**History 146:**

**History of the Modern Middle East**

Professor Sherene Seikaly Winter 2016

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Office Hours: T 12-2 (HSSB 4223) ARTS 1349

Through a critical engagement with notions such as essentialism, orientalism, nationalism, and modernity, this course will give you the tools to critically think, read, and write about the social, cultural, and political ruptures and continuities of the last one hundred years in the Middle East. We begin with a close reading of two influential texts that have informed historical writing on the Middle East in the last decades: Samuel Huntington’s article “Clash of Civilizations,” and excerpts from Edward Said’s *Orientalism*.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the world witnessed a tremendous and unprecedented wave of popular revolutions in the Arab world and the Middle East that sought to dislodge calcified authoritarian regimes. The pattern of people taking to the streets and risking life and limb in a simple but resounding call for democracy and freedom began in Tunisia in December 2010. It spread from the streets of the Gulf, the cities of North Africa, and the squares of Turkey and Israel. In the fallout of these uprisings we have witnessed the consolidation of military authoritarianism in Egypt, the spread of a devastating civil war in Syria, and the rise of a millenarian Islamism. Throughout the term you will be expected to follow Middle East news and bring the unfolding political processes into your analysis and discussion of course material. We will pay particular attention to the ways in which the recent phenomena of revolution and counterrevolution shatters and reifies the myths, frameworks, and long held structures that define and limit Middle East politics and history.

Throughout the course we will read texts by scholars who will push us to think differently about ideas we often take for granted. For example:

**What does it mean to be modern?**

**What is a nation?**

**What is the “proper” relationship between religion and society?**

Each week we will be paying particular attention to gender, meaning the socially constructed categories of masculinity and feminitity. We will study the ways that gender functions as a central category in historical thought and experience. Our reading of Emile Habibiy’s *The Pessoptimist* will further strengthen this emphasis on experience.

We will study the end of the Ottoman Empire, the rise of European colonialism, and the state-building process in the eastern Arab world, Iran, and Turkey. We begin with a brief study of the late Ottoman Empire and move on to the new state system established after World War I. We will examine how the rise of new media and professions, European colonial rule, the creation of the nation-state system, Cold War politics, and the growth of the oil industry influenced the daily lives of men and women. We will trace the rise of new modes of identification that accompanied these processes, including nationalism and citizenship, feminism, sectarianism, pan-Arabism, Third Worldism, and Islamism.

***Guidelines:***

Please be respectful of one another’s opinions. Be rigorous – do the readings thoroughly and carefully.

Read assigned material.

Ask questions of yourself, your colleagues, and your instructor.

Come to class. You are allowed two absences in this course; each absence thereafter will be a reduction in your participation grade.

Be on time. Ten minutes late is an absence.

Turn off and put away all cellular phones, laptops, and tablets.

Do your own work.Plagiarism of any sort will result in an F for the course. For your code of ethics as a UCSB student:

<http://www.sa.ucsb.edu/Regulations/student_conduct.aspx>

**PLEASE NOTE:** All course materials (class lectures and discussions, handouts, examinations, web materials) and the intellectual content of the course itself are protected by United States Federal Copyright Law, the California Civil Code. The UC Policy 102.23 expressly prohibits students (and all other persons) from recording lectures or discussions and from distributing or selling lectures notes and all other course materials without the prior written permission of the instructor (See <http://policy.ucop.edu/doc/2710530/PACAOS-100>).

Students are permitted to make notes solely for their own private educational use. Exceptions to accommodate students with disabilities may be granted with appropriate documentation. To be clear, in this class students are forbidden from completing study guides and selling them to any person or organization. The text has been approved by UC General Counsel.

***Your Work:***

**A. Participation:**

Participation is the most important part of your work this semester. Class attendance is made up of three components:

1. Physical presence

2. Doing the reading

3. Contributing to class discussion

**B. Assignments:**

**1. Response papers:**

You are required to turn in **weekly response papers** on each of the articles and primary documents that have a **box** around them.

Your response papers should consist of **250 words** for each article, primary document, and book we read. **(ONLY USE: Times New Roman, 12 pt. font, single spaced).**

Your responses should **answer the following three questions**:

1. What is the main argument of the work?

2. What sources did the author use argue the work?

3. What is the significance of the work?

Your **weekly response** papers are due **to me by email by 9 am on Wednesday morning. I will not accept late assignments.**

**2. Annotated Bibliography:**

Your weekly response papers will be returned to you with my editorial and substantive questions and comments in track changes**.**

You are **required to address my comments and questions**.

Your annotations include a 500-word summary of the **morning panel** of a conference taking place at UCSB on January 25. The conference is titled “After Tahrir: Egyptian Revolutionary Experiences and Future Visions” (McCune Room, HSSB).

*What is an annotated bibliography?*

An annotated bibliography is **a list of citations of books, articles, and documents**. Each **citation is followed by a brief (250 words) descriptive and evaluative paragraph, the annotation**. The purpose of the annotation is to inform the reader of the relevance, accuracy, and quality of the sources cited.

***Your Grade:***

Participation (20%)

Response Papers (20%)

Annotated Bibliography (20%)

Midterm (20%)

Final (20%)

***Course Texts:***

James Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East* (fourth edition) (Oxford University Press, 2016).

Emile Habiby, *The Secret Life of Saeed: The Pessoptimist*, trans. by Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Trevor LeGassick (Brooklyn, NY: Interlink Books, 2002).

All other pieces will be posted on GauchoSpace.

**January 4:** **Introduction**

**January 6:** **Visiting and Revisiting Orientalism**

Samuel Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations.” *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993): 22-48.

