

Colonialism and Foreign Intervention in the Middle East and Africa
AS 192.320
Course Syllabus
Spring 2021

Professor: Adria Lawrence
adria.lawrence@jhu.edu
Zoom Office Hours: 1:30-3:30 Mondays

Overview & Course Aims:

How did colonial rule and post-colonial foreign intervention shape the history and politics of states in the Middle East and Africa? The first part of this course focuses on the colonial period and its legacies, examining the era of conquest, considering how and whether colonial rule differed from other types of ruling arrangements, and studying how people in colonized territories reacted to conquest and foreign rule. The second part of the course focuses on post-colonial foreign military intervention. The substantive focus is on interventions that entail an in-country military and policing presence; other types of intervention, such as foreign aid, sanctions, and diplomacy, are outside the course's scope. Participants will consider the aims and effectiveness of military intervention, examining recent attempts to shape the region through military force.

The course has three primary objectives. First, seminar participants will learn about the history of colonialism and foreign intervention through examining cases of British, French, and American imperialism. The second aim is methodological. Participants will analyze claims about cause and effect, considering the logic and evidence that scholars rely on to support their claims. We will pay close attention to research design, the use of qualitative and quantitative methods, and the quality of argumentation. The purpose is to develop the analytical skills needed to judge the quality of research and discern its strengths and weaknesses. Third, this seminar is a writing-intensive (W) course. We will discuss writing in the social sciences, including how to identify high quality sources and how to properly cite prior work. Through course assignments, including a final research paper, we will work on improving precision and clarity in written work.

REQUIREMENTS

Participation: This course will be conducted as a virtual seminar. Attendance and participation are mandatory. Participants are expected to come to class prepared to discuss the readings in depth. Participants also will have opportunities to participate in breakout groups and through short writing assignments. Participants may be assigned discussant roles, and will need to come prepared to lead discussion.

Assignments: For two course meetings, each student will write a short response paper, due the Monday preceding class at 5pm. Students will also complete several assignments related to the final paper, as noted below.

- Paper #1 (no more than 1,000 words): identify and outline the main argument of one of the assigned academic readings (book or academic article), describe the evidence used to support that argument, and explain how the piece addresses alternative arguments.
- Paper #2 (no more than 1,200 words): outline the main argument and evidence used in two assigned academic pieces, and assess which piece is more successful at demonstrating its claims, explaining why. Keep in mind that the more effective piece may not be one whose conclusions you agree with; the aim is to evaluate which piece provides the most compelling evidence.
- Sources Assignment: due Friday, March 5th at 5pm. Write down the topic or research question that you'd like to address in your final paper. Using the library website and as well as other tools like google scholar, identify 5-8 sources relevant to the topic. You may also wish to schedule a [consultation](#) with a librarian. For the assignment, turn in a short paragraph on your topic and research question, and a brief annotated bibliography of the 5-8 sources you found.
- Final paper draft introduction and outline due Friday, April 2nd at 5pm. This draft will be circulated to seminar participants in preparation for our Writers' Workshop.
- Final paper: due in lieu of exam. There are two options for the final paper: 1) In consultation with the instructor, students may choose a topic of their own design related to course themes. 2) Choose a country in Africa or the Middle East and evaluate the effects of colonialism or foreign intervention in that case. You may also choose to compare two countries. All final papers must include page numbers, citations, and a bibliography, and use the *Chicago Manual of Style* author-date format (see [here](#) for a guide). A paper without a final bibliography will be docked a full letter grade. Papers should be 12-15 pages long, 12 point font, 1 inch margins, double-spaced. Graduate papers may be no longer than 18 pages long.

Assessment:

Class participation: 20%; Paper 1: 15%; Paper 2: 15%; Sources Assignment: 10%; Draft Intro and Outline: 10%; Final Paper: 30%

Required readings: Articles and book excerpts are available on Blackboard. In addition, we will be reading large portions of the following books which you may purchase if you prefer to have the actual book:

1. Gordon, Philip H. 2020. *Losing the Long Game: The False Promise of Regime Change in the Middle East*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
2. Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
3. Lynch, Marc. 2016. *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East*. (New York: Public Affairs).

