Fall 2018

The Modern Middle East- US Involvement

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The Modern Middle East – US Involvement - DIPL - 6501
Fall 2018, Wednesdays, 7:35-9:45pm
Alfieri Hall, Room ST 120
Instructor: Ambassador (ret.) Maureen Quinn
Email: maureenquinn356@aol.com
Office Hours: By appointment prior to class

Course Description
This course will investigate the role of the United States in the modern Middle East and cover key events involving the U.S. in the region from World War II to the present. Course topics will include the U.S. role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, U.S. involvement in the Arabian Peninsula, and U.S. relations with Iran. This course will cover domestic interests' influence on U.S. foreign policy, shuttle diplomacy, summit diplomacy, and foreign policy strategy and tactics, including the foreign policy toolkit used by the United States.

Course Objectives:
(1) Learn and analyze recent history of U.S. involvement in the Middle East and draw lessons from it;
(2) Assess and compare the changing role of the U.S. over time;
(3) Learn and analyze the view of the U.S. from the Middle East over time; and
(4) Develop writing and oral presentation skills, and analysis skills.

Attendance and Participation
Class participation is essential to the success of the course. Accordingly, all students are expected to attend every session and to arrive punctually. Students unable to attend a particular session should notify the instructor in advance. Students are expected to participate actively in class throughout the course and respect the contributions of others. Thus, students need to complete required readings before class, participate in class, present in class when assigned, and complete assignments on time. In addition, students are expected to stay up to date on current U.S. policy and practice in the Middle East by reading major news outlets (NY Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, The Economist, and news outlets in the Middle East (Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya, or US think tank news posts).

College Policies
Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See University and School standards for academic conduct here:
<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>
It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

Policy on Incompletes:
Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diploma Main Office) to the professor before the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing coursework within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an “FI” (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

Papers should utilize one of the Chicago Manual of Style citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography.

Grading:
Class Participation (20% of grade): Attendance and participation in class discussions are essential. Students will submit written assignments and/or questions for discussion, as assigned on class readings. Students will present material in class, as assigned during the course. Class participation also means actively contributing to discussions/group activities and respecting the participation of others.

Mid-Term Policymaker Paper: (20% of grade): Students will select a U.S. foreign policy decision maker (President, Secretary of State, Member of Congress, Ambassador, or other senior government official) from the list on the syllabus and analyze a speech, testimony, or interview on a specific US foreign policy in the Middle East. All selections must be approved in advance and by September 26th. The 4-5 page, double spaced written report and presentation will provide highlights of the selected individual’s approach to the foreign policy issue, outline the foreign policy issue/decision, explain why the
individual/policy decision is relevant to the course material, and ideally why the issue relates to the student’s selected research topic. **Written reports are due on October 17th via Safe Assign. Reports will be presented and discussed in class on the same day.**

**Research Paper (Proposal: 10% of grade, Paper and Presentation (30% of grade):** Students will pick a topic of their choice related to the course and prepare an original, analytical research paper. The research paper should be approximately 15 pages long, double-spaced. In addition to the text, the paper will include a bibliography of at least 10 sources (including at least 2 primary resources) and relevant footnotes. The paper will provide an in-depth analysis of the topic selected. **Research topics are to be initially selected/approved by September 26. Research proposals, consisting of a 3-5 paragraph abstract (3/4 to one paged long) of the proposed research question/topic and an annotated bibliography of at least 8 sources, including at least two primary sources, will be submitted via SafeAssign on October 24th.** An annotated bibliography means each source is explained in a few sentences. Students will receive grades on their research proposals. Each student will present their research in class at the end of the semester. **Research papers are due on November 28 via Safe Assign. Papers will be presented in class on the same day.** Papers should utilize one of the *Chicago Manual of Style* citation formats.

**Final Exam (20% of grade):** There will be a final take home exam of essay questions. The exam will consist of at least four essay questions. Each question will be answered type written and be one to two pages long, double-spaced. Answers will be based on class materials. It is due on December 12 electronically via SafeAssign.

