Copyright and Permissions

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy

THE **CHOICES** PROGRAM

Explore the Past… Shape the Future

History and Current Issues for the Classroom

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY WWW.CHOICES.EDU

The Choices Program
www.choices.edu

The Choices Program is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies and the School of Professional Studies at Brown University. Choices was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy issues.

The Choices Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

Focusing on three main areas—development, security, and governance—the Watson Institute is a community of scholars whose policy-relevant research aims to help us understand and address the world's great challenges. Its mission is to promote a just and peaceful world through research, teaching, and public engagement.

WATSON INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy

ISBN 1-60123-169-5 / 978-1-60123-169-7

Acknowledgments

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy was developed by the Choices Program with the assistance of faculty at the Watson Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following for their invaluable input to this and previous editions:

Kamal Abdel-Malek
Former Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature,
Brown University

Engin D. Akarli
Joukowsky Family Distinguished Professor Emeritus of
Modern Middle Eastern History, Brown University

Sa'ed Atshan
Postdoctoral Fellow in International Studies
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Thomas Biersteker
Professor of Political Science
Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

Beshara Doumani
Director of Middle East Studies
Joukowsky Family Distinguished Professor of Modern Middle
East History, Brown University

Jo-Anne Hart
Adjunct Professor
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University
Professor, Lesley University

Nancy Khalek
William A. Dyer Jr. Assistant Professor of the Humanities in
the Department of Religious Studies, Brown University

Linda B. Miller
Professor of Political Science, Emerita, Wellesley College
Adjunct Professor, Watson Institute for International Studies,
Brown University

Ian Straughn
Joukowsky Family Middle East Studies Librarian, Brown
University

Nina Tannenwald
Director, International Relations Program
Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Special thanks to Barbara Oberkoetter and the Middle East Studies Program at Brown University.

Thanks to Tony Hurt of Heritage High School of Littleton, Colorado for his contributions to the geography lesson. Thanks also to Kacey Dewing of St. Mary's School in Medford, Oregon for her contributions to the Iranian Revolution lesson.

Cover image by Al Jazeera/Jamal Elshayyal. Licensed under the Creative Commons 2.0 Generic license.

All maps by Alexander Sayer Gard-Murray.

The Choices Program

Director
Susan Graseck

Curriculum Development Director
Andy Blackadar

Professional Development Director
Mimi Stephens

Curriculum Writer
Susannah Bechtel

International Education Intern
Jessica Fields

International Education Intern
Danielle Johnstone

Administrative Manager
Kathleen Magiera

Communications & Marketing
Jillian McGuire Turbitt

Video & New Media Producer
Tanya Waldburger

Contents

The Middle East

The term "Middle East" was invented by British government officials to describe a region to their east between Britain and lands in the "Far East," for example India and China. Today, the term "Middle East" can be used to describe a region spanning countries as far apart as Morocco in North Africa to Pakistan in South Asia. For this reading, the term "Middle East" refers to the countries highlighted in the map, stretching from Egypt in the west to Iran in the east. The term "Arab world" refers to the countries in which Arabic is widely spoken. This includes countries in North and East Africa and extends to the Persian Gulf. It does not include Iran, where Persian is the official language.

Introduction: What is the Middle East?

The term "Middle East" can create an image of a group of similar countries and peoples with shared politics and histories, but this is deceptive. The people of this part of the world have diverse ethnicities, religions, languages, and understandings of their histories. They experience a variety of different ways of life.

Ninara (CC-BY 2.0).

A park in Tehran, Iran.

Women in Saudi Arabia, for example, where there are strict rules about how women dress and move around, live very different lives from their counterparts in Turkey, where women are used to more European styles of dress and have a more public role. In Iran, society includes city dwellers in Tehran, a city of fourteen million, as well as nomads who live in the desert. In Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon, there are large Christian minority populations as well as Muslims. The religion of Islam (which is the identity most frequently associated with the Middle East) is understood and practiced in many different ways across the region. The landscape also varies—from sparsely populated arid deserts to vast urban metropolises to green forests, mountains, rivers, and marshes.

The great variation in culture, history, and geography influences the societies, governments, businesses, and some of the tensions in the area. This diverse and complex region plays an important role in U.S. foreign policy.

Gigi Ibrahim (CC-BY 2.0).

Protesters demonstrating against former Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi in downtown Cairo, Egypt in August 2012.

Why does the United States maintain an active role in the Middle East?

The U.S. role in the Middle East is a subject of debate in the United States. The United States has had an active role in the Middle East for three main reasons. First, the United States wants to ensure the steady flow of oil, the fuel which currently drives much of the global economy. Second, the United States is concerned about long-term stability and wants to retain power

and influence in this important area of the world. The U.S. involvement in Iraq and its concerns about Iran's nuclear program fall under this category. Finally, the United States has long been involved in the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians. Each of these reasons overlaps with the others, making the U.S. role in the Middle East very complicated. Within the United States, there is often strong disagreement about the best approach to these issues.

Bex Walton (CC BY 2.0).

Istanbul is Turkey's largest city with a population of fourteen million. Previously known as Constantinople and Byzantium, Istanbul was once the capital of the Roman, Byzantine, Latin, and Ottoman Empires. One of the largest cities in the world, it straddles both continents of Europe and Asia and is divided by the Bosphorus Strait.

The history of the region is long and complex. In the following pages, you will read about selected parts of this history. You will confront the same questions facing U.S. policy makers:

- Which interests and values should provide the basis for U.S. policy in the region?
- How should the United States respond to the rise of ISIS and the Syrian Civil War?
- How should the Middle East's enormous oil reserves and the United States' close relationship with Israel figure into policy calculations?

The reading will prepare you to wrestle with these questions. You will explore the history of U.S. involvement in the Middle East through the Cold War. You will examine the critical issues facing the United States in the Middle East today. Finally, you will have the opportunity to consider three options for U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Mohammad Sabbouh (CC BY 2.0)

The skyscrapers of Dubai, United Arab Emirates, a modern city of more than two million people.

Part I: The Modern Middle East

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most people in the United States were introduced to the Middle East through the Bible. The territories that are at the center of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict today were referred to as the "holy land." The Middle East, which is sometimes called the cradle of civilization, is the birthplace of three of the world's major religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

During the Middle Ages, Islamic empires in the region were at the center of the world's science, scholarship, and commerce. For example, the Safavid Empire of Iran was a thriving center of Persian culture and commerce from 1501 to 1736. A well-administered and stable governmental system allowed the Safavid capital of Isfahan, with its population of over 400,000, to become renowned for its poetry, paintings, and scholarship.

United States Library of Congress. LC-DIG-ppmsca-18437-00011.

A mosque in Homs, Syria. ca. 1930. The mosque is an example of Ottoman architecture. The Ottoman Empire ruled the lands of Syria for many years prior to the mandates.

Beginning in the 1500s, the Ottoman Turks, another of those empires, skillfully ruled over the diverse peoples and religions of the area that stretched from the Persian Gulf to the western end of North Africa for three centuries. The Ottoman Empire was militarily strong as well. In 1683, an Ottoman army invaded Europe, conquering Eastern Europe as far as the Austrian city of Vienna.

World War I & The Mandate System

In the early 1800s, Protestant missionaries from the United States traveled to the Middle East hoping to convert the Muslims of the region to Christianity. To a large extent, U.S. impressions of the Middle East were filtered through the eyes of these missionaries.

Despite the earlier wealth and scholarship of the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, the Middle East had fallen behind the countries of Europe and the United States in science and technology by the nineteenth century. The advances that fueled the Industrial Revolution in Britain and the United States were slow to reach the Middle East. For example, during the Emperor Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, the Ottoman military was unable to match the new firepower of the French army. Napoleon also introduced a rapid and efficient printing press to the region.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Ottoman Empire had lost strength. Throughout Europe and the Middle East, nationalist movements challenged large, multinational empires. These nationalist movements, as well as European imperialism, weakened the empire. In southeastern Europe, local independence movements took territory away from the Ottomans. In the northeastern reaches of the empire, ambitious Russian tsars interested in

Part I Definitions

Colonialism—Colonialism is the acquisition and exploitation of territory by a foreign power for its own economic and political benefit.

Imperialism—Imperialism is a policy of exerting cultural, economic, or political influence over other societies. Colonialism is a form of imperialism, but imperialism includes a broader array of policies that powerful states use to influence the affairs of weaker states.

Nationalism—Nationalism is a strong devotion to the interests of one's people or country. In the case of anticolonial movements in the twentieth century, nationalism was a broad term used to describe the desire to gain independence from foreign influence and control.

gaining more land drove them out. Meanwhile, the Ottoman economy increasingly fell under the domination of European imperial powers eager to gain access to oil, an energy source growing in importance for military and civilian uses. Britain and France, with no oil fields of their own, were especially interested in controlling the region. In addition, the Suez Canal, which connected the Mediterranean and Red Seas, dramatically reduced travel time from Europe to Asia and was an important trade route to Britain's colony of India.

To the east of the Ottomans, Russia and Britain competed to control Iran and its resources throughout the nineteenth century. Iran's economy and infrastructure suffered from being in the middle of the two great powers' struggle. In 1907, Russia and Britain, fearing that the newly established constitutional regime would limit their role in Iran, agreed to cooperate with each other. In 1912, they invaded Iran to assure "stability" and "security."

How did World War I affect the Middle East?

World War I, which began in 1914, ultimately destroyed the Ottoman Empire. In the early months of the war, the Ottoman Empire allied itself with Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Although the decisive battles of the war took place in Europe, the Middle East was thrown into turmoil as well. British forces, with the assistance of their Arab allies, drove Ottoman armies out of most of the Empire's Arab provinces. Fighting between Russia and the Ottomans in southeastern Europe turned vast areas into wasteland.

During the war, parts of Iran were occupied by the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Britain. Iranian leaders had hoped to free themselves from European influence after World War I. But after the Ottomans were defeated and the Russians left during their own revolution in 1917, the British took steps to make sure they could continue to access Iranian oil.

What was the Sykes-Picot Accord?

Meanwhile, much of the most important action took place away from the battlefield. In 1916, diplomats from Britain and France signed a secret treaty concerning the postwar division of the Ottoman Empire. Under the terms of what was known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the British and French agreed to divide the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire between themselves.

> ***"It is accordingly understood between the French and British governments... [that] France and...Great Britain shall be allowed to establish such direct or indirect administration or control as they desire and as they may think fit to arrange with the Arab state or confederation of Arab states."***
>
> —Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916

How did President Wilson's principle of "self-determination" affect the Middle East?

U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) presented the main obstacle to British and French plans to control the Middle East. When the United States joined World War I in 1917, Wilson insisted that his country was fighting for a higher set of ideals than the

European powers. He announced a sweeping fourteen-point peace plan that he hoped to implement at the end of the war. Among the key principles of Wilson's proposal was a call for a postwar international system (a "League of Nations") based on "self-determination," or the right of nations to govern themselves.

> ***"The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development...."***
>
> —Point XII of the Fourteen Points, Woodrow Wilson, 1918

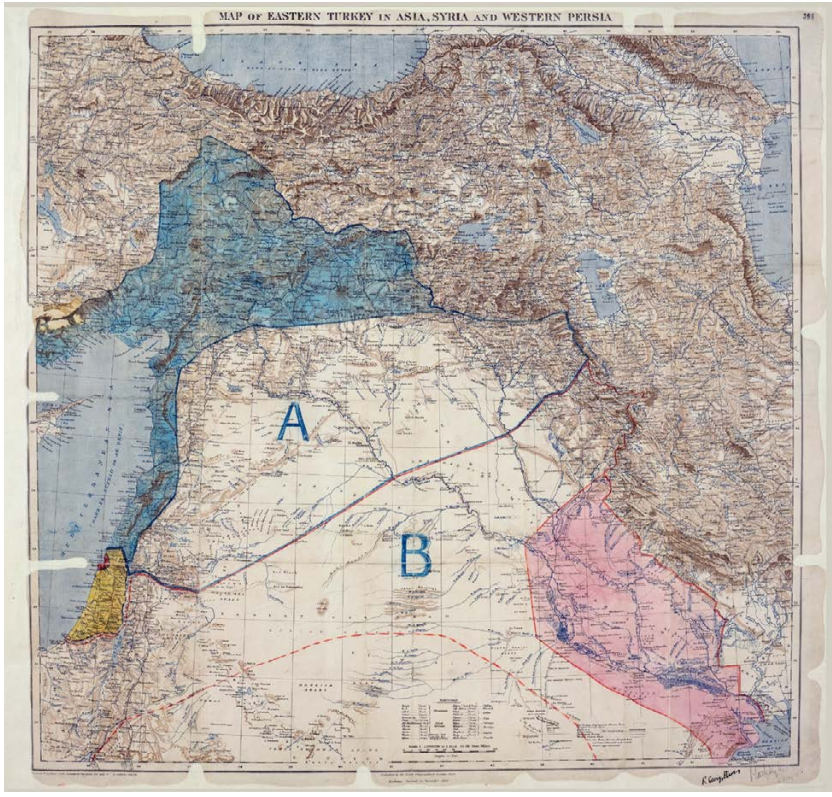
Arab leaders applauded Wilson's views. They saw the president's emphasis on self-determination as an endorsement of Arab efforts to govern themselves without outside interference. In contrast, the British and French realized that self-determination undermined their plan to impose the Sykes-Picot Accord and redraw the international borders of the Middle East.

Ultimately, at the Paris Peace Conference following World War I, Wilson backed down from his call for self-determination. His European counterparts forced a compromise that allowed European countries not only to keep their existing colonies but also to expand their empires into new regions, including in the Middle East.

When Wilson returned to the United States, he encountered strong opposition to U.S. participation in the new international system he had imagined. In 1919, the U.S. Senate rejected the treaty that Wilson had helped negotiate and refused to join the League of Nations. Over the next two decades, U.S. leaders chose to be involved in international affairs only in ways that were beneficial to the United States. Once the United States had retreated from the international scene, Britain and France were able to divide the defeated Ottoman Empire despite objections from Arab leaders.

How did the "mandates" allow European empires to exert control in the Middle East?

The newly-formed League of Nations claimed that many of the areas that had been controlled by the Ottoman Empire were unprepared for self-governance and needed time, assistance, and advice from "advanced" powers before gaining independence. The League established "mandates," which gave Britain and France the authority to control and manage the new states that had been carved out of



Royal Geographical Society.

The map that Sykes and Picot drew on to divide the former Ottoman Arab Provinces between Britain and France. Area A was to be under French control and area B under British control.

the Ottoman Empire. In truth, the mandates allowed European empires to exert control over former Ottoman territories for their own economic and political gain.

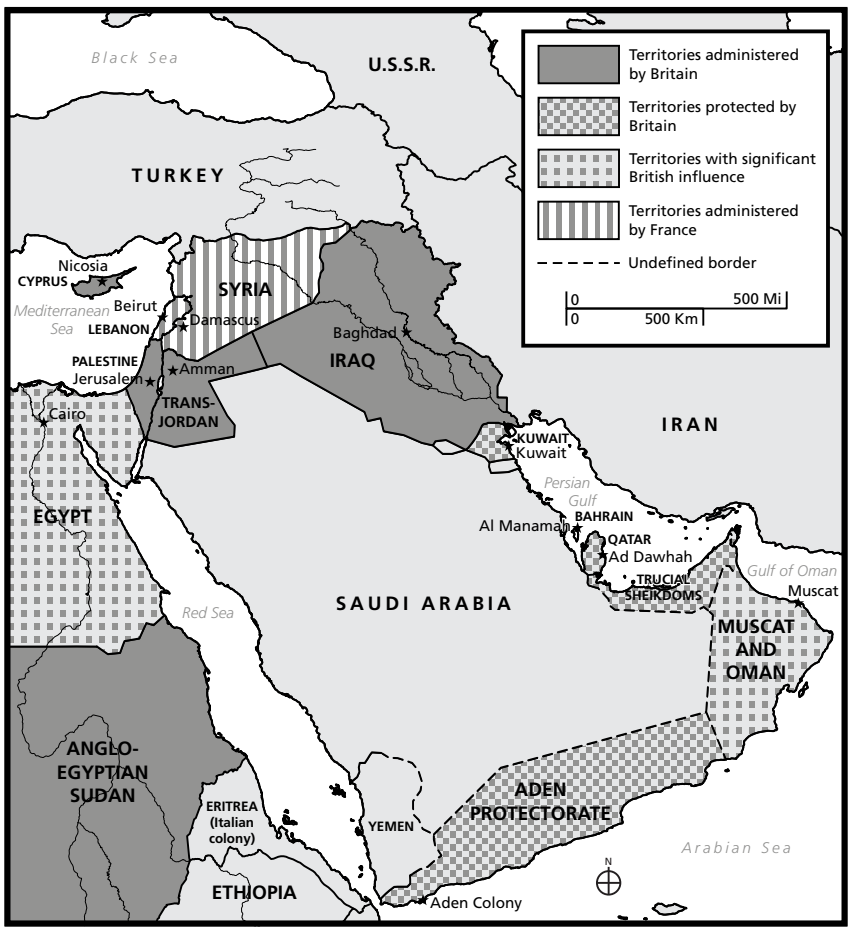
While France took over Syria and Lebanon, the British controlled Iraq, Kuwait, Palestine, Jordan, and most of the coastal areas of the Arabian peninsula. Although the British and French did not call these areas "colonies," the people living within these mandates saw themselves as subjects of European colonialism.

With Russia weakened by civil war, Iran increasingly fell within Britain's sphere of economic domination as well. Turkey and Saudi Arabia were the only Middle Eastern countries to attain complete independence after World War I. In Turkey, a nationalist movement overthrew the last remnants of the Ottoman Empire and established a republic in 1923. In the Saudi Arabian kingdom, leaders preferred not to have connections with the international world.

George Westmoreland. © Imperial War Museums (Q 12366)

Damascus, Syria, October 2, 1918, the day after it had been occupied by Allied forces. Syria became a French Mandate after the Paris Peace Conference.

The outlines of the countries of the present day Middle East were clearly recognizable by the 1920s. With few changes, the map drawn at the Paris Peace Conference is the same one that exists today.



British and French influence in the Middle East, 1926.

Oil Politics

The contest for European control of the Middle East during and after World War I was driven largely by oil. The war effort had been powered mostly by coal, but far-sighted military strategists understood that the next major war would be fueled by oil. Oil was quickly becoming the lifeblood of industrial economies around the world.

"I am quite clear that it is all-important for us that this oil should be available."

—Arthur Balfour, British foreign secretary, 1918

How did the United States become involved in the oil politics of the Middle East?

Compared to Europe, the United States was a latecomer to the oil politics of the Middle East. Unlike Britain and France, the United States was an oil giant and produced roughly two-thirds of the world's oil during World War I. Nonetheless, U.S. policy makers worried that domestic supplies would run out and encouraged U.S. oil companies to begin looking overseas for new oil reserves.

R. S. Leonard/Saudi Aramco World/PADIA. Used with permission.

SOCAL changed its name to ARAMCO in 1944. This aerial photograph of the ARAMCO headquarters and workers' community in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia was taken in 1947.

To maintain good relations with the United States in the 1920s, the British agreed to allow U.S. oil companies to participate in the development of the Middle East's oil resources. At the time, the two main centers of oil production in the region were northern Iraq and the Iranian side of the Persian Gulf.

Serious oil exploration in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait did not take place until the 1930s. Leading members of the Saudi royal family were reluctant to open their country to foreign oil firms in the 1920s because they were worried that their traditional way of life would be disrupted.

But the Saudis also wanted to increase their wealth and reduce poverty in their kingdom. In 1933, they signed a sixty-year agreement with Standard Oil of California (SOCAL). In exchange for $175,000 up front and the promise of royalty payments on any oil produced, SOCAL was permitted to explore 360,000 square miles of eastern Saudi Arabia (an area larger than Texas and Oklahoma combined). SOCAL invested $10 million before making a major discovery in 1938. At about the same time, a British-American partnership also struck oil in Kuwait.

What role did oil politics play in World War II?

World War II illustrated the geopolitical importance of oil. The eruption of war in 1939 dashed hopes of turning a quick profit from the newly discovered oil fields of the Middle East. Instead of expanding production, U.S. and British leaders wanted to prevent the energy resources of the Middle East from falling into the hands of Nazi Germany. In 1941, British and Soviet troops jointly occupied Iran to block German forces from entering. Technicians even made plans to destroy the oil wells of the Persian Gulf in case Germany invaded the region. World War II had a profound impact on the position of the Middle East in international affairs.

As strategists in World War I had foreseen, oil was essential for the armies of World War II. The decisive weapons of the conflict—airplanes, tanks, and military trucks—all ran on fuels derived from oil. The war aims of the leading Axis powers, Germany and Japan, were shaped by their quests for oil resources.

The United States was the industrial engine of the Allied victory in World War II. Protected from attack by two oceans, U.S. industry boomed. By the end of 1942, U.S. military production surpassed the output of Germany and Japan combined. During the next year, U.S. factories turned out roughly 100,000 warplanes. The United States also had abundant oil reserves. In 1940, for example, the United States produced 63 percent of the world's oil (compared to less than 5 percent from the Middle East). U.S. leaders feared that demand would soon outstrip supply. Like their British and French counterparts in World War I, U.S. officials in World War II wanted to secure their country's access to foreign oil.

> ***"If there should be a World War III it would have to be fought with someone else's petroleum, because the United States wouldn't have it."***
>
> —Henry Ickes, United States secretary of the interior, 1943

Why was Saudi Arabia so important to the United States?

The U.S. strategy in World War II included paying new attention to Saudi Arabia. Before 1939, the United States did not have a single diplomat in the country. But in 1943, President Franklin Roosevelt (1933-1945) began providing aid to the Saudi monarchy, which was on the verge of financial collapse because of the war. Over the next decade U.S. involvement in Saudi Arabia increased dramatically as U.S. citizens consumed more gasoline in their cars and industry boomed. SOCAL's 1938 discovery of a huge oil field brought increased cooperation between Saudi Arabia and the United States that continues to this day. (SOCAL changed its name to ARAMCO, or Arab-American Oil Company, in 1944.) Since then, oil has been a central pillar of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

The Creation of Israel

The creation of Israel in 1948 complicated U.S. efforts to retain allies in the Middle East. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, the Jewish quest for a homeland gained support in the United States. But most Arab leaders opposed the creation of Israel because the country was carved out of lands where Muslim and Christian Arabs already lived. Saudi King Saud Ibn Saud even threatened to break his contract with ARAMCO to protest U.S. policy. Nonetheless, the United States played a key role in bringing the Jewish state into existence. The story of Israel's creation starts in the late 1800s.

UN Partition of Palestine, 1947

What is Zionism?

"Zion" is a Hebrew word for the land of Israel. Zionism, the movement for establishing

Library of Congress. LC-DIG-ppmsca-18902.

The city of Jerusalem in the early twentieth century. This photograph was taken by members of the American Colony—a colony in Jerusalem formed in 1881 by a small religious society of U.S. (and later also Swedish) Christians. The American Colony gained the trust of the local Muslim, Jewish, and Christian communities through doing charitable work with people in Jerusalem regardless of religious affiliation.

the state of Israel, had its origins in Europe, where Jews had long been subjected to persecution. At the end of the nineteenth century, some Jewish intellectuals argued that Jews could flourish safely only by establishing an independent state. They looked in East Africa and South America before settling on Palestine, a significant region in Jewish history. In the early 1900s, these Zionists started buying land there for Jewish settlements.

"One fundamental fact—that we must have Palestine if we are not going to be exterminated."

—Chaim Weizmann, Zionist leader, 1919

What promises did Great Britain make to Arabs and Jews during World War I?

In 1917, Britain issued the Balfour Declaration, pledging to help establish "a national home" for Jews in Palestine. The British hoped that the declaration would rally Jewish opinion, especially in the United States, behind the Allied war effort in World War I. The British also promised Sharif Hussein, the ruler of Mecca, that they would help to set up an independent Arab state across all of the Arab areas of the Ottoman Empire after the war. In exchange, Hussein began a rebellion against the Ottomans that helped the Allies win the war. These two promises and the misunderstandings that followed proved to have long-term effects on the Middle East.

Between 1922 and 1939, as Zionists moved to Palestine, the Jewish population in Palestine rose from 84,000 to 445,000, or about 30 percent of the total population. But the Zionist movement increasingly found itself at odds with the aspirations of Palestinian Arabs seeking to forge a state of their own. British efforts to strike a balance between Palestinians and Jews failed to hold down the escalating tensions.

Why did many Jews head to Palestine in the 1940s?

During World War II, Adolf Hitler sought to exterminate all of the Jews of Europe. Six million Jews were put to death by the Nazis. After the war, hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees saw immigration to Palestine as the only hope for rebuilding their lives. The Holocaust also won the Zionists widespread sympathy in the United States. President Truman (1945-1953) became personally committed to the Zionist cause.

In 1947, the British announced they would leave Palestine within a year, turning over responsibility for the mandate to the newly formed United Nations (UN). A plan to partition the mandate between Jews and Palestinian Arabs passed the UN General As-

sembly by two votes, thanks in large part to U.S. lobbying.

How did Israel's creation plant the seeds of conflict?

The Zionists viewed the UN partition plan as their best hope for a Jewish state, and accepted it. The Arab world did not, fearing that Arabs, who were in the majority, would become subject to a minority immigrant population. Some also felt that the creation of Israel would lead to instability in the region.

Knowing the British would pull their troops out the day the partition went into effect, Zionists began to take control of the territory allotted to them by the UN, including many predominantly Arab towns that had been included in the Jewish zone. As the date of the British departure approached, violence erupted as each side fought to extend its control. Fighting soon engulfed much of Palestine. This violence was intense; there were terrorist acts on both sides.

With the withdrawal of the last British forces in May 1948, Israel proclaimed itself a state and immediately won recognition from the United States and the Soviet Union. The Arab states refused to recognize Israel.

The United States National Archives.

President Truman (left) in the Oval Office receiving a menorah as a gift from the Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion (center), and the Ambassador of Israel to the United States, Abba Eban (right). May 8, 1951.

For some time, Palestinian Arabs had been supported in their fight by men and arms from neighboring Arab countries. The day after Israel declared itself an independent state, forces from Egypt, Syria, Transjordan (now known as Jordan), Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel.

Fearing just such an attack, Zionist leaders had been collecting weapons for years. By the time a truce was reached in January 1949, the Zionists had seized a large portion of the land that the UN had designated for the Palestinians. Israel refers to this conflict as the War of Independence; Palestinians often refer to it as the "disaster" (*nakba* in Arabic).

What was left of the former mandate was claimed by Transjordan (which absorbed the West Bank) and Egypt (which held the Gaza Strip). Arab countries refused to make peace with or to recognize the fledgling Israeli state. Without a treaty, the cease-fire lines in effect became the borders between Israel and its neighbors.

The animosity set the stage for decades of conflict. More than 750,000 Palestinians fled or were forced from their homes and became refugees. Those with skills, money, or connections fled to neighboring countries. The vast majority were not so fortunate and neighboring countries were unwilling to take them in. By 1950, nearly one million Palestinians lived in UN refugee camps in Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. (In 2014, there were 1.5 million Palestinian refugees living in fifty-eight UN camps). Israel, a new country, found itself surrounded by countries that were hostile to its very existence. Security issues were a top priority for Israel's government.

Although the Truman administration approved a $100 million loan for Israel, U.S. policy remained torn. Within the State Department (the governmental body responsible for carrying out U.S. foreign policy), many officials advised against supporting Israel. They feared an Arab backlash against the United States. These fears were based in part on the United States' need for oil from Arab nations, and also on the growing presence of the Soviet Union following World War II.

Part II: The Middle East During the Cold War

Since the early 1800s, Britain had been the leading power in the Middle East. Britain controlled the Suez Canal (linking the Red Sea and the Mediterranean) and most of Egypt after 1882. British naval forces patrolled the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf, guarding shipping lanes to India, the most valuable colony of the British Empire.

World War II brought down the old order of international relations. World War II had nearly bankrupted Britain and its postwar leaders saw their enormous empire as a financial burden. In 1947, British officials told their U.S. allies that Britain could no longer maintain its empire in the Middle East. They urged the administration of U.S. President Harry Truman to assume Britain's role in the Middle East ahead of the powerful Soviet Union. Both Britain and the United States saw the Soviet Union as a dangerous expansionist power. They believed protecting the Persian Gulf's oil reserves from Soviet control was critical to the United States and its allies' economic survival. In 1948, for the first time, the United States imported more oil than it exported.

Part II Definition

The Cold War—At the end of World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the world's military and economic superpowers. Their wartime alliance gave way to decades of hostility, driven by both the U.S. view of Soviet communism as a global threat and each country's desire to gain more influence in the world. This period of ideological conflict, known as the Cold War, lasted almost forty-five years. During this period, both the Soviet Union and the United States devoted vast resources to their militaries and competed for power and influence all around the world. The Cold War raised tensions to particularly dangerous levels in the Middle East.

In fact, the Soviets had already begun to increase their activities in the Middle East. In Iran, the Soviets delayed the withdrawal of their troops after the war. In Turkey, they raised territorial claims along the Soviet border and insisted on sharing control of the straits connecting the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

What was the Truman Doctrine?

In 1947, President Truman announced a $400 million foreign aid package to Turkey and Greece. In what became known as the "Truman Doctrine," Truman pledged U.S. support for governments resisting Soviet communism.

The Truman Doctrine confirmed that the United States was willing to step into the shoes of the British in the Middle East. For U.S. policy makers, this meant that the Persian Gulf would rank second in importance only to Western Europe. By 1948, the hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union seemed frozen in place.

Egypt and Israel during the Cold War

The politics of the Arab world also underwent deep changes after World War II. Resentment and mistrust toward the imperial powers was as common in the Middle East as it was in Africa, Latin America, and regions of Asia. The colonial system Europeans had imposed interfered with the ability of local peoples to decide their own political and economic affairs. Europeans had exploited natural and human resources for their own economic benefit and their rule was often violent, racist, and destructive. In addition to this history, the ongoing meddling by the colonial powers in their former colonies was a continuing source of resentment and mistrust. As Britain and France retreated from the region, Arab nationalists criticized the Arab monarchies and rich landowners who had cooperated with the colonial powers of Britain and France. In the

1950s and 1960s, nationalist military officers overthrew kingdoms in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Libya.

