

**Columbia University**  
**Department of Political Science**  
**Spring 2015**

**National Security Strategies of the Middle East: a Comparative  
Perspective**

POLS G4845 Section 001.

Professor Chuck Freilich

At the crossroads of three continents, the Middle East is home to many diverse peoples, with ancient and proud cultures, in varying stages of political and socio-economic development, often times in conflict. Now in a state of historic flux, the Arab Spring and subsequent upheaval, including the rise of ISIS, have transformed the Middle Eastern landscape, with great consequence for the national security strategies of the countries of the region and their foreign relations. The primary source of the world's energy resources, the Middle East remains the locus of the terror-WMD-fundamentalist nexus, which continues to pose a significant threat to both regional and international security.

The course surveys the national security challenges facing the region's primary players (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, Israel, the Palestinians, Turkey) and how the convolutions of recent years have affect them. Unlike many Middle East courses, which focus on US policy in the region, the course concentrates on the regional players' perceptions of the threats and opportunities they face and on the strategies they have adopted to deal with them. It thus provides an essential vantage point for all those interested in gaining a deeper understanding of a region, which stands at the center of many of the foreign policy issues of our era. The course is designed for those with a general interest in the Middle East, especially those interested in national security issues, students of comparative politics and future practitioners, with an interest in "real world" international relations and national security.

**Requirements**

**Class Participation** - compulsory attendance. In order to facilitate discussion, please read assigned materials in advance of each class and come prepared to discuss them.

**Midterm (30%), Final (40%)**

**Paper (30%)**

In the role of a senior decision maker from a major Middle Eastern player of their choice (Foreign or Defense Minister, National Security Adviser, Chief of Staff, senior advisor), students will draft a Policy Review to the respective leader (maximum 8 pages double spaced), proposing a review of national security policy in an area of importance to that country. The Review will present:

- The reasons for conducting the review, i.e. the issues to be addressed and why the need has arisen (interests, threats, or opportunities facing the chosen country).
- Relevant Middle Eastern and international actors whose interests or concerns must be addressed.

- Domestic political and bureaucratic players whose interests or concerns must be addressed.
- A *brief* historical/substantive survey of the issue (paragraphs) and, if appropriate, a theoretical/conceptual model for addressing it.
- A *realistic* strategy for addressing the issue:
  - *Clearly* articulated policy objectives and priorities and the metrics for assessing their realization. How will the proposal advance the player's interests. How will you know that the objectives have been achieved and at what costs.
  - *Clearly* articulated policy options for achieving the stated objectives and their respective advantages and disadvantages. Which objectives will each of the options achieve, which will they not.
  - The recommended option and why it is better than the others. Your recommendation is a form of a hypothesis – if policy X is adopted, it will lead to desired outcomes Y, Z.
  - Practical means of implementing the recommended option and achieving its objectives (diplomatic, military, economic etc.), i.e. there has to be a clear causal link between the policy and means chosen, and the desired outcome.
  - Means of dealing with the interests and concerns of the other domestic and foreign players involved.
  - Potential pitfalls - risks to successful implementation of the proposed strategy: factors, players, events that may lead to its failure or distortion.
- Students are strongly encouraged to come to office hours to discuss their reviews.

**Due Date:** Reviews are to be submitted *to your TA by email* on April 13. *Please* note class title and number when submitting. It's the responsibility of the student to make sure the document is properly formatted and attached to the email.

**Readings:** Required readings are available either in the shared files in Courseworks or through Library E-reserves. Students are responsible for locating required journal articles through Columbia Library or online. All books are available for check out through Lehman Reserves.

**Contact Information and Office Hours:**

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Office hours: Right after class, or Fridays by appointment.

**TA:**

## **January 26: The Middle East Today- Overview**

- Middle East overview and the Arab Spring
- National Security Planning
- Writing a policy paper

### *Required*

-Foreign Affairs, v 90 #3, May/June 2011, articles by: Goldstone pp. 8-16, Doran pp. 17-25, Shehata (Egypt) pp. 26-32 and Hamid (Moslem Brotherhood) 40-47  
-Pollack, K., et al, The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East, Brookings, Washington, 2011, articles by: Chapter 18 Reidel (Saudi Arabia), Chapter 19 Sheikh (Jordan), Chapter 29 Maloney (Iran), Chapter 30 Taspinar (Turkey)  
-Unchartered Waters; Thinking Through Syria's Dynamics, International Crisis Group, Middle East Briefing # 31, November 24, 2011

