

PSCI 227: International Relations of the Middle East

**Williams College
Spring 2019**

Professor Galen Jackson

Schapiro 226

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Class Meeting Times: Monday/Thursday, 2:35-3:50 p.m.

Classroom: Griffin 7

Office Hours: Thursdays, 9-11 a.m. and by appointment

Course Description

This course is about the significance of the Middle East to international politics and security. The basic structure of the class combines political science concepts with a detailed survey of the region's diplomatic history. The first part of the class focuses mainly on the regional and international dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Specifically, this section of the course covers the origins of the Middle East dispute; the creation of the state of Israel; U.S.-Israeli relations; the Cold War in the region; Israel's nuclearization and its effects; the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars; and the diplomacy that ensued following those two conflicts. In examining these issues, the course will also cover topics like the role of great powers in the Middle East, the geopolitical significance of the area's petroleum resources, nuclear deterrence, crisis decision-making, and the role of statecraft.

The second part of the course, though it will in many ways still be connected to the Arab-Israeli dispute, deals with a variety of other topics related to Middle East politics and security. These include: the Iranian Revolution, the Iran-Iraq War, the Persian Gulf War, and the emergence of the Gulf as a center of critical strategic importance in global affairs; the rise and fall of the Oslo peace process in the 1990s; the rise of political Islam; the origins of Al Qaeda and the September 11 attacks; the causes and consequences of the Iraq War; the Arab Spring and its consequences in Egypt, Libya, and Syria; the emergence of ISIS and what to do about it; and the Iranian nuclear program. The final two substantive classes of the semester will focus on issues related to the future of the Middle East. Specifically, one of these classes will deal with the future of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as the American role in its diplomacy. The second class will have a broader focus and will examine the prospects for stability in the region; great power competition; sectarian conflict and the Saudi-Iranian rivalry; the emerging strategic alliances in the Middle East; and the future of U.S. involvement in the region. During the final class of the term, we will do a policy simulation—I will go over what this means when it gets closer.

Class Requirements and Format

Class Participation

Despite its size, this is *not* a “lecture” course. This class does not work without consistent input from students and regular attendance is therefore a key requirement. Although I will begin most class sessions by providing some background and context related to the day's topic and readings,

class participation is critically important and expected of each and every student. Class discussion is *the heart of this course*—it is during these discussions that we will really wrestle with the fundamental issues at stake. Students should come to class ready to talk, having thought seriously about the major concepts raised in the readings. If you really want to get something out of this course, you must be prepared to think and talk in a serious way. Discussion will allow students to consider the assigned readings analytically in greater depth and provide a forum of debate. I expect students to come to class prepared to discuss the readings, ask questions, and engage with their peers. If you don't want to participate in class, then this course, frankly, is probably not for you. It is the students, rather than myself, who will be driving the discussion. The basic format for each session will be “Socratic,” meaning I will ask questions and structure the debate to get students to express key ideas and to think analytically. The goal of this method is to teach students *how* to think and argue, rather than *what* to think and argue. Because of its importance, **class participation will account for 15 percent of the final grade.** Students will be graded on both attendance *and* the quality of their preparation.

Two Analytical Essays

Students will also be required to write two analytical papers, six to eight pages in length, each of which will deal with a particular topic we have covered in class. Students will be given a choice of several topics to write about. Students will be evaluated based on the quality of their writing; demonstrated knowledge of the subject material and readings; and, above all, the persuasiveness and clarity of the analytical argument they make. It is much better to write a paper with a bad argument than one with no argument at all. Papers that merely summarize the material we have discussed—even though they may demonstrate that one has carefully done the assigned reading—will not fare as well as papers that incorporate less of the subject matter but take a clear position. The most important thing is for students to *advance a clear, compelling, and analytical argument*. I will go over in class more thoroughly what I am expecting.

