GOVERNMENT 1968

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Fall Term, 2003

Prof. Carol R. Saivetz   Class hours: M-W 10:00-11:00
8 Story St., 3rd floor   Harvard Hall 202
495-4210   Sections to be arranged

saivetz@fas.harvard.edu   Head TF: David Rezvani
                                                       david_rezvani@harvard.edu
                                                       496-2569

Office hours: Mondays, 2:30-4:30

Since the end of the Cold War, the "rhythm" of Middle East Politics has changed dramatically. The post-Cold War period began with the 1991 Gulf War, in which outside powers played a major role, and it has seen the "highs" and "lows" of the Arab-Israeli peace process, in which outside powers seem limited in their ability to influence events and progress. The events of September 11, 2001altered even further any and all expectations about the role of the outside powers.

During the course of the semester, we will briefly explore the colonial legacy and the roots of the local conflicts in the region; we will then go on to assess the role of outside powers. We will focus on the following questions: Did the Cold War always exacerbate the local conflicts or did it actually dampen and control them as well?   What is the likelihood of more local conflicts, such as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait? What are the prospects of intensifying religious and ethnic conflict? In the aftermath of the collapse of the Oslo peace process and the events of September 11, what is the future role for the outside powers?

Requirements:

Students will be expected to keep up with the assigned readings and to come to class prepared to participate in discussion. Participation counts as does attendance at section. It is also suggested that students keep up with international events by reading a newspaper with extensive international coverage.

For undergraduates, there will be a midterm, two short writing assignment, and a final. Each writing assignment will consist of an "op. ed." 750 word piece about a current Middle East topic. The final will be composed of both a take-home and an in-class component.

Graduate students will be take the midterm and write the two "op. ed." pieces. Instead of the final, they will write a 20-25 page research paper on a topic chosen in consultation with the professor.

Final grades will be calculated as follows: Midterm, 20%; Op. Ed. pieces, 30%,

Final/paper, 40%, and participation, 10%

Suggested for purchase:

Ian Bickerton and Carla Klausner, *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*
William Quandt, *Peace Process*
Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*
Raymond Hennebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*

All other readings are in the course pack.

September 15: Introduction

September 17: Introduction to the study of Middle East Politics (1)
Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* 110, (spring 1998), pp 29-45.
Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" *Foreign Policy* 110, (spring 1998), pp. 82-95.
Michael Barnett, "Identity and Alliances in the Middle East," in Peter Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security*.

September 22: Introduction to the study of Middle East Politics (2)
Charles L. Glaser, "The Security Dilemma Revisited," *World Politics* 50 (October 1997), pp. 171-201.
Benjamin Miller, "Great Powers and Regional Peacemaking: Patterns in the Middle East and Beyond," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1, (March 1997), pp. 103-142.
Stephen Walt, *Origins of Alliances*, chapter 2.

September 24: Introduction to the study of Middle East Politics (3)
Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics The Logic of Two Level Games," *International Organization* 42 (summer 1988), pp. 427-460.
Richard J. Harknett and Jeffrey A. VanDenBerg, "Alignment Theory and Interrelated Threats: Jordan and the Persian Gulf Crisis," *Security Studies*, 6., No. 3 (spring 1997), pp. 112-53.

September 29: Origins of the Conflict in the Middle East
Bickerton and Klausner, introduction and chapters 1, 2
John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace," *International Security*, Vol 10, No. 4 (Spring 1986), pp. 99-142.

October 1: Origins (2)
Bickerton and Klausner, chapters 3, 4
Rashid Khaliki, "The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Causes of Failure,"in

Eugene Rogan and Avi Shlaim, *The War for Palestine*, pp. 12-37.
Avi Shlaim, "Israel and the Arab Coalition in 1948," in Rogan and Shlaim, pp. 79-104.

October 6: No Class

October 8: Suez
Saivetz, "The Soviet Union and the Middle East, 1956-1958," in Wm. Roger Louis and Roger Owen, *A Revolutionary Year, the Middle East in 1958*.
Bickerton and Klausner, chapter 5

October 13: Columbus Day

October 15: The 1967 War
Janice Gross Stein, "The Arab-Israeli War of 1967: Inadvertent War Through Miscalculated Escalation," in Alexander George, *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*
Bickerton and Klausner, chapter 6
Ginor, "The Russians Were Coming: The Soviet Military Threat in the 1967 Six-Day War, MERIA on-line journal.
Quandt, chapters 2, 3

October 20: The 1973 War
Bickerton and Klausner, chapter 7
Quandt, chapters 4, 5
Janice Gross Stein, "Flawed Strategies and Missed Signals: Crisis Bargaining Between the Superpowers, October, 1973," in David Lesch, *The Middle East and the US*

