

The United States and the Middle East

INAF 243
School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University
Spring 2011

Instructor: Samer Shehata
Class Meetings: Mondays 12:15-2:05
Location: New South M 34C
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This course is an introduction to the historical and contemporary relationship between the United States and the Middle East from the nineteenth century until the present, with a concentration on the period since 1945. The course will focus on the political and economic aspects of US-Middle East relations but will also consider the cultural and social dimensions of this interaction. No previous study of the Middle East or US foreign policy is required. As an introductory survey course covering more than sixty years and a complex relationship, however, this course cannot hope to be comprehensive.

Throughout the semester we will address a number of subjects including: early American encounters in the Middle East in the nineteenth century; U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East since 1945; the Cold War and its impact on the Middle East; how US “interests” in the region have been defined; Oil and US foreign policy; the Arab-Israeli conflict and the U.S. role in this conflict; wars, social movements, and revolution in the Middle East; the domestic politics of the Middle East (with particular attention to authoritarian politics and its possible consequences for the US); the US relationship with Iran from the 1950s until the present; Afghanistan (1979-present); Iraq (1980-present, including three Gulf Wars, and the 2003 invasion of Iraq); terrorism (including definitions of terrorism); terrorist networks and Al-Qa‘eda; the September 11 attacks and the “war on terrorism”; representations of the Middle East in the United States; and the current and continuing deep involvement of the United States in this region.

In addition to lectures by Professor Shehata, a number of guest speakers will lecture on topics in which they have particular expertise. In previous semesters distinguished guest speakers from Georgetown and elsewhere have spoken about U.S. understandings of terrorism; the importance of Middle Eastern oil and gas for the United States; the Arab-Israeli conflict; Osama Bin Laden and the Al-Qa‘eda organization; Iran; Homeland Security issues; and other subjects.

Throughout the course, students will be asked to reflect on a number of major policy questions including: What have been the guiding concerns of US foreign policy toward the region? How

have US national security interests be defined? Has US policy toward the Middle East changed over time? Why was the US attacked on September 11, 2001? What kind of entity is Al Qaeda? Has the “war on terrorism” been successful? Has the US-led regime change in Iraq affected the terrorism threat?

Course Goals: The course is intended to provide students with a critical understanding of the history of US-Middle East relations that go beyond commonly held assumptions and media headlines. At the end of the course students should have a basic historical knowledge of some of the major events in the Middle East over the last sixty years and how they have impacted (and been impacted by) US foreign policy. Students will also gain familiarity with a number of the most important issues, conflicts, and fault lines in the region and learn about and evaluate some of the major theories concerning the character of US relations with the Middle East during this period, how US national security interests have been defined, definitions of terrorism, why the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001, and US foreign policy in the region since 9/11, including the most effective ways for the US to combat terrorism. The course is also intended to provide students with a sense of how the US and American foreign policy have been viewed (differently and in multiple ways) by people in the Middle East. Class discussions are intended to allow students to express their ideas intelligently and persuasively. Examinations are intended to allow students to synthesize and independently assess the material presented and formulate their own critical opinions -- in addition to evaluating students’ historical and factual knowledge of the material presented in class.

This course will also prepare you to take more advanced courses in the modern history and politics of the region, US foreign policy toward the Middle East, and other related subjects. It will enable you to be a more informed, knowledgeable consumer of news, information, and opinion about both the Middle East and US policy toward this important region of the world.

Readings: Four books will be available for purchase at the Georgetown University bookstore or through Amazon. Readings that are not in these books will be available through *Blackboard*. There are also a number of readings that are available on the internet. These readings include their web (www) locations beside them. **Please also note that additional web resources and supplementary readings will be posted on *Blackboard*. **

Course Requirements: A) *attendance and active participation in class discussion are absolutely essential. This course combines lecture and discussion and therefore, all students are required to come to class having read the assigned readings and be prepared to discuss them;* B) follow Middle East/US-Middle East news (see below); C) one midterm C) map quiz; D) two film reaction papers; E) a final exam.

