

GVPT 409H: International Relations of the Middle East

Spring 2023

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Course Meeting

Time: Mondays 2:00 – 4:45 p.m.

Location: 2113 Chincoteague Hall

Office hours: By appointment on Zoom (every other week I will allocate the last 15 minutes of class for open discussion about the course, readings, etc.) Schedule a private appointment with me by emailing Kirsten Langlois at sadatoffice@umd.edu

OVERVIEW

This seminar will evaluate major issues of the international relations of the Middle East and the American role and responses to these events. The seminar will focus on several post-Cold War cases in American foreign policy, including the 1991 and 2003 Gulf wars, policy toward Iran, American mediation in the Arab-Israeli conflict, responses to the Arab uprisings, and broader issues such as regional reform and energy.

REQUIREMENTS

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|----------------------|-----|
| Discussion Paper 1 | 15% |
| Discussion Paper 2 | 15% |
| Short Paper Proposal | 10% |
| Final Research Paper | 60% |

Discussion Paper (15% per paper)

Beyond active participation in the seminar discussions, each student will be expected to prepare 2 short discussion essays to help kick off the seminar discussion of the readings. These papers should be less than two pages. The papers should synthesize the readings (analyze the main arguments, compare to the other readings, look at the large picture) and then pose two questions to start class discussion.

*Submission Instructions: Please write your name and the week number at the top of your paper and email these to sadatoffice@umd.edu and also upload to ELMS by **5pm on Friday** before the Monday that you present.*

Final Research Paper (60%) and Paper Proposal (10%)

The last three weeks of the seminar will focus on readings that are specifically relevant to the topics of the research papers. The final research paper should be around 12-15 pages long. More information about the research paper will be available as the semester progresses.

Students will also write a one-page proposal with the tentative research question. Included should be a bibliography that could be used in the final paper (if the research question covers a topic discussed in class, relevant readings should be included). This proposal will outline the topic and framing of the final paper.

Submission Instructions: The paper proposal will be due on April 3rd no later than 2pm. Please send your paper to sadatoffice@umd.edu. Please note that your paper is not considered received until you get an acknowledgment email from the office.

*The final research paper will be due on **Monday, May 15th no later than 2pm**. Please send your paper to sadatoffice@umd.edu. Please note that your paper is not considered received until you get an acknowledgment email from the office.*

READINGS

There is no required textbook for this course. Students are expected to read all readings and the discussion papers sent by their peers to help aid the course discussion.

All readings are available on the ELMS course page. If you encounter difficulty, feel free to contact me or my administrative assistant, Kirsten Langlois, by email at sadatoffice@umd.edu.

HONOR PLEDGE

The University has a nationally recognized Honor Code, administered by the Student Honor Council. The Student Honor Council proposed and the University Senate approved an Honor Pledge. The University of Maryland Honor Pledge reads:

I pledge on my honor that I have not given or received any unauthorized assistance on this assignment/examination.

The Pledge statement should be typed on the front cover of the final paper submitted for this course. Students who fail to write and sign the Pledge will be asked to confer with the instructor.

For more information, please see the Academic Integrity and Student Conduct Codes webpage, available here: <https://academiccatalog.umd.edu/undergraduate/registration-academic-requirements-regulations/academic-integrity-student-conduct-codes/>

CLASSROOM COVID REQUIREMENTS

Remember to be respectful in the classroom environment concerning COVID-19 by following all University guidelines as outlined below:

- Test for COVID-19 within 48 hours of returning to campus for the spring semester.
- It is highly recommended to wear a KN95 mask at all times while in the classroom (eating is prohibited but drinking water is fine)
- If you test positive for COVID-19 or suspect you have COVID-19, please stay home.

More information on the UMD COVID-19 guidelines can be found [here](#)

ZOOM INFORMATION

In case we have to switch to zoom depending on university requirements and the state of the COVID-19 pandemic

If this course is temporarily conducted on Zoom, I encourage you to keep your camera on for the duration of the class, however, if there is a personal reason or extenuating circumstance that prevents you from doing this, please feel free to reach out to me privately at sadatoffice@umd.edu or you can send a chat to Kirsten or I at the beginning of the class that day. If you are unable to keep your camera on during the entire course, I would highly encourage that you at least keep this on when speaking or presenting to the class.

Please use the raised hand feature on Zoom if you would like to contribute to the course discussion. I will call on you in the order that you raise your hands. Please also keep yourself on mute unless you are speaking to avoid background noise. An agenda for the day will be posted on the PowerPoint at the start of each class and will outline the day's events.

