



Durham
University

School of Government
and International Affairs

SGIA 41115

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
AND SECURITY IN THE
MIDDLE EAST**

2018-19

International Relations and Security in the Middle East

Module Convener

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**THIS MODULE BOOKLET SHOULD BE READ
IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE
M.A. HANDBOOK 2018-19**

1. Introduction to the Module

This module aims to provide students with an advanced understanding of key concepts and theories of international relations, security, power, and identity politics in the Middle East. It will familiarize students with various theoretical approaches that have been applied to the study of contemporary Middle East. It is expected that by the end of the course, students will be able to critically evaluate academic scholarship in the field of international relations and security of the Middle East. The weekly seminars will enable students to develop an advanced knowledge and understanding of the main challenges facing the contemporary Middle East region and the strategies deployed by the state and other actors in addressing those challenges.

Learning Objectives

It is expected that:

- ◆ The student will acquire and demonstrate an in-depth knowledge of mainstream theoretical approaches towards international relations and security, including the major features of Middle East international relations.
- ◆ The student will apply theoretical understanding of international relations to regional issues and empirical questions of Middle East politics.
- ◆ The student will also acquire advanced knowledge and understanding of the main historical events, processes and actors that have shaped and continue to shape the international dynamics of the region.
- ◆ The student will learn to interpret and analyse empirical data at an advanced level when appropriate, to identify major events and trends, and to assess the usefulness of alternative explanatory frameworks.
- ◆ Students will be provided with advanced level critical analysis, linking theoretical approaches with empirical material and discussions on the characteristics of regional international relations and security dilemmas through lecture presentations by academic staff.
- ◆ Students will be encouraged to participate in peer-group discussions through structured individual presentations and subsequent group discussions.
- ◆ Students will be encouraged to develop independent study skills through guided reading, use of electronic sources, and feedback provided on formative essay writing.

Ethics and Teaching

Durham University is committed to the impartial pursuit of academic enquiry and to freedom of speech within the law. Academic enquiry sometimes requires us to engage with issues that are contentious and potentially distressing. Members of the School of Government and International Affairs will at all times approach such issues sensitively and in such a way as to encourage full, open-ended and candid discussion of them.

2. Conduct of the Module

The module is taught on a basis of one-hour lecture and one-hour seminar. Each week (lecture and following seminar) has its own suggested readings (see below) but this is not intended to be comprehensive or exhaustive. The lists are merely indicative and students should develop their research skills by identifying and utilising as wide a range of sources as possible

Learning

Preparation involves reading **ALL of the required readings**. Seminars are meant to provide students with the opportunity to discuss theories, concepts, and themes with their peers. For seminars to succeed, students will have to come prepared to class.

This course is supported by a DUO site to which all students should have access. If you cannot access the site, please inform the course convenor. DUO will be used by the convenor to post notices and make announcements relating to the course. Much of this handbook can be found there, including reading lists that have been added to as I have come across useful material. Please check the site regularly for announcements. You can find the readings (especially scanned book chapters) under 'Library resources' on the DUO page of the module. Also, readings will be provided under the folder 'Readings' on DUO when possible.

Class Presentation

Each student will make at least one presentation during the course. Presentations will be 5-7 minutes long followed by Q&A. For their presentation topic, students should apply one (or more) theoretical approaches to recent events in the region. The students are free to choose the event and the theory they see fit. The event should not be longer than one-year old.

Assessment

This module is assessed by a 3,000-word unsupervised essay.

Essay deadline - 12 noon, 29 April 2019.

This should be a single *unsupervised* piece of essay work. As such it will demonstrate the student's ability to work and research independently, as well as the advanced level of knowledge, and the critical and argumentation skills of the students.

It should be typed and **submitted online in line with the information given in the programme handbook.**

It should be typed with a '**word count**' printed under the title. It will **not be returned** so it is advisable to keep a copy.

3. General Reading Lists

Students wishing to purchase a general textbook are advised to consider the following.

CORE TEXTBOOKS

1. Fawcett, Louise, ed. 2016. *International Relations of the Middle East*. Third Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **[topic-based introductory textbook for Middle East international relations]**.

Available in Library

2. Fawcett, Louise, ed. 2016. *International Relations of the Middle East*. Fourth Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press **(This edition has only two more chapters on themes in the IR of the ME, but all other chapters are similar to the previous edition)**.
3. Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2015. *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Second Edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press **[a comprehensive textbook for Middle East international relations from analytical perspective]**.

