

Department of Political Science
POLITICS 4409G/9738B – THE U.S. AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Course Outline Winter 2018

Instructor: Dr Salim Mansur
Office: SSC 4160

Office Hours: Wed 1:00-3:00
Fri: 12.00-3:00

This senior-level seminar course examines the place and importance of the Middle East in U.S. foreign policy over the last half-century and through the administrations of the U.S. presidents going back to the Truman-Eisenhower years. The focus of the discussions will be on certain key issues that mark the continuities and discontinuities of the U.S. foreign policy towards the region of immense strategic importance in international politics.

Required texts

Lawrence Freedman, A Choice of Enemies: America Confronts the Middle East.
Rachel Bronson, Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership With Saudi Arabia.

Course requirements

Undergraduate:

Review essay (1500 words) – due February 13	20%
Proposal for Research Essay (500 words) – due February 27	5%
Research essay (3500 words) – due March 20	40%
Take home over-night assignment – due April 11	30%
Class participation & attendance	5%

Graduate:

Review essay (2500 words) – due March 6	30%
Research essay (5000 words) – due April 24	70%

IMPORTANT NOTICE RE PREREQUISITES/ANTIREQUISITES

You are responsible for ensuring that you have successfully completed all course prerequisites, and that you have **not** taken an antirequisite course. Lack of prerequisites may not be used as a basis for appeal. If you are found to be **ineligible** for a course, you may be removed from it at any time and you will receive no adjustment to your fees. **This decision cannot be appealed.** If you find that you do not have the course requisites, it is in your best interest to drop the course well before the end of the add/drop period. Your prompt attention to this matter will not only help your academic record,

but will ensure that spaces become available for students who require the course in question for graduation.

Office of the Dean, Faculty of Social Science

Notes for written assignments for Undergraduates:

I. Review essay: Before preparing to write this essay (approximately 1500 words or 5-6 pages double-spaced), read a few opinion/review essays regularly published in a few of the major magazines and journals (e.g. *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's*, *The Economist*, *The New York Review of Books*, *The New York Times Book Review*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest*).

The book you are required to read for your Review Essay is either of the two required texts for this course: the text by Lawrence Freedman, or the text by Rachel Bronson.

This *review* essay **is not** a research paper. It is an essay on reading and reflecting upon the book you select to review. You discuss what impressed you about the book and the author, what you learned, what sticks in your mind about the main argument(s) in the book, how reading this book has provided you with an understanding of the subject at hand, about the actors involved and the roles they have played in shaping the politics of the region and/or the country. The essay you write is about the author and you in an imagined conversation, and your reflections about the author and the book are as important as the content of the text you discuss.

This essay does not require any bibliography or endnotes. But when you are providing a quote then you need to provide the source as an endnote, or footnote, as you do for your research essays.

II. Research Essay.

For Research Essay select a subject (e.g. a theme, an event, a personality) and examine it analytically and historically, assessing the importance of the subject in the literature you research and why it is important in terms of influence or consequences in the context of the U.S. relations with the Middle East.

The required length of this paper is approximately 3500 words or 15 pages, and in addition endnotes and bibliography (see examples below).

Examples of endnote and bibliographic citation:

C.R. Mohan, "India and the Balance of Power," in *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2006), p. 17.

K. Waltz, *Man, the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 9

[Note: Penalty for late paper is a flat deduction of 1.0 grade point from the total grade for the assignment due.]

Additional texts

- Fouad Ajami, The Foreigner's Gift: The Americans, the Arabs, and the Iraqis in Iraq.
- G.W. Ball and D.B. Ball, The Passionate Attachment: America's Involvement With Israel, 1947 to the Present.
- Mitchell Bard, The Arab Lobby.
- Peter L. Bergen, The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict between America and Al-Qaeda.
- James A. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations.
- H.W. Brands, Into the Labyrinth: The United States and the Middle East 1945-1993.
- Rachel Bronson, Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership With Saudi Arabia.
- L. Carl Brown, International Politics and the Middle East.
- Michael J. Cohen, Truman and Israel.
- Michael Doran, Ike's Gamble.
- Peter Grose, Israel In The Mind Of America.
- Robert D. Kaplan, The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite.
- Henry Kissinger, White House Years.
- Henry Kissinger, Years of Upheaval.
- Henry Kissinger, World Order.
- Michael B. Oren, Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East, 1976 to the Present.
- Norman Podhoretz, World War IV: The Long Struggle Against Islamofascism.
- W.B. Quandt, Decade of Decisions: American Policy Towards the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1967-1976.
- W.B. Quandt, Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics.
- Avi Shlaim, War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History.
- Gary Sick, All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter With Iran.
- Jean Edward Smith, George Bush's War.
- Jay Solomon, The Iran Wars.
- Robert W. Stookey, America and the Arab States: An Uneasy Encounter.
- Alan R. Taylor, The Superpowers and the Middle East.
- E. Tivnan, The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy.
- Saadia Touval, The Peace Brokers: Mediators in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1979.
- Craig Unger, House of Bush, House of Saud.
- U.S. Government, The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States.
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January 9
Session 1

