# **GVPT 409H, Spring 2019**

#### **International Relations of the Middle East**

Mondays 2:00 - 4:45 p.m.

### **Professor Shibley Telhami**

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This seminar will evaluate major issues of the international relations of the Middle East and the American role and responses to these events. The seminar will focus on several post-Cold-War cases in American foreign policy, including the 1991 and 2003 Gulf wars, policy toward Iran, American mediation in the Arab-Israeli conflict, responses to the Arab Awakening, and broader issues such as regional reform and energy.

Requirements: Beyond active participation in the seminar discussions, each student will be expected to prepare 2 short discussion essays to help kick off the seminar discussion of the readings. Please write your name and the week number at the top of your paper. In addition, each student will prepare a final research paper (around 12-15 pages) on a related topic. The last three weeks of the seminar will focus on readings that are specifically relevant to the topics of the research papers. The final research paper will be due on Monday, May 14<sup>th</sup> no later than 2pm. Please send your paper to <a href="mailto:sadat@umd.edu">sadat@umd.edu</a>. Please note that your paper is not considered received until you get an acknowledgment email from the office.

The short discussion essays will each be worth 15% of your final grade (you will write two over the course of the semester) and the final research paper will be worth 70% of your final grade.

Readings: Readings are available in ELMS under the 'Files' tab, except for full books which are on Course Reserves at the library. Readings are also available for borrowing at the Sadat office (1105 Chincoteague Hall) during regular business hours of 9:00 AM to 5:00 PM. If you encounter difficulty, feel free to contact me by email. You could also contact my administrative assistant, Brittany Kyser, at sadat@umd.edu.

#### **READING LIST**

#### Week 1: Introduction and Film

We will view in class the documentary "The Square" about the recent revolutionary event in Egypt.

General introductory conversation: Broad outline of seminar; What is the "Middle East?"; Issues facing American policy in the Middle East; Shadow of the Arab Uprisings

Brief conversation on current issues facing the United States in the Middle East, including ISIS, the Iranian nuclear issue, and the impact of the presidency of Donald Trump.

### **Week 2: The American Response to the Arab Uprisings**

Read: Concluding chapter of Shibley Telhami, *The World Through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East.* 

Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds, *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*, chapter 1 ("Theorizing the Arab Spring"). (Oxford University Press, 2015).

Pollack, Kenneth M., et al, *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East*, chapters 1-3. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011)

Lynch, Marc, *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East* (New York: Public Affairs, 2012). (Introduction and Chapter 1)

Carothers, Thomas, *Democracy policy under Obama: Revitalization or Retreat?* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012)

Shibley Telhami, The World Through Arab Eyes. (Chapter 11)

Hamid, Shadi, "Islamism, the Arab Spring, and the failure of America's do-nothing policy in the Middle East," Brookings Markaz, October 14, 2015, access at <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/10/14-islamism-and-us-policy-middle-east-hamid">http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/10/14-islamism-and-us-policy-middle-east-hamid</a>

### Week 3: ISIS and Counter-Terrorism Policy

Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes: America in the Middle East.* (Chapter 1)

Bergen, Peter and Katherine Tiedemann, "The Year of the Drone: An Analysis of U.S. Drone Strikes in Pakistan, 2004-2010." New America Foundation, Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, February 24, 2010. <a href="http://vcnv.org/files/NAF\_YearOfTheDrone.pdf">http://vcnv.org/files/NAF\_YearOfTheDrone.pdf</a>

The White House, "Fact Sheet: Maintaining Momentum in The Fight Against ISIL," The White House Office of the Press Secretary, January 15, 2016. <a href="https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/01/15/fact-sheet-maintaining-momentum-fight-against-isil">https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/01/15/fact-sheet-maintaining-momentum-fight-against-isil</a>

Hamid, Shadi, "The Roots of the Islamic State's Appeal," *The Atlantic*, October 31, 2014, access at <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/10/the-roots-of-the-islamic-states-appeal/382175/?single\_page=true">http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/10/the-roots-of-the-islamic-states-appeal/382175/?single\_page=true</a>

McCants, William, "The Believer: How an Introvert with a Passion for Religion and Soccer became Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi, Leader of the Islamic State," September 1, 2015, access at http://www.brookings.edu/research/essays/2015/thebeliever

Cronin, Audrey K., "ISIS is not a terrorist group: Why counterterrorism won't stop the latest jihadist threat," *Foreign Affairs*. (March/April 2015), access at <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/isis-not-terrorist-group">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/isis-not-terrorist-group</a>

Byman, Daniel, "The Six Faces of the Islamic State." *Lawfare*, December 20, 2015, access at <a href="https://www.lawfareblog.com/six-faces-islamic-state">https://www.lawfareblog.com/six-faces-islamic-state</a>

Pape, Robert A., *Dying To Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. Random House, 2005. (Chapters 1 and 2)

Hashim, Ahmed S., "The Islamic State: From Al-Qaeda Affiliate to Caliphate," *Middle East Policy* Vol. 21, Issue 4, Winter 2014.

