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School of Diplomacy and International
Relations

Spring 2020

The Modern Middle East - US Involvement

Maureen Quinn Ambassador

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The Modern Middle East – US Involvement - DIPL - 6501

Spring 2020 Mondays, 7:35-9:45pm

Instructor: Ambassador (ret.) Maureen Quinn

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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.

Policies

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 Diplomacy 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 course work 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.

Disability Services Statement

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.

Academic Integrity & Dishonesty

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: <https://www.shu.edu/student-life/upload/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf> and <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>

Citation Formats

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

Attendance and Participation

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).

All assigned work will be graded for written 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.**

Grading:

Class Participation (20% of grade): Attendance and participation in class discussions are essential. Students will submit **written assignments and/or questions for discussion or news item summaries**, as assigned on class readings/topics. 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 U.S. government official) from the list on

the syllabus and analyze a speech, testimony, or interview on a specific US foreign policy (as listed on the syllabus) in the Middle East. **All selections are on a first come/first serve basis and must be approved in advance by February 10.** The 4-5 page, double spaced written report and presentation will outline the foreign policy issue/decision, provide highlights of the selected individual's approach to the foreign policy issue, explain why the individual/policy decision is significant to the course material, and ideally why the issue relates to the student's selected research topic. **Written reports are due on March 9. 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 14 sources (including at least 3 primary resources) and relevant footnotes. The paper will provide an in-depth analysis of the topic selected. **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 10 sources, including at least two primary sources, will be submitted on March 16.** 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. **Written research papers are due on April 27. Papers will be presented in class on the same day.** Papers should utilize one of the *Chicago Manual of Style* citation formats in the bibliography.

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. **The exam is due on May 11 by email.**

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

Books and Video

The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics, and Ideologies, David W. Lesch and Mark L. Haas, editors, Sixth Edition, 2018

The Israel-Arab Reader, Walter Laqueur & Dan Schueftan, editors, Eighth Edition, 2016

"The Control Room" 2004 film by Jehane Noujaim, (Director, Producer, Writer) available via Amazon DVD or streaming

The Iran Primer, edited by Robin Wright, available online at <https://iranprimer.usip.org>

Articles, Book Chapters, and other material available on the class website, or online and/or on reserve at the library

- "Explaining international politics in The Middle East; The struggle of regional identity and systemic structure by Raymond Hinnebusch in Analyzing Middle East Foreign Policies edited by Gerd Nonneman pages 243-255

- Selected Articles on Presidential Foreign Policy from the Miller Center at the University of Virginia online

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

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

- Selected chapters from The Middle East and the United States (Fifth Edition), to be made available on the class website

- "The Fruitless Quest," from Madam Secretary by Madeline Albright (available on class Blackboard website)

- Chapter 4 on the Gulf War in The International Relations of the Persian Gulf by F. Gregory Gause

- Chapters 7 and 8 “Mobilizing Religion” and “Begin or Reagan” in *Thicker Than Oil* by Rachel Bronson
- Chapter 9 “Iran and the Bomb: The Secret Talks” in *The Back Channel* by William J. Burns (to be made available on the class website) pages 337 – 387
- “Iraq Synthesis Paper: Understanding the Drivers of Conflict in Iraq,” by the London School of Economics Conflict Research Programme 2018
- Chapter 12 US Policy After the Uprisings from *The Arab Spring, The Hope and Reality of the Uprisings*, Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch, editors, Second Edition, 2017 (to be made available on class website)
- “Iran’s National Security Debate, Implications for Future US-Iran Negotiations,” by Ariane M Tabatabai, October 2019 pages (available on the class website)-
- “*When the Friend of My Friends is not my Friend, the United States, US Allies, and Russia in the Middle East*,” by Mark N. Katz, the Atlantic Council Scowcroft Center, pages 1-12 pdf available on the class website
- “An End to Magical Thinking” by William J. Burns at <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/12/end-magical-thinking-middle-east/602953/> and to be made available on the class website

Jan. 13, 2020 - Session 1

Topic Description: Introduction to U.S. Foreign Policy in the Modern Middle East

Assignments and Deadlines: None.

Required Readings: None.

