

## *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

### *Syllabus*

## *Challenges of Regional Cooperation - 48369*

*Last update 16-02-2014*

*HU Credits: 3*

*Degree/Cycle: 1st degree (Bachelor) and 2nd degree (Master)*

*Responsible Department: Rothberg School- Undergraduate Division*

*Academic year: 0*

*Semester: 2nd Semester*

*Teaching Languages: English*

*Campus: Mt. Scopus*

*Course/Module Coordinator: Galia Barnathan*

*Coordinator Email: [galia.press-barnathan@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:galia.press-barnathan@mail.huji.ac.il)*

*Coordinator Office Hours: by appointment*

*Teaching Staff:*

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Dr. Galia Press-Barnathan

Course/Module description:

We often hear discussions and speculations regarding the chances of regional cooperation in the Middle East. Many of these discussions are inspired by the successful history of regional cooperation in Europe in the aftermath of WWII. Can we really learn anything from the European experience? Is the Middle East (or Europe?) unique? Are there any other examples of cooperation from other regions? This course introduces the main IR conceptual tool kit to understand regional cooperation and applies it comparatively, with an additional focus on the Middle East.

Course/Module aims:

The goal of this course is to explore and test the basic conceptual tools and competing theoretical arguments within the academic field of International Relations, which try to explain the nature, scope and degree of success of various regional cooperation schemes. It is crucial to understand the Middle East region within a broader comparative perspective. Therefore, the course is divided into three sections: The first section outlines the key concepts and theoretical arguments. The second section explores, using these concepts, the nature and fortunes of regional cooperation in Europe, Asia, Latin American and Africa. The third section then zooms in to focus more specifically on the challenges and various examples of regional cooperation in the Middle East

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

- The students are expected by the end of the course to:
1. Understand the main theoretical frameworks that explain variations in regional cooperation levels and success.
  2. Become familiar with the main regional cooperation frameworks around the globe- in Europe, Asia, South America, Africa and the Middle East.
  3. Critically compare these different frameworks, using the conceptual tools acquired.
  4. Apply the theoretical arguments to unfamiliar cases or future events.
  5. Write a serious research paper on one topic related to the class subjects

Attendance requirements(%):

100%

Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: lecture and class discussion,

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*class presentations by students*

*Course/Module Content:*

*The conceptual tool kit*

- 1. 17 February: Regional cooperation in the Middle East? What is a “region”? What is “cooperation”?*
- 2. 19 February: Our basic tool kit- International Relations theories and the study of the Middle East*
- 3. 24 February: The impact of global and regional distribution of power on regional cooperation.*
- 4. 26 February: The role of international institutions and interdependence in promoting regional cooperation.*
- 5. 3 March: The impact of domestic politics and regime type on regional cooperation.*
- 6. 5 March: The role of ideas, identity and the social construction of reality on the likelihood and nature of regional cooperation.*

*Between success and failure of regional cooperation projects-*

- 7. 10 March: The classic case of successful regional cooperation: Western Europe- From the CSCE to the EU*
- 8. 12 March : The development and limitations of European security cooperation- From NATO to EDC to ESDP.*
- 9. 19 March: The development of regional cooperation in Asia: ASEAN*
- 10. 24 March: The upgrading of regional cooperation in Asia in the post-CW era: APT, ARF.*
- 11. 26 March: The rise of regional cooperation in Latin America: MERCOSUR*
- 12. 31 March: The (failed?) attempt at regional cooperation in Africa: ECOWAS and the African Union (-already linked to the ME).*
- 13. 2 April: MIDTERM*

*Regional cooperation in the Middle East*

- 14. 23 April: The underlying challenges for regional cooperation in the Middle East in light of what we have learned so far.*
- 15. 28 April: The Arab League- A failed regional cooperation institution?*
- 16. 30 April: The Gulf Cooperation Council- shared values and common threats?*
- 17. 7 May: Israel and regional economic cooperation- Peres’ “New Middle East”, bilateral cooperation with Egypt and Jordan.*
- 18. 12 May: Third parties and promotion of cooperation in the ME I: The EU and the Barcelona Process. The US and the idea of MEFTA, regional QIZs.*
- 19. May 14: Student presentations*

