

<SAMPLE SYLLABUS FROM PREVIOUS SEMESTER; FALL 2021 WILL FOLLOW SIMILAR FORMAT, BUT UPDATED APPROPRIATELY>

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
MICHIGAN IN WASHINGTON PROGRAM
Fall 2018 Semester

Political Science 497: U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Professor Eric Trager

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Class Meeting Time: Fridays 1-4 PM (except when noted), Room 1104

Office Hours: By appointment, but can usually meet on short notice – just e-mail me!

What are the United States' interests in the Middle East? Who and what determine those interests? And how are those interests pursued? This course addresses these questions in three parts. First, we will examine debates on what U.S. interests are in the Middle East, and the various actors and factors that shape policy outcomes. Next, we will examine pivotal American relationships in the Middle East, and debates regarding those relationships. Finally, we will examine key policy dilemmas during the administrations of George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump. Students should leave this class with a strong understanding of the challenges that the U.S. faces in the Middle East, as well as an informed viewpoint regarding how the U.S. should address those challenges.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS/GRADING

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| Map Quiz (Session 3, Sept. 14): | 5% |
| Participation: | 25% |
| Midterm Paper (Due Session 10, Nov. 2 @ 9 AM via e-mail; 5-7 pages): | 30% |
| Final Paper (Due Dec. 7 @ 9 AM via e-mail; 8-10 pages): | 40% |

REQUIREMENTS EXPLAINED

-Readings: All readings will be available online via DropBox. Please be sure to do them, and to bring them to class with you. It is highly recommended that you take notes while reading, focusing in particular on each article's key argument, as well as the basic data that is used to support that argument. Also, it is helpful to do the readings in the order that they are assigned. To facilitate this, I have placed them in order in the DropBox folder for each course session.

-Map Quiz: At the beginning of class during Session 3 (Sept. 14), I will pass around a blank map of the Middle East and North Africa with various countries, capitals, disputed territories, waterways and bodies of water numbered. You will have to identify the

numbered items. This will be very straightforward, but I will take it seriously, because one cannot understand Middle East policy without knowing the region's geography.

-Participation: A seminar lives and dies by student participation. You are expected to arrive in class having done all of the readings, and it is highly recommended that you come with notes that outline the major arguments of each reading and the relevant evidence that various authors bring (or do not bring) to support their arguments. This will make for a livelier, more informed discussion, and it will enhance your grade. Absences – unless excused – will be marked as zeroes.

Also, this is probably the appropriate space in which to state the obvious: U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East is a contentious issue. All views are welcome in this seminar and, no matter how strongly you may disagree with your classmates on any given topic, you are expected to keep the debate respectful.

-Guest Speakers: Once we move beyond the introductory sessions, each session will be split in half. During the first half we will engage in a substantive discussion of the topic based on the readings, and then we will have a guest speaker during the second half. The speakers have all worked on the policy issues that they will be addressing at a senior level, whether that has been in the White House, State Department, Pentagon, or Congress, and you will hear from at least one journalist who has covered an intervention the ground. I have aimed to bring a range of institutional voices, as well as officials who served in the Bush, Obama, and Trump administrations. Rest assured that those weeks that are currently listed as “TBA” will have speakers – I am merely waiting on confirmations (which is how August in Washington generally goes). You are expected to engage each speaker respectfully, and this will be part of your participation grade.

-Absences: Since participation is an important part of your final grade, you are expected to have perfect attendance. If you must miss a class session, however, you should notify me at least one week in advance and, to receive participation credit, you will be asked to write a 2-3-page response paper to the readings, which will be due before the session that you will be missing meets.

-Midterm Paper: I will hand out three questions at the end of Session 7 (Oct. 12). The midterm will ask you to choose one of three questions pertaining to the readings from Weeks 2-7, and write a 5-7 page response. **Please do not go over 7 pages, and do not change spacing, font-size, margins, etc. – you will be penalized for doing so! DUE ON NOV. 2rd BY 9:00 AM via E-MAIL.**

-Final Paper: I will hand out two policy questions at the end of Session 11 (Nov. 9), and you will answer one of them in an 8-10 page paper. **Please do not go over 10 pages, and do not change spacing, font-size, margins, etc. – you will be penalized for doing so!** This assignment will be **DUE ON FRIDAY, DEC. 7 AT 9:00 AM VIA E-MAIL.**

POLICIES

-Policy on Academic Misconduct: UCDC has a zero-tolerance policy for cheating, plagiarism, and any other form of dishonesty. Students should refer to their home campus Student Code of Conduct for the regulations that apply to them. The burden is on each student to know what behaviors constitute cheating and plagiarism. Ignorance of these behaviors is not an adequate defense.

