

The State and War in Middle East

Professor Pete W. Moore

Office phone: 368-5265

e-mail: pete.moore@case.edu

Office hours: Mather House 219, MW 1:30-3pm

Since the end of World War Two, violent conflict in the Middle East has varied in type and intensity. This has included inter-state wars, external power intervention, sub-state violence, and protracted social conflicts. To understand these patterns, this course explores the causes and consequences of violent political conflict in the region. This year's course will focus on two conflicts: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the 2003 US invasion of Iraq. The course is seminar based requiring student led discussion of readings, analytical writing, and participation in simulated negotiations.

Primary Texts

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

*Nir Rosen, *Aftermath: Following the Bloodshed of America's Wars in the Muslim World*, Nation Books, 2010.

*Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000*, University of California Press, 2001.

*Middle East Report, *The Iran-Iraq War 30 Years Later*, Winter 2010 (available later in the semester)

Grading and responsibilities

Reaction papers/attendance	20%
Theme Papers (3)	30%
Course paper (10% outline, 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 2 until week 14). To facilitate participation, each student will write a 1 page "reaction paper" to that week's readings. The point of these papers is NOT TO SUMMARIZE the readings but raise a question or discussion point to think about. Papers are due by each Sunday by 9pm and should be up loaded to the appropriate forum on the Blackboard classroom site.

Three theme papers are required. The first paper will focus on theory and debates and will be due 1/28. The other two papers can be done on any of the other three cases, Iraq (due 2/25), America (due 3/25), or Israel-Palestine (due 4/22). We will agree on the paper selections the first week. Each 5 page paper will draw directly on at least 3 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 15 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 5 minute overview of their project and findings.

Themes and Cases

Week 1 **Theory Approaches I:** How does war shape states? Are other factors at play in how war has historically affected states?

1/10, 12, 14

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

Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," *focus on pp. 169-172; 181-186*

Marcus Kurtz, 2009. "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.

Week 2 **Theory Themes II:** Wars in the developing world and particularly since the end of WWII are seen as different. How is war and security in the developing world different from the classic conceptions?

1/17 ***Martin Luther King Day***

1/19, 21

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

Brian L. Job, "The Insecurity Dilemma: National, Regime, and State Securities in the Third World"

Week 3

Theory Themes III: Turing to the Middle East specifically and keeping in mind the first week debate Tilly/Kurtz, how has war shaped or not shaped political and economic development?

(Mandatory Theme Paper Due Friday)

1/24, 26

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

Bahgat Korany, Rex Brynen, and Paul Noble, "The Analysis of National Security in the Arab Context," in *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab World* by Bahgat Korany, Rex Brynen, and Paul Noble (MacMillan 1993), pp. 1-23.

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

Dani Rodrik, "Where did all the Growth Go? External Shocks, Social Conflict and Growth Collapses," *Journal of Economic Growth*, 4: 385–412 (December 1999)

Joost Hiltermann, "Deep Traumas, Fresh Ambitions: Legacies of the Iran-Iraq War," *Middle East Report: The Iran-Iraq War 30 Years Later* (Winter 2010)

Pete Moore, "Guilty Bystanders," *Middle East Report: The Iran-Iraq War 30 Years Later* (Winter 2010)

1/28

NO CLASS (Papers can be emailed by class time)

Week 4

Case Study I, Iraq: We will prepare for the Rosen book by setting the stage for Iraq prior to 2003. Since 1980, what were the primary political and economic changes in the country? How did the Baath Party and Saddam Hussein view their own political challenges?

1-31, 2/2, 4

F. Gregory Gause, "Iraq's Decision to Go to War, 1980 and 1990," *Middle East Journal* 56:1 (Winter 2002), pp. 47-70.

Please read this Wikileaks document and compare it to Gause's arguments above: "SADDAM'S MESSAGE OF FRIENDSHIP TO PRESIDENT BUSH" US Embassy, Baghdad, Ambassador April Glaspie, July 1990

(<http://213.251.145.96/cable/1990/07/90BAGHDAD4237.html>)

Isam al-Khafaji, "War as Vehicle for the Rise and Demise of a State-Controlled Society: The Case of Baathist Iraq," *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East*, edited by Steven Heydemann, University of California Press, 2000, pp. 258-291.

