

University of Haifa
The International School

Arab-Israeli Relations

Prof. Benny Miller

Course Number:	Office Hours: TU 15:00-15.45
Semester: Fall 2009	Location 415 Terrace Building
Class Time: Tuesday 12:00 – 15:00	Phone: 04-8240510
Class Location:	E-Mail: bmiller@poli.haifa.ac.il

Israel, Its Neighbors and the Great Powers: War and Peace in the Middle East in a Comparative Perspective

The course will address some of the key issues of regional security in the Middle East. Thus, we will be able to better understand some of the major opportunities and challenges faced by Israel and its neighbors in their regional security environment. In the first meetings the class will address some of the conceptual foundations of regional security and their relationships with war and peace. In the next stage we'll study the historical foundations of the regional conflicts in the Middle East, with a focus on the Israeli-Palestinian and Arab-Israeli conflict—both on the wars and on the peace process. We'll also pay attention to the role of the great powers in the region while posing the question: are they stabilizers or destabilizers? We'll address the major factors which affect war and peace in the region and their implications for regional security: realist factors related to the regional balance of power, and also questions of state and nationalism. Finally, we'll discuss the likelihood and the implications of possible democratization. The class will evaluate its effects on rising or declining militant challenges related to ethno-nationalism and Islamic Fundamentalism and what are their implications for Israel's standing in the region.

Requirements:

1. An active participation in classes, based on discussion of the bibliography (part of which is marked as only recommended).
2. Class presentation(s) based on the bibliography and/or the seminar paper.
3. Writing a final paper based on the seminar discussions and the bibliography.

Background/Resource books:



Rabinovich, Itamar (2004). *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs 1948-2003*. Princeton University Press.

Morris , Benny (2001). *Righteous victims: a history of the Zionist-Arab conflict, 1881-2001*. New York: Vintage Books.

WEEK 1

Globalization, Regional Systems and Regional Conflicts

Barry Buzan and Ole Waever (2003). Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 6-14, 27-40.

Miller , Benjamin *States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Ch. 1, pp. 1-40.; Ch. 2, pp. 41-42, 48-53.

Ayoob , Mohammed (1995). The Third World Security Predicament. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 1-20.

Recommended:

Kelly Robert E. (Summer 2007). "Security Theory in the 'New Regionalism.'" International Studies Review, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 197-229.

Hurrell, Andrew, (1995). "Explaining the resurgence of regionalism in world politics," Review of International studies, vol. 21, pp. 331-358.

Lake, David and Morgan, Patrick M, (1997). "The New Regionalism in Security Affairs;"

and A. Stein and S. Lobell, "Geostructuralism and international politics: the end of the cold war and the regionalization of international security." In David Lake and Patrick Morgan, eds. Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 3-19, 101-124.

Week 2

Explaining War and Peace : Levels of Analysis and Schools of Thought

Levy, Jack (1998). "The causes of war and the conditions of peace." Annual Review of Political Science, vol. 1, pp. 139-65 (apart from pp. 151-7). (E-Reserve).



Holsti, K. J. (1992). "International Theory and war in the Third world," In Job, Brian, ed., The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States. Boulder: Rienner, pp. 37-62. (E-Reserve).

Jervis, R. (1976). "Perception and the level of analysis problem," in Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 13-31 (E-reserve).

Recommended:

Holsti, K. J. (1998). "International Relations Theory and Domestic war in the Third World: The Limits of Relevance." In Stephanie G. Neuman, ed., International Relations Theory and the Third World. New York: St. Martin's Press. (E-Reserve).

Stephen Walt, The Origins of Alliances (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 21-26.

WEEK 3

Patterns of Conflict Management and Types of Regional War and Peace Outcomes

Miller, Benjamin *States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Ch. 1, pp. 1-40.; Ch. 2, pp. 42-48.

Holsti, K. J. (1996). War, The State, and the State of War. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, ch. 7, esp. pp. 147-49.

Miller, Benjamin (October 1992). "Explaining Great Power Cooperation in Conflict Management," World Politics, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 1-46.

Miller, Benjamin (2005). "When and How Regions Become Peaceful: Potential Theoretical Pathways to Peace," *International Studies Review* 7, pp. 229-267.

WEEK 4

The Great Powers and Regional Conflicts

Miller, Benjamin, (Summer 1995). "International Systems and Regional Security: From Competition to Cooperation, Dominance or Disengagement?" The Journal of Strategic Studies, vol. 18. no. 2, pp. 52-100. (E-Reserve).



