

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT
Department of Political Studies and Public Administration

PSPA 237: The Modern Middle East in International Politics

Professor W. Hazbun

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Fall 2011

Meeting Time:
Tuesday and Thursday, 2pm-3:15 pm
Nicely 321

Office hours:
Tuesday and Thursday, 3:30pm-4:30pm
Jesup 201

This course examines the place of the ‘Middle Eastern’ system of states in the international system. It covers issues including the legacies of Western colonialism, the rise of nation-states and the regional state system, the continuing intervention of external powers (esp. the US), the geopolitics of oil, the emergence of transnational ideologies and political movements, and the rising influence of Islamist movements, popular social forces, and non-state actors.

The core of the course focuses on how increasing American engagement, efforts to “order” the region, and the projection of military power—while embraced by some actors (such as regional states dependent on US support)—were increasingly opposed by regional rivals, populist social movements, and nationalist and Islamist ideologies that sought to limit US influence in the region. We conclude by considering the rise of regional rivals, the limits of US capacity to order the region, and current debates about redefining American interests and the US role in the region in the wake of the Arab uprisings.

Course Requirements:

- Class participation and occasional quizzes (20% of course grade)
- Midterm Exam (25%) in class, Nov. 24.
- Short paper (15%) due Jan 12.
- Final Exam (40%)

Course readings:

Readings will be made available in pdf format via AUB’s online course management system, moodle. You can log in at: <http://moodle.aub.edu.lb>
PSPA courses are found at: <http://moodle.aub.edu.lb/course/category.php?id=60>

Week 1

Introduction

The United States and the Middle East: A Moment of Opportunity?

Ussama Makdisi, "Anti-Americanism in the Arab World: A Brief History." *Journal of American History*, (Sep 2002) : 538-558.

Barak Obama, "Moment of Opportunity: American Diplomacy in the Middle East & North Africa," State Department, May 19, 2011.

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Analytical Framework," in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Rienner, 2002), pp. 1-27
Glossary, 351-354.

Week 2

Colonial Legacies and the "Post-Ottoman Syndrome"

Eugene L. Rogan, "The Emergence of the Modern Middle East into the Modern State System," in Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 21-43.

Steve Niva, "Contested Sovereignties and Postcolonial Insecurities in the Middle East," in Jutta Weldes et al. (eds.) *Cultures of Insecurity*, (Minnesota, 1999), read only pp. 147-160.

The Middle East Region system and International Politics

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Middle East Regional System" in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, pp. 29-50.

B. A. Roberson, "The Impact of the International System on the Middle East," in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, pp. 55-69

Week 3

American interests, the Cold War, Oil, and the Making of US Policy, 1945-1953

Peter Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire: The US and the Middle East*, pp. 1-18, pp. 137-146 (Iran, Israel).

H.W. Brands, *Into the Labyrinth: The US and the Middle East*, pp. 1-44.

Nasser's Egypt and Arab Nationalism, 1952-65

H.W. Brands, *Into the Labyrinth: The US and the Middle East*, pp. 44-94.

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt," in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, pp. 91-114.

Niva, "Contested Sovereignties and Postcolonial Insecurities," read only pp. 160-164

Week 4

Arab-Israeli conflict and the polarization of regional geopolitics, 1966-70

H.W. Brands, *Into the Labyrinth: The US and the Middle East*, pp. 102-128.

Clive Jones, "The Foreign Policy of Israel" in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, pp. 115-136.

William Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Brookings, 2005), pp. 74-85

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 147-157 (Johnson, Arab League, Israel, UN 242, PLO, Kissinger).

Week 5

The 1973 war, Camp David, and the new American role: 1973-1979

H.W. Brands, *Into the Labyrinth: The US and the Middle East*, pp. 128-152.

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 160-62 (Camp David Accords).

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

Trita Parsi, "Israel and the Origins of Iran's Arab Option," *Middle East Journal* (Summer 2006): 493-512.

Week 6

The PLO, Israel, and War in Lebanon, 1980-1988

Yazid Sayigh, "Armed Struggle and State Formation," *Journal of Palestine Studies* (Summer 1997): 17-32.

Lawrence Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies*, (Public Affairs, 2008), 122-149.

Wenger & Denney, "Lebanon's War 1975-1990," *Middle East Report* (Jan./Feb. 1990): 23-25

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 158-9 (Israel).

Recommended:

Avi Shlaim, "The Lebanese Quagmire, 1981-1984," *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (Norton, 2000), pp. 384-423.

***Midterm exam ***

Week 7

Revolution in Iran and its regional impact, 1979-1980

H.W. Brands, *Into the Labyrinth: The US and the Middle East*, pp 153-169

Gregory Gause, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 45-57.

The geopolitics of oil and US policy towards the Gulf, 1980-1989

Giacomo Luciani, "Oil and Political Economy in the International Relations of the Middle East" in Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 81-103.

