

POL 129
International Politics of the Middle East

Professor Zeev Maoz
zmaoz@ucdavis.edu
Winter 2006

Professor Zeev Maoz
zmaoz@ucdavis.edu
246 Social Sciences
Office Hours T,R 2:00-3:00

TA: Ryan Dudley
rwdudley@ucdavis.edu
243 Social Sciences
Office Hours: W 1:00-3:00

Course Website: <http://psfaculty.ucdavis.edu/zmaoz/intpolme.htm>

Introduction

The international politics of the Middle East are a microcosm of world politics. This course focuses on the key aspects of politics among nations in the region, and on the structure of, and the processes undergoing in, the Middle East regional system as a whole. Topics covered in this course include the following:

- The formation of the Middle East regional system
- State formation processes
- War and peace in the Middle East
- The relationships between domestic politics and international processes
- Alliances and regional organizations
- The superpowers and the regional system
- The political economy of the Middle East
- Past, present, and future trends in the politics and economics of the Middle East
- A regional regime in the Middle East: Problems, prospects, or a pipe dream?

Course Requirements:

1. Multiple Choice Midterm Examination, February 7: 30% of final grade
2. Term paper on a topic selected from a list (up to 15 double spaced pages): 30% of final grade. Paper due March 2.
3. Cumulative Final Examination, 40% of the final grade.

Required Readings:

Roy R. Andersen, Robert F. Siebert, & Jon G. Wagner 2004. *Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall (7th edition). (Hereafter, Andersen *et. al.*, 2004.)

Michael G. Roskin & James J. Cole 2004. *Politics in the Middle East: Cultures and Conflict*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall. (Hereafter, Roskin and Cole, 2004).

William L. Cleveland 2004. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (Hereafter, Cleveland 2004.)

Clement M. Henry and Robert Springborg. *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001 (Hereafter, Henry and Springborg, 2001).

Barry Rubin. *The Tragedy of the Middle East*. New York: Cambridge University Press 2002. (Hereafter, Rubin, 2002).

Recommended Readings.

Raymond Hinnebusch. *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003 (Hereafter Hinnebusch, 2003).

Bernard Reich & David Long 2002. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (Hereafter Reich and Long, 2002.)

Course Schedule

January 5-10: The Origins of the Middle East Regional System

Topics for Discussion:

- *Theory*: (1) the collapse of empires and the formation of regional systems in the modern era; (2) Imperialism and its aftermath
- The Ottoman Empire and the Middle East before World War I
- World War I in the Middle East: The Arab Revolt and the occupation of the Fertile Crescent by Great Britain
- The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration
- The formation of Greater Syria, Transjordan, and the British Mandate of Palestine
- The interwar period in the Middle East.
- The emergence of the Palestine problem.
- The rise of Arab nationalism.
- World War II in the Middle East
- Postwar developments: Syria, Lebanon, Palestine
- The decline of imperialism in the Middle East, and the formation of states—North Africa, the Fertile Crescent, and the Persian Gulf
- The Cold War and the Middle East, the struggle for regional influence.
- The post Cold-War era in the Middle East—the politics of conflict, peace, and hegemonic intervention

Required Readings:

Andersen *et al.* (2004), pp. 43-71.

Cleveland (2004), pp. 149-170, 193-271,

Recommended: Hinnebusch (2003), pp. 14-53

January 12-21: State Formation and Supranational Processes

- *Theory:* (1) Political Development and International Conflict, (2) Stateness and supranational processes, (3) The residues of imperialism (4) Society, Regimes, and supranational ideologies.
- Evolutionary state formation processes: Iran, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf States
- Revolutionary state formation processes: Syria, Israel, Algeria
- “Old” states and “New” states: The transformation of Turkey
- The rise and decline of regional movements: Pan Arabism, Islamic fundamentalism, nationalism

Required Readings:

Zeev Maoz, 1989. Joining the Club of Nations: Political Development and International Conflict, 1816-1976, *International Studies Quarterly*, 33(2): 199-231. Available on course Website.

Andersen *et al.* (2004), pp. 72-104.

Recommended: Hinnebusch, 2003, pp. 73-90; Cleveland (2004), pp. 263-378.

January 24-26: Regional Political Movements in the Middle East

Topics for Discussion:

- *Theory:* (1) the rise of cross-national movements and ideologies; (2) Examples—nationalism, Marxism, fascism, liberalism
- The Rise of Regional Movements in the Middle East—Nationalism (conservative, radical, democratic), Pan Arabism, Zionism, Political Islam
- Global Ideologies and Middle East Politics—Why they failed to spread to the Middle East
- The Effects of regional movements on regional politics

Required Readings:

Ian Lustick 1997. The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political “Backwardness” in Historical Perspective. *International Organization*, 51(4): 653-683. (Available on Course Website.)

Andersen *et al.* (2004), pp. 126-152.

Rubin (2002), pp. 1-69.

Recommended: Roskin and Coyle (2004), pp. 278-291.

