The Middle East in Global Order – 952M1
(30 Credits)

Masters Option

Contemporary War and Peace Studies
Global Political Economy
International Relations

Spring Term 2006

Dr. Jan Selby
Room C327
Ext. 6694
j.selby@sussex.ac.uk
Course Outline:

The Middle East in Global Order

Week 2. Introduction

I. The Political Economy of the Middle East

Week 3. From Imperialism to the Washington Consensus: Historical and Comparative Contexts

Week 4. Key Resources: Oil and Water

Week 5. Human Development

II. State Forms and Social Forces

Week 6. Authoritarianism, Tradition, Democratisation

Week 7. Ideologies of Revolution and Resistance: Arab Nationalism and Political Islam

III. Conflict, Instability, Intervention: Two Case Studies

Week 8. The Arab-Israeli Conflict 1900-1991


Week 10. Iraq: The Roots of the Current Crisis
Course Description
The Middle East is almost constantly in the news. From Israel and the West Bank to Iraq and Saudi Arabia, the region is both a byword for political instability, and a recurring site of Western political and military interventions. This course explores some of the political, economic and cultural dynamics that lie behind the crisis-ridden headlines. It considers how and why the Middle East differs from other parts of the world; analyses the roots of Western policy towards the region; investigates the extent to which the region has been structured by international and global as against domestic factors; and also explores how the region is predominantly represented within Western media and society. The course begins by examining major issues in the political economy of the Middle East, specifically the legacies of imperialism; the impacts of neo-liberalism on Middle Eastern polities and economies; the national and global political economies of two key resources, oil and water; and the oft-proclaimed ‘crisis’ of human development within the contemporary Middle East. We then examine some key political forms and forces, including the authoritarian ‘rentier’ state, pressures for democratisation and liberalisation, and the rise of political Islam. The final part of the course concentrates on two particularly important sites of conflict and intervention, Iraq, and Israel and the Palestinian territories. Central questions addressed by the course include: To what extent has the Middle East been structured by its late, uneven and dependent incorporation into the global capitalist system? Are Middle Eastern ‘water wars’ on the horizon? Should we really refer to the Middle East as ‘West Asia’? Why are democratic processes and forms so under-developed in the Middle East? Why is the US so supportive of Israel? And what have been the impacts of globalisation on Middle Eastern politics and society?

This syllabus is intended to provide you with all the essential details about the course. It also contains the reading list for the year. You should retain this syllabus for the duration of the course and refer to it frequently. You will find that most questions you have about the course are likely to be answered somewhere in the following pages.

Learning Methods
There will be a series of weekly 2 hour seminars in the Spring Term. The seminars are designed to provide an overview of the course syllabus with commentary on the literature and are an opportunity to explore in depth particular issues and to engage in discussion in a small group context. Students will be expected to contribute every week to discussions. For each seminar session, three broad questions have been set: these will form the bedrock of our discussions. One student will take the lead in introducing and commenting on each question, but each student will also be expected to be able to engage with each of these questions. After the introductory seminar we have eight sessions together, each with three questions that need introducing, so this probably means (depending on numbers) that you’ll each be responsible for presenting on two or three of them. Students will be expected to engage in continuous independent study, employing the reading list (below) and other sources to deepen their knowledge of the subject.
Skills Development
This course will allow students to further develop the following skills: (i) oral skills in weekly seminars, (ii) writing skills through composing an essay that requires them to read widely from the reading list and other sources and to synthesize the information for the purposes of the essay, (iii) problem solving skills by exploring complex issues in Middle Eastern politics and political economy, (iv) reflective skills by critically evaluating competing conceptions and theories of the Middle East in global order, and (v) information technology skills by using word processing for the essay and seminar notes and by drawing on the internet to obtain further information.

Course Assessment
The course is assessed by a 5,000 word Term Paper due at the start of the Summer Term. The topic and title should be decided in discussion with me towards the end of the course.

Feedback
The course will be evaluated by you using an anonymous Student Evaluation Questionnaire which will be distributed towards the end of the Spring Term. Feel free, though, to raise issues with me as they arise during the course.

Useful Books:
There are no essential textbooks for this course. However, the best three I would recommend are:


Further especially useful sources include:

- Deborah Gerner (ed.), *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000).


**Weekly Readings:**

You will find a comprehensive list of reading materials for each week in the reading list below. These should all be available in the library or on the web. The core readings are ones that I have photocopies of, and that will by available from my office letter box for the week preceding the seminar in question. I should emphasise that these core readings are NOT all essential readings. Some of them are essential, by virtue of the fact that they make particular arguments which we will be discussing directly. However, others of them simply provide useful overviews: these are not essential readings.

