

**AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT**  
Department of Political Studies and Public Administration

PSPA 311  
**International Politics and the Middle East**

**Professor Waleed Hazbun**

**Spring 2013**

Office hours: Tuesdays 2pm - 4pm  
Office: Jesup Hall, Room No. 201

Thursdays  
3:30 pm - 6:00 pm  
Nicely 318

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This seminar addresses Middle East politics within the context of international relations. It explores how the politics of the Middle East, US policy in the Middle East, and the Middle East as a regional system have been understood and represented through the lens of international relations theory and scholarship. At the same time, the seminar suggests and value of a multilayered approach to understanding the politics of the region which integrates the role of system-level global powers, regional and transnational actors, and domestic socio-economic and ideological forces. In doing so, the seminar seeks to explain:

- The global, regional, and domestic forces shaping the policies of Middle East states.
- The effort of various regional states to expand their regional power and influence.
- The role of external powers (esp. the US) in shaping regional politics.
- The changing shape of the Middle East regional order.
- How Arab states understand their position in the global order.
- The position of Lebanon in regional geopolitics.

**Seminar Requirements:**

- Seminar participation, critical and policy memos, and presentation(s): 35% of grade
- Three papers (list of possible paper topics to be distributed):

Paper #1:	1000 words	due March 4	10% of grade
Paper #2:	2000 words	due April 5	20% of grade
Paper #3:	3000 words	due May 13	35% of grade

**Critical memo guidelines:**

Students will produce a series of short (1 page, single spaced) critical summary “write ups.” These memos outline the basic claims made by the text, provide a brief overview of the arguments and evidence presented, and offer ideas for critique and class discussion.

**Readings**

Most readings will be made available in pdf format on Moodle at:  
<http://moodle.aub.edu.lb/course/view.php?id=1569>

## **1. Introduction: The Middle East as a geopolitical construction** Jan. 31

Roger Adelson, "British and U.S. Use and Misuse of the Term, 'Middle East,'" in *Is There a Middle East? The Evolution of a Geopolitical Concept*, edited by Michael E. Bonine, Michael Gasper, and Abbas Amanat (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp 36-55.

## **2. The formation of the Middle East regional (state) system** Feb. 7

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 75-96.  
James Gelvin, "The League of Nations and the Question of National Identity in the Fertile Crescent," *World Affairs* 158, 1 (Summer 1995): 35-43.  
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.  
Raymond Hinnebusch, "Introduction: The Analytical Framework," in Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 1-27.

## **3. The evolution of the Middle East regional system** Feb. 14

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Middle East Regional System" in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, pp. 29-50.  
Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 96-129.  
Michael C. Hudson, "To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of U.S. Policy Toward the Middle East," *Middle East Journal* Vol. 50, No. 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 329-343.  
Graham Fuller and John Arquilla, "The Intractable Problem of Regional Powers," *Orbis* (Fall 1996), pp. 609-621.  
David Hirst, *Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East* (Nation), pp. 1-5.

## **4. Arab Nationalism, the Cold War, and Egypt: 1945-1981** Feb. 21

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt," in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, pp. 91-114.  
Steve Niva, "Contested Sovereignties and Postcolonial Insecurities," read pp. 160-164.  
Malik Mufti, "The United States and Nasserist Pan-Arabism," in David W. Lesch (ed.) *The Middle East and the United States*, 4th ed. (Westview, 2007), pp. 141-160.  
Erika Alin, "U.S. Policy and Military Intervention in the 1958 Lebanon Crisis," in Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the United States*, pp. 122-140.  
Fouad Ajami, "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 57 (Winter 1978-79): 355-373

## **5. The geopolitics of the Gulf: 1970-1989** Feb 28

F. Gregory Gause, III. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 1-87.  
Trita Parsi, "Israel and the Origins of Iran's Arab Option," *Middle East Journal* (Summer 2006): 493-512.  
Saddam Hussein, "The National Potential and International Politics," in *Social and Foreign Affairs of Iraq*, (London : Croom Helm, 1979) pp. 65-84).

