

Oberlin College
History Department and MENA Program
Hist-396 US Foreign Policy in MENA
Spring 2013

Professor Zeinab Abul-Magd

Monday 2:30-4:20pm

Classroom: King 339

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This course explores American foreign policy in various Middle Eastern states before and after the Arab Spring, during the 20th and 21st centuries. It examines US cultural, military, diplomatic, and economic presence in, or hegemony over, the region during many crucial moments in history, including WWI, WWII, the Cold War, the Iranian Revolution, the Gulf War, the Arab-Israeli peace process, September 11, the occupation of Iraq, and the recent revolutions. The course begins with scrutinizing the cultural images and representations of the Middle East in the American mind during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Then it moves to investigating US relation with Arab nationalist leaders during the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s. Then it investigates US "imperial" foreign policy toward Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Libya. It explores American economic domination in the region, through controlling oil production in countries such as Saudi Arabia and through applying the neo-liberal Washington Consensus in countries such as Egypt. The course also gives a special attention to the American essential role in the Arab-Israeli conflict and the peace process. The course focuses on matters of terrorism and Jihad as perceived inside the US and shaping its foreign policy in the region. Finally, it looks at US reaction to the Arab Spring and the ways it attempts to influence its outcomes.

Course Requirements:

- (1) Attendance and participation in class discussions (30%)
- (2) A discourse analysis paper of a primary document from US diplomatic records, CIA files, newspapers and magazines, TV and Radio shows, etc. On the subject of any session of your choice. Due first half of semester, 4-5 pages (20%)
- (3) Midterm Paper: historiography/critical review of secondary sources on the subject of final paper, 7-8 pages (25%) (Due Tuesday March 19th, 5:00pm)

- (4) Final paper using archival and secondary sources, 18-20 pages (25%) (Due date TBA)

Required Readings: (Available at Oberlin bookstore)

- 1- Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. interests in the Middle East since WWII*
- 2- Salim Yaqub, *Containing Arab Nationalism: the Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East*
- 3- Ali Ansari, *Confronting Iran: The Failure of American Foreign Policy and the Next Great Crisis in the Middle East*
- 4- Tom Lansford, *A Bitter Harvest: US Foreign Policy and Afghanistan*
- 5- Robert Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier*
- 6- Thomas E. Ericks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*
- 7- Kathleen Christopher, *Perceptions of Palestine: Their Influence on U.S. Middle East Policy*
- 9- Luis Martinez, *The Libyan Paradox*
- 10- George Kassimeris, *Playing Politics with Terrorism: A User's Guide*

Schedule of Classes

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| | Feb 4 Introduction |
| Road to Empire? | Feb 11 Melani McAlister, <i>Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East since WWII</i> , pp.1-154 |
| Road to Empire? | Feb 18 - Melani McAlister, <i>Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East since WWII</i> , pp.155-307 - <u>Library presentation archival sources accessible at Obies.</u> |
| The Cold War Days and Arab Nationalism | Feb 25 Salim Yaqub, <i>Containing Arab Nationalism: the Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East</i> . Intro. p. 1-22, ch.3 pp. 87-117, ch.5-8 pp.147-267 [On Blackboard] |
| US and the Islamic Government in Iran | March 4 Ali Ansari, <i>Confronting Iran: The Failure of American Foreign Policy and the Next Great Crisis in the Middle East</i> , Intro pp. 1-6, ch. 2-5 pp.19-146, |

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| | ch.7 pp.197-232. [On Blackboard] |
| US and Afghanistan | March 11 Tom Lansford, <i>A Bitter Harvest: US Foreign Policy and Afghanistan</i> , pp.1-177 [On Blackboard] |
| US, Oil, and the Arabian Gulf | March 18 Robert Vitalis, <i>America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier</i> , intro pp.1-26, ch.5-8 pp.121-264 [On Blackboard] |
| | March 25 Enjoy Fall Break |
| US and Occupation of Iraq | April 1 - Thomas E. Ericks, <i>Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq</i> [On Blackboard] - General Bremer, <i>My Year in Iraq: The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope</i> ch.3 pp. 50-77, ch.11 pp. 286-308 [On Blackboard] - Ali A. Allawi, <i>The occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace</i> , ch. 6 pp.114-131, ch.23 pp.403-417. [On Blackboard] |
| US and the Arab-Israeli Conflict | April 8 Kathleen Christopher, <i>Perceptions of Palestine: Their Influence on U.S. Middle East Policy</i> , intro & ch.1-2 pp. 1-44, ch. 5-7 pp. 61-194, ch. 9 pp.242-273 [On Blackboard] |
| US and Libya: From Qadhafi to Revolution | April 15 - Luis Martinez, <i>The Libyan Paradox</i> , pp.1-80 [On Blackboard] - US role in Libyan Revolution (TBA) |
| Neoliberalism, Authoritarianism, and Revolution | April 22 - David Harvey, <i>Neoliberalism</i> , ch.1 [On Blackboard] - Timothy Mitchell, "Dreamland: The Neoliberalism of Your Desires," in Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing (eds.), <i>Journey to Tahrir:</i> |

