



## **CIEE Amman, Jordan**

<b>Course title:</b>	Conflict and Diplomacy in the Contemporary Middle East
<b>Course code:</b>	INRE 3002 AMJO
<b>Programs offering course:</b>	Middle East Studies
<b>Language of instruction:</b>	English
<b>U.S. semester credits:</b>	3.00
<b>Contact hours:</b>	45.00
<b>Term:</b>	Fall 2023

### **Course Description**

This course explores conflict and diplomacy in the contemporary Middle East through an in-depth examination and discussion of case studies from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Each week will be devoted to a specific conflict.

Additionally, this course serves as an introductory survey to the history, politics and societies of the contemporary Middle East, as well as to the main dynamics driving conflict and conflict resolution in this region.

### **Learning Objectives**

By completing this course, students will:

- Examine the key conflicts and diplomatic processes in the contemporary Middle East
- Investigate the history, politics and societies of the contemporary Middle East
- Analyse and interpret the dynamics driving conflict and its resolution in the region
- Argue and debate the Middle East, its conflicts, and conflict resolution objectively

### **Course Prerequisites**

None.

### **Methods of Instruction**

The course will be based on seminar-style discussions, and students' preparation and active participation is considered essential.

Several readings will be assigned for every session. A presentation by the instructor will be followed by group discussion in which the main themes, dynamics, and interests pertaining to the conflict/diplomatic process under discussion will be discussed and debated.

**Laptops and other electronic devices are not permitted in class.**

### **Assessment and Final Grade**

1.	Policy Brief	20%
2.	Midterm Exam	20%
3.	Presentation	15%
4.	Final Exam	30%
5.	Class Participation	15%
	TOTAL	100%

### **Course Requirements**

#### **Policy Brief**

Students will prepare a policy brief of 3,000 – 3,500 words on one of the main crisis, conflicts or affairs in the region including those will be discussed during the semester. This policy brief will be prepared for the United Nations Secretary-General or The State Department and should:

1. Identify the main actors in the conflict and their core interests;
2. Recommend realistic and effective initiatives, to be undertaken by the UN and/or member states, to restore peace and address the threats this conflict poses to international peace and security;
3. Identify and respond to key objections to the proposed policy recommendations.

The policy brief should be prefaced by a 500-word Executive Summary, which is part of the total word count.

Students are strongly encouraged to conduct this exercise in groups of two-three each.

### **Midterm Exam**

A set exam in the class will take place during the midterm week, covering the topics & readings covered.

### **Presentation**

The author(s) of each policy brief will present their work to the class during the final session of this course. Presentations will last a maximum of ten minutes, with an additional ten-fifteen minutes for discussion and debate of each paper's conclusions.

Policy briefs are due by email. These must conform to the MLA format using 12-point font, with a cover page indicating name of class, instructor, authors and date.

(more explanation will be offered during classes)

### **Final Exam**

A final take-home exam will be distributed in class consisting of four questions that may reflect any of the material covered during the semester; students are required to answer two of their choice with 750-1,000 word essays for each question.

Papers are due no later than **5pm Amman time** after a week by email, and must conform to the MLA format using 12-point font, with a cover page indicating name of class, instructor, author and date. The essay question should be fully identified.

### **Class Participation**

Students are required to attend all classes and to be active and engaged in the discussions by asking questions and to speak up their own minds, thoughts, analysis & concerns about the topics covered.

### **Attendance**

To encourage engaged learning, regular class attendance is required throughout the program. This includes any required co-curricular class excursion or event, as well as internship, service-learning, or other required field placement.

An excused absence in a CIEE course will only be considered if approved by a CIEE Center Director/Academic Director (not the Instructor), and:

- it is a self-certified absence for illness (only once per course, requires formal request before or within 24 hours, cannot miss assessment worth more than 5% of final course grade)
- a doctor's note from a local medical professional is provided
- evidence of a family emergency is provided
- it is a pre-approved observance of religious holiday

Unexcused absences include personal travel and/or travel delays, as well as missing more than 25% of a single class period (including tardiness and early departure). Assessments missed due to unexcused absences will be marked as zero. Students with over 10% unexcused absences will be contacted by CIEE staff. Students with over 20% unexcused absences will be contacted by CIEE staff, receive a formal warning letter (shared with their home institution) and lose 10% of the final course point total (e.g., a final A grade of 93% will be lowered to a B grade of 83%).

