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Syllabus

The United States in the Middle East and North Africa

FK 6070

2013 | 2014

Course leader: Dr. Hilde E. Restad



This course will examine the historic and current clash – or not - of interests, cultures and ideologies taking place between the United States and Middle Eastern and North African countries. Taking a chronological approach to the U.S.-Mideast relationship, the class will begin by looking at the colonial history of the region and early U.S. involvement, and end by looking at the Arab Spring and the Obama administration's reactions. The course will incorporate topics such as "orientalism," the Cold War, the importance of oil, the "war on terror", the Arab-Israeli peace process and the significance of ideas such as "American exceptionalism" for understanding the American approach to the region.

This class will seek to understand the current U.S.-Middle Eastern/North African relationship through both a historical and theoretical lens. How has U.S. involvement in the region evolved over time? More importantly what are the causes of the United States' presence in the Middle East: is it security? Is it to secure natural resources such as oil? Is it the influence of domestic groups? Is it ideology and culture? We will also look at how to study U.S. foreign policy and evaluate different variables and their explanatory value. Finally, we will ask some big picture questions, such as: seen from the region's own perspective, Has the United States played a constructive or destructive role since becoming decisively involved after the Second World War? In other words, this course seeks to understand one of the most conflict ridden regions in the world by illuminating the role played by the world's most powerful state.

Goals of the course:

The student will...

- ✓ Gain knowledge of the history of the U.S. role in the Middle East
- ✓ Be able to evaluate different explanations for U.S. foreign policy towards the Middle East
- ✓ Be able to define and evaluate the main theoretical concepts introduced in class
- ✓ Evaluate various state and non-state actors' roles in U.S.-Middle East politics
- ✓ Critically evaluate current research on U.S.-Middle East relations

Required readings:

1. Reader ("kompendium") (free)
2. Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945* (2008)
Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East* (London: Penguin Books, 1995) rev. ed.

Recommended books:

1. William Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (University of California Press, 2001)
2. Aaron David Miller, *Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace* (Random House, 2008)
3. H.W. Brands, *Into the Labyrinth: The United States and the Middle East, 1945-1993* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994)
4. Peter L. Hahn, *The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt, 1945-1956: Strategy and Diplomacy in the Early Cold War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991)
5. Mary Ann Heiss, *Empire and Nationhood: The United States, Great Britain, and Iranian Oil, 1950-1954* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997)
6. David W. Lesch, *1979: The Year that Shaped the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001).
7. Fredrik Logevall, ed., *Terrorism and 9/11: A Reader* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 2002).
8. Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006)

Recommended blogs:

1. Foreign Policy's blogs, especially Marc Lynch: <http://lynch.foreignpolicy.com/> and the Mideast Channel: <http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/>
2. Jihadica – Documenting the global jihad. Run by among others Thomas Hegghammer. <http://www.jihadica.com/>
3. The Damascus Bureau, a blog collecting English language stories by Syrian journalists. <http://www.damascusbureau.org/>
4. Mahir Zeynalov, one of the few English language blogs by a Turkish journalist: <http://mahirzeynalov.blogspot.no/>
5. The Wael Abbas Daily, the site of a young Egyptian blogger: <http://paper.li/waelabbas>

6. The Arabist, an Egyptian blog about Egyptian and Middle Eastern politics. <http://arabist.net/>

Academic integrity:

Handing in someone else's work or ideas as your own constitutes plagiarism. PLEASE NOTE, this also applies to using someone's ideas without attribution. You MUST give a citation when you use an author's ideas in your written work, even if you do not quote the text word-for-word. Please see our guidelines in the pamphlet "Skriveveiledning" and ASK your professors/seminar leaders if you have any questions.

Plagiarism will be punished severely, and can result in expulsion.

Requirements:

There will be one midterm exam, one response paper, and one research essay to complete in this course. I highly recommend attending ALL lectures. Seminar participation is **obligatory**.

The United States in the Middle East and North Africa equals 10 "studiepoeng". The course requires that the students take the midterm exam to be held **Friday October 11** at 09:00-12:00. This will be 40 % of your final grade. Furthermore, the students are to hand in one research essay of 3500 words (+/- 10 %, excluding bibliography). This essay makes up 50 % of the total grade and must be handed in by **Friday December 6 before midnight in Qybele**. Late essays are not accepted unless the student has a valid reason. Late essays will be penalized one letter grade per day. Finally, students are obliged to participate in all four seminars, including writing one response paper and presenting it. This counts for 10% of your total grade.

