

**THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, REALITIES OF THE MIDDLE
EAST: CONFLICTS, WARS, AND NEGOTIATIONS**

June 6-23, 2016

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1. *Goals and Contents of the Course*

This intensive mini-course represents an attempt to combine general theories and concepts of international relations with the empirical reality (or realities) of the contemporary Middle East in general, and the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular.

The course is divided into two sections. In the first section we will discuss general theories and concepts of international relations, alternating each general discussion with a specific implementation and discussion about the Middle East. The relevant theories and concepts will be power and alliances (Realism); interdependence, globalization, transnational actors and integration (Liberalism); and norms and identity (Constructivism and the English school). In the second section we will focus on empirical issues as related to the negotiations in the Arab-Israeli conflict, with particular emphasis upon the Israeli-Palestinian dyad.

2. *Students' assignments and grades*

Students' assignments include the following:

- Active participation in the class, which will include an interactive dimension of questions, answers, and collective discussion.
- Submission of a short paper, up to 10 pages (double space, font 12 Times Roman). The paper should establish a clear link between theories and realities in the Middle East.

The grade will be distributed as follows:

- Class participation 30%
- Term paper 70%

3. *Schedule of Classes*

A. General Theories and Concepts

1. Monday, June 8. Introduction: IR Theories and Realities in the Middle East.
2. Tuesday, June 9: Power Politics and Alliances in the Middle East
3. Wednesday, June 10: Liberalism and its relevance in the Middle East
4. Thursday, June 11: Constructivism: Norms and Identity in the Middle East

B. Negotiating Middle East Peace

5 Monday, June 15: Inter-state dyads in negotiating Middle East peace. 6 Tuesday, June 16: The Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

7. Wednesday, June 17: What went wrong and the future of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

[All the sessions will take place in the afternoons, between 1300

and 1530; or between 1400 and 1630]

A. General Theories and Concepts

1. Introduction: IR Theories and Realities of the Middle East (June 8)

Steve Smith and John Baylis, "Introduction," in Steve Smith and John Baylis, eds., The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 3rd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 1-14. **(327/B358)**
ERESERVE 001878665

~~Abraham D. Sela~~ Abraham D. Sela, The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998), pp. 1-54.
(ME320.9/S464) ERESERVE 001879141

Mary Ann Tetreault, "International Relations," in Deborah Gerner, ed., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008), . **(ME9 S412)**
ERESERVE 001878617

Fred Halliday, The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics, and Ideology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 1, pp. 21-40.
(ME327 H188) ERESERVE 001878666 (p. 21-40, 41-74, 167-192)

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, [Read the following documents]: MacMahon Letter (1915), pp. 11-12; Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), pp. 13-16; Balfour Declaration (1917), p. 16; Feisal-Weizmann Agreement (1919), pp. 17-18; United Nations Plan of Partition (1947), pp. 69-77; UN Security Council Resolution 242 (November 22, 1967), p. 116; Palestinian National Charter (July 1968), pp. 117-121; UN Security Council Resolution 338 (October 22, 1973), p. 152.
[E327.56(08) L317]

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, browse Chapters 1-9, pp.3-443. **[E327.56 M875]**

Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 1-104 **[E327.56 D752]**

Janice Gross Stein, "The Widening Gyre of Negotiation: From Management to Resolution in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," Davis Occasional Papers, No. 68, March 1999, pp. 1-30. **ERESERVE 001745525**

2. Power Politics and Alliances -Realism and its Application to the Middle East (June 9)

Tim Dunne and Brian C. Schmidt, "Realism," in Smith and Baylis, eds., The Globalization of World Politics, pp. 161-183. **(327 B358) ERESERVE 001878665**

Stephen M. Walt, The Origins of Alliances (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 1-49.; pp. 50-58; 102-103; 104-108; 111-113; 134-135; 143-146. **(327.11 W231). ERESERVE 001879142**

F. Gregory Gause III, "Systemic Approaches to Middle East International Relations," International Studies Review, Vol. 1, Issue 1, Spring 1999, pp. 11-31. **E-JOURNAL**