4. Porch, Douglas. 2005. *The Conquest of Morocco*, (Farrar, Straus and Giroux).
5. Trachtenberg, Marc. 2005. *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Course Outline

1. Legacies of Colonialism 1: Borders & Violence (January 27)

- Wucherpennig, Julian, Philipp Hunziker, and Lars-Erik Cederman. 2016. "Who Inherits the State? Colonial Rule and Postcolonial Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 60, No. 4, pp. 882–98.
- Wright, Robin. 2016. "[How the Curse of Sykes Picot Still Haunts the Middle East](#)," *The New Yorker*, April 30.
- Rami Khouri. 2008. "[Arab Mismanagement? Blame Colonialism](#)," *The Daily Star* (Lebanon), September 3.
- Patel, David Siddhartha. 2016. "[Repartitioning the Sykes-Picot Middle East? Debunking Three Myths](#)" Brandeis Crown Center Middle East Brief No. 103, November.

2. Legacies of Colonialism 2: Democracy & Development (February 3)

- De Juan, Alexander and Jan Pierskalla. 2017. "The Comparative Politics of Colonialism and Its Legacies: An Introduction," *Politics & Society* Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 159–172.
- Hariri, Jacob Gerner. 2015. "A Contribution to the Understanding of Middle Eastern and Muslim Exceptionalism." *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 77, No. 2, pp. 477–90.
- Owolabi, Olukunle P. 2015. "Literacy and Democracy Despite Slavery: Forced Settlement and Post-Colonial Outcomes in the Developing World." *Comparative Politics* Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 43–66.

3. Colonial Conquest (February 10)

- Porch, Douglas. 2005. *The Conquest of Morocco*, (Farrar, Straus and Giroux), pp. 5-11; 88-199 (skim other parts as interested)

- MacDonald, Paul. 2014. *Networks of Domination: The Social Foundations of Peripheral Conquest in International Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Introduction, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-77.
- Lorcin, Patricia M. E. 1995. *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria*. New York: I.B. Tauris, "Introduction," pp. 1-13; Chapter 1 "The Conquest: Kabyles and Arabs in Warfare," pp. 17-34.

Additional reading (not required):

- Sessions, Jennifer E. 2011. *By Sword and Plow: France and the Conquest of Algeria*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press. Introduction and excerpt of Chapter 1, pp. 1-28.

4. Effects of the Pre-Colonial Period (February 17)

- Gerring, John, Daniel Ziblatt, Johan Van Gorp, and Julián Arévalo. 2011. "An Institutional Theory of Direct and Indirect Rule." *World Politics* Vol. 63, No. 3, pp. 377–433.
- Herbst, Jeffrey Ira. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1, "The Challenge of State-Building in Africa," pp. 11–31.
- Sajid, Fahad and Adria Lawrence. 2021. "The Political Origins of Colonial Policy: Evidence from British India and French Algeria," Draft Manuscript.

Additional reading (not required):

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* Vol. 91, No. 5, pp. 1369-1401.

5. Conducting Research (February 24): Note: the aim of this session is to prepare to conduct research for your final paper. The sources assignment is due 1.5 weeks after this session.

- Trachtenberg, Marc. 2005. *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 51-168.
- Vitalis, Robert. 2016. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press. "Introduction: A Mongrel American Social Science," pp. 1-24.
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/jhu/detail.action?docID=4189257>.

Recommended general source:

- Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb, & Joseph M. Williams. 1995. *The Craft of Research*.. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

6. Colonial Practices (March 3)

- Letsa, Natalie Wenzell, and Martha Wilfahrt. 2020. "The Mechanisms of Direct and Indirect Rule: Colonialism and Economic Development in Africa." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 539–77.
- Owen, Roger. 2000. "The End of Empires: The Emergence of the Modern Middle Eastern States," in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 2nd Edition. London: Routledge, pp. 8-26.
- Slobodkin, Yan. "State of Violence: Administration and Reform in French West Africa." *French Historical Studies* 41, no. 1 (2018): 33–61.

Additional reading (required for graduate students):

- Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter I "Introduction," pp. 3-33 and Chapter II "Decentralized Despotism," pp. 37-61.