Seminars: Seminar participation is obligatory, and will be graded. The seminars – four total- will take place on irregular Wednesdays. At the beginning of each seminar those students who have written response papers for that seminar will be asked to present their paper. Everybody will be expected to contribute to seminar discussion after the presentations of the response papers. A grade for participation will take account of attendance as well as the student's contributions to the classroom discussion, especially when called upon to comment. The course leader, along with Øystein Nedrebø, will conduct the seminars. Øystein's email is: oystein.nedrebo@bjorkneshoyskole.no.

Course leader

You can reach me at the following email address: hilde.restad@bjorkneshoyskole.no. I am happy to schedule an informal chat or office hours for advising students on how to do well in the class. Specific office hours for essay guidance will also be scheduled. Non-resident students can email me for guidance. Good luck!

Lectures*:

Lecture 1	Thursday 22/8	Introduction: The Colonial History of the Middle East and Early U.S. Involvement
Lecture 2	Tuesday 27/8	Stereotyping and «Orientalism»
Lecture 3	Thursday 5/9	The Middle East, the United States and the Beginning of the Cold War
Lecture 4	Wednesday 11/9	The Freezing of the Cold War
Lecture 5	Wednesday 18/9	The 1967 War and the Altering of the Strategic and Psychological Landscape of the Middle East
Lecture 6	Thursday 26/9	The War of 1973 and the Oil Shock
MIDTERM	Friday October 11	09:00-12:00
Lecture 7	17/10	How to Study U.S. Foreign Policy
Lecture 8	24/10	The «Catastrophic» Year of 1979: The Iranian Revolution and the Hostage Crisis
Lecture 9	31/10	The End of the Cold War: American Exceptionalism and the «Clash of Civilizations»
Lecture 10 (<i>obs!</i>)	11/11	The United States and the «Peace Process»
Lecture 11	14/11	George W. Bush, American Exceptionalism and the «war on terror»
Lecture 12	28/11	Reassessments and Retrospectives

Essay Friday December 6 **Hand in essay**

** Times and details may be subject to change.*

Seminar program*

Seminar 1	September 11	Response papers round 1
Seminar 2	October 9	Response papers round 2
Seminar 3	October 30	Response papers round 3
Seminar 4	November 20	Collective discussion + essay preparation

** Times may be subject to change. Check Qybele.*

LECTURES

LECTURE 1

Thursday August 22

Introduction: The colonial history of the Middle East and early U.S. involvement

We will discuss the syllabus for the class, and go over our planned semester. Then we will quickly survey the colonial history of the Middle East and then cover the early U.S. involvement in the region during First World War. We will also take a brief look at Woodrow Wilson, the League of Nations and the Mandates system.

Questions

- What was the colonial legacy in the Middle East when the United States first got involved?
- How was the United States first perceived in the Middle East?
- What was the significance of Woodrow Wilson, the League of Nations, and the Mandates system?

Read:

Avi Shlaim, Introduction, chapter 1 ("The Post-Ottoman Syndrome") & chapter 2 ("Succeeding John Bull"), *War and Peace in the Middle East*, pp. 1-37.

Recommended:

Robert Fisk, *The Great War for Civilization: The Conquest of the Middle East* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005).

LECTURE 2

Tuesday August 27

Stereotyping and “Orientalism”

NB! Hilde away at conference, Øystein Nedrebø will step in.



Instead of a lecture, you will watch a video documentary about Arab stereotypes in Hollywood: “Reel Bad Arabs,” based on the book by Jack Shaheen. You will then discuss this documentary in light of the reading for the seminar.

Questions:

- What is “Orientalism”?
- Can we detect a pattern in the way Hollywood has depicted Arabs/Muslims?
- Do you yourself hold stereotypes about Arabs or Muslims? Why/why not?
- What about positive stereotypes? Can we find examples of these in Hollywood?

Read:

Douglas Little, chapter 1 “Orientalism, American style: The Middle East in the Mind of America,” in *American Orientalism* (2008), pp. 9-43.

Recommended:

Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978).

Jack Shaheen, *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2009).

