**HIST 538: The Middle East and the West**

**Spring 2023**

(Tentative Syllabus, to be finalized after the first seminar meeting introductions)

Instructor: Dr. Cemil Aydin

Class: Mondays; 2.00-5.00 pm Office:Pauli Murray Hall, 465

Classroom: Genome Sciences Bldg - Rm 1373 Office Hours: Wednesdays:1-3 pm

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This course will deal with the history of the interactions between the societies of he broader Middle Eastern region and Europe since the Crusaders in the 12th century. While offering a transnational-global history approach to some of the most controversial questions about this period, the course will introduce students to competing historiographies and theoretical perspectives. It will especially focus on the reasons behind the origins and persistence of the narrative of an eternal Islam-West conflict in changing political contexts, even though both ideas of Europe and the Middle East were co-constituted during the last centuries. We will also reflect on the viability of alternative scholarly approaches and paradigms that will overcome the binaries of the Middle East/Islam versus Europe/the West.

**Attendance**: No right or privilege exists that permits a student to be absent from any class meetings, except for these University Approved Absences: 1. Authorized University activities; 2. Disability/religious observance/pregnancy, as required by law and approved by [Accessibility Resources and Service](https://ars.unc.edu/) and/or the [Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office](https://eoc.unc.edu/what-we-do/accommodations/) (EOC); or 3. Significant health condition and/or personal/family emergency as approved by the [Office of the Dean of Students](https://odos.unc.edu/), [Gender Violence Service Coordinators,](https://womenscenter.unc.edu/resources/gender-violence-services/) and/or the [Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office](https://eoc.unc.edu/what-we-do/accommodations/) (EOC). Students are responsible for completing any reading/work due during their absence. If you know in advance that you are going to miss class or have a legitimate excuse for missing class, please discuss the matter with your graduate student instructor.

**Honors Code:** Students are expected to be familiar with and observe the Honor Code:

<http://catalog.unc.edu/policies-procedures/honor-code/>

**Accessibility Resources:** UNC-Chapel Hill facilitates the implementation of reasonable accommodations for students with learning disabilities, physical disabilities, mental health struggles, chronic medical conditions, temporary disability, or pregnancy complications, all of which can impair student success. See the ARS website for contact and registration information: <https://ars.unc.edu/about-ars/contact-us>

**University Testing Services:** The College of Arts and Sciences provides a secure, proctored environment in which exams can be taken. The center works with instructors to proctor exams for their undergraduate students who are not registered with ARS and who do not need testing accommodations as provided by ARS. In other words, the Center provides a proctored testing environment for students who are unable to take an exam at the normally scheduled time (with pre-arrangement by your instructor). For more information, visit <http://testingcenter.web.unc.edu/>.

**Counseling and Psychological Services:** CAPS is strongly committed to addressing the mental health needs of a diverse student body through timely access to consultation and connection to clinically appropriate services, whether for short or long-term needs. Go to their website: <https://caps.unc.edu/> or visit their facilities on the third floor of the Campus Health Services building for a walk-in evaluation to learn more.

This syllabus is subject to change at the professor’s discretion.

**Course Grade Components**

This course has both undergraduate and graduate students. Graduate students are expected to read more (on avarege 80 pages a week) compared to undergraduate students (about 50 pages a week). There will be more readings in your syllabus (and resources folder) I will explain in advance what to prioritize in your readings.

* **Attendance and Participation (20 Percent)**
* **1 discussion leadership-with short paper (20 percent):** Each student will submit a review essay (4 pages long) for one particular week in which they will also present their comments and lead a discussion. Paper will be emailed to the class and posted on Sakai forum 12 hours before the class starts. Students will sign up for the week when they want to introduce the material and lead a discussion. Each week may have at least 2 students, and they can divide the readings for essays.
* **6 forum postings (30 Percent- 5 points each):** Students will have to write at least 300 word long comments on the forum by Sunday evening (midnight) before the class. Forum questions will be posted by the instructor.
* **Final Paper- 6-8 pages long for undergraduate students, 12-14 pages for graduate students, - (30 Percent)**: Topic to be determined in consultation with the instructor. or alternative assignment such as short video, Love letter or break-up letter to Europe/Middle east, blog post etc.

