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# Syria The Making And Unmaking Of A Refuge State E

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**MATHEWS DAUGHERTY**

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*Governing for Revolution* Springer

## Nature

This book explores the motives of local political elites and armed groups in carrying out violence against civilians during civil war.

**Everybody's War** Cornell University Press

From a Pulitzer Prize-nominated journalist specializing in the Middle East, this groundbreaking account of the Syrian Civil War reveals the never-before-published true story of a 21st-century humanitarian disaster. In spring 2011, Syrian President Bashar al-Assad turned to his friend and army commander, Manaf Tlass, for advice about how to respond to Arab Spring-inspired protests. Tlass pushed for conciliation but Assad decided to crush the uprising -- an act which would

catapult the country into an eight-year long war, killing almost half a million and fueling terrorism and a global refugee crisis. *Assad or We Burn the Country* examines Syria's tragedy through the generational saga of the Assad and Tlass families, once deeply intertwined and now estranged in Bashar's bloody quest to preserve his father's inheritance. By drawing on his own reporting experience in Damascus and exclusive interviews with Tlass, Dagher takes readers within palace walls to reveal the family behind the destruction of a country and the chaos of an entire region. Dagher shows how one of the world's most vicious police states came to be and explains how a regional conflict extended globally, engulfing the Middle East and pitting the United States and Russia

against one another. Timely, propulsive, and expertly reported, *Assad or We Burn the Country* is the definitive account of this global crisis, going far beyond the news story that has dominated headlines for years.

Time and History in the Ancient Near East HarperCollins

*Making Home(s) in Displacement* critically rethinks the relationship between home and displacement from a spatial, material, and architectural perspective. Recent scholarship in the social sciences has investigated how migrants and refugees create and reproduce home under new conditions, thereby unpacking the seemingly contradictory positions of making a home and overcoming its loss. Yet, making home(s) in displacement is also

a spatial practice, one which intrinsically relates to the fabrication of the built environment worldwide. Conceptually the book is divided along four spatial sites, referred to as camp, shelter, city, and house, which are approached with a multitude of perspectives ranging from urban planning and architecture to anthropology, geography, philosophy, gender studies, and urban history, all with a common focus on space and spatiality. By articulating everyday homemaking experiences of migrants and refugees as spatial practices in a variety of geopolitical and historical contexts, this edited volume adds a novel perspective to the existing interdisciplinary scholarship at the intersection of home and displacement. It equally intends to broaden the canon

of architectural histories and theories by including migrants' and refugees' spatial agencies and place-making practices to its annals. By highlighting the political in the spatial, and vice versa, this volume sets out to decentralise and decolonise current definitions of home and displacement, striving for a more pluralistic outlook on the idea of home.

*The Arab Winter* Verso Books

Barely literate, and supporting his mother and sisters from the age of ten, Abu Chaker built up a business empire-- despite twice losing everything he had. Diana Darke follows his tumultuous journey, from instability in Syria and civil war in Lebanon, to his arrival in England in the 1970s, where he rescued a failing Yorkshire textile mill, Hield Bros, and transformed it into a global brand. The

Merchant of Syria tells two parallel stories: the life of a cloth merchant and his resilience, and the rich history of a nation built on trade. Over millennia Syria has seen great conflict and turmoil, but like the remarkable story of Abu Chaker, it continues to survive.

**Cycle of Fear** Cambridge University Press

Syria as we knew it does not exist anymore. However, all conflicts change countries and their societies. Such an obvious statement needs to be unpacked in specific relation to Syria. What has happened, what does it mean, and what comes next? In order to consider the future of Syria, it is crucial to assess not only what has been destroyed, but also how it was destroyed. It is equally vital to address

the structural and possibly enduring results of large-scale destruction and displacement. These dynamics are not only at play in Syrian society, but are tearing at the economic fabric and very territorial integrity of the country. If war is a powerful process of human and material destruction, it is equally a powerful process of spatial, social and economic reconfiguration. Nor does it stop at national borders—the unravelling of Syria, and of the idea of Syria, has affected and will continue to affect the entire Middle East. *War-Torn* explores these transformations and the processes that fuel them. It is an indispensable account throwing light on neglected aspects of the Syrian war, and a much-needed contribution to our understanding of conflicts in the twenty-

first century.

*The World of Patience Gromes*  
Cambridge University Press

A study of the period of armed conflict following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East.

