1. COURSE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES
   This optional subject seeks to build on the work of the core courses in the MPhil and to provide an advanced understanding of the international politics of the Middle East.
   The course also provides training for those who intend to engage in further professional work in this field, whether in research, university teaching, the media, NGOs, government, diplomacy, or international organisations.

2. COURSE CONTENT
   The content of the course will be described in the Examination Decrees 2008 as follows:
   *The International Relations of the Middle East.* This course covers the international politics of the Middle East and of the Persian Gulf with an emphasis on the period since 1945.
   There are three main elements: the foreign policies of the Arab states and the relations between them; the Arab-Israeli conflict; and external involvement in the affairs of the region. The course also examines a number of issue areas such as the impact of economic power, the role of Islam, secular ideologies, security, and the causes and consequences of war.

3. ORGANIZATION OF TEACHING
   The class for this course in Hilary Term is held on Thursday at 2.00 - 4.00 pm in the seminar room in the library in Manor Road. It is chaired by Professor Avi Shlaim. This optional course is also available to students doing the MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. Attendance is compulsory for all MPhil students who have chosen this option. DPhil students may attend on request. Two topics are tackled each week through the medium of student presentations and class discussion. In addition to the essays presented in class, each student is expected to prepare two essays to be discussed in individual or paired tutorials, making up a total of three or four essays during the term. The tutorial teaching for MMES students will be done by Dr Philip Robins and Dr Michael Willis.

4. EXAMINING
   This course is examined by means of a three-hour paper in Trinity Term of the second year on which candidates have to answer three questions.

*Queries about this course can be addressed to Professor Avi Shlaim, St Antony’s College.*
The International Relations of the Middle East

Topics Covered in the Reading List

1. Britain and the Middle East
   a. Britain
   b. The Suez War

2. The Arab Israeli Conflict
   a. General
   b. The 1948 War

3. Egypt and Arab Nationalism
   a. Egyptian foreign policy
   b. Arab Nationalism
   c. Islam and International Relations

4. The Levant
   a. Syria
   b. Lebanon

5. Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians
   a. Israel
   b. The Palestinians
   c. Jordan
   d. The Peace Process since 1991

6. The Superpowers
   a. General
   b. The United states
   c. The Soviet Union

7. Saudi Arabia and Iran
   a. Saudi Arabia
   b. Iran

8. The Persian Gulf
   a. General
   b. Iraq
   c. The Iran-Iraq War
   d. The Gulf War
The International Relations of the Middle East

Week 1: Britain and the Middle East
1. What role did Britain play in shaping the state system of the Middle East? Why and how did British influence decline between 1945 and 1971?
2. Was Suez a turning point in the post-war history of the Middle East?

Week 2: The Arab-Israeli Conflict
1. Examine critically the traditional Zionist and the revisionist accounts of the first Arab-Israeli war. Why has the debate about 1948 generated so much heat?
2. What are the principal causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict? Account for the progress made in resolving this conflict since 1991.

Week 3: Egypt and Arab Nationalism
1. Has Egyptian foreign policy since the revolution been characterised more by continuity than by change?
2. Account for the rise and decline of Arab nationalism since 1945.

Week 4: The Levant
1. Assess the role of Ba'th ideology and national interests in the making of Syrian foreign policy since 1970.
2. ‘A victim of the cruel geopolitics of the region’ (Richard Falk). Examine critically this description of Lebanon.

Week 5: Israel and the Palestinians
1. Compare and contrast the foreign policy of the Labour Party with that of the Israeli Right.
2. How and why did the PLO change its political programme between 1964 and 1993?

Week 6: The Superpowers
1. What have been America’s main interests in the Middle East since 1945 and how successful has she been in achieving them? Have American policies promoted stability in the region?
2. What were the Soviet Union’s main interests in the Middle East? Was soviet policy defensive or expansionist?

