

POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

College of the Holy Cross

Political Science 272

Spring 2009

T/Th 2-3:15

Office Hours: T 9-10

Th 10-11, 3:30-5

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We will study Egypt, Iraq, Iran, and the Israel-Palestine conflict both to learn about the central issues in each country's politics, and to gain insight into some key questions about politics in the region as a whole. These include:

- The effect of religion on Middle Eastern politics and the potential for democracy in Arab countries and in Iran:
 - 1) Most Arab regimes are secular, and while they hold elections, there is no reasonable prospect of the populace being allowed to choose the king or president who possesses most of the power. The regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran combines an elected president and parliament with an unelected Supreme Leader (a cleric) and an unelected Council of Guardians, both of whom can overturn legislation passed by the president and parliament, as well as disqualify candidates for office. Although the Supreme Leader in Iran is a religious official and Arab kings and presidents are not, some authors have argued (at least before Iran's 2009 presidential elections) that politics has been more competitive, and popular participation in politics greater, in Iran post-revolution than in many secular Arab countries, a claim we will evaluate by comparing Egypt and Iran.
 - 2) Civil liberties, particularly the right of people to live, dress, worship, socialize, and marry as they see fit, are an essential part of democracy. The Iranian government has interfered extensively in people's personal lives to make them more "Islamic," to a degree much greater than is the case in secular Arab regimes. In this type of Islamic political system, are attempts by middle-class, Westernized Iranian youth to dress as they please, to go out in public with members of the opposite sex, or to have premarital sex, a political act – a form of rebellion against the state – as many such youth claim?
 - 3) In Arab regimes where some level of competition for parliamentary seats is allowed, Islamist groups which seek a larger role for Islam (as they define it) in public life, have won many seats in parliament, but government repression prevents them from acting freely or winning as many seats as they otherwise might. This raises two key questions: a) Are the views and goals of these groups compatible with democracy? B) If not, would allowing these groups to participate in politics lead them to moderate their anti-democratic positions? Drawing largely on the example of European Communist parties, which many believe shifted from the goal of violent revolution to peaceful reform when they became a legal part of European politics, many scholars

have argued that allowing Arab Islamist groups to compete in elections will lead them to moderate their views. Others have argued that excluding them from politics will lead Islamist activists to become more radical, and perhaps even join violent movements. We will address these issues in detail in our first paper, in which you will read extensively about the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's positions and activities in the Egyptian parliament, critically evaluate the "participation-moderation" thesis, and write a memo to the Obama administration suggesting whether the U.S. government should pressure the Mubarak government to lift limits on the Brotherhood's political participation.

- The role of oil in supporting authoritarianism and undermining tendencies toward democracy. Is there a causal connection between the reliance of Iran and many Arab economies on oil and the lack of democracy in these countries? We will examine this issue in some detail in Iraq, looking both at how the country's dependence on oil might undermine democracy, and at how struggles for control of oil have greatly exacerbated Kurdish-Arabic struggles in post-2003 Iraq.
- The role of "stateness" and electoral systems on sectarian conflict. Iraqi politics since 2003 has periodically been characterized by high levels of violence between religious and ethnic groups, including heavy reliance of Arab Sunnis and Shi'a on non-state sectarian militias for protection against and violence against each other. This violence is now decreasing, but voting behavior is still largely dictated for all Iraqis by ethnic/religious identity, with almost all political parties based explicitly on and appealing almost exclusively to people of only one religious or ethnic group. Was this a "natural" and inevitable result of decades of sectarianism in pre-2003 Iraq? Or did the collapse of the state, the dissolution of the army, and the choice of the electoral system for Iraq's "founding" 2005 election significantly increase the propensity for people to identify and organize along sectarian lines.

While this is not a course on U.S. foreign policy, U.S. policy affects politics in much of the Middle East more directly than in almost any other country in the world. The most obvious example of this is in Iraq, where the U.S. decision to invade, and the way the invasion and its immediate aftermath were carried out, completely reshaped Iraqi politics. Similarly, the possibility for a final peace settlement between Palestinians and Israelis is strongly affected by decisions that the U.S. makes, and the shape of Iranian politics may well be deeply changed by U.S. decisions on how to approach Iranian nuclear development. As a result, we will spend some time examining the ways that U.S. choices have affected Middle Eastern politics and may do so in the future.