All assigned work will be graded for clarity, factual content, and analysis. Each written assignment should be checked for spelling and grammar, and proof read prior to submission. **Grades will be lowered on any materials that are submitted late. Grades will be lowered half a letter grade per day late.**

There will be a mid-term course evaluation and minor adjustments will be made in course content, as needed. Additional reading/adjustments will be made, as needed.

**Evaluation Criteria:**

- **Class Participation and In-Class Exercises:** Active, respectful and collegial engagement in class discussion; evidence of reading and preparation. Contributions of insight to the analysis; raising questions showing insight into the implications of the analysis; accurate work. In written assignments there will be clear evidence of critical thinking about the topic. Thoughtful answers to the assignment’s questions; clear and accurate writing.
• **Policymaker Mid-term Report and Presentation:** Clear evidence of critical thinking about the individual and foreign policy issue, thoughtful answers to the assignment's questions; clear and accurate writing. Ability to present in an interesting, lucid and professional manner appropriate to the class. Ability to answer relevant questions.

• **Research Paper and Presentation:** Clear evidence of wide and relevant research and critical thinking about the data and sources; a strong thesis or problem to address; effective analysis that leads to a compelling conclusion; good, accurate and persuasive writing. Clear understanding of the issues at hand; ability to present them in an interesting, lucid and professional manner appropriate to the audience. Ability to answer relevant questions.

• **Final Exam:** Mastery of the facts and scholarship involved; accurate answers; drawing insightful conclusions based on analysis.

**Course Materials**


*Thicker Than Oil: America’s Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia* by Rachel Bronson


**Materials on Reserve or Available Online (primarily on the class Blackboard website)**

1) *The Iran Primer,* edited by Robin Wright, available online at https://iranprimer.usip.org

2) Selected chapters from *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf (On reserve at the Walsh Library)* by F. Gregory Gause,

3) Selected chapters from *The Middle East and the United States (Fourth Edition), on reserve at the library*

4) *The Making of United Nations Resolution 242* by David Korn, pages 1-16 (available on class Blackboard website)

5) *The Camp David Accords: A Case of International Bargaining* by Shibley Telhami, pages 1-31 (available on class Blackboard website)

6) “*The Fruitless Quest,*” from *Madam Secretary* by Madeleine Albright (available on class Blackboard website)

7) Selected Chapters from *The Changing Security Dynamics of the Persian Gulf,* Kristian Coates Ulrichsen editor (on reserve at the Walsh library)

8) Selected speeches from the *Trump Administration* (available online)

**Session 1 – August 29**

**Topic Description:** Introduction to U.S. Foreign Policy in the Modern Middle East: Sources of foreign policy, making foreign policy, the foreign policy toolkit

**Assignment and Deadlines:** None
Session 2 – September 5

**Topic Description:** Introduction to U.S. relations with Iran, Israel and Saudi Arabia

**Assignment and Deadline:** First Written Assignment Due.
Optional/Recommended: Send one question for class discussion by email before 10am on the day of class.

**Required Reading:**
The Middle East and the United States, (Sixth Edition) *Introduction: How American Foreign Policy is Made* by William Quandt pages 1-14, Chapter 3, pages 47-62, *(US Foreign Policy Toward Iran During the Mossadegh Era* by Mark Gasiorowski and *A Contemporary Diplomat’s View* by Sir Sam Falle)

*Thicker Than Oil*, Prologue, & Chapters 1 & 2 (*Oil, God, and Real Estate & Dropping Anchors in the Middle East*)


Session 3 – September 12

**Topic Description:** U.S., Nassir, and Pan Arabism in the Middle East

**Assignments and Deadlines:** Second Written Assignment Due.
Optional/Recommended: Send question for discussion by 10am the day of class.

**Required Reading:**
The Middle East and the United States, Chapters 4, 5, & 6 Pages 64-109 (Peter Hahn on *National Security Concerns in US Policy Toward Egypt*; David Lesch on *The 1957 American-Syrian Crisis*, and Malik Mufti on *The United States and Nasserist Pan-Arabism*)

*Thicker Than Oil*, Chapter 3 (*An Islamic Pope*)

*The Israel-Arab Reader*, United Nations Security Council Resolution 619, Egyptian President Nasser on Zionism and Israel, United Arab Republic Manifesto pages 88-top of 93

Session 4 – September 19

**Topic Description:** 1967 and 1973 Wars, US Involvement in Israeli-Palestinian Relations

**Assignments and Deadline:** Third Written Assignment Due.
Optional/recommended: Please send a question on or before by 10am.

