

PSCI 227: International Relations of the Middle East

**Williams College
Spring 2020**

Professor Galen Jackson

Schapiro 226

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Class Meeting Times: Monday/Wednesday, 11:00 a.m.-12:15 p.m.

Classroom: Griffin 7

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 2-4 p.m. and by appointment

Course Description

This is a course about the Middle East in international politics. The basic structure of the class combines political science concepts with a detailed survey of the region's diplomatic history. The course is divided into three sections. The first deals primarily with the origins of the region's present security architecture. Specifically, this section covers the emergence of the Persian Gulf as an area of major strategic importance in international politics; U.S. policy toward Saudi Arabia and Iran after World War II; the origins of the Arab-Israeli dispute; the June 1967 and October 1973 Middle East conflicts; Egyptian-Israeli peace; the Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War; the 1991 Persian Gulf War and its consequences; and the rise of Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, and Hamas. The second part of the course focuses on the Middle East after the attacks of September 11, 2001. It covers the Iraq War and its consequences; the rise of ISIS; the Arab Spring; Turkey's changing foreign relations; and the war in Syria. This section will serve as sort of springboard for the final part of the course. The last section focuses on future policy challenges in the Middle East. The first of these classes will be about the future of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The second will focus on the challenge of Iran's nuclear program. The third will deal with the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran, and how that competition should be approached. And the final class of the semester will focus on differing perspectives about the future of American foreign policy in the Middle East.

This is *not* a course about current events. Nevertheless, we will begin each class by discussing an important topic or a series of news stories related to the Middle East. Students, therefore, are encouraged to follow the news closely throughout the semester so that they can contribute to these discussions. Given the policy relevance of the subject matter we will be studying, students will get a great deal more out of this course if they regularly follow the news.

Class Requirements and Format

Class Participation

Despite its size, this is *not* a "lecture" course. Although I will begin most class sessions by providing some background and context related to the day's topics 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. 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 20 percent of the final grade. Being late to class will negatively impact students' participation grades.**

Two Analytical Essays

Students will also be required to write two analytical papers, six to eight pages in length, which will deal with particular subjects 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. These papers will *not* require research. They must include references to the readings using properly formatted citations. I will post guides on GLOW that discuss how to approach the papers and how to do citations properly when the deadline for the first paper gets closer.

The first paper is due on **Wednesday, March 18 at 11:59 p.m.** The second paper is due on **Monday, April 27 at 11:59 p.m.** **We will not meet as a class on either of those days so that you can focus on writing. Each paper will be worth 20 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 comments in a timely manner. 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.

Extension Policy

My policy on extensions is very straightforward. Students have a total of **two extension days** during the course of the semester. In other words, students may, without asking for my permission, turn in either (or both) papers late by a total of two days without receiving a penalty. For example, a student could turn in the first paper on time and the second one two days late. Alternatively, they could turn in each paper one day late without a penalty. **I strongly recommend not using your extension days, especially on the first paper, unless you have a very good reason. I will not grant any additional extensions beyond these two days, so use them wisely.** One additional point of clarification. Students may *not* use "partial" extension

days. For example, a student may *not* turn in the first paper twelve hours late and retain the other twelve hours as an extension for the second paper.

Final Exam

There will also be a final exam, **which will be self-scheduled during finals period. This exam will be worth 40 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 they bring 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. In addition, **students should pay especially careful attention to the primary documents we read in this course.** Those sources are the empirical leverage we have for assessing the various arguments and perspectives we will be discussing.

Writing development is also an important objective. The ability to write well is an invaluable skill, one that will benefit students in the future. The analytical papers must have a clear thesis statement (typically stated at the end of the first paragraph) and the logical/empirical arguments students include in their papers should be geared toward supporting that statement. Likewise, each body paragraph should begin with a clear topic sentence, which is then supported by the analysis provided in the remainder of that paragraph. I am happy to discuss the structure, organization, logic, and evidence relating to student essays during office hours, but I will not read rough drafts. Again, we will discuss this in class in greater detail.