January 20, 2020 – University Closed, No Class

January 27, 2020 - Session 2

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

Assignment and Deadline: First Written Assignment Due/Answer Assigned Question.

Required Reading:

-“*Introduction: How American Foreign Policy is Made*,” by William Quandt in *The Middle East and the United States*, (Sixth Edition), pages 1-14,

-“Explaining international politics in The Middle East; The struggle of regional identity and systemic structure by Raymond Hinnebusch in *Analyzing Middle East Foreign Policies* edited by Gerd Nonneman pages 243-255

-*Iran*: Chapter 3, pages 47-62, (*US Foreign Policy Toward Iran During the Mussadiq Era* by Mark Gasiorowski and *A Contemporary Diplomat’s View* by Sir Sam Falle) in *The Middle East and the United States*, (Sixth Edition)

-*Saudi Arabia: The Middle East and the United States*, (Sixth Edition), Chapter 16, *The United States & Saudi Arabia* by Thomas W. Lippman, pages 289-305

Israel:-*The Israel-Arab Reader*, The Balfour Declaration and Sykes Picot Agreement pages 13-17 and State of Israel Proclamation of Independence, UN General Assembly Resolution 194 and 303, and State of Israel Law of Return pages 81-87

-“Harry S. Truman Foreign Affairs,” by Alonzo L. Hamby at <https://millercenter.org/president/truman/foreign-affairs>

-“The Origins of the US-Israeli Relationship,” rapporteur’s summary of remarks by Professors Allis Radosh and Ronald Radosh at <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-origins-of-the-u.s.-israeli-relationship-truman-and-the-jewish-state>
-“Washington’s Battle Over Israel’s Birth,” by Richard Holbrooke, May 7, 2008
reprint of a weekly column from the Washington Post available on the class website

February 3, 2020 - Session 3

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

Assignments and Deadlines: Second Written Assignment Due.

Required Reading:

-The Middle East and the United States, Chapters 4 , 5, 6, 7 & part of 8 Pages 64-128
(1) Peter Hahn on *National Security Concerns in US Policy Toward Egypt*;
2) David Lesch on *The 1957 American-Syrian Crisis*,
3) Malik Mufti on *The United States and Nasserist Pan-Arabism*;
4) Georgy Mirsky on *The Soviet Perception of the US Threat*, and
5) part of Rashid Khalidi on *The Superpowers and the Cold War in the Middle East up to mid-page 128*)
-“Suez: The Unwashed Slate” by Diana Schaub in *The National Interest*, Fall 1986 to be made available on the class website pages 36-48
-Dwight D. Eisenhower Foreign Affairs by Chester J. Peach, Jr. at <https://millercenter.org/president/eisenhower/foreign-affairs>
-The Israel-Arab Reader, United Nations Security Council Resolution 61, Egyptian President Nasser on Zionism and Israel, United Arab Republic Manifesto pages 88-top of 93

February 10, 2020 - Session 4

Topic Description: US Involvement in the Israeli-Arab Wars in 1967 and 1973 and US role in Shuttle Diplomacy in the Middle East in the 1970s

Assignments and Deadline: Third Written Assignment Due. Policymaker Selections Due. Written assignment is to submit one page analysis of a news media item related to Israeli-Arab relations.

Required Reading:

-The Middle East and the United States, Sixth Edition Chapters end of 8, and 9 & 10, pages 128– 184 (Rashid Khalidi on *The Superpowers and the Cold War*, Fawaz Gerges on *The 1967 Arab-Israeli War*, Andrew Bohan on *The Golan Negotiations*)
-“ Flawed Strategies and Missed Signals: Crisis Bargaining Between Superpowers, October 1973 by Janice Gross Stein pages 197 – 215
in The Middle East and the United States, Fifth Edition (to be made available on the class website/on reserve at the library)
-Case Study Exercise - The Making of United Nations Resolution 242 by David Korn, pages 1-16, (available on Blackboard class website)
-The Arab-Israeli Reader – United Nations Resolutions – 242 (page 116) and 338 (page 152)

February 17, 2020 - Session 5

Topic Description: 1979 and Beyond

Assignments and Deadlines: Fourth Written Assignment Due.