*20. 19 May: Student presentations*

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21. 21 May: Student presentations [additional classes may be added for presentations depending on the number of students in the class]

Required Reading:

*The conceptual tool kit*

1. Regional cooperation in the Middle East? What is a "region"? What is "cooperation"?

David Lake, "Regional Security Complexes – A Systems Approach", in: David Lake and Patrick Morgan (eds.), *Regional Orders- Building security in a New World* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), pp.45-67. ERESERVE 001568008

Louise Fawcett, "Regionalism in Historical Perspective", in: Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics- Regional Organization and International Order* (Oxford University Press, 1995). ERESERVE 001568103

Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver, *Regions and Powers* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.) 327.116 B992

2. Our basic tool kit- International Relations theories and the study of the Middle East

Stephen Walt, "One world, many theories" *Foreign Policy*, No. 110, Special Edition: *Frontiers of Knowledge*. (Spring, 1998), pp.29-32+34-46. E-JOURNAL

Fred Halliday, *The Middle East in International Relations power, politics and ideology* / Fred Halliday. Cambridge, U.K. : Cambridge University Press, 2005. Chapter 1: Introduction: "World politics, the Middle East and the complexities of area studies", pp.1-20, OR Chapter 2: "International Relations theory and the Middle East", pp.21-40. ME327 H188

3. The impact of global and regional distribution of power on regional cooperation.

Arthur Stein and Steven Lobell, "Geostructuralism and International Politics: The end of the Cold War and the regionalization of International Security", in: Lake and Morgan, *Regional Orders : building security in a new world* / edited by David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan. University Park, Pa. : Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997. pp.101-122 [on the security dimension] ERESERVE 001566381

Joseph Grieco, "Systemic Sources of Variation in Regional Institutionalization in Western Europe, East Asia and the Americas", in: Edward Mansfield and Helen Milner (eds.), *The Political Economy of Regionalism*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1997. pp.164-187. ERESERVE 001568110

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Galia Press-Barnathan, *The Changing Incentives for Security Regionalization: From 11/9 to 9/11, Cooperation and Conflict*, September 2005; vol. 40, 3: pp. 281-304. E-JOURNAL

4. *The role of international institutions and interdependence in promoting regional cooperation.*

Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony, cooperation and discord in the world political economy* / Robert O. Keohane., Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1984. chapter?? [-this is the classic argument regarding the impact of international institutions on cooperation, a.k.a., the neoliberal institutionalist argument]. 337 K37

Andrew Moravcsik, "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmental Approach", *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol.31, no. 4, 1993, p. 473-524 E-JOURNAL

Jeppe Tranholm-Mikkelsen, "Neo-Functionalism: Obstinate or Obsolete? A Reappraisal in the light of the new dynamism of the EC", *Millennium* 20 (1) 1991, p. 1-22 [a good review of the neo-functional argument regarding the expansion of cooperation] E-JOURNAL

5. *The impact of domestic politics and regime type on regional cooperation.*

Etel Solingen, *Regional Orders at a Century's Dawn*, Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1998 chapters 2-4, p.18-116. ERESERVE 001567910

[additional suggested reading to be added]

6. *The role of ideas, identity and the social construction of reality on the likelihood and nature of regional cooperation.*

Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, "A framework for the study of Security Communities" in Adler and Barnett (eds.) *Security Communities* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.29-66. ERESERVE 001566422

Michael Barnett, "Sovereignty, nationalism, and regional order in the Arab states system", *International Organization* Vol.49(3) 1995, pp.479-510. E- JOURNAL

*Between success and failure of regional cooperation projects-*

7. *The classic case of successful regional cooperation: Western Europe- From the CSCE to the EU*

*The Marshall Plan-* Michael Hogan, "The Marshall Plan" in Charles S. Maier (ed.) *The*

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*Cold War in Europe – Era of a Divided Continent* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Pub., 1996), pp.203-240 [??Could a Marshall Plan work for the Middle East?] ERESERVE 001568094

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe – Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press, 1998), chapter 7 (summing up the findings of a very long and detailed book on the evolution of European integration]. ERESERVE 001568070

8. *The development and limitations of European security cooperation- From NATO to EDC to ESDP.*