Films: You will be required to view two films listed on the syllabus and write two-page *reaction* papers to these films (Many of these films are located in the Geraldine Media Center on the first floor of Lauinger Library). Reaction papers are *not* summaries of the films but your *critical analysis and reaction* to what you viewed. (For example, was the film convincing? What evidence was used to make the argument? Was the film stylistically interesting? What could have made the film better? etc.). The due dates for film reaction papers will be announced in class.

News: Students will also be required to follow news developments *related to the Middle East* and more specifically, *US involvement with the Middle East* throughout the course of the semester. Students are required to read one of a number of different news sources each week and be prepared to engage in a general discussion about Middle East current events/US policy at the beginning of class. While I encourage you to follow multiple and diverse news sources, please follow at least one (and this can vary from week to week) of the following media outlets regarding Middle East and US-Middle East related news: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Al Jazeera*, *Ha`aretz* (Israel), *BBC*, *The National* (UAE); *Daily Star* (Lebanon); *Al Ahram Online* (Egypt), *Al Masry Al Youm English Edition* (Egypt); *Fars News Agency* (Iran), *Alarabiya*, *Hurriyet Daily News* (Turkey), *Today's Zaman* (Turkey), *Khaleej Times* (UAE), *Arab News* (Saudi Arabia), *Algeria Daily*.

Grading: attendance and participation in class discussion 20%; film reaction papers 10%; map quiz 10%; mid-term 25%; final exam 35%.

Required Books:

- Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945*, (University of North Carolina Press), Third Edition, 2008.
- Rashid Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East*, (Beacon Press), 2010.
- Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (University of California Press) 2 edition, 2005.
- Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*, Penguin, 2005.

Wednesday January 12 -- Introduction & General Overview

(Course mechanics & logistics, grading, requirements, etc.)

***Martin Luther King Jr. Day – Monday 1/17**

Monday January 24

Topic 1: Early American Encounters with the Middle East:

- Douglas Little, “Preface to the Third Edition,” “Introduction,” and Chapter 1, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945* (pp. ix – 42).
- Melani McAlister, “Introduction: Middle East Interests,” *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (pp. 1-42).

- Robert J. Allison, “Americans and the Muslim World -- First Encounters,” in D. Lesch (ed.) *The United States and the Middle East, Fourth Ed.* (Westview Press, 2007) (pp. 534-544).

Supplementary:

- Albert Hourani, ‘Part V: The Age of Nation States’ (since 1939) in *A History of the Arab Peoples* (New York: Warner Books, 1991) pp 353-458.
- Rashid Khalidi, Introduction, pp. ix-xiv and Chapter 1, “The Legacy of the Western Encounter with the Middle East,” *Resurrecting Empire* (Beacon Press: Boston) 2004, pp. 1-36).

Monday, January 31

Topic 2: US & the Middle East during the Cold War: Anti-Communism, Oil, and Politics

- Douglas Little, Chapters 2, 4, and 5 in *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945* (pp. 43 – 76; pp. 117-155; 157-192).
- Rashid Khalidi, Introduction and Chapter 2 in, *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East*, (pp. 1-39; pp. 40-69).
- Melani McAlister, “‘Benevolent Supremacy:’ The Biblical Epic at the Dawn of the American Century, 1947-1960,” *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (**SKIM pp. 43-83**).

Supplementary:

- “The Secret CIA History of the Iran Coup, 1953,” ed., by Malcolm Byrne, National Security Archive, Electronic Briefing Book No. 28, November 29, 2000 (including original documents and “CIA Clandestine Service History,” Available at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/>
- James Risen, “Secrets of History: The CIA in Iran,” *New York Times*, April 16 and June 18, 2000. (History, Analysis and Photos). Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/library/world/mideast/041600iran-cia-index.html>
- William R. Polk, Part Eight, “The U.S. And the Arab World” *The Arab World Today* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991) pp 402-492.
- Seth Tillman, “American Interests and the American Political System” in *The United States in the Middle East: Interests and Obstacles* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982) pp 43-72.
- Rashid Khalidi, Chapter 3 ‘The Middle East: Geostrategy and Oil,’ *Resurrecting Empire* (Beacon Press: Boston) 2004, pp.74-117.
- “U.S. Propaganda in the Middle East: The Early Cold War Version,” Joyce Battle, ed., National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 78, December 13, 2002: Available at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB78/essay.htm>