Vitale, Heather Marie and James M. Keagle, "A Time to Tweet, as Well as a Time to Kill: ISIS's Projection of Power in Iraq and Syria," Institute for National Strategic Studies, Defense Horizons, National Defense University, October 2014. <a href="https://permanent.access.gpo.gov/gpo61782/DH-77.pdf">https://permanent.access.gpo.gov/gpo61782/DH-77.pdf</a>

Byman, Daniel, "ISIS Goes Global: Fight the Islamic State by Targeting Its Affiliates," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2016 Issue. <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/isis-goes-global">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/isis-goes-global</a>

## Week 4: Policy toward Syria

### **Obama Policy**

Doran, Michael and Michael E. O'Hanlon, "Obama Needs to Act Now on Syria," *Brookings Institution Op-Ed*, June 24, 2013. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/obama-needs-to-act-now-on-syria/">https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/obama-needs-to-act-now-on-syria/</a>

Pollack, Kenneth M., "Assessing the Obama Administration's Iraq-Syria Strategy," *Brookings Institution's Markaz*, September 26, 2014. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2014/09/26/assessing-the-obama-administrations-iraq-syria-strategy/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2014/09/26/assessing-the-obama-administrations-iraq-syria-strategy/</a>

Telhami, Shibley, "Syria and the case for restraint," *Brookings Institution's Markaz*, March 14, 2016. https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/03/14/syria-and-the-case-for-restraint/

Hamid, Shadi, "Why doesn't Obama seem to listen to Syria experts?," *Brookings Institution's Markaz*, February 10, 2016. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/02/10/why-doesnt-obama-seem-to-listen-to-syria-experts/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/02/10/why-doesnt-obama-seem-to-listen-to-syria-experts/</a>

## **Trump Policy**

Conway, Madeline, "Timeline: U.S. approach to the Syrian civil war," *Politico*, April 7, 2017. <a href="https://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/timeline-united-states-response-syria-civil-war-237011">https://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/timeline-united-states-response-syria-civil-war-237011</a>

Walt, Stephen M., "Good Riddance to America's Syria Policy," *Foreign Policy*, December 21, 2018. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/21/good-riddance-to-americas-syria-policy/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/21/good-riddance-to-americas-syria-policy/</a>

Erickson, Amanda, "A guide to America's meandering Syria policy under Trump," *Washington Post*, December 19, 2018. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2018/12/19/guide-americas-meandering-syria-policy-under-trump/?noredirect=on&utm\_term=.dbeb49ff3af5">https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2018/12/19/guide-americas-meandering-syria-policy-under-trump/?noredirect=on&utm\_term=.dbeb49ff3af5</a>

Karasapan, Omer, "Preventing endless wars in Syria," *Brookings Institution's Future Development*, April 18, 2018. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2018/04/18/preventing-endless-wars-in-syria/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2018/04/18/preventing-endless-wars-in-syria/</a>

Byman, Daniel L., "5 hard choices in Syria," *Brookings Institution's Order from Chaos*, April 11, 2018. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/04/11/5-hard-choices-in-syria/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/04/11/5-hard-choices-in-syria/</a>

Rabinovich, Itamar, "The struggle for Syria, Chapter Two," *Brookings Institution's Order from Chaos*, February 20, 2018. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/02/20/the-struggle-for-syria-chapter-two/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/02/20/the-struggle-for-syria-chapter-two/</a>

Barron, Robert and Joe Barnes, "Trump Policy in the Middle East: Syria," *Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy Issue Brief*, March 7, 2018. https://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/files/2883be8c/bi-brief-030718-cme-syria.pdf

Additional readings may be provided on this developing issue.

### Week 5: Policy Toward the "Muslim World"

Lewis, Bernard, "What Went Wrong?" The Atlantic Monthly, January 2002.

Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes: America in the Middle East.* (Chapter 2)

Nasr, Vali, "When the Shiites Rise." Foreign Affairs, July-August, 2006.

