

**American Foreign Policy and the Middle East:  
The Case of the Israeli-Arab/Palestinian Conflict**

GOVT070 CM-01, Undergraduate Course

Dr. Ilai Saltzman

Meeting Days and Times: Tuesday and Thursday 12:00-13:10, Kravis Center, LC 61

Office hours: Thursday 9:30-11:30, 245 Kravis (and by appointment via email)

Email: ilai.saltzman@cmc.edu

Office phone: (909) 607-3798

**Course Description:**

The course is intended to reconstruct American diplomacy in the Middle East as it unfolded during the last six decades or so with an emphasis on the Israeli-Arab/Palestinian conflicts. In addition to analyzing major issues and developments such as Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War of October 1973, the Camp David Conferences of 1978 and 2000, and the Gulf War of 1991, it will seek to integrate the Arab-Israeli framework into the broader analytical framework of such issues as alliance formation, alliance politics, and patron-client relations.

**Course Objectives**

This course aims to provide you with an in-depth understanding of major themes, historical events, and personalities in American-Israeli relations. Throughout the semester, we will discuss the nature of America's "special relationship" with Israel; U.S. arms sales and foreign aid to Israel; the roles of the "Israel lobby," the Christian Right, and public opinion; and U.S. mediation efforts in Arab-Israeli peacemaking. You will become familiar with the key players and issues, as well as with the complexities of U.S. diplomatic efforts in the Middle East. On the whole, The course is intended to provide students with the tools needed to follow with a critical eye day-to-day events in the Middle East and to gain their own perspective on what the US can, should and should not do.

**Assignments and Grading:**

1. Reading the assigned materials
2. Attendance – 10%
3. Actively participating in discussions – 10%
4. Research proposal – 15% (due march 14<sup>th</sup>)
5. Presentation in class – 15% (guidelines below)
6. Participation in simulation– 10%
7. A final paper (12-15 page) – 40% (due midnight May 9<sup>th</sup>)

**Grading Scale:**

95-100 = A, 90-94 = A-, 85-89 = B+, 80-84 = B, 75-79 = B-, 70-74 = C+, 65-69 = C, 60-64 = C-, 57-59 = D+, 52-56 = D, 50-51 = D-, 0-49 = F.

**Research Proposal**

The objective of the proposal is to provide an overview or summation of the project that will eventually evolve into the final paper. As such, the proposal should include the following sections:

1. Introduction: research question, importance/relevance, contribution and novelty, initial conclusions.
2. Literature review: what are the major works associated with the topic. Are there any general trends that you managed to identify in the literature? What are the main questions that writers often refer to when dealing with your topic? What kind of methodology will you use (single case, diachronic analysis, comparative etc.)?

3. Bibliography: items that you used for reference in the proposal and items that you intend to use in the final paper.

### **Presentation in class**

Each student will choose a topic for the presentation in consultation with me, and this can be your topic for the final paper. After coordinating the topic and schedule for the presentation, you will be in charge of preparing a 15-20 minutes presentation in class of the bibliographical items listed in the syllabus.

After the presentation, we will conduct a discussion with the presenter leading and outlining several questions to be discussed. You should try and generate good, original and provocative, and stimulating questions that will generate lively discussion. Be imaginative as you wish, and even integrate topics from different meetings.

### **Final Paper**

The final paper will be an expansion of the research proposal with the same original sections supplemented with an empirical analysis of the issue. Please come and see me at least once in order to discuss your topics. You are, of course, invited to consult me as much as you can via email or in person.

Some general remarks:

1. The paper will be 12-15 pages long (double space). Use "Times New Roman" font size 12 with an introduction, footnotes, bibliography and a cover page (please number and justify your papers).
2. You may choose any style for the references/footnotes/endnotes/bibliography, but you have to be consistent about this choice throughout the paper. You can consult the Center for Writing and Public Discourse on any content or format-related issue (see below).
3. There is no specific number of items you must use in this paper, but remember: "the more the better".
4. "Wikipedia" and all other online encyclopedias are not a legitimate source for this paper. Whenever possible, you should use scholarly items such as books, edited volumes, journals and respectable daily/weekly/monthly publications such as newspapers, magazines, etc. (see some names below under "Notes on Schedule, Reading and Topics"). When using online sources, be very critical and cautious as there is so much unreliable data on the web.