A key goal of this class is to sharpen your ability to understand and assess the validity of complex and competing arguments. Each person in the class will be responsible for making a presentation (titled "Discussion" in the syllabus) which requires explaining, understanding, and analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of such arguments. On September 10 we will analyze as a class two competing arguments on whether the invasion of Iraq could be justified as a

humanitarian intervention as a model of how this kind of argument analysis and critique should be carried out.

Course Requirements

The requirements for this course are two papers, a discussion presentation, and a final exam. The first paper (30%) is a 10-12 page paper assessing the prospects for the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood to be a democratic actor and the persuasiveness of the “participation leads to moderation” thesis. The second paper (30%) is a 13-15 page paper on reasons for sectarian voting in Iraq. 15% of your grade will be based on your oral presentation of the discussion question, and the final exam is worth 25%.

Books to Be Purchased

- Liam Anderson and Gareth Stansfield, *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy, or Division?* Updated Edition (Palgrave, 2005)
- Mehran Kamrava, *The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War*, (University of California Press, 2005)

I EXPECT YOU TO HAVE DONE THE READING LISTED FOR EACH DATE ON THE SYLLABUS **BEFORE** CLASS MEETS ON THAT DATE.

CLASS SCHEDULE

Th Sept 3: Introduction

EGYPT

T Sept 8: Basics of Egyptian Politics

- “Egypt,” Ann Mosely Lesch, *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, Eighth Edition, (A.B. Longman, 2006), 582-602 (ER) (note this is just part of the entire file on ERes)
- “Pharaohs in Waiting,” Mary Anne Weaver, *Atlantic Monthly*, October 2003, excerpts (ER)

Th Sept 10: Dry-Run of How to Present Arguments in the Discussions: In 2003, Was It Reasonable To See a Western Invasion of Iraq as a Justified Humanitarian Intervention?

- “Regime Change: The Case of Iraq,” Jan Narveson, in *A Matter of Principle: Humanitarian Arguments for War in Iraq*, (University of California Press, 2005) (pp. 57-75) (ER)

- “War in Iraq: Not A Humanitarian Intervention,” Kenneth Roth, *Human Rights Watch World Report* 2004 (ER)

The 2005 Egyptian Elections and Their Aftermath

- “Authoritarian Opposition and the Politics of Challenge in Egypt,” Holger Albrecht, *Debating Arab Authoritarianism: Dynamics and Durability in Nondemocratic Regimes*, ed. Olivier Schlumberger, (Stanford, 2007), 64-74 (ER)
- “Egyptian Women Demand Mubarak Apology Over Vote Violence,” *Khaleej Times*, May 30, 2005 (ER)
- “Profile: Ayman Nour,” BBC, December 24, 2005
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4558054.stm
- “Revolution, Facebook Style,” Samantha Shapiro, *New York Times Magazine*, January 25, 2009 (ER)
- “Damanhour: By Hook or By Crook,” Joshua Stacher, *Middle East Report*, Spring 2006 (ER)
- “Egypt’s Controversial Constitutional Amendments,” Nathan Brown, Amr Hamzawy, Marina Ottaway, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 23, 2007, 11-13, 1-9 (read in this order) (ER)

T Sept 15: Does Participation in Politics Moderate Islamist Parties? How Moderate and Democratic is Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood?

- *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen*, Jillian Schwedler, (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 65-69, 95-96, 153-176 (ER)
- “The Draft Party Platform of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Foray into Political Integration or Retreat Into Old Positions?” Nathan Brown and Amr Hamzawy, Carnegie Papers, January 2008, 1-9, 16-19 (ER)
- The Open Meeting with Sheikh Ayman al-Zawahiri Part 2, April 2008, excerpts from sections on the Muslim Brotherhood’s party program (transl. Langohr) (ER)

Th Sept 17: Is the U.S. Position on Egyptian Democratization and the Brotherhood Changing?