So, it’s partly up to you the extent to which you follow the core readings or not. That said, I will be expecting you to read at least the equivalent of the core readings for each session, i.e. at least three articles/book chapters per week. If you are doing a weekly presentation or writing your term paper on a topic, it is expected that, in addition to the core readings, you read widely amongst the further reading list.

There is plenty of material in the library which is not listed below. If you come across any such readings which you find especially useful, I would be more than happy to receive the bibliographical information for these items.
Week 2. Introduction

This session will be an introductory one, but you will nonetheless be expected to come prepared. In the first half of the session we will go through some of the tedious administrative and introductory stuff. I will give an overview of the course. More importantly, you will be asked to sign up for presentations, so you’re advised to have a good look through the syllabus beforehand to decide what you’d rather present on.

In the second half of the session, we will make a start at tackling two key theoretical questions. Please come prepared by reading the essential readings below in advance.

Study Questions:
1. Can one escape Orientalism?
2. Which of Marxian and Weberian social theory provides the sounder footing for analysing the modern Middle East? (Or perhaps you think neither does?)

Core Reading:
Essential (q.1):

Essential (q.2):

Further Reading:
On Orientalism and Said:


**Marxian Accounts:**


**Weberian Accounts:**
I. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Week 3. From Imperialism to the Washington Consensus: Historical and Comparative Contexts

Study Questions:
1. How do the impacts of European imperialism and colonialism on the Middle East compare with those experienced in other parts of the non-European world?
2. Has the Middle East been reshaped by the neo-liberal Washington Consensus?
3. Is the Middle East ‘exceptional’, and if so, what accounts for this ‘exceptionalism’?

Core Reading:
Introductory (q.1):

Introductory (q.2):
or:

The Imperial Moment in the Middle East:
Fromkin, David, A Peace To End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East 1914-1922 (London: Andre Deutsch, 1989).
The Washington Consensus and Liberalisation:
Week 4. Key Resources: Oil and Water

Study Questions:
1. Who controls the political economy of oil in the Middle East: the oil majors, the Western powers, or the oil producing states?
2. What impacts have oil and aid rents had on the Middle East?
2. Is increasing pressure on scarce water resources likely to result in ‘water wars’?

Core Reading:
Introductory (qs.1, 2):
Luciani, Giacomo, ‘Oil and political economy in the international relations of the Middle East’, in Louise Fawcett (ed.), International Relations of the Middle East (Oxford: OUP, 2005), ch. 4.
Essential (q.2):
Introductory (q.3):

Further Reading:
Oil:


Gerner, Deborah (ed.), Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003), ch. 7.


Luciani, Giacomo, The Oil Companies and the Arab World (London: Croom Helm, 1984).


Mejcher, Helmut, ‘Oil and British policy towards Mesopotamia 1914-18’, Middle Eastern Studies (Vol. 8, No.3).


Richards, Alan and John Waterbury, A Political Economy of the Middle East, 2nd edn. (Boulder: Westview, 1996), ch. 15.


Skeet, Ian, OPEC: Twenty-five Years of Prices and Politics (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).


Venn, Fiona, Oil Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986).

**Water:**

**Agriculture:**

Week 5. Human Development

Study Questions:
1. What have been the impacts of rapid population growth on the Middle East?
2. What factors explain the subordinate position of women within Middle Eastern societies?
3. Why does the Middle East rank so poorly in terms of human development?

Core Reading:
Introductory (q.1):
Introductory (q.2):
Taraki, Lisa, ‘The role of women’ in Deborah Gerner (ed.), Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000), ch. 10.
Essential (q.3):

Further Reading:
Population:
Women:
Meriwether, Margaret L. and Judith E. Tucker, Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East (Boulder: Westview, 1999).
Moghadam, Valentine, Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 1993).

**Human development:**
The most important sources are UNDP’s annual *Human Development Report* (at: [http://www.undp.org](http://www.undp.org)), their annual *Arab Human Development Report* specifically, and the numerous commentaries and discussions on human development in the Middle East that you’ll find on the web.
II. STATE FORMS AND SOCIAL FORCES

Week 6. Authoritarianism, Tradition, Democratisation

Study Questions:
1. Why are there so many authoritarian states in the Middle East?
2. Is the contemporary Middle East still characterised by ‘traditional’ forms and practices of political authority?
3. What are the prospects for democratisation in the Middle East?

Core Reading:
Essential (q.1):
Essential (q.1,2):
Introductory (q.3):

Further Reading:
Baaklini, Abdo, Guilain Denoeuz and Robert Springborg, Legislative Politics in the Arab World: The Resurgence of Democratic Institutions (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999).
Bromley, Simon, Rethinking Middle East Politics: State Formation and Development (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), chs. 4-5.
Brynen, Rex, Baghat Korany and Paul Noble (eds.), Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World - Volume 1: Theoretical Perspectives (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995).