### **Classroom Code of Conduct**

In order to do well in this course, you need to attend all class sessions, do all assigned readings, actively listen to and focus on lecture material, take notes, and don't be afraid to ask questions or participate in discussions. I often times use "cold calling", i.e. calling on students regardless of whether they have raised their hands or not, in order to encourage in-class discussion, so you should be attentive and familiar with the reading materials.

As a courtesy to your fellow students and myself, please do not carry on lengthy conversations with one another in class. Texting and sleeping in class are also inappropriate, even if you do not mean either of these as a personal slight. If you intend to use a laptop during class time, please sit in the back of the class room so you will not distract other students. Laptops should be solely used for academic purposes, and not for emails, surfing the net and other non-course related activities. I may occasionally walk around the classroom so be aware that violation of this request will result in completely banning the use of laptops and similar devices.

Lastly, be courteous and respect the opinions of your classmates.

### **Plagiarism Statement (From RDS' Graduate Student Handbook)**

Plagiarism means the use of the thoughts ideas words, phrases or research of another person or source as one's own without explicit acknowledgment. In keeping with this definition, all work, whether written or oral, submitted or presented by students at the College as part of course assignments or for College sponsored extracurricular activities, must be the original work of the student unless otherwise specified by the instructor.

Cheating on examinations of any kind (quizzes, midterms, finals, etc.) includes copying another student's answers, exchanging information, using notes or books unless expressly permitted to do so by the instructor, or gaining access to examinations prior to the actual taking of such examinations. Other examples of academic dishonesty include, but are not limited to, copying or preparing another person's work; buying prepared papers; fabricating laboratory reports or experimental data; gaining unauthorized access to computer data or other privileged information; or supplying false or forged documents to a college official.

*Assisting anyone to engage in any of the violations described above qualifies as academic dishonesty.*

The faculty of Claremont McKenna College is firmly committed to upholding the highest standards of academic integrity. Each faculty member has the responsibility to report cases of academic dishonesty to the Academic Standards Committee (ASC), which has the duty of dealing with cases of alleged academic dishonesty. When informed of such a case by the instructor, the Committee receives statements and other evidence from the instructor and the student. If aspects of the facts are in dispute, the Committee, by itself or through a designated subcommittee, investigates through interviewing the instructor, the student, and any other relevant witnesses and considering other evidence. If the Committee finds that academic dishonesty has taken place, it then decides upon a punishment, such as suspension. The Committee determines the punishment after due consideration of all circumstances. Any penalty with regard to grades is the prerogative of the instructor

### **Late Submission Policy**

As a general rule, I prefer that students submit their papers on time unless they have a concrete and relevant reason (illness, family crisis etc.) that was brought to my attention as early as possible. But in order to avoid different types of plagiarism discussed in the previous section, I will accept late submission. Yet papers submitted after due date will result in a *half grade* penalty (A→A-, B→B-, etc), so contact me as early as possible in order to resolve such problems before it is too late.

### **CMC's The Center for Writing and Public Discourse**

Since you are expected to write a final research paper, you are strongly encouraged to use the superb services provided by CMC's Center for Writing and Public Discourse. The Center's highly trained student consultants can review drafts of papers at any stage of the writing process from any and all disciplines, including the Senior Thesis and class presentations. Consultants assist CMC students with issues related to argumentation, clarity of prose, and overall quality of composition. To schedule an appointment with one of the Writing Consultants, please use the following link <https://www.cmc.edu/TracWeb40/> You may also call extension 74142 to schedule an appointment. Consultations are also available on a walk-in-basis.

### **Disability Support Services**

Claremont McKenna College is committed to providing equal access to its programs, services and facilities in accordance with Section 504 of the Federal Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and Title III of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and subsequent amendments. The Dean of Students Office is responsible for coordinating disability support services for students, with other College departments assisting in the provision of accommodations for students. If you have any other questions related to Disability Support Services at Claremont McKenna College, please contact Julia Easley at 909-607-7377 or [jeasley@cmc.edu](mailto:jeasley@cmc.edu). Her office is located on the first floor of Kravis Center, Room 137.

