

**GOVT 392 – THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND  
REALITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

Dr. Arie M. Kacowicz  
Visiting Goldman Israeli Professor 2002-2003,  
Department of Government,  
Georgetown University

**1. *Goals and Contents of the Course***

This upper-level course represents an attempt to combine general theories and concepts of international relations with the empirical reality (or realities) of the contemporary Middle East in general, and the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular. The course continues and deepens our knowledge about international relations presented at the introductory level (Govt 006) with new general and middle-range theories of international relations. In turn, those theories are applied and implemented in the context of the Middle East.

The course is divided into three main sections. In the first section we will discuss general theories and concepts of international relations, alternating each general discussion with a specific implementation and discussion about the Middle East. The relevant theories and concepts will be power and alliances (Realism); interdependence, globalization, transnational actors and integration (Liberalism); international law, sovereignty and territoriality (the Grotian approach), and norms and identity (Constructivism). In the second section we will focus on theories and concepts related to war and peace, such as war, deterrence, conflict management and resolution, negotiations, peace, and ethical dimensions. Finally, in the last section we will focus upon three other relevant topics to understand the dynamics of the region, including nationalism and ethnicity, domestic politics and foreign policy, and the psychological components of international relations.

**2. *Students' assignments and grades***

Students' assignments include the following:

- \* Active participation in the lectures, which will include an interactive dimension of questions, answers, and collective discussion.
- \* Submission of a five-page paper as a book or bibliographical review of one of the theoretical topics studied in the course.
- \* Submission of a term paper (about 15 pages) from a list of topics that will be distributed the first week of class. The paper should establish a clear link between theories and realities in the Middle East.

The grade will be distributed as follows:

a.	Mid-term exam (multiple choice)	20%
b.	Bibliographical essay	10%
c.	Term paper	25%
d.	Class participation	5%
e.	Final exam	40%

### **3.        *Textbooks***

The following books should be available for purchase at the University Bookstore and/or on reserve at the library:

Walter Carlsnaes and Thomas Risse, eds., (2002). *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage).

Michael Oren (2002), *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Beverley Milton-Edwards (2000), *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

Avraham Sela (1998), *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press).

Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, eds., (2002), *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).

#### **4. *Lecture Topics and Schedule of Classes***

##### **A. General Theories and Concepts**

1. Thu January 9: Introduction: IR Theories
2. Tue January 14: Introduction: Realities in the Middle East
3. Thu January 16: Power Politics and Alliances (Realism)
4. Tue January 21: Power Politics and Alliances in the Middle East
5. Thu January 23: Institutions, Interdependence, and Integration
6. Tue January 28: Relevance of Liberalism in the Middle East (?)
7. Thu January 30: State, sovereignty, and international law
8. Tue February 4: The Middle East as a regional society
9. Thu February 6: Constructivism: Norms and identity
10. Tue February 11: Norms, identity, and the role of women in the region

##### **B. Theories and Concepts on War and Peace**

11. Thu February 13: Theories of war
12. Tue February 18: Wars in the Middle East
13. Thu February 20: Deterrence and coercive diplomacy
14. Tue February 25: Deterrence and coercive diplomacy in the Middle East
15. Thu February 27: Mid-term exam
16. Tue March 4: Conflict management and resolution
17. Thu March 6: Conflict management and resolution in the Middle East
18. Tue March 18: Negotiations and diplomacy
19. Thu March 20: Negotiations and diplomacy in the Middle East
20. Tue March 25: Peace, stable peace, and peaceful change
21. Thu March 27: The peace process in the Arab-Israeli conflict
22. Tue April 1: The normative dimension (ethics)
23. Thu April 3: The relevance of norms and rules of war for the region

##### **C. Other (Relevant) Theories and Concepts to Understand the Middle East**

24. Tue April 8: Nationalism and ethnicity
25. Thu April 10: Nationalism and ethnicity in the Middle East
26. Tue April 15: Domestic politics and foreign policy
27. Tue April 22: The relevance of domestic politics in the Middle East
28. Thu April 24: The psychological dimension of international relations
29. Tue April 29: Psychology as a key concept in the Middle East

## 5. ***Reading List***

### A. General Theories and Concepts

#### 1. **Introduction: IR Theories** (January 9)

Brian C. Schmidt, "On the History and Historiography of International Relations", pp. 3-22, in *Handbook of International Relations*.

Colin Wight, "Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations," pp. 23-51, in *Handbook of International Relations*.

Richard K. Herrmann, "Linking Theory to Evidence in International Relations," pp. 119-136, in *Handbook of International Relations*.

#### 2. **Introduction: Realities in the Middle East** (January 14)

Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*, pp. 1-40; 121-144.

Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, chapters 1-3, pp. 1-54.

Michael Oren, *Six Days of War*, pp. 1-32; 305-327.

#### 3. **Power Politics and Alliances (Realism)** (January 16)

David A. Baldwin, "Power and International Relations," pp. 177-191, in *Handbook of International Relations*.

Stephen M. Walt (1987), *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), pp. 1-49.

#### 4. **Power Politics and Alliances in the Middle East** (January 21)

Michael Oren, *Six Days of War* [browse].