-Policy on Classroom Conduct: Please conduct yourself in a professional manner. That means being on time, addressing your classmates and guest speakers respectfully, and participating constructively in classroom discussions. You may use your laptops to take notes in class, but should close your laptops when during the guest speaker sessions.

-Statement on Sexual Harassment and Sexual Violence: The following language is the current UC Policy on Sexual Harassment and the process by which sexual misconduct is reported at UCDC. The link is <http://policy.ucop.edu/doc/4000385/SHSV>.

The University of California is committed to creating and maintaining a community where all individuals who participate in University programs and activities can work and learn together in an atmosphere free of harassment, exploitation, or intimidation. Every member of the community should be aware that the University prohibits sexual harassment and sexual violence, and that such behavior violates both law and University policy. The University will respond promptly and effectively to reports of sexual harassment and sexual violence, and will take appropriate action to prevent, to correct, and when necessary, to discipline behavior that violates this policy on Sexual Harassment and Sexual Violence.

Students who wish to speak confidentially about an incident of sexual misconduct should contact UCDC's Counseling Services at UCDCCounseling@gmail.com. To report sexual misconduct to ask questions about UCDC policies and procedures regarding sexual misconduct, please contact the UCDC Title IX administrator, Josh Brimmeier (202-974-6214 or josh.brimmeier@ucdc.edu). Because the University of California is legally obligated to investigate reports of sexual misconduct, the confidentiality of reported misconduct cannot be guaranteed.

-Statement on Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The following language is the UC Policy on Nondiscrimination on the Basis of Disability. The link is <http://policy.ucop.edu/doc/2710534/PACAOS-140>.

In compliance with the Federal Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as amended (Public Law 93-112) and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-336), University of California policy prohibits unlawful discrimination on the basis of disability in its programs, services, and activities. If you require accommodation for class, please let me know at our first meeting (if not earlier), so the necessary arrangements can be made.

SECTION I: INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSIONS

1. August 31, 2018: Course Intro

- Syllabus handed out.
- Critical discussion of breakfast cereals.

2. September 7, 2018: What Are American Interests in the Middle East?

- Daniel Byman and Sara Bjerg Moller, “The United States and the Middle East: Interests, Risks, and Costs,” from *Sustainable Security: Rethinking American National Security Strategy*, edited by Jeremi Suri and Benjamin Valentino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Barack Obama, “Text of Cairo Speech,” *The New York Times* (4 Jun. 2009): <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/04/us/politics/04obama.text.html?_r=0>.
- Donald Trump, “Speech to the Arab Islamic American Summit,” *The White House* (21 May 2017): <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/05/21/president-trumps-speech-arab-islamic-american-summit>>.

3. September 14, 2018: Who/What Influences/Determines U.S. Middle East Policy?

****MAP QUIZ AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS ****

- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby,” *London Review of Books* (23 Mar. 2006): <<http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>>. (You may skim the many pages of readers’ comments at end.)
- Walter Russell Mead, “The New Israel and the Old,” *Foreign Affairs* (Jul./Aug. 2008): 28-46.
- “Country Ratings,” *Gallup*: <<https://news.gallup.com/poll/1624/perceptions-foreign-countries.aspx>>. (Look at favorability ratings of: Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Palestinian Authority, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen.)
- Martin Kramer, “The American Interest,” *Azure* (Fall 2006): 21-33.

SECTION II: KEY RELATIONSHIPS

4. September 21, 2018: Iran

- Robin Wright, ed., The Iran Primer (USIP, 2010). Read chapters 29-33 (pages 129-150).
- Suzanne Maloney, “The Roots and Evolution of Iran’s Regional Strategy,” The Atlantic Council, Issue Brief (Sept. 2017): <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/The_Roots_and_Evolution_of_Irans_Regional_Strategy_web_0928.pdf>.
- Nader Uskowi, “Examining Iran’s Global Terrorism Network,” Congressional Testimony (17 Apr. 2018): <<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/testimony/UskowiTestimony20180417.pdf>>.

