IR/PSC 254: The United States in the Middle East

Spring 2017	MW 10:25 –11:40 AM Dewey 2162

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Purpose of Course

This seminar course will focus on the process by which U.S. foreign policy is formulated and executed, using the Middle East region as case material. Readings and classes will examine the relationship between U.S. government agencies (White House, State, Defense, CIA, Congress, etc.) and instrumentalities (declaratory policy, diplomacy, military presence, arms transfers, covert action, etc.) in the pursuit of national goals. Special attention will be devoted to the analysis of U.S. regional policy and international relations from the Iranian revolution through the two gulf wars and to the present.

Course Requirements

Evaluation is based on the following:

- Map quiz: 5%
- Debates (presentations and questions): 10%
- First mid-term (in-class): 25%
- Second mid-term (policy memo): 25%
- Final exam (during exam week): 35%

If you are entitled to examination accommodation, please coordinate with the Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning in advance of the examination and inform the instructor. Students will not be able to obtain accommodations directly from the instructor or the teaching assistants.

Attendance and Extra Credit

Attendance is highly encouraged, but not required, except on those days where a student either has a debate or submitted an advance question (see course requirements below for details). If more than 95% of the class completes the in-class course evaluations at the end of the semester, everyone will have an extra 3 points added to their final grade.

Course requirements:

Map quiz: We will have a map quiz during class on February 8. You will get a list of countries, cities, and a few other locations, and will be asked to correctly place them on a map that will be provided. You will receive the list well ahead of the exam, so that you may properly prepare. This quiz is worth 5% of your final grade.

First midterm (in-class exam): The first midterm will take place on March 1. It will consist of short-answer questions and one essay question. Additional details on this exam will be provided closer to the exam date. This exam is worth 25% of your final grade.

Second midterm (take-home essay): The second midterm will be a take-home essay in the form of a policy memo. You will receive the instructions and supplementary materials on March 29th and will submit the memo in class on April 5th. Additional details will be provided closer to the exam date. This exam is also worth 25% of your final grade.

Final exam (during finals week): The final exam for this class will consist exclusively of essays that ask you to evaluate and synthesize the topics and themes we have covered in class. It will take place during the university-scheduled time and date, which currently appears to be Wednesday, May 10 at 12:30pm. This exam is cumulative and is worth 35% of your final grade.

Policy debates and questions: During the second part of the class, discussions of specific espisodes of U.S. involvement in the Middle East will be motivated by debates on particular policy questions that the U.S. government had to address at the time. The debates will be set up as a mock meeting of the National Security Council (NSC) and each side will take on the role of a particular policymaker and advocate for or against the decision at hand. Everyone is required to take part in one debate. You will work in teams of three to preparea 12-15 minute presentation to the class on either the pros or cons of the decision at hand, to be followed by questions from the rest of the NSC (i.e., the other members of the class) and a vote on the policy decision to make.

In addition to participating in a debate, you will also be assigned one class period (when you are not debating) to submit a question for the debaters ahead of class. The teaching team may or may not call on you to ask your question during the debate, but you should be prepared to restate it to the class if asked. A separate Debate Memo will be circulated ahead of time with additional details on the debates and questions. This portion of the class is worth 10% of your final grade.

Grading policy

Exam grading will be done by the Teaching Assistants. If you discover a mathematical error, approach your TA, who will fix it. However, should you wish to challenge a grade of all or part of the exam, you must take the following steps:

1. Bring the issue up with your TA **no sooner than** 24 hours and no later than a week after the exam is returned. If the TA feels that a regrade is warranted, she will adjust your score in collaboration with the instructor.
2. If the issue cannot be resolved this way, contact the instructor to formally request a regrade. Be as specific as possible in explaining your request and provide evidence (from readings or lectures) as needed.
3. If the instructor deems that there is sufficient ground for the challenge, she will re-grade the entire exam. As a result, your grade may go up, down, or remain unchanged.

Academic Integrity

Please be familiar with the University's academic honesty policies (url: `http://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty/`). Violations of these policies will be handled with the utmost seriousness. If you are not sure whether you are in violation of these policies, ask a member of the teaching team and we will be happy to guide you.