- “Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations,” Congressional Research Service, May 12, 2009, 26-30 (ER)
- “Condoleezza Rice’s Remarks from her Cairo Speech at the American University in Cairo, June 20, 2005 (ER)

- “Text: Obama’s Speech in Cairo,” *New York Times*, June 4, 2009 (ER)
- “Obama Shifts Tone Toward Islamic Parties,” Eli Lake, *Washington Times*, June 5, 2009 (ER)

Discussion 1: Analysis and comparison of the Rice and Obama Cairo speeches

IRAQ

T Sept 22: Iraqi Politics 1920-1980

- *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy, or Division*, Anderson and Stansfield, 14-25, 32-40, 50-64, 69-80
- Juan Cole, “The Iraqi Shiites: On the History of America’s Would-Be Allies,” *Boston Review*, October/November 2003, section titled “The Iraqi Shiites” (ER)

Th Sept 24: Two Wars, and Sanctions

- *The Modern History of Iraq*, Second Edition, Phebe Marr, (Westview Press, 2004), 181-196 (ER)
- *A History of the Modern Middle East*, William Cleveland, (Westview Press, 2000), 463-469 (ER)
- “Iraq’s Decisions to Go to War, 1980 and 1990,” F. Gregory Gause, *The Middle East Journal*, Winter 2002, 47-62 (ER)
- John and Karl Mueller, “Sanctions of Mass Destruction,” *Foreign Affairs*, May-June 1999, 45-53 (ER)

T Sept 29: Why War in 2003?

- *The George W. Bush Foreign Policy Reader: Presidential Speeches with Commentary*, ed. John Dietrich, (New York: Armonk, New York, 2005), 67-77 (ER)
- “An Unnecessary War?” John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2003 (ER)
- Excerpts from “Statement of Judith S. Yaphe to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States” (the “9/11 Commission”), July 9, 2003 and from *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, pp. 65-66 (both on ER under “Statement of Yaphe”)

- Andrew Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced By War*, (Oxford University Press, 2005), 71-96 (ER)

Discussion 2: Was the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 the act of an aggressive, irrational leader, or a rational decision? Could conventional deterrence have prevented Saddam Hussein from using or sharing nuclear or chemical weapons with others in 2003, making war then unnecessary?

Th Oct 1: The Major Iraqi Players in 2003

- “The Iraqi Shiites: On the History of America’s Would-Be Allies,” Juan Cole, section titled “The Shiites Under Occupation” (ER)
- “Iraq’s Shi’ites Under Occupation,” International Crisis Group, September 9, 2003, 7-11, 15-20 (ER) . *We will be reading many excerpts of reports from the International Crisis Group. To find them, go to <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm>? On the pull-down menu “Reports by Country” on the left-hand side of the page, go to “Iraq.” At the bottom of the new page you will see a list of all the reports on Iraq (and in later sections of the syllabus do the same for “Iran” and “Israel/Occupied Territories”). When you first try to open a report the website will ask you to register and create a password in order to give you access – this is free, and you will not receive any emails from ICG, nor will they give your data to anyone.*
- *The Future of Iraq*, 91-92, 95-96
- “The Next Iraqi War? What Kirkuk’s Struggle to Reverse Saddam’s Ethnic Cleansing Signals for the Future of Iraq,” George Packer, *The New Yorker*, October 4, 2004 (ER)

T Oct 6: The Effects of State Collapse and The Electoral System on Sectarian Violence

- L. Paul Bremer, “How I Didn’t Dismantle Iraq’s Army,” (excerpts), *New York Times*, September 6, 2007, and “Fateful Choice on Iraq Army Bypassed Debate,” (excerpts), Michael Gordon, *New York Times*, March 17, 2008 (on ER under “Bremer”)
- Toby Dodge, “State Collapse and the Rise of Identity Politics,” in *Iraq: Preventing a New Generation of Conflict*, eds. Markus Bouillon, David Malone, and Ben Rowswell, (Lynne Rienner Press, 2007) (ER)
- “Iraq’s Year of Voting Dangerously,” Adeed Dawisha and Larry Diamond, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 17, April 2006 (ER)
- “U.S. Officials Are Haunted by Initial Plan for Nationwide Candidate Lists for Iraqi Elections,” Steven Weisman, *New York Times*, January 9, 2005 (ER)

