



Rothberg International School  
בית הספר לתלמידים מחו"ל ע"ש רוטברג  
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM  
האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים



**Israel and the Post-Arab Spring Upheaval:  
An Interactive View of the Middle East (48795)**

*Course Instructor: Dr. Nir Boms*

*T.A, Stephane Cohen*

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July 2–23, 2019

Sun, Thu: 8:00 - 18:00 | Tue 9:00 – 12:00\*

45 Academic Hours, 3 Academic Credits

*This course can be taken as a single course or as a component of the 9-credit program **Coexistence in the Middle East** (CME), which is comprised of the following three courses:*

- *[Narratives and Realities: Inside the Israeli Palestinian Conflict](#)*
- *[Israel in Changing Middle East: An Interactive View of the Post-Arab Spring](#)*
- *[Religion in the Holy Land: Faith's Role in Peace and Conflict](#)*

*Since these courses are designed to complement each other, we strongly recommend that participants enroll in all three courses.*

*\* Class hours will vary according to field trips and course activities. A two-day field trip is scheduled from Thursday 9:00hrs to Friday 17:00hrs for each CME course.*

## **Course Description**

This course offers a first-hand perspective on the rising challenges and opportunities of Israel in a changing region. The course will review the dramatic events that began with the Arab “spring” of 2010, which are continuing to shape and reshape the face of the Middle East. Through field trips and engaging in dialogue with regional players, participants will gain personal insight into the religious, cultural and political forces shaping the changing reality of the region and their influence on Israel's future.

Since the beginning of the Arab Spring, the Middle East has experienced a tectonic shift that continues to shape the geopolitical map of the region. The established

political systems have quickly collapsed, leaving a vacuum that is still being filled by old and new political players, including radical non-state players that change the political, religious and tribal map of the region. These new emerging realities influence Israel, which remains an island of stability in the middle of the regional storm. Through exposure to multiple perspectives, this course offers students the opportunity to analyze this changing reality and the way it influences the geopolitical environment surrounding Israel and its neighbors.

## Site Visits and Meetings

Through multiple field trips and encounters, this program offers a unique opportunity to gain first-hand access to key places and regional actors. Subject to the availability of guest speakers, participants will have the opportunity to meet with:

- Diplomats and government officials
- Representatives of international and non-government organizations
- Analysts and journalists
- Academic figures and Middle East experts

Field trips and encounters will be finalized at a later date. As a reference only, participants may refer to the [tentative itinerary](#) for the Coexistence in the Middle East program. Please note that field trips in the itinerary are split among all [three CME Summer Courses](#).

## List of Topics to be explored

The following list of topics might be updated due to the dynamic character of the Middle East and our intention to focus on the current issues in the region:

1. **Introduction to the Middle East, Spring and other Seasons**
2. **Northern Threats: Syria, Hezbollah and the Islamic State**
3. **Iran Post Nuclear Agreement and the Changing Geo-Political Arena**
4. **Yad Vashem**
5. **The International Community and the Middle East**
6. **An Israeli view of a Changing Region, MFA visit**
7. **Dissidents and New Media - Challenges and Opportunities**
8. **A Failed Spring or a New Horizon? Assessing the “Arab Fall”**

## Grading & Course Requirements

Participants who do not require academic credits will be exempt from these requirements and will receive an active participation certificate.

- **25% Reading and class participation**
- **65% Term Paper.** The essay is not to exceed 3,000 words. Students will be encouraged to work in small teams and engage in related fieldwork. Paper outlines will be presented in the last two weeks of classes.
  - Papers will be graded based upon the relevancy of the topic and analysis to the issues discussed in class (15%); the strength and depth of analysis (60%); clarity and

flow (15%) and academic style (citations and references) (10%). Please consult addendum document about paper guidelines.

- 10% Simulation exercise

**Papers must be submitted no later than two weeks after the last class.**

It is mandatory for students to attend all classes, guest lectures, field trips, etc. Failure to attend classes will result in a student being denied the right to partake in the final assignment and receive a final grade in the course. Students who have a justified reason to miss class (illness, mourning, etc.) must communicate with their instructors and the Department of Summer Courses and Special Programs, and complete the material that they have missed. Students who have missed class due to illness must obtain a signed and stamped sick note from a treating physician and submit it to the Dept. of Summer Courses and Special Programs immediately following their return to class. Failure to do so will result in an unexcused absence. The Department reserves the right to refer the issue to an Academic Committee. In some cases, the Academic Committee may decide, in light of the requirements of the course, that it is not possible to make up the missing coursework.