I ask that you refrain from using the Internet, including checking your email, during class time. Full participation and attention will be required from everyone.

ABSENCE POLICY

The university excused absence policy is as follows:

- Students must notify faculty members regarding any excused absence in a timely manner. Notification may be prior to class or as soon after the absence as possible. In the case of religious observances, athletic events, and planned absences known at the beginning of the semester, the student must inform the instructor during the schedule adjustment period.
- Students must provide appropriate documentation of the absence.
- Faculty members must provide students with an accommodation for an excused absence.

The full policy can be found [here](#).

DISABILITY ACCOMMODATION

I will make every effort to accommodate students who are registered with the Accessibility and Disability Service (ADS) Office. Please provide information about disability and registration with ADS as early as possible in the semester. If you have any questions, please visit the ADS website:

<https://www.counseling.umd.edu/ads/>

Statement on Diversity and Inclusivity

The Government and Politics department deeply values the voices and perspectives of all people. We are committed to having a diverse department that recognizes and appreciates the differences in race, ethnicity, culture, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, abilities, class, nationality, and other factors. Our department prioritizes diversity and seeks to foster a diverse community reflected in its faculty, staff, and students.

In this class, students are invited to share their thoughts and a diversity of opinions is welcome. Respectful communication is expected, even when expressing differing perspectives. Supporting one's statement with research findings is encouraged. In accordance with free speech statutes, speech that contains threats of violence is prohibited.

Reporting Racism and Other Forms of Hate and Bias

If you experience racism or other forms of bias in this class or any GVPT course, we encourage you to do at least one of the following:

- Please report the experience to the instructor or teaching assistant
- Report the experience to David Cunningham, the GVPT Director of Undergraduate Studies at dacunnin@umd.edu
- Report the experience to the GVPT Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion committee, led by Professor Antoine Banks at abanks12@umd.edu

Please also report all incidents of hate and bias to the Office of Diversity and Inclusion at <https://diversity.umd.edu/bias/>.

READING LIST

Please note that readings may be updated as the issues below continue to develop

Week 1: Introduction (January 30, 2023)

General introductory conversation: Broad outline of seminar; What is the “Middle East?”; Issues facing American policy in the Middle East; Shadow of the Arab Uprisings

Brief conversation on current issues facing the United States in the Middle East, including ISIS, the Iranian nuclear issue, and the impact of the presidency of Donald Trump.

Documentary shown in class: “The Square” about the recent revolutionary event in Egypt

Week 2: The American Response to the Arab Uprisings (February 6, 2023)

Watch, No Discussant

Video: “Part 1: The Arab Uprisings Revisited,” Center for the Middle East, Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy, January 6, 2021. <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/events/2184/> [1hr4min]

Discussant 1

1. Telhami, Shibley, *The World Through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East* (2013): Chapter 12 (“Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East”) [15 pages]
2. Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds, *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform* (Oxford University Press, 2015): Chapter 1 (“Theorizing the Arab Spring”) [22 pages]
3. Pollack, Kenneth M., et al, *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011): Chapters 1-3 [28 pages]
4. Lynch, Marc, *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East* (New York: Public Affairs, 2012): Introduction and Chapter 1 [27 pages]

Discussant 2

5. Telhami, Shibley, *The World Through Arab Eyes*: Chapter 11 (“From 9/11 to Tahrir Square: The Arabs Through American Eyes”) [17 pages]
6. Hamid, Shadi, “Islamism, the Arab Spring, and the failure of America’s do-nothing policy in the Middle East,” Brookings Markaz, October 14, 2015. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2015/10/14/islamism-the-arab-spring-and-the-failure-of-americas-do-nothing-policy-in-the-middle-east/>
7. Yee, Vivian, “In Tunisia, Some Wonder if the Revolution Was Worth It,” *The New York Times*, January 19, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/world/middleeast/tunisia-protests-arab-spring-anniversary.html>

8. Sly, Liz, "The unfinished business of the Arab Spring," *Washington Post*, January 24, 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/interactive/2021/arab-spring-10-year-anniversary-lost-decade/>

Recommended Additional Reading

- Robinson, Kali, "The Arab Spring at Ten Years: What's the Legacy of the Uprisings?," *Council on Foreign Relations*, December 3, 2020. <https://www.cfr.org/article/arab-spring-ten-years-whats-legacy-uprisings>

Week 3: Spreading "Democracy" in the Middle East (February 13, 2023)

