

The State and War in Africa and the Middle East

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Office hours: 11:00-12:30 and 2:00-3:00 MW (Mather House 219)

Since the end of World War Two, violent conflict in the Middle East and Africa has varied greatly. This has included inter-state wars, external power intervention, sub-state violence, and protracted social conflicts. To understand these patterns, this course explores debates around the conceptualization, causes, and consequences of violent political conflict in Africa and the Middle East. As well, it seeks to compare and contrast across these regions

This year's course will focus on three conflicts: Central Africa and Rwanda since the 1990s, the Israeli Occupation and Palestinian conflict, and the aftermath of the 2003 US invasion of Iraq. The course is seminar based requiring student led discussion of readings, analytical writing, and class presentations.

Required Texts

*Neve Gordon, *Israel's Occupation*, University of California, 2007.

*Fergal Keane, *Season of Blood: A Rwandan Journey*, Penguin Books, 1995.

*William McCants, *The ISIS Apocalypse: The History, Strategy, and Doomsday Vision of the Islamic State*, St. Martins Press, 2015

Grading and responsibilities

Review papers/attendance/participation	20%
Analysis Papers (x3)	30%
Course paper (5% presentation)	50%

Requirements:

This is a seminar course dependent upon student participation. **It is emphatically not a lecture based course.** Please bring copies of the readings to class each week (beginning week 3 until week 14). To facilitate participation, each student will write a 1 page "reaction paper" to that week's readings (starting week 2). The point of these papers is **NOT TO SUMMARIZE** the readings but draw out what you think is the most important and **POSE A QUESTION** for class discussion. Reactions are due **Sunday by 9pm** and should be up loaded to the appropriate forum on the Blackboard classroom site.

Three short analyses are required during the semester. The first paper will focus on theory and debates and will be due 2/5. The other two papers can be done on any of the other three cases, Africa and Rwanda (due 2/26), Israel and the Occupation (due 3/25), or Iraq and ISIS (due 4/22). We will agree on the paper selections the first week. Each 5 page paper will draw directly on readings from that theme or case. What is the

debate or approach under examination in these readings? How do the authors go about making and supporting their arguments? Compare, contrast, or make your own argument to conclude the paper. Aside from each grade, these papers are also building blocks for the type of course paper that you will eventually produce.

The **course paper** is a 20 page **research paper or analytical review** of several works in the style of *The New York Review of Books*, *The London Review of Books*, or *The Boston Review*. Please familiarize yourself with this type of disciplinary writing in which several books or articles focused on a similar topic are discussed. In addition to reviewing the argument of each book, a review also draws out larger issues of the subject under review and makes an argument of its own. A course research paper can be on a theme or case of your own choosing but it must broadly align with course themes. We will meet within the first weeks of class to establish your project. **A 3 page narrative, outline, and bibliography of your paper is due Week 8.** The last week of class each student will give a class presentation of their paper and findings.

Themes, Theories, and Cases

Week 1 **Introduction to Theory Approaches:** How do war and states interact?
Europe versus Africa and the Middle East

1/11-13 Charles Tilly, "How war made states and vice versa," in *Coercion, Capital, and European States AD 900-1990*, Basil Blackwell, 1990, pp.67-95

Ian Lustick, "The Absence of a Middle Eastern Great Power: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective" *International Organization* 51:4 Autumn 1997, pp.653-683

Week 2 **Critiquing European War and State Theories**

1/18 ***Martin Luther King Day***

1/20 Marcus Kurtz, "The Social Foundations of Institutional Order: Reconsidering War and the 'Resource Curse' in Third World State Building," *Politics and Society* 37;4, pp. 479-520.

Steven Heydemann, "War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East," in *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East*, edited by Steven Heydemann, University of California Press, 2000, pp. 1-30

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Stanford University Press, 2007, pp. 1-32.

Week 3 **The New War, Civil War Debates: Concept Formation and Method**

1/25-27 Stathis N. Kalyvas, "New and Old Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?"

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, 2002. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *World Bank Occasional Paper*.

The World Bank, *Breaking the Conflict Trap (Review overview section and Part III)*

James D. Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97;1 (February 2003)

Week 4 The Politics of Naming: Concepts and Methods II

2/1-3 Jacob Mundy, "Deconstructing civil wars: Beyond the new wars debate" *Security Dialogue* 42;3, 2011

Michael V. Bhatia, "Fighting Words: naming terrorists, bandits, rebels, and other violent actors," *Third World Quarterly* 26;1, 2005

Mahmood Mamadani, "The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency," *London Review of Books*

Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell*, Chapter 1

PAPER 1 Due, 2/5 noon

Week 5 African Conflict in the late 20th Century, Somalia to Rwanda: Central Africa has suffered acutely violent conflict since the 1990s. The Rwandan genocide in 1994 followed years of conflict but the genocide's aftermath only deepened the violence.

