## Course Information

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| Course Number: | INTA 676 |
| Course Title: | International Politics of the Middle East |
| Section: | 650 (DC) and 699 (Distance) |
| Time: | Thursday 6:30-9:20 PM Eastern/5:30-8:20 PM Central |
| Location: | Bush School D.C. Teaching Site/Allen Building College Station |
| Credit Hours: | 3 |

## Instructor Details



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| Instructor: | Gregory Gause |
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| E-Mail: | gregory.gause@tamu.edu |
| Office Hours: | 3-6 PM, Thursday or by appointment |



## Course Description

Why is the modern Middle East so conflict ridden? This course attempts to answer that question through an examination of the interactions among the states of the region, the region's non-state actors and outside powers in the post-World War II period. Special attention will be paid to the following factors in seeking to explain recurrent patterns and outcomes in the region's international relations: power distributions both within the region and globally; the effects of powerful transnational ideological and identity movements in the region; domestic political institutions in the region's states; regional economic systems, with a particular emphasis on oil; outside power policies in the region. While focusing generally on conflict and war in the region, the course will try to explain other aspects of regional politics that affect and are affected by regional conflict, including: war and peace decisions; alliance and alignment patterns; regional modes of statecraft (ie., state-to-state war, regular diplomatic interchange, cross-border patron-client relations, financial tools of influence, cross-border subversion).

## Course Prerequisites

There are no prerequisites for this course. This is intended as a first course at the graduate level in the international relations of the Middle East. Undergraduate preparation in the history and politics of the region will be helpful, but is not required.

## Special Course Designation

This course is designated for Non-Traditional Format delivery for this semester. It will be taught simultaneously at two locations – the Bush School teaching site in Washington, D.C. and the Allen Building on the Texas A&M University campus in College Station. Most classes the instructor will be in Washington. The instructor will teach at least two of the classes from the Allen Building on main campus in College Station during the semester, dates to be announced. Students at the other site will

be connected to the instructor and the other students via Zoom technology during the class. Class discussions will include students in both locations.

## Course Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of this course, the student will be able to:

- explain the chronology of events in the post-World War II international relations of the Middle East
- apply a framework that emphasizes four levels of analysis – a) domestic politics, b) regional inter-state dynamics (Arab-Israeli, Persian Gulf, inter-Arab), c) the oil-centered political economy of the region, and d) Great Power policies – in explaining how and why events and trends transpired in Middle East international relations
- identify periods in the recent history of Middle East international relations by the dominant issues of those periods and explain changes in those periods

## Textbook and/or Resource Materials

-Peter Mansfield (revised by Nicolas Pelham), A History of the Middle East (Penguin, 2014, 4th edition)

-James L. Gelvin, The Israel-Palestine Conflict: A History (Cambridge University Press, 4th edition)

-Marc Lynch, The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East, (Public Affairs, 2016)

-Philip Gordon, Losing the Long Game: The False Promise of Regime Change in the Middle East (St. Martin's Press, 2020)

- Lawrence Freedman, A Choice of Enemies: America Confronts the Middle East (Public Affairs, 2008)

All of these texts will be on reserve in one form or another through Texas A&M. They are also available for purchase as e-books as well as old technology paper books. Other assigned readings will be available on the TAMU Libraries' E-Reserves site (http://library-reserves.tamu.edu/areslocal/index.htm) and/or on the Internet.

## Grading Policy

The final grade in this class will be calculated as follows: 1) a map quiz in class on January 27 – 10%; 2) two in-semester essays of at least 4 single-spaced pages, each worth 25%; 3) a final essay, due during the final exam week – 30%; 4) classroom participation (including 10-item chronologies) – 10%. Please see the relevant section below for a description of the in-semester and final essays. The essays will be graded with letter grades: A, A/B, B, B/C, C, D, F. Those letter grades will be converted into numerical equivalents for calculation of the final grade on the following 100 point scale: A=95, A/B=90, B=85, B/C= 80, C=75, D=65, F=0. Final grades will be assigned according to the following scale: A=90-100, B=80=89, C=70-79, D=60-69, F=below 60).

## Late Work Policy

Late work policies in this class are defined by *Student Rule 7*. Students should consult with the instructor if they are unable to submit required written work by the deadline defined in the syllabus.

