

**INTA 3260/8803: Middle East Relations:
Foreign Policy and National Security of Middle East States**

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M/W: 1530-1645
OH: M 1400-1530

Course description:

This course will examine how Middle East states think about foreign policy and national security. The course will cover a number of states (Egypt, Qatar, Israel, Jordan, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey); internationalized conflicts (Libya, Syria, and Yemen); and regional/global challenges (nuclear proliferation, energy security, terrorism, and the role of emerging technologies). This course will include a simulation.

This class does not require any previous background or knowledge the Middle East or international affairs although it would be helpful. The course requires a fair amount of reading but the subjects matter and assignments will build on each other. This overlap is by design. The intention is to ensure you have a comprehensive understanding of the material for you to see how the region works or doesn't work. The course will also discuss current events in the Middle East on a regular basis as they relate to the class. I don't expect you to keep up with everything that happens, I certainly can't, but I do want you to stay on top of the major news.

Lastly, this class will do its best to maintain an environment in which we can openly discuss the analytical aspects of the conflicts we study. We seek to explain how or why things happen.

This is a Core IMPACTS course that is part of the Social Sciences area.

Core IMPACTS refers to the core curriculum, which provides students with essential knowledge in foundational academic areas. This course will help students master course content, and support students' broad academic and career goals.

This course should direct students toward a broad Orienting Question:

- How do I understand human experiences and connections?

Completion of this course should enable students to meet the following Learning Outcome:

- Students will effectively analyze the complexity of human behavior, and how historical, economic, political, social, or geographic relationships develop, persist, or change.

Course content, activities and exercises in this course should help students develop the following Career-Ready Competencies:

- Intercultural Competence
- Perspective-Taking

- Persuasion

Learning outcomes:

Student will demonstrate proficiency in the process of articulating and organizing rhetorical arguments in written, oral, visual, and nonverbal modes, using concrete support and conventional language. Student will demonstrate the ability to describe the social, political, and economic forces that influence social behavior. Student will demonstrate the ability to describe the social, political, and economic forces that influence the global system.

Requirements and grading:

Students are expected to attend lectures, read the assigned material, and participate actively in all course discussions. This course may have a virtual component instead of in person class if conditions require it.

The course grade will be based on the following criteria:

- 15% Participation (attendance, active discussion, and quizzes)
- 20% Midterm (except 8803 students)
- 10% Group Presentation*
- 10% Simulation
- 30% Research paper
- 10% Group National Security Strategy paper* (same country as presentation)
- 5% Reading reflections

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Participation (15%): Students are expected to read, watch, or listen to the assigned *required* material, participate in remote synchronous classes, and contribute to asynchronous discussion. Participating in synchronous discussion can also include public discussions in chat that are relevant for the course. You will also be sent short articles on current events that we will discuss virtually live or on the discussion board.

Midterm (20%): In class

Reading reflections (5%)

Simulation (10%): Details for this game will be explained throughout the semester. It is scheduled to take place in class during the last two weeks of class. The grade will be based on individual performance, group performance, and a few short deliverables which may overlap with previous work done throughout the course.

Country Presentation (10%) and National Security Strategy (10%). Students will be assigned to groups (countries) by the second week. Each group will: A) Brief the class and then conduct a discussion (10-15 minutes) on their assigned country on the assigned date; B) Write a national security strategy paper (10 pages) due at the end of the semester. The group final written national security strategy paper is the last day of class, April 22.

Research paper (30%). Up to 10 pages. Students will write a paper on a current Middle East conflict analyzing the challenges and risks for the major players involved. The paper will also include a discussion of future scenarios and possibilities for conflict and/or cooperation. The assignment will require students to synthesize the class material and outside research. Students may choose something the class has covered. You must have your topic approved by March 1 or you will lose half a letter grade on the paper. I am happy to discuss your topic with you at any time but do not wait until the last two weeks of class. The final paper is due May 1.

Late papers will lose half a letter grade every day unless the instructor has given prior approval. There will be no make-up exams except for excused absences due to a documented medical condition, official university team activity, religious holiday, or another approved reason. Students with a disability or a health related issue who require special accommodation should speak with me as soon as possible.

Communication: Make sure your email is set up to receive announcements through Canvas. Check your email account regularly. I will try my best to respond to your email in a timely manner but it may take up to 36 hours. I may not respond after 10pm at night. Please put the topic of the email in the subject line and write in a professional manner. Please check Canvas before asking me questions about the syllabus or readings.

