

#### Course name:

The Republic of Turkey and Its Search for Identity

הרפובליקה של תורכיה: החיפוש אחר זהות

Course No. :4040264

Lecturer: Mr. Robert Silverman

**Program:** Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies

Format: Shiur

Credits: Two credits

Course duration: first semester, 90 minutes per week

Pre-Requirements: History of the Middle East II

**Course Objectives**: This course will introduce students to Israel's dynamic northern neighbor and fellow democracy. After studying modern Turkey's history, society, economics, internal politics and foreign policy, the student will be able to do two things. First, the student will apply a nuanced knowledge of Turkey to issues in Turkey-Israel relations. Second, he or she will have learned a multi-disciplinary approach to learning about a foreign country and culture, integrating society, history, politics and economics into the quest, always exciting and sometimes frustrating, to understand the other.

<u>**Course Description</u>**: The course assumes a basic familiarity with the broad lines of Middle Eastern history, including that of the Ottoman Empire, the predecessor of the Turkish Republic. We will explore the origins of the modern republic from its war of independence, foundation of a secular republic and creation of the modern Turkish language and ethnic identity. The course has two main parts: eight weeks tracing the country's evolution in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the competing influences for its national identity, followed by five weeks covering the central issues of current Turkey. In the second half of the course, several guest speakers will address</u>

Turkey's internal politics, economic challenges and foreign relations. The course is based on class lectures in English with required readings in both English and Hebrew. The instructor will present the material in a lecture format, allowing time for discussion (in English or Hebrew, as the students desire).

## **Requirements:**

Final Paper of between 5-10 pages, in either English or Hebrew, on an aspect of Israel-Turkey relations: 100%

Passing Grade: 60.

"Galloping from farthest Asia

like a mare's head reaching for the Mediterranean

this country is ours." Nazim Hikmet (1902-63)

# Subjects and Required Reading

Class 1: **Introduction:** Merhaba, selam. Who is a Turk? Tour of the Turkish regions and provinces.

Required reading: Hebrew edition of Bernard Lewis, <u>The Emergence of Modern</u> <u>Turkey</u>, Chapter 1 "Introduction: The Sources of Turkish Civilization."

Recommended reading: Geoffrey Lewis, <u>The Turkish Language Reform: A</u> <u>Catastrophic Success</u> (Oxford: Oxford Univ, 1999); Nicole and Hugh Pope, <u>Turkey</u> <u>Unveiled: A History of Modern Turkey</u> (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1997); John Freely, <u>Istanbul: The Imperial City</u> (London: Penguin, 1996).

# Class 2: The War of Independence and Founding of the Republic.

Required reading: Hebrew edition of Erik Zurcher, <u>Turkey: A Modern History</u> (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), Chapter 9 "The Struggle for Independence."

Recommended reading: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, <u>Nutuk: The Speech, English</u> <u>Edition</u> (Ankara: Ataturk Research Center, 2020); Bruce Clark, <u>Twice a Stranger:</u> <u>The Mass Expulsions that Forged Modern Greece and Turkey</u> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ., 2006); "Kuvayi Milliye" (National Forces) in <u>Poems of Nazim Hikmet</u>, translated by Randy and Mutlu Blasing (New York: Persea, 2002).

# Class 3: The Ataturk Revolution: "How happy is he who says I am a Turk." Ziya Gokalp: "We come from the East, we go toward the West."

Required reading: Hebrew edition of Zurcher, <u>Turkey: A Modern History</u>, Chapter 11 "The Kemalist One-Party State, 1925-45."

Recommended reading: Halide Edib, <u>Turkey Faces West: A Turkish View of Recent</u> <u>Changes and Their Origin</u> (New Haven: Yale Univ., 1930); Henry Elisha Allen, <u>The</u> <u>Turkish Transformation: A Study in Social and Religious Development</u> (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1935); M. Sukru Hanioglu, <u>Ataturk: An Intellectual Biography</u> (Princeton: Princeton Univ., 2011).