**Earning Graduate Credits for this course**

Graduate students are expected to inform the Rothberg International School – [rissummer@savion.huji.ac.il](mailto:rissummer@savion.huji.ac.il) – of their interest in earning graduate credit for their summer course(s).

Graduate students must complete a 15-page, double-spaced seminar paper with bibliography for the course in place of the course's standard final assessment (in most cases, an exam). The topic and bibliography for these papers must be chosen in conjunction and agreement with each course instructor. Students must approach course instructors by the end of the first week of the course and arrange a time to meet and define their paper topic and bibliography.

The seminar paper must make use of at least five scholarly sources (books or academic articles), in addition to internet resources.

The graduate seminar papers must be submitted within 2 months following course completion in order for the graduate student to fulfill requirements for this course.

**Course Outline and Readings**

<a href="#"><b>READING LIST:</b></a>
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**Prior to class**, please read the following articles which will be referred to throughout the classes:

- Kramer, Martin (1997). "[\*The Middle East, Old and New\*](#)." Daedalus 126 (2): 89-112  
(a view of a changing Middle East facing a new millennia) E-JOURNAL

- Naim Moises (2013), “ The End of Power: From Boardrooms to Battlefields and Churches to States, Why Being In Charge Isn't What It Used to Be,” Basic Books ISBN 10: Chapter One Pp 2-19; Pp 76-86; Chapter Five, Pp 76-82. **Main Library HN49 P6 N35 2014; E-RESERVE**

(a view about the changing political and power structures on a global scale that is particularly relevant to the Middle East and the Arab Spring)

- Sternberg, Troy; Femia, Franco; and Werrell, Caitlin (2017) “Climate Hazards, Food Security and the Arab Uprisings” in *Lost in Translation: New Paradigms for the Arab Spring*, Uzi Rabi and Abdelilah Bouasria (editors), Sussex Academic Press. **E-BOOK**  
(a perspective on the broader non-political factors contributed to the “Arab Spring.”)

Due to the dynamic character of the Middle East and the intention to focus on the current issues in the region the contents and readings might be updated.

## 1. Introduction to the Middle East, Spring and other Seasons (Tuesday July 2)

This section will serve as an introduction to the course. We will begin with a discussion of what is and where is the Middle East and who are its key players who had shaped its history? We will discuss an overview on what has changed in this region in the recent years and since the beginning of the “Arab Spring” and what are some of its key challenges facing the future.

The section will present a review of key terms and events associated with the Middle East and focus on the changing and emerging realities as the “Arab Spring” continues into its ninth year.

We will further discuss the course structure and the theme questions that will accompany as we begin to engage with the readings and tours.

- Elhousseini Fadi (2015). “The Arab Spring and the Rise of Non-State Actors” in *Middle East Monitor*, June 13<sup>th</sup>. **MEM website:**  
<https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20150613-the-arab-spring-and-the-rise-of-non-state-actors/>
- Inglehart, Ronald F. (2017). “Changing Values in the Islamic World and the West: Social Tolerance and the Arab Spring,” in Mansoor, Moaddel and Michele, Gelfand (eds.) *Values, Political Action and Change in the Middle East*, New York: Oxford University Press, Pp 1, 14-23. **E-BOOK**
- Abdelbaki, Hisham (2013). “The Arab Spring: Do We Need a New Theory?” *Modern Economy* 4 (2013). 187-196. Free access:  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276046172\\_The\\_Arab\\_Spring\\_Do\\_We\\_Need\\_a\\_New\\_Theory](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276046172_The_Arab_Spring_Do_We_Need_a_New_Theory)
- Grigorios Rapanos (2017). “The role of human development in the transition to democracy after the Arab Spring” in *Mediterranean Politics*, **E-JOURNAL**

## 2. Northern Threats: Syria, Hezbollah and the Islamic State (ISIS)

The Syrian conflict was the last surge of the so-called “Arab Spring”; it grew from a local uprising to a full-scale sectarian, ethnic proxy war that de facto divided the country and influenced the surrounding geography and demography--particularly following the appearance of ISIS. The issues involving Syria are linked to its neighboring country, Lebanon, a country that Syria still views as part of “Bilad a-Sham,” or the “greater Syria.” Hezbollah, the self-defined “party of God”, has gained military strength and political influence in Lebanon with Syrian-Iranian backing. We will further explore these dynamics via a tour to the north, where we will visit Kiryat Shmona, the Lebanese border, the Golan Heights, the Syrian border as well as other sites of importance in the area.

