



Department of Politics and International Relations
Division of Humanities
Macquarie University

POL321
International Relations of the Middle East

Semester 2 , Year 2008
<http://learn.mq.edu.au>

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

1a. Convenor

Name: Dr Gennaro Gervasio
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Other information:

Consultation time: Thursdays 3-4, or by appointment.

1b. Tutor(s) and other teaching staff

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1c. General inquiries

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1d. Other information

2. ACADEMIC CONTENTS

2a. Unit description

This unit will introduce students to the international relations of the Middle East, including systems of government in the region, transnational ideologies and international involvement. The course will emphasise the interrelatedness of national, regional and international dimensions to the understanding of the making of the contemporary Middle East. That said, the main focus will be on the international and regional politics before, during, and after the Cold War.

The student will familiarise with different approaches and theories to the study of Middle East international politics, as well as the wider debate on Orientalism. The first part of the course offers an historical account of the international relations of the Region, from the end of the Ottoman Empire until the end of the Cold War.

The end of the Cold War created an international landscape where the role of the US in the international (and domestic) politics in the Middle East has taken on even greater significance. The second part of the course will evaluate the events in the Middle East since the end of the Cold with increased focus on the US interventions in the region and the impact of the US involvement on the Middle East before and after 9/11.

The course will generally adopt a synoptical view towards the Region, by integrating historical and analytical frameworks. The final weeks will be then dedicated to the analysis of the most relevant case studies (Palestine/Israel, Iraq, Iran) as well to the international political economy and the role of other global actors (including Australia) in the Middle East.

2b. Unit outcomes

1. Undertake independent learning and research throughout the semester.
2. Outline and critically evaluate theoretical debates related to the international relations of the Middle East.
3. Effectively communicate their understanding and analytical ability in both spoken and, particularly, polished written form.
4. Participate and lead, when necessary, in class discussions.
5. Use a wide range of written and digital resources related to Middle East politics
6. Raise awareness of the importance of a critical approach to the study of the Middle East, in the particular global post 9/11 environment.

2c. Graduate capabilities

1. Life-long learning

An enduring orientation toward learning, including the capability to continue to:

- reflect on one's own practice and relationships with others and the environment (whether social, natural or organisational);
- assess one's own capacities and developmental needs;
- learn and grow, professionally, personally and socially; and
- respond to change in a positive and constructive way.

2. Discipline knowledge and skills

The attainment of scholarly understanding and specific content knowledge at a level that enables the graduate to:

- act confidently and competently in their chosen field or profession, and contribute to interdisciplinary thinking;
- demonstrate, where applicable, technical and professional competence and standards of practice, team work and the ability to work independently; and
- undertake continuing professional development and learning in their chosen field or profession.

3. Critical, analytic and integrative thinking

The capability to reason, question and analyse, and to integrate and synthesise learning and knowledge from a range of sources and environments in order to:

- acknowledge and critique constraints, assumptions and limitations;
- apply systems thinking in problem-solving both at work and in the community;
- apply knowledge and judgment to evaluate systems, policies and solutions, as appropriate; and
- reflect on, and be willing to revise, one's own assumptions.

4. Creativity and initiative

The capability to work with imagination and apply curiosity, initiative and creativity in order to:

- initiate, develop and express new idea;
- create, apply, adapt and expand knowledge;
- lead and inspire others in seeking and implementing innovative solutions to problems at work and in the community;
- adapt to diverse and changing environments; and
- adapt discipline-specific knowledge to novel situations.

5. Effective communication

The capability to use a variety of media, including electronic and visual media, to:

- communicate information and opinion in forms appropriate for the intended audience;

- access resources;
- read, listen, question, gather and evaluate information;
- write clearly; and
- speak effectively.

6. Global and local citizenship

The capability to engage with local and global communities using approaches characterised and informed by:

- respect for diversity;
- knowledge of, openness and sensitivity to, and skills in working collectively and individually with, other cultures and perspectives;
- ethical practice in relation to social and environmental responsibility;
- awareness of social disadvantage and social justice issues;
- willingness to contribute to creating a wiser and better society; and
- understanding of connectivities between local and global issues.

