

James Madison College
MC 391/PLS 392/Spring 2006
American Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East

Page 1 of 7

Spring Semester2006

Days and Time: Tues and Thurs 5:00-6:50
Location: Room 334a South Case Hall
Instructor: John S. Habib, PhD
Diplomat-in-Residence and Visiting Professor
Michigan State University
James Madison College

Phone: Office Direct: (517) 353 9395
Messages (517) 353 6750
Fax: (517) 432 1804

Email:habib@msu.edu **Web:** www.johnshabib.com

Office Hours: James Madison College, South Case Hall on Tuesdays and Thursdays:
from 13h30-16h30 and by appointment

Course Objectives: To familiarize the students with the origins and conduct of US
foreign policy towards the Middle East from 1940 to the present.

Methodology: Lecturers by the instructor, class discussions, documentaries and guest
speakers as available.

Required Text: Quandt, William, **Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-
Israeli Conflict Since 1967**, 3rd edition, Brookings Institution Press, 2005. Ambrose,
Stephen E and Brinkley, Douglas G., **Rise to Globalism**, 8th edition, 1997, Penguin
Books, Lesch, David W., **The Middle East and the United States**, 3rd Edition, 2003,
Westview Press.

Course Requirements: student class attendance and participation, critical thinking,
weekly written assignments, assigned readings, one mid-semester, one final exam, one
original research paper.

Due Dates: The assigned requirements must be met on the date, time and at the place
designated. The instructor will entertain late submissions and determine the point count,
if any, of approved late assignments on a case by case basis when the cause is beyond the
control of the student.

Attendance: Students are expected to arrive on time for class, to attend all classes and to remain for the duration of the class. While an occasional absence may be unavoidable, three or more absences over the term of the course are likely to lower the student's final grade. In accordance with James Madison College policy the last twenty minutes of the class will be dedicated to working with the students on course material. Students alone are responsible for recovering the material covered in class, including but not limited to announcements, dates and schedule changes that they may have missed because of they may have missed class.

Grading System: 91-100 = A. 81-90 = B. 71-80 = C. 61-70 =D. 60 =F.

Point Count: The total point count is 100 distributed as follows: weekly assignments, 20% or 20 points; participation in class discussions 20% or 20 points; one research paper 20% or 20 points; mid semester 15% or 15 points; final exam 25% or 25 points.

Course Schedule

Week One: Administrative. Review of the entire syllabus in class. A definition of foreign policy. The domestic origins of American foreign policy: constitutional authority and responsibility for the formulation, funding, and execution American foreign policy. Foreign policy as an instrument to protect and promote national and national security interests. The core components of the contemporary American foreign policy establishment: the Department of State, the Department of Defense, National Security Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, The Defense Intelligence Agencies, the National Security Council, Homeland Security Agency, and (The Federal Bureau of Investigation).

Week Two. Organization of the State Department and embassies and their complementary relationships and missions. Lateral relations, cultural missions, intelligence operations, covert action, grey and black propaganda. American foreign policy caught between the art of diplomacy and the craft of intelligence. The effects of competing and conflicting inter and intra departmental agendas and turf wars on the formulation and implementation of a coherent regional foreign policy.

Week Three. Overview of regional ethnic and religious diversity, of traditional and contemporary ideologies, and of the contemporary configuration of the Middle East. Projections of relief and political maps of the Middle East. Events that irreversible changed the Middle East, (1) UN partition of Palestine and the 1948 War; the 1967 War; the 1973 War, 1978-1979 revolution in Iran, Soviet-American Confrontation in Afghanistan 1980, the 1982 War, Islamic resurgence as a politically powerful force, 1990 to the present.

Week Four. The evolution of American foreign policy in the Middle East. Pre-1920-1945, 1946-1973, 1973-to the present. General objectives of contemporary American foreign policy in the Middle East. (1) Stability (2) Support of friendly regimes (3) Uninterrupted access to oil at reasonable prices (4) The full integration of Israel into the region's community of nations (5) Access to commercial markets and economic opportunity (6) Eliminating the sources of Middle East "terrorism". (6) Spread of democracy.

Week Five. President Roosevelt, the Palestine Question, and the origins of the Saudi-American special relationship, 1945. President Truman, the Palestine Question, and the origins of the Israeli-American special relationship, 1948. **The Truman Doctrine.**

Week Six: The formulation of American foreign policy. A struggle between the counsel of the experts and the politicians. Interest groups and their impact on American foreign policy in the Middle East.

Week Seven: Review of course material to date.

Week Eight Mid-semester exam. Two hour written take-home exam

Week Nine. The genesis of the Arab-Israeli problem. The 1948 War of Israel's Independence referred to by the Arabs as the "nakabah" (the catastrophe). The refugee problem, the expansion of Israel, the beginning of the "radicalization" of the Arab world.