Office Hours

Please feel free to send me an email to set up an appointment or simply come by my office on Wednesdays between 2 and 4 p.m. I am happy to talk about anything related to the course and to try to answer any questions you might have. 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. If you are confused about what might constitute plagiarism or cheating, or have questions about specific aspects of the Honor Code, 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.

On the issue of student collaboration, my policy is straightforward. There is absolutely nothing wrong with students studying for the final exam together or exchanging ideas about what they plan to do in their papers. In fact, I welcome that sort of collaboration. **However, all written work must be done independently and students must formulate their own arguments in their papers. And obviously no sort of collaboration is allowed during the final exam.**

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 talk about 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 class. On the other hand, **I will not tolerate students being disrespectful to each other.** 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 or to a college administrator to share your concerns.

Computer and Phone Policy

In previous years I have allowed students to use their computers to take notes during class. But as the saying goes, one bad apple can spoil the bunch. I have simply seen too many students be distracted by other students' misuse of their computers and phones in class to continue to allow them. However, if you have an accommodation that allows you to use such devices, please bring it to my attention.

A Few Things to Keep in Mind

- 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.
- I reserve the right to make changes to the syllabus during the semester if I think it will benefit the class.
- We will **not** meet as a class on either **Monday, February 17** or on **Wednesday, February 19**. To make up for those missed classes, however, we **will** have class on **Friday, February 14**. That will be the only Friday of the semester that we will have class.

Course Schedule

Friday, February 7: Introduction to the Course (no reading)

Monday, February 10: The Origins of the Persian Gulf Security System I (68 pages)

Robert Malley, "The Unwanted Wars: Why the Middle East Is More Combustible Than Ever," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 6 (November/December 2019), pp. 38-46.

F. Gregory Gause, III, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-15.

Bruce Riedel, *Kings and Presidents: Saudi Arabia and the United States since FDR* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2018), pp. 1-32, 45-56.

Wednesday, February 12: The Origins of the Persian Gulf Security System II (61 pages)

Gregory Brew, "The Collapse Narrative: The United States, Mohammed Mossadegh, and the Coup Decision of 1953," *Texas National Security Review*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (August 2019), pp. 39-59.

Ray Takeyh, "What Really Happened in Iran: The CIA, the Ouster of Mosaddeq, and the Restoration of the Shah," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (July/August 2014), pp. 2-12.

Gause, III, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, pp. 16-44.

Friday, February 14: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Dispute (78 pages)

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001* (New York: Vintage, 2001), pp. 67-76, 161-189.

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

Dennis Ross, *Doomed to Succeed: The U.S.-Israel Relationship From Truman to Obama* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2015), pp. 3-26.

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.

- 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 17: NO CLASS

Wednesday, February 19: NO CLASS

Monday, February 24: The June 1967 War and UN Resolution 242 (87 pages)

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

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

Roland Popp, "Stumbling Decidedly into the Six-Day War," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Spring 2006), pp. 281-309.

William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 23-52.

Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, Updated and Expanded Edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014), pp. 267-284.

Primary Documents:

- United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, in *FRUS, 1964-1968*, Vol. 19: *Arab-Israeli Crisis and War, 1967* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2004), pp. 1062-1063.
- 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. 19, pp. 998-999.

Wednesday, February 26: The October 1973 War and Egyptian-Israeli Peace (87 pages)

George W. Ball, "Slogans and Realities," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (July 1969), pp. 623-631.

Jørgen Jensehaugen, *Arab-Israeli Diplomacy Under Carter: The US, Israel and the Palestinians*

(London: I.B. Tauris, 2018), pp. 177-197.

Craig Daigle, "How Jimmy Carter Failed the Palestinians," *Texas National Security Review*, Book Roundtable, December 2019, pp. 8-12.

Alexandra T. Evans, "Carter's Compromise: Cowardice or Calculation?" *Texas National Security Review*, Book Roundtable, December 2019, pp. 12-15.

