



**INSTITUT
BARCELONA
ESTUDIS
INTERNACIONALS**

SUMMER SCHOOL IN GLOBAL POLITICS, DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY 2018

The military and politics in the Middle East

Instructor: Philippe Droz-Vincent (Institut d'études politiques de Grenoble - Sciences Po Grenoble)

Date: June 25 - 29

Time: 5.00 pm - 7.00 pm

Room: 24.224 - Mercè Rodoreda Building 24 (Floor 2)

The core topic of this course will be the role of an essential and yet frequently forgotten pillar of political regimes in the Middle East, the military.

The course will first deal with armies in the state, the rise of post-independence armies, the politicization of the officer corps in the hectic context of great Arab-Israeli wars in the Middle East. That essential background was formative in various polities with the crucial role of coups d'état or at least in other cases the looming threat of coups.

Then, the course will give keys to understand another long period, that of armies under enduring authoritarian regimes: the armed forces adapted themselves to this new setting and defined their new relations with regimes, often made up of political quietism compensated with strong privileges and privileged access to core decision-making circles.

It will thereafter offer glimpses into the post-2011 period where the armed forces, along with another very different intervening factor, namely huge social mobilizations against authoritarian rule, proved crucial actors for the fate of regimes and the re-formation of new kinds of regimes in cases when incumbents were overthrown. And in 2018, armies or what remain from them are key actors at least in Egypt, Libya, Yemen or Syria.

Session 1. Introduction: armies, regimes, militarization

- Why study the military in the Arab World, is it crucial?

- How I approach the topic? = I'm not interested in military history, battles, military build-ups... you should go back to historians or strategic yearbooks... though important these elements are, this is not the way I approach the topic, cf remarks by M Shaw (Theories of the New Western Way of War): the need to understand the broader, deeper concept of warfare as a type of power, and relations with the state, regime, society, the economy etc.

I don't have any ambition to be exhaustive in the case studies, I just take a few ones, but will deal with many others in the first two sessions when setting a few hypotheses to understand Arab armies.

Hypothesis (1): the military and the state

History matters, Arab armies have been constructed over a period of several decades in specific relations with the state

Required reading:

Roger Owen, "The military in and out of politics", in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, Routledge, 2004 (third edition), pp. 178-199

Ph Droz-Vincent, "The military amidst Uprisings and Transitions in the Arab World" in Fawaz Gerges, dir, *The Arab Uprisings, A New Era of Arab Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 2014

Session 2. Hypothesis (2): the military and regimes

Arab armies have built in specific relations with regimes (as differentiated from states cf G O'Donnell). They have been deeply embedded in power structures at all levels: from the presidency or throne down to the level of urban neighborhoods and rural villages. They are embedded in power structures.

Their relations with police/security forces.

Their relation to societies and their functioning as social welfare systems for core constituencies.

Required reading:

Robert Springborg, *Egypt, Polity*, 2017, ch 2

H Kandil, *Soldiers, Spies and Statesmen*, Verso, 2012, ch 5

Ph Droz-Vincent, "From Political to Economic Actors", in O Schlumberger, ed, *Debating Arab Authoritarianism*, Stanford UP, 2007

Hypothesis (3): armies and revolutions (2011-12) and regime reformation

Changes in 2011, it was induced by other factors, but the military played a key role in drawing post-uprising trajectories.

Required reading:

Roger Owen, *The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life*, Harvard UP, pp 44-48

Yezid Sayigh, *Above the State, The Officers' Republic in Egypt*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (website), 2012

Ph Droz-Vincent, "The military and transitions in the Arab World" in T Roeder and R Grote, dir, *Constitutionalism in the Arab World*, Oxford University Press, 2016

Session 3. Case studies 1 and 2: the exception, Tunisia and the trendsetting case, Egypt

Required reading:

Clement Moore and Robert Springborg, "Army Guys", *American Interest*, May/June 2011

Badra Gaaloul, [*Back to the Barracks: the Tunisian Army Post-Revolution*](#), Sada, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (website), November 3, 2011

Zeinab Abu'l Magd, *Militarizing the Nation*, Columbia UP, 2017, pp 228-241

Ph Droz-Vincent, "The Security Sector in Egypt, Management, Coercion and Under the Dynamics of Change", to be published in L Guazzone and D Pioppi (dir.), *The Arab State and Neo-Liberal Globalisation*, Ithaca Press and Garnett, May 2009

Session 4. Case study 3: Libya

How we ended up with such a fragmentation, also parallels with Yemen

Required reading:

L Anderson, "They defeated all us", *The Middle East Journal*, 71(2), Spring 2017

Ph Droz-Vincent, "Libya's Tentative State Rebuilding: Militias' "Moral Economy," Violence, and Financing (In)Security" in Grawert, Elke and Zeinab Abul-Magd (eds), *Businessmen in Arms. How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, April 2016

Philippe Droz-Vincent, "Competitive Statehood in Libya", *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 29(3), 2018

Session 5. Case study 4: Syria

How did the regime resist?

Required reading:

N Van Dam, *Destroying Syria*, Tauris, 2017, pp 24-47 and 105-115

Ph Droz-Vincent, "The Syrian Military and the 2011 uprising", in H Albrecht, A Croissant and F Lawson (eds), *Military Engagement in Mobilizing Societies*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016

Ph Droz-Vincent, "Syria, state of barbary (take two): from the Arab Spring to the return of violence", *The Middle East Journal*, Volume 68, Number 1, Winter 2014 , pp. 33-58

Conclusion

What prospects for demilitarization, civilian control?

Required reading:

Ph Droz-Vincent, "Prospects for the democratic control of the armed forces, comparative lessons for the Arab World", *Armed Forces and Society*, October 2014