For more detail, please consult your CIEE Academic Manual.

### **Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity is essential to a positive and inclusive teaching and learning environment. All students are

expected to complete coursework responsibilities with fairness, respect, and honesty. Failure to do so by seeking unfair advantage over others or misrepresenting someone else's work as your own can result in grade penalties or disciplinary action. See the CIEE Student Academic Manual for further information on academic integrity.

***N.B. Course schedule and co-curriculars are subject to change. The final duration and distribution of content and assignments will be determined and presented to students at the onset of the course.***

## **Weekly Schedule**

### **Week 1**

Class: Introduction: The Formation of the Contemporary Middle East

(lecture and discussion)

- Lynch, Preface, Chapter 1 (pp. ix-xviii, 1-73)

*Optional supplementary readings:*

- Malcolm H. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958-1970* (Oxford University Press, 1971)
- James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Warner, 1992)
- Eugene Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* (Basic Books, 2009), Chapters 6-14 (pp. 147-482)
- Jean Said Makdisi, *Teta, Mother And Me: An Arab Woman's Memoir* (Saqi, 2005)

### **Week 2**

Class: The Syria Conflict I

- Anthony Shadid, "Syria's Sons of No one", *New York Times*, 31 August 2011 ([http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/magazine/syrias-sons-of-no-one.html?ref=magazine&pagewanted=all#&wtoeid=growl1\\_r1\\_control](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/magazine/syrias-sons-of-no-one.html?ref=magazine&pagewanted=all#&wtoeid=growl1_r1_control))

*Optional supplementary readings:*

- Lynch, Chapters 4,7 (pp. 105-138,189-224)
- Nikolaos van Dam, *The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society Under Asad and the Ba'th Party* (I.B. Tauris, 2011)
- Patrick Seale, *The Struggle for Syria: A Study in Post-War Arab Politics, 1945-1958* (Yale University Press, 1987)
- Patrick Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East* (University of California Press, 1990)
- Lisa Wedeen, *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric and Symbols in Contemporary Syria* (University of Chicago Press, 2015)
- Hanna Batatu, *Syria's Peasantry, The Descendants of Its Lesser Rural Notables, and Their Politics* (Princeton University Press, 1999)
- Hanna Mina, *Fragments of Memory: A Story of a Syrian Family* (Interlink Books, 2014)

### **Week 3**

Class: The Syria Conflict II

- Fabrice Balanche, "Assad Needs 'Useless Syria' Too", *The Washington Institute*, 4 January 2017 (<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/assad-needs-useless-syria-too>)
- Aron Lund, "The Five Most Important Events in Syria in 2016", *The Century Foundation*, 30 December 2016 (<https://tcf.org/content/commentary/five-important-events-syria-2016/>)
- Aron Lund, "Staring into Syria's Diplomatic Fog", *The Century Foundation*, 6 January 2017 (<https://tcf.org/content/commentary/staring-syrias-diplomatic-fog/>)
- Marc Lynch, "Would Arming Syria's Rebels Have Stopped the Islamic State?", *The Washington Post*, 11 August 2014 (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/11/would-arming-syrias-rebels-have-stopped-the-islamic-state/>)
- Stephen M. Walt, "Could We Have Stopped This Tragedy?", *Foreign Policy* 21 September 2015 (<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/21/could-we-have-stopped-this-tragedy-syria-intervention-realist/>)
- Joshua Landis, "America's Failure—and Russia and Iran's Success—in Syria's Cataclysmic Civil War", *talkingpointsmemo.com*, 10 January 2017