7. Problem-solving and research

The capability to apply research skills and analytic approaches in seeking solutions to problems, by:

- seeking out, interpreting, evaluating and applying information, data and knowledge;
- building knowledge through creative imagination and structured experimentation;
- effectively and efficiently analysing problems and situations;
- relating one's own and others' fields of knowledge to complex situations at work and in the community.

3. DELIVERY AND RESOURCES

3a. Delivery mode

Day

3b. Lecture times and locations

1 hour Weekly Lecture: Tuesday 14-15 E6A 133

2 hours weekly Seminar:

Tuesday 15-17 E7B 264

Tuesday 16-18 W5A 203

Thursday 11-13 W5C 311

For current updates, lecture times and classrooms please consult the MQ Timetables website: <http://www.timetables.mq.edu.au>.

3c. Required and recommended resources

Required readings will be made available in the **POL321 reader**, available from the Co-op bookshop, as well as the prescribed textbook:

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 2005

Other recommended texts are:

Louise Fawcett (ed), *International Relations of the Middle East*, OUP, Oxford: 2005

R. Hinnebusch, *The International Politics of the Middle East*, Manchester University Press, New York: 2003

R. Hinnebusch & A Ehteshami (ed), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder: 2002

James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*, Cambridge UP: 2007

Michael N. Barnett, *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order*, NY, Columbia UP: 1998

Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*, Beacon Press, Boston: 2004.

Students without any prior knowledge of Middle East politics should consult a good introduction to Middle East politics:

Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, Routledge, London & New York: 2004 (updated edition)

and/or

Beverly Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*, 2nd edition, Polity Press, 2006.

Also, good historical surveys are:

James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 2008

William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd Edition, Westview Press, 2004

All these books should be available for consultation in the Library (Reserve List), and students must refer to them as primary sources for their personal research.

3d. Online resources

At Macquarie, we use WebCT and other Internet technologies to deliver online units and teaching resources through the Online Teaching Facility. Information about accessing and using this facility can be found at: <https://online.mq.edu.au/index.html>.

Students will find a 'Gateway to Internet Resources on the Middle East', on the WebCT facility.

An Extended List of 'Supplementary Readings', will be posted on the WebCT, in order to assist students with the preparation of assignments (both written and oral).

Likewise, occasional supplementary readings, such as academic articles, policy reports, newspapers' op. eds, etc., will be posted on the WebCT throughout the term.

4. ASSESSMENT IN THIS UNIT

4a. Assessment at a glance

Assessment Name: Attendance and participation in seminars

Weight: 15%

Due Date: Throughout semester

Linked Unit Outcomes: All

Linked Graduate Capabilities: 2, 3, 4, 5,

Brief Description: All students should attend all tutorials and participate in discussion in a structured way as indicated by the tutor. (See below for the role of the discussant).

Assessment Name: Seminar Presentation

Weight: 10%

Due Date: Due at negotiated times

Linked Unit Outcomes: All

Linked Graduate Capabilities: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7,

Brief Description: All students are asked to select a topic from the list below and to make a short presentation (approximately 20 minutes) to the class in an agreed slot (to be allocated in tutorials in week 2), and to submit a short paper summarising their presentation at that class.

Assessment Name: Major Research Essay

Weight: 40%

Due Date: Due on Friday 10 October, 4PM (Week 8)

Linked Unit Outcomes: All

Linked Graduate Capabilities: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7,

Brief Description: Topics for the major essay will be circulated and posted on WebCT in Week 2. (2500 words minimum, 3000 words maximum).

Assessment Name:	Final Exam (In Class)
Weight:	35%
Due Date:	At Seminars' Time, Week 13 (11 & 13 November)
Linked Unit Outcomes:	All
Linked Graduate Capabilities:	2, 3, 5, 6, 7
Brief Description:	The written examination is of two hours duration and will consist of a choice of short essays.

