

Regional Politics, Cooperation, and Conflict in the Middle East, MC324a

Spring 2014
Associate Professor: Yael Aronoff

Office: S. Case 317
Email: aronoffy@msu.edu
Office hours: T, TH 12:45-2:35, M
5:15-7:45
Class Meets T, TH 10:20-11:40
JMC Library

DESCRIPTION OF COURSE:

This course will focus on the causes for conflict and cooperation between states, within states, and between state and non-state actors, in the modern Middle East. The course will also analyze efforts at democratization in the Middle East, and especially the national and transnational influences on the uprisings in the region over the past three years. We will analyze why calls for reform in some countries led to mass demonstrations while in others they did not and the diverse causes for the uprisings and their varied outcomes. We will be analyzing these questions in regard to Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Libya, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. We will emphasize differing internal conditions and histories as well as the influence of external regional and international actors. We will be reading Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch, *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East* (Westview Press, 2013) as well as current academic journal articles on developments in the Middle East which are in the course pack. The course will also center on several in depth case studies emphasizing the Persian Gulf as a security region, as well as the Arab-Israeli conflict and efforts to negotiate peace agreements. We will begin the course by analyzing the political development in the region.

After analyze the diversity of causes for and outcomes of the uprisings in the Middle East, we will turn to in depth case studies of the Persian Gulf security region, including wars, political alliances, and the balance of power within the region. Our main text will be Gregory Gause, *International Relations of the Persian Gulf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), but we will supplement this with many recent journal articles on selected countries. The course will explore the causes and effects of the Iranian-Iraqi war, the Persian Gulf War, the second war in Iraq, and current dilemmas and politics in Iraq. After exploring Iraq, we move to discussing Saudi Arabia, the impact of oil on its political development, its influence in the region, and its special relationship with the United States. We will move from Saudi interests in Yemen to investigating internal wars in Yemen, its political and economic development, and the U.S. heightened counter-terror efforts in Yemen. We will then explore the dynamic changes within Iran, its status as a competing regional power and its regional influence, as well as U.S. policies toward Iran. After focusing in-depth on Iran, we will hold a simulation of varied decision-making options for the U.S. in engaging Iran based on the policy memos analyzing policy option.

Just as international relations within the Persian Gulf are important to understanding the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict is central to any study of wars and efforts at negotiation in the region. We will focus on conflict and efforts at cooperation between Syria and Israel, Lebanon and Israel, and especially the emerging Palestine and Israel. Israel and the Palestinian Authority have been engaging in peace negotiations over the past 5 months, and just this week Secretary of

State Kerry presented both parties with his own framework of principles on the core issues to be negotiated over the next few months. We will focus on the main actors in negotiations between Israel and Syria, Israel and Palestine, and Israel and Lebanon, as well as the role of the United States, regional actors, and the international community in facilitating negotiations. All three dyads of conflict have included violent conflict, as well as periods of serious negotiation. We will examine conditions for conflict and cooperation as they relate to non-state actors involved, as well as state actors. We will discover how in the midst of violent conflict unofficial negotiations can pave the way to cooperation and official negotiation and what the conditions are for successful negotiations. The cases allow for a greater understanding of the domestic and foreign policies of these countries immersed in conflict, and enable comparisons of different types of conflict and cooperation. We will be reading Daniel C. Kurtzer, Ed. *Pathways to Peace: America and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) and Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, ^{3rd} Edition, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), as well as selected journal articles and chapters from other books in the course pack. The books we will be reading as a class are recent books published by top scholars in the field analyzing the motivations of the various actors, negotiators themselves, analyses of the role of culture in negotiating behavior, as well as frank accounts of lessons learned by former American mediators.

We shall examine and simulate the ongoing quest for peace in the Middle East. The class will be divided into 9 working groups or teams. Each team will represent one of the aforementioned actors and mediators. Each team will be collectively responsible for researching and negotiating on behalf of, the actor they are representing. Each team will decide how it is going to organize and reach decisions. You will need to determine who the most relevant actors who influence foreign and security policies are for your state and/or nation. Each team member then writes an individual research paper of a particular key actor (could be political party, interest group, bureaucracy, or political leader), their goals and interests in an agreement, past stances toward negotiations, and preferred negotiating positions. The American mediators need to show an understanding of both states' interests, as well as U.S. interests in resolving the conflict. They should specify what kinds of influence and persuasion they intend to use as well as any positions they might propose to further progress in the negotiations. Each team will then determine the policy of their state by simulating the negotiation between competing domestic interests and their perceptions of regional and international interests and pressures. This first set of simulations, whereby each nation negotiates among its own relevant domestic constituencies is also intended to show the multi-layered complexity of the conflicts and to expose the dangers of treating any side to a conflict in a monolithic way. There is deep domestic contestation concerning the advisability of negotiation and the extent to which each nation should compromise in any such negotiation. Therefore, these types of peace negotiations often require just as much negotiation internally as they do with the representatives of their traditional adversary across contested borders.