## **February 2: Egypt – The Center of the Realm?**

### *Required*

-Alterman, J.B., Dynamics Without Drama: New Options and Old Compromises in Egypt's Foreign Policy, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Volume 18, Number 3, October 2005, pp. 357-368  
-Alterman, J.B., Egypt in Transition: Insight and Options for U.S. Policy, Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 2012  
-Brown, N.J., When Victory Becomes an Option: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood Confronts Success, Carnegie Foundation, January 2012  
-Elgindy, K., Egypt, Israel, Palestine: Prospects for Peace After the Arab Spring," Cairo Review, 6/2012  
-Fahmy, N., Egypt in the World: A Foreign Policy for the Twenty-First Century, Cairo Review, 6/2012.  
-Hinnebusch, R., The Foreign Policy Of Egypt, in Hinnebusch, R. and Ehteshami, A., The Foreign Policies of Middle East States, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2002, pp. 91-112  
-Schenker, D., Egypt's Enduring Challenges: Shaping the Post-Mubarak Environment, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, April 2011

### *Recommended*

-Abadi, J., Egypt's Policy Towards Israel: The Impact of Foreign and Domestic Constraints, Israel Affairs, Winter 2006, v 12 #1, pp. 159-174  
-Aftandilian, G.L., Presidential Succession Scenarios in Egypt and their Impact on US-Egyptian Strategic Relations, US Army War College, Carlisle, 2011  
-Amin, G., Egypt in the Era of Husni Mubarak, American University of Cairo, Cairo, 2011  
-Azarva, J., From Cold Peace to Cold War? The Significance of Egypt's Military Buildup, MERIA, v11 #1, March 2007  
-Bahgat, G. The Proliferation of WMD: Egypt, Arab Studies Quarterly, Spring 2007, v 29 #2  
-Bowker, R., Egypt and the Politics of Change in the Arab Middle East, Cheltenham, North Hampton, 2010  
-Brown, N.J. and Hamzawy, A., Between Religion and Politics, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 2010, chapter 2 The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood  
-Cook, S.A., Egypt – Still America's Partner?, Middle East Quarterly, June 2000, v. 7 #2  
-Dowek, E., Israeli-Egyptian Relations, 1980-2000, Frank Cass, Portland, 2001  
-Dumke, D.T., Congress and the Arab Heavyweights: Questioning the Saudi and Egyptian Alliances, Middle East Policy, Sept. 2006, V 13 # 3, pp. 88-100  
-Einhorn, R., Egypt: Frustrated but Still on a Non-Nuclear Course, in Kurt Campbell, Einhorn, R., Reiss, M., (eds.) The Nuclear Tipping Point: Why States Reconsider Their Nuclear Choices, Washington, D.C., Brookings, 2004, pp.43-82.

