



אוניברסיטת בן-גוריון בנגב
הפקולטה למדעי הרוח והחברה

המחלקה לפוליטיקה וממשל
שנה"ל 2015-16, סמסטר ב'

שם הקורס בעברית: **הפוליטיקה של האמפריות במזרח התיכון**

שם הקורס באנגלית: **The Politics of Empire in the Middle East**

יום ב': 12:00-10:00

יום ה': 08:00-10:00

שם המרצה: ד"ר מנצור נסאסרה

mansor@bgu.ac.il

שעת קבלה: יום ב', 12:30-13:30, חדר 655 בבניין 72

דרישות הקורס

-השתתפות פעילה בשיעורים-חובה.

-קריאת כל חומר הקריאה המחייבים לקראת כל מפגש (מאמר חובה שבועי).

- פרזנטציה (20%): הפרזנטציות יוכנו ויוצגו בכיתה בזוגות

- הגשת עבודה מסכמת (80%)-(5000 מילה)

- הגשת הצעת עבודה (נושא העבודה ייבחר בתיאום עם המרצה).

Module Description:

The 2003 invasion of Iraq has led to a renewal of interest in the notion of “Empire” as a key dynamic in international politics. But in the Middle East, the question of Empire never went away. For many people in the region, the colonial division of the Ottoman Empire into individual states under European tutelage, Western efforts to keep anti-Communist regimes in power during the Cold War and the more recent phenomenon of globalization are all examples of the ongoing trend whereby the Middle East is subjected to imperial domination by the West.

This course aims to contextualise contemporary debates in IR with a historical overview of colonialism in the Middle East, as well as providing the conceptual tools to understand the workings of colonial power. It focuses on the changes introduced to Middle Eastern societies by colonialism, the implications of these changes for states in the region after their independence, and more recent socio-political developments often categorised in the region as “neo-colonial” forms of domination.

The course is divided into four areas:

1. Empire and the International: History and Theory
2. Empire and the Local: Forming States, Transforming Societies
3. Resistance is Futile (Or is it?): The Empire Strikes Back
4. Remaking the Middle East

Teaching Schedule:

Empire and the International: History and Theory

1. Introduction to the module
2. History of Empire in the 19th century
3. Colonialism and Imperialism
4. Classical Theories of Imperialism
- 5.6. Colonial Discourse and Colonial Theory: Is Knowledge Power?
7. East vs. West: a Clash of Civilizations?
8. Does Economics Drive Empire? Egypt in the 19th Century

Empire and the Local: Forming States, Transforming Societies

9. Dividing Territory: Colonial States in the Middle East
10. Policing Skies: Military Power and the State in Iraq
11. Conquering Land: Cartography, Mapping as a colonial policy (Egypt-Palestine)
- 12-15: The Colonial Image: Divide and Rule- Bedouin Tribes in the ME and Empire

Resistance is Futile (Or is it?): The Empire Strikes Back

16. Arab Nationalism as Anti-Colonialism (Ba'thism and Nasserism)
- 17-18. Counter insurgency vs colonial warfare: Algeria and Palestine
19. Political Islam: Islam and the West? The Iranian Revolution
20. The Western Sahara: Spanish colonialism vs. Algeria and Morocco

Empire and Remaking the Middle East

- 21-22. Capitalism and Petroimperialism in the Gulf
23. Refugees crisis and Rebuilding Iraq: Colonialism Redux
- 24-26. The Arab Spring and Empire: Intervention crisis in Syria and Libya

I. Empire and the International: History and Theory

Week 1: Introduction to the module

Week 2: History of Empire in the 19th century

Required reading:

Jurgen Osterhammel, 2014. Imperial System and Nation-States, pp.392-430

Week 3: Colonialism and Imperialism

What is the difference between 'colonialism' and 'imperialism'?

Required Reading:

Robert Young, Postcolonialism: an Historical Introduction (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), pp.13-45 (Ch.2 "Colonialism" and Ch. 3 "Imperialism").

Week 4: Classical Theories of Imperialism

Required reading:

Patrick Wolfe, "History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism" in The American Historical Review 102,2 (1997), pp.388-420

Week 5-6: Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: Is Knowledge Power?

To what extent were colonial authorities able to develop accurate and objective knowledge about the societies they ruled?

Required Reading:

Robert Young, Postcolonialism: an Historical Introduction (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), pp.383-395 (Ch. 26 "Edward Said and Colonial Discourse").

Abdelmajid Hannoum, "Colonialism and Knowledge in Algeria: the Archives of the Arab

Bureau" in *History & Anthropology* 12,4 (2001), pp.343-379.

Week 7. East vs. West: a Clash of Civilizations?

How useful is it to think of the encounter between Europe and the Middle East in terms of a 'clash of civilizations'?

Required reading:

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" in *Foreign Affairs* 72 (1993), pp.22-49

Roy P. Mottahedeh, "The Clash of Civilizations: an Islamicist's Critique" in *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 2,2 (1995), pp.1-26

Week 8: Does Economics Drive Empire? Egypt in the 19th Century

How did economics facilitate European domination of Egypt during the 19th century?

