INTA 668 – Intelligence Surprises: The Arab Spring as an Analytical Case

Fall 2021
Tuesday 6:15-8:55PM

Course Information

Course Number:  INTA 668
Course Title:  Intelligence Surprises: The Arab Spring as an Analytical Case
Section:
Time:  Tuesday, 6:15—8:55PM
Location:
Credit Hours:  3

Instructor Details

Instructor: Alan R. Pino
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Office Hours: No specific hours but am generally available. I encourage you to call on me not only regarding the class but also for career and other advice. For an appointment, I suggest emailing me with two preferred options, and I will generally be able to accommodate one of your choices.

Course Description

Why did the Arab Spring protests that swept the Middle East in 2011 calling for political and economic change end in region-wide conflict, failed states, and increased repression? What impact has turmoil and violence in the Middle East had on US interests and US policy toward the region? How do Middle Eastern states view the US role and presence? What challenges does the Middle East pose for intelligence analysts seeking to advise US policymakers? These are some of the questions the course attempts to answer. It does so by taking an indepth look at the causes and consequences of the Arab Spring, the impact on specific countries, and the role of regional and outside actors in the various conflicts which the Arab uprisings have spawned. The course also examines the evolution of US policy toward the Arab uprisings and the role that US intelligence plays in informing US policymakers in a time of great uncertainty.
Course Prerequisites

None

Course Learning Outcome

On completing this course, students will be able to do the following:

1) identify the causes of the Arab Spring, the historical backdrop to this historic event, and key events in specific countries that have affected its trajectory, including the role played by outside actors in the region.

2) evaluate different theories about how events have unfolded in the Middle East post Arab Spring and the key factors shaping current trends and likely future prospects for the region.

2) identify and assess US policy toward the Middle East and how it has affected the actions and perceptions of the US by regional and international actors.

3) prepare written products that apply the highest standards of US intelligence community tradecraft to describe, evaluate and assess regional developments and their impact on US interests.

4) Communicate effectively in oral briefings applying standards the US intelligence community uses in briefing senior policymakers, military commanders and members of Congress.

Textbook and/or Resource Materials


Cook, Steven, False Dawn: Protest, Democracy, and Violence in the New Middle East, Oxford University Press, 2017.

Gordon, Phillip, Losing the Long Game: The False Promise of Regime Change in the Middle East, St. Martins Publishing Group, 2020.


In addition to the books listed above, students will have required readings from articles and essays generally available online related to the specific topics discussed each week (readings are listed for each class session below). Students also should keep up with current developments and engage in wider reading regarding the topics we will cover. Instructor will invite an outside expert to speak to the class during at least one session during the semester, depending on availability.

Grading Policy:

The final grade in the class will be calculated as follows:

- each class member will prepare two, four-page memos in response to a “policymaker” tasking (instructor will provide the tasking); the first memo will be due in week #8 and each student will give a five to seven minute oral briefing of his/her memo in class. The second memo will be due in week #11 (no briefing summarizing this memo will be required). Memos and brief will count for 25% of grade
- students also will be responsible for preparing a 15 page memo written from an intelligence analyst’s perspective on one of the topics covered in the class sessions listed below. Memo will be due at the final session of the semester during which each student also will give a 10 minute oral briefing to the class on his/her memo. Memo and briefing will count for 50% of grade.
- Two-person teams will each give a presentation (20 minutes total, each member brief for 10 minutes) on a specific issue related to that week’s topic (e.g. if the class is on Egypt, the topic might be the role of the military in Egypt) beginning week #6. Instructor will assign topic two weeks in advance of each team’s briefing. This briefing will count for 15%. Will assess feasibility of team exercise depending on number of students and workability on Zoom.
- Class participation will count for 10% of the grade.
- The assignments will be graded with letter grades: A, A/B, B, B/C, C, D, F. Those letter grades will be converted into numerical equivalents for calculation of the final grade on the following 100 point scale: A=95, A/B=90, B=85, B/C= 80, C=75, D=65, F=0. Final grades will be assigned according to the following scale: A=90-100, B=80=89, C=70-79, D=60-69, F=below 60.

Late Work Policy

Students are expected to attend all classes. If an absence is excused, the instructor will either provide the student an opportunity to make up any work that contributes to the final grade or provide a satisfactory alternative by a date agreed upon by the student and instructor. The make-up work must be completed in a timeframe not to exceed 30 calendar days from the last day of the initial absence. The reasons absences are considered excused by the university are listed below. See Student Rule 7 for details.
The late work policy should define what constitutes late work (e.g., submitting a deliverable after the established deadline). Work submitted by a student as makeup work for an excused absence is not considered late work and is exempted from the late work policy. (See Student Rule 7.)

