

University of Miami  
Department of Political Science  
**America and the Middle East**

Roles, Rules, Relationships

Dr. Bradford R. McGuinn  
Politics 348  
Spring 2010

**Description**

This course takes up America's eventful relationship with the Middle East. So much at the center of America's role in the world, so central to its domestic politics, the greater Middle East has a special claim to our attention. Three broad themes are engaged in this course. The first investigates the *roles* played by the ensemble of actors involved in the conceptualization, formulation and execution of American policy. The second examines the *rules*, the global and regional forces that have shaped the evolution of America's involvement in this area. Finally, consideration is given to the texture of the complex *relationships* between the United States and the Middle East. Here an opportunity is afforded to investigate questions of regional political change, peace processes, security relationships and commercial interactions.

**Office Hours**

The office is located on the third floor of the Jenkins Building, 314S. Regular office hours are kept between 10:30 and 12:00 on Mondays and Wednesdays. Additional meeting times can be made by appointment and communication is possible at [bmcguinn@miami.edu](mailto:bmcguinn@miami.edu). Also, please check the blackboard before *each class session* for procedural and substantive information as the course goes along.

**Readings**

Michael Oren, [MO] *Power, Faith and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present*, 2007

Selected Articles [Available on Blackboard]

**Grading**

Mid-Term Assignment: 25%

Analytical Essay: 35%

Final Examination: 35%

Attendance and Participation: 5%

### **Analytical Essay**

An *analytical* essay of 10-12 pages on the subject of interest to the students will be shaped by a framework to be discussed in class. The purpose paper will be to offer *explanations* as opposed to descriptions or opinions. This is a difficult undertaking and requires engaging the substance of the paper topic in a vigorous fashion early in the semester. As the paper should adhere to the conventions of academic composition, more than a nodding acquaintance with Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* is to be desired.

### **Mid-Term Assignment**

The assignment will consist of several questions derived from the readings and lectures.

### **Final Examination**

The final will be comprised of identification, short-answer and essay components. Please consult the university schedule for day and time.

### **Rules of Order**

This class is meant to be a very positive academic experience. To make best use of it regular attendance is essential. The material necessary for the examinations and the frameworks for the papers will be presented in class. There will be little time during the semester to review or make up for lost time. A deduction of half a letter grade will accompany late papers for each day beyond the agreed upon deadline. Plagiarism is a violation of University ethics policy and various copyright laws. Such behavior is also a notorious sign of bad manners. Much the same can be said about late arrivals, early departures and the use of telecommunications devices in class. Enough said.

## **Course Outline**

### *Preface ...Obama's Way*

#### Readings

MO, Prologue: "A Passage to Glory"

Barack Obama, "My Plan for Iraq", *The New York Times*, 14 July 2008.

Fouad Ajami, "Obama's Persian Tutorial," *The Wall Street Journal*, 22 June 2009.

"Obama's Speech in Cairo," *The New York Times*, 4 July 2009.

"Obama's Speech on Al-Qaeda," *The New York Times*, 7 October 2009.

"Obama's Address on War in Afghanistan," *The New York Times*, 2 December 2009.

"Obama's Nobel Remarks," *The New York Times*, 11 December 2009.

David Brooks, "Obama's Christian Realism," *The New York Times*, 15 December 2009.

Robert D. Kaplan, "Be Like Reagan," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 16 January 2010.

## Introduction ...*scripting the relationship*

*September ... "we, they, us"*

*Knowers ...orientalism and its critics*

*Constructs ...abstracting American foreign and security policy*

### Readings

MO, Introduction: "Recovering a Pivotal Past"

MO, Part One: "Early America Encounters the Middle East"

Lisa Anderson, "Shock and Awe: Interpretations of the Events of September 11," *World Politics*, 56 (January 2004): 303-325.

Nikki R. Keddie, "Is There a Middle East?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, V. 4, N. 3 (July 1973): 255-271.

Sabry Hafez, "Edward Said's Intellectual Legacy in the Arab World," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, V. 33, N. 3 (Spring 2004): 76-90.

Hedley Bull, "Kissinger: The Primacy of Geopolitics," *International Affairs*, V. 56, N. 3 (Summer 1980): 484-487.

Michael C. Williams, "Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, V. 58, N. 4 (Autumn 2004): 633-665.

### Suggested

Jeffrey Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics*, 50, 2, 1988.

Zachary Lockman, "Critique from the Right: The Neo-Conservative Assault on Middle East Studies," *The New Centennial Review*, 5, 1, 2005.

## I. Roles ...*actors and their parts*

*The Missionary ...visions, values and the normative dimension*

*The Advocate ...statecraft, process and the diplomatic dimension*

*The Soldier ...force, the civil-military balance and the security dimension*

*The Merchant ...commerce, investment and the economic dimension*

### Readings

MO, Part Two: "The Middle East and Antebellum America"

MO, Part Three: "The Civil War and Reconstruction"

John P. Roche, "The Passing of the 'Class of 1941'," *National Review*, 19 October 1984.