-----T OCT 6 – PAPER #1 DUE-----

Th Oct 8: The Rise, Fall, and Uncertain Future of Shi'a-Arab Sunni Conflict

- “The Next Iraqi War: Sectarianism and Civil Conflict,” International Crisis Group, February 2006, 1-5, 14-21
- “Excerpts from the Blog ‘Baghdad Burning,’” Riverbend (ER)
- “Iraq’s Civil War, the Sadrists, and the Surge,” International Crisis Group, February 2008, 2-7 (ER)
- “Trial Near for Shi’ite Ex-Officials in Sunni Killings,” Michael Gordon and Alissa Rubin, *New York Times*, November 5, 2007 (ER)
- “For U.S. and Sunni Allies, A Turning Point: Sons of Iraq Despair at Imminent Takeover by Shiite Government,” Ernesto Londono, *Washington Post*, September 30, 2008 (ER)
- “Sunni Fighters Say Iraq Didn’t Keep Job Promises,” Rod Nordland and Alissa Rubin, *New York Times*, March 24, 2009 (ER)

Discussion 3: Sectarianism in Iraq Before and After 2003

-----T OCT 13 – COLUMBUS DAY BREAK-----

Th Oct 15 – T Oct 20: The Twin Problems of Oil in A Democratic, Peaceful Iraq

Does Being An Oil State Prevent Democracy? Rentier State Arguments, and the Alaska Model as a Way Out? (Th Oct 15)

- “Does Oil Hinder Democracy?” Michael Ross, *World Politics* 53.3, April 2001, 325, 332-336, 347-351, 356-7 (ER)
- *The Spirit of Democracy*, Larry Diamond, (Times Books, 2008), 74-79 (ER)
- “Sharing Alaska-Style,” Steven C. Clemons, *New York Times*, April 9, 2003 (ER)
- *Oil and Democracy in Iraq*, ed. Robert Springborg, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2007, 61-70 (ER)
- “Can Iraq Overcome the Oil Curse?” Robert Looney, *World Economics*, January-March 2006, 32-37 (ER)

If the Oil Is Under Your Soil, Should You Get to Keep It? Questions of Distribution (T Oct 20)

- “Pentagon ‘Very Nervous’ About Arab-Kurdish Feud,” *New York Times*, August 11, 2009 (ER)
- “Oil for Soil: Toward A Grand Bargain On Iraq and the Kurds,” International Crisis Group, 28 October 2008, 1-5, 14-32 (ER)

Discussion 4: Kurdish Power and Desires Post-2003

IRAN

Th Oct 22: The Pahlavi Shahs

- *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War*, 140-148
- “Secrets of History: The C.I.A. in Iran: How A Plot Convulsed Iran in ’53 (and in ’79),” James Risen, *New York Times*, April 16, 2000 (ER)
- “Granting Capitulatory Rights to the U.S.” Imam Ruhullah Khomeini, in *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam: A Reader*, eds. Mansoor Moaddel and Kamran Talattof, (Palgrave, 2002) (ER)
- *Reconstructed Lives: Women & Iran’s Islamic Revolution*, Haleh Esfandiari, (Woodrow Wilson Center, 1997), 23-31 (ER)

T Oct 27: The Islamic Revolution & Khomeini’s Rule

- *Modern Middle East*, 148-161
- *Reconstructed Lives: Women and Iran’s Islamic Revolution*, 54-71, 107-131, excerpts (ER)

Th Oct 29: Politics and Social Life in Iran Since the Revolution

- *Modern Middle East*, 161-166
- *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*, Nikki Keddie, (Yale, 2003) (ER)
- “Political Participation in Revolutionary Iran,” Mohsen Milani, in *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform*, ed. John Esposito, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1997) (ER)

“Iran’s 2009 Presidential Elections,” Casey Addis, Congressional Research Service, July 6, 2009 (ER)

Discussion 5: Is Iran post-1979 more democratic than it was under the Shah? Is it more democratic than secular authoritarian Arab countries?