Available in Library

4. Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press **[a comprehensive textbook for Middle East international relations]**.

Accessible through DUO: E-BOOK

5. Hinnebusch, Raymond, and Anoushiravan Ehteshami. 2014. *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*. Second edition. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers **[comparative foreign policies of Middle East states]**.

Available in Library

6. Nonneman, Gerd, ed. 2005. *Analyzing Middle East Foreign Policies*. London: Routledge. **[comparative foreign policies of Middle East states]**.

Accessible through DUO: E-BOOK

For background reading, the following books are recommended.

- Korany, Bahgat and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki. 2008. *The Foreign Policy of Arab States: The Challenge of Globalization*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Ismael, Tareq Y. and Ismael, Jacqueline S. 2010. *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East*, Routledge.
- Long, David and Sean L. Yom. 2016. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, Eighth Edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Cleveland, William and Martin Bunton. 2012. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 5th ed., Westwood Press (2012).

Current news from the Middle East are available via the following websites:

Arabic News

<http://www.arabicnews.com>

Arab Net	http://www.arab.net
Al-Sharq al-Awsat	https://english.aawsat.com
Al-Jazeera	http://www.aljazeera.com/
BBC-Middle East	http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/middle_east/
Egypt Independent	http://www.egyptindependent.com/
Gulf Times	http://www.gulf-times.com/
Middle East News	http://news.arabia.com
The Guardian – MENA	http://www.theguardian.com/world/middleeast/roundup

Well-known weblogs, networks, and think tanks publishing on the Middle East:

‘The Monkey Cage’ Blog	https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/
Jadaliyya (produced by Arab Studies Institute)	http://www.jadaliyya.com/
The Middle East Research Institute (MEMRI)	http://www.memri.org/
Middle East Research and Information Project	http://www.merip.org/
Project on Middle East Political Science	http://pomeps.org/
Washington Report on Middle East Affairs	http://www.washington-report.org/
Carnegie Middle East Center	http://carnegie-mec.org
Brookings – Middle East and North Africa	http://www.brookings.edu
Al-Monitor	http://www.al-monitor.com
Middle East Eye	http://www.middleeasteye.net
SADA – Carnegie	http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/

4. Module Outline and Readings

Week 1: Introduction: IR Theories and Approaches to Middle East International Relations and Security

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Week 2: Relevance of Realism: Interest, Security, and Geopolitics

Week 3: Ideas, Identities, and Ideologies in the Middle East

Week 4: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Analysis

THEMES

Week 5: Threat Perception and Alliance Formation in the Middle East

Week 6: The Middle East Penetrated: The Politics of International and Regional Interventions

Week 7: The Arab Uprisings and the Rise of Sectarianism: Implications for Security in the Middle East

Week 8: Source or Result of Instability? The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Regional Order

Week 9: Nuclear Deterrence: Militarization and WMDs in the Middle East

Week (1)

Introduction: IR Theories and Approaches to Middle East International Relations and Security

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1- The history of state formation, oil resources, and transnational identities in the Middle East renders the region 'too exceptional' to be examined by IR theories. Discuss.
- 2- Security in the Middle East has several dimensions operating at several levels: domestic, regional, and international. Discuss with examples.

REQUIRED READINGS

- Rogan, Eugene. 2016. "The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System." In *International Relations of the Middle East*, edited by Louise Fawcett, Third edition, 37–59. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1: 21–40. (DUO: E-Book)
- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2015. *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Second Edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Chapter 1.
- Bilgin, Pinar. 2015. "Region, Security, and Regional Security: 'Whose Middle East?' Revisited." In *Regional Insecurity After the Arab Uprisings: Narratives of Security and Threat*, edited by Elizabeth Monier. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 19–39 (DUO: E-book).