Rashid Khalidi, Chapter 1, “The Legacy of the Western Encounter with the Middle East,” *Resurrecting Empire* (Boston, Beacon Press, 2004): pp. 9-36.

Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East Since 1945* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005, rev. ed.).

“Cast of Villains,” review of *Reel Bad Arabs* in *The Washington Post* (2007). URL:

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2007/06/22/AR2007062202158.html>.

LECTURE 3

Thursday September 5

The Middle East, the United States and the Beginning of the Cold War

We will discuss the geostrategic importance of Iran, Greece and Turkey and their role in the beginning of the Cold War. We will also discuss the United States, President Harry S. Truman and the creation of Israel.

Questions

- What role did the United States play in the creation of Israel?
- What role did Great Britain's relationship with Greece play in the United States' early involvement in the Cold War?
- What was the significance of the Soviet Union's presence in Iran for the beginning of the Cold War?
- What was the significance of Turkey after the Second World War?

Read:

Douglas Little, chapter 3 "The Making of a Special Relationship," ONLY pp. 77-87.

Douglas Little, chapter 4, "A Tale of Four Doctrines," ONLY pp. 117-127.

D.M. Giangreco and Robert E. Griffin, "Background on Conflict with USSR" (1988) available at Harry S. Truman Library and Museum. URL:

http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/BERLIN_A/BOC.HTM *Online.*

Fred Halliday, "The Middle East, the Great Powers and the Cold War," in Yezid Sayigh and Avi Shlaim, eds., *The Cold War and the Middle East* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 6-27. *Reader.*

Recommended:

Patrick Tyler, *A World of Trouble: The White House and the Middle East—from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2009).

Kuross A. Samii, "Truman against Stalin in Iran: A Tale of Three Messages," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1987), pp. 95-107.

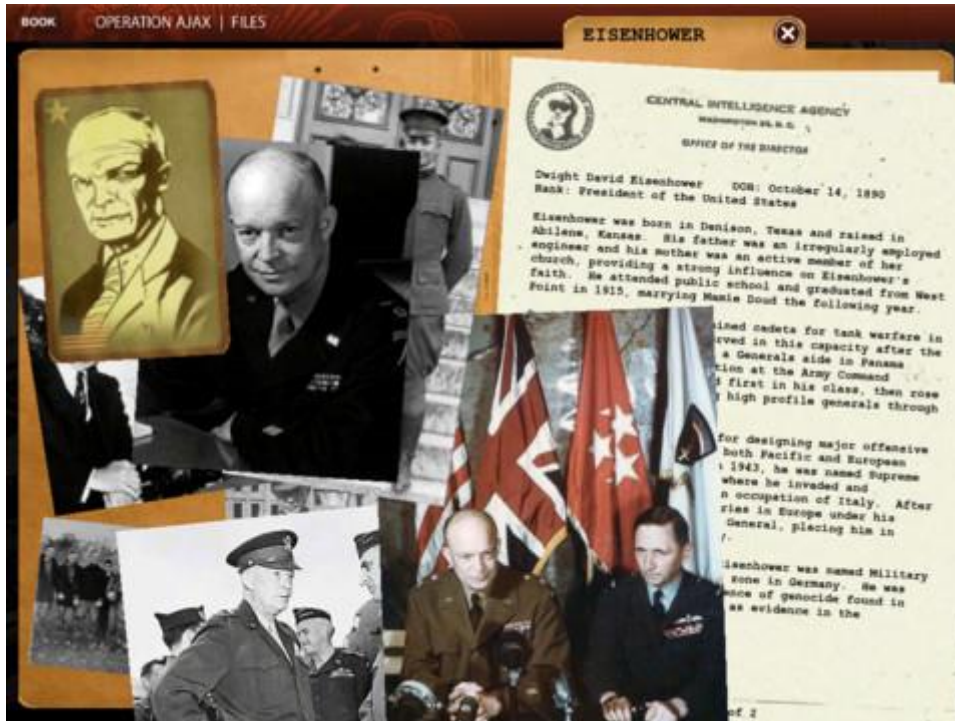
Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain Speech." Delivered in Fulton, Missouri on 5 March 1946. URL:

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/churchill-iron.asp>

LECTURE 4

Wednesday September 11

The Freezing of the Cold War



We will cover the freezing of the Cold War by looking at President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s relationship with Iran after Mohammad Mossadegh’s overthrow in 1953 and the installment of the Shah. Further we will discuss Eisenhower and Egypt (Gamal Abdel Nasser and Arab nationalism), and discuss whether the Suez crisis was the real end of British colonialism in the Middle East. Finally we will look at Eisenhower, President Kennedy and the evolving U.S.-Israeli relationship.