The papers will not require any additional research beyond the assigned readings (please see me ahead of time if you are thinking about using any outside sources; in general, I tend to discourage students from doing this). Papers must include references to the readings using properly formatted citations. This can be done either through footnotes or parenthetical notation, and I will go over in class how to do this. There is also an excellent citation guide on the College's library website. I encourage students to take advantage of the Writing Workshop—a truly wonderful resource—to get feedback on their writing mechanics.

The first paper is due on Thursday, March 14 at 5 p.m. The second paper is due on Monday, April 15 at midnight. We will not meet as a class on either of those days so that you can focus on writing. The papers will each be worth 25 percent of the final grade. Late papers will be penalized a half letter grade per day past the deadline.

Since I am requiring you to write papers, it is only fair that I provide you with extensive and thoughtful comments once I have read them. I urge students to consider my feedback carefully. The goal is to make you all better writers and thinkers. If you have questions about what I have written on your paper, please drop by my office hours to discuss them.

Final Exam

There will also be a final exam, **which will be self-scheduled during finals period. This exam will be worth 35 percent of the final grade.** It will be comprised of identification, short answer, and essay questions. I will go over the format of the test in class when we get closer to the end of the semester.

How to Read and Write for this Course

A key goal of this course is to help students improve their ability to read critically. Everything we will read advances a basic point. While doing the assigned reading, students should ask themselves a series of questions: What is the author's basic argument? What is the logic that supports that argument? Is the evidence that she/he brings to bear compelling? Students who read actively in this way will not only absorb the material more thoroughly, but will also come to class ready to participate with greater confidence. The goal should be to dissect the piece—to understand its logical and empirical weaknesses/strengths and to comprehend its significance in conceptual, historical, and policy terms.

Writing development is also an important objective for this course. The ability to write well is an invaluable skill, one that will benefit students tremendously in the future. The analytical paper must have a clear thesis statement (typically stated at the end of the first paragraph) and the logical and empirical arguments students include in their papers should be geared toward supporting that statement. The introduction should set up the debate and state your argument. Each body paragraph should then have a clear, succinct topic sentence that advances *one* key point. And each substantive point should in turn be supported by concrete evidence. Make sure to read your paper *before* submitting it. I am happy to discuss the structure, logic, and evidence relating to student essays during office hours, but I will not read rough drafts. We will spend a portion of one class going over how to write persuasively, as students have found this very helpful in the past.

Office Hours

Please feel free to send me an email to set up an appointment or simply come by my office on Thursdays between 9 and 11 a.m. I am happy to talk about anything related to the course, to answer any questions you might have, and to discuss how to approach the papers and exams. In my experience, office hours can present an excellent opportunity for students to enhance their comprehension of the concepts we discuss in class and to develop a framework for their papers, so I encourage everyone who feels they need help—or is simply interested in further discussion of the class material—to set up a meeting.

Academic Integrity and the Honor Code

All submitted work must be your own. **I take plagiarism and cheating extremely seriously and will not hesitate to pursue the maximum penalty allowed by the College in cases where I believe it has taken place.** If you are confused about what might constitute plagiarism or cheating, or have questions about specific aspects of the Honor Code, please feel free to come talk to me or to consult the many resources the College provides to help students in this area. I am always happy to advise students about this issue.

As for student collaboration, my policy is straightforward. There is absolutely nothing wrong with students studying for the exams together or with students exchanging ideas about what they plan to do in their papers. In fact, I welcome that sort of collaboration (incidentally, group discussions of this sort can be especially fruitful during office hours). **However, all written work must be done independently and students must formulate their own arguments in their papers. And, obviously, no sort of collaboration whatsoever is allowed during the exams.**

Issues of Health and Accessibility of Key Resources

Students with disabilities who may need an accommodation can contact Dr. G.L. Wallace at x4672. In addition, students experiencing physical or mental health challenges that is affecting their academic performance can come speak with me or with a dean so that they can be given access to the right resources. The deans can be reached at x4171.

A Note about Classroom Inclusivity

Some of the topics we will study in this class are controversial. It is only natural that students will disagree with me and with each other about certain concepts and events covered in this course. That is no bad thing—having these debates is vitally important to improving our collective understanding of these issues. So please feel free to express your opinions confidently in this class.