Discussant 1

1. Telhami, Shibley, *The World Through Arab Eyes*: Chapter 9 ("Attitudes Toward Democracy, Women, and Religion") [25 pages]
2. Hashemi, Nader, "The Arab Spring, U.S. Foreign Policy, and the Question of Democracy in the Middle East," *Denver Journal of International Law & Policy*, Vol. 41, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2012). <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1108&context=djilp> [17 pages]
3. Brownlee, Jason, "Can America Nation-Build?" *World Politics*, Vol. 59 (January 2007): pp. 314-340. [28 pages]
4. Collins, Stephen, "Can America Finance Freedom? Assessing U.S. Democracy Promotion Via Economic Statecraft." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (2009): pp. 367-389. [24 pages]

Discussant 2

5. Morris, Nancy A, Gary LaFree, "Counter-terrorism policies in the Middle East: Why democracy has failed to reduce terrorism in the Middle East and why protecting human rights might be more successful," *Criminology and Public Policy*, (Vol 20, no. 1, November 17, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12532> [23 pages]
6. Ashford, Emma, "America Can't Promote Democracy Abroad. It Can't Even Protect It at Home.," *Foreign Policy*, January 7, 2021. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/01/07/america-cant-promote-protect-democracy-abroad/>
7. Fishere, Ezzedine C., "What Biden can do to help Arab democracy," *Washington Post*, December 29, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/12/29/what-biden-can-do-help-arab-democracy/>
8. Wittes, Tamara Cofman, "Promoting human rights abroad when they're being trampled at home," *Brookings Institution Order from Chaos*, June 3, 2020. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/06/03/promoting-human-rights-abroad-when-theyre-being-trampled-at-home/>
9. Jamal, Amaney and Michael Robbins, "Why Democracy Stalled in the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, February 22, 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2022-02-22/why-democracy-stalled-middle-east>

Recommended Additional Reading

- Diamond, Larry, *Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq* (Times Books, 2005): Chapter 1 [10 pages]

Week 4: ISIS and Counter-Terrorism Policy (February 20, 2023)

Discussant 1

1. Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes: America in the Middle East*: Chapter 1 (“Understanding the Terrorist Threat”) [36 pages]
2. Pape, Robert A., *Dying To Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (Random House, 2005): Chapters 1 and 2 [24 pages]
3. The White House, “Fact Sheet: Maintaining Momentum in The Fight Against ISIL,” The White House Office of the Press Secretary, January 15, 2016. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/01/15/fact-sheet-maintaining-momentum-fight-against-isil>
4. Hamid, Shadi, “The Roots of the Islamic State’s Appeal,” *The Atlantic*, October 31, 2014. http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/10/the-roots-of-the-islamic-states-appeal/382175/?single_page=true

Discussant 2

5. McCants, William, “The Believer: How an Introvert with a Passion for Religion and Soccer became Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi, Leader of the Islamic State,” September 1, 2015. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/essays/2015/thebeliever>
6. Cronin, Audrey K., “ISIS is not a terrorist group: Why counterterrorism won’t stop the latest jihadist threat,” *Foreign Affairs*. (March/April 2015). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/isis-not-terrorist-group>
7. Byman, Daniel, “The Six Faces of the Islamic State.” *Lawfare*, December 20, 2015. <https://www.lawfareblog.com/six-faces-islamic-state>
8. Hashim, Ahmed S., “The Islamic State: From Al-Qaeda Affiliate to Caliphate,” *Middle East Policy* Vol. 21, Issue 4, Winter 2014. [15 pages]

Week 5: Policy Toward the "Muslim World" (February 27, 2023)

Discussant 1

1. Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes: America in the Middle East*: Chapter 2 (“Why Do They Hate Us So Much?”) [19 pages]
2. Nasr, Vali, “When the Shiites Rise.” *Foreign Affairs*, July-August, 2006. [18 pages]
3. Shibley Telhami, *The World Through Arab Eyes*: Chapter 7 (“Trends in Arab Attitudes Toward the United States”) [23 pages]

Discussant 2

4. President Obama’s speech to the Muslim World delivered on June 4, 2009. (Watch at <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/newbeginning/transcripts/>)
5. Hamid, Shadi, “Obama’s good intentions in the Middle East meant nothing,” *Markaz*, January 23, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/01/23/obamas-good-intentions-in-the-middle-east-meant-nothing/>