T Nov 3: Changes in Civil Liberties (and Socioeconomic Conditions) 1979-2009

- *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*, Nikki Keddie, 285-302 (ER)
- *Passionate Uprisings: Iran's Sexual Revolution*, Pardis Mahdavi, (Stanford University Press, 2009), 1-9, 20-23, 25-28, 110-117, 127-133, 195-204 (ER)

Discussion 6: Changing in Women's Rights Over Time in Iran

Th Nov 5: Iran and Its Foreign and Nuclear Policies

- "Iran: U.S. Concerns and Policy Responses," Kenneth Katzman, Congressional Research Service, July 2, 2009, (according to the pagination in the article, CRS-13-23, CRS-26-29, CRS-34-41 (ER)
- "U.S. – Iranian Engagement: The View from Tehran," International Crisis Group, June 2, 2009, 2-6 (ER)
- "Tehran's Take," Mohsen Milani, *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2009 (ER)
- "Iran is Judged Ten Years from Nuclear Bomb," Dafna Linzer, *Washington Post*, August 2, 2005 (ER)
- "Iran: Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities," National Intelligence Estimate, November 2007 (ER)
- "In 2003, U.S. Spurned Iran's Offer of Dialogue," Glenn Kessler, *Washington Post*, June 18, 2006 (ER)
- *Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran, and the U.S.*, Trita Parsi, Yale University Press, 2007, 243-257, and Appendix C: Letter from Ambassador Guldemann to the U.S. State Department (ER)

Discussion 7: What Are the Goals of the Iranian Regime?

Discussion 8: What Are the Sanctions on Iran?

Discussion 9: Have Sanctions Actually Hurt Iranians, or the Iranian Regime? Would Different Kinds of Sanctions Be Better?

T Nov 10: Is a U.S. or Israeli Attack on Iran Advisable?

- "The Case for Bombing Iran," Norman Podhoretz, *Commentary*, June 2007 (ER)

- “Time For An Israeli Strike?” John Bolton, *Washington Post*, July 2, 2009 (ER)
- “Stalin, Mao, and...Ahmedinijad?” Fareed Zakaria, *Newsweek*, October 29, 2007 (ER)
- “They Are Not Fanatics,” Mohamed ElBaradei, *Newsweek*, June 1, 2009 (ER)
- “They May Not Want the Bomb: And Other Unexpected Truths,” Fareed Zakaria, *Newsweek*, June 1, 2009 (ER)
- “Apocalypse Not,” Michael Desch, *The American Conservative*, May 18, 2009 (ER)
- “Will Iran Be Next?” James Fallows, *The Atlantic*, December 2004 (ER)
- Excerpts from “Study on A Possible Israeli Strike on Iran’s Nuclear Development Facilities,” Anthony Cordesman and Abdullah Toukan, Center for Strategic and International Studies, March 14, 2009 (ER)

Discussion 10: Can More Economic Pressure Be Brought to Bear on Iran?

Discussion 11: Podhoretz’s Argument in Favor of A U.S. Attack on Iran

Discussion 12: Is Iran A Rational Foreign Policy Actor? Part I

Discussion 13: Is A U.S. or Israeli Attack on Iran Practical? What Could Iran Do to Retaliate?

Th Nov 12: Are There Other Options? Unconditional Engagement or Engagement with Pressure?

- “U.S. – Iranian Engagement: The View from Tehran,” International Crisis Group, June 2, 2009, 6-10, 13-16, 20-23 (ER)
- *Myths, Illusions, and Peace: Finding a New Direction for America in the Middle East* Dennis Ross and David Makovsky, (Viking, 2009), 216-233 (ER)
- “A New Approach to Iran: The Need for Transformative Diplomacy,” John Tirman, MIT Center for International Studies, April 2009, 6-15, 17-24, 27-35, 38-43 (ER)
- “The Making of An Iran Policy,” Roger Cohen, *New York Times Magazine*, August 2, 2009 (ER)

Discussion 14: Iran’s View of the U.S.-Iran Relationship

Discussion 15: Is Iran A Rational Foreign Policy Actor? Part II

Discussion 16: No Carrots, No Sticks, No Preconditions: Tirman's Argument

Discussion 17: Tirman vs. Makovsky/Ross

Israel-Palestine

T Nov 17: The Rise of Zionism and the Formation of Israel

- “The Jewish State,” Theodor Herzl, in *The Zionist Idea*, 204-225 (ER)
- “Evidence Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission (1937), Vladimir Jabotinsky, in *The Zionist Idea*, 557-565 (ER)
- *A History of the Arab-Israel Conflict*, Fifth Edition, Ian Bickerton and Carla Klausner, 48-54, 66-88 (ER)

