

## **Turkey: From Empire to Republic**

**MWF 1:30-2:20, Hester Hall 183**

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Office hours: Mondays, 2:30-3:30pm, Hester Hall 132

The foundation of the modern republic of Turkey in 1923 was accompanied by sweeping religio-political, social and linguistic reforms. Initiated by the founder of the Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, these changes were intended to create a new, modern society by breaking with past traditions. Atatürk's vision of a new Turkey was realized to a great extent. But it is impossible to understand the social and political predicaments Turkey faces today – the rise of political Islam, the aspirations to join the European Union, the Kurdish problem, Turkey's place among Middle Eastern nations, its strategic relationship with the US – without exploring Turkey's Ottoman heritage.

This class consists of two parts. The first tells the story of the Ottoman Empire, Modern Turkey's predecessor, with emphasis on its last century and the factors that brought about its demise, as well as the history of Modern Turkey to this day. The second part will discuss contemporary issues in Turkish politics, society, and international relations.

Previous knowledge about the history of Modern Turkey, the Ottoman Empire or the Middle East is helpful, but not required. Historical background will be provided in lectures, as well as in the readings for most weeks.

### **Requirements:**

1. Attendance – you are expected to show up to all classes. I treat our classes as if they were a personal appointment with each one of you, and expect you to do the same. If you cannot come to class for whatever reason, please e-mail me *in advance* to let me know about it. Missing class three times or more during the semester will reduce 5pts from your attendance/participation grade for each class you miss, unless you have discussed this with me and we reached some sort of arrangement (see below).
2. Participation – you are expected to do all assigned readings as elaborated in the schedule below, and participate in class discussions, whenever they happen. Readings are not only essential to understanding the course material; they also complement the information provided in lectures. The more elaborate or analytic your arguments and ideas in class are, the higher your grade for participation will be (see below).
3. Quizzes – there will be 7 quizzes of 10 multiple choice questions throughout the semester. However, you are only required to take 5 of them, and can take the extra 2 for bonus points (see below). The quizzes test you on basic info provided in the readings and lectures. They are scheduled on specific dates (see the schedule below), and there will be

no makeup quizzes for any reason. If you missed class on a day when a quiz was given, it will be counted as one of the 2 you are allowed to skip.

4. Final take home open-books exam – due on 12/16/09 between 08 and 10am in my office, or by 10am on 12/16 via e-mail. You will lose 2pts for each hour your final paper is late on 12/16, and 10pts per day thereafter. The exam will consist of four questions, of which you will be required to answer two. Alternatively, you may choose one of the four given questions and come up with another that you discuss with me. Maximum length will be 2500 words. The questions for the final exam will be distributed before Thanksgiving, and so will further instructions.
5. Movies – we'll be watching 3 Turkish movies (in Turkish, with English subtitles) throughout the semester. The movies are an integral part of this course and you are expected to attend them. I will do my best to schedule the screenings at a time that works for everyone, and to find suitable arrangements for those who cannot attend. The films we'll be watching are among the best in Turkish cinema, so they are also lots of fun.

### **Grading:**

There will be a total of 400 points for the class, distributed in the following manner:

Attendance – 10% (40pts, min. 10)

Participation – 20% (80pts, min. 20)

Quizzes – 25% (100pts, min. 30)

Final Exam – 45% (180pts, min. 40)

To earn a passing grade, you must earn at least the minimum for each of the sections specified above. The final grade distribution will be: 360-400: A, 320-359: B, 280-319: C, 240-179: D. Under 240pts OR under the minimum in even one of the sections: F.

You will not receive a final grade lower than what your total number of points is worth (in percentage), but I may decide to give you a higher grade.

If you feel you have a justified reason that prevents you from attending class or fulfilling a requirement on time, please talk to me about it and we'll work something out!

### **Bonus points:**

Throughout the semester, you may earn up to 7.5% bonus (30pts) by doing one or more of the following:

1. Attending a Middle East related event throughout the semester and writing a short (no more than one page, double spaced, Times New Roman font size 12) report about it – 3 pts. Per event. Naturally, you are encouraged to participate in those events regardless.

2. Taking the extra 2 quizzes – If you take 6 or 7 quizzes, I'll count the ones you scored the lowest grade on as bonus. Bonus quizzes earn 20% of their actual points (i.e. if you got 20 points on a bonus quiz – the maximum available – you get 4 bonus points).
3. Playing Backgammon (*tavla* or *sheshbesh*) – at least once a week I'll be either at the union building or the library (pay attention to announcements I'll be making about this). When I'm there, stop by to talk about the class or just to chat, and play backgammon with me like real Turks do. If you don't know the rules of the game, this will be your opportunity to learn. You'll earn 2 bonus points for every game you win, and 3 if you win a double game (but it's not going to be very easy – I've been trained by the best of Turks and a 70-year experienced grandfather...). First come, first serve!

**Disability accommodation:** Students who have a disability that prevents them from fully demonstrating their academic skills should contact me during office hours to discuss arrangements that can ensure full participation and facilitate their learning experience.

