



PRESENTACIÓN

- **Description:** The Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean is undergoing unprecedented geopolitical transformations producing new strategic alignments in the security architecture of the region. This course provides students with a comprehensive overview of the newly emerging trends, explaining their causes in historical context. The course will help students understand the challenges and opportunities these trends present to the European Union and particularly the EU's Mediterranean member states. The course will examine religious, political, military, and economic factors, including the geopolitics of energy and the new forms of commercial connectivity.
- **Character:** Mandatory (Obligatoria)
- **Number of ECTS credits:** 6
- **Course and semestre:** Third course, second semester
- **Teaching language:** English
- **Title:** Degree in International Relations
- **Módulo y materia:** Ámbitos geográficos y sectoriales de las relaciones internacionales, Estudios regionales
- **Professor:** Prof. Javier Gil Guerrero

PROGRAMA

INTRODUCTION TO ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK

Teaching section in Navarra:

1. What is the Middle East?
2. The Changing Geopolitics of the Middle East
3. The Sunni-Shia Divide in the Middle East Strategic Framework: War and Peace under the Saudi-Iranian Rivalry
4. Iran: a revolutionary regime
5. The Transformation of Saudi Arabia and its Impact on Middle East Politics
6. Israel: the Palestinian Conflict, Rapprochement with the Arab World and confrontation with the Axis of Resistance
7. Turkey: between Erdogan, Atatürk and the Ottoman legacy

Teaching section in United Arab Emirates:

1. The New Egypt and its Impact on Middle East Politics
2. The Other Gulf Monarchies: Foreign Policy of the United Arab Emirates and Qatar
3. Syria and Iraq: Prospects for Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Peace and the Shifting Competition among Regional and Global Actors
4. US Foreign Policy in the Middle East: Between Hegemony and Withdrawal
5. Russia's Return to the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean
6. China's Growing Influence in the Middle East
7. Europe: A Relevant Actor in the Middle East?



(This program can be changed according to the needs of the course)

RESULTADOS DE APRENDIZAJE (Competencias)

CB2	Que los estudiantes sepan aplicar sus conocimientos a su trabajo o vocación de una forma profesional y posean las competencias que suelen demostrarse por medio de la elaboración y defensa de argumentos y la resolución de problemas dentro de su área de estudio
CB3	Que los estudiantes tengan la capacidad de reunir e interpretar datos relevantes (normalmente dentro de su área de estudio) para emitir juicios que incluyan una reflexión sobre temas relevantes de índole social, científica o ética
CB4	Que los estudiantes puedan transmitir información, ideas, problemas y soluciones a un público tanto especializado como no especializado
CG01	Analizar, valorar y razonar las diferentes situaciones internacionales a la luz de los conocimientos adquiridos.
CG03	Redactar e interpretar textos jurídicos, especialmente en el ámbito del Derecho internacional público.
CG04	Usar el inglés con propiedad según la terminología científica y académica propia de la Relaciones internacionales.
CG05	Saber expresarse oralmente de manera correcta y adecuada sobre temas internacionales.
CG08	Manejar con destreza las nuevas tecnologías de la información y comunicación aplicándolas a las relaciones internacionales.



CE01	Conocer los conceptos y técnicas aplicadas al análisis de los actores y relaciones internacionales.
CE02	Analizar la naturaleza y características de las relaciones entre los actores internacionales y particularmente entre los Estados.
CE05	Conocer y comprender las teorías y concepciones de las relaciones internacionales en perspectiva histórica.
CE08	Conocer y comprender la situación política, social, económica y geoestratégica de cada una de las regiones a nivel internacional (Asia, América, África, Europa).
CE14	Conocer y analizar la cooperación internacional como elemento fundamental en la reducción de las desigualdades y la pobreza, conociendo los mecanismos para la implementación de la ayuda al desarrollo.
CE16	Analizar los diferentes conflictos internacionales, sus causas, desarrollo y efectos sobre los países y la sociedad internacional.
CE17	Analizar los problemas jurídicos y sociales que se derivan de las relaciones internacionales en todos los ámbitos con base en el conocimiento adecuado de los principios y normas de Derecho internacional.
CE18	Analizar las realidades internacionales (económica, social y política) como método de prevención de focos de conflicto.

