

**Universität Bremen
Fachbereich 8
Institut für Politikwissenschaft**

Winter term 2015/16

Regional Orders in the Middle East

**BA/LA Politikwissenschaft
VAK: 08-26-5-M11-1**

**Tuesday, 13 October to 2 February (4 to 6 pm)
AIB, room 1010**

Dr. Roy Karadag
Institut für Interkulturelle und Internationale Studien (InIIS)
Universität Bremen
UNICOM (Haus Wien), Mary-Somerville-Straße 7, Raum 2040
28359 Bremen
karadag@uni-bremen.de
Tel.: 0421-218-67468

Sprechstunde: Mittwoch, 14-16.30 Uhr

General overview

The Arab Uprisings of 2010 and 2011 have, so far, led to rather depressing outcomes. Restorations and reinvigoration of authoritarian rule, the rise of Islamist parties and movements, the collapse of state authority and the outbreaks of civil wars, ethnic struggles and the formation of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria have overshadowed the democratizing potential associated with the Tunisian trajectory. To understand these most recent developments, this seminar will provide for a historically-based analysis of conflicts and regional order formations since the late nineteenth century.

Preparatory Readings

Owen, Roger (2004): *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge.

Tétreault, Mary A. (2008): *International Relations*. In: Schwedler, Julian/ Gerner, Deborah J. (Hrsg.), *Understanding the Middle East*. 3rd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 137-176.

After a first round of debates on the role of regions in International Relations, in general, we will deal with the origins, continuities and ruptures of regional order formations. Going back to World War I as the birthdate of the modern Middle East, we will engage with several features that are quite unique in this region and which have by themselves had substantive impacts on later developments: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the role of petroleum, and the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979 are some of these features, which continue to shape political struggles and questions of security.

Leistungsanforderungen

Students may acquire either **3 CPs** for a **mittlere Prüfungsleistung** or **6 CPs** for a **große Prüfungsleistung**. The participants are expected to **read the obligatory texts** and actively engage in class and group discussions.

For **3 CPs**, students prepare and hold a **presentation** in one of the sessions below. Presenters should read the literature assigned to the session and provide the main topics and arguments related to the phenomena we deal with in the seminar. Of course, the literature provided here is not exclusive, and students should not hesitate to investigate an issue autonomously and include literature not mentioned in the list. The **presentations should not exceed 30 minutes** and are supposed to be framed in a way to stir group discussions.

For **6 CPs**, students are expected to prepare and give a **presentation** and write a **paper** (up to **12 pages**) on the same topic. The **deadline** for the paper is **31 March 2016!**

Date	Theme
13 October	Introduction, assignments, organization
20 October	What drives foreign policy?
27 October	Regions as analytical units - the Copenhagen School
3 November	After the Arab Uprisings
10 November	Before the Uprisings - New Powers and the New Arab Cold War
17 November	9/11 and the Iraq War
24 November	Authoritarian Regimes versus Islamist movements
1 December	The Second Gulf War, Pax Americana and the Oslo Process
8 December	The Islamic Revolution in Iran and the First Gulf War
15 December	Oil revolutions and petrolism
12 January	From the Jewish-Arab to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
19 January	Revolutions, Superpowers and the Arab Cold War
26 January	Liberalism, Nationalism, Islamism and European Imperialism
2 February	The First World War and the Construction of the Modern Middle East

I, 13 October 2015: Introduction, assignments, organization

II, 20 October: What drives foreign policy?

Halliday, Fred (2005): The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-40.

III, 27 October: Regions as analytical units in IR

Acharya, Amitav, 2007: The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics. In: *World Politics* 59 (4), 629-652.

Buzan, Barry/Wæver, Ole, 2003: *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 40-82.

IV, 3 November: From the Arab Uprisings to the Islamic State

Aras, Bülent/Falk, Richard, 2015: Authoritarian 'Geopolitics' of Survival in the Arab Spring. In: *Third World Quarterly* 36 (2), 322-336.

Lawson, Fred, 2014: *Implications of the 2011-13 Syrian Uprising for the Middle Eastern Regional Security Complex*. Occasional Paper No. 14. Doha: Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar.

Yom, Sean L., 2015: The Arab Spring: One Region, Several Puzzles, and Many Explanations. In: *Government and Opposition*.

V, 12 November: Before the Uprisings, new powers and the New Arab Cold War

Bank, André/Karadag, Roy, 2013: The 'Ankara Moment': the Politics of Turkey's New Regional Power in the Middle East. In: *Third World Quarterly*, 287-304.

Bank, André/Valbjörn, Morten, 2012: *The New Arab Cold War: Rediscovering the Arab Dimension of Middle East Regional Politics*. In: *Review of International Studies* 38 (1), 3-24.