Course Schedule

Classes

Key Questions to Consider Regarding the specific countries and issues covered during the semester:

--What are the key factors that will shape the future trajectory of the Middle East?
--What role have outside players and regional rivalries played?
--What impact has US policy had and how has US influence changed over time?
--What US interests does the US have in the issue?

#1. August 31: Introduction--Review of Syllabus, major themes, expectations for the course, key student deliverables.

#2. September 7: Prelude to the Arab Spring. Lecture and discussion. The Middle East in historical perspective before the Arab Spring. An overview of key trends in the region and US policy toward the Middle East from the end of the cold war to the onset of the Arab Spring.

Mandelbaum, pp. 133-310.

#3. September 14: The Arab Spring--Lecture and Discussion on Origins, Evolution, Key Drivers of Arab Spring. Lecture and discussion. How did it happen? Why did Middle East experts, including those in the intelligence community, not fully anticipate the Arab uprisings? How did it evolve? What are the prospects for the Middle East in the next five years? Another Arab Spring? Instructor will assign the two-person teams, each of which will help to lead the discussion in one class, starting with class #6.

Readings: Ottaway, Marina and David, pp. 1-50.
Cook, Steven, pp. 143-200.
Lynch, pp. 47-75.
#4. September 21: How to craft an intelligence memo and build scenarios. Instructor presentation based on experience as National Intelligence Officer at ODNI and manager and analyst in CIA. Session will also draw on the below readings. Session will provide guidance on how to write the two, four-page intelligence memos each class member must prepare and the 15 page memo due at end of semester. Will also provide guidance on key elements of a good intelligence briefing for a policymaker. The memos should include a discussion of the factors at play in the situation under discussion, how the situation is likely to evolve, a potential alternative scenario if relevant, and the risks and opportunities the situation poses for the United States. Instructor will provide the tasking for the first four-page memo, which will be due in class #8.

Readings: National Intelligence Estimate, Iraq: 2007 (unclassified Key Judgments), National Intelligence Council, ODNI website;

   A Tradecraft Primer, CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence website.

   Pherson, Randolph, Five Habits of the Master Thinker; CIA Center for the Study of intelligence website.

   Peterson, Martin, What I learned in 40 years of Doing Intelligence Analysis for US Foreign Policymakers, CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence website;


#5. September 28: US Policy Toward the Arab Spring and Beyond: Drivers and Consequences. What motivated US policy toward the Arab Spring as it unfolded? How has US policy evolved, how have regional actors perceived US policy and how has it influenced their policy decisions and view of US role and credibility in the region? Instructor briefing followed by class discussion.

Prior to class students will turn in topic for 15-page memo by email.


   Cook, Steven, False Dawn, “Getting the Middle East Right,” pp. 201-235.

   Goldberg, Jeffrey, “The Obama Doctrine,” The Atlantic, April 2016


#6. October 5: Egypt—From Revolution to Repression. Egypt, the first country after Tunisia to depose an authoritarian leader, went from revolutionary fervor and hope for the emergence of democracy to renewed authoritarian rule within two years. How did this occur? What is President El Sisi’s record of governance and will Egypt experience a new revolutionary wave? How have the revolution and its aftermath affected Egypt’s relations with the United States, and Israel and Egypt’s role in the region?

   Instructor will provide an opening briefing. Two-person team then will give a presentation on a specific sub-topic--for example, the role of the military in Egypt today. Teams
will get briefing topics two weeks in advance. Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for class discussion.


Cook, pp. 3-4, 16-18, 99-113 (see index for other places where Egypt discussed).
Ottaway, pp. 133-160
Lynch, pp. 139-163
Burns, pp. 293-296, 299-313, 335 (see index for other references to Egypt).

#7. October 12: Syria: Evolution and Implications of the Civil War. Most observers predicted that the Asad regime would eventually fall to the insurgency. How did he prevail and what are Syria’s prospects with a ruined economy, parts of the country occupied by foreign powers, and about half the pre-war population of 21 million either internally displaced or living as refugees? What role did Russia, Iran, Turkey, the US and Arab states play in the conflict and what are their likely future policies toward Syria? Could we witness a war between Israel and Iran starting in Syria as Iran tries to sustain its military presence there and its support for Hizballah and Israel conducts military actions in Syria to force Iran to withdraw?

Instructor will give an opening presentation. Two-student team then will give presentation on a specific sub-topic that instructor will provide two weeks in advance.
Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for discussion.

Readings: Ottaway, pp. 75-102.
Burns, pp. 322-334

#8. October 19: Briefing the National Security Advisor. Class members will each give a five-seven minute briefing to the “National Security Advisor” on their memo and submit their written memo for teacher review. Prior to class will submit outlines for 15 page memo by email. Instructor will provide tasking for second, four page memo due in week #11.

