

**AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT**

PSPA 311/ PPIA 311A

**International Politics and the Middle East**

Professor Waleed Hazbun

Office hours: Mon., Wed. 2pm - 3pm

**Fall 2016**

Office: Jesup Hall, Room No. 201

Tuesdays 3:00 pm - 5:30 pm

IFI 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor Seminar Room

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This seminar explores how the politics of the Middle East, US policy in the Middle East, and the Middle East as a regional system have been understood and represented through the lens of international relations theory and scholarship. The seminar develops a multilayered approach to understanding the politics of security/insecurity and the shifting regional (dis)order by integrating the role of system-level global powers, regional and transnational actors, and domestic socio-economic and ideological forces to traces shifting patterns since the end of World War II.

Prerequisites: Background in Middle East history and/or politics as well as familiarity with core concepts of international relations (IR) theory.

**Seminar Requirements:**

Seminar participation, memos, and class presentations: 25% of grade. "Case study" memos [Weeks 3-12]: Choose 3 sessions to research and write a brief 1-2 page memo illustrating an example (or-counter example) of a trend outlined in the course readings for that week.

Four papers (topics to be distributed at least 2 weeks before due)

**Readings:**

Weekly reading assignments may range from 50 to 150 pages per week. Most readings will be made available in pdf format on and all writing assignments will be uploaded to Moodle: <http://moodle.aub.edu.lb/course/view.php?id=1569>

## **1. Introduction** Aug. 30

"Glossary of International Relations Terms," in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, (Rienner, 2014), pp. 351-354.  
Mike Bourne, *Understanding Security* (Polity, 2014), pp. 27-57.

## **2. Analytical Frameworks for the study of IR of the Middle East** Sept. 6

Raymond Hinnebusch, *The International Politics of the Middle East*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Manchester, 2015), pp. 1-22.

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Middle East Regional System" in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States 2nd ed.*, (Rienner, 2014), pp. 35-72.

F. Gregory Gause, III. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 1-15.

Waleed Hazbun, "A History of Insecurity: From the Arab Uprisings to ISIS," *Middle East Policy*, 22/3 (Fall 2015): 55-65.

Steve Niva, "Contested Sovereignties and Postcolonial Insecurities in the Middle East," in Jutta Weldes et al. (eds.) *Cultures of Insecurity*, (Minnesota, 1999), Read only pp. 147-160.

*Al-Adha*, No classes, Sept 13

## **3. Egypt, Arab Nationalism and the Cold War, 1954-1980** Sept. 20

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt," in *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, (Rienner, 2012) pp. 91-114.

Steve Niva, "Contested Sovereignties and Postcolonial Insecurities," read pp. 160-164.

Peter L. Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire: The US and the Middle East Since 1945* (Potomac, 2005) pp. 39-67.

Fouad Ajami, "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 57 (Winter 1978-79): 355-373

Michael N. Barnett, "Sovereignty, nationalism, and regional order in the Arab states system," *International Organization* Vol. 49, Issue 3 (June 1995): 479-510.

#### **4. The geopolitics of the Gulf, 1971-1990** Sept 27

F. Gregory Gause, III. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 16-87.

Trita Parsi, "Israel and the Origins of Iran's Arab Option," *Middle East Journal* (Summer 2006): 493-512.

Saddam Hussein, "The National Potential and International Politics," in *Social and Foreign Affairs of Iraq* (Croom Helm, 1979) pp. 65-84.

Toby Jones, "Energy Security: Genealogy of a Term," *Middle East Report*, (Summer 2014): 6-9.

#### **5. Lebanon and "battle ground" for regional geopolitics, 1967-1990** Oct. 4

Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East* (Penguin, 1995), pp. 37-59.

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Foreign Policy of Syria" in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Rienner, 2002), pp. 141-163.

Robert Rabil, *Embattled Neighbors: Syria, Israeli, and Lebanon* (Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp. 43-84

Anoushiravan Ehteshami and Raymond Hinnebusch, *Syria and Iran: Middle Powers in a Penetrated Regional System*, (Routledge 1997), pp. 116-156.

David Hirst, *Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East* (Nation) pp. 1-5.

#### *Recommended Reading:*

Clive Jones, "The Foreign Policy of Israel," in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Rienner, 2002), pp. 115-136.

*Ashoura. No classes. Oct. 11*

#### **6. The American Era in the Middle East (& its discontents), 1990-2003** Oct. 18

Martin Indyk, "The Clinton Administration's Approach to the Middle East," *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, May 18, 1993.

B. A. Roberson, "The Impact of the International System on the Middle East," in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, (Rienner, 2002), pp. 55-69.

Nadia El-Shazly and Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Challenge of Security in the Post-Gulf War Middle East System," in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (eds.), *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, (Rienner, 2002), pp. 71-90.

Shibley Telhami, *The Stakes: America in The Middle East* (Westview 2004), pp. 95-129.

F. Gregory Gause, III. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 88-89, 127-135. [skim 89-126]

Ibrahim Karawan, "Arab Dilemmas in the 1990s" *Middle East Journal* (Summer 1994): 433-454.

Coralie Pison Hindawi, "Iraq: Twenty years in the shadow of Chapter VII" in Karim Makdisi and Vijay Prashad (eds.) *Land of Blue Helmets: The United Nations and the Arab World* (California, 2017), pp. 194-211.

## **7. The Iraq war, "empire," and evolution of turbulence, 2003-2005** Oct. 25

Michael Ignatieff, "The Burden," *New York Times*, January 5, 2003.

Philip Robin, "The War for Regime Change in Iraq," in Louise Fawcett ed., *The International Relations of the Middle East* 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009), pp. 290-307.

