

Fall 2009

Johns Hopkins University  
Department of Political Science

190.687 **IR Theory and the Middle East**

Time: Fridays 10:00am-Noon  
Location: 366 Mergenthaler

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Office Hours: Wed. 4-5pm & Fri. Noon-1pm, 258 Mergenthaler Hall

This seminar explores how the politics of the Middle East, US policy in the Middle East, and the Middle East as a regional subsystem have been understood and represented through the lens of international relations theory and scholarship. For those writing comprehensive exams in IR the seminar can be used as field seminar to prepare for exams, while it can also be used as a research seminar for those in IR and other fields (comparative, theory, and American) where it intersects them.

The seminar assumes some background in Middle East politics and IR. Those without such background should consult the texts by Halliday and Lockman, *The Economist* survey as well as Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (on reserve).

**Required books:**

- Zackary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East* (Cambridge, 2004)
- Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations* (Cambridge, 2005)
- Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Cornell, 1990)
- Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* (Princeton, 2007)
- Rashid Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East* (Beacon, 2009)
- Marc Lynch, *Voices of the New Arab Public* (Columbia, 2007)

Some copies of the required books are available for purchase at the JHU bookstore (you can also purchase from various sources online). These and some recommended texts are on 2 hr or 1 week reserve in the library. Other required and some recommended readings should be accessible on electronic reserve (Password = HAZ687):

<http://reserves.library.jhu.edu/access/reserves/findit/articles/hazbun2/hazbun2.php>

## **Course requirements:**

**A. Two Critical review papers and presentation: 1)** Each student will choose **two** (2) weeks for which she/he will prepare a 5 page critical review of the readings. One should address “Theoretical Approaches” and the other “Themes.” Please email your paper to me by 8am the day of the seminar. **2)** You may be asked to give a short presentation reviewing the literature, presenting an assessment/critique, and/or suggested questions/issues for discussion. **3)** The paper is then to be revised and expanded into a 10 page paper, which should have a solid thesis and conclusion, **due within two weeks** (or by December 10, whichever comes first).

**B. Research paper/review essay:** A second paper on a topic related to the IR of the Middle East, broadly defined, is also required. It can either be a critical review essay (20 pages) or a short research paper (15 pages). You are encouraged to follow your interests and are free to address any relevant readings, topic, theories. A review essay should be framed by an original question or thesis rather than simply extend a critical review essay. A research paper need not require extensive research and you may even use mostly assigned/recommended readings for issue areas covered in the course, though you might want to fill in some gaps. **The paper is due by the December 10.**

### **Sept 4: No meeting (APSA)**

Due to the APSA conference we will not meet today.

### **Sept 11: Introduction: The evolution of the regional Middle East system**

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations*, pp. 1-72.

Raymond Hinnebusch, “The Middle East Regional System” in Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 29-50

Paul Salem, “The Middle East: Evolution of a Broken Regional Order,” Carnegie Paper, July 2008

“A special report on the Arab world: Waking from its sleep,” *The Economist*, July 25th 2009

### **Sept 18: Orientalism, US Policy and approaches to the Study of the Middle East**

Zackary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 1-272.

Lisa Anderson, “Policy-Making and Theory Building: American Political Science and the Islamic Middle East” in Sharabi (ed.) *Theory, Politics, and the Arab World* (Routledge, 1990), pp. 52-80

Andrea Teti, “Bridging the Gap: IR, Middle East Studies, and the Disciplinary Politics of the Area Studies Controversy,” *European Journal of International Relations* 13, no.1 (2007): 117-145.

### **Sept 25: Historical Sociology of the Middle East**

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 75-324.

## **Oct 2: International Studies Association-Northeast**

In lieu of seminar please attend the ISA-NE panel: "The Politics of Orders and Hierarchies: Geopolitics, Identity, and Race in the Arab Gulf States," 2:00-3:45pm. The ISA-NE is being held October 2-3 at the Holiday Inn Inner Harbor, for more info see: <http://www.isa-ne.org/>

## **THEORETICAL APPROACHES**

### **Oct 9: Realist approaches**

Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Cornell, 1990)

F. Gregory Gause III "Balancing What? Threat Perception and Alliance Choice in the Gulf," *Security Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Winter 2003/4).

See also:

Steven R. David, *Choosing Sides: Alignment and Realignment in the Third World* (JHU, 1991)

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

Malik Mufti, *Sovereign Creations: Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq* (Cornell, 1996)

Gregory Gause, "Sovereignty, Statecraft and Stability in the Middle East," *Journal of International Affairs*, v 45, no 2, winter, 1992, 441-67.

### **Oct.16: Liberal and political economy approaches**

Etel Solingen, *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influences on Grand Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1988), pp. 1-17, 165-215.