Readings:

- Beuze, Canelle (2017). “Terrorist Attacks, Failed Attacks and Plots in the West linked to the Syrian Iraqi Context (2013-2016)” in Center for the Analysis of Terrorism, <http://cat-int.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Terrorist-attacks-Report-2013-2016.pdf>
- Boms Nir (2018). “Israel's Policy on the Syrian Civil War: Risks and Opportunities” in Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs (Vol. 11, No, 3, Pp 323-336). **E-JOURNAL**
- Boms Nir & Cohen Stephane (2019). “Iran and the New State of Play in Southwest Syria”, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, **Tel Aviv University**, 22 January 2019. **Free access:** <https://dayan.org/content/iran-and-new-state-play-southwest-syria>
- Flynn, Michael T., Ledeen, Michael (2016). “*The Field of Fight*”, (New York, St. Martin’s Press, 2016), Introduction: pp 1-12, Conclusion, pp156-180 JOS on order
- Hegghammer, Thomas and Petter, Nesser (2015) “Assessing the Islamic State’s Commitment to Attacking the West” in *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9(4). **Free access:** <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/440/871>
- Hassan, Hassan (2016) “The Sectarianism of the Islamic State: Ideological Roots and Political Context” in *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. **Free access:** <http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/06/13/sectarianism-of-islamic-state-ideological-roots-and-political-context/j1iy>
- Carsten (2012) “Syria - A decade of lost chances”, (Seattle, Cune Press, 2012), Syrian Scenarios, pp 287-300 JOS on order

## 3. Iran, between the JCPOA and the Green hope for reform

Iran’s conduct in the region remains a major factor despite the JCPOA, the nuclear agreement of 2015. Since the agreement, Iran has sent additional forces to the region and has begun to deepen its presence along Israel’s borders. We will conduct a strategic analysis of Iran's current geopolitical agenda which is still perceived as the

highest threat to Israel and other countries in the Middle East with far-reaching impact inside and outside the Middle East. We will also attempt to understand Iran beyond its nuclear zone and focus on its regime, its diverse society and focus on its regime, its diverse society and on the prospects for political change. We will further engage an Iranian colleague, Shayan Arya - an Iran expert and human rights activist for an open conversation about the situation in Iran.

- Lewis Bernard (2004) "From Babel to Dragomans," Oxford University Press, Pp 43-53 (Iran in History). **Overseas Library ME9 L673; E-BOOK**
- Boms, Nir. & Arya, Shayan (2018) "The Unraveling Islamic Republic" in *US News and World Report*, January 18<sup>th</sup> **Free access:** , <https://www.usnews.com/opinion/world-report/articles/2018-01-18/iran-is-crumbling-from-the-inside>
- Berman, Ilan (2015) "Iran's Various Voices", *American Foreign Policy Council Iran Strategy Brief 7*. **Free access:** <http://www.ilanberman.com/17476/iran-various-voices>
- Kelly, John & Etling, Bruce (2008), *Mapping Iran's Online Public: Politics and Culture in the Persian Blogosphere*, The Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Research Publication No. 2008-01. **Free access:** [https://cyber.harvard.edu/sites/cyber.law.harvard.edu/files/Kelly&Etling\\_Mapping\\_Irans\\_Online\\_Public\\_2008.pdf](https://cyber.harvard.edu/sites/cyber.law.harvard.edu/files/Kelly&Etling_Mapping_Irans_Online_Public_2008.pdf)
- Katzman, Kenneth & Kerr, Paul K (2017) , "Iran Nuclear Agreement" in *Congressional Research Service*, 7-5700, February 10, 2017. **Free access:** <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/R43333.pdf>
- Kuperwasser, Yossi & Davidi, Avi (2016), "Iran in the Post-Nuclear Deal Era: Iranian Dissidents' Perspective", *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs*. **Free access:** <http://jcpa.org/iran-post-nuclear-deal-era-iranian-dissidents-perspective/>