Stephen M. Walt (1987), *The Origins of Alliances*, pp. 50-146.

F. Gregory Gause III (1999), "Systemic Approaches to Middle East International Relations," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, Spring, pp. 11-31.

Avner Yaniv (1987), *Dilemmas of Security: Politics, Strategy, and the Israeli Experience in Lebanon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 3-26.

Benjamin Miller (1999), "The Global Sources of Regional Transitions from War to Peace: The Case of the Middle East," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 75, October.

**5. Institutions, Interdependence, and Integration (January 23)**

Beth A. Simmons and Lisa L. Martin, "International Organizations and Institutions," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 192-211.

Michael Zurn, "From Interdependence to Globalization," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 235-254.

Thomas Risse, "Transnational Actors and World Politics," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 255-274.

Young Jong Choi and James A. Caporaso, "Comparative Regional Integration," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 480-499.

**6. Relevance of Liberalism in the Middle East (?) (January 28)**

Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*, pp. 145-172.

Etel Solingen (1998), *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influences on Grand Strategy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), pp. 165-215.

Shimon Peres (1993), *The New Middle East* [browse, especially pp. 87-99; 155-161].

Michael Barnett and F. Gregory Gause III (1998), "Caravans in Opposite Directions: Society, State, and the Development of Community in the Gulf Cooperation Council," in Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds., *Security Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 161-197.

Bassam Tibi (1998), "Cultural Fragmentation, The Decline in Consensus, and the Diffusion of Power in World Politics," in Bassam Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 82-113.

**7. State, Sovereignty, and International Law (the Grotian Approach) (January 30)**

Thomas J. Biersteker, "State, Sovereignty, and Territory," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 155-176.

Kal Raustiala and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "International Law, International Relations and Compliance," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 538-558.

8. **The Middle East as a Regional Society** (February 4)

Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 3-54; 305-350; browse the rest of the book.

Michael Barnett (1993), "Institutions, Roles, and Disorder: The Case of the Arab States System," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 3, September, pp. 271-297.

9. **Constructivism: Norms and Identity** (February 6)

James Fearon and Alexander Wendt, "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 52-72.

Emanuel Adler, "Constructivism and International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 95-118.

Stephen Saideman, "Conclusion: Thinking Theoretically about Identity and Foreign Policy," in Telhami and Barnett, *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 169-200.

10. **Norms and Identity in the Middle East** (February 11)

Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, "Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East," in Telhami and Barnett, *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 1-25.

Michael Barnett, "The Israeli Identity and the Peace Process: Re/creating the Un/thinkable," in Telhami and Barnett, *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 58-87.

Adeed Dawisha, "Footprints in the Sand: The Definition and Redefinition of Identity in Iraq's Foreign Policy," in Telhami and Barnett, *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 117-136.

Ibrahim A. Karawan, "Identity and Foreign Policy: The Case of Egypt," in Telhami and Barnett, *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 155-168.

A. Theories and Concepts on War and Peace

11. **Theories of War** (February 13)

Jack S. Levy, "War and Peace," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 350-368.

Alexander L. George (1991), *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*, pp. 3-6; 22-27; 545-566 (Boulder, CO: Westview).

**12. Wars in the Middle East (February 18)**

Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War*, pp. 1-32; 170-304.

Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*, pp. 93-120.

Avraham Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 57-150.

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, "The Arab-Israeli War of October 1973," in Alexander George, *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*, pp. 342-367.

Alexander George, "The Persian Gulf Crisis, 1990-1991," in Alexander George, *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*, pp. 567-576.

**13. Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy (February 20)**

Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George (1995), *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time* (New York: Oxford University Press, 3<sup>rd</sup>. edition), pp. 180-195 and 196-213.

John J. Mearsheimer (1983), *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), pp. 13-66.

**14. Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy in the Middle East (February 25)**

John J. Mearsheimer (1983), *Conventional Deterrence*, pp. 134-164.

Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War*, pp. 33-169.

Janice Gross Stein (1985), "Calculation, Miscalculation, and Conventional Deterrence I: The View from Cairo," in Robert Jervis, Richard N. Lebow, and Janice Gross Stein, *Psychology and Deterrence* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 34-59.

Janice Gross Stein (1985), "Calculation, Miscalculation, and Conventional Deterrence II: The View from Jerusalem," in *Psychology and Deterrence*, pp. 60-88.

Janice Gross Stein (1992), "Deterrence and Compellence in the Gulf, 1990-1991," *International Security*, Fall, pp.

**16. Conflict Management and Resolution (March 4)**

Lilach Gilady and Bruce Russett, "Peace-making and Conflict Resolution," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 392-408.

Louis Kriesberg (1998), *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 1-30.

C.R. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict* (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 253-279

### **17. Conflict Management and Resolution in the Middle East** (March 6)

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (1994), "The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Learning Conflict Resolution," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 31, No.1, pp. 75-92.

Janice Gross Stein (1999), "The Widening Gyre of Negotiation: From Management to Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 68, March, pp. 1-30.