Required Reading:

-Case Study Exercise - The Camp David Accords: A Case of International Bargaining by Shibley Telhami, 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

Chapters 7 and 8 from Thicker Than Oil, America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia by Rachel Bronson, pages 140-167 (to be made available on the class website)

Sections on the Carter and Reagan administrations from The Iran Primer available at <https://iranprimer.usip.org>

February 24, 2020 - Session 6

Topic Description - The End of the Cold War and the US in the Middle East

Assignments and Deadlines: Fifth Written Assignment Due.

Required Reading:

-The United States and the Middle East, Sixth Edition, Chapter 13 "The United States in the Persian Gulf: From Twin Pillars to Dual Containment," by Gary Sick pages 232-252

-Chapter 4 from The International Relations of the Persian Gulf by Gregory Gause "The Gulf War and the 1990s," pages 88-135 to be made available on the class website

-The Iran Primer, available online at iranprimer.usip.org, sections on *the Bush I Administration and the Clinton Administration*

March 2, 2020 University Closed, No Class

March 9, 2020 - Session 7

Topic Description: Midterm Policy Report Submission and Presentations

Assignments and Deadlines: Midterm Policymaker Written Report due and Paper presented in class.

Required Reading: None

March 16, 2020 - Session 8

The US and Israel and the Question of the Palestinians after the Cold War

Assignments and Deadlines: Research Proposal Due.

Please send 1 question on class readings by email by 10pm March 15.

Required Reading:

-The Middle East and the United States (Fourth Edition), Chapter 12, "The United States and Israel" by Bernard Reich, pages 205-225 (available on the class website)

The United States and the Middle East, (Fourth Edition), The US-PLO Relationship from Dialogue to the White House Lawn, by JoAnn A. DiGeorgio-Lutz, pages 226-256 (also to be made available on the class website/on reserve)

The United States and the Middle East, Sixth Edition Chapter 11, *From Madrid to Oslo* by Jeremy Pressman, pages 185-202

Case Study Exercise - Madam Secretary, Chapter *The Fruitless Quest* by Secretary of State Madeline Albright, available on the class Blackboard Website, pages 473-498

The Arab Israeli Reader – President Clinton- *Summarizing His Experience with the Peace Process* January 7, 2001 in the Israel-Arab Reader pages 494 -501

March 23, 2020, Session 9

Topic: 9/11 and the Invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, the US military role in the Middle East

Assignments and Deadlines: Sixth Written Assignment Due.

Required Reading:

-The Middle East and the United States (Sixth Edition), Chapters 14 & 15, pages 253-288 ("*The Iraq War of 2003: Why did the United States Decide to Invade?*" By Steve Yetiv, "*What went wrong in Iraq?*" By Ali Abootalebi

-The Middle East and the United States (Fifth Edition on reserve in the library), Chapter 24 "*The United States and Afghanistan*" by Marvin Weinbaum", pages 462-482

-"*Iraq Synthesis Paper: Understanding the Drivers of Conflict in Iraq*," by the London School of Economics Conflict Research Programme 2018, pages 1-25

March 30, 2020, Session 10

Topic: The US and the Media in the Middle East

Assignment and Deadlines: Seventh Written Assignment Due.

Required Reading/Video Watch: The Control Room 2004 film by Jehane Noujaim, (Director, Producer, Writer) available on DVD or by streaming

April 6, 2020, Session 11

Topic – The US and the Arabs in the 21st Century -- the George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump Presidencies

Assignments and Deadlines: Eighth Written Assignment Due.

Required Reading:

The Middle East and the United States (Sixth Edition), Chapters 12, 17, 19, 21 & Epilogue

1) Chapter 12 - "*George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*" by Robert O. Freedman, pages 203-228;

2) Chapter 17 - *Islamist Perceptions of US Policy in the Middle East* by Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad pages 313 – 330

3) Chapter 19 - *The United States Post 9/11 Fight Against al Qaida and the Islamic State: A Losing Effort in Search of a Change*" by Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, pages 365 - 381

4) Chapter 21 "*The Arab Uprisings from the U.S. Perspective*" by Mark Haas pages 405 - 428. And Epilogue pages 434-437

-*US Policy After the Uprisings: Alliances, Democracy and Force* by Jeremy Pressman pages 272 – 283 in The Arab Spring, Second Edition edited by Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch to be made available on the class website

April, 13, 2020 University Closed No Class

April 20, 2020 Session 11

Topic: Iran and the US in the 21st Century: Challenge or Opportunity?