Week Ten. The Middle East, a regional pawn in a global East-West struggle. The rise of the non-aligned movements, national liberation movements. The American foreign policy of "neutralism is immoral" and the Soviet policy of expansion. President Eisenhower, the 1956, Suez War, Turmoil in Lebanon (1958), revolution in Iraq (1958), insurrection in Jordan (1958), confrontation with Arab nationalism and with Egyptian ambitions of hegemony (1952-1970). **The Eisenhower Doctrine.**

Week Eleven. The 1967 War.

Week Twelve. President Nixon. The Scranton mission. The 1973 War. The Oil Embargo. Nuclear alert. The Sadat Era. **The Nixon Doctrine.**

Week Thirteen. President Carter. Camp David. Turmoil in Iran 1978. **The Carter Doctrine.**

Week Fourteen. Reagan and Bush. Libya, the PLO, Gulf War. **The Reagan Doctrine.**

Week Fifteen. Clinton and Bush, Jr. The Oslo Accord, Sanctions Against and War in Iraq. The Axis of Evil. **The Bush, Jr. Doctrine.**

Week Sixteen. Final Exam.

Note: The bibliography, reading and first and second week written homework assignments will be provided before the beginning of the first day of class...

The Research Paper

Objective: The objective of an original research paper is just that: original and research. The ideas need not be new. They may not even be your own ideas. What you may have done is to researched "old material", collated it, put it together in a coherent and original way, and thereby produced an "original" article. It is not, as one student told me who download his/her research paper almost verbatim from the internet "I thought we only had to change the words". If that were the case, there would be only one book or one article ever written". Clearly it advances the originality of the research if you have personal insights, experiences, etc. that enhance your paper.

Approved Topic: Once you have selected and the instructor has approved the topic, you must write your research paper on that topic, and not submit a paper on a completely different topic.

Sourcing

Rationale of Sourcing. While there are other good reasons including that of eschewing plagiarism, accurate sourcing informs the reader (1) that the thoughts expressed, whether quoted verbatim or summarized are those of another writer (2) and allows the reader to locate the original source. (3) The reader can identify the source without the encumbrances of the details that are found in the bibliography. Thus it is necessary to accurately provide the full name of the author, editor, title of the book, periodical, newspaper article etc., and page numbers etc. Sourcing is not the same as a bibliography which renders the reader a separate and different service. See below.

Format: The paper will consist of a minimum of 20 not to exceed 25 pages of text, exclusive of cover sheets, citations, maps, graphs, and bibliography; 12 inch font; Times New roman print. The paper may be on any aspect of contemporary foreign policy in the Middle East. The student may select the subject of the paper with the approval of the instructor.

Citations: The citations may be either footnotes or back notes. They will be presented as follows: Author: Last Name, First name, Full title of the book (underlined), page number. Subsequent citations of the same author, Last name, comma, **op cit.**, page number. If the page number is the same, Last name, comma, **ibid.** When citing a different work of the same author, repeat the original entry and follow the **op.cit.** and **ibid.** procedure; if a separate citation appears between the citations of the same author, then use cite the author's name, an abbreviation of the original title (be consistent), and then the page

number. To indicate that a citation is exactly the same as one previously cited, use **loc.cit.** To indicate that the ideas that you are expressing have been taken from a specific source, but not quoted verbatim, provide the page numbers and use **passim**. Sources acquired from the internet must be identified by citing the name of the author, full title of the article or book, etc., the date and place of publication. If the source is a newspaper article or a periodical, then the title of the article is placed between quotations marks and the name of the newspaper or periodical italicized. See footnote 10 below. Cite titles in a foreign language, in transliterated form. See footnote 12. If a work is edited, provided the full name of the editor, followed by **ed. comma**, then the title of the work. You can also use footnotes or back notes to explain non conventional citations. (See footnote 15 and 16).

Example:

1. Habib, John, S, Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam, Mars edition., p. 45.
2. **Loc. Cit.** (*no need to repeat the author or the title, because there is only one citation.*)
3. Habib, p.90.
4. Habib, **ibid.**
5. Teitlebaum, Joshua, The Rise and Fall of the Hedjaz Kingdom, p. 142.
6. Habib, op. cit. page 13.
7. The Middle East, p 50 (there is no individual author or editor)
8. Ambrose, Stephen E. and Brinkley, Douglas, G, Rise to Globalism, pps.18-22. 13-18.
9. Theroux, Peter, "Civil conflicts: The Threat From within the Saudi Monarch: The King Should sleep with One Eye Open", *Jinn*, Dec. 12, 1995.
10. Habib, John S., Saudi Arabia and the American National Interest, page 200.
11. Habib, John S., "The Transfer Plan Rebuffed", p. 14-22, **passim**.
12. Habib, John S., Al Ikhwan Al-Sa'udiyoun", p. 14.
13. Habib, Ibn Sa'ud, p. 13.
14. Teitlebaum, op. cit., p. 107. (Since there is only one work cited by Teitlebaum, **op cit.** is sufficient, no need to give an abbreviated title.
15. From a private conversations with principals who asked not to be named".
16. On 15 May 2005, this writer personally visited the site of the attack in Brussels, Belgium, and spoke with some of the survivors who provided the information quoted.