Jeremy Pressman, "What If? Missed Opportunities in the Carter Administration," *Texas National Security Review*, Book Roundtable, December 2019, pp. 16-19.

Primary Documents:

- Memo from President Richard Nixon to Secretary of State William Rogers, May 26, 1971, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 23: *Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1969-1972* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2015), pp. 856-859.
- Memo for the President's File by National Security Adviser Henry 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.
- Transcript of Telephone Conversation Between Nixon and Kissinger, October 14, 1973, in *FRUS, 1969-1976*, Vol. 25: *Arab-Israeli Crisis and War, 1973* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 2011), pp. 495-499.
- Excerpt from Soviet International Department Analyst Anatoly Chernyaev's Diary, November 4, 1973.
- 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.
- 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.

Monday, March 2: The Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War (70 pages)

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.

Chad Nelson, “Revolution and War: Saddam’s Decision to Invade Iran,” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 72, No. 2 (Spring 2018), pp. 246-266.

Wednesday, March 4: The Persian Gulf War and Dual Containment (93 pages)

Gause, III, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, pp. 88-135.

Takeyh, *Guardians of the Revolution*, pp. 181-219.

Primary Document:

- Memcon Between Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, July 25, 1990.

Monday, March 9: The Road to Camp David II (78 pages)

Ron Pundak, “From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?” *Survival*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn 2001), pp. 31-45.

Dan Ephron, *Killing a King: The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and the Remaking of Israel* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015), pp. 33-57, 109-132.

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

Wednesday, March 11: Political Islam I—Al Qaeda and September 11 (85 pages)

Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York: Vintage, 2006), pp. 9-68.

Riedel, *Kings and Presidents*, pp. 65-84.

Bernard Lewis, “Licence to Kill: Usama bin Ladin’s Declaration of Jihad,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 6 (November/December 1998), pp. 14-19.

Monday, March 16: Political Islam II—Hezbollah and Hamas (77 pages)

Jeffrey Feltman, “Hezbollah: Revolutionary Iran’s Most Successful Export,” *Brookings*, January

17, 2019.

Ben Hubbard, "Iran Out to Remake Mideast With Arab Enforcer: Hezbollah," *New York Times*, August 27, 2017.

Vivian Lee and Hwaida Saad, "For Lebanon's Shiites, a Dilemma: Stay Loyal to Hezbollah or Keep Protesting," *New York Times*, February 4, 2020.

Vivian Lee and Hwaida Saad, "As Hezbollah Rises in Lebanon's Government, Fears About U.S. Response Follow," *New York Times*, February 1, 2019.

Tareq Baconi, *Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018), pp. 1-28.

Michael Herzog, "Can Hamas Be Tamed?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 2 (March/April 2006), pp. 83-94.

David M. Halbfinger, "As Islamic Jihad and Israel Battled, Hamas, in a Twist, Sat on the Sidelines," *New York Times*, November 13, 2019.

Colin P. Clarke, "Hamas' Strategic Rebranding: What to Make of Its Revised Charter," *Foreign Affairs*, May 17, 2017.

Aaron David Miller, "Israel and Hamas Need Each Other: And a New Round of Conflict Won't Change That," *Foreign Affairs*, March 29, 2019.

Shadi Hamid, "The Rise of Islamists: How Islamists Will Change Politics, and Vice Versa," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (May/June 2011), pp. 40-47.

Wednesday, March 18: NO CLASS—FIRST PAPERS DUE

Monday, April 6: Going to War with Iraq (101 pages)

Gause, III, *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, pp. 184-240.

Bernard Lewis, "Time for Toppling," *Wall Street Journal*, September 27, 2002.

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.

Primary Document:

- Excerpts on the Key Judgements from a National Intelligence Estimate, "Iraq's

Continuing Programs for Weapons of Mass Destruction,” October 2002.

Wednesday, April 8: The War and Its Impact I—The Future of Iraq (91 pages)

Larry Diamond, “What Went Wrong in Iraq,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 5 (September/October 2004), pp. 34-56.

