

Sabanci University
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
POLIS 305 / 21018 / Spring 2020

DIGITAL EDITION
(Two Hours Asynchronous + One Hour Synchronous Class per week)

Synchronous Class Time; Tuesday 11:40-12:30 at Zoom Meeting Room: TBA

Origins of Political Ideologies in Modern Turkey

Emre Erol

Course Description: This course provides an introductory survey to the historical origins of modern ideologies in Turkey. It aims to discuss major ‘-isms’ in Turkey within the framework of the historical transformations that laid the foundations of those ideologies in the 19th century. The course content and the lectures are designed in such a way as to employ methodology and studies from both the field of history and political science. This choice of design aims to introduce the study of ideologies within their historical context. The first half of the course will be dedicated to the discussion of definitions, methodology and the major historical milestones from the 19th to the 20th century that are relevant to the study of ideologies in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. The second half of the course will discuss origins of the various ‘-isms’ such as nationalisms, socialism, liberalism, feminism and Islamism. The study of each major political ideology will be accompanied by the introduction of some of its major proponents and a discussion of the same ideology’s global precedents either through the readings or the lectures. The course will be conducted in English. The students are not expected to know Turkish, but they are expected familiarize themselves with some basic terminology, phrases or keywords in Turkish.

Objective: Introduction of the historical origins of the modern political ideologies in Turkey, familiarization with the theoretical discussions on the history and definitions of modern ideologies.

Format: Three hours long weekly sessions that include lecturing, presentations and discussion time. The course will take place **digitally** due to the restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic. Each week, there will be **two hours of asynchronous lecturing** followed by **an hour of synchronous discussion / presentation** component.

Learning Outcomes:

- 1) Professional familiarity with the complex ideological landscape of modern Turkey
- 2) Ability to historicize contemporary political movements in Turkey
- 3) Familiarization with the vocabulary of modern political movements in Turkey
- 4) Ability to situate local history of political ideologies in Turkey within the wider frameworks of global history and the study of modern ideologies

Course Requirements: Students are expected to complete the assigned readings before class and actively reflect upon the content in the discussions following the weekly lectures and student presentations. Attendance is mandatory. **Students are allowed to miss up to 3 synchronous classes. Absence beyond 3 classes without an officially verified excuse will result with the automatic failure of the student.** Each student is expected to present at least once on a topic of his or her choice that is confirmed by the lecturer at the beginning of the second week. The number and duration of the presentations may vary based on the enrolled student number. Be punctual, **students will not be allowed into class after the first 10 minutes** and they will be counted as absent.

Readings: Readings are an essential part of this course. Students are expected to complete all the assigned readings for all weeks. A selection of readings is assigned for each week of the course from different sources. These reading assignments will be available to students through the SuCourse+ system. Those who wish to do so will be able to purchase a hard-copy reader from our university’s printing shop. Some weeks include ‘suggested readings’ for those who wish to expand on the topic. They will not be a part of the mandatory assignments.

Grading:

Presentation (via sync. Zoom session): _____ %30

Presentations are expected to last no more than **30 minutes**. The students are expected to prepare presentations on the topics of their choice related to the course material (Week 2-14). These presentations **should not be summaries**. Students are allowed and encouraged to expand on the topics by introducing relevant new material. Presentation topics will be determined during the first week of the lectures. **Presentations will be followed by Q&A sessions**. The presentation documents **must be sent** to the lecturer via email on the day of the presentation. The presentations will take place during the synchronous part of the course, with the attendance of all students.

Respond to an article (via async. Zoom session): _____ %30

Students are expected to record an asynchronous video presentation via Zoom as about one of the readings of the course and submit it to the SuCourse+ system on the **18th of April, Friday until 23:59**. This 'response presentation' should last about **15 minutes** in length and it should be a critical assessment of the relevant reading rather than a simple summary. The presentation must be properly structured and academic citations should be used in the presentation slides if necessary. Please do not forget to shortly summarize the arguments and/or parts of the text that you are responding to in your presentation.

In-class Final: _____ %40

There will be a 3-hour in-class final, in the form of **an online, open-book and take-home examination** during the final examination period. The examination will consist of a small amount of identification questions and multiple short essay questions. The answers for the short essays are expected to be structured, analytical and with references to the course content. Further instructions will be provided during the course.