Honor Code: All coursework must meet the Georgia Tech standards of academic honesty. <http://www.honor.gatech.edu/plugins/content/index.php?id=9>

Required texts available for purchase:

Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, editors *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, 2nd edition, (Lynne Reinner, Publishers, 2014)

Other Sources:

Because this course is largely about contemporary Middle East politics, I expect you to keep up with the news. We will discuss news items as they relate to our class. These efforts will keep the class exciting and relevant.

Here is a short list of think tanks which have some great reading material and events you can watch. Even when some may lean in a particular direction, they can be good sources of information.

Middle East Institute: <https://www.mei.edu/>

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace:

<https://carnegieendowment.org/programs/middleeast/>

Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington: <https://agsiw.org/>

Washington Institute for Near East Policy: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/>

International Institute for Strategic Studies: <https://www.iiss.org/regions/middle-east-and-north-africa>

National Council on US-Arab Relations: <https://ncusar.org/>

Gulf International Forum: <https://gulrif.org/>

Chatham House: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/research/regions/middle-east-and-north-africa>

Atlantic Council

CSIS

Council on Foreign Relations <https://www.cfr.org/programs/middle-east-program>

Excellent non think-tank sources:

POMEPS (Project on Middle East Political Science): <https://pomeps.org/>

SEPAD (Sectarianism, Proxies & De-sectarianism): <https://www.sepad.org.uk/>

Maps: <https://gulf2000.columbia.edu/maps.shtml>

Podcasts:

Babel (CSIS): <https://www.csis.org/podcasts/babel-translating-middle-east>

China-MENA (Atlantic Council): <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/category/content-series/china-mena-podcast/>

You should also check out the YouTube channel I created. I will refer to it in the syllabus below.

https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL_yoQ2v0w0PJJaVARy6Bn9OYKV7HMqpayv

Important: Most readings and assignments can be accessed and downloaded through Canvas or the library.

January 8: Introduction

January 10: Foreign policy analysis and international relations of the Middle East

R. Hinnebusch, Chapters 1&2, “Introduction” & “The Middle East Regional system,”

Recommended (8803):

M. Breuning. “Why Study Foreign Policy Comparatively”, p. 1-26

January 15: No Class. MLK Jr.

January 17: Regional pressures, state strength and national security (Reflection 1 due)

Hinnebusch, “The Middle East Regional System” p, 35-74

Salloukh, B. (2017). Overlapping Contests and Middle East International Relations: The Return of the Weak Arab State. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(3), 660-663.

Hazbun, W. (2015), A History of Insecurity: From the Arab Uprisings to ISIS. *Middle East Policy*, 22: 55-65.

January 22: What is National Security?

Wolfers, A. (1952). "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol. *Political Science Quarterly*, 67(4), 481-502.

Raymond Hinnebusch," Historical Context of state formation in the Middle East: Structure and Agency" in *Routledge Handbook to the Middle East and North African State and States System* (Routledge, 2019), 21-39

Ayoob M. (1993) Unravelling the Concept: 'National Security' in the Third World. In: Korany B., Noble P., Brynen R. (eds) *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab World*. International Political Economy Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-22568-2_2

Recommended:

- Stephen Mariano, "What is a National Security Strategy and Why Have One?" (Youtube channel). Short Video.
- Klaus Knorr, "Threat Perception", in Klaus Knorr, ed., *Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems*, (University Press of Kansas, 1976).
- Miguel Ferreira da Silva, "National Interest, Security Policy, & Strategy: Case Studies - Portugal" (Youtube channel). Short Video.
- Thierry Balzacq, Peter Dombrowski, Simon Reich, "Introduction," in *Comparative Grand Strategy: A Framework and Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), Thierry Balzacq, Peter Dombrowski, Simon Reich (eds.)

January 24: Middle East Militaries: Structures and Civil-Military relations

Zoltan Barany, "Introduction", *Armies of Arabia*, p. 1-14 (skim to p.19)
Armies and insurgencies in the Arab Spring (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 1-14

Kevin Koehler, "[Officers and regimes: The historical origins of political-military relations in middle eastern republics](#)," in *Armies and insurgencies in the Arab Spring* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 14-52.