On the other hand, **I will not tolerate students being disrespectful to each other.** Again, debating the issues is both healthy and productive. But class can only take place in an environment where everyone feels welcome and able to express themselves.

With that in mind, I want to remind students that the College is committed to embracing diversity of age, background, beliefs, ethnicity, gender, gender identity, gender expression, national origin, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, and other visible and nonvisible categories. If you feel you are not being welcomed in this class or that it suffers from a lack of inclusivity, please come talk to me to share your concerns.

Miscellaneous Items

- There are no assigned books for this class. The readings will all be included in a series of course packets, which students can pick up from the packet room.
- **Some of what we study in this class can be very hard to talk about.** If you find you are having difficulties for this reason, please come speak to me and I'm sure we can work something out.
- **I reserve the right to make changes to the syllabus** during the semester if I think it will benefit the class.

Course Schedule

Thursday, January 30: Introduction to the Course (no reading)

Monday, February 4: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Dispute (88 pages)

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001* (New York: Vintage, 2001), pp. 3-36, 67-106.

Jonathan Schneer, "The Balfour Declaration: A Hundred Years On," *Foreign Affairs*, November 2, 2017.

Primary Documents:

- Excerpts of the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, July 1915-March 1916
- Excerpt of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, May 15-16, 1916, in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (New York: Penguin, 2008), pp. 13-16.
- The Balfour Declaration, November 2, 1917, in *The Israel-Arab Reader*, p. 16.
- The Feisal-Weizmann Agreement, January 3, 1919, in *The Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 17-18.
- Excerpt of the King-Crane Commission Report, August 28, 1919, in the *Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 23-25.

Thursday, February 7: The Creation of the State of Israel (90 pages)

Morris, *Righteous Victims*, pp. 161-189, 249-258.

Steven L. Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy, from Truman to Reagan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 16-49.

Primary Documents:

- Letter from British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald to Chaim Weizmann, February 13, 1931, in *The Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 36-41.
- Excerpt of the Peel Commission Report, July 1937, in *The Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 41-43.
- Excerpt of the May 17, 1939 White Paper, in *The Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 44-50.
- Memorandum of Conversation (Memcon) by the Secretary of State (George Marshall), May 12, 1948, in United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1948*, Vol. 5, Part 2: *The Near East, South Asia, and Africa* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office [GPO], 1976), pp. 972-976.

Monday, February 11: The Foundations of the U.S.-Israeli Special Relationship (68 pages)

Michael J. Koplow, "Value Judgment: Why Do Americans Support Israel?" *Security Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (April/June 2011), pp. 266-302.

Martin Kramer, "The American Interest," *Azure*, No. 26 (Autumn 2006), pp. 21-33.

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *London Review of Books*, Vol. 28, No. 6, March 23, 2006, pp. 3-12.

Leslie H. Gelb, "Dual Loyalties," *New York Times*, September 23, 2007.

Thursday, February 14: The Cold War Comes to the Middle East (72 pages)

Dennis Ross, *Doomed to Succeed: The U.S.-Israel Relationship from Truman to Obama* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2015), pp. 27-50.

Philip Zelikow and Ernest R. May, *Suez Deconstructed: An Interactive Study in Crisis, War, and Peacemaking* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2018), pp. 41-57.

Avshalom Rubin, *The Limits of the Land: How the Struggle for the West Bank Shaped the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2017), pp. 74-104.

Monday, February 18: Israel Goes Nuclear (68 pages)

Matthew Kroenig, *Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 67-110.

Avner Cohen and William Burr, "How the Israelis Hoodwinked JFK on Going Nuclear," *Foreign Policy*, April 26, 2016.

Kenneth N. Waltz, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (July/August 2012), pp. 2-5.