Find a primary source (Bonus, via async. Zoom session): _____ %10

The bonus assignment is designed around the idea of suggesting a new primary source to the course. This intellectual exercise aims to get students engaged with the material on a deeper level. Students are expected to find one audio/visual or written primary source about one of the topics in the course, describe it and make a case about its relevance in a **10-minute** asynchronous Zoom presentation and by **submitting a single page document summary**. Submission details are announced during the first weeks of the course.

IMPORTANT DISCLAIMER: Your webcam must always be on during assignments / exams -if not, your exams will be void. You must connect to the Zoom link for the course with your official Sabancı University e-mail account, and not utilize other email accounts.

Grading Scale:

90-100	A	70-71	C-
87-89	A-	63-69	D+
84-86	B+	55-62	D
81-83	B	0-54	F
78-80	B-	N/A Policy: Failure to attend four or more synchronous classes (with or without a valid excuse) and not submitting any number of the assignments / examinations; or valid make-ups will result with an N/A grade.	
75-77	C+		
72-74	C		

Academic Integrity: Cases of plagiarism will be directly referred to the Dean's Office for disciplinary action – for the university's Academic Integrity Statement, see:

<http://fdd.sabanciuniv.edu/sites/fdd.sabanciuniv.edu/files/akademikdurustluk.pdf> (Turkish)

<http://fdd.sabanciuniv.edu/sites/fdd.sabanciuniv.edu/files/academicintegrity.pdf> (English)

Make-up Policy: Students will only be allowed to have make-ups if they provide an official report from the University Health Center for the date of the relevant assignments (presentations or mid-term exam only) or an official permission notice from the university for participation in a university event on the date of the relevant assignments. No exceptions will be made to this rule.

Course Schedule and Readings

1) Introduction: What is Ideology? (Sync. Hour: February 23)

- Michael Freeden, *Ideology: A very short introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1-30.
- Terrell Carver, 'Ideology: The Career of a Concept,' in *Ideals and Ideologies: A reader*, ed. Terence Ball and Richard Dagger (Boston: Longman, 2011), 3-10.
- David E. Ingersoll, Richard K. Matthews and Andrew Davison, *The Philosophic Roots of Modern Ideology: Liberalism, Conservatism, Marxism, Fascism, Nazism, Islamism* (New York: Sloan Publishing, 2010), 6-16.

Suggested Reading:

- Yuval Noah Harari, *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind*, (London: Vintage Books, 2014), 22-44.

2) When is ideology (in Turkey)? A discussion on the history of an epistemological break (Sync. Hour: March 2)

- Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2012), 1-19.
- Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (London: Zed Books, 1993), 36-53.
- Ilan Pappé, *The Modern Middle East* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 1-13.

3) The Greek Revolt of 1821 and its consequences (Sync. Hour: March 9)

- Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 61-89.
- Kemal H. Karpat, Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era, in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, Vol.1 (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 141-169.

Suggested Reading:

- Umut Özkırımlı and Spyros A. Sofos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 43-55.

4) Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire (Sync. Hour: March 16)

- Erdem Sönmez, "From kanun-ı kadim (ancient law) to umumun kuvveti (force of people): historical context of the Ottoman constitutionalism," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 52:1, 116-134.
- Nazan Çiçek, *The Young Ottomans: Turkish Critics of the Eastern Question in the Late Nineteenth Century* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 24-41.

Suggested Reading:

- Nader Sohrabi, *Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 39-45.

5) Ottomanism: A liberal, imperial nationalism? (Sync. Hour: March 23)

- Stefano Taglia, "The Feasibility of Ottomanism as a Nationalist Project: The View of Albanian Young Turk İsmail Kemal," *Die Welt des Islams*, 56:Issue 3-4, (2016), 336 –358.
- Carter V. Findley, "Acid test of Ottomanism: The Acceptance of Non-Muslims in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, Vol.1 (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 339-368.

6) Nationalist discourses during the Revolution of 1908 (Sync. Hour: March 30)

- Hasan Kayali, 'The Young Turks and the Committee of Union and Progress,' in *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, ed. Metin Heper and Sabri Sayarı (New York: Routledge, 2012), 26-34.

On Greek nationalism:

- Umut Özkırımlı and Spyros A. Sofos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 15-27.

On Armenian nationalism:

- Ronald Grigor Suny, *"They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else:" A History of the Armenian Genocide* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), 40-63.