Nasr, Vali, 2006: *When the Shiites Rise*. In: *Foreign Affairs* 85 (4), 58-74.

Nasr, Vali/Takeyh, Ray, 2008: The Costs of Containing Iran: Washington's Misguided New Middle East Policy. In: *Foreign Affairs* 87 (1), 85-94.

Takeyh, Ray, 2008: Iran's New Iraq. In: *Middle East Journal* 62 (1), 13-30.

Terhalle, Maximilian, 2011: Understanding the Limits of Power: America's Middle East Experience. In: *Review of International Studies* 37 (2), 631-640.

VI, 17 November: 9/11 and the Iraq War

Boyle, Michael, 2008: The War on Terror in American Grand Strategy. In: *International Affairs* 84 (2), 191-209.

Dodge, Toby, 2005: Iraqi Transitions: from Regime Change to State Collapse. In: *Third World Quarterly* 26, 705-721.

Gause, Gregory, 2009: The International Politics of the Gulf. In: Fawcett, Louise (ed.): *International Relations of the Middle East*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 272-289.

Hegghammer, Thomas, 2008: Islamist Violence and Regime Stability in Saudi Arabia. In: *International Affairs* 84 (4), 701-715.

Lesch, David, 2008: *The Arab-Israeli Conflict. A History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 393-460.

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

Tessler, Mark, 2009: *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 819-847.

VII, 24 November: Authoritarian Regimes versus Islamist movements

Esposito, John, 2002: *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hafez, Mohammed, 2003: *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Halliday, Fred, 2005: *The Middle East in International Relations. Power, Politics and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 229-260.

Kepel, Gilles, 2002: *Jihad. The Trail of Political Islam*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University.

Kienle, Eberhard, 1998: More than a Response to Islamism: The Political Deliberation of Egypt in the 1990s. In: *Middle East Journal* 52 (2), 219-235.

VIII, 1 December: The Second Gulf War, *Pax Americana* and the Oslo Process

The end of the Cold War granted the United States enormous capacities to structure Middle East politics. The Iraqi attack on Kuwait presented the remaining superpower an opportunity to form new alliances and to find a new way in dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which seemed solvable in these years.

Halliday, Fred, 2005: *The Middle East in International Relations. Power, Politics and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 130-164.

Hudson, Michael, 1991: After the Gulf War: Prospects for Democratization in the Arab World. In: *Middle East Journal* 45 (3), 407-426.

Kostiner, Joseph, 2009: Conflict and Cooperation in the Gulf Region. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 78-140.

Lesch, David, 2008: *The Arab-Israeli Conflict. A History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 317-364.

Sayigh, Yezid, 1991: The Gulf Crisis: Why the Arab Regional Order Failed. In: *International Affairs* 67 (3), 487-507.

Shlaim, Avi, 2009: *The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process*. In: Fawcett, Louise (Hrsg.): *International Relations of the Middle East*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 254-271.

Tessler, Mark, 2009: *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 755-818.

IX, 8 December: The Islamic Revolution in Iran and the First Gulf War

The Islamic Revolution of 1979 represented more than just the end of the United States' two-pillar regional framework and the break away of one essential ally. It led to a major reshuffle in regional politics as it not only led to the Iraqi attack and the First Gulf War but also to a formidable challenge of domestic affairs across the Arab world.

Cottam, Richard, 1981: *Revolutionary Iran and the War with Iraq*. In: *Current History* 80 (462), 5-9, 38-41.

Fürtig, Henner, 2002: *Iran's Rivalry with Saudi Arabia between the Gulf Wars*. Reading: Cornell University Press, 1-19; 61-91.

Keddie, Nikki (1995): *Iran and the Muslim World. Resistance and Revolution*. Basingstoke: MacMillan, 60-94.

Kostiner, Joseph, 2007: *Conflict and Cooperation in the Gulf Region*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 24-77.

Takeyh, Ray (2010): The Iran-Iraq War: A Reassessment. In: *The Middle East Journal* 64 (3), 365-383.

X, 15 December 2015: Oil revolutions and petrolism

Another prime Middle Eastern feature is the predominance of oil and gas for the regional political economies and its importance for the global economy. However, the international energy markets underwent serious transformations with the empowerment of national oil companies and the regional states behind them. What does this dependence on energy markets mean for the exercise of political power in the Middle East? Who are the winners, who the losers?

Beblawi, Hazem, 1990: The Rentier State in the Arab World. In: Luciani, Giacomo (ed.): *The Arab State*. London: Croom Helm, 85-98.

Korany, Bahgat, 1986: Political Petrolism and Contemporary Arab Politics, 1967-1983. In: *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 21 (1-2), 66-80.

