



# **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POPULAR MOBILISATION IN THE MENA**

## **Digest of Current Publications and Events**

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# CALL FOR PAPERS & CONFERENCES

## Call for Papers: Urban Resistance

Urban resistance movements are heterogeneous in their goals, form, organization and size. The /Occupy Wall Street/movement in New York, the demonstrations at the Gezi Park in Istanbul, the /Umbrella Revolution /in Hong Kong and different /Right to the City /initiatives are examples for such urban resistance. What these movements have in common is a critical-oppositional character. Even though these conflicts take place in urban spaces, they are not merely bound to city-specific conflicts but point beyond this spatial boundary.

In the past years, social research has increasingly turned towards such urban resistance movements. The subject is much debated and /en vogue/, which is reflected in numerous empirical contributions. Even so, the theoretical conceptualisation of urban resistance, for instance, has not yet been systematically dealt with. We are especially interested in the larger social connections of the heterogeneous articulations and manifestations of socio-political resistance in cities. Thus the following questions are of importance:

- How can urban resistance be defined and what are its goals?
- How can the practice of urban resistance be typified and categorised?
- What are the common grounds of these manifold phenomena of urban resistance?
- What are the potentials and problems of urban conflicts?
- How can urban resistance be theoretically conceptualised and determined in a methodologically adequate way?
- What is the relation between resistance and social movements?
- Can urban resistance be understood as emancipatory?
- What role does urban space play for resistant practice?
- Do urban resistance movements have a potential for social transformation?
- What is the relation between urban resistance and diversity in the city?
- How can we understand xenophobic protest forms like Pegida demonstrations in Germany? Do they fit into the concepts of urban resistance?
- What differentiates current activities of resistance from earlier practice such as the women's movement or the students' rebellion of 1968?
- Do the current urban resistance movements follow historical traditions?
- Does urban resistance work as a substitute for overall social protest and opposition movements?

This anthology about urban resistance intends to be a platform for in-depth discussion of selected articles across the social sciences and humanities. Especially, articles from critical urban studies are very welcome. We are looking forward to receiving contributions from all over the world such as empirical case studies, theoretical concepts of resistance (in the urban space), discussions of methodological questions, as well as comparative research.

Articles can be written in German, English or French.\*\*\*Please submit your abstract of 5'000 characters (incl. spaces) **until 31st January 2016** to Aline Schoch\*\*/aline.schoch@fhnw.ch /\*\*or Reto Bürgin \*\*/reto.buergin@unibas.ch/\*

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## **Countermovement Revisited. On the Analytical Power and Boundaries of Polanyi's Concept Today**

Call for Papers Mini-Conference at the 2016 SASE Annual Meeting

June 24-26, 2016 - University of California, Berkeley

Organizers: Saskia Freye, Sascha Münnich

**Deadline for submitting proposals: January 18, 2016**

This mini-conference aims to explore the analytical power and boundaries of Polanyi's concept of the countermovement in the era of a globalized capitalism. Intensification of economic integration on a global scale and the increasing financialization and marketization of business, politics and the everyday life has undermined the post-war settlement in many (Western) countries, producing what might be called a "second Polanyian moment". These developments advance forcefully and (re-)expose ever more parts of society to the market, thereby undermining its social, environmental, and economic preconditions. By re-integrating economy and society, Polanyi's concept is a powerful tool to analyze social movements and political re-regulation on different levels (from local to cross-national) and in different forms (reactionary, nationalistic, progressive).

The mini-conference is organized alongside three themes:

### **1. Inventory and analytical boundaries**

The concept of countermovement enables us to look beyond classical social movements and integrate and make sense of phenomena such as spreading religious fundamentalism and nationalism and their ambivalent relation to marketization. While countermovement can take very different forms, we must prevent degrading the concept as a catch-all category and sharpening the conceptual core and its boundaries.

If capitalism is a social order, does this mean that every non-market engagement is part of a countermovement? Which empirical developments and phenomena do we currently observe? How do we distinguish engagements and phenomena as parts of a countermovement from other forms of societal engagement (and which)? How do we explain the lack of countermovement?

### **2. Systematization of countermovements**

The countermovement is by no means homogenous and relies neither on shared intellectual preconceptions, nor on anti-liberal attitudes. Furthermore, the precarious sharpness of the distinction between market and (non-market) institutional regulation complicates a Polanyian analysis: Liberalism may be part of a countermovement against the status quo of market economies.