- (<http://talkingpointsmemo.com/cafes/america-failure-russia-success-in-syria-war>)
- NourSamaha, "Survival is Syria's Strategy", The Century Foundation, 8 February 2017 (<https://tcf.org/content/report/survival-syrias-strategy/>)

*Optional supplementary readings:*

- Emile Hokayem, Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant (Routledge, 2013)
- International Crisis Group, Flight of Icarus? The PYD's Precarious Rise in Syria, 8 May 2014 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/flight-icarus-pyd-s-precarious-rise-syria>)
- Robin Yassin-Kassab, "The Long Read: What Does the Future Hold for Syria's People?".The National 11 February 2016 (<http://www.thenational.ae/arts-life/the-review/the-long-read-what-does-the-future-hold-for-syrias-people#full>)  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/magazine/syrias-sons-of-no-one.html?ref=magazine&pagewanted=all - &wtoeid=growl1\\_r1\\_control](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/magazine/syrias-sons-of-no-one.html?ref=magazine&pagewanted=all - &wtoeid=growl1_r1_control)
- Robin Yassin-Kassab and Leila al-Shami, Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War (Pluto, 2016)
- Khalid Khalifa, In Praise of Hatred (Black Swan, 2013)
- These websites also have regular coverage of the Syria conflict:
  - Carnegie Middle East Center's Syria in Crisis (<http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/issue/1558?lang=en>)
  - International Crisis Group's Syria page (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria>)
  - Syria Comment: Syria Politics, History and Religion (<http://www.joshualandis.com/blog/>)
  - and many others.

## **Week 4**

Class: From Iraq to ISIS I

- The Report of the Iraq Inquiry: Executive Summary (aka Chilcot Inquiry), 2016 ([http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/247921/the-report-of-the-iraq-inquiry\\_executive-summary.pdf](http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/247921/the-report-of-the-iraq-inquiry_executive-summary.pdf))
- The Iraq Study Group Report: The Way Forward – A New Approach (aka Hamilton-Baker Commission), 2006, (<http://www.iraqsolidaridad.org/2006/docs/gei-1.pdf>)
- International Crisis Group, Fight or Flight: The Desperate Plight of Iraq's "Generation 2000", 8 August 2016 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/fight-or-flight-desperate-plight-iraq-s-generation-2000>)

*Optional supplementary readings:*

- Hanna Batatu, The Old Social Classes and Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of its Communists, Ba'thists and Free Officers (Princeton University Press, 1978)
- Thomas E. Ricks, Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2003-2005 (Penguin 2007)
- Anthony Shadid, Night Draws Near: Iraq's People in The Shadow of America's War (Picador, 2006)
- Charles Tripp, A History of Iraq (Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Salam Pax, Salam Pax: The Clandestine Diary of an Ordinary Iraqi (Grove Press, 2003)
- SinanAntoon, The Corpse Washer (Yale University Press, 2014)
- Elliott Colla, Baghdad Central (Bitter Lemon Press, 2014)

## **Week 5**

Class: From Iraq to ISIS II

- Abu Hanieh and Abu Rumman, Chapter 1 (pp.25-93)
- Gerges, Chapters 2-5 (pp. 50-169)
- International Crisis Group, Understanding Islamism, 2 March 2005 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/understanding-islamism>)
- International Crisis Group, Exploiting Disorder: al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, 14 March 2016 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/exploiting-disorder-al-qaeda-and-islamic-state>)
- Ussama Makdisi, "The Mythology of the Sectarian Middle East", Rice University Baker Institute for Public Policy, February 2017 (<http://www.bakerinstitute.org/files/11372/>)

*Optional supplementary readings:*

- Abu Hanieh and Abu Rumman, Chapters 3-6
- Gerges, Chapters 7-8 and Conclusion
- JoasWagemakers, "Salafism", in The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion, 15 August 2016  
(<http://religion.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-255?rskey=7XKeTI&result=1>)

## Week 6

Class: Midterm

## Week 7

Class: Jordanian Politics

- <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/02/08/opinion/foreign-affairs-king-hussein-1935-1999.html>
- <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/jordan-the-us-and-the-cold-war-the-birth-strategic-alliance>
- <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/jordans-arab-spring/>

