

# Contents

Note on contributors	xiv
New to this edition	xvi
<b>Introduction: The Middle East and International Relations</b>	<b>1</b>
Louise Fawcett	
The book and the title	1
Studying the international relations of the Middle East	3
Organization of the volume	9
Chapter outlines	11
The international relations of the Middle East and the future	16
<b>PART 1 Theoretical and Historical Overview</b>	
.....	
<b>1 International Relations Theory and the Middle East</b>	<b>21</b>
Fred H. Lawson	
Introduction	21
Structural realism, neoliberal institutionalism, and relational contracting	23
International society, political culture, and historical sociology	27
Constructivism, post-structuralism, and post-modernism	29
Key findings from quantitative research	32
Power transitions and the power cycle	35
Contributions from regional specialists	36
<b>2 The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System</b>	<b>39</b>
Eugene L. Rogan	
Introduction: the Arab entry to international relations	40
Ottoman diplomacy	40
An Ottoman legacy of statehood	42
Wartime plans for the partition of the Middle East	44
The post-war settlement, 1919–22	45
The colonial framework	51
The Arab states and the Palestine crisis	57
<b>3 The Cold War in the Middle East</b>	<b>63</b>
Peter Sluglett and Andrew Payne	
Introduction	63



	The immediate origins of the Cold War	65
	Oil in the Middle East	68
	A clash of ideologies	69
	Elements of a case study: Iraq, the Soviet Union, and the United States, 1945–90	72
<b>4</b>	<b>The Middle East Since the Cold War: Movement without Progress</b>	<b>80</b>
	Bahgat Korany	
	Introduction	81
	Decoding the Middle East: some dominant patterns, 'intermestics', and politics from below	83
	Geopolitics and the changing security landscape	84
	Oil: a mixed blessing?	89
	Politics from below: (mis)governance, state fragility, and international spillovers	91
<b>PART 2 Themes in International Relations and International Political Economy</b>		
.....		
<b>5</b>	<b>Oil and Political Economy in the International Relations of the Middle East</b>	<b>107</b>
	Giacomo Luciani	
	Introduction	107
	Oil and the consolidation of the Middle Eastern state system	111
	Oil and the international relations of the Middle East	115
	Oil and domestic politics: the rentier state paradigm	119
	Oil and inter-Arab relations	125
<b>6</b>	<b>The Puzzle of Political Reform in the Middle East</b>	<b>132</b>
	Augustus Richard Norton	
	Introduction	133
	Explaining the democracy deficit	136
	Muslims and the question of political reform	143
	The Arab uprisings of 2011	144
<b>7</b>	<b>The Politics of Identity in Middle East International Relations</b>	<b>158</b>
	Raymond Hinnebusch	
	Introduction	158
	The challenge of nation-building: from empire to states system	159
	Irredentism and interstate conflict	165
	Identity and foreign policy	167
	Inter-Arab politics amidst supra-state identity: the rise, decline, and evolution of pan-Arabism	172
	The instrumentalization of identity in the post-Arab uprisings regional power struggle	176



<b>8</b>	<b>Islam and International Relations in the Middle East: From <i>Umma</i> to Nation State</b>	<b>180</b>
	Peter Mandaville	
	Introduction	181
	Islam and international relations: history and key concepts	182
	Pan-Islam, colonialism, and the modern state	184
	The political economy of Islamic revival	188
	Islam and geopolitics	190
	Thinking about Islam and foreign policy	192
	Islam, globalization, and the 'Arab Spring'	194
<b>9</b>	<b>Regionalism and Alliances in the Middle East</b>	<b>201</b>
	Louise Fawcett	
	Introduction	202
	Regionalism, international relations theory, and the case of the Middle East	203
	Defining regions and regionalism	207
	Middle East regionalism: a review	210
	Beyond the Arab uprisings: regionalism in crisis?	218
<b>10</b>	<b>Middle East Security: The Politics of Violence after the 2003 Iraq War</b>	<b>226</b>
	Marina Calculli	
	Introduction	226
	Security as politics	227
	The contentious politics of security in the Middle East	229
	Depoliticizing violence: the 'war on terror' in the Middle East	230
	The 'new Iraq': (in)security and rival visions of the state	231
	From the 'axis of evil' to the 'Shi'a crescent': myths and realities of the Iranian threat	234
	The politics of the 'war on terror' in the aftermath of the 2011 Arab uprisings	240
<b>PART 3 Key Issues and Actors</b>		
<b>11</b>	<b>Foreign Policymaking in the Middle East: Complex Realism</b>	<b>249</b>
	Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami	
	Introduction: complex realism	249
	Framework of analysis	250
	Comparative foreign policy in the 2000s: explaining foreign policy variation	255
<b>12</b>	<b>The Arab-Israeli Conflict</b>	<b>271</b>
	Charles Smith	
	Introduction	272
	From the creation of Israel to the 1967 war	277



	The 1967 war, Arab nationalist rivalries, and the re-emergence of the Palestinian factor	279
	From the 1967 war to the Egyptian–Israeli peace treaty	281
	From Camp David to Oslo	284
	Palestine–Israel: 2000–18	288
	Alliances of convenience and the Arab–Israeli conflict	291
<b>13</b>	<b>The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process</b>	<b>298</b>
	Avi Shlaim	
	Introduction	298
	The Oslo peace process	299
	The Oslo accord	302
	Oslo II	308
	Camp David	310
<b>14</b>	<b>The International Politics of the Gulf</b>	<b>317</b>
	Matteo Legrenzi	
	Introduction	318
	Regime security, political identity, and Iraqi War decisions	320
	Regime security, regional balancing, and Saudi Arabian alliance decisions	325
	US policy in the Gulf	327
	The significance of the P5+1 negotiations with Iran and the Saudi–Iran war by proxy	333
<b>15</b>	<b>The Arab Spring: The ‘People’ in International Relations</b>	<b>339</b>
	Arbi Sadiki	
	Introduction: ‘travel’ of the Arab Spring	340
	Orientalism challenged	346
	People-driven international relations	349
	The Arab Spring: moment of ‘peoplehood’	352
	Centre vs periphery: bottom-up change	356
	The Arab Spring: progenitor of democratization?	358
	The international relations of the Arab Spring	360
<b>16</b>	<b>The United States in the Middle East</b>	<b>368</b>
	Michael C. Hudson	
	Introduction	368
	The roots of US involvement	369
	Policymaking: structures and process	373
	A region in flux	376
	US responses to twenty-first century challenges	379



<b>17</b>	<b>Russia, China, and the Middle East</b>	<b>394</b>
	Roland Dannreuther	
	Introduction	394
	The Middle East and domestic politics	395
	Imperial legacies	397
	The Soviet Union, China, and Arab liberation movements	398
	China's search for oil and return to the Middle East	403
	The resurgence of Russia in the Middle East	407
<b>18</b>	<b>Europe in the Middle East</b>	<b>415</b>
	Rosemary Hollis	
	Introduction	415
	The imperial era and its legacy	417
	Imperial retreat and Cold War rivalries	419
	Europe, regional security, and the Gulf after 1990	421
	War, sanctions, and trade	421
	The Mediterranean neighbourhood	423
	Europe and the Middle East peace process	425
	Europe, the Arab uprisings, and the refugee crisis	428
	Bibliography	435
	Subject Index	463