Primary Documents:

- Memcon, "Subject: Israeli Atomic Energy Program," May 16, 1961.
- Assistant Secretary of State Philips Talbot's Notes of the Meeting between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, May 30, 1961.
- National Intelligence Estimate 35-61, "The Outlook for Israel," October 5, 1961, pp. 2, 6-7.
- Memcon, "Subject: 1969 Dimona Visit," August 13, 1969.
- Memo of Telephone Conversation (Telecon) between Secretary of State Dean Rusk and

Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, November 1, 1968, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 20: *Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1967-1968* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2001), pp. 585-586.

- Memo for the Record of Robert Komer's Meeting with Mordechai Gazit, April 21, 1964.
- Memcon, "Subject: Review Group Consideration of Response to NSSM-40, June 26, 1969," June 30, 1969.
- Handout on Egypt's Views of Israel's Nuclear Capability

Thursday, February 21: The June 1967 War and Resolution 242 (70 pages)

Bret Stephens, "Six Days and 50 Years of War," *New York Times*, June 2, 2017.

Sheldon L. Richman, "Israel's 1967 Attack Was Aggression; Israel's Current Occupation is Illegal," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, July 1991.

Ronen Bergman, "How the K.G.B. Started the War That Changed the Middle East," *New York Times*, June 7, 2017.

Hassan Elbahtimy, "Did the Soviet Union Deliberately Instigate the 1967 War in the Middle East?" *Wilson Center Sources and Methods Blog*, June 5, 2017.

Laura James, "Nasser and His Enemies: Foreign Policy Decision Making in Egypt on the Eve of the Six-Day War," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (June 2005), pp. 23-44.

Guy Laron, *The Six-Day War: The Breaking of the Middle East* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 106-117.

Arthur J. Goldberg, "What Resolution 242 Really Said," *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (February 2011), pp. 41-46.

Charles Krauthammer, "What Obama Did to Israel," *Washington Post*, May 26, 2011.

Primary Documents:

- Memo from National Security Adviser Walt Rostow to President Lyndon Johnson with Attachment, "Subject: Appraisal of an estimate of the Arab-Israeli Crisis by the Israeli Intelligence Service," May 25, 1967, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 19: *Arab-Israeli Crisis and War, 1967* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2004), 103-105.
- Memcon, May 26, 1967, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 19, pp. 140-146.
- Latin American Draft Resolution on the Middle East Crisis, June 30, 1967.
- Telegram from the Mission to the United Nations to the Department of State, July 21, 1967, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 19, pp. 697-699.

- The Khartoum Resolution, September 1, 1967.
- Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Israel, “Subject: Territorial Assurances to Jordan,” November 30, 1968, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 20, pp. 998-999.
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 242

Monday February 25: The Road to October 1973 (68 pages)

Salim Yaqub, *Imperfect Strangers: Americans, Arabs, and U.S.-Middle East Relations in the 1970s* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), pp. 20-54.

Abraham Rabinovich, *The Yom Kippur War: The Epic Encounter That Transformed the Middle East* (New York: Schocken, 2004), pp. 28-35, 114-119.

Primary Documents:

- Minutes of a National Security Council (NSC) Meeting, February 4, 1969, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 23: *Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1969-1972* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2015), pp. 24-27.
- Memo from President Richard Nixon to Secretary of State William Rogers and National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger, February 22, 1969, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 23, p. 40.
- Excerpt of Telecon between Kissinger and Donald Kendall, December 31, 1970.
- Memo from Nixon to Rogers, May 26, 1971, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 23, pp. 856-859.
- Excerpts from the Diary of Anatoly S. Chernyaev, July 22/August 11, 1972
- Editorial Note, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25, pp. 85-86.
- Excerpt of Memo for the President’s File by Kissinger, “Subject: Meeting with Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany on May 1, 1973 at 10:45 a.m. to 12:25 p.m.,” May 1, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. E-15, Part 2: *Documents on Western Europe, 1973-1976* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2014), p. 826.
- Memo for the President’s File by Kissinger, “Subject: President’s Meeting with General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev,” June 23, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 15: *Soviet Union, June 1972-August 1974* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2011), pp. 538-542.
- Telecon between Nixon and Kissinger, October 14, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25, pp. 495-499.