Karen Rasler (2000), "Shocks, Expectancy Revision, and the Deescalation of Protracted Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 81, September.

### **18. Negotiations and Diplomacy** (March 18)

Christer Jönsson, "Diplomacy, Bargaining and Negotiation," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 212-234.

William Zartman (1983), "Introduction: The Analysis of Negotiations," in I. William Zartman, ed., *The 50% Solution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), pp. 1-41.

### **19. Negotiations and Diplomacy in the Middle East** (March 20)

Saadia Touval (1999), "Mediation in the Arab-Israeli Conflict During and After the Cold War," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 74, October, pp. 1-19.

Laura Zittrain Eisenberg and Neil Caplan (1998), *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press), pp. 1-27.

William Zartman (1999), "Negotiations as a Mechanism for Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 72, August, pp. 1-20.

Janice Gross Stein (1999), "The Widening Gyre of Negotiation: From Management to Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 68, March, pp. 1-30.



Iali Alon (2000), "Negotiations in Arabic-Speaking Islam: A Research Note," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 76, March.

## **20. Peace, Stable Peace, and Peaceful Change (March 25)**

Lilach Gilady and Bruce Russett, "Peace-Making and Conflict Resolution," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 392-408.

Arie M. Kacowicz (1994), *Peaceful Territorial Change* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press), pp. 3-61.

Arie M. Kacowicz and Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (2000), "Stable Peace: A Conceptual Framework," in Arie M. Kacowicz et al., eds., *Stable Peace among Nations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 11-35.

## **21. The Peace Process in the Arab-Israeli Conflict (March 27)**

Arie M. Kacowicz (1996), "The Process of Reaching Peaceful Territorial Change: The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Autumn, pp. 215-245.

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (2000), "Israel-Egypt Peace: Stable Peace?," in Arie M. Kacowicz et al., eds., *Stable Peace among Nations*, pp. 220-238.

William B. Quandt (2001), *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), pp. 321-376.

Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 153-213; 273-300; 321-340.

## **22. The Normative Dimension (International Ethics) (April 1)**

Andrew Hurrell, "Norms and Ethics in International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 137-154.

Hans Peter Schmitz and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Human Rights," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 517-537.

Kal Raustiala and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "International Law, International Relations and Compliance," pp. 538-558.

Michael Walzer (1977), *Just and Unjust Wars* (New York: Basic Books), pp. 3-47.

### **23. The Relevance of Norms and Rules of War in the Region (April 3)**

Michael Walzer (1977), *Just and Unjust Wars*, pp. 74-85; 176-196; 197-206; 207-222.

Michael Walzer (1996), "War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition," in Terry Nardin, ed., *The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, pp. 95-114.

Sohail H. Hashmi (1996), "Interpreting the Islamic Ethics of War and Peace," in Nardin, *The Ethics of War and Peace*, pp. 146-166.

Bassam Tibi (1996), "War and Peace in Islam," in Nardin, *The Ethics of War and Peace*, pp. 128-145.

#### C. Other (Relevant) Theories and Concept to Understand the Middle East

### **24. Nationalism and Ethnicity (April 8)**

Lars-Erik Cederman, "Nationalism and Ethnicity," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 409-428.

Thomas J. Biersteker, "State, Sovereignty, and Territory," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 157-176.

Ian Lustick (1993), *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 1-6.

### **25. Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Middle East (April 10)**

Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*, pp. 41-67.

Ian Lustick (1993), *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands*, pp. 7-25.

Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 3-30; 341-350.

### **26. Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy (April 15)**

Peter Gourevitch, "Domestic Politics and International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 309-328.

Joe D. Hagan (2001), "Does Decision-Making Matter? Systemic Assumptions vs. Historical Reality in International Relations Theory," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 3, Issue 2, Summer, pp. 5-46.

Margaret G. Hermann (2001), "How Decision Units Shape Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Framework," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 3, Issue 2, Summer, pp. 47-81.

## **27. The Relevance of Domestic Politics in the Middle East (April 22)**

Sasson Sofer, ed., (1997), *The Role of Domestic Politics in Israeli Peacemaking* (Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute).

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (1998), "Peace Policy as Domestic and as Foreign Policy: The Israeli Case," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 58, June.

Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War* [browse throughout the book, especially pp. 61-169].

Milton-Edwards, "Contemporary Politics in the Middle East," pp. 145-172.

Telhami and Barnett, *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East* [browse].

## **28. The Psychological Dimension of International Relations (April 24)**

Janice Gross Stein, "Psychological Explanations of International Conflict," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 292-308.

## **29. Psychology as a Key Concept in the Middle East (April 29)**

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (1999), "Uncertainty and Risk-Taking in Peace-making: The Israeli Experience," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 71, July.

Janice Gross Stein (1985), "Calculation, Miscalculation, and Conventional Deterrence I: The View from Cairo," in *Psychology and Deterrence*, pp. 34-59.

Janice Gross Stein (1985), "Calculation, Miscalculation, and Conventional Deterrence II: The View from Jerusalem," in *Psychology and Deterrence*, pp. 60-88.

Michael Oren, *Six Days of War*, pp. 33-126.