ACTIVIDADES FORMATIVAS

The Distribution of the student's workload measured in hours is the following:

Theory in-class periods: 30 h



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Practical in-class periods: 30 h

Preparing for class/research/case solving: 30 h

Personal study: 60 h

The Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean are undergoing unprecedented geopolitical transformations producing new strategic alignments in the security architecture of the region. This course taught by Dr. Micha'el Tanchum provides students with a comprehensive overview of the newly emerging trends, explaining their causes in historical context. The course will help students understand the challenges and opportunities these trends present to the European Union and particularly the EU's Mediterranean member states. The course will examine religious, political, military, and economic factors, including the geopolitics of energy and the new forms of commercial connectivity.

Taught in seven parts, the course will cover the principal actors in the current civil wars in Syria, Yemen, and Libya within the larger regional geopolitical framework. The course will also consider the impact of Islamism and Jihadism on the modern Middle East including the shift to Global Jihad with the emergence of Al-Qa'ida and ISIS as well as the Arab Spring and the new Islamist parliamentary politics. Among the topics examined in this course are: The expansion of Iranian hegemony in the region and the efforts of the Saudi/Emirati-led coalition to counter it; The Transformation of Saudi Arabia as a society and as a Middle East actor; Political developments within Turkey and Turkey's changing impact on the regional realignments; Egypt's re-emergence as a major regional power and its effect on the regional balance of power; The current state of the Maghreb nations and emerging Trends in the North Africa-Sahel Region; Russia's rising influence across the region and its affect the strategic equations of regional and world powers.

EVALUACIÓN

Course Requirements and Grade Breakdown

Class participation: 10%

Final exam in Navarra: 45%

Final exam in United Arab Emirates: 45%

Note: No one's class participation grade lowers his or her final grade.

Assessments (first part) 50%.

Assessments (second part) on site 50%.

HORARIOS DE ATENCIÓN

- **Javier Gil Guerrero**
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BIBLIOGRAFÍA

READINGS:

The Sunni-Shia Divide in the Middle East Strategic Framework: The Future of War and Peace under the Saudi-Iranian Rivalry

Vali Nasr, "The Battle of Islamic Fundamentalisms" [Chapter Five] *The Shia Revival – How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future* (W.W. Norton and Co., 2006) 147-168

The Turkey-Qatar bloc as a 3rd Alignment in the New Middle East

Hussein Ibish, "The aftershocks of Aleppo's fall continue to shake the region," *The National*, (March 9, 2019) 1-2

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Aykan Erdemir and Varsha Koduvayur, "Brothers in Arms The Consolidation of the Turkey-Qatar Axis" *Foundation for the Defense of Democracies – FDD* (December 2019) 6-10, 27-34

The New Egypt and its Impact on Middle East Politics

Adel Abdel Ghafar, "A Stable Egypt for a Stable Region – Socio-Economic Challenges and Prospects," Directorate-General for External Policies of the European Union (January 2018) 7-26; 31-42

Luca Mieke and Stephan Roll, "Three Scenarios for the Development of the Sisi Regime in Egypt

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The Transformation of Saudi Arabia its Impact on Middle East Politics

Kristin Smith Diwan, " Saudi Ambition Confronts New Vulnerability," *Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington - AGISW* (October 1, 2019)

Jane Kinninmont, "Vision 2030 and Saudi Arabia's Social Contract Austerity and Transformation," Chatham House – Royal Institute of International Affairs (July 2017) 1-36

Willem Van Den Berg, "Saudi Arabia's Strategic Stalemate – What Next?" Clingendael – Netherlands Institute of International Relations (November 2017) 1-6

Turkey at the Cross-Roads: Emergence of the 'New Turkey' and its Impact on the New Middle East

Aykan Erdemir and Varsha Koduvayur, "Brothers in Arms The Consolidation of the Turkey-Qatar Axis" *Foundation for the Defense of Democracies – FDD* (December 2019) 10-27

Galip Dalay, " Turkey and Russia are Bitter Frenemies," *Foreign Policy*, (May 28, 2019) 1-4

Halil Karaveli, "Can Turkey Change?" *The Turkey Analyst*, (July 16, 2018) 1-3



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Syria: Prospects for Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Peace in Syria?