#### **4. The International Community and the Middle East**

This section will deal with the external circle involving Israel and the Middle East: the involvement of external players ranging from Israel's immediate neighbors and to international organs as well as central global players such as Europe and the US and other significant powers such as Russia and China. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict attracts the attention of various international players, ranging from a wide network of



interested activists and NGO's to the top policy-makers of world affairs. That involvement further extends to the Middle East, involving critical Israeli interests and agendas such as Iran. We will explore the role of the different international players and attempt to evaluate their respective contributions in respect to ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and to Israel's place in the Middle East.

- Hanafi, Sari (2004), "The Role of NGOs: Scream If You Want to be Heard" in *The Palestine-Israel Journal* 11 (2): 25-30. [E-JOURNAL](#)
- Steinberg, Gerald M. (2012), "[International NGOs, the Arab Upheaval, and Human Rights: Examining NGO Resource Allocation](#)," in *Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights* 11(1): 125-149. **Free access:** <http://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/njihr/vol11/iss1/5>
- Rosen, Steve (2012) "Why a Special Issue on UNRWA?" in *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 19 (4): 3-10. **Free access:** <http://www.meforum.org/3344/unrwa-special>
- Yemini, Ben Dror (2011) "NGO's vs. Israel" in *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 18(2): 67-71. **Free access:** <http://www.meforum.org/2919/ngos-vs-israel>
- Candar, Cengiz (2015), "Will 'Kurdish Spring' redraw Middle East Map?" in *Al-Monitor*, Feb 5<sup>th</sup>. **Free access:** <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/02/turkey-kurds-kurdish-spring-david-phillips.html>

## **5. An Israeli view of a changing Region, MFA visit**

Lectures at Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs that will cover the Israeli view of the region with a focus on the Syrian, Iranian and Palestinian arena.

## **6. Yad Vashem**

Guided tour in Yad Vashem, discussing the issue of incitement in the Middle East Today.

## **7. Dissidents and New Media - Challenges and Opportunities from Egypt and Beyond**

In this section we will explore the phenomena of dissidents with a focus on the "enablers" who drove the "Arab Spring" by helping empower movements of change and creating a new political discourse. We will meet some of the voices behind the Arab Spring and will focus on the role of new media and on new opportunities for engagements created by these new dynamics. We will also try engaging with active dissidents and create an opportunity for a live dialogue with dissidents and activists from the region.

Seven years ago – and shortly after the beginning of protests in Tunisia - hundreds of thousands of Egyptians descended on downtown Cairo's Tahrir Square demanding "bread, freedom, and social justice." 18 days later, the protests ended President Hosni

Mubarak's three-decade reign. Any ensuing optimism about the Arab Spring was short-lived, however, and by virtually every standard, the problems that generated the uprising are even greater today. Although Egypt appears stable, its economy appears in dangerous shape with rising unemployment especially amongst its youth; the current Egyptian government's repression of its opponents is broader and more brutal and there is a growing sense that the country is adrift.

Amidst these problems facing Egypt, surprisingly, its relations with Israel have been improving. Although security cooperation tends to get the headlines, the two countries have been quietly pursuing other initiatives that could provide a desperately needed boost to Egypt's trade, tourism, and energy sectors.

Invite Haisam or Hussein

- Abdulla, Rasha A. (2011), "The Revolution Will Be Tweeted" in *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, vol. 3: 40-49. **Free access:** <http://cdn.thecaireview.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/CR3-Revolution.pdf>
- Boms Nir (2017) "Virtual Reality: New Media, the Arab Spring and the Democratic Revolution," in "*Lost in Translation: New Paradigms for the Arab Spring*," Uzi Rabi and Abdelilah Bouasria (editors), Sussex Academic Press; **E-BOOK**
- Carothers, Thomas (2015) "Why Technology Hasn't Delivered More Democracy?" in *Foreign Policy*, June 3<sup>rd</sup>. **Free access:** <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/06/03/why-technology-hasnt-delivered-more-democracy-democratic-transition/>
- Dunne, Michele, Hamzawy Amr (2017) "Egypt's secular political parties: A struggle for identity and independence" in *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. <http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/03/31/egypt-s-secular-political-parties-struggle-for-identity-and-independence-pub-68482>
- Hassanein, Haisam (2017) "Commercial diplomacy in the Middle East" in *Foreign Affairs*, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 2017, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2017-01-11/commercial-diplomacy-middle-east>
- Trager, Eric (2016) "Egypt's Occasional Non-Islamist Reformists" in *Beyond Islamist and Autocrats*, The Washington Institute for near East Policy <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/BeyondIslamists-Trager.pdf>
- ASDA'A Burson-Marsteller (2018), " 10 Years of Arab Youth Survey," <http://www.arabyouthsurvey.com/index.html>

