



## 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, Law, History
- **Módulo y materia:** Ámbitos geográficos y sectoriales de las relaciones internacionales, Estudios regionales
- **Professor:** Prof. Javier Gil Guerrero

## 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.



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CE18	Analizar las realidades internacionales (económica, social y política) como método de prevención de focos de conflicto.
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## PROGRAMA

### INTRODUCTION TO ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK

Teaching section in Navarra:

1. What is the Middle East?
2. The Sunni-Shia Divide in the Middle East
3. The Decline of the Ottoman Empire
4. First World War in the Middle East
5. The Middle East after the First World War
6. Creation of Israel, Decolonization, Cold War and Arab Nationalism
7. The Iranian Revolution and the Islamist Wave
8. The Changing Geopolitics of the Middle East

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)

## ACTIVIDADES FORMATIVAS

Theory in-class periods: 30 h

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



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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 UAE: 45%

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

## HORARIOS DE ATENCIÓN

**Javier Gil Guerrero**

jgilgue@unav.es

## 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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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Micha'el Tanchum, "Turkey's String of Pearls: Turkey's Overseas Naval Installations Reconfigure the Security Architecture of Mediterranean-Red Sea Corridor," Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy – AIES (May 21, 2019)

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 Miehe and Stephan Roll, "Three Scenarios for the Development of the Sisi Regime in Egypt Development Dictatorship, Mubarak 2.0, or Rapid Collapse?" Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik - SWP, (March 2019) 1-4

## **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

Micha'el Tanchum, "The Kurdish Consolidation," *Foreign Affairs*, (June 29, 2015) 1-4

Micha'el Tanchum, "Turkstream: Ankara Embraces Russia to Further Turkey's Hub Ambitions," *The Turkey Analyst*, (December 20, 2018) 1-3

Gonul Tol, "Turkey's Bid for Religious Leadership," *Foreign Affairs*, (January 10, 2019) 1-4

## **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)

Simona Foltyn, "Will Iraq's Old Divisions Undermine Its New Prime Minister," *Foreign Policy*, (February 5, 2019) 1-6

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

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)

Micha'el Tanchum, "Iran Is Already Losing -Washington shouldn't fall for Tehran's trap and get involved in a conflict in the Gulf. Instead, it should stick to its current war of attrition," *Foreign Policy* (September 23, 2019)

### **The Rise of Russia in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean**

Timofey Borisov, "Russian Arms Exports in the Middle East," in *Russia's Return to the Middle East – Chaillot Papers* 146 European Union Institute for Security Studies – ISS (July 2018) 37-46

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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Micha'el Tanchum, "The Middle East's Year of the Dragonbear – The 2020 emergence of a Sino-Russian strategic architecture bridging Iran and its Arab Gulf Rivals," *Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy – AIES* (December 19, 2019)

## EU and the New Middle East

Julien Barnes-Dacey, "What Europe Should Do About Syria," *European Council on Foreign Relations – ECFR*, (January 28, 2019) 1-4

Rene Wildangel, Tarek Megerisi, Julien Barnes-Dacey, Anthony Dworkin, Ellie Geranmayeh and Hugh Lovatt, "Mapping European Leverage in the MENA region," *European Council on Foreign Relations – ECFR*, (December 2019) 1-20

Abdelhak Bassou et al., "Development and/or security: Stakes of the Relationship between the European Union, the Maghreb, and the Sahel," in *Towards EU-MENA Shared Prosperity, Bruegel* (2017) 83-96

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)

Micha'el Tanchum, "A Dangerous Policy of Turkish Containment in the Eastern Mediterranean" *The Turkey Analyst*, (July 3, 2019)

Micha'el Tanchum, "France's Iran policy indicates INSTEX will not undermine sanctions," *Real Instituto Elcano* (April, 25, 2019)

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

## Basic bibliography

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CHEHAB, Z.: *Inside Hamas*, New York, I.B. Tauris, 2007.

DEL SARTO, R. A.: "What's at Stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the Southern Mediterranean?", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 10, 2005, pp. 17-38.



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.....: "Risks and Threats in the Western Sahel. Radicalization and Terrorism in the Sub-Region", *Paix et Sécurité Internationales-Revue Maroco-Espagnole*, No. 3 /2015, January-December 2015, pp. 167-183.

-----: "Kidnappings as a Terrorist Instrument of AQIM and the MUJAO", *Paix et Sécurité Internationales-Revue Maroco-Espagnole*, no. 1, January-December 2013, pp. 161-166.

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-----: "The Recent Terrorist Activities in Sahel-Sahara Area", *African Journal for the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism*, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 2010, pp. 25-33.

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-----: "The Stability of Iraq: Future Prospects", in MARQUINA, Antonio (Ed): *Turkish Foreign Policy and Security Policy*, Madrid, UNISCI,-TEVAP-EPRI, 2006, pp. 167-183.

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-----: "Radical Islam in the Maghreb", *Orbis. A Journal of World Affairs-Foreign Policy Research Institute-Philadelphia*, Vol. 48, Spring 2004, pp. 351-364.

-----: *The Royal Armed Forces in Modern Morocco*, Madrid, Real Instituto Elcano-Working Paper, No. 1072003, 28 February 2003, 25 pages.

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SAAB, Bilal and RANSTORP, M.: "Securing Lebanon from the Threat of Salafist Jihadism", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 30, 2007, pp. 832-833.

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ZOUBIR, Yahia H.: "Qaddafi's Spawn. What the Dictator's Demise Unleashed in the Middle East", *Foreign Affairs*, 24 July 2012, in [www.foreignaffairs.com](http://www.foreignaffairs.com).

## Links-Official Sources



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African Union Center for Studies and Research on Terrorism (CAERT) editing the African Journal for the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism: [www.caert.org.dz](http://www.caert.org.dz).

European Union:

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

Europol: [www.europol.europa.eu](http://www.europol.europa.eu). Editing the European Union TE-SAT Report.

France: [www.5plus5defence.org/fr](http://www.5plus5defence.org/fr).

US: State Department: [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov).

Department of Defense: [www.defense.gov](http://www.defense.gov).

Congressional Research Service.

UN: UN High Commissioner on Refugees, [www.unhcr.org/uk/](http://www.unhcr.org/uk/).

## **Links-Think Tanks**

Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies:

Carnegie:

Casa Árabe: [www.casaarabe.es](http://www.casaarabe.es).

International Crisis Group: [www.crisisgroup.com](http://www.crisisgroup.com).

MEMRI: [www.memri.org](http://www.memri.org).

North Africa Risk (NARCO): [www.northafricanrisk.com](http://www.northafricanrisk.com).

UNISCI:

## **Links-Media**

Algeria: [www.elwatan.com](http://www.elwatan.com).

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

Libya: [www.libyaherald.com](http://www.libyaherald.com).

Morocco: [www.lematin.ma](http://www.lematin.ma).

Mauritania: [www.journaltahalil.com](http://www.journaltahalil.com).

Qatar: [www.aljazeera.com/programmes/](http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/).

Tunisia: [www.lapresse.com](http://www.lapresse.com).

Palestine-Israel Journal: [www.pij.org](http://www.pij.org).

@X@buscador\_unika.obtener@X@