Readings:

Required books:

1. Stevenson, Charles. 2012. *America's Foreign Policy Toolkit: Key Institutions and Processes.* Washington, DC: CQ Press. (Hereafter referred to as "Stevenson" in the syllabus.)
2. Palmer, Michael A. 1992. *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833-1992.* New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
3. Haass, Richard N. 2010. *War of Necessity, War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars.* New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
4. Bergen, P. L. 2012. *Manhunt: The ten-year search for Bin Laden from 9/11 to Abbottabad.* New York: Crown Publishers.

Highly recommended for purchase:

1. Lesch, David W. and Mark L. Haas. 2012. *The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics, and Ideologies*, 5th edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (Older editions of this one will do just fine and are probably cheaper to buy.)
2. Bass, Warren. 2003. *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of of the U.S.-Israel Alliance.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
3. Cleveland, William L. and Martin Bunton. 2016. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 6th edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (Older editions of this one will do just fine and are probably cheaper to buy.)

All readings not in required textbooks will be made available on Blackboard.

The instructor reserves the right to add or change readings as the course develops, to better meet student needs or in case of changed political circumstances in the United States and/or the Middle East. Any such changes will be announced with considerable notice.

Course Schedule

18 January: Course introduction and syllabus review

23 January: What is foreign policy and what can theory tell us about it?

Readings:

1. Jentleson, Bruce. 2014. The Strategic Context: Foreign Policy Strategy and the Essence of Choice. *American Foreign Policy*, 5th edition. New York: W.W. Norton. Chapter 1, pp. 2-26.

2. Morgenthau, Hans. 1950. The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy: The National Interest vs. Moral Abstractions. *American Political Science Review* 44 (4): 833-854.

3. Walt, Stephen M. 2014. "Is Barack Obama More of a Realist Than I Am?" *Foreign Policy* `http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/08/19/is-barack-obama-more-of-a-realist-than-i-am/`

4. Akutagawa, Ryunosuke. 1952. "In a grove." *Rashomon and other stories.* New York, NY: Liverlight Publishing Corporation. Pp. 17-30.

25 January: U.S. Foreign Policy Interests in the Middle East

Readings:

1. Pollack, Kenneth M. 2016 "Fight or Flight: America's Choice in the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April.

2. Quandt, William. 2012. "New U.S. Policies for a New Middle East," *The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics and Ideologies*, eds. David W. Lesch and Mark L. Haas. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Pp. 507-518.

3. Haass, Richard N. 2006. "The New Middle East." *Foreign Affairs*, November/December.

4. Hudson, Michael C. 1996. "To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of U.S. Policy Toward the Middle East." *Middle East Journal*, 50(3): pp. 329-343.

U.S. Foreign Policy Instruments

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30 January: The President

Readings:

1. Stevenson, Chapter 3 (until section on Creation of the White House-Centered...)

2. Canes-Wrone, Howell, and Lewis, 2008. "Toward a Broader Understanding of Presidential Power: A Reevaluation of the Two Presidencies Thesis," *Journal of Politics*, 70(1): 1-16.

3. Neustadt, Richard. 2012. "Presidential Power", *Principles and Practice of American Politics*, 5th edition, eds. Samuel Kernell and Steven S. Smith. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. pp. 254-274.

4. Baker, Peter, 2016. "Awaiting Next U.S. President: A Splintered Middle East in Free Fall," *New York Times*, `https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/25/world/middleeast/united-states-president-politics-middle-east.html?_r=0`.

1 February: The National Security Council
Readings:

1. Stevenson, Chapter 3, remainder of chapter.

2. Rothkopf, David. 2005. *Running the World: The Inside Story of the National Security Council and the Architects of American Power.* New York, NY: PublicAffairs. Chapter 1, Pp:3-21.

3. Berman, Russell, 2016. "Republicans Try to Rein in the National Security Council," *The Atlantic.* `http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/05/republicans-try-to-shrink-the-national-security-council/483596/`

4. Goldberg, Jeffrey. 2014. "A Withering Critique of Obama's National Security Council," *The Atlantic.* `http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/11/a-withering-critique-of-president-obamas-national-security-council/382477/`

6 February: Congress
Readings:

1. Stevenson, Chapter 4

2. Ornstein, Normal F. and Thomas E. Mann. 2006. "When Congress Checks out." *Foreign Affairs*, November/December.

3. Howell, William G. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2007. "When Congress Stops Wars: Partisan Politics and Presidential Power." *Foreign Affairs.* September/October.

