Webb, Adam. 2015. "The Rise of Cosmopolitan Traditionalists: From the Arab Spring to a Global Countermovement?" **International Political Science Review** 36 (4): 425-440;
- (\*) Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2015. "Globalization, Democratization, and the Arab Uprisings: The International Factor in MENA's Failed Democratization" **Democratization** 22 (2): 335-357.

Wednesday, March 30 -- Second Take Home Exam Essay due (by 4:30 in my office)

Rough Drafts of Research Papers due (by 4:30 in my office)

Monday, April 4

**XVI. Current Configurations of the Middle East – A New Regional System (April 4-8)**

Key questions: How do ideological variables influence Iranian threat perceptions and policies toward the United States? How have ideologies influenced the emphasis and direction of Turkish foreign policy after the Cold War? Why do some states aspire to greater world stature than others and under what conditions do they attain it? What are the driving assumptions behind the concept of a “New Middle East” and why are these open to question? What is different about the 21<sup>st</sup> century Middle East and Arab world? What continuities exist with the region of the 1950’s and 1960’s? Why do some analysts suggest the possibility of a new Arab Cold War arising? How might its dynamics differ with the previous Arab Cold War? How do conceptions of a new Arab Cold War influence larger debates in international relations theory? How has the American-sponsored “war on terror” altered alliances and relationships in the Middle East? How can western reactions to the “Arab Spring” constitute the last episode of the Cold War? What other geostrategic implications accompany the policy reactions to the Arab Awakenings? How are regional political configurations challenged by the dynamics of displacement and the needs of vulnerable populations?

Key concepts: regime security, foreign policy ambition, power projection, nationalism, identity, pan-Arabism, post-Arabism, regional security complex theory, displacement, vulnerability

Key terms: New Arab Cold War, Shi’a Crescent, Arc of Crisis, New Arab Public Sphere, trans-Arab media, 2006 Lebanon war, Gaza war of 2008-2009, Kifaya movement, cultural Arabists, political Arabists, Westphalian narrative, Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), Justice and Development Party

- Readings:**
- Haas, pp. 66-123; 164-229;**
  - Migdal, pp. 153-175;**
  - (\*) Fordham, Benjamin. 2011. “Who wants to be a Major Power? Explaining the Expansion of Foreign Policy Ambition” Journal of Peace Research 48 (5): 587-603;**
  - (\*) Valbjorn, Morten and Andre Bank. 2012. “The New Arab Cold War: Rediscovering the Arab Dimension of Middle East Regional Politics” Review of International Studies 38 (1): 3-24;**
  - (\*) Odinius, Daniel and Philipp Kuntz. 2015. “The Limits of Authoritarian Solidarity: The Gulf Monarchies and Preserving Authoritarian Rule during the Arab Spring” European Journal of Political Research 54 (4): 639-654;**
  - (\*) Salloukh, Bassel. 2013. “The Arab Uprisings and the Geopolitics of the Middle East” The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs 48 (2): 32-46;**
  - (\*) Furtig, Henner. 2014. “Prospects for New Regional Powers in the Middle East” in Regional Powers in the Middle East ed. Henner Furtig. Ne York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 209-220;**
  - (\*) Ryan, Curtis. 2012. “The New Arab Cold War and the Struggle for Syria” Middle East Report 262: 28-31.**

**XVII. Current Configurations of the Middle East – The East Moves West ... and Vice Versa? (April 11)**

Key questions: What are the signs that ties between the East and the Middle East are strengthening? What are the dimensions of and motivations behind a larger Asian footprint in the Middle East? How are these trends evident in the new relationship between South Korea and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)? To what extent are China’s efforts to expand its ties in the Middle East reflective of its efforts to grow its

presence over the entire developing world? How have these changes affected the western presence in the region? Why has Russia steadfastly stood behind Syria during its efforts to quash the political unrest associated with awakenings in the country? How are states of the region looking eastward? What do these relationships tell us about the effects of outside parties on the politics of the Middle East region?

Key concepts: piracy, free trade, counter-revolution

Key terms: UN Security Council Resolution 1973, Friends of Syria, Tartus, AHK unit “Looking Eastward Policy”, Free Trade Agreements (FTAs)

- Readings:**
- (\*) **Kemp, Geoffrey. 2012. “The Growing Asian Middle East Presence” in The East Moves West, ed. Geoffrey Kemp. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press;**
  - (\*) **Song, Niu. 2013. “The Strategic Partnership between South Korea and the United Arab Emirates” Security Strategies Journal 9 (17): 23-48;**
  - (\*) **Sun, Degang and Yahia Zoubir. 2015. “China’s Economic Diplomacy towards the Arab Countries: Challenges Ahead?” Journal of Contemporary China 24 (95): 903-921;**
  - (\*) **Dannreuther, Roland. 2015. “Russia and the Arab Spring: Supporting the Counter-Revolution” Journal of European Integration 37 (1): 77-94;**
  - (\*) **Yamada, Makio. 2015. “Saudi Arabia’s Look-East Diplomacy: Ten Years On” Middle East Policy 22 (4): 121-139.**