Egypt's Gamal Abd al-Nasser was the most prominent voice of Arab nationalism. A former army colonel, Nasser emerged as Egypt's leader after taking part in a coup that toppled the country's corrupt king in 1952. Nasser addressed his message not just to Egypt, but to the larger Arab world. He campaigned for "pan-Arabism"—the unification of Arabs into a single state. Nasser's reputation soared over the next fifteen years as he strengthened his position as the most dynamic leader of the Arab world. Nasser was part of the Non-Aligned Movement that did not want to take sides with either the Soviet Union or the United States in the Cold War. Egypt managed to maintain relationships with both superpowers, although relations were often tense.

What was the Suez Crisis?

In 1956, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, bringing it under the control of the Egyptian government. The Suez Canal ran through Egyptian territory, but was still controlled by Britain and France—a legacy of the colonial period. The canal allowed ships to travel between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean instead of having to travel the much longer voyage around Africa. Britain and France were unwilling to lose this important strategic location and the revenue ships paid to use the canal. They partnered with Israel to invade Egypt and seize back control of the canal.

Only hours after the invasion, both the United States and Soviet Union condemned Israel, Britain, and France's use of force, and pressured them to withdraw.

As a result of his success taking control of the Suez Canal, Nasser's prominence grew. In 1958, Nasser merged Egypt and Syria to begin implementing his pan-Arabist campaign. (The merger disintegrated in 1961.) He also built up his army, mostly with Soviet weapons.

U.S. officials mistrusted Nasser's motives but thought that his popularity could not be ignored. The United States resumed limited financial assistance to Egypt, but also began to see Israel as a strategic ally against the expanding Soviet influence in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. No formal alliance was signed, but the United States began to help Israel purchase advanced weapons like tanks and antiaircraft missiles from the United States.

What factors contributed to the Six-Day War?

Expanding nationalism, growing superpower involvement, and an escalating arms build-up ignited a war between Israel and Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in 1967. The immediate cause was Nasser's decision in May 1967 to order the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers separating Egyptian and Israeli forces in the Sinai Peninsula and to deny Israeli ships access to the Red Sea by closing the Suez Canal.

U.S. President Johnson attempted to resolve the crisis diplomatically, but in June 1967, Israel launched an attack that

Joe Haupt (CC BY-SA 2.0).

The United Arab Republic was the name of the brief union between Egypt and Syria. The stamps above commemorate the fifth anniversary of the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

destroyed most of the Egyptian and Syrian air forces on the ground. With control of the air, Israeli tanks rolled across the Sinai to the Suez Canal. On their eastern flank, the Israelis drove the Jordanian army out of the Old City of Jerusalem and overran the West Bank.

Within two days, Egypt and Jordan claimed that they were ready to accept a UN resolution that the United States proposed for a cease-fire, but Israel continued its military operations. Israeli warplanes bombed a U.S. communications ship based off the coast of Egypt, killing thirty-four U.S. sailors. Although Israeli leaders claimed the attack was a mistake, some U.S. officials privately believed that Israel's intent was to direct attention away from Israeli military preparations against Syria. Two days later the Israelis smashed through Syrian defenses on the strategic Golan Heights. Syria quickly agreed to a truce. What came to be known as the Six-Day War ended in a complete military victory for Israel.

What were the results of the Six-Day War?

Although international law prohibits acquiring land through conquest, Israel controlled new territory as a result of the war. It occupied the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights. As an occupying power, Israel became responsible under international law for governing one million Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Palestinians took on the task of liberating their homeland for themselves. Some armed resistance groups formed inside the territories and out. Some committed acts of terrorism to draw attention to the plight of the Palestinian people. A group known as the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) emerged.

In Israel there was debate about the future of the West Bank and Gaza. Some Israelis saw the occupation as unjust and illegal, while others believed the territories should belong to Israel for ideological and religious reasons. Palestinians themselves disagreed about the best approach to end the occupation. Disputes over these lands and the status of the Palestinians who live there continue to the present day and have become a central element in regional and world politics.

The Six-Day War also set the stage for the next round of fighting in the Middle East. Although pan-Arabism had failed, Arab leaders were more determined than ever to match the military might of the Israelis. Increasingly, they turned to the Soviet Union. The Soviets, embarrassed by the speedy defeat of their allies and eager to extend their influence in the Middle East, were more than willing to help. They provided technical assistance and military support to Arab leaders. The United States continued to support Israel in the hopes of countering Soviet influence.

What happened during the October War of 1973?

In 1970, Anwar al-Sadat came to power in Egypt. Sadat's top priority was to regain the Sinai Peninsula from Israel. When U.S. diplomacy failed to persuade Israel to withdraw, Sadat made preparations for war.

On October 6, 1973, Egypt and Syria opened a two-front offensive against Israel. Along the Suez Canal, Egypt's army broke through Israeli lines and moved into the Sinai Peninsula. At the same time, Syrian troops overwhelmed Israel's defenses on the Golan Heights and were poised to attack northern Israel. Israel's army quickly recovered from its setbacks. Within days, the Israelis drove a wedge between Egyptian forces in the Sinai Peninsula and crossed the Suez Canal. Against the Syrians, they soon regained the Golan Heights and swept toward Damascus, the Syrian capital. By the end of October 1973, after less than a month of fighting, the Israelis agreed to stop their advance.

How did the Cold War affect the U.S. position during the October War?

The October War brought the United States' chief concerns in the Middle East to the boiling point. Cold War politics ultimately convinced President Nixon (1969-1974) to send arms to Israel. From the outbreak of the October War, the Soviet Union had given Egypt and Syria military assistance. By the second week of fighting, the United States did the same for Israel and began airlifting one thousand tons of military supplies a day. Superpower tensions rose further when the Soviets vowed to send troops to the region to stop Israel's advance. Nixon warned the Soviets against taking action. He put the U.S. military on worldwide alert to emphasize U.S. resolve.

How did the Arab Gulf states try to influence the United States?

U.S. support for Israel in the October War prompted Arab Gulf states to embargo (ban) selling oil to the United States. In mid-October 1973, Saudi Arabian King Faisal Ibn Saud, a solid U.S. ally, initiated the oil embargo. He hoped to emphasize to the United States that it would have to do more for the Arab side in the Arab-Israeli conflict if it wanted to minimize Soviet influence in the region. The Arab oil-producing states raised prices on their exported oil by 70 percent. When President Nixon proposed giving Israel $2.2 billion in military aid a few days later, the oil-producing states responded by completely cutting off oil shipments to the United States. At the same time, they reduced their overall production by 10 percent and vowed to lower oil output by 5 percent a month until Israel withdrew from the territories occupied in the 1967 War and restored the rights of the Palestinians.

What was the impact of the oil embargo?

The impact of the cutbacks on the international oil market was not catastrophic, but it was dramatic. By the end of 1973, world oil production had fallen about 9 percent. Other oil producers, such as Iran and Venezuela, increased their exports as new markets opened to them. Nonetheless, the embargo set off an economic panic. Gasoline prices in the United States jumped 40 percent. Over the next two years, U.S. economic output dropped 6 percent, while unemployment doubled and inflation surged.

The embargo also caused divisions among U.S. allies. Unlike the United States, most Western European countries and Japan backed away from overt support of Israel. In turn, the Gulf oil producers allowed more exports to them. The situation caused the United States to reevaluate its Middle East policies.

U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger undertook what came to be known as "shuttle diplomacy." Traveling throughout the region, Kissinger negotiated two agreements to end the fighting between Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Syria. The State Department left the Soviet Union out of the negotiations. Kissinger's efforts were enough to convince King Faisal Ibn Saud to call off the embargo in March of 1974.

What were the Camp David Accords?

An initiative for peace after the October War began with Egyptian President Sadat. In 1977, he visited Israel and spoke before Israel's parliament. Meanwhile, U.S. officials worked behind the scenes to set the stage for serious negotiations.

In 1978, U.S. President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981) invited Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to the presidential retreat at Camp David for peace talks. The negotiations were scheduled to last three days. Instead, they dragged on for two weeks.

The talks produced a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. In exchange for Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt became the first Arab country to recognize Israel. U.S. foreign aid sweetened the deal for both countries. Israel received $3 billion in immediate military assistance, while Egypt was given $1.5 billion. (Israel and Egypt remain among the top recipients of U.S. foreign aid.)

What became known as the Camp David Accords did not address other aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Arab leaders condemned Sadat for neglecting the needs and hopes of Palestinians and expelled Egypt from the Arab League, an organization founded in 1945 to serve the common good of Arab countries. Three years later, in 1981, Sadat was assassinated by Egyptian militants.

How did the Camp David Accords affect the position of the Soviet Union in the Middle East?

The Camp David Accords brought Egypt securely into the U.S. camp in the Middle East. At the same time, countries that opposed the treaty, such as Syria and Iraq, moved further into the Soviet camp. To counter the Soviets, U.S. officials placed greater weight on their relations with other long-time allies in the region.

In addition to Israel, the United States relied on close ties with Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. Turkey was part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—the U.S. led military alliance that opposed the Soviet Union. The United States also provided Turkey with ample foreign aid. The Saudis, while they opposed Israel and U.S. support for Israel, continued to use U.S. firms to market their oil exports and invest their profits.

The United States and Iran

During the Cold War, the United States wanted a strong alliance with Iran, which bordered the Soviet Union. The United States was connected to Iran and its shah, or king, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, by political, military, and oil interests. The shah supported Washington's policies because of the support the U.S. government gave him. In 1953, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) led a coup in Iran against a democratically elected prime minister who challenged the shah's power and who wanted to bring the foreign oil industry in Iran under Iranian control. At the time, Pahlavi was a weak and ineffective ruler. Over the next two decades, the United States sold Iran weapons, helped train its secret police, and boosted the shah's confidence and authoritarian tendencies.

Warren K. Leffler, Library of Congress. LC-DIG-ppmsca-09792.

Egyptian President Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Begin when U.S. President Carter announced the results of the Camp David Accords.

By the early 1970s, Pahlavi imagined that he could rekindle the greatness of ancient Persia in modern Iran. He lived lavishly, while many Iranians lived in poverty. The rise in oil prices in 1973 permitted the shah to increase his spending on weapons and by the mid-1970s, Iran accounted for half of U.S. arms exports. Because of the 1953 coup, many Iranians felt his rule was illegitimate and that he owed his reign to the United States.

Pat Oliphant. Copyright 1979. Universal Press Syndicate.

"Of course I'd resign if I thought that they really meant it."

How did U.S. policy makers fail to understand the Iranian people?

Both Pahlavi and U.S. policy makers underestimated the sense of injustice felt by some in Iranian society. The shah followed a strongly pro-American foreign policy that many Iranians did not support and was seen as a puppet of the U.S. government. His efforts to modernize Iran's educational system and redistribute land sparked protests among the country's Islamic leaders. His push toward industrialization forced millions of peasants to abandon their lives in the countryside. Iran's cities were soon overcrowded, and the gap between the rich and the poor widened.

Rampant corruption in Pahlavi's government and the brutal role of SAVAK (the secret police) in suppressing dissent also increased opposition to his rule. Nevertheless, the United States offered full support to Iran in order to counter Soviet support of other Middle Eastern countries.

> ***"Iran, because of the great leadership of the shah, is an island of stability in one of the more troubled regions of the world."***
>
> —President Jimmy Carter, 1977

Who led the Iranian Revolution?

Because the shah's secret police had ruthlessly suppressed his political opposition, Islamic leaders were in the best position to encourage resistance to the shah's regime. They emerged at the helm of a broad opposition movement that included men and women, democrats, secularists, nationalists, and communists. In 1978, they began organizing demonstrations against the shah. The shah responded with force, ordering the army and police to suppress the protests. In September, they opened fire on a huge crowd in Tehran, Iran's capital, killing or wounding as many as two thousand demonstrators.

Pahlavi, suffering from cancer, facing hostile public opinion, and losing support from the military for his repressive policies, lost the ability to hold on to power. In January 1979, he left the country. Two weeks later, the spiritual leader of Iran's Islamic movement, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, returned to Iran from exile in France.

What were the goals of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini?

The Iranian Revolution marked the emergence of political Islam in the Middle East as a force of growing significance. (Political Islam uses politics to promote Islam.) Khomeini wanted to transform Iran into his vision of an Islamic state led by a spiritual leader who

had the final say in major political matters. Khomeini's decision to allow active participation of clergy in political institutions and decision-making marked the beginning of a new era. Never before had the clergy played this sort of a political role in Iran. The changes that Khomeini wanted were cultural as well as political. For example, women were forced to comply to the code of *hijab* (veiling) in public. The press was prohibited from criticizing Islam. His revolution also aimed at purging the country of popular culture from the United States and Europe.

Khomeini rejected all outside influences and branded the United States as the "great Satan." He also referred to the Soviet Union as the "lesser Satan." When Carter permitted Pahlavi to enter the United States for medical treatment, Khomeini claimed that Washington was plotting a counterrevolution. In November 1979, Iranian university students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran. For over a year, they held the U.S. embassy staff as hostages. A U.S. attempt at a military rescue failed, leaving eight U.S. troops dead. The U.S. Cold War policy for Iran had collapsed. In its place was hostility that remains to this day.

> ***"Our relations with the United States are the relations of the oppressed and the oppressor."***
>
> —Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini

The Iran-Iraq War

In September 1980, Iraq's leader Saddam Hussein hoped to take advantage of an Iranian army weakened by revolution to seize a disputed waterway spilling into the Persian Gulf. He also wanted to prevent the spread of Iran's Islamic revolution elsewhere in the Middle East.

Saddam Hussein aimed to deliver a quick knockout blow, concentrating on Iran's oil facilities. Instead, Iraq's invasion stalled. Iran counterattacked but lacked the strength to defeat Hussein's military. For the next eight years, the war seesawed back and forth. Iraq had an advantage in air power and missiles, and used chemical weapons. Saddam Hussein also benefited from the financial backing of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other Arab oil producers. Iran could count on millions of dedicated volunteer soldiers.

What was the U.S. position in the Iran-Iraq War?

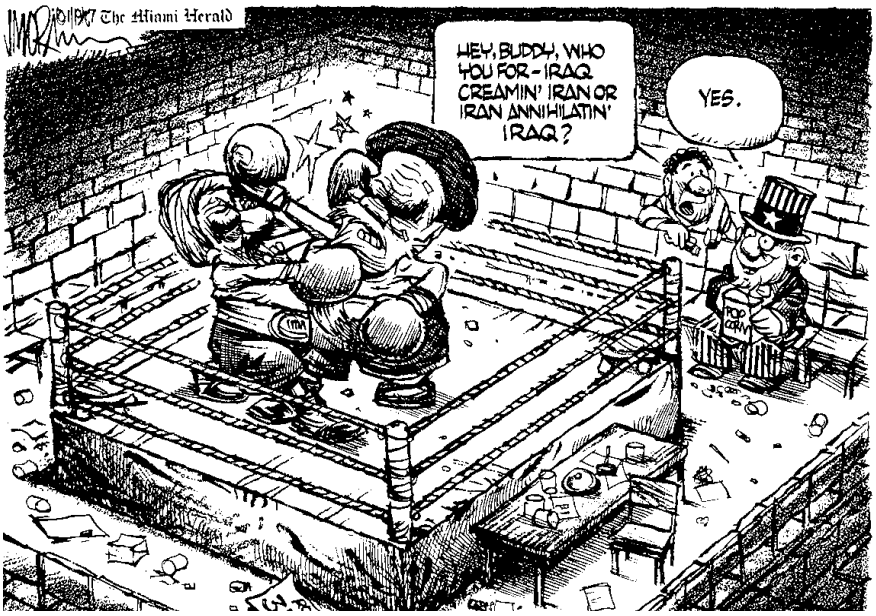
The administration of President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) gave Iraq military intelligence to target Iranian forces and loans to buy advanced U.S. weapons. In 1986, when Iran stepped up attacks against Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf, Washington provided Kuwaiti ships with military escorts. In July 1988, an American navy ship in Iranian waters, believing it was about to be attacked, shot down an Iranian airliner killing 290 civilian passengers and crew. The United States paid Iran $133 million in damages.

Simultaneously, the United States led an international arms embargo against Iran. But in a violation of this public policy, the United States secretly sold thousands of anti-tank missiles and military spare parts to Iran. The U.S. government hoped this would improve relations with Iran so that Iran would help to free U.S. hostages held in Lebanon. This goal was only partially met and only some hostages were freed. The secret arms deals, which supported Iran with one hand while supporting Iraq with the other, damaged the credibility of the United States in the region and beyond.

By the time Iraq and Iran agreed to a ceasefire in 1988, the war had claimed more than one million lives. Millions more were injured or became refugees. Neither side could claim victory, and the war did not resolve the disputes which started it.

How did the United States deal with the uncertainty of the Middle Eastern oil industry?

By the time of the Iran-Iraq War, the United States had begun to find ways to navigate the uncertainty of the Middle East's oil exportation. The oil embargo of the 1970s spurred energy conservation in wealthy coun-



Jim Morin in *The Miami Herald*. Reprinted with special permission of King Features Syndicate.

tries. The fuel efficiency of the average U.S. car more than doubled between 1975 and 1985. By 1983, oil consumption in noncommunist countries had dropped by 11 percent from 1979 levels. Higher prices also led oil companies to develop new resources in the North Sea, Alaska, and other sites outside the Middle East. Coal, natural gas, and nuclear power gained a greater share of the energy market.

Civil War in Lebanon

While the Iran-Iraq War dominated events in the Persian Gulf during the 1980s, Lebanon was the focus of attention in the eastern Mediterranean. Beirut, Tripoli, and other Lebanese ports were centers of Middle Eastern trade and commerce. But beginning in 1975, the country was torn by civil war.

Before the fighting ended in the late 1980s, nearly 150,000 people had been killed. Because of Lebanon's location and its connections to neighboring countries, the war drew in most of its neighbors as well as the United States. Syrian leaders, who believed Lebanon belonged under their wing, sent in troops to occupy most of the eastern part of the country. The Syrians also directed many of the actions of anti-Israeli militias working in Lebanon.

In 1982 the conflict worsened when Israel invaded Lebanon to root out the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), which was fighting against Israel from Lebanon. PLO units had set up bases in Lebanon after they were expelled from Jordan in 1970. Israel's efforts to crush the PLO included bombarding the Lebanese capital. The escalating war prompted the United States to try to negotiate peace.

Why did the United States send U.S. marines to Lebanon?

The United States sent troops to Lebanon as part of an international peacekeeping force. But U.S. soldiers were soon caught in the middle of the violence. In 1983, a suicide bomber drove a truckload of explosives into the U.S. marine barracks at the Beirut airport. Two hundred and forty-one soldiers were killed. A few months later, President Reagan pulled out the U.S. peacekeeping force.

In the United States, the Beirut bombing reinforced the Middle East's reputation as a dangerous and hostile region. Most people in the United States favored limiting U.S. involvement in the area. But within a few years, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, a small country with big oil reserves, would pull the United States deeper than ever into Middle East affairs.

The Persian Gulf War Reshapes U.S. Policy

On July 25, 1990, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, met with Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein at his presidential palace in Baghdad. Their conversation focused on Saddam Hussein's claim that Kuwait was pumping oil that rightfully belonged to Iraq from deposits along the Iraq-Kuwait border. Hussein also complained that Kuwait was

holding down oil prices to slow Iraq's economic recovery from the Iran-Iraq War. Eight days later, 100,000 Iraqi troops poured across the border into Kuwait. With control of the Kuwaiti oil fields, Iraq held one-quarter of the world's oil resources.

How did the end of the Cold War affect U.S. actions toward Iraq?

A few years earlier during the Cold War, the United States might have hesitated to take strong action against Iraq for fear of setting off an international crisis with the Soviet Union. But by 1990, both the world and the U.S. outlook had changed. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev sought to improve relations with the United States, and the Soviet Union itself was beginning to teeter under the weight of an ailing economy and political turmoil. Within hours of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Gorbachev stopped arms shipments to Saddam Hussein and joined the United States in supporting a UN Security Council resolution demanding Iraq's immediate withdrawal from Kuwait.

U.S. President George H.W. Bush (1989-1993) quickly positioned U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia to stop any further advances. The United Nations imposed economic sanctions against Iraq. In the weeks that followed, the United States led an effort to build an international coalition to push Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. The United States' European allies and several other Arab states contributed to an international military force.

How did U.S. citizens think the United States should respond to Iraq?

Within the United States, people were split about how far the country should go in its response to Iraq's aggression. Opposition to using force was especially strong from some U.S. military leaders concerned about possible casualties. Many warned that Iraq would turn to chemical weapons or terrorist tactics if attacked.

In November 1990, President Bush won UN approval to use "all necessary means" to force Iraq out of Kuwait. When Bush asked the Senate in early January to approve military action to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, his request passed by five votes.

What happened in the Persian Gulf War?

After the assault against Iraq began in mid-January 1991, the majority of people in the United States rallied behind the war effort. Despite Saddam Hussein's prediction of "the mother of all battles," his army proved no match for the United States and its allies. For over a month, coalition warplanes bombarded Iraqi targets. By the time allied ground troops moved forward in late February 1991, communication links within Iraq's army had been shattered. Coalition forces, that came from twenty-eight countries, retook Kuwait's capital with little resistance.

After one hundred hours, President Bush brought the ground war to a halt. The president and his advisors, concerned about the consequences of controlling a completely

United States Air Force.

U.S. Air Force jets flying over burning oil wells during the Persian Gulf War.

destabilized Iraq, objected to totally destroying Iraq's retreating army and toppling Saddam Hussein. Instead, they allowed the remnants of Iraq's frontline divisions to return to Iraq.

The Persian Gulf War was one of the most lopsided conflicts in history. In all, coalition forces suffered only 260 deaths, 146 of them U.S. troops. Iraq lost as many as 100,000 soldiers and civilians.

PHAN Hatton, U.S. Department of Defense, DN-ST-91-10630.

Kurdish refugees at a camp near the Iraq-Turkey border await relief supplies from coalition forces in 1991.

How did U.S. policy in the Middle East change after the Cold War?

By the 1990s, it was clear that the entire world was in a state of transition. The election of Gorbachev as the leader of the Soviet Union had resulted in better relations between the superpowers and general relief from the hostilities and fear that had defined the world after the Second World War. When the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, it was clear that the Cold War was completely over.

The end of the Cold War also meant that the United States shifted its priorities away from containing communism and toward pursuing other interests and concerns in the Middle East. The United States increasingly worked to transform the Middle East into a region that would best serve U.S. interests. This meant creating favorable conditions for the oil trade, designing political alliances that would maintain and heighten the U.S. influence in the region, as well as continuing the close U.S. relationship with Israel.

The United States was at the height of its influence in the Middle East and brokered peace talks between Israel, the Palestinians, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon in 1991. As a result of these negotiations, Jordan and Israel signed a peace treaty in 1994, in which Jordan joined Egypt in officially recognizing Israel.

Although the Cold War has ended and the Soviet Union longer exists, new security concerns top the list of U.S. priorities. In the next section of the reading, you will read about the security, economic, and ideological issues that make the Middle East a crucial part of U.S. foreign policy today.

Part III: U.S. Middle East Policy in the Twenty-First Century

Today, the United States faces different challenges in the Middle East than it did during the Cold War, when U.S. policy in the region was defined by its relationship to the Soviet Union.

The breakup of the Soviet Union did not mean fewer security concerns for the United States. A new era began on September 11, 2001, when terrorists angry about the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia and the growing U.S. role in the Middle East attacked the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. These attacks killed nearly three thousand people. The attackers, most of whom were Saudi, were followers of Osama bin Laden, the leader of the al Qaeda terrorist group that was based in Afghanistan.

Michael Foran, (CC-BY-2.0).

The towers of the World Trade center burn after being attacked by terrorists in September 2001.

The events of that day have shaped U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East since then. Before September 11, 2001, the United States had cut its defense budget, withdrawn U.S. troops from overseas bases, and cut foreign aid spending in most parts of the world. After September 11, the United States went to war in Afghanistan and Iraq and began to reconsider

Islamic Extremism

Osama bin Laden, leader of the terrorist group al Qaeda, used his beliefs about Islam to justify his attacks against the United States. Similarly, many other terrorist organizations use an extremist view of Islam as a defense of their actions. For many around the world this has raised concerns about Islam. Some have wondered whether there are justifications for terrorism within Islam. For others, terrorism seemed to confirm a perception of Islam as a violent and fanatical faith. In contrast, many Muslims in the United States and around the world worried that their religion would be wrongly associated with the beliefs of bin Laden.

Like all religions, Islam is subject to interpretation. Most interpretations of Islamic tradition note a history of tolerance and peace. (The word Islam is related to the Arabic word *salaam,* which means peace.) Throughout much of history, Muslims have lived peacefully with followers of other religions. For example, in the late fifteenth century many Jews fled persecution in Christian Europe and found the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East to be more tolerant. Islam permits the use of force in self-defense, but not the killing of innocents or civilians. Since September 11, 2001, numerous important Islamic clerics from many branches of Islam and different countries have strongly condemned bin Laden and other extremists' acts of violence.

its policies in the Middle East and its role in the world.

In the following pages, you will learn more about the Middle East's connections to U.S. policy since the turn of the twenty-first century. You will examine how the demand for oil, the threat of terrorism, and the alliance with Israel have defined U.S. policy. You will also consider how dramatic uprisings in the Arab World have brought new challenges in weighing U.S. national priorities.

U.S. Security after September 11: Iraq and Iran

While the immediate impact of the September 11 attacks could be felt throughout the globe, their overall effect on the United States and its relationship to the rest of the world would extend far beyond the death toll. In his State of the Union address in January 2002, U.S. President George W. Bush (2001-2009) laid out new, aggressive goals for a "global war on terrorism." Instead of focusing on the narrower goal of bringing the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks to justice, the Bush administration framed the United States' response as a struggle to prevent terrorists all around the world from threatening global stability.

The administration's focus broadened from terrorist groups themselves to include countries that supported terrorist groups (including those without any direct ties to al Qaeda or the September 11 attacks). The president claimed that both Iraq and Iran sponsored

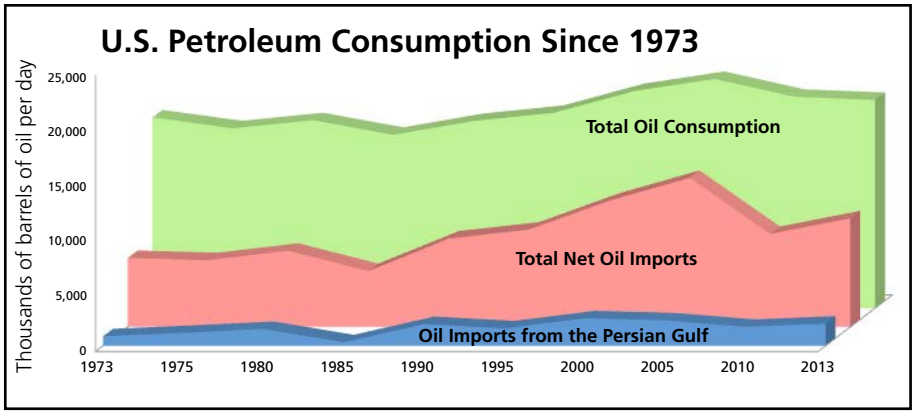
Oil Trends

While technological advances have led to dramatic increases in domestic production of petroleum and natural gas, the United States continues to depend on imported oil. Today, the United States relies on the Middle East for about 10 percent of its oil needs.

The Middle East is the center of the international oil industry and is therefore likely to remain a critical region for the world's economy. The region contains about 50 percent of the world's proven oil reserves.

Oil from the Middle East is also the cheapest to produce. The cost of extracting a barrel of oil from Canada's tar sands fields, for example, is many times greater than pumping a barrel near the Persian Gulf. Despite the increasing use of alternative and domestic energy sources, the United States will likely depend on Middle Eastern oil for the foreseeable future.

For decades, political instability in the Middle East has disrupted the world oil market and has increased gas prices. Because of this, many U.S. policies have focused on creating political and economic stability in the region, putting U.S.-friendly governments in power in oil-rich countries, or supporting existing governments that protect U.S. oil interests. Often, this includes fostering close relationships with unjust and undemocratic rulers of Middle Eastern countries, standing at odds with U.S. claims about promoting democracy around the world.



terrorism, possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and posed a threat to the peace and stability of the world. These two countries dominated U.S. security concerns in the Middle East in the years following the September 11 attacks and remain at the center of U.S. involvement in the region today.

■ Iraq

U.S. efforts to contain Saddam Hussein's regime continued after the first Persian Gulf War in 1991. At the urging of the United States, the UN Security Council imposed economic sanctions and limited the sale of Iraqi oil in order to damage the Iraqi economy and limit Saddam Hussein's power. The sanctions had devastating effects on the Iraqi economy and people, but failed to force Hussein from power.

As part of the Gulf War cease-fire agreement, UN monitors conducted regular inspections of Iraq to prevent the production of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. UN weapons inspectors also destroyed vast stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons. In late 1998, Iraq refused to allow UN inspectors a free hand in continuing their search for WMD and, in response, U.S. and British forces conducted a series of air strikes. Iraq then refused to allow UN inspectors to operate in Iraq at all until late 2002. Without inspections, the international community had very little information about whether Iraq had an active WMD program.

Why did the United States invade Iraq in 2003?

In 2002, the Bush administration stated that Iraq had WMD and that Saddam Hussein would use them to threaten the United States and its allies. President Bush denounced Saddam Hussein as a ruthless dictator who endangered his own people, his neighbors, and the world. Additionally, in February 2003, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell argued before the UN Security Council that the United States had evidence of Iraqi links to the al Qaeda terrorist group based in Afghanistan. Although the UN resumed weapons inspections in 2002 and found no signs of WMD, the Bush administration questioned the effectiveness of inspections.

In addition, many members of the Bush administration argued that the United States should use its military might to promote U.S. values and interests abroad. They discounted the role of international cooperation and rejected any role for the UN in preserving international security. Instead they argued that the United States should dictate international security and spread its values in a variety of ways, including through a policy of regime change (ousting the government in a country to install a new one). These officials argued that overthrowing Saddam Hussein's regime would help bring democracy, capitalism, and human rights to the entire region—and solve the problem of terrorism in the Middle East.