4b. Assessment Tasks

Seminar Presentation and Participation

The seminar can be organised in several ways. Mostly, it begins with a student presentation on the tutorial question(s) indicated for each week. Each student is expected to lead one session. This entails giving a presentation (twenty minutes) on the topic for the week. Presentations should show evidence of the presenter having consulted and synthesized a range of sources, and it is not acceptable to simply summarise the contents from the lectures or compulsory readings. A second student will act as 'discussant', responding to the presentation (five minutes) in order to initiate a wider discussion. This should not be a separately prepared presentation but comments which support and reinforce the presentation's argument or point out other interpretations or aspects of the issue not addressed in the presentation or does both. Each student is expected to be a discussant at least once.

Major Research Essay

Due Friday 10 October, 4 PM

The Essay must be between 2500 and 3000 words, excluding footnotes and bibliography. Essays with less or more words will be penalised. The essay will assess your ability to research the literature, form a thesis, analyse the available material and then present a coherent and compelling argument as a polished academic essay. Essays should refer to a range of material in addition to the required reading and be correctly and consistently referenced. Students are expected to do their own research. The basis of this additional material should be academic works ie: chapters in edited books or academic articles in recognised journals. Wikipedia, and similar web-based resources, are not acceptable sources for the essay. Further guidance will be given during lectures and seminars.

An essay marking guide will be distributed with the essay questions to assist students to understand the expectations.

4c. Attendance

Attendance is expected at lectures and seminars. Students who miss more than three seminars without evidence of an unforeseen and serious disruption (eg illness, supported by a medical certificate) will be excluded from the unit.

4d. Examination

The written examination will be held in Week 13, during seminars' times (11 & 13 November). It is of two hours duration and will consist of a choice of short essays. Further details and advice will be given during the term.

4e. Assignment submission

All assignments must be submitted in hard copy in the POL 321 box on the ground floor of W6A (or in the after hours box near the main entrance if you are submitting it when the building is closed), NOT by email. All the students must attach a cover sheet to each assignment, which can be picked up from reception on the first floor of W6A.

Read, sign, and attach the declaration before submitting your work

Make sure to include the course number, your name, your student number, and your tutorial time and tutor

4f. Extensions and penalties

These are only granted on grounds of illness or misadventure, and appropriate supporting documentation (along with an extension form signed by a staff member) must be submitted. If you are having problems, please speak to your tutor as early as possible.

4g. Returning assignments

All marked assignments will be returned in class (except for last exam). Essays will be returned before the final examination, if submitted on time.

5. POLICIES

5a. Policies and procedures

Macquarie University has a range of policies, including many on learning and teaching. For details, please go to Policy Central (<http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/>).

5b. Feedback and unit evaluation

In this unit you will receive a range of verbal and written feedback on your assessment tasks and work in class or online.

To monitor how successful we are in providing quality teaching and learning, the Division of Humanities also seeks feedback from students. One of the key formal ways students have to provide feedback is through unit and teacher evaluation surveys. The feedback is anonymous and provides the Division with evidence of aspects that students are satisfied with and areas for improvement. The Division of Humanities also holds two student feedback meetings per year. Please watch for advertisements for these meetings and take the opportunity to share your suggestions for improvement. At present, the Division is prioritising feedback on assessment and feedback.

Immediate feedback for us

According to past evaluations of this unit, we have set an improvement priority for this semester. These are timely feedback and student engagement.

