

HINE 119: U.S. Policy in the Middle East after World War II

Instructor: Johanna L Peterson (jlp010@ucsd.edu)

Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 10:00-10:50 AM, Spring 2018, Warren Lecture Hall 2207

Office hours: Wednesdays 1:00-3:00 PM HSS 6037

Course Description and Overview

This course surveys US policy in the Middle East since World War II. Beginning with the presence of American Protestant missionaries in the late Ottoman and mandate periods and ending with the Arab Spring, the rise of ISIS, and recent calls to move the US embassy in Israel to Jerusalem, this course provides a thematic and chronological overview of US involvement in the Middle East. In so doing, we will look at how the Middle East has been constructed in the American popular imagination, determinants of US involvement in the region, and US interventions in specific cases over the course of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in order to understand and critically analyze historical and contemporary struggles, conflicts, issues, and ideologies.

Course Objectives

- Gain knowledge of the historical background and current realities of US policy-making and involvement in the Middle East
- Attain an understanding of the complexity of both the Middle East and US policy in it as shaped by US and Middle East domestic and larger international concerns
- Understand and critically analyze the historical roots of current struggles, conflicts, issues, and ideologies in the context of US policy and intervention
- Gain concrete experience in the interpretation and use of a variety of primary sources
- Develop critical thinking skills by analyzing current media discourse related to US-Middle East relations

Course Policies

As in any college course, each student is in charge of and responsible for her/his own education. As the instructor, my role is to facilitate that.

Make-up Policy and Late Assignments. Students must contact the instructor ahead of time if a conflict arises that will prevent him/her from attending class and/or turning in an assignment. Only students with excused absences and approval from the instructor will be able to make up a missed exam or assignment. In fairness to other students who turn in their work on time, for each day an assignment is late, the grade will drop 1/3 of a letter grade.

Students with Disabilities. Students requesting accommodations for this course due to a disability must provide a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD), which is located in University Center 2020 behind Center Hall. Students are required to present their AFA letters to their instructor (please make arrangements to contact me privately) and to the OSD Liaison in the department in advance so that accommodations may be arranged. For further information, contact the OSD by phone at (858) 534-4382, email osd@ucsd.edu, or check out their website at <http://disabilities.ucsd.edu>. (adapted from <https://disabilities.ucsd.edu/supporting/faculty/coursesyllabi.html>)

Academic Integrity. UCSD's policies on academic integrity (which can be found [here](https://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu/excel-integrity/define-cheating/index.html)) will be followed in this course. An academic integrity violation "occurs when a student attempts to get academic credit in a way that is *dishonest, disrespectful, irresponsible, untrustworthy* or *unfair*" (<https://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu/excel-integrity/define-cheating/index.html>). A single instance of cheating will result, at the least, in a failing grade for that assignment. Depending on the severity of the case, other consequences might include a failing grade for the class, regardless of performance on other assignments, and further disciplinary action based on UCSD's policy.

Classroom expectations and rules of conduct. Students are expected to participate in creating a non-intimidating classroom environment that contributes to open discussion. They are expected to think objectively and historically and to listen attentively and respectfully to others' remarks. In the spirit of this, students may not take part in any activity that distracts or disrupts class, and all laptops, cell phones, and other electronic devices must be turned off during class unless being used for instructional purposes (note-taking, accessing course readings, etc). Recording devices may not be used in class, unless students have received permission from me.

Communicating with me. Students can communicate with me in three main ways: by email (jlp010@ucsd.edu), through TritonEd, and in-person during office hours (Wednesdays 1:00-3:00, HSS 6037) or immediately following lecture. I prefer communicating in-person during office hours or immediately following lecture, when emailing me, whether directly or through TritonEd, I expect that students communicate professionally. This means that the subject line of the email should include the course number (HINE 119) and a brief description of the subject of the email; the body of the email should include a salutation with my name (e.g., Dear Johanna), a succinct statement of the question or issue, and a sign off, with the student's name (e.g., Best, *name*). I will not respond to emails that do not follow this format. Finally, in an effort to maintain a decent work-life balance and good productivity, I only check my email once a day during the week and once during the weekend. This means that it may take up to 24 hours to get back to you during the week and 48 hours over weekends and holidays. Plan accordingly.

