

**HH 3031 (Semester 1, 2018-2019)**  
***The United States and the Modern Middle East***  
**Seminars/ Day, Venue and Time: Tuesdays, TR+32, 9.30 am – 12.30 pm**

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 (Allow 24 hours turnaround)

Office: HSS-05-20  
 Hours: Thursday, 2.00 to 4.00 pm  
 (Appointment by email ONLY)



**Course Content**

This course begins with a general introduction to US relations with the Middle East and Islamic world in the broader region from the early twentieth century to the present. Here, you will become familiar with the foundations of the Arab-Israeli conflict, unleashed after World War One by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the rapid expansion of European imperial power in the Middle East. Thereafter, you will study how American intervention in the Middle East unfolded and intensified after the Second World War severely weakened the European powers.

Seminal events that you will examine include US competition with the Soviet Union for clients and allies in the Middle East and Persian Gulf; American efforts to satisfy the competing demands of Arab and Jewish nationalism; US meddling in revolutionary nationalist movements such as those in Iran, Iraq and Libya; rising American dependence on Middle East/ Persian oil from the 1960s onward; the oil crises of the 1970s, the Middle East peace process following the Six Day War of 1967, the Palestinian nationalist movement from the 1970s; the Soviet-Afghan War and Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s, the first Gulf War of 1991, the rise of Al Qaeda from the late 1980s, the terrorist attacks on the US of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent American invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq that have now become the longest wars that the US has ever been embroiled in.

**Intended Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this course, you (as a student) would be able to:

1. Identify and describe the key arguments of major works (i.e. secondary sources) in the field of US-Middle East history.
2. Produce work (oral and written) that employs key analytical approaches and major events in the history of US-Middle East relations.
3. Compare and critique the roles played by the United States, regional actors and external powers in the major developments of the Middle East and adjacent Muslim-majority nations.
4. Analyze the links between US-Middle East relations and world history (e.g. the global Cold War, the world energy crisis, the rise of militant Islamic movements, etc).

**Course Materials**

The bulk of our assigned readings will be in the form of articles or chapters from books. These will either be available on NTU Learn or in e-book format (denoted by \*) through the NTU Library.

There are "Background Readings" included in several weeks of assigned readings. These readings are strictly optional.

**Douglas Little's *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945*, 3rd Edition (UNC Press, 2008)** is the source of many assigned readings and a valuable text for background reading. At least one copy is available in the library and limited copies are for sale at the NTU bookshop. It will also be available as an e-book through NTU Library.

## ASSESSMENTS

Component	Weight	Team/ Individual	Brief Description (Please refer to Assessment Package Below)
Participation/ Discussion	20%	Individual	Students will contribute to discussions of each week's assigned readings and respond to instructor's questions.
Review Essay	15%	Individual	Students will write a 500-word essay that puts a scholarly article ( <b>provided</b> ) in conversation with the assigned readings from ONE of the selected weeks ( <b>Week 6, 7, 9, 10</b> ).  <b>Due ONE WEEK From Date of Discussion.</b>
Narrative Essay	25%	Individual	Using the assigned readings, students will write an 800-word essay that narrates the history of US-Middle East relations from the viewpoint of the nations of the Middle East/ adjacent Muslim-majority countries.  <b>Date Due: 9 October 2018 (hardcopy in class; submission via Turnitin by 5:00pm)</b>
Presentation and Final Paper	40%	Team	The final assignment has THREE components:  As a team, students will (1) write a 1-page recommendation (500-words) for US policy toward the Middle East based upon a critical historical juncture in US-Middle East relations, (2) present the recommendation in our final class (and answer questions), and (3) write a final paper of 2,000 words that includes a revised recommendation (500 words) and an explanation of the value of the proposal to US relations with the modern Middle East.  Note: <b>The Final Assignment Package (with full instructions) will only be made available after Week 3's Add/Drop.</b>  <b>Recommendations due: To circulate to rest of class by 7 November, 12:00pm.</b>  <b>Presentations/ Discussion: 13 November</b>  <b>Final Paper: 27 November 2018, (Hardcopy at 12:00 PM; Electronic submission via Turnitin at 5:00 PM)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>		

## WEEKLY SCHEDULE

Week	Topic	Readings / Activities
1. (14 Aug)	Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>James L. Gelvin, "Chapter 17: The United States and the Middle East"; "Chapter 18: Israel, the Arab States and the Palestinians"; "Conclusion", <i>The Modern Middle East</i>, 257-277; 300-306. *</li> </ul>
2. (21 Aug)	Orientalism and the Legacy of World War One	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Edward Said, "Introduction" to <i>Orientalism</i> (Vintage, 1979, first published 1978), 30pp.</li> <li>Matthew F. Jacobs, "World War I: A War (and Peace?) for the Middle East," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2014), 11pp.</li> <li>Ian Lustick, "The Balfour Declaration a Century Later:</li> </ul>