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Iraq War and International Relations: Implications for Small States," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 3, (Sept. 2006)

Chris Toensing, "Review of *Aftermath* by Nir Rosen," *Middle East Report* (Winter 2010):42-43

Juan Cole, "A 'Shiite Crescent'? The Regional Impact of the Iraq War," *Current History* (Jan. 2006): 20-26.

### *Recommended Reading:*

Waleed Hazbun, "The Middle East through the lens of critical geopolitics: Globalization, terrorism, and the Iraq War", in *Is There a Middle East?*, edited by M. E. Bonine, M. Gasper, and A. Amanat, (Stanford, 2010).

Mark LeVine, "Chaos, Globalization, and the Public Sphere: Political Struggle in Iraq and Palestine," *Middle East Journal* 60, 3 (Summer 2006), 467-492.

George W. Bush "President Discusses War on Terror at National Endowment for Democracy."

Department of Defense, News Briefing Slides, September 29, 2005.

## **8. The rise of regional powers and the New Arab Cold War, 2006-2010** Nov. 1

Morten Valbjorn and André Bank, "Signs of a New Arab Cold War," *Middle East Report* (Spring 2007): 6-11

Richard Haass, "The New Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2006.

Oliver Roy, *The Politics of Chaos in the Middle East*, (Columbia, 2008), pp. 98-120

Karim Makdisi, "Constructing Security Council Resolution 1701 for Lebanon in the Shadow of the 'War on Terror'" *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.18, No.1, February 2011, pp. 4-20

Bassel F. Salloukh, "The Arab Uprisings and the Geopolitics of the Middle East," *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 48,2 (2013), pp. 32-46.

F. Gregory Gause, III, *Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War* (Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper, Number 11, July 2014).

## **9. The Arab Uprisings: Regional politics & intervention, 2011-2016** Nov. 8

Marc Lynch, *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East* (PublicAffairs, 2016), pp. 47-138, 157-163, 189-240, 245-250.

Additional readings (optional):

Waleed Hazbun "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Challenge of Postcolonial Agency: International Relations, US Policy and the Arab World," in Graham Huggan, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 217-234.

Aaron David Miller, "For America, An Arab Winter," *Wilson Quarterly* (Summer 2011): 36-42.

## **10. The Syrian Conflict: International and regional dimensions** Nov. 15

Samer Abboud, *Syria* (Polity, 2016), required: chapters 3, 6, Conclusion; [recommended reading: chapters 2, 4]

Guest Speaker (discussion): Thanassis Cambanis

Derek Chollet, "Inside Obama's Syria Choices (A Guide for Dissenting Diplomats)"  
Thanassis Cambanis, "The Post-Obama Syrian Playbook," August 21, 2016, Foreign Policy.

Marc Lynch, "What's really at stake in the Syria Debate" October 10, 2016

Andrew Bacevich, "Obama's Biggest Gamble," March 10, 2016, The Atlantic

Thanassis Cambanis, "Are we all interventionist now?" October 14, 2016

*Independence Day, No Classes, Nov. 22*

## **11. The future of US Policy and military strategy** Dec. 6

Barry Posen, "The Case for Restraint," *American Interest*, (Nov.-Dec 2007).

Steve Niva, "Disappearing Violence: JSOC and the Pentagon's new cartography of networked warfare," *Security Dialogue* 44,3 (2003): 185-202

Steven Simon and Jonathan Stevenson "The End of Pax Americana," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2015, pp. 2-10.

Lee Keath, "With Trump, a major US shift in Mideast." AP November 11, 2016

### **Op-Eds:**

Nicholas Burns, "Barack Obama has risked US credibility in the Middle East," *Financial Times*, March 22, 2016.

Martin Indyk, "The End of the U.S.- Dominated Order in the Middle East," *The Atlantic*, March 13, 2016.

### **Additional readings (optional):**

Jeffrey Goldberg, 'The Obama Doctrine,' *The Atlantic*, April 2016

Stephen Walt, "The United States Should Admit It No Longer Has a Middle East Policy," *ForeignPolicy.com* Jan. 29, 2016.

Marc Lynch, "Reading From a Blank Slate," November 10, 2016

Jon B. Alderman, "What should the middle east expect from the united states and its allies?" *Global Forecast 2014 CSIS*

Waleed Hazbun, "Beyond the American Era in the Middle East: An Evolving Landscape of Turbulence," in *New Conflict Dynamics in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Rasmus Alenius Boserup, Waleed Hazbun, Karim Makdisi and Helle Malmvig (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, forthcoming 2017).

Waleed Hazbun, "Comment," in Mohseni, Payam (ed.) *Iran and the Arab World after the Nuclear Deal*. Report for Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA, August 2015, pp. 50-52.

## **12. ISIS, Lebanon, and the politics of security and "state-building"** Nov. 29

Samer Abboud, *Syria* (Polity, 2016), chapter 5

Curtis Ryan, 2015 "Regional Responses to the Rise of ISIS" *Middle East Report*, no. 276, pp.18-23.

Marc Lynch, "Failed States and Ungoverned spaces," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (November 2016): 24-35.

Nora Stel and George Frerks, "Review Essay: Lebanon – The Challenge of Moving

Analysis beyond the State," *Middle East Policy* Volume 20, Issue 1 (Spring 2013): 163-174

Waleed Hazbun, "Assembling Security in a 'Weak State:' The Contentious Politics of Plural Governance in Lebanon since 2005," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 6 (2016): 1053-1070.

Guest speaker (discussion)

Yezid Sayigh

"Beirut 1982, Aleppo 2016"

"Clausewitz in Syria"

"Smoke and Mirrors"