**Required Reading:**
The Middle East and the United States, Chapters 7, 8, 9, 10 pages 110 – 184 (Georgiy Mirsky on *The Soviet Perceptions of the U.S. Threat*, Rashid Khalidi on *The Superpowers and the Cold War*, Fawaz Gerges on *The 1967 Arab-Israeli War*, Andrew Bohen on *The Golan Negotiations*)

The Making of United Nations Resolution 242 by David Korn, pages 1-16, Available on Blackboard class website

*Thicker Than Oil*, Chapters 4 & 5, *(Shifting Sands and Double, Double Oil and Trouble)*

*The Arab-Israeli Reader – United Nations Resolutions* – 242 (page 116) and 338 (page 152)
Session 5 – September 26

**Topic Description:** Carter, Camp David, (1979-1980s),

**Assignments and Deadlines:** US Foreign Policymaker/Research Topic approved. Fourth Written Assignment Due. Optional: Send questions for class discussion by 10 am on the day of class.

**Required Reading:**

- The Camp David Accords: A Case of International Bargaining by Shibley Thelhami, pages 1-31 (available on Blackboard Class Website)
- The Arab-Israeli Reader – Egyptian President Anwar Sadat Speech in Jerusalem (Peace with Justice) pages 207-214
- Thicker Than Oil, Chapter 6 & 7 (6- A New and Glorious Chapter & 7- Mobilizing Religion up to the section entitled Watershed)

Session 6 – October 3

**Topic Description:** 1979-1980s in the Middle East continued – Iranian Revolution, Take over of the Kabba in Mecca, Soviets invade Afghanistan and the aftermath

**Assignments and Deadlines:** Fifth Written Assignment Due. Please send questions by 10am.

**Required Reading:**

- Thicker than Oil, Chapter 6 Mobilizing Religion from Watershed to the end of the chapter, Chapter 8 Begin or Reagan, and Chapter 9 "We support some, They support some"
- The International Relations of the Persian Gulf *(On reserve at the Walsh Library)* by F. Gregory Gause, Chapter 3, Pages 45-87, *The Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War*
- The Iran Primer, available online at iranprimer.usip.org, *The Carter Administration* pages 129-132

Session 7 – October 10

**Topic Description:** The US and the Persian Gulf (1980s-2000)

**Assignments and Deadlines:** Sixth Written Assignment Due. Please send questions by 10am.

**Required Reading:**

- The United States and the Middle East, Chapter 13, *From Twin Pillars to Dual Containment*, by Gary Sick Pages 237-252
- Thicker than Oil, Chapter 10 *The Cold War Ends with a Bang*,
- The International Relations of the Persian Gulf, *(on reserve at the Walsh Library)* Chapter 4, *The Gulf War and the 1990s*, pages 88-135
- The Iran Primer, available online at iranprimer.usip.org, sections on the Reagan Administration, the Bush I Administration, the Clinton Administration, pages 133-141

Session 8 – October 17,

**Topic Description:** Midterm Policy Report Presentations

**Assignments and Deadlines:** Midterm Policymaker Report due via SafeAssign and Paper presented in class.

**Required Reading:** None
Session 9 - October 24
**Topic:** Clinton Era and Summit Diplomacy, the U.S., Israelis, and the Palestinians
**Assignments and Deadlines:** Research Proposal Due. Please send questions by 10am.

**Required Reading:**
The United States and the Middle East, Chapter 11, *From Madrid to Oslo* by Jeremy Pressman, pages 185-202
Madam Secretary, Chapter The Fruitless Quest by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, available on the class Blackboard Website, pages 473-498

Session 10 - October 31
**Topic:** 9/11, Invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq
**Assignments and Deadlines:** Seventh Written Assignment Due. Please send questions by 10am on the day of class.
The Middle East and the United States *(Fourth Edition on reserve in the library)*, Chapter 24 "The United States and Afghanistan" by Marvin Weinbaum", pages 462-482
Thicker Than Oil, Chapter 12 -September 11 and Beyond, Chapter 13 - *Reconfiguring the US – Saudi Strategic Partnership*

Session 11 – Nov 7
**Topic:** Bush, Obama, the Israel-Palestine Issue, the Arab awakening & aftermath
**Assignments and Deadlines:** Eighth Written Assignment Due. Optional/recommended: Please send questions by 10am on the day of class.