Miller, Benjamin (Autumn 2001). "Between War and Peace: Systemic Effects on the Transition of the Middle East and the Balkans from the Cold War to the Post-Cold War era." Security Studies, 11, no. 1, pp. 1-52 (E-Reserve).

WEEK 5

Explaining Regional War and Peace

Posen, Barry (1993) "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," in Michael Brown, ed., Ethnic Conflict and International Security (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.), pp. 103-24..

This chapter was published originally in the journal *Survival* (1993).

Vasquez, John A. (1995). "Why do neighbors fight? proximity, interaction or territoriality." Journal of Peace Research, vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 277-293.

Miller, Benjamin *States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Ch. 2, pp. 41-81 and Ch. 3, pp. 82-128.

WEEK 6

The Origins and the Nature of the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in the Regional Middle East Context

Miller, Benjamin *States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Ch. 4, pp. 129-204.

Rabinovich, Itamar, Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs 1948-2003. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, LLC, pp. 11-24.

Ben-Ami, Shlomo (2006). *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Arab-Israeli Tragedy* (Oxford UP), pp. 1-21.

Recommended:

Morris, Benny (2001). *Righteous victims: a history of the Zionist-Arab conflict, 1881-2001*. (New York: Vintage Books), pp. 3-160.

Ben-Ami, Shlomo (2006). *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Arab-Israeli Tragedy* (Oxford UP), pp. 22-70.

Tessler, Mark (1994), A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), esp. pp. 1-122.



Ovendale, Ritchie (1992). The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Wars. New York: Longman, 2nd ed.

WEEK 7

The Cold War in the Middle East and its effects

Miller, B., (1995). When Opponents Cooperate: Great Power Conflict and Collaboration in World Politics (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press), Ch.. 5, pp. 125-172.

Miller , Benjamin *States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Ch. 5, pp. 205-236.

Recommended:

Fred Halliday, The Middle East in International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 97-129.

Safran Nadav, From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948-1967. (New York: Pegasus), pp. 89-142.

Gerges, Fawaz, (1994). The Superpowers and the Middle East: Regional and International Politics, 1955-1967 (Westview,).

Miller, B., (1995). When Opponents Cooperate: Great Power Conflict and Collaboration in World Politics (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press,), Ch..6, pp. 173-222.

WEEK 8

The Arab-Israeli Wars 1948-1982

Morris ,Benny (2001).*Righteous victims: a history of the Zionist-Arab conflict, 1881-2001*. (New York: Vintage Books), pp. 259-346.

Recommended:

Shlaim, Avi 1995. *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History*. New York: Penguin, pp. 37-59.

Morris ,Benny (2001).*Righteous victims: a history of the Zionist-Arab conflict, 1881-2001*. (New York: Vintage Books), pp.347-443, 494-610.



Sela, Avraham (1998). The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. Albany: SUNY Press. pp. 57-152.

Hinnebusch, Raymond (2003). The International Politics of the Middle East. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, pp. 154-188.

Oren, Michael 2002. *Six Days of War :June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. New York: Oxford University Press.

WEEK 9

The Peace Process 1974-2000

Rabinovich, Itamar, Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs 1948-2003. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, LLC, pp. 24-164.

Benjamin Miller, "Explaining Variations in the Implementations of Peace Agreements in N. Ireland, S. Africa and Israel-Palestine." In Guy Ben-Porat, ed., *Implementing Peace Agreements* (New York: Palgrave, forthcoming, 2008), pp. 39-69.

Recommended:

Ben-Ami, Shlomo (2006). *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Arab-Israeli Tragedy* (Oxford UP), pp. 146-284.

Morris , Benny (2001). *Righteous victims: a history of the Zionist-Arab conflict, 1881-2001*. (New York: Vintage Books), pp. 444-493, 611-694

Sela, Avraham (1998). The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. Albany: SUNY Press. pp. 153-213.

Dennis Ross, The Missing Peace. New York: Farrar, Straus and Girouz.

WEEK 10

The Security Policies of key Arab states, Inter-Arab relations and the Iran-Iraq War

Gause, F. Gregory (1992). "Sovereignty, Statecraft, and Stability in the Middle East." Journal of International Affairs 45: 441-69.

Hinnebusch, Raymond (2003). The International Politics of the Middle East. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, pp. 121-153, 188-203.

Recommended:

Fred Halliday, The Middle East in International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 75-96, 167-260.

WEEK 11

The Post-Cold War US Hegemony in the Middle East

Hudson, Michael C. 1996. 'To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of U.S. Policy Toward the Middle East', Middle East Journal 50(3): 329-343

Miller, Benjamin States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Ch. 5, pp. 236-255.