Bibliography

The Rationale of a Bibliography. It is a tool. It enables the reader to locate the source of the quotation, by providing the maximum information possible. This is not needed in the footnotes or back notes and is provided in the bibliography. There is need to indicate such if there is only one edition. However, if there is more than one edition of the same book by the same publisher, or different edition(s) of the same book by different publishers, it is essential to note that in the citation and provide the different

bibliographical entries for each edition. Page numbers may not be the same in different editions, hence the need to indicate that in the citation only.

The bibliographic entry for a book is as follows: last name, full name of the author, full name of the title (underlined), publisher, date of publication, city or location where published. **Habib, John S., Saudi Arabia and the American National Interest: An Interpretative Study of a Special Relationship**, Universal Publisher, 2003, Florida. For a newspaper article or periodical, **Habib, John, S., Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam: The Creation of the Modern State of Saudi Arabia, 1920-1936**, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Mars Publishers, 2000. For an article or newspaper, Author, Title "between quotation marks", page, name of newspaper or periodical in italics.

Annotation: if necessary you may enlarge the entry with your own statement "this book is available only in the private library of Ms. Jessica Harkness. Or, this book contains no date or publication", or no publisher, but internal evidence would indicate that it was published after the year 1945 but before 1960".

You may select any one of the following topics for your research paper.

The Religious Basis for the American Commitment and Support for an Independent Jewish State in the Land of Palestine (American presidents and American political and religious leaders support. for the return of Jews to Palestine long before the appearance of the modern Zionist movement).

The US As An Honest Broker in Middle East Conflicts: Myth or Reality? (Here the student will examine allegations that the US uses double standards, one for its Middle Eastern friends and another for less friendly or adversarial Middle Eastern countries (generic or particular that is in general or as applied to one specific country.

Iran 1942-1979: Essential Ally One Day: Implacable Nemesis the Next. What went wrong? Here the student will examine how an essential political, military and economic relationship literally collapsed overnight.

Saudi Arabia: Terrorist State or Maligned Ally? (Here the student will test the allegations that the government of Saudi Arabia official supports and funds terrorism.

Is the "War Against Terrorism actually a "War Against Islam" in disguise? Here the student will examine pre-conceived American ideas about Islam that appear to have been vindicated by the 9/11 assault on America.

American Commitment to Democracy in the Arab World. Why Now? (Democratic institutions have been around for a long time. Here with the student will examine why American Foreign Policy is focusing on bring democracy to the Arab world after having supported autocratic and oppressive governments in Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Iran, Turkey, just to mention some countries.

Will Democratic Governments Enhance or Undermine American National Interests in the Middle East? (Here the student will want to consider whether America has an advantage in dealing with dictators who can make decisions unilaterally without

seeking the concurrence of the governed rather than with democracies that must subject there politics to public approval?

Due Date: The paper is due in class on Thursday of the 12th week of the course. No late papers accepted.

Select Bibliography

Ambrose Stephen E., and Brinkley, Douglas, Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938, Eight Revised Edition, Penguin Books, New York, 1997.

Ascombe, Frederick, The Ottoman Gulf: The Creation of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar, Columbia University Press, New York, 1997.

Cleveland, William, History of the Middle East, 2nd edition, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 2000.

De Novo, John A., American Interests and Policies in the Middle East 1900-1939, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1963.

Eilts, Herman, F., "The United States and Saudi Arabia", Middle East Insight, Special Edition, Saudi Arabia, 1995

Kegley, Charles W. Jr. and Wittkopf, Eugene, R., eds, The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy, eds, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1988.

Habib, John S. Habib, Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam: The Ikhwan of Najd and Their Role in the Creation of the Sa'udi Kingdom, 1910-1930, E. J. Brill, Leiden, Holland, 1978.

Habib, John S., Saudi Arabia and the American National Interest: An Interpretative Study of a Special Relationship, Universal Press, Florida, 1978.

Habib, John S. Habib, The Transfer Plan Rebuffed, Al Dara, issue no. 4, Abdel Aziz Center for Archives and Research, Riyadh, 2001

Habib, John S. Habib, "Political and Social Change in Afghanistan and Pakistan", University of Maryland, On Line, 2001.

Hibri Al-, Azizah Y, "Islamic and American Constitutional Law: Borrowing Possibilities Or a History of Borrowing", University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law, Volume 1, Number 3, Spring 1999.

Lenczowski, George, American Presidents and the Middle East, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1990.

Lesch, David W., ed., The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Assessment, Westview, 2003.

Little, Douglas, The United States and the Middle East since 1945, the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London, 2002.

McAlister, Melani, Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and U.S. Interests in the Middle East Since 1945, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2005.

Quandt, William, B., Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967, Brookings Institute Press, Washington, D. C., 2005.

Simon, Chaim, Rabbi, A Historical Survey of Proposals to Transfer Arabs from Palestine, 1895-1947, Kiryat Arbat, Israel.