## 8. A Failed Spring or a New Horizon? Assessing the "Arab Fall" and the Arab Peace Initiative



This section will conclude the realities of the Arab Spring and its challenges to Israel – but will also look toward the opportunities it may bring to Israel that is still struggling break the impasse of a century old conflict. One such broad opportunity may come from an old- yet- new direction, the Arab Peace Initiative which offers a possible platform to re-orient a broader picture of relations in the Middle East. In this concluding class we will further review the changing face of the Middle East and conduct a simulation in were we will discuss with the possibilities of a new alliances and new opportunities that may further develop as the dust of the “Arab Spring” begins to settle.

Rabi, Uzi and Muller, Chelsi “The Gulf Arab states and Israel since 1967: from ‘no negotiation’ to tacit cooperation ”in *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, 2017 – Pp 576-592

- Muhanna, Jasmin (2017). “The Samad Initiative: A Call for a Shakeup in Arab-Israeli Engagement” in *The American Interest*, Feb 13<sup>th</sup>. **Free access:** <http://josephbraude.com/2017/02/samad-initiative-call-shakeup-arab-israeli-engagement/>
- Salem, Walid (2015), “The Arab Peace Initiative and the International Community: Concerted Efforts for Its Implementation”, in *Palestine-Israel Journal*, vol. 20 (2-3). **Free access:** <http://www.pij.org/details.php?id=1614>

### Looking to stay current, get ideas for your paper, or just learn more?

Check these news sources

New York Times, [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)

Washington Post, [www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com)

Wall Street Journal, [www.wsj.com](http://www.wsj.com)

BBC, [www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk)

Financial Times, [www.ft.com](http://www.ft.com)

The Times, [www.timesonline.co.uk](http://www.timesonline.co.uk)

The Economist, [www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com)

Haaretz (Israel, newspaper), [www.haaretzdaily.com](http://www.haaretzdaily.com)

Y-Net -- Yediot Ahraronot (Israel, newspaper), <http://www.ynetnews.com>

The Jerusalem Post (Israel, newspaper), [www.jpost.com](http://www.jpost.com)

The Forward (Jewish daily newspaper), [www.forward.com](http://www.forward.com)

Electronic Intifada (U.S.-based) [www.electronicintifada.net](http://www.electronicintifada.net)

The Israel Policy Forum (U.S.-based), [www.israelpolicyforum.org](http://www.israelpolicyforum.org)

The Alternative Information Center (Israeli-Palestinian news site) [www.alternativenews.org](http://www.alternativenews.org)

Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (Palestinian research institute), [www.jmcc.org](http://www.jmcc.org)

Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (Palestinian research institute), [www.pcpsr.org](http://www.pcpsr.org)

Independent reporting and commentary from Israel and Palestine (e-zine), <http://972mag.com/>

Middle East Research and Information Project, <http://www.merip.org/>

Foreign Policy Magazine’s Middle East Channel, <http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/>

Jadaliyya (e-zine), <http://www.jadaliyya.com/>

Al-Jazeera (Arab world, news site), <http://english.aljazeera.net>

al-Ahram Weekly (Egypt, newspaper), <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/>  
Jordan Times (Jordan, newspaper), <http://www.jordantimes.com/>  
Daily Star (Lebanon, newspaper), [www.dailystar.com.lb](http://www.dailystar.com.lb)  
Now Lebanon (Lebanon, news site), <http://www.nowlebanon.com>  
Middle East Times (Egypt, newspaper), [www.metimes.com](http://www.metimes.com)  
Dissidents Network [www.CyberDissidents.org](http://www.CyberDissidents.org)