Norrin Ripsman, "Two Stages of Transition from a Region of War to a Region of Peace: Realist Transition and Liberal endurance", *International Studies Quarterly* Vol.49 2005, pp.669-693. E-JOURNAL

Galia Press-Barnathan, "Managing the Hegemon:NATO under Unipolarity", *Security Studies* , Volume 15, Issue 2, July 2006, pages 271-309 E-JOURNAL

Jolyon Howorth, *Decision-Making in Security and Defence Policy: Towards supranational inter-governmentalism?* , Berlin Working Paper on European Integration No. 17, Kolleg-Forschergruppe, Freie Universität Berlin, 2011, 28 pages. Available by Google

9. *The development of regional cooperation in Asia: ASEAN*

Yuen Foong Khong, "ASEAN and the Southeast Asian Security Complex" in: Lake and Morgan (eds.) *Regional Order*, pp.318-339. ERESERVE 001568007

Acharya, "Collective Identity and Conflict Management in Southeast Asia", in Adler and Barnett (eds.) *Security Communities*, 198-227. ERESERVE 001568009

10. *The upgrading of regional cooperation in Asia in the post-CW era: APT, ARF.*

Kent Calder, "Critical Junctures and the contours of Northeast Asian Regionalism", (15-40) ERESERVE 001567982 , and  
G. John Ikenberry, "A New Order in East Asia?" in Kent Calder and Francis Fukuyama (eds.) *East Asian Multilateralism- Prospects for Regional Stability*, Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. JMS HC 460.5 E276 2008

11. *The rise of regional cooperation in Latin America: MERCOSUR*

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Arie M. Kacowicz, *Zones of Peace in the Third World- South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), Chapter 3 pp.67-124.  
ERESERVE 001568013

Andrew Hurrell, "Regionalism in the Americas" in *Regionalism in World Politics, : regional organization and international order* / edited by Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell , Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1995 , pp. 250-282.  
ERESERVE 001568102

Hurrell, "An emerging security community in South America?" in Adler and Barnett , *Security Communities*. ERESERVE 001568011

12. The (failed?) attempt at regional cooperation in Africa: ECOWAS and the African Union (-already linked to the ME).

Carol Lancaster, "The Lagos Three: Economic Regionalism in Sub-Saharan Africa", in: John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild (eds.,) *Africa in World Politics - Post cold war challenges* ( Boulder: Westview Press, 1992) pp.189-208.  
ERESERVE 001568715

Arie M. Kacowicz, *Zones of Peace in the Third World- South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), Chapter 4  
ERESERVE 001568013

Bjørn Møller , *The African Union as a Security Actor: African Solutions to African Problems?* LSE crisis states research center, Working Paper.

Thomas Kwasitiekou, "Explaining the clash and accommodation of interests of major actors in the creation of the African Union", *African Affairs* ( 2004) Vol.103, no. 411, pp.249-267 E-JOURNAL

Jeffrey Herbst, "'Crafting regional cooperation in Africa", in: *Crafting Cooperation-Regional International Institution in Comparative Perspective*, Amitav Acharya and Alastair Johnston (eds.,) (Cambridge UP, 2007).  
ERESERVE 001568026

13. MIDTERM

*Regional cooperation in the Middle East*

14. The underlying challenges for regional cooperation in the Middle East in light of what we have learned so far: power politics, the role of domestic politics (and more specifically the nature of state-society relations), the role of ideas (nationalism, pan-Arabism, Islam)..

Etel Solingen, *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn : global and domestic influences*

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on grand strategy, Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1998. chapter 6: The Middle East. ERESERVE 001567910

Avraham Sela, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict – Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order* ((SUNY Press, 1998), chapters 1-3 (pp.1-54) [a thorough review of the nature of inter-Arab politics. Also relevant for next class on the Arab League]. ME320.9 S464

15. The Arab League- A failed regional cooperation institution?

Michael Barnett and Etel Solingen, "Designed to fail or failure to design? The origins and legacy of the Arab League", in: *Crafting Cooperation- Regional International Institution in Comparative Perspective*, Amitav Acharya and Alastair Johnston (eds.), (Cambridge UP, 2007) ERESERVE 001568034