Public debates about what to do about Iraq were intense. Some critics of a potential invasion did not believe that Iraq actually possessed WMD or supported al Qaeda. They argued that the U.S. government had focused on these factors in order to gain support for a war that was actually about asserting U.S. power in the Middle East after September 11 and controlling Iraq's massive oil reserves. Other opponents of war were concerned about the costs, in both dollars and lives. On February 15, 2003, millions of anti-war activists marched in coordinated demonstrations in cities throughout the world (including many in the United States) in what has been called the largest protest in human history. Despite this opposition, the Bush administration and its supporters argued that the United States needed to take military action, and the U.S. Congress authorized the use of force. Although the UN Security Council did not authorize the use of force in Iraq, President Bush ordered the U.S. military to invade.

What happened while U.S. military forces were in Iraq?

In the spring of 2003, a U.S.-led military coalition invaded Iraq and toppled Saddam Hussein's government. An intensive search for WMD began, but no conclusive evidence of

WMD or direct links to al Qaeda were found. The arguments the Bush administration had used to justify war turned out to be false.

By the summer of 2003, opposition to coalition forces had grown into an insurgency (military resistance movement) made up of local and foreign groups fighting against the U.S. presence in Iraq. These groups were also fighting each other, vying for power and often targeting civilians. Tensions between Shi'i and Sunni Muslims, which Saddam Hussein had fostered during his reign, intensified after the invasion as U.S. policies disproportionately punished Sunni Arabs who had formerly been employed by the government. Sunni Arab militants engaged in violence not only against U.S. forces, but also against the new Iraqi government, which they felt excluded them from power. Many Shi'i Arabs viewed Sunni Arab violence as a continuation of the repressive tactics of Saddam Hussein and did not want to be ruled by a Sunni minority.

The insurgency included extremist groups that saw the fight against U.S. forces in Iraq as part of a broader struggle against U.S. control of the Middle East. One of these was al Qaeda in Iraq (or AQI), which developed after the U.S. invasion (there was no al Qaeda presence in the country before the U.S. invasion) and had connections to groups throughout the Middle East. While it pledged allegiance to Osama bin Laden and the rest of the al Qaeda network in 2004, AQI was not controlled by bin Laden. It used violence against both U.S. forces and Iraqi Shi'i civilians in an attempt to stoke civil unrest and drive the United States out of Iraq. AQI's violent tactics so angered Iraqis that some Sunni insurgent groups formed a partnership with U.S. forces to fight AQI. Osama bin Laden even cut off ties between al Qaeda and AQI, fearing that AQI's brutal attacks on local Muslims would reduce public support for al Qaeda's broader fight against the United States.

The war took a devastating toll on Iraqi society. Estimates from various independent groups ranged from one hundred thousand deaths to over one million. Almost one in five

Shi'i and Sunni Muslims

In general, Muslims attribute great importance to the life and times of the Prophet Mohammed, whose revelations from God became the basis of Islam. There are differences in interpretation of those events among the different sects of Islam, two of the largest of which are Sunni and Shi'i. Following the death of the Prophet in 632 CE, Muslims elected a successor of the Prophet to lead them, called a caliph. The first four caliphs were elected, but only the fourth, Ali, was related by blood to the Prophet Mohammed. When Ali died, a man named Mu'awiya took over as caliph. Today, Sunnis believe that this succession of caliphs was legitimate, and that the first four caliphs and their later successors helped to uphold tradition and keep order throughout the Muslim world. According to the Shi'a, Ali was the only legitimate caliph of the first four because he was the only one related to the Prophet, which endowed him with special spiritual qualities that were essential for the leader of Islam to have. The recognition of one leader over another in the early period of Islam led Sunnis and Shi'a to emphasize different aspects of their religion. Sunnis emphasize conformity and social stability. The Shi'a emphasize equity, social justice, and the dignity of the individual.

Sunni and Shi'i Muslims have lived mostly peacefully in close proximity for centuries. In recent years, the differences between the sects have been used by groups and countries to rally support in political conflicts and struggles for power. For example, the leaders of Sunni Saudi Arabia and Shi'i Iran are competing for power in the region and each use their religious differences to garner political support. Militant groups use sectarian appeals to attract members and justify their actions. Although both Sunni and Shi'i clergy have worked to reduce tensions and violence, the division has become a factor in the current conflicts in the region.

Iraqis—over five million people—fled their homes after the invasion, often due to violence, unemployment, and insecurity.

The costs of the war to the United States have also been high—as have the social effects that cannot be easily quantified. The United States spent at least $700 billion in Iraq. In human terms, the cost has also been steep. Nearly 4,500 U.S. soldiers died in the Iraq War and over 32,000 were wounded. The injuries to soldiers are not only physical. Some experts estimate that 25 percent of soldiers returning from the war suffer from psychological issues, including post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and substance abuse.

How has the Iraq War affected perceptions of the United States?

U.S. forces played a complicated role in Iraq. Although these forces were trying to create a stable government and end the fighting, the U.S. presence also contributed to the violence and instability. Many groups throughout the region, strongly opposed to U.S. support for Israel, were unhappy about further U.S. involvement in the Middle East. Civilian deaths, imprisonment, and abuse by U.S. forces influenced many Iraqis to join insurgent groups and fight against the U.S. occupation.

Internationally, the conflict was generally unpopular, and friction between the United States and other countries because of the Iraq War hindered international cooperation on other issues. The war also damaged relationships between the United States and other Middle Eastern countries. For example, the U.S. relationship with Turkey, a longtime U.S. ally that borders Iraq, was significantly strained by the war. In addition, U.S. claims of supporting democracy in Iraq and the region were met with skepticism about U.S. inten-

Jeffrey Wolfe, U.S. Army.

Iraqi women carry water home. U.S. troops were in Iraq between 2003 and 2011 and were a constant presence in the lives of Iraqis. U.S. military forces withdrew in December 2011. Several thousand U.S. military personnel returned in 2014 to help the Iraqi army combat ISIS (the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria).

tions and the use of military force. The U.S. war in Iraq contributed to a rise in anti-American sentiment throughout the Middle East and the world, and the presence of U.S. troops in Iraq became a powerful recruiting tool for terrorist groups seeking to harm the United States.

What has happened since the 2011 withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Iraq?

The new Iraqi government has held elections, but major challenges to stability and democracy remain. Iraqis complain about the government's inability to provide basic services such as clean drinking water, electricity, employment, and security.

In addition, after U.S. forces withdrew from Iraq, the violent extremist group AQI grew in strength. In 2012, AQI adopted a new name, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), also sometimes called ISIL. ISIS aims to establish a caliphate (a medieval term for Islamic state) across Iraq and Syria and follows an extreme and intolerant interpretation of Sunni Islam. ISIS has used violence and fear to target Shi'i Muslims and members of other religious groups.

In 2014, ISIS took control of a large portion of northern Iraq and eastern Syria, and threatened to conquer more territory. The U.S.-trained Iraqi army failed to stop ISIS's advance, and U.S. President Obama ordered U.S. airstrikes against the group and U.S. military personnel to support the Iraqi army. Obama, who had sharply criticized the U.S. war in Iraq, found himself drawn into another military conflict in that same country. Many people around the world now believe that the violence and terror that has emerged in Iraq since the U.S. invasion and after the withdrawal of U.S. forces is worse than it was during Saddam Hussein's rule.

> ***"Now, it will take time to eradicate a cancer like ISIL.... This counterterrorism campaign will be waged through a steady, relentless effort to take out ISIL wherever they exist, using our air power and our support for partners' forces on the ground."***
>
> —President Obama, September 10, 2014

■ Iran

For more than a decade, the United States and other governments have worried that Iran wants to build nuclear weapons. Iran's government has staunchly defended its right to a nuclear program on the basis that it is only developing nuclear materials for peaceful purposes. This right is protected by the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which Iran has signed. Iran's Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei has said that producing or using nuclear weapons is immoral, but Iran has not always been open about its nuclear program. For example, in 2009, the discovery of a secret Iranian nuclear enrichment plant both worried and angered the international community. The dilemma is that it is difficult to distinguish between "good atoms" for peaceful purposes like nuclear power and "bad atoms" for military purposes.

> ***"Iran does not have a right to nuclear military capacity, and we're determined to prevent that. But it does have a right to civil nuclear power if it reestablishes the confidence of the international community that it will use its programs exclusively for peaceful purposes."***
>
> —U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, July 15, 2009

The United States and other countries are particularly concerned that if Iran develops a nuclear weapon, it might share the technology with the groups Iran supports, like Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in the Gaza Strip. The United States also fears that if Iran obtains nuclear weapons, other countries in the region, including Egypt, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia, may feel the need to develop nuclear weapons as well.

How has the world responded to Iran's nuclear ambitions?

On and off for more than a decade, France, Germany, and Britain have engaged in negotiations with Iran in attempts to limit the country's nuclear capabilities. In 2008, the United States joined these countries along with Russia and China in nuclear talks with Iran. The United States and other governments want to prevent Iran from having the capacity to make nuclear weapons. Israel's government, in particular, sees an Iran with nuclear weapons as a dire threat.

Hamed Saber (CC BY2.0).

Antiaircraft guns guarding a nuclear facility in Natanz, Iran. 2006.

The United Nations, United States, and European Union have placed economic sanctions on Iran in an attempt to pressure its leaders to cooperate. The sanctions have severely damaged Iran's economy and caused hardships for the Iranian people, but have not yet led to a resolution.

There have been other steps to stop or delay any potential nuclear weapons program in Iran. In 2010, a sophisticated computer virus, known as Stuxnet, attacked Iranian nuclear enrichment facilities. Many experts believe that Israel and the United States were behind the attack. In addition, several key Iranian nuclear scientists have been assassinated in Tehran.

In 2013, the United States and Iran entered a period of intense negotiations about Iran's nuclear program. China, France, Germany, Russia, and the United Kingdom are also participating in the negotiations. Iran's newly-elected President Hassan Rouhani and U.S. President Obama have indicated that they would like to resolve these issues through diplomacy. But the U.S. relationship with Iran has been filled with hostility and mistrust for decades, making negotiations difficult. The stakes over a potential nuclear weapons program in Iran are so high that war is also seen as a possible outcome if negotiations fail.

How has Iran changed in recent years?

The Iranian Revolution that triggered alarm in U.S. policy circles in 1979 has lost much of its popularity among the Iranian people. Public demonstrations calling for reform and criticizing Iran's clerics have become more common.

Hassan Rouhani, a moderate cleric, became president in 2013. He won the votes of many Iranians who support reforms to improve relations with the international community and end the economic sanctions. What his election will mean for the relationship between the United States and Iran remains to be seen, but his statements indicate a desire for resolving many of the issues between the two countries.

Photo courtesy of M. Ravanipour.

In mid-2009, hundreds of thousands of Iranians protested the results of the presidential election, which they believed had been rigged. Although the government tried to limit international press coverage, Iranians used cell phones and computers to upload video and photos of the protests to the internet. The Iranian government responded with force, leaving scores of marchers dead and thousands in jail. The decision by Ayatollah Khamenei, the supreme leader of Iran, to declare the election fair and denounce the protests has further undermined the legitimacy of the political system in the eyes of many.

> ***"The issue of relations between Iran and the United States is a complicated and difficult issue.... After all, there is an old scar. Prudence has to be adopted to cure this scar. Of course, we will not pursue continuing or expanding tensions.... It would be wise for the two nations and countries to think more of the future."***
>
> —Iranian President Hassan Rouhani, June 18, 2013

Iran and the United States also have a new strategic reason for rebuilding their relationship—the growing threat of ISIS. Iran, concerned about the unrest and violence at its borders with Iraq, also opposes ISIS and wants to see it defeated.

Whether the U.S. and Iranian governments will overcome thirty years of hostility to work together against ISIS is an open question. While many suggest that the long-standing tension between the United States and Iran could lessen in coming years, the U.S. relationship with Israel continues to complicate diplomacy between the two countries.

Israel and the Palestinians

Conflict and hostility between Israel and other countries in the region have commanded a large share of the United States' diplomatic energy for decades. In recent years, the United States has tried to bridge the differences between Israel and the Palestinians. In addition to playing host at negotiating sessions, the United States exerts influence through foreign aid and diplomatic pressure. Israel has long been a leading recipient of U.S. foreign aid.

What is the U.S. government's perspective on relations with Israel?

Israeli security is important to the United States for a number of reasons. Since its creation in 1948, Israel has occupied a special position in U.S. foreign policy. U.S. leaders have stood by Israel for several reasons. Israel has won the admiration of many in the United States as a model of democracy in the Middle East. Groups that support Israel are active and influential in U.S. politics. Israel is also viewed as a strategic ally in the region. Israel's development of nuclear weapons (which Israeli officials have never admitted) with French help gives Israel added importance in U.S. policy.

In recent years, U.S. support of Israel has attracted fresh attention. Israel's disputed occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and its treatment of the Palestinians there have drawn intense criticism from around the world. The U.S. government's support for Israel has remained strong, a position that is a source of anti-U.S. sentiment in the Middle East and beyond.

What was the* intifada*?

In 1987, the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza began a broad-based protest movement to end the Israeli occupation that had begun in 1967. They wanted to establish their own state and govern themselves. This mass uprising lasted for five years and was known as the *intifada*. (*Intifada* is an Arabic word that means "shaking-off.")

The *intifada* arose from numerous grievances. For example, in the years before the *intifada*, Israel's government had intensified its policy of building settlements for Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza territories reserved for Palestinians. The Israeli government confiscated Palestinian land and arrested and held Palestinians in prison for extended periods of time without charging them with any crime. Israeli taxes and regulations were discriminatory. In response, Palestinians began a series of strikes and protests and refused to buy Israeli goods. Over time, the uprising became more violent. Some Palestinians targeted Israelis with violence, and others attacked Palestinians who collaborated with Israelis. The Israeli military cracked down harshly.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) under the leadership of Yasir Arafat worked to coordinate the uprising from outside the West Bank and Gaza. The PLO, a secular (nonreligious) organization, supported a "two-state solution" where Israel and Palestine would be sovereign states based on the pre-1967 war borders.

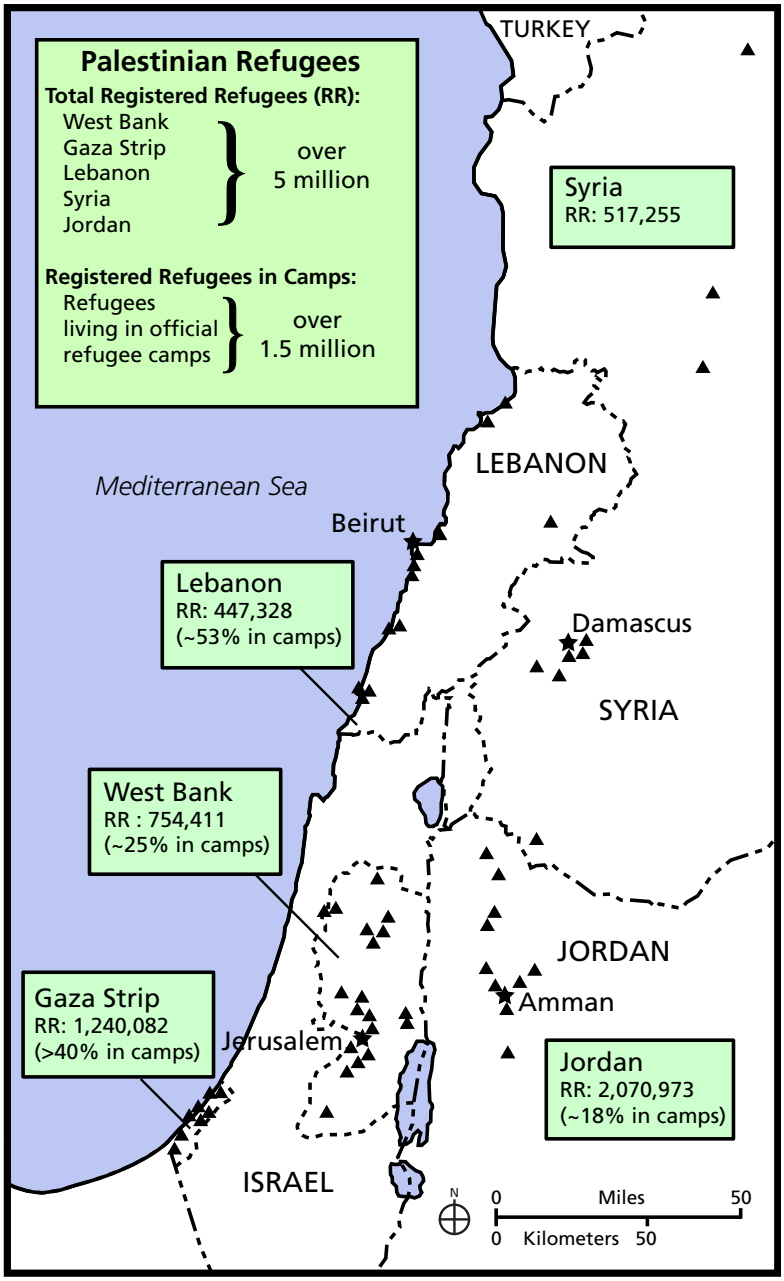
During the *intifada*, a new organization called Hamas emerged that rejected the two-state solution. Hamas has both a political and military wing—its long-term goal is to establish an Islamic Palestinian state. The United States considers Hamas to be a terrorist organization.

Süleyman Argun (CC BY 2.0).

The Western Wall in Jerusalem is one of the most sacred sites of the Jewish faith, a site for prayer and pilgrimage.

What were the Oslo Accords?

The *intifada* drew attention to the Palestinian desire for autonomy and publicized the harsh conditions under Israeli rule. The Israeli government's concerns about the violence of the *intifada* and the rise of Hamas also helped set the stage for negotiations with the PLO.



Figures from United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, as of January 2014.

Palestinian refugees live throughout the world. These figures are for the region where the bulk of Palestinian refugees live. The UN defines Palestinian refugees as people and their descendants whose normal place of residency between 1946 and 1948 was Palestine and who lost their homes and livelihoods as a result of the 1948 conflict.

The PLO saw the value of changing its tactics and negotiating to achieve a Palestinian state. It also hoped successful negotiations would help it regain some of the popularity that it was losing to Hamas.

Negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians took place near Oslo, Norway in 1993. Israel accepted the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people but not a state, while the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist in peace and renounced the use of violence. Israel remained the ultimate authority in the West Bank and Gaza, but the Palestinian government, called the Palestinian Authority, was allowed to manage day-to-day affairs in half of the Gaza Strip and the main cities of the West Bank, except East Jerusalem. Palestinians established their own police force and began electing officials. Israeli and Palestinian negotiators were scheduled to conclude a final agreement by May 1999 that would create a Palestinian state that would exist side by side with Israel, but that agreement was never fulfilled.

There were sharp divisions within Israeli and Palestinian societies that prevented reaching a final agreement. Economic conditions in the West Bank and Gaza worsened, and frustration with corruption in the Palestinian Authority and Arafat's authoritarian leadership increased. Hamas, which had many disagreements with Arafat and his party Fatah, opposed reaching an agreement with Israel based on the Oslo Accords. In the mid-1990s, in an effort to sabotage reaching an agreement, Hamas began conducting suicide bombing attacks

against Israeli citizens in Israel. Israel told Arafat to crack down on Hamas or face an end of negotiations. When he did, heavy-handed methods decreased his popularity among Palestinians.

Opposition to reaching a final agreement also increased in Israel. The bombings by Hamas raised fears about Israel's security. In addition, extremely religious Jewish Israelis believed the West Bank belonged to Jews and continued to build settlements there and in the Gaza Strip. On November 4, 1995, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli religious extremist, an event that revealed the sharp divisions in Israeli society and made the whole Oslo process obsolete.

***What led to the second* intifada?**

The lack of political progress and worsening economic conditions led Hamas and some groups associated with Arafat's Fatah party to launch a second *intifada* in 2000. The clashes with Israeli forces were more violent than the first *intifada* and included an intense suicide bombing campaign aimed at Israeli civilians. The Israeli military used its sophisticated weaponry to respond. The wave of violence killed more than 950 Israelis and 3,200 Palestinians. Many of the people killed were civilians.

Efforts to resolve the ongoing conflict came from a variety of sources, including the United States and Saudi Arabia, but made little headway during the 2000s. Arafat's death in 2004 and the election of Mahmoud Abbas as president of the Palestinian Authority led to renewed hopes for progress. Abbas renounced the *intifada* and made efforts to halt attacks against Israel. Israel, in turn, reduced military activity in the West Bank and removed all Israeli settlers from the Gaza Strip. But progress was short-lived.

In January 2006, Hamas won a slight majority of votes in democratic legislative elections and assumed control of the Palestinian Authority (Mahmoud Abbas was still president). The United States and Israel refused to recognize the new government.

Hamas and its rival political party, Fatah, formed a unity government. But when Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip in June 2007, President Abbas dissolved the unity government. Abbas's Fatah party retained control of the West Bank while Hamas established its own government in Gaza. Israel responded by establishing a blockade of Gaza with the hope of weakening Hamas. The blockade, which is still in place, tightly controls what goods, services, and people can come in and out of Gaza. Egypt helps enforce the blockade on its border with Gaza. Ordinary people living in Gaza bear the brunt of the increasingly difficult economic and living conditions in the Gaza Strip.

The division in Palestinian leadership and the prominent role of Hamas contributed to worsening relations with Israel. In December 2008, Israeli forces clashed with Hamas fighters. Following Palestinian rocket attacks against Israel, Israel's military forces entered Gaza in January 2009. Weeks of intense fighting killed thirteen Israelis and more than one thousand Palestinians.

2006 Israel-Hezbollah War

In mid-2006, a war erupted on the Israeli-Lebanese border between Israel and Hezbollah. (Hezbollah formed in 1982 to resist the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.) Hezbollah kidnapped two Israeli soldiers, which led to retaliation from Israel and further violence from Hezbollah. The conflict killed more than a thousand militants and civilians, mostly Lebanese.

Hezbollah's role in Lebanon prevents Israel and Lebanon from being able to negotiate peace. The United States and the European Union consider Hezbollah, which cooperates closely with Iran and Syria, to be a terrorist organization. Iran is its single largest financial supporter, though it also receives significant funding from individual donations. Since Israeli forces left Lebanon in 2000, one of Hezbollah's goals has been to support the Palestinian cause.

Why did Mahmoud Abbas call for the United Nations to recognize a Palestinian state?

With progress on negotiations stalled, Mahmoud Abbas requested in September 2011 that the United Nations recognize a Palestinian state. Israel insists that the Palestinians should achieve statehood through negotiations with Israeli officials rather than the United Nations, a position the United States supports. Palestinians argue that Israel has no intention of ever allowing such negotiations to succeed. In November 2012, the UN General Assembly granted Palestinians admission as a non-member observer state.

Czech160 (Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons).

Palestinian women wait at an Israeli checkpoint near Ramallah, in the West Bank, to move from one town to another. These checkpoints limit Palestinians' ability to travel to work and elsewhere.

In the summer of 2013, the United States made a push to resume negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry expressed his concern that time to reach an agreement could be running out.

> ***"...I believe the window for a two-state solution is shutting. I think we have some period of time—a year to year-and-a-half to two years—or it's over,"***
>
> —U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, April 17, 2013

Months of negotiations led to no progress. In April 2014, when Hamas and Fatah agreed to begin reunifying their governments in the West Bank and Gaza, Israel ended its participation in the U.S.-led talks. Two months later, fifty days of fighting between Palestinian militants and the Israeli Defense Forces led to the deaths of more than seventy Israelis and more than two thousand Palestinians. The costs were not only in human lives. Israeli military strikes damaged roads, thousands of homes, and water and power supplies in Gaza, making life for people living there more difficult. President Abbas has said it will cost more than four billion dollars to rebuild Gaza's infrastructure and housing.

In late 2014, Palestinian President Abbas called for the United Nations to set a deadline for the end of the Israeli occupation and joined the International Criminal Court—moves designed to create another pathway to statehood in addition to negotiations. Whether a peaceful resolution is possible, and what U.S. diplomatic efforts can achieve, is unclear. There are numerous unresolved issues that remain as obstacles to peace.

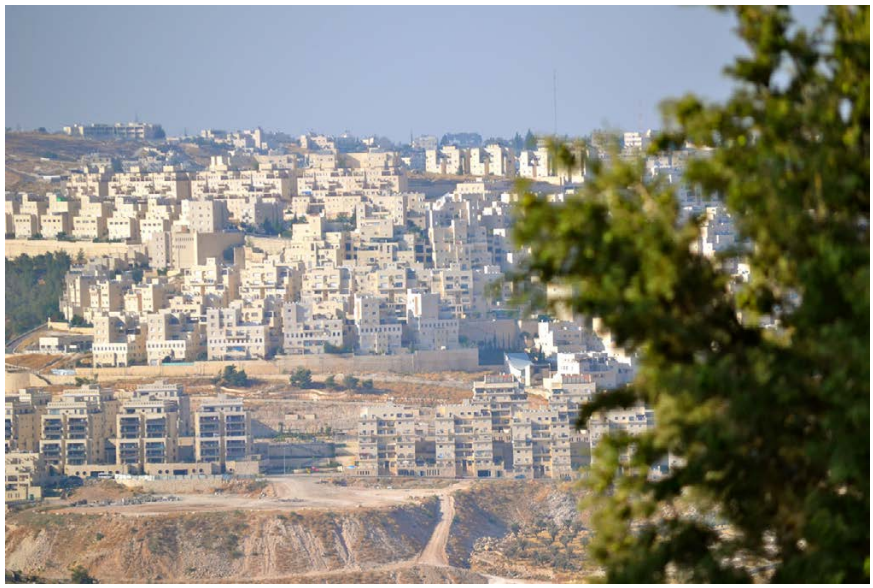
What issues remain unresolved between Israel and the Palestinians?

Palestinian Statehood: Above all, the Palestinians desire the rights of full statehood. These include the rights to control their own borders, to move freely inside their own country, and to form their own government and army. Some Israelis believe that a full-fledged Palestinian state could endanger their security.

The Israeli occupation and the conditions it imposes have meant that Palestinians do not have the rights of self-governance and free movement. For many Palestinians, statehood simply represents an end to the harsh realities of living under occupation.

Jerusalem: The status of Jerusalem is another important sticking point. East Jerusalem has religious significance for both Muslims and Jews. Israel captured East Jerusalem during the Six-Day War of 1967. Prior to this, East Jerusalem and the West Bank were under the control of Jordan.

About 200,000 Israelis and 300,000 Palestinians live in East Jerusalem today. Israel claims complete control over Jerusalem and considers it the nation's capital. (The United States and most other countries do not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital.)



Zein Khleif. Used with permission.

An Israeli settlement as seen from Bethlehem in the West Bank.

Palestinians want to establish their capital in East Jerusalem, where they represent a majority of the population. Many Palestinians claim that Israeli policies seek to push them out of the city. Palestinians in East Jerusalem face a severe housing shortage and have difficulty getting building permits, and Israeli authorities have seized and demolished Palestinian homes. From 1967 to 2008, Israel revoked the residency status of thirty thousand Palestinians in East Jerusalem, including many who had been born in the city. Without residency, Palestinians in East Jerusalem can be deported.

Jewish Settlements: Like the status of Jerusalem, disputed Jewish settlements in the Palestinian territories are an important issue. More than 700,000 Israelis live in the West Bank and East Jerusalem—an increase from the 110,000 settlers living in all of the occupied territories in 1993. Most settlers make their homes in modern suburbs around Jerusalem. Other Israelis have settled in more remote areas, often because they believe the lands belong to Jews by divine right.

One-State Solution?

There is growing international condemnation of the current situation because of the violence and difficult living conditions for Palestinians. For many years, U.S. policy has been to try to help negotiate a two-state solution. According to this idea, a Palestinian state based on the 1967 borders would exist peacefully side-by-side with Israel. Some observers believe that a two-state solution is getting more and more difficult to achieve and have called for a single-state solution. In one version of this idea, Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza become a single country with equal rights for all citizens. Such an outcome would pose a challenge to Israel as a Jewish state.

> ***"If the day comes when the two-state solution collapses, and we face a South African-style struggle for equal voting rights (also for the Palestinians in the territories), then, as soon as that happens, the State of Israel is finished"***
>
> —Ehud Olmert, prime minister of Israel, November 29, 2007

Many of the settlers, who use a large portion of the scarce resources of the area, vow that they will never accept Palestinian authority. Israel has insisted on maintaining control of the access roads that connect the settlements, effectively carving lands of the Palestinians into isolated pockets.

The United States, Russia, the United Nations, and the European Union have repeatedly called on Israel to halt construction of new settlements, which they see as an obstacle to peace talks as well as a violation of international law. Jewish settlers continue to resist calls for them to evacuate their homes, and the Israeli government continues to defend the building of settlements—particularly in East Jerusalem.

The Barrier Wall: In the mid-1990s, the Israeli government constructed a barrier between Israel and the Gaza Strip to prevent unauthorized entry of Palestinians into Israel and attacks by terrorists. In June 2002, Israel decided to construct a similar barrier in the West Bank. Though it is not yet complete, the path of the barrier is contested. The planned path incorporates Jewish settlements, cuts across Palestinian farmland, and will make it more difficult for Palestinians in the West Bank to travel freely to work. When completed, the wall will total more than four hundred miles. The United States has defended Israel's right to build a barrier at its borders but has expressed concern that the path does not follow the borders agreed upon in the 1949 Armistice Agreements between Israel and its neighbors. It is estimated that the barrier will result in almost 10 percent of Palestinian land being on the Israeli side of the wall.

Palestinian Refugees: Nearly two million Palestinian refugees live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. (The total population of the West Bank and Gaza is 4.5 million.) As many as 4.7 million other Palestinians live scattered throughout the Middle East, mostly in Jordan. Palestinian leaders argue that all Palestinians—many of whom were forced to flee during the 1948 and 1967 wars—should have the right to return to their former homes in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Israel as promised in UN Resolution 194. Israeli authorities have resisted opening the Palestinian territories to unrestricted immigration. They worry that Palestinians returning to Israel would eventually change the nature of their state. Israelis also note that more than 1.6 million Palestinian citizens of Israel already live within Israel's borders.