### Class 4: Democratic Transitions, Military Coups, Statist Economy

Required reading: Hebrew edition of Zurcher, <u>Turkey: A Modern History</u>, Chapter 15: "The Third Republic: Turkey since 1980."

Recommended reading: Orhan Pamuk, <u>Silent House</u>, translated by Robert Finn, (New York: Knopf, 2012); Carter Vaughn Findley, <u>Turkey</u>, <u>Islam</u>, <u>Nationalism</u>, <u>and</u> <u>Modernity: A History</u>, <u>1789-2007</u>, Chapter 5 "The Early Republic," (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 2010); <u>The Economy of Turkey</u>, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. 1951).

#### Class 5: The Armenian and Kurdish Realities

Required Reading: Fethiye Cetin, <u>My Grandmother: An Armenian – Turkish Memoir</u> translated by Maureen Freely (London: Verso, 2008), pp. vii-xi and 61-80; Andrew Mango, <u>The Turks Today</u>, Chapter 10 "Eastern Approaches" pp. 207-231, (Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 2004).

Recommended reading: Thomas De Waal, <u>Great Catastrophe: Armenians and</u> <u>Turks in the Shadow of Genocide</u> (Oxford: Oxford Univ. 2015); Yashar Kemal, <u>Salman the Solitary</u> translated by Thilda Kemal (London: Harvill, 1997); Elif Shafak, <u>The Bastard of Istanbul</u> (London: Penguin, 2007).

Class 6: **The European Diaspora.** Guest speakers: Dervis Hizarci and Emrah Gursel, Kreuzberg Initiative against Antisemitism, Berlin.

Required reading: Hugh Pope, <u>Sons of the Conquerors: The Rise of the Turkic World</u> (New York: Abrams, 2006), Chapter 14 "The Golden Apple: Turks Follows their Lucky Star to Germany," and Chapter 19 "Euroturks: A Muslim Island in Holland's Christian Sea."

Recommended viewing: Fatih Akin, "The Edge of Heaven," Amazon Prime: <u>https://www.amazon.com/Edge-Heaven-Hanna-Schygulla/dp/B004I6K62E</u>

## Class 7: Asian Cousins Rediscovered

Required reading: Robert Silverman, "The American Way of Belt and Roads Projects," <u>The Jerusalem Strategic Tribune</u>, July 2022, <u>https://bit.ly/3PZ5jgU</u>

Recommended reading: Steve Levine, <u>The Oil and the Glory: The Pursuit of Empire</u> <u>and Fortune on the Caspian Sea</u> (New York: Random House 2007); "Turkey's Religious Outreach in Central Asia," <u>European Eye on Radicalization</u>, Sept. 26, 2019,

https://bit.ly/3iBL3l2; . Thomas Goltz, <u>Azerbaijan Diary: A Rogue Reporter's</u> <u>Adventures in an Oil-Rich, War-Torn, Post-Soviet Republic</u>, Chapters 1-2 "Getting There Fair and Square" and "A Distant Coup," pp. 1-43 (London: ME Sharpe, 1998).

# Class 8: Islamism Turkish style and the Rise of the Erdogan Era

Required reading:

40- אלון ליאל, <u>דמו-אסלאם: דמוקרטיה אסלאמית בתורכיה</u> (תל אביב: הקיבוץ המאוחד, 2003) עמ' 13, Recommended reading: Simon Waldman and Emre Caliskan, <u>The New Turkey and</u> <u>Its Discontents</u>, Chapter 2 "The Irresistible Rise of the AKP" (New York: Oxford U, 2017); Alberto Ambrosio, "Sufi Orders and the Turkish Coup d'Etat," <u>Oasis</u>, June 27, <u>https://bit.ly/3hAhb6V</u>.