Ruth R. Wisse, "The New York (Jewish) Intellectuals," *Commentary*, November 1987.

Campbell Craig, "The New Meaning of Modern War in the Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, V. 53, N. 4 (October-December 1992): 687-701.

Charles Kupchan and Peter L. Trubowitz, "Dead Center: The Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States," *International Security*, V. 32, N. 2 (Fall 2007): 7-44.

Jonathan Monten, "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy," *International Security*, 29, 4., Spring 2005.

### Suggested

Robert Jervis, "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly*, V. 118, N. 3 (Fall 2003): 365-388.

Jack Snyder, Robert Y. Shapiro and Yaeli Bloch-Elkon, "Free Hand Abroad, Divide and Rule at Home," *World Politics*, V. 61, N. 1 (January 2009): 155-187.

## II. Rules ...*structure and stagecraft*

*Ascendancy ...and the rise of American power*

*Great Power ...and the age of Empire*

*Super Power ...and the era of Cold War*

### Readings

MO, Part Four: "The Age of Imperialism"

MO, Part Five: "America, The Middle East, and the Great War"

Elie Kedourie, "The End of the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Contemporary History*, V. 3, N. 4 (1968).

David Fromkin, "How the Modern Middle East Map Came to Be Drawn," *The Smithsonian* (Fall 1990).

William Roger Louis, "American Anti-Colonialism and the Dissolution of the British Empire,"

*International Affairs*, V. 61, N. 3 (Summer 1985): 395-420.

Robert Frazier, "Kennan, 'Universalism,' and the Truman Doctrine," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, V. 11, N. 2 (Spring 2009): 3-34.

## III. Relationships ...*theaters of engagement*

*The Missionaries ...and the question of governance*

### Readings

MO, Part Six: "Oil, War, and Ascendancy"

Amory H. Bradford, "The Missionary Outlook," *The Biblical World*, V. 13, N. 2 (February 1899): 79-87.

Michelle Tusan, "The Business of Relief Work: A Victorian Quaker in Constantinople and Her Circle," *Victorian Studies*, V. 51, N. 4 (Summer 2009): 633-662.

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics," *Comparative Politics*, V. 3, N. 3 (April 1971): 283-322.

Jason Brownlee, "Can America Nation-Build?" *World Politics*, 59 (January 2007): 314-340.

Jason Brownlee, "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies," *World Politics*, 59, (July 2007): 595-628.

Kenneth Pollack and Michael O'Hanlon, "Iraq's Ban on Democracy," *The New York Times*, 18 January 2010.

*The Advocates ...and the question of statecraft*

### Readings

MO, Part Seven: "In Search of Pax Americana"

Robert D. Kaplan, "Tales from the Bazaar," *The Atlantic Monthly*, August 1992.

Richard B. Parker, Rev. Robert D. Kaplan, "The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 24, 1, Autumn 1994.  
Yossi Shain, "The Role of Diasporas in Conflict Perpetuation or Resolution," *SAIS Review*, V. 22, N. 2 (Summer-Fall): 115-144.  
John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israeli Lobby," *London Review of Books*, 23 March 2006.  
Christopher Hitchens, "Overstating Jewish Power," *Slate*, 27 March 2006.  
James Traub, "The New Israel Lobby," *The New York Times*, 13 September 2009.

### *The Soldiers ...and the question of security*

#### Readings

MO, Epilogue: "A Profound and Visceral Gratitude"  
Edward M. Coffman, "The Long Shadow of The Soldier and the State," *The Journal of Military History*, V. 55, N. 1 (January 1991): 69-82.  
William Odom, "The Cold War Origins of the U.S. Central Command," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, V. 8, N. 2 (Spring 2006): 52-82.  
Steve Coll, "The General's Dilemma," *The New Yorker*, 8 September 2008.  
Seymour M. Hersh, "Defending the Arsenal," *The New Yorker*, 16 November 2009.  
James Dao, "Army History Finds Early Missteps in Afghanistan," *The New York Times*, 31 December 2009.

### *The Merchants ...and the question of commerce*

#### Readings

Caitin Talmadge, "Closing Times: Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz," *International Security*, V. 33, N. 1 (Summer 2008): 82-117.  
William D. O'Neil and Caitlin Talmadge, "Costs and Difficulties of Blocking the Strait of Hormuz," *International Security*, V. 33, N. 3 (Winter 2008): 190-198.  
Jeffrey Goldberg, "How Iran Could Save the Middle East," *The Atlantic Monthly* (July/August 2009).  
"An Iranian Nuclear Bomb, Or the Bombing of Iran?" *The Economist*, 3 December 2009.  
"Dubai Downturn Sends Ripples Throughout Arab World," *The Associated Press*, 7 January 2010.  
"How did it Come to This?" *The Economist*, 14 January 2010.

## Conclusions