The culmination of this project will be the simulation of direct negotiations between an Israeli team and a Syrian one, another Israeli team and the emerging Palestine, and a third Israeli team and Lebanese team, facilitated by three respective American teams to mediate the three sets of negotiations. Students will represent the actor with whom they are least sympathetic so that they can develop understanding and empathy to all parties in the conflict. At the end of the semester national groups will present the agreements they have reached. There will be a group paper,

writing up the peace agreement reached after simulations specifying mutual interests, the points of agreement, and/or disagreement on the pertinent issues. However, if your group cannot come to an agreement on certain issues, those can also be articulated in the paper. For example, it could be that the group decides to sign the agreement, but that the dissent of one of the actor's is noted with explanations for both.

In this class you will be exposed to multiple points of view and interpretations not only through the readings, but through interaction with a variety of different guest speakers as well having the opportunity to view films outside of class. We will be viewing the film *Persepolis*. This is a film by Majrane Satrapi and Vincent Paronnaud, based on the graphic novel by Marjane Satrapi, 2007 Academy Award Nominee Best Animated Feature. This is a semi-autobiographical narrative of an Iranian woman's life as she lives through various important political events in Iran. After we have finished reading and discussing Professor Alan Dowty's book, *Israel/Palestine*, 3rd Edition, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012) we will have a video-conference with Professor Dowty, who is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Notre Dame University, so that you have an opportunity to ask him questions about the book and he can provide an analysis of events since the publication of the book. We will have a video-conference with Gregory Gause, author of the book we are reading on International Relations in the Gulf, on January 30th. We will have young Israeli and Palestinian leaders of One Voice come speak to our class. One leader is a representative of the Israeli office and another is a leader in the Palestinian office in Ramallah. This organization attempts to mobilize its respective publics to push their leaders to reach a peace agreement based on a two state solution and have the respective publics discuss the nature of such an agreement and the compromises that will be necessary. They will describe to you their own respective narratives as well as the work they do for One Voice and then will answer questions. We will watch the documentary *Shattered Dreams*, based on the book by French journalist Charles Enderlin. This is a documentary which explores negotiations through the Oslo process and Camp David negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority and analyzes the reasons for the successes and failures of these varied efforts at negotiation by interviewing both Israeli and Palestinian negotiators and leaders, as well as ordinary people.

Goals of the course:

To develop the students' skills in conducting original research, collaborating with others in a team project, the writing of positions papers, learning and utilizing negotiating techniques, understanding the complexity of important public policy issues, learning about an important region of the world, and developing understanding and empathy toward all parties to the conflict.

This course has six main objectives:

- 1) To examine the different layers of causation for both conflict and cooperation and to be able to apply different approaches to explaining particular cases of conflict and cooperation to our case studies. In doing so, we will explore the strengths and weaknesses of these various approaches: the valuable insights each perspective can give, to what extent the approaches are complimentary and to what extent they are contradictory.
- 2) To examine selected cases from the Middle East in order to examine the role of domestic politics including ideology, nationalism, and religion, leadership, competing political cultures, as well as regional politics and power balances.
- 3) To better understand the particular cases of conflict and cooperation we will study, as

well as understand changing conceptions of international security and ways to promote international cooperation.

- 4) To gain a deeper understanding of the diverse causes and outcomes of the uprisings in the Middle East over the past three years and efforts at democratization.
- 5) Simulations will enable you to apply what you have learned, make the strengths and limits of various theoretical approaches concrete, and help understand multiple perspectives. Role-playing is used to increase your empathy for and understanding of a variety of actors.
- 6) To provide you with opportunities to improve your critical thinking, reading, writing, and speaking abilities. Particular attention will be given to developing argumentation skills, both orally and in writing, through written assignments, in class discussions and weekly discussions on ANGEL, in class and simulations. We will focus on the use of logic and evidence to build an argument, and address weaknesses and exceptions in order to determine the limits of an argument.

Course Requirements:

Attendance is required and late assignments will not be accepted and cannot be made up except for certified emergency medical reasons. The success of the simulations as a whole depends on each and every student conscientiously doing his or her fair share of the work (research, writing position papers, and negotiating). Finally, reading the *New York Times* every day is essential, especially since current events in the Middle East are critical to your own negotiating postures.