Thursday, February 28: Henry Kissinger's Shuttle Diplomacy (70 pages)

Aaron David Miller, *The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Bantam, 2008), pp. 129-156.

Primary Documents:

- Diary Entry of Soviet International Department Analyst Anatoly Chernyaev, November 4, 1973
- Telegram from Deputy National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft to Kissinger, October 20, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25, pp. 627-629.
- Memcon, "Subject: Energy," November 6, 1973.
- Memcon, "Subject: Draft Statement for Senate Foreign Relations Committee Appearance," August 1, 1974.
- Paul Hofmann, "Dramatic Session," *New York Times*, November 14, 1974.
- Memcon, March 26, 1975, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 26: *Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1974-1976* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2012), pp. 573-574.
- Memo from Kissinger to President Gerald Ford, "Subject: Middle East Strategy," April 21, 1975.
- Letter Signed by 76 Senators to Ford, May 21, 1975.
- Telecon, June 11, 1975.
- Memcon, July 2, 1975, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 26, pp. 768-771.
- Memo from Scowcroft to Ford, August 28, 1975, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 26, pp. 822-823.

Monday, March 4: The Path to Egyptian-Israeli Peace (71 pages)

Miller, *The Much Too Promised Land*, pp. 157-190.

Primary Documents:

- Memo from Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan to President Jimmy Carter, June 1977, in *FRUS, 1977-1980*, Vol. 8: *Arab-Israeli Dispute, January 1977-August 1978* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2013), pp. 279-295.
- Letter from Ambassador to Lebanon Richard Parker to Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asia Affairs Roy Atherton, August 19, 1977, in *FRUS, 1977-1980*, Vol. 8, pp. 481-484.

- Telegram from the Embassy in Lebanon to the Department of State, “Subject: PLO & 242,” August 23, 1977, in *FRUS, 1977-1980*, Vol. 8, pp. 487-489.
- Joint Statement by the United States and the Soviet Union on the Middle East, October 1, 1977.
- Memo from William Quandt of the NSC Staff to National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, “The Approaching Moment of Truth,” January 12, 1978, in *FRUS, 1977-1980*, Vol. 8, pp. 926-928.
- Memo from Brzezinski to Carter, “Subject: Strategy for Camp David,” August 31, 1978, in *FRUS, 1977-1980*, Vol. 9: *Arab-Israeli Dispute, August 1978-December 1980* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2014), pp. 60-64.
- Telegram from the Embassy in Israel to the Department of State, “Subject: U.S. Strategy Options on Settlements Problem,” October 30, 1978, in *FRUS, 1977-1980*, Vol. 9, pp. 389-394.

Thursday, March 7: Upheaval in the Persian Gulf I (75 pages)

William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, Third Edition (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2004), pp. 423-450.

Ray Takeyh, *Guardians of the Revolution: Iran and the World in the Age of the Ayatollahs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 11-59.

Monday, March 11: Upheaval in the Persian Gulf II (77 pages)

Takeyh, *Guardians of the Revolution*, pp. 81-107.

Patrick Tyler, *A World of Trouble: The White House and the Middle East—from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2009), pp. 352-401.

Thursday, March 14: NO CLASS—FIRST PAPERS DUE AT 5 P.M.

SPRING BREAK

Monday, April 1: The Rise and Decline of the Oslo Negotiations (72 pages)

Dan Ephron, *Killing a King: The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015), pp. 33-58, 109-132.

Khalil Shikaki, “Peace Now or Hamas Later,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (July/August 1998), pp. 29-43.

Primary Documents:

- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Acceptance of UN Resolutions 242 and 338, in

Ian J. Bickerton and Carla L. Klausner, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Sixth Edition (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010), p. 232.

- Statement by Yasser Arafat on Israel and Terrorism, December 14, 1988, in Bickerton and Klausner, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 232-233.
- Excerpts from the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles, September 13, 1993, in Bickerton and Klausner, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 263-265.
- Excerpt from the Interim Agreement between Israel and the PLO, September 28, 1995, in Bickerton and Klausner, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 289-292.