6. UNIT SCHEDULE & TOPIC PLANNER

6a. Unit schedule

Week	Date	Lecture	Tutorial	Assessment
1	5 August	Introduction	No Tutorial	No
2	12 August	IR & the Middle East	Allocation of Topics for Presentation, plus discussion on week's topic. (See 6b for <u>discussion topics</u>)	No
3	19 August	Colonialism & State Formation	Yes	

4	26 August	The Cold War (I): The Superpowers and the Middle East	Yes	
5	2 September	The Cold War (II): The Regional Dimension	Yes	
6	9 September	The ME after the Cold War. USA and the ME	Yes	
7	16 September	Secular Ideologies and Islamism	Yes	
Semester Break				
8	7 October	Palestine-Israel	Film Screening on Palestinian-Israeli Conflict (tba)	Major Essay: Due Friday , 4 PM
9	14 October	Iraq	Yes. Discussion on the film shown on week 8, and on both Weeks 8 & 9 Topics	
10	21 October	Iran	Yes	
11	28 October	International Political Economy: Oil and Beyond	Yes	
12	4 November	The Middle East and the Other Global Actors	Yes	
13	11 November	Epilogue	No	Final In Class Exam (During Seminar Times)

Other information

6b.Topic Planner

Week 1 - Introduction to the course: The Middle East between reality and representations.

There is no seminar this week.

Compulsory Readings:

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

E. W. Said, *Orientalism*, London, Penguin, 2003 (First published 1978): pp. xi-xxiii and 1-28 (Preface and Introduction).

Week 2 – International Relations of the Middle East: Theories and Approaches

Re-read the readings of Week 1 for this week seminars.

Compulsory Readings:

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East*, pp. 21-72

Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories", *Foreign Policy*, (Nov/Dec 2004) pp. 53-62

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. What is Orientalism and why is relevant to the study of the Middle East?
- b. In what ways is the Middle East a key region for the study of contemporary global politics?
- c. How is foreign policy made?
- d. Which IR approaches are more effective at explaining Middle East Politics? Why?

Week 3 – Colonialism, Imperialism and State Formation in the Middle East

Compulsory Readings:

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East*, pp. 75-96

Samir Amin, *The Arab Nation*, London, Zed: 1978, pp. 24-49

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. The impact of colonialism on the Middle East
- b. The legacies of the colonial period.
- c. The shaping of the Modern Middle East: Realities and Representations
- d. What is *al-Nahda*?

Week 4 - The Cold War (I): The Superpowers and the Middle East

Compulsory Readings:

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East*, pp. 97-129

President Eisenhower, *The Eisenhower Doctrine on the Middle East* (1957)

USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Soviet Reaction to the Baghdad Pact* (1955)

Alvin Z. Rubinstein, "The Middle East in Russia's Strategic Prism", in L. C. Brown (ed.), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, London, IB Tauris: 2004, pp. 75-94.

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. How did the Cold War shape the politics of the Middle East?
- b. Which was the evolution of the Superpowers' involvement in the Middle East?
- c. Imperialism after Independence. Neo-Colonialism, Dependence and beyond.
- d. The Superpowers and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Week 5 The Cold War (II): The Regional Dimension. The Arab-Israeli Conflict

Compulsory Readings:

Raymond H. Hinnebusch, *The International Politics of the Middle East*, Manchester and New York, Manchester UP: 2003, pp. 154-203.

Georges Corm, "Myths and Realities of the Lebanese Conflict", in Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills (eds), *Lebanon: A History of Conflict and Consensus*, London, I.B. Tauris: 1988, pp. 258-273.

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. Dynamics of inter-Arab relations: the Arab-Israeli Conflict and the 'Arab Cold War' until June 1967.
- b. The Regional Politics of Nasser's Egypt: Between Arab Solidarity and Regional Hegemony.
- c. The Consequences of June 1967 War.
- d. Regional Wars: Lebanon, Iran-Iraq, Western Sahara, Yemen (Choose one or compare across).
- e. Inter-Arab Relations, 1979-1990

Week 6 – The Middle East after the Cold War. The United States and/in the Middle East.

Compulsory Readings:

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East*, pp. 130-164

Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, London, Routledge: 2004, pp. 219-229.

Condoleezza Rice, "Rethinking the National Interest. American Realism for a New World", *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2008.

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. The Gulf War 1990/91 and its aftermath.
- b. US and the Middle East in the 1990s: Sanctions and Democratization Promotion.
- c. Has US Foreign Policy Changed since 9/11? What is 'American Realism'?

