

POLSC 799 Seminar
International Politics of Middle East
Kansas State University
Spring 2009

Eisenhower 227
Monday: 3:30-6:20
Office Hours: M-W 10.00-12
Or by appointment

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Course Description

This course is an advanced seminar about the international politics of Middle East. It provides a broad survey of scholarly work on international conflict, the foreign policies of the Middle Eastern states, Arab-Israeli conflict, US involvement in the region, transnational Islamist movements, and the politics of oil. Throughout the seminar, we will address topics discussed by international relations and comparative politics scholars to better understand the politics of Middle East in international context. We will start with the state and society in the region and continue with the sources, manifestations, and political consequences of conflict. We will examine how religion, oil, and water lead to international conflict and how the resulting conflict shapes the political regimes. Then we will focus on the US involvement in the region followed by the study of the foreign policies of Middle Eastern states. Finally, we will also focus on transnational Islamist movements and jihad.

Unlike many other subfields in political science, the study of Middle East (international and domestic) is far from being a coherent discipline. While this may be seen as an impediment to the scientific study of the region, it also creates diverse research literatures dealing with the political phenomena. One goal of this course, therefore, is to introduce you to this rich scholarship. You will get familiar with distinct theoretical and methodological approaches dealing with the international politics of the region. In addition, this course will equip you with theoretical and analytical tools to critically evaluate the international relations of the Middle East. Finally this course aims to develop your civil discourse and writing skills through assignments and class discussions.

Responsibilities

You are expected to read all of the assigned material listed on this syllabus, and do it before the class for which they are assigned. Your full participation in the seminar is fundamental to its success and to your learning. There will be no lecturing in this class. You are expected to critically evaluate the assigned readings and carry a lively discussion. You are also responsible for completing and returning the assignments in a timely manner. I expect high quality work and integrity from all participants. This is a graduate seminar and I expect all

of you attend the meetings. Each unexcused absence will be penalized by deducting 4% from your final grade. Family emergencies and documented medical conditions may qualify as excused absences. As an instructor, I will do my best to facilitate your learning. This includes being available for your questions and provide feedback about your work.

Course Requirements

- Research Paper=60% OR four analytical papers=60%
- Discussion Leadership= %20
- Participation=20%
- Attendance Required

You will have the options of either writing four analytical papers or a full research paper. This component accounts for 60% of your overall grade. If you choose to write a research paper, I expect you to write a 20-30 page work of original research. The topic should be related to the content of the course; however methodological approach of the paper is your choice. It would be to your best interest to make these decisions in consultation with me. See the schedule for the deadlines related to the term papers. If you choose to write four analytical papers, each paper will account for 15% of your final grade (a total of 60%). The analytical papers should be maximum 7-8 pages, double-spaced, 12 font size. Each paper should have three sections. First, you should summarize the main questions and main arguments of the assigned readings. Second, you should provide a critical assessment of these readings by discussing their weaknesses and strengths. Third, you should provide your own thoughts about the topic. The analytical papers are due one week from the class meeting in which the topic is discussed.

Discussion leadership is 20% and participation is another 20% of your overall grade. Depending on the number of students enrolled in the seminar, you will assume the role of the discussion leader and lead the discussion in 4-5 meetings. You are expected to submit an outline and at least five discussion questions in advance about the assigned readings. **The outline and questions will be due 5.00 pm the day before the discussion via email.** This will constitute 50% of your discussion leadership grade or 10% of your overall grade. Your performance as a discussion leader will account for another 10% of your final grade. I expect you to start with a brief overview of the readings and then continue with the questions. In addition, your participation performance will make up the 20% of your course grade. All students are expected to participate in the class discussion. This is imperative for a lively debate and the success of the seminar.

The grading scale will be as follows:

- A: 90% or greater
- B: 80-89.99%
- C: 70-79.99%
- D: 60-69.99%
- F: Below 60%

Required Books

Joel S. Migdal, 1988. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, Princeton University Press.

Roger Owen, 2004. *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. Routledge; 3rd edition

Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*. Lynne Rienner Publishers

Rashid Khalidi, 2004. *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*. I.B.Tauris OR Beacon press

William M. Hale, 2000. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*. Routledge

Gilles Kepel, 2006. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, I.B.Tauris, Chapters TBA

Alan Dowty, 2007. *Israel/Palestine*. Polity

Course Schedule

January 26: Introduction to the Study of Middle East Politics: International and Comparative

- Stephen Walt 1998. "International Relations: One World, Many Theories", *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring) pp 29-45
- Michael Barnett, "Identity and alliances in the Middle East", in Peter Katzenstein, in *The Culture of National Security*
- Lisa Anderson, "Scholarship, Policy, Debate and Conflict: Why We Study the Middle East and Why It Matters," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, v. 38, no. 1 (June 2004): 2-15.
- Morten Valbjorn, 2004. "Toward a Mesopotamian Turn: Disciplinarity and the study of the International Relations of the Middle East", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 14(1-2): 47-76
- Fred Halliday, "Orientalism" and its Critics," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 1993 20(2): 145-163

Recommended

- James Bill, 1996. "The Study of Middle East Politics: A stocktaking", *Middle East Journal*, 50(4)

- Richard J. Harknett and Jeffrey A. VanDenBerg. 1997. "Alignment theory and Interrelated Threats: Jordan and the Persian Gulf Crisis, *Security Studies*, 6(3): 112-53.
- Sheila, Carapico 2006. "No Easy Answers: The Ethics of Field Research in the Arab World", *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 39(3): 429-431
- Edward Said, 2004. "Orientalism Once More" *Development and Change*, 35(5): 869 – 879.
- Edward W. Said. 1979. *Orientalism*, Vintage Books.