**Academic integrity:** Students who are not familiar with the Student Code of Conduct should read it closely and uphold the obligations, rights, and procedures regarding violations of academic integrity. Please see <http://www.ou.edu/provost/integrity-rights/>

### **Course Schedule:**

There are two necessary purchases for this course, available from bookstores around campus or from amazon.com and other similar online stores:

Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) – you may choose to use older editions.

Erik Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004) – use this edition only.

Copies of these two books have been placed on 2-hour reserve at Bizzell Library. In the schedule below, assignments from these two books appear as Lewis or Zürcher.

Readings from other sources (mainly in the second part of the semester) will be available via the course's website on D2L in PDF form. To access them, log on to D2L, find the linked version of this syllabus, and use it to access the articles. Note that you will have access to scanned materials **only** while you are logged on to D2L. Most of the books mentioned in the schedule below are also available at Bizzell library (just look them up in the catalog). If you prefer to read from the books themselves instead of the PDFs, please do so in the library and do not check out the books, so others may have access to them as well.

Reading assignments that appear under each class should be read *in preparation for* that class. This preparation includes looking up information about the author of each text, and any other places, organizations, or people mentioned in the text that you have not heard of before. You may use the internet or any other credible source you like to dig out that information. Please note that a text or an argument is generally meaningless if we don't know anything about the author. Thus knowledge about the texts we read will be assumed when they are discussed in class.

If no reading appears under a certain date, it might just be your lucky day (but some reading may be assigned later).

## **Part I: Historical Survey**

1. Monday, 8/24 – introduction
  2. Wednesday, 8/26 – early Ottoman history: from the foundation of the Empire to the conquest of Constantinople  
  
“Othmānli” in: *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, online edition, sections I, II, IV and V  
**only** - use:  
[http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/subscriber/uid=3189/entry?entry=islam\\_CO\\_M-0880](http://www.brillonline.nl.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/subscriber/uid=3189/entry?entry=islam_CO_M-0880) to access from campus, or log on to the library’s website > resources> e-reference materials> type “Encyclopedia of Islam” in the search box> choose Encyclopedia of Islam second edition> search for othmanli. This reading is for Wednesday and Friday.
  3. Friday, 8/28 – Selim the Grim and Suleyman the Magnificent
  4. Monday, 8/31 – the decline of the Ottoman Empire  
  
Lewis, pp. 21-39
  5. Wednesday, 9/2 – or was there an Ottoman decline?  
  
Jane Hathaway, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule* (London: Pearson-Longman, 2007), pp. 59-78
  6. Friday, 9/4 – eighteenth-century Ottoman reforms  
  
Lewis, pp. 40-73
- Quiz #1**
- Monday, 9/7 – no class, Labor Day
7. Wednesday, 9/9 – Mahmud II, Mehmet Ali  
  
Lewis, pp. 74-106
  8. Friday, 9/11, the Tanzimat  
  
Lewis, pp. 106-150

9. Monday, 9/14 – the parliamentary experiment

Lewis: pp. 150-174

10. Wednesday, 9/16 – despotism under Abdülhamid II

Lewis, pp. 175-209

11. Friday, 9/18 – the CUP and the road to WWI

Lewis: 210-238

### **Quiz #2**

12. Monday, 9/21 – the end of the Ottoman Empire: WWI

Zürcher, pp. 113-147

13. Wednesday, 9/23 – the emergence of Atatürk

Lewis, pp. 239-256

14. Friday, 9/25 – Atatürk's reforms

Lewis, pp. 256-293

15. Monday, 9/28 – Turkey's language reform

Wednesday, 9/30 – no class

16. Friday, 10/2 – the legacy of Atatürk

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *A speech delivered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 1927* (Istanbul: Ministry of Education, 1963), pp. 587-599, 738-41

### **Quiz #3**

17. Monday, 10/5 – the transition to democracy

Zürcher, pp. 185-218

18. Wednesday, 10/7 – Turkey in the 1950's

Zürcher, pp. 221-248

19. Friday, 10/9 – The second republic and its end

Zürcher, pp. 248-269, 278-280

“A letter from Turkey,” *MERIP Reports* 99 (1981), pp. 34-35

\*\*\* Movie: *Babam ve Oğlum* (My Father My Son), Turkey, 2005 (in Turkish with English subtitles) \*\*\* (on the week of 10/12, exact day/time TBA)

20. Monday, 10/12 – Turkey in the 1980s and early 1990s

Zürcher, pp. 280-295, 306-312

Hugh and Nicole Pope, *Turkey Unveiled: A History of Modern Turkey* (New York: Overlook Press, 1997), pp. 158-179