Recommended Film - *Anatomy of a Coup: The CIA in Iran*

Monday February 7

Topic 3: The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the United States

Guest Speaker: Professor Jack Ruedy

- Mark Tessler, “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” in *The Middle East*, ed., Ellen Lust (Washington DC; CQ Press), (Twelfth Edition) 2011, pp. 238-313.
- Douglass Little, Chapter 3 and 8 in *American Orientalism* (pp. 77-117; pp. 267-306).
- Melani McAlister, “The Good Fight: Israel After Vietnam, 1972-1980,” *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (pp. 155-197).
- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby,” *London Review of Books*, volume 28, No. 6, March 2006. Available at: <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>

Supplementary:

- Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, (4th edition) Chapter 4, 5, and 6.
- William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967*: Revised edition (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution; Berkeley: University of California, 2001) Chapters 1, 12-13.
- Edward W. Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Times Books, 1979) Chapter 1.
- Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire* (Beacon Press: Boston) 2004, Chapter 4, “The United States and Palestine,” pp. 118-151.
- Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, “Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors,” *The New York Review of Books*, August 9, 2001
Available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14380>
- Denis Ross, Gidi Grinstein, Reply by Hussein Agha, Robert Malley, “Camp David: An Exchange,” (In Response to ‘Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors,’) “Camp David: An Exchange,” *The New York Review of Books*, September 20, 2001.
Available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14529>
- Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, “Camp David and After: An Exchange – A Reply to Ehud Barak,” *New York Review of Books*, June 13, 2002
Available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14380>
- Benny Morris and Ehud Barak, Reply by Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, ‘Camp David and After Continued,’ *New York Review of Books*, June 27, 2002.
Available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/15540>
- Walid Khalidi, *Before their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876-1948* (Institute for Palestine Studies) 1984.

-Film: Frontline Episode: *Shattered Dreams of Piece: the Road from Oslo* (2002)

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/oslo/>

-Film: Frontline Episode: *The Siege of Bethlehem*: inside the secret negotiations, strategies and maneuvers between the Israelis and Palestinians during the deadly 38-day standoff at the church of the Nativity (2002). <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/siege/>

-Film: Frontline Episode: *Battle for the Holy Land* (2002)

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/holy/>

Monday February 14

Topic 4: Oil & Gas in the Arabian/Persian Gulf and American Interests

Guest Speaker: Professor Jean Francois Seznec

- Daniel Yergin, “Oil: The Strategic Prize,” in Micah L. Sifry and Christopher Cerf, eds., *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (Times Books), 1991, pp. 21- 26.
- F. Gregory Gause III, “From ‘Over the Horizon’ to ‘Into the Backyard:’ The US-Saudi Relationship in the Gulf,” in David W. Lesch, ed., *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment* (Boulder: Westview) Fourth Edition (pp. 380-393).
- TBA

***Monday February 21 – President’s Day**

MID TERM -- Monday February 28 --

***Monday March 7 – SPRING BREAK**

Monday March 14

Topic 5: Gulf Wars I & II & the Sanctions Regime

- Gary Sick, “The United States in the Persian Gulf; From Twin Pillars to Dual Containment,” in David W. Lesch, ed., *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment* (Boulder: Westview) Fourth Edition (pp. 315-331)
- Wikileaks, “Saddam’s Message of Friendship to President Bush,” Created 7.25.1990. Available at: <http://213.251.145.96/cable/1990/07/90BAGHDAD4237.html>
- Douglas Little, Chapter 7, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945*, (University of North Carolina Press), Third Edition, 2008 (especially pp. 252-266).
- Melani McAlister, “Military Multiculturalism in the Gulf War and After, 1990-1999,” *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (Chapter 7, pp. 235-265).
- TBA (*The Sanctions Regime Against Iraq*)

Highly Recommended Films:

-Film: *The Gulf War* (1996) (Frontline)

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/>

-Film: *The War behind Closed Doors: a Defining Moment at the Gulf War’s End* (Frontline, 2003)

Film: *Spying on Saddam* (Frontline) (VHS 5802 in library)

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/unscom/>

-Film: *Survival of Saddam* (Frontline) (VHS 5810 in library)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saddam/>

Highly Recommended Feature Film:

Feature Film: *Three Kings* (1999) (Written and directed by David O. Russell. Based on a story by John Ridley) Starring: George Clooney, Mark Wahlberg, Ice Cube, Spike Jonze, Nora Dunn. 115 minutes; Rated R.