6. Telhami, Shibley, “How Trump changed Americans’ views of Islam- for the better,” *Washington Post Monkey Cage*, January 25, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/01/28/how-trump-changed-americans-view-of-islam-for-the-better/>
7. Telhami, Shibley, and Stella Rouse, “The antisemitic and Islamophobic fringe is alarmingly emboldened – but it’s shrinking,” *Brookings Institution*, December 29, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2022/12/29/the-antisemitic-and-islamophobic-fringe-is-alarmingly-emboldened-but-its-shrinking/>

Week 6: Energy Policy (March 6, 2023)

Discussant 1

1. Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes*: Chapter 5 (“The Role of the Persian Gulf Region”) [36 pages]
2. Telhami, Shibley and Fiona Hill, “Does Saudi Arabia Still Matter? Differing Perspectives on the Kingdom and its Oil.” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 6 (November/December 2002), pp. 167-173. [8 pages]
3. Dorraj, Manochehr and James E. English, “China’s Strategy for Energy Acquisition in the Middle East: Potential for Conflict and Cooperation with the United States,” *Asian Politics and Policy*, v4 n2 (April 1, 2012): pp. 173-191. [19 pages]
4. Cordesman, Anthony H., “The myth or reality of US energy independence,” (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2013). [15 pages]

Discussant 2

5. Mourdoukoutas, Panos, “Who Controls Middle East Oil Prices?” *Forbes*, February 2, 2016. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/panosmourdoukoutas/2016/02/02/who-controls-middle-east-oil-prices/#36f68c3065e5>
6. Nader Kabbani and Nejla Ben Mimoune, “Economic diversification in the Gulf: Time to redouble efforts,” *Brookings Report*, January 31, 2021. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/economic-diversification-in-the-gulf-time-to-redouble-efforts/>
7. Weiss, Andrew S., and Jasmine Alexander-Greene, “What’s Driving Russia’s Opportunistic Inroads with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf,” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 5, 2022, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2022/10/05/what-s-driving-russia-s-opportunistic-inroads-with-saudi-arabia-and-gulf-arabs-pub-88099>
8. Law, Bill, “How 2022 saw tectonic shift in power between Gulf states and the West,” *Middle East Eye*, December 21, 2022, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/gulf-west-tectonic-shift-power-how>

Recommended Additional Reading

- Pierce, Jonathan J., “Oil and the House of Saud: Analysis of Saudi Arabian Oil Policy.” *Digest of Middle East Studies* Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 2012): 89-107. [20 pages]
- “The drawback of cheap oil,” *The Economist*, January 19, 2016. <http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2016/01/money-talks-0>

Week 7: The Israel Lobby Debate (March 13, 2023)

Discussant 1

1. Mearsheimer, John and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby." *The London Review of Books*, Vol. 28, No. 6. (March 23, 2006). <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>
2. "Does the Israel Lobby Have Too Much Power?" (Roundtable), *Foreign Policy*, July/Aug 2006. [11 pages]
3. Satloff, Robert and Chas Freeman, "Israel: Asset or Liability? A Debate on the Value of the U.S.-Israel Relationship," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, 2010. [28 pages]
4. Lieberman, Robert, "The "Israel Lobby" and American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (June 2009): pp. 235-257. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40406928>

Discussant 2

5. Krosnick, Jon A. and Shibley Telhami, "Public Attitudes toward Israel: A Study of the Attentive and Issue Publics." *International Studies Quarterly*, 12.4 (1995): pp. 535-554. [21 pages]
6. Telhami, Shibley, "Changing American Public Attitudes On Israel/Palestine: Does It Matter For Politics?," in *POMEPS Studies 41- Israel/Palestine: Exploring A One-State Reality*, July 2020. <https://pomeps.org/changing-american-public-attitudes-on-israel-palestine-does-it-matter-for-politics> (Download the full report here: https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/POMEPS_Studies_41_Web.pdf)
7. Telhami, Shibley, "How to (almost) eliminated the partisan divide on the Middle East," *The Washington Post*, December 14, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/12/14/how-to-almost-eliminate-the-partisan-divide-on-the-middle-east/>

Week 8: SPRING BREAK (March 20, 2023)

Week 9: American Policy toward Iran (March 27, 2023)

Sadat Forum Recording Shown in Class: "Biden and the Iran Nuclear Deal: Options and Consequences" (2021)