Social protest may be directed at blocking particular aspects of contemporary market economies while others are very much accepted or even welcomed.

Alongside what aspects can we differentiate forms of engagement that may be subsumed as countermovements? To which degree do movements such as Anti-Globalization, Occupy, the Arab spring movement or the recent European wave of nationalist or racist protests represent Polanyian countermovements? How do different engagements situate themselves in relation to capitalism? What new or re-newed reactionary or conservative forms of protection against marketization do we find? How do they differ from progressive forms? Is there a liberal or rationalistic countermovement against marketization? What normative basis do the different approaches to protect society have today?

### 3. Historic advancement, successes and reactions:

How does countermovement today differ from the processes analyzed by Polanyi? How successful are different forms of countermovement? How do we explain the cleavages within the counter-movement of today's global neoliberalism? Which role do certain economic sectoral interests play for fostering (or blocking) certain countermovements? Which forms of economic knowledge do countermovements make use of? Are economically based agendas more successful than positions that are rooted in classical political or social philosophy? How does global/today's capitalist economies "react" to countermovements? Do we see changing "spirits of capitalism" answering critics?

More information [here](#)

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## **Seminar series: Easdale Foundation for Labour Research (Turkey)**

*EMAR Seminar Series* is a forum to provide opportunities to researchers to present the result of their work both to an informed audience and general public. Our seminars are open to everyone who would like to learn more about labour history and working class movements whether on a professional or amateur basis.

The scope of EMAR seminars includes, but is not limited to, history and politics of the working class and trade union movements, and labour activism in general. Our starting point and expertise are in labour history, research and movements in Turkey. However, as we share a globalist perspective, i.e. the whole is not only more than the sum of its parts but also helps to shape its parts and their relations to each other, it is obvious that our research and politics cannot be limited only to this geography. Hence, eventually more space for labour research in other geographies as well as global political economy, movements and processes will be created in EMAR's work.

Seminar presentations may draw on quantitative and/or qualitative, national or cross-national analysis and research. Preference is given to contributions which are original, accessible and clearly articulated. Contributions are accepted on a rolling basis.

EMAR seminars take place on the **final Friday of each month, between 18.30 and 20.30, in central London**. Each event will commence with an approximately 45 minute seminar presentation and will be followed by questions/ comments section. Seminars will essentially be given in English. However, when the presentation cannot be made in English, EMAR may arrange translation into English and vice versa.

Please email your ideas to [bilgi@emarvakfi.org](mailto:bilgi@emarvakfi.org), including your name, institutional affiliation (or profession), proposed paper title and summary of its theme (approx. 250 words), and your contact details.

EMAR (Easdale Foundation for Labour Research), is a London-based non-profit organization dedicated to promoting social justice and equality through innovative educational and developmental programmes on labour movements by actively supporting research in the history and politics of working class movements.

EMAR maintains a specialised archive of books, leaflets and other material, mainly related to the working class movement(s) and trade union organisations in Turkey, which is available to researchers working in this area. It is not a lending but reference library, but you are welcome to come visit us and study the books/ journals/ leaflets on site. (Please write to [bilgi@emarvakfi.org](mailto:bilgi@emarvakfi.org) for further information.)

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## **Contentious Politics Workshop: Studying Politics outside & against Institutional Power**

**Thursdays from 1:00 to 2:00 pm** during LSE term times

Location: London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), OLD.1.29

The Contentious Politics Workshop is a forum for dialogue between research students and faculty, currently from anthropology, history, politics, and sociology, with a shared interest in phenomena of political mobilisation outside and against the corridors of power. In our conceptualisation, contentious politics is a broad field ranging from traditional forms of collective action and labour mobilisation to popular resistance, armed struggle, social movements, uprisings and revolutions. We believe that this necessitates a mode of enquiry that is interdisciplinary, historicising, and spatially encompassing.

The workshop especially seeks to enable a discussion of contentious politics beyond the focus of classical "Social Movement Theory" research on well organised forms of mobilisation which "rationally" navigate a political field that is understood as liberal and democratic. We believe that, by broadening our purview theoretically as well as through empirical foci outside of Europe and North America, the field can move towards greater attention to issues that have thus far received less

systematic treatment. These include, but are not limited to, (global) subaltern social groups, power in its hegemonic and discursive articulations, the role of intellectual labour, normative commitments and ideology, the formation and coherence of autonomous spaces, both materially and ideationally, as well as of the actors that populate them, and questions of creative agency.