Evaluation Criteria: I use the following criteria for assessing work:

4.0 – Your work is excellent relative to the level necessary to meet course requirements; you not only make strong, organized arguments that make good use of evidence and link theory to empirical cases, but also are able to recognize the limits of those arguments through thoughtful assessments of alternative explanations. Your work is probing, perceptive, and well expressed.

3.0 – Your work is good relative to the level of course requirements; it demonstrates very good command of the materials, is well written, and insightful.

2.0 – Your work meets requirements of the assignment, demonstrates adequate command of materials, and is fairly well expressed.

1.0 – Your work meets minimum requirements for credit but shows weaknesses in the mastery of material and expression.

0.0 – Your work is unsatisfactory for credit because of major problems in understanding and expressing that understanding of course material.

Office Hours and Availability: I strongly encourage everyone to take advantage of the over six hours a week I have devoted to office hours. Please contact me if you cannot make the office hours due to your class schedule, and I will be happy to make an appointment with you at another time. Please come with questions concerning lectures, readings, or assignments, or if you would just like to discuss the reading, relate the reading to what you are doing in another class or your past experiences. I encourage you to come to office hours with outlines for all written assignments, so that we can discuss your ideas and so that I have the opportunity to advise you. My door is open to you, and I look forward to having stimulating discussions with you outside class (over lunch and in office hours), as well as in class. I would like everyone to succeed, and am available to help you do so.

Evaluation:

The final grade will be based on the following:

1) Written work, 75%

a. Responses to web discussions based on readings for every class, 15%

Discussion question(s) regarding each Tuesday's reading will be posted for your response on Friday and they will be due at 11pm on Monday, before Tuesday's class. You should write an essay answering the post in at least two paragraphs, directly incorporating the readings for that following Tuesday into your answer. Then you should also later post a response of at least a paragraph to at least one of your fellow students' comments. I encourage you to make your first post over the weekend, so that fellow students have time to read and respond to your post. If you consistently post in the couple of hours before the deadline, the highest grade you can get for your post is a 3.0 because many students will not read or respond to your post. If you only include your own post, but do not respond to that of others, the highest grade you can get for that assignment is a 3.0. Participation in web forums will enable you to come to class prepared for discussion, and will give you an opportunity to discuss the material outside of class. I will be checking, and at times participating in, these discussions. Note that if you do not participate in most web discussions, you will receive a zero for this grade. I will divide the number of discussions you participated in with the total number, taking into consideration the quality of the posts and responses for the final grade for these web discussions.

b. Pop quizzes, 10%

There will be surprise quizzes testing your familiarity with the readings assigned for that day. Your quiz grade will be an average of the ones that you were there to take.

c. Policy Memo, 20%

Due Tuesday, February 18 at the beginning of class.

Write a five page (no less no more), double spaced, policy memo addressed to President Obama weighing three alternative policy options toward Iran and advocating on behalf of one of the three. In writing your memo, take into consideration Iran's motives for developing a nuclear capacity and potential influences of this capacity on the regional balance of power in the Persian Gulf and across the Middle East, and how each of the three alternatives would influence broader U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf and in the region. This is not a research paper and you should rely on class readings alone to write the paper, except for current developments in Iranian politics and U.S. policies toward Iran in the *New York Times*. You should use footnotes for the memo and include a title

page (not part of the 5 pages).

d. Individual position paper of relevant actor/interest group, 25%

10 page paper (minimum) analyzing the interests and goals of your actor/party/bureaucracy as they relate to peace with the designated adversary, as well as articulated initial and fall back positions.

The main references should be refereed scholarly studies of the political systems and especially the foreign policies of your respective state. These will be books devoted to the subject and articles in scholarly journals. These journals include the leading journals in political science and those specialized journals dealing with individual states (American Political Science Review, Foreign Affairs, International Security, International Organization, Israel Affairs, Israel Studies, Israel Studies Forum, Israel Studies Review, Journal of Palestine Studies, MERIP Reports, Palestine – Israel Journal of Politics, Economic, and Culture, Review of Middle East Studies, Security Studies, World Politics). There are a range of somewhat more popular, yet serious periodicals (e.g. Jerusalem Report and Economist) that have relevant articles as well. A good place to start is by checking the bibliographies of the required and recommended reading for class.

The consulates and foreign ministries of the country you are representing can also be valuable sources of information, especially on their bargaining positions. Some of them have on-line news services, reports of the media in their country and/or the Middle East more generally.

Deborah Margolis, reference librarian on the Middle East, will be constructing a guide for our class with my assistance that she will explain to you in class.

Due in class, April 15

e. Final Group Peace Agreement, 5%

This paper, a minimum of 10 pages, should specify mutual interests, the points of agreement, and/or disagreement on the pertinent issues negotiated during the simulation.

Due Tuesday, April 29, 7:45am.

