

**Department of Political Science
University of Notre Dame**

**POLS 30394-01
War and Peace in the Middle East
Spring 2016**

Instructor: Sean Braniff

Course Information

Tuesday / Thursday 12:30 - 1:45
118 O'Shaughnessy Hall

Contact Information

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Office Hours: Tues / Thurs 3-5pm, or by appointment
Office: 253A O'Shaughnessy

Course Description

This course will examine major trends in war and peace in the modern Middle East using prominent conceptual approaches from the discipline of international relations and a survey of major historical events. We will examine trends in interstate and civil conflicts with special emphasis on the Arab-Israeli conflict. We will examine various explanations for the high level of conflict in the Middle East relative to other world regions and will address the following questions throughout the course of the semester: Why do wars in the Middle East begin and end? Why are some states in the Middle East more prone to conflict than others? Are explanations for Middle East conflict unique to the region or can they be generalized into broader theories? Throughout the course we will balance theories of war and peace with specific historical details of various conflicts. By the end of the course students will possess a theoretically informed and balanced understanding of the causes, conduct and consequences of conflict in the Middle East.

Course Requirements

Students must attend every lecture and read all assignments. Class meetings will be primarily lecture-based but will incorporate some discussion. Participation in every discussion is not mandatory due to the size of the class, but there tends to be a positive correlation between class participation and a student's final grade. Attendance will be taken and lectures and discussion will cover material beyond the readings.

Your grade will be based on the following:

Map quiz: 5%
Attendance: 10%
Exam 1 (Making War): 20%
Exam 2 (Nonstate and Transnational Actors): 20%
Exam 3 (Making Peace): 20%
Final paper: 25%

Map quiz: Students must correctly fill in a blank map of the Middle East and North Africa also including Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan. Country names will not be provided to students on the exam.

Mid-term and final exams: All exams will evaluate students' knowledge and understanding of lectures **and** readings. Exams, including the final exam, are not intended to be cumulative and will primarily test the current section of the course, especially with respect to historical cases.

Final paper: I will assign two essay questions on March 1st from which students will **choose one** to answer. Final papers must not exceed 12 pages, styled accordingly: typed, double-spaced, 12 point Times New Roman font with one inch margins and formatted according to Kate L. Turabian, et. al., *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). Successful papers will make an original argument to the question while also outlining the arguments present in the literature and suggesting evidence that might help decide which of these positions is correct. Papers should use information from lectures and cite assigned readings but need not cite additional research. Note that the final paper is due the same day as the final exam so as to give you as much time as possible on your paper. Please begin writing early.

If you would like to research an original topic for your final paper you may submit a research question to me by **March 8th**. I reserve the right to reject requests for original topics and refer you to the two assigned questions if I feel your topic does not speak sufficiently to the course as a whole or an important element of it.

Grades for final papers will be based on the following criteria:

A to B+: creative interpretation of fact or novel approach to the question

B: Basic grasp of facts and interpretation

C: Minor errors of facts and/or interpretation

D: Major errors of facts and/or interpretation

F: Failure to turn in assignment / academic dishonesty.

Final papers will be due in class at the time of the final exam, **Wednesday 4 May, at 10:30 am**. Late papers will be marked down 20% per day.

Please note the dates of the quiz, exams (especially the final exam) and due date for the paper. Exams/assignments may only be rescheduled for university approved absences or medical/family emergencies.

Academic Integrity

Students are expected to abide by the Notre Dame Academic Code of Honor. Plagiarism or any other academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and will be reported. Please protect yourself by familiarizing yourself with the code of honor (<http://honorcode.nd.edu>).

Students with Disabilities

I am strongly committed to working with students who have any disability recognized by the university to ensure they are able to fully succeed in the course. If you feel you require a reasonable accommodation please follow the process outlined through the Office for Students with Disabilities, Badin Hall.

Course Schedule and Readings

Below is a schedule for lectures and readings. Students are expected to complete the reading for a specific lecture *prior* to attending the lecture.

Required books (available at bookstore or online):

Bickerton, Ian J. and Carla L. Klausner, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 7th ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2015).

Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Niel Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

Readings not contained in either of the textbooks may be found on the course website through library e-reserves (reserves.library.nd.edu).

Lecture slides will be posted to Sakai after lectures have been given.

— Section 1: Making War —

1/12/16 (Tues)

Course Introduction: What is the Middle East? What is political Science?

Bickerton and Klausner, intro

1/14/16 (Thurs)

1. Historical Origins

Bickerton and Klausner, ch 1-2;

Eisenberg and Caplan, intro

1/19/16 (Tues)

2. Theories of War: Levels of analysis and structural theories

Kenneth N. Waltz, “*Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959) pg 1-15;

Kenneth N. Waltz, “The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (1988), 615-628.

1/21/16 (Thurs)

3. Structural theories continued

***** Map Quiz Today *****

Robert Jervis, “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (1978): 167-170, 186-190, 194-199;

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), 334-347.

1/26/16 (Tues)

4. Liberal theories of war and peace: institutions, economic interdependence, and democratic peace

Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (1985), 1-24;

Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51, no. 4, (1997), 513-553;

Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (2003), 585-602.

1/28/16 (Thurs)

5. Middle East: Oil and regimes

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (1997), 22-43 [skim].

Jeff D. Colgan, "Fueling the Fire: Pathways from Oil to War," *International Security* 38, no2 (2013), 147-180;

Etel Solingen, "Pax Asiatica versus Bella Levantina: The Foundations of War and Peace in East Asia and the Middle East," *The American Political Science Review* 101, no. 4, (2007), 757-780.