ADDITIONAL READINGS

- Aarts, Paul. 1999. "The Middle East: A Region without Regionalism or the End of Exceptionalism?" *Third World Quarterly* 20 (5): 911–25.
- Ayoob, Mohammed. 1984. "Security in the Third World: The Worm about to Turn." *International Affairs* 60 (1): 41–51.
- — —. 1989. "The Third World in the System of States: Acute Schizophrenia or Growing Pains?" *International Studies Quarterly* 33 (1): 67–79.
- Barnett, Michael. 1998. *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Brown, L. Carl. 1984. *International Politics and the Middle East: Old Rules, Dangerous Game*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- David, Steven. 1991. "Explaining Third World Alignment." *World Politics* 43 (2): 233–56.
- Gause, F. Gregory. 1992. "Sovereignty, Statecraft and Stability in the Middle East." *Journal of International Affairs* 45 (2): 441–67.
- Gerges, Fawaz. 1991. "The Study of Middle East International Relations: A Critique." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 18 (2): 208–20.
- Haas, Mark L. 2012. *The Clash of Ideologies: Middle Eastern Politics and American Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2003. *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, Chapter 1.
- — —. 2010. "Toward a Historical Sociology of State Formation in the Middle East." *Middle East Critique* 19 (3): 201-16.
- Ismael, Tareq. 2000. *The International Relations of the Middle East in the 21st Century*. Ashgate.
- Karsh, Efraim. 1997. "Cold War, Post-Cold War: Does It Make a Difference for the Middle East?" *Review of International Studies*, 23 (3): 271-291.
- Korany, Bahgat. 1987. "Alien and Besieged Yet Here to Stay: The Contradictions of the Arab Territorial State." In *The Foundations of the Arab State*, edited by Ghassan Salame, 47-74. London: Routledge.
- Korany, Bahgat, and Ali. E.H Dessouki, eds. 2008. *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Globalization*. Cairo: Cairo University Press, Chapter 1.
- Lawson, Fred H. 2000. "Westphalian Sovereignty and the Emergence of the Arab States System: The Case of Syria." *The International History Review* 22 (3): 529-56.
- — —. 2006. *Constructing International Relations in the Arab World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, Chapters 1 & 2.
- Noble, Paul. 2004. "Systemic Factors Do Matter, But...: Reflections on the Uses and Limitations of Systemic Analysis." In *Persistent Permeability?: Regionalism, Localism and Globalization*, edited by Rex Brynen and Bassel Salloukh, 29-64. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- — —. 2008. "From Arab System to Middle Eastern System?: Regional Pressures and Constraints." In *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Globalization*, edited by Bahgat Korany and Ali E. H. Dessouki, 67-165. Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press.
- Teti, Andrea. 2007. "Bridging the Gap: IR, Middle East Studies and the Disciplinary Politics of the Area Studies Controversy." *European Journal of International Relations* 13 (1): 117-45.
- Valbjørn, Morten. 2003. "The Meeting of the Twain: Bridging the Gap between International Relations and Middle East Studies." *Conflict and Cooperation* 38 (2): 163-73.
- Walt, Stephen. 1987. *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Week 2 Relevance of Realism: Interest, Security, and Geopolitics

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

Realism is the most valid theoretical approach to explain the Middle East, a region dominated by material powers, shifting alliances, and oil resources. Discuss.

REQUIRED READINGS

- Lawson, Fred. 2013. "International Relations Theory and the Middle East," In Louise Fawcett (ed.) *International Relations of the Middle East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19-36.
- Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.
- Ryan, Curtis. 2014. "Inter-Arab Relations and the Regional System." In *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, 110-23. New York: Columbia University Press.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

- Brand, Laurie. 1999. "Middle Eastern Alliances: From Neorealism to Political Economy," in Mark Tessler (ed.) *Area Studies and Social Science: Understanding Middle East Politics* (Indiana, 1999).
- Gause, F. Gregory. 1999. "Systemic Approaches to Middle East International Relations." *International Studies Review* 1 (1): 11-31.
- Gause, Gregory. 2009. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halliday, Fred. 2005. *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond, and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, eds. 2014. *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*. London: Lynner Rienner Publishers, chapter 1.
- Juneau, Thomas. 2014. *Squandered Opportunity: Neoclassical Realism and Iranian Foreign Policy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- . 2011. "The Security Dilemma in the Contemporary Persian Gulf". In *The International Politics of the Persian Gulf*, edited by Mehran Kamrava. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Salamé, Ghassan. 1994. 'The Middle East: Elusive Security, Indefinable Region'. *Security Dialogue* 25 (1): 17-35.
- Salloukh, Bassel. 2004. "Regime Autonomy and Regional Foreign Policy Choices in the Middle East: A Theoretical Explanation." In *Persistent Permeability?: Regionalism, Localism and Globalization*, edited by Rex Brynen and Bassel Salloukh, 81-104. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Walt, Stephen. 1987. *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell University Press.