### ***XVIII. Current Configurations of the Middle East – Energy, Food, Migration and Climate (April 13)***

Key questions: How did the “civic order” of the Middle East evolve in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and what factors most directly influenced this change? How did developing countries diagnose their development challenges and how did the west influence their chosen responses? Why and how did the masses object to these assessments? How did the U.S. turn the tables on the third world? What effects did this specifically have on Middle Eastern economies? What might a fourth moment in the “dialectical process that encapsulates global and regional political economy since 1929” look like? How has the Middle East been affected by globalization? What has changed about its regional political economies in the face of strengthening pressures of globalization? What has not changed? Why do some analysts suggest the region could become the epicenter for the reversal of globalization? How has the Middle East been affected by changes in the international energy system? How are strategic relationships between the Middle East and the rest of the world being affected by these changes? How did the 2008 food crisis alter the thinking of Gulf states regarding food security? To what extent were the responses of Gulf states similar to or different from one another? How are these responses changing the conduct of international relations by these affected states? To what extent are these responses related to, or exacerbating problems of water scarcity in the region? How might the region be affected by climate change and other environmental stresses? What are the potential international ramifications of such changes?

Key concepts: globalization, regime change, climate change, sustainable development, ecological footprints, food security, vulnerability, global civil society, water scarcity, virtual water, austerity, economic nationalism, open door, defensive development, civic order, embedded liberalism, basic needs, peak oil, social capital, adaptive governance

Key terms: agro-investments, global food crisis of 2008, food embargoes, bread basket strategy, KAISAIA, Middle East Supply Center, Bretton Woods, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, New International Economic Order (NIEO), Group of 77, International Energy Agency (IEA), Caspian Sea

- Readings:**
- (\*) **Harris, Stuart. 2010. “Global and Regional Orders and the Changing Geopolitics of Energy” Australian Journal of International Affairs 64 (2): 166-185;**

- (\*) Sowers, Jeannie, Avner Vengosh, and Erika Weinthal. 2011. "Climate Change, Water Resources, and the Politics of Adaptation in the Middle East and North Africa" Climatic Change 104 (3/4): 599-627;
- (\*) Mowafi, Hani. 2011. "Conflict, Displacement and Health in the Middle East" Global Public Health 6 (5): 472-487;
- (\*) Heisbourg, Francois. 2015. "The Strategic Implications of the Syrian Refugee Crisis" Survival 57 (6): 7-20;
- (\*) Woertz, Eckart. 2013. "The Governance of Gulf Agro-Investments" Globalizations 10 (1): 87-104;
- (\*) Gelvin, James. 2012. "American Global Economic Policy and the Civic Order in the Middle East" in Is There a Middle East? Eds. Michael Bonine, Abbas Amanat and Michael Ezekiel Gasper. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 191-206.

**XIX. Current Configurations of the Middle East – Islam, al-Qaeda and Remnants of the War on Terror (April 15)**

Key questions: How has Islam been transformed over the past several decades? What were the larger strategic dynamics associated with the 9/11 attacks? How have ideologies affected U.S. Saudi relations since the end of the Cold War and the attacks of 9/11? What are the key factors associated with the processes of radicalization? What have terrorism studies contributed to our understanding of the roots of terror and what still remains to be understood? Why did the foreign fighters phenomenon emerge in Islam as it did and what international effects has it had? What roles have Islamic businessmen played in promoting economic mobilization in the Middle East?

Key concepts: near and far enemies, *jihad*, clash of civilizations, orientalism, foreign fighters, pan-Islamists, radicalization, Islamic melancholy, political Islam, Salafism

Key terms: Taliban, Bush Doctrine, "Roots of Muslim Rage", Islamic finance, ISIS

- Readings:**
- Haas, pp. 230-273;
  - Migdal, pp. 176-208;
  - (\*) Hegghammer, Thomas. 2010/2011. "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad" International Security 35 (3): 53-94;
  - (\*) Arat-Koc, Sedef. 2014. "Dance of Orientalisms and Waves of Catastrophes: Culturalism and Pragmatism in Imperial Approaches to Islam and the Middle East" Third World Quarterly 35 (9): 1656-1671;
  - (\*) Volpi, Frederic and Ewan Stein. 2015. "Islamism and the State after the Arab Uprisings: Between People Power and State Power" Democratization 22(2): 276-293;
  - (\*) Ryan, Curtis. 2015. "Regional Responses to the Rise of ISIS" Middle East Report 276: 18-23.