**CLASS SCHEDULE**

**Week 1:** **(January 9)** **Debate on the Co-Constitution of “The Middle East and the West,”:** Introduction to the current public and scholarly debates on Europe/West and the Middle East/the Muslim World.

1. How did Europe create the Middle East/the Muslim World? Why did Middle Eastern/Asian societies refashion the idea of the West/Europe and universalized it?
2. Why and how did these imagined geopolitical and civilizational imaginations persist until today?
3. They are ‘civilised’ and ‘look like us’: the racist coverage of Ukraine by Moustafa Bayoumi: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/mar/02/civilised-european-look-like-us-racist-coverage-ukraine>
4. Europe is a Garden (and the rest of the world is a jungle) speech by European Union Foreign Policy Chief Josep Borrell: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ufAHg6hN4OA&ab_channel=AFPNewsAgency>
5. Critique of the Idea of Europe as a Civilizational and Racial Unity: “Europe’s reputation as a cosmopolitan haven has been exposed as a mirage” by Hans Kundnani <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/sep/12/europes-fear-of-refugee-has-shattered-the-illusion-of-a-cosmopolitan-haven>
6. \*Roderic H. Davison, “Where is the Middle East?” Foreign Affairs, Vol. 38, p. 665 -675. July 1960.
7. \*Walter Mignolo, “Spirit out of bounds returns to the East: The closing of the social sciences and the opening of independent thoughts,” *Current Sociology Monograph* 2014, Vol. 62(4) 584–60

6) \* The Edward Said-Bernard Lewis debate at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting (1986) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hnVHuA6xlOo>

7) Is Europe the sources of the extremist far right and anti-modern ideologies in the world today: curious influence of traditionalism and theosophy: <https://blog.oup.com/2017/05/julius-evola-white-house-steve-bannon/>

*8)* Compare this piece by Kwame Appiah “There is no Western civilization,”

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/09/western-civilisation-appiah-reith-lecture>

9) With this geopolitical speech by Trump in Warsaw:

Donald Trump speech in Warsaw about the defense of West civilization: Full text: <https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/06/politics/trump-speech-poland-transcript/index.html>

Comments:

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jul/06/trump-warsaw-speech-us-west-nato-russia>

No Class on January 16, Monday (MLK DAY)

**Week 2: (January 23) Did Crusaders or the Ottoman Empire play a role in the birth of the Ideas of the West and the Middle East?**

1. What is the long term intellectual and political context of the current narrative of Islam-West conflict? Could there have been an imagination of Ottoman/Muslim Europe, or a Europe that includes North Africa?
2. What alternative histories exist with regard to Crusades, Muslim Spain, Muslims and Jews of Europe and Battle of Vienna?

1) \*Giancarlo Casale, “Turkey and the Future of Europe: A History”

2) \*Giancarlo Casale, “Mehmed the Conqueror between Sulh-i Kull and Prisca Theologia,” Modern Asian Studies, 2022

3) \*Richard Bulliet, Selections from *Islamo-Christian Civilization* book

4) \* Selections from Alan Mikhail, *God's Shadow: Sultan Selim, His Ottoman Empire, and the Making of the Modern World*

5)\* Şener Aktürk, “September 11, 1683: The Myth of a Christian Europe and Massacre of Norway” in Insight Turkey (Winter 2012) pp: 1-11. Or \*<https://aeon.co/essays/the-battle-of-vienna-was-not-a-fight-between-cross-and-crescent>

6) \*Cemal Kafadar, “A history of coffee houses in the Ottoman Empire” (unpublished conference paper)

**Potential Student Paper Topics:** Do you see the roots of contemporary Western discourses on Arabs and Muslims in the period of Crusaders or military conflicts in Andalusia or in Ottoman-Habsburg relations? If yes, what are these? If no, why do we attribute so much importance to these experiences?