Shibley Telhami, *The World Through Arab Eyes*. (Chapter 7)

President Obama's speech to the Muslim World delivered on June 4, 2009. (Watch at <a href="https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/newbeginning/transcripts/">https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/newbeginning/transcripts/</a>)

Hamid, Shadi, "Obama's good intentions in the Middle East meant nothing," *Markaz*, January 23, 2017. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/01/23/obamas-good-intentions-in-the-middle-east-meant-nothing/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/01/23/obamas-good-intentions-in-the-middle-east-meant-nothing/</a>

Telhami, Shibley, "Can Obama Please Both Arabs and Israelis?" *Foreign Policy*, August 25, 2010. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/08/25/can\_obama\_please\_both\_arabs\_and\_israelis.

Telhami, Shibley, "How Trump changed Americans' views of Islam- for the better," *Washington Post Monkey Cage*, January 25, 2017. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/01/25/americans-dont-support-trumps-ban-on-muslim-immigration/?utm\_term=.9156adfc5dd4">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/01/25/americans-dont-support-trumps-ban-on-muslim-immigration/?utm\_term=.9156adfc5dd4</a>

## Week 6: Spreading Democracy in the Middle East

Gause, Gregory, "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" Foreign Affairs, September-October 2005.

Diamond, Larry, Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq. Times Books, 2005. (Chapter 1)

Telhami, Shibley, *The World Through Arab Eyes*. (Chapter 9)

Collins, Stephen, "Can America Finance Freedom? Assessing U.S. Democracy Promotion Via Economic Statecraft." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (2009): pp. 367-389.

Brownlee, Jason, "Can America Nation-Build?" World Politics, Vol. 59 (January 2007): pp. 314-340.

"A Force for Good: America Reinvigorated in the Middle East," Speech by Secretary of State Michael Pompeo at The American University in Cairo, January 10, 2019. <a href="https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2019/01/288410.htm">https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2019/01/288410.htm</a>

### Week 7: Energy Policy

Telhami, Shibley, The Stakes. (Chapter 5)

Morse, Edward L. and James Richard, "The Battle for Energy Dominance." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (March/April 2002): pp. 16-31.

Telhami, Shibley and Fiona Hill, "Does Saudi Arabia Still Matter? Differing Perspectives on the Kingdom and its Oil." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 6 (November/December 2002), pp. 167-173.

Dorraj, Manochehr and James E. English, "China's Strategy for Energy Acquisition in the Middle East: Potential for Conflict and Cooperation with the United States," *Asian Politics and Policy*, v4 n2 (April 1, 2012): pp. 173-191.

Cordesman, Anthony H., "The myth or reality of US energy independence," (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2013).

Pierce, Jonathan J., "Oil and the House of Saud: Analysis of Saudi Arabian Oil Policy." *Digest of Middle East Studies* Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 2012): 89-107.

Roula Khalaf, Lionel Barber and Simeon Kerr, "Oil price sounds Saudi Arabia wake-up call," *Financial Times*, December 22, 2015. https://www.ft.com/content/38dc5da6-9d58-11e5-b45d-4812f209f861

"The drawback of cheap oil," *The Economist*, January 19, 2016. <a href="http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2016/01/money-talks-0">http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2016/01/money-talks-0</a>

Marilyn Geewax, "Troubles Are Up in the Middle East, But Oil Prices Are Down. Huh?" *NPR*, January 5, 2016. <a href="http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/01/05/462065762/troubles-are-up-in-the-middle-east-but-oil-prices-are-down-huh">http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/01/05/462065762/troubles-are-up-in-the-middle-east-but-oil-prices-are-down-huh</a>

Matt Egan, "Saudi Arabia to run out of cash in less than 5 years," *CNN Money*, October 26, 2015. http://money.cnn.com/2015/10/25/investing/oil-prices-saudi-arabia-cash-opec-middle-east/

Mourdoukoutas, Panos, "Who Controls Middle East Oil Prices?" Forbes, February 2, 2016. <a href="http://www.forbes.com/sites/panosmourdoukoutas/2016/02/02/who-controls-middle-east-oil-prices/#36f68c3065e5">http://www.forbes.com/sites/panosmourdoukoutas/2016/02/02/who-controls-middle-east-oil-prices/#36f68c3065e5</a>

#### Week 8: The 1991 Gulf War

Telhami, Shibley, "Between Theory and Fact: American Behavior in the Gulf War," *Security Studies*, Fall 1992.

Engel, Jeffrey, *Into the Desert: Reflections on the Gulf War*. Oxford, 2012. (Chapter 1- "The Gulf War at the End of the Cold War and Beyond" by Jeffrey Engel and Chapter 5- "The Arab Dimension of Saddam Hussein's Calculations: What We Have Learned From Iraqi Records" by Shibley Telhami)

Brands, H. W., "George Bush and the Gulf War of 1991," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1, Going to War (March 2004): pp. 113-131.