> ***"...Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and...compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."***
>
> —UN Resolution 194, 1948

Water Resources: The right to water and water usage in the region is another significant stumbling block. Limited supply and water sources that cross borders remain significant obstacles to any agreement. Currently, Israel controls the water resources of the West Bank and Gaza and sells water to Palestinians. The Israeli-Jordanian Peace Agreement of 1994 contains a water protocol. Other water agreements between Israel and its neighbors will be necessary to govern the use of this scarce resource.

Borders: Finally, it remains unclear what the borders between Israel and a Palestinian state would be. Jerusalem remains an important obstacle. Jewish settlements are pushing Israeli land ownership further into Palestinian territory, and the plans for a barrier around the West Bank extend beyond the borders agreed to in the past. Israeli suggestions of "land exchanges" have been dismissed by Palestinians who do not want to lose fertile and water-rich land in the West Bank.

An Era of Change

In December 2010, protests began against the autocratic government in the North African country of Tunisia. Hundreds of thousands of Tunisians took to the streets calling for an end to authoritarian rule. They wanted more democracy, an end to corruption, and economic opportunity. The protests spread to more than a dozen countries in the region and became known as the Arab Spring. In some countries, like Egypt and Libya, protests led to a change in government. In others, like Bahrain, protests were met with fierce repression by the government. In Syria, demonstrations led to a civil war that had killed more than two hundred thousand people by the end of 2014.

The protests marked the beginning of what is an ongoing transition in the Middle East. Amidst the struggle for political control, there has been uncertainty and violence. These events have forced the United States to reassess its policies.

What principles guide U.S. policy in the Middle East?

Since the end of World War II, the United States has forged alliances in the Middle East, often with leaders of authoritarian governments who promised to support U.S. policies. In general, U.S. policy makers have paid less attention to promoting democracy and human rights in the Middle East than in other parts of the world. U.S. leaders largely ignored how U.S. allies in the Middle East governed within their borders as long as they helped keep affordable oil flowing and remained friendly to the interests of the United States. U.S. claims of promoting democracy, particularly after the invasion of Iraq, were met with suspicion and mistrust.

> ***"I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this is connected to the war in Iraq. So let me be clear: no system of government can or should be imposed upon one nation by another."***
>
> —President Barack Obama, June 4, 2009

The wave of protests that began in the region in 2011—and the United States' varied responses in different countries—sheds light on the tension between the values and interests at the heart of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

As the Middle East changes, the United States will continue to have important economic and security interests in the region. Many in the United States have applauded the democratic spirit of the uprisings, but some experts worry that divisions in Arab societies—long-suppressed by authoritarian rulers—are boiling over, leading to conflict and instability that threaten U.S. interests.

These developments create a chance to consider the basis for U.S. policy in the Middle East.

- What should the United States do when the values of democratic governance and human rights come into conflict with economic interests and political stability?
- How deeply should the United States be involved the politics of the Middle East?

What is the role of political Islam?

One source of uncertainty amidst the political protests is the role that political Islam might play in any new governments in the region. Political Islam uses politics to promote Islam as a basis for the laws and organization of government and society.

Movements of political Islam have grown due to economic forces and political necessity. This has led people to turn away from their governments and toward political Islam for solutions. Earlier political movements, such as pan-Arab nationalism, failed. Corruption, mismanagement, and reliance on foreign support have weakened popular faith in Middle Eastern governments. In almost all Middle Eastern countries, Islam is the binding force of society. At the same time, not all religiously observant Muslims believe that Islam should be the basis of politics.

How has the United States regarded political Islam?

Political Islam's appeal has increased in the Middle East since the Iranian Revolution in 1979. In general, the United States has regarded political Islam as a threat to U.S. interests because some movements have an anti-U.S. stance. Terror attacks by al Qaeda and ISIS have added to anxiety within the United States about political Islam.

But not all political Islam is extreme or violent. These movements are numerous, vary from country to country, and have a range of beliefs. They do not all support the violence and ideology of al Qaeda or ISIS or want a government led by strict religious leaders like in Iran. Some observers believe that Islamic groups will be important participants in the push for democratic processes in the region.

President Obama acknowledged tensions between Muslims and the United States in a speech in Cairo, Egypt addressed to Muslims around the world.

> ***"I have come here to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world; one based upon mutual interest and mutual respect; and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive, and need not be in competition. Instead, they overlap and share common principles—principles of justice and progress; tolerance and dignity of all human beings."***
>
> —President Barack Obama, June 4, 2009

What role political Islam will play in the ongoing evolution of politics in the Middle East is uncertain and only one of many factors that policy makers must consider.

Below are six case studies that explore some of the important new developments in the Middle East. As you read them, consider how they might affect U.S. policy.

■ Egypt

The 2011 revolution in Egypt overthrew the undemocratic and repressive regime of President Hosni Mubarak. After eighteen days of protests by millions, Mubarak stepped down from power on February 11, 2011. He had ruled Egypt for close to thirty years.

Egypt under Mubarak had close ties to the United States and was a top recipient of U.S. aid. The United States considered Egypt's secular government to be an important source of stability in the region. For example, Egypt helped broker agreements between Israel and the Palestinians. In the early days of the protests, U.S. officials continued to identify Mubarak as a U.S. ally, but they changed their tone as the protests intensified. U.S. officials condemned the government's attacks on peaceful demonstrators and called for an orderly and peaceful transition of power.

No longer limited by Mubarak's regime, Islamic groups began to participate in politics. The Muslim Brotherhood—Egypt's oldest and

Gigi Ibrahim (CC BY 2.0).

Protesters in Cairo, Egypt, demonstrating against President Mohammed Morsi in August 2012.

largest political Islamic group—had a strong showing in Egypt's first parliamentary elections in November 2011. Mohammed Morsi, one of the Muslim Brotherhood's leaders, won the election to become Egypt's president in June 2012. The United States continued its cooperative relationship with Egypt even though there was a government in place led by the Muslim Brotherhood.

A little more than one year later, dissatisfaction with the economy and Morsi's government led to massive protests throughout Egypt. The Egyptian military forced Morsi from power and put him in prison, suspended the constitution, and called for new elections. Morsi supporters took to the streets in protest, and hundreds were killed by the army and police.

In May 2014, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who led the army in ousting Morsi, became president in a controversial election. He only faced one opponent, largely because the Muslim Brotherhood had been banned by the military.

Egypt continues to be an important ally of the United States. The country controls the Suez Canal and is one of the few Arab countries that has friendly relations with Israel—even helping to enforce the blockade of the Gaza Strip. Because of this, the U.S. government has been cautious in its responses to the Egyptian government's violence against its people. The Obama administration did cut some of the military aid it was sending to Egypt after the crackdown on Morsi supporters, but continues to treat Egypt as a trusted ally.

■ Syria

The United States has historically had tense relations with Syria. The United States has had Syria on its list of state sponsors of terrorism for decades, and has accused Syria of supporting Hezbollah and Hamas. Syria's ties to Iran have also unsettled the United States.

In 2011, the arrest of teenagers for writing revolutionary messages on a wall sparked protests in the Syrian city of Daraa. Soon, the protests spread throughout Syria, with people denouncing government corruption and demanding an end to the dictatorship of President Bashar al-Assad. Assad responded to the civilian protests with planes, helicopters, tanks, and snipers. The violence only made

Syriana 2011 (CC BY 2.0).

Protests in Hama, Syria against the government of Bashar al-Assad, July 22, 2011. At least half a million people participated in the demonstration. What began as protests has evolved into a bloody civil war.

the protesters more determined, and hundreds of thousands of people took to the street. Eventually, the opposition groups took up arms to defend themselves against the military. This was the beginning of an ongoing civil war that has led to the deaths of over 200,000 Syrians, most of them civilians. More than five million Syrians have fled Syria to neighboring countries where they live as refugees.

The Syrian Civil War has been particularly brutal. The forces opposing the Syrian government are not united, and often end up fighting each other. The Syrian government has been accused of using chemical weapons and routinely targets civilians. Fighters from Hezbollah, which is supported by Iran, have entered the conflict on behalf of the Syrian government. Israeli aircraft have attacked targets in Syria to prevent weapons from falling into the hands of Hezbollah. The danger of the ongoing violence becoming a regional war has made Syria a top concern for leaders in the region and around the world.

In late 2011, President Obama and other world leaders called on Assad to step down from power. Some politicians in the United States have called for U.S. military intervention. The Arab League expelled Syria as a member and imposed sanctions on the Syrian government. Although Russia and China have blocked international intervention by the United Nations, the United States and Russia worked to organize talks to end the war. The talks started in January 2014 and broke down after only two rounds. So far, the only successes of negotiations have led to Syria giving up its store of chemical weapons.

In 2014, the world became aware of the growing threat of ISIS. The United States has used airstrikes against ISIS in both Syria and Iraq and has encouraged the Kurds to fight against ISIS. The fact the Assad government is also fighting against ISIS, and that U.S. strikes against ISIS help Assad, illustrate the complexity of the situation.

■ The Kurds

Kurds are an ethnic group that lives primarily in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Armenia, and Syria. Throughout the Middle East, Kurds have historically faced discrimination from their governments. From the twentieth cen-

About thirty million Kurds live in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Armenia. These thirty million Kurds are the largest national group in the world without its own country.

tury until today, many Kurds have demanded greater rights and autonomy, and in some places, independence. But the experiences of Kurds vary from country to country. For example, in Turkey, Kurdish efforts to form an independent state met a harsh crackdown from the Turkish government, sparking a civil war that has claimed over forty thousand lives since the 1980s. Today, many Kurds in Turkey no longer seek independence, but want greater rights and political control within the borders of Turkey.

Kurds in Iraq, after suffering a genocide, ethnic cleansing, and repression at the hands of Saddam Hussein's government, gained a greater role in the new Iraqi government that formed after the 2003 U.S. invasion. The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) controls a region of northern Iraq commonly known as Iraqi Kurdistan. It has its own military and largely governs itself separate from the federal government in Baghdad. Several recent changes suggest that Iraqi Kurdistan may seek to break away from the rest of the country and form a completely independent Kurdish state. U.S. officials and members of the Iraqi federal government want Kurdistan to remain part of a unified Iraq. Some Kurdish officials have called for a public vote in the coming years to decide if Kurdistan will break away from Iraq.

In recent years, Iraqi Kurds have expanded oil production and built a pipeline to Turkey to export oil without the approval of the federal Iraqi government. This has increased tension between Kurdish officials and the Iraqi government. The United States has warned other countries not to purchase Kurdish oil that has been exported without the approval of Baghdad.

Kurds have also gained international attention for their involvement in the fight against ISIS. The United States has supported Iraqi Kurdish military forces, called the *peshmerga,* in the conflict. As ISIS swept through regions of Iraq, federal Iraqi officials left their posts in some places. This presented Kurds with an opportunity to expand their control over new territory. For example, after ISIS advanced into the city of Kirkuk in June 2014, members of the Iraqi Army fled, and ultimately Kurds took control of the city.

> ***"We are not Arab, we are not Turkish, we are not Persian. We are Kurds. We are a nation. We have our right."***
>
> —Sarmad Fadil, Kurdish businessman in Erbil, on the goal of Kurdish independence

■ Yemen

In early 2011, thousands of Yemenis took to the streets, demanding an end to the thirty-three-year rule of President Ali Abdullah Saleh. Yemen is the poorest country in the Middle East. Public dissatisfaction with unemployment and government corruption fueled the protests. The government responded with a violent crackdown on protesters, many of whom were students and youth. Hundreds died at the hands of progovernment forces.

Prior to the demonstrations, the United States had considered President Saleh to be an ally in the fight against terrorism, providing him with military aid and using drones to target suspected terrorists in Yemen. In August 2010, Amnesty International reported that U.S. pressure on the Yemeni government to stamp out al-Qaeda-affiliated groups in the country contributed to a dramatic increase in human rights abuses by the government.

In November 2011, President Saleh agreed to step down. Yemen teetered on the brink of civil war, but with the help of the United Nations, representatives from all of Yemen's political groups began a dialogue to ensure a peaceful transition to a democratic government. In February 2012, Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi became interim president.

Many of the conditions that spurred the revolution in the first place remain, including poverty, ethnic tension, and corruption. Some members of the repressive former regime are now important figures in the ruling Islah party. In October 2014, a rebel group from the North called the Houthis took control of several Yemeni towns including the capital, Sanaa. This provoked a call from the southern part of the country for independence from the rest of

Yemen and a resurgence of al Qaeda in some southern towns.

The Houthis have a strong relationship with Iran, which could make their rise to power of concern to the United States.

■ Saudi Arabia

The United States has carefully cultivated relations with Saudi Arabia since the 1940s because of its central importance to the world's oil industry.

The government and oil industry are dominated by the Saudi royal clan, which numbers in the tens of thousands. Critics note that Saudi Arabia is an undemocratic, fundamentalist Islamic regime. For example, some Saudi textbooks teach that Christians are infidels, and women are not permitted to drive. Other critics note private funding from within Saudi Arabia that supports terrorist groups. In spite of this, U.S. criticism of Saudi policies has been muted to maintain favorable relations with Saudi Arabia.

Protests began in Saudi Arabia in early 2011. Police forces smothered the protests, which were much smaller than demonstrations in other countries. Since the beginning of the Arab Spring, the Saudi government announced billions of dollars in new domestic spending—increasing benefits for the unemployed, raising salaries of government workers, and improving access to education and housing. In September 2011, former King Abdullah granted women the right to vote and run for local office beginning in 2015.

As a regional power, Saudi Arabia's response to uprisings in the region has been significant. For example, Saudi Arabia sent troops to Bahrain to suppress protests. Although U.S.-Saudi relations have been strained by U.S. support for uprisings in the region, the two remain close allies.

■ Bahrain

In February 2011, protesters gathered in Bahrain to demand greater rights and equality for the majority Shi'i community, and a democratically elected government. The al-Khalifa family, which is Sunni Muslim, has ruled the small island kingdom as a monarchy since the 1700s. Government forces responded violently to the protests. In March 2011, the Gulf Cooperation Council sent thousands of troops into Bahrain to help suppress the demonstrations. The government of Bahrain declared martial law and conducted mass arrests. Protests continued into 2014. Protesters, human rights activists, political opposition leaders, and even medical workers who treat protesters have been routinely imprisoned. Many have been tortured and died while in state custody.

Bahrain has been an ally of the United States for decades. The headquarters of the U.S. Navy's Fifth Fleet is located in Bahrain. The fleet protects oil shipping lanes in the region and counters the influence of nearby Iran. The United States has sold $1.4 billion of military equipment to Bahrain since 2000. In July 2014, Bahrain's government expelled the U.S. Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Tom Malinowski after he met with an opposition leader. The U.S. government suspended arms sales to Bahrain until Malinowski was permitted to return in December 2014.

How the United States responds to the developments in the Middle East is no simple task. In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider three options for U.S. policy toward the Middle East. Each is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on the U.S. role in the world and its stake in the Middle East.

After considering these options, you will be asked to create your own option that reflects your beliefs about what U.S. policy should be. You may borrow heavily from one option, you may combine ideas from several options, or take a new approach altogether.

Options in Brief

Option 1: Police a Rough Neighborhood

The attacks of September 11, the rise of ISIS, and the threat of Iran's nuclear program prove that the Middle East is a dangerous place. To ensure U.S. security, the United States must draw a clear line. On one side belong trusted allies in the region. On the other side are the governments and terrorist organizations that have aligned themselves against peace and stability. They must be confronted, with military force if necessary, before they unleash more havoc on their neighbors and on the United States. U.S. policy in the Middle East must also focus on ensuring that the United States and its allies have access to the region's oil resources. The job of police officer is not fun, but in a neighborhood as rough as the Middle East the alternative is chaos and war.

Option 2: Support Democracy and Human Rights

The world has changed for the better in recent years. More and more countries have embraced democracy and economic freedom. As the recent wave of revolutions in the Middle East have shown, the people are calling for democracy. For too long, human rights and the rule of law have counted for little there. For too long, the United States has put its oil interests and security concerns ahead of the principles of democracy and human rights. The time has come for the United States to encourage reform in the region. Change is possible, but only if the United States is willing to commit its strength and its resources and hold all states in the region to the same standards on human rights.

Option 3: Step Back from the Middle East

For more than seventy years, the United States has been trying to manage the Middle East. When the United States stepped in to fill the shoes of the departing British Empire after World War II, it began a series of policy decisions that have led to many problems. The United States must end its meddling in the Middle East and respect the ability of the people there to govern themselves and solve their own problems. Ultimately, the issues in the region must be resolved by those involved, not by U.S. diplomats or U.S. military forces. U.S. relations with the countries of the Middle East should be limited to issues that do not entangle the United States in the controversies of the region.

Option 1: Police a Rough Neighborhood

The attacks of September 11, the rise of ISIS, and the threat of Iran's nuclear program prove that the Middle East is a dangerous place. Many of the forces opposed to the United States can be found there. To ensure U.S. security, the United States must draw a clear line. On one side belong trusted allies in the region. Fortunately, there are many. The governments of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, Jordan, and most of the Persian Gulf states have been reliable partners for decades. When their security is threatened, either by enemies beyond their borders or from within, the United States should stand beside them. On the other side are the governments of Iran and Syria, and terrorist organizations like Hamas and ISIS that have aligned themselves against peace and stability. They must be confronted, with military force if necessary, before they unleash more havoc on their neighbors and on the United States.

U.S. policy in the Middle East must also focus on ensuring that the United States and its allies have access to the region's oil resources. Today's world runs on oil. Without oil, the global economy would grind to a halt. U.S. citizens must recognize the critical importance of Middle Eastern oil to our economy and the fact that having predictable allies and political stability helps keep the oil flowing. With so much at stake, the United States cannot afford to lose track of its priorities. The United States has the power and the prestige to confront the forces of evil in the Middle East. We must support our trusted allies. In return, they will support our policies and help keep the oil flowing. The job of police officer is not fun, but in a neighborhood as rough as the Middle East the alternative is chaos and war.

Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

• Political stability, a steady flow of oil, and the security of Israel and our allies are essential U.S. interests.

• Rapid political change in the region is risky for the United States and its allies.

• The United States has the right to use military force to eliminate those who threaten it or its allies.

• It is more important that governments in the Middle East support U.S. security and economic policy than human rights or democratic principles.

• There is no hope for compromise between the United States and political Islamic movements that despise U.S. values and policies.

• Iran's nuclear energy program is intended as a basis for developing nuclear weapons. We cannot trust Iranian claims to the contrary.

• Historically, the U.S. interventions in the Middle East have been positive, bringing stability to a politically volatile, and economically important part of the world.

What policies should the United States pursue?

• The United States should maintain strong alliances in the Middle East and provide foreign aid and military assistance to governments that support U.S. policies.

• The United States should work for a settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that prioritizes Israeli concerns about security.

• The United States should use its economic, diplomatic, and military resources to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons or from gaining access to advanced military technology.

• The United States should support democratic movements where they serve our interests, but carefully avoid undermining our key allies like Saudi Arabia or supporting political Islamic groups that might emerge through democratic processes.

• The United States should lead an aggressive military campaign to defeat ISIS and end the Syrian Civil War.

• The United States should maintain a strong military presence in the Persian Gulf to safeguard shipping lanes and to deter attacks against the main oil fields of the region.

Arguments for

1. Confronting those groups and countries that oppose U.S. interests will, in the long run, reduce violence and promote stability in the Middle East and around the world.

2. Standing by allies in the Middle East will reassure countries worldwide that the United States honors its commitments.

3. Addressing Israeli security concerns in resolving the long-standing issues with Palestinians will serve as a solid foundation for lasting peace in the region.

4. The U.S. has a responsibility to address security threats from the Middle East—the region that has brought the world al Qaeda, Hamas, ISIS, and governments that massacre their own people like Saddam Hussein in Iraq and the Assad government in Syria.

5. We cannot disengage from the Middle East, leaving the region in turmoil. It was a mistake to withdraw U.S. forces from Iraq in 2011. Now U.S. forces are returning to deal with the threat of ISIS.

Arguments against

1. An aggressive military presence in the Middle East has only contributed to the rise of militant groups like ISIS and inflamed Middle Eastern public opinion against the United States.

2. We should not brand political Islamic groups that come to power democratically as U.S. enemies, because it closes the door to building mutually beneficial relationships.

3. Confronting Iran will leave the United States further isolated from the rest of the international community and cost U.S. companies opportunities for business.

4. Entangling the United States further in the Middle East will draw U.S. resources away from urgent problems at home, such as reducing crime and improving education. U.S. involvement in the Middle East has already cost too many lives and dollars.

5. Continuing support for corrupt, undemocratic regimes in the Middle East will discourage democratic and economic reform and fuel claims of U.S. hypocrisy.

6. Pledging unconditional support for U.S. allies will mean that the United States must continue to support Israel at the expense of the Palestinians, a position that only fans the flames of anti-American sentiment in the region.

Option 2: Support Democracy and Human Rights

The world has changed for the better in recent years. More and more countries have embraced democracy and economic freedom. International standards of human rights have gained widespread acceptance. As the recent wave of revolutions in the Middle East have shown, the people are calling for democracy. For too long, human rights and the rule of law have counted for little there. The rights of women have been neglected. Government officials have kept a tight grip over industry and commerce. Regrettably, U.S. policy over the years has contributed to the Middle East's lack of progress. For too long, the United States has put its oil interests and security concerns ahead of the principles of democracy and human rights. U.S. concerns about political Islam have led it to support heavy-handed rulers who have promised they would suppress these movements, but have also abused their own people. This has created anger at the United States. We must accept that political Islam has many variations and does not necessarily threaten U.S. interests.

The time has come for the United States to encourage reform in the region. We must build cooperative relationships with Middle Eastern governments and reward those that take steps toward establishing democratic institutions, open societies, and economic freedoms. At the same time, the United States should withhold favors from those that refuse to budge. No country should be above criticism. For the United States to bring reform to the Middle East, U.S. policies must be seen as fair and even-handed by those in the region and by the wider international community. Change is possible, but only if the United States is willing to commit its strength and its resources to holding all states in the region to the same standards on human rights.

Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

• More democracy, tolerance, human rights, equality for women, and economic freedom in the Middle East is essential to bringing peace and stability to the region.

• Political Islam that supports democracy is not a threat to the interests of the United States.

• The United States has the prestige and influence to nudge the governments of the Middle East toward reform.

• Human rights and democracy outweigh the value of stability provided by dictators. Historically, the United States has too often put oil, political stability, and its security concerns ahead of these principles.

• War and violence undermine democracy and human rights. U.S. military force should only be used in self-defense or to prevent war crimes against civilians.

• Hostility between the United States and Iran only strengthens the hard-line government that violates the human rights of its citizens. Reducing tension with Iran by resolving the nuclear issue will eventually improve political conditions there.

• Reducing U.S. dependence on Middle Eastern oil means we would not be trapped supporting the repressive governments of oil producing countries.

What policies should the United States pursue?

• The United States should use foreign aid, trade benefits, and diplomatic pressure to promote democratic and economic reform in the Middle East.

• The United States should pressure Israel to end human rights violations against the Palestinians living under Israeli jurisdiction. The United States should base its support for Palestinian statehood on whether the Palestinian Authority reins in Hamas, recognizes Israel's security needs, and promotes democracy and human rights.

• The United States should look to reduce tensions with Iran and seek a diplomatic solution to the issues surrounding its nuclear program.

• The United States should work with the international community to combat both ISIS and the Assad government in Syria because they threaten the most basic human rights of people.

• The United States should reduce its imports of oil from the Middle East.

• The United States should criticize governments (friend and foe alike) that abuse the rights of minority groups, violate the principles of religious and political tolerance, or discriminate against women.

• The United States should support democratic movements in the region, even if it means supporters of political Islam could gain power.

Arguments for

1. The people of the Middle East want changes to their political systems that include more democracy and respect for human rights.

2. Supporting democracy and economic freedom in the Middle East will restore the United States' reputation and strengthen reformers.

3. Taking a firm stand against abuses of human rights and adopting an even-handed policy toward Israel and the Palestinians will strengthen U.S. credibility in the eyes of the Middle East and the world.

4. Gaining acceptance for international standards of human rights in the Middle East will serve as the basis for the resolution of disputes in the region.

5. Countries that truly respect human rights and democracy are more likely to be peaceful.

Arguments against

1. A U.S. agenda pushing human rights and democracy will be seen as hypocritical and false by many in the Middle East because of historical U.S. support of dictators.

2. Promoting human rights cannot bring stability and peace overnight. It will not help the United States deal with urgent threats like Iran's nuclear program or ISIS.

3. Confronting countries that control a large share of the world's oil reserves over human rights could harm the economy and people of the United States.

4. Encouraging political change in one of the world's most explosive regions will lead to the downfall of many traditional U.S. allies in the Middle East.

5. A transition to democracy in many countries of the region could lead to regimes that are more, not less, hostile toward the United States.

6. Imposing U.S. ideas about human rights and democracy is likely to fail. We should let the people of the region decide their own future.

Option 3: Step Back From the Middle East

For more than seventy years, the United States has been trying to manage the Middle East. When the United States stepped in to fill the shoes of the departing British Empire after World War II, it began a series of policy decisions that have led to many problems. From the coup against a democratically elected government in Iran in 1953 to the decision to invade Iraq in 2003, the United States has been like a bull in a china shop: charging in and damaging things that cannot easily be repaired, including our reputation among the people in the Middle East. The United States has also committed vast diplomatic and security resources to resolving the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. And what has been the result of this? Years of failure. Neither side seems to want an agreement as much as the United States does.

The United States must end its meddling in the Middle East and respect the ability of the people there to govern themselves and solve their own problems. This may take time, but history shows it has a greater chance of succeeding than any solution the United States tries to impose. The military presence the United States has built up must be eliminated to avoid another, potentially far more deadly war—against Iran, for example. Likewise, the United States should not be held responsible for guaranteeing peace between Palestinians and Israelis. In addition, the United States cannot easily impose its own ideas about human rights and democracy because people are skeptical of U.S. motives. Ultimately, the issues in the region must be resolved by those involved, not by U.S. diplomats or U.S. military forces. U.S. relations with the countries of the Middle East should be limited to issues that do not entangle the United States in the controversies of the region. The United States should concentrate on doing business with Middle Eastern countries, not meddling in local affairs.

Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

• The overactive U.S. role in the Middle East during the last seventy years has harmed U.S. interests, interfered with the political development of the region, and created resentments toward the United States that will not be overcome for generations.

• Many groups in the region have grievances against the United States. A lower profile in the region will ultimately reduce anti-American feelings.

• Peace and progress on democracy and human rights in the Middle East can only come from within the region, not from U.S. pressure.

• Iran may think it necessary to develop nuclear weapons if it continues to feel threatened by the United States. It is possible to create a better relationship with Iran based on mutual respect and on legally-binding agreements that can be verified.

• The costs of active U.S. involvement in the region in lives and money have outweighed the benefits to the United States.

• The United States is capable of replacing Middle Eastern oil by increasing domestic production and developing alternative energy.

What policies should the United States pursue?

• The United States should reduce its military presence and its efforts to shape the politics of the Middle East.

• The United States should pursue open trade and business relations with all of the countries of the Middle East regardless of what type of government they have.

• The United States should reduce its role in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, letting the people of the region take the lead.

• The United States should look for ways to increase cooperation with Iran on economic issues.

• The United States should end all military involvement in Syria's civil war and the fight against ISIS. The countries of the region have the capacity to deal with these issues themselves.

• The United States should encourage domestic production of oil and the development of alternative energy sources.

• The United States should end its huge foreign aid packages to Israel, Egypt, Iraq, and the Palestinians.

Arguments for

1. The people of the Middle East can determine the best solutions to the region's problems. Allowing countries of the Middle East to chart their own course will lead to lasting solutions that are more socially and economically beneficial to the region.

2. The conflicts in the Middle East do not directly threaten the security of the United States.

3. As the United States decreases its involvement in the affairs of the Middle East, it will reduce the sources of anti-Americanism in the region that serve as fuel for dangerous Islamic extremists.

4. Reducing the U.S. presence in the Middle East will save U.S. taxpayers billions of dollars.

5. U.S. efforts to negotiate a solution between Israelis and Palestinians have not led to a resolution of this issue. A new approach might lead to better results.

Arguments against

1. Walking away from any role as a peacemaker in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will only lead to a further escalation of violence.

2. Withdrawing the U.S. military from the Middle East will set off a dangerous arms race and increase the likelihood nuclear weapons will spread in the region.

3. The United States cannot turn a blind eye to abusive governments and groups that violate human rights and have no interest in democratic rule. The plight of ordinary people in the region will only worsen if we do.

4. Ending the U.S. military presence in the Middle East will end any hope for change in countries like Iran and Syria.

5. Abandoning long-held alliances in the Middle East will lead to questions about U.S. commitments in other parts of the world.

6. Our military, diplomatic, and foreign aid investments in the region are dollars well-spent. They ensure political stability and the continued flow of oil, which we need.

Optional Reading: Middle Eastern Society Through Literature

The field of literature in the Middle East has often been a political and cultural battleground. Most of the region's best-known writers have stood in opposition to their governments. Many have been imprisoned for their work. At the same time, literature has reflected the larger tensions of the region. Writers have played an important role in shaping the struggle between traditional values and modern liberalism. They have often served as a voice for the powerless and the forgotten.

In this section of the reading, you will have an opportunity to sample the work of Iranian, Israeli, Palestinian, and Turkish writers. As you read, identify the values and viewpoints that come across most strongly.

Aboud's Drawings
by Ghodsi Ghazinur

Ghodsi Ghazinur (1943-) is a widely-read author of children's literature in Iran. She is also skilled at addressing mature themes through the eyes of children.

Aboud's Drawings is told from the perspective of Morteza, a poor boy living in Tehran, Iran's capital. The story is set in the early stages of the Iran-Iraq war (1980-88). While Morteza, his little brother Mostafa, and his friends are playing with cardboard weapons and fireworks in their neighborhood, Iran is experiencing mounting casualties on the battlefield and suffering from increasingly deadly rocket attacks. In the following excerpt, the reality of war intrudes on Morteza's innocent game.