Short Background Reading

1. "1953-2022: U.S. Relations with Iran," *Council on Foreign Relations*, <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-relations-iran-1953-2022>
2. "The Iran Nuclear Agreement Is In America's National Interest," IR Scholars New York Times Ad, September 8, 2015. <https://www.mearsheimer.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/NYT-Ad-Supporting-Iran-Nuclear-Deal.September-8-2015.pdf>

Discussant 1

1. Telhami, Shibley and Steven Kull, "Preventing a Nuclear Iran, Peacefully," *The New York Times*, January 15, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/16/opinion/preventing-a-nuclear-iran-peacefully.html?_r=2&
2. Telhami, Shibley, "The Perils of Tough Talks," *The American Interest*, June 10, 2012, <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2012/06/10/the-perils-of-tough-talk/>
3. Telhami, Shibley and Steven Kull, "What Americans really think about an Iran deal," *The Washington Post's Monkey Cage*, March 3, 2015. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/03/03/what-americans-really-think-about-an-iran-deal/?postshare=8381425407152459>
4. Wagner, Wolfgang and Michael Onderco, "Accommodation or Confrontation? Explaining Differences in Policies Toward Iran." *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (2014): 717-728. [12 pages]

Discussant 2

5. Haass, Richard, "Evaluating the Trump Administration's Iran Policy" *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 14, 2020, <https://www.cfr.org/report/evaluating-trump-administrations-iran-policy>
6. Nasr, Vali, "Trump's Policies Have Convinced Iran to Build a More Advanced Nuclear Program Before Negotiating," *Foreign Policy*, September 21, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/09/21/trumps-policies-have-convinced-iran-to-build-a-more-advanced-nuclear-program-before-negotiating/>
7. Zilber, Neri, "Israel Is the Wrench in Biden's Iran Policy," *Foreign Policy*, November 30, 2020. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/11/30/israel-biden-iran-policy-netanyahu/>
8. Warrick, Joby and Anne Gearan, "Biden has vowed to quickly restore the Iran nuclear deal, but that may be easier said than done," *The Washington Post*, December 9, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/12/09/biden-foreign-policy-iran/>

Additional readings may be provided on this developing issue.

Recommended Additional Reading

- "The Historic Deal that Will Prevent Iran from Acquiring a Nuclear Weapon," The White House, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy/iran-deal>
- Einhorn, Robert, "Debating the Iran Nuclear Deal." Brookings Institution, (August 2015). <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports2/2015/08/iran-nuclear-deal-battleground-issues-einhorn>
- Wilkerson, Lawrence, "I Helped Sell the False Choice of War Once. It's Happening Again," *The New York Times*, February 5, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/05/opinion/trump-iran-war.html>
- Wright, Robin, "Why the Assassination of a Scientist will have No Impact on Iran's Nuclear Program," *The New Yorker*, November 30, 2020. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/why-the-assassination-of-a-scientist-will-have-no-impact-on-irans-nuclear-program>
- Gordon, Philip and Amos Yadlin, "Will Iran Become the Next North Korea?," *Foreign Affairs*, August 1, 2017. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/north-korea/2017-08-01/will-iran-become-next-north-korea>

- Parsi, Trita, “Can Washington Separate Its Iran Policy From Israel?” *The National Interest*. December 2, 2015. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/can-washington-separate-its-iran-policy-israel-14485>

Week 10: Policy toward Syria (April 3, 2023)

Discussant 1

Obama Policy

1. Telhami, Shibley, “Syria and the case for restraint,” *Brookings Institution’s Markaz*, March 14, 2016. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/03/14/syria-and-the-case-for-restraint/>
2. Hamid, Shadi, “Why doesn’t Obama seem to listen to Syria experts?,” *Brookings Institution’s Markaz*, February 10, 2016. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/02/10/why-doesnt-obama-seem-to-listen-to-syria-experts/>

Trump Policy

3. Byman, Daniel L., “5 hard choices in Syria,” *Brookings Institution’s Order from Chaos*, April 11, 2018. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/04/11/5-hard-choices-in-syria/>
4. Barron, Robert and Joe Barnes, “Trump Policy in the Middle East: Syria,” *Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy Issue Brief*, March 7, 2018. [6 pages]

Discussant 2

5. Miller, Aaron David, Eugene Rumer, and Richard Sokolsky, “What Trump Actually Gets Right about Syria,” *Politico Magazine*, October 18, 2019, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2019/10/18/trump-syria-turkey-kurds-news-analysis-229858/>