*War-Torn* Haus Publishing

*World War in Syria* answers questions that will have continued relevance beyond the country's borders for years to come. "Impressive in its scholarship, pondered in its judgements, above all searing in its dissection of Western powers' war on Syria waged over many decades, the book is a must-have on the bookshelves of any serious fair-minded student of Syria." --Peter Ford, British Ambassador to Syria from 2003 to 2006  
"The most detailed history of the war in Syria so far, providing a richness of

highly interesting details, as well as a critical analysis of its complex international and domestic dimensions, rarely encountered in other Western publications." --Nikolaos van Dam, former Special Envoy for Syria, 2015-16. Ambassador of the Netherlands to Iraq, Egypt, Turkey, Germany and Indonesia, Author of *Destroying a Nation. The civil war in Syria*. "A. B. Abrams explores the widening scope of the Syrian conflict in his important book. Solving Syria's civil war will require a regional approach engaging stakeholders whose interests are fundamentally opposed." --David L. Phillips, Director, Program on Peacebuilding and Rights, Columbia University Institute for the Study of Human Rights. "Abrams is a meticulous guide to the labyrinth of Syria's modern political

history." --Richard W. Murphy. U.S. Ambassador to Syria, 1974 to 1978. Consul in Aleppo, Syria, 1960 to 1963 "A. B. Abrams has written an extremely informative and illuminating account on the international dimension of the origins, outbreak and evolution of the Syrian conflict. His empirically rich analysis in this nuanced and comprehensive study make it one of the best books, if not the best book, written about the Syrian crisis. This book is a MUST read for anyone who wants to understand the Syrian conflict, the Middle East, and the role of the great powers in the region." --Jubin Goodarzi, Professor and Deputy Head of International Relations, Webster University, Geneva. Former consultant and political adviser on Middle Eastern

affairs for the UNHCR. "An insightful and dispassionate record of the Syrian Maelstrom and the West's role as the Sorcerer's Apprentice." --John Holmes, Major General and Director Special Forces (ret.), British Army.

**Making Levantine Cuisine** Princeton University Press

This book examines the unfolding of the Syrian refugee crisis in relation to the spillover of the Syrian civil war in Lebanon and against the background of Lebanon-Syria relations and Lebanon's socio-political, cultural, legal, and economic conditions. It surveys Lebanon's response plans to the refugee crisis as part of the development of the international response plans to address the protection and needs of the Syrian refugees and Palestinian refugees from

Syria, as well as the impacted host communities and institutions. At the same time, this book emphasizes the dramatic shift in popular and institutional attitudes towards the refugees as a response to and as a growth of the sheer magnitude of the refugee crisis, which made Lebanon the only country in modern history with the highest per capita concentration of refugees in the world. By examining these attitudes against the background of achievements and failures of the response plans, the impact of the crisis on state institutions on the local and national levels, and the collective consciousness of a nation barely surviving the scars of its civil war, this book not only underscores the deepening tragedy of Syrian and

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, but also the consequential tragedy of many Lebanese, who have been forced into poverty and whose livelihoods have been affected by insecurity and the almost complete collapse of social services. As a result, the tragedy of the Syrian refugee crisis has become an international crisis affecting vulnerable persons across nationalities, and, unless it is addressed diplomatically and its response plans sufficiently funded, the tragedy will only deepen across continents.

### **The Unmaking of Arab Socialism**

Bloomsbury Publishing

This book offers a glimpse into Syrian refugee women's stories of defiance and triumph in the aftermath of the Syrian uprising. The al-Zaatari Camp in

northern Jordan is the largest Syrian refugee camp in the world, home to 80,000 inhabitants. While al-Zaatari has been described by the Western media as an ideal refugee camp, the Syrian women living within its confines offer a very different account of their daily reality. *Defiance in Exile: Syrian Refugee Women in Jordan* presents for the first time in a book-length format the opportunity to hear the refugee women's own words about torment, struggle, and persecution—and of an enduring spirit that defies a difficult reality. Their stories speak of nearly insurmountable social, economic, physical, and emotional challenges, and provide a distinct perspective of the Syrian conflict. Waed Athamneh and Muhammad Musad began collecting the testimonies of Syrian



refugee women in 2015. The authors chronicle the history of Syria's colonial legacy, the torture and cruelty of the Bashar al-Assad regime during which nearly half a million Syrians lost their lives, and the eventual displacement of more than 5.3 million Syrian refugees due to the crisis. The book contains nearly two dozen interviews, which give voice to single mothers, widows, women with disabilities, and those who are victims of physical and psychological abuse. Having lost husbands, children, relatives, and friends to the conflict, they struggle with what it means to be a Syrian refugee—and what it means to be a Syrian woman. *Defiance in Exile* follows their fight for survival during war and the sacrifices they had to make. It depicts their journey, their desperate,

chaotic lives as refugees, and their hopes and aspirations for themselves and their children in the future. These oral histories register the women's political outcry against displacement, injustice, and abuse. The book will interest all readers who support refugees and displaced persons as well as students and scholars of Middle East studies, political science, women's studies, and peace studies.