Course Structure and Requirements

Attendance and Participation. The class will meet three days a week and regular attendance and participation is required. In addition to coming to class on time having read and thought about the assigned material and prepared to discuss it (10 points), prior to the start of each session students must post one (1) question and one (1) comment to the course TritonEd site (10 points). Students will post these under the appropriate Discussion thread and be prepared to bring them up in class. Failure to submit comments and questions, to participate in class discussions, and to complete the reading will result in a reduction in the participation grade. While any unexcused absence will impact your attendance/participation grade, more than six unexcused absences (excused absences include illness or injury to the student; death, injury, or serious illness of an immediate family member; religious reasons; jury duty or government obligation; university sanctioned/approved activities) will significantly affect your grade. (20%)

Reading Summaries. Over the course of the quarter, students will submit five (5) 500-word summaries of the week's assigned readings that 1) analyze the readings' main points and 2) put them into conversation with each other. These will be submitted as "blog entries" to the course TritonEd site by Fridays at 11:59 PM. There will be seven (7) opportunities to submit a summary

in Weeks 2-4 and 6-9. Only the 5 highest grades will be recorded and counted towards your total grade on this assignment. Each summary is worth 3 points. (15%)

Midterm Exam. The midterm will be based on readings, lectures, and discussions. It will take place Week 5 (Monday, April 30). The exam will include an essay, matching, and a map exercise. A study guide will be posted to the course TritonEd site 1 week before the exam. The midterm exam is worth 15 points. (15%)

Final Take-home Essays. The final assignment consists of two 4-5 page essays. Both essays are due by the end of our assigned final examination time (Monday, June 11 8:00-11:00 AM) submitted to both the course TritonEd site and turnitin.com. The first essay is the Media Analysis Project and will analyze an issue current in today's news as it relates to US policy in the Middle East – Iran, Iraq, Palestine/Israel, ISIS, etc – and follow coverage of it in several newspapers and media outlets (in the US, Europe, and the Middle East) over a one-month period (25 points). The second essay will ask you to think analytically and synthetically about the significant issues and readings discussed in the course (25 points). Guidelines for both assignments will be available on the course TritonEd site in advance of the deadline. (50%)

Grading scale

This course is out of 100 points and grades are assigned as follows:

A	90-100%
B	80-89%
C	70-79%
D	60-69%
F	59% or lower

Required Readings

All readings, unless otherwise noted, will be available on the course TritonEd site.

Schedule

Unless otherwise noted, most class sessions will consist of a combination of lecture, discussion, and visual presentations. Some sessions will be devoted entirely to discussion of readings. Therefore, please bring appropriate readings and texts to class with you. Relatedly, the reading load is fairly heavy. Please give yourself sufficient time to complete the reading before coming to class. Weekly thematic questions (available on the course TritonEd site) should help you organize the course material and will form the basis of exams. The schedule below is subject to revision at any time. Changes will be announced ahead of time in class and on TritonEd. You are responsible for being aware of any changes.

WEEK 1: INTRODUCTIONS / WHAT IS THE MIDDLE EAST? FROM MARK TWAIN TO *HOMELAND*

1.1 Monday, April 2. Introductions

1.2 Wednesday, April 4. Defining the Geopolitical Boundaries of the Middle East and American Visions of the Middle East, pre-WWII

Reading: Little, "Orientalism, American Style: The Middle East in the Mind of America," in *American Orientalism* (pp 9-24)

1.3 Friday, April 6. American Visions of the Middle East, post-WWII

Reading: Little, "Orientalism, American Style: The Middle East in the Mind of America," in *American Orientalism* (pp 25-43)

Evelyn Alsultany, "Introduction" in *Arabs and Muslims in the Media* (pp 1-17)

PART I. DETERMINANTS OF U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

WEEK 2: THE POLITICS OF PROMOTING DEMOCRACY: FROM THE THREAT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM TO THE WAR ON TERROR

2.1 Monday, April 9. Democracy and the Cold War

Media Analysis Paper Guidelines available on course TritonEd site

Reading: McAlister, "'Benevolent Supremacy': The Biblical Epic at the Dawn of the American Century, 1947-1960," in *Epic Encounters* (pp 43-87)

2.2 Wednesday, April 11. Women and the War on Terror

Reading: Gretchen Ritter, "Domestic Containment or Equal Standing? Gender, Nationalism, and the War on Terror." *Journal of Policy History* 21, no. 4 (Oct 2009): 439-447.

Lila Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others." *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2002): 783-90.

2.3 Friday, April 13. Women and the Veil in Iran: Media Depictions

Reading: Handout on Course TritonEd site

"Veil protest in Iran," *al-Ahram Weekly* [Egypt], no. 1379 (1-7 Feb 2018)

<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/23646.aspx>

Nina Shea, "Iran: One of the bravest women in the world stands up for freedom," *Fox News* (30 Jan 2018) <http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2018/01/30/iran-one-bravest-women-in-world-stands-up-for-freedom-west-should-stand-with-her.html>

Saeed Kamali Dehghan, "Tehran hijab protest: Iranian police arrest 29 women," *The Guardian* (2 Feb 2018) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/02/tehran-hijab-protest-iranian-police-arrest-29-women>