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| | <p><i>Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt</i> [On Blackboard]</p> <p>- Joel Beinin, "The Working Class and the Popular Movement in Egypt," in Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing (eds.), <i>Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest, and Social Change in Egypt</i> [On Blackboard]</p> <p>-Zeinab Abul-Magd, "Occupying Tahrir Square: Myths and Realities of the Egyptian Revolution" [On Blackboard]</p> |
| <p>American, War on Terror, and New Islamic Governments</p> | <p>April 29</p> <p>- George Kassimeris, <i>Playing Politics with Terrorism: A User's Guide</i>, intro 1-15, ch. 7-8 pp. 157-202, ch. 12 pp.277-300. [On Blackboard]</p> <p>- US relation to Islamic governments after the Arab Spring (TBA)</p> |
| <p>Conclusion</p> | <p>May 6</p> <p>Final paper presentations and conclusion</p> |

**Oberlin College
Department of History**

History 393: History and the Formulation of U.S. National Security Strategy & Policy

Spring 2013; seminar format; R 1300-1450, King 325

Instructor: Jiyul Kim

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Office hours: after class or e-mail/call to coordinate time and location

Overview: The purpose of this course is to help you develop your national security literacy. We will consider how history and culture should be integral factors in the formulation of security strategy and policy in general and U.S. national security strategy and policy in particular. The course explores the concepts of strategy and policy, the process of their formulation in general and how it is done in the U.S., how historical and cultural factors are integrated, and then apply this to historical and current case studies. Student interest and background will determine the selection of current case studies.

Prerequisite: at least one year of college level history course on any region, period, or theme.

Learning Objectives:

1. Comprehend the relationship between history and culture.
2. Comprehend concepts of national security, strategy and policy.
3. Comprehend the theory of strategy and policy formulation.
4. Comprehend the historical and cultural dimensions of strategy and policy formulation.
5. Comprehend current U.S. national security strategy and policy.
6. Analyze how historical and cultural factors led to success or failure of strategy and policy in historical case studies.
7. Analyze historical and cultural dimensions of current security issues and their strategy and policy implications.

Requirements:

Texts

- No texts need to be purchased. All readings will be on Blackboard.
- No copyrighted material provided for this course is to be uploaded to any third party sites.

Grading

- MID-TERM
 - o Attendance & participation: 60%
 - o Team policy information paper: 40%
- FINAL

- Attendance & participation: 35%
- Presentation: 20%
- MIDTERM: 25% (attendance/participation 15%, policy paper 10%)
- Final paper: 20%

Attendance & participation:

- Diligent attendance and active participation based on informed preparation are essential for a seminar course.

Case Study Presentation and Discussion:

- During weeks 7 - 12 you will be in a 2-person team that will make a presentation on a current case study and interact with the class under faculty facilitation.
- Organizing – first day of class
 - The current case study starting list is **China, North Korea, Cuba, Russia, Iran, and Israel**, but in our first class we will discuss/decide substituting with a different country based on the students' background and interest.
 - Other potential case study subjects: **India, Venezuela, Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia**.
 - Assignment to a team will be determined on the first day of class. The country you are assigned will determine the subject of your research, the midterm policy paper and the final paper.
 - We will first determine each student's preferences that can be none to all. If any country is either short/over we will seek volunteers to move. If that still leaves excess/shortage, lots will be drawn (from the overage country) to move to the shortage country.
 - With possible exception for the first case (week 7) I will randomly select the order the course will undertake the case studies. This is to give each country equal chance on being last (most prep time) or first (least prep time).
 - The subject of the presentation/discussion is a case study of a nation of significant security concern for the U.S. The presentation and assigned readings will be the basis for a mini exercise to discuss policy and strategy objectives and options that is not very different from an actual working level interagency policy session led by the State Department and overseen by the National Security Council whose purpose is to recommend a course of action that ultimately goes to the President. The students are the interagency and the faculty is the National Security Council.

- Preparation - ALL:
 - Read/review Appendix I “A Commentary on Modernity and Nationalism” in *Cultural Dimensions of Strategy & Policy* (week 1) for one view on modernity and nationalism as key defining aspects of the contemporary world.
 - Read/review assigned readings from the *National Security Strategy* and the *Defense Strategic Guidance* (week 3) with focus on understanding U.S. interests and policy/strategy approaches.
 - Read all assigned readings for background.
 - Stay on top of current developments for each case study nation.