Supplementary:

- Rosemary Said Zahlan, “The Impact of US Policy on the Stability of the Gulf States: A Historian’s View,” Ch. 20 in Joseph Kechichian (ed.), *Iran, Iraq and the Gulf States* (Palgrave, 2001), pp. 351-65.
- Geoffrey Kemp and Robert Harkavy, *Strategic Geography and the Changing Middle East* (Carnegie: 1997), Ch. 2, “Strategic Access and Middle East Resources: Lessons from History,” pp. 25-63.
- Gary Sick and Lawrence Potter (eds), *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997) Chapter 1 (Sick) “Coming Crisis in the Persian Gulf”; Chapter 2 (Herrmann and Ayrew) “The New Geo-Politics of the Gulf” and Chapter 3 (Gause) “The Political Economy of National Security in the GCC States.”

March 21

Topic 6: Authoritarian Politics in the Middle East and US Policy

- Rashid Khalidi, Chapter 5, “The Cold War and the Undermining of Democracy,” *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East*, (pp. 159-200).
- Larry Diamond, “Why Are There No Arab Democracies?” *Journal of Democracy*, January 2010, volume 21, number 1, pp. 93-104. Available here: <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Diamond-21-1.pdf>
- Marina Ottaway and Thomas Carothers, “Think Again: Middle East Democracy,” *Foreign Policy*, November/December 2004. Available on *Blackbaord*.
- Joyce Battle, “Shaking Hands with Saddam Hussein: The US Tilts Toward Iraq 1980-1984,” *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book*, No. 82.
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB82/>
- 2 Selections from **WikiLeaks** including: --
<http://213.251.145.96/cable/2009/07/09TUNIS516.html> [“Tunisia: Dinner with Sakher El Materi”]
<http://213.251.145.96/cable/2008/06/08TUNIS679.html> [“Corruption in Tunisia: What’s Yours is Mine”]

Recommended as a case study:

Sean L. Yom and Mohammad H. Al-Momani, “The International Dimensions of Authoritarian Regime Stability: Jordan in the Post-Cold War,” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, winter 2008; 30; 1; pp. 39-60.

Supplementary:

- Rashid Khalidi, “America, the West, and Democracy in the Middle East,” in *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East* (Beacon Press), 2004, Chapter 2, pp. 37-73.
- Chapter 7, *Arab Human Development Report 2002* (UNDP). (178 pp.)
<http://www.arab-hdr.org/publications/other/ahdr/ahdr2002e.pdf>
- Michael C. Hudson, “Obstacles to Democratization in the Middle East” *Contention* (Winter 1996).

Film: *Looking for Answers* (Frontline) 2001.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/terrorism/>

March 28

Topic 7: September 11, 2001, Al Qaeda & the “War on Terrorism”

- Al Qaeda
- Terrorism
- Quintan Wiktorowicz and John Kaltner, “Killing in the Name of Islam: Al-Qaeda’s Justification for September 11,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. X, No. 2, Summer 2003.
<http://www.e-prism.org/images/killing%20in%20the%20name%20of%20islam.pdf>
- President George W. Bush, “Statement by the President in his address to the Nation,” September 11, 2001
Available at: <http://www.opm.gov/guidance/09-11-01GWB.htm>
- Statements by Osama bin Laden on October 7, 2001
Available at: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/terrorism/international/binladen_10-7.html
- Osama Bin Laden’s “Letter to America,” November 24, 2002: Available at:
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/nov/24/theobserver>
- “Executive Summary,” *The 9/11 Commission Report* (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States) Available at: Available at:
http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/911Report_Exec.pdf
- Jane Mayer, “Outsourcing Torture: the Secret History of America’s “extraordinary rendition” program,” *New Yorker*, February 14, 2005. Available at:
http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2005/02/14/050214fa_fact6?currentPage=all