Miller, Benjamin, "The Effects of Changes in the International Environment on the Future of the Middle East," Israel Affairs, vol. 10 numbers 1&2 (Autumn/Winter 2004), pp. 105-120.

Recommended:

Barry Rubin, The Tragedy of the Middle East (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 227-257.

Shibley Telhami, The Stakes: America and the Middle East (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2002).

WEEK 12

The Gulf war, the 2003 Iraq war, and their Consequences

Fred Halliday, The Middle East in International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005), "After the Cold War: the maturing of the Greater West Asian Crisis," pp. 130-166.

Benjamin Miller (2004). "The International System and Regional Balance in the Middle East," in TV Paul, Jim Wirtz and Michel Fortmann eds., *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press), pp. 239-266.



Hinnebusch, Raymond (2003). The International Politics of the Middle East. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, pp. 204-239.

Benjamin Miller (2009). "US Management of Middle East War and Peace: Between Defensive Realism and Offensive Liberalism." In Efraim Inbar and Eytan Gilboa eds., *US-Israel Relations in a New Era* (London: Routledge), pp. 9-32.

Recommended:

Tibi, Bassam (1998). Conflict and War in the Middle East. New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 145-186.

WEEK 13

State, Nationalism, and War and Peace in the Middle East

Miller, Benjamin 4 (October-December 2006). "Balance of Power or the State-to-Nation Balance: Explaining Middle East War-Propensity." *Security Studies* vol. 15, no.4.. pp. 658-705.

Kumaraswamy, P. R. 2006. 'Who am I? The Identity Crisis in the Middle East.' *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 10(1):63-73.

Miller, Benjamin States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Ch. 5, pp. 386-421.

Recommended:

Hudson, Michael C. (1977). Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, pp. 1-30.

Hinnebusch, Raymond (2003). The International Politics of the Middle East. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, pp. 54-90.

Barnett, Michael N., (summer 1995). "Sovereignty and Nationalism in the Arab World." International Organization, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 479-510.

Shibley Telhami and Barnett, Michael N., eds., Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2002), esp. pp. 1-25.

Byman, Daniel L (2002). Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press,



WEEK 14

Between the Old Middle East and the New Middle East: Democratization, Ethno-Nationalism and Islamic Fundamentalism and their Implications for Conflict Management

Miller, Benjamin (2003). "Conflict Management in the Middle East: Between the Old Middle East and the New Middle East." In Paul F. Diehl and Joseph Leggold, eds, *Regional Conflict Management in the Post-Cold War Era* (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 153-208.

Marina Ottaway and Thomas Carothers (November/December 2004). "Think Again: Middle East Democracy." *Foreign Policy*, no. 145, pp. 22-29.

Edward D. Mansfield & Jack Snyder (Winter 2005/06). "Prone to Violence: The Paradox of the Democratic Peace." *The National Interest*, no. 82, pp. 39-45.

Rubin, Barry 2006. 'Getting to Arab Democracy: Dealing with Communism.' *Journal of Democracy*, 17(1): 51-62.

Debate on Iran's Nuclear Option, *The National Interest*, no. 83 (Spring 2006), pp. 13-34.

Recommended:

Tibi, Bassam (1998). *Conflict and War in the Middle East*. New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 194-233.

Rubin, Barry (2002). *The Tragedy of the Middle East* (Cambridge), esp. Ch. 1: "The Triumph of the "Old Middle East," pp. 1-32.

Week 15: for discussion if there is enough time

The Balance Of Power, Security Dilemma, and the Balance of Threat: Realist Analysis and Prescriptions for Middle East Conflicts

Sagan, Scott and Waltz, Kenneth, (1995). *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (New York: Norton,), esp. pp. 1-45.

Stein, Janice G. (1993). "The security dilemma in the Middle East: A prognosis for the decade ahead," in Bahgat kornay, Paul Noble, and Rex Brynen (eds.), *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab world* (London: Macmillan,).



Walt, Stephen M. 1987. *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 50-147.

Evron, Yair 1994. 'Gulf Crisis and War: Regional Rules of the Game and Policy and Theoretical Explanation', *Security Studies* 4(1):115-54.

Recommended:

Evron, Yair 1973. *The Middle East: Nations, Superpowers, and Wars*. London: Elek

Evron, Yair 1987. *War and intervention in Lebanon: the Israeli-Syrian deterrence dialogue*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kemp, Geoffrey and Stein, Janice Gross (eds.) 1995. *Powder keg in The Middle East*. Washington D.C: AAAS.