- Emad, G., Egyptian-European Relations: From Conflict to Cooperation, Review of International Affairs, Winter 2003, v. 3 #2, pp. 173-189
- Fandy, M., Egypt: Could It Lead the Arab World? in Judith Yaphe, ed., The Middle East in 2015: The Implications of Regional Trends on U.S. Strategic Planning, Washington, DC: NDU, 2002, pp. 59-73
- Frisch, H., Guns and Butter in the Egyptian Army in Rubin, B. and Keaney, T.A., eds., Armed Forces in the Middle East: Politics and Strategy, Frank Cass, London, 2002
- Gerges, F.A., Egyptian–Israeli Relations Turn Sour, Foreign Affairs, May/June 1995, v 74 #3, pp. 69-78
- Halim, A.A., Egypt's Security Concerns, in Phebe Marr, ed., Egypt at the Crossroads: Domestic Stability and Regional Role, Washington, DC: NDU 1999, pp. 211-220.
- Hanna, M.W., The Son Also Rises: Egypt's Looming Succession Struggle, World Policy Journal, fall 2009, pp. 103-114
- Harb, I., The Egyptian Military in Politics, Middle East Journal,, spring 2003, v 47, 2, p. 269
- Helfont, T, Egypt's Wall with Gaza and the Emergence of a New Middle East Alignment, Orbis, summer 2010, pp. 426-439
- Kadry, Said, M., Egypt's Foreign policy in Global Change: The Egyptian Role in Regional and International Politics, Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, December 5, 2006
- Kadry, Said, M., The Inside and the Outside: Egyptian Security Policy in a New Environment, Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 2004
- Karawan, I., Egypt's Defense Policy, in Stephanie Neuman (ed.), Defense Planning in Less-Industrialized States, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984, pp. 147 –165
- Karawan, I., Foreign Policy Restructuring: Egypt's Disengagement form the Arab-Israeli Conflict Revisited, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, October 2005, v. 18 #3, pp. 325-338
- Lorenz, J.P., Egypt and the Arabs: Foreign Policy and the Search for National Identity, Westview, Boulder, 1990
- Masoud, T., Liberty, Democracy and Discord in Egypt, Washington Quarterly, v 34 #4, fall 2011, pp. 117-129
- Monem Said Aly, Abdel, An Ambivalent Alliance: The Future of US-Egyptian Relations, Saban Center, Brookings, Analysis Paper 6, January 2006, pp.5-19
- Moneim Said Aly, Abdel, et al, US-Egyptian Relations, Middle East Policy, June 2001, v 8 #2, p. 45
- Osman, T., Egypt on the Brink: From the Rise of Nasser to the Fall of Mubarak, Yale, New Haven, 2011
- Rubin, B., ed., The Muslim Brotherhood: the Organization and Policies of the Global Islamic Movement, NY, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Spector, S.J., Washington and Cairo – Near the Breaking Point?, Middle East Quarterly, Summer 2005, v. 12 #3, pp 1-11
- Sullivan, D.J. and Jones, K., Global Security Watch – Egypt: A Reference Handbook, Westport, Praeger, 2008

## **February 9: Saudi Arabia – The Keeper of Islam**

### **Required**

- Cordesman, A., Saudi Arabia: National Security in a Troubled Region, Praeger, Santa Barbara, 2009, pp. 1-71
- Gause, F.G., Saudi Arabia in the New Middle East, Council on Foreign Relations, December 2011

Recommended

- Aarts, P. and Nonneman, G. eds., Saudi Arabia in The Balance: Political Economy, Society and Foreign Affairs, NYU Press, NY 2006
- Al-Rasheed, M, A History of Saudi Arabia, Cambridge Press, Cambridge, 2002
- Al-Rasheed, M., ed., Kingdom without Borders: Saudi Political Religious and Media Frontiers, London, Hurst, 2008
- Ayoub, M., and Kosebalaban eds., Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State, Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009.
- Bahgat, G., Nuclear Proliferation: The Case of Saudi Arabia, Middle East Journal, v 60 #3, summer 2006, pp. 421-443
- Bahgat, G., Saudi Arabia and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process, Middle East Policy, v14 #3, fall 2007, pp. 49-59
- Bronson, R., Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership With Saudi Arabia, Oxford Press, Oxford, 2006
- Champion, D., The Paradoxical Kingdom, Columbia, NY, 2003.
- Cordesman, A. and Obaid, N., Al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia: Asymmetric Threats and Islamic Extremists, CSIS, Washington, January 2005
- Cordesman, A. and Obaid. N., National Security in Saudi Arabia: Threats, Responses and Challenges, Praeger, Westport, 2005
- Cordsman, A., Saudi Arabia Enters the Twenty First Century: The Military and International Dimensions, Praeger, Westport, 2003
- Dumke, D.T., Congress and the Arab Heavyweights: Questioning the Saudi and Egyptian Alliances, Middle East Policy, v 13 # 3, fall 2006, pp 88-100
- Gause, F.G., The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia, in Hinnebusch, R. and Anoushiravan, E., The Foreign Policies of Middle East States, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2002
- Hart, P.T., Saudi Arabia and the US: Birth of a Security Partnership, Indiana, Bloomington, 1998
- Jones, T.C., Desert Kingdom: How Oil and Water Forged Modern Saudi Arabia, Harvard, Cambridge, 2010
- Jones, T. C., The Iraq Effect in Saudi Arabia, Middle East Report, v 45 #19 September 2005
- Katz, M.N., Saudi-Russian Relations Since 9/11, Problems of Post Communism, v 51, #2, March/April 2004, pp. 3-11
- Kechichian, J. ed., Iran, Iraq, and the Gulf States, Palgrave, NY 2001
- Kechichian, J. A., Trends in Saudi National Security, Middle East Journal, vol. 53, no. 2, Spring 1999
- Kechichian, L., Saudi's Will, Middle East Policy, v 10 # 4, February 2003, pp. 47-59  
[www.mepc.org/public\\_asp/journal\\_vol10/0312\\_kechichian.asp](http://www.mepc.org/public_asp/journal_vol10/0312_kechichian.asp)
- Lahn, H. and Stevens, P., Burning Oil to Keep Cool: The Hidden Energy Crisis in Saudi Arabia, Chatam House, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2011
- Lippman, T., Saudi Arabia's Nuclear Policy, SUSRIS, [www.susris.com/2011/08/05/saudi-arabia%E2%80%99s-nuclear-policy-lippman](http://www.susris.com/2011/08/05/saudi-arabia%E2%80%99s-nuclear-policy-lippman)
- Nasr, V., Regional Implications of Shia Revival in Iraq, Washington Quarterly, v 27, 2004
- Niblock, T., Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy and Survival, Routledge, NY 2006
- Pant, H.V., Saudi Arabia Woos China and India, Middle East Quarterly, v13 #4, fall 2006, pp. 45-52
- Peterson, J., Saudi Arabia and the Illusion of Security, Adelphi Paper 348, IISS, Oxford, London, 2002, pp. 5-57
- Podeh, E., From Fahd to Abdullah: The Origins of Saudi Peace Initiatives and Their Impact on the Arab System and Israel, Truman Institute, Hebrew University, 2003
- Posner, G.L., Secrets of the Kingdom: The Inside Story of the Saudi-US Connection, Random House, NY 2005