		Accidentally Relevant," <i>Middle East Policy</i> (2017), 11pp.
3. (28 Aug)	The American Mission in the Middle East	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ussama Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism and Evangelical Modernity" (<i>American Historical Review</i>, 1997), 36pp.</li> <li>• Osamah Khalil, "The Crossroads of the World: US and British Foreign Policy Doctrines and the Construct of the Middle East, 1902-2007," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2014), 47pp.</li> <li>• Melani McAlister, "Introduction: Middle East Interests" in <i>Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and US Interests in the Middle East since 1945</i> (UC Press, 2001), 42pp. *</li> </ul>
4. (4 Sep)	The US, the House of Saud, and Middle East Oil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Douglas Little, "Chapter 2: Opening the Door: Business, Diplomacy, and America's Stake in Middle East Oil," <i>American Orientalism</i>, 43-76, 34pp. *</li> <li>• Robert Vitalis, "Black Gold, White Crude: An Essay on American Exceptionalism, Hierarchy and Hegemony in the Gulf," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2002), 29pp.</li> <li>• Maurice JR. Labelle, "'The Only Thorn': Early Saudi-American Relations and the Question of Palestine, 1945-1949," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2011), 26pp.</li> </ul> <p><u>Background:</u> James Gelvin, "Chapter 16: Oil," <i>Modern Middle East</i>, 247-256, 10pp.</p>
5. (11 Sep)	<b>Students' Union Day. No Class.</b>	
6. (18 Sep)	The US and Arab Nationalism through the Cold War and Beyond	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Douglas Little, "Chapter 5: Sympathy for the Devil?: America, Nasser, and Arab Revolutionary Nationalism," <i>American Orientalism</i>, 157-192, 36pp.*</li> <li>• Nathan Citino, "The 'crush' of ideologies: The United States, the Arab world, and Cold War modernization," <i>Cold War History</i> (2012), 23pp.</li> <li>• Salim Yaqub, "Imperious Doctrines: US-Arab Relations from Dwight Eisenhower to George W. Bush," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2002), 21pp.</li> </ul> <p><u>Article provided:</u> Peter Hahn, "Securing the Middle East: The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957," <i>Presidential Studies Quarterly</i> (2006), 10pp.</p> <p><b>Review Essay (hardcopy) on this topic due 25 Sep in class; electronic submission due 5:00pm via NTU Learn.</b></p>
7. (25 Sep)	America, Zionism and Israel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yaccov Bar-Siman-Tov, "The US and Israel since 1948: A Special Relationship?" <i>Diplomatic History</i> (1998), 32pp.</li> <li>• Michelle Mart, "Tough Guys and American Cold War Policy: Images of Israel, 1948-1960," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (1996), 25pp.</li> <li>• John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," <i>London Review of Books</i> (23 March 2006), 48pp.</li> <li>• Rammy Haija, "The Armageddon Lobby: Dispensationalist Christian Zionism and the shaping of</li> </ul>

		<p>US Policy toward Israel-Palestine," <i>Holy Land Studies</i> (2006), 21pp.</p> <p><u>Article provided:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Doug Rossinow, "'The Edge of the Abyss': The Origins of the Israel Lobby, 1949-1954" <i>Modern American History</i> (2018), 20pp.</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;">OR</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tony Shaw and Giora Goodman, "Hollywood's Raid on Entebbe: Behind the Scenes of the United States-Israel Alliance," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2017), 23pp.</li> </ul> <p><b>Review Essay on this topic due 2 Oct (5:00 pm), <u>two electronic submissions via NTU Learn and by email to instructor</u>. No hardcopy required.</b></p>
<b>Mid-Semester Recess</b>		
8. (9 Oct)	Al-Nakba, Palestine and Reordering the Middle East Crisis in the 1970s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ilan Pappé, "The 1948 Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine," <i>Journal of Palestine Studies</i> (2006), 15pp.</li> <li>• Paul Chamberlin, "Schonau and the Eagles of the Palestinian Revolution: Refugees, Guerrillas, and Human Rights in the Global 1970s," <i>Cold War History</i> (2012), 21pp.</li> <li>• Rema Hammami and Salim Tamari, "The Second Uprising: End or New Beginning?" <i>Journal of Palestine Studies</i> (2001), 20pp.</li> </ul>
<b>NOTE: Narrative Essay due on 9 Oct: hardcopy in class (9:30am) and electronic submission via NTU Learn (5:00pm)</b>		
9. (16 Oct)	America and the Gulf: Iran and Iraq	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hugh Wilford, "Essentially a Work of Fiction: Kermit 'Kit' Roosevelt, Imperial Romance and the Iran Coup of 1953," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2016), 27 pp.</li> <li>• Mattin Biglari, "'Captive to the Demonology of the Iranian Mobs': US Foreign Policy and Perceptions of Shi'a Islam during the Iranian Revolution, 1978-79," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2016), 28pp.</li> <li>• Hal Brands and David Palkki, "'Conspiring Bastards': Saddam Hussein's Strategic View of the United States," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2012), 36pp.</li> </ul> <p><u>Article provided:</u> Andrew Warne, "Psychoanalyzing Iran: Kennedy's Iran Task Force and the Modernization of Orientalism, 1961-3," <i>International History Review</i> (2013), 19pp.</p> <p><u>Background (Optional):</u> Douglas Little, "Chapter 6: Modernizing the Middle East: From Reform to Revolution in Iraq, Libya and Iran," <i>American Orientalism</i>, 193-227, 35pp.*</p> <p><b>Review Essay due 23 Oct, hardcopy in class (9:30 am) and electronic submission via NTU Learn (5:00 pm)</b></p>

