

**GVPT 409H, Spring 2017**

**International Relations of the Middle East**

*Mondays 2:00 – 4:45 p.m.*

**Professor Shibley Telhami**

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Office hours: By appointment

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 Awakening, and broader issues such as regional reform and energy.

Requirements: 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. Please write your name and the week number at the top of your paper. In addition, each student will prepare a research paper (around 12-15 pages) on a related topic. The last three weeks of the seminar will focus on readings that are specifically relevant to the topics of the research papers.

Readings: Readings are available in ELMS under the 'Files' tab, except for full books which are on Course Reserves at the library. Readings are also available for borrowing at the Sadat office (1105 Chincoteague) during regular business hours of 9:00 AM to 5:00 PM. If you encounter difficulty, feel free to contact me by email. You could also contact my administrative assistant, Brittany Kyser, at [sadat@umd.edu](mailto:sadat@umd.edu).

## READING LIST

### Week 1: Introduction

We will view in class the documentary “The Square” about the recent revolutionary event in Egypt.

### Week 2: The New Context of American policy

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.

Read ISIS Poll:

<http://sadat.umd.edu/sites/sadat.umd.edu/files/American%20Public%20Attitudes%20Toward%20ISIS%20and%20Syria.pdf>

Read: Concluding chapter of Shibley Telhami, *The world Through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East*.

### Week 3: Approaches to Understanding American Policy in the Middle East

Ikenberry, G. John, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays, 5th ed.* New York: Longman, 2005. (Introduction)

Brown, Carl L., *International Politics and the Middle East*. Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 3-81.

Telhami, Shibley, *Power and Leadership in International Bargaining: The Path to the Camp David Accords*. Columbia University Press, 1990, pp. 45-83.

Lustick, Ian S., “The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers.” *International Organization*, vol. 51, No. 4 (Autumn 1997).

### Week 4: The American Response to the Arab Awakening

Pollack, Kenneth M., et al, *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East*, chapters 1-3. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011)

Lynch, Marc, *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East* (New York: Public Affairs, 2012). (Introduction and Chapter 1)

Carothers, Thomas, *Democracy policy under Obama: Revitalization or Retreat?* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012)

Shibley Telhami, *The World Through Arab Eyes*. (Chapter 11)

Hamid, Shadi, "Islamism, the Arab Spring, and the failure of America's do-nothing policy in the Middle East," Brookings Markaz, October 14, 2015, access at <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/10/14-islamism-and-us-policy-middle-east-hamid>

## **Week 5: ISIS and Counter-Terrorism Policy**

Pape, Robert A., *Dying To Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. Random House, 2005. (Chapters 1 and 2)

Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes: America in the Middle East*. (Chapter 1)

Bergen, Peter and Katherine Tiedemann. "The Year of the Drone: An Analysis of U.S. Drone Strikes in Pakistan, 2004-2010." New America Foundation, Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, February 24, 2010. [http://vcnv.org/files/NAF\\_YearOfTheDrone.pdf](http://vcnv.org/files/NAF_YearOfTheDrone.pdf)

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>

Hamid, Shadi. "The Roots of the Islamic State's Appeal," *The Atlantic*, October 31, 2014, access at [http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/10/the-roots-of-the-islamic-states-appeal/382175/?single\\_page=true](http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/10/the-roots-of-the-islamic-states-appeal/382175/?single_page=true)

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, access at <http://www.brookings.edu/research/essays/2015/thebeliever>

Cronin, Audrey K. "ISIS is not a terrorist group: Why counterterrorism won't stop the latest jihadist threat," *Foreign Affairs*. (March/April 2015), access at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/isis-not-terrorist-group>

Byman, Daniel. "The Six Faces of the Islamic State." *Lawfare*, December 20, 2015, access at <https://www.lawfareblog.com/six-faces-islamic-state>

Hashim, Ahmed S. "The Islamic State: From Al-Qaeda Affiliate to Caliphate," *Middle East Policy* Vol. 21, Issue 4, Winter 2014.