- Reidel, B. and Saab, B.Y., al Qaeda's Third Front: Saudi Arabia, Washington Quarterly, v 31 #2, 2008, pp.33–46
- Russell, J.A., Saudi Arabia in the 21st century: A New Security Dilemma Middle East Policy, v 12 #3, Fall 2005, pp. 64-78
- Russell, R.L., A Saudi Nuclear Option? Survival, v 43 #2, summer, 2001
- Sunayama, S., Syria and Saudi Arabia: Collaboration and Conflicts in the Oil Era, Tauris, London, 2007
- Teitelbaum, J., Terrorist Challenges to Saudi Arabian Internal Security, MERIA, v9 #3, 2005, pp. 1-11
- Wrampelmeier, B., Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs, Middle East Policy, v 13 #2, summer 2006, pp. 187-192
- Yetiv, S.A., Crude Awakenings: Global Oil Security and American Foreign Policy, Cornell, Ithaca, 2004

## **February 16-February 23:**

### **Part 1- Iran - The New Regional Hegemon? (one and a half classes)**

#### *Required*

- Allison, G., Will Iran Get a Bomb—or Be Bombed Itself—This Year?, Atlantic, August 1, 2013
- Chubin, S., Iran's Nuclear Ambitions, Carnegie Endowment, Washington DC, 2006, pp 14-36, 53-55, 113-133
- Edelman, E. S. et al, The Dangers of a Nuclear Iran, Foreign Affairs, v 90 #1, January/February 2011
- Ehteshami, A., The Foreign Policy of Iran, in Hinnebusch, R. and Anoushiravan, E., The Foreign Policies of Middle East States, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2002, pp. 283-300
- Khalaji, M., Supreme Succession: Who Will Lead Post-Khamenei Iran?, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus #117, February 2012
- Menashri, D., Post-Revolutionary Politics in Iran : Religion, Society and Power, Frank Cass, London, 2001, pp. 182-205, 227-255, 261-297
- Takeyh, R., Hidden Iran: Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic, NY Times Press, New York, 2006, pp. 59-82

#### *Highly Recommended*

- Ross, D. and Makovsky, D., Myths, Allusions and Peace: Finding a New Direction for America in the Middle East, Viking, New York, 2009 chapters 7-9

#### *Recommended*

- Albright, D., Peddling Peril: How the Secret Nuclear Trade Arms America's Enemies, Free Press, New York 2010
- Allin, D.H. and Simon, S., The Sixth Crisis: Iran, Israel and the Rumors of War, Oxford, NY, 2010
- Ansari, A.M., Confronting Iran: The Failure of American Foreign Policy and the Next Great Crisis in the Middle East, Basic, NY, 2006
- Ansari, A.M., Crisis of Authority: Iran's 2009 Presidential Election, Brookings, Washington DC, 2010
- Bahgat, G., Strategic Rivalry in the Caspian Sea, Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, v 29, summer 2006, pp. 1-17
- Barzegar, K., Iran and the New Iraq, Turkish Journal of International Relations, fall 2006, v 5 #3, pp. 77-88
- Barzegar, K., Iran's Foreign Policy in Post Invasion Iraq, MIDDLE EAST POLICY, VOL. XV, No. 4, WINTER 2008, pp.47-58
- Berman, I., Tightening the Economic Noose, Middle East Quarterly, v 18 #3, summer 2011

