International Politics of the Middle East

GOVT 4000.102, Fall 2013
Wednesdays 2:00-4:25pm, Lincoln Hall 107
http://blackboard.cornell.edu

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Office hours: Thursdays 9-11am
Office hours held in White Hall 218
Sign up at: www.wejoinin.com/patel

Overview. This course provides students with historical background and theoretical tools to analyze inter-state relations in the contemporary Middle East. We will begin by reviewing what international relations theory has to say about the behavior of and interactions between states, including debates on "power" and threat perception, regime type and domestic political institutions, and "ideas." We will discuss the historical rise of a regional system based on territorial states and how that system has been challenged and influenced by so-called "non-state" actors. We will explore the roles of outside powers, the Arab-Israeli conflict, transnational movements and ideologies, regional rivalries, and identities. Throughout the semester, we will relate theories and topics to the ongoing conflicts in Syria and the wider "Winter of Arab Discontent" (formerly known as the "Arab Spring").

Although not required to enroll and succeed in the course, students will benefit from having a general familiarity with contemporary Middle Eastern history and politics (equivalent to GOVT3313/NES3550 or GOVT2747/NES2674).

Attendance. Attendance in seminar is essential for success in the class. You are responsible for completing all of the assigned readings and coming to seminar on time and prepared to discuss the issues raised for the week.

Current events. Students are expected to follow day-to-day regional events and analysis throughout the semester. Regional events will be assumed to be common knowledge. I recommend we all peruse the following four sites daily:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/default.stm
http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/middleeast/index.html
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/

We will set up a class "bulletin and discussion board" where we can share articles, links, and discuss events.

Blackboard. Links to readings and announcements will be posted regularly to the class Blackboard site. Many links to journal articles will only work on-campus. When off-campus, students can navigate to journal articles via the Cornell Library: http://erms.library.cornell.edu/ or by using Cornell's off-campus Passkey bookmarklet: https://confluence.cornell.edu/display/CULLABS/Passkey+Bookmarklet

Requirements.

- Class participation (30%): You must attend and actively participate in class each week. You are responsible for completing all of the assigned readings and coming to seminar prepared to discuss the issues raised by the pre-circulated discussion questions. Your participation grade will depend more on the quality than on the quantity of your contributions to the discussions.

- Two short papers (15% each): Each student is expected to write a short paper (not to exceed 1500 words, which should be 3-5 double-spaced pages) and help guide discussion for two sessions. The paper is an individual assignment that students will write alone. It might compare across the readings or evaluate the central arguments and empirical evidence in the main readings for the week. Alternatively, the paper can be an empirical piece that describes variation in a dependent variable related to the week's topic or that uses evidence to assess theory. In addition, the 2-3 students assigned to a particular week should coordinate and e-mail the class a list of discussion questions by 7 pm the day before class.

- Research project (40%): Each student will write a research paper on a topic to be agreed upon with the instructor. The project will be developed in stages. First, you will be required to turn in a short proposal that sketches your research question, your tentative answer (hypotheses, if appropriate), and what kinds of evidence you will collect to evaluate your argument. This will be due October 11th at 5 pm, just before Fall Break. Second, you will be required to turn in a draft of a section of the paper – probably 8-10 pages in length – by November 15th at 5 pm. Finally, the finished project is due by **Thursday, December 12th, at 7 pm**.

Extensions on assignments and incompletes will be granted only because of circumstances beyond the student's control, e.g. serious illness or family emergencies. A non-refundable airline ticket does not constitute "a circumstance beyond the student's control."

Cornell University policies and regulations. Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity, which contains the following statements: "A Cornell student's submission of work for academic credit indicates that the work is the student's own. All outside assistance should be acknowledged, and the student's academic position truthfully reported at all times." It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with university policies regarding plagiarism and other violations of academic integrity. A Cornell tutorial called "Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism" can be found at:
http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm
The Essential Guide to Academic Integrity at Cornell, which includes guidance on acknowledging the work of others, dealing with online sources, and working collaboratively, is available online at:
http://newstudentprograms.cornell.edu/dos/cms/nsp/Initiatives/upload/AcademicIntegrityPamphlet.pdf

Students agree that by taking this course all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. Use of the Turnitin.com service is subject to the Usage Policy posted on the Turnitin.com site.

According to the Cornell University Grading System that was adopted by the University Faculty in 1965, the grade of "incomplete" is appropriate only when two (2) basic conditions are both met: 1. The

student has a substantial equity at a passing level in the course with respect to work completed, **and** 2. The student has been prevented by circumstances beyond the student's control, such as illness or family emergency, from completing all the course requirements on time. A grade of "incomplete" may not be given merely because a student fails to complete all course requirements on time and is not an option that can be elected at the student's own discretion.