### **General Reading**

Throughout the semester we will extensively use the following two items that can be purchased in Huntley Bookstore and online (amazon.com, half.com, etc.). They provide a comprehensive yet coherent account about American foreign policy in the Middle East.

Peter L. Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire: The United States and the Middle East since 1945* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2005).

Kylie Baxter and Shahram Akbarzadeh, *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Roots of Anti-Americanism* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

For more information on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East in general and in the context of the Israeli-Arab/Palestinian Conflict, you may also want to sneak a glimpse at the following sources as well

Aaron D. Miller, *The Much Too Promised Land: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008).

William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Washington, D.C. and Berkeley: The Brookings Institution Press and the University of California Press, 2005).

H.W. Brands, *Into the Labyrinth: The United States and the Middle East, 1945-1993* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994).

David W. Lesch (ed.) *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment*, 3<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2003).

### **Notes on Schedule, Reading and Topics**

1. I will make every effort to maintain the following schedule of readings and lecture topics. However, we may need to make changes in light of contemporary events or because we spend more time on a particular topic than I had anticipated. In case of such delay, I will make an announcement in class.
2. I uploaded, or created links to, the reading materials. It is located in our course's section in Sakai at the bottom of the page where the syllabus is also posted. All journal articles have a link to their original web location and you can access all these online sources from any on-campus computer or by using CMC's wireless network.
3. As you can clearly see, I compiled a rather lengthy syllabus but this is not designed to scare you. The items should be used for your presentations, proposals and final papers. For class, you may choose to read 4 items. You are free to choose which items to read based on length, date of publication, attractiveness etc. But I recommend reading the parts from our two textbooks (Hahn/ Baxter and Akbarzadeh) in order to get the broader understanding of the issues and supplement it with 2 other items that are more specific.
4. In addition to our readings for class, please keep up with international and regional events as we shall begin each meeting with a 10-15 minutes discussion of contemporary affairs. Please bring with you at least 2 newspaper clips. For this reasons, I suggest that you read a good daily (*The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, etc.), check out journals like *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The National Interest*, *The American Interest* and magazines such as *The New Yorker*, *The Atlantic*, *The Economist*, etc. Foreign news sources are also valuable, from the *Jerusalem Post* to *Ha'aretz* and *Al-Ahram* and excellent Middle East news outlets such as *Al-Monitor*.

### **Part 1: Conceptual and Empirical Background**

#### **January 22: Orientation and Introduction**

Roderic H. Davison, "Where Is the Middle East?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (July 1960), pp. 665-675.

Nikki R. Keddie, "Is There a Middle East?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (July 1973), pp. 255-271.

Osman Nuri Özalp, "Where is the Middle East? The Definition and Classification Problem of the Middle East as a Regional Subsystem in International Relations," *Turkish Journal of Politics*, Vol. 2 No. 2 (Winter 2011), pp. 5-21.

#### **January 24: How to Study the Israeli-Arab Conflict?**

Kenneth W. Stein "A Historiographic Review of Literature on the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *The American Historical Review*, Vol 96, No. 5 (December 1991), pp. 1450-1465.

Neil Caplan, "Zionism and the Arabs: Another Look at the 'New' Historiography", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (April 2001), pp. 345-360.

Derek Jonathan Penslar, "Innovation and Revisionism in Israeli Historiography", *History and Memory*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (June 1995), p. 125-146.

Avi Shlaim, "The Debate about 1948," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (August 1995), pp. 287-304.

Jonathan B. Isacoff, "Writing the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Historical Bias and the Use of History in Political Science," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March 2005), pp. 71-88

#### **January 29: The Origins and Dimensions of the Israeli-Arab Conflict**

Shabtai Tevet, "The Palestine Arab Refugee Problem and Its Origins: Review Article," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (April 1990), pp. 214-249.

Benny Morris, "The Harvest of 1948 and the Creation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Autumn 1986), pp. 671-685.

Sharif S. Elmusa, "The Land-Water Nexus in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Spring 1996), pp. 69-78.

Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, "Some Psychosocial and Cultural Factors in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Review of the Literature," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1972), pp. 269-280.

Yoram Bilu, "The Other as a Nightmare: The Israeli-Arab Encounter as Reflected in Children's Dreams in Israel and the West Bank," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (September 1989), pp. 365-389.