## Course Schedule

**January 19**: Introduction to the Course/Dime Store Tour of Islamic History/

-Mansfield, Chapters 1-4
-James Gelvin, The Modern Middle East: A History (2nd ed.), Chapters 1-4 (e-reserves)

**January 26: Map Quiz in Class**

**January 26 and February 2: Creation of the Modern Middle East**
Western Imperialism and the Breakdown of the Middle East Empires/World War I/Drawing the Regional Map/Ideological Reactions – Arab Nationalism, State Nationalism, Zionism, Islamist alternatives

-Mansfield, Chapters 5-9
-Gelvin, The Israel-Palestine Conflict, Chapters 1-5 (hereafter all Gelvin assignments from this text)

-Bring to class on January 26: 10 item chronology

**February 9: World War II and the Creation of Israel**
Reassertion of Imperial Control/The U.S. and the USSR Enter the Game/Palestine Climax/Beginning of the Cold War in the Middle East

-Mansfield, Chapter 10
-Gelvin, Chapters 6-7
-Peter Hahn, Crisis and Crossfire: The United States and the Middle East since 1945, Chapter 1 (e-reserves)

-Bring to class: 10 item chronology

**February 16: Domestic Upheaval, Nationalism and the Cold War**
Political Changes in the Arab World and Iran/US Defense Plans and Soviet Reactions/The Suez War 1956/Nasser, Pan-Arabism, and the "Arab Cold War"
-Mansfield, Chapter 11
-Mark Gasiorowski, "US Foreign Policy toward Iran during the Mussadiq Era," in Lesch and Haas (eds.), The Middle East and the United States (5th ed.) (e-reserves)
-Malik Mufti, "The United States and Nasserist Pan-Arabism," in Lesch and Haas (eds.), The Middle East and the United States (5th ed.) (e-reserves)
- Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Pearson/Prentice-Hall, 2014, 7th edition), Chapter 5 (e-reserves)
-Gordon, Chapter 1.

-Bring to class: 10 item chronology

**February 23: First essay due**

**February 23: Arab-Israeli War and Peace – 1967 to 1979**
1967 War/Rise of Palestinian Nationalism and the Jordan Crisis of 1970/1973 War/Camp David and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty

-Gelvin, Chapters 8-9
-Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Pearson/Prentice-Hall, 2014, 7th edition) (e-reserves), Chapters 6-8
-Freedman, Preface and Chapters 1-3

-Bring to class: 10 item chronology

**March 2: Oil, the Persian Gulf, the Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War**
Background of the World Oil Market/The Strategic Picture in the Gulf after the British Withdrawal in 1971/The Oil Explosions of 1973 and 1979/The Iranian Revolution and its Regional Consequences/The Iran-Iraq War/The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

-Gordon, Chapter 2
-Blake Clayton, Market Madness: A Century of Oil Panics, Crises and Crashes (Oxford Univ. Press, 2015), Chapter 4 (e-reserves)
-Mansfield, Chapter 12
-Stephen M. Walt, Revolution and War, Chapter 5 "The Iranian Revolution" (e-reserves)
-Freedman, Chapters 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10

-Bring to class: 10 item chronology

**March 9: The Failure of the Likud Strategy: Arab-Israeli Dynamics in the 1980's**
Likud and the Occupied Territories/The 1982 Lebanon War/The Intifada in Palestinian and Israeli Politics/US Policy Post-Camp David, Pre-Gulf War

-Freedman, Chapter 7
-Ze'ev Schiff, "The Green Light," Foreign Policy, No. 50, Spring 1983 (e-reserves)
-Joe Stork and Jim Paul, "The War in Lebanon," MERIP Reports, No. 108/109, September/October 1982 (e-reserves)
-Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Pearson/Prentice-Hall, 2014, 7th edition) (e-reserves), Chapter 9

**March 16: Spring Break**

**March 23: The Gulf War of 1990-91 and Regional Pax Americana**
Causes and Consequences/The Gulf after the War/Why No Oil Crisis?

-Freedman, Chapters 11-14
-transcript of meeting between Saddam Hussein and Amb. April Glaspie, July 25, 1990, from

Sifry and Cerf (eds.), The Iraq War Reader, pp. 61-71 (e-reserves)
-Amb. April Glaspie's cable to Washington reporting on her July 25, 1990 meeting with Saddam Hussein (e-reserves)
-Hal Brands and David Palkki, "'Conspiring Bastards': Saddam Hussein's Strategic View of the United States," Diplomatic History, Vol. 36, No. 3, June 2012 (e-reserves)

-Bring to class: 10 item chronology

**March 30: The Peace Process in the 1990's – From Breakthrough to Breakdown**
The Madrid Framework/Israeli and Palestinian Motivations Behind the Oslo Agreement/Jordanian-Israeli Peace/The Syrian Track/Camp David II and Breakdown
-Freedman, Chapter 15
-Gelvin, Chapter 10
-Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Pearson/Prentice-Hall, 2014, 7th edition) (e-reserves), Chapters 10-12