## Week 8

Class: The Palestine Question and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

- Smith, Chapters 4-6 (pp. 162-299)
- Smith, Chapters 7-10 (pp. 300-480)
- Robert Malley and Hussein Agha, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors", New York Review of Books, 9 August 2001 (<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2001/08/09/camp-david-the-tragedy-of-errors/>)
- Three Things to Know About Trump's Jerusalem Gambit  
<http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/12/07/three-things-to-know-about-trump-s-jerusalem-gambit-pub-74948>

### *Optional supplementary readings:*

- Smith, Prologue, Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-161)
- Norman G. Finkelstein, Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict (Verso, 2003)
- David Hirst, The Gun and The Olive Branch (Faber and Faber, 1977)
- WalidKhalidi (ed.), From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948 (Institute for Palestine Studies, 1987)
- Kennett Love, Suez: The Twice-Fought War; A History (McGraw Hill, 1969)
- Shira Robinson, Citizen Strangers: Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State (Stanford University Press, 2013)
- GhassanKanafani, Palestine's Children: Returning to Haifa & Other Stories (Lynne Rienner, 2000)
- S. Yizhar, Khirbet Khizeh: A Novel (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014)
- Emile Habiby, The Secret Life of Saeed: The Pessoptimist (Interlink, 2001)
- Smith, Chapter 11 and Epilogue (pp. 482-555)
- Geoffrey Aronson, Creating Facts: Israel, Palestinians and the West Bank (Institute for Palestine Studies, 1987)
- Shlomo Ben-Ami, Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy (Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Wendy Pearlman, Violence, Nonviolence, and The Palestinian National Movement (Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- YezidSayigh, Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993 (Oxford University Press, 2000)
- AviShlaim, The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World (W.W. Norton, 2014)
- SuadAmiry, Sharon and My Mother-in-Law: Ramallah Diaries (Granta Books, 2006)
- MouridBarghouthi, I Saw Ramallah (Anchor, 2003)
- Graham Usher, Dispatches From Palestine: The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process (Pluto, 1999)
- Mahmoud Darwish, Memory for Forgetfulness: August, Beirut, 1982 (University of California Press, 2013)
- SaharKhalifeh, Wild Thorns (Interlink, 2003)
- A.B. Yehoshua, A Woman in Jerusalem (Mariner, 2007)

## Week 9

Class: Libya

- Lynch, Chapter 3 and 6 (pp. 75-104, 175-188)
- International Crisis Group, The Libyan Political Agreement: Time for a Reset, 4 November 2016 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/libya/libyan-political-agreement-time-reset>)
- Hugh Roberts, "Who Said Qaddafi Had To Go" (and subsequent exchange of letters), London Review of Books, 17 November 2011 ([http://www.lrb.co.uk/v33/n22/hugh-roberts/who-said-gaddafi-had-to-go\\_](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v33/n22/hugh-roberts/who-said-gaddafi-had-to-go_))

*Optional supplementary readings:*

- Dirk Vandewalle, A History of Modern Libya (Cambridge University Press)
- Lisa Anderson, The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980 (Princeton University Press, 1987)
- Ruth First, Libya: The Elusive Revolution (Penguin, 1975)
- Hisham Matar, The Return: Fathers, Sons and the Land in Between (Random House, 2016)

## **Week 10**

Class: Policy Brief Paper Due by 5:00pm

### **Iran and the Nuclear Agreement**

- International Crisis Group, Implementing The Iran Nuclear Deal: A Status Report, 16 January 2017 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iran/173-implementing-iran-nuclear-deal-status-report>)
- International Crisis Group, Iran After The Nuclear Deal, 15 December 2015 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iran/iran-after-nuclear-deal>)
- International Crisis Group, Turkey and Iran: Bitter Friends, Bosom Rivals, 13 December 2016 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iran/b051-turkey-and-iran-bitter-friends-bosom-rivals>)
- Iran After the Bomb How Would a Nuclear-Armed Tehran Behave? Alireza Nader. 2013
- [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR310.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR310.html)