"Iran arrests 29 women for not wearing hijab in protests," *al-Jazeera* (2 Feb 2018) <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/iran-arrests-29-women-wearing-hijab-protests-180202084416823.html>

Robin Wright, "Hijab protests expose Iran's core divide," *The New Yorker* (7 Feb 2018) <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/hijab-protests-expose-irans-core-divide>

Thomas Erdbrink, "Compulsory veils? Half of Iranians say 'no' to pillar of Revolution," *The New York Times* (4 Feb 2018) <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/04/world/middleeast/iran-hijab-veils.html>

WEEK 3: OIL

3.1 Monday, April 16. US oil interests – an overview

Reading: Little, “Opening the Door: Business, Diplomacy, and America’s Stake in Middle East Oil,” in *American Orientalism* (pp 43-65)

David S. Painter, “Oil and the American Century,” *Journal of American History* 99, no. 1 (June 2012): 24-39.

Jones, Toby Craig. “America, Oil, and War in the Middle East.” *Journal of American History*. 99, no. 1 (2012): 208-18.

3.2 Wednesday, April 18. Oil and US policy in the 1970s and beyond

Reading: Little, “Opening the Door: Business, Diplomacy, and America’s Stake in Middle East Oil,” in *American Orientalism* (pp 65-75)

McAlister, “King Tut, Commodity Nationalism, and the Politics of Oil, 1973-1979,” in *Epic Encounters* (pp 125-154)

3.3 Friday, April 20. Media Analysis Paper Topic Workshop

WEEK 4: LOBBY GROUPS, PUBLIC OPINION, AND POLITICAL CULTURE

4.1 Monday, April 23. American Political Culture and American Foreign Policy

Media Analysis Paper Topic due to course TritonEd site by 11:59 PM

Midterm Study Guide posted to Course TritonEd site

Reading: Elizabeth Stephens, “American Political Culture” in *US Policy towards Israel* (pp 55-85)

Douglas Little, “The Making of a Special Relationship: America and Israel,” in *American Orientalism* (pp 77-115)

4.2 Wednesday, April 25. Lobby Groups and American Foreign Policy

Reading: John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby,” *London Review of Books* 28, no. 6 (23 Mar 2006): 3-12. <https://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>

Mitchell Plitnick and Chris Toensing, “‘The Israel Lobby’ in Perspective,” *Middle East Report* 243 (Summer 2007): 42-7.

Mitchell Bard. “The Arab Lobby: The American Component.” *Middle East Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 3-15.

4.3 Friday, April 27. Discussion and Midterm Review

Reading: Midterm Study Guide

PART II. U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A THEMATIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

WEEK 5: **MIDTERM** / THE U.S. AND TURKEY

5.1 Monday, April 30. **Midterm**

5.2 Wednesday, May 2. The US, Turkey, and the Cold War

Reading: President Harry S. Truman's Address before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947 http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp

Amy Austin Holmes, "Social Unrest and the American Military Presence in Turkey during the Cold War," in *Social Unrest and American Military Bases in Turkey and Germany since 1945* (pp 44-94)

Ryan Gineras, "Istanbul Confidential: Heroin, Espionage, and Politics in Cold War Turkey, 1945-1960," *Diplomatic History* 37, no. 4 (2013): 779-806.

5.3 Friday, May 4. The US and Turkey since the Cold War

Reading: Joshua W. Walker, "The United States and Turkey in a Changing World," in *China, the United States and the Future of Central Asia* (pp 143-162)

WEEK 6: THE U.S. AND EGYPT, IRAQ, AND SYRIA DURING THE COLD WAR

6.1 Monday, May 7. The Eisenhower Doctrine, the Suez Crisis, and the US and Egypt

Reading: Dwight D. Eisenhower's Special Message to the Congress on the Situation in the Middle East, January 5, 1957 <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=11007>

Peter Hahn, "National Security Concerns in US Policy toward Egypt, 1949-1956," in *The Middle East and the United States* (pp 171-193)

6.2 Wednesday, May 9. US Policy and Arab Nationalism

Reading: Roland Popp, "Accommodating to a Working Relationship: Arab Nationalism and the US Cold War Policies in the Middle East, 1958-60," *Cold War History* 10, no. 3 (2010): 397-427.

Malik Mufti, "The United States and Nasserist Pan-Arabism," in *The Middle East and the United States* (pp 271-312)

6.3 Friday, May 11. The Syrian Crisis and the Iraq Revolution

Reading: David Lesch, "The 1957 American-Syrian Crisis: Globalist Policy in a Regional Reality," in *The Middle East and the United States* (pp 238-270)

Little, "Modernizing the Middle East: From Reform to Revolution in Iraq, Libya, and Iran," in *American Orientalism* (pp 198-206)

WEEK 7: THE U.S. AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

7.1 Monday, May 14. President Truman and the Birth of Israel

Reading: Selected documents related to Truman's recognition of Israel (see handout posted on TritonEd) https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/israel/large/index.php

7.2 Wednesday, May 16. The 1967 War and the US-Israel Relationship

Reading: Noam Kochavi, "Joining the Conservative Brotherhood: Israel, President Nixon, and the Political Consolidation of the 'Special Relationship', 1969-73," *Cold War History* 8, no. 4 (Nov 2008): 449-480.