Required Reading:

Roger Owen, "Europe and Egypt: From French Expedition to British Occupation," in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds. *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London: Longman, 1972).

II. Empire and the Local: Forming States, Transforming Societies

Week 9. Dividing Territory: Colonial States in the Middle East

Given the wide differences in colonial practices across the region, to what extent is it possible to make generalizations about colonial states in the Middle East?

Required Reading:

Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*

(London: Routledge 2004), pp.3-22 (Ch.1 "The End of Empires: The Emergence of the Modern Middle Eastern State").

Week 10. Policing Skies: Coercion, Airpower and the Colonial State in Iraq

The British Mandate in Iraq was primarily enforced by means of air policing. What effect did this have on the power of the Iraqi state?

Required Reading:

Priya Satia, "In Defense of Inhumanity: Air Control and the British Idea of Arabia" in *American Historical Review* (2006), pp.16-51.

Week 11. Conquering Land: Mapping in Egypt and Mandatory Palestine

How was the colonial project in Egypt and Palestine sustained by technologies of cartography? On balance, how significant do you think maps are for the production of social power?

Required Reading:

Anne Godlewska, "Map, Text and Image. The Mentality of Enlightened Conquerors: A New Look at the Description de l'Egypte" in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20,1 (1995), pp.5-28.

Week 12-15: The Colonial Image: Divide and Rule, Bedouin Tribes and Empire

Required reading:

Deringil, Selim. "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery:

The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (2003) 45, 2. Pp, 311-342.

Martin Thomas, "Bedouin Tribes and the Imperial Intelligence Services in Syria, Iraq and Transjordan in the 1920s" in *Journal of Contemporary History* 38,4 (2003), pp.539-561.

Daniel Neep. *Occupying Syria under the French Mandate: Insurgency, Space and State Formation*, (chapter 7- Nomad Space) (2014), pp. 165-198.

Nasasra Mansour. "Ruling the Desert: Ottoman and British Policies towards the Bedouin of the Naqab and Transjordan Region, 1900–1948", *British Middle East Studies Journal*, No. 42, Vol. 3, 2015.

III. Resistance is Futile (Or is it?): the Empire Strikes Back

16. Arab Nationalism as Anti-Colonialism

How should we understand nationalism in the Arab world - is it the expression of a deep-rooted Arab identity, a political reaction to European encroachment, a consequence of Islam's failure to resist colonialism, or something else?

Required Reading:

James L. Gelvin, "Modernity and its Discontents: On the Durability of Nationalism in the Arab Middle East" in *Nations and Nationalism* 5,1 (1999), pp.71-89.

Week 17-18. Counter-Insurgency vs. Colonial Warfare: Algeria and Palestine

To what extent can we consider the counter-insurgency campaigns in Palestine (1936-39) and French Algeria as an episode of war against colonialism and Empire?

Required reading:

Laleh Khalili (forthcoming). "The Location of Palestine in Global Counterinsurgencies" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.

James McDougall (2005). "Savage Wars? Codes of Violence in Algeria, 1830s-1990s" in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, no. 1, The Politics of Naming: Rebels, Terrorists, Criminals, Bandits and Subversives (2005), pp. 117-131.

19. Iran, 1979: Islam and the West.

How successful was the Iranian Revolution in creating a state which was founded on authentic, indigenous principles?

Required Reading:

Sami Zubaida, "Is Iran an Islamic State?" in Joel Beinin and Joe Stork, eds. *Political Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997).

20. Spanish Colonialism: Western Sahara vs. Morocco and AlgeriaRequired reading:

C. Dunbar C. (2000). "Saharan Stasis: Status and Future Prospects of the Western Sahara" in *Middle East Journal* Vol. 54, no. 4, pp. 522-545.

IV. American Modern: Remaking the Middle East**Week 21-22. Capitalism and Petroimperialism in the Gulf**

What effect has oil had on the domestic and international politics of the Middle East?

Required Reading:

Giacomo Luciani, "Oil and Political Economy in the International Relations of the Middle East" in Louise Fawcett, ed. *International Relations of the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

N.Jhaveri, "Petroimperialism: Oil Interests and the Iraq Qae" in *Antipode* 36,11 (2004), pp.2-11

Week 23. Refugees Crisis and Rebuilding Iraq: Colonialism Redux?

To what extent do US state-building efforts in Iraq confirm or refute the argument that the US is involved in empire-building?

Required Reading:

Toby Dodge, "Iraq: the Contradictions of Exogenous State-Building in Historical Perspective" in *Third World Quarterly* 27,1 (2005), pp.187-200.

Ahmad S. Hashim, *Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Iraq* (London: Hurst& Co, 2009), pp.271-344.

Week: 24-26. The Arab Spring and Empire: Intervention crisis in Syria and Libya

Required reading:

Roy Allison, 2013. "Russia and Syria, explaining alignment with a regime in crisis". *International Affairs* 89: 4, pp. 795-823.

Christopher Phillips, 2015. Intervention and non- intervention in the Syria crisis. in, *the Politics of International Intervention, the Tyranny of peace*, ed, Mandy Turner and Florian P. Kuhn, pp. 249-271.