Thursday, April 4: Camp David II and the Collapse of the Peace Process (62 pages)

Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2004), pp. 650-711.

Monday, April 8: Al Qaeda and the September 11 Attacks (62 pages)

Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York: Vintage, 2006), pp. 9-37, 254-268.

Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (New York: Penguin, 2004), pp. 71-88.

Thursday, April 11: Going to War with Iraq (68 pages)

James A. Baker III, "Why the U.S. Didn't March to Baghdad," *Los Angeles Times*, September 8, 1996.

F. Gregory Gause III, "The Illogic of Dual Containment," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (March/April 1994), pp. 56-66.

Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 266, No. 3 (September 1990), pp. 47-60.

William Kristol and Robert Kagan, "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 4 (July/August 1996), pp. 18-32.

Kenneth M. Pollack, "Next Stop Baghdad?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (March/April 2002), pp. 32-47.

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

Monday, April 15: NO CLASS—SECOND PAPERS DUE AT MIDNIGHT

Thursday, April 18: Egypt and the Arab Spring (60 pages)

David E. Sanger, *Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power* (New York: Broadway, 2012), pp. 273-303.

Douglas Hamilton, "Israel Shocked by Obama's 'Betrayal' of Mubarak," *Reuters*, January 31, 2011.

John R. Bradley, "Saudi Arabia's Invisible Hand in the Arab Spring: How the Kingdom Is Wielding Influence Across the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, October 13, 2011.

David Ignatius, "The U.S.-Saudi Crackup Reaches a Dramatic Tipping Point," *Washington Post*, October 23, 2013.

Shadi Hamid, "Islamism, the Arab Spring, and the Failure of America's Do-Nothing Policy in the Middle East," *The Atlantic*, October 9, 2015.

Meir Walters, "Sisi Is No Partner for the United States: Embracing Egypt's Leader Will Backfire," *Foreign Affairs*, April 13, 2017.

Nathan Brown and Yasser El-Shimy, "Did Sisi Save Egypt? The Arab Spring at Five," *Foreign Affairs*, January 25, 2016.

Seth G. Jones, "The Mirage of the Arab Spring: Deal With the Region You Have, Not the Region You Want," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (January/February 2013), pp. 55-63.

Monday, April 22: The Libyan Intervention (46 pages)

Max Boot, "Planning for a Post-Qaddafi Libya," *New York Times*, March 21, 2011.

Sanger, *Confront and Conceal*, pp. 335-366.

Alan J. Kuperman, "Obama's Libya Debacle: How a Well-Meaning Intervention Ended in Failure," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (March/April 2015), pp. 66-77.

Thursday, April 25: The War in Syria and What to Do about ISIS (63 pages)

Amanda Erickson, "7 Basic Questions about the War in Syria," *Washington Post*, December 18, 2018.

Theodore McLaughlin, "Why Has the Syrian Civil War Lasted So Long?" *Washington Post*, July 27, 2018.

Glen Carey, Donna Abu-Nasr, Selcan Hacaoglu, and Henry Meyer, "Who's Still Fighting in the Syrian War and Why: Quick Take," *Washington Post*, January 14, 2019.

Uri Friedman, "Syria's War Has Never Been More International," *The Atlantic*, February 14, 2018.

Ben Rhodes, “Inside the White House During the Syrian ‘Red Line’ Crisis,” *The Atlantic*, June 3, 2018.

Fiona Hill, “The Real Reason Putin Supports Assad: Mistaking Syria for Chechnya,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 25, 2013.

Dmitri Trenin, “Putin’s Plan for Syria: How Russia Wants to End the War,” *Foreign Affairs*, December 13, 2017.

Neil MacFarquhar, “Russia’s Greatest Problem in Syria: Its Ally, President Assad,” *New York Times*, March 8, 2018.

Ilan Goldenberg and Nicholas A. Heras, “If Trump Wants to Get Out of Syria, He Should Strike a Deal with Russia: Making the Best of a Bad Idea,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 9, 2019.