Week 3

Ideas, Identities, and Ideologies in the Middle East

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Ideational factors operate at different levels of analysis within the international relations of the Middle East. Discuss
2. Identities and ideologies are mere instruments in the hand of political elites to mobilize support for foreign policy choices based on material interests. Do you agree? Discuss using at least two empirical cases.
3. What are the different approaches to examine the influence of identity on state behaviour in the region?

REQUIRED READINGS

- Valbjørn, Morten. 2015. "Introduction: The Role of Ideas and Identities in Middle East International Relations." In *International Relations of the Middle East*, edited by Morten Valbjørn and Fred H. Lawson, III:vii – xxiii. London: Sage.
- Rubin, Lawrence. 2014. *Islam in the Balance: Ideational Threats in Arab Politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, Chapter 2 (DUO: E-book).
- Michael Barnett. 1999. "Culture, Strategy, and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo," *European Journal of International Relations* 5, 1: 5-36.
- Saideman, Stephen. 2002. "Conclusion: Thinking Theoretically about Identity and Foreign Policy". In *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, edited by Michael Barnett and Jack Levy, 169–200. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

- Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. 2006. *The International Politics of the Persian Gulf: A Cultural Genealogy*. London: Routledge.
- Ajami, Fouad. 1978. "The End of Panarabism." *Foreign Affairs* 57 (2): 355–73.
- Alaranta, Toni. 2015. *National and State Identity in Turkey: The Transformation of the Republic's Status in the International System*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Chapter 1.
- Bank, Andre, and Morten Valbjørn. 2010. "Bringing the Arab Regional Level Back In ... - Jordan in the New Arab Cold War." *Middle East Critique* 19 (3): 303–19.
- Barnett, Michael. 1993. "Institutions, Roles, and Disorder: The Case of the Arab State System." *International Studies Quarterly*, 37: 271–96.
- — —. 1995. "Sovereignty, Nationalism, and Regional Order in the Arab States System." *International Organization* 49 (3): 479–510.
- — —. 1996. "Identity and Alliances in the Middle East." In *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, edited by Peter Katzenstein, 400–447. New York: Columbia University Press.
- — —. 1998. *Dialogues in Arab Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- — —. 2002. "The Israeli Identity and the Peace Process: Re/creating the Un/thinkable." In *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, edited by Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, 58–87. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press.
- Darwich, May (2016). "The Ontological (In)security of Similarity: Wahhabism versus Islamism in Saudi Foreign Policy." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 12(3): 469–488.
- Faksh, Mahmud. 1993. "Withered Arab Nationalism." *Orbis* 37 (2): 14–14.
- Halliday, Fred. 2000. *Nation and Religion in the Middle East*. London: Saqi Books.
- Haas, Mark. 2011. *The Clash of Ideologies: Middle Eastern Politics and American Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2013. "The Politics of Identity in the Middle East International Relations." In *International Relations of the Middle East*, edited by Louise Fawcett, 148–66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2003a. *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, Chapter 3.
- — —. 2003b. "Identity in International Relations: Constructivism versus Materialism, and the Case of the Middle East." *The Review of International Affairs* 3 (2): 358–62.
- Hudson, Michael. 1983. "The Islamic Factor in Syrian and Iraqi Politics." In *Islam in the Political Process*, edited by James Piscatori, 71–97. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kerr, Malcolm. 1971. *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd Al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958-1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lorenz, Joseph P. 1990. *Egypt and the Arabs: Foreign Policy and the Search for National Identity*. Westview Press.
- Lynch, Marc. 2002. "Jordan's Identity and Interests." In *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, edited by Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, 26–57. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press.
- Nahas, Maridi. 1985. "State-Systems and Revolutionary Challenge: Nasser, Khomeini and the Middle East." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 17 (4): 507–27.
- Phillips, Christopher. 2012. *Everyday Arab Identity: The Daily Reproduction of the Arab World*. London: Routledge.
- Piscatori, James. 1983. "Islamic Values and National Interest: The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia." In *Islam in Foreign Policy*, edited by Adeed Dawisha, 33–53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rubin, Lawrence. 2014. *Islam in the Balance: Ideational Threats in Arab Politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Salloukh, Bassel. 1997. "Studying Arab Politics: The End of Ideology or the Quest for Alternative Methods?" *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 6 (10): 109–25.
- Stein, Ewan. 2012. "Beyond Arabism vs. Sovereignty: Relocating Ideas of International Relations of the Middle East." *Review of International Studies* 38 (4): 881–905.
- Tibi, Bassam. 1997. *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and Nation State*. 3rd ed. London: Macmillan.
- Valbjørn, Morten. 2009. "Arab Nationalism(s) in Transformation: From Arab Interstate Societies to an Arab-Islamic World Society." In *International Society and the Middle East: English School Theory at the Regional Level*, edited by Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez, 140–69. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Valbjørn, Morten, and Andre Bank. 2007. "Signs of a New Arab Cold War." *Middle East Report*, no. 242: 6–11.