After my brother fell asleep that night, I got to work. I found a piece of cardboard, drew a picture of a J-3 gun, cut the picture out in the dark with a pair of scissors I took out of my mother's sewing box, then I took the half-ready gun to my room and painted it black with a magic marker. It turned out perfect. My brother cried his eyes out when he saw my gun the next morning. My mother who had lost her patience with him bought him a squirt gun, but my brother kept on crying that that was not a gun and that he wanted a gun and my mother, not knowing what was going on, ignored him. Eventually she got disgusted and started beating him. I felt so sorry for him that I had to rescue him from her, in spite of the fact that he was an enemy, and make him understand that a handgun was as good as any gun in a war....

That day my older brother informed us that he was joining the army on Monday. My mother looked at my father. My father's hand, holding a cigarette, started trembling. They acted as if it were the first time they had learned it. I sat by my brother and said, "Brother, are you going so you can fight the enemy?"

He caressed my hair and said, "Yes."

"With a real gun?" my younger brother asked enthusiastically. My brother smiled bitterly. My younger brother went on gleefully, "We're fighting, too. In the alley. But our guns are fake."

I glared at him but it was too late. I expected my older brother to scorn us, to say that instead of engaging in nonsense like that we should be studying. But he gently said, "Sweet Mostafa! No one really wants to be in a war. You are too young to know what war is, otherwise you wouldn't be playing a 'war' game."...

A few days later a new boy appeared in our neighborhood. He was our age, with a dark complexion and curly hair. We soon found out that his name was Aboud. Akbar was the first to meet him....

When we went to the alley the next day, we found Akbar and Aboud waiting with the rest of the guys. Akbar introduced him to us. When Aboud saw the sacks in our hands and guns on our backs, he asked, "What are these for?"

"For the 'war' game."

He lowered his head and remained silent.

"Why don't you join us?" Ali asked.

"No, I don't want to play."

"Why?" Ali asked in an exaggerated tone.

"Because war isn't a game."...

The next morning we went to the alley as usual. We hadn't finished setting up our sandbags yet when Aboud appeared. He was holding a big roll of cardboard under one arm. Everyone exchanged curious glances. I decided to act as if I hadn't seen him, but before we had a chance to discuss it among ourselves he came and stood in the middle of our circle and said, "Good morning, brothers!"

His tone was so friendly that everyone's attention went to him.

"Since I left you yesterday, I have been working on this. I worked on it all day so I could finish it in time to bring it today."

And he opened the roll. On the extra-large piece of cardboard, there were several pictures of war, each scene neatly drawn. On the top of the sheet he had written in bold black print, "The Damned War." A scene showing bomb explosions appeared on the right-hand side. Aboud had drawn pictures of wounded birds on the edge of the scene, writing underneath the picture, "This is what war is all about." On the left-hand side there was a picture showing a few small children staring sadly at a demolished house. The words underneath the picture read, "This used to be Zaer Abbas's house."...

We gazed at the pictures for a few moments.

"Who was Zaer Abbas, Aboud?" Jafar asked.

"Mahmoud's father," Aboud answered, squinting. "Mahmoud was a friend from school. An explosion destroyed their house. When my friends and I arrived at the scene, they had closed the alley off, preventing us from getting near the bombed house. The only thing we could find out was that none of the inhabitants had survived. They lifted the restriction in the afternoon after they removed the corpses. I walked toward the house. Mahmoud's sneakers were tossed outside and lay on a mound of dust next to his sister's plastic doll with its missing hands and eye sockets filled with dirt. I wanted to scream. I wanted to knock my head against the wall. All my memories of Mahmoud came alive in my mind: the days we used to set fire to car tires during the [1979 revolution] uprising; the afternoons we used to spend playing soccer; the days we used to go to the river bank and sprinkled bread scraps for the ducks and the fish. Now Mahmoud is dead. The river is contaminated with bodies of ducks and fish killed by bombs, and it stinks. There's not a single bird left. The explosions have scared away not only the people but also the birds."

"Where did they escape to?" Mostafa asked.

"God knows. They've become refugees, too," Aboud said. Then he fell silent.

The Lover
by Abraham B. Yehoshua

Abraham B. Yehoshua (1936-) explores the contradictions between the idealism of early Zionism and the reality of Israeli society. His novels find drama in the everyday experiences of Israelis, probing the anxieties and tensions that have emerged since Israel's triumph in the 1967 War.

The Lover examines Israeli life in the mid-1970s from a variety of perspectives. Dafi, one of the book's main characters, is a 15-year-old student who is beginning to question the civic values of her country. Like many teenagers, she struggles to break free of the rules and expectations that are likely to define her life. Dafi expresses her rebellious spirit by challenging the authority of her parents and teachers. She also falls in love with a young Palestinian mechanic who works in her father's garage. In the following excerpt, she recalls the loss of a teacher killed during the October War of 1973.

We of class six G of Central Carmel High School lost our math teacher in the last war. Who would have guessed that he'd be

the one to be killed? We didn't think of him as a great fighter. He was a little man, thin and quiet, starting to go bald. In the winter he always had a huge scarf trailing behind him. He had delicate hands and fingers that were always stained with chalk. Still he was killed. We worried rather about our P.E. teacher, who used to visit the school from time to time during the war in uniform and with his captain's insignia, a real film star, with a real revolver that drove all the boys mad with envy. We thought it was marvelous that even during the war he found the time to come to the school, to reassure us and the lady teachers, who were wild about him. He used to stand in the playground surrounded by children and tell stories. We were really proud of him and we forgot all about our math teacher.

On the first day of the war he had ceased to exist for us, and it was days after the cease-fire that Shwartzy [the school principal] suddenly came into the classroom, called us all to our feet and said solemnly, "Children, I have terrible news for you. Our dear friend, your teacher Hayyim Nidbeh, was killed on the Golan on the second day of the war, the twelfth of Tishri. Let us stand in his memory."

And we all put on mournful faces and he kept us on our feet for maybe three minutes, and then he motioned with a weary gesture that we shouldn't stand, glared at us as if we were to blame and went off to call another class to its feet. I can't say that we were all that sorry at once because when a teacher dies it's impossible to be only sorry, but we really were stunned and shocked, because we remembered him living and standing beside the blackboard not so long ago, writing out the exercises with endless patience, explaining the same things a thousand times. Really it was thanks to him that I got a pretty good report last year because he never lost his temper but went over the same material again and again. For me someone only has to raise his voice or speak fast when explaining something in math to me and I go completely stupid, I can't even add two and two. He used to make me relax, which was boring, it's true, deadly boring. Sometimes we actually went to sleep during his lessons, but in the middle of all this drowsiness, in the cloud of chalk dust flying around the blackboard, the formulas used to penetrate.

And now he was himself a flying cloud.

Naturally, Shwartzy used his death for educational purposes. He forced us to write essays about him, to be put into a book which was presented to his wife at a memorial ceremony that he organized one evening. The students that he'd taught in the fifth and sixth grades sat in the back rows, in the middle the seats were left empty and in the front rows sat all the teachers and his family and friends, even the gym teacher came especially, still in his uniform and with his revolver, although the fighting had ended long ago. And I sat on the stage where I recited, with great feeling and by heart, the poems that are usual on these occasions, and between the poems Shwartzy preached a fawning and flowery sermon, talking about him as if he was some really extraordinary personage that he'd secretly admired.

And then they all went and stood beside a bronze plaque that had been put up by the entrance to the physics department. And there, too, somebody said a few words. But those we didn't hear because we slipped away down the back steps.

Shwartzy was a quick worker. In Israel they hadn't yet finished counting the dead, and he'd already got the memorials out of the way.

Wild Thorns
by Sahar Khalifeh

Sahar Khalifeh (1941-) is a keen observer of Palestinian society in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Her writing exposes the psychological wounds suffered by Palestinians living under Israeli occupation. At the same time, Khalifeh lays bare the disunity and weaknesses of her own people.

Wild Thorns tells the story of Palestinian youth growing up in the West Bank in the 1970s. The main character is Usama, who has returned home after working in the Per-

sian Gulf as a translator. Usama has joined the Palestinian resistance movement and is committed to blowing up the buses that transport Palestinian workers to jobs in Israel. But Usama is torn when he learns that many of his cousins and neighbors work in Israel. Eventually, he goes forward with his mission, but both he and one of his cousins die in the attack. In the following excerpt, an exchange between two Palestinians—one a poor bread seller and the other an affluent businessman—illustrates for Usama the strains and compromises of daily life in the West Bank.

Usama strolled along the narrow muddy streets. The discordant cries of the street peddlers vying with one another assaulted his ears. Meat, fruit and vegetables; the bread seller's cart was piled high with loaves made "inside," in Israel.

"Fresh bread! Hurry up! Come and get it, folks! Hurry! Fresh bread! One pound a loaf! A loaf for a pound! Only one pound!"

An elderly man with a red fez set firmly on his head passed by. He picked up one of the long loaves, squeezed it and then put it back. The bread seller shouted, "But it's fresh, sir. I swear it's fresh!"

The man walked away, gesturing, as if to say, "Fresh indeed! You dare to sell their leftovers here!", and disappeared down an alley.

Usama watched the scene angrily. Even our bread! The idea infuriated him.

A well-dressed young man now approached the bread seller and asked in an aggressive tone, "Where's it from?"

Upset by the question, the bread seller looked around furtively to see if other potential customers nearby might have heard. "It's just bread," he said.

Sensing from the well-dressed young man's expression that an attack was imminent, he repeated defensively, "Now look, sir, this is just bread. Does even bread have a religion and a race? This is top-quality bread—it's worth its weight in gold!"

The young man picked up a loaf; it was stamped with Hebrew letters. And it was as dry as the trunk of an old olive tree.

"This bread's from inside!" he said angrily. "And it's stale too! Disgraceful."

This was clearly not the first time the bread seller had heard this. He responded to the challenge immediately. "Yes, sir, it's from inside." he agreed. "And where else would it be from? It's all from inside, sir. Everything! Why not just move on and let me try and earn my living?"

"What you're doing is a disgrace," the young man repeated disdainfully.

The repeated insult now brought an angrier, more voluble response. "A disgrace, is it? They called it disgraceful when I took a job 'inside.' So I stayed home like the women, and they called that a disgrace! And here you are in your fashionable trousers and smart shirt, all nicely pressed, telling me it's a disgrace. Look, friend, we're not the first to work with them. While we were still wandering the streets of Nablus looking for bread to eat, your kind were running around Tel Aviv looking for companies to award you franchises so you could sell their products. Isn't that true now, sir? Tell me if it's true or not."

He grabbed a loaf of bread and waved it in the young man's face, flecks of angry spittle landing on the loaves. "Well, is it true or false?" he shouted. "Answer me, in the name of our faith, answer!"

The young man was gazing at the peddler dumbfounded, his heart beating fast, his expression shocked and imbecilic. Getting a grip on himself, he suggested defensively, "Well, couldn't you sell Arab bread?"

The bread seller threw the loaf back onto the cart and began to move off, leaving the young man still holding the loaf he'd first picked up. When the cart had moved a few paces away, the young man followed, still clutching the bread, and shouted, "Hey, wait, take this back."

The peddler stretched out a hand and grabbed it. "Okay, give it here," he said fiercely. "Let someone else buy it. It's clear you're

from the upper class. Give it here. Working-class people buy quietly, without making a long song and dance about it."

Civilization's Spare Part
by Aziz Nesin

Aziz Nesin (1915-1995) was one of modern Turkey's most popular writers. His novels and short stories often poked fun at the snags in Turkey's modernization process. Nesin's sharp wit frequently provoked criticism from Islamic leaders and conservative politicians.

In *Civilization's Spare Part*, the main character, Hamit Agha, is a victim of the mechanization of Turkish agriculture. The short story is set in a rural coffeehouse, where Hamit Agha is explaining to his fellow villagers how the purchase of a tractor has led him to financial ruin. Hamit Agha recalls that his daughter and son-in-law, both of whom are teachers, and his son, who had learned to drive in the army, badgered him to sell his oxen and buy a large tractor. They argued that the tractor would do the work of ten men and save him money. Instead, the tractor suffers one mechanical problem after another. In the following excerpt, Hamit Agha recounts his history of troubles with the tractor.

The winter had set in. We pushed the tractor into the stable and tied it to the post where the oxen used to be, while a tumultuous snowstorm was sounding on the roof. Meanwhile, friends, the bank loan and the installment at the equipment office came due. We had no money.... We borrowed money to pay the first installment at the office.

We reached summer in the middle of all this. We made for the field. Just then it went bang, and crash, and stopped. What is the problem with this damned thing? No one knew. We brought out the expert from the office. Didn't he say its cogwheel was broken? "Sell us another cogwheel," we said, and he said no.

"Since this cursed thing has no cogwheel, why do you cheat us poor people?" "Well," he said, "if you buy another tractor, then you can use its cogwheel."

Look around at our neighbors' fields. It's the same story. A tractor body lies in everyone's fields. Everywhere you look are chains, tractor treads, and piles of iron....

Then, gentlemen, wouldn't you know it? The installment was due. The second notice came. For the sake of our honor, sirs, we sold another ten-donum [about 2.5 acres] field. A screw fell out—five hundred liras [Turkish currency]. A thousand liras for a part the size of your finger. A bolt come loose—one thousand liras. Its chain breaks. Spare parts couldn't be found. A patch here, a patch there. That blessed tractor started to look like my trousers. While it plowed the ground, it shook all over like someone who has malaria. Everywhere in our field one can find a screw, a belt, an iron bar, a shaft, or a chain. It was as though the filthy thing had sprinkled its seeds in the field.

They said that our assemblyman whom we elected from the Democrat Party was in town. I went to him. "What will happen to us?" I asked. "Does a tractor the size of an elephant stop dead because of a part the size of a nut?..."

What could he say? He talked for a long time. I couldn't understand very much. "How did people live in the past, in the Stone Age? Now it's the Iron Age, that is to say, the age of the Democrat. Civilization and the country are turning into iron," he said.

I said, "What you're saying is all very well. You brought this civilization, but where is its spare part? Come with me and look at the field. Our civilization is in pieces. It lies there like a corpse. Isn't there a smaller one than this? If this miserable thing hits something it doesn't move, if you say 'giddap' it doesn't start up, and if you say 'whoa' it doesn't slow down."...

Just then another installment notice arrived. Let me tell you something. The sighs of the oxen have affected me. How tearfully that yellow ox wept when he was sold to the market! How sorry I was!

To make a long story short, I sold every field and paid off the whole debt. Then I called to my daughter and son-in-law. I took my wife and the boy out to the wreck. "Either we repair this calamity of God's or I'll put the yoke on you, drive you like oxen, and plow the farm," I said. They worked on the engine, kicked it once, twice, tore off and reattached a strap, tightened a screw, and put something else in place of the fragile cogwheel whose bolt was loose....

Then, gentlemen, I could see that it wouldn't work. I gathered my son, daughter, son-in-law, and wife. "Come on, folks," said I, "let me show you how to repair this thing." I picked up a sledgehammer. I drove those people of mine before me like a flock of sheep. We came to the wreck. I struck the steering wheel and said, "Take that, you 20th century." I struck the engine and said, "Take that civilization." I struck the driving wheel with the sledgehammer and said, "Take that. This is your spare part." I swung the sledgehammer again and again. Suddenly I saw that my wife was shouting. "Help! My husband has gone crazy!" My daughter ran, my son-in-law ran, and my son ran the hardest. I threw away the sledgehammer and started down the road. I came straight here, gentlemen. I'm still sweating....

What a relief! I escaped from the accursed, foul thing. A thousand thanks to God. It's as though I've been born again.

Supplementary Resources

Books

Bowen, Donna Lee, Evelyn A. Early, and Becky Schulthies, eds. *Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014). 504 pages.

Cleveland, William L., and Martin Bunton. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, Fourth Edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008). 640 pages.

Dodge, Toby and Emile Hokayem, editors. *Middle East Security, the US Pivot and the Rise of ISIS* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2014). 216 pages.

Fernea, Elizabeth Warnock. *Remembering Childhood in the Middle East* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002). 365 pages.

Lacquer, Walter and Barry Rubin. *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, Seventh Edition (New York: Penguin Books, 2008). 626 pages.

Lynch, Marc, ed. *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). 352 pages.

Wright, Lawrence. *Thirteen Days in September: Carter, Begin, and Sadat At Camp David*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014). 245 pages.

Wright, Robin B. *Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011). 307 pages.

Online Resources

Brown University Library < http://libguides.brown.edu/arabspring> An excellent source of internet resources on the Arab Spring.

Council on Foreign Relations <http://www.cfr.org/region/middle-east-and-north-africa/ri165> Provides up-to-date articles, reports, and analyses of events in the region.

Maps of the Middle East <www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east.html> The Perry-Casteñada Map Collection at the University of Texas.

U.S. Department of State <http://www.state.gov/p/nea/index.htm> Information on official U.S. policy in the Middle East.

U.S. Energy Information Administration <www.eia.doe.gov> Statistics about U.S. energy consumption, imports, production, etc.

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy draws students into the policy debate on this important region. Students analyze the mix of U.S. interests and values at play and explore the significance of oil, the Arab uprisings, the rise of ISIS, and other issues that shape U.S. ties to the Middle East.

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

THE **CHOICES** PROGRAM

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY, BOX 1948, PROVIDENCE, RI 02912
WWW.CHOICES.EDU

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy

Teacher Resource Book

THE **CHOICES** PROGRAM

Explore the Past… Shape the Future

History and Current Issues for the Classroom

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY WWW.CHOICES.EDU

TEACHER RESOURCE BOOK
TEACHER RESOURCE BOOK
TEACHER RESOURCE BOOK
TEACHER RESOURCE BOOK
TEACHER RESOURCE BOOK

The Choices Program
www.choices.edu

The Choices Program is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies and the School of Professional Studies at Brown University. Choices was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy issues.

The Choices Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

Focusing on three main areas—development, security, and governance—the Watson Institute is a community of scholars whose policy-relevant research aims to help us understand and address the world's great challenges. Its mission is to promote a just and peaceful world through research, teaching, and public engagement.

WATSON INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy
Teacher Resource Book

ISBN 1-60123-169-5-TRB / 978-1-60123-169-7-TRB.

Acknowledgments

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy was developed by the Choices Program with the assistance of faculty at the Watson Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following for their invaluable input to this and previous editions:

Kamal Abdel-Malek
Former Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature,
Brown University

Engin D. Akarli
Joukowsky Family Distinguished Professor Emeritus of
Modern Middle Eastern History, Brown University

Sa'ed Atshan
Postdoctoral Fellow in International Studies
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Thomas Biersteker
Professor of Political Science
Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

Beshara Doumani
Director of Middle East Studies
Joukowsky Family Distinguished Professor of Modern Middle
East History, Brown University

Jo-Anne Hart
Adjunct Professor
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University
Professor, Lesley University

Nancy Khalek
William A. Dyer Jr. Assistant Professor of the Humanities in
the Department of Religious Studies, Brown University

Linda B. Miller
Professor of Political Science, Emerita, Wellesley College
Adjunct Professor, Watson Institute for International Studies,
Brown University

Ian Straughn
Joukowsky Family Middle East Studies Librarian,
Brown University

Nina Tannenwald
Director, International Relations Program
Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science
Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Special thanks to Barbara Oberkoetter and the Middle East Studies Program at Brown University.

Thanks to Tony Hurt of Heritage High School of Littleton, Colorado for his contributions to the geography lesson. Thanks also to Kacey Dewing of St. Mary's School in Medford, Oregon for her contributions to the Iranian Revolution lesson.

Cover image by Al Jazeera/Jamal Elshayyal. Licensed under the Creative Commons 2.0 Generic license.

All maps by Alexander Sayer Gard-Murray.

The Choices Program

Director
Susan Graseck

Curriculum Writer
Susannah Bechtel

Administrative Manager
Kathleen Magiera

Curriculum Development Director
Andy Blackadar

International Education Intern
Jessica Fields

Communications & Marketing
Jillian McGuire Turbitt

Professional Development Director
Mimi Stephens

International Education Intern
Danielle Johnstone

Video & New Media Producer
Tanya Waldburger

Teaching Resources and Lessons

Note to Teachers

Today, the United States' need for oil, its relationship with Israel, and worries about ISIS and Iran's nuclear program make the Middle East an important region for the United States. *The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy* is designed to help students consider these important issues.

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy and all Choices units include student readings and suggested lesson plans, a role-play simulation of policy options, and activities that help students synthesize and apply new knowledge.

Readings and Lessons: *The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy* provides students with the knowledge needed to take part in the debate on the U.S. role in the Middle East. Parts I and II of the student text offer a historical overview of U.S. relations with the region through the end of the Cold War. Part III focuses on the challenges facing U.S. policy makers today regarding the Middle East.

This Teacher Resource Book (TRB) for *The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy* contains lessons that correspond to each section of reading in the student text. Although some sections have more than one lesson associated with them, it is not expected that classes will tackle all of the lessons. Teachers should choose which will be most helpful and are best suited for their classes.

The lessons are provided as a guide and are each designed to be completed within a single class period. Many teachers choose to devote multiple class periods to certain activities and adapt them to the needs of their students.

The Options Role Play: Students examine three options for U.S. policy in a role play. Each option has a different perspective on U.S. involvement in the Middle East. By exploring this spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the values and beliefs underlying U.S. foreign policy and are prepared to develop their own policy options.

Synthesis: After the options role play, students enter into deliberative dialogue in which they together analyze the merits and trade-offs of the alternatives presented; explore shared concerns as well as conflicting values, interests, and priorities; and articulate their own views. Armed with fresh insights from the role play and the deliberation, students articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values and goals.

Note: Teaching about the Middle East may require special sensitivity. Debates might be especially intense for students with a personal connection to the region. Teachers may want to consult Choices' "Guidelines for Deliberation," <http://www.choices.edu/resources/guidelines.php> to help promote careful consideration of the issues.

Included Resources

• **Study Guides, Graphic Organizers and Timeline:** Each section of reading has two distinct study guides. The standard study guide helps students gather the information in the readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis in class. It also lists key terms that students will encounter in the reading. The advanced study guide requires that students analyze and synthesize material prior to class activities. Graphic organizers can help your students better understand the information that they read. There is also a timeline for students to record important events as they read.

• **Scholars Online Videos:** Scholars Online Videos feature top scholars answering specific questions about the Middle East. Read our tips for using Scholars Online in your classroom. <http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholarsHowTo.php>

• **Online Supplemental Materials:** More resources and materials associated with the suggested activities are available at <http://www.choices.edu/middleeastmaterials>.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Here are suggestions about how to adapt Choices curricula to your classroom. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Adjusting for Students of Differing Abilities

Teachers of students at all levels—from middle school to AP—have used Choices materials successfully. Many teachers make adjustments to the materials for their students. Here are some suggestions:

• Do only some lessons and readings rather than all of them.

• Shorten reading assignments; cut and paste sections.

• Use the questions in the text to introduce students to the topic. Ask them to scan the reading for major headings, images, and questions so they can gain familiarity with the structure and organization of the text.

• Read some sections of the readings out loud.

• Preview the vocabulary and key concepts listed on each study guide and in the back of the TRB with students. The study guides ask students to identify key terms from the reading. Establish a system to help students find definitions for these key terms and others they do not know.

• Use the issues toolbox in the back of the TRB to introduce overarching themes and crucial ideas in the reading.

• Go over vocabulary and concepts with visual tools such as concept maps.

• Be sure that students understand the purpose of reading the text. For example, if they are going to do a role play, explain that the readings will help them to gather the information needed to formulate arguments.

• Create a Know/Want to Know/Learned (K-W-L) worksheet for students to record what they already know about the Middle East and what they want to know. As they read they can fill out the "learned" section of the worksheet.

• Brainstorm current knowledge and then create web diagrams in which students link the ideas they have about the topic.

• Ask students to create their own graphic organizers for sections of the reading, or fill in ones you have partially completed.

• Supplement with different types of readings, such as literature, newspaper articles, or textbooks.

• Use a Scholars Online Video or other visual introduction to orient your students.

• Combine reading with political cartoon analysis, map analysis, or movie-watching.

Managing the Options Role Play

A central activity of every Choices unit is the role play in which students advocate different options and question each other's views. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations can increase the effectiveness of the options role play.

Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of forty-five to fifty minutes is necessary for the presentations. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the options role play can be run over two days, but this disrupts momentum. The best strategy for managing the role play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Adjusting the Options Role Play for Large and Small Classes

Choices curricula are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the options role play. With larger groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Teachers can also combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Students and teachers both know that group grades can be motivating for students, while at the same time they can create controversy. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It is also important to give individual grades for group-work assignments in order to recognize an individual's contribution to the group. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an effective way to encourage them to think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Students' Original Options: The original options developed and articulated by each student after the role play are an important outcome of a Choices unit. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints.

The students' options should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did students provide reasons for their recommendations along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the students identify the risks involved? Did the students present their options in a convincing manner?

Testing: Research shows that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than from lecture-discussion format. Students using Choices curricula demonstrate a greater ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original views. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. A variety of types of testing questions and assessments can help students to demonstrate critical thinking and historical understanding.

Integrating this Unit into Your Curriculum

Materials produced by the Choices Program are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy* might fit into your curriculum.

World and U.S. History: Many of the forces that have shaped the modern Middle East were unleashed during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. Nationalism, spurred in part by the failure of Ottoman reformers to establish the rule of law and basic human rights, eventually recast Turkish and Arab identities. The emergence of pan-Islamism in the Ottoman Empire as a movement against foreign imperialism influenced the direction of the movements of political Islam that followed. Additionally, the borders imposed by the victorious allies at the Paris Peace Conference after World War I in the former Ottoman territories have been a source of conflict and remain in place today.

The Middle East also served as the setting for several of the Cold War's flashpoints. The 1967 Six-Day War and the 1973 October War were, among other things, a contest between U.S. and Soviet weaponry. The competition for allies fueled an arms race that turned the region into a testing ground for U.S. and Soviet weapons. In addition, many of the Middle East's most prominent political figures—such as Gamal Abd al-Nasser and Saddam Hussein—built their careers by turning the superpower rivalry to their advantage. U.S. policies to cement its relationship with Iran and Reza Shah against the Soviet Union began a legacy of hostility that continues to this day. *The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy* gives students an opportunity to examine U.S. efforts to counter Soviet influence in the Middle East.

International Politics: Since World War II, the importance of oil has transformed the Persian Gulf into one of the world's most strategically prized regions. Government officials, corporate executives, and military leaders have fixated on its significance. For the United States, national security has long been synonymous with access to oil. *The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy* allows students to take a broader look at oil's role in geopolitics and U.S. foreign policy. The subject carries added weight as alternative energy sources emerge and concern mounts about the impact of fossil fuel consumption on the global environment.

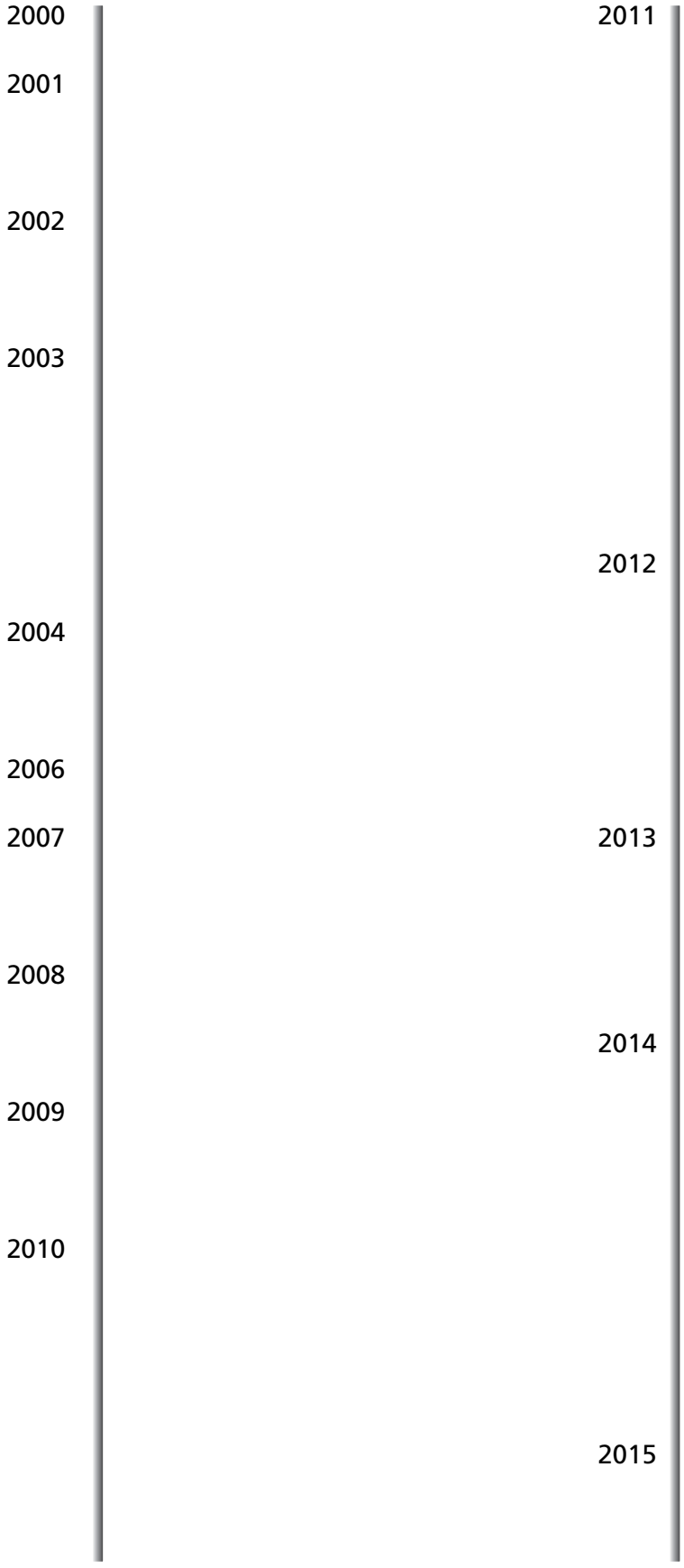
Contemporary Issues: The Arab uprisings have shaken up the social and political landscape of the Middle East. The effects of these uprisings continue to be felt far beyond national borders with the rise of ISIS and refugees from Syria flooding neighboring countries. Instability and violence in Iraq puts it back in the headlines in the United States. Finally, the U.S. role in the issues between Israel and the Palestinians remains an important issue. *The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy* gives students an opportunity to consider the significance of these critical issues both for U.S. policy and for Middle Eastern societies.