Holger Albrecht (2015) Does Coup-Proofing Work? Political–Military Relations in Authoritarian Regimes amid the Arab Uprisings, *Mediterranean Politics*, 20:1, 36-54, DOI: [10.1080/13629395.2014.932537](https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2014.932537)

January 29: Pan- Arabism

- Albert Hourani, "Arab Nationalism"
- Prof. Asher Susser "Arab Nationalism". (Youtube channel)
- Rise and Fall of Arab Nationalism (BBC program). (Youtube channel)
- *Abdel Nasser Speech after 1956 War*. (Youtube channel).
- *Gamal Abdel Nasser on Socialism Parts I&II*. (Youtube channel)

Recommended:

- *The Other Side of Suez (BBC)*. (Youtube channel). Documentary

January 31: Islamism (Reflection 2 due, January 31)

- Mandaville, “State Formation and the Making of Islamism,” *Global Political Islam*
- *Recommended: See short videos*
 - S. Lacroix, "Where is Political Islam headed?" See Module or youtube channel.
 - S. Hamid, "How Political Islam has Changed over time". See Module or youtube channel.
 - J. Cesari, "What is Political Islam?" See Module or youtube. Video: “What is Political Islam?” Youtube channel

February 5: Role of non-state actors and proxies: Hezbollah, Hamas, and the Houthis

- TBA

February 7: The Old and New Arab Cold Wars

- Gregory Gause III, “Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War,” Brookings Doha Analysis Paper, No.11 (July 2014)

February 12: Arab-Israel conflict.

- Mark Tessler, “The Israeli-Palestinian conflict,” Chapter 7 in Lust, *The Middle East*
- PBS: The 50 Years War - Israel & The Arabs (Parts 1&2): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fSAD9pS8NIw> (Links to an external site.)

February 14: Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East

February 19: Midterm

February 21: Arab-Israeli conflict and the Abraham Accords. Ambassador Lawrence Silverman

February 26: Iran

Anoushiravan Ehteshami, “The Foreign Policy of Iran”

February 28: Qatar. Jordan.

Qatar.

- Kamran Mehra, “The Foreign Policy of Qatar”
- Lina Khatib, "Qatar's Foreign Policy and the Limits of Pragmatism," *International Affairs* (2013)
- Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, "Qatar and the Gulf Crisis" July 27, 2020

Jordan.

- Curtis Ryan, “The Foreign Policy of Jordan”

March 4: UAE

- A Conversation with H.E. Anwar Gargash (see youtube channel&Module)
- Al-Badr Al-Shateri, National Defense College Report (UAE) 3 (2016) pgs 66-69. See Module.
- Gargash comments on UAE role. ECCR 2015 conference. See Module.
- Hussein Ibish “The **UAE's Evolving National Security Strategy** ” Arab Gulf Institute Washington DC. Issue Paper No 4 2017
- Khalid Al-Mazaini, "The Transformation of UAE policy since 2011," in **Changing Security Dynamics in the Persian Gulf**, p.1-14. See Module.
- "Small States and Regional Hegemony" (National Defence College, UAE), April 2020. See module
- Thomas Juneau, The UAE and the War in Yemen: From Surge to Recalibration," **Survival** 62:4 (2020) or See link in Module to Lawfare article on the same subject.

March 6: Israel

- Clive Jones, “The Foreign Policy of Israel”
- Ilai Saltzman, "The Road Not Taken: Defining Israel's Approach to Strategic Stability," in **The End of Strategic Stability? Nuclear Weapons and Regional Rivalries**, Eds. Lawrence Rubin and Adam Stulberg (Georgetown UP, 2018). See library for on-line access.
- Inbar, Efraim. "Israeli National Security, 1973-96." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 555 (1998): 62-81. Accessed September 29, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1049212>

March 13: Saudi Arabia

F. Gregory Gause, “The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia,”

March 18: Spring Break

March 20: Spring Break

March 25: Egypt. Turkey.

Egypt.

- Raymond Hinnebusch and Nael Shama, “The Foreign Policy of Egypt”

Turkey

- Philip Robins, “The Foreign Policy of Turkey”

March 27: Civil wars of the 2010s: Yemen, Libya, and Syria.

April 1: The Gulf and Great Power relations (Russia, China, and the United States. Reflect 2)

- David Kirkpatrick, "The Most Powerful Arab Ruler Isn't M.B.S. It's M.B.Z." *The New York Times*

- Jean-Loup Samaan, *New Military Strategies in the Gulf* (Bloomsbury, 2023), Selections.
- Atlantic Council China-MENA (Podcast)

April 3: Library visit.

April 8: Emerging Technologies in the Middle East: Drones, Missiles, space, and the balance of power (Reflection 3 due)

April 15: Simulation

April 17 Simulation

April 22: No class. Papers due.

FINAL EXAM/PAPER IS DUE EXAM DUE APRIL 26.

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