7. Nationalism & Anti-Colonialism (March 10)

- Film: watch *The Battle of Algiers*, available to stream through the library (search the catalogue).
- Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Preface, Introduction, Chapters 3-5.

Additional reading (not required):

- Smith, Tony. 1978. "A Comparative Study of French and British Decolonization." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 70-102
- Young, Crawford. 1994. "Toward African Independence." In *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 182-217.
- Babou, Cheikh Anta. 2010. "Decolonization or National Liberation: Debating the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632, pp. 41-54.

8. Post-Colonial Military Interventions: Principles (March 17)

- Robert Pape. 2012. "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention," *International Security* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer), pp. 41-80.
- Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2004. "A Duty to Prevent," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 83, No. 1, pp. 136-150.

- Richard K. Betts. 1994. “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 6, pp. 20–33.
- David Rieff. 2011. “[Saints Go Marching In](#),” National Interest July/August.
- Brownlee, Jason. 2018: “U.S. Interventionism in the Middle East,” Project on Middle East Political Science Podcast, Season 7, Episode 6. Listen [here](#).

9. Post-Colonial Military Interventions: Practicalities (March 24)

- Gordon, Philip H. 2020. *Losing the Long Game: The False Promise of Regime Change in the Middle East*. New York: St. Martin’s Press. “Introduction: The Regime Change Temptation,” pp 1-24.
- Downs, Alexander B. and Jonathan Monten. 2013. “[Forced to Be Free? Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization](#).” *International Security* Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 90-131.
- Pape, Robert A. 2003. “[The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism](#).” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3, pp. 343-361.
- Luján, Major Fernando. 2013. *Light Footprints: The Future of American Military Intervention*, Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security.

10. Military Intervention: Iraq (March 31)

- Dawisha, Aheed. 2008. “The Unraveling of Iraq: Ethnosectarian Preferences and State Performance in Historical Perspective.” *Middle East Journal* Vol. 62, No. 2 (Spring), pp. 219-230.
- Gordon, Philip H. 2020. *Losing the Long Game: The False Promise of Regime Change in the Middle East*. New York: St. Martin’s Press. “Chapter 4 ‘Mission Accomplished’: Iraq 2003,” pp 99-144.
- Monten, Jonathan. 2014. “Intervention and State-Building: Comparative Lessons from Japan, Iraq, and Afghanistan.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 656, No. 1, pp. 173–91.

11. Writers’ Workshop (April 7)

Each student will post his/her draft introduction and paper outline by end of day Friday, April 2 on Blackboard. Students should read all of the materials circulated. They should edit their assigned group’s papers and come prepared to discuss and comment on all paper topics. This session will be divided into two time periods of 1 hour and 15 minutes each.

12. Military Intervention: Libya and the Responsibility to Protect (April 21)

- Gordon, Philip H. 2020. *Losing the Long Game: The False Promise of Regime Change in the Middle East*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Chapter 6, "We Came, We Saw, He Died: Libya 2011," pp. 170-202.
- Alan Kuperman. 2013. "A Model Humanitarian Intervention? Reassessing NATO's Libya Campaign," *International Security* Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer), pp. 105-136.
- Lynch, Marc. 2016. *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East*. New York: PublicAffairs. Chapter 3 "Intervention and Militarization."
- Thomas Weiss. 2011. "RtoP Alive and Well after Libya," *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 287-92.

13. Military Intervention: Syria (April 28)

- Lynch, Marc. 2016. *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East*. New York: PublicAffairs. Chapter 4, "Syria's Uprising" and Chapter 7, "Syria in Hell."
- Downes, Alexander B. 2013. "[Why Regime Change is a Bad Idea in Syria](#)." Memo prepared for the Project on Middle East Politics (POMEPS) workshop on "The Political Science of Syria's War," November 8.
- Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2012. "[How to Halt the Butchery in Syria](#)," New York Times, 23 February.
- Lionel Beehner. 2019. "[Trump once talked of a 'beautiful safe zone' in Syria. But safe zones aren't actually safe](#)," October 22, Washington Post.

Additional reading (required for graduate students):

- Barr, James. 2013. *A Line in the Sand: The Anglo-French Struggle for the Middle East, 1914-1948*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Prologue and Part 1, pp. 3-83.