Questions:

- What was “Operation AJAX”?
- What was the state of U.S.-Iranian relations in the 1950s, and how did they change?
- How important was the role of oil in the U.S.-Iranian relationship at this time?
- What is “Arab nationalism”?
- What role did Egypt play in the Cold War?

Read:

Douglas Little, Chapter 3, pp. 87-103 (from “Years of Estrangement” to “Strategic Asset or Liability?”).

Douglas Little, chapter 4, pp. 127- 137 (from “The Rise and Fall of the Eisenhower Doctrine” to “Pillars and Proxies: The Making of the Nixon Doctrine, 1961-1972”).

Douglas Little, chapter 5, “Sympathy for the Devil?” pp. 157-193.

Rashid Khalidi, “The Arab Cold War,” in *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2009). pp. 17-40. *Reader*.

Recommended:

National Security Council (NSC) Report 68 (NSC-68) (1950)

Url: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm>

The CIA's long-classified study of the 1953 coup (released in 2000), see George Washington University's *National Security Archives* for details: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/>

Yazīd Şāyigh, Avi Shlaim, *The Cold War and the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah's men: an American coup and the roots of Middle East terror* (Hoboken, N.J.: J. Wiley & Sons, 2003).

James A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: the tragedy of American-Iranian relations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988)

LECTURE 5

Wednesday September 18

The 1967 War and the Altering of the Strategic and Psychological Landscape of the Middle East

We will review the important Six-Day War of 1967 and its aftermath. We shall also cover the “Nixon Doctrine,” détente, and the consequences for regional allies such as Iran, Israel, and Saudi-Arabia.

Questions:

- What was the significance of the 1967 war?
- Who won this war?
- What was the “Nixon Doctrine”?
- What was the significance of détente for the Cold War in the Middle East?

Read:

Avi Shlaim, chap. 3, “America between Arabs and Israelis” in *War and Peace in the Middle East*, pp. 37-60.

Douglas Little, chapter 4, (From “Nixon Doctrine” to “Carter Doctrine”), pp. 137-146.

“The 1967 Arab-Israeli War: U.S. Actions and Arab Perceptions,” by Fawaz A. Gerges in David W. Lesch, ed. *The Middle East and the United States* 3rd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2003), pp. 191-211. *Reader*.

Recommended:

Rashid Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2009).

LECTURE 6

Thursday 26 September

The War of 1973 and the Oil Shock

We will discuss whether the Yom Kippur War of 1973 entailed the cementing of the U.S.-Israeli relationship, further we will look at the importance of oil and the consequences of the 1970s “oil shock” for U.S. policy toward the Middle East.

Questions:

- What caused the 1973 War? Who “won” the war?
- What were the consequences of this war?
- How did oil impact U.S.-Middle East relations in the 1970s?

Read:

Douglas Little, Chapter 2 “Opening the Door: Business, Diplomacy, and America’s Stake in Middle East Oil,” pp. 43-77.

Douglas Little, rest of chapter 3, pp. 103-115.

For background information, *browse* this collection of historical information based on declassified material:

William Burr, ed. “The October War and U.S. Diplomacy,” *National Security Archives*, George Washington University. *Online resource*:
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB98/#6>

Recommended:

Anthony H. Cordesman, “The One True U.S. Strategic Interest in the Middle East: Energy,” *Middle East Policy* 3.1 (Mar. 2001): 117-127.

Michael T. Klare, *Blood and Oil: The Dangers and Consequences of America's Growing Dependency on Imported Petroleum* (Metropolitan Books, 2004).

Richard Parker, ed., *The October War: A Retrospective* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001).

Kenneth Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Routledge, 1999)

LECTURE 7

THURSDAY OCTOBER 17

On how to study U.S. Foreign Policy



This lecture will take a time out from the historical chronology in order to focus on theories of how to study and understand U.S. foreign policy. We look at different variables (explanatory factors) at different levels of explanation (individual, state and international levels), focusing on three specific theses on what causes U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East: domestic lobby groups (the Israel Lobby), strategic interests, and American public opinion.

Questions:

- How do we decide which factors “cause” U.S. foreign policy?
- Should we look at domestic factors, such as lobby groups, oil interests or culture, or “systemic” (international) factors such as the geostrategic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union?

Read:

- *Lobby Groups?*
 - John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby,” *London Review of Books* (23 Mar. 2006): 3-12. URL: <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby> *Reader*.

- Patricia Cohen, «Backlash over book on policy for Israel» *The New York Times* (August 16, 2007). *Reader*.
- Walter Russell Mead, “Jerusalem Syndrome. A Review Essay» *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2007). *Reader*.

- *Strategic Interests?*
 - Martin Kramer, “The American Interest,” *Azure* (Fall 2006): 21-33.
<http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/martinkramer/files/americaninterest.pdf> *Reader*.

- *American Public Opinion?*
 - Walter Russell Mead, “The New Israel and the Old,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2008): 28-46. *Reader*.

Recommended:

Peter Beinart, “The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment,” *The New Yorker* (May 12, 2010).

URL: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jun/10/failure-american-jewish-establishment/?pagination=false>

William Quandt, “Introduction”, in *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (University of California Press, 2001).

LECTURE 8

THURSDAY OCTOBER 24

The “Catastrophic Year” of 1979: Iran’s revolution and the hostage crisis

As we transition from President Carter to Ronald Reagan, we will cover the end of détente and the fracturing of relations between the United States and Iran. Two momentous events – the Iranian revolution and the hostage crisis – cemented the image of Iran as one of the most threatening enemies of the United States in the Middle East.

Questions:

- How does 1953 echo in 1979 in the U.S.-Iranian relationship?
- What was the significance of the Iranian revolution for the rest of the region?
- What was the Iranian hostage crisis?
- What was the significance of the hostage crisis for American politics?

Read:

Douglas Little, chapter 4, pp. 146-155 (rest of chapter).

Douglas Little, chapter 6 “Modernizing the Middle East,” ONLY pp. 215-227 (From “Reform from Above” till end of chapter).

Fawaz Gerges, *America and Political Islam: A Clash of Cultures or a Clash of Interests?* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Chapter 6, “The Islamic Republic of Iran,” pp. 115-142. *Reader*.

Avi Shlaim, chapter 4, “Realpolitik in the Gulf”, pp. 60-73.

Barry Posen “We can live with a nuclear Iran,” *The New York Times* (2006). *Qybele*. URL: <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/27/opinion/27posen.html?pagewanted=all>

Recommended:

The movie “Argo” (2012), directed by Ben Affleck, which chronicles the hostage crisis – and the rescue of a few of the hostages - as seen from the American perspective.

Al Jazeera’s three-part documentary on the Iranian revolution (12 minutes each). Found here:

Part I: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDifaCVanaM>

Part II: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7DRTgtGR84Q>

Part III: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NRsBGnh2T-M>

Ray Takeyh, “A Time for Détente with Iran,” *Foreign Affairs* (Mar./Apr. 2007): 17-32.

Eric S. Edelman and others, “The Dangers of a Nuclear Iran: The Limits of Containment,” *Foreign Affairs* (Jan./Feb. 2011): 66-81.

LECTURE 9

Thursday October 31

The End of the Cold War: American Exceptionalism and the Clash of Cultures?

The end of the Cold War removed the superpower rivalry from the Middle East, and opened up for regional powers to assert themselves, as we saw with Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. What would organize international politics after the Soviet Union was gone – a clash of civilizations, as Huntington predicted, or purely domestic U.S. concerns, now that the “unipolar moment” had arrived?

Questions:

- What was the “unipolar moment” and what was its significance?
- What is the “clash of civilizations” thesis?
- What is “American exceptionalism” and what was its significance for post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy?

Read:

Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 1, *America and the World* 1990/91 (1990/1991), pp. 23-33. *Reader*.

Bernard Lewis, “The Roots of Muslim Rage: why so many Muslims deeply resent the West, and why their bitterness will not be easily mollified,” *The Atlantic Monthly* (Sept 1990) Vol. 266, No. 3. 11 pages.
URL: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/>
Reader.

Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*, (Summer 1993). PP. 22-49. *Reader*.

