**The Middle East in Global Politics**

**MPhil in Politics and International Studies, Michaelmas 2020**

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Time: 2-4pm Tuesday, starting on 13th October 2020.

**Description**

The Middle East is usually studied in international relations with an emphasis placed on power politics and inter-state competition, with attention given principally to crisis events that happen within the region. This course starts with this traditional literature, but moves quickly on to two approaches that are often overlooked when understanding the place of the Middle East in global politics. First, it develops an understanding of the Middle East's politics that looks to the importance of transnational factors. The issues explored include regional and global economic change, diasporas and refugee movements, and the politics of transnational religious movements. Secondly, it looks to how the Middle East itself shapes global politics. It interrogates the 'crisis perspective' on the Middle East through exploring how political agents and advocacy groups around the world present the Middle East as a problem region. Through this prism, it looks at how conceptions of the Middle East shape political sensibilities in other parts of the world.

The course presumes pre-existing knowledge of the modern history and politics of the region. There will be no lectures accompanying the seminar series. It is assessed by a single long essay of up to 3,000 words, in which students will explore a specified theme through one or two cases. This will be due on 4 December 2020.

The reading lists here only provide some initial ways in to the literature on each topic, and are not meant as a substitute for the discussion in the seminars which will go well beyond the content of the reading here. This is particularly so as much of the literature here is being presented to talk through what is missing from existing scholarly approaches to the Middle East. The course draws heavily also upon a range of broader literatures about contemporary global politics, literatures which are not specific to the Middle East; this is not listed here, but you are very much encouraged to bring in broader theory, comparative analysis and general critical sensibilities into the course that are drawn from your wider reading and understanding.

**Section I: Setting it up**

1. **Agency and actors in the International Relations of the Middle East**
2. **Some standard answers**

Louise Fawcett, ed., *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3rd edn, 2013)

Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, eds, *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2nd edn, 2014)

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

Michael Barnett, *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998)

Fred Lawson, *Constructing International Relations in the Arab World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006)

Mehran Kamrava, ed., *International Politics of the Persian Gulf* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2011)

1. **Some contemporary examples**

Paul Salem, ‘The Middle East’s troubled relationship with the liberal international order’, *The International Spectator*, vol. 53/1 (2018),

Christopher Phillips, *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016)

Curtis Ryan, ‘The new Arab Cold War and the struggle for Syria’, *Middle East Report* 262 (2012), at: <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer262/new-arab-cold-war-struggle-syria>

1. **Critical interventions**

\* Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, various editions, [1978]), especially chapter 3, part IV, ‘The latest phase’, pp.284-328; and the 1995 afterword

Waleed Hazbun, ‘The Middle East through the Lens of Critical Geopolitics: Globalization, Terrorism, and the Iraq War’, *Is There a Middle East? The Evolution of a Geopolitical Concept*, edited by Michael E. Bonine, Abbas Amanat and Michael Ezekiel Gasper (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012)

Karen Culcasi, ‘Constructing and Naturalizing the Middle East’, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 2010), pp. 583-597

Fred Halliday, ‘“Orientalism” and its critics’, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 20/2 (1993), pp.145-163

1. **Telling the international history of the Middle East: Empires, Cold Wars, Pax Americana and Regional Disorder**

Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East* (London: IB Tauris, 2004)

David Fromkin, *A Peace to End all Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East 1914-1922* (London: André Deutsch Ltd, new edition, 2009 [1989]), especially Part XII.

Michael Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), especially chapter 3.

Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: the Great War in the Middle East, 1914-1920* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), particularly chapter 13.

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 4

Fawaz A. Gerges, *The Superpowers and the Middle East: Regional and International Politics* (Boulder CO: Westview, 1994)

Rashid Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010)

Malcolm Kerr, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal ‘Abd al-Nasir and his Rivals, 1958-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971)

Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987)

Efraim Karsh, ‘Cold War, post-Cold-War: does it make a difference for the Middle East?,’ *Review of International Studies*, vol. 23/3 (1997), pp. 271-91

Bassel Salloukh, ‘The Arab uprisings and the geopolitics of the Middle East’, *The International Spectator*, vol. 48/2 (2013), pp.32-46

Ariel I. Ahram & Ellen Lust, 'The decline and fall of the Arab state', *Survival*, 58/2 (April/May 2016), pp.7-34

**Section II: Alternative agendas**

1. **Economic globalisation and political agency**
2. **Framing debates**

Anoushiravan Ehteshami, *Globalization and Geopolitics in the Middle East: Old Games, New Rules* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007)

Timothy Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (London: Verso, 2011), chapters 6 and 8

Robert Vitalis, *America’s Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* (London: Verso, updated edition, 2009)

Toby Craig Jones, ‘America, Oil, and War in the Middle East’, *Journal of American History*, Vol. 99/1 (June 2012), pp.208-218

Raymond Hinnebusch, ‘The Middle East in the world hierarchy: imperialism and resistance’, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 14 (2011)

Adam Hanieh, *Money, Markets, and Monarchies: The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Political Economy of the Contemporary Middle East* (Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Jamie Allinson, *The Struggle for the State in Jordan: The Social Origins of Alliances in the Middle East* (2015), chapters 1 and 6

1. **Background texts**

Clement Henry and Robert Springborg, *Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Melani Cammett, Ishac Diwan, Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, 4th edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2008/ revd 2015) – earlier editions, which are perhaps more widely available in Cambridge libraries, were by Richards & Waterbury.