As such, many of us seek to understand popular and contentious politics within, but as crucially holding the potential of breaking out of, structural and dispositional constraints - or hegemonic formations and subjectivities. We hope for the workshop to become a place to think about contentious politics and popular mobilisation as sites of genuine human creativity and possible alterity - rather than merely as outcomes of structural strains, political opportunities, and organisational capacities as well as predefined meanings, strategies, and forms of rationality. Due attention needs to be paid to how such potentiality gets in turn contained, co-opted, or excluded. But we believe that such a perspective holds the potential for understanding more profoundly how contentious politics can be a site of agency, history, politics, and potentially of emancipatory change.

The workshop functions as a reading group for research students and faculty to discuss a relevant, pre-agreed text, as well as providing a seminar space to present ongoing research. **We meet every Thursday from 1:00 to 2:00 pm** during LSE term times over sandwich lunch provided courtesy of the Department of Government (please consult the workshop's website to find out about the location of the meetings in a given term). The brevity is chosen on purpose to enable more people to join over their lunch break. However, we tend to carry our discussions forward in an informal setting after the officially allotted time.

Members of all social science disciplines and constituent colleges of the University of London and further afield are welcome to join the workshop. We are an open forum and keen for you to **get in touch with us if you are interested in attending or in presenting your work**. Of course, you can also simply drop by and join one of our sessions to have a look. To be put on the mailing list and receive information about events and readings, please email Jann Boeddeling ([j.boeddeling@lse.ac.uk](mailto:j.boeddeling@lse.ac.uk)) or Fuad Musallam ([F.M.Musallam@lse.ac.uk](mailto:F.M.Musallam@lse.ac.uk)).

While two of us act as coordinators, there is no hierarchy in the workshop and our first session in every term is used to jointly decide what texts we want to read and discuss. This is not meant to be another "ready-for-consumption" format but a forum that reflects the interests of those who get involved and that develops together with them. So please always feel free make suggestions for readings or guest speakers!

More information [here](#)

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## TALKS & OTHER EVENTS

### **The Arab world at the crossroads: collapse or reform?**

12 January 2016, 18.30-20:00

Location: Wolfson theatre, New Academic Building, LSE

Speaker: Professor Shafeeq Ghabra, Kuwait University

In this lecture Shafeeq Ghabra will discuss major political changes that the Arab world has undergone since 2011, focussing on power shifts, sectarianism, the role of youth groups and the challenges of reform in the region. A Kuwaiti political scientist, he will devote particular attention to the Gulf's role in the Arab Spring and its aftermath, tracing GCC monarchies' efforts at domestic reform and their involvement in the overarching political changes in the Middle East. More information [here](#)

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## **Why Did Economists Miss out on the Arab Uprisings?**

19 January 2016, 17:45-19:00

Location: SOAS, Russell Square: College Buildings, Khalili Lecture Theatre

Speaker: Hassan Hakimian ( London Middle East Institute)

Economists have a less than happy record of predicting economic crises. Forecasting *political* upheavals is arguably even more of a challenge. This is partly conceptual since a focus on the equilibrium-seeking behaviour of *homo economicus* guided by rationale choice is demonstrably ill-equipped to deal with social and political ruptures and uprisings. It is also partly empirical. Economists' focus on economic 'fundamentals' alone can depict a misleading picture which may be removed from mass welfare and material conditions of the population at large. This paper shows that just as with the Iranian revolution of 1979, the decade before the Arab uprisings experienced growth – not recession or stagnation – in both cases buoyed by favourable international oil prices. By formulating the case for understanding and measuring 'inclusive growth' in the region, this talk re-examines the popular perception that posits the roots of uprisings in economic downturns and mass immiserisation. More information [here](#)

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## **Book launch: The Death of the Mehdi Army: The Rise, Fall, and Revival of Iraq's Most Powerful Militia**

19th January 2016, 18:00

Speaker: Nick Krohley

King's College London, Anatomy Museum, Strand Building, 6<sup>th</sup> Floor

Reception to Follow. More information [here](#)

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## **How the West Undermined Women's Rights in the Arab World**