Timeline: Keeping Track of Events

Instructions: Use this timeline to record significant events noted in the reading. The readings do not always follow a chronological pattern and you will have to go back to fill in earlier events. Mark U.S. presidents' terms in the margins when they are referred to in the reading.

1501	
1683	
1736	
1882	
1907	
1912	
1913	
1914	First World War begins
1916	
1917	
1918	End of First World War
1919	
1921	
1923	
1933	
1938	
1939	Second World War begins
1940	
1941	
1942	
1943	
1944	
1945	End of Second World War
1947	
1948	
1949	
1952	
1953	
1956	
1958	

1960	
1961	
1962	
1965	
1967	
1970	Iran ratifies the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
1973	
1974	
1975	
1977	
1978	
1979	
1980	
1981	
1982	
1983	
1986	
1987	First *intifada* breaks out
1988	
1989	
1990	
1991	Collapse of the Soviet Union
1993	Oslo Accord I signed (and 1995)
1994	
1995	
1998	
1999	


2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2015

Study Guide—Introduction and Part I

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from the Introduction and Part I of your reading. Circle terms that you do not know.

ethnicities	imperialism	industrial economies
minority populations	nationalism	domestic supplies
urban	infrastructure	geopolitical
global economy	self-determination	Zionism
commerce	international system	independent
missionaries	mandates	partition
colonialism		

Questions:

1. Where does the term "Middle East" come from?

2. List three reasons the United States maintains an active role in the Middle East.
   a.

   b.

   c.

3. The Middle East is the birthplace of what three religions?

4. What two factors weakened the Ottoman Empire?

5. What was the Sykes-Picot Accord?

6. Why did Arab leaders support President Wilson's principle of self-determination after World War I?

7. What were the mandates?

8. a. What is Zionism?

b. What are the origins of Zionism?

9. What do Israelis and Palestinians often call the war of 1948?

Israelis: Palestinians:

10. Why were some U.S. government officials concerned by U.S. support for Israel after World War II?

Advanced Study Guide—Introduction and Part I

1. How did World War I and the peace conference that followed shape the "outlines of today's Middle East"?

2. Why did World War II prompt U.S. leaders to pay greater attention to the oil resources of the Persian Gulf region?

3. How did the 1948 War set the stage for long-term conflict in the Middle East?

Part I: Graphic Organizer

Instructions: Use Part I of the reading to answer the questions below.

Self-Determination

Define self-determination:

Who favored it?

Imperialism

Define imperialism:

Which countries were the imperial powers in the Middle East during and after World War I?:

Oil

When and why did Middle Eastern oil become an important factor in international relations?

Sykes-Picot Accord

What was the Sykes-Picot Accord?

Which countries signed the Sykes-Picot Accord?

The Mandate System

What was the justification for the mandate system?

Which countries fell under British or French control?

British:

French:

Photo Analysis: Looking at the Middle East

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze photographs of different parts of the Middle East.

Formulate ideas about life and diversity in the region.

Consider the benefits and limitations of using photographs as a source for learning about the Middle East.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the Student Text and completed the "Study Guide—Introduction and Part I" (TRB 9-10) or "Advanced Study Guide—Introduction and Part I" (TRB-11).

Note:

This lesson can also be used prior to beginning the reading.

Handouts:

"Looking at the Middle East" (TRB-14)

Resources:

This lesson requires that students have access to the internet or the ability to project a PowerPoint document of the photographs in the classroom. The PowerPoint document can be found at <http://www.choices.edu/middleeastmaterials>.

In the Classroom:

1. Reviewing the Reading—Put the question "What is the Middle East?" on the board. Briefly review with students what they know about the Middle East. What are the first words that come to mind to describe the Middle East?

2. Examining Photos of the Middle East—Divide the class into small groups and distribute the handout. Direct students to the PowerPoint or show the images to the class. Assign four photos for each group to analyze. Instruct students to examine each image closely and to answer the questions on the handout. Alternatively, have students choose their own photos to analyze.

Note: Teachers should point out that it is important to be careful about drawing conclusions from photos, and remind students that they cannot be certain that a photo is an accurate or complete reflection of reality. While photos can provide clues about societies and how people live, students should be aware that photos, like written documents, show only a small piece of a bigger picture. For an interesting view of the issue of making assumptions about appearances, you might show Professor Jenny White's video "How does veiling differ across countries?" <http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholarsonline/white/jw7.php>

3. Presentations and Class Discussion—After the small groups complete the questions, have everyone come together in a large group. Ask students to display their photos to the class and share their observations.

After students present their findings, have students reflect on what they learned from the photos. Did any of the photos change students' ideas or assumptions about the Middle East? Have the photographs raised any new questions about life and societies in the Middle East? Where do students think they might find answers to these questions?

What are the benefits of using photographs as a resource for learning about other countries and societies? What are the limitations of using photographs as a source for learning about the Middle East? How might photos present a selective or misleading portrait of a place or society? Do students think it is important to consider the point of view of the photographer when analyzing photos? Did the photographer have a purpose in taking these photographs?

Homework:

Students should read Part II in the student text and complete "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 24-25) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-26).

Looking at the Middle East

Instructions: Examine your photos and answer the following questions for each. Your group will be asked to share its impressions with the class. Keep in mind that photos cannot give you a complete picture of any place or society, and you should be careful about drawing conclusions from the photographs.

1. Describe the photo (the setting, architecture and landscape, what is happening, etc.). If there are people in the photo, what are the they doing? How would you describe their appearance (gender, age, expressions, body language, clothing, etc.)?

2. How does this photo relate to what you know about the Middle East or about the particular country it portrays?

3. Does this image offer any clues about life in this place? For example, does the photo reveal anything about wealth, employment, religion, transportation, history, or geography?

4. What questions does this image raise for you about the Middle East?

Primary Source Analysis: The Creation of Israel

Objectives:

Students will: Understand the concept of nationalism.

Consider different views on the creation of a Jewish state.

Develop skills for analyzing primary sources.

Compare and contrast the methods and interests of writers.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the Student Text and completed the "Study Guide—Introduction and Part I" (TRB 9-10) or "Advanced Study Guide—Introduction and Part I" (TRB-11).

Handouts:

"Questions on Sources" (TRB 16-17)

"Sources A-F" (TRB 18-23)

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question—Write the question "What is nationalism?" on the board. Invite students to share their ideas of what nationalism is and urge them to recall where it was mentioned in the reading. Explain that while we often associate the word "nation" with a country, it actually means a group of people with a shared culture, language, and heritage (and often religion and ethnicity too). Nationalist movements often aim at uniting a nation of people into a single country where they are ruled by a government that also shares this common culture and heritage. Tell students that they are going to examine first-hand accounts about a nationalist movement called Zionism. Invite them to recall what they know about Zionism from their reading.

2. Analyzing the Sources—Divide the class into groups and distribute "Questions on Sources" and two primary sources from "Sources A-F" to each group.

Instruct the groups to follow the instructions for reading and annotating their assigned sources before answering the questions in "Questions on Sources." Tell them that each group will be presenting a summary of their sources. Review the concepts of primary and secondary sources as needed. Encourage students to seek clarification on vocabulary as they read.

Note: As the primary sources differ in length and complexity, you may wish to assign sources to students based on reading level. Source A, "Auto-Emancipation: An Appeal to His People," by Leo Pinsker is the most challenging.

3. Sharing Conclusions—Invite students from each group to summarize their sources for the class. Encourage the groups to share some of their answers from the source questions. Ask students if they found anything surprising about their sources. Did their sources contrast at all with those of other groups? Ask students what they think the purpose or intentions of some of the sources were. Who might the audience of the source have been? How do they think this influenced the tone and word choice the writers used? How might the audience have responded to the source?

Homework:

Students should read Part II in the student text and complete "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 24-25) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-26).

Questions on Sources

Instructions: Read the primary sources assigned to your group and annotate them according to the directions below. Discuss with your group any parts of the source that you found difficult to understand, then complete the questions. Be prepared to share your answers with the class.

How to annotate your source:

a. Circle the Date: It is important to note the date of any historical source. Before reading each source, circle the date of its creation and write next to this date any other important events that coincided or came just before or after the creation of the source.

b. Underline the Evidence: Writers use different types of evidence to make their point. They may refer to statistics and numbers, to historical events and conditions, or to what has been said by someone else. Underline the evidence used in the source, and note what type of evidence it is in the margin (for example, a statistic or a historical event).

c. Mark Key Words and Phrases: Authors choose particular words to invite their readers to come to a specific understanding of an event or situation. Draw a box around 3-5 words or phrases that you think are important in each source. Mark words or phrases that you do not understand with a double underline.

Questions:

1. List the titles and authors of your assigned sources:

Source title and author:

Source title and author:

2. Summarize the views presented by your sources regarding the creation of Israel.

a.

b.

3. What is the identity (e.g. nationality, political viewpoint, religion) of the sources' authors? Do they claim or intend to be representing anyone and, if so, whom?
   a.

   b.

4. What form does each source take (e.g. newspaper article, diary entry)?
   a.

   b.

5. What do you think is the tone of each source (e.g. funny, nostalgic, angry)? What words have the writers chosen to use to create these tones?
   a.

   b.

6. What are two of the most striking similarities between your sources?
   a.

   b.

7. What are two of the most striking differences between your sources?
   a.

   b.

Source A

"Auto-Emancipation: An Appeal to His People"

by Leo Pinsker, 1882

Leo Pinsker was a Russian Jew. He originally believed that Jews would be accepted in non-Jewish societies by being flexible and tolerant. The outbreak of terrible violence against Jews in Russia in 1881, general anti-Semitic feelings across Russian society, and the creation of laws that restricted where Russian Jews could live and what careers they could have changed his mind. Pinsker embraced the idea that Jewish people would only be safe and treated fairly in a Jewish country. He wrote this pamphlet to encourage Jewish leaders to intervene.

The Jews comprise a distinctive element among the nations under which they dwell, and as such can neither assimilate nor be readily digested by any nation.

Hence the solution lies in finding a means of so readjusting this exclusive element to the family of nations, that the basis of the Jewish question will be permanently removed....

The world has yet long to wait for eternal peace. Meanwhile nations live side by side in a state of relative peace, secured by treaties and international law, but based chiefly on the fundamental equality between them.

But it is different with the people of Israel. There is no such equality in the nations' dealings with the Jews. The basis is absent upon which treaties and international law may be applied: mutual respect. Only when this basis is established, when the equality of Jews with other nations becomes a fact, can the Jewish problem be considered solved….

The Jewish people has no fatherland of its own, though many motherlands; no center of focus or gravity, no government of its own, no official representation. They home everywhere, but are nowhere at home. The nations have never to deal with a Jewish nation but always with mere Jews. The Jews are not a nation because they lack a certain distinctive national character, inherent in all other nations, which is formed by common residence in a single state….

Merely to belong to this people is to be indelibly stigmatized, a mark repellent to non-Jews and painful to the Jews themselves. However, this phenomenon is rooted deeply in human nature….

A fear of the Jewish ghost has passed down the generations and the centuries. First a breeder of prejudice, later in conjunction with other forces we are about to discuss, it culminated in Judeophobia….

Friend and foe alike have tried to explain or to justify this hatred of the Jews by bringing all sorts of charges against them...in order to quiet the evil conscience of the Jew-baiters, to justify the condemnation of an entire nation.... Though the Jews may justly be charged with many shortcomings, those shortcomings are, at all events, not such great vices, not such capital crimes, as to justify the condemnation of the entire people….

In this way have Judaism and Anti-Semitism passed for centuries through history as inseparable companions. Like the Jewish people, the real wandering Jew, Anti-Semitism, too, seems as if it would never die. He must be blind indeed who will assert that the Jews are not the chosen people, the people chosen for universal hatred….

The Jews are aliens who can have no representatives, because they have no country. Because they have none, because their home has no boundaries within which they can be entrenched, their misery too is boundless….

The proper, the only solution, is in the creation of a Jewish nationality, of a people living upon its own soil, the auto-emancipation of the Jews; their return to the ranks of the nations by the acquisition of a Jewish homeland…. The international Jewish question must have a national solution.

Source B

"Memorandum to the Peace Conference in Versailles"

by the Zionist Organization, 1919

In 1917, the British government issued a declaration that it would support the creation of a "national home" for Jews in Palestine. Afterward, Zionists sought to receive more concrete and definite support and promises from countries across the world. At the Conference in Versailles, where world leaders met to negotiate the terms of peace for the First World War, the Zionist Organization presented this memorandum. It laid out reasons for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine and recommendations on how it should be formed.

The Zionist Organization respectfully submits the following draft resolutions for the consideration of the Peace Conference:

1. The High Contracting Parties recognise the historic title of the Jewish people to Palestine and the right of the Jews to reconstitute in Palestine their National Home.

2. The boundaries of Palestine shall be as declared in the Schedule annexed hereto.

3. The sovereign possession of Palestine shall be vested in the League of Nations and the Government entrusted to Great Britain as mandatary of the League....

The claims of the Jews with regard to Palestine rest upon the following main considerations:

(1) The land is the historic home of the Jews; there they achieved their greatest development, from that centre, through their agency, there emanated spiritual and moral influences of supreme value to mankind. By violence they were driven from Palestine, and through the ages they have never ceased to cherish the longing and the hope of a return.

(2) In some parts of the world, and particularly in Eastern Europe, the conditions of life of millions of Jews are deplorable…

(3) But Palestine is not large enough to contain more than a proportion of the Jews of the world. The greater part of the fourteen millions or more scattered through all countries must remain in their present localities, and it will doubtless be one of the cares of the Peace Conference to ensure for them, wherever they have been oppressed, as for all peoples, equal rights and humane conditions. A Jewish National Home in Palestine will, however, be of high value to them also. Its influence will permeate the Jewries of the world: it will inspire these millions, hitherto often despairing, with a new hope; it will hold out before their eyes a higher standard; it will help to make them even more useful citizens in the lands in which they dwell.

(4) Such a Palestine would be of value also to the world at large, whose real wealth consists in the healthy diversities of its civilizations.

(5) Lastly the land itself needs redemption. Much of it is left desolate. Its present condition is a standing reproach. Two things are necessary for that redemption—a stable and enlightened Government, and an addition to the present population which shall be energetic, intelligent, devoted to the country, and backed by the large financial resources that are indispensable for development. Such a population the Jews alone can supply.

Source C

"The Arab Case for Palestine"

submitted by the Arab Office (Jerusalem) to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, March 1946

The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was a group of British and U.S. citizens and officials assigned to investigate conditions in Palestine and consider the impact of increasing Jewish migration there. The Arab Office represented the interests of the newly-formed Arab League whose members included Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Transjordan, Syria, and Yemen.

The whole Arab people is unalterably opposed to the attempt to impose Jewish immigration and settlement on it, and ultimately to establish a Jewish State in Palestine. Its opposition is based primarily upon right. The Arabs of Palestine are descendents of the indigenous inhabitants of the country, who have been in occupation of it since the beginning of history; they cannot agree that it is right to subject an indigenous population against its will to alien immigrants, whose claim is based upon a historical connection which ceased effectively many centuries ago. Moreover they form the majority of the population; as such they cannot submit to a policy of immigration which if pursued for long would turn them from a majority into a minority in an alien state; and they claim the democratic right of a majority to make its own decisions in matters of urgent national concern….

In addition to the question of right, the Arabs oppose the claims of political Zionism because of the effects which Zionist settlement has already had upon their situation and is likely to have to an even greater extent in the future. Negatively, it has diverted the whole course of their national development…. The presence and claims of the Zionists, and the support given them by certain Western powers have resulted in Palestine being cut off from the other Arab countries and subjected to a regime, administrative, legal, fiscal and educational, different from that of the sister countries….

[W]hile other Arab countries have attained or are near to the attainment of self-government and full membership of the [U.N.], Palestine is still under Mandate and has taken no step toward self-government; not only are there no representative institutions, but no Palestinian can rise to the higher ranks of the administration. This is unacceptable on grounds of principle, and also because of its evil consequence….

All these evils are due entirely to the presence of the Zionists and the support given to them by certain of the Powers; there is no doubt that had it not been for that, Arab Palestine would by now be a self-governing member of the [U.N.] and the Arab League….

If Zionism succeeds in its aim, the Arabs will become a minority in their own country; a minority which can hope for no more than a minor share in the government, for the state is to be a Jewish state, and which will find itself not only deprived of that international status which other Arab countries possess but cut off from living contact with the Arab world of which it is an integral part.

Source D

"By the Rivers of Babylon"

by Avraham Zilkha, 2002, from *Remembering Childhood in the Middle East,* Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, University of Texas Press (2002).

Avraham Zilkha was born to a Jewish family in Iraq. In this extract from his memoirs he recalls the Iraqi reaction to Zionism and the events leading up to the emigration of his family to Israel when he was a child. The family was able to emigrate after a law in 1950 allowed Jews to leave Iraq for Israel provided they give up their Iraqi citizenship. Zilkha is famous for writing a "Modern Hebrew-English Dictionary."

Events in Palestine were beginning to cause concern. The state-controlled radio kept blasting the *yahood* [Jews], promising a quick victory. The Jewish community contributed to the war effort and the Chief Rabbi denounced Zionism, but it was not certain if the man on the street would distinguish between Jews fighting Arabs in Palestine and Iraqi Jews who had been in the country since the Babylonian era. When a Jewish state was declared, there was fear that the pogrom [violence against Jews] of 1941 during the pro-Nazi coup would be repeated, but nothing happened. Slowly a feeling of safety returned, although we were cautioned to stay home during funeral processions of fallen soldiers.

It was clear thereafter that life in Iraq would no longer be the same. A rising wave of nationalism created an atmosphere of intolerance toward minorities. The newspaper al-Istiqlal published anti-Jewish propaganda daily. There were arrests of young men accused of being Communists or Zionists, amidst stories of harsh interrogation and torture. The show trial and public execution of a Jewish businessman in Basra was seen as a warning sign…. It became difficult not to notice that more and more children at school were absent, presumably fleeing the country with their families. One day the radio announced that Jews were allowed to leave Iraq, provided they renounced their citizenship. Not many people were interested at first, but gradually the numbers grew. In my family, there was a great deal of uncertainty. There was not much interest in Palestine and a lot of attachment to Iraq. The prospect of becoming stateless refugees just as the young generation was graduating from school and ready to look for employment was not something to look forward to. Yet as the slow wave of emigration became a mass exodus and the community began to disintegrate, I found myself standing in line with my parents to be fingerprinted….

Waiting for the papers to be processed, which took several months, was a period of adjusting to the idea of the impending one-way trip. While we did not know what lay ahead, it was clear what we were leaving behind: everything. It was a separation from home, people, and a way of life, which included basic cultural components such as age-old traditions, customs, and even our Arabic dialect.

One day, on the way home from the *shorja*, the busiest marketplace at the time, I bumped into my geography teacher, a self-declared Muslim nationalist. He was one of my favorite instructors…. [B]efore I could say anything he went straight to the point: "So you are going to Falastin [Palestine], huh?" I felt some embarrassment and shame.

Source E

"Statement on Immigration into Palestine"

by U.S. President Truman, October 1946

From 1945 on, U.S. President Harry Truman vocally promoted easier Jewish immigration into the British-mandated Palestine. He urged the British government to lift immigration restrictions in the mandate, even leaking a letter containing such a request to the press. At this time, the U.S. public opinion was very sympathetic to the horrors that Jews had suffered during World War II. This sympathy led Truman to defend the wishes of the Jewish Zionists, as can be seen in the statement he made in 1946 and the events it describes.

It will be recalled that, when Mr. Earl Harrison reported on September 29, 1945, concerning the condition of displaced persons in Europe, I immediately urged that steps be taken to relieve the situation of those persons to the extent at least of admitting 100,000 Jews into Palestine. In response to this suggestion the British Government invited the Government of the United States to cooperate in setting up a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, an invitation which this Government was happy to accept in the hope that its participation would help to alleviate the situation of the displaced Jews in Europe and would assist in finding a solution for the difficult and complex problem of Palestine itself.

The unanimous report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was made on April 20, 1946, and I was gratified to note that among the recommendations…was an endorsement of my previous suggestion that 100,000 Jews be admitted into Palestine….

The British Government…made it clear that in its view the Report must be considered as a whole and that the issue of the 100,000 could not be considered separately….

I have, nevertheless, maintained my deep interest in the matter and have repeatedly made it known and have urged that steps be taken at the earliest possible moment to admit 100,000 Jewish refugees to Palestine….

Meanwhile, the Jewish Agency proposed a solution of the Palestine problem by means of the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic policies in an adequate area of Palestine instead of in the whole of Palestine. It proposed furthermore the immediate issuance of certificates for 100,000 Jewish immigrants. This proposal received wide-spread attention in the United States, both in the press and in the public forums. From the discussion which has ensued it is my belief that a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States. I cannot believe that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward is too great to be bridged by men of reason and good-will. To such a solution our Government could give its support….

In light of the terrible ordeal which the Jewish people of Europe endured during the recent war and the crises now existing, I cannot believe that a program of immediate action…could not be worked out with the cooperation of all people concerned.

Source F

"Report on Former Ottoman Territories"

by the U.S. King-Crane Commission, 1919 (released to the public in 1922)

In June 1919, the King-Crane Commission visited the non-Turkish areas of the former Ottoman Empire. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson appointed the Commission and gave it the task of studying the area, surveying local public opinion, and giving recommendations for how and whether certain areas should be given a chance at self-government. (At this time, much of the region was under French or British mandate). The Commission gave its report in August 1919 and became known as "the first-ever survey of Arab public opinion." Its results were largely ignored by the international community and the United States.

We recommend...serious modification of the extreme Zionist program for Palestine of unlimited immigration of Jews, looking finally to making Palestine distinctly a Jewish State.

(1) The Commissioners began their study of Zionism with minds predisposed in its favor, but the actual facts in Palestine, coupled with the force of the general principles proclaimed by the Allies and accepted by the Syrians have driven them to the recommendation here made.

(2) The commission was abundantly supplied with literature on the Zionist program by the Zionist Commission to Palestine; heard in conferences much concerning the Zionist colonies and their claims; and personally saw something of what had been accomplished. They found much to approve in the aspirations and plans of the Zionists....

(3) The Commission recognized also that definite encouragement had been given to the Zionists by the Allies in Mr. Balfour's often quoted statement in its approval by other representatives of the Allies. If, however, the strict terms of the Balfour Statement are adhered to —favoring "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people...it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights existing in non-Jewish communities in Palestine"—it can hardly be doubted that the extreme Zionist Program must be greatly modified.

For "a national home for the Jewish people" is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish State; nor can the erection of such a Jewish State be accomplished without the gravest trespass upon the "civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."...

[T]he non-Jewish population of Palestine—nearly nine tenths of the whole—are emphatically against the entire Zionist program. The tables show that there was no one thing upon which the population of Palestine were more agreed than upon this. To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the principle just quoted, and of the people's rights, though it kept within the forms of law….

The anti-Zionist feeling in Palestine and Syria is intense and not lightly to be flouted. No British officer, consulted by the Commissioners, believed that the Zionist program could be carried out except by force of arms.... Decisions, requiring armies to carry out, are sometimes necessary, but they are surely not gratuitously to be taken in the interests of a serious injustice. For the initial claim, often submitted by Zionist representatives, that they have a "right" to Palestine, based on an occupation of 2,000 years ago, can hardly be seriously considered….

In view of all these considerations, and with a deep sense of sympathy for the Jewish cause, the Commissioners feel bound to recommend that only a greatly reduced Zionist program be attempted by the Peace Conference, and even that, only very gradually initiated. This would have to mean that Jewish immigration should be definitely limited, and that the project for making Palestine distinctly a Jewish commonwealth should be given up.

Study Guide—Part II

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from Part II of your reading. Circle ones that you do not know.

the Cold War	ideological conflict	embargo
shipping lanes	foreign aid	peace treaty
expansionist	pan-Arabism	peasants
imported	nationalized	secularists
exported	peacekeepers	militias
superpowers	terrorism	economic sanctions
communism		

Questions:

1. What was the Cold War?

2. List two sources of Arab nationalism after World War II.
   a.

   b.

3. What was "pan-Arabism"? Was it successful?

4 a. Who nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956?

   b. What happened after Egypt took control of the canal?

5. Fill in the chart below based on the reading.

Conflict	Participants	Outcome of Conflict	U.S. and Soviet Roles
Six-Day War 1967			
October War 1973			

6. List two outcomes of the Camp David Accords.
   a.

   b.

7. Why did the United States support the shah of Iran?

8. List two ways that the United States helped Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War.
   a.

   b.

9. List three outcomes of the Persian Gulf War.
   a.

   b.

   c.

Advanced Study Guide—Part II

1. How did the Cold War influence U.S. decision making in the Middle East?

2. What were the effects of the Six-Day War?

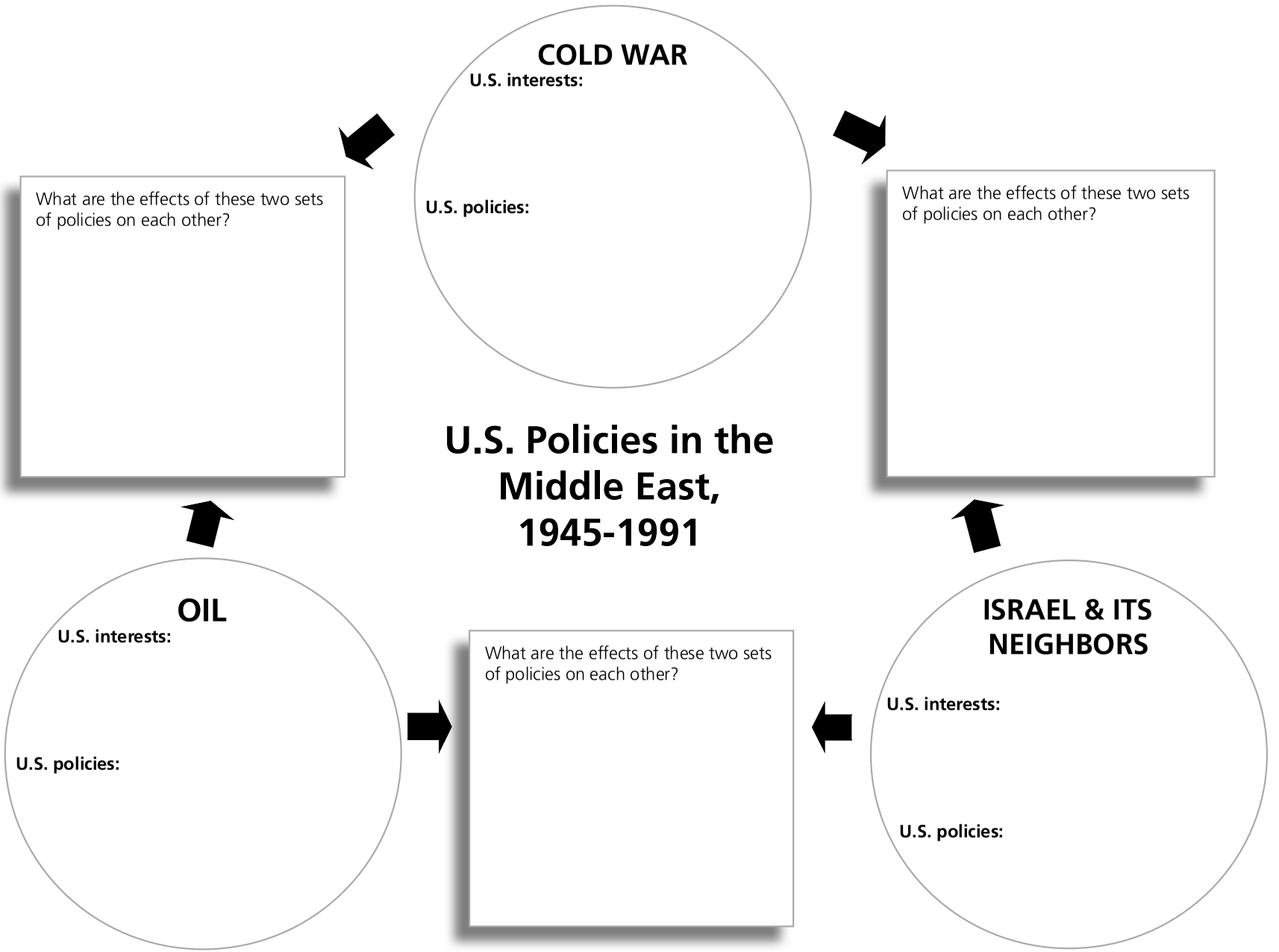
3. Why did Middle Eastern states declare an oil embargo against the United States, in the 1970s? What was the economic impact of the oil crisis?

4. Why was the 1979 Revolution in Iran seen as a serious setback for U.S. interests in the Middle East?

5. How did changes in international relations influence President George H.W. Bush's response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990?

Part II: Graphic Organizer

Instructions: On the chart below, begin by filling in the U.S. interests and policies for each circle. Then answer the question in each square, linking the concepts in the circles together.



The Iranian Revolution

Objectives:

Students will: Explain factors that contributed to the Iranian Revolution.

Recognize that the causes of historical events are multiple and complex.

Develop an understanding of hypothesis formation, testing, and revision that can be applied to other historical events.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II in the student text and completed "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 24-25) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-26).

Scholars Online Videos:

Short, free videos that you may find useful for this lesson are available at <http://www.choices.edu/resources/scholars_middle_east_lesson.php>.

Handouts:

"Hypotheses about Iran" (TRB-29)

"Data Cards" (TRB 30-32)

In the Classroom:

1. Introducing the History—Divide students into groups of three or four. Distribute "Hypotheses about Iran" to each group. Instruct students to read the background information on the Iranian Revolution at the top of the handout. You may find it helpful to show students the following Scholars Online Video: "What was the Iranian Revolution?" by Jo-Anne Hart of Lesley University. Help students to define and understand "revolution." What would it take for students to be personally motivated to protest? What would it take for two million people to protest?

2. Forming Initial Hypotheses—Review with students the purpose of forming hypotheses. Ask groups to form hypotheses about why the Revolution occurred, following the directions on the handout. Remind students that there are no wrong answers, and that all ideas might be important. Once groups have completed the assignment, record groups' findings on the board. Which hypothesis has the most support at this point? Why does that idea seem most likely to students?