Al-Jazeera, "Syria's Civil War Explained From the Beginning," *Al-Jazeera*, (April 14, 2018) 1-7

Hussein Ibish, "The aftershocks of Aleppo's fall continue to shake the region," *The National*, (March 9, 2019) 1-2

Anton Lavrov, "Russia in Syria: a military analysis," in *Russia's Return to the Middle East – Chaillot Papers* 146 European Union Institute for Security Studies – ISS (July 2018) 47-56

Volker Perthes, "Syria: Too Fragile to Ignore – Military Outcomes, External Influence and European Options," Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik -SWP, (February 2019) 1-4

Micha'el Tanchum, "The Adana Protocol Re-Emerges as Russia and Arab Nations Align Against Turkey's Syrian Intervention," *The Turkey Analyst*, (January 24, 2019) 1-3

Iraq: Iraqi Reconstruction and the New Middle East – The Shifting Competition among Regional and Global Actors

Michael D. Sullivan, "I Fought Against Muqtada al-Sadr. Now He's Iraq's Best Hope," *Foreign Policy*, (June 18, 2018) 1-6

Robert S. Ford and Randa Slim, "The Long Game in Iraq How to Counter Iranian Influence in Baghdad," *Foreign Affairs* (September 30, 2019)

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Renaud Mansour, "Iraq's Para militaries Are Turning on Their Own Ranks," *Chatham House – Royal Institute of International Affairs*, (February 26, 2019) 1-8

Mina Al Oraibi, "There are four likely outcomes to Iraq's crisis — but only one of them is a real solution," *The National – UAE* (October 5, 2019) 1-2

Iran and the New Middle East

Sara Bazoobandi, "Iran's Revolutionary Guards: Four Decades of Expanded

Business and Military Influence," *Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington - AGISW* (December 12, 2019)

Seth G. Jones, "War by Proxy: Iran's Growing Footprint in the Middle East," Center for Strategic and International Studies – CSIS (March 2019) 1-16

Ruhollah Khomeini, "The Necessity for Islamic Government," [Excerpt] two pages from *ISLAM and REVOLUTION: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini* Translated and Annotated by Hamid Algar, Mizan Press, Berkeley Contemporary Islamic Thought, Persian

Vali Nasr, "Khomeini's Moment" [Chapter 4] *The Shia Revival – How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future* (W.W. Norton and Co., 2006) 119-143



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Walter Posch, "The changing face of Iran – While Rouhani's government faces domestic and foreign-policy challenges, extremists are gaining influence in Iran," *International Politics and Society – IPS Friedrich Ebert Stiftung - FES*, (March 15, 2019) 1-8

Micha'el Tanchum, "Iran's Carefully Coded Message - The recent strikes make clear that Iran's enemies won't be able to bypass it in the Persian Gulf," *Foreign Policy* (June 18, 2019)

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Dalia Ghanem-Yazbeck and Vasily Kuznetsov, "The 'comrades' in North Africa," in *Russia's Return to the Middle East – Chaillot Papers* 146 European Union Institute for Security Studies – ISS (July 2018) 73-82

Carole Nakhle, "Russia's Energy Diplomacy in the Middle East," in *Russia's Return to the Middle East – Chaillot Papers* 146 European Union Institute for Security Studies – ISS (July 2018) 29-36

Dimitri Trenin, "What Drives Russia's Policy in the Middle East," in *Russia's Return to the Middle East – Chaillot Papers* 146 European Union Institute for Security Studies – ISS (July 2018) 21-28

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Edgar Göll, Silvia Colombo and Eduard Soler i Lecha, "Perceptions on the Future: Hope and Frustration," *IMAGINING FUTURE(S) FOR THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA*, Middle East and North Africa Regional Architecture – MENARA [EU Horizon 2020 project] Final Reports No. 2 (March 2019) 6-14

Emma Soubrier, "The European Response to the Saudi Attacks: A Careful Balancing Act," *Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington - AGISW* (September 30, 2019)

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Frederic Wehrey and Jalel Harchaoui, "How to Stop Libya's Collapse Countering Warlords, Foreign Meddlers, and Economic Malaise," *Foreign Affairs* (January 7, 2020)

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European Union:

European External Action Service (EEAS): <http://eeas.europa.eu/>.

Europol: www.europol.europa.eu. Editing the European Union TE-SAT Report.

France: www.5plus5defence.org/fr.



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US: State Department: www.state.gov.

Department of Defense: www.defense.gov.

Congressional Research Service.

UN: UN High Commissioner on Refugees, www.unhcr.org/uk/.

Links-Think Tanks

Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies:

Carnegie:

Casa Árabe: www.casaarabe.es.

International Crisis Group: www.crisisgroup.com.

MEMRI: www.memri.org.

North Africa Risk (NARCO): www.northafricarisk.com>.

UNISCI:

Links-Media

Algeria: www.elwatan.com.

Egypt: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg>.

Libya: www.libyaherald.com.

Morocco: www.lematin.ma.

Mauritania: www.journaltahalil.com.

Qatar: www.aljazeera.com/programmes/.

Tunisia: www.lapresse.com.

Palestine-Israel Journal: www.pij.org.

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