20 January 2016, 18.00-19.30

Location: Room 2.02, Clement House, LSE

Speakers: Dr Nicola Pratt, University of Warwick

Oral history remains a largely untapped source in research on the Arab world. Simultaneously, women's activism in the post-independence period remains relatively understudied, despite a heightened interest in women's involvement in the Arab uprisings. Based on personal narratives of women activists of different generations in Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan, this lecture explores the history of women's activism in the Arab world from the 1950s onwards. It demonstrates the ways in which this activism has changed over time and what this tells us about the gendered dimensions of geopolitics in the region. The lecture highlights the significance of women's activism and women's rights within radical political projects that resisted Western influence from the 1950s until the 1970s and the gendered consequences of the defeat of radical popular movements by the West and its local allies. Nicola Pratt argues that the demise of radical, secular movements has led to a decoupling of secular women's rights agendas from local popular projects, paving the way for their cooption and instrumentalization by authoritarian regimes and international actors and undermining the credibility of secular women's rights agendas. More information [here](#)

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## **A Lens on the Waves of political Change in Yemen**

21 January 2016, 5:45pm

Location: MBI Al Jaber Building, London Middle East Institute (LMEI), SOAS

Speaker: Nawal Al-Maghafi

The third lecture on 21st January, "A Lens on the Waves of political Change in Yemen" will be presented by Nawal Al-Maghafi, a journalist who has been covering events in Yemen since early 2011. She will discuss her journey from the very beginning of the Arab spring, the ouster of President Ali Abdullah Saleh, the hopeful transitional time in Yemen and its tragic end with the beginning of the war. Through short excerpts of her film, she will show the waves of political change in Yemen and how they have affected the social fabric within the country. More information [here](#)

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## **Film Screening: The Tentmakers of Cairo**

23 January 2016, 2:00pm

Location: The British Museum, London

Filmed over three years, this feature-length documentary tells the story of Egypt's struggle with democracy through the lives of a small community of artists striving to maintain their ancient art form. After 18 days of unrest in early 2011, amidst chants for "Bread, Freedom and Justice". Hosam, his brother Ekramy, and stitchers Hany and Tarek all find themselves thrown into an unknown and unpredictable world as President Mubarak's 40 year rule is brought to an end.

Rejoicing and celebrations for the revolution soon turn to conflict and our small street, a microcosm of Egyptian society, is infiltrated by the propaganda, rumors and paranoia that constantly blares from television sets, radios and mobile phones in each and every shop. Survival is no longer about the need of the market as a whole, but about each individual. Soon our heroes find themselves pitted against each other, as shops are burnt to the ground, traditions walked away from and poverty becomes more and more real. More information [here](#)

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## **Book talk: Popular Protest in Palestine: The Uncertain Future of Unarmed Resistance**

**Date: 26 January, 5:45 PM**

Location: Khalili Lecture Theatre SOAS Campus, Russel Square, London

Speaker: Marwan Darweish (Coventry University)

Talk to mark the publication of *Popular Protest in Palestine: The Uncertain Future of Unarmed Resistance* (co-authored with Andrew Rigby - Pluto, 2015) which provides an overview and analysis of the role and significance of unarmed civil (popular) resistance in the Palestinian national movement. The main focus is on the contemporary popular resistance movement in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), but it is prefaced by a historical review of the thread of unarmed civil resistance that has run throughout the history of the Palestinian liberation struggle. *Popular Protest in Palestine* also addresses the international dimensions of the Palestinian struggle, focusing in particular on the BDS campaign, the role of international solidarity activists in the OPT and beyond, and the changing forms of engagement developed by international agencies seeking to work on the roots of the conflict whilst fulfilling their humanitarian aid mandates. More information [here](#)

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## **Book Launch: Burning Country – Syrians in Revolution and War**

27 January 2016, 7:00 pm

Location: The Mosaic Rooms, 226 Cromwell Road, London SW5 0SW

Speaker: Robin Yassin-Kassab

Join author and media commentator Robin Yassin-Kassab in conversation with Malu Halassa to launch *Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War*, his new title co-authored by Leila Al-Shami. In