Assignments and Deadlines: Ninth Written Assignment Due.

Required Readings

-The Middle East and the United States, "Ideology & Iran's American Policies" by Mark Haas, pages 336-364

-Chapter 9 "Iran and the Bomb: The Secret Talks" in The Back Channel by William J. Burns (to be made available on the class website) pages 337 – 387

-"Iran's National Security Debate, Implications for Future US-Iran Negotiations," by Ariane M Tabatabai, October 2019 pages 1-24 (available on the class website)

April 27, 2020 Session 13- Research Papers Presented

Topic: Research Presentations

Assignments and Deadlines: Research Papers Due by email and presented in class.

Required Reading: None

May 4, 2020 Session 14

Topic Description: 21st Century Challenges in the Middle East & Class Wrap-up

Assignments and Deadlines: Optional: Email a question on the readings by 10pm May 3rd.

Required Reading:

-The Middle East and the United States, (Sixth Edition), Chapter 20 "The Push and Pull of Strategic Cooperation: The US Relationship with Turkey" by Henri Barkey, pages 385 - 402

-"When the Friend of My Friends is not my Friend, the United States, US Allies, and Russia in the Middle East," by Mark N. Katz, the Atlantic Council Scowcroft Center, pages 1-12 pdf available on the class website

-"An End to Magical Thinking" by William J. Burns at <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/12/end-magical-thinking-middle-east/602953/> and to be available on the class website

-"Choices Facing the United States: Greater Israel or Global Israel" by Daniel Kurtzer published by Indiana University Press Fall 2018 pages 246-252 on the class website

-"Three Cheers for the Trump Foreign Policy, What the Establishment Misses" by Randall Schweller, in Foreign Affairs, September/October 2018 Issue at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-08-13/three-cheers-trumps-foreign-policy>

May 11, 2020 – Final Exam Due by Email

US Policymakers Selections

- 1) Secretary of State Dean Acheson, speech on the illusion of disengagement)
- 2) President Truman Speech on Israel 1948

- 3) Senator Arthur Vandenburg – Speech Heard Round the World
- 4) United Nations Under Secretary General/Nobel Laureate Ralph Bunche when working on Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, pick one speech or statement
- 5) Secretary of State John Foster Dulles presents the Suez Ceasefire Resolution at the United Nations November 1, 1956
- 6) President Eisenhower -- his presidential farewell speech
- 7) Secretary of State Henry Kissinger – at nsarchive .gwu.edu on Syria talks – pick one to two documents of the telephone conversation memoranda
- 8) President Carter – Statement on Palestinian Rights – January 4, 1978 in The Israel-Arab Reader
- 9) Secretary of State Shultz – Testimony July 12, 1982 in The Israel-Arab Reader
- 10) President Ronald Reagan – Inaugural address, January 20, 1981
- 11) Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick at the United Nations
- 12) Representative Steve Solarz statement on the war powers related vote on going to war against Iraq/forcing Iraq out of Kuwait 1990/1991
- 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 Foreign Minister 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 Town 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 on *Iraq* 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
- 21) Ambassador Susan Rice at the United Nations Security Council on Resolution 1973 regarding Libya in 2011
- 22) Secretary of State John Kerry opening statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee July 23, 2015 on the *Iran Nuclear Deal* (JCPOS) (video or text)
- 23) Ambassador Samantha Powers on Syrian use of chemical weapons 2015
- 24) Ambassador Nikki Haley Statement at the United Nations Security Council on the *Opening of the Embassy in Jerusalem* May 15, 2018
- 25) Secretary Michael Pompeo 2018 speech on Iran 20 or 2019 speech in Cairo
- 26) President Trump's policy speech in Riyadh May 2017 available online

Background Material

A History of the Arab Peoples by Albert Hourani,
 Islam A Short History by Karen Armstrong
The 9/11 Commission Report
From Beirut to Jerusalem by Thomas L. Friedman