All papers should be written in double-spaced and in 12pt font. Include footnotes and a bibliography for each paper. Put in the footnotes as you write your initial draft. You are almost guaranteed to forget to put some in if you wait until the end, and then are responsible for plagiarism. Example for citing a book in a footnote, Itamar Rabinovitch, *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs 1948-2003*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 24-25.

You are welcome to re-write your individual position paper or your policy memo.

If you choose to do so, your final grade for the paper will be the average of the two grades that you receive for the original and for the re-write. Any re-write is due at 7:45am on April 29th in my office.

4) Class participation, 25%

a. Participation in discussions over common readings

On-time attendance to all classes is expected. Students must faithfully complete a close reading of assigned readings before class, and participate regularly in class. In these discussions, you will have the opportunity to engage the viewpoints of other students, make connections among the readings and link theory with empirical examples, and ask clarifying questions. If you attend all the classes, but do not participate in many classes, the highest participation grade you will get is a 2.5. A 4.0 participation grade includes participating in every class in a thoughtful way based on a close reading of the texts for the day, and incorporating those into the discussion. Excused absences include documented signed letters of your participation in particular debates or IRO tournaments, doctor's signed note that you were very ill, etc. If you have an excused absence based on an activity, you are still responsible for timely responses in the web discussions. If you have up to two unexcused absences, but participate thoughtfully in all other classes incorporating the readings into discussion, the highest participation grade you can get is a 3.5. If you have 3 unexcused absences, the highest participation grade you can get is a 3.0, 4 unexcused absences the highest participation grade you can get is a 2.5, 5 unexcused absences the highest participation grade you can get is a 2, with a continuing .5 grade deduction for each additional unexcused absence.

b. Participation in simulation of policy toward Iran, and simulations of negotiations to determine each nation's position, and negotiations for final peace agreement

Every member of each team must participate in the negotiations, based on their well researched and presented individual papers. Then every member of each team must participate in the final negotiations, based on their commonly negotiated sets of positions. Absence during any of the classes devoted to negotiations will result in a zero for that part of the simulation grade. Anyone who arrives late will also be penalized for that in terms of their grade.

Required Readings: The following four books are available at the book store. If you are able, it is recommended that you purchase them as these books will be read in their entirety. You should also purchase the course packet for the class at Ned's book store on Grand River (across from the Campus).

- 1) Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch, *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East* (Westview Press, 2013)
- 2) Gregory Gause, *International Relations of the Persian Gulf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

- 3) Daniel C. Kurtzer, Ed. *Pathways to Peace: America and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- 4) Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 3rd Edition, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012)
- 5) Maloney, Suzanne, *Iran's Long Reach: Iran As a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008).
- 6) Course Pack

Additional Highly Recommended Resources

Knowledge of current events is expected for discussions and your papers. All students should regularly read

The New York Times (which is readily available around the College)

Haaretz (English Edition, Internet) www.haaretzdaily.com

Jerusalem Post (Internet) www.jpost.com

Al Jazeera English Edition at <http://english.aljazeera.net/English>

Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture <http://www.pij.org>

Council on Foreign Relations Crisis Guide: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict:

<http://www.cfr.org/publication/13850/>

Co-Curricular Events Related to the Class:

In the syllabus there are several co-curricular lectures and films that are related to the course. These fall into two categories:

1) I will be showing three films in that directly relate to our class, that you are required to view. We will be viewing *Persepolis* the evening of February 10th, we will be viewing *Shattered Dreams* in class, and will be viewing *The Prime Ministers* the evening of March 24th.

2) I have starred other films and performances that are offered on campus that would further your understanding of Israeli politics, society, culture, or foreign policy as this is one of the countries that we are studying in class.

Academic Integrity: James Madison College and Michigan State University policies on academic integrity and plagiarism will be strictly enforced in this course. See the James Madison College Handbook section, Standards and Expectations, and the MSU Academic Programs catalogue, for further information. If you have questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please see me. The University has a new policy in which plagiarism must be reported outside of Madison, to the university at large.

Honors Option:

The topic for the Honors Option will be analyzing the cultural/political dimensions of Iran, and particularly Israel, in 7 movies related to the class. Three of the movies, are required viewing for

the whole class, and there are 4 additional movies that will be viewed and discussed. An analysis of approximately 500 words is required for each of the movies viewed. To do this honors option you will have to be able to view the movie "To Take A Wife" on Sunday evening January 26th, "Persepolis" in the evening of Monday, February 10, movies in the Israeli Film Festival and participate in the discussions after each movie on Sunday afternoon and evening March 23rd and Monday evening March 24th. In addition, we will be meeting a few extra times to discuss these movies. A 3.5 must be maintained in order to receive Honors credit. The honors designation for this course requires outstanding work in all aspects of the class, in addition to satisfactory completion of the additional work that is required of those participating in the honors option sessions.