2011, many Syrians took to the streets of Damascus to demand the overthrow of the government of Bashar al-Assad. Today, much of Syria has become a warzone where foreign journalists find it almost impossible to report on life in this devastated land. *Burning Country* offers a unique grassroots perspective on the Syrian opposition movement – a biting and forceful polemic against the international community’s failure to give material support to those fighting the Assad government. It explores the horrific and complicated reality of life in present-day Syria with detail and sophistication, drawing on new first-hand testimonies from opposition fighters, exiles lost in an archipelago of refugee camps, and courageous human rights activists among many others. These stories are interwoven with a trenchant analysis of the brutalisation of the conflict and the militarisation of the uprising, of the rise of the Islamists and sectarian warfare, and the role of governments in Syria and elsewhere in exacerbating those violent processes. More information [here](#)

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## **Israel and the Palestinians: Colonialism and Prospects for Justice (Amira Hass)**

29 January 2016, 18:00-20:00

Location: SOAS, Brunei Gallery Lecture Theatre

Speaker: Amira Hass, Haaretz

Chair: Karma Nabulsi, Oxford University

Amira Hass is reporter and columnist on the Occupied Palestinian Territories for Haaretz newspaper in Israel, and is author of *Drinking the Sea at Gaza* (1999) and *Reporting from Ramallah* (2003). She has also published her mother’s *Diary of Bergen-Belsen, 1944-45* (2009). In 2009, she received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the International Women’s Media Foundation and was described as “one of the greatest truth-seekers of them all”. More information [here](#)

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## **RECENT & FORTHCOMING BOOKS**

### **Anthropology's Politics: Disciplining the Middle East**

*Lara Deeb and Jessica Winegar*

Stanford University Press – 2015

U.S. involvement in the Middle East has brought the region into the media spotlight and made it a hot topic in American college classrooms. At the same time, anthropology—a discipline committed to on-the-ground research about everyday lives and social worlds—has increasingly been criticized as "useless" or "biased" by right-wing forces. What happens when the two concerns meet, when such accusations target the researchers and research of a region so central to U.S. military interests? This book is the first academic study to shed critical light on the political and economic pressures that shape how U.S. scholars research and teach about the Middle East. Lara Deeb and Jessica Winegar show how Middle East politics and U.S. gender and race hierarchies affect scholars across their careers—from the first decisions to conduct research in the tumultuous region, to ongoing politicized pressures from colleagues, students, and outside groups, to hurdles in sharing expertise with the public. They detail how academia, even within anthropology, an assumed "liberal" discipline, is infused with sexism, racism, Islamophobia, and Zionist obstruction of any criticism of the Israeli state. *Anthropology's Politics* offers a complex portrait of how academic politics ultimately hinders the education of U.S. students and potentially limits the public's access to critical knowledge about the Middle East.

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## **The Egyptian Labor Market in an Era of Revolution**

*Ragui Assaad, Caroline Krafft (eds)*

Oxford University Press – 2015

This book fills an important gap in the knowledge about labor market conditions in Egypt in the aftermath of the Arab Spring uprisings, and it analyzes the results of the latest round of the Egypt Labor Market Panel Survey carried out in early 2012. The chapters cover topics that are essential to understanding the conditions leading to the Egyptian revolution of 25 January 2011, including the persistence of high youth unemployment, labor market segmentation and rigidity, growing informality, and the declining role of the state as an employer. It includes the first research on the impact of the revolution and the ensuing economic crisis on the labor market, including issues such as changes in earnings, increased insecurity of employment, declining female labor force participation, and the stagnation of micro and small enterprise growth. Comparisons are made to labor market conditions prior to the revolution using previous rounds of the survey fielded in 1988, 1998, and 2006. The chapters make use of this unique longitudinal data to provide a fresh analysis of the Egyptian labor market after the Arab Spring, an analysis that was simply not feasible with previously existing data. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the economics of the Middle East and the political economy of the Arab Spring.

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## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

### **Egypt: Dialectics between revolution and counterrevolution:**

Middle East Eye, 20 June 2015

*Esam Al-Amin*

Recreating the moment of unity displayed in Tahrir Square is the first step towards ending Sisi's neo-Mubarakist regime. The unity of the revolutionary factions brilliantly displayed during the electrifying days of January and February 2011 gave way to recriminations and tension as soon as Egypt's military took over from Mubarak. Two opposing positions about the way forward emerged, one favoured by the Islamist bloc and the other by the revolutionary youth groups. The youth groups called for a revolutionary path that centred on writing a new constitution that would restructure the social contract between the state and its citizens. The Islamists favored a reformist agenda and endorsed an electoral path under the control of the military that they knew they were destined to win. The former group accused the latter of cynically betraying the revolutionary goals and forming a tacit alliance with the military. During most of the transitional period under the direct rule of the military council, the revolutionary youth movements clashed with the state, while the MB called for calm as it won five electoral victories including the majority of seats in parliament as well as the presidency.