4. Zegart, Amy. 2013. "Wait, Did the System Just Work?" *Foreign Policy.* `http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/27/wait-did-the-system-just-work/`

8 February: The Department of State
Readings:

1. Stevenson, Chapter 6

2. Kopp, Harry and Charles Gillespie. 2008. *Career Diplomacy: Life and Work in the U.S. Foreign Service*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 10-50.

3. Cassidy, Joseph. 2015. "10 Ways to Fix the America's Ailing State Department." *Foreign Policy.* `http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/07/20/state-department-kerry-obama/`

4. Freeman, Chas. 2016. "Recovering Diplomatic Agility." *Remarks to the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University.* `http://chasfreeman.net/recovering-diplomatic-agility/`.

13 February: The Department of Defense
Readings:

1. Stevenson, Chapters 8 and 10

2. Rosati, Jerel and James Scott. 2010. *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, 3rd Edition. Chapter 7: The Military Establishment. Pp: 159-196.

3. Gordon, Michael R., and General Bernard E. Trainor. *The Generals' War.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company. Preface. pp. vii-xv.

15 February: Intelligence Agencies
Readings:

1. Stevenson, Chapter 9
2. Lowenthal, Mark M. 2003. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. Chapter 9, pp: 139-152.
3. Russell, Richard L. 2002. "CIA's Strategic Intelligence in Iraq," September 11, *Terrorist Attacks, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, ed. Demetrios James Caraley. New York, NY: The Academy of Political Science. Pp: 111-127.
4. Zegart, Amy. 2013. "That's Spytainment." *Hoover Digest*, 1. `http://www.hoover.org/research/thats-spytainment`
5. National Intelligence Council. 2007. *Prospects for Iraq's Stability: A Challenging Road Ahead* `http://progressiveaustin.org/Iraq_NIE.pdf` (Skim to get a sense of the language used.)

20 February: Interest Groups
Readings:

1. Newhouse, John. 2009. "Diplomacy, Inc." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June.
2. Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen Walt. 2006. "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy. `http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0040.pdf` (Selections)
3. Morris, Benny. 2006. "And Now for Some Facts." SPME. `http://spme.org/boycotts-divestments-sanctions-bds/boycotts-divestments-and-sanctions-bds-news/and-now-for-some-facts/973/`.
4. Plitnick, Mitchell and Chris Toensing. 2007. "The Israel Lobby in Perspective," *Middle East Report 243*, 37. `http://www.merip.org/mer/mer243/israel-lobby-perspective`.
5. Silverstein, Ken. 2007. "Their Men in Washington." *Harper's Magazine*, July. (Skim)

22 February: Public Opinion and Media
Readings:

1. Stevenson, Chapter 12
2. Jacobs, Lawrence R. and Benjamin I. Page, 2005. "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *American Political Science Review*, 99(1): 107-123.
3. Danny Hayes and Matt Guardino. 2010. Whose Views Made the News? Media Coverage and the March to War in Iraq, *Political Communication*, 27(1): 59-87.
4. Beschloss, Michael R. 1999. "Foreign Policy's Big Moment." *The New York Times*, `http://www.nytimes.com/1999/04/11/opinion/foreign-policy-s-big-moment.html`

27 February: Central Drivers of U.S. Policy in the Middle East

Readings:

1. . Palmer, Michael A. 1992. *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833-1992*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. Chapters 1-4.
2. Reich, Bernard and Shannon Powers. 2012. "The United States and Israel: The Nature of a Special Relationship" *The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics, and Ideologies*, 5th edition, eds. David W. Lesch and Mark L. Haas. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Pp: 220-243.

3. Bass, Warren. 2003. *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of of the U.S.-Israel Alliance*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1 and skim chapters 5 and 6.

