Modern Imperialism and the Making of the Modern Middle East

This course surveys how interaction with increasingly influential foreign interests, and responses to them, both assimilative and resistant, shaped leading currents in Middle Eastern experience from the late eighteenth century onwards. Themes include imperialism in historical interpretation, perceptions and framings of the region, forms of political, economic, cultural and social change, and in Middle Eastern intra-regional, international and global relations. Each session will feature a discussion on a theme preceded by suggested readings from course texts, related published documents, and specialized scholarly journal articles assigned for discussions on each topic. Students will each complete a research essay chosen from a number of given titles and reading lists, a number of smaller critical exercises and a final examination.

Course texts:
The following are suggested as basic empirical primers. Each has its own style and emphases.

- Cleveland, William, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, (Boulder, CO; Westview, 2008). Topically wide-ranging, touches usefully on most relevant topics, but is a little woolly on evidentiary specifics, despite its length. [ISBN – 13 9780813340487]
- Idem., *The Near East Since the First World War: A History to 1995*, (London; Longman, 1996). This is the follow-on companion to the above. (Available via on-line retail outlets, but the publisher seems to have had recent production and distribution problems with it.) [ISBN – 13 978 0582256514]
- Khater, Akram, *Sources in the History of the Modern Middle East*, (New York; Houghton Mifflin, 2010). This is a useful document collection, which we’ll be using frequently. There is a 2004 edition which is just as good and generally a bit cheaper. [ISBN – 13 978 0618958535]

Our ten discussion topics will be:

1. **The ‘New’ Imperialism and Historical Understanding: Theory, Literature and Debates.**

   Preparatory Readings: (via JSTOR unless otherwise noted)


2. **Inventing the Middle East: Culture, Commerce, Geopolitics and Imperialist Categorizations of the Region.**

Preparatory Readings:

Davison, Roderic H., ‘Where is the Middle East?’ Foreign Affairs, 38, 4 (1960).


Deringil, Selim, ”They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery”: The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate,” Comparative Studies in Society and History, 45, 2 (2003).

3. **Exchange Across Oriental Frontiers: Movement, Materialization and the Transformation of Imperial Relationships, 1789-1914.**

Preparatory Readings:


4. **The First World War as Formative Threshold of the Contemporary Middle East.**

Preparatory Readings:


5. **The Colonialist Moment and Its Discontents; Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1918-1941.**

Preparatory Readings:


6. Oil and ‘Corporatist’ Modes of Empire; the Persian Gulf and Global Integration, 1901-1990.

Preparatory Readings:


Preparatory Readings:


Preparatory Readings:


Preparatory Readings:


Preparatory Readings:


Learning Objectives: students will understand the main events, context, currents and debates on outside power and influence in the formation of the modern Middle East. They will write an academic paper of about 4000 words on a selected topic, producing an original analytical synthesis based on current leading scholarship. They will also evaluate and discuss the context and significance of selected primary documents in translation, developing this into an appreciation of historiographic methods and discourse, as they relate to the region. They will thereby establish a robust foundation for further higher degree studies.

Course Work and Assessment: Course marks will be compiled as follows: Term paper, 40%; final examination, 40%; course work 20%. The latter will be comprise attendance, contribution to class discussions and working atmosphere, and short document, article and book analyses in class.

Research Essays. Students must complete one, to be submitted no later than class session 13. The following twelve titles, with attached reading suggestions are recommended for students to choose from, although they may originate a title and sources of their own, by agreement with the course instructor.

1. How, why and with what consequences was the Middle East constructed as a geopolitical and cultural entity in the modern period?

Adelson, Roger, London and the Invention of the Middle East: Money, Power, and War, 1902-1922.


Buheiry, Marwan R. The Formation and Perception of the Modern Arab World.

Davison, R. H. ‘Where is the Middle East?’ Foreign Affairs, (1960).

Hopwood, Derek Tales of Empire: The British in the Middle East, 1880-1952.

Hourani, Albert Western Attitudes towards Islam.

Lewis, Benard, Islam and the West.

Lockman, Zachary, Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism.


Mitchell, Timothy, Colonizing Egypt.

Said, Edward Orientalism.

Sharafuddin, M. Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters with the Orient.


2. Assess the Challenges Faced by Middle Eastern Reformers and the Extent of Their Relative Success Up to 1918.

Ahmad, Feroz, The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics.

Aksakal, Mustafa, The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War.


Bakhash, Shaul, Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform Under the Qajars, 1858-1896.

Barkey, Karen, Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective.

Cetinsaya, Gokhan, The Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890-1908.

Cuno, Kenneth, The Pasha’s Peasants: Land, Society, and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740-1858.


Fahmy, Khaled, All the Pasha’s Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt.

Fortna, Benjamin C., Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire.

Hanioglu, M. Sükrü, A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire.


Kayali, Hasan, Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918.