Week 7 – Secular Political Ideologies and Islamism

Compulsory Readings:

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East*, pp. 193-228

Emmanuel Sivan, "The Clash within Islam", *Survival*, 45, 1, (Spring 2003), pp. 25-44.

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. In what ways does ideology influence foreign policy?
- b. Is Political Islam on the wane?
- c. What is 'Liberal/Democratic Islam'?
- d. Have Secular Ideologies failed in the Middle East?

Week 8 – The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Compulsory Readings:

Avi Shlaim, "The Rise and fall of the Oslo Peace Process", in L. Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, Oxford, OUP: 2005, pp. 241-261.

Hussein Agha, Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors", *The New York Review of Books*, Volume 48, Number 13, August 9, 2001

Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire. Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*, London, IB Tauris: 2004, pp. 118-151.

Jimmy Carter, "Pariah Diplomacy", *New York Times*, 28 April 2008

There will be a film screening (tba) this week in lieu of seminar discussion, to let students focus on the essay due at the end of the week.

Week 9 – Iraq

Compulsory Readings:

Lawrence Freedman, “War in Iraq: Selling the Threat”, *Survival*, 46:2, (Summer 2004), pp. 7-50.

Toby Dodge, “The Causes of US failure in Iraq”, *Survival*, 49:1 (Spring 2007), pp. 85-106.

Hussein Sirriyeh, “Iraq and the Region since the War of 2003”, *Civil Wars*, 9:1 (2007), pp. 106-125.

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. Discussion of the Film.
- b. Compare and Contrast US role in Iraq and in Palestinian-Israeli conflict before and after 9/11
- c. What are the causes of the failure of the peace process in general, and Camp David Negotiations in particular?
- d. How did the Saddam Hussein regime survive for so long?
- e. The role of the ‘international community’ in Palestine/Israel and Iraq.
- f. The Iraq War of 2003 and its aftermath. The Regional Implications

Week 10 – Iran

Compulsory Readings:

R. K. Ramazani, “Ideology and Pragmatism in Iran’s Foreign Policy”, *Middle East Journal*, 58:4 (2004), pp. 1-11.

Arshin Adib-Moghaddam, “Manufacturing War: Iran in the neo-conservative imagination”, *Third World Quarterly*, 28:3 (2007), pp. 635-653.

Riccardo Redaelli, “Constitutional Complexity and Political Paradoxes of the Islamic Republic of Iran”, *Oriente Moderno*, 87:2 (2007), pp. 485-498.

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. Is Iranian Foreign Policy ‘islamic’?
- b. The Iranian Threat. Reality and Representations
- c. Is Iran a *pariah* or a regional power in the Persian Gulf?

Week 11- International Political Economy: Oil and beyond

Compulsory Readings:

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East*, pp. 261-299

Giacomo Luciani, "Oil and Political Economy in the International Relations of the Middle East", in L. Fawcett (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 79-104.

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. Oil in the International Relations of the Middle East
- b. Inter-Arab Relations: The Economic Dimension
- c. The Middle East after the Oil. Problems and Prospects

Week 12- The Middle East and Other Global Actors (Europe, Asia, Australia)

Compulsory Readings:

Philip Marfleet, "A New Orientalism: Europe Confronts the Middle East", in T. Y. Ismael (ed.), *The International Relations of the Middle East in the 21st Century*, Aldershot, Ashgate: 2000, pp. 260-292.

Jin Liangxiang, "Energy First. China and the Middle East", *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2005.

Fethi Mansouri (ed.). *Australia and the Middle East: A Front-line Relationship*, London: IB Tauris, 2006, Chapters 1 & 9 (Note: these chapters are not in the Reader and will be posted on the WebCT as soon as they become available).

Suggested Discussion Topics:

- a. Europe and the Middle East. Retrospect and Prospects.
- b. China and East Asia and the Middle East.
- c. Australia in/and the Middle East.

Week 13 – Epilogue: The Middle East in international perspective

Compulsory Reading:

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East*, pp. 303-324.