2/2/16 (Tues)

6. Middle East: Religion and culture

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993), 22-49;

Stephen M. Walt, "Building up New Bogeysmen: The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order," *Foreign Policy* 106 (1997), 176-189. [This article is a review of Huntington's book. I've assigned you Huntington's *Foreign Affairs* article that makes a succinct version of his book's argument.]

2/4/16 (Thurs)

7. 1948 and Suez

Bickerton and Klausner, ch 3-5

2/9/16 (Tues)

8. 1967 and 1973 Wars

Bickerton and Klausner, ch 6-7

2/11/16 (Thurs)

9. Iran - Iraq War

Efraim Karsh, "Military Power and Foreign Policy Goals: The Iran-Iraq War Revisited," *International Affairs* 64, no. 1 (1988), 83-95.

Ray Takeyh, "The Iran-Iraq War: A Reassessment," *The Middle East Journal* 64, no. 3 (2010), 365-383.

2/16/16 (Tues)

Midterm 1 (Making War)

— **Section 2: Nonstate Actors and Transnational Actors** —

2/18/16 (Thurs)

11. Theories of intrastate conflict (nonstate actors and civil wars)

James Fearon and David Laitin, “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1, (2003), 75-90.

Barry R. Posen, “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict,” *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993), 27-47.

2/23/16 (Tues)

12. Guest speaker, Israel Consul General

Assigned reading TBA

2/25/16 (Thurs)

13. Cases: Middle East Civil Wars

Stathis Kalyvas, “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (2001), 99-118.

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, “Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War,” *The American Political Science Review* 100, no. 3, (2006), 429-447.

3/1/16 (Tues)

14. Transnational actors - theoretical foundations

Andrew Mack, “Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict,” *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (1975), 175-200.

Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, “Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency War,” *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (2009), 67-106.

3/3/16 (Thurs)

15. The United States

Ian S. Lustick, “The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political “Backwardness” in Historical Perspective,” *International Organization* 51, no. 4 (1997), 653-683;

Joel S. Migdal, *Shifting Sands: The United States in the Middle East*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), ch 1-2.

3/8/16 (Tues) - No Class (Spring Break)

3/10/16 (Thurs) - No Class (Spring Break)

3/15/16 (Tues)

16. Gulf Wars

Bickerton and Klausner, ch 9;

Stephen Biddle, “Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Tells Us about the Future of Conflict,” *International Security* 21, no. 4 (1996), 139-179.

Daryl G. Press, "The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare," *International Security* 26, no. 2 (2001), 5-44.

3/17/16 (Thurs)

No class - Instructor away at conference

3/22/16 (Tues)

17. First and Second Intifadas

Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Association* 97, no. 3 (2003), 343-361.

Bickerton and Klausner, ch 12.

3/24/16 (Thurs)

18. Hezbollah and Hamas

Bickerton and Klausner, ch 14

Beverly Milton-Edwards, "The Ascendence of Political Islam: Hamas and consolidation in the Gaza Strip," *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 8 (2008), 1585-1599.

Rola El Husseini, "Hezbollah and the Axis of Refusal: Hamas, Iran and Syria," *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 5 (2010), 803-815.

3/29/16 (Tues)

19. Al Qaeda and ISIS

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* 31, no. 1 (2006), 49-80.

Daniel Bynam, "Buddies or Burdens? Understanding the Al Qaeda Relationship with Its Affiliate Organizations," *Security Studies* 23, (2014), 431-470.

3/31/16 (Thurs)

Midterm 2 (Nonstate and Transnational Actors)

—Section 3: Making Peace —

4/5/16 (Tues)

21. Bargaining, negotiation, and Israel-Syria

Eisenberg and Caplan, pg 22-31, ch 6

Stephen John Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), 5-53. [skim cases]

Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Summer 1997), 335-364.

4/7/16 (Thurs)

22. Stability vs Peace and Israel-Jordan

Eisenberg and Caplan, ch 3 and 5

Erik Gartzke, "War is the Error Term," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Summer 1999), 567-587.

James P. Klein, Gary Goertz, and Paul F. Diehl, "The Peace Scale: Conceptualizing and Operationalizing Non-Rivalry and Peace," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 25 (2008), 67-80.

4/12/16 (Tues)

23. Theories of civil conflict resolution and Israel-Lebanon 1983

Eisenberg and Caplan, ch 2

Monica Duffy Toft, "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security* 34, no. 4 (2010), 7-36.

Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20, no. 4 (1996), 136-175.

4/14/16 (Thurs)

24. Ta'if Agreement

Faten Ghosn and Amal Khoury, "Lebanon after the Civil War: Peace or the Illusion of Peace?" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 3 (Summer 2011), 381-397.

David E. Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Oct. 2006), 875-892.

Alan J. Kuperman, "Is Partition Really the Only Hope? Reconciling Contradictory Findings About Ethnic Civil Wars," *Security Studies*, Vol. 13, No 4, (Summer 2004), 314-319.

4/19/16 (Tues)

25. Camp David

Bickerton and Klausner, ch 8;

Eisenberg and Caplan, ch 1

4/21/16 (Thurs)

26. Madrid and Oslo

Bickerton and Klausner, ch 10;

Eisenberg and Caplan, ch 4, 7 and 8

Wendy Pearlman, "Spoiling Inside and Out: Internal Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 3, (Winter 2008/9), pg 79-109.

4/26/16 (Tues)

27. Post 2000, Arab Peace Initiative, and Conclusions

Bickerton and Klausner, ch 13 and conclusion;

Eisenberg and Caplan, ch 9 and conclusion

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

Final Exam: Wednesday, May 4 at 10:30 AM

Final Paper (hard copy) due in class at time of final exam