Biden Policy

6. Rogin, Josh, “One year in, what is Biden’s real Syria Strategy? No one knows,” *Washington Post*, December 23, 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/12/23/biden-syria-policy-assad-middle-east/>
7. Letter from Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to President Biden on Syria, January 11, 2022. <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/220111%20-%20TO%20POTUS%20-%20U.S.%20Syria%20Policy%20-%20SFRC%20and%20HFAC.pdf>
8. Khoury, Nabeel, “Biden’s Syria Policy: Steady Non-commitment and Persistent Failure,” *Arab Center Washington DC*, September 20, 2022. <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/bidens-syria-policy-steady-non-commitment-and-persistent-failure/>

Recommended Additional Reading

- Conway, Madeline, “Timeline: U.S. approach to the Syrian civil war,” *Politico*, April 7, 2017. <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/timeline-united-states-response-syria-civil-war-237011>

Obama Policy

- Doran, Michael and Michael E. O’Hanlon, “Obama Needs to Act Now on Syria,” *Brookings Institution Op-Ed*, June 24, 2013. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/obama-needs-to-act-now-on-syria/>
- Pollack, Kenneth M., “Assessing the Obama Administration’s Iraq-Syria Strategy,” *Brookings Institution’s Markaz*, September 26, 2014. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2014/09/26/assessing-the-obama-administrations-iraq-syria-strategy/>

Trump Policy

- Walt, Stephen M., “Good Riddance to America’s Syria Policy,” *Foreign Policy*, December 21, 2018. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/21/good-riddance-to-americas-syria-policy/>
- Erickson, Amanda, “A guide to America’s meandering Syria policy under Trump,” *Washington Post*, December 19, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2018/12/19/guide-americas-meandering-syria-policy-under-trump/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.dbeb49ff3af5
- Karasapan, Omer, “Preventing endless wars in Syria,” *Brookings Institution’s Future Development*, April 18, 2018. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2018/04/18/preventing-endless-wars-in-syria/>

Week 11: The 1991 Gulf War (April 10, 2023)

Discussant 1

1. Telhami, Shibley, “Between Theory and Fact: American Behavior in the Gulf War,” *Security Studies*, Fall 1992. [27 pages]
2. Saddam Hussein's Speech to the Arab Cooperation Council, February 26, 1990. [6 pages]
3. Engel, Jeffrey, *Into the Desert: Reflections on the Gulf War*. Oxford, 2012. (Chapter 1- “The Gulf War at the End of the Cold War and Beyond” by Jeffrey Engel) [56 pages]
4. Engel, Jeffrey, *Into the Desert: Reflections on the Gulf War*. Oxford, 2012. (Chapter 5- “The Arab Dimension of Saddam Hussein’s Calculations: What We Have Learned From Iraqi Records” by Shibley Telhami) [32 pages]

Discussant 2

5. Engel, Jeffrey, *Into the Desert: Reflections on the Gulf War*. Oxford, 2012. (Chapter 2- “The Gulf War: Its Place in History” by Richard Haass) [27 pages]
6. Brands, H. W., “George Bush and the Gulf War of 1991,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1, Going to War (March 2004): pp. 113-131. [20 pages]
7. Bennett, Andrew, Joseph Lepgold, and Danny Unger, “Burden-Sharing in the Persian Gulf War,” *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Winter 1994): pp. 39-75. [38 pages]
8. Holland, Lauren, “The U.S. Decision to Launch Operation Desert Storm: A Bureaucratic Politics Analysis,” *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Winter 1999): pp. 219-242. [25 pages]

Week 12: The 2003 Iraq War (April 17, 2023)

Sadat Forum Recording shown in class: “9/11 and the aftermath: Squandering Global Goodwill” (2021)

Short Background Reading

1. Anti-war ad in the *New York Times* by international relations scholars.

Discussant 1

2. Gause III, F. Gregory, “The Iraq War and American National Security Interests” in *Balance Sheet: The Iraq War and U.S. National Security*, edited by John S. Duffield and Peter J. Dombrowski. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. [13 pages]
3. Gelpi, Christopher, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler, “Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq.” *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Winter 2005/2006): pp. 7-46. [41 pages]
4. Kaufmann, Chaim, “Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas.” *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer 2004): pp. 5-48. [45 pages]