Vitale, Heather Marie and James M. Keagle. "A Time to Tweet, as Well as a Time to Kill: ISIS's Projection of Power in Iraq and Syria," Institute for National Strategic Studies, Defense Horizons, National Defense University, October 2014. <https://permanent.access.gpo.gov/gpo61782/DH-77.pdf>

Byman, Daniel. "ISIS Goes Global: Fight the Islamic State by Targeting Its Affiliates," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2016 Issue. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/isis-goes-global>

## **Week 6: Energy Policy**

Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes*. (Chapter 5)

Morse, Edward L. and James Richard, "The Battle for Energy Dominance." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (March/April 2002): pp. 16-31.

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.

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.

Cordesman, Anthony H., "The myth or reality of US energy independence," (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2013).

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.

Roula Khalaf, Lionel Barber and Simeon Kerr, "Oil price sounds Saudi Arabia wake-up call," *Financial Times*, December 22, 2015. <https://www.ft.com/content/38dc5da6-9d58-11e5-b45d-4812f209f861>

"The drawback of cheap oil," *The Economist*, January 19, 2016.  
<http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2016/01/money-talks-0>

Marilyn Geewax, "Troubles Are Up in the Middle East, But Oil Prices Are Down. Huh?" *NPR*, January 5, 2016. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/01/05/462065762/troubles-are-up-in-the-middle-east-but-oil-prices-are-down-huh>

Matt Egan, "Saudi Arabia to run out of cash in less than 5 years," *CNN Money*, October 26, 2015.  
<http://money.cnn.com/2015/10/25/investing/oil-prices-saudi-arabia-cash-opec-middle-east/>

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>

## **Week 7: Policy Toward the "Muslim World"**

Lewis, Bernard, "What Went Wrong?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, January 2002.

Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes: America in the Middle East*. (Chapter 2)

Nasr, Vali, "When the Shiites Rise." *Foreign Affairs*, July-August, 2006.

Shibley Telhami, *The World Through Arab Eyes*. (Chapter 7)

President Obama's speech to the Muslim World delivered on June 4, 2009. (Watch at <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/newbeginning/transcripts/>)

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/>

Telhami, Shibley, "Can Obama Please Both Arabs and Israelis?" *Foreign Policy*, August 25, 2010. [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/08/25/can\\_obama\\_please\\_both\\_arabs\\_and\\_israelis](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/08/25/can_obama_please_both_arabs_and_israelis).

### **Week 8: The Israel Lobby Debate**

Mearsheimer, John and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby." *The London Review of Books*, Vol. 28, No. 6. (March 23, 2006), accessed at <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>

Massad, Joseph, "Blaming the lobby." *Al-Ahram Weekly*, issue 787, March 23-29, 2006.

Dershowitz, Alan, "Letter to the London Review of Books." *The London Review of Books*, Vol. 28, No.8, April 20, 2006.

"Does the Israel Lobby Have Too Much Power?" (Roundtable), *Foreign Policy*, July/Aug 2006.

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.

Satloff, Robert and Chas Freeman. "Israel: Asset of Liability? A Debate on the Value of the U.S.- Israel Relationship," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, 2010.

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>

### **Week 9: Evangelical Attitudes Toward Israel**

Possible film on evangelicals to be shown.

"We Are with the Jewish People," in Spector, Stephen, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism* (Oxford University Press, 2009). (Chapter 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)

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.

Telhami, Shibley, "Evangelical Republicans Favor Pro-Israel Policies At Odds With Majority of Americans, Including Non-Evangelical Republicans," University of Maryland, (November 2015),

accessed at <http://sadat.umd.edu/sites/sadat.umd.edu/files/PressRelease.pdf>

Brog, David. "The End of Evangelical Support for Israel? The Jewish State's International Standing." *The Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Spring 2014). Access at <http://www.meforum.org/3769/israel-evangelical-support>

Mead, Walter Russell. 2006 "God's Country?: Evangelicals and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, (October 2006), access at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2006-09-01/gods-country>

"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)

"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)

Weber, Timothy P. "How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend." *Newsweek*, October 5, 1998, access at [www.christianitytoday.com/ct/1998/october5/8tb038.html](http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/1998/october5/8tb038.html)

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](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)

### **Week 10: The 1991 Gulf War**

Telhami, Shibley, "Between Theory and Fact: American Behavior in the Gulf War," *Security Studies*, Fall 1992.