Herbert C. Kelman, "The Political Psychology of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: How Can We Overcome the Barriers to a Negotiated Solution?" *Political Psychology*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 1987), pp. 347-363.

### **January 31: The Institutional and Ideational Sources of American Foreign Policy**

Samuel P. Huntington, "American Ideals versus American Institutions," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 1-37.

George Washington, "Farewell Address, September 26 1796." Available online [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/washing.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp)

Jay, "Relations with Foreign Powers," (Federalist #4). Available online [http://www.onthewing.org/user/Pol\\_Federalist%20Papers.pdf](http://www.onthewing.org/user/Pol_Federalist%20Papers.pdf)

Ole R. Holsti, *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2004), ch. 1.

Morton H. Halperin, "The Decision to Deploy the ABM: Bureaucratic and Domestic Politics in the Johnson Administration," *World Politics*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (October 1972), pp. 62-95.

### **February 5: Should the Middle East Matter to the United States?**

Philip E. Auerswald, "The Irrelevance of the Middle East," *The American Interest*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (May/June 2007). Available online <http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=269>

Edward Luttwak, "The Middle of Nowhere," *Prospect*, May 26, 2007. Available Online <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/themiddleofnowhere/>

Ghassan Salame, "Is the Middle East Relevant?" *Columbia University* (Videotaped Lecture), April 2008. Available online <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/alliance/videos/salame.mov>

### **February 7: American Foreign Policy and the Middle East to 1948**

Baxter and Shahram Akbarzadeh, *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, ch. 1-2.

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 1-9.

Richard Ned Lebow, "Woodrow Wilson and the Balfour Declaration," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (December 1968), pp. 501-523.

"United States Position on Palestine Question," Statement by Herschel V. Johnson, United States Deputy Representative to the United Nations, October 1947. Available online <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/johnson.html>

Kermit Roosevelt, "The Partition of Palestine: A Lesson in Pressure Politics," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (January 1948), pp. 1-16.

Hans E. Segal, "Perceptions of US Policy in Israel's Pre-State Period: The Shaping of Anxiety," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (October 1988), pp. 473-489.

Michael J. Cohen, "Truman and Palestine, 1945-1948: Revisionism, Politics and Diplomacy," *Modern Judaism*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (February 1982), pp. 1-22.

### **Part 2: The Creation of the Israeli-Arab Conflict and the Emergence of the "Special Relationship"**

#### **February 12: Truman, Recognition of Israel and the Israeli-Arab Conflict**

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 22-28.

Baxter and Shahram Akbarzadeh, *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 37-45.

Lawrence Davidson, "Truman the Politician and the Establishment of Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Summer 2010), pp. 28-42.

Michael Ottolenghi, "Harry Truman's Recognition of Israel," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (December 2004), pp. 963-988.

Donald Neff, "U.S. Policy and the Palestinian Refugees," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Autumn 1988), pp. 96-111.

Kathleen Christison, "U.S. Policy and the Palestinians: Bound by a Frame of Reference," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Summer 1997), pp. 46-59.

Shlomo Slonim, "The 1948 American Embargo on Arms to Palestine," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 94, No. 3 (Autumn 1979), pp. 495-514.

Donald Neff, "Israel-Syria: Conflict at the Jordan River, 1949-1967," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Summer 1994), pp. 26-40.

#### **February 14: America, the Middle East, Imperialism and "Self-Determination"**

Zach Levey, "Israel's Quest for a Security Guarantee from the United States, 1954-1956," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1-2 (1995), pp. 43-63.

Isaac Alteras, *Eisenhower and Israel: U.S.-Israeli Relations, 1953-1960* (Gainesville FL: University Press of Florida, 1993), pp. 23-51.

John C. Campbell, "From "Doctrine" to Policy in the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (April 1957), pp. 441-453.

#### **February 19: The Suez War and American Deepening involvement in the Middle East**

Baxter and Akbarzadeh, *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 46-49

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 30-34.

David Tal, "Israel's Road to the 1956 War," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (February 1996), pp. 59-81.

Michael B. Oren, "Escalation to Suez: The Egypt-Israel Border War, 1949-56," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 1989), pp. 347-373.

Geoffrey Warner, "The United States and the Suez Crisis," *International Affairs*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (April 1991), pp. 303-317.