Week 4:

Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Analysis

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- 1- Which domestic factors are the most influential in shaping Middle Eastern foreign policies? Why?
- 2- Foreign policies of authoritarian regimes are the prerogative of leaders without being constrained by domestic structures or Public Opinion. Do you agree? Discuss using examples.

REQUIRED READINGS

- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2015. "Foreign Policy Analysis and the Arab World". In *Foreign Policy Analysis Beyond North America*. Bummer, Klaus and Valerie Hudson, eds. Lynne Rienner. Chapter 5.
- Michael Barnett and Jack Levy. 1991. "Domestic sources of alliances and alignments: The case of Egypt, 1962-73". *International Organization* 45 (3): 369-95.
- Odius, Daniel, and Philipp Kuntz. 2015. "The Limits of Authoritarian Solidarity: The Gulf Monarchies and Preserving Authoritarian Rule during the Arab Spring." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (4): 639-54.
- Lawson, Fred. 2016. "Desecuritization, Domestic Struggles, and Egypt's Conflict with Ethiopia over the Nile River". *Democracy and Security* 12(1): 1-22.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

Recommended Readings with several country cases

- Dawisha, Adeed. 1983. *Islam and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond, and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, eds. 2014. *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*. 2nd edition. London: Lynne Rienner
- Korany, Bahgat, and Ali. E.H Dessouki, eds. 2008. *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Globalization*. Cairo: Cairo University Press.
- Korany, Bahgat, Paul Noble, and Rex Brynen, eds. 1993. *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab World*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Nonneman, Gerd, ed. 2005. *Analyzing Middle East Foreign Policies*. London: Routledge.
- Telhami, Shibley, and Michael Barnett, eds. 2002. *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Other Recommended Readings on Specific Countries

- Bank, Andre and Roy Karadag. 2014. "Before the Arab Revolt and After: Turkey's Transformed Regional Status in the Middle East". In *Regional Powers in the Middle East: New Constellations After the Arab Revolts*, edited by Henner Furtig. New York: Palgrave.