Discussant 2

5. Mearsheimer, John J. and Steven M. Walt, “An Unnecessary War.” *Foreign Policy*, No. 134 (January/February 2003): pp. 50-59. [11 pages]
6. Telhami, Shibley, “The Path Forward in Iraq” *National Interest*, April 14, 2019. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/path-forward-iraq-what-shibley-telhami-thinks-52032>
7. Scott Anderson, “Fractured Lands: How the Arab World Came Apart,” *The New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/08/11/magazine/isis-middle-east-arab-spring-fractured-lands.html>
8. Fisher, Max, “America’s unlearned lesson: the forgotten truth about why we invaded Iraq,” *Vox*, February 16, 2016, <https://www.vox.com/2016/2/16/11022104/iraq-war-neoconservatives>

Week 13: The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Oslo Process and Camp David II (April 24, 2023)

Possible Guest lecture

Discussant 1

1. Kurtzer, Lasenky, Quandt, Spiegel and Telhami, *The Peace Puzzle: America’s Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011*. Washington, DC: USIP Press, 2013. (Introduction, Chapter 3- “The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations, and “Epilogue: Lessons Learned and Unlearned”) [72 pages]
2. Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley, “Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors.” *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. 48, No. 13 (August 9, 2001). [17 pages]
3. Grinstein, Gidi and Dennis Ross, “Camp David: An Exchange.” (in response to “Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors” from August 9, 2001) and Reply by Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley. *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 48, No. 14 (September 20, 2001). [8 pages]

Discussant 2

4. Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes*: Chapter 4 [21 pages]

5. Telhami Shibley, *The World Through Arab Eyes*: Chapter 5 [22 pages]
6. Telhami, Shibley, "The dual effects of the 1967 War on Palestinians reverberate 50 years later," *Brookings Institution Markaz*, May 31, 2017.
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/05/31/the-dual-effects-of-the-1967-war-on-palestinians-reverberate-50-years-later/>
7. "US-Israel relations under Trump," *Strategic Comments* Vol. 23, No. 2 (2017). [4 pages]

Week 14: Evangelical Attitudes Toward Israel (May 1, 2023)

Documentary shown in class: "Til Kingdom Come"

Discussant 1

1. "Promise and Prophecy, Love and Remorse: The Bases of Evangelical Support for Israel" in Spector, Stephen, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism* (Oxford University Press, 2009): Chapter 2 [13 pages]
2. Telhami, Shibley, "Evangelical Republicans Favor Pro-Israel Policies At Odds With Majority of Americans, Including Non-Evangelical Republicans," University of Maryland, (November 2015).
<http://sadat.umd.edu/sites/sadat.umd.edu/files/PressRelease.pdf>
3. Mead, Walter Russell, "God's Country?: Evangelicals and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, (October 2006).
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2006-09-01/gods-country>
4. "A New U.S.-Israeli Alliance, 1973-1979," in in Carenen, Caitlin, *The Fervent Embrace: Liberal Protestants, Evangelicals, and Israel*. (New York: NYU Press, 2012): Chapter 6 [29 pages]

Discussant 2

5. "The Political and Religious Landscape Shifts, 1980-2008," in Carenen, Caitlin, *The Fervent Embrace: Liberal Protestants, Evangelicals, and Israel*. (New York: NYU Press, 2012): Chapter 7 [25 pages]
6. Weber, Timothy P., "How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend." *Newsweek*, October 5, 1998. www.christianitytoday.com/ct/1998/october5/8tb038.html
7. Telhami, Shibley, "How to (almost) eliminate the partisan divide on the Middle East." *The Washington Post's Monkey Cage*, December 14, 2015.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/12/14/how-to-almost-eliminate-the-partisan-divide-on-the-middle-east/?utm_term=.03cb0844e9fc
8. Telhami, Shibley, "As Israel increasingly relies on US evangelicals for support, younger ones are walking away: What polls show," *Brookings Institution Order from Chaos*, May 26, 2021.
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/05/26/as-israel-increasingly-relies-on-us-evangelicals-for-support-younger-ones-are-walking-away-what-polls-show/>

Recommended Additional Reading

- Ariel, Yaakov, "Israel in Contemporary Evangelical Christian Millennial Thought." *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*. Vol. 59, Issue 5/6, (November 1, 2012): p.456-485.