Melanie McAlister, "The Good Fight: Israel after Vietnam, 1972-1980," in *Epic Encounters* (pp 155-197)

7.3 Friday, May 18. The US, Israel, and Arab-Israeli Peace after the Cold War

Reading: Douglas Little, "Opportunities Lost and Found: The United States and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process," in *American Orientalism* (pp 284-307)

Robert O. Freedman, "George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict from 2001 to 2011," in *Israel and the United States: Six Decades of US-Israeli Relations* (pp 36-78)

WEEK 8: THE U.S. AND IRAN: FROM REVOLUTION TO THE "AXIS OF EVIL" AND THE NUCLEAR DEAL

8.1 Monday, May 21. Mossadegh and the CIA

Reading: Mark Gasiorowski, "US Foreign Policy toward Iran during the Mussadiq Era," in *The Middle East and the United States* (pp 122-153)

8.2 Wednesday, May 23. Revolution, War, and the US Relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran

Reading: Little, "Modernizing the Middle East: From Reform to Revolution in Iraq, Libya, and Iran," in *American Orientalism* (pp 215-221)

McAlister, "Iran, Islam, and the Terrorist Threat, 1979-1989," in *Epic Encounters* (pp 198-234)

8.3 Friday, June 1. From the "Axis of Evil" to the Nuclear Deal

Reading: Enayatollah Yazdani and Rizwan Hussain, "United States' Policy towards Iran after the Islamic Revolution: An Iranian Perspective," *International Studies* 43, no. 3 (2006): 267-289.

Travis Cram, "'An Open Door': Responsibility and the Comic Frame in Obama's Foreign Policy Rhetoric on Iran," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 69-108.

WEEK 9: THE U.S. AND THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR

9.1 Monday, May 28. Memorial Day Holiday – No class

9.2 Wednesday, May 30. The US and Lebanon leading to the Lebanese Civil War

Reading: Richard J. McAlexander, "Couscous Mussolini: US Perceptions of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the 1958 Intervention in Lebanon, and the Origins of the US-Israeli Special Relationship," *Cold War History* 11, no. 3 (Aug 2011): 363-385.

James R. Stocker, "Introduction: 'This is the American Policy'," in *Spheres of Intervention* (pp 1-19)

Corrin Varaday, "Discontinuity and Legacy: US Policy in Lebanon and the Middle East," in *US Foreign Policy and the Multinational Force in Lebanon* (pp 45-76)

9.3 Friday, June 1. The US and the Lebanese Civil War

Final Take-home Essay Exam Prompt posted on TritonEd

Reading: Varaday, "Operation Peace for Galilee and the Establishment of the MNFI," in *US Foreign Policy and the Multinational Force in Lebanon* (pp 77-109)

Nora Boustany, "Beirut Bomb's Legacy Suspicion and Tears," *Washington Post* (6 Mar 1988) https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1988/03/06/beirut-bombs-legacy-suspicion-and-tears/28371cdd-e9ac-4792-89df-88bf0c0c64c7/?utm_term=.043023f7aa2f

WEEK 10: THE U.S. AND POST-9/11 POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

10.1 Monday, June 4. Competing(?) Visions of the US in the Middle East since 9/11

Reading: Remarks by the President at Islamic Center of Washington, D.C. (17 September 2001)

<https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html>

Obama Cairo Speech (4 Jun 2009)

<https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=104923292>

Trump Saudi Arabia Speech (21 May 2017) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-trumps-speech-arab-islamic-american-summit/>

10.2 Wednesday, June 6. The US, the Arab Spring, ISIS, and a Changing Middle East

Reading: Barack Obama, "Moment of Opportunity: American Diplomacy in the Middle East and North Africa" (19 May 2011) <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/remarks-president-barack-obama-prepared-delivery-moment-opportunity>

Andreas Krieg, "Externalizing the Burden of War: The Obama Doctrine and US Foreign Policy in the Middle East" *International Affairs* 92, no. 1 (2016): 97-113.

10.3 Friday, June 8. The Future of US Relations with the Middle East / Course Overview

Reading: Final Take-home Essay Exam Prompt

FINAL EXAM: Final take-home essays due to the course TritonEd site on **MONDAY, JUNE 11 AT 11:00 AM.**