#### **Quiz #4**

21. Wednesday, 10/14 – Tansu Çiller and the Welfare party

Zürcher, pp. 295-306

Pope, *Turkey Unveiled*, pp. 302-315

Friday, 10/16 – no class, university holiday

22. Monday, 10/19 the rise of the AKP

İhsan Dağı, “The JDP: identity, politics, and human rights discourse in the search for security and legitimacy,” in: Hakan Yavuz (ed.) *The emergence of a New Turkey: Democracy and the AK Parti* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2006), pp. 88-106, and a speech by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, pp. 333-340

23. Wednesday, 10/21 – AKP in power

Hakan Yavuz, “The political crisis and the 2007 elections” in his *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 239-266

## **Part II: Contemporary Turkish Politics, Society, and International Relations**

24. Friday, 10/23 – religion and state, a historical perspective

Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 39-48, 220-7

25. Monday, 10/26 – religion and state in the modern republic

Nevval Sevindi (ed.), *Contemporary Islamic Conversations: M. Fethullah Gülen on Turkey, Islam, and the West* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2008), pp. 1-13, 79-92

26. Wednesday, 10/28 – women in Islamist movements in Turkey

Merve Kavakcı, “Headscarf Heresy,” *Foreign Policy* 142 (2004), pp. 66-67

Emelie Olson, “Muslim identity and secularism in contemporary Turkey: the headscarf dispute,” Klass and Weisgrau (eds.), *Across the Boundaries of Belief* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999), pp. 291-302

Yeşim Arat, “Feminists, Islamists, and Political Change in Turkey,” *Political Psychology* 19 (1998), 1: pp. 117-131

27. Friday, 10/30 – the political system in Turkey

**Quiz #5**

28. Monday, 11/2 – Turkey and Europe, pt. 1

“Turkey and Europe” in Stephen Larrabee and Ian Lesser, *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2003), pp. 45-70

29. Wednesday, 11/4 – Turkey and Europe, pt. 2

Asa Lundgren, “The case of Turkey: are some candidates more ‘European’ than others?,” Helene Sjursen (ed.), *Questioning EU Enlargement* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 121-141

30. Friday, 11/6 – Cyprus

Zürcher, 273-276

Andreas Theophanos, “Prospects for solving the Cyprus problem and the role of the European Union,” *Publius* 30 (2000), 1: pp. 217-41

31. Monday, 11/9 – Turks in Germany

Zürcher, 269-72

Susanne Worbs, “The second generation in Germany: between school and labor market,” *International Migration Review* 37 (2003), 4: pp. 1011-1038

32. Wednesday, 11/11 – The Armenian question

Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), pp. 43-89

33. Friday, 11/13 – Turkey and the Kurds

Reading assignments for both Friday and Monday, 11/13 and 11/16:

Abdullah Öcalan, *Prison Writings: the Roots of Civilization* (London: Pluto Press, 2007), introduction + pp. 1-2

Henry Barkey and Graham Fuller, *Turkey's Kurdish Question* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998), pp. 5-19

Michael Radu, "The Rise and Fall of the PKK," in Michael Radu (ed.) *Dangerous Neighborhood: Contemporary Issues in Turkey's Foreign Relations* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003), pp. 143-164

\*\*\* Movie: *Kurtlar Vadisi Irak* (Iraq: Valley of the Wolves), Turkey, 2006 (in Turkish with English subtitles) \*\*\* (on the week of 11/16, exact day/time TBA)

34. Monday, 11/16 – Turkey and the Kurds

**Quiz #6**

35. Wednesday, 11/18 – Human Rights in Turkey

Aslan Gündüz, "Turkey and Europe: the human rights conundrum," Michael Radu (ed.), *Dangerous Neighborhood*, pp. 25-43

Kerim Yildiz, *The Kurds in Turkey: EU Accession and Human Rights* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), pp. 41-75

36. Friday, 11/20 – Human Rights in Turkey

Human Rights Watch, "*We Need a Law for Liberation*": *Gender, Sexuality, and Human Rights in a Changing Turkey* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2008), pp. 19-60

Monday, 11/23 – no class

Wednesday and Friday, 11/25 and 11/27 – no class, Thanksgiving break

37. Monday, 11/30 – Turkey and the United States

Birol Yeşilada, “Turkey-US relations,” Michael Radu, *Dangerous Neighborhood*, pp. 191-214

“Turkey and the US” in: Graham Fuller, *The New Turkish Republic* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008), pp. 151-162

38. Wednesday, 12/2 – Turkey and Iran

Robert Olson, *Turkey-Iran Relations, 1979-2004: Revolution, Ideology, War, Coups and Geopolitics* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2004), pp. 1-40

### **Quiz #7**

39. Friday, 12/4 – Turkish Pop and Rock Music

\*\*\* Movie: GORA, Turkey 2004 (in Turkish and English, with English subtitles)\*\*\* (on the last week of classes, exact day/time TBA)

40. Monday, 12/7 – Turkish Pop and Rock Music

41. Wednesday, 12/9 - Turkey and the Arab-Israeli conflict

Fuller, *The New Turkish Republic*, pp. 107-128

42. Friday, 12/11 – Turkey and the Arab-Israeli conflict