Week 15: Trump (and Biden) Policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (May 8, 2023)

Discussant 1

1. Malley, Robert and Aaron David Miller, "Trump is Reinventing the U.S. Approach to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict," *The Atlantic*, September 20, 2018. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/09/trump-israel-palestinians/570646/>
2. Telhami, Shibley, "Trump's Middle East plan: What does America stand for?," *Brookings Institution Order from Chaos*, February 4, 2020. (cross posted in Lawfare) <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/02/04/trumps-middle-east-plan-what-does-america-stand-for/>
3. Quilliam, Neil and Reni Zhelyazkova, "How Donald Trump's Peace Plan Looks to the Gulf and Europe," *Chatham House*, February 19, 2020. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2020/02/how-donald-trumps-peace-plan-looks-gulf-and-europe>
4. Kaplan, Fred, "A Big Deal but Not a Peace Deal," *Slate*, September 15, 2020. <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2020/09/trump-israel-uae-bahrain-deal.html>
5. Ravid, Barak and Jonathan Swan, "Trump's Big Deal, Part II: From Secret Alliance to the Abraham Accords," *Axios How It Happened Podcast*, December 13, 2021. <https://www.axios.com/how-it-happened-podcast-abraham-accords-cea2e0c2-0661-49e6-a9ba-6f40602a050b.html> [26min]

Discussant 2

6. Telhami, Shibley, "The Biden factor in the UAE-Israel deal," *Brookings Institution Order from Chaos*, August 15, 2020. https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/08/15/the-biden-factor-in-the-uae-israel-deal/?preview_id=1001749
7. Tharoor, Ishaan, "At the World Cup, the Arab world rallies to Palestinian cause," *The Washington Post*, December 6, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/12/06/world-cup-arab-world-rallies-palestinian-cause/>
8. Khalid, Asma, "Biden is building on the Abraham Accords, part of Trump's legacy in the Middle East," *NPR*, July 9, 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/07/09/1110109088/biden-is-building-on-the-abraham-accords-part-of-trumps-legacy-in-the-middle-eas>
9. Telhami, Shibley, "Why is Trump undoing decades of U.S. policy on Jerusalem?," *Brookings Institution Markaz*, December 5, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/05/why-is-trump-about-to-declare-jerusalem-the-capital-of-israel/>
10. "The world reacts to Donald Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital," *The Economist*, December 7, 2017. <https://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21732093-campaign-promise-kept-problem-aggravated-world-reacts-donald-trumps>

Recommended Additional Reading

- Brookings Markaz conversation: Debating Israeli-Palestinian Futures, <https://www.brookings.edu/series/markaz-debating-israeli-palestinian-futures/>

- Telhami, Shibley, “Trump’s Reckless Middle East Gambles,” *Current History*, December 2018. https://sadat.umd.edu/sites/sadat.umd.edu/files/Current%20History%20Telhami_0.pdf
- Telhami, Shibley, “Israel is about to reveal its West Bank annexation plans. How will Congress respond?,” *Washington Post Monkey Cage*, June 22, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/22/israel-is-about-reveal-its-west-bank-annexation-plans-how-will-congress-respond/>
- White House, “Peace to Prosperity: A Vision to Improve the Lives of the Palestinian and Israeli People,” <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/peacetoprosperty/>
- Gordon, Philip H., “Trump’s Lopsided Mideast Peace Plan,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 28, 2020. <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/trumps-lopsided-mideast-peace-plan>
- Miller, Aaron David “I’m a Veteran Middle East Peace Negotiator. Trump’s Plan Is the Most Dangerous I’ve Ever Seen.,” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, February 27, 2020. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/02/27/i-m-veteran-middle-east-peace-negotiator.-trump-s-plan-is-most-dangerous-i-ve-ever-seen-pub-81171>
- Wittes, Tamara Cofman, “Netanyahu traded Israel’s independence for the ‘deal of the century,’” *Brookings Institution Order from Chaos*, January 29, 2020. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/01/29/netanyahu-traded-israels-independence-for-the-deal-of-the-century/>
- The State Department, “The Abraham Accords,” <https://www.state.gov/the-abraham-accords/>
- Atallah, Nawal, “Brookings experts on the implications of President Trump’s declaration on Jerusalem,” *Brookings Now*, January 8, 2018. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brookings-now/2018/01/08/brookings-experts-on-the-implications-of-president-trumps-declaration-on-jerusalem/>
- Indyk, Martin, “Donald Trump’s Jerusalem move may prove too clever by half,” *Brookings Institution Markaz*, December 8, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/08/donald-trumps-jerusalem-move-may-prove-too-clever-by-half/>
- Lipner, Shalom, “5 reasons the Palestinian reaction to Trump’s Jerusalem announcement has been relatively quiet,” *Brookings Institution’s Markaz*, December 22, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/22/5-reasons-the-palestinian-reaction-to-trumps-jerusalem-announcement-has-been-relatively-quiet/>