2/8-10 Pilip Reyntjens, "War in the Great Lakes Region" in *Africa in World Politics*

Krijin Peters and Paul Richards, "Why we fight: Voices of Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone," *Africa* 68;2, 1998 (**Focus on sections of testimony**)

Fergal Keane, *Season of blood: A Rwandan Journey*, pp. pp.1-30

See also:

Scott Peterson, "Somalia: Warlords Triumphant," in *Me Against My Brother: At War in Somalia, Sudan, and Rwanda*, pp. 3-169.

Week 6 Genocide Politics

2/15 **No Class**

2/17 Fergal Keane, *Season of blood: A Rwandan Journey*, pp. 31-93

Lee Ann Fujii, "The Power of Local Ties: Popular Participation in the Rwandan Genocide," *Security Studies* (2008)

Week 7: Central African Wars, post-Rwanda, 21st Century Central Africa

2/22-24 Fergal Keane, *Season of blood: A Rwandan Journey*, pp. 95-191

Morton Boas and Kevin Dunn, "African Guerrilla Politics: Raging against the Machine?"

Mahmood Mamdani, "Beyond Native and Settler as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism" *Society for Comparative of Society and History* (2001)

PAPER 2 Due 2/26 noon

Week 8: State, Occupation, and Resistance: The Israel-Palestine conflict has defined much of the region's instability and insecurity. What comprises revisionist Israeli history? How are the powers of the modern state envisioned by Foucault and expressed by Gordon's focus on occupation?

2/29-3/2 Michel Foucault, "The body of the condemned" in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison* Vintage Books, 1995

Ilana Pappé, "Post-Zionist Scholarship in Israel"

Neve Gordon, *Israel's Occupation*, pp. 1-70

****Course Paper Outline and Bibliography Due****

Week 9 Spring Break

3/7-3/9 No Class

Week 10 Israel and Palestine

3/14-16 Gordon, *Israel's Occupation*, pp. 70-168

Joel Migdal, "Changing Boundaries and Social Crisis: Israel and the 1967 War," in *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East*, edited by Steven Heydemann, University of California Press, 2000

Week 11 Occupation and Resistance in the Digital Age

3/21-23 Gordon, *Israel's Occupation*, 169-225

Adi Kuntsman and Rebecca Stein, *Digital Militarism: Israel's Occupation in the Social Media Age*, pp. 1-89

PAPER 3 Due 3/25 noon

Week 12 Non-state actors: The Terrorism Debate

3/28-30 Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (Columbia University Press, 1998), 13-44

Benjamin Netanyahu, "Defining Terrorism," in *Terrorism: How the West Can Win*, edited by Benjamin Netanyahu (Farra, Straus, Giroux, 1986), pp.7-15.

Grenville Byford, "The Wrong War," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2002), pp. 34-43.

Darryl Li, "A Jihadism Anti-Primer," *Middle East Report*, (Fall 2015)

Nir Rosen, "What America Left Behind in Iraq," *Foreign Policy* (September 7, 2010). <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/09/07/what-america-left-behind-in-iraq-2/>

Nir Rosen, "An Ugly Peace: What Changed in Iraq," *Boston Review* (November-December 2009). <http://www.bostonreview.net/world/ugly-peace-nir-rosen>

See also:

International Crisis Group, "Iraq's Uncertain Future: Elections and Beyond," #94, February 2010.

Amatzia Baram, "Neo-Tribalism in Iraq: Saddam Hussein's Tribal Policies, 1991-96," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997).

Week 13 ISIS in the aftermath of Iraq

4/4-6 William McCants, *The ISIS Apocalypse*, pp. 1-71

"Inside ISIS Inc." *Financial Times*, <http://www.ft.com/intl/inside-isis-inc>

Pete Moore and Christopher Parker, "The War Economy of Iraq," *Middle East Report*

Week 14

4/11-13 William McCants, *The ISIS Apocalypse*, pp. 73-159.

Jillian Schwedler, "ISIS is One Piece of the Puzzle," *Middle East Report*, Fall 2015

PAPER 4 Due 4/15 noon

Week 15

4/18-20 Paper presentations

Week 16

4/25 TBA