Introduction.

Lawrence Freedman, A Choice of Enemies, Chapters 1 and 2.

Additional (Graduate):

W.R. Mead, Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World.

R. Kagan, The World America Made.

H. Kissinger, World Order, Introduction, Chapters 7, and 8.

H. Kissinger, White House Years, Chapter III, pp. 54-70.

January 16
Session 2

Middle East in U.S. foreign policy.

Rachel Bronson, Thicker Than Oil, Prologue and Chapter 1.

Additional (Graduate):

R.N. Haass, "The New Middle East," in *Foreign Affairs*, (Nov.-Dec. 2006).

B.R. Kuniholm, "Retrospect and Prospects: Forty Years of U.S. Middle East Policy," in *Middle East Journal*, vol. 41, no. 1, winter 1987, pp. 7-25.

January 23 and 30
Sessions 3 and 4

Truman to Nixon-Ford Years (1944-1976).

Bronson, Thicker Than Oil, chapters 2 and 3.

Freedman, A Choice of Enemies, chapters 1 and 2.

Additional (Graduate):

James A. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of the American-Iranian Relations, chapters 1,2 and 3.

H.W. Brands, Into the Labyrinth: The United States and the Middle East 1945-1993, chapters 1, 2, and 3.

Michael J. Cohen, Truman and Israel.

Michael Doran, Ike's Gamble.

- Peter Grose, Israel in the Mind of America, chapters 8-12.
 Henry Kissinger, White House Years, chapters III and XIV.
 Henry Kissinger, Years of Upheaval, chapter XI.
 Kubursi, A.A. and S. Mansur, "The Political Economy of Middle Eastern Oil," in
 R. Stubbs & G.R.D. Underhill (eds.), Political Economy and the Changing
 Global Order, pp. 313-27.
 R.W. Stookey, America and the Arab States: An Uneasy Encounter,
 Chapters I – IV.
 P. Terzian, OPEC: The Inside Story.
 S.P. Tillman, The United States in the Middle East: Interests and Obstacles.
 Saadia Touval, The Peace Brokers: Mediators in the Arab-Israeli Conflict,
 1948-1979, chapter 9.
- Energy Information Administration (Official Statistics from the U.S.
 Government),
 [<http://www.eia.doe.gov>]

February 6 and 13
Sessions 5 and 6

Carter and Reagan Years (1977-1988).

- Bronson, Thicker Than Oil, chapters 6, 7, and 8.
 Freedman, A Choice of Enemies, Part One and Part Two.

Additional (Graduate):

- Fouad Ajami, "The End of Pan-Arabism," in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 57, no. 2,
 (Winter 1978), pp. 355-373.
 James A. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian
 Relations, chapters 7 and 8.
 H.W. Brands, Into the Labyrinth, pp. 143-195.
 R. Bronson, Thicker Than Oil, chapters 7-9.
 Shireen T. Hunter, Iran and the World, pp. 46-78.
 Charles A. Kupchan, The Persian Gulf and the West, chapters 4 and 6.
 R.K. Ramazani, The United States and Iran: the Patterns of Influence.
 W.B. Quandt, Decade of Decisions: American Policy Towards the Arab-Israeli
 Conflict 1967-1976.
 Anwar Sadat, In Search of Identity.
 Gary Sick, All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter With Iran.
 Saadia Touval, The Peace Brokers: Mediators in the Arab-Israeli Conflict,
 1948-1979, chapter 10.

Feb. 27, March 6 and 13
Sessions 7, 8, and 9

Bush, Sr. and Clinton Years (1989-2000).

Bronson, Thicker Than Oil, chapters 10 and 11.
 Freedman, A Choice of Enemies, Part Three and Part Four.