Halliday, Fred and Hamza Alavi (eds.), State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).


Khoury, Philip and Joseph Kostiner (eds.), Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East (Berkeley: UCP, 1990).


Sadiki, L. ‘To export or not to export democracy to the Arab world: the Islamist perspective’, Arab Studies Journal, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 60-75.


Week 7. Ideologies of Revolution and Resistance: Arab Nationalism and Political Islam

Study Questions:
1. What has happened to Arab Nationalism?
2. What explains the rise of political Islam in the late twentieth century?
3. Does Islamism present a challenge to regional and global order?

Core Reading:
Introductory (q.1):

Introductory (q.2):

Essential (q.3):
or:

Further Reading:
Arab nationalism:
Hopwood, Derek (ed.), *Arab Nation, Arab Nationalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).


Political Islam:

Barber, Benjamin, Jihad Versus McWorld (New York: Balantine, 1996).


Esposito, John, Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam (Oxford: OUP, 2002).

Gerges, Fawaz, America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).


III. CONFLICT, INSTABILITY, INTERVENTION: TWO CASE STUDIES

Week 8. The Arab-Israeli-Conflict 1900-1991

Study Questions:
1. Is Israel a ‘colonial-settler state’? Is it an ‘apartheid state’ (Uri Davis)?
2. What general factors explain the repeated conflicts between Israel and the Arab states from 1948 onwards?
3. How should we make sense of US policy towards Israel?

Core Reading:
Introductory (q.1):

Introductory (q.2):

Essential (q.3):

Or:

Further Reading:
General:


Israel:


Jones, Clive and Emma Murphy, Israel: Challenges to Identity, Democracy and the State (London: Routledge, 2002).


**The Debate on 1948:**


**Arab-Israeli Conflicts General:**


**Suez:**


1967 and 1973:

Camp David:

Lebanon:

USSR and the Middle East:
Israel and the US:

Study Questions:
1. Why did the Oslo process happen?
2. Why did it collapse?
3. Is a two-state solution feasible? Is it desirable?

Core Reading:
Introductory (q.1,2):

Essential (q.1,2):

Essential (q.3):

Further Reading:
Causes and nature of Oslo (general):


Selby, Jan, ‘Dressing up domination as “cooperation”: the case of Israeli-Palestinian water relations’, Review of International Studies, 29(1), 2003, pp 21-38.


The Palestinians and internal Palestinian politics:
Shemesh, Moshe, ‘The founding of the PLO’, Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 20, No. 4.

Political Economic Contexts:


**Camp David and After:**


Reinhart, Tanya, *Israel/Palestine: How to End the War of 1948* (New York: Seven Stories, 2002).
Week 10. Iraq: The Roots of the Current Crisis

Study Questions:
1. Why has Iraq been so politically unstable from the pre-independence era right up to the present day?
2. Why did the US opt to invade Iraq in 2003?
3. What accounts for the extent of the instability and chaos in post-Saddam Iraq?

Core Reading:
Introductory (q.1):

Essential (q.2):

Introductory (q.3):

Further Reading:
State and society:

Iran-Iraq War:
Kuwait Crisis:
Gow, James, *Iraq, the Gulf Conflict and the New World Order* (London: Brassey’s, 1993).

The Sanctions Era:
Niblock, Tim, “Pariah States” and Sanctions in the Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001).

The Second (Or Perhaps Third) Gulf War:
Hersh, Seymour, *Chain of Command: The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib* (London: Allen Lane, 2004).
Global energy leaders signal optimism at Abu Dhabi CEO roundtable. Dr. Sultan Ahmed Al Jaber, UAE Minister of State hosting the special virtual edition of the Abu Dhabi CEO Roundtable. Read more. Abu Dhabi CEO ADNOC roundtable. Go digital energy middle east. 17 June, 2020. Petrofac awarded project by Tatweer Petroleum. Crescent Petroleum, the largest upstream oil and gas company in the Middle East, has selected SAP to draw the roadmap of its digital future. Read more. Crescent digital transformation SAP. The global economic impact of terrorism was US$33 billion in 2018, 38 per cent lower than in 2017. Compared to other forms of violence such as homicide, armed conflict, and military expenditure, terrorism is a small percentage of the total global cost of violence, which was equal to 14.1 trillion dollars in purchasing power parity (PPP) in 2018. It should be noted that the figures for terrorism are conservative as they do not account for the indirect impacts on business, investment and the costs associated with security agencies in countering terrorism.