February 2: Understanding the State and Society in the Middle East

- Joel S. Migdal, 1988. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, Princeton University Press, Chapters 1,2,4,5,8
- Lisa Anderson, 1987. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa", *Comparative Politics*,

Recommended

- Nazih N. Ayubi. 1996. *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*, I.B.Tauris.

February 9: Understanding the State and Society in the Middle East (cont.)

- Roger Owen, 2004. *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, chapters 1-6, 12
- Eva Bellin, 2004. *The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective*, *Comparative Politics*, 36(2):139-157.

February 16: Conflict: Oil and Religion

- Michael L. Ross, 2004. "What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research*, May 2004; 41: 337 - 356.
- Macartan Humphreys, 2005. "Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(4): 508-537
- Brian, Lai, 2006. "An Empirical Examination of Religion and Conflict in the Middle East, 1950–1992", *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2(1) : 21-36

- Mirjam E. Sørli , Nils Petter Gleditsch and Håvard Strand, 2005. “Why Is There So Much Conflict in the Middle East?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 1, 141-165

Recommended

- De Soysa, Indra and Neumayer, Eric. 2007. “Resource Wealth and the Risk of Civil War Onset: Results from a New Dataset of Natural Resource Rents, 1970-1999”, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 24:3, 201 — 218

February 23: Conflict over Water

- Jan Selby, '2005. The geopolitics of water in the Middle East: fantasies and realities,' *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2005), pp. 329-49.
- Jan Selby, 'Dressing up domination as "co-operation": the case of Israeli-Palestinian water relations,' *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2003), pp. 121-38.
- Nils Petter Gleditsch, Kathryn Furlong , Håvard Hegrea, Bethany Lacina, and Taylor Owen. 2006. “Conflicts over shared rivers: Resource scarcity or fuzzy boundaries”, *Political Geography*, 25 (4): Pages 361-382.
- Itay Fischhendler. 2008. “Ambiguity in Transboundary Environmental Dispute Resolution: The Israeli—Jordanian Water Agreement”, *Journal of Peace Research*, 45(1): 91-109

Recommended

- Jan Selby. 2005. 'Oil and water: the contrasting anatomies of resource conflicts,' *Government and Opposition*, special issue on resource conflicts, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 200-24.

******Two-page description of the research paper is due**

March 2: Arab-Israel Conflict: Origins and History

- Alan Dowty, 2007. *Israel/Palestine*. Polity Press, Chapters TBA

March 9: Israel-Palestine: International and domestic political consequences

- Louis Kriesberg. 2001. Mediation and the Transformation of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 373-392
- James H. Lebovic and William R. Thompson , 2006. “An Illusionary or Elusive Relationship? The Arab-Israel Conflict and Repression in the Middle East”, *Journal of Politics*, 68(3): 502-518

- Roy, Sara. "The Political Economy of Despair: Changing Political and Economic Realities in the Gaza Strip," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3. (Spring, 1991), pp. 58-69.
- Claude Berrebi And Esteban F. Klor (2008). Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism? Direct Evidence from the Israeli Electorate. *American Political Science Review*, **102**, pp 279-301.

Recommended for Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

- Deborah J. Gerner. 1994. *One Land, Two Peoples: The Conflict over Palestine*. Westview Press.
- Lustick, Ian S. "Changing Rationales for Political Violence in the Arab-Israeli Conflict." *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 20 (1990).
- Kolatt, Israel. "The Zionist Movement and the Arabs." *Studies in Zionism*. 5 (1982).
- Morris, Benny. "The Causes and Character of the Arab Exodus from Palestine: The Israeli Defence Forces Intelligence Branch Analysis of June 1948." *Middle Eastern Studies*. 22 (1986).
- Ephraim Inbar, 1991. "Israel's Small War: The Military Response to the Intifada" *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (Fall 1991).
- Khalil Shikaki, "Palestinians Divided," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2002
- Muslih, Mohammed. "Towards Coexistence: An Analysis of the Resolutions of the Palestine National Council." *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 19 (1990).

SPRING BREAK STARTS MARCH 16: NO CLASS

March 23: Rentier economy and its political consequences

- Hazem Beblavi, 1990. "The rentier State in the Arab World" in Giacomo, Luciano ed, *The Arab State*, London: Routledge"
- Michael L. Ross. 2001. Does Oil Hinder Democracy? *World Politics* 53(3): 325-61
- Benjamin Smith. 2004. Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World, 1960–1999 *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(2): 232 - 246
- Michael Herb. 2005. "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development and Democracy", *Comparative Politics* 37(3).