Class Schedule and Readings:

The Arab Spring: Domestic, Regional, and International Context

January 7, T: Introduction to the class and the Tunisian Revolution

Reading: The *Arab Spring* book and the course pack.

Introduction to *the Arab Spring* pp. 1-12.

Chapter 1 "From Sidi bou Zid to Sidi Bou Said: A Longue Durce Approach to the Tunisian Revolutions," pp. 13-34.

David Pollock, "First Islamist Party to Voluntarily Give Up Power: A New Tunisian Model?" Policy Alert of *The Washington Institute of Near East Studies*, December 17, 2013, pp. 1-3, course pack.

Ibrahim Sharqieh, "Tunisia's Lessons for the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, September 17, 2013, pp. 4-8, course pack.

Noah Feldman, "How the Arab Spring Survived 2013" December 18, 2013, pp. 9-11, course pack.

January 9, TH: Transformations in Egypt and Libya

Reading: *Arab Spring* book and the course pack

In *The Arab Spring* book. Chapter 2, "Egypt: The Origins and Consequences of the January 25 Uprising" pp. 35-63. Chapter 3, "The Arab Spring: Libya's Second Revolution." Pp. 64-78. Chapter 6 "Jordan and the Arab Spring, pp. 116-132.

Zachary Laub, "Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and Security," Council on Foreign Relations, December 12, 2013, pp. 12-19 in course pack.

Eric Trager, "Hussein Morsi: My Brother's Presidency Was a Disaster," *New Republic*, December 9, 2013, pp.20-23.

Adel El-Adawy, "Egypt Remains Confused by White House Policy," *The Hill*, November 20, 2013, pp. 24-26, course pack.

Robert Springborg, "The Nasser Playbook," *Foreign Affairs* November 5, 2013, pp. 27-30.

Timothy Waters, "Libya's Home Court Advantage," *Foreign Affairs*, pp. 31-32, course pack.

Frederic Wehrey, "Modest Mission? The U.S. Plan to Build a Libyan Army," *Foreign Affairs* November 4, 2013, pp. 35-38, course pack.
David Schenker, "Down and out in Amman," *Foreign Affairs*, October 3, 2013, pp. 39-42.

January 14, T: The Civil War in Syria and the Intervention of Outside Powers

Reading: *Arab Spring* book and course pack.

Chapters 4, 7, and 10 of the *Arab Spring* book. Chapters 4, "The Uprising That Wasn't Supposed to Happen: Syria and the Arab spring," pp. 79-96. Chapter 10, "Russia and the Arab Spring: A Preliminary Appraisal" pp. 195-218. Chapter 7, Iran and the Arab Spring, pp. 133-151.

Jeffrey White, "The Syrian Regime's Military Solution to the War," Policy Watch 2185 of the *Washington Institute of Near East Studies* December 18, 2013, pp. 43-47.

Amy Smithson, "A Phony Farewell to Arms," *Foreign Affairs* October 1, 2013, pp. 48-50, course pack.

Bilal Saab, "The Incredible Shrinking Buffer," *Foreign Affairs* October 28, 2013, pp. 51-53, course pack.

January 16, TH: Political Development in Turkey and the Intersection of National and Transnational Interests in Explaining Variation in Causes and Outcomes of Uprisings in the Middle East.

Reading: *Arab Spring* book and course pack.

Chapters 8, 11, and 12 in the *Arab Spring* book.

Chapter 8, "Turkey in the Arab Spring: Ideological Promotion in a Revolutionary Era," pp. 152-173. Chapter 11, "Obama and the Arab Uprisings," pp. 219-237. Chapter 12, "The Arab World and the Intersection of National and Transnational" pp. 238-256.

Daniel Dombey, "Turkey: How Erdogan Did It – and Could Blow It," *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2014, pp. 54-59, in course pack.

The Persian Gulf as a Security Region

January 21, T: The Persian Gulf as a Security Region

Reading:

Gregory Gause, *International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, pp. 1-87

Chapter 1, "The Persian Gulf as a security region"

Chapter 2, "The Emergence of the Gulf Regional System, 1971-1978"

Chapter 3, "The Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War"

Case Study: Iraq

January 23, TH: The First Gulf War

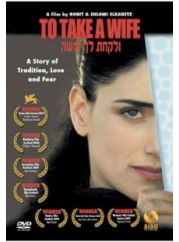
Reading:

Gregory Gause, *International Relations of the Persian Gulf*

Chapter 4, “The Gulf War and the 1990’s,” pp. 88-135

Chapter 5, “9/11, the Iraq War and the future of the Persian Gulf,” pp. 136-183

*January 26, Sunday, 7:00 pm in 339 Case Hall: the Israeli Film *To Take A Wife*, (2004). Vivian's brothers gather in order to persuade her not to divorce her husband, Eliyahu. Eliyahu wants to preserve customs of the old traditional world of Morocco, from where they migrated; however, Vivian wants to live a new life in modern Israel of the 1970s. Professor David Mendelsson will discuss.