Gregory Gause, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, (Cambridge, 2010), 57-87.

Gregory Gause, "From 'Over the Horizon' to 'Into the Backyard,'" in Lesch and Haas (eds.) *The Middle East and the United States*, 5th ed. (Westview, 2012), pp. 344-356.

No class Nov 24

Week 8

The Gulf War and the rise of American regional hegemony, 1990-91

Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History* (Penguin, 1995), pp. 89-103.

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 170-173 (UNSC).

President Bush's "New World Order," speech to Congress March 6, 1991 (extracts).

Recommended:

Gregory Gause, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, (Cambridge, 2010), 88-120.

The “New Middle East” and dual containment in the Gulf, 1991-1995

- Avi Shlaim, “The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process”, in Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 254-265.
- Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 162-168 (Palestine/Israel)
- Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History* (Penguin, 1995), pp. 104-146.
- Martin Indyk, “The Clinton Administration’s Approach to the Middle East,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, May 18, 1993.
- Gregory Gause, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 121-126.

Week 9

Collapse of the peace process and the erosion of dual containment, 1996-2001

- Avi Shlaim, “The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process”, in Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 265-270.
- Shibley Telhami, *The Stakes: America In The Middle East* (Westview 2004), pp. 95-129
- Gregory Gause, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 127-135.
- Marc Lynch “The Politics of Consensus in the Gulf,” *Middle East Report* (Summer 2000): 20-3

Political Islam, Islamist discourses of insecurity, and US strategy

- Fawaz Gerges, *America and Political Islam* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 20-36.
- Niva, “Contested Sovereignties and Postcolonial Insecurities,” read only pp. 165-171.
- Ray Takeyh, “The Lineaments of Islamic Democracy,” *World Policy Journal* (Winter 2001/2002): 59-67.
- Gregory Gause, “Be Careful What You Wish For: U.S.-Saudi Relations,” *World Policy Journal* (Spring 2002): 37-50.

Week 10

The Bush Doctrine its “global war on terrorism,” 2001-4

- Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies*, (Public Affairs, 2008), pp. 273-396
- Gordon, “Bush’s Middle East Vision,” *Survival* (Spring 2003): 155-165.
- Mitchell Plitnick and Chris Toensing, “‘The Israel Lobby’ in Perspective,” *Middle East Report*, (Summer 2007): 42-47

American invasion and occupation of Iraq, 2004-

- Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies*, (Public Affairs, 2008), 397-448.
- Safa Rasul al-Sheikh & Emma Sky, “Iraq since 2003: Perspectives on a Divided Society,” *Survival*, 53, 4 (2011): 119-142.
- Chris Toensing, “Review of *Aftermath* by Nir Rosen,” *Middle East Report* (Winter 2010):42-43

Week 11

Regional implications of the Iraq war

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

Richard Haass, "The New Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2006

Valbjorn and Bank, "Signs of a New Arab Cold War," *Middle East Report* (Spring 2007): 6-11

David W. Lesch, "Fight or Talk: US-Syrian Relations Since 2000" in Lesch and Haas (eds.) *The Middle East and the United States*, 5th ed. (Westview, 2012).

Recommended reading on Lebanon-Hizballah conflict:

Helena Cobban, "The 33-Day War," *Boston Review*, (Nov/Dec 2006)

Crisis Group, "Drums of War: Israel and the 'Axis of Resistance,'" *MidEast Report* 2 Aug 2010.

The rise of Iran and Turkey as regional powers

Anoushiravan Ehteshami, "The Middle East's New Power Dynamics," *Current History* (December 2009): 429-31

Henry Barkey, "The Push and Pull of Strategic Cooperation: US Relationship with Turkey in the Middle East" in Lesch and Haas (eds.) *The Middle East and the United States*, 5th ed. (Westview, 2012).

Mark Haas, "Ideology and Iran's American Policies, 1997-2008," in Lesch and Haas (eds.) *The Middle East and the United States*, 5th ed. (Westview, 2012).

Week 12

The Arab Uprisings

**readings subject to revision* (see moodle for any changes)*

Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "The Arab Counterrevolution," *New York Review of Books*, Sept 29, 2011.

Aaron David Miller, "For America, An Arab Winter," *Wilson Quarterly* (Summer 2011): 36-42.

Review: Barak Obama, "Moment of Opportunity".

Week 13

The future of US policy: Rethinking US interests and strategy

**readings subject to revision* (see moodle for any changes)*

Barry Posen, "The Case for Restraint," *American Interest*, Nov.-Dec. 2007.

Zalmay Khalilzad, "Follow the Leader," *The National Interest*, February 2, 2011

William Quandt, "New US Policies for a New Middle East?" in Lesch and Haas (eds.) *The Middle East and the United States*, 5th ed. (Westview, 2012).

Waleed Hazbun, "Beyond the Bush Doctrine," *Middle East Report*, (Winter 2008): 38-44.

FINAL EXAM (date to be announced)