**Paper #1** Topics distributed February 28

**Paper #1** Due Monday, March 4, 4 pm

## **6. The rise and decline of Third Worldism** March 7

Robert Malley, *The Call from Algeria*, (California, 1996), pp. 1-33, 69-114, 157-203.  
Robert Vitalis, "The Midnight Ride of Kwame Nkrumah and Other Fables of Bandung"

## **7. Lebanon and "battle ground" for regional geopolitics, 1960-2000** March 14

Robert Rabil, *Embattled Neighbors: Syria, Israeli, and Lebanon* (Lynne Rienner, 2003) : 43-84  
Paul Salem, "Reflections on Lebanon's Foreign Policy," in Deirdre Collings (ed.) *Peace for Lebanon: From War to Reconstruction* (Rienner 1994).

*On Syrian policy:*

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Foreign Policy of Syria" in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, pp. 141-163.

*On the Palestinians and the Civil War:*

David Hirst, *Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East* (Nation), pp. 75-115.

*On US policy:*

Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East* (Penguin, 1995), pp. 37-59.

Anne Marie Baylouny, "US Foreign Policy in Lebanon," in Robert Looney (ed.) *Handbook of US-Middle East Relations*, (Routledge 2009), pp. 310-323.

*On the rise of Hizballah:*

Augustus Richard Norton, "Hizballah and the Israeli Withdrawal from Southern Lebanon," *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 30, No. 1 (Autumn: 2000): pp. 22-35

## **8. The "American Era" in the Middle East, 1990-2001** March 21

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. 88-135.

Avi Shlaim, "The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process," in Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 254-270.

I. Karawan, "Arab Dilemmas in the 1990s" *Middle East Journal* (Summer 1994): 433-454

Shibley Telhami, "Understanding the Challenge" *Middle East Journal*, 56 (Winter 2002): 9-18

## **9. The Bush Doctrine and the US Invasion of Iraq, 2001-2005** March 28

Michael Gordon, "Bush's Middle East Vision," *Survival* (Spring 2003): 155-165.

Philp Robin, "The War for Regime Change in Iraq," in Louise Fawcett ed., *The International Relations of the Middle East* 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009), pp. 290-307.

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

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The US Invasion of Iraq: Explanations and Implications," *Middle East Critique* 16 (Fall 2007): 209-228.

*On US self-image/identity:*

Michael Ignatieff, "The Burden," *New York Times*, January 5, 2003.

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

**Paper #2** Topics distributed March 28

No Class April 4

**Paper #2** Due Friday, April 5, 4 pm

**10. The rise of regional powers and the New Arab Cold War, 2005-2010** April 11

Valbjorn and Bank, "Signs of a New Arab Cold War," *Middle East Report* (Spring 2007): 6-11  
Richard Haass, "The New Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2006

*On the rise of regional powers (Iran, Turkey, GCC):*

Oliver Roy, *The Politics of Chaos in the Middle East*, (Columbia, 2008), pp. 98-120

Hugh Pope, "Pax Ottomana?" *Foreign Affairs*, 89, 6 (Nov/Dec 2010): 161-171

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, "The GCC States and the Shifting Balance of Global Power"

Paul Salem, "The Middle East: Evolution of a Broken Regional Order," Carnegie Paper, July 2008. [recommended]

No Class April 18

**11. Lebanon: "State Weakness" and Sovereignty** April 25

Boaz Atzilil, "State Weakness and 'Vacuum of power' in Lebanon," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33, 8. (2010), pp. 757-782.

Mona Harb and Reoinoud Leenders, "Know thy enemy: Hizbullah, "terrorism", and the politics of perception," *Third World Quarterly* 26 (2005) pp. 173-97.

David Hirst, *Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East* (Nation), pp. 328-397.

Crisis Group, "Drums of War: Israel and the 'Axis of Resistance,'" *Middle East Report* N°97, 2 Aug 2010

Sara Fregonese, "Beyond the 'weak state': hybrid sovereignties in Beirut," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30, 4(2012): 655-674. [recommended]

**12. The Arab uprising and US policy** May 2

Marc Lynch, *The Arab Uprisings* (Public Affairs, 2012), selections

**13. The Arab uprising II: Regional politics & intervention** May 9

David Lesch and Mark Haas (Eds), *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East* (Westview, 2012), selections

Paul Amar, "Egypt as a Globalist Power," *Globalizations*, 9:1(2012) 179-194

**Paper #3** Topics distributed April 11

**Paper #3** Due Monday, May 13, 4 pm