October 22: Camp David
Quandt, chapters 6,7
Bickerton and Klausner, chapter 8
Saivetz, "Superpower Competition in the Middle East and the Collapse of Detente," in Westad, *The Fall of Detente, Soviet-American Relations During the Carter Years*

October 27: The Reagan Presidency
Quandt, chapters 8,9
Bickerton and Klausner, chapter 9

October 29: Midterm

November 3: Politics in the Gulf
Telhami and Barnett, chapters 4,5
Hinnebusch and Ehteshami, chapters 8, 9, 12, 13

November 5: The Gulf War
Beschloss and Talbott, *At The Highest Level*, chapter on Gulf War
Saivetz, "The Superpowers in the Middle East: Cold War and Post-Cold War Policies," in Lundestad, *The Fall of Great Powers, Peace, Stability, and Legitimacy*

Bickerton and Klausner, chapter 10

November 10: First Op. Ed. piece due

November 10: After the Cold War
  Samuel P. Huntington, "Why International Primacy Matters," *International Security*, Vol 17, No. 4 (Spring 1993), pp. 68-83.
  Robert Jervis, "International Primacy Is the Game Worth the Candle," *International Security*, Vol 17, No. 4 (Spring 1993), pp. 52-67.
  Richard K. Betts, "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror," in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 117, No. 1, 2002
  Walter LaFeber, "The Post-September 11 Debate over Empire, Globalization and Fragmentation," *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 117, No. 1, 2002
  Michael Cox, "American Power Before and After September 11: Dizzy with Success?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 2, 2002.

November 12: The Middle East System
  Hinnebusch and Enteshami, chapters 1-4

November 17: Oslo
  Bickerton and Klausner, chapters 11, 12
  Quandt, chapters 10-12

November 19: Future Prospects in the Gulf
  Edward L. Morse and James Richard, "The Battle for Energy Dominance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (March/April 2002).
  "Responses: Does Saudi Arabia Still Matter," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 6, pp. 167-178.
  Josh Pollack, "Saudi Arabia and the US, 1931-2002," *MERIA on-line journal*

November 24: New and Old Forces (1) Islam
  Guilain Denoeux, "The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam," *Middle East Policy*, Vol IX No. 2, June 2002
  Benjamin Orbach, "Usama Bin Ladin and Al-Qa'ida: Origins and Doctrines," *MERIA on-line journal*
  Henry Munson, "Islam, Nationalism, and Resentment of Foreign Domination," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. X, No. 2 (2003), pp. 40-53
  Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "The True Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Policy*, March/April 2003, pp. 63-70.
  Lisa Wedeen, "Beyond the Crusades: Why Huntington, and Bin Ladin, Are Wrong," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. X, No. 2 (2003).

November 26: New and Old Forces (2) Afghanistan
  Michael O'Hanlon, "A Flawed Masterpiece," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 3 (May/June

2002)
        Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal, "New Friends, Old Fears in Central Asia," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 2 (March/April 2002)

December 1: The New Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (1)
        Quandt, chapter 13
        "Report of the Sharm el Sheikh Fact-Finding Commission," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. VIII No. 3, pp. 54-70.
        Ariel Ben Yeshay, "Palestinian Economy, Society, and the Second Intifada," *MERIA on-line journal.*
        Khalil Shikaki, "Palestinians Divided," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2002.
        Lenore Martin, "Arafat's Dueling Dilemmas," *MERIA on-line journal*
        Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong," *Survival*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn, 2001), pp. 31-45.

December 3: The New Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (2)
        Martin Indyk, "A Trusteeship for Palestine," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 3, pp. 51-66.
        Ahmed Abdel Halim, "The Unique Role of the Moderate Arab States," *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 187-97.
        Rachel Bronson, "The Reluctant Mediator," *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 177-186.
"25, No. 4, pp. 171-175.
        Scott Lasensky, "Underwriting Peace in the Middle East, *MERIA on-line journal*

December 8: The War in Iraq
        Michael Dunne, "The United States, the United Nations, and Iraq: Multilateralism of a Kind," *International Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 2, pp. 257-277
        Jon Alterman, "Not in My Backyard: Iraq's Neighbors' Interests," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 149-160.
        Elizabeth Pond, "European Shock and Awe," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 191-203.

December 10: Second Op. Ed. Piece Due

December 10: What Next?
        Stephen Blank, "The Post-Soviet States and the Post-Saddam Middle East," *MERIA on-line journal*
        A. Lukin, "Russia, US, China and the Iraqi Conflict," *International Affairs (Mo*scow), vol. 49, No. 3, pp. 9-22.
        Ken Pollack, "Securing the Gulf,**"** *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 4, pp. 2-16.
        Josef Joffe, "Mediation in the Middle East," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (2002), pp. 171-175.

December 15: Review