Additional (Graduate):

H.W. Brands, Into the Labyrinth, pp. 196-213.
 L. Freedman and E. Karsh, The Gulf Conflict 1990-1991: Diplomacy and War
 In the New World Order.
 D. Ross, The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for the Middle East
 Peace, chapters 24 and 25.
 J.E. Smith, George Bush's War.

Documents:

UNSCR 660 (2 August 1990);
 UNSCR 678 (29 November 1990);
 UNSCR 686 (2 March 1991);
 UNSCR 687 (3 April 1991).

March 20 and 27
Sessions 10 and 11

Bush, Jr. Years (2001-2008).

Bronson, thicker Than Oil, chapters 12 and 13.
 Freedman, A Choice of Enemies, Part Five.

Additional (Graduate):

Fouad Ajami, The Foreigner's Gift: The Americans, The Arabs and The Iraqis
 In Iraq.
 Peter L. Bergen, The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict Between America
 and Al-Qaeda.
 Adeed Dawisha, "Requiem for Arab Nationalism," in *The Middle East Quarterly*,
 Winter 2003, pp. 25-41;
<http://www.meforum.org/518/requiem-for-arab-nationalism>
 D.J. Feith, War and Decision.
 David M. Malone, The International Struggle Over Iraq: Politics in the
 UN Security Council 1980-2005.
 Salim Mansur, "Islam in the Rear-View Mirror," in Gatestone Institute on-line,
 September 29, 2014; <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4728/islam-mirror>

George Packer, Assassin's Gate: America in Iraq.
 Norman Podhoretz, World War IV: The Long Struggle Against Islamofascism.
 Lawrence Wright, The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11.

Documents:

The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441 (2002).

U.S. Congress Joint Resolution to Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq (October 2, 2002).

U.S. Congress Iraq Liberation Act of 1998.

“A Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” U.S. Department of State 2003, (<http://www.bitterlemons.org/docs/roadmap3.html>).

April 3
Session 12

Obama and Trump.

Steven Simon & Jonathan Stevenson, “The End of Pax Americana: Why Washington’s Middle East Pullback Makes Sense,” in *Foreign Affairs*, (November/December 2015), vol. 94, No. 6, pp. 2-10.

David Rothkopf, “The Curse of the Obama Doctrine,” in *Foreign Policy*, 3 September 2015.

Jeffrey Goldberg, “The Obama Doctrine,” in *The Atlantic*, April 2016.

Jay Solomon, The Iran Wars.

Mackubin Owens, “Is There an Emerging ‘Trump Doctrine’?” in *American Greatness*, November 25, 2017
<http://amgreatness.com/2017/11/25/is-there-an-emerging-trump-doctrine2/>

Remarks by President Trump at the UNGA Session, September 19, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-72nd-session-united-nations-general-assembly/>

April 10
Session 13

Final Meeting.

Take Home Assignment due Wednesday, April 11 (noon).

**APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

Security and Confidentiality of Student Work (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* (<http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>))

"**Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams** - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

Duplication of work

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

Grade adjustments

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

Academic Offences

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_undergrad.pdf

Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS **MUST** BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Attendance Regulations for Examinations

EXAMINATIONS/ATTENDANCE (Sen. Min. Feb.4/49, May 23/58, S.94, S.3538, S.3632, S.04-097) A student is entitled to be examined in courses in which registration is maintained, subject to the following limitations: 1) A student may be debarred from writing the final examination for failure to maintain satisfactory academic standing throughout the year. 2) Any student who, in the opinion of the instructor, is absent too frequently from class or laboratory periods in any course will be reported to the Dean of the Faculty offering the course (after due warning has been given). On the recommendation of the Department concerned, and with the permission of the Dean of that Faculty, the student will be debarred from taking the regular examination in the course. The Dean of the Faculty offering the course will communicate that decision to the Dean of the Faculty of registration.

Medical Policy, Late Assignments, etc.

Students registered in Social Science should refer to

http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/having_problems/index.html for information on Medical Policy, Term Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

University Policy on Cheating and Academic Misconduct

Plagiarism: Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

Plagiarism Checking: "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>)."

Multiple-choice tests/exams: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic_policies/index.html

PLAGIARISM*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History August 13, 1991

Accessibility at Western: Please contact poliscie@uwo.ca if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.

SUPPORT SERVICES

The Registrar's office can be accessed for Student Support Services at <http://www.registrar.uwo.ca>

Student Support Services (including the services provided by the USC listed here) can be reached at:
<http://westernusc.ca/services/>

Student Development Services can be reached at: <http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/>

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western
<http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.