The US in the Middle East: From the Arab Spring to an Uncertain Future

Course Information

Course Number: INTA 689
Course Title: Section:
Time: Wednesday, 6:15—8:55PM
Location:
Credit Hours: 3

Instructor Details

Instructor: Alan R. Pino
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E-Mail: alanrpino@tamu.edu

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

Key questions that we will seek to answer will include: Why did the Arab Spring protests that swept the Middle East in 2011 calling for sweeping 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 are the key factors—including the role and policies of the United States—that will shape the future of the region? We will attempt to answer these questions by taking an in depth 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 that the Arab uprisings have spawned. The course also examines the evolution of US policy since the Arab uprisings and the future US role in a time of great uncertainty. Finally, the instructor will draw on his experience as the National Intelligence Offer for the Near East at the National intelligence Council to discuss the role that US intelligence plays in informing policymakers.
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.

3) 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


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

Other assigned readings will be available on the TAMU Libraries’ E-Reserves site. (http://library-reserves-tamu.edu/areslocal/index.htm) and/or on the Internet. 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 (instructor will provide the topics); 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 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.
- Each student will give a roughly 15 minute presentation during one class session on that week’s topic beginning week #6. The purpose of the briefing will be to provide an analytical overview of the topic in that week’s class. This briefing will count for 15% of the grade.
- 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 (http://studentrules.tamu.edu/rule07). The fact that these are university-excused absences does not relieve the student of responsibility for prior notification and documentation. Failure to notify and/or document properly may result in an unexcused absence. Falsification of documentation is a violation of the Honor Code.
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 currently have in the issue region?

#1. August 24: Introduction--Review of Syllabus, major themes, expectations for the course, key student deliverables. Will also use the first session to introduce myself and get to know students.

#2. August 31: 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. What policies by Middle East governments contributed to the Arab Spring? What signs were there prior to the Arab Spring that Arab populations were ready to revolt against their leaders? What impact did the policies of outside actors have on Middle Eastern countries prior to the Arab Spring? What role did the US have in the region and what impact did US policies and actions have on regional developments?

Yom, pp. 26-36.
Lynch, Mark, The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East (Public Affairs, 2012), pp. 29-65. E-Reserves
Mandelbaum, pp. 245-310.

#3. September 7: The Arab Spring--Lecture and Discussion on Origins, Evolution, Key Drivers of Arab Spring. Lecture and discussion. How did it happen? Why did the first revolt against an Arab dictator take place in Tunisia? What impact did Tunisia have on the uprising in Egypt? What effect did Egypt have on the uprisings in the rest of the region? What did the Arab Spring say about the continued existence of pan-Arabism? Why did the Arab uprisings unfold so differently across the region? What role did Arab militaries play and how significant was their impact? What strategies did Arab states across the region adopt toward the uprisings? How
did the Arab uprisings evolve and what were the significant factors in this evolution? How did the US react to the uprisings and what impact did US policies have? Why did Middle East experts, including those in the intelligence community, not fully anticipate the Arab uprisings?

Readings: Ottaway, Marina and David, pp. 1-50.

#4. September 14: The Challenge for Analysts in Dealing with Strategic Surprise: A Look at the Arab Spring and the Iranian Revolution. This section will examine the challenge of dealing with uncertainty and anticipating strategic surprise in assessing complex events in which many factors contribute to the outcome. We will discuss why almost all experts inside and outside of government failed to predict the Arab uprisings of 2010 and 2011 and what we can learn from this failure. We will also discuss the 1979 Iranian revolution, where, again, most experts missed the potential for revolution in Iran and failed to anticipate the rise of Ayatollah Khomeini and a regime dominated by clerics. Instructor will provide the topics from which students can choose for the first four-page memo. The memo will be due at the beginning class #8.


#5. September 21: US Policy Toward the Arab Spring and Beyond: Drivers and Consequences. What motivated US policy toward the Arab Spring as it unfolded? What principles guided President Obama’s overall outlook on the Middle East? How did US policy shift as it dealt with different countries in the region? How did the evolution of the Arab Spring affect US commitment of resources to the region and thinking about the role it should continue to play? 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. Students will turn in topic for 15-page memo by the start of class (paper copy and email).


**#6. October 28: 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?

First 15 minute presentation will take place providing an analytical overview on the topic of this session. Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for class discussion.


Lynch, *The New Arab Wars*, pp. 139-163
Burns, pp. 293-296, 299-313, 335 (see index for other references to Egypt). E-Reserves.

**#7. October 5: Middle East Civil Wars: The Impact of the Arab Spring on Syria, Libya, and Yemen.** While most Middle East states managed to limit the impact of the Arab uprisings of 2011, three Arab countries, Syria, Yemen, and Libya, have experienced protracted civil wars. This class will examine why protracted civil conflict has engulfed these three countries. What do they have in common and how is each one unique? What has been the impact of the civil wars on these countries, their immediate neighbors, and the region as a whole? Why has each of these conflicts been subject to intervention by multiple outside actors from the region and beyond? What are the prospects for Syria, Libya, and Yemen to rebuild and reestablish state control over all of their territory?