Bennett, Andrew, Joseph Lepgold, and Danny Unger, "Burden-Sharing in the Persian Gulf War," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Winter 1994): pp. 39-75.

Holland, Lauren, "The U.S. Decision to Launch Operation Desert Storm: A Bureaucratic Politics Analysis," *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Winter 1999): pp. 219-242.

Saddam Hussein's Speech to the Arab Cooperation Council, February 26, 1990.

### Week 9: The 2003 Iraq War

Gause III, F. Gregory, "The Iraq War and American National Security Interests" in *Balance Sheet: The Iraq War and U.S. National Security*, edited by John S. Duffield and Peter J. Dombrowski. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Gelpi, Christopher, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler, "Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq." *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Winter 2005/2006): pp. 7-46.

Kaufmann, Chaim, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas." *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer 2004): pp. 5-48.

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

Anti-war ad in the *New York Times* by international relations scholars (to be distributed).

#### Week 10: The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Oslo Process and Camp David II

Kurtzer, Lasenky, Quandt, Spiegel and Telhami, *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011.* Washington, DC: USIP Press, 2013. (Introduction, Chapter 3- "The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations, and "Epilogue: Lessons Learned and Unlearned")

Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors." The New *York Review of Books*, Vol. 48, No. 13 (August 9, 2001).

Grinstein, Gidi and Dennis Ross, "Camp David: An Exchange." (in response to "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors" from August 9, 2001) and Reply by Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley. *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 48, No. 14 (September 20, 2001). Telhami, Shibley, *The Stakes*. (Chapter 4)

Telhami Shibley, The World Through Arab Eyes. (Chapter 5)

Telhami, Shibley, "The dual effects of the 1967 War on Palestinians reverberate 50 years later," *Brookings Institution Markaz*, May 31, 2017. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/05/31/the-dual-effects-of-the-1967-war-on-palestinians-reverberate-50-years-later/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/05/31/the-dual-effects-of-the-1967-war-on-palestinians-reverberate-50-years-later/</a>

"US-Israel relations under Trump," Strategic Comments Vol. 23, No. 2 (2017).

# Week 11: Trump Policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Telhami, Shibley, "Trump's Reckless Middle East Gambles," *Current History*, December 2018. <a href="https://sadat.umd.edu/sites/sadat.umd.edu/files/Current%20History%20Telhami\_0.pdf">https://sadat.umd.edu/sites/sadat.umd.edu/files/Current%20History%20Telhami\_0.pdf</a>

Malley, Robert and Aaron David Miller, "Trump is Reinventing the U.S. Approach to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict," *The Atlantic*, September 20, 2018. https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/09/trump-israel-palestinians/570646/

"The Palestinians: Overview and Key Issues for U.S. Policy," Congressional Research Service, September 18, 2018. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/IF10644.pdf

Jensehaugen, Jorgen, "The fatal flaw in Trump's plan for Middle East peace," *Washington Post*, July 24, 2018. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2018/07/24/the-fatal-flaw-in-trumps-plan-for-middle-east-peace/?noredirect=on&utm\_term=.effaea0e4d9c</a>

Ghattas, Kim, "Palestine Is a Victim of the Iranian-Saudi War," *Foreign Policy*, December 22, 2017. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/22/palestine-is-a-victim-of-the-iranian-saudi-war/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/22/palestine-is-a-victim-of-the-iranian-saudi-war/</a>

#### The Jerusalem Issue

"Jerusalem: Center of the World," PBS Documentary shown in class.

Telhami, Shibley, "If at First You Don't Succeed, Postpone," *Los Angeles Times*, July 14, 2000. https://sadat.umd.edu/publications-media/if-first-you-dont-succeed-postpone

Telhami, Shibley, "Let's Make a Deal," *The Washington Post*, July 21, 2000. <a href="https://sadat.umd.edu/publications-media/lets-make-deal">https://sadat.umd.edu/publications-media/lets-make-deal</a>

Telhami, Shibley, "Why is Trump undoing decades of U.S. policy on Jerusalem?," *Brookings Institution Markaz*, December 5, 2017. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/05/why-is-trump-about-to-declare-jerusalem-the-capital-of-israel/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/05/why-is-trump-about-to-declare-jerusalem-the-capital-of-israel/</a>