- Barnett, Michael. 1990. "High Politics is Low Politics: The Domestic and Systemic Sources of Israeli Security." *World Politics* 42 (4): 529-562.
- — — . 1999. "Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo." *European Journal of International Relations* (5)1: 5-36.
- Brand, Laurie. 1994a. "Economics and Shifting Alliances: Jordan's Relations with Syria and Iraq, 1975-81." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (3): 393-413.
- Brecher, Michael. 1972. *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Setting, Images, Process*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- — — . 1974. *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buzan, Barry and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez, eds. 2009. *International Society and the Middle East: English School Theory at the Regional Level*. New York: Palgrave.
- Ehteshami, Anoushiravan. 1996. "Defence and Security Policy of Syria in a Changing Regional." *International Relations* 13 (1): 49-67.
- Ehteshami, Anoushiravan, and Raymond Hinnebusch. 1997. *Syria and Iran: Middle Powers in a Penetrated Regional System*. London: Routledge.
- Gause, F. Gregory. 1990. *Saudi-Yemeni Relations: Domestic Structures and Foreign Influences*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- — — . 1994. *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States*. New York: Council of Foreign Relations Press.
- — — . 2009. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- — — . 2011. "Saudi Arabia in the New Middle East." *Council Special Report*, no. 63.
- Grimm, Jannis, and Stephan Roll. 2012. "Egyptian Foreign Policy under Mohamed Morsi: Domestic Considerations and Economic Constraints." SWP Comments 35. German Institute for International and Security Affairs.
- Hermann, Margeret. 1988. "Syria's Hafez Al-Assad." In *Leadership and Negotiation in the Middle East*, edited by B. Kellerman and J. Z. Rubin, 70-95. New York: Praeger.
- Kabalan, Marwan. 2010. "Syrian Foreign Policy between Domestic Needs and the External Environment." In *Syria Foreign Policy and the United States from Bush to Obama*, edited by Raymond Hinnebusch, Marwan Kabalan, Bassma Kodmani, and David Lesch, 29-44. St Andrews Papers on Contemporary Syria 1.
- Karawan, Ibrahim. 1994. "Sadat and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Revisited," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (2): 249-66.
- Legrenzi, Matteo and Gregory Gause. 2016. "The International Politics of the Gulf". In Louise Fawcett (ed.) *International Relations of the Middle East*. 304- 323. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lesch, David W. 2005. *The New Lion of Damascus: Bashar Al-Asad and Modern Syria*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lorenz, Joseph P. 1990. *Egypt and the Arabs: Foreign Policy and the Search for National Identity*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Ma'oz, Moshe, and Avner Yaniv, eds. 1986. *Syria under Asad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*. London: Croom Helm.
- Mufti, Malik. 1996. *Sovereign Creations: Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- O'Reilly, Marc. 1998. "Omanibalancing: Oman confronts an uncertain future." *The Middle East Journal* 52(1): 70-84.
- Ryan, Curtis. 2009. *Inter-Arab Alliances: Regime Security and Jordanian Foreign Policy*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Salloukh, Bassel. 1996. "State Strength, Permeability, and Foreign Policy Behavior: Jordan in a Theoretical Perspective." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 18 (2): 39-65.

- — —. 2009. "Demystifying Syrian Foreign Policy under Bashar Al-Asad." In *Demystifying Syria*, edited by Fred Lawson, 159–79. London: Saqi Books.
- Shama, Nael. 2013. *Egyptian Foreign Policy from Mubarak to Morsi: Against the National Interest*. London: Routledge.
- Telhami, Shibley. "Israeli Foreign Policy: A Static Strategy in a Changing World," *Middle East Journal* 44(3): 399-416.
- — —. 1992. "Israeli Foreign Policy after the Gulf War," *Middle East Policy* 1(2).

THEMES

Week 5

Friends and Foes:

Patterns of War and Alliance-Making in the Middle East

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Compare and discuss the factors driving alliances during at least two of the following cases:

1. The Iran-Iraq war (1980-8)
2. The Lebanon war (2006) (between Israel and Hezbollah, allied with Iran and Syria).
3. The post-2011 Syrian Crisis.

REQUIRED READINGS

- Fawcett, Louise. 2016. "Alliances and Regionalism in the Middle East." In *International Relations of the Middle East*, edited by Louise Fawcett, Fourth edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barnett, Michael. 1996. "Identity and Alliances in the Middle East." In *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, edited by Peter Katzenstein, 400-447. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gause, F. Gregory. 2003. "Balancing What? Threat Perception and Alliance Choice in the Gulf." *Security Studies* 13 (2): 273-305.
- Gause, F. Gregory. 2017. "Ideologies, Alignments, and Underbalancing in the New Middle East Cold War". *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50(3): 672-657.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

- Barnett, Michael, and Jack Levy. 1991. "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: The Case of Egypt 1962-1973." *International Organization* 45 (3): 369-95.
- — —. 1992. "Alliance Formation, Domestic, Political Economy and Third World Security." *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 14 (4): 19-40.
- Barnett, Michael. 2003. "Alliances, Balances of Threats Theory and Neorealism." In *Realism and the Balancing of Power: A New Debate*, edited by John Vasquez and Colin Elman, 222-49. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bennett, Andrew, Joseph Lepgold, and Danny Unger. 1994. "Burden-Sharing in the Persian Gulf War." *International Organization* 48 (1): 39-75.
- Brand, Laurie. 1994a. "Economics and Shifting Alliances: Jordan's Relations with Syria and Iraq, 1975-81." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (3): 393-413.
- — —. 1994b. *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations: The Political Economy of Alliance Making*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- — —. 1999. "Middle Eastern Alliances: From Neorealism to Political Economy." In *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics*, edited by

- Mark Tessler, Jodi Nachtwey, and Anna Banda, 134–47. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
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Week (6): The Middle East Penetrated: The Politics of International Interventions

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1- Discuss change and continuity in US security policy in the Middle East comparing the Cold War and post-Cold War periods.
- 2- The international penetration of the Middle East has been a driver for stability. Discuss with relevance to democracy promotion efforts, the 1991 Gulf War, the Iraq war (2003), and the coalition against the Islamic State (2015).