Edward Said, “Introduction,” *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

Edward Said, “The Myth of the Clash of Civilizations” lecture on youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qkK4pApcwMc>

**January 11:** **Ottoman Life and the Tanzimat**

Gelvin, Introduction to Part II; Chapter 5: “Defensive Developmentalism,” and Chapter 7: “Wasif Jawhariyyeh and the Great Nineteenth Century Transformation.”

*The Islahat Fermani* in Gelvin.

Aaron Rodrigue, “Difference and Tolerance in the Ottoman Empire.” *Stanford Electronic Humanities Review,* 27 February 1996: 81-90.

**January 13: Imperialism in Algeria and Occupation in Egypt**

Gelvin, Chapter 6: “Imperialism.”

Roger Owen, “Egypt and Europe: from French Expedition to British Occupation,” in ed. Albert Hourani, *The Modern Middle East: A Reader* (London: I.B. Tauris and Company, 1993): 111-123.

“Saharan Jews in French Algeria/Sarah Stein,” *Ottoman History Podcast.* <http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2014/10/saharan-jews-french-algeria-sarah-stein.html>

**January 18: Martin Luther King Day: No class**

**January 20: Constitutional Experiments**

Gelvin, Chapter 8: “The Life of the Mind,” Chapter 9: “Secularism and Modernity,” Chapter 10: “Constitutionalism.”

Qassim Amin Argues for the Emancipation of Women in Egypt, 1900.

Afsaneh Najmabadi, “‘Is Our Name Remembered?’: Writing the History of Iranian Constitutionalism as If Women and Gender Mattered,” *Iranian Studies* 29 No.1/2 (Winter-Spring, 1996): 85-109.

**January 25:** **After Tahrir Conference** (Attend morning panel and write a 500-word analysis due January 27).

**January 27:** **World War I and the Dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire**

Gelvin, Introduction to Part III: “World War and the Middle East State System,” and Chapter 11: “State-Building by Decree.”

Women and the Vote in Syria: A Parliamentary Debate About the Relationship Between Gender and Citizenship in the Proposed State, 25 April 1920.

Sara Pursley, “‘Lines Drawn on an Empty Map’: Iraq’s Borders and the Legend of the Artificial State,” (Part 1 and 2), *Jadaliyya* (June 2015)

**February 1: Republican Turkey and the Armenian Genocide**

Gelvin, Chapter 12: “State-Building by Revolution and Conquest,” and Chapter 13: “The Introduction and Spread of Nationalism.”

Christine Philliou, “The Armenian Genocide and the Politics of Knowledge,” *Jadaliyya* (May 2015).

**February 3: Mass Politics: Nationalism, Communism, Islamism**

Elizabeth Thompson, Chapter 6: “Hassan al-Banna of Egypt: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Pursuit of Islamic Justice,” and Chapter 7: “Comrade Fahd: The Mass Appeal of Communism in Iraq,” in *Justice Interrupted: The Struggle for Constitutional Government in the Middle East*(Harvard University Press, 2013).

Joel Beinin, “The Rise of Mass Politics,” in *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

**February 8: Zionism, Palestinian Nationalism, and 1948**

Gelvin, Chapter 14: “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict”

Emile Habiby, *The Secret Life of Saeed: The Pessoptimist*

**February 10: Midterm**

**February 15: President’s Day: No Class**

**February 17: Nasser, Arabism, and Feminism**

Gelvin, Introduction to Part IV: “The Contemporary Era,” Chapter 15: “The Autocratic State,”

Laura Bier, “Introduction,” in *Revolutionary Womanhood: Feminisms, Modernity, and the State in Nasser’s Egypt* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

Sayid Qutb, *Milestones* in Gelvin.

**February 22: 1967 and the Lebanese Civil War**

Abed Dawisha, Chapter Ten: “1967 and After: The Twilight of Arab Nationalism,”

Picard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country,* 141-53.

*West Beyrouth* (film) (Metrodome Films, 2007).

Media PN1997 .W448 2000 DVD

**February 24: Iranian Revolution and the Rise of Political Islam**

Gelvin, Chapter Nineteen: “Resistance”

Thompson, Chapter Ten: “Sayyid Qutb and Ali Shariati: The Idea of Islamic Revolution in Egypt and Iran”

*Persepolis* (animated film based on graphic novel by Marjane Satrapi)(Sony Pictures Home Entertainment, 2008).

Media PN1997.2 .P472 2008

**February 29: Petroleum versus Popular Sovereignty**

Gelvin, Chapter Sixteen: “Oil” and Chapter Seventeen: “The United States and the Middle East”

Jones, “Seeking a ‘Social Contract’ for Saudi Arabia.” Middle East Report, 228, Fall 2003, 42-48.

**March 2: Iraq: From Saddam to US Occupation**

William Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (fourth edition), (Boulder, Westview Press, 2009),478-490.

Mona Damluji, “‘Securing Democracy in Iraq’: Sectarian Politics and Segregation in Baghdad, 2003-2007” *TDSR* 21 No. 2 (2010): 71-87.

**March 7: From the “Arab Spring” to ISIS**

Gelvin, Chapter Nineteen “The Arab Uprisings,” and Chapter Twenty “The End of an Era?”

Ahmad Shokr, “The 18 Days of Tahrir,” *Middle East Research and Information Project* 41 (Spring 2011).

Darryl Li, “A Jihadism Anti-Primer” *Middle East Research and Information Project* 45 (Fall 2015).

**March 9: No Class: Annotated Bibliography Due**

**March 16: Take home exam distributed by email at 8 am in the morning, due back to me by email at 5 pm.**