

“Nationalism, Socialism and Islamism”
(Seminar on the Twentieth Century Middle East)
ARBS 542-01
Spring semester 2004

Dr Mark Sedgwick
Office hours: Sundays and Thursdays 9:00-9:50, and Tuesdays 11:00-11:50
Office: 329 SS
Email: sedgwick@aucegypt.edu
Telephone: 797 6115
Home page: www.orientalist.org

The twentieth century was an ideological century everywhere, and the Middle East was no exception. The purpose of this seminar is to explore the most important ideologies and movements found in the Middle East during the century, looking at their origins and consequences, and to examine their relationship with world history and their influence on Middle Eastern history.

The seminar will be divided into three parts. The first part will examine the state of the Middle East in 1900, and the most important ideology at that time, nationalism. The second part looks at socialism and at the avowedly socialist or quasi-socialist states of the period after World War II. The third part of the seminar looks at Islamism. The origins of Islamism in the nineteenth century are examined, as is Islamism’s relationship to both nationalism and socialism. The seminar then looks at a sample of the more important movements, from the Muslim Brothers and the Iranian revolution to the Afghan *mujahidin* and--finally--al-Qaeda.

Texts

Students are assumed to be familiar with the background to the periods and areas covered. Students wishing to refresh their memories may wish to consult:

- Ira M Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*
- William L Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*
- L. Carl Brown, *Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics*.

Lapidus and Cleveland are in the bookstore. Brown is available at <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/brown>.

Note that where a reference to www.ciaonet.org is given, it is necessary to access the site from the AUC server or another university server that has subscribed to CIAO (Columbia International Affairs Online).

This course is fundamentally a reading course, and there is plenty of reading. The readings for each week are indicated below. In general, the main texts each week are either on reserve in the library or photocopied in the course *Reader* (Artistic). Supplementary readings for some weeks are shown at the end as “Also.” I will not expect you to have done these supplementary readings, but recommend them for anyone who wants to go a little further into things. These readings are *not* on reserve, but *please*--for everyone’s sake--do not disappear with them.

Assessment of Students

Final grades will be calculated as follows:

- Participation: 10%
- Reading responses: 45%
- Research paper: 45%

Participation means more than just sitting in class: if you have not done the reading, there is little point in coming to class just to sit there. Note, however, that more than three weeks of absence for any reason (including illness etc.) may result in an F.

Reading responses are required for most weeks' reading. Unless it is specifically stated that a response paper is not needed for the following week, it is needed. Each reading response must be

- about two-three pages long, and properly typed, documented and proof-read. Do *not* write ten pages.
- analytical. Mere summary of the readings is not acceptable, and will receive a very low grade.
- handed in at the start of each class. No late papers will be accepted under any circumstances whatsoever, but your worst response paper will be ignored when calculating the final grade.

The *Research paper* should be about ten pages long and is due on or shortly after May 16, as will be arranged. Before starting your paper, you must discuss your topic with me, and obtain my written agreement to a 300-400 word abstract and proposed bibliography. The *latest* date for abstracts / bibliographies is Thursday, April 1. Incomprehensibility or sloppy presentation of the paper will be penalized.

Notes

1. The university policy on cheating and plagiarism applies in this class. I always report cases of either to the Academic Integrity Committee.
2. Changes to assignments, times, dates, etc. will be announced in class. It is your responsibility to make sure that you learn of any such announcement which might have been made during a class you miss.

Sections of the course

Week 1, Sunday Feb 8: Initial considerations

No texts

Section 1 – Nationalism (4 weeks)

Week 2, Sunday Feb 15: The roots of nationalism

- Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*. JC311 .H346 1997. On reserve.
- Israel Gershoni, “Rethinking the Formation of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East, 1920-1945: Old and New Narratives,” in Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, ed.s, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski/jank01.html>.
- Gabriel Ben-Dor, “Minorities in the Middle East: Theory and Practice,” in Ofra Bengio and Gabriel Ben-Dor, ed.s, *Minorities and the State in the Arab World* (London: Lynne Rienner, 1999). <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/bengio/bengio01.html>.

Week 3, Sunday Feb 22: Arab nationalism I

(To reschedule if Sunday is a holiday)

- Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs: the Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900-1930*. DT 107.8 G37 1987. On reserve.
- Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, ed.s, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997):
 - James L. Gelvin, “The Other Arab Nationalism: Syrian/Arab Populism in its Historical and International Contexts.” <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski/jank12.html>.
 - Rashid Khalidi, “The Formation of Palestinian Identity: The Critical Years, 1917-1923.” <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski/jank09.html>.
- Also: Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930-1945*. DT107.82 .G43 1995.

Week 4, Sunday Feb 29: Arab nationalism II

- Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, ed.s, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997):
 - Philip S. Khoury, “The Paradoxical in Arab Nationalism: Interwar Syria Revisited.” <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski/jank14.html>.
 - Reeva S. Simon, “The Imposition of Nationalism on a Non-Nation State: The Case of Iraq During the Interwar Period, 1921-1941.” <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski/jank05.html>.
- William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati` al-Husri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971). DS61.52.H87 C55 1971. On reserve.