January 28, T: The second Iraq War

Reading: *International Relations of the Persian Gulf* and course pack.

Gregory Gause, *International Relations of the Persian Gulf*

Chapter 6, “The Iraq War: American decision-making,” pp. 184-240

Michael Knights, “The Resurgence of Al-Qaeda in Iraq,” Testimony submitted to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, December 12, 2013, pp. 60-71, course pack.

Case Study: Saudi Arabia

January 30, TH: Saudi Arabia, Balance of Power in the Persian Gulf, and its Relationship with the U.S. Possible video-conference with Professor Gregory Gause.

Reading:

Gregory Gause, *International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, chapter 7

“Conclusions: war and alliance in the Persian Gulf,” 241-250.

Gregory Gause III, “From ‘Over the Horizon’ to ‘Into the Backyard’: The US-Saudi Relationship in the Gulf,” in *The Middle East and the United States*, 2007, pp. 72-78, course pack

The Arab Spring, chapter 5 “Oil, Saudi Arabia, and the Spring That Has Not Come,” pp. 97-115.

Christopher Davidson, “The Arab Sunset: The Coming Collapse of the Gulf Monarchies,” *Foreign Affairs* October 10, 2013 pp. 79-83, course pack.

Gregory Gause, “Will Nuclear Talks With Iran Provoke a Crisis In U.S.-Saudi Ties?” *Brookings* October 14, 2013, pp. 84-87, course pack.

Case Study: Yemen

February 4, T: Yemen’s Challenges and Counter-Terror Efforts

Reading: all the readings for today are in the course pack.

Joost R. Hiltermann, “Disorder on the Border: Saudi Arabia’s War Inside Yemen,” *Foreign Affairs*, December 16, 2009, pp. 88-90, course pack.

Marisa L. Porges, “Saving Yemen: Is Counterterrorism Enough?” *Foreign Affairs*, November 16, 2010, pp. 91-92, course pack.

Daniel Green, “Al-Qaeda’s Shadow Government in Yemen,” Policy Watch 2181 *The Washington Institute of Near East Studies*, December 12, 2013, pp. 95-98,

course pack.

Transcript of Margaret Warner interview of John Brennan, Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, August 8, 2012, pp. 1-28.

Hugh Naylor, "The Election Only one Man Can Win," *The National* February 16, 2012, pp. 99-126, course pack

Hugh Naylor, "The Election Only One Man Can Win," *The National*, February 16, 2012, pp. 127-128, course pack.

Case Study: Iran

February 6, TH: Sources of Iranian Influence

Reading:

Iran's Long Reach, pages 3-49

February 10, M: Screening of film, *Persepolis* 5:30-7:30. Film by Majrane Satrapi and Vincent Paronnaud, Based on the graphic novel by Marjane Satrapi, 2007 Academy Award Nominee Best Animated Feature. For those of you who cannot make it at this time, I will have the video available for you on reserve at the Madison library to see at your convenience this week.

February 11, T: Agents of Change in Iran

Reading:

Iran's Long Reach, chapter 3, pp. 50-120.

February 13, TH: Iranian Perceptions and U.S. Policy Toward Iran

Reading:

Iran's Long Reach, chapter 4, "U.S. Policy Toward Iran," pp. 121-130

Robert Jervis, "On the Road to Yes With Iran," *Foreign Affairs*, November 19, 2013, pp. 129-131, course pack.

Akbar Ganji, "Frenemies Forever," *Foreign Affairs* September 24, 2013, pp. 132-134, course pack.

Farideh Farhi and Saideh Lotfian, "Iranian Foreign Policy After the Election," *Foreign Affairs* June 13, 2013, pp. 1-4.

Zachary Goldman and Mira Rapp-Hooper, "Gulf Reconciliation council," *Foreign Affairs* pp. 135-138, course pack.

Kenneth Pollack, "Confidence Enrichment," *Foreign Affairs* November 25, 2013, pp. 142-143, course pack.

Mohsen Milani, "Persian Parley," *Foreign Affairs* November 26, 2013, pp. 144-146, course pack.

Suzanne Maloney, "Saved by the Deal," *Foreign Affairs* November 27, 2013, pp. 147-149, course pack.