3. Gathering Data—Distribute Data Card 1 to student groups or project it to the class. Ask groups to consider the questions associated with the card's information. Based on their interpretations, students should revise their hypotheses, eliminate some, or add additional ones to the list. Repeat this process until the groups have reviewed all the cards. You may wish to substitute or supplement Data Cards 3 and 4 with Scholars Online Videos.

4. Forming Conclusions—What do groups now believe caused the Iranian Revolution? How did students come to that conclusion? What information changed or refined their thinking throughout the process? Stress to students that historians use a similar process when studying historical events, and that as new evidence or new interpretations of evidence arise, historical conclusions often change. You may want to show the following Scholars Online Videos: "Why was the 1979 revolution widely supported?" by Shahla Haeri of Boston University and "Why is the revolution of 1979 such a significant event?" by Mariam Habibi of New York University-Paris.

5. Connecting to the United States—Ask students why people in the United States should know about the Iranian Revolution. Refer students to their reading. How was the United States involved in the Revolution? How did the Revolution affect the U.S. role in the Middle East?

Homework:

Students should read Part III in the student text and complete "Study Guide—Part III" (TRB 38-39) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part III" (TRB-40).

Hypotheses about Iran

Background: In December 1978, two million people marched in Iran's capital city, Tehran, demanding the resignation of their king, or shah. The shah's army refused to put down the protests. The shah left the country, and a religious leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, assumed leadership.

Instructions: Use this sheet to record and refine your hypotheses about the Iranian Revolution. First, consider these two questions and then list all your ideas below about why this revolution might have occurred.

1. What do you think were the issues or events that led to the Iranian Revolution?

2. Why do you think Iranian people protested the shah?

Then, as you read the data cards, you may add to your list, remove items from your list, or refine your hypotheses based on the new information you receive.

Hypotheses: What caused the Iranian Revolution?

Name:_____

Data Card 1: 1941

Between 1939 and 1941, Germany was Iran's leading trading partner. Hundreds of German agents operated in Iran. With the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Allied leaders worried that Germany would use Iran as a base for military operations against the Soviet Union. The British and Soviet governments sent a note to the shah, or king, of Iran demanding the expulsion of all Germans from Iran. The shah did not give in, and in late August 1941, Soviet forces moved in from the north, British from the south. Under pressure from the Allies, the shah relinquished the throne to his son, Mohammed Reza, in September 1941. Mohammed Reza swore allegiance to the Allies and promised to allow the British and Soviets to continue to extract and export Iran's oil. The Iranians received 16 percent of the profits from the sale of the oil.

Questions to consider:

How did Mohammed Reza become shah? How might the Iranian people have viewed his leadership? To whom did the shah owe his position? To whom might he be most loyal?

Data Card 2: 1944

Iran's constitution provided for a parliament in addition to a shah. In 1944 a member of parliament named Mohammad Mossadegh proposed a bill that would postpone all new oil contracts with Britain and the Soviet Union until they ended their occupation of Iran. He argued that these countries would be able to force Iran to accept a poor deal for the oil while they were still occupying the country. The bill passed, though it angered the British and the Soviets because they had been counting on the shah to give them favorable deals. (The United States was less interested in Iranian oil at the time.) The shah did not support the bill because he knew he owed his position to the British and calculated that he could strengthen his power by supporting the British.

Questions to consider:

Whose interests did the British and Soviets represent? Whose interests did the shah represent? Whose interests did Mossadegh represent? How might the Iranian people have viewed the shah? Mossadegh? The British and Soviets?

Data Card 3: 1951

In the years after World War II, the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) became a focus of resentment and represented to Iranians the exploitation and weakness of Iran. In 1951 popular pressure forced the shah to appoint Mossadegh as prime minister. Mossadegh moved to nationalize, or take over, the British oil company so that control would come into Iranian hands. The British feared they would lose access to the oil and the revenues they desperately needed, and refused to compromise. The United States attempted to negotiate between the Iranians and the British, but negotiations did not resolve the dispute.

Questions to consider:

Why would Mossadegh have wanted Iran to control the oil? How might Iranians have felt about the foreign control of Iranian oil? How might Iranians have felt if Mossadegh had succeeded?

Data Card 4: 1953

In the early 1950s the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union was heating up. The Soviets' proximity to and relationship with Iran worried U.S. President Eisenhower, who was particularly concerned about the spread of communism. U.S. and British officials saw the shah as key to their goals in Iran. Both countries wanted an oil-producing Iran firmly aligned against the Soviet Union. They aimed to rid Iran of the Mossadegh government and increase the power of the shah, who they were convinced would do their bidding. The shah, anxious to increase his power, approved of the coup in advance. In 1953, the CIA and British secret services bribed a small group of Iranians to instigate a coup. Mossadegh was removed from power, and the shah took steps to increase his own power.

Questions to consider:

Mossadegh was an elected representative of the Iranian people. How might Iranians have felt when he was overthrown? How might this event have affected their views of the United States, the British, or the shah?

Data Card 5: 1950s

The shah was anxious to modernize Iran and make it a more powerful country. He had the support of the United States and Britain, who wanted a stable, oil producing Iran as an ally against the Soviet Union. With the help of the United States and Israel he formed SAVAK, a secret police organization, which he used to hunt down opponents. SAVAK became known for the mistreatment, torture, and execution of opponents and political prisoners. The shah's actions severely limited the public expression of political ideas. He also negotiated a new oil contract with Britain and the United States that gave Iran 50 percent of the profits. The shah used most of the profits on himself. During the 1950s, the United States provided more than $500 million in military aid to the shah.

Questions to consider:

How might Iranians have felt at this time in their history? What options might they have had for changing things they disagreed with?

Data Card 6: 1960s

During the 1960s the shah continued his efforts at modernization. The most important reforms included redistributing land to peasants, giving women the right to vote, and emphasizing education. Elementary school enrollment rose from 1.6 million in 1963 and to more than 4 million in 1977. Land reform took away land from wealthy landowners and from religious schools and mosques, but it did not provide most peasants with enough land to even reach a level of subsistence. The shah also introduced laws that gave women more rights in marriage. Although some supported the shah's efforts to modernize, these reforms were a source of resentment among some religious leaders because they challenged traditional interpretations of Islamic law and replaced them with what religious leaders saw as Western values.

Questions to consider:

How might different groups of Iranians have viewed these new laws?

Name:_____

Data Card 7: 1964

Ayatollah Khomeini, a high ranking cleric, opposed the shah's rule. Khomeini urged all Iranians to protest new laws that he argued would "…turn Iran into an American colony." He proposed canceling all laws that he considered un-Islamic. He proposed taking away women's right to vote, banning "corrupt content" from television and radio programs, and prohibiting alcohol. Khomeini considered the shah to be an enemy of Islam who was unconcerned about the welfare of the Iranian people. Khomeini's ideas struck a chord with Iranians of many classes and ideologies. Although not all Iranians agreed with his religious ideology, they were pleased to have a voice to speak out against the shah. The shah ordered Khomeini arrested and exiled. In the coming years, visitors would smuggle pamphlets and cassette recordings by Khomeini back into Iran.

Questions to consider:

Why might people have admired Khomeini? What about him and his beliefs were different from the shah's?

Data Card 8: 1978

In January 1978, a government newspaper published a negative article about Ayatollah Khomeini in an effort to discredit him. Some theology students protested. The army brutally put down the protest and killed several students. Leading members of the clergy who opposed the shah called for protests and attendance at mosques forty days after the deaths of the students. Mourning for forty days and then gathering to remember the dead is a Shi'i Muslim tradition. (Most Iranians were Shi'i Muslim.) Protests were peaceful, except in the city of Tabriz where the government sent in tanks to control the demonstrations. The shah's army and police forces killed more than one hundred people. Iranians protested again forty days later. The cycle continued, and over the next year, the government killed thousands of protesters. In December 1978, more than two million people took to the streets of Tehran.

Questions to consider:

Why did the Iranian Revolution occur?

Political Geography of the Middle East

Objectives:

Students will: Practice map reading skills.

Identify the major geographic landmarks of the Middle East on a map.

Understand the geography of the conflicts between Israel and its neighbors.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II in the student text and completed "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 24-25) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 26).

Handouts:

"The Middle East" (TRB-34)

Maps of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1920-2015 (TRB 35-37)

Note: A PowerPoint presentation of these maps is available for download at <www.choices.edu/middleeastmaterials>.

In the Classroom:

1. Overview—Ask students to identify as many of the countries and geographic landmarks in the handout "The Middle East" as they can. After five minutes, review the map with the class and ask students to fill in any landmarks they may have missed. Ask students to note connections between the places on the maps and current events or events in Parts I and II of the reading.

2. Forming Small Groups—Divide the class into groups of three or four. Distribute the maps to each group. Groups should complete the questions on the bottom of each map.

3. Sharing Conclusions—After about ten minutes, call on students to share their findings. Ask students to make connections to the reading when they can. Ask students to connect past events to present events. To what extent did the First World War affect the current political geography of the region? What about the Second World War? Do the maps offer insight into the current Arab-Israeli conflict?

Homework:

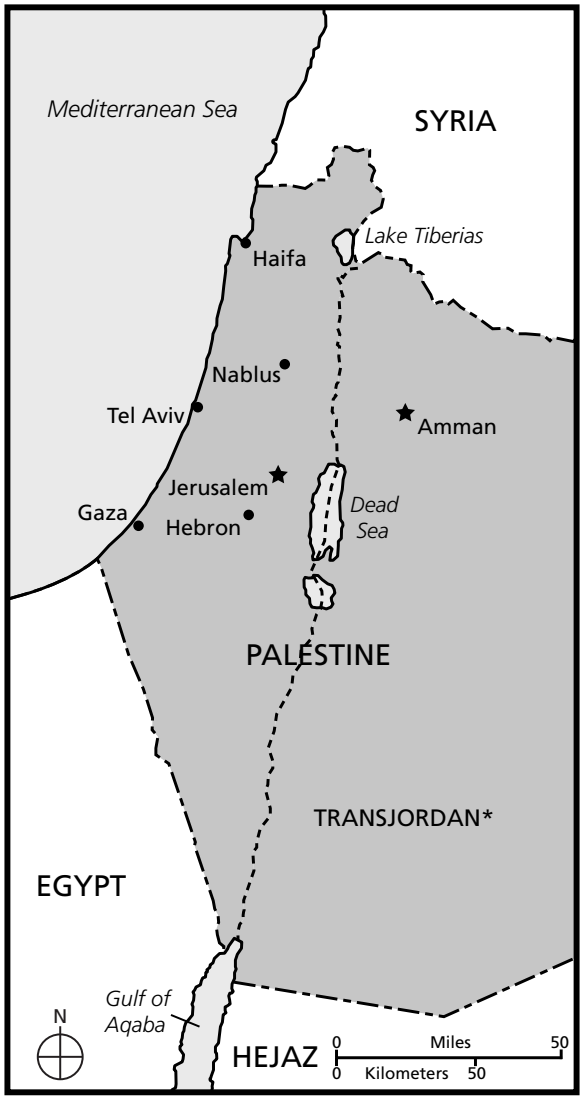
Students should read Part III in the student text and complete "Study Guide—Part III" (TRB 38-39) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part III" (TRB-40).

Name:_____

The Middle East

Instructions: Fill in the names of the countries of the Middle East. Identify major bodies of water.

1920: British Mandate



*Transjordan administered separately from Palestine from 1921.

1947: UN Partition

1. Using the maps above, describe how the UN divided Israelis and Palestinians. What happened to the area that was a British mandate?

2. What happened to Jerusalem as a result of the partition?

3. Does the 1947 map suggest any areas of potential conflict? Explain your answer.

Name:_____

1949: After the First War

1967: The Six-Day War

Compare both of these maps to the map of 1947.

1. How were the international boundaries different in 1949 from those set by the UN partition in 1947?

2. What were the results of Israel's military gains in the Six-Day War? Which countries lost control of territory?

2015: The Region Today

1. How is this map different from the map of 1967?

2. Does the geography of the region offer any insight into possible solutions or obstacles to resolving the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict? How might things like access to waterways, the separation of Palestinian territories, and borders be important? Explain.

Name:_____

Study Guide—Part III

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from Part III of your reading. Circle terms that you do not know.

terrorist
al Qaeda
extremist
cleric
weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
regime change
economic sanctions
Sunni
Shi'i
caliphate
nuclear enrichment
intifada
two-state solution
autonomy
ethnic group

Questions:

1. Why is Middle Eastern oil so important for the world economy?

2. What two security issues contributed to U.S. concerns about Iraq and Iran after September 11, 2001?
   a.

   b.

3. Give two ways in which the United States justified military action in Iraq in 2003.
   a.

   b.

4. a. What is the top U.S. concern about Iran?

   b. What does Iran argue it has the right to do?

5. List three reasons why Israel has commanded a special position in U.S. foreign policy.
   a.

   b.

   c.

6. Fill in the chart below describing the unresolved issues between Israel and the Palestinians.

Issue	What is this?	Why is it a sticking point?
Palestinian Statehood		
Jerusalem		
Jewish Settlements		
The Barrier Wall		
Palestinian Refugees		
Water Resources		
Borders		

7. What was the Arab Spring?

8. a. What is political Islam?

   b. Are all movements of political Islam identical? Explain.

Name:_____

Advanced Study Guide—Part III

1. How did the Iraq War of 2003 affect U.S. relations with countries in the Middle East?

2. Why does Iran remain a security concern for the United States?

3. In your view, is a two-state solution for Palestinians and Israelis possible? Why or why not?

4. How have the popular protests known as the Arab Spring that began in late 2010 affected U.S. policy in the region?

Name:_____

What should U.S. policy in the Middle East be?

One must consider the multiple dimensions of this complicated issue in order to formulate sound policy.

Regional Security

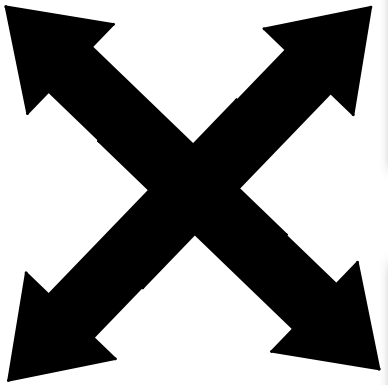
Why is this important to the United States?

What role does the United States play in the regional security of the Middle East?

Israel and the Palestinians

Why is this important to the United States?

What is the role of the United States in resolving these issues?



Arab Spring

What was the Arab Spring and how has it affected the Middle East?

How has the Arab Spring affected U.S. relations in the region?

Oil

Why is this important to the United States?

How does oil in the Middle East affect U.S. foreign policy?

Middle East Leaders' Summit

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the U.S. role in the Middle East from the perspective of Middle Eastern leaders.

Explore the goals and concerns of prominent Middle Eastern leaders.

Collaborate with classmates to develop a group presentation.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part III in the student text and completed "Study Guide—Part III" (TRB 38-39) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part III" (TRB-40).

Handouts:

"Middle East Summit—Profiles of the Leaders" (TRB 44-48)

"Middle East Summit—Organizing Your Presentation" (TRB-49)

"Middle East Summit—Evaluation Form" (TRB 50-51)

In the Classroom:

1. Review—Call on students to review Part III of the reading and explain how the U.S. role in the Middle East has changed since the Persian Gulf War. What are the most important U.S. connections to the region? How have recent events, such as the Syrian Civil War, the Arab Spring protests, and the rise of ISIS affected U.S. relationships with countries there?

2. Defining Roles—Divide the class into ten groups. Assign each group the responsibility of representing one of the ten Middle Eastern leaders featured in "Middle East Summit—Profiles of the Leaders." Distribute the appropriate section of "Middle East Summit—Profiles of the Leaders" to each group. Distribute "Middle East Summit—Organizing Your Presentation" to all ten groups. Explain that the groups will take part in a summit of Middle Eastern leaders to evaluate the U.S. role in the region. Emphasize that each group must faithfully reflect the views of the leader it has been assigned. After the groups read the profiles of their leaders, they should answer the questions in "Middle East Summit—Organizing Your Presentation."

Note: The political situation in several of the countries in this activity (e.g. Syria, Iraq) is uncertain and could change rapidly. Students may need to conduct additional research to be certain that their profile is current.

3. Comparing Perspectives—Once the groups have completed their preparations, call on group spokespersons to deliver their presentations. ("Middle East Summit—Evaluation Form" is designed to enable students to record the main points of the presentations.) Encourage the groups to analyze the other presentations. For example, how does the perspective of King Salman differ from that of Ayatollah Khamenei? Which countries have been affected by Arab Spring protests? How have different leaders responded to the Arab Spring? Which leaders favor a high level of U.S. involvement in the Middle East? Which leaders want the United States to withdraw from the region? How receptive should the United States be toward the viewpoints emerging from the simulation?

4. Regional Politics—Note that a meeting of the ten leaders represented in the simulation has never taken place and is unlikely to occur in the foreseeable future. Call on students to identify the political, cultural, religious, and economic factors that might contribute to regional alliances and rivalries. In what ways has history shaped relations among these countries? How has recent U.S. involvement affected international relationships in the Middle East?

Note:

The profiles provided are brief sketches and are not meant to be comprehensive. For the most up-to-date and complete information, you may wish you have your students do further research on their leaders and countries or regions.

To add complexity to the simulation, you may also want to give students a hypothetical scenario to discuss as summit leaders. Examples might be the complete collapse of the government in Lebanon or the assassination of the king of Jordan. You might also wish to use one of the scenarios outlined in the lesson on TRB-66. How would each leader react to the situation? What would their concerns be? What do they think the U.S. role should be?

Figures in the fact boxes of the profiles are taken from the CIA World Factbook (accessed October 2014).

Homework:

Students should read "Options in Brief" in the student text.

Middle East Summit—Profiles of the Leaders

Recep Tayyip Erdogan—President of Turkey

You became president of Turkey in August 2014, after three terms serving as prime minister. Although your political views lean toward political Islam, Turkey is a secular state and the separation between mosque and government is taken very seriously. Today, you lead the Justice and Development Party (AKP).

As Turkey's leader, you have sought to strengthen connections to the West and to support Turkey's bid to become a member of the European Union. You have been a strong supporter of the Arab Spring, and have pointed to Turkey's democratic government as an inspirational model for the region. Under your leadership, Turkey has experienced an economic boom and wants good relationships with all countries in the region. At the same time, violence between Turkey and Kurdish militants, who live in Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, has contributed to tension between you and your neighbors. The killing of Turkish activists by Israeli soldiers in 2010 damaged relations with Israel, but Israel's 2013 apology helped ease tensions. Massive protests, beginning in May 2013, expressed public discontent with several of your policies. Your suppression of the protests has drawn sharp criticism from within Turkey and from the international community. The civil war in neighboring Syria is a top concern. As of December 2014, Turkey is home to over 1.6 million Syrian refugees, and numbers increase as a terrorist group, ISIS, battles for territory at the border. You want the United States and the international community to do more to resolve the conflict.

Turkey

Population:	81.6 mil.
Literacy:	94.1%
Per capita GDP:	$15,300
Unemployment rate:	9.3%
Internet users:	27.2 mil.
Main exports:	clothing, food, textiles
Major trading partners:	Russia (11%), Germany (9%), China (9%)
Military spending as % of GDP:	2.3%

Benjamin Netanyahu—Prime Minister of Israel

One of the most conservative leaders in the right-wing party Likud, you took office in February 2009. You were born in 1949 in Tel Aviv and spent part of your childhood in the United States. You were also prime minister of Israel from 1996 to 1999. You resigned from your post as Finance Minister in 2005 in protest of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's decision to end Israel's occupation of the Gaza Strip. You believe that the eventual creation of a Palestinian state can only happen through a negotiation process, and not a declaration by the UN. You have defended the right of Israel to continue to construct settlements in the West Bank despite international pressure to stop.

Israel

Population:	7.8 mil.
Literacy:	97.1%
Per capita GDP:	$36,200
Unemployment rate:	5.8%
Internet users:	4.5 mil.
Main exports:	machinery, software, cut diamonds
Major trading partners:	U.S. (28%), Hong Kong (8%), UK (6%)
Military spending as % of GDP:	5.7%

The Arab Spring has created uncertainty for Israel and its standing in the region. Israel has found itself increasingly isolated. Your country lost an important regional ally after the ousting of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, although you are reassured by the suppression of the Muslim Brotherhood. The unrest in Syria has begun to spill into Lebanon, home of Hezbollah, the group that sparked the 2006 war between Israel and Lebanon. Relations with Israel's other key ally, Turkey, also soured after the Israeli military killed nine Turkish activists bringing supplies to Gaza in 2010. In March 2013, Israel apologized for the raid, and relations with Turkey began to improve. You believe that Iran is the single greatest threat Israel has ever faced, and have made Iran's suspected nuclear program a priority of Israeli security policy.

Mahmoud Abbas—President of the Palestinian Authority

Born in 1935 in what was then the British Mandate of Palestine, you left for Syria when Israel became a country in 1948. You were educated in Syria and the Soviet Union. You helped establish the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO, now Fatah). You have worked as an advocate of peace, meeting with left-wing Jewish groups and pacifists. You are dedicated to the construction of a Palestinian state and the removal of Israeli settlers from the West Bank and Gaza, and you have worked to prevent violent actions against Israel from various Palestinian organizations.

West Bank

Population:	2.7 mil.
Literacy:	95.3%*
Per capita GDP:	$2,900*
Unemployment rate:	22.5%*
Internet users:	1.4 mil.*
Main exports:	stone, olives, fruit
Major trade partners:	Israel, Jordan*

You were elected president of the Palestinian Authority in January 2005. In 2007, Hamas expelled Fatah politicians from the Gaza Strip. In May 2011, Hamas and Fatah signed a unity agreement and began to plan elections for a unified government for the Palestinian territories. In September 2011, you submitted a formal request to the UN for Palestinian membership and statehood. The UN Security Council did not support the request, so you requested admission to the UN as a nonmember observer state, which was approved by the General Assembly in November 2012. The United States and Israel were outspoken in their opposition to these requests. Palestinians, inspired by the Arab Spring protests, have become increasingly vocal about their desire for change. You encouraged Palestinians to carry out peaceful protests against Israeli occupation. In 2012, there were protests in the West Bank against your government and economic conditions as well. In September 2014, you called for the UN to set a deadline for Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories.

Khaled Meshal—Leader of Hamas

Born in 1956 in the West Bank village of Silwad, you have spent the majority of your life outside of the Palestinian territories. You were involved in a number of Islamist organizations in Kuwait and became very active in Hamas after it was formed in 1987. In 1997, you survived an assassination attempt by Israeli agents. In 2004, you became the leader of Hamas after the previous leader was killed in an Israeli attack. In 2007, your organization took control of the Gaza Strip, effectively separating the Palestinian territories—with Fatah ruling the West Bank and Hamas ruling Gaza.

Hamas has established a government in Gaza, but its top leadership includes many figures who live outside Gaza and weigh in on important decisions. You live in Qatar, but exert influence in Gaza.

Gaza Strip

Population:	1.8 mil.
Literacy:	95.3%*
Per capita GDP:	$2,900*
Unemployment rate:	22.5%*
Internet users:	1.4 mil.*
Main exports:	strawberries, carnations
Major trade partners:	Israel, Jordan*

Israel and its allies have been reluctant to negotiate with you because they consider Hamas a terrorist organization. Hamas refuses to recognize Israel, but has expressed some willingness to negotiate a truce if Israel will revert to its 1967 borders and allow the return of Palestinian refugees. Hamas has not been invited to U.S.-backed peace talks in the region. In 2011, there were a number of small protests in the Gaza Strip calling for unity between Fatah and Hamas. In April 2014, Hamas and Fatah signed an agreement to create a unity government and hold elections later that year. The Arab Spring has rattled Gaza's alliances with other countries. Hamas lost an ally, Syria, when it refused to side with Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad during the Syrian Civil War. In July 2014, Israel launched an attack in Gaza in response to the firing of rockets into Israeli territory by Hamas. This led to an increase in your popular support in Gaza.

*Figures are for both the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Ayatollah Seyed Ali Khamenei—Supreme Leader of Iran

Born in 1939, you began pursuing religious studies as a teenager. In 1958, you joined a political Islam movement opposing the shah's modernization program. During the 1960s and 1970s, you were repeatedly imprisoned for plotting to overthrow the shah. With the triumph of the revolution in 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini appointed you to the Council of the Islamic Revolution. After barely surviving a terrorist bombing attack in 1981, you were elected president by a large majority. In 1989, you were chosen supreme spiritual leader following the death of Khomeini. Your position makes you the most powerful political figure in Iran, with the authority to overrule parliament's decisions. You oppose efforts to ease Islamic social restrictions.

Iran

Population:	80.8 mil.
Literacy:	85%
Per capita GDP:	$12,800
Unemployment rate:	16%
Internet users:	8.2 mil.
Main exports:	oil (80%), chemicals, food
Major trading partners:	China (22%), India (12%), Turkey (10.6%)
Military spending as % of GDP:	2.5%

The United States has accused your country of trying to secretly develop nuclear weapons (although you have declared that nuclear weapons are not permitted by Islam), and imposed harsh economic sanctions that have hurt the economy. Iran initially supported the protests of the Arab Spring, particularly because they unseated the governments of traditional U.S. allies like Egypt and Tunisia. (Iran faced its own protests in 2009, which you allowed to be put down with force.) But you and other Iranian leaders grew concerned when protests spread to Syria, Iran's key ally in the region since 1979. Iran has supported President Bashar al-Assad during the Syrian Civil War. Like the United States, you would like to see ISIS defeated.

Abdel Fattah el-Sisi—President of Egypt

Egyptians conducted mass protests and demonstrations in early 2011 and ousted their president, Hosni Mubarak, in February of that year. Mubarak had ruled for nearly thirty years, keeping Egypt under an emergency law that limited basic freedoms and allowed the government to conduct regular mass arrests. Beginning in November 2011, Egyptians went to the polls in a succession of elections to elect the new leaders of their government. Mohammed Morsi, a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, won the presidential election in June 2012.

Egypt

Population:	86.9 mil.
Literacy:	73.9%
Per capita GDP:	$6,600
Unemployment rate:	13.4%
Internet users:	20.1 mil.
Main exports:	oil, cotton, textiles
Major trading partners:	Italy (8%), India (7%), US (7%)
Military spending as % of GDP:	1.7%

A little more than one year later, dissatisfaction with the economy and Morsi's government led to massive protests around Egypt. You were, at this point, the head of the Egyptian Armed Forces and held the rank of colonel general. You led the Egyptian military in forcing Morsi from power. The military put him in prison, suspended the constitution, and called for new elections. After the ouster, hundreds of thousands of Egyptians participated in pro- and anti-Morsi rallies. You ordered security forces to crack down on Morsi supporters with violence that was condemned by many international leaders, including U.S. President Obama. In March 2014, responding to calls from the people to run for the presidency, you resigned from the military and announced your campaign. The elections were held in May 2014. Many political parties refused to participate, and you won a resounding victory over your sole opponent. In late 2014, you supported the decision to drop charges of human rights abuses and corruption against former President Mubarak.

Bashar al-Assad—President of Syria

Born in 1965, you are the son of Hafez al-Assad who was the president of Syria for thirty years. You studied in London as a young man. You are a member of the Alawite Islamic sect—a minority in Syria. Before becoming president, you were a colonel in Syria's armed forces. You were also head of the Syrian Computer Society and oversaw the introduction of limited internet access. Your father ruthlessly smashed opposition to his regime. When you became president in 2000, many saw you as a modernist who would reform Syrian politics and society. But you ruthlessly repressed protests during the early days of the Arab Spring.

Syria

Population:	17.9 mil.
Literacy:	84.1%
Per capita GDP:	$5,100
Unemployment rate:	17.8%
Internet users:	4.5 mil.
Main exports:	petroleum products, minerals
Major trading partners:	Iraq (58%), Saudi Arabia (10%), Kuwait (6%)
Military spending as % of GDP:	3.6%

The protests have evolved into a civil war. More than two hundred thousand people have died. Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Turkey are among the countries that urge you to resign from office and end the conflict. Iran remains an ally and provides oil, arms, and troops to your regime. Fighters from Hezbollah have fought alongside the Syrian army against rebel forces. Your country's twenty-nine-year military occupation of Lebanon ended in 2005. You maintain close but tense relations with that country. Relations between the United States and Syria soured with the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. They have only worsened with U.S. demands for your government to step down. Syria is one of Israel's staunchest enemies. In 2013, Israel conducted airstrikes in your country targeting missiles they believe were intended to be delivered to Hezbollah. In addition to fighting rebel groups in Syria, you also face the threat of ISIS, which wants to form a new Islamic state in Syrian and Iraqi territory.

Tammam Salam—Prime Minister of Lebanon

Born in 1945, you are the son of a former prime minister and are known for your work as the minister of culture and president of a nonprofit charity. You consider yourself an independent, but you have strong support from Lebanon's March 14 Alliance—a group that opposes Syrian intervention in Lebanon. In February 2014, you were elected as prime minister. Before that, you served as prime minister after being nominated in 2013 when Najib Mikati resigned due to political differences within his own coalition, the March 8 Alliance. (The March 8 Alliance supports the Syrian government and is largely backed by members of Hezbollah.) Your nomination received support from both the Alliances.

Lebanon

Population:	5.8 mil.
Literacy:	89.6%
Per capita GDP:	$15,800
Internet users:	1 mil.
Main exports:	jewelry, metals, chemicals
Major trading partners:	South Africa (19%), Switzerland (12%), Saudi Arabia (8%)
Military spending as % of GDP:	4.0%

Lebanon has long been influenced by its neighbors. For example, Syria maintained troops in Lebanon for twenty-nine years, only withdrawing them after mass protests following the 2005 assassination of former Prime Minister Hariri. Many suspect you are unsympathetic to Syria's Assad government and plan to remain neutral toward the conflict in Syria as you focus on reducing religious tensions within Lebanon. As of October 2014, there were more than one million Syrian refugees in your country. Hezbollah, an important force in Lebanese politics, continues to support Assad's regime. The role of Israel is also an ongoing concern for Lebanon. From 1982 to 2000, Israel occupied a part of southern Lebanon, drawing Syria, Iran, and other Arab countries into a decades-long regional conflict. Lebanon does not recognize Israel as a country. U.S.-Lebanese relations historically have been strong.