**Week 3: (January 30) Impact of Colonialism and Racial Ideologies in the formation of Civilizational Identities:**

1. How were the ideas of European history, civilization and religion utilized to construct imperial racial ideologies and justify colonial violence? Did the idea of Europe’s civilizing mission need to construct an inferior and hostile Muslim enemy?
2. How did the colonized Arab and Muslim intellectual respond to the claims of European/Western superiority over their race, religion and culture? Why did they decide to make a distinction between universal/liberal enlightenment and Western imperialism?

1) \*Sebastian Conrad on *Global Enlightenment* (American Historical Review)

2) \*Aeon essay by Ussama Makdisi <https://aeon.co/essays/ottoman-cosmopolitanism-and-the-myth-of-the-sectarian-middle-east>

3) \*Selections from Ussama Makdisi, *Age of Coexistence, chapter 3: Co-Existence in the Age of Genocide, p: 75-112.*

4) \*Jennifer Pitts, “Liberalism and Empire in a Nineteenth Century Algerian Mirror,” *Modern Intellectual History* 6, no. 2 (2009): 287–313.

5) \* Primary texts: Wilfred Blunt, *Future of Islam* and

6) \*Ernest Renan, *Islam and Science*

**Potential Paper Topic:** Compare the writing of Hamdan Khoja (in Jennifer Pitts’ article) to writings by Ernest Renan primary text. How did these two define Christian Europe/ Muslim world distinctions?

**Week 4: (February 6) Europe and the Middle East from Inter-Asian Perspectives:** withGuest Professor: Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, NYU History Department.

**The class will meet at Fedex Education Center, Seminar Room 4003.**

1) \*Zvi Ben Dor Benite, “Taking Abduh to China,”

2) \*Zvi Ben Dor Benite, “Modernity: The Sphinx and the Historian, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 116, No. 3 (June 2011), pp. 638-652

3) \*Ayşe Zarakol, “Remembering the Shared History of (Eur)Asia: Is This a Good Idea in the Twenty-First Century?,” *Global Studies Quarterly*, Volume 2, Issue 4, October 2022

4) \*Kosuke Shimizu, “A Non-Western Attempt at Hegemony: Lessons from the Second-Generation Kyoto School for International Pluralism and Its Discontents”, *Global Studies Quarterly*, Volume 2, Issue 4, October 2022

**Potential Paper Topic:** Is Middle East part of Asia? Does your perspective on the relationship between the Middle East and the West change when you compare it to China and the West, or East Asia and the West?

Recommended Public Lecture: February 6, 2023 @ 5:30 pm - 7:00 pm on Late Imperial Chinese Islam between History, Genealogy, and Memory: The State, the Muslims, and the People Around,” Nelson Mandela Auditorium, FedEx Global Education Center, by Dr. Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, Professor of History at New York University.

**NO CLASS ON FEBRUARY 13- UNIVERSITY WELLNESS DAY**

**Week 5: (February 20) On European Intellectual Origins of the Iranian Revolution of 1979** with Guest Professor: Arash Davari, Whitman College

**The class will meet at Fedex Education Center, Seminar Room 4003.**

1) \*Arash Davari, “A Return to Which Self? 'Ali Shari'ati and Frantz Fanon on the Political Ethics of Insurrectionary Violence,” in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 34 (1), 86-105 31 2014

2) \*Arash Davari, “On Inexactitude in Decolonization,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 40 (3), 627-635

3) \*Selections from Yoav Di-Capio, *No Exit: Arab Existentialism, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Decolonization*.