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Week (7)

The Arab Uprisings and the Rise of Sectarianism: Implications for Security in the Middle East

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1- The Arab Spring has completely re-invented the international relations of the Middle East. Do you agree? Discuss using empirical cases from the pre- and post-2011 orders.
- 2- The regional structure in the Middle East had a negative impact on democratic transitions in the post-2011 Arab Uprisings. Do you agree?

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Week (8)

Source or Result of Instability? The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Regional Order

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1- Discuss the interests of the main parties involved in this conflict, as well as changes in their approaches to one another.
- 2- The importance of the Arab-Israeli conflict has decreased compared to other conflicts in the region in the past decade. Do you agree? Discuss using examples.

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- Frederiksen, Harald D. 2003. "Israeli Water Strategy, Implications for Peace and the Viability of Palestine." *Middle East Policy* 10(4): 69-86.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. 2001. "Israel's Retreat from South Lebanon: internal and external implications." *Middle East Policy* 8(1): 106-16.
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Recommended Readings on the International Dimension of the Arab-Israeli Conflict

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Week (9): Nuclear Deterrence? Militarization and WMDs in the Middle East

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why do some countries seek to acquire nuclear weapons whereas others give them up? Discuss using examples from the region.
2. Compare Iran's nuclear interests and security concerns with those of Israel.
3. Can Iran's nuclear agreement lead to stability in the Middle East?

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5. ESSAY WRITING GUIDELINES

Essay Criteria

In assessing **essays** your tutor will use the following criteria:

Focus – How well does the essay address the question set?

Structure – How clear is the argument of the essay? Is the sequence of points coherent, and is it well signposted?

Theoretical content – Does the essay show a good understanding of relevant concepts and theories?

Empirical content – How well is the essay's argument supported by examples?

Research effort – Has a wide range of appropriate sources been consulted?

Presentation – Are the text and references well presented, in an approved format? (See 'Style Sheet for Essays', below)

In responding to **presentations**, tutors will employ similar criteria (excluding the last), but with special emphasis on clarity and structure. Presentations are intended to *introduce* the topic, not to constitute the last word on it.

Hints for writing a good essay

- Start from the class readings, journal articles, news magazine/newspaper articles, and books. To get a high mark, you also need to go beyond the class readings.
- It is often helpful to organise the essay around an example from current events or history. That way theoretical arguments about, for example, 'security' are backed up by empirical content.
- Make sure that you critically use the sources; it is not enough to just summarize their arguments, you need to do analysis.
- Be careful how you use the sources. Just because it is in print (or is said by a native) does not mean that it is true. For example, be careful of 'journalistic' material; often the presuppositions do not stand up to academic scrutiny.
- Cite sources and use the proper citation forms.
- Write the correct length. If the essay is too long or too short it will get a lower mark.

Referencing Styles:

You are welcome to use any referencing style considering that you maintain consistency throughout the essay. In general, there are two systems: (1) notes and bibliography and (2) author-date. A bibliography should always be provided, even when you are using the footnote referencing style. This is for the convenience of the marker, who can use it to gauge the extent of the research that has gone into your

essay. You can find the details on both referencing systems by consulting the Chicago Citation Guide: http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html

Plagiarism

Plagiarism occurs when you copy or summarise someone else's work without clear and accurate acknowledgement of what you have borrowed and from where. When you submit work, whether an essay, project or dissertation, you are claiming to be its author. This means that it consists of your own ideas and is written in your own words ~ except where you specifically indicate other sources.