Michel Hechter and Nika Kabiri, "Attaining social order in Iraq," in *Order, Conflict, and Violence*, edited by Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro, and Tarek Masoud Cambridge University Press, 2008

Nida Alahmad and Aragn Keshavarzian, "A War on Multiple Fronts' *Middle East Report: The Iran-Iraq War 30 Years Later* (Winter 2010)

Sinan Antoon, "Bending History," *Middle East Report: The Iran-Iraq War 30 Years Later* (Winter 2010)

Week 5 **Occupation and Civil War:** Was the invasion of Iraq doomed to failure? Or could different policies have led to a more successful post-invasion? Consider how Rosen frames and evidences the impact of the invasion and occupation on Iraqi society.

2/7, 9, 11

James Dobbins, "Who lost Iraq?" *Foreign Affairs* 86: 5 (Sep/Oct2007)

Jason Brownlee, "Can America Nation Build?" *World Politics* 59 (January 2007)

Nir Rosen, *Aftermath*, Part One, pp. 3-119.

Week 6 **Debating the Surge:** The downturn in violence since 2007 has been hotly debated. American officials credit the surge in American troops as the vital factor. What is Rosen's argument and evidence?

2/14, 16, 18

Nir Rosen, *Aftermath*, Part Three, pp. 221-376; and Epilogue

Week 7: **Transnational effects:** How has the invasion of Iraq impacted the region? What were the expectations, what has been the reality, and how does this intersect with prior theory expectations?

(Theme Paper Option Due Friday)

2/21, 23, 25

Fouad Ajami, "Iraq and the Arabs" *Foreign Affairs*, 82:3 (Jan/Feb2003)

Nir Rosen, *Aftermath*, Part Two and Chapter 10

Week 8: Case Study II, Conflict in the Middle East and American Exceptionalism: This case study reverses the lens and examines how parts of American society and politics have viewed, been impacted, and derived meaning from events in the Middle East.
(3 page outline of course paper due)

2/28, 3/2, 4

Robert Vitalis, Black Gold, White Crude: An Essay on American Exceptionalism, Hierarchy and Hegemony in the Gulf," *Diplomatic History* 26:2 (Spring 2002)

Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters*, Introduction, Chapter 1

Week 9 Spring Break
3/7-3/11

Week 10 African Americans and Israel: How have different parts of American society engaged the Middle East? In particular, how did the Civil Rights Movement and African American leadership identify with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? How did non-Jewish parts of American society react to Israel and the 1967 War?

3/14, 16 Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters*, Chapters 2 and 4

3/18 NO CLASS

Week 11 Terrorism, Islam, and Oil: Terrorism, Islam, and Oil have been issues in American society and politics long before 9-11.
(Theme Paper Option Due Friday)

3/21, 23, 25

Timothy Mitchell, 2009. "McJihad: Islam and the US Global Order," *Social Text*, 73;4 (Winter 2002), pp. 1-18

Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters*, Chapters 5 and Conclusion

Week 12 **Case Study III, Israel and Palestine:** 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?

4/4, 6, 8

Ilana Pappé, "Post-Zionist Scholarship in Israel"

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

Neve Gordon, *Israel's Occupation*, Chapter 1

Week 13 **The 1967 War:** The war's aftermath radically reshaped the conflict for both parties through Israel's occupation of the West bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. How did Israeli authorities go about normalizing the occupation? What were the political economic aspects of this control? How did these policies affect Palestinian society and politics?

4/11, 13, 15

Gordon, pp. 48-70; 71-92

Yezid Sayigh, "War as Leveler, War as Midwife: Palestinian Political Institutions, Nationalism, and Society Since 1948," in *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East*, edited by Steven Heydemann, University of California Press, 2000

Week 14 **Occupation by the 1980s:** How did Israeli control over local sovereignty affect Palestinian nationalism and resistance? What is "savage restraint" and what explains Israeli uses of violence? More broadly, how was the occupation changing? How can we describe the status of the occupation today?

(Theme Paper Option Due Friday)

4/18, 20, 22

Gordon, pp. pp.93-115; 116-222

James Ron, "Savage Restraint: Israel, Palestine, and the Dialectics of Legal Repression" *Social Problems* (November 2000)

Week 15

4/25

Paper presentations