4) \*Selections from Jalal Ali Ahmad, *Occidentotis:A Plague From the West* (Sakai Folder)

**Potential Paper Topic:** What is the role of Existentialism and Occidentalism, as well as the general influence of European ideas, in shaping the content of Islamist thought in Iran on the eve of Iranian revolution of 1979? What did Europe look like from the perspective of Iranian intellectuals of the 1970s?

Recommended Public Lecture:

February 20, 2023 @ 5:30 pm - 7:00 pm, [Human Rights Guerrillas: Iran between Global 1968 and Global 1979](https://mideast.unc.edu/event/iranian-revolution-of-1979-in-the-global-crisis-of-post-colonial-world-order/), at Nelson Mandela Auditorium, FedEx Global Education Center. Presented by Dr Arash Davari, Professor of Political Science at Whitman College.

**Week 6: (February 27) Did WWI and anti-colonial wars create Europe and the Middle East of the 20th Century?**

1) Primary text: Balfour Declaration, and Lausanne Peace Treaty

2) \*Elizabeth Thompson, *How the West Stole Democracy from Arabs*, Selections

3) \*Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World*, Chapter 2, pp: 99-132

4) \*Erez Manela, Wilsonian Moment in Egypt

5) \*Primary Text: Indian Muslim Leaders meeting President Woodrow Wilson and Prime Minister Lloyd George to talk about the future of the Muslim World in May 1919 (during Paris Peace Conference)

**Potential Paper Topic:** What was the impact of WWI and European empire’s Mandate regime on the developent of the Middle East-Europe relations? (1914-1924)

**Week 7: (March 6)**  **Politics of Muslim Women Question in Boundary Making between the West and the Middle East/Asia** with Guest Professor: Professor Elora Shehabuddin, University of California -Berkeley

**The class will meet at Fedex Education Center, Seminar Room 4003.**

1) \*Juliane Hammer, article on *Gendered Islamophobia*,

2) \*Amin, Qasim. The Liberation of Women and the New Woman: Two Documents in the History of Egyptian Feminism. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000)

3) \*Saba Mahmood and Charles Hirschkind, “Feminism, the Taliban and Politics of Counter-Insurgency” in *Anthropological Quarterly* 75:2 (2002): 339-354.

 4) \*Elora Shehabuddin, “Between Orientalism and Anti-Muslim Racism: Pakistan, the United States, and Women’s Transnational Activism in the Early Cold War Interlude,”

**Potential Paper Topic:** What has been the politics of Women’s rights and feminism in shaping the identities and relations between Europe and the Middle East?

Recommended Public Lecture to Attend: March 6, 2023 @ 5:30 pm - 7:00 pm, “Sisters in the Mirror: A History of Muslim Women and the Global Politics of Feminism,” Nelson Mandela Auditorium, FedEx Global Education Center, by Dr. Elora Shehabuddin, UC-Berkeley.

**MARCH 13-17: SPRING BREAK**

**Week 8: (March 20) Reinventing Europe and the Middle East through Decolonization Era and Cold War.**

1. \*Selections from Aime Cesaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (in Sakai Folder)
2. \*Selections from Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (in Sakai folder)
3. \*selections from Jeffrey Bryne, *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order* (Oxford Press, 2019)
4. \*Ilan Pappe, The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1951 (I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd) Introduction: 1-15.
5. \* **BBC Documentary on The other side of Suez (war of 1956): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ETOUALw2EIs&ab_channel=MohamedOmran>**
6. Survival of the Fittest (an Interview with Benny Morris on Partition of Palestine and 1948 War) <http://www.logosjournal.com/morris.htm>
7. Why European powers look the other way when they see the suffering of Palestinians-Atonement at the Expense of another: <http://newfascismsyllabus.com/opinions/atonement-at-the-expense-of-another/>

**Potential Paper Topic:** What were the arguments for thinking Africa and the Middle East as a dynamic new region fulfilling the dream of Enlightenment, compared to the decadent continent of Europe, from 1945 to 1965?