Kimberley Elliott, "Unsanctioned Sanctions," *Foreign Affairs* December 10, 2013, pp. 150-151, course pack.

Brent Sasley, "Still Going Strong," *Foreign Affairs* December 6, 2013, pp. 152-154, course pack.

Elnur Ismayilov, "Israel and Azerbaijan: The Evolution of a Strategic Partnership," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs VII:1* 2013, pp. 155-162.
Daniel Kurtzer, Seyed Hossein Mousavian, and Thomas Pickering, "Iran and the nuclear agreement: Trust but verify," December 6, 2013, pp. 163-165.

February 18, T: Policy Memos Due at the beginning of class. Simulation regarding U.S. policy toward Iran.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict and Efforts at Cooperation

Case Study: Conflict and Cooperation Between Israel and Palestine

February 20, TH: Contrasting Narratives of the Conflict

Reading:

First three chapters of *Israel/Palestine*, pp. 1-68

February 25, T: Visit with Palestinian and Israeli representatives of One Voice

Reading:

Israel/Palestine pp. 72-125, 142-176.

February 27, TH: The Regional Dimension

Reading:

Pathways to Peace Introduction, Chapter 1 by Quandt, "Israeli-Palestinian Peace Prospects in Regional Context," pp. 3-18.

Israel/Palestine The Fourth Stage of the Conflict 177-219.

Spring Break! March 3-March 9

March 11, T: Video-Conference with Professor Alan Dowty

Israel/Palestine last two chapters "The Impasse that Remains" and "the Perfect Conflict" pp. 208-270.

March 13, TH: Israeli Dimensions

Reading: Chapters 3, 5, 7 of *Pathways to Peace*

Avi Gil "Israel's Strategic Dilemmas: Don't Wait for the dust to Settle; Act Now," pp. 37-44.

Yossi Alpher, "Israel and the US Role," pp. 57-70.

Gershon Gorenberg. "The Other Negotiator: the Israeli Public at the Peace Table," pp. 85-108.

Chapter 8 of the *Arab Spring*, "Israel and the Arab Spring: The Victory of Anxiety," pp. 174-194.

March 18, T: Palestinian Dimensions

Reading: Chapters 4, 6, 8.

Samih Al-Abid and Samir Hileleh, "Palestine as a Partner in Peace," pp. 45-56.

Ghassan Khatib, "Constrained and Now Corrosive: How Palestinians View the US Role," pp. 71-84.

Robert Malley, "The Peace Process and the Palestinian National Movement," pp. 109-134.

March 20, TH: Viewing of the documentary, *Shattered Dreams*.

March 23, S: Israeli Film Festival – all movies are free

147 Communication Arts & Sciences Bldg.

2:00-3:50 pm ***Fill the Void*** ((2012) Shira, the youngest daughter of an Orthodox Hassidic family in Tel Aviv, is grief-stricken when her older sister, Esther, dies during childbirth. As the family grieves, Shira is pressured to marry her late sister's husband. She faces a very difficult decision. Winner of 7 Israeli Academy Awards. Presented by Prof. Ilana Blumberg, James Madison College, and Prof. Emerita Joyce Ladenson. Center for Gender in Global Context. 90 min.



4:15-5:30 pm ***Arab Labor*** (2013)

Groundbreaking TV series, which combines humor and drama to explore the cultural divide between Arabs and Jews in Israel. In this **Michigan Premiere** of Season 4, Bushra discovers that she is pregnant. Her husband, Amjad, does not handle the news well. On his way to becoming the perfect husband, an exemplary father and a promising member of the Knesset, the road to his dilemmas is always paved with good intentions.

Presented by Chen Bram, Writer/Creator: Sayed

Kashua. Director: Shai Capon. 50 min. Hebrew and Arabic with English subtitles.



5:30 p.m. Dinner available for purchase onsite. Catered by Woody's Oasis Mediterranean Deli.



6:30-8:45 pm ***Hunting Elephants*** (2013)

This bittersweet farce about a teenage boy who joins his elderly grandfather and cronies to rob a bank opened the 2013 Jerusalem Film Festival. Featuring veteran Israeli actors and British acting legend Patrick Stewart. 107 min.

March 24, M: Israeli Film Festival

7:00-9:00 pm

***The Prime Ministers: The Pioneers* (2013) ראשי הממשלה**

The Prime Ministers: The Pioneers, based on the best-selling book by Ambassador Yehuda Avner, takes the audience inside the offices of Israel's prime ministers through the eyes of an insider, Yehuda Avner, who served as chief aide, English language note-taker and speechwriter to Levi Eshkol, Golda Meir, Yitzhak Rabin, Menachem Begin, and Shimon Peres. Presented by Prof. Yael Aronoff, James Madison College. English, Hebrew. **FREE**



Reading:

Interview of Yehuda Avner, "The Note Taker," *The Jerusalem Report*, September 9, 2013, pp. 291-295 course pack.