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 and Chapter 5- "The Arab Dimension of Saddam Hussein's Calculations: What We Have Learned From Iraqi Records" by Shibley Telhami)

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.

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.

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.

Saddam Hussein's Speech to the Arab Cooperation Council, February 26, 1990.

### **Week 11: The 2003 Iraq War**

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.

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.

Kaufmann, Chaim, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas." *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer 2004): pp. 5-48.

Mearsheimer, John J. and Steven M. Walt, "An Unnecessary War." *Foreign Policy*, No. 134 (January/February 2003): pp. 50-59.

Anti-war ad in the New York Times by international relations scholars (to be distributed).

## **Week 12: American Policy toward Iran**

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&](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/16/opinion/preventing-a-nuclear-iran-peacefully.html?_r=2&)

Einhorn, Robert. "Debating the Iran nuclear deal." Brookings Institute, (August 2015), access at <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports2/2015/08/iran-nuclear-deal-battleground-issues-einhorn>

Telhami, Shibley and Steven Kull. "What Americans really think about an Iran deal," *The Washington Post's Monkey Cage*, March 3, 2015, access at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/03/03/what-americans-really-think-about-an-iran-deal/?postshare=8381425407152459>

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>

"The Historic Deal that Will Prevent Iran from Acquiring a Nuclear Weapon," The White House, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy/iran-deal>

"The Iran Nuclear Agreement Is In America's National Interest." IR Scholars New York Times Ad, September 8, 2015. <http://irscholars2015.weebly.com/>

Wagner, Wolfgang and Michael Onderco. "Accommodation or Confrontation? Explaining Differences in Policies Toward Iran." *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (2014): 717-728.

Ismail, Muhammad. "Iran's Nuclear Program: Regional Implications and Possible Outcomes." *Asian Politics and Policy* Vol. 7, Issue 2 (April 2015): pp. 245-263.

Bowen, Wyn and Matthew Moran. "Living with nuclear hedging: the implications of Iran's nuclear strategy," *International Affairs* Volume 91, Issue 4, pages 687-707 (July 2015).

Monshipouri, Mahmood and Manochehr Dorraj. "U.S.-Iran Relations After the Nuclear Deal," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, November 7, 2016. <http://journal.georgetown.edu/u-s-iran-relations-after-the-nuclear-deal/>

Additional readings may be provided on this developing issue.

### **Week 13: Spreading Democracy in the Middle East**

Gause, Gregory, "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" *Foreign Affairs*, September-October 2005.

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

Telhami, Shibley, *The World Through Arab Eyes*. (Chapter 9)

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.

Brownlee, Jason, "Can America Nation-Build?" *World Politics*, Vol. 59 (January 2007): pp. 314-340.

### **Week 14: The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Oslo Process and Camp David II**

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")

Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors." *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. 48, No. 13 (August 9, 2001).

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).

Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes*. (Chapter 4)

Shibley Telhami, *The World Through Arab Eyes*. (Chapter 5)

### **Week 15: The Role of Public Opinion**

Brule, David J., "Congress, Presidential Approval, and U.S. Dispute Initiation." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 4 (2008): pp. 349-370.

Telhami, Shibley, *The World Through Arab Eyes*. (Chapters 1-7)

Voeten, Eric and Paul R. Brewer, "Public Opinion, the War in Iraq, and Presidential Accountability." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 6 (2006): pp. 809-830.

Public Opinion Polls, accessed at <https://sadat.umd.edu/landing/Polls>

Shapiro, Robert Y. and Lawrence R. Jacobs, "Public Opinion, Foreign Policy and Democracy." In *Navigating Public Opinion*, edited by Jeff Manza, Fay Lomax Cook and Benjamin I. Page. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.