- Bulliet, R.W., Iran Between East and West, Journal of International Affairs, Spring/Summer 2007, v 60 #2, pp. 1-14
- Byman, D. et al, Iran's Security Policy in the Post Revolutionary Era, Rand Corp., Santa Monica, 2001, pp. 7-44
- Carpenter, T. G., Toward a Grand Bargain with Iran, Mediterranean Quarterly, v.18, winter 2007, pp. 12-27
- Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Nuclear Threat Initiative, Country Overviews: Iran, Monterey, [www.nti.org/e\\_research/profiles](http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles)
- Center for Strategic and International Studies, Iran's Military and Nuclear Capabilities, [www.csis.org/burke/iran](http://www.csis.org/burke/iran)
- Chubin, S., Iran's National Security Policy: Intentions, Capabilities and Impact, Carnegie Endowment, Washington, DC, 1994, pp 3-18
- Chubin, S., Iran's Strategic Predicament, Middle East Journal, winter 2000, vol. 54v #1, pp. 10-24
- Chubin, S., Whither Iran: Reform, Domestic Politics and National Security, Oxford, NY., 2002, pp 35-51, 72-107
- Chubin, S. and Litwak, R.S., Debating Iran's Nuclear Aspirations, Washington Quarterly, Autumn 2003, Vol. 26 Issue 4, p99-155
- Clawson, P., Could Sanctions Work Against Tehran? Middle East Quarterly, v14 #13-20, Winter 2007
- Clawson, P. and Eisenstadt, M. (eds), Deterring the Ayatollahs: Complications in Applying Cold War Strategy to Iran, Washington Institute for Near East Affairs, July 2007
- Clawson, P. and Eisenstadt, M., Forcing Hard Choices on Tehran: Raising the Costs of Iran's Nuclear Program, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, November 2006
- Clawson, P. and Rubin, M. Eternal Iran: Continuity and Chaos, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, November 2005
- Cook, A. H. and Rosh, J., The United States and Iran: Policy Challenges and Opportunities, New York, Palgrave, 2010
- Cordesman, A. and Al-Rodhan, K.R., Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Praeger, Westport, 2007
- Cordesman, A., Iran's Developing Military Capabilities, CSIS, Washington, DC, 2005
- Cordesman, A. and Al-Rodhan, K.R., Iran's Weapons of Mass Destruction, CSIS, Washington, 2006
- Cordesman, A.H., Iranian Weapons of Mass Destruction, Praeger, Santa Barbara, 2009,
- Council on Foreign Relations, Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Iran, Iran: Time for a New Approach : Report of an Independent Task Force, NY, 2004
- Davis, J.D., Iran's Nuclear Strategy Options and US Foreign Policy Implications, US Army War College, Carlisle, [www.handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA431713](http://www.handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA431713)
- Dobbins, J.F., et al, Coping With Iran: Confrontation, Containment or Engagement, Rand Corp., Santa Monica, 2007
- Dobbins, J.F., et al, Coping With a Nuclearizing Iran, Rand Corp., Santa Monica, 2011
- Downs, E. and Moloney, S., Getting China to Sanction Iran, Foreign Affairs, v. 90 #2, March/April, 2011
- Ehteshami, A., Iran's International Posture After the Fall of Baghdad, Middle East Journal, spring 2004, v 58 #2, pp. 179-194
- Eisenstadt, M., The Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Rubin, B. and Keaney, T.A., eds., Armed Forces in the Middle East: Politics and Strategy, Frank Cass, London, 2002
- Eisenstadt, M., The Strategic Culture of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Operational and Policy Implications, Middle East Studies at the Marine Corps, MES Monographs #1, August 2011
- Elkhamri, M., Iran's Contribution to the Civil War in Iraq, Jamestown Foundation, Washington, January 2007, [www.handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA464092](http://www.handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA464092)

- Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, The Gulf: Challenges of the Future, Abu Dhabi, 2005
- Entessar, N., Iran's Security Challenges, Muslim World, October 2004, Vol. 94 Issue 4, pp. 537-554
- Fair, C. India and Iran: New Delhi's Balancing Act, Washington Quarterly, Summer 2007, v 30 #3, pp 145-159
- Faisal bin Salman as-Saud, Iran, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf - Power Politics In Transition , Tauris, NY, 2003, pp.1-9
- Fitzpatrick, M., Assessing Iran's Nuclear Programme, Survival, v. 48, autumn 2006 pp.5-26
- Fitzpatrick, M., The Iranian Nuclear Crisis: Avoiding Worst Case Outcomes, Routledge, Oxford, 2008
- Freedman, R.O., Russia, Iran and the Nuclear Question: The Putin Record, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, Carlisle, November 2006
- Furtig, H., Conflict and Cooperation in the Persian Gulf: The Interregional Order and US Policy, Middle East Journal, v 61 # 4, fall 2007, pp. 627-640
- Gasiorowski, M., The New Aggressiveness In Iran's Foreign Policy, Middle East Policy, June 2007, v 14 #2, pp. 125-132
- Gonzalez, N., Engaging Iran : The Rise of a Middle East Powerhouse and America's Strategic Choice, Praeger, Westport, 2007
- Goodarzi, J.M., Syria and Iran: Diplomatic Alliance, Tauris, London, 2006
- International Military Markets: Middle East and Africa, v.1, chapter on Iranian military budget, force structure and military posture, Forecast International/DMS, 2007
- Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment: The Gulf States, vol. 1, chapter on security, armed forces, doctrine, declared policy, Alexandria Va., Jane's Information Group, 2007
- Katz, M.N., Iran and America: Is Rapprochement Finally Possible, Middle East Policy, Winter, 2005, v. 12, # 4, pp. 58-65
- Katzman, K., Iran Sanctions, Congressional Research Service, December 2, 2011
- Kazemzadeh, M., The Perils and Costs of a Grand Bargain With Iran, American Foreign Policy Interests, 2007, v 29, pp. 301–327
- Kroenig, M., Time to Attack Iran, Foreign Affairs, v 91 #1 January/February 2012
- Lawson, F., Syria's Relations with Iran: Managing the Dilemmas of Alliance, Middle East Journal, Winter 2007, Vol. 61 Issue 1, pp. 29-47
- Leverett, F., US-Iran Relations: Looking Back and Looking Ahead, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, 2003
- Maloney, S., Iran's Long Reach: Iran As a Pivotal State in the Muslim World, US Institute of Peace, Washington DC, 2008
- Main, S.J., The Bear, the Peacock, the Eagle, the Sturgeon and the Black, Black Oil: Contemporary Regional Politics in the Caspian Sea, Conflict Studies Research Center, Defense Academy of the United Kingdom , 2005
- Marschall, C., Iran's Persian Gulf Policy: From Khomeini to Khatami, Routledge Curzon, NY, 2003.
- Mattair, T.R., United States and Iran: Diplomacy, Sanctions and War, Middle East Policy, v 17 #2, summer 2000, 99. A2-61
- McFaul, Michael, Milani, Abbas, and Diamond, Larry. A Win-Win U.S. Strategy for Dealing with Iran, Washington Quarterly, v.30, Winter 2006-2007, pp. 121-138
- Menashri, D., Iran's Regional Policy: Between Radicalism and Pragmatism, Journal of International Affairs, Spring/Summer 2007, v 60 #2, pp. 153-167
- Milani, A., Obama's Existential Challenge to Ahmadinejad, The Washington Quarterly, v 32 # 2 April 2009, pp. 63-78
- Milani, M., Tehran's Take, Foreign Affairs, v88 #4, July/August 2009
- Moshaver, Z., Revolution, Theocratic Leadership and Iran's Foreign Policy: Implications for Iran-EU Relations, Review of International Affairs, winter 2003, v 3 #2, pp. 283-305



