

The Washington Semester Program
The United States and the Contemporary Middle East
PS-398-302
Spring 2004

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The United States has become the pre-eminent power in an area that stretches from the Western Mediterranean to Southwestern Asia. To be sure, Americans have had an enduring fascination with the region beginning with the arrival of missionaries on Middle Eastern shores in the 19th century, but it is only relatively recently—slightly more than 50 years—in which Washington has become an important political actor in the region. The goal of this course is to examine and explain the determinants of U.S. involvement in the Middle East. In order to ground the subject matter in firm analytical foundations, the course applies general concepts and theories of international politics to illuminate Washington's role in the region.

Course requirements: Three, ten-page, double-spaced papers. These papers are spaced out at regular intervals throughout the course and are intended to explore a certain analytical theme or themes discussed in class and the literature. Though these papers are *not* research projects, use of materials not on the syllabus is acceptable provided they are documented appropriately. Students will have a choice of essay questions

Students are strongly encouraged to read aggressively, ask provocative questions in discussions, and employ analytical rigor in their papers.

The reading list combines the work of scholars and foreign policy practitioners as well as a number of important documents. With the exception of the first set of readings, two class sessions will be dedicated to each of the broad topics outlined in the syllabus.

The following texts have been ordered for student purchase:

1. William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1993).
2. David Makovsky, *Making Peace with the PLO* (Boulder: Westview, 1996).
3. Kenneth Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* (New York: Random House, 2002).
4. Shai Feldman, *The Future of U.S.-Israel Strategic Relations* (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1996).

Course Schedule and Readings

I. Overview of International Politics and U.S. Foreign Policy

- Robert O. Keohane (ed.), *Neo-realism and its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986): Chapters 2-5.
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1991): Chapter 8.
- Anthony Lake, “From Containment to Enlargement” *Address at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University* (September 21, 1993).
- Michael Mandelbaum, “Foreign Policy as Social Work,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 75, no. 1 (January/February 1996): 16-32.

II. The Cold War and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

- Steven L. Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America’s Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985): Chapters 1 and 9.
- Fawaz A. Gerges, *The Superpowers and the Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994): Chapters 2-4.
- Richard B. Parker, “The June 1967 War: Some Mysteries Explored,” *Middle East Journal* vol. 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 177-197 **AND** William B. Quandt, “Lyndon Johnson and the June 1967 War: What Color was the Light?,” *Middle East Journal* vol. 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 198-228.
- Nadav Safran, *Israel: The Embattled Ally* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981): Chapters 23-25.
- Recommended: Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Critique of American Policy* (New York: Viking Books, 1994).

III. Shuttling, Camp David, Madrid, Oslo I & II and all that...

- Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Power and Principle* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1985): Chapters 3 and 7.
- William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Washington, DC and Berkeley: Brookings Institution and University of California Press, 1993): Chapters 13-14, 16.

- James Baker, *The Politics of Diplomacy* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995): Chapters 27 and 29.
- David Makovsky, *Making Peace with the PLO* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996): Chapters 8-9.

Paper #1

IV. Setback in Gulf—the Iranian Revolution and its Aftermath

- Richard W. Cottam, *Iran and the United States: A Cold War Case Study* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988): Chapter 7.
- R. K. Ramazani, *Revolutionary Iran: Challenge and Response in the Middle East* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988): Chapter 15 and Epilogue.
- James A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): Chapters 7-8, 11.

Recommended for a detailed account of events from the perspective of U.S. policymakers Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Power and Principle* (New York: Farar, Straus, Giroux, 1985): Chapter 10.

OR

Gary Sick, *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986): Entire.

V. Oil, the Iran-Iraq War, and Gulf Security

- Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982): Chapter 19.
- *War in the Persian Gulf: The U.S. Takes Sides—A Staff Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate* (Washington, GPO, 1987): Entire.
- Joseph W. Twinam, *The Gulf, Cooperation, and the Council: An American Perspective* (Washington: Middle East Policy Council, 1992).
- Fawaz Gerges, "Washington's Misguided Iran Policy," *Survival* vol. 38, no.4 (Winter 1996/1997).

Recommended Philip Diro, *The Longest War: The Iran-Iraq Military Conflict* (London: Grafton).

VI. The Gulf War (1990/1991), Dual Containment, and "Operation Iraqi Freedom"

- Fouad Ajami, "The Summer of Arab Discontent," *Foreign Affairs*, (Winter 1990/1991).

- Martin Indyk, “The Clinton Administration’s Approach to the Middle East,” *Keynote Address at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy’s Soref Symposium* (May 18, 1993)
*This is the speech in which Indyk laid out the dual-containment policy .
- *United States Security Strategy for the Middle East*—Department of Defense, Office of International Security Affairs (May 1995): 1-39.
- Daniel Byman, Kenneth Pollack, and Gideon Rose, “The Rollback Fantasy,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1999): 24-41.
- Kenneth Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* (New York: Random House, 2002); Chapters 11-13.
- Ian S. Lustick, “Storm Warnings for a Supply-Side War,” *The Nation*, March 24, 2003.
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, “An Unnecessary War,” *Foreign Policy* November/December 2002.

Paper #2

VII . Strategic and Special Relations—A Critical Assessment

- Shai Feldman, *The Future of U.S.-Israel Strategic Relations* (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1996): Entire. (Relax...it is not that long.)
- U.S.-Israel Strategic Cooperation Documents—Two Memorandums of Understanding and a Memorandum of Agreement.
- J.J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1996): Chapter 8.
- *Remarks by Vice President Al Gore at the American Chamber of Commerce, Cairo* (March 20, 1995).
- William B. Quandt, *The United States and Egypt* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1990): 54-75
- Steven A. Cook, “Egypt—Still America’s Partner?” *Middle East Quarterly*, June 2000.
- Daniel O’Connor, Jason Ellis, and Duncan Clarke, *Send Guns and Money: Security Assistance and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Prager, 1997): “The Lion’s Share: Egypt and Israel.”

Paper #3