- Michael C. Bender, “Trump Willing to Meet Iranian President Hassan Rouhani ‘Anytime They Want,’” *The Wall Street Journal* (30 Jul. 2018): <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/donald-trump-willing-to-meet-iranian-president-hassan-rouhani-anytime-they-want-1532977661>>.

GUEST SPEAKER: Nader Uskowi, senior policy adviser to CENTCOM (2013-2017).

5. September 28, 2018: The Gulf Cooperation Council

- Simon Henderson, The New Pillar: Conservative Arab Gulf States and U.S. Strategy (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2003): <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PP_58_THE_NE_W_PILLAR.pdf>. 1-17.
- Gabriel Collins and Jim Krane, “Carter Doctrine 3.0: Evolving U.S. Military Guarantees for Gulf Oil Security,” *Baker Institute for Public Policy* (27 Apr. 2017): <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/research_document/e73ec9c9/BI-Brief-042717-CES_CarterDoctrine.pdf>.
- Steve Coll, “How Can the Qatar Crisis Be Resolved?” *The New Yorker* (29 Jun. 2017): <<http://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/how-can-the-qatar-crisis-be-resolved>>.
- Eric Trager, “The Muslim Brotherhood Is the Root of the Qatar Crisis,” *The Atlantic* (2 Jul. 2017): <<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/07/muslim-brotherhood-qatar/532380/>>.
- Desmond Butler and Tom LoBianco, “The Princes, The President, and the Fortune Seekers,” *Associated Press* (21 May 2018): <<https://apnews.com/a3521859cf8d4c199cb9a8567abd2b71>>.
- Megan Keller, “Qatar attempted to lobby Huckabee, Dershowitz to influence Trump: report,” *The Hill* (29 Aug. 2018): <<http://thehill.com/policy/international/404173-qatar-attempted-to-lobby-mike-huckabee-dershowitz-to-influence-trump>>.

GUEST SPEAKER: Simon Henderson, senior fellow, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

6. October 5, 2018: Saudi Arabia

- Newsteam Staff, “U.S.-Saudi Relations,” *Council on Foreign Relations* (21 Apr. 2016): <<http://www.cfr.org/saudi-arabia/us-saudi-relations/p36524>>.
- Dexter Filkins, “A Saudi Prince’s Quest to Remake the Middle East,” *The New Yorker* (9 Apr. 2018): <<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/04/09/a-saudi-princes-quest-to-remake-the-middle-east>>.
- Emma Graham-Harrison, “Saudi Arabia Seeks Death Penalty Against Female Human Rights Activist,” *The Guardian* (22 Aug. 2018): <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/22/saudi-arabia-seeks-its-first-death-penalty-against-a-female-human-rights-activist>>.
- Jane Ferguson, “Is Intentional Starvation the Future of War?” *The New Yorker* (11 Jul. 2018): <<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/is-yemen-intentional-starvation-the-future-of-war>>.

GUEST SPEAKER: Elisa Catalano Ewers, National Security Council staff, Director for the Gulf states (2013-2016).

7. October 12, 2018: Israel

***** MIDTERM QUESTIONS WILL BE DISTRIBUTED THIS WEEK *****

- Haim Malka, Crossroads: The Future of the U.S.-Israel Strategic Partnership (Washington: Center for Strategic and International Relations, 2011): <https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/110908_Malka_CrossroadsUSIsrael_Web.pdf>. Read chapter 1.
- Robert Satloff and Chas Freeman, “Israel: Asset or Liability? A Debate on the U.S.-Israel Relationship,” *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (Mar. 2011): <<http://washingtoninstitute.org/templateC04.php?CID=97>>.
- Dana H. Allin and Steven N. Simon, “Trump and the Holy Land,” *Foreign Affairs* (Mar./Apr. 2017): <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/israel/2017-02-13/trump-and-holy-land>>.
- Mark Landler, “For Trump, an Embassy in Jerusalem Is a Political Decision, Not a Diplomatic One,” *The New York Times* (6 Dec. 2017): <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/06/us/politics/trump-embassy-jerusalem-israel.html>>.
- Jonathan Schanzer, “Jerusalem Is Already Israel’s Capital. Trump Just Made it Official.” *Fortune* (7 Dec. 2017): <<http://fortune.com/2017/12/07/trump-jerusalem-speech-american-embassy-israel/>>.