**Required Reading:**
The Middle East and the United States *(Fourth Edition on reserve in the library)*, Chapter 12, “The United States and Israel" by Bernard Reich, pages 205-225

Session 12 – Nov 14
Topic: Iran and the US in the 21st Century: Challenge or Opportunity?
Assignments and Deadlines: Ninth Written Assignment Due.
Optional/recommended: Please send questions by 10am on the day of class.
Required Readings
The Middle East and the United States, “Ideology & Iran’s American Policies” by Mark Haas, pages 336-364
Selected Readings from the Iran Primer available on iranprimer.usip.org
The Bush II Administration and The Obama Presidency, Sections on Politics, the Military, and the Nuclear Program, the section on Iran and the Gulf by Afshin Molavi

Session 13 – Nov 28 -Research Papers Presented
Topic: Research Presentations
Assignments and Deadlines: Research Papers Due electronically via Safe Assign and presented in class.
Required Reading: None

Session 14 – Dec 5
Topic Description: The US and the Middle East under the Trump Administration
Assignments and Deadlines: Optional/recommended; Please send questions by 10am on the day of class.
Required Reading: The Middle East and the United States, “Epilogue: The Early Days of the Trump Administration,” by David Lesch and Mark Haas
Pages 434-436
“Three Cheers for the Trump Foreign Policy” by Randall Schweller, in Foreign Affairs, September/October 2018 Issue at
https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-08-13/three-cheers-Trumps
“Trump’s Dangerous Obsession with Iran” by Steven Simon and John Stevenson in Foreign Affairs, August 13, 2018 Snapshot at
https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2018-09-
President Trump’s Speech in Riyadh, Secretary of State Pompeo’s Iran Policy Speech, President Trump’s Announcements on Leaving the Iran Nuclear Deal/JCPOA and on the Opening of the Embassy in Jerusalem – available online

Dec. 12 -- Final Exam Due Electronically

US Policymakers in the Modern Middle East
1) Secretary of State Dean Acheson (late 1950s on disengagement)
2) President Harry Truman
3) Senator Arthur Vandenburg
4) United Nations Under Secretary General Ralph Bunche when working on Israeli-Palestinian negotiations
5) Secretary of State John Foster Dulles presents the Suez Ceasefire Resolution at the United Nations November 1, 1956
6) President Eisenhower
7) Secretary of State Henry Kissinger – shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East
9) Secretary of State George Schultz – Testimony July 12, 1982 in The Israel-Arab Reader
10) President Ronald Reagan - The Reagan Plan, September 1, 1982 in The Israel-Arab Reader
11) Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick at the United Nations
12) Representative Steve Solarz Congressional Vote on Going to War against Iraq
13) Secretary of State James Baker Press Conference on video after meeting Palestinians in Amman, Jordan before the Madrid Conference or after meeting Iraq’s Tariq Aziz in Geneva in January 1990
14) Secretary of State Warren Christopher - Letter to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, January 15, 1997 in The Israel-Arab Reader
15) Secretary of State Madeline Albright on Iraq at Town Hall Meeting in February 1998
16) President George W. Bush Video Announcing Invasion of Iraq in March 2003 (Video) or at the Annapolis Conference in November 2007 (available in The Israel-Arab Reader)
17) Secretary of State Colin Powell – Iraq Presentation at the United Nations in February 2003
18) Secretary of State Conde Rice American University in Cairo Speech June 2005
19) President Obama Speech in Cairo June 2009
20) Secretary of State Hillary Clinton Opening Statement/Testimony on Benghazi (Video)
21) Secretary of State John Kerry testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee July 23, 2015 on the Iran Nuclear Deal (JCPOS) (video or text)

Background Materials and Reading
From Beirut to Jerusalem by Thomas Friedman
The Arabists by Robert Kaplan
The 9/11 Commission Report