Makdisi, Ussama, The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon.
Mentzel, Peter, *Transportation Technology and Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire, 1800-1923.*


Owen, Roger, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914.*

3. What motives and policies drew the European powers into Middle Eastern affairs and with what main consequences by the end of the First World War?


Ben-Ghiat, Ruth, (eds.), and Mia Fuller, *Italian Colonialism.*

Bobrof, Ronald, *Roads to Glory: Late Imperial Russia and the Turkish Straits.*


Busch, Briton C., *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1894-1914.*


Fromkin, David *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914-1922.*


Kalb, Judith E., *Russia's Rome: Imperial Visions, Messianic Dreams, 1890-1940.*

Kent, Marian, (Ed.), *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire.*

Idem., *Moguls and Mandarins: Oil, Imperialism and the Middle East in British Foreign Policy, 1900-1914.*

McKale, Donald, *War By Revolution: Germany and Britain in the Middle East in the Era of World War One.*

McMurray, Jonathan, *Distant Ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire and the Construction of the Baghdad Railroad.*

Paris, Timothy, *Britain, the Hashemites and Arab Rule; the Sherifian Solution.*

Siegel, Jennifer, *Endgame: Britain, Russia and the Final Struggle for Central Asia.*

Satia, Priya, *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East.*


4. How did varying forms of imperialism, nationalism, and traditionalism try to reconstruct the Middle East between 1918 and 1948?

Baron, Beth, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender and Politics.*


Gershoni, Israel, and Jankowski, James (eds.), *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East.*

Ghazal, Amal N., *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean (1880s-1930s).*


Katouzian, Homa, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis.*


Khalidi, Rashid, et al. (eds.) *The Origins of Arab Nationalism.*


5. To what comparative extent was the course of Zionism to 1952 a fulfillment of or a liberation from imperialist and colonialist projections?


Karsh, Ephraim, *Fabricating Israeli History: ‘The New Historians’.*

Kleman, Aaron (ed.) *Zionist Evidence Before the Peel Commission, 1936-1937.*


Laqueur, Walter Z. *A History of Zionism.*

Morris, Benny, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Crisis Revisited.*

Ovendale, Ritchie *Britain, the United States and the End of the Palestine Mandate, 1942-1948.*


Penkower, Monty N. *The Emergence of Zionist Thought.*

Piterberg, Gabriel, ‘The Zionist Colonization of Palestine in the Comparative Context of Settler Colonialism,’ in *The Returns of Zionism: Myths, Politics and Scholarship in Israel.*


Rodinson, Maxime, *Israel: A Colonial Settler State?*


6. How were ideas of ‘an unselfish American policy’ juxtaposed with self-interest in United States approaches to the Middle East during and after the Second World War, and with what results?


Bill, James *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations.*


Hahn, Peter, *Crisis and Crossfire: The United States in the Middle East Since 1945.*

Karlsson, Svante *Oil and the World Order: American Foreign Oil Policy.*

Little, Douglas, *American Orientalism; the United States in the Middle East Since 1945.*

Lucas, Scott, *Divided We Stand; Britain, the United States and the Suez Crisis.*


Schoenbaum, David, *The United States and the State of Israel.*

Stivers, William *America’s Confrontation with Revolutionary Change in the Middle East.*


Idem., *America’s Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier.*

7. What were the main premises of national liberation under secular revolutionary Arab leaders and parties and what were the main challenges facing them under post-war regional and global circumstances?