Haider al-Abadi—Prime Minister of Iraq

While you were studying for your PhD in the UK, your passport was confiscated because you opposed Saddam Hussein's party. You remained in exile until the United States invaded Iraq in 2003. You served as minister of communications in the first government after the fall of Hussein, before being elected to parliament in 2005. You have been called one of the most important people involved in Iraq's reconstruction after the war. In 2014, you were nominated by the Iraqi president to replace Nouri al-Maliki as prime minister.

Iraq

Population:	32.5 mil.
Literacy:	78.5%
Per capita GDP:	$7,100
Unemployment rate:	16%
Internet users:	325,900
Main exports:	oil (84%), crude materials
Major trading partners:	U.S. (21.1%), India (20.2%), China (13.6%)
Military spending as % of GDP:	2.9%

After eight years of war, U.S. troops withdrew from Iraq at the end of 2011. Despite past cooperation, U.S.-Iraqi relations are strained over the issue of civil war in Syria. U.S. officials criticize your government for allowing Iran to send arms to Syria through Iraqi airspace. These arms are being used by Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's forces against Sunni rebels.

The turmoil next door in Syria is spilling into Iraq. Renewed civil war along Sunni-Shi'i lines has produced the highest civilian death tolls in Iraq in five years. Your predecessor, Nouri al-Maliki, was notorious for cracking down on Sunnis and any political activities that might lead to an "Iraq Spring."You have also seen the resurgence of al Qaeda and faced a serious security breach with the escape of high profile al Qaeda members from the Abu Ghraib jail in July 2013. Right now, you face the challenge of ISIS, a terrorist group that wants to establish a new Islamic state in Syrian and Iraqi territory.

Salman bin Abdul Aziz al Saud—King of Saudi Arabia

Born in 1935, you are one of King Ibn Saud's thirty-seven sons. When your half-brother King Abdullah died in 2015, you became the King of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is home to Islam's two holiest shrines. The presence of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia after the Persian Gulf War caused tension; in fact, Osama bin Laden, a Saudi, scorned Western trends in Saudi Arabia. Most of the terrorists involved in September 11 were Saudi nationals. (U.S. troops left Saudi Arabia shortly after September 11.) In 2013, Saudi Arabia pledged a $100 million contribution for UN counterterrorism activities.

Saudi Arabia

Population:	27.3 mil.
Literacy:	87.2%
Per capita GDP:	$31,300
Unemployment rate:	10.5% (males only)
Internet users:	9.8 mil.
Main exports:	oil (90%)
Major trading partners:	U.S. (14.2%), China (13.6%), Japan (13.6%)
Military spending as % of GDP:	8.0%

In foreign policy, you maintain close relations with the United States. But at home, some Islamic leaders criticize Saudi ties to the West and the corruption of the royal administration. Although it is the world's largest oil exporter, your country's soaring population growth and rising defense spending have strained the Saudi budget. The Saudi government quickly crushed the public protests held in March 2011, but your brother, King Abdullah passed reforms to open up some parts of Saudi Arabia's conservative society. For example, in 2015, women will be permitted to vote and run in municipal and local elections. Your country led the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) effort to quell the Arab Spring protests in Bahrain. In the Arab world, Saudi Arabia is regarded as an advocate of wider Arab interests. Beyond your borders, you view Iran and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as threats to Saudi security.

Middle East Summit—Organizing Your Presentation

Instructions: Your group has been called on to represent one of ten Middle Eastern leaders at a regional summit. The summit will consider the role of the United States in the Middle East. Your group should organize a three-to-five minute presentation from the perspective of the leader you have been assigned. Answering the questions below will help you develop your presentation. You should also review the reading to gain a deeper insight into the challenges confronting your leader.

Leader: Country/territory:

1. What are the most important issues currently facing your government?

2. What are your most pressing security concerns?

3. What changes would you recommend in U.S. policy toward the Middle East?

Middle East Summit—Evaluation Form

Instructions: Use this worksheet to record the main points of the group presentations.

1. Summarize the main international concerns of these Middle Eastern leaders.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan (Turkey)

Abdel Fattah el-Sisi (Egypt)

Benjamin Netanyahu (Israel)

Bashar al-Assad (Syria)

Mahmoud Abbas (West Bank)

Tammam Salam (Lebanon)

Khaled Meshal (Gaza Strip)

Haider al-Abadi (Iraq)

Ayatollah Khamenei (Iran)

King Salman (Saudi Arabia)

2. Summarize the main domestic concerns of these Middle Eastern leaders.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan (Turkey)

Abdel Fattah el-Sisi (Egypt)

Benjamin Netanyahu (Israel)

Bashar al-Assad (Syria)

Mahmoud Abbas (West Bank)

Tammam Salam (Lebanon)

Khaled Meshal (Gaza Strip)

Haider al-Abadi (Iraq)

Ayatollah Khamenei (Iran)

King Salman (Saudi Arabia)

Graffiti in Egypt's Revolution

Objectives:

Students will: Assess the role of graffiti in political protest.

Use a short video to analyze the relevance of graffiti during the Egyptian revolution.

Articulate opinions on graffiti and censorship.

Note:

This lesson requires access to the internet and teachers will need to be able to project videos and a PowerPoint in their classrooms. Preview the YouTube video in this lesson to make sure it is appropriate for your classroom. Resources for this lesson can be found online at <http://www.choices.edu/middleeastmaterials>.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part III in the student text and completed "Study Guide—Part III" (TRB 38-39) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part III" (TRB-40).

Handouts:

"Graffiti as Protest: Mohamed Mahmoud Street" (TRB-54)

"We are Determined" (TRB-55)

Online Resources:

The videos and PowerPoint that are used in this lesson are available at <http://www.choices.edu/middleeastmaterials>.

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Write the following question on the board: "Is graffiti a form of art or vandalism?" Call on students to share their opinions. Does the location of graffiti—for example, on the outside wall of a public building, private residence, subway tunnel, or dumpster—make it more or less acceptable? Or is it the type of graffiti—political cartoon, tag, mural, etc.—that matters?

2. Case Study: Egypt—Form groups of three or four students. Distribute the handout "Graffiti as Protest: Mohamed Mahmoud Street." Tell students that they will consider the role of graffiti in Egypt in the years since the start of the revolution in January 2011. Remind students that this revolution began during the Arab Spring, a wave of popular uprisings that swept the Arab world starting in December 2010. In Egypt, demonstrations in January-February 2011 led to the end of President Hosni Mubarak's almost thirty-year authoritarian regime. Egypt has undergone many changes since 2011, but a democracy has yet to be established.

Have students read the handout, "Graffiti as Protest: Mohamed Mahmoud Street." Then show them the PowerPoint, "Graffiti as Protest in Cairo," which has a collection of images from Mohamed Mahmoud Street and other locations in the Egyptian capital. What did students find surprising or interesting? What is the importance of Mohamed Mahmoud Street? Do students think graffiti is an effective protest method in this context?

3a. Analyzing a Video—Distribute the handout "We are Determined." Tell students that they will watch a YouTube video by an Egyptian activist group, the Mosireen Collective, which has documented the revolution. The video shows a woman protesting the erasure of graffiti on Mohamed Mahmoud Street. Ask students to complete the handout in their small groups and be prepared to share their answers with the class.

You may want to play the video multiple times, as students may not pick up on certain details the first time.

Call students back together. What observations do students have about the video? Why was the graffiti covered up with paint? Who whitewashed the walls? Why might the government view the graffiti as threatening? Why do students think the YouTube video was created?

3b. Further Analysis—Show one or more of the video interviews with Mayssun Succarie, a scholar of social movements and youth culture in the Arab world. (The videos: "Why is the graffiti important?" and "How does it relate to other events in Egypt?" are available at <http://www.choices.edu/middleeastmaterials>.) These videos present Succarie's perspective on the YouTube video and the role of graffiti in Egypt's revolution.

4. Graffiti and Censorship—Remind students of the initial question on the board, "Is graffiti a form of art or vandalism?" Have students' perspectives changed? If so, why? Why might graffiti be an important method of protest in Egypt? Have students ever seen political graffiti in their own communities? If yes, what types of issues or topics did the graffiti depict? If not, can students think of reasons why this type of graffiti does not exist in their communities? Do students think political graffiti should be censored?

Homework:

Students should read "Options in Brief" in the student text.

Graffiti as Protest: Mohamed Mahmoud Street

Cairo, Egypt transformed shortly after the Egyptian revolution began on January 25, 2011. Widespread demonstrations called for "bread, freedom, and social justice" and brought an end to President Hosni Mubarak's almost thirty-year regime. Although Mubarak was removed from power, the revolution continued because not all the demands of the people were met. Graffiti artists flocked to the streets to document the spirit, events, and hardships of this unfinished revolution. A variety of graffiti appeared, including political cartoons that mocked government officials and security forces, the names and faces of people who lost their lives, and slogans such as:

"Wake up, Egypt! The poor are hungry"

"To those who sacrificed their lives for the future of a nation: a salute of glory and pride to the Martyrs of the 25 January Revolution"

"Take to the Streets"

Graffiti, a previously uncommon sight in Cairo, transformed blank walls into open-air galleries. Mohamed Mahmoud Street became the most popular street for graffiti since it is a short walk from Tahrir Square—the main public square where tens of thousands of people gathered to demonstrate against Mubarak's regime in 2011.

Today, the revolution is still ongoing as many Egyptians believe that little has changed in the years since Mubarak's regime. Human rights abuses by the military and security officials remain common, and the continued lack of social justice leaves millions vulnerable to poverty, discrimination, and unemployment. New layers of graffiti regularly appear on Mohamed Mahmoud Street that comment on the lack of democracy in Egypt.

Gigi Ibrahim (CC BY 2.0).

Mohamed Mahmoud Street became an even more popular location for graffiti after a massacre in Port Said, Egypt on February 1, 2012. Seventy-four men were killed and well over one thousand were injured. These victims had participated in the 2011 anti-Mubarak demonstrations and are remembered as "martyrs" of the revolution. Within a day of the massacre, artists began to create memorials for the victims, as seen above. This one depicts a mother holding a photograph of her martyred son.

"We are Determined"

Instructions: Read the description below on the censorship of graffiti in Egypt and then fill in the chart about the YouTube video. Be prepared to share your answers with the class.

Censorship of Graffiti

The Egyptian government regularly whitewashes the graffiti on Mohamed Mahmoud Street with paint. The government is currently considering a new law that would ban "abusive" graffiti and sentence the author of the graffiti to up to four years in prison. But many activists refuse to be silenced. Activists have responded to the whitewashing by redocumenting the revolution and challenging the government's authority through graffiti. They continue their work in spite of the risk of severe punishment and the use of excessive force by the military and security officials.

YouTube Video

Who is the author of the video?	*The Mosireen Collective is a group of Egyptian activists who document the events of the revolution. "Mosireen" is a play on the Arabic words for "Egypt" and "determined." In English, the group translates its name as "We are Determined." Mosireen creates short documentaries about the revolution that use video footage from cellphones of people engaged in protests and demonstrations.*	
Where was the video shot?		
What is the videographer protesting against?		
Explain the meaning of these slogans:	*"MAY YOU LIVE AND PAINT"*	*"ERASE IT AGAIN, YOU COWARDLY REGIME"*
What images are put on the walls after they have been whitewashed? Why do you think these images were chosen?		

The Options Role Play: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the issues that frame the current debate on U.S. policy toward the Middle East.

Identify the core underlying values of the options.

Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the readings into a persuasive, coherent presentation.

Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Handouts:

"Presenting Your Option" (TRB-57) for option groups

"Expressing Key Values" (TRB-58) for option groups

"Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate" (TRB-59) for committee members

"Options: Graphic Organizer" (TRB-60) for all students

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning this lesson. During this lesson, students will be preparing for the upcoming role play. Remind them to incorporate information from the reading into the development of their presentations and questions

2a. Option Groups—Form three groups of four students. Assign an option from the student text to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Option" and "Expressing Key Values" to the three option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called on in the next class period to present the case for its assigned option to members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Explain that option groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Option." Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

2b. Committee Members—The remainder of the class will serve as members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Distribute "Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate" to each committee member. While the option groups are preparing their presentations, members of the Committee on Foreign Relations should develop clarifying questions to ask during the option groups' presentations. (See "Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate.") Remind committee members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the role play.

3. Understanding the Options—Give all students a copy of "Options: Graphic Organizer." As they prepare for the role play, students should begin to fill in the graphic organizer and use it to help them organize their thoughts. They should complete the worksheet during the role play.

Suggestions:

See our short video for teachers "Tips for a Successful Role Play" <www.choices.edu/pd/roleplay.php>.

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as members of the committee. In larger classes, additional roles—such as those of newspaper reporter, lobbyist, or political consultant—may be assigned to students.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design a poster or a political cartoon illustrating the best case for their options.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Your group has been called on to appear before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Your assignment is to persuade the committee members that your option should be the basis for U.S. policy toward the Middle East. You will be evaluated on how well you present your option.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role. Before preparing your sections of the presentation, work together to address the questions on the "Expressing Key Values" sheet and fill in "Options: Graphic Organizer."

1. Group Organizer: Your job is to organize your group's three-to-five minute presentation of its option to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In organizing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. Read your option and review the reading to build a strong case for your option. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and "Options: Graphic Organizer" will help you and your group organize your thoughts. Keep in mind that, although you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group, your group will be expected to make the presentation together.

2. U.S. Foreign Policy Adviser: Your job is to explain why your option best serves the foreign policy goals and security interests of the United States. Carefully read your option, and then review the reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and "Options: Graphic Organizer" will help you organize your thoughts.

3. Economic Adviser: Your job is to explain why your option best serves U.S. economic interests. Carefully read your option, and then review the reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and "Options: Graphic Organizer" will help you organize your thoughts.

4. Historian: Your job is to show how the lessons of history support your option. Carefully read your option, and then review the reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and "Options: Graphic Organizer" will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your group will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet, "Options: Graphic Organizer," and other notes may be used, but speakers should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentations of other options, you should try to identify their weak points. After all of the groups have presented their options, members of the Senate committee will ask you clarifying questions. Any member of your group may respond during the question period.

Name:_____

Expressing Key Values

Values play a key role when defining the broad parameters of public policy. What do we believe about ourselves and about others? What matters most to us? When strongly held values come into conflict, which are most important?

Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values. Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, the country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. Since the nation's beginnings, a commitment to freedom, democracy, and individual liberty has been a cornerstone of U.S. national identity. At the same time, many have fought hard for justice, equality, and the rights of others. Throughout U.S. history, people have spoken out when policies have not reflected their values and demanded that the government live up to the ideals of its citizens.

For most of the country's existence, the impulse to spread U.S. values beyond its borders was outweighed by the desire to remain independent of foreign entanglements. But since World War II, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other country. At times, U.S. leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of stability and security have been prioritized.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. U.S. citizens are constantly forced to choose among competing values in foreign policy. Each of the three options revolves around a distinct set of values. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your option. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts. When you have finished the role-play activity you will be asked to construct your own option based on your own opinions. During this process you should consider which values matter most to you, and root your policy in those beliefs.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your option?
   a.

   b.

2. According to the values of your option, what should be the role of the United States in the world?

3. According to your option, why should these values be the guiding force for U.S. policy toward the Middle East?

Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate

Your Role

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, you consider issues relating to U.S. foreign policy. As you know, the Middle East has occupied an important place on the U.S. foreign policy agenda for over half a century. Recently, the region has attracted increased attention. These hearings will introduce you to three distinct approaches to U.S. policy toward the Middle East.

Your Assignment

While the three option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options. Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of the role play.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. For example, a good question for Option 1 might be:

Won't focusing on protecting access to oil damage our reputation as a supporter of democracy?

During the simulation, the three option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow committee members to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the option groups make their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After this activity is concluded, you may be called on to explain your evaluation of the option groups.

Name:_____

Options: Graphic Organizer

	What does this option think should be the top priorities of U.S. policy in the Middle East?	How should oil affect thinking about U.S. policy in the Middle East?	What does this option think U.S. policy toward Iran should be?	What does this option think U.S. policy on Israeli-Palestinian issues should be?	What does this option think about U.S. policy toward ISIS and Syria?	Does this option see political Islam as a threat to the United States?
Option 1						
Option 2						
Option 3						

The Options Role Play: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. policy toward the Middle East.

Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. policy toward the Middle East.

Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

"Evaluation Form" (TRB-62) for the committee members

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Organize the room so that the three option groups face a row of desks reserved for the Committee on Foreign Relations. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to the committee members. Instruct members of the committee to fill out the first part of their "Evaluation Form" during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. Managing the Simulation—Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by each option group. Encourage all to speak clearly and convincingly.

Throughout the course of the simulation, all students should fill out "Options: Graphic Organizer (TRB-60)."

3. Guiding Discussion—Following the presentations, invite members of the Committee on Foreign Relations to ask clarifying questions. Make sure that each committee member has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all three option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the competing groups. During the question period, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit questions following the presentation of each option.)

Homework:

Students should read all of the three options in the student text and complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" (TRB-64) and "Your Own Option" (TRB-65). Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations should complete the second half of the "Evaluation Form."

Note:

The consideration of alternative views is not finished when the options role play is over. After the role play, students should articulate their own views on the issue and create their own options for U.S. policy. These views will be more sophisticated and nuanced if students have had an opportunity to challenge one another to think more critically about the merits and trade-offs of alternative views. See Guidelines for Deliberation <www.choices.edu/deliberation> for suggestions on deliberation.

Name:_____

Evaluation Form: Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?

Option 1

Option 2

Option 3

What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?

Option 1

Option 2

Option 3

Part II

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Weighing Recommendations for U.S. Policy

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate guidelines for U.S. policy based on personally held values and historical understanding.

Apply values and beliefs to hypothetical crises in the Middle East.

Compare and contrast values and assumptions with classmates.

Required Reading:

Students should have read each of the three options in the student text and completed "Focusing Your Thoughts" (TRB-64) and "Your Own Option" (TRB-65).

Handouts:

"Coping with Crisis" (TRB-66)

Suggestions:

Consideration of students' personal values is a central part of this lesson. Some students may enter the discussion unsure of what is meant by values. This simple values exercise <http://www.choices.edu/resources/values.php> can clarify the concept and allow students to engage with the lesson more fully.

Instead of using the hypothetical cases provided here, it may be preferable to utilize a situation from the headlines.

Allow students to work in pairs or small groups before sharing their responses to the real or hypothetical crises.

In the Classroom:

1. Analyzing Beliefs—Call on members of the Senate committee to share their evaluations of the option groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? To what extent did the options address the concerns of people in the United States? To what extent did they address concerns of those living in the Middle East?

2. Comparing Viewpoints—Students should have completed "Your Own Option" prior to class. Invite them to share their policy recommendations with the class. Encourage them to clarify the connection between their values and their policy recommendations. What values resonate most strongly among the students? Ask them to identify the beliefs in "Focusing Your Thoughts" that they most strongly support. What are the potential tradeoffs of their options? Ask students to compare the recommendations of class members with current U.S. policy. How would their policy recommendations change U.S. policy?

3. Applying Student Options—Distribute "Coping with Crisis." Lead the class in reading the first hypothetical crisis. Call on the students who earlier presented their answers to "Your Own Option" to respond to the scenario from the perspective of their options. Invite other students to assess the responses. Are they consistent with the principles that the students articulated earlier? What are the potential threats and opportunities posed by the crisis? How would U.S. leaders, past and present, respond to the crisis? Encourage other students to challenge the views of their classmates. Review the two remaining hypothetical crises, inviting participation from the entire class.

Extra Challenge:

Encourage students to explore the local dimensions of the debate on U.S. policy toward the Middle East. For example, students could be asked to contact organizations that have a deeply rooted interest in U.S. policy toward the Middle East. Businesses with connections to the Middle East, such as energy companies, are often active in the foreign policy arena. Ethnic organizations, particularly Jewish American and Arab American groups, also seek to make their voices heard. In addition, students, scholars, and immigrants from the Middle East may offer a source of insight into the region.

Name:_____

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions

You have had an opportunity to consider three options for U.S. policy toward the Middle East. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option on U.S. policy toward the Middle East.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options from "1" to "3," with "1" being your first choice.

___ Option 1: Police a Rough Neighborhood

___ Option 2: Support Democracy and Human Rights

___ Option 3: Step Back from the Middle East

Beliefs

Rate each of the statements below according to your own personal beliefs:

1= strongly support 2= support 3= oppose 4= strongly oppose 5= undecided

___All countries are capable of making progress toward democracy, human rights, and tolerance.

___Meddling in the local affairs of other countries is counterproductive and dangerous.

___Economic interests should be the driving force behind U.S. foreign policy.

___In international relations, reliable friends and allies are the United States' most valuable asset.

___The United States has a moral obligation to support movements for democracy, human rights, and freedom around the world.

___Political disputes and cultural differences should not prevent U.S. companies from doing business with other countries.

___All movements of political Islam are a threat to U.S. interests.

___Local problems are best solved by local people and governments.

Creating Your Own Option

Your next assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. You should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, the U.S. cannot claim to prioritize promoting international standards of human rights while continuing to support allies that continuously violate human rights.

Your Own Option

Instructions: In this exercise, you will offer your own recommendations for U.S. policy toward the Middle East. Your responses to "Focusing Your Thoughts" should help you identify the guiding principles of your proposal.

1. What values and interests should guide U.S. policy in the Middle East?

2. Which issues in the Middle East deserve the most attention from the United States?

3. What specific policies should the United States pursue in the Middle East? (Use the policy steps featured in the options as a guide.)

4. What are the two strongest arguments opposing your option?
   a.

   b.

5. What are the two strongest arguments supporting your option?
   a.

   b.

6. How would your option affect people residing in the Middle East? People in the United States?

Name:_____

Coping with Crisis

Instructions: In this exercise, you are asked to decide how the United States should respond to three ***hypothetical*** crises in the region. You should use your answers to the "Your Own Option" worksheet as a guide to developing your recommendations to the following fictional scenarios.

Crisis #1—Saudi King Under Siege

Followers of a movement of political Islam have launched a wave of labor strikes in the oil fields of Saudi Arabia. The strikes, which have won broad support among both local and foreign Muslim workers, have cut Saudi oil production in half over the past two weeks. Prices in the world market have already jumped to $204 a barrel since the labor unrest began. The leaders of an extremist Islamic group have announced that they are seeking to overthrow the Saudi government. They charge that the Saudi royal family is corrupt and out-of-touch with everyday people. They pledge to install a new leadership that better represents the will of the people. Reports indicate that the movement has received extensive support from Iran. Saudi Arabia's King Salman has vowed to use his army to smash the challenge to his rule.

How should the United States respond?

Crisis #2—Unrest Spreads

After a series of attacks from both Gaza and the West Bank that killed hundreds of Israeli citizens, Benjamin Netanyahu, prime minister of Israel, has declared an end to contact with Hamas and Fatah. He has ordered the Palestinians to give up their weapons. The Israeli military has reimposed direct control over West Bank cities and moved into the Gaza Strip. Fighting is raging in the streets. Israeli tanks have also reoccupied the southern region of Lebanon and launched airstrikes against Hezbollah. Violence has threatened to spread throughout the region. Other leaders in the Middle East have called upon the United States to act.

How should the United States respond?

Crisis #3—Tumult in Iran

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) reports Iran is continuing its nuclear activities. Iran has blocked the IAEA access to its nuclear facilities and has made it clear that any further attempts at interference will result in an acceleration of its nuclear program. In recent days, intelligence reports claim that Iran has already acquired chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, as well as long-range missiles that could be armed with weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, Iran has reportedly moved several border posts along the Iran-Iraq border onto Iraqi territory in the latest development of a long-standing border dispute. Meanwhile in Tehran, President Rouhani has ordered armed forces to put down student protests that have erupted throughout the city. The students demand the resignation of the president along with increased tolerance, greater freedom, and other social changes.

How should the United States respond?

Middle Eastern Society through Literature

Objectives:

Students will: Assess the interplay among literature, politics, and culture in the Middle East.

Analyze the political content of selections from modern Middle Eastern fiction.

Articulate the values and attitudes of fictional characters.

Required Reading:

Students should have read "Middle Eastern Society through Literature" in the student text and completed "Questions—Reading" (TRB-68).

In the Classroom:

1. Cultural Comparisons—Call on students to share their impressions of the excerpts they read. Are they able to sympathize with the concerns and hopes of the main characters? Are the settings and plots comprehensible for U.S. readers? How do the styles and themes of the excerpts compare to those of U.S. fiction?

2. Probing for Political Meaning—Emphasize that literature in the modern Middle East is often a vehicle for political expression. Call on students to extract the political meaning of the excerpts they read. For example, how do Ghodsi Ghazinur's feelings about Iranian foreign policy come across in *Aboud's Drawings*? What is Abraham Yehoshua's view of the direction of Israel's development?

3. Exploring Viewpoints—Form groups of three or four students. Assign each group one of the four main characters featured in the optional reading (i.e., Morteza, Dafi, Usama, or Hamit Agha). Call on the groups to write a brief monologue from the perspective of their assigned characters. They should focus on the attitudes of their characters toward their respective societies. Suggest that students concentrate on current controversies. For example, what is Morteza's opinion of Iran's Islamic revolution? How does Dafi feel about the prospects for peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors?

4. Promoting Dialogue—Ask the groups to present their monologues to the class. Encourage dialogue among the characters. For example, how do the contradictions in Palestinian society apparent to Usama compare to those observed by Dafi regarding Israeli society? How do the expectations and concerns of Hamit Agha differ from those of Morteza? What attitudes do the characters share?

Name:_____

Questions—Reading

1. How does Morteza's attitude toward war change in the course of *Aboud's Drawings*? How is Morteza likely to react when the time comes for him to go to war?

2. What is the attitude of Dafi toward her math teacher's death? How has her school's emphasis on patriotism influenced her outlook?

3. How does the exchange between the bread seller and the affluent businessman illustrate the contradictions facing Palestinians living under Israeli occupation? Why is Usama especially troubled by the confrontation?

4. What does the breakdown of the tractor in *Civilization's Spare Part* say about Turkey's modernization effort? What does the future likely hold for Hamit Agha and other small farmers?

5. Which of the four excerpts gave you the most insight into their respective society? Explain your reasoning.

Key Terms

Introduction and Part I:

ethnicities
minority populations
urban
global economy
commerce
missionaries
colonialism
imperialism
nationalism
infrastructure
self-determination
international system
mandates
industrial economies
domestic supplies
geopolitical
Zionism
independent
partition

Part II:

the Cold War
shipping lanes
expansionist
imported
exported
superpowers
communism
ideological conflict
foreign aid
pan-Arabism
nationalized
peacekeepers
terrorism
embargo
peace treaty
peasants
secularists
militias
economic sanctions

Part III:

terrorist
al Qaeda
extremist
cleric
weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
regime change
economic sanctions
Sunni
Shi'i
caliphate
nuclear enrichment
intifada
two-state solution
autonomy
ethnic group

Issues Toolbox

Religion in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict:

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict centers on a small piece of land in the Middle East no larger than the state of New Jersey. This area, which stretches from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River, is referred to either by its Latin name of Palestine, or the Hebrew name of Eretz Israel. Arabs, Christians, and Jews have religious ties to this land.

The current conflict is not primarily a religious battle, but a political battle over competing national aspirations. Nonetheless, to comprehend the modern conflict, an understanding of these religious ties is important. Religious beliefs still carry great weight in today's political life in the Middle East and around the world, making it difficult for some who value these religious ties to compromise over their claims to the land.

Three of the world's great religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—developed in the Middle East. Each of these religions is monotheistic, which means that its followers believe in only one god. Believers in all three religions claim descent from the Hebrew patriarch Abraham, and all have special ties to the land.

Jewish ties to the land: According to Jewish sacred writings, Palestine was promised to the Jewish people by God in a covenant with Abraham and later with Moses. Abraham was willing to sacrifice his son to prove his obedience to God. The attempted sacrifice is believed to have taken place on Mount Zion, in Jerusalem, the location on which the first and second Jewish Temples were later built and which is the holiest site for the Jewish people.

Christian ties to the land: Palestine is the "Holy Land" to the world's Christians because it is the birthplace of Jesus, a Jew, and the setting for the story of his life and lessons as recounted in the New Testament of the Bible. Many Arabs today are Christians and trace their religious origins to the early followers of Christ.

Muslim ties to the land: Muslims believe that God revealed his truths through a series of prophets: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Jesus, and finally Muhammad, who is the last of the prophets. For Muslims, therefore, some of the scriptural heritage of the Jews and the Christians is their heritage as well. But they are guided by their own holy scripture, the Qu'ran, which is the word of God as revealed to Muhammad. The Dome of the Rock, the golden domed structure in the Jerusalem skyline, was built over a rock which, according to tradition, marked the site of Abraham's attempted sacrifice. It is also believed to be the place where Muhammad touched earth during a miraculous nocturnal journey to heaven. Muslims consider Jerusalem their third holiest city and, therefore, an important pilgrimage site.

State:

A state is an entity that has a defined territory and a permanent population under the control of its own government. A state has sovereignty over its territory and its nationals. States can enter into international agreements, join international organizations, and pursue and be subject to legal remedies.

Sovereignty:

The absolute right of a state to govern itself. The UN Charter prohibits external interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state without the state's consent.

Diplomatic Relations:

A formal arrangement between states by which they develop and maintain the terms of their relationship. This often includes establishing treaties regarding trade and investment, the treatment of each other's citizens, and the nature of their security relationship. It also includes the establishment of an embassy and consuls in each other's countries to facilitate representation on issues of concern for each state.

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

_____

	Excellent	*Good*	*Average*	*Needs Improvement*	*Unsatisfactory*
Group Assessment					
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy draws students into the policy debate on this important region. Students analyze the mix of U.S. interests and values at play and explore the significance of oil, the Arab uprisings, the rise of ISIS, and other issues that shape U.S. ties to the Middle East.

The Middle East in Transition: Questions for U.S. Policy is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens..

THE **CHOICES** PROGRAM

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY, BOX 1948, PROVIDENCE, RI 02912
WWW.CHOICES.EDU