Week 7: Saudi Arabia and Iran
1. Is it accurate to describe Saudi foreign policy as a ceaseless quest for security?
2. Examine the foreign policy aims of revolutionary Iran and account for its failure to export the Islamic revolution.

Week 8: The Persian Gulf
1. What were the main causes of the Iran-Iraq War? What role did third parties play in determining its course and outcome?
2. Examine the causes and consequences of the 1991 Gulf War.
General Works

Fraser, T.G. *The Middle East, 1914-1979: Documents* (1980).
———. *100 Myths About the Middle East* (2005).
Hinnebusch, Raymond A. *The International Politics of the Middle East* (2003).
Ismael, Tareq Y. *International Relations of the Contemporary Middle East* (1986).
——— *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (2004).
*The Middle East Contemporary Survey* (annual reference work, Holmes & Meier,).

Sachar, Howard M. *Europe Leaves the Middle East, 1936-1954* (1972, 1974).


Telhami, Shibley and Michael Barnett, eds. *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East* (2002).


**Week 1: Britain and the Middle East**

**a. Britain**


Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (1989, 2000).


Parsons, Anthony. *They Say the Lion: Britain’s Legacy to the Arabs* (1986).


**b. The Suez War**


Heikal, Mohammed H. *Cutting the Lion's Tail: Suez through Egyptian Eyes* (1986, 1988).


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**Week 2: The Arab-Israeli Conflict**

a. **General**


Fraser, T.G. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict* (2004).


Gelvin, James L. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (2005).


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Rodinson, Maxime. Israel and the Arabs (1968, 1982).


b. The 1948 War


Week 3: Egypt and Arab Nationalism

a. Egypt


Dawisha, A. I. *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy* (1976).


Heikal, Mohamed H. *The Cairo Documents* (1972).

b. Arab Nationalism

— — — Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair (2003, 2005).
Hassouna, Hussein A. The League of Arab States and Regional Disputes: A Study of Middle East Conflicts (1975).
Jankowski, James and Israel Gershoni, eds. Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East (1997).

c. Islam and International Relations

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


### Week 4: The Levant

#### a. Syria


——— *Contemporary Syria: Liberalisation between Cold War and Cold Peace* (1994).


#### b. Lebanon


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Hetter, Peter B. ‘The Syrian Factor in the Lebanese Civil War’, *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 4:1, Fall 1980.

**Week 5: Israel and the Palestinians**

a. Israel

— — — *Decisions in Israel’s Foreign Policy* (1975).
Flamhaft, Ziva. *Israel on the Road to Peace: Accepting the Unacceptable* (1996).
Klieman, Aaron S. *Israel and the World after 40 Years* (1990).
b. The Palestinians


c. Jordan


d. The Peace Process since 1991


**Week 6: The Superpowers**

**a. General**


Bar-Siman-Tov, Yaacov. *Israel, the Superpowers and War in the Middle East* (1987).


Marantz, Paul and Blema S. Steinberg, eds. *Superpower Involvement in the Middle East: Dynamics of Foreign Policy* (1985).
Shearman, Peter and Phil Williams, eds. *The Superpowers, Central America and the Middle East* (1988).

b. The United States

Fraser, T.G. *The USA and the Middle East since World War II* (1989).
Middle East Journal, Summer 1976, special issue on the US and the Middle East.
Sick, Gary. *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran* (1985).

c. **The Soviet Union**

Glassman, Jon D. *Arms for the Arabs: The Soviet Union and War in the Middle East* (1975).
Week 7: Saudi Arabia and Iran

a. Saudi Arabia


b. Iran

Ansari, Ali M. *Confronting Iran: The Failure of American Foreign Policy and the Next Great Crisis in the Middle East* (2006).

Week 8: The Persian Gulf
a. General

Kelly, J. B. *Arabia, the Gulf and the West* (1980).

b. Iraq


c. The Iran-Iraq War


d. The Gulf War