1 March: Midterm exam

Episodes in U.S.—Middle East Relations

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6 March: Nixon Doctrine

- Policy Debate: Should the United States be prepared to offer substantial arms sales and other support to Iran and Saudi Arabia in return for their protection of U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf? (1972)

Readings:

1. Cleveland, William L. and Martin Bunton. 2016. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 6th edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Pp. 273-285.

2. Behrooz, Maziar. 1990. "Trends in the Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran" *Neither East Nor West*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Pp 13-35.

3. Cottam, Richard W. "U.S. and Soviet Responses to Islamic Political Militancy," *Neither East Nor West*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Pp. 265-288.

4. Sick, Gary. 1986. *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounters with Iran* New York, NY: Penguin Books. Pp. 14-21 (section on Nixon, Kissinger, and the Shah)

8 March: Camp David Accords

- Policy Debate: Should the United States seek to broker a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel (1978)

Readings:

1. Cleveland, William L. and Martin Bunton. 2016. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 6th edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Chapter 19 (sections on Lebanon optional)

2. Brzezinski, Zbigniew. 1983. *Power and Principle*, New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, Giroux. Chapters 3 and 7.

13–15 March: SPRING BREAK NO CLASS

20 March: Iranian Revolution

- Policy Debate: Should the United States use military threats or actions to free American diplomatic hostages in Tehran? (1980)

Readings:

1. Kurzman, Charles. 2004. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1.

2. Sick, Gary. 1986. *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounters with Iran* New York, NY: Penguin Books. Chapter 13, pp. 329-356.

3. Haney, Eric L. 2002. *Inside Delta Force*, New York, NY: Bantam Dell. Pp. 231-253.

22 March: Origins and evolution of the Iran/Iraq War

- Policy Debate: Should the United States take the side of Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war? (1980)

Readings:

1. Cleveland, William L. and Martin Bunton. 2016. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 6th edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Pp. 433-445.

2. Gause, F. Gregory. 2010. *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 57-87.

3. Palmer, Michael A. 1992. *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833-1992.* New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. Chapter 6.

27 March: Iran/Iraq War—Internationalization of Conflict

- Policy Debate: Should the United States be prepared to reflag Kuwaiti tankers and to provide them with naval escort protection? (1987)

Readings:

1. Ramazani, R. K. 1990 "Iran's Resistance to the U.S. Intervention in the Persian Gulf," *Neither East Nor West*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Pp. 36-62.

2. Sick, Gary. 1990 "Slouching toward Settlement: The Internationalization of the Iran-Iraq War, 1987-1988," *Neither East Nor West*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Pp. 219-246.

3. Armacost, Richard. 1987. "U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf and Kuwaiti Reflagging." *The DISAM Journal*, 10(1): p.11-16

29 March: Inter-War Diplomacy 1988-1990

- Policy Debate: Should the United States end its "tilt" toward Iraq after the end of the Iran-Iraq war? (August 1988)

- **Take-home midterm handed out.**

Readings:

1. Halliday, Fred. 1990 "The Iranian Revolution and Great-Power Politics: Components of the First Decade," *Neither East Nor West*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Pp. 247-264.

2. Ajami, Fouad. 1988/1989. "Iran: The Impossible Revolution." *Foreign Affairs*. Winter.

3. Hume, Cameron. 1994. *The United Nations, Iran, and Iraq: How Peacemaking Changed*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. Pp. 147-186.

3 April: NO CLASS

5 April: Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the international response

- Policy Debate: Should the allies terminate Operation Desert Storm just north of Kuwait or continue on to Basra and Baghdad? (February 1991).
- **Take-home midterm due today.**

Readings:

1. Byman, Daniel. 2000. After the Storm: U.S. Policy toward Iraq since 1991. *Political Science Quarterly*, 115(4): pp. 493516.

2. Hahn, Peter L. 2012. *Missions Accomplished? The United States and Iraq since World War I.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4.

3. Haass, Richard N. 2010. *War of Necessity, War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. Selections.

10 April: U.S. "Dual Containment" Policy

- Policy Debate: Should the United States adopt a "dual containment" policy toward Iran and Iraq? (1993).

Readings:

1. Indyk, Martin. 1993. "The Clinton Administration's Approach to the Middle East." *Soref Symposium Conference Report.* `http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-clinton-administrations-approach-to-the-middle-east.`

2. Djerejian, Edward. 1993. "U.S. Policy on Recent Developments And Other Issues in the Middle East." *U.S. Department of State Dispatch,* 4:32.