*Optional supplementary readings:*

- David Crist, The Twilight War: The Secret History of America's Thirty-Year Conflict with Iran (Penguin, 2013)
- James A. Bill, The Eagle and The Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations (Yale University Press, 1989)
- Ervand Abrahamian, A History of Modern Iran (Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Stephen Kinzer, All The Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror (Wiley, 2008)
- Daniel Yergin, The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power (Free Press, 2008)
- Marc Lynch, "Belligerent Minimalism: The Trump Administration and the Middle East", The Washington Quarterly Winter 2017, pp. 127-144 ([https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/twq.elliott.gwu.edu/files/downloads/TWQ\\_Winter2017\\_Lynch.pdf](https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/twq.elliott.gwu.edu/files/downloads/TWQ_Winter2017_Lynch.pdf))
- Stephen M. Walt, "Barack Obama Was a Foreign Policy Failure", Foreign Policy, 18 January 2017 ([http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/18/barack-obama-was-a-foreign-policy-failure/?utm\\_content=buffer6f6b7&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_source=facebook.com&utm\\_campaign=buffer](http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/18/barack-obama-was-a-foreign-policy-failure/?utm_content=buffer6f6b7&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_campaign=buffer))

## **Week 11**

Class: The Arabian Peninsula: Saudi Arabia, the War in Yemen, and the Qatar Crisis I

- Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030, One Year On. Simon Henderson April 24, 2017 <file:///C:/Users/DELL/Documents/Downloads/saudi-arabias-vision-2030-one-year-on.pdf>
- The Outlook for Arab Gulf Cooperation. 2015 [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1429.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1429.html)
- A Saudi-Led Military Alliance to Fight Terrorism Welcome Muscle in the Fight Against Terrorism, Desert Mirage, or Bad Idea? Brian Michael Jenkins Apr 19, 2016 [file:///C:/Users/OptiPlex/Downloads/RAND\\_PE189%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/OptiPlex/Downloads/RAND_PE189%20(1).pdf)
- Yemen: Victim of the Saudi-Iranian Rivalry. Alireza Nader, May 12, 2015 <https://www.rand.org/blog/2015/05/yemen-victim-of-the-saudi-iranian-rivalry.html>
- What Pakistan and Saudi Arabia Want from Each Other. Jonah Blank, June 17, 2015. <https://www.rand.org/blog/2015/06/what-pakistan-and-saudi-arabia-want-from-each->

- other.html
- Reckoning in Saudi Arabia. RICHARD SOKOLSKY, AARON DAVID MILLER Nov. 09 2017  
<http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/11/09/reckoning-in-saudi-arabia-pub-74713>
- How Might Mohammed bin Salman's Arrest of Saudi Princes Affect His Rise to the Throne?  
<http://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/74725>
- China in the Middle East, The Wary Dragon. Andrew Scobell, Alireza Nader. 2016.  
[https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1229.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1229.html)
- The danger of picking sides in the Qatar Crisis. June 1 2017.  
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/06/17/the-danger-of-picking-sides-in-the-qatar-crisis/>
- In Yemen, Iran outsmarts Saudi Arabia again Bruce Riedel, December 6, 2017  
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/06/in-yemen-iran-outsmarts-saudi-arabia-again/>
- The Qatar Crisis and the Future of the GCC. Ashley Inman 14th Aug 2017  
<https://chargedaffairs.org/the-qatar-crisis/>