16. The Gulf Cooperation Council- shared values and common threats?

Abdul Khaleq Abdulla, "The Gulf Cooperation council: Nature, origins, and process" in: Michael Hudson (ed.), *Middle East Dilemma- The Politics and Economics of Arab Integration* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp.150-170. ME9 H886 OR E-BOOK ONLINE

Michael Barnett and F. Gregory Gause III, "Caravans in opposite directions: society, state and the development of community I the Gulf Cooperation Council", in Adler and Barnett (eds.) *Security Communities*, pp.161-193. ERESERVE 001568012

David Priess, "Balance-of-threat theory and the genesis of the gulf cooperation council: An interpretative case-study", *Security Studies* , Volume 5, Issue 4, June 1996, pages 143-171 JMS X2

Gregory Gause, "Balancing what? Threat perception and Alliance choice in the Gulf" *Security Studies*, Volume 13, Issue 2, January 2003, pages 273-305 E-JOURNAL

John Sandwich (ed.), *The Gulf Cooperation Council: moderation and stability in an interdependent world* (Westview, 1987).JMS DS 201 M353 G85

Emile Nakhleh, *The Gulf Cooperation Council: policies, problems and prospects* (Praeger, 1986). JMS DS 201 M353 N35

17. Israel and regional economic cooperation- Peres' "New Middle East", bilateral cooperation with Egypt and Jordan.

Shimon Peres, *The New Middle East*, New York : Henry Holt and Company, 1993. ME327.172 P437 CHOOSE CHAPTERS

Dalia Dassa Kaye, *Beyond the Handshake – Multilateral Cooperation in the Arab-*

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*Israeli Peace Process 1991-1996* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2001) Introduction xi-xxii; Chapter 3 44-75; Chapter 5 110-157 E-BOOK 001427221 or E327.172 K23

*Galia Press-Barnathan, The political economy of transitions to peace* (Pittsburgh University Press, 2009), Chapters 2-3. 327.172 P935

18. *Third parties and promotion of cooperation in the ME I: The EU and the Barcelona Process.*

Rory Miller and Ashraf Mishrif , "The Barcelona Process and Euro-Arab Economic Relations 1995-2005" MERIA 9(2) June 2005 E-JOURNAL

Fulvio Attina, "The Barcelona process, the role of the European Union and the lesson of the Western Mediterranean", *The Journal of North African studies* vol. 9, no. 2, 2004, p. 140-152. E-JOURNAL

19. *Third parties and promotion of regional cooperation in the ME II: The US and the idea of MEFTA, regional QIZs.*

Robert Lawrence, *A US-Middle East trade agreement: a circle of opportunity?* 2006 JLW 341.232.3(5-011)/

Völker Perthes, AMERICA'S "GREATER MIDDLE EAST" AND EUROPE: KEY ISSUES FOR DIALOGUE, *Middle East Policy*, Fall 2004, Vol. 11, no. 3, p. 85 E-JOURNAL

"QIZs, FTAs, USAID and the MEFTA : a political economy of acronyms", *Middle East report*, no. 234, 2005, p. 18-23 E-JOURNAL

20. *A regional international society in the Middle East? English School meets the ME* Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez (eds.,) *International Society and the Middle East- English School Theory at the Regional Level* (Palgrave, 2009), chapters 1,9 and 10. ME9 B992

HAVE A PRODUCTIVE AND INTERESTING SEMESTER!!!!

Additional Reading Material:  
NONE

Course/Module evaluation:

End of year written/oral examination 0 %  
Presentation 0 %

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Participation in Tutorials 0 %  
Project work 0 %  
Assignments 0 %  
Reports 0 %  
Research project 0 %  
Quizzes 0 %  
Other 100 %

Additional information:

Course requirements:

1. Attendance in all class meetings according to the regulations of the Rothberg International School.
2. Class Participation. Students should be prepared to discuss the topics in the readings and actively participate in class. Attendance is not the same as participation. Students will also be expected to contribute to a weekly briefing on current world events related to the topics of the seminar. Students are expected to briefly present a selected article in one of the classes.
3. Mid-term exam
4. Writing a 20 page seminar paper on a topic to be decided with the instructor. The students will have to present their topic to class toward the end of the semester. 60% of the final grade.

Grade breakdown

Class participation 20%  
Mid-term exam 30%  
Seminar paper 50%