#9. October 26: Saudi Arabia, the Arab Spring and the rise of Mohammed bin Salman. Why did Saudi Arabia (and the other monarchies in the region) escape the calls for regime change experienced by the secular authoritarian regimes in the region? What impact has the rise to power of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman had on the Kingdom’s domestic and foreign policies? What risks does he run with his efforts at economic diversification and social liberalization in an era of low oil prices? What impact will his efforts to assert Saudi leadership in the region—for example, by organizing a coalition to intervene in the Yemen civil war— and rivalry with Iran have on the Kingdom, his rule, and Saudi relations with the United States?

Instructor will give an opening presentation. Two-student team will then give presentation on a specific sub-topic assigned two weeks in advance. Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for discussion.


Ottaway, Marina and David, pp. 103-133.


#10. November 2: Libya: Prospects for a Unified State vs. a Generation of War. The 2011 uprising against the Qadafi regime in Libya triggered a large-scale military intervention by the US and NATO, with support from Middle Eastern states, to prevent a humanitarian slaughter as Qadafi’s forces gained the upperhand. However, after Qadafi’s forces were defeated and the dictator was killed later that year, the US and European countries did little to help stabilize the country and assist its transition to democracy. Meanwhile, Libya devolved into civil war between forces in eastern and western Libya, Islamic extremists gained a foothold, and outside players, including Russia, Turkey, Egypt and the UAE, intervened to arm the warring sides. What would it take to help Libya transition to stable, democratic governance? Are Libya’s challenges unique or part of a broader pattern of dysfunction in the region? Can the US and European countries play a positive role in helping to broker peace in the civil war? What leverage do the US and European countries have now that countries like Russia and Turkey have committed military resources to the conflict? What implications does an unstable, violent Libya, potentially under Russian influence, have for US and European interests?

Instructor will give an opening presentation. Two-person team will then give a presentation on a specific sub-topic assigned two weeks in advance. Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for discussion.

Cook, Steven, pp. 124-132.
Lynch pp. 75-104
Burns, pp. 313-319, 321-322.

#11. November 9: Arab-Israeli Relations: Is an Israeli-Palestinian Peace Deal Possible? What impact has post-Arab Spring turbulence had on prospects for Arab-Israeli relations and an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal? What role has the US played in trying to fashion a peace agreement? Have the rightward trend in Israeli politics and the divisions and dysfunction among Palestinian leaders foreclosed a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Does the recent UAE-Bahrain-Israel agreement to normalize relations make achieving an Israeli-Palestinian peace easier or harder?
Instructor will give an opening presentation. Two-student team will then give a presentation on a specific sub-topic assigned two weeks in advance. Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for discussion.

Readings: Mandelbaum, pp. 250-287
Burns, pp. 66-75 and see index for other pages throughout book where he discusses history of US role in the peace process.

See numerous articles on the Washington Institute website and those of other think tanks on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

#12. November 16: Future US Role in the Middle East: Does the US still have vital interests in this region? Some Middle East experts in think tanks, academia and government over the last several years have begun to challenge the conventional wisdom in Washington that the US has vital interests in the Middle East requiring a major commitment of resources. These experts argue that the decimation of ISIS, the virtual elimination of US dependence on oil from the Gulf, and the reduced threat, for now, of Iran acquiring a nuclear weapon, allow Washington to redirect resources to domestic needs and to bigger problems in other parts of the world, such as Russia and China’s growing aggressiveness. Experts who support the traditional consensus say that reality is not ready to accommodate our wishes to reduce the US role in the Middle East, in good part because “what happens in the region does not stay in the region.” They argue that the thousands of US troops on the ground in Iraq and Syria, the Persian Gulf, and scattered elsewhere in the region, along with our significant naval presence and economic, diplomatic and security commitments are essential to safeguard vital US interests. They contend that the US role and presence helps protect freedom of navigation and the free flow of oil from the Gulf (key to our European and Japanese allies and therefore to the US); prevent a resurgence of ISIS and other terrorist groups; counter Iran’s efforts to spread its influence and advance toward a nuclear weapon; check the proliferation of WMD; and preserve the security of Israel.
With the above context in mind, instructor will tee up topic, based on the week’s readings, to set the stage for class discussion and debate on whether or not the US still has important interests in the region that call for a significant commitment of resources and policy focus. Class also will examine how the US can prevent a resurgence of threats from the region if it does reduce its presence and involvement there.

   Cook, Steven, “No Exit: Why the Middle East Still Matters to America,” Foreign Affairs, November/December 2020.

#13. November 23: Middle East Futures. Instructor opens with presentation on key issues, insights raised during the course and sets the scene for discussion. Class discusses and debates possible Middle East futures, drawing on everything learned in the course.