Ross, Dennis and David Makovsky, "Moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem Is Not a Disaster," *Foreign Policy*, December 7, 2017. <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/07/moving-the-us-embassy-to-jerusalem-is-not-a-disaster/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/07/moving-the-us-embassy-to-jerusalem-is-not-a-disaster/</a>

"The world reacts to Donald Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital," *The Economist*, December 7, 2017. <a href="https://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21732093-campaign-promise-kept-problem-aggravated-world-reacts-donald-trumps">https://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21732093-campaign-promise-kept-problem-aggravated-world-reacts-donald-trumps</a>

Atallah, Nawal, "Brookings experts on the implications of President Trump's declaration on Jerusalem," Brookings Now, January 8, 2018. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brookings-now/2018/01/08/brookings-experts-on-the-implications-of-president-trumps-declaration-on-jerusalem/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brookings-now/2018/01/08/brookings-experts-on-the-implications-of-president-trumps-declaration-on-jerusalem/</a>

Indyk, Martin, "Donald Trump's Jerusalem move may prove too clever by half," *Brookings Institution Markaz*, December 8, 2017. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/08/donald-trumps-jerusalem-move-may-prove-too-clever-by-half/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/08/donald-trumps-jerusalem-move-may-prove-too-clever-by-half/</a>

Lipner, Shalom, "5 reasons the Palestinian reaction to Trump's Jerusalem announcement has been relatively quiet," *Brookings Institution's Markaz*, December 22, 2017. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/22/5-reasons-the-palestinian-reaction-to-trumps-jerusalem-announcement-has-been-relatively-quiet/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/22/5-reasons-the-palestinian-reaction-to-trumps-jerusalem-announcement-has-been-relatively-quiet/</a>

## Week 12: The Israel Lobby Debate

Mearsheimer, John and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby." *The London Review of Books*, Vol. 28, No. 6. (March 23, 2006), accessed at http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby

Massad, Joseph, "Blaming the lobby." Al-Ahram Weekly, issue 787, March 23-29, 2006.

Dershowitz, Alan, "Letter to the London Review of Books." *The London Review of Books*, Vol. 28, No.8, April 20, 2006.

"Does the Israel Lobby Have Too Much Power?" (Roundtable), Foreign Policy, July/Aug 2006.

Satloff, Robert and Chas Freeman, "Israel: Asset of Liability? A Debate on the Value of the U.S.- Israel Relationship," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, 2010.

Lieberman, Robert, "The "Israel Lobby" and American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (June 2009): pp. 235-257. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40406928

Krosnick, Jon A. and Shibley Telhami, "Public Attitudes toward Israel: A Study of the Attentive and Issue Publics." *International Studies Quarterly*, 12.4 (1995): pp. 535-554.

Telhami, Shibley, "Americans Are Increasingly Critical of Israel," *Foreign Policy*, December 11, 2018. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/11/americans-are-increasingly-critical-of-israel/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/11/americans-are-increasingly-critical-of-israel/</a>

## Week 13: Evangelical Attitudes Toward Israel

Possible film on evangelicals to be shown.

"We Are with the Jewish People," in Spector, Stephen, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism* (Oxford University Press, 2009). (Chapter 1)

"Promise and Prophecy, Love and Remorse: The Bases of Evangelical Support for Israel" in Spector, Stephen, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism* (Oxford University Press, 2009). (Chapter 2)

Ariel, Yaakov, "Israel in Contemporary Evangelical Christian Millennial Thought." *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions.* Vol. 59, Issue 5/6, (November 1, 2012): p.456-485.

Telhami, Shibley, "Evangelical Republicans Favor Pro-Israel Policies At Odds With Majority of Americans, Including Non-Evangelical Republicans," University of Maryland, (November 2015), accessed at http://sadat.umd.edu/sites/sadat.umd.edu/files/PressRelease.pdf

Brog, David, "The End of Evangelical Support for Israel? The Jewish State's International Standing." *The Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Spring 2014). Access at <a href="http://www.meforum.org/3769/israel-evangelical-support">http://www.meforum.org/3769/israel-evangelical-support</a>

Mead, Walter Russell, 2006\_"God's Country?: Evangelicals and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, (October 2006), access at <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2006-09-01/gods-country">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2006-09-01/gods-country</a>

"A New U.S.-Israeli Alliance, 1973-1979," in in Carenen, Caitlin, *The Fervent Embrace: Liberal Protestants, Evangelicals, and Israel.* (New York: NYU Press, 2012). (Chapter 6)

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### Week 14: American Policy toward Iran

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Additional readings may be provided on this developing issue.

### Week 15: The Role of Public Opinion

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Selected polls from the UMD Critical Issues Poll will be assigned.