#### Class 9: Finance and the Economy – the Achilles Heel.

Required reading: Laura Pitel, "Erdogan Gambles on Fast Recovery as Turkey Burns Through Reserves," <u>Financial Times</u>, August 3, 2020, <u>https://on.ft.com/2FwTIfB</u>

Recommended reading: Caitlin Ostroff, "Foreign Investors Flee Turkey's Bond Market," <u>Wall Street Journal</u>, July 24, 2020 <u>https://on.wsj.com/2RqNpXN</u>; IMF Staff Report, "Turkey- 2019 Article IV Consultation," December 26, 2019, <u>https://bit.ly/3bWnBwh</u>.

Class 10: **Foreign Policy I: Europe and US. "Yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh."** [Peace at home, peace in the world]. Guest speaker: former US Ambassador to Turkey James Jeffrey.

Required reading: James Jeffrey, "Dealing with the New Turkey," <u>The Jerusalem</u> <u>Strategic Tribune</u>, August 2021, <u>https://bit.ly/3SCZjfl</u>.

Recommended reading: Chloe Lourenco, "Turkish EU Accession: Where are we?" <u>The New Federalist</u>, 25 March 2019, <u>https://bit.ly/32tMn3r</u>; Joanna Kakissis, "Uighurs in Istanbul Fear China's Long Arm," <u>National Public Radio</u>, March 13, 2020, <u>https://n.pr/2ZEAC8F</u>; "How Turkey is Turning the War in Ukraine to its Own Advantage," Joshua Keating, <u>The Grid</u>, June 8, 2022, <u>https://bit.ly/3PZjR0c</u>

Class 11: Foreign Policy II: The Middle East.

Required reading:

אפרים ענבר, ערן לרמן, חי איתן ינוג'ק, "טורקיה כאתגר מרכזי לישראל ושכנותיה במאה ה-21" (מכון ירושלים לאסטרטגיה ולביטחון, 10 באוקטובר 2020).

Recommended reading: "Turkey is Wielding Influence All Over the Middle East," August 1, 2020 <u>The Economist</u>, https://econ.st/33pK94I; Soner Cagaptay, <u>Erdogan's Empire: Turkey and the Politics of the Middle East</u> (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2019); Nadav Shragai, "Turkey's Intrusion into Jerusalem," Jerusalem Council on Public Affairs, June 2020 <u>https://econ.st/33pK94I</u>; David Rosenberg, "The Danger Turkey's Bullying Poses to Natural Gas," <u>Ha'aretz</u>, August 19, 2020, <u>https://bit.ly/3iwG1Ga</u>

Class 12: **Domestic Politics and Human Rights in the Erdogan Era.** Guest speaker: Soner Cagaptay, Director of Turkish Research Program, Washington Institute.

Required reading: Soner Cagaptay, <u>The New Sultan: Erdogan and the Crisis of</u> <u>Modern Turkey</u>, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2020), Chapter 9 "The Revolution Devours its Children," pp. 127-42.

Recommended reading: Svante Cornell, "Turkey's Hour of Nationalism: The Deeper Sources of Political Realignment," <u>The American Interest</u>, June 18, 2019, <u>https://bit.ly/33rrUvJ</u>; Turkey Report 2020, <u>Human Rights Watch</u>, <u>https://bit.ly/3bWkbtr</u>

#### Class 13: Wrap Up. Whither Turkey?

Required Viewing: "Shomer Saf" Gadi Taub, Oct. 2020, https://bit.ly/3Peyyv1:

האם יכול להיות שתורכיה תהפוך שותפה אסטרטגית סמויה שלנו? דוראן אומר כן. שיפטן אומר לא.

Recommended reading: Hannah Lucinda Smith, <u>Erdogan Rising, A Warning to</u> <u>Europe</u> (London: William Collins, 2019) Required Viewing: "Shomer Saf" Gadi Taub, Oct. 2020, <u>https://bit.ly/3Peyyv1</u>:

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