

“International Relations of the Middle East”

Course #: 21402 – POLS 354-01 (4 units)

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Week 7

7.1 Relations with, and Response to, Dictatorships

7.2 The Arab Spring: The 'People' in International Relations

7.3 Case studies: The State of Libya and The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

7.1 Relations with, and Response to, Dictatorships

DE MESQUITA, B. B., & SMITH, A. (2011). *THE DICTATOR'S HANDBOOK: WHY BAD BEHAVIOR IS ALMOST ALWAYS GOOD POLITICS*. NEW YORK. PUBLIC AFFAIRS. CHAPTER 7: FOREIGN AID.

REITER, D., & STAM, A. C. (1998). DEMOCRACY, WAR INITIATION, AND VICTORY. *AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW*, 92(02), 377-389. [LINK](#)

SMITH, A., SIVERSON, R. M., MORROW, J. D., & DE MESQUITA, B. B. (2003). *THE LOGIC OF POLITICAL SURVIVAL*. CAMBRIDGE, MA: MIT PRESS. CHAPTER 9: THE ENEMY OUTSIDE AND WITHIN: WAR AND CHANGES OF LEADERS AND REGIMES, PP. 405-460.

BERMEO, S. B. (2011). FOREIGN AID AND REGIME CHANGE: A ROLE FOR DONOR INTENT. *WORLD DEVELOPMENT*, 39(11), 2021-2031.

Foreign Aid- Questions in debate?

- Who gives aid to whom?
- How much do they give?
- Why do they give it?
- What are the political and economic consequences of aid?
- What do the answers to these questions teach us about nation building?

The Political Logic of Aid

- Aid usually comes to **help other countries following a disaster** (such as earthquake, drought, starvation) but also for **policy and security reasons** (fight of terrorist organizations, support in international arena, promote specific policies)
- However, leader/government in dictatorships usually **misuse the funds**.
- Moreover, **the local government wants to keep the problem unsolved**, otherwise they will lose the aid.
- Funders keep helping despite they know about corruption in the use of aid, because **they usually need something in return**.

The Political Logic of Aid

■ Conclusions on the political logic of Aid as a policy concession:

- ◆ The political logic of aid is not to solve the problem it is intended to, but **to satisfy the constituents in the donor country.**
- ◆ **Countries “buy” policy** from other countries (such as military camps).
- ◆ **“Buying” policy from dictatorship is easier and cheaper** than from democracy.
- ◆ **Economically poor autocracies receive the least amount of aid,** because they can be bought cheaply.
- ◆ The **more democratic** the country becomes, **the** harder to “buy” policy from.

The Impact of Aid

- **Foreign assistance has proven ineffective** in reducing poverty and promoting economic growth.
- **Aid encourages autocrats to reduce freedom**, because they are less dependent on taxes and because the leaders need to suppress dissent due to the unpopular policy concessions.
- **Some foreign aid programs have succeeded**, usually in countries with good governance and with effective NGO's.

Policy Implications

■ Mesquita and Smith (2011) suggest:

- ◆ Stop the policy of giving money to recipients and expect them to fix the problem.
- ◆ Instead, **payment should be delivered only when objectives are achieved.**

■ Do democratic countries really want to increase democracy in other countries?- Mesquita and Smith (2011) suggest that **we'll always prefer our own benefit on the benefit of the citizens of other countries.**

War and Changes of Leaders (De-Mesquita, et al,2003)

- Foreign military interference has a **power to break leaders and regimes.**
- However, **internal leader removal is more likely than external** (External removals are few.)
- Defeat in war increase the odds that a leader will be deposed. This threat is higher if the loosing leader has a **large winning coalitions.**
- Victorious large-coalition states tend to engage in **nation building** that results in **autocratic regimes.**

7.2 The Arab Spring: The 'People' in International Relations

FAWCETT (2016). CHAPTER 15: THE WAR FOR REGIME CHANGE IN IRAQ, PP. 304-320.

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The Roots of the Arab Spring

- Globalization
- Disparity within Arab countries between political power and economic wealth
- Civic activism
- Post-Cold War moment

Orientalism Challenged (1)

■ The **myth of exceptionalism**:

- ◆ The Arab Spring challenges the conventional wisdom of Orientalism.
- ◆ Arab Middle East 'exceptionalism' takes two forms:
 - **Exilic and exclusionary**: situates Arab Middle East outside modernity, democracy, legal-rationality
 - Elevation of the Arab World to a beacon of light for the rest of the developing world as they join the wave of protests in the wake of Arab Spring.