- Preparation - TEAM:
 - This is a collaborative project so the team members are expected to coordinate and work together outside of the classroom.
 - Research and writing the Midterm policy paper serves as your preliminary preparation.
 - Conduct additional research using any suitable resource to be able to make an informative presentation and to become the class experts. The focus and depth of research should be focused on the requirements of the presentation.
 - You have the option to provide your midterm policy information paper (original version or revised/updated version) to the rest of the class before your case study lesson. Do this by posting on Blackboard (by NLT 1700 on Wed the day prior to class) and alerting the class/instructor. If you do not exercise this option provide hard copies of your policy paper (original or revised) in class before you begin the presentation (at least 12 copies for instructor/students not including the team) and then post the paper on Blackboard after class for future reference.
 - Revision of the policy information paper should be informed by your additional research and the contents of your presentation as appropriate.

- Presentation: A succinct (max 30 min) team presentation on,
 - U.S. security interests and objectives with regard to the nation. What and why.
 - Discussion of the three history/cultural dimensions of strategy/policy (Identity, Political Culture, Resilience)
 - That nation’s core values, sense of purpose and national interests/objectives – what is important to them and why. Do they correspond or clash with U.S. values, purpose and interests/objectives?
 - How strong are their shared values, purpose and interests? Are there major fault lines that can divide values, purpose and interests e.g. due to political or sectarian divisions or lack of a shared national identity.
 - How might they respond (their strategy) to threats and challenges to their values, purpose and interests?
 - Consider in your analysis the nation’s historical experience (history) and, if possible, its historiographical tradition and considerations.

- How might or should the analysis of these dimensions affect U.S. security interests, policy objectives, and the strategy to reach those objectives and attain the policy goal?
 - What U.S. interests, objectives and strategy are feasible, acceptable and suitable?
- **Discussion:** I will facilitate the discussion as an interagency working group discussion. This means, to the extent possible, try to identify the questions and points raised in terms of what agency(s) it would come from. For example, the Defense Department might focus on military capability, readiness and options. Commerce Department would be interested in trade issues. The goal of the discussion is to deliberate policy and strategy goals and options and come up with consensus on policy and strategy.

Writing assignments:

- **MIDTERM:** Due 6 PM 21 Mar (week 7) (by e-mail).
- Prepare a 2-3 page policy information paper on your country. This replicates the succinct background information paper that is circulated to attendees before a real world interagency policy/strategy meeting. It helps the other attendees to quickly gain a sense of the key issues. This is a joint country team product. Collaboration is a must. Only one paper per team.
 - Format:
 - Heading: Name of country, team members, date
 - Para 1: Subject (what is the issue)
 - Para 2: Situation (where are we now and what is U.S.'s interest and objective)
 - Para 3: Discussion (key issues and factors bearing on policy & strategy consideration. Historical-cultural factors must be included.)
 - Para 4: Policy and strategy options – as specific as possible
 - Double space, 1" margin, 12 point font of your preference.
 - Footnotes/endnotes are not necessary but have them for the final paper.
 - We will attempt to find a consensus policy and strategy option by the end of the case study. Good luck to us.
- **FINAL:** Due 6 PM 17 May (by e-mail).
- Unlike the midterm paper this is an individual paper and team members will NOT consult, corroborate or coordinate with each other. Plagiarism between team members will be grounds for failing grade on the paper.
 - The final paper has two parts. Endnoting is required. Bibliography is not required. Endnotes do not count toward the page limit.
 - Part 1: revise and expand the midterm information paper to a policy & strategy decision memorandum for the President (me). Maximum length is 10 pages. Format:

- Heading thru Para 4: same as midterm paper. Expand Para 1-3 as necessary. For Para 4 include pro and con for each option.
- Para 5: Recommendation – your recommended policy and strategy with discussion of why
- Part 2: Reflect on what you have learned what it means to you. Maximum length is 5 pages.
- Double space, 1” margin, 12 point font of your preference.
- DRAFT Review option: You have the option to submit a draft, partial or full, (by e-mail) of your final paper for preliminary review and feedback. Submit such draft by no earlier than last day of class (9 May) and no later than the next day (10 May). I will provide the feedback ASAP but no later than 14 May.
- For MIDTERM and FINAL policy papers use Alan G. Stolberg’s “Crafting National Interests in the 21st Century” and “Making National Security policy in the 21st Century,” as reference guides on an approach you can use to address the issues and factors you can/should consider. Full reference for this item is in Week 2 Reading.
- Extension and late paper: extensions will be granted only under extenuating circumstances. Late paper will be penalized one-third of a letter grade (e.g. B to B-) for each 1 hour period.

Blackboard Discussion Board: Use the course Discussion Board to collaborate, to consult me, and to post information papers and any supplemental material.

Honor Code: at the end of the writing assignment write in full and sign the Honor Pledge, *I have adhered to the Honor Code in this assignment*, to affirm that you have not plagiarized, fabricated, or falsified information, nor assisted others in these actions. Not applicable to the midterm policy information paper.

Students with Disability policy: for documented disability that may impact on your work for this class and require accommodation, notify me and see the Office of Disability Services for assistance.

Miscellaneous: Cell phones must be turned off or muted in class. No texting.

COURSE SCHEDULE and ASSIGNMENTS