The instructor observes all university policies addressing racial, ethnic, gender, sexual preference, or religious discrimination and all forms of harassment. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with pertinent policies and to bring any concerns related to them and other Cornell University policies and regulations to the attention of the instructor.

Readings. This course relies heavily on ten recently-published books, which are available for purchase in paperback in the Cornell Bookstore, Kraftees, and on-line. They are also on reserve in Uris Library. All others readings will be available on the GOVT 4000.102 Blackboard site. The books are:

- Blanford, Nicholas. 2011. *Warriors of God: Inside Hezbollah's Thirty-Year Struggle Against Israel*. New York: Random House.
- Gause, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. 2011. *The Rise and Fall of al-Qaeda*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hokayem, Emile. 2013. *Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant*. Abingdon: Routledge for the International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Lynch, Marc. 2012. *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East.* New York: PublicAffairs.
- Morris, Benny. 2009. *One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Nasr, Vali. 2006. *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam will shape the future*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Takeyh, Ray. 2009. *Guardians of the Revolution: Iran and the World in the Age of the Ayatollahs*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Telhami, Shibley. 2013. *The World Through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East*. New York: Basic Books.

Weekly meetings and assignments

Week 1. August 28. Introduction and course overview

Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Introduction (pp. 1-17)

Week 2.September 4. Theories about the behavior of states

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 2013. *Principles of International Politics*, 5th edition. CQ Press.
Chapters 5-6 (pp. 165-238)

Weeks, Jessica L. 2012. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 106, 2 (May):326-347.

Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations*.
Chapter 1-2 (pp. 21-72)

Gause, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Chapter 1 (p. 1-15)

Telhami, Shibley, and Michael Barnett, eds. 2002. *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*. Ithaca, NY; Cornell University Press.
Chapter 1, "Introduction: Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East" (pp. 1-25)
Chapter 2, Marc Lynch, "Jordan's Identity and Interests" (pp. 26-57)
Chapter 8, Stephen Saideman, "Conclusion: Thinking Theoretically about Identity and Foreign Policy" (p. 169-200)

Week 3. September 11. No class, but catch up on the so-called "Arab Spring"

Lynch, Marc. 2012. *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East.* New York: PublicAffairs

Watch *The Battle for the Arab Viewer*

Telhami, Shibley. 2013. *The World Through Arab Eyes*
Chapters 2-3, 6 (pp. 37-56, 95-104)

Week 4. September 18. The international state system in the Middle East

Anderson, Lisa. 1987. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa." *Comparative Politics* 20, 1 (October): 1-18.

Lustick, Ian S. 1997. "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective." *International Organization* 51, 4 (Autumn): 653-683.

Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations*.
Chapter 3 (pp. 75-96)

Gause, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*.
Chapter 2 (pp. 16-44)

Telhami, Shibley. 2013. *The World Through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East*. New York: Basic Books.
Chapter 1 (pp. 17-35)

Week 5. September 25. Iran since the revolution

Takeyh, Ray. 2009. *Guardians of the Revolution: Iran and the World in the Age of the Ayatollahs*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gause, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*.
Chapter 3 (pp. 45-87)

Farhi, Farideh, and Saideh Lotfian. 2012. "Iran's Post-Revolution Foreign Policy Puzzle." In Henry R. Naue and Deepa M. Ollapally, eds. *Worldviews of Aspiring Powers.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Pp. 114-145.

Telhami, Shibley. 2013. *The World Through Arab Eyes*
Chapter 8 (pp. 129-143)

Week 6. October 2. Sectarianism

Nasr, Vali. 2006. *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam will shape the future*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations*.
Chapter 7 (pp. 193-228)

Haddad, Fanar. 2013. "The language of anti-Shiism." *Foreign Policy Middle East Channel*. August 9.
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/08/09/the_language_of_anti_shiism

Mathiesen, Toby. "Syria: Inventing a Religious War." *NYR Blog*. June 12, 2013.
http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2013/jun/12/syria-inventing-religious-war/

Hegghammer, Thomas, and Aaron Y. Zelin. 2013 "How Syria's Civil War Became a Holy Crusade." *Foreign Affairs*. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139557/thomas-hegghammer-aaron-y-zelin/how-syrias-civil-war-became-a-holy-crusade

Mahmood, Mona, and Martin Chulov. 2013. "Syrian war widens Sunni-Shia schism as foreign jihadis join fight for shrines." *The Guardian*. June 4.
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jun/04/syria-islamic-sunni-shia-shrines-volunteers

Week 7. October 9. **Syria as a playing field**

Hokayem, Emile. 2013. *Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant*. Abingdon: Routledge for the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Pierret, Thomas. 2013. "External support and the Syrian insurgency." *Foreign Policy Middle East Channel*. August 9.
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/08/09/external_support_and_the_syrian_insurgency

DePetris, Daniel R. "Kuwait's Hidden Hand in Syria." *The National Interest*.
http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/kuwaits-hidden-hand-syria-8729

Josh Landis's "Syria Comment" blog.
http://www.joshualandis.com/blog/

Week 8. October 16. **Transnational movements**

Blanford, Nicholas. 2011. *Warriors of God: Inside Hezbollah's Thirty-Year Struggle Against Israel*. New York: Random House.

Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations*.
Chapter 8 (pp. 229-260)

Reading TBD on the Muslim Brothers as a transnational movement

Week 9. October 23. **Israel and Palestine**

Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations*.
pp. 116-123

Morris, Benny. 2009. *One State, Two States: Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Thrall, Nathan. 2013. "What Future for Israel?" *The New York Review of Books*. August 15.
http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/aug/15/what-future-israel/?pagination=false

Heller, Aron. 2013. "Danon emerges as Netanyau's main foil." *The Times of Israel*. June 29.
http://www.timesofisrael.com/danon-emerging-as-netanyahus-main-foil/

Danon, Danny. 2012. *Israel: The will to Prevail*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
"Part 3: A Road Map for Jewish Victory," pp. 145-188

Various Hamas documents (on Blackboard)

Telhami, Shibley. 2013. *The World Through Arab Eyes*
Chapters 4-5 (pp. 57-94)

Brown, Nathan J. 2013. "No horizon in a perpetually unsustainable Palestine." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/06/27/no-horizon-in-perpetually-unsustainable-palestine/gc8m

Week 10. October 30. Interstate war

Quinlivan, James T. 1999. "Coup-proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security* 24, 2 (Fall): 131-165.

Gause, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*.
Chapter 4 (pp. 88-135)

Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations*.
Chapter 4-6 (pp. 97-192)

Simon, Julia. 2013. "Egypt May Not Need Fighter Jets, But the U.S. Keeps Sending Them Anyway." NPR. August 8.
http://www.npr.org/blogs/money/2013/08/08/209878158/egypt-may-not-need-fighter-jets-but-u-s-keeps-sending-them-anyway

Week 11. November 6. Transnational jihadi salafism

Gerges, Fawaz A. 2011. *The Rise and Fall of al-Qaeda*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gause, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*.
Chapter 5 (pp. 136-183)

Lewis, Bernard. 1990. "The Roots of Muslim Rage." *The Atlantic.* September:47-60.
http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/90sep/rage.htm

Hegghammer, Thomas. "The Future of Anti-Western Jihadism," testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Trade, Washington, DC (18 July 2013).
http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20130718/101155/HHRG-113-FA18-Wstate-HegghammerT-20130718.pdf

Selections from Abu Musab al-Suri's *The Global Islamic Resistance Call* and *Inspire Magazine*

Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97, 3 (August): 1-19.

Ashworth, Scott, et al. 2008. "Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 102, 2 (May): 269-273.

Pape, Robert A. 2008. "Methods and Findings in the Study of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 102, 2 (May): 275-277.

Week 12. November 13. **Flex week – topic to be determined!**

Readings TBD

Draft of part of final paper due by November 15th at 5 pm

Week 13. November 20. **Preventive war(s)**

Gause, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*.
Chapter 6 (pp. 184-240)

Debs, Alexandre and Nuno P. Monteiro. 2013. "Known Unknowns: Power Shifts, Uncertainty, and War." *International Organization*. *FirstView* Article, July, pp. 1-31
http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=8960933

Online discussions about Debs and Monteiro's "Known Unknowns"

- http://www.whiteoliphaunt.com/duckofminerva/2013/07/what-caused-the-iraq-war-a-debate-part-1-of-2.html
- http://www.whiteoliphaunt.com/duckofminerva/2013/07/what-caused-the-iraq-war-david-lake-replies-to-debs-and-monteiro.html
- http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2013/08/08/commitment-problems-and-preventive-war/

Telhami, Shibley. 2013. *The World Through Arab Eyes*
Chapters 7 (pp. 105-127)

Week 14. November 27. **No class. Thanksgiving Recess begins at 1:10 pm.**

Week 15. December 4. **IPE, the "East" looks West**

Jean-Francois Seznec. N.d. The Gulf Sovereign Funds: Myths and Reality. Unpublished manuscript.

Reading TBD on China and India in the Middle East

Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations*.
Chapter 9-10 (pp. 261-324)

Gause, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*.
Chapter 7 (pp. 241-250)