Krasner, Stephen, 1979: A Statist Interpretation of American Oil Policy toward the Middle East. In: *Political Science Quarterly* 94 (1), 77-96.

Luciani, Giacomo, 2009: Oil and Political Economy in the International Relations of the Middle East. In: Fawcett, Louise (Hrsg.): *International Relations of the Middle East*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 81-103.

Sampson, Anthony, 1975: *The Seven Sisters. The Great Oil Companies and the World They Shaped*. New York: Viking Press.

XI, 12 January: From the Jewish-Arab to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The highly conflictual nature of Middle East dynamics cannot be understood without taking the Israeli-Palestinian conflict into consideration. Where did this conflict come from, though? How would European Zionists succeed in creating their own state on formerly Ottoman territory? This session deals with the drivers of the Zionist state-making, the formation of the state of Israel and the implications this had for the Arab states.

Caplan, Neil, 2010: *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 131-177.

Dawisha, Adeed, 2003: *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 252-281.

Kimmerling, Baruch/Migdal, Joel, 1993: *The Palestinians. The Making of a People*. New York: Free Press, 185-239.

Tessler, Mark, 2009: *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 399-531.

XII, 19 January: Revolutions, Superpowers and the Arab Cold War

Even though neither any Arab state nor Turkey and Iran directly participated in World War II, the Middle East was, of course, not spared its consequences. Beyond the creation of Israel, what proved most consequential was the bipolarization of world politics and its structuring of Arab affairs which was triggered by the emergence of revolutionary military officers who worked toward the socio-economic transformations of their countries. However, it was not only ideological differences between republicans, on the one side, and monarchists, on the other side, that dominated the region.

Ajami, Fouad , 1978: *The End of Pan-Arabism*. In: *Foreign Affairs* 57 (2), 355-373.

Efrat, Moshe and Jacob Bercovitch (eds.), 1991: *Superpowers and Client States in the Middle East: The Imbalance of Influence*. London: Routledge.

Halliday, Fred, 2005: *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 97-129.

Kerr, Malcolm, 1971: *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir and his Rivals, 1958-1970*. London: Oxford University Press.

Sluglett, Peter, 2009: *The Middle East in the Cold War*. In: Fawcett, Louise (Hrsg.): *The International Relations of the Middle East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 44-60.

XIII, 26 January: Liberalism, Nationalism, Islamism

The Middle East has not been excluded from ideological innovations and transformations that originated in Europe but became globally modular, i.e. open to appropriation by local actors and groups. While cosmopolitan liberalism and ethnic nationalism underwent similar dynamics as in other post-colonial settings, the birth of political Islam and the tricky relationship between national and religious identities has taken on a particular Middle Eastern shape.

Dawisha, Adeed (2003): Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 14-48; 75-106.

Dawn, Ernest (1988): The Formation of Pan-Arab Ideology in the Interwar Years. In: International Journal of Middle East Studies 20 (1), 67-91.

Gershoni, Israel (1997): Rethinking the Formation of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East, 1920-1945: Old and New Narratives. In: Jankowski, James/Gershoni, Israel (Hrsg.): Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East. New York: Columbia University Press, 3-25.

Haddad, Yvonne (1983): Sayyid Qutb: Ideologue of Islamic Revival. In: Esposito, John (Hrsg.): Voices of Resurgent Islam. New York: Oxford University Press, 67-98.

Kurzman, Charles (2002): Introduction: The Modernist Islamic Movement. In: Kurzman, Charles (Hrsg.): Modernist Islam, 1840-1940. A Sourcebook. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-27.

Voll, John (1983): Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: Tajdid and Islah. In: Esposito, John (Hrsg.): Voices of Resurgent Islam. New York: Oxford University Press, 32-47.

XIV, 2 February: The First World War and the Creation of the Modern Middle East

World War I ended the reign of the Ottoman empire. In its aftermath, the imperialist powers redrew the borders of the new states of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Mandate of Palestine. It is fair to argue that most problems of state authority and regional security can be traced back to British and French decisions after 1915. While other peoples were left without their own state (Armenians, Kurds, Palestinians), it was obvious that the empires would not relinquish control over this increasingly tense region whose populations would not give up their struggle for emancipation and sovereignty.

Dawisha, Adeed, 2003: Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 14-48.

Fieldhouse, David, 2006: *Western Imperialism in the Middle East, 1914-1958*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, Fred, 2005: *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 75-96.

Lawson, Fred, 2006: *Constructing International Relations in the Arab World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 19-50.

Owen, Roger, 2004: *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. London: Routledge, 5-22.

Rogan, Eugene, 2015: *The Fall of the Ottomans. The Great War in the Middle East*. New York: Basic Books.