**Faith at War** Leuven University Press  
Dispossession and forced migration in the Middle East remain even today significant elements of contemporary life in the region. Dawn Chatty's book traces the history of those who, as a reconstructed Middle East emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, found themselves cut off from their

homelands, refugees in a new world, with borders created out of the ashes of war and the fall of the Ottoman Empire. As an anthropologist, the author is particularly sensitive to individual experience and how these experiences have impacted on society as a whole from the political, social, and environmental perspectives. Through personal stories and interviews within different communities, she shows how some minorities, such as the Armenian and Circassian communities, have succeeded in integrating and creating new identities, whereas others, such as the Palestinians and the Kurds, have been left homeless within impermanent landscapes.

*Among the Ruins* Edinburgh University Press

The untold story of America's attempt to forge a nation from scratch, from euphoric birth to heart-wrenching collapse. South Sudan's independence was celebrated around the world—a triumph for global justice and an end to one of the world's most devastating wars. But the party would not last long: South Sudan's freedom fighters soon plunged their new nation into chaos, shattering the promise of liberation and exposing the hubris of their foreign backers. Chronicling extraordinary stories of hope, identity, and survival, *A Rope from the Sky* journeys inside an epic tale of paradise won and then lost. This character-driven narrative is first a story of power, promise, greed, compassion, violence, and redemption from the world's most neglected patch of

territory. But it is also a story about the best and worst of America—both its big-hearted ideals and its difficult reckoning with the limits of American power amid a changing global landscape. Zach Vertin's firsthand accounts, from deadly war zones to the halls of Washington power, brings readers inside this remarkable episode—an unprecedented experiment in state-building and a cautionary tale. It is brilliant and breathtaking, a moder-day Greek tragedy that will challenge our perspectives on global politics.

*The Merchant of Syria* Cambridge University Press

From the deserts of Sudan to the jungles of Colombia, and from the streets of Belfast to the mountains of Kurdistan, paramilitaries have appeared in violent

conflicts in very different settings. Paramilitaries are generally depicted as irregular armed organizations that carry out acts of violence against civilians on behalf of a state. In doing so, they undermine the state's monopoly of legitimate violence, while at the same time creating a breeding ground for criminal activities. Why do governments with functioning police forces and armies use paramilitary groups? This study tackles this question through the prism of the interpenetration of paramilitaries and the state. The author interprets paramilitarism as the ability of the state to successfully outsource mass political violence against civilians that transforms and traumatizes societies. It analyses how paramilitarism can be understood in global context, and how paramilitarism is

connected to transformations of warfare and state-society relations. By comparing a broad range of cases, it looks at how paramilitarism has made a profound impact in a large number of countries that were different, but nevertheless shared a history of pro-government militia activity. A thorough understanding of paramilitarism can clarify the direction and intensity of violence in wartime and peacetime. The volume examines the issues of international involvement, institutional support, organized crime, party politics, and personal ties.

### **The Wall** SCB Distributors

Conditions of malnutrition, conflict, or a combination of both characterize many Arab countries, but this was not always so. As in much of the developing world,

the immediate post-independence period represented an age of hope and relative prosperity. But imperialism did not sleep while these countries developed, and it soon intervened to destroy these post-independence achievements. The two principal defeats and losses of territory to Israel in 1967 and 1973, as well as the others that followed, left in their wake more than the destruction of assets and the loss of human lives: the Arab World lost its ideology of resistance. The Unmaking of Arab Socialism is an attempt to understand the reasons for Arab world's developmental descent from the pinnacle of Arab socialism to its present desolate conditions through an examination of the post-colonial histories of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq.

*World War in Syria* Anthem Press  
Quicksilver War is a panoramic political history of the wars that coursed through Syria and Iraq in the wake of the 'Arab Spring' and eventually merged to become a regional catastrophe: a kaleidoscopic and constantly shifting conflict involving many different parties and phases. William Harris distils the highly complex dynamics behind the conflict, starting with the brutalizing Baathist regimes in Damascus and Baghdad. He charts the malignant consequences of incompetent US occupation of Iraq and Bashar al-Assad's self-righteous mismanagement of Syria, through the implosion of Syria, and the emergence of eastern and western theatres of war focused respectively on future control of Syria and the challenge

of ISIS. Beyond the immediate arena of conflict, geopolitical riptides have also been set in motion, including Turkey's embroilment in the war and the shifting circumstances of the Kurds. This sweeping history addresses urgent questions for our time. Will the world rubber-stamp and bankroll the Russian-led 'solution' in Syria, backed by Turkey and Iran? Is the 'Quicksilver War' about to reach an explosive finale? Or will ongoing political maneuvering mutate into years of further violence?

**The Empty Throne** Simon and Schuster  
This volume explores the role of water in the Middle East's current economic, political and environmental transformations, which are set to continue in the near future. In addition to examining water conflict from within the

domestic contexts of Iraq, Yemen and Syria-- all experiencing high levels of instability today--the contributors shed further light on how conflict over water resources has influenced political relations in the region. They interrogate how competition over water resources may precipitate or affect war in the Middle East, and assess whether or how resource vulnerability impacts fragile states and societies in the region and beyond. *Water and Conflict in the Middle East* is an essential contribution to our understanding of turbulence in this globally significant region.