Student will give a 15 minute presentation on the topic of this session. Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for discussion.

Readings: Ottaway, pp. 75-102.

Burns, pp. 322-334 (Syria), 314-322 (Libya), 112-146 (Jordan), E-Reserves.
Gordon, pp. 203-242 (Syria) and 170-202 (Libya).
#8. October 12: The Civil Wars In Syria, Libya, and Yemen (continued)

The class will continue to discuss the civil wars in Syria, Libya, and Yemen and examine their impact on these three countries, the region, and the international order.

Students will submit their written memos by the start of class and each student will give a seven minute briefing on his/her memo. **Students will submit outlines for 15 page memo in class and by email.** Instructor will provide tasking for second, four page memo due in week #11.

#9. October 19: The Monarchies Survive the Arab Spring: The Different Paths Taken by Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Morocco. Why did secular autocracies such as Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, Libya, and Yemen succumb to the Arab uprisings of 2011, while Saudi Arabia (and the other monarchies in the region) escaped the calls for regime change resonating across the region? This class will examine three monarchies—Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Morocco—and discuss what characteristics may have allowed them to survive and what tactics they used to fend off calls for change.

Student will give a 15 minute presentation on the topic of this session. Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for discussion.


   Ottaway, Marina and David, pp. 103-133.
   Lynch, The New Arab Wars, pp. 225-240

#10. October 26: Iran: Can the US Counter Tehran’s regional ambitions and should it try?

Iranian policies toward the region pose a major challenge to US interests. Iran has been hostile toward the US and its allies in the Middle East since the 1979 Iranian revolution that overthrew the Shah and brought the Islamic Republic into existence. Iran exploited the civil wars in Syria, Yemen, and Iraq spawned by the 2011 Arab uprisings to expand its military presence and influence across the region. Tehran has used its expanded presence to threaten Israel, target the US political and military presence in the region, and intimidate and coerce US allies to accommodate Iranian interests. Iran’s nuclear program also has been a major focus of
US policy toward Iran. The Biden administration has made getting Iran to return to the 2015 nuclear deal the Obama administration negotiated a top priority, while critics say a new nuclear agreement will only strengthen the Iranian regime—now dominated by hardliners—financially without curbing its ability to get a weapon in the future.

What impact will the ascendance of hardliners in Iran have on the regime’s policies toward the US and the region? Does Iran’s need to gain the lifting of sanctions to improve its economy create an opportunity the US can exploit? Is the Iranian regime vulnerable to overthrow and should the US consider encouraging regime change, as some experts have argued? Should the US try to roll back Iran’s activities and support for proxy groups in the region or instead focus on containment? How can the US balance the interests and concerns of our allies, such as Israel and Saudi Arabia, with the aim of securing Iran’s return to the nuclear deal given the concerns they have expressed about the weaknesses of the deal? Beyond curbing Iran’s nuclear ambitions, does the US have a significant interest in trying to manage conflict in the region, given the US desire to pivot to Asia and focus more on great power competition?

Student will give a 15 minute presentation on the topic of this session. Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for discussion.

Maloney, Suzanne, “1979, Iran and America,” Brookings Institute, January 24, 201. E-Reserves.

#11. November 2: Arab-Israeli Relations and the Future of the Peace Process
No issue has received more high level attention from senior US officials in the last four decades than the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, the repeated failure of US peace efforts—the rightward trend in Israeli politics over the last two decades, and the continued growth of settlements on the West Bank, have convinced some observers that a two-state solution is no longer possible. Other experts contend that a two-state solution remains the only viable option given the intense nationalist aspirations of Israelis and Palestinians.

What impact have the Arab spring and its aftermath had in changing the priority that Arab states attach to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the creation of a Palestinian state? What impact have the rightward trend in Israeli politics and the divisions and dysfunction
among Palestinian leaders had on prospects for a two-state or other solution Israeli-Palestinian conflict? What is the significance of the Abraham Accords for a resolution to the conflict? Do the decisions by the UAE-Bahrain-Sudan-and Morocco to normalize relations with Israel makes achieving an Israeli-Palestinian peace easier or harder? Does the US still have a vital interest in trying to bring about a resolution to the conflict? With the failure of past US efforts in mind, what role should the US seek to play in the future?

Student will give a 15 minute presentation on the topic of this session (If all students have not already given their briefings). Instructor will offer comments on presentation and help frame issues for discussion.


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

#12. November 9: 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.


**#13. November 16: Future US Role in the Middle East: Does the US still have vital interests in this region?** For several years now, Middle East watchers have been debating US core interests in the region. Some argue that the decimation of ISIS, the US’s reduced dependence on oil from the Gulf, and Israel’s ability to protect its own security allow Washington to focus on other parts of the world, such as Russia and China’s growing aggressiveness. Other experts argue the US must remain involved in the Middle East because “what happens in the region does not stay in the region.” They say the US must maintain its economic, diplomatic and security commitments in the region to safeguard such vital US interests as freedom of navigation, the free flow of oil, countering Iran and terrorism and checking the proliferation of WMD.

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.


**#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.

**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.
**Operational Details for Fall 2022 Courses**

For additional information, please review the FAQ on Fall 2022 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.