1. **Transnational religio-political movements**

\* Olivier Roy, *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (London: Hurst, 2004 [2002])

\* Peter Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma* (London: Routledge, 2001), especially chapters 4 and 5

Laurence Louër, *Transnational Shia Politics: Religious and Political Networks in the Gulf* (IB Tauris, 2011/2008), chapters 7 and 8

Toby Matthiesen, *Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Spring that Wasn’t* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), chapter 2.

Augustus Richard Norton, ‘The geopolitics of the Sunni-Shi'i rift’ in Elizabeth Monier, ed., *Regional Insecurity After the Arab Uprisings: Narratives of Security and Threat* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

Faisal Devji, *Landscapes of the Jihad, Militancy, Morality, Modernity* (London: Hurst, 2005)

Peter Layton, ‘Bringing the transnational into ‘new wars”: the case of the islamic state’, *International Review of Social Research*, vol.5/3 (2015), pp.191-201

Yaacov Yadgar, *Israel’s Jewish Identity Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), especially chapter 3

1. **Interventionism: Brokers, Managers, Advocates**

\* Sean L. Yom, *From Resilience to Revolution: How Foreign Interventions Destabilize the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), chapter 1

\* Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2013), chapter 3, pp.81-112: ‘Authorizing moral crusades’

Sunaina Maira, ‘“Good” and “Bad” Muslim Citizens: Feminists, Terrorists, and U. S. Orientalisms’, *Feminist Studies*, vol.35/3, (2009), pp.631-656

William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 3rd edn, 2005)

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* (London: Allen Lane, 2007)

Jonathan Rynhold, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict in American Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), especially chapters 2 and 3

Theodore Sasson, ‘Mass mobilization to direct engagement: American Jews’ changing relationship to Israel’, *Israel Studies*, vol.15/2 (2010), pp.173-196

\* Paul Chamberlin, ‘The struggle against oppression everywhere: the global politics of Palestinian Liberation’, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol.47/1 (2011), pp.25-41

Michael R. Fischbach, *Black Power and Palestine: Transnational Countries of Color* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019)

Ben Freeman, ‘The Qatar Lobby in Washington’ (2020) and ‘The Emirati Lobby: How the UAE Wins in Washington’ (2019), both via: https://www.internationalpolicy.org/ben-freeman

Bahar Baser, ‘Homeland Calling: Kurdish Diaspora and State-building in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq in the Post-Saddam Era’, *Middle East Critique*, vol.27/1 (2018), pp.77-94

Bosmat Yefet, ‘The Coptic diaspora and the status of the Coptic minority in Egypt’, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, vol.43/7 (2017), pp.1205-21

1. **Mobile populations**

\* Gerasimos Tsourapas, ‘Theorizing state-diaspora relations in the Middle East: Authoritarian emigration states in comparative perspective’, *Mediterranean Politics*, vol.25/2 (2020), pp.135-59

Laurie Brand, *Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Philippe Fargues and Alessandra Venturini, eds., *Migration from North Africa and the Middle East: skilled migrants, development and globalisation* (London: IB Tauris, 2015)

\* Marcus Michaelsen, ‘Exit and voice in a digital age: Iran’s exiled activists and the authoritarian state’, *Globalizations*, vol.15/2 (2018), pp.248-64

Alice Alunni, ‘Long-distance nationalism and belonging in the Libyan diaspora’, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol.26/2 (2019), pp.242-258

\* Dawn Chatty, *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), especially chapter 1

Derek Lutterbeck, ‘Across the desert, across the sea: migrant smuggling into and from Libya’, in Peter Seeberg and Zaid Eyadat, eds., *Migration, Security and Citizenship in the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave, 2013)

François Heisbourg, ‘The strategic implications of the Syrian refugee crisis’, *Survival*, vol. 57/6 (Nov 2015), pp.7-20

Philippe Fargues, ‘International migration and the nation state in Arab countries’, *Middle East Law and Governance*, vol.5 (2013), pp.5-35.

**Section III: Bringing it all together**

1. **The flow of ideas: the Middle East in the Global Political Imaginary, the Global in the Middle East’s political imaginary**

Lisa Anderson, ‘“They defeated us all”: international interests, local politics and contested sovereignty in Libya’, *Middle East Journal*, vol.71/2 (2017), pp.229-247

Ussama Makdisi, ‘“Anti-Americanism” in the Arab World: An Interpretation of a Brief History”, *The Journal of American History*, vol. 89/2 (2002), pp.538–57

Kamran Matin, ‘International Relations in the Making of Political Islam: Interrogating Khomeini’s “Islamic Government”’, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, vol.16/4 (2013), pp. 455–82

Latife Reda, ‘Origins of the Islamic Republic’s Strategic Approaches to Power and Regional Politics: The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in Khomeini’s Discourse’, *Middle East Critique*, vol. 25/2 (2016), pp.181–203

Mark L. Haas, *The Clash of Ideologies: Middle Eastern Politics and American Security* (Oxford University Press, 2012), chapter 5.

Elizabeth Monier, ‘The Arabness of Middle East regionalism: the Arab Spring and competition for discursive hegemony between Egypt, Iran and Turkey’, *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 20/4 (2014), pp.421-34.

Marc Lynch, *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, al-Jazeera and Middle East Politics Today* (Columbia UP, 2006)