Week 5, Sunday March 7: Turkey

- Chapters 3, 5, and 9 in Jacob M. Landau, ed., *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*. DR 590 A837 1984. On reserve.
- Resat Kasaba, "Kemalist Certainties and Modern Ambiguities," in Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba, ed.s, *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (University of Washington Press, 1997).
<http://www.ciaonet.org/book/bozdogan/bozdogan02.html>.
- See also:
 - Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. DR576 .A38 1993.
 - Bernard Lewis, *The emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford U.P., 1968). DR577 .L4 1968

Section 2 – Socialism (3 weeks)

Week 6, Sunday March 14: Communism

- Chapters 11-28 in Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of its Communists, Baathists, and Free Officers*. JQ1825.I773 S493 1978. On reserve.
- Chapters 3-5 in Paul Dresch, *A History of Modern Yemen*. DS247.Y48 D74 2000. On reserve.
- Robert D. Forst, "The Origins and Early Development of the Union Marocaine du Travail," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7 (1976), pp. 271-87. In reader.
- Joel Beinen, "The Palestine Communist Party 1919-1948," *MERIP Reports* 55 (March 1977), pp. 3-17. In reader.
- Also: Michel Beaud, *Socialism in the Crucible of History*. HX36 B33713 1993.

Week 7, Sunday March 21: The Baath

- John F. Devlin, *The Baath Party: A History from its Origins to 1966*. JQ1825.S873 B3194 1976. On reserve.
- Chapters 38, 41, 52-55 in Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq*. JQ1825.I773 S493 1978. On reserve.
- Also:
 - Eberhard Kienle, *Ba'ath v. Ba'ath: The Conflict Between Syria and Iraq, 1968-1989*. DS 95.6 I72 K53 1990.
 - Eyal Zisser, "The 'Alawis, Lords of Syria: From Ethnic Minority to Ruling Sect," in Ofra Bengio and Gabriel Ben-Dor, ed.s, *Minorities and the State in the Arab World* (London: Lynne Rienner, 1999).
<http://www.ciaonet.org/book/bengio/bengio07.html>.
 - Raymond A. Hinnebusch, *Syria: Revolution from Above*. DS98.2 .H56 2002.

Week 8, Sunday March 28: Nasser and the Cold War

(To reschedule)

Week starting Sunday April 4: does not meet because of holidays

- Joel Gordon, *Nasser's Blessed Movement: Egypt's Free Officers and the July Revolution*. DT107.83 .G67 1996. On reserve.
- Yezid Sayigh and Avi Shlaim, ed.s, *The Cold War and the Middle East*. DS63.1 .C57 1997. On reserve.

- Also:
 - Abdel Magid Farid, *Nasser, the Final Years*. DT107.83 .F374 1994. Look especially at negotiations with the Soviets.
 - Michael J. Cohen, *Fighting World War Three from the Middle East: Allied Contingency Plans, 1945-1954*. U153 .C65 1997.

Section 3 – Islamism (5 weeks)

Week 9, Sunday April 11: Neo-Salafism

(To reschedule; Sunday is a holiday)

- Felicitas Opwis, “Changes in modern Islamic Legal Theory: Reform or Reformation?” in Michaelle Browers and Charles Kurzman, ed.s, *An Islamic Reformation?* (Lanham, MD: 2004), pp. 28-53. In reader.
- Brynjar Lia, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement, 1928-1942*. BP10.J383 L53 1998. On reserve.
- Ahmad S. Moussalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Ideological and Political Discourse of Sayyid Qutb*. BP80.Q86 M68 1992. On reserve. **Skim**

Week 10, Sunday April 18: The Iranian Revolution

Week starting Sunday April 25: does not meet because of holidays

- Nikki R. Keddie, “The Roots of the Ulama’s Power in Modern Iran,” in Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 211-29. In reader.
- Mohsen M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution: From Monarchy to Islamic Republic*. DS 318 M495 1994. On reserve.
- Assef Bayat, “Shariati and Marx: A Critique of an ‘Islamic’ Critique of Marxism,” *Alif* 10 (1990), pp. 19-41. In reader.
- Also:
 - Ali Rahnama, *An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shari'ati*. DS316.9.S43 R34 1998.
 - Hamid Algar, ed. and trans., *Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini*. DS318 .K427 1981.

Week 11, Sunday May 2: Jihad in Egypt and North Africa

(To reschedule; Sunday is a holiday)

- Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh*. BP64.E3 K4413 1993. On reserve.
- Browse section II, “The Islamist Challenge,” in John Ruedy, ed., *Islamism and Secularism in North Africa* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1994). DT204 I85 1996. On reserve.
- Also:
 - Hanna Batatu, “Syria’s Muslim Brethren,” *MERIP Reports* 110 (Nov-Dec 1982), pp. 12-20+. In reader.
 - Abdelwahab El-Affendi, “The Long March from Lahore to Khartoum: Beyond the ‘Muslim Reformation’,” *Bulletin* [of the British Society for Middle East

- Studies] 17 (1990), pp. 137-51. In reader.
- Emmanuel Sivan, “Arab Nationalism in the Age of the Islamic Resurgence,” in Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, ed.s, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
<http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski/jank11.html>.

Week 12, Sunday May 9: Afghanistan and after

- David B. Edwards, “Summoning Muslims: Print, Politics, and Religious Ideology in Afghanistan,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 52 (1993), pp. 609-28. In reader.
- Chapters 3-4 in Larry P. Goodson, *Afghanistan's Endless War: State Failure, Regional Politics, and the Rise of the Taliban*. DS371.3 .G66 2001. On reserve.
- Chapters 12 & 13 in Martin Kramer, *Arab Awakening and Islamic Revival: The Politics of Ideas in the Middle East*. DS63.6 .K73 1996. On reserve.
- Chapters 1-3 in Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
<http://www.ciaonet.org/book/mishal>.

Section 3 – Papers (2 weeks)

Week 13, Sunday May 16: Seminar paper presentations

Week 14, Sunday May 23: Seminar paper presentations