M. A. Fitzsimons, "The Suez Crisis and the Containment Policy," *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (October 1957), pp. 419-445.

Isaac Alteras, "Eisenhower and the Sinai Campaign of 1956: the First Major Crisis in US-Israeli Relations," in David Tal (ed.), *The 1956 War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 25-45.

Charles A. Kupchan, "American Globalism in the Middle East: The Roots of Regional Security Policy," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 103, No. 4 (Winter 1988-1989), pp. 585-611.

"Exchange of Letters- Eisenhower- Ben-Gurion- 7-8 November 1956." Available online

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Foreign+Relations/Israels+Foreign+Relations+since+1947/1947-1974/9+Exchange+of+Letters+-+Eisenhower+-+Ben-Gurion+-+7-8.htm>

### **February 21: The U.S. Confronts Arab Nationalism**

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 35-46.

Douglas Little, "His Finest Hour? Eisenhower, Lebanon, and the 1958 Middle East Crisis," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter 1996), pp. 27-.

Barry Rubin, "America and the Egyptian Revolution, 1950-1957," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 73-90.

David W. Lesch, "When the Relationship Went Sour: Syria and the Eisenhower Administration," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 1998), pp. 92-107.

Nigel John Ashton, "The Hijacking of a Pact: The Formation of the Baghdad Pact and Anglo-American Tensions in the Middle East, 1955-1958," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (April 1993), pp. 123-137

Fawaz A. Gerges, "The Kennedy Administration and the Egyptian-Saudi Conflict in Yemen: Co-Opting Arab Nationalism," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (Spring 1995), pp. 292-311.

Peter L. Hahn, "Securing the Middle East: The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (March 2006), pp. 38-47.

Abraham Ben-Zvi, *Decade of Transition: Eisenhower, Kennedy, and the Origins of the American-Israeli Alliance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 19-57.

Elie Podeh, "The Struggle over Arab Hegemony after the Suez Crisis," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Jan., 1993), pp. 91-110

### **February 26: The Emergence of U.S.-Israel "Special Relationship"**

Abraham Ben-Zvi, "Influence and Arms: John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and the Politics of Arms Sales to Israel, 1962-1966," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 10, No. 1/2 (Autumn/Winter2004), pp. 29-59.

Ethan Nadelmann, "Setting the Stage: American Policy toward the Middle East, 1961-1966," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (November 1982), pp. 435-45.

Douglas Little, "The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and Israel, 1957-68," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (November 1993), pp. 563-585.

Yaacov Bar Siman Tov, "The United States and Israel since 1948: A "Special Relationship?"" *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 231- 262.

Zach Levy, "The United States' Skyhawk Sale to Israel, 1966: Strategic Exigencies of an Arms Deal," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (April 2004), pp. 255-276.

Robert David Johnson, *Lyndon Johnson and Israel: The Secret Presidential Recordings* (Tel-Aviv: The S. Daniel Abraham Center, 2008), ch. 1. Available online [http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/abraham/publications/johnson\\_israel.pdf](http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/abraham/publications/johnson_israel.pdf)

## **Part 2: From the Israeli-Arab Conflict to the Israeli-Arab/Palestinian Conflict**

### **February 28: The Cold War in the Middle East, the Six Days War**



Baxter and Akbarzadeh, *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 49-56

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 50-55.

Johnson, *Lyndon Johnson and Israel*, ch. 2.

Moshe Shemesh, "Prelude to the Six-Day War: The Arab-Israeli Struggle over Water Resources," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 1-45.

Richard B. Parker, "The June 1967 War: Some Mysteries Explored," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 177-197.

William B. Quandt, "Lyndon Johnson and the June 1967 War: What Color Was the Light?" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 198-228.

Douglas Little, "A Puppet in Search of a Puppeteer? The United States, King Hussein, and Jordan, 1953-1970," *The International History Review*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (August 1995), pp. 512-544

Clea Bunch Lutz, "Strike at Samu: Jordan, Israel, the United States, and the Origins of the Six-Day War," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 2008), pp. 55-76.

Richard B. Parker, "The June War: Whose Conspiracy?" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Summer 1992), pp. 5-21.