Tim Arango et al., “The Iran Cables: Secret Documents Show How Tehran Wields Power in Iraq,” *New York Times*, November 18, 2019.

Alissa J. Rubin, “Iraqis Rise Against a Reviled Occupier: Iran,” *New York Times*, November 4, 2019.

Vali Nasr, “The War for Islam,” *Foreign Policy*, January 22, 2016.

Ali Khedery, “Iraq in Pieces: Breaking Up to Stay Together,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 6 (November/December 2015), pp. 33-41.

Henri J. Barkey, “The Kurdish Awakening: Unity, Betrayal, and the Future of the Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (March/April 2019), pp. 107-118.

Linda Robinson, “Winning the Peace in Iraq: Don’t Give Up on Baghdad’s Fragile Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (September/October 2019), pp. 162-172.

Edward Wong, “Trump Pushes Iraq to Stop Buying Energy from Iran,” *New York Times*, February 11, 2019.

Eric Schmitt and Alissa J. Rubin, “Trump Calls for Keeping Troops in Iraq to Watch Iran, Possibly Upending ISIS Fight,” *New York Times*, February 3, 2019.

Monday, April 13: The War and Its Impact II—The Rise of ISIS (79 pages)

Ned Parker, “The Iraq We Left Behind: Welcome to the World’s Next Failed State,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 2 (March/April 2012), pp. 94-110.

Daniel L. Byman, “Understanding the Islamic State—A Review Essay,” *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Spring 2016), pp. 127-165.

Graeme Wood, “True Believers: How ISIS Made Jihad Religious Again,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 5 (September/October 2017), pp. 136-141.

Stephen M. Walt, “ISIS as Revolutionary State: New Twist on an Old Story,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 6 (November/December 2015), pp. 42-51.

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

Benjamin Bahney and Patrick B. Johnson, "ISIS Could Rise Again: What Its Last Resurrection Says About Its Future in Iraq and Syria," *Foreign Affairs*, December 15, 2017.

Wednesday, April 15: Egypt and the Arab Spring (80 pages)

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

Shadi Hamid, "Islamism, the Arab Spring, and the Failure of America's Do-Nothing Policy in the Middle East," *Brookings*, October 14, 2015.

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.

Eric Trager, "The Unbreakable Muslim Brotherhood: Grim Prospects for a Liberal Egypt," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 5 (September/October 2011), pp. 114-126.

Rod Nordland, "Saudi Arabia Promises to Aid Egypt's Regime," *New York Times*, August 19, 2013.

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.

Declan Walsh, "El-Sisi May Rule Egypt Until 2034 Under Parliamentary Plan," *New York Times*, February 14, 2019.

Declan Walsh, "Egypt's Soap Opera Clampdown Extends el-Sisi's Iron Grip to TV," *New York Times*, April 3, 2019.

Eric Schmitt, Helene Cooper, Edward Wong, and Charlie Savage, "On Muslim Brotherhood, Trump Weighs Siding With Autocrats and Roiling Middle East," *New York Times*, May 6, 2019.

Daniel Benjamin and Jason Blazakis, "The Muslim Brotherhood is Not a Terrorist Organization: How Designating It Would Undermine the United States," *Foreign Affairs*, May 17, 2019.

Monday, April 20: The Libyan Intervention (56 pages)

Max Boot, "Planning for a Post-Qadafi 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.

Shadi Hamid, “Everyone Says the Libya Intervention Was a Failure. They’re Wrong,” *Brookings*, April 12, 2016.

Frederic Wehrey and Jeffrey Feltman, “Libya Is Entering Another Civil War. America Can Stop It,” *New York Times*, April 5, 2019.

Wednesday, April 22: Erdogan and Turkish Foreign Policy (68 pages)

Steven A. Cook, *Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 93-132.

Kaya Genc, “Erdogan’s Way: The Rise and Rule of Turkey’s Islamist Shapeshifter,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (September/October 2019), pp. 26-34.