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### **ISIS is a revolution**

aeon

*Scott Atran*

All world-altering revolutions are born in danger and death, brotherhood and joy. How can this one be stopped? To understand the revolution, my research team has conducted dozens of structured interviews and behavioural experiments with youth in Paris, London and Barcelona, as well as with captured ISIS fighters in Iraq and members of Jabhat al-Nusra (Al-Qaeda's affiliate in Syria). We also focused on youth from distressed neighbourhoods previously associated with violence or jihadi support – for example, the Paris suburbs of Clichy-sous-Bois and Épinay-sur-Seine, the Moroccan neighbourhoods of Sidi Moumen in Casablanca and Jamaa Mezuak in Tetuán. While many in the West dismiss radical Islam as simply nihilistic, our work suggests something far more menacing: a profoundly alluring mission to change and save the world. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## ISIS as Revolutionary State

Foreign Affairs, November/December 2015 Issue

*Stephen M. Walt*

To many who have witnessed its brutal tactics and religious extremism, the Islamic State, or ISIS, seems uniquely baffling and unusually dangerous. According to its leaders' own statements, the group wants to eliminate infidels, impose sharia worldwide, and hasten the arrival of the Mahdi. ISIS' foot soldiers have pursued these goals with astonishing cruelty. Yet unlike the original al Qaeda, which showed little interest in controlling territory, ISIS has also sought to build the rudiments of a genuine state in the territory it controls. It has established clear lines of authority, tax and educational systems, and a sophisticated propaganda operation. It may call itself a "caliphate" and reject the current state-based international system, but a territorial state is what its leaders are running. As Jürgen Todenhöfer, a German journalist who visited territory in Iraq and Syria controlled by ISIS, said in 2014, "We have to understand that ISIS is a country now."

Yet ISIS is hardly the first extremist movement to combine violent tendencies, grandiose ambitions, and territorial control. Its religious dimension notwithstanding, the group is just the latest in a long line of state-building revolutionaries, strikingly similar in many ways to the regimes that emerged during the French, Russian, Chinese, Cuban, Cambodian, and Iranian revolutions. These movements were as hostile to prevailing international norms as ISIS is, and they also used ruthless violence to eliminate or intimidate rivals and demonstrate their power to a wider world. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## Early Spring in Jordan: The Revolt of the Military Veterans

Jadaliyya, Nov 09 2015

*Tariq Tell*

The Jordanian Hirak grassroots movement of 2011–2013 is increasingly being recognized as a social and political protest movement born out of discontent in East Bank hinterlands long thought to be home to unflagging supporters of Jordan's autocratic regime. The movement's foundations were laid in the spring of 2010 by a revolt of Jordanian military veterans that combined an East Bank nationalism critical of the government's approach to the Palestine question with an opposition to neoliberal economic reforms that had come to dominate policymaking under King Abdullah II. Taken together, the two strands reflected a rising tide of political contention in Hashemite Jordan that had built up steadily over the preceding two decades. Starting with riots triggered by subsidy cuts imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1989, tribal Transjordanians—rather than the largely urban Jordanians of Palestinian origin who had been the mainstay of opposition in the 1950s and 1960s—protested against economic liberalization, the monarchy's US-aligned foreign policy, and Jordan's attempt to normalize relations with Israel. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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## How the Israel boycott movement struck major blows in 2015

Electronic Intifada, 30 December 2015

*Ali Abunimah*

In September 2014, on the eve of the Jewish new year, Israel's leading financial daily named Omar Barghouti among the 100 people most likely to influence the country's economy in the following year. *Calcalist*, the business supplement of the mass circulation newspaper *Yediot Ahronot*, said that the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement, which Barghouti helped found, was "already worrying the government." It cited government studies warning that Israel would lose billions of dollars a year in exports and GDP and thousands of jobs if current boycott trends continued. "The credit and honor go to the entire BDS movement, of which I am a modest part, to each and every BDS activist in Palestine and around the world who has contributed to making BDS one the most effective forms of resisting Israel's regime of occupation, settler-colonialism and apartheid," Barghouti told The Electronic Intifada this week. *Continue reading [here](#)*

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