-Bring to class: 10 item chronology

**April 6: Second essay due**

**April 6: The Rise of Salafi Jihadism and the 9/11 Attacks**
The Rise of Islamist Politics and Middle East International Relations/The Origins of "Bin Ladenism"/Afghanistan War/Saudi-American Relations
-Mansfield, Chapter 13
-Fawaz Gerges, The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global, Chapters 2, 3 and 4 (e-reserves)
-Freedman, Chapters 16, 17
-Gordon, Chapter 3

-Bring to class: 10 item chronology

**April 13: The Iraq War and the 2000's**
The Iraq War and its Aftermath/The Arab-Israeli Situation since 9/11
-Gordon, Chapter 4
-Freedman, Chapters 18-22
-Clayton, Market Madness: A Century of Oil Panics, Crises and Crashes, Chapter 5 (e-reserves)

-Bring to class: 10 item chronology

**April 21: The International Politics of the Arab Upheavals**
Have the upheavals of 2011 and beyond changed regional politics?/Winners and losers in the regional political game/American policy in the Arab upheavals/ Dealing with the Syrian civil war and the rise of ISIS/American policy toward the Syrian crisis
-Gordon, Chapters 5-7
-Marc Lynch, The New Arab Wars, Chapters 1-9

-Karim Sadjadpour, "Iran's Hollow Victory," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2022, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2022-02-16/irans-hollow-victory

-Raffaella A. Del Sarto, Helle Malmvig and Eduard Soler I Lecha, "Interregnum: The Regional Order in the Middle East and North Africa after 2011," MENARA Final Reports, No. 1, February 2019 (http://menaraproject.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/menara_fr_1-1.pdf)

-Bring to class: 10 item chronology

**April 27: Bring an outline, including the draft of the first paragraph, of your final essay to class**

**April 27: Conclusion of the Course/Workshop Outlines of the Final Essay**
Is the U.S. leaving the Middle East?/Should the U.S. leave the Middle East?/"The New Middle East Cold War"

-Gordon, Conclusion
-discussion of the themes of the course
-I will make comments on your draft outlines

## ESSAYS

Two In-Term Essays

These essays are analytical, not research-based. You need not read anything but the assigned readings to write them. You do, however, have to think about the assigned readings and the lectures in order to write a good essay. The key to the essay is making an argument and supporting it with references to the readings and lectures. Make sure that when you do refer directly to a reading that you properly cite the author(s). A full citation is not necessary. An abbreviated citation (eg.: Bickerton and Klausner, p. 234) is sufficient. If you do cite a source other than those included in the assigned readings, give the full citation.

First in-term essay, on February 23. Maximum 4 pages, single-spaced. Choose one of the following two questions:

1. Politics in the Middle East were unstable and conflictual in the period after World War II. There were Arab-Israeli wars and crises, inter-Arab tensions and crises and lots of regime changes and changes of government short of regime changes. Some have attributed this instability and conflict-proneness to the "artificiality" of the Middle Eastern states. How accurate is this explanation for regional instability? Are the states "artificial," and, if so, was that "artificiality" the main cause of conflict and instability? Discuss this issue of "artificiality" and instability in light of events in the region from 1945 to 1967.

2. Is it fair to say that the United States and the Soviet Union replaced the older European empires (particularly Great Britain and France) in the Middle East? In what ways were American and Soviet goals and methods similar to those of the previous empires, and in what ways were they different? Consider the period from the late 19th century up to 1967 in your answer.

Second in-term essay, due on April 6. Maximum 4 pages, single-spaced. Choose one of the following two questions:

1. What changed in the regional and international pictures to make Egyptian-Israeli peace in the 1970's and Jordanian-Israeli peace in the 1990's possible, and to lead to progress (but no ultimate success) on the Palestinian and Syrian tracks? Make sure to discuss the pre-1970 period (that is to say, why no peace treaties after the 1948, 1956 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars) when highlighting the changes that led to progress in the post-1973 period. Discuss why peace treaties could be achieved with Egypt and Jordan but not with Syria or the Palestinians.

2. Does oil lead to war? Discuss the role of oil, if any, in a full discussion of the causes of the Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf War of 1990-91.

Final Essay – Bring draft outline including first paragraph to class on April 27. Final version due for graduating students on May 8 by 5 PM and for others on May 12 by 5 PM via email to Prof. Gause. Maximum length of this essay is 5 single-spaced pages.

Be sure to integrate material from the entire course in your answer, and to provide concrete historical and/or current examples to support your argument.