People-driven IR

- Arab Spring used loosely in reference to **people-driven actions**, including:
 - Protest
 - Dissent
 - Civic political organization
 - Unruly/violent political manifestations
- Call for reflection on dominant perspectives
 - Bringing **religion** back into IR studies of the region
 - Counting realist narratives: appropriate to use **full range of perspectives**
 - **Marxists and revolution**
 - Introducing **pluralist** perspectives

Arab Spring: Moment of 'Peoplehood'

- Arabic term: al harak ('peoplehood' and popular mobilization) captures the essence of the political, social, cultural, and religious people-driven ferment
- **Range of upheavals and transformations:**
 - **Power vacuum** (Libya, Yemen)
 - Protracted contests over value allocation (Bahrain)
 - **Identity politics** (Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Bahrain)
 - Power and **resource** distribution (Kuwait, Libya, Yemen)
 - **Civil** and unruly modes of **engagement** (Egypt, Yemen)
 - **Patronage and client politics** (Gulf states)
 - Consolidation of **legitimate politics** (Tunisia)

Centre vs. Periphery: Bottom-up Change

- Centre represents powerful industrialized states; periphery refers to states which remain politically and economically dependent on these powerful states.
- Post-colonial modes of society and politics as complicit in exploiting the working poor at both centre and periphery.
- **Post-colonial elites control financial, technical and coercive resources**
- ‘Peoplehood’ as a way of contextualizing trend of rising sites of **anti-systemic struggles** in the Arab region: **uprisings launched from periphery** (bottom-up revolt)

Centre vs. Periphery: Bottom-up Change

- Dynamics of the Arab Spring has its roots in the 1990s.
- Processes signaling **return of the periphery to politics:**
 - ◆ The end of the 'over-stated Arab state'
 - ◆ Power vacuums
 - ◆ Occupation of vacant spaces of power
 - ◆ Society advances as the state retreats

Conclusion

- The introduction of contemporary history into the study of the Arab Spring can help refute Orientalist claims about it as an 'exceptional' phenomenon.
- **Peoplehood is a cosmopolitan ideal, and a product of globalization.** It engenders a new form of politics from below.
Consider: what are the West's interests in maintaining the changes of the Arab Spring?

7.3 Case studies: The State of Libya and The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

GASIOROWSKI & YOM (EDS). (2016). CHAPTER 14: STATE OF LIBYA, PP. 439-462.

GASIOROWSKI & YOM (EDS). (2016). CHAPTER 4: THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN, PP. 111-136.

Examining the theory- Libya

■ Dictator's response to the threat of rebellion:

- ◆ **Increase democracy** and convince people that their life is improving in way that it satisfies them instead of the risk of a revolt (Morocco and Jordan in the Arab Spring)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dAlFXKGkqDc> (0:00-0:40)

- ◆ **Increase dictatorship** and convince people that there's no chance the revolt will succeed and that their life will get even worse if the revolt continues (Syria- Bashar al-Assad, and Libya- Gaddafi)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69wBG6ULNzQ>

- ### ■ The dictators response depends much on the loyalty of his military and his winning coalition (Iran- The Shah, Egypt- Mubarak).

Examining the theory- Libya

■ The removal of Gaddafi during the Libyan civil war is considered to be, in part, as a success (or “success”) of foreign intervention:

- ◆ The UN decided to **freeze assets** of Gaddafi and his closest supporters, and limit their travel.
- ◆ The UN referred the misuse of power against his people to the **International Criminal Court**.
- ◆ The UN authorized member states to enforce a **no-fly zone** over Libya. **Bombing campaigns** were followed by NATO to prevent attacks on civilians.
- ◆ In September 2011, the **National Transition Council** was **recognized** by the UN as the legal representative of Libya.

Examining the theory- Libya

- However, no end is seen in the near future, neither stability.
- **Internal leader removal is more likely than external-** In the case of Libya, the foreign intervention only helped the rebels whom actually removed Gaddafi.