Gonul Tol, “Turkey’s Bid for Religious Leadership: How the AKP Uses Islamic Soft Power,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 10, 2019.

Steven A. Cook, “Understanding the Changes in Turkey’s Foreign Policy: International Politics, the AKP, and Turkish National Identity,” Policy Roundtable, *Texas National Security Review*, February 2020.

Michael A. Reynolds, “Turkey and Russia: A Remarkable Rapprochement,” Policy Roundtable, *Texas National Security Review*, October 2019.

Monday, April 27: NO CLASS—SECOND PAPERS DUE

Wednesday, April 29: The War in Syria (62 pages)

Aaron Stein, “Strategic Incoherence in Syria: Why Iran, Russia, and Turkey Can’t All Get What They Want,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 2, 2018.

Gonul Tol, “Turkey’s Endgame in Syria: What Erdogan Wants,” *Foreign Affairs*, October 9, 2019.

Anton Troianovski and Patrick Kingsley, “Putin and Erdogan Announce Plan for Northeast Syria, Bolstering Russian Influence,” *New York Times*, October 22, 2019.

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

Dmitriy Frolovskiy, “What Putin Really Wants in Syria,” *Foreign Policy*, February 1, 2019.

Brett McGurk, “Hard Truths in Syria: America Can’t Do More With Less, and It Shouldn’t Try,”

Foreign Affairs, Vol. 98, No. 3 (May/June 2019): 69-84.

Daniel Byman, "Six Bad Options for Syria," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Winter 2016), pp. 171-186.

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

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.

Meir Javedanfar, "Israel Draws a Redline in Syria: Will Russia Prevent an Iran-Israel Showdown?" *Foreign Affairs*, December 14, 2017.

Karim Sadjadpour, "Iran's Real Enemy in Syria," *The Atlantic*, April 16, 2018.

Monday, May 4: Policy Issue I—Israel and the Palestinians (62 pages)

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.

Jackson Diehl, "If Netanyahu Wins Israel's Election, the Mideast Doomsayers May Finally Be Proved Right," *Washington Post*, September 15, 2019.

Yousef Munayyer, "There Will Be a One-State Solution: But What Kind of State Will It Be?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 6 (November/December 2019), pp. 30-36.

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

Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Crisis in U.S.-Israel Relations Is Officially Here," *The Atlantic*, October 28, 2014.

Philip Gordon, "The Crisis in U.S.-Israeli Relations: Are Washington and Jerusalem Drifting Apart," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 6 (November/December 2016), pp. 132-138.

Michael S. Doran, "The Dream Palace of the Americans: Why Ceding Land Will Not Bring Peace," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 6 (November/December 2019), pp. 21-29.

Mark Landler and David M. Halbfinger, "Trump, With Netanyahu, Formally Recognizes Israel's Authority Over Golan Heights," *New York Times*, March 25, 2019.

Lara Jakes and David M. Halbfinger, "In Shift, U.S. Says Israeli Settlements in West Bank Do

Not Violate International Law,” *New York Times*, November 18, 2019.

Bret Stephens, “One Thing Trump Gets Right,” *New York Times*, November 21, 2019.

Shmuel Rosner, “Trump Has Liberated Israel,” *New York Times*, March 22, 2019.

Megan Specia, “What to Know About Trump’s Middle East Plan,” *New York Times*, January 29, 2020.

Peter Krause, “Trump’s Peace Plan Is a Paradigm Shift for Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” Blog Post, *Political Violence at a Glance*, January 28, 2020.

Nathan Thrall, “Trump’s Middle East Peace Plan Exposes the Ugly Truth,” *New York Times*, January 29, 2020.

Wednesday, May 6: Policy Issue II—Iran’s Nuclear Program (82 pages)

Michael Crowley, “The Iran Crisis, Explained,” *New York Times*, June 17, 2019.

Dexter Filkins, “Iran’s Shadow Commander,” *The New Yorker*, September 23, 2013.

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.

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