January 31- February 2: War and Peace in the Middle East

- *Theory*. Types of War: Interstate, Extra-state, Internal. High- and Low-Intensity Conflict. Types of Peace: Warm, Cold, Dormant.
- *Theory*. (1) Causes, Courses, and Consequences of war in the modern era. (2) Factors affecting peace.
- Interstate Wars in the Middle East: The Arab-Israeli Wars, the Iran-Iraq War, the Gulf Wars.
- Crises in the Middle East: The Black September Crisis, 1970; Syria-Turkish Crises, Iraqi-Libyan confrontations, Western Saharan crises
- Civil and internationalized civil wars in the Middle East: Yemen, 1962-67; Lebanon, 1974-94; the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq, 1962-75; Iraqi insurgency, 2003-...
- Middle East terrorism and low intensity conflict: Palestinian terrorist groups, Egyptian *Jammat Al Islamiya*, *Al Qaeda*.
- Causes of war and peace in the Middle East

Required Readings:

Roskin and Coyle (2004), pp. 70-112, 231-234, 240-277

Rubin, 2002, pp. 138-167; 193-222

Recommended: Hinnebusch, 2003, pp. 154-203; Cleveland (2004), pp. 473-540.

February 7: Midterm Examination

February 9-14: Domestic Politics and International Relations

- *Theory*. Linkage Politics, Diversionary Theories, and Democratic Peace Theory
- Domestic Structures, Domestic Processes, and International Behavior—linkage politics in the Middle East
- The systemic effects of domestic instability—the Revolutionary era in the Middle East, 1949-67; the Iranian Revolution, 1979.
- The impact of protracted conflict on Middle East politics, society, and economics

Required Readings:

Rubin (2002), pp. 70-137; Andersen *et al.* (2004), pp. 126-152.

Recommended: Hinnebusch 2003, pp. 54-72

February 16-21: Regional Alignments and Regional Organizations

- *Theory*. (1) Collective Security systems; (2) Alliances in World Politics; (3) International organizations and international cooperation
- The origins of inter-Arab cooperation—the Arab League
- The mechanism of inter-Arab discord and collaboration—Arab summit diplomacy
- Alliances in the Middle East—balancing or bandwagoning
- Alliances and war in the Middle East

- Evaluating the performance of ME organizations—the Arab League as an instigator and mediator of conflict
- The Future of the ME international organization—the Madrid and Barcelona processes and their aftermaths

Required Readings:

Rubin, 2002, pp. 227-257; Andersen *et al.* (2004), pp. 235-278.

Recommended: Stephen M. Walt 1987. *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 50-146.

February 23-28: Leadership and Foreign Policy Making in the Middle East

- *Theory.* (1) Domestic and international sources of foreign policy making. (2) Who makes foreign policy and how. (3) Instruments of Foreign Policy (4) Leadership and foreign policy making
- Revolutionary and personalist foreign policy in the Middle East: Nasser, Asad, Ben Gurion, Saddam Hussein, Qadaffi
- Traditional foreign policy in the Middle East: Turkey, Iraq, Post-Nasserist Egypt, Syria, Israel
- Conservative foreign policy: Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the Gulf States

Required Readings:

Andersen *et al.* (2004), pp. 177-200; Roskin and Coyle (2004), pp. 137-145;

Recommended: Hinnebusch, 2003, pp. 91-153

March 2: The Political Economy of the Middle East

- *Theory.* Approaches to International Political Economy
- The traditional economies of Middle Eastern states—agriculture, nomadic economies, the economics of oil
- Attempts at modernization—state-controlled economies
- The political economy of military spending—the economics of arms races in the Middle East
- Attempts at liberalization of ME economies—Egypt, Israel, and the Gulf States
- Globalization and the Middle East economic system

Required Readings:

Henry and Springborg (2001). Entire book.

Recommended: Andersen *et al.* (2004), pp. 201-234.

March 7: Past, Present, and Future Trends in the Politics and Economics of the Middle East

- Military and strategic trends—international conflict and cooperation, international alliances, and international organizations
- Political trends—stability and instability in political systems and their regional effects
- Economic trends—economic growth, resources, and globalization
- Social trends—are societies developing or going back to the future?
- Future problems—population, economic growth, resource depletion, weapons of mass destruction

Required Readings:

Zeev Maoz 1997. Regional Security in the Middle East: Past Trends, Present Realities, and Future Challenges, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 17(1): 1-46. Available on course Website.

Andersen *et al.* (2004), pp. 279-323

Roskin and Coyle (2004), pp. 292-327.

Recommended: Hinnebusch, 2003, pp. 204-239

March 14: Scenarios for the Future—A Regional System in the Middle East?

- The Arab-Israeli conflict and the future of Middle East politics
- The Persian Gulf conflicts and the future of Middle East politics
- Arms control in the Middle East: Past and Future
- A ME economic system? Is it possible?

Recommended Readings:

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

Zeev Maoz 2003. The Domestic Politics of Regional Security: Theoretical Perspectives and Regional Patterns in the Middle East, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 23(2), pp. 19-48.