Beattie, Kirk, *Egypt During the Nasser Years: Ideology, Politics and Civil Society.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davis, Eric</td>
<td><em>Memories of State: Politics, History and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawisha, Adeed</td>
<td><em>Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodge, Toby and Simon, Steven (eds.)</td>
<td><em>Iraq at the Crossroads: State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon, Joel</td>
<td><em>Nasser: Hero of the Arab Nation.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heikal, Mohamed</td>
<td><em>Cutting the Lion’s Tail: Suez Through Egyptian Eyes.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinnebusch, Raymond</td>
<td><em>Syria: Revolution From Above.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jankowski, James</td>
<td><em>Nasser’s Egypt, Arab Nationalism and the United Arab Republic.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kienle, Eberhard</td>
<td><em>Ba’ath vs. Ba’ath: The Conflict Between Syria and Iraq.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luciani, Giacomo (ed.)</td>
<td><em>The Arab State.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayfield, James</td>
<td><em>Rural Politics in Nasser’s Egypt.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mejcher, Helmut, et al. (eds.)</td>
<td><em>The Struggle for a New Middle East in the 20th Century: Studies in Imperial Design and National Politics.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mufti, Malik</td>
<td><em>Sovereign Creations: Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sluglett, Marion-Farouk and Sluglett, Peter</td>
<td><em>Iraq Since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springborg, Robert</td>
<td><em>Mubarak’s Egypt: Fragmentation of the Political Order.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Dam, Nikolaos</td>
<td><em>The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society Under Asad and the Ba’ath Party.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterbury, John</td>
<td><em>The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: The Political Economy of Two Regimes.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. What formative influence did imperialist interventions and local reactions to them have on state building, development and revolutionary currents in Iran after 1890?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abrahamian, Ervand</td>
<td><em>Iran Between Two Revolutions.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idem.,</td>
<td><em>The Iranian Mojahedin.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amuzegar, Jahangir</td>
<td><em>Iran’s Economy Under The Islamic Republic.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansari, Ali</td>
<td>Modern Iran: The Pahlavis and After.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anwzegar, Jahangir</td>
<td>The Dynamics of the Iranian Revolution: The Pahlavis’ Triumph and Tragedy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azimi, Fakhreddin</td>
<td>The Struggle for Democracy in Iran: A Century of Struggle Against Authoritarian Rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharier, Julian</td>
<td>Economic Development in Iran, 1900-1970.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elm, Mostafa</td>
<td>Oil, Power and Principle; Iran’s Oil Nationalization and its Aftermath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farazmand, Ali</td>
<td>The State, Bureaucracy and Revolution in Modern Iran: Agrarian Reforms and Regime Politics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foran, John (ed.)</td>
<td>A Century of Revolution: Social Movements in Iran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katouzian, Homa</td>
<td>Mussadiq and the Struggle for Power in Iran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keddie, Nikki</td>
<td>Roots and Results of Revolution: An Interpretative History of Modern Iran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milani, Moshen</td>
<td>The Making of Iran’s Islamic Revolution: From Monarchy to Islamic Republic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahnema, Said and</td>
<td>Iran after the Revolution: Crisis of an Islamic State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schrab, Behdad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. How far was the collapse of the Lebanese State into Civil War after 1975 Determined by Historical Legacies of Imperial and Colonial Rule?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abraham, A.J.</td>
<td>The Lebanon War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corm, Georges</td>
<td>Géopolitique du Conflit Libanais: Étude Historique et Sociologique.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choueri, Youssef (ed.),</td>
<td>State and Society in Syria and Lebanon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobban, Helena</td>
<td>The Making of Modern Lebanon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisk, Robert</td>
<td>Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hamizrachi, Beate, *The Emergence of the South Lebanon Security Belt: Major Saad Haddad and Ties with Israel.*

Hanf, Theodor, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation.*


Khalaf, Samir, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon: A History of the Internationalization of Communal Conflict.*

Picard, Elizabeth, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country: Myths and Realities of Wars in Lebanon.*


10. ‘Wallowing in oil money and medieval stupor, a seed-bed for Islamic fundamentalists’: how far is this a meaningful summation of how Arabian Peninsula was left by the replacement of British with American hegemony in the 1960s?


Carapico, Sheila, *Civil Society in Yemen: the Political Economy of Activism in Modern Arabia.*

Crystal, Jill, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf; Merchants and Rulers in Kuwait and Qatar.*


Hinchcliffe, Peter, John T. Ducker, and Maria Holt, *Without Glory in Arabia: The British Retreat from Aden*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Longva, Anh Nga</td>
<td>Walls Built on Sand: Migration, Exclusion and Society in Kuwait.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawby, Spencer</td>
<td>British Policy in Aden and the Protectorates 1955-67: Last Outpost of a Middle East Empire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasheed, Madawi, Al-</td>
<td>A History of Saudi Arabia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Simon C.,</td>
<td>Britain's Revival and Fall in the Persian Gulf: Kuwait, Qatar and the Trucial States, 1951-71.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitalis, Robert</td>
<td>America’s Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. What are the main ideological currents contesting the post-colonial Middle East and with what main implications?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed, Leila</td>
<td>Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayubi, Nazih</td>
<td>Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burke, Edmund, and</td>
<td>Struggle and Survival in the Middle East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaghoubian, David,</td>
<td>(eds.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doumato, Eleanor,</td>
<td>Women and Globalization in the Arab Middle East: Gender, Economy, and Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enderlin, Charles</td>
<td>Shattered Dreams: The Failure of the Peace Process in the Middle East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry, Clement, M.</td>
<td>Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Springborg, Robert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horowitz, Dan, and</td>
<td>Israel in Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lissak, Moshe,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kepel, Gilles</td>
<td>Beyond Terror and Martyrdom: the Future of the Middle East.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Larbi, Sadiki, *The Search for Arab Democracy.*


Posusney, Marsha, and Angrist, Michelle, (eds.), *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance.*


Salt, Jeremy, *The Unmaking of the Middle East: A History of Western Disorder in Arab Lands.*

Shafik, Nemat. (ed.), *Economic Challenges Facing Middle Eastern and North African Countries.*


Zubaida, Sami, *Islam, the People and the State: Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East.*

Simon Davis,

November 2015.