The Role of The U.S. and Regional Actors in Mediation and Facilitation

March 25, T: The United States, Saudi Arabia, the Arab League and the Peace Process

Reading: Chapters 9-11 of *Pathways to Peace*

Aaron David Miller, "Memorandum to the President: Thinking through an Israeli-Palestinian Initiative," pp. 135-156.

Robert M. Danim, "Integrating the Top-down with the Bottom-up Approach to Israeli-Palestinian Peace," pp. 157-172.

P.J. Dermer and Steven White, "The Security Conundrum," pp. 173-192.

Marwan Muasher, "The Arab Peace Initiative," Chapter 2 of *Pathways to Peace* pp. 19-36

Daniel Kurter, "American Policy, Strategy, and Tactics," pp. 193-208.

See peace parameters and initiatives, pp. 209-224.

Case Study: Conflict and Cooperation between Israel and Lebanon

February 27, TH: 1982 War in Lebanon and Efforts to Forge a Peace Agreement

Reading:

Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War*, Forward and chapters 1, pp. 9-30, chapter 14 and afterword, pp. 286-308, in course packet

Dowty, "The Lebanese Tangle," pp. 126-130

April 1, T: 2006 Israeli War with Hezbollah and Continuing Tensions

Reading:

Ze'ev Schiff, "Israel's War with Iran," *Foreign Affairs* Nov/Dec 2006, pp. 267-270, in course pack.

Edward Djerjian, "From Conflict Management to Conflict Resolution" *Foreign Affairs* Nov/Dec 2006, pp. 271-274, in course pack.

Bilal Y. Saab, "Lebanon's Unfulfilled Promise," *Foreign Affairs*, October 19, 2010, pp. 275-277, in course pack.

Bilal Saab, "Hezbollah Under Fire," *Foreign Affairs* November 19, 2013, pp. 278-290, in course pack.

Ehud Eiran, "Israel and Weak Neighboring States: Lessons from the Israeli Experience in Lebanon," from *Israel and the Arab Spring: Opportunities in Change* edited by Dr. Nimrod Goren and Jenia Yukkevich, 2013, pp. 281-290, course pack.

Case Study: Conflict and Cooperation between Israel and Syria

April 3, TH: Negotiations Between Israel and Syria

Reading: All the readings for today are in the course pack:

Agha, Feldman, Khalidi, and Schiff, *Track-II Diplomacy*, chapter 7, "Israeli-Syrian Talks under Search for Common Ground," pp. 166-171.

Rabinovich, *The Brink of Peace: The Israeli-Syrian Negotiations*, chapters 7, 8, and Postscript, pp. 172-208.

April 8, T: Negotiations Between Israel and Syria Continued

Reading: All readings for today are in the course packet:

Chapters 12-14 of Martin Indyk, *Innocent Abroad: An Intimate Account of American Peace Diplomacy in the Middle East* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2009), pp. 239-287, Draft Treaty of Peace Between Israel and Syria presented by President Clinton at Shepherdstown, January 7, 2000, pp. 209-242.

Kurtzer, Lasensky, Quandt, Spiegel, and Telhami, chapter 2, "Within Reach: Israeli-Syrian Negotiations of the 1990's," from the *Peace Puzzle* (2013) pp. 243-266.

Simulations of Negotiations Within and Between Actors

April 10, TH: Video Conference/Skype with Professor/Ambassador Itamar Rabinovich!

April 15, T: Research Papers Due. Negotiations among separate Israeli, Palestinian, Syrian, Lebanese, and American teams to determine their respective positions, plans, and strategies. Drafting of team position stances. Negotiations between Israeli-Palestinian, Israeli-Lebanese, and Israeli-Syrian teams, mediated by U.S. negotiators. Final stage negotiations to reach a peace agreement.

April 17, TH: Continued negotiations among separate Israeli, Palestinian, Syrian, Lebanese, and American teams to determine their respective positions, plans, and strategies. Drafting of team position.

April 18, F: Individual meetings to go over papers.

April 21, M: Individual meetings to go over paper.

April 22, T: Negotiations between Israeli-Palestinian, Israeli-Lebanese, and Israeli-Syrian teams, mediated by U.S. negotiators.

April 24, TH: Negotiations between Israeli-Palestinian, Israeli-Lebanese, and Israeli-Syrian teams, mediated by U.S. negotiators. Final stage negotiations to reach a peace agreement.

April 29, T: 7:45-9:45 Final Group Papers will be due in the JMC library at this time instead of having a final exam. Groups will present their agreements orally to the class.