On Jewish nationalism:

- Michlle Campos, 'Between "Beloved Ottomania" and "The Land of Israel": The Struggle over Ottomanism and Zionism among Palestine's Sephardi Jews, 1908-13' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37/4 (2005), 461-483.

On Arab nationalism:

- Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire 1908-1918* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 38-55.

7) The Unionists' Muslim nationalism (Sync. Hour: April 13)

Guest Lecturer: Prof. Dr. Erik Jan Zürcher

- Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 213-235.
- Şükrü Hanioglu, "Blueprints for a future society: the late Ottoman materialists on science, religion and art" in *Late Ottoman society: The intellectual legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London and New York: Routledge, 2005) 28-89.

Suggested Reading:

- Erik Jan Zürcher, 'Macedonians in Anatolia: The Importance of the Macedonian Roots of the Unionists for their Policies in Anatolia after 1914' *Middle Eastern Studies*, 50/6 (2014), 960-975.

8) The Kemalists' secular Turkish nationalism (Sync. Hour: April 20)

- Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 136-150.
- Taha Parla and Andrew Davison, *Corporatist ideology in Kemalist Turkey: progress or order?* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 270-92.

Suggested Reading:

- Soner Çağaptay, 'Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s' *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40/3 (2004), 86-101.

9) Origins of Kurdish nationalism (Sync. Hour: April 27)

Students are expected to submit their preliminary research proposals this week.

- Andrew Mango, 'The Kurds,' in *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, ed. Metin Heper and Sabri Sayarı (New York: Routledge, 2012), 246-255.
- Janet Klein, 'Kurdish nationalists and non-nationalist Kurds: rethinking minority nationalism and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1909,' *Nations and Nationalism* 13:1 (2007), 135-153.

No classes on May 11!

10) Origins of Islamism or the politization of Islam (Sync. Hour: May 4)
Guest Lecturer: Dr. Ezgi Uzun

- David E. Ingersoll, Richard K. Matthews and Andrew Davison, *The Philosophic Roots of Modern Ideology: Liberalism, Conservatism, Marxism, Fascism, Nazism, Islamism* (New York: Sloan Publishing, 2010), 360-367.
- Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 20-47.

Suggested Reading:

- Pankaj Mishra, 'The Strange Odyssey of Jamal al-Din Afghani,' in *From the Ruins of Empire*, (London: Penguin Books, 2012), 46-123.
- Ziya Önis, 'The Political Economy of Islamic Resurgence in Turkey: The Rise of the Welfare Party in Perspective' *Third World Quarterly*, 18:4 (1997), 743-766.

11) Origins of Socialism and Communism (Sync. Hour: May 18)
Guest Lecturer: Dr. Doğan Çetinkaya

- İlham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 15-34.
- Feroz Ahmad, 'Some Thoughts on the Role of Ethnic and Religious Minorities in the Genesis and Development of the Socialist Movement in Turkey: 1876-1923' in *Socialism and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1923* ed. Mete Tunçay and Erik Jan Zürcher (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994), 13-25.

Suggested Reading:

- H. Şükrü İlicak, 'Jewish Socialism in Ottoman Salonika' *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 2:3, 115-146.
- Panagiotis Noutsos, 'The Role of the Greek Community in the Genesis and Development of the Socialist Movement in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1923' in *Socialism and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1923* ed. Mete Tunçay and Erik Jan Zürcher (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994), 77-88.

12) In-Class Final (May 25)

The examination will take place at the regular classroom and during the lecture hours.

End of the classes

Extra material for presentations (not mandatory, not included in examinations):

Origins of Feminism

- Hülya Yıldız, 'Rethinking the political: Ottoman women as feminist subjects' in *Journal of Gender Studies* (2016), 1-15.
- Elizabeth Paulson Marvel, "Fatma Aliye and *Nisvân-ı İslâm*" (MA thesis, The Ohio State University, 2011), 30-64.

Origins of Liberalism

- Domenico Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, (London and New York: Verso, 2011), 1-34.
- Ayşe Kadioğlu, 'An Oxymoron: The Origins of Civic-republican Liberalism in Turkey' in *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 16:2 (2007), 171-190.
- Hilmi Ozan Özavcı, 'Liberalism in the Turkish context and its historiography: past and present' in *Anatolian Studies*, 62 (2012), 141-151.