Recommended

- Michael L. Ross. 2008. "Oil Islam and Women", American Political Science Review, 102 : 107-123.
- Giacomo Luciani, 1990. "Allocation vs. Production States: A theoretical Framework", in Giacomo, Luciano ed, The Arab State, London: Routledge

March 30: US and Europe in the Middle East

- Rashid Khalidi, 2004. Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East. I.B.Tauris, Chapters TBA.

April 6: US Foreign Policy and public opinion toward Middle East

- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt. 2008. "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy", Middle East Policy, 13(3): 29 – 87
- Michael C. Hudson. 1996. "To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of US Policy toward the Middle East", Middle East Journal, 50(3): 329-343
- Jon Krosnick and Shibley Telhami, 1995. Public Attitudes and U.S. Policy Toward Israel. International Studies Quarterly, Winter.
- Richard C. Eichenberg. 2005. Victory Has Many Friends: U.S. Public Opinion and the Use of Military Force, 1981–2005" International Security, 30(1): 140-177.
- Larry Diamond, 2005 "Lessons from Iraq", Journal of Democracy 16.1:9-23

Recommended

- Michael Hudson. 1992. "The Middle East under Pax Americana: How new, how orderly?" Third World Quarterly, 13: 301 316
- John J. Mearsheimer, Stephen M. Walt. 2007. The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy. Macmillan.
- Josh Pollack. 2002. "Saudi Arabia and the United States, 1931-2002", MERIA Journal, 6(3)
- T.V. Paul, "Soft Balancing in the Age of U.S. Primacy", International Security, Vol. 30, No. 1, Pages 46-71.
- Steven Metz, 2003. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq" The Washington quarterly, Winter 2003/04, Vol. 27, No. 1, Pages 25-36
- James D. Fearon, 2007. Iraq's Civil War, Foreign Affairs, March/April 2007

******Literature Review and the Description of Methods for the Research Paper is Due**

April 13: Foreign Policies in the Middle East

- Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, chapter 1-6, 13.

April 20: Between East and West: Turkish Foreign Policy

- William M. Hale, 2000. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*. Routledge, Chapters TBA

Recommended for Week 11 and Week 12

- Shibley Telhami; Michael N Barnett, 2002. *Identity and foreign policy in the Middle East*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kemal H. Karpat. 1996. *Turkish Foreign Policy: Recent Developments*. Univ of Wisconsin Press.

April 27: Transnational Islamist Movements and Terrorism

- Gilles Kepel, Anthony Roberts, 2006. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, I.B.Tauris, Chapters TBA
- Jeff Victoroff. 2005. *The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 1, 3-42
- Jacob N. Shapiro And David A. Siegel. 2007. "Underfunding in Terrorist Organizations", *International Studies Quarterly*, 51(2) 405 - 429

Recommended

- John L. Esposito, 2003. *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*, Oxford University Press. Chapters TBA

May 3: NO CLASS Work on your papers

May 7: Term papers Due

If we had time, we would have also covered the following:

Democratization: An Introduction

- Vickie Langohr 2004. "Too Much Civil Society, Too Little Politics: Egypt and Liberalizing Arab Regimes", *Comparative Politics*, 36(2): 181-204
- Eva Bellin, 2004. *The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective*, *Comparative Politics*, 36(2):139-157

- Ellen Lust-Okar, “Divided They Rule: The Management and Manipulation of Political Opposition”, *Comparative Politics*, 36(2):159-179.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond(2006). “Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique”,*Democratization*,13(3):373-395

Controversy

- Lakoff, Sanford A. The Reality of Muslim Exceptionalism”, ” *Journal of Democracy* 15(4): 130-139.
- Stepan, Alfred C. Robertson, Graeme B. 2004. “Arab, Not Muslim, Exceptionalism”*Journal of Democracy* 15(4): 140-146.
- Stepan, Alfred C., Robertson, Graeme B. 2003. An "Arab" More Than a "Muslim" Democracy Gap”, *Journal of Democracy* – 14(3):. 30-44.

Recommended

- Schwedler, Jillian. 2007. “Democratization, Inclusion and the Moderation of Islamist Parties”. *Development*, 50(1): 56-61.
- Fish, M. Steven. 2002. ‘Islam and Authoritarianism.’ *World Politics* 55: 4-37.
- Hefner, Robert W. 2000. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Norris, Pippa & Ronald Inglehart. 2004. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics World-wide*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- `John L. Esposito, John Obert Voll. 1996. *Islam and Democracy*. Oxford University Press.

Islam in a Global Era

- Gilles Kepel, Anthony Roberts, 2006. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, I.B.Tauris,
- Saad Eddin Ibrahim, “Anatomy of Egypt’s Militant Groups: Methodological Note and Preliminary Findings,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12 (1980): 430–32.
- Kuru, Ahmet T . 2002. *Globalization and Diversification of Islamic Movements: Three Turkish Cases*. *Political Science Quarterly*, 120(2): 253-274.