GUEST SPEAKER: Dana Stroul, Professional Staff Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee minority (Democratic) staff.

8. October 19, 2018: Egypt

- Jon B. Alterman, “Making Choices: The Future of the U.S.-Egyptian Relationship,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (Aug. 2016): <https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/160802_Alterman_MakingChoices_Web.pdf>.
- Peter Hessler, “Egypt’s Failed Revolution,” *The New Yorker* (2 Jan. 2017): <<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/01/02/egypts-failed-revolution>>.
- Gardiner Harris and Declan Walsh, “U.S. Slaps Egypt on Human Rights Record and Ties to North Korea,” *The New York Times* (22 Aug. 2017): <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/22/us/politics/us-aid-egypt-human-rights-north-korea.html>>.
- Declan Walsh, “Despite Egypt’s Dismal Human Rights Record, U.S. Restores Military Aid,” *New York Times* (26 Jul. 2018): <<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/26/world/middleeast/egypt-human-rights-us-aid.html>>.

GUEST SPEAKER: Andrew Clark, National Security Council staff, Acting Senior Director for the Gulf States and Egypt (2017-2018).

SECTION III: KEY POLICY DILEMMAS

9. October 26, 2018: The Iraq War

- Douglas J. Feith, War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism (Harper, 2008). Read chapters 6 and 7 (pages 179-228).
- Larry Diamond, “What Went Wrong In Iraq?” *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct. 2004): 34-56.
- George W. Bush, Decision Points (Crown, 2010). Read chapter 12, “Surge” (pages 355-394)
- Steven Simon, “The Price of the Surge,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/Jun. 2008): 57-76.

GUEST SPEAKER: Douglas Feith, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy (2001-2005).

10. November 2, 2018: NO CLASS

***** MIDTERM DUE BY 9 AM VIA E-MAIL *****

11. November 9, 2018: The Libyan Intervention

***** FINAL PAPER OPTIONS DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS *****

- Ryan Lizza, “The Consequentialist,” *The New Yorker* (2 May 2011): <<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/05/02/the-consequentialist>>.
- Fred Burton and Samuel Katz, “40 Minutes in Benghazi,” *Vanity Fair* (8 Jul. 2013): <<https://www.vanityfair.com/news/politics/2013/08/Benghazi-book-fred-burton-samuel-m-katz>>.
- Amber Phillips, “The 5 most serious accusations from Republicans’ Benghazi report,” *The Washington Post* (28 Jun. 2016): <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/06/28/the-5-most-serious-accusations-from-republicans-benghazi-report/?utm_term=.41278cdd0584>.
- Shadi Hamid, “Everyone says the Libya intervention was a failure. They’re wrong.,” *Vox* (5 Apr. 2016): <<https://www.vox.com/2016/4/5/11363288/libya-intervention-success>>.

GUEST SPEAKER: Nancy A. Youssef, *The Wall Street Journal*; former Cairo bureau chief for McClatchy and national security correspondent for *BuzzFeed*.

12. November 16, 2018: The Syrian Civil War

- Zachary Laub, “Syria’s War: The Descent Into Horror,” Council on Foreign Relations (11 Apr. 2018): <<https://www.cfr.org/interactives/syrias-civil-war-descent-into-horror#!/syrias-civil-war-descent-into-horror>>.
- Ben Rhodes, “Inside the White House During the Syrian ‘Red Line’ Crisis,” *The Atlantic* (3 Jun. 2018): <<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/06/inside-the-white-house-during-the-syrian-red-line-crisis/561887/>>.
- James Taranto, “Obama’s ‘Red Line’ Debacle From the Inside,” *The Wall Street Journal* (8 Jun. 2018): <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/obamas-red-line-debacle-from-the-inside-1528497718>>.
- Nicholas Kristof, “Trump Was Right to Strike Syria,” *The New York Times* (7 Apr. 2017): <<https://kristof.blogs.nytimes.com/2017/04/07/trump-was-right-to-strike-syria/?mcubz=1>>.