Choose one of the following two questions for your final brief:

1. Why have there been so many wars and other kinds of inter-state conflict in the Middle East since 1945? In your answer, be sure to discuss Arab-Israeli, inter-Arab and Persian Gulf events during this time period. Do not ignore either outside power factors or local factors in your answer. Be sure to discuss how transnational identities such as Arab nationalism, Islam and other, more limited identities that cross borders affect the level of conflict.

2. Was the Iraq War of 2003 a major departure in American policy toward the Middle East, or is it simply the culmination of long-term trends? Be sure to discuss the origins of American strategy in the region as well as the reasons behind the Iraq War in your answer.

## University Policies

*This section outlines the university level policies that must be included in each course syllabus. The TAMU Faculty Senate established the wording of these policies.*

### Attendance Policy

The university views class attendance and participation as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments.

Please refer to Student Rule 7 in its entirety for information about excused absences, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

## Makeup Work Policy

Students will be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to Student Rule 7 in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor" (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1).

"The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence" (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2).

Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code. (See Student Rule 24.)

## Academic Integrity Statement and Policy

"An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal, or tolerate those who do."

"Texas A&M University students are responsible for authenticating all work submitted to an instructor. If asked, students must be able to produce proof that the item submitted is indeed the work of that student. Students must keep appropriate records at all times. The inability to authenticate one's work, should the instructor request it, may be sufficient grounds to initiate an academic misconduct case" (Section 20.1.2.3, Student Rule 20).

**Texas A&M at College Station**
*You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at aggiehonor.tamu.edu.*

## Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy

Texas A&M University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. If you experience barriers to your education due to a disability or think you may have a disability, please contact the Disability Resources office on your campus (resources listed below) Disabilities may include, but are not limited to attentional, learning, mental health, sensory, physical, or chronic health conditions. All students are encouraged to discuss their disability related needs with Disability Resources and their instructors as soon as possible.

**Texas A&M at College Station**
*Disability Resources is located in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit disability.tamu.edu.*

## Title IX and Statement on Limits to Confidentiality

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see University Rule 08.01.01.M1):

- The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.
- The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, a person who is subjected to the alleged conduct will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University's goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

**Texas A&M at College Station**
*Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS).*

*Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University's Title IX webpage.*

## Statement on Mental Health and Wellness

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student's academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in healthy self-care by utilizing available resources and services on your campus

**Texas A&M College Station**
*Students who need someone to talk to can contact Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) or call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at suicidepreventionlifeline.org.*

### Statement on the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA)

FERPA is a federal law designed to protect the privacy of educational records by limiting access to these records, to establish the right of students to inspect and review their educational records and to provide guidelines for the correction of inaccurate and misleading data through informal and formal hearings. Currently enrolled students wishing to withhold any or all directory information items may do so by going to howdy.tamu.edu and clicking on the "Directory Hold Information" link in the Student Records channel on the MyRecord tab. The complete FERPA Notice to Students and the student records policy is available on the Office of the Registrar webpage.

Items that can never be identified as public information are a student's social security number, citizenship, gender, grades, GPR or class schedule. All efforts will be made in this class to protect your privacy and to ensure confidential treatment of information associated with or generated by your participation in the class.

Directory items include name, UIN, local address, permanent address, email address, local telephone number, permanent telephone number, dates of attendance, program of study (college, major, campus), classification, previous institutions attended, degrees honors and awards received, participation in officially recognized activities and sports, medical residence location and medical residence specialization.

## Department of International Affairs syllabus statement on diversity, equity and inclusion

The Department of International Affairs is committed to fostering a diverse, equitable, and inclusive learning environment for all students, staff, and faculty. We welcome individuals of all ages, backgrounds, citizenships, disabilities, ethnicities, family statuses, genders, gender identities, geographical locations, languages, military experiences, political views, races, religions, sexual orientations, socioeconomic statuses, and/or work experiences (see diversity.tamu.edu/). We recognize a special responsibility to undertake particular efforts to include the participation and voices of those from historically underrepresented groups. In all of this, diversity alone is not the only goal; we also strive to hear, listen to, and incorporate new voices in our teaching, research, and service. We hold that embracing and supporting new perspectives, individuals, and ideas invigorates academic excellence and pushes our entire community forward. The Department of International Affairs and the Bush School expect everyone to demonstrate respect for different experiences, beliefs and values expressed by other members of our community and to engage in reasoned discussions. As a department of international affairs, within a university dedicated to the public good, a commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion is critical for preparing and ensuring the success of the next generation of leaders.

(adapted from Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver)