

The United States in the Middle East

Political Science 190.346
Mondays and Wednesdays 3:00 pm - 4:15 pm
Location: Dunning 305

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Office Hours: Wed. 10-noon, 258 Mergenthaler Hall

This course presents an overview of US policy towards the peoples and states of the Middle East since the end of World War I. We begin by considering how in the early 20th century the US was regarded by many in the region as a non-imperialist power whose regional interests were oriented towards cultural and educational interactions. We then trace historically the rise of direct political, economic, and military American involvement driven by its new interests defined by oil resources, Cold War containment, and the cultivation of strategic allies. The core of the course examines how increasing American engagement, efforts to “order” the region, and the projection of military power—while embraced by some actors (such as regional states dependent on US support)—were increasingly opposed by regional rivals, populist social movements, and nationalist and Islamist ideologies that sought to limit US influence in the region. We conclude by considering the rise of regional rivals, the limits of US capacity to order the region, and current debates about redefining American interests and the US role in the region.

Course Requirements: You are expected to attend all lectures having read the assigned reading before class. There will be a midterm exam (30% of grade), a short paper (20% of grade), and a final exam (50% of grade).

Required texts:

- Peter L. Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire: The US and the Middle East Since 1945* (Potomac, 2005).
- David W. Lesch (ed.) *The Middle East and the United States*, 4th ed. (Westview, 2007).
- Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford, 2005).
- Shibley Telhami, *The Stakes: America In The Middle East* (Westview 2004).
- Ray Takeyh, *Hidden Iran: Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic* (Holt, 2007).

Required books are available at the JHU book store, while the other readings are accessible on electronic reserve (pswd=HAZ346). All books and book chapters are also available on 2 hr reserve in the library.

Introduction (Sept. 8)

The United States and the Middle East: What went wrong? (Sept. 10)

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, Ch. 1 (Gelvin).
Makdisi, “Anti-Americanism in the Arab World.”
Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 1-7.

The “post-Ottoman Syndrome” and the creation of the Middle East state system (Sept. 15)

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 17-38 (Rogan)
Niva, “Contested Sovereignties and Postcolonial Insecurities in the Middle East,” pp. 147-160*
Hinnebusch, “The Middle East Regional System”

American interests, the Cold War, Oil, and the making of US Policy (Sept. 17)

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 283-298* (Hudson).
Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 1-28, 37-39, 137-142 (Strategic importance of Iran, E. Med; Israel).
Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 41-50* (Sluglett), pp. 79-87 (Luciani).

* Notes that only a section of the chapter is being assigned for that day.

The rise of Nasser and Pan-Arabism, 1952-57 (Sept. 22)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 28-34, 39-46.

Lesch (ed.) *ME and the US*, Ch. 5 (Hahn), 6 (Podeh), 7 (Lesch).

Niva, "Contested Sovereignties and Postcolonial Insecurities," pp. 160-164*

Cold War, Covert Action, and Modernization in Iran, 1946-64 (Sept. 24)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 35-39, 143-146 (Coup in Iran, Khomeini)

Lesch (ed.) *ME and the US*, Ch. 3 (Gasiorowski).

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 83-95, 191-5.

Recommended: Rubin, *Paved With Good Intentions* 91-123; Lesch (ed.) *ME and the US*, 4 (Falle).

Accommodating vs. Containing Arab Nationalism, 1958-67 (Sept. 29)

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, Ch. 8 (Alin), 9 (Mufti).

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 50-57* (Sluglett).

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 163-167

Nolte & Polk, "Toward a Policy for the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, 36, 4 (July 1958): 645-58.

Arab-Israeli conflict, Nixon Doctrine, the polarization of regional geopolitics, 1967-70 (Oct. 1)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 46-57, 147-157 (Johnson, Arab League, Israel, UN 242, PLO, Kissinger).

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, Ch. 10 (Gerges)

Sayigh, "Armed Struggle and State Formation," *Journal of Palestine Studies* (Summer 1997):17-32

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 217-227* (Smith).

Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Brookings, 2005), 74-85

Recommended: Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 195-208* (Stein).

The 1973 war, Camp David, and the new American role: 1973-1978 (Oct. 6)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 57-64, 160-62 (Camp David Accords).

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 227-230* (Smith).

Ajami, "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs* 57, 2 (Winter 1978/79): 355-373

Campbell, "The Middle East: The Burdens of Empire," *Foreign Affairs* 57, 3 (1978 Special Issue)

Revolution in Iran and the rise of a regional rival, 1979-1980 (Oct. 8)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 69-78

Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Harvard, 2002), pp. 106-135.

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 95-103.

Recommend: Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 9-30; Parsi, "Israel and Iran"; Lesch (ed.), pp. 465-8* (Weinbaum).

MIDTERM EXAM #1 (Oct. 15)

War in Lebanon, Israel, the PLO, and the Reagan Doctrine, 1980-1988, (Oct. 20)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 78-82, 158-9 (US-Israel)

Wenger & Denney, "Lebanon's War 1975-1990," *Middle East Report* (Jan./Feb. 1990): 23-25

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 230-5* (Smith).

Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies*, (Public Affairs, 2008), 122-149.

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 195-207.

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, pp. 205-212* (Reich).

The geopolitics of oil and US policy towards the Gulf, 1980-1989, (Oct. 22)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 82-85.

Telhami, *The Stakes*, pp. 131-147.

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 263-280 (Gause).

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 31-44, 59-82, 103-110, 167-177

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, pp. 319-321* (Sick), 380-7* (Gause).

Recommend: Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 87-97* (Luciani),

The Gulf War and the rise of American regional hegemony, 1990-91 (Oct. 27)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 105-112, 170-173 (UNSCR 678, 687).

Lesch (ed.) *ME and the US*, pp. 226-236* (DiGeorgio-Lutz), pp. 387-391* (Gause),

Karawan, "Arab Dilemmas in the 1990s," *Middle East Journal* (Summer 1994): 433-454.

Telhami, *The Stakes*, pp. 147-150.

President Bush's "New World Order," speech to Congress March 6, 1991 (extracts).

Dual containment and the "New Middle East", 1991-1995, (Oct. 29)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 87-94, 162-8 (PNC, Oslo)

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, pp. 236-8* (DiGeorgio-Lutz), pp. 257-264* (Pressman) pp. 322-7* (Sick).

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 241-254* (Shlaim), pp. 64-68* (Korany).

Indyk, "The Clinton Administration's Approach to the Middle East"

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 44-57

The collapse of the peace process and the erosion of dual containment, 1996-2001 (Nov. 3)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 95-104, 112-5, 168-169 (Clinton)

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 254-61* (Shlaim).

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, pp. 238-53* (DiGeorgio-Lutz), pp. 264-71* (Pressman)

Telhami, *The Stakes*, pp. 95-129

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 110-16.

Marc Lynch, "The Politics of Consensus in the Gulf," *Middle East Report* No. 215 (Summer 2000): 20-23.

MID TERM EXAM # 2 or Paper (Nov 5) (note: no office hours today)

US policy, political Islam, and Islamist discourses of insecurity (Nov. 10)

Gerges, *America and Political Islam* (Cambridge, 1999), 20-36

Esposito, "Political Islam: Beyond the Green Menace," *Current History* (Jan. 1994): 19-24

Niva, "Contested Sovereignties and Postcolonial Insecurities," pp. 165-171*

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, ch 27 (Haddad).

Wiktorowicz, "Transnational Salafis and Jihad," *Middle East Policy*, (December 2001): 18-38.

Lawrence (ed.) *Messages to the World: Statements of Bin Laden* (Verso, 2005), 23-30, 160-172

Eroding foundations: US strategy and interests in the wake of 9/11, (Nov 12)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 115-122.

Telhami, *The Stakes*, pp. 1-66.

Gause, "Be Careful What You Wish For: U.S.-Saudi Relations," *World Policy Journal* (Spring 2002): 37-50.

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 117-30

The Bush Doctrine its "global war on terrorism" (Nov. 17)

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 298-305* (Hudson).

Gordon, "Bush's Middle East Vision," *Survival* (Spring 2003): 155-165

Plitnick and Toensing, "'The Israel Lobby' in Perspective," *Middle East Report*, (Summer 2007): 42-47

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 130-4.

Bush “President Discusses War on Terror at National Endowment for Democracy”

Recommend: Department of Defense, News Briefing - 29 September 2005;

Ignatieff, “The Burden,” *New York Times*, January 5, 2003

American invasion and occupation of Iraq (Nov 19)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 122-131, 173-181 (Bush, Kennedy, Bush on Iraq)

Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies*, (Public Affairs, 2008), 397-448

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, ch 21 (Abootalebi).

Recommend Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, ch 20 (Yetiv)

Political inclusion, public diplomacy, and the populist revival (Nov 24)

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 131-148 (Norton)

Telhami, *The Stakes*, pp. 67-93, 151-166.

Rice, “Remarks at the American University in Cairo,” June 20, 2005

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, ch 25 (Alterman)

Lynch, “Taking Arabs Seriously,” *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct. 2003): 81-94.

Review session and discussion on Iraq War (Nov 26)

Regional implications of the Iraq war (Dec. 1)

Juan Cole, “A ‘Shiite Crescent’? The Regional Impact of the Iraq War,” *Current History* (Jan. 2006): 20-26

Valbjorn and Bank, “Signs of a New Arab Cold War,” *Middle East Report* (Spring 2007): 6-11

Haass, “The New Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2006

Robert Worth, “Qatar, Playing All sides, Is a Non Stop Mediator,” *New York Times*, July 9, 2008.

Fawcett (ed.) *IR of the ME*, pp. 98-102* (Luciani),

Recommend: Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, pp. 306-334

The rise of Iran as regional rival: Accommodation or confrontation? (Dec. 3)

Pollack, “Securing the Gulf” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2003): 2-16

Takeyh, *Hidden Iran*, pp. 135-160, 177-187, 207-226.

2003 Iranian “grand bargain” document (handout)

Nasr and Takeyh, “The Costs of Containing Iran,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2008)

The future of US policy: Rethinking US interests and strategy (Dec 8)

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 133-135.

Telhami, *The Stakes*, pp. 167-194.

Lesch (ed.) *Middle East and the US*, ch 26 (Quandt).

Posen, “The Case for Restraint,” *American Interest*, Nov.–Dec. 2007.

Recommend: See responses to Posen by Fukuyama *et al.* at:

<http://www.the-american-interest.com/ai2/contents.cfm?MIId=16>

FINAL EXAM: 9-12 Noon, Thursday, December 18