Discussion 18: Herzl's and Jabotinsky's Arguments for Zionism

Th Nov 19: The 1967 War, The Rise of Israeli Settlements, and Camp David I

- Bickerton and Clausner, 143-150, 187-188 (ER)
- “The Unsettlers,” Samantha Shapiro, *New York Times Magazine*, February 16, 2003 (ER)
- “How the Settler Suburbs Grew,” David Newman, *New York Times*, May 21, 2002 (ER)
- “In West Bank, Water Is As Touchy As Land,” William Orme, *New York Times*, July 15, 2000 (ER)
- Bickerton and Clausner, 190-193 (ER)

Discussion 19: Marketing the Settlements in the U.S.

Discussion 20: Christian Zionist Support for West Bank Settlements

T Nov 24: The Emergence of Hamas, and the Oslo Accords

- *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*, Khaled Hroub, (Pluto Press, 2006), excerpts (ER)
- *Hamas, Political Thought and Practice*, Khaled Hroub, (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000), 69-86 (ER)
- Bickerton and Clausner, 276-283, 327-334 (ER)

- “Camp David II: Assumptions and Consequences,” Shibley Telhami, *Current History*, January 2001 (ER)

“Why Peace Failed: An Oslo Autopsy,” *Current History*, January 2002, Sara Roy (ER)

-----T NOV 24: PAPER #2 DUE-----

-----TH NOV 26 – THANKSGIVING-----

T Dec 1: Hamas Wins the Elections, International Isolation, and the Gaza War

- Bickerton and Clausner, 353 and 363-369
- “Sweeping Victory: Uncertain Mandate,” Khalil Shikaki, *Journal of Democracy*, July 2006 (ER) (T Dec 3)
- “Palestinians, Israel, and the Quartet: Pulling Back from the Brink,” International Crisis Group, June 13, 2006, 21-27 (ER) (T Dec 3)
- “After Gaza,” International Crisis Group, August 2, 2007, 11-15 (ER)
- “Ruling Palestine I: Gaza Under Hamas,” International Crisis Group, March 19, 2008, 1-9 (stop at “Internal Security”) and 15-16 (section called “Islamization?”) (ER)
- “Ending the War in Gaza,” International Crisis Group, January 5, 2009, 3-6 (ER)
- “Gaza’s Unfinished Business,” International Crisis Group, April 23, 2009, 1-5, 18-22 (ER)

Th Dec 3 – T Dec 8: Will Israel Stop Building Settlements? Will Hamas Change Its Position on Israel?

- “Hamas Shifts From Rockets to Public Relations,” Ethan Bronner, *New York Times*, July 23, 2009
- “The Green Elephant in the Room: Dealing with the Hamas Party-State in Gaza,” Nathan Brown, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Web Commentary, June 2009 (ER) <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=23225>
- “Movement and Access Restrictions in the West Bank,” World Bank, May 9, 2007, 1-11 (ER)
- “Stop the Deceit and Whitewashing,” *Ha’aretz* Editorial, January 30, 2009 (ER)
- “Israel to U.S.: Stop Favoring Palestinians,” Barak Ravid, *Ha’aretz*, June 1, 2009 (ER)

- “Israelis Say Bush Agreed to West Bank Growth,” Ethan Bronner, *New York Times*, June 4, 2009 (ER)
- “Playing the Jesus Card,” M.J. Rosenberg, *Foreign Policy*, July 24, 2009 (ER)
- “Jewish Leaders Give Obama No Push-Back on Settlement Freeze,” Nathan Guttman, *The Forward*, July 15, 2009 (ER)
- “In Two Settlements, A Sign of Hope for A Deal,” Ethan Bronner and Isabel Kershner, *New York Times*, July 26, 2009 (ER)

Discussion 21: Outpost Settlements and Resistance to Israeli Withdrawal

-----M DEC 14, 2:30 p.m. FINAL EXAM-----