**XX. Current Configurations of the Middle East – The Palestinians and Israel (April 18)**

Key questions: What happened to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process in the wake of Camp David's failure? Why did this occur? What has changed about the international relations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since 2001? Why are many scholars more skeptical of the prospects for Israeli-Palestinian peace? What are the potential international implications often attached to that skepticism?

Key concepts: the periphery doctrine, one vs. two state solutions

Key terms: shelf agreements, Independent Monitoring and Verification Organization (IMVO)

- Readings:** Migdal, pp. 248-297;  
 (\*) Peleg, Ilan and Paul Scham. 2010. "Historical Breakthroughs in Arab-Israeli Negotiations: Lessons for the Future" Middle East Journal 64 (2): 215-233;  
 (\*) Aronson, Geoffrey. 2013. "Policy Options in a Time of Transition: The U.S. and the Israel-Palestine Conflict" Middle East Journal 67 (2): 249-256;  
 (\*) Thrall, Nathan. 2014. "Israel and the U.S.: The Delusions of Our Diplomacy" New York Review of Books (October 9), pp. 39-42.

### ***XXI. Realigning Interests – The Iran Agreement (April 20)***

Key questions: What are the key elements of the Iran nuclear agreement with the P5+1? How was the agreement reached? What did success of the negotiating process depend upon? Why have assessments of the agreement differed between nuclear authorities and policymakers? What effects did the agreement have on existing relationships in the region? What effects did the agreement have on existing relationships between actors inside and outside the region? Why is the pathway forward for implementing the agreement so uncertain for all the actors involved?

Key concepts: hedging

Key terms: P5+1, uranium enrichment

- Readings:** (\*) Shank, Gregory. 2016. "Anatomy of a Done Deal: The Fight over the Iran Nuclear Accord" Social Justice 42 (1): 1-18;  
 (\*) Fitzpatrick, Mark. 2015. "Iran: A Good Deal" Survival 57 (5): 47-52;  
 (\*) Bohlen, Avis. 2015. "Iran: An Opening for Diplomacy?" Survival 57 (5): 59-66;  
 (\*) Harris, Kevan. 2015. "Perspective: Iran's Uncertain Course after the Deal" Current History 114 (776): 361-363;  
 (\*) Guzansky, Yoel. 2015. "The Foreign Policy Tools of Small Powers: Hedging in the Persian Gulf" Middle East Policy 22 (1): 112-122.

### ***XXII. Resetting the Western Presence (April 21)***

Key questions: How has American policy toward the Middle East evolved since the end of the Bush (2001-2009) administration? How do scholars believe it should be altered? What are the key issues facing the US as it looks to its future relationship with the region? What missed opportunities and lessons does US relations with the region have to learn from? To what extent is Europe caught between the U.S. and MENA and how is this affecting EU attempts to influence policy in the Middle East region? What does Haas's study reveal about the role of ideologies in international relations? Are large ideological differences between states a key source of hostilities? Are attempts to export liberal values and institutions effective strategies of conflict resolution? Will increasing indigenous pressures for democracy in the Islamic world benefit U.S. security interests as policymakers have often assumed? What are the policy ramifications accompanying each of Haas's case studies? How do the findings advanced by Haas challenge and refine prominent international relations theories?

Key concepts: offshore balancing, security architecture, insecurity, progressive engagement

Key terms: Jewish lobby, neo-conservatives, Euro-Mediterranean partnership

- Readings:** Hudson in Fawcett, pp. 321-344;  
 Hollis in Fawcett, pp. 344-362;  
 Migdal, pp. 301-369;  
 Gause, pp. 241-250;

Haas, pp. 274-287;

- (\*) Norton, Augustus Richard. 2015. "The Middle East's Spreading Morass" Current History 114 (776): 355-360;
- (\*) Guney, Aylin and Fulya Gokcan. 2010. "The 'Greater Middle East' as a 'Modern' Geopolitical Imagination in American Foreign Policy" Geopolitics 15 (1): 22-38;
- (\*) Huber, Daniela. 2015 "A Pragmatic Actor: The U.S. Response to the Arab Spring" Journal of European Integration 37 (1): 57-75;
- (\*) Dandashly, Assem. 2015 "The EU Response to Regime Change in the Wake of the Arab Revolt: Differential Implementation" Journal of European Integration 37 (1): 37-56;
- (\*) Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2012. "Europe and the Middle East: From Imperialism to Liberal Peace?" Review of European Studies 4 (3): 18-31.

**Final Research Paper Due**  
**Friday, April 22 (4:30 p.m. in my office)**

**Final Exam – Monday, April 25 (noon-3:00 p.m.)**

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