Laurie Brand, "In Search of Budget Security: A Reexamination of Jordanian Foreign Policy," in L. Carl Brown (ed.), *Diplomacy in the Middle East* (I.B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 139-158

Chaudry, Kiren Aziz, "On the way to the Market: Economic Liberalization and Iraq's Invasion," *Middle East Report*, no. 170, (May-June 1991): 14-23.

Fred H. Lawson, "Syria's Intervention in the Lebanese Civil War, 1976: A Domestic Conflict Explanation," *International Organization* Vol. 38, No. 3 (Summer, 1984), pp. 451-480

Michael Barnett and Jack Levy, "Domestic sources of alliances and alignments: The case of Egypt, 1962-73," *International Organization* Vol. 45, No. 3 (Summer 1991): 369-95.

See also:

Fred Lawson, *Why Syria Goes to War: Thirty Years of Confrontation* (Cornell, 1996).

Laurie Brand "Middle Eastern Alliances: From Neorealism to Political Economy," in Mark Tessler (ed.) *Area Studies and Social Science: Understanding Middle East Politics* (Indiana, 1999).

Etel Solingen, 'Pax Asiatic versus Bella Levantina: The Foundations of War and Peace in East Asia and the Middle East', *American Political Science Review* 101, 4 (Nov. 2007) pp. 757-780.

Laurie Brand, *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations: The Political Economy of Alliance Making* (Columbia, 1995)

Fred H. Lawson, *Constructing International Relations in the Arab World* (Stanford, 2006)

### **Oct 23: Constructivist approaches**

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

Michael Barnett, "Identity and Alliances in the Middle East" in Katzenstein (ed.) *The Culture of National Security*, (Columbia 1996), pp. 400-447.

Marc Lynch, "Jordan's Identity and Interests" in Telhami and Barnett (eds.) *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, (Cornell, 2002), pp. 26-57.

Michael Barnett, "Culture, Strategy, and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo," *European Journal of International Relations* 5, 1 (March 1999): 5-36

See also:

Michael N. Barnett, *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order* (Columbia, 1998),

Marc Lynch, *State Interests and Public Spheres: The International Politics of Jordan's Identity* (Columbia, 1999)

### **Oct 30. Postcolonial approaches**

Siba N. Grovogui, "Postcolonialism," in Dunne, Kurki, and Smith, (eds.) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford, 2007), Ch 12.

Steve Niva, "Contested Sovereignities and Postcolonial Insecurities in the Middle East," in Jutta Weldes et al. (eds.) *Cultures of Insecurity* (Minnesota, 1999), pp. 147-172.

Joseph A. Massad *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (Columbia 2001), pp. 163-221 (Chapter 4: "Nationalizing the Military: Colonial Legacy as National Heritage")

Naomi Mobed, "Culturalising Security: Narratives of Identity and the Politics of Exclusion in the Arabian Gulf," in Sarah Owen Vanderslius (ed.) *The State and Identity Construction in International Relations* (Macmillan, 2000), pp. 155-186.

## **ISSUES**

### **Nov 6. US policy and the Cold War**

Rashid Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East*

See also:

Robert Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* (Verso, 2009)

### **Nov 13. Religion, Secularism and IR theory**

Elizabeth Hurd, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations*

### **Nov 20. The Arab public sphere**

Marc Lynch, *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, al-Jazeera, and Middle East Politics Today*

**Dec 4. The Iraq war and IR theory** (subject to change)

Condoleezza Rice, "The New American Realism," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, no. 4 (July/August 2008).

Christopher Layne, "Who Lost Iraq and Why It Matters: The Case for Offshore Balancing," *World Policy Journal* 24/3 (Fall 2007).

John Mearsheimer, "Hans Morgenthau and the Iraq War: Realism versus NeoConservatism," [opendemocracy.com](http://opendemocracy.com), posted May 19, 2005.

G. John Ikenberry, "Liberal International Theory in the Wake of 911 and American Unipolarity"

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Iraq War and International Relations: Implications for Small States," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 3, (Sept. 2006)

Gearóid Ó Tuathail (Gerard Toal), "'Just out looking for a fight': American affect and the invasion of Iraq," *Antipode*, 35,5 (2003): 856–870.

See also:

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (FSG, 2007)

G. John Ikenberry, "Woodrow Wilson, the Bush Administration, and the Future of Liberal Internationalism" in G. John Ikenberry, *et al* (eds.) *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-first Century* (Princeton, 2008)

Robert Jervis "Why the Bush Doctrine Cannot Be Sustained," *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 120, No. 3 (Fall 2005): 351-377

Robert L. Jervis, "The Confrontation Between Iraq And The US: Implications For The Theory And Practice Of Deterrence," *European Journal Of International Relations* Vol. 9 (2003): 315-337

Julien Mercille, "The radical geopolitics of US foreign policy: the 2003 Iraq War," *GeoJournal* (January 2009)

**December 10:** \*All papers due in my mailbox by 4pm in 338 Merg\*