- Murray, D., US Foreign Policy and Iran: American-Iranian Relations since the Islamic Revolution, New York, Routledge, 2010
- Nader, A. and Laha, J., Iran's Balancing Act in Afghanistan, Rand, Santa Monica 2011, [http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\\_papers/OP322.html](http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/OP322.html)
- Parsi, T., Israel-Iranian Relations Assessed: Strategic Competition From the Power Cycle Perspective, Iranian Studies, v 38 # 2, June 2005, pp. 247-269.
- Pollack, K.M. and Takehy, R., Doubling Down on Iran, Washington Quarterly, v 34 # 4, Fall 2011, pp. 7-21
- Pollack, K.M., The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict Between Iran and America, Random House, NY 2004
- Ramazani, R.K., Ideology and Pragmatism in Iran's Foreign Policy, Middle East Journal, autumn 2004, v 58, #4, pp. 549-559
- Sagan, S. D., How to Keep the Bomb from Iran, Foreign Affairs, v 85, September- October 2006, pp. 45-59
- Sariolghalam, M., Understanding Iran: Getting Past Stereotypes and Mythology, Washington Quarterly, autumn 2003, v 26 #4, p 69-83
- Saikal, A., Iran's New Strategic Entity, Australian Journal of International Affairs, September 2007, v 61 #3, pp. 296-305
- Shai, S., The Axis of Evil : Iran, Hizballah, and Palestinian Terror, Transaction, New Brunswick, 2005
- Sherrill, C.W., After Khamenei: Who Will Succeed Iran's Supreme Leader? Orbis, v 55 #4, 2011, pp. 631-647
- Takeyh, R., Guardians of the Revolution, Oxford, 2009
- Takeyh, R., Time for Détente with Iran, Foreign Affairs, v. 86, March/April 2007, 17-32.
- Vakil, S., Iran: Balancing East Against West, Washington Quarterly, Autumn 2006, v 29 # 4, pp. 51-65
- Wehrey, F. et al, Dangerous but Not Omnipotent: Exploring the reach and Limitations of Iranian Power in the Middle East, Rand, Santa Monica, 2011

## **Part 2 - Iraq (half class)**

### *Required*

- Kane, S., Hiltermann, J.R. and Alkadiri, R., Iraq's Federalism Quandary, National Interest, March/April 2012.
- Parker, N., The Iraq We Left Behind, Foreign Affairs, v 91#2 , March/April 2012
- Stansfield, G., The Reformation of Iraq's Foreign Relations: New Elites and Enduring Legacies, International Affairs, v86 #6 2010
- Tripp, Charles, The Foreign Policy of Iraq, in Hinnebusch, R. and Ehteshami, A., eds., The Foreign Policies of Middle East States, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2002, pp. 167-192.

### *Recommended*

- Abdullah, Thabit A. J. A Short History of Iraq: From 636 to the Present, 2003
- Al-Khalil, S., The Republic of Fear, (1989)
- Al-Tikriti, N., Ottoman Iraq, Journal of the Historical Society, VII #2, June 2007
- Baram, A., Building Towards Crisis: Saddam Husayn's Strategy for Survival, 1998
- Biddle, S., O'Hanlon, M and Pollack, K.M., How to Leave a Stable Iraq, Foreign Affairs. Sept/Oct 2008 Vol87 No5. 2008
- Cockburn, P., Muqtada: Muqtada al-Sadr, the Shia Revival, and the Struggle for Iraq, NY, Scribner, 2008
- Dawisha, 'Identity' and Political Survival in Saddam's Iraq, Middle East Journal, Autumn 1999
- Fearon, J.D., Iraq's Civil War, Foreign Affairs, Mar/Apr 2007

- Friedman, J.A., Long, S., Civil War Intervention and the Problem of Iraq, *International Studies Quarterly*, 2012, pp. 85-98
- Graham, E.F., Islamist Politics in Iraq after Saddam Hussein, Special Report No. 10,8 August 2003, USIP at <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr108.pdf>
- Graham-Brown, S., Sanctioning Saddam: The Politics of Intervention in Iraq, 1999
- Haass, R.N., and Indyk, M., Beyond Iraq, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2009
- International Crisis Group, Iraq after the Surge 1 and 2, Middle East Report N.74 and N.75. 2008.
- International Crisis Group, Iraq's Civil War, The Sadrists and the Surge, Middle East Report N.72 2008.
- International Crisis Group, Turkey and Iraqi Kurds: Conflict or Cooperation?, Middle East Report N.81 2008.
- International Crisis Group, Iraq After the Surge I: The New Sunni Landscape, April 30, 2008.
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## **March 30- Midterm**

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### **Jordan – In A Hard Spot**

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### **April 27 and May 4: Peace Process**

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