## Week 12

Class: Policy Brief Presentations I

## Week 13

Class: Policy Brief Presentations I

## Week 14

Class: Take-Home Final Exam Due by 5:00pm

## Course Materials

### Readings

- Hassan Abu Hanieh and Mohammad Abu Rumman, The 'Islamic State' Organization: The Sunni Crisis and The Struggle of Global Jihadism(Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2015)
- Anthony Shadid, "Syria's Sons of No one",New York Times, 31 August 2011  
([http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/magazine/syrias-sons-of-no-one.html?ref=magazine&pagewanted=all#&wtoeid=growl1\\_r1\\_control](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/magazine/syrias-sons-of-no-one.html?ref=magazine&pagewanted=all#&wtoeid=growl1_r1_control))
- Fabrice Balanche, "Assad Needs 'Useless Syria' Too, The Washington Institute, 4 January 2017  
(<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/assad-needs-useless-syria-too>)
- Aron Lund, "The Five Most Important Events in Syria in 2016", The Century Foundation, 30 December 2016  
(<https://tcf.org/content/commentary/five-important-events-syria-2016/>)
- Aron Lund, "Staring into Syria's Diplomatic Fog", The Century Foundation, 6 January 2017  
(<https://tcf.org/content/commentary/staring-syrias-diplomatic-fog/>)
- Marc Lynch, "Would Arming Syria's Rebels Have Stopped the Islamic State?", The Washington Post, 11 August 2014 (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/11/would-arming-syrias-rebels-have-stopped-the-islamic-state/>)
- Stephen M. Walt, "Could We Have Stopped This Tragedy?", Foreign Policy 21 September 2015  
(<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/21/could-we-have-stopped-this-tragedy-syria-intervention-realist/>)
- Joshua Landis, "America's Failure—and Russia and Iran's Success—in Syria's Cataclysmic Civil War", talkingpointsmemo.com, 10 January 2017 (<http://talkingpointsmemo.com/caf/americas-failure-russia-success-in-syrias-war>)
- Nour Samaha, "Survival is Syria's Strategy", The Century Foundation, 8 February 2017  
(<https://tcf.org/content/report/survival-syrias-strategy/>)
- Fawaz A. Gerges, ISIS: A History (Princeton University Press, 2016)
- Marc Lynch, The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East (Public Affairs Press, 2016)
- Charles D. Smith, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents, ninth edition (St. Martin's Press, 2017)
- Nikolaos Van Dam, Destroying A Nation: The Civil War in Syria (I.B. Tauris, 2017)
- Anthony Shadid, "Syria's Sons of No one",New York Times, 31 August 2011  
([http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/magazine/syrias-sons-of-no-one.html?ref=magazine&pagewanted=all#&wtoeid=growl1\\_r1\\_control](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/magazine/syrias-sons-of-no-one.html?ref=magazine&pagewanted=all#&wtoeid=growl1_r1_control))
- The Report of the Iraq Inquiry: Executive Summary (aka Chilcot Inquiry), 2016  
([http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/247921/the-report-of-the-iraq-inquiry\\_executive-summary.pdf](http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/247921/the-report-of-the-iraq-inquiry_executive-summary.pdf))
- The Iraq Study Group Report: The Way Forward – A New Approach (aka Hamilton-Baker Commission), 2006,  
(<http://www.iraqsolidaridad.org/2006/docs/gei-1.pdf>)
- International Crisis Group, Fight or Flight: The Desperate Plight of Iraq's "Generation 2000", 8 August 2016  
(<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/fight-or-flight->

desperate-plight-iraq-s-generation-2000)

- International Crisis Group, Understanding Islamism, 2 March 2005 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/understanding-islamism>)
- International Crisis Group, Exploiting Disorder: al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, 14 March 2016 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/exploiting-disorder-al-qaeda-and-islamic-state>)
- UssamaMakdisi, "The Mythology of the Sectarian Middle East", Rice University Baker Institute for Public Policy, February 2017 (<http://www.bakerinstitute.org/files/11372/>)
- Robert Malley and Hussein Agha, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors", New York Review of Books, 9 August 2001 (<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2001/08/09/camp-david-the-tragedy-of-errors/>)
- Three Things to Know About Trump's Jerusalem Gambit <http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/12/07/three-things-to-know-about-trump-s-jerusalem-gambit-pub-74948>
- International Crisis Group, The Libyan Political Agreement: Time for a Reset, 4 November 2016 (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/libya/libyan-political-agreement-time-reset>)
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