Syria University of Notre Dame Press  
Following the Arab Spring, Syria descended into civil and sectarian conflict. It has since become a fractured warzone which operates as a breeding

ground for new terrorist movements including ISIS as well as the root cause of the greatest refugee crisis in modern history. In this important book, former Special Envoy of the Netherlands to Syria, Nikolaos van Dam, explains the recent history of Syria, covering the growing disenchantment with the Asad regime, the chaos of civil war and the fractures which led to an immense amount of destruction in the refined social fabric of what used to be the Syrian nation. Through an in-depth examination, van Dam traces political developments within the Asad regime and the various opposition groups from the Arab Spring to the present day, and provides a deeper insight into the conflict and the possibilities and obstacles for reaching a political

solution.

**We Crossed a Bridge and It**

**Trembled** Oxford University Press  
Winner of the Grawmeyer Award for  
Ideas Improving World Order, 2018  
Winner of the Joseph Leggold Prize  
Winner of the Best Books in Conflict  
Studies (APSA) Winner of the Best Book  
in Human Rights (ISA) In *Making and  
Unmaking Nations*, Scott Straus seeks to  
explain why and how genocide takes  
place—and, perhaps more important,  
how it has been avoided in places where  
it may have seemed likely or even  
inevitable. To solve that puzzle, he  
examines postcolonial Africa, analyzing  
countries in which genocide occurred  
and where it could have but did not. Why  
have there not been other Rwandas?  
Straus finds that deep-rooted

ideologies—how leaders make their  
nations—shape strategies of violence  
and are central to what leads to or away  
from genocide. Other critical factors  
include the dynamics of war, the role of  
restraint, and the interaction between  
national and local actors in the staging  
of campaigns of large-scale violence.  
Grounded in Straus's extensive fieldwork  
in contemporary Africa, the study of  
major twentieth-century cases of  
genocide, and the literature on genocide  
and political violence, *Making and  
Unmaking Nations* centers on cogent  
analyses of three nongenocide cases  
(Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, and Senegal) and  
two in which genocide took place  
(Rwanda and Sudan). Straus's empirical  
analysis is based in part on an original  
database of presidential speeches from

1960 to 2005. The book also includes a broad-gauge analysis of all major cases of large-scale violence in Africa since decolonization. Straus's insights into the causes of genocide will inform the study of political violence as well as giving policymakers and nongovernmental organizations valuable tools for the future.

My House in Damascus World Bank Publications

The Palestinian refugee question, resulting from the events surrounding the birth of the state of Israel seventy years ago, remains one of the largest and most protracted refugee crises of the post-WWII era. Numbering over six million in the Middle East alone, Palestinian refugees' status varies considerably according to the state or

territory 'hosting' them, the UN agency assisting them and political circumstances surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict these refugees are naturally associated with. Despite being foundational to both the experience of the Palestinian refugees and the resolution of their plight, international law is often side-lined in political discussions concerning their fate. This compelling new book, building on the seminal contribution of the first edition (1998), offers a clear and comprehensive analysis of various areas of international law (including refugee law, human rights law, humanitarian law, the law relating to stateless persons, principles related to internally displaced persons, as well as notions of international criminal law), and probes their relevance to the



provision of international protection for Palestinian refugees and their quest for durable solutions.

*Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East* Oxford University Press

Through an anthropological analysis, this book uncovers life stories and testimonies that relate the processes of separation as a result of the constructed political borders of nation states newly founded on the inherited territories of the Ottoman Empire. As it recounts ruptured social, cultural, political, religious, and economic structures and autochthonous bonds, this work not only critically analyzes the making of the Turkish-Syrian border through an exploration of statist discourse, state practices and the state's diverse

apparatuses, but further analyzes the “unmaking” border practices of local subjects in the light of local Kurdish people's counter perceptions, discourses, family histories, narratives, and daily practices—each of which can be interpreted as a practice of local defiance, resilience, and adaptation in everyday life.

**Quicksilver War** Oxford University Press

In 1970, Patience Gromes was an 83 year old widow who lived on State Street in Fulton, one of the poorest neighbourhoods of Richmond, Virginia. This non-fiction narrative traces the life of Patience Gromes, her family, her neighbours from the War between the States to the War on Poverty. Meet Patience's grandfather who escaped

slavery 14 years before the Civil War.  
Experience the hard years of  
Reconstruction, the cruelty of De Jure

Segregation, the triumph of Civil Rights.  
Probe the complexities and ironies of  
neighbourhood life under urban renewal  
and the War on Poverty.