Students must not claim others' (including other students') work as their own. This is a form of cheating. In addition, students must make every effort to avoid plagiarism arising out of defects in note-taking, attribution of sources and presentation of work. An example of correct style for referencing and attribution is set out in all module booklets. The issue is dealt with in feedback on formative written work. Guidance on good practice in note-taking is given in the Study Skills lectures which form part of each level-1 module, and is available from all teachers. *Ignorance of the requirements for proper referencing and attribution does not therefore constitute a defence against an accusation of plagiarism.*

Any concerns about proper referencing must be brought to the attention of the relevant teacher before work is submitted. The Declaration submitted with summative written work is not a formality but is to be taken seriously.

Allegations of plagiarism are dealt with initially by a panel convened by the Board of Examiners of the degree programme concerned, and conducted in accordance with University regulations (see section 6.3.5 of the Learning and Teaching Handbook). In extreme cases, plagiarism may be classed as a dishonest practice under Section IV, 5 (a)(x) of the General Regulations and can lead to expulsion. **Proven cases of plagiarism will form part of a student's record.**

Overlap of summative assessments

Students should avoid substantive overlap between any summative assessments, not just across modules but within them as well. Multiple submission of the same or substantially the same material of one's own for summative assessment in connection with a University award is a disciplinary offence. As with plagiarism, allegations of multiple submission are dealt with initially by a panel convened by the Board of Examiners of the degree programme concerned, and conducted in accordance with University regulations (see section 6.3.5 of the Learning and Teaching Handbook). In extreme cases, multiple submission may be classed as a dishonest practice under Section IV, 5 (a) (x) of the General Regulations and can lead to expulsion.

Word Limits

Word limits exist in order to ensure equity in the marking of summatively assessed work. They are to be adhered to strictly.

The word count should **include**: all text, all footnotes or endnotes, all appendices, all tables (all of this will be done automatically by a word-processor word count), and all words (e.g. captions) associated with graphical elements such as graphs, diagrams and pictorial illustrations (these will have to be counted by hand if the words fall within the picture boundary of the graphic). In addition, each graphic (graphs, diagrams and pictorial illustrations) should be counted as an extra 150 words.

The following should **NOT** be included in the word count: the bibliography, the title page (and any illustrations on it), and any acknowledgements or non-substantive preface.

No essay, project or dissertation should be submitted with a word count above the stated limit. The School will use Turnitin software to generate word counts from the electronic versions of submitted work. Work submitted with a word count acknowledged in the Declaration to be above the limit will be subject to a mark penalty depending on the size of the excess. Over-length essays submitted with a false word count will be subject to the same penalty, and in addition may attract disciplinary action on the grounds of dishonest practice.

Marking Penalties

Length in excess of stated limit:

- Up to 5%: five mark penalty
- Between 5% and 20%: ten mark penalty
- Between 20% and 50%: twenty mark penalty
- Above 50%: mark of zero

Font Size

Essays must be submitted printed with the main text in a 12-point font with double line spacing. Footnotes or endnotes may be at a reduced font size (minimum 10-point) and may be single spaced. Page margins should be approximately 1 inch (2.5cm) top and bottom and 1.5 inches (4cm) on each side. These requirements are to ensure readability and to enable the marker to make a rough check that the word limit has been complied with.

Declaration on Plagiarism and Word Count

A copy of this form, including the following paragraph, is to be submitted on a separate piece of paper with each piece of summatively assessed written work. It and the written work should be submitted to the Department office, not to the module teacher(s). Items in **[bold type within square brackets]** should be entered as appropriate.

Please note the following extract from University regulations:

In formal examinations and all assessed work prescribed in degree, diploma and certificate regulations, students should take care to acknowledge the work and opinions of others and avoid any appearance of representing them as their own. Unacknowledged quotation or close paraphrasing of other people's writing, amounting to the presentation of other person's thoughts or writings as one's own, is plagiarism and will be penalised. In extreme cases, plagiarism may be classed as a dishonest practice under Section IV, 5 (a)(x) of the General Regulations and can lead to expulsion.

[Title of essay, project, dissertation, etc.]

This **[essay, project, dissertation, etc.]** is the result of my own work. Material from the published or unpublished work of others which is used in the **[essay, project, dissertation, etc.]**, is credited to the author in question in the text.

The **[essay, project, dissertation, etc.]** is exactly **[word count]** words in length.

I have read and understood the Guidance on Plagiarism and Word Limits in the relevant module booklet.

[Signature]

[Printed Name]

[Date]

[Anonymous Candidate Number]