Edward Said, “The Myth of the Clash of Civilizations,” 1998. 13 pages.
http://www.mediaed.org/assets/products/404/transcript_404.pdf *Reader*.

Errol A. Henderson, “Not Letting the Evidence Get in the Way of Assumptions: Testing the Clash of Civilizations Thesis with More Recent Data,” *International Politics* Vol. 42 (2005): 458-469.

Recommended:

Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?” *The National Interest* (Summer 1989).

Ian Buruma, “Lost in Translation: The two minds of Bernard Lewis,” *The New Yorker*, June 14 and 21, 2004. URL: http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2004/06/14/040614crbo_books

Edward Said, Bernard Lewis, “Orientalism: An Exchange,” *The New Yorker* (June 24, 1982)
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1982/aug/12/orientalism-an-exchange/?pagination=false>

LECTURE 10

NB! Monday November 11

**The U.S. and Arab-Israeli Peacemaking:
The Rise and Fall (?) of the “Peace Process”**



We begin our review of the “peace process” by looking at one of the earliest attempts, in 1982, when Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin laid the foundation for all later Israeli negotiations (as Rashid Khalidi argues). We then look at an overview by William Quandt, who himself was part of the peace process in the Carter administration, before we examine a conservative perspective on the peace process. The Shlain and Little chapters will give a more general overview. Finally, in light of the ongoing (or perhaps by the time this lecture comes around, aborted) peace talks in Washington, D.C. between Israel and Palestine, we will read a current analysis that will be emailed out/put up on Qybele.

Questions:

- What is the “peace process”?
- How did it start, and has it already ended, before peace has been achieved?
- What has been the role of the United States in this process?
- Should the United States be involved in peacemaking in the Middle East?

Read:

William Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (University of California Press, 2001). Introduction, pp. 1-22. *Reader*.

Rashid Khalidi, Introduction (“Dishonest Brokers”), pp. ix-xxxvii and Chapter 1 (“The First Moment: Begin and Palestinian Autonomy in 1982”), pp. 1-28. *Reader*.

Elliott Abrams and Michael Singh, "The End of the Peace Process," *World Affairs* (Fall 2009): 69-76.

Avi Shlaim, chapter 7, "Madrid and After" in *War and Peace in the Middle East*, pp. 104-132.

Douglas Little, chapter 8, "Opportunities Lost and Found: The United States and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process"

Article X: To Be Announced (TBA).

Recommended:

Wendy Pearlman, *Violence Nonviolence and the Palestinian National Movement* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Aaron David Miller, *The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace* (Bantam Books, 2008).

Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2004).

Jerome Slater, "The Superpowers and the Arab-Israeli Political Settlement: The Cold War Years," *Political Science Quarterly*, 105, No. 4, (1990-91: 557-77).

Nadim B. Khoury, "Waging Peace on History: The Peace Process and the Palestinian Historical Narrative" in Mitri Raheb (ed.), *Palestinian Identity in Relation to Time and Space: A dialogue between Theology, Archeology and Art* (Bethlehem: Diyar Publisher, 2013) *forthcoming*. Available upon request.

LECTURE 11

Thursday November 14

George W. Bush, American Exceptionalism and the “War on Terror”

Questions:

- How is American exceptionalism connected to the war on terror?
- What is “neoconservatism”?
- What events transpired that made the invasion of Iraq possible, despite tenuous evidence of Saddam Hussein’s stockpiles of WMD?
- How did Iraq connect to the war on terror?
- How was Islam/Arabs/the Middle East portrayed in the United States during the “war on terror”?

Read:

Walter LaFeber, “The Bush Doctrine,” *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2002), pp. 543-558.

Reader

Brian C. Schmidt and Michael C. Williams, “The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives vs. Realists,” *Security Studies* Vol. 17, No. 2 (2008), pp. 191-220. *Reader*

Douglas Little, chapter 9, “Not Your Father’s Persian Gulf War: The Bush Doctrine, Iraq and Radical Islam” in *American Orientalism*, pp. 307-343.

Deepa Kumar, “Framing Islam: The Resurgence of Orientalism During the Bush II Era,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* (2010) 34(3): 254–277. *Reader*

Recommended:

Charles Krauthammer’s lecture on neoconservative foreign policy at American Enterprise Institute (which he calls “democratic realism”) (2004). URL: <http://www.aei.org/book/foreign-and-defense-policy/democratic-realism/> *Reader*

Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006)
highly recommended

Rachel Bronson, *Thicker Than Oil* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

Robert Vitalis, “Thinner Than Air,” Review of *Thicker Than Oil*. *Middle East Report* 242 (Spring 2007): 44-45.

Debate in *The American Spectator* (a conservative magazine) on Ronald Reagan vs. neoconservatives and the Iraq war. URL: <http://spectator.org/archives/2004/06/16/reagan-iraq-and-neoconservatis>

Bergen, Peter. “[What were the causes of 9/11?](#)” *Prospect Magazine* (U.K) Issue 126, September 2006. URL: <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/whatwerethecausesof911/#.UefRVVOet8s>

David Ottaway, “The King and Us: U.S.-Saudi Relations in the Wake of 9/11,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2009): 121-131.

LECTURE 12

Thursday November 21

Obama and the Arab Spring: A United States in decline?



Obama has faced a lot of criticism for the way he has handled – or not handled – events in the Middle East since the beginning of the “Arab Spring” or “Arab Awakening.” This criticism has included accusing Obama of not believing in American exceptionalism, arguing that Obama’s strategy of “leading from behind” in Libya amounts to giving up on U.S. leadership in the world (which means giving up on American exceptionalism, to some). From the left, on the other hand, the United States is seen as not having been supportive enough of the democratization process happening across the Middle East.

Questions:

- What has characterized the Obama administration’s overall strategy toward the Arab Spring?
- Has there been a coherent strategy?
- How does this strategy comport with Obama’s speech in Cairo in June 2009?
- Does the Obama administration’s handling of the Arab Spring fall in line, or break with, earlier U.S. strategy toward the region?
- How has the region reacted to the U.S. response (or lack thereof)?

Read:

President Obama's Cairo speech (June 2009):

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/04/us/politics/04obama.text.html?pagewanted=all>

Lisa Anderson, "Demystifying the Arab Spring," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2011). 5 pp. *Reader*

Helene Cooper & Robert F. Worth, "In Arab Spring, Obama Finds a Sharp Test," *The New York Times* (September 24, 2012). URL: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/25/us/politics/arab-spring-proves-a-harsh-test-for-obamas-diplomatic-skill.html?pagewanted=all> *Reader*

David Aaron Miller, "Why Obama Has Failed in the Middle East"

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/04/02/Why_Obama_Has_Failed_in_the_Middle_East *Reader*

Recommended:

Ryan Lizza, "The Consequentialist: How the Arab Spring Remade Obama's Foreign Policy," *The New Yorker* (May 2, 2011) URL: http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/05/02/110502fa_fact_lizza

Wright, Robin. *Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011)

Kori Shacke, "Multilateralism, Obama style," *Foreign Policy* (March 22, 2011)

URL: http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/03/22/multilateralism_obama_style

Norton, Augustus R., "Middle East Realignment: The Arab Upheaval," *Great Decisions, 2012* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2012), pp. 5-18.

LECTURE 13

Thursday November 28

Reassessments and Retrospective – and the way forward

We will look back and try to peek into the future in this last lecture, where we will summarize and take stock of what we have learnt this semester.

Questions:

- Where does the United States and the Middle East go from here?
- How do peoples in the Middle East view the United States?
- How (if at all) can the two world views – one seeing the United States as a force for democracy, peace and liberal values; the other, seeing the United States as an imperial power more concerned with stability and access to oil than democratic development – meet?

Read:

Clifford D. Mat, “American Exceptionalism and its Discontents,” *National Review Online* (November 1, 2012). URL: <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/332153/american-exceptionalism-and-its-discontents-clifford-d-may> *Reader*

Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, “Islamist Perceptions of U.S. Policy in the Middle East,” in Lesch, ed., pp. 467-486. *Reader*

Recommended:

Avi Shlaim, “Pax Americana,” in *War and Peace in the Middle East*, pp. 132-147.

Reuven Paz, “Islamists and Anti-Americanism,” *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 2003).

Rey Takeyh and Nikolas Gvosdev, “Radical Islam: Death of an Ideology,” *Middle East Policy* Vol. 9, No. 4, (Winter 2004), pp. 86-95.

Emile A. Nakhleh, *A necessary engagement: Reinventing America's relations with the Muslim world* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).