3. Lake, Anthony. 1994. "Confronting Backlash States," *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr.

4. Gause, F. Gregory. 1994. "The Illogic of Dual Containment," *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr.

12 April: 9/11 and its aftermath

- Policy Debate: Should the United States invade Afghanistan in retaliation for the 9/11 terrorist attacks (2001)

Readings:

1. Weinbaum, Marvin G. "The United States and Afghanistan: From Marginality to Strategic Concern," *The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics, and Ideologies*, 5th edition, eds. David W. Lesch and Mark L. Haas. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Pp: 412-432.

2. Bergen, Peter L. 2011. *The Longest War,* New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. Chapters 3 and 4, pp. 36-67

17 April: 2003 Invasion of Iraq and beyond

- Policy Debate: Should the United States attempt to overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein in Iraq? (January 2003)

Readings:

1. Lemann, Nicholas. 2002. "The Next World Order." *The New Yorker,* http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/04/01/the-next-world-order

2. Clarke, R. A. 2004. *Against all enemies: Inside America's war on terror.* New York: Free Press. Selections.

3. Haass, Richard N. 2010. *War of Necessity, War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars.* New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. Selections.

19 April: The War on Terror

- Policy Debate: Should the United States use military action to eliminate Osama bin Laden? (2011)

Readings:

1. Bergen, P. L. 2012. *Manhunt: The ten-year search for Bin Laden from 9/11 to Abbottabad.* New York: Crown Publishers. Selections.

2. Schmidle, Nicholas. 2011. "Getting Bin Laden," *New Yorker.* http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/08/08/getting-bin-laden

24 April: Syrian Civil War

- Policy Debate: Should the United States covertly train and supply rebels to fight the Assad regime in Syria? (2012)

Readings:

1. Pollack, Kenneth. 2014. "Building a Better Syrian Opposition Army: The How and the Why," Brookings Analysis Paper, 35. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Building-a-Better-Syrian-Armyweb.pdf

2. McKelvey, Tara. 2015. "Arming Syrian Rebels: Where the US went wrong" *BBC.* http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33997408

3. Jenkins, Brian Michael. 2014. "The Dynamics of Syria's Civil War," *Rand Corporation Perspective.* Document Number PE-115-RC.

26 April: U.S. Response to the Arab Spring

- Policy Debate: Should the United States restore weapons aid to Egypt? (2015)

Readings:

1. DeYoung, Karen. 2015. "How the Obama White House Runs Foreign Policy." *Washington Post.* https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-the-obama-white-house-runs-foreign-policy/2015/08/04/2befb960-2fd7-11e5-8353-1215475949f4_story.html?utm_term=.dc78cb5e9f58

2. Trager, Eric. 2013. "Obama just made a terrible mistake on Egypt" *New Republic.* http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/obama-just-made-a-terrible-mistake-on-egypt

3. Trager, Eric. 2014. "Resuming Military Aid to Egypt: A Strategic Imperative." http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/resuming-military-aid-to-egypt-a-strategic-imperative

4. Crowley, Michael. 2016. "We Caved," *Politico* http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/01/we-caved-obama-foreign-policy-legacy-213495

1 May: Iran Nuclear Deal

- Policy Debate: Should the United states enter into an agreement with Iran over nuclear weapons? (2015)

Readings:

1. Sick, Gary. 2015. "Iran After the Deal" *Foreign Affairs.* September. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2015-09-07/iran-after-deal

2. Rosenber, Elizabeth. 2014. "Removing the Barriers: Prospects for Sanctions Relief Under a Final Nuclear Deal with Iran" *CNAS Policy Brief.* https://s3.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/CNAS_RemovingTheBarriers_policybrief_Rosenberg.pdf

3. Doran, Michael. 2016. "White House Narratives on the Iran Nuclear Deal," *Testimony before the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, United States House of Representatives.* http://www.hudson.org/research/12498-white-house-narratives-on-the-iran-nuclear-deal

May 3: Future of U.S.-Middle Eastern relations

Readings TBD