Benjamin Miller, "The Global Sources of Regional Transitions from War to Peace: The Case of the Middle East," Davis Occasional Papers. No. 75, October 1999. **ERESERVE 001879236**

3. Institutions, Interdependence, and Integration (Liberalism), and its implementation in the Middle East (June 10)

Tim Dunne, "Liberalism," in Baylis and Smith (eds.), The Globalization of World Politics, pp. 185-203. **(327 B358) ERESERVE 001878665**

Michael Zurn, "From Interdependence to Globalization," in Walter Carlsnaes and Thomas Risse, eds., Handbook of International Relations (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 235-254. **327(08) C284 ERESERVE 001492510**

Etel Solingen, Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influences on Grand Strategy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 165-215. **(327.1 S686) ERESERVE 001567910**

Shimon Peres, The New Middle East (New York: Keny Holt and Co., 1993) , pp. 87 99. **(ME327.172 P437) ERESERVE 001878621**

4. Constructivism: Norms and Identity in the Middle East (June 11)

Emanuel Adler, "Constructivism and International Relations," in Handbook of International Relations, pp. 52-72. . **ERESERVE 001492510**

Stephen Saideman, "Conclusion: Thinking Theoretically about Identity and Foreign Policy," in Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett (eds.), Identity and Foreign Policy in

the Middle East (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 169-200. [E-reserve: pp. 169-183 and 196-200]

(ME327 T271) ERESERVE 001400091

Michael Barnett, "Social Constructivism," in Baylis and Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics*, pp. 251-269. **(327 B358) ERESERVE 001878665**

Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, "Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East," in Telhami and Barnett, *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 1-25. **(ME327 T271) ERESERVE 001400092**

Avraham Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 3-54; 341-350. **(ME320.9 S464) ERESERVE 001879141**

Michael Barnett, "Institutions, Roles, and Disorder: The Case of the Arab States System," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 3, September 1993, pp. 271-297. **E-JOURNAL**

Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations*, Chapter 2, pp. 41-74. **(ME327 H188) ERESERVE 001878666**

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (2014), *Justice and Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (edited by Arie M. Kacowicz) (London: Routledge University Press). On order 001922672 JMS

5. Dyads of Peace Processes: Israel-Egypt; Israel-Syria; Israel-Lebanon; Israel-Jordan (June 15)

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 1, pp. 28-42. **E-book 001719759 and [E327.172 E36]**

Quandt, *Peace Process*, Chapter 5, pp. 130-173; and Chapters 6-7, pp. 177-242. **E-book 001871271 and [ME327.172/Q1]**

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, "Israel-Egypt Peace: Stable Peace?", in Arie M. Kacowicz et al., eds., *Stable Peace among Nations*, pp. 220-238. **ERESERVE 001492544**

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 2, pp. 43-59. **E-book 001719759 and [E327.172 E36]**

Gilbert, *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 124-127. **[E327.56(084) G465]**

Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Lebanon and Israel: Truce Agreement" (May 17, 1983), pp. 287-289. **[E327.56(08) L317]**

Uri Sagie, "The Israeli-Syrian Dialogue: A One-Way Ticket to Peace?" Manuscript, Rice University, 1999, pp. 1-40. **ERESERVE 001745529**

ADL Backgrounder, "Israel-Syria Negotiations: The Issues," January 23, 2000.
ERESERVE 001745531

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Renewal of Syrian-Israeli Negotiations," December 15, 1999, pp. 545-548. **[E327.56(08) L317]**

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 632-634. **[E327.56 M875]**

Jerome Slater, "Lost Opportunities for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Israel and Syria, 1948-2001," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 1, Summer 2002, pp. 79-106.
E-journal

Kurtzer et al. (2013), Chapter 2, pp. 59-104. (*)**[E327.56 K96]**

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapters 3 and 5, pp. 60-74 and 90-102. **E-book 001719759 and [E327.172 E36]**

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 629-632. **[E327.56 M875]**

Asher Susser, "The Jordanian-Israeli Peace Negotiations: The Geopolitical Rationale of a Bilateral Relationship," *Davis Occasional Papers*, No. 73, August 1999, pp. 1 39. **ERESERVE 001745533**

Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Israel and Jordan: The London Document" (April 11, 1987), pp. 313-314; "Israel and Jordan: The Washington Agreement" (July 26, 1994), pp. 467-470; "Israel and Jordan: Peace Treaty: (October 26, 1994), pp. 477-486. **[E327.56(08) L317]**

6. and 7. Israeli-Palestinian Relations, 1967-2014 and the Way Ahead (June 16 and 17)

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 4, pp. 75-89.
E-book 001719759 and [E327.172 E36]

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 12, 561-610. **[E327.56 M875]**

Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 314-400 [material on the intifadah and the Madrid Conference, 1991] **[E327.56(08) L317]**

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 105-136. **[E327.56 D752]**

Kurtzer et al. (2013), Chapter 1, pp. 15-58. **[E327.56 K96]**

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 6, pp. 103-126.
E-book 001719759 and [E327.172 E36]

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 13, pp. 611-651. **[E327.172 E36]**

Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, "Declaration of Principles, Israel and PLO" (September 13, 1993), pp. 413-422; "Israel and PLO: Cairo Agreement" (March 4, 1994), pp. 442-455; "Israel and Palestinian Authority: Interim Agreement

on the West Bank and Gaza Strip" (September 28, 1995), pp. 502-521; "Israel and Palestinian Authority: Hebron Accords" (January 15, 1997), pp. 522-523; "Israel and Palestinian Authority: The Wye River Memorandum" (October 23, 1998), pp. 529

534. **[E327.56(08) L317]** "Sharm el-Sheik Memorandum on

Implementation Timeline of Outstanding
Commitments of Agreements Signed and the Resumption of Permanent Status

Negotiations," September 4, 1999. **ERESERVE 001745539** Charles Enderlin

(2003), *Shattered Dreams*, pp. 1-287. **[E327.172 E56]** Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp.

137-168. **[E327.56 D752]** Morris, *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 14, pp. 652-675.

[E327.172 E36] Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 549-580 [includes

the Camp David

Summit of 2000 and the Clinton Plan of December 23, 2000] **[E327.56(08) L317]**

"Mitchell Report on the Middle East, May 17, 2001 [reprinted in *The Miami Herald*,

May 22, 2001]. **E-journal** Enderlin (2003), *Shattered Dreams*, pp. 288-361

[E327.172 E56] Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 150-203. **[E327.56 D752]** Aaron

Miller (2008), *The Much Too Promised Land*, pp. 321-360. **ERESERVE**

001734806 and [E327.56 M647] Kurtzer et al. (2013), Chapters 1 and 3, pp.

15-58; 105-153. **[E327.56 K96]** Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went

Wrong?", manuscript, June 2001

ERESERVE 001745535

Aluf Benn, "Grasping for Peace," *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2002, pp. 82-84.

E-journal

Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, pp. 127-143.

E-book 001719759 and [E327.172 E36]

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 676-694. **[E327.172 E36]**

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Rashomon in Jerusalem: Mapping the Israeli Negotiator's
Positions in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, 1993-2001," *International
Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 6, 2005: 252-273. **E-journal**

Jeremy Pressman, "Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?",
International Security, Vol. 28, No. 2, Fall 2003, pp. 5-43 **E-journal**

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Rashomon in the Middle East: Clashing Narratives of the
Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2005: 343
360. **E-journal**

U.S. Department of State, "A Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," April 30, 2003.
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide+to+the+Peace+Process/A+Performance-Based+Roadmap+to+a+Permanent+Two-State.htm>

David Makovsky, "How To Build a Fence," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 2, March/April 2004, pp. 50-64. **E-journal**

Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 204-230. **[E327.56 D752]**

Aaron David Miller, *The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008), Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 331-385. **ERESERVE 001734806 and [E327.56 M647]**

Aaron David Miller, "The False Religion of Middle Eastern Peace," *Foreign Policy*, May/June 2010.
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/04/19/the_false_religion_of_mideast_peace

Henry Fishman and Ephraim Lavie (2010), *The Peace Process: Seventeen Plans in Ten Years: An Assessment of the Initiatives to Resolve the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict over the Past Decade* [Tel-Aviv: The Peres Center for Peace]. [available online]