#### **March 5: The U.S. and the (re)Emergence of the "Palestine Problem"?**

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 55-57.

Muhammad Muslih, "Arab Politics and the Rise of Palestinian Nationalism," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Summer 1987), pp. 77-94.

Rashid Hamid, "What is the PLO?" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer 1975), pp. 90-109.

David A. Korn, "US-Soviet Negotiations of 1969 and the Rogers Plan," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter 1990), pp. 37-50.

Johnson, *Lyndon Johnson and Israel*, ch. 4-5.

A. G. Naidu, "Rogers Plan: US Shift towards A "More Even-Handed" Policy in West Asia," *International Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (July 1982), pp. 283-304.

William B. Quandt, "The Middle East Conflict in US Strategy, 1970-71," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn 1971), pp. 39-52.

Adam M. Garfinkle, "U.S. Decision Making in the Jordan Crisis: Correcting the Record," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 100, No. 1 (Spring 1985), pp. 117-138.

Richard A. Mobley, "U.S. Joint Military Contributions to Countering Syria's 1970 Invasion of Jordan," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (2009), pp. 160-167. Available online <http://www.ndu.edu/press/lib/images/jfq-55/25.pdf>

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, "Crisis Management by Military Cooperation with a Small Ally: American-Israeli Cooperation in the Syrian-Jordanian Crisis, September 1970," *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (July 1982), pp. 151-162.

Henry Brandon, "Were We Masterful..." *Foreign Policy*, No. 10 (Spring 1973), pp. 158-170

Ahmed S. Khalidi, "The War of Attrition," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn 1973), pp. 60-87

Don Peretz, "The United States, the Arabs, and Israel: Peace Efforts of Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 401(May 1972), pp. 116-125.

Robert H. Trice, "Congress and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Support for Israel in the U. S. Senate, 1970-1973," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 92, No. 3 (Autumn 1977), pp. 443-463.

### **March 7: Nixon, Kissinger and the Coming of the Yom Kippur War**

Baxter and Akbarzadeh, *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, pp. 56-60

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 57-61.

Ahmed S. Khalidi, "The War of Attrition," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn 1973), pp. 60-87

Mordechai Gazit, "Egypt and Israel - Was There a Peace Opportunity Missed in 1971?" *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 1997), pp. 97-115.

Uri Bar-Joseph, "Last Chance to Avoid War: Sadat's Peace Initiative of February 1973 and its Failure," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (July 2006), pp. 545-556.

Barry Rubin, "US Policy, January-October 1973," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter 1974), pp. 98-113.

Patrick J. Haney, "The Nixon Administration and Middle East Crises: Theory and Evidence of Presidential Management of Foreign Policy Decision Making," *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (December 1994), pp. 939-959.

### **March 12: From the White House to Cairo and Jerusalem and Back**

Edward R. F. Sheehan, "How Kissinger Did It: Step by Step in the Middle East," *Foreign Policy*, No. 22 (Spring, 1976), pp. 3-70

Amos Perlmutter, "Crisis Management: Kissinger's Middle East Negotiations (October 1973-June 1974)," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (September 1975), pp. 316-343.

Adel Safty, "Sadat's Negotiations with the United States and Israel: From Sinai to Camp David," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (July 1991), pp. 285-298.

Najib E. Saliba, "The Decline of Nasirism in Sadat's Egypt," *World Affairs*, Vol. 138, No. 1 (Summer 1975), pp. 51-59.

Henry Kissinger and Muhammad Hassanain Haikal, "Kissinger Meets Haikal," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter 1974), pp. 210-226.

Brian S. Mandell, "Anatomy of a Confidence-Building Régime: Egyptian-Israeli Security Co-operation, 1973-1979," *International Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Spring 1990), pp. 202-223.

### **March 14: Carter's Camp David Success (research proposal due)**

Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 61-64.

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### **Part 3: Contemporary Challenges of American Foreign Policy in the Middle East**

#### **April 23: General Trends in Contemporary American Foreign Policy and the Arab Spring**

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#### **April 25: Iran's Nuclear Program**

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#### **April 30: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**

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**May 2: Simulation (instructions and guidelines to follow)**

**May 7: Last Day of Class**

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**(Final paper due, Midnight of May 9<sup>th</sup>)**

**Good Luck!**