**Week 9: (March 27) Europe, the Middle East and Africa Triangle:** With Guest Professor: Mostafa Minawi, Cornell University

**The class will meet at Fedex Education Center, Seminar Room 4003.**

How to write a history of Juridical Colonialism and Arab-Ottoman engagement with European scramble for Africa

1. \*Selections from Ozan Ozavci, *Dangerous Gifts Imperialism, Security, and Civil Wars in the Levant, 1798–1864*,
2. Selections from Mostafa Minawi, *Ottoman Scramble for Africa*

**Potential Paper Topic:** Was the Ottoman Empire any different than other European empire in their attitudes towards Africa from Berlin Congress to the end of WWI? Could Ottomans prove their Europeanness and civilized Western status by colonizing Africa? Why or Why not?

Recommended Event to Attend on Campus: March 27, 2023 @ 5:30 pm - 7:00 pm

“Losing Istanbul: Arab-Ottoman Imperialists and the End of Empire,” Nelson Mandela Auditorium, FedEx Global Education Center, by Dr. Mostafa Minawi, Professor of History at Cornell University.

**Week 10: (April 3) Islamism as a Cold War Ideology, and Redefinition of East/West Dichotomy**

1. What was the impact of theosophy and traditionalism in the content of Islamic revivalist thought?
2. What did Europe/the West mean in the last two decades of the cold war?
3. \*Edward Curtis, “Islamism and It’s African American Muslim Critics” in *Black Routes to Islam*, ed. Manning Marable (Palgrave Publishers)

2) \*Selections from Timothy Nunan, *Cold War Era Islamism* book manuscript

3) \*Primary Text: 1957 Treaty of Rome (pay attention to the sections related to Africa) & United Nations Proclamation on New International Economic Order

4) \*Primary text: Declaration on European Identity (Copenhagen, 14 December 1973) By the Heads of State or Government of the nine Member States of the enlarged European Community affirm their determination to introduce the concept of European identity into their common foreign relations.

5) \*Selections from Christopher Dietrich, *Oil Revolution: Anticolonial Elites, Sovereign Rights, and the Economic Culture of Decolonization*

**Potential Paper Topic:**Why did inequality between Europe and the Middle East increase after independence? What attempts did Arab elites made to close the economic gap between Europe and the Middle East? How was this experience relate to Islamism?

Recommended Event to Attend: Roy Bar Sadeh, *Muslims and the Minority Question: A Global History, 1856-1947*. April 4, Tuesday, 5.30-6.45. Fedex Global Education Center, Room 4003 (Pizza will be served)

**Week 11: (April 10) Re-Racialization of Muslims & Triumph of Islam-West Conflict Narratives**

1) Goody, Jack. "Islam and Terrorism," and "The Taliban, the Bamiyan and Us." Chapters 3 and 4 in Islam in Europe. pp. 146-160 and 133-145.

2) \*Ussama Makdisi, "Anti-Americanism" in the Arab World: An Interpretation of a Brief History,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 89, No. 2, (Sep., 2002), pp. 538-557

3) Salman Rushdie Affair as a Case Study. Documentary on Satanic Versus Crisis: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilbNgCWgnwE&ab_channel=twentytwenty>

4) \*Talal Asad on Salman Rushdie Affair

5) \*Edward Said on Salman Rushdie Affair

**Potential Paper Topic:** Why did ethnically different post-colonial minorities in Europe become recategorized as Muslim across Europe during the mid-1980s? What are the political legacies of this re-racialization of minorities through their religious identities?

**Week 12: (April 17)** Presentations by 12 students –Each student will have 10 minutes for 5 minutes presentation and 5 minutes Q & A time.

**Week 13: (April 24)** Presentations by 12 students –Each student will have 10 minutes for 5 minutes presentation and 5 minutes Q & A time.

**Final Papers due on May 3, Wednesday, 5 pm**