- Kori Schake, “Is Trump’s Bold Syria Strike a Dangerous Miscalculation?” *Foreign Policy* (7 Apr. 2017): <<http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/07/is-trump-dragging-the-united-states-into-a-syrian-quagmire/>>.

GUEST SPEAKER: Rebecca Brocato, legislative affairs, National Security Council staff (2015-2017); special adviser, Department of State (2012-2015).

13. November 30, 2018: Making and Breaking the Iran Deal

- Laurent Fabius, “Inside the Iran Deal: A French Perspective,” *The Washington Quarterly* 39.3 (2016): 7-38.
<https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2121/f/downloads/TWQ_Fall2016_Fabius.pdf>.
- Matthew Duss, “The Iran Deal Is a Victory for Obama Diplomacy Over Bush Warmongering,” *The New Republic* (14 Jul. 2015):
<<https://newrepublic.com/article/122302/iran-deal-victory-obama-diplomacy-over-bush-warmongering>>.
- Elliott Abrams, “Iran Got a Far Better Deal Than It Had Any Right to Expect,” *National Review* (15 Jul. 2015): <<https://www.nationalreview.com/2015/07/iran-nuclear-agreement-john-kerry-mohammad-javad-zarif/>>.
- John Hudson and Philip Rucker, “Why Trump torpedoed Obama’s Iran deal,” *Washington Post* (8 May 2018): <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/i-told-everybody-this-is-what-i-was-going-to-do-why-trump-torpedoed-obamas-iran-deal/2018/05/08/a1d39a68-52f0-11e8-9c91-7dab596e8252_story.html?utm_term=.93237994acad>.
- Nicholas Kristof, “Trump Vandalizes the Iran Deal,” *The New York Times* (8 May 2018): <<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/opinion/trump-iran-deal.html>>.
- Bret Stephens, “A Courageous Trump Call on a Lousy Iran Deal,” *The New York Times* (8 May 2018): <<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/08/opinion/trump-courageous-iran-decision.html>>.

GUEST SPEAKER: James Earl, director for Iran Nuclear Implementation, National Security Council staff (November 2016-November 2017); Department of the Treasury (2009-2016, 2017-2018).

14. December 7, 2018: The Future of U.S. Policy in the Middle East

***** FINAL PAPER DUE BY 9 AM VIA E-MAIL *****

- Adam Entous, “Donald Trump’s New World Order,” *The New Yorker* (18 Jun. 2018): <<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/06/18/donald-trumps-new-world-order>>.
- Tony Badran, “Standing With Saudi Arabia,” *Tablet Magazine* (2 Dec. 2018):
<<https://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/middle-east/275697/trump-saudi-arabia/?print=1>>.

GUEST SPEAKER: Susan L. Ziakeh, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Arabian Peninsula Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs (2014-2016); U.S. Ambassador to Qatar (2011-2014).

APPENDIX: MIDDLE EASTERN NEWS SOURCES IN ENGLISH

Al-Jazeera (Qatar-based pan-Arab), english.aljazeera.net
Al-Arabiya (Saudi-based pan-Arab), english.alarabiya.net
Arab News (Saudi Arabia), www.arabnews.com/
Gulf News (UAE), www.gulfnews.com
The National (UAE), www.thenational.ae
Daily News (Egypt), www.thedailynewsegypt.com
Al-Ahram (Egypt), english.ahram.org.eg
Egypt Independent (Egypt), www.egyptindependent.com
Daily Star (Lebanon), www.dailystar.com.lb
NaharNet (Lebanon), web.naharnet.com
Haaretz (Israel), www.haaretz.com
Jerusalem Post (Israel), www.jpost.com
YNet News (Israel), www.ynetnews.com
Ma'an News Agency (Palestinian), www.maannews.net/eng/Default.aspx
Wafa (Palestinian), english.wafa.ps
Islamic Republic News Agency (Iran), www2.irna.ir/en
PressTV (Iran), www.presstv.ir
Tehran Times (Iran), www.tehrantimes.com
Syrian Arab News Agency (Syria), sana.sy/index_eng.html
Syria Today (Syria), www.syria-today.com