Supplementary:

- Ahmed Rashid, “Osama Bin Laden: How the U.S. Helped Midwife a Terrorist,” September 13, 2001, *The Center for Public Integrity*
Available at: <http://www.publicintegrity.org/articles/entry/448/>
- Michael Doran, “Somebody Else’s Civil War,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2002) pp. 22-42)
- **Film:** Target America (Frontline) (VHS 5813 in library)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/>
- **Film:** Hunting Bin Laden (Frontline) 1999/2001.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/>
- **Film:** Trail of a Terrorist (Frontline) 2001.

- <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/trail/>
- **Film:** In Search of Al Qaeda (Frontline) 2002
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/search/>
 - **Film:** Saudi Time Bomb (Frontline) 2001.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/>
 - **Film:** Looking for Answers (Frontline) 2001.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/terrorism/>
 - **Film:** Campaign Against Terror: one year later, the behind the scenes story of how the U.S. and world responded to the Sept. 11th terrorist attacks (Frontline) 2002.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/campaign/>
 - **Film:** *Gunning For Saddam: Should Saddam Hussein be America's next target in the war on terrorism?* (Frontline)
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/gunning/>

April 4

Topic 8: Afghanistan

- Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*, Penguin, 2005. (The Penguin Press)
- US-Afghan Timeline: <http://www.inthesetimes.com/issue/25/25/timeline.shtml>

Supplementary:

- John Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism* London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2000).
- Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (Yale University Press, 2001).
- Barnett R. Rubin, 'Arab Islamists in Afghanistan,' in John Esposito (ed.), *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform?* (Lynne Rienner, 1997) pp. 179-206.
- Jennifer Skalka, "Silent Stars," *Washingtonian*, January 2011, Available at: <http://www.washingtonian.com/print/articles/6/0/17683.html>
- Robert Baer, "A Dagger to the CIA," *GQ*, April 2010. <http://www.gq.com/news-politics/politics/201004/dagger-to-the-cia?printable=true>

Films (Frontline):

Return of the Taliban (2006)

The War Briefing (2008)

Obama's War (2009)

Behind Taliban Lines (2010)

April 11

Topic 9: The 2003 Iraq War & Aftermath

- Abbas Kadhim, "Opting for the lesser Evil: US Foreign Policy toward Iraq, 1958-2008," in Robert E. Looney, ed., *Handbook of US-Middle East Relations* (Routledge) 2009, pp. 467-483. (Blackboard)
- Steve A. Yetiv, "The Iraq War of 2003: Why Did the United States Decide to Invade?" in D. Lesch (ed.) *The United States and the Middle East, Fourth Ed.* (Westview Press, 2007) (pp. 394-411). (Blackboard)
- George W. Bush, State of the Union Address, 2002. Available at: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>
- George Bush, President Bush Discusses Freedom in Iraq and the Middle East, Remarks by the President at the 20th Anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy, November 6, 2003.
- Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (Penguin) 2006, *Selections* (especially chapters 4, 5, and 7).
- Samer Shehata, "Streets of Fear," *Salon* (November 12, 2003) Available at: <http://www.salon.com/news/opinion/feature/2003/11/12/fear/index.html>
- "Losing Hearts and Minds: Understanding America's Failure in Iraq" in *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Winter/Spring 2005, Available at: http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/geojaf6&div=15&g_sent=1&collection=journals
- Seymour Hersh, "Torture at Abu Ghraib." *The New Yorker*, May 10, 2004. Available at: http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2004/05/10/040510fa_fact?currentPage=all

Supplementary:

- Colin Powell's address to the UN Security Council, February 5, 2003. Available at: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030205-1.html>
- Jeffrey Richelson, ed., "Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction," National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 80, February 11, 2004, Available at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB80/>
- Robert A. Pape, *Dying to Win. The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House) 2005, pp. 8-24.
- Jeremy Scahill, *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army* (Nation Books: 2007).
- Samer Shehata, Testimony before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations, Committee on Government Reform (June 15, 2004). Hearing entitled: "Iraq: Winning Hearts and Minds." Available at: https://digitalcommons.georgetown.edu/blogs/samershehata/files/shehata_testimony-jun04.pdf
- Seymour Hersh, "The Gray Zone: How a Secret Pentagon Program Came to Abu Ghraib." *The New Yorker*, May 24, 2004.
- "Introduction: The Abu Ghraib Files," *Salon*, March 14, 2006. [*Please note that some of these photos are extremely disturbing. You are not required to view them*].
- Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied* (New York: Columbia University Press) 2003, preface and conclusion.
- Phebe Marr, *The Modern History of Iraq* (2nd ed., 2004), esp. chapter. 10.
- Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq* (Cambridge Univ. Press) 200. Especially chapter 6.

Films:

The Fog of War: Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara (2003)

Bush's War (Frontline, 2008)

Endgame (Frontline, 2007)

Gangs of Iraq (Frontline, 2007)

Private Warriors (Frontline, 2005)

Rumsfeld's War (Frontline, 2004)

Truth, War and Consequences (Frontline, 2003)

The Hurt Locker (commercial film, 2008)

April 18

Topic 10: US-Iranian Relations; Iran in the Region & Nuclear Issues

- Manouchehr Dorraj and Hamid Zangeneh, "Missed Opportunities and Political Blunders: the tale of US-Iran relations," in Robert E. Looney, ed., *Handbook of US-Middle East Relations* (Routledge) 2009, pp. 484-501. (Blackboard)
- Selections from *The Iran Primer* (U.S. Institute for Peace), December 2010. Please read the chapters by Robin Wright, Daniel Brumberg, Abbas Milani, Suzanne Maloney, Patrick Clawson, Albright/Sticker, Shahram Chubin, Kenneth Pollack, Gary Sick, Geoffrey Kemp, Richard N. Haass, Bruce O. Riedel, Stephen J. Hadley, John Limbert
****Available at: <http://iranprimer.usip.org/>**
- **Wikileaks Cable:** "SAUDI KING ABDULLAH AND SENIOR PRINCES ON SAUDI POLICY TOWARD IRAQ," – the section (10) entitled "The Need to Resist Iran"
****Available at: <http://213.251.145.96/cable/2008/04/08RIYADH649.html>**
- **Wikileaks Cable:** "SCENESETTER FOR REQUESTED EGYPTIAN FM ABOUL GHEIT MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY," – the section (10) entitled "Iraq and Iran."
****Available at: <http://213.251.145.96/cable/2009/02/09CAIRO231.html>**

Supplementary:

Film: *Terror and Tehran: Does America's War on Terror Hold Democracy Hostage in Iran?* (Frontline)

Film: *Showdown with Iran* (Frontline, 2007)

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/tehran/>

Film: *A Death in Tehran* (Frontline 2009)

April 25 – Easter Break

Monday May 2

Topic 11: The United States, the Middle East & "Muslim World"

- Melani McAlister, "Conclusion: 9/11 and After: Snapshots on the Road to Empire," *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (Chapter 7, pp. 266-307).
- Douglas Little, "Not Your Father's Persian Gulf War: the Bush Doctrine, Iraq and Radical Islam," in *American Orientalism* (Chapter 9, pp. 307-342).
- Barrack Obama, Speech in Cairo, "A New Beginning" June 4, 2009. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/04/us/politics/04obama.text.html>
-Video available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/NewBeginning/>
- TBA

Supplementary:

- Michael C. Hudson 'To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of U.S. Policy Toward the Middle East' *Middle East Journal* 50:3 (Summer 1996).
- Usama Makdisi, "Anti-Americanism in the Arab World: an Interpretation of a Brief History," *Journal of American History* 89:2 (Sept 02), 538-57.
<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/89.2/makdisi.html>

Film: *'In My Own Skin: the complexity of living as an Arab American in America'* (by Jennifer Jajeh & Nikki Byrd). This short independently made documentary examines what it is like to be an Arab in New York City after 9/11 (available in the library).

Film: *Brothers and Others* (Arab Film Distribution)

Film: *Muslims* (Frontline) 2002

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/muslims/>

FINAL EXAM on Registrar's Scheduled Exam Date