   Cook, Steven, “The End of Hope in the Middle East,” Foreign Policy, September 5, 2020.

#14. November 30: Class Presentations. Class members give 10-minute presentations summarizing their 15-page memos. Memos will be handed in at end of class.

University Policies

Attendance Policy

The university views class attendance and participation as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments.

Please refer to Student Rule 7 in its entirety for information about excused absences, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.
**Makeup Work Policy**

Students will be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student’s grade, for the reasons stated in Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to [Student Rule 7](#) in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor” (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1).

“The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence” (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2).

Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code. (See [Student Rule 24](#).)

**Academic Integrity Statement and Policy**

“An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal, or tolerate those who do.”

“Texas A&M University students are responsible for authenticating all work submitted to an instructor. If asked, students must be able to produce proof that the item submitted is indeed the work of that student. Students must keep appropriate records at all times. The inability to authenticate one’s work, should the instructor request it, may be sufficient grounds to initiate an academic misconduct case” (Section 20.1.2.3, Student Rule 20).

You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at [aggiehonor.tamu.edu](http://aggiehonor.tamu.edu).

**Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy**

Texas A&M University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. If you experience barriers to your education due to a disability or think you may have a disability, please contact Disability Resources in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit disability.tamu.edu. Disabilities may include, but are not limited to attentional, learning, mental health, sensory, physical, or chronic health conditions. All students are encouraged to discuss their disability related needs with Disability Resources and their instructors as soon as possible.

**Title IX and Statement on Limits to Confidentiality**
Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see University Rule 08.01.01.M1):

- The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.
- The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, you will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University’s goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University’s Title IX webpage.

Statement on Mental Health and Wellness

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student’s academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in proper self-care by utilizing the resources and services available from Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS). Students who need someone to talk to can call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at suicidepreventionlifeline.org.

COVID-19 Temporary Amendment to Minimum Syllabus Requirements

The Faculty Senate temporarily added the following statements to the minimum syllabus requirements in Fall 2020 as part of the university’s COVID-19 response.
Campus Safety Measures

To promote public safety and protect students, faculty, and staff during the coronavirus pandemic, Texas A&M University has adopted policies and practices for the Fall 2020 academic term to limit virus transmission. Students must observe the following practices while participating in face-to-face courses and course-related activities (office hours, help sessions, transitioning to and between classes, study spaces, academic services, etc.):

- **Self-monitoring**—Students should follow CDC recommendations for self-monitoring. Students who have a fever or exhibit symptoms of COVID-19 should participate in class remotely and should not participate in face-to-face instruction.

- **Face Coverings**—Face coverings (cloth face covering, surgical mask, etc.) must be properly worn in all non-private spaces including classrooms, teaching laboratories, common spaces such as lobbies and hallways, public study spaces, libraries, academic resource and support offices, and outdoor spaces where 6 feet of physical distancing is difficult to reliably maintain. Description of face coverings and additional guidance are provided in the Face Covering policy and Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) available on the Provost website.

- **Physical Distancing**—Physical distancing must be maintained between students, instructors, and others in course and course-related activities.

- **Classroom Ingress/Egress**—Students must follow marked pathways for entering and exiting classrooms and other teaching spaces. Leave classrooms promptly after course activities have concluded. Do not congregate in hallways and maintain 6-foot physical distancing when waiting to enter classrooms and other instructional spaces.

- **To attend a face-to-face class, students must wear a face covering (or a face shield if they have an exemption letter). If a student refuses to wear a face covering, the instructor should ask the student to leave and join the class remotely. If the student does not leave the class, the faculty member should report that student to the Student Conduct office for sanctions. Additionally, the faculty member may choose to teach that day’s class remotely for all students.**

Personal Illness and Quarantine

Students required to quarantine must participate in courses and course-related activities remotely and **must not attend face-to-face course activities.** Students should notify their instructors of the quarantine requirement. Students under quarantine are expected to participate in courses and complete graded work unless they have symptoms that are too severe to participate in course activities.

Students experiencing personal injury or illness that is too severe for the student to attend class qualify for an excused absence (See Student Rule 7, Section 7.2.2.) To receive an excused absence, students must comply with the documentation and notification guidelines outlined in Student Rule 7. While Student Rule 7, Section 7.3.2.1, indicates a medical confirmation note
from the student’s medical provider is preferred, **for Fall 2020 only, students may use the Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class form in lieu of a medical confirmation. Students must submit the Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class within two business days after the last date of absence.**

**Operational Details for Spring 2021 Courses**

For additional information, please review the [FAQ](#) on Spring 2021 courses at Texas A&M University.

**College and Department Policies**

College and departmental units may establish their own policies and minimum syllabus requirements. As long as these policies and requirements do not contradict the university level requirements, colleges and departments can add them in this section.