<p>10. (23 Oct)</p>	<p>Peace Process</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Douglas Little, "Chapter 8: Opportunities Lost and Found: The United States and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process," <i>American Orientalism</i>, 267-306, 40pp.*</li> <li>• Craig Daigle, "Beyond Camp David: Jimmy Carter, Palestinian Self-Determination, and Human Rights," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2018), 29pp.</li> <li>• Adam Hanieh, "The Oslo Illusion," <i>Jacobin</i> (April 2013), 7pp.</li> </ul> <p><u>Article provided:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• David Samuels, "In a Ruined Country: How Arafat destroyed Palestine," <i>The Atlantic</i> (September 2005), 24pp.</li> </ul> <p><b>Review Essay due 30 Oct, hardcopy in class (9:30am) and electronic submission via NTU Learn (5:00 pm).</b></p>
<p>11. (30 Oct)</p>	<p>9/11 and After</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ussama Makdisi, "'Anti-Americanism' in the Arab World: An Interpretation of a Brief History," <i>Journal of American History</i> (2002), 538-557, 20pp.</li> <li>• Irene Gendzier, "Invisible by Design: US Policy in the Middle East," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2002), 25pp.</li> <li>• Melvyn Leffler, "9/11 and American Foreign Policy," <i>Diplomatic History</i> (2005), 19pp.</li> <li>• Mary Ann Tetreault, "The Sexual Politics of Abu Ghraib: Hegemony, Spectacle, and the Global War on Terror," <i>NWSA Journal</i> (now <i>Feminist Formations</i>), 2006, 18pp.</li> </ul> <p><u>Background:</u> Douglas Little, "Chapter 9: Not Your Father's Persian Gulf War: The Bush Doctrine, Iraq and Radical Islam," <i>American Orientalism</i>, 307-342, 36pp.*</p>
<p>12. (6 Nov)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Deepavali Public Holiday. No Class.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Recommendations (Final Paper) should be circulated by 7 November (Wednesday), 12:00pm.</b></p>	
<p>13. (13 Nov)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Group Presentations for Final Project/ Discussion / Review</b></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Final Project Essay, Due 27 November 2018, 12:00 PM</u></b> <b>(via Turnitin and Hardcopy to instructor's mailbox, HSS 5<sup>th</sup> Floor)</b></p>		

**Course Policies and Student Responsibilities**

**General**

Students are expected to complete all assigned pre-class readings and activities, attend all lectures and tutorials punctually and submit all scheduled assignments by due dates. Students are expected to take responsibility to follow up with course notes, assignments and course related announcements for sessions they have missed. Students are expected to participate in all tutorial discussions.

**Absenteeism**

This course requires you to be in class to contribute to discussions and team presentations. These

in-class activities make up a significant portion of your course grade. Absence from class without a valid reason will affect your overall course grade. Valid reasons include either falling sick supported by a medical certificate, or participation in NTU's approved activities supported by an excuse letter from the relevant bodies. There will be no make-up opportunities for team presentations.

### **Late Policy**

Late written work will be penalized. The penalty is active once the piece is 1 hour late. At this point, the essay will immediately lose one letter grade. Following, the essay will be docked a letter grade for each day (i.e. 24 hours) it remains overdue. For example, an essay that is 2 days late that should have scored an A (if it had been on time), will receive no higher than a C grade. Extensions may be granted in some special cases, but not within one week of the deadline.

### **Plagiarism and Cheating**

Universities consider using the works of others without properly acknowledging that use (that is, copying) to be "cheating." In this course, such behavior will result in a score of zero on the assignment in question. In accordance with school policy, I will also report egregious cases to the university to be placed on record in your academic file. Learn how to cite the work of others properly. If in doubt, ask.

### **Academic Integrity**

Good academic work depends on honesty and ethical behaviour. The quality of your work as a student relies on adhering to the principles of academic integrity and to the NTU Honour Code, a set of values shared by the whole university community. Truth, Trust and Justice are at the core of NTU's shared values.

As a student, it is important that you recognize your responsibilities in understanding and applying the principles of academic integrity in all the work you do at NTU. Not knowing what is involved in maintaining academic integrity does not excuse academic dishonesty. You need to actively equip yourself with strategies to avoid all forms of academic dishonesty, including plagiarism, academic fraud, collusion and cheating. If you are uncertain of the definitions of any of these terms, you should go to the academic integrity website (<http://www.ntu.edu.sg/ai/Pages/academic-integrity-policy.aspx>) for more information. Consult your instructor(s) if you need any clarification about the requirements of academic integrity in the course.