Jennifer Cafarella, “Don’t Get Out of Syria: Assad’s Victory Will Only Lead to More Chaos,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 11, 2018.

Colin P. Clarke and Ariane Tabatabai, “Withdrawing from Syria Leaves a Vacuum That Iran Will Fill: Shiite Militias Are in the Region to Stay,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 8, 2019.

Payam Mohseni and Hassan Ahmadian, “What Iran Really Wants in Syria,” *Foreign Policy*, May 10, 2018.

Aaron Stein, “The Scramble for Northeast Syria: What Will Happen Once the United States Pulls Out,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 22, 2019.

Steven A. Cook, “The Syrian War Is Over, and America Lost,” *Foreign Policy*, July 23, 2018.

Hassan Hassan, “ISIS Is Poised to Make a Comeback in Syria,” *The Atlantic*, September 18, 2018.

Stephen Biddle and Jacob Schapiro, “America Can’t Do Much About ISIS,” *The Atlantic*, April 20, 2016.

Jon Finer and Robert Malley, “Trump Is Right to Seek an End to America’s Wars,” *New York Times*, January 8, 2019.

Monday, April 29: Iran’s Nuclear Program (73 pages)

Daniel Sobelman, “Restraining an Ally: Israel, the United States, and Iran’s Nuclear Program, 2011-2012,” *Texas National Security Review*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (August 2018), pp. 11-38.

Barry R. Posen, “We Can Live With a Nuclear Iran,” *New York Times*, February 27, 2006.

Wendy Sherman, “How We Got the Iran Deal: And Why We’ll Miss It,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 5 (September/October 2018), pp. 186-197.

Henry Rome, “Why Iran Waits: Staying in the Nuclear Deal Is Its Worst Option, Except for All

the Others,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 10, 2019.

Gary Samore, “Elements of the Iran Nuclear Deal,” Policy Brief, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, July 15, 2015.

Michael R. Pompeo, “Confronting Iran: The Trump Administration’s Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 6 (November/December 2018), pp. 60-71.

John R. Bolton, “To Stop Iran’s Bomb, Bomb Iran,” *New York Times*, March 26, 2015.

David E. Sanger and William J. Broad, “Saudis Want a U.S. Nuclear Deal. Can They Be Trusted Not to Build a Bomb?” *New York Times*, November 22, 2018.

Thursday, May 2: The Future of the Middle East in World Politics I (62 pages)

Jeffrey Goldberg, “The Crisis in U.S.-Israeli Relations is Officially Here,” *The Atlantic*, October 28, 2014.

Aluf Benn, “The End of the Old Israel: How Netanyahu Has Transformed the Nation,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 4 (July/August 2016), pp. 16-27.

Michelle Alexander, “Time to Break the Silence on Palestine,” *New York Times*, January 19, 2019.

Lara Friedman, “Israel’s Unsung Protector: Obama,” *New York Times*, April 10, 2016.

Barry Rubin, “Arafat’s Poisoned Legacy,” *The National Interest*, No. 79 (March 2005), pp. 53-61.

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Jeffrey Goldberg, “Hussein Ibish on the Fantasy World of One-Staters,” *The Atlantic*, November 3, 2009.

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Monday, May 6: The Future of the Middle East in World Politics II (75 pages)

Marwan Muasher, “The Next Arab Uprising: The Collapse of Authoritarianism in the Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 6 (November/December 2018), pp. 113-124.

Max Fisher, "How the Iranian-Saudi Proxy Struggle Tore Apart the Middle East," *New York Times*, November 19, 2016.

Adam Entous, "Donald Trump's New World Order," *The New Yorker*, June 18, 2018.

Liz Sly, "In the Middle East, Russia is Back," *Washington Post*, December 5, 2018.

Emma Sky, "Mission Still Not Accomplished in Iraq: Why the United States Should Not Leave," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 6 (November/December 2017), pp. 9-15.

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Thursday, May 9: Policy Simulation (no reading)