

## **ATA 613**

### **Spring 2023**

### **Revolution in History**

ATA Seminar Room  
Tuesdays, 14.00-17.00

Dr. Ramazan Hakkı Öztan  
Email: ramazan.oztan@boun.edu.tr  
Tel: +90-212-359-64-18

Revolutions have deeply shaped the world as we know it today. This is a graduate seminar that shows how and why. The scholarly pursuit to understand such far-reaching developments has produced a vast literature on histories of revolution, old and new. Most recently, the study of revolutions has notably moved away from Eurocentric, structuralist and nation-centered accounts as a result of the historiographical transformations of the past few decades. Scholars have accordingly begun to locate the phenomenon in a more global perspective, highlighting a multiplicity of connected episodes, actors, and circuits of exchange in what is often termed to be revolutionary waves. Throughout this course, we will discuss a handful of texts that best represent these ongoing scholarly discussions. While the focus will be on revolutions and revolutionaries in the Ottoman Empire and modern Middle East since the late eighteenth century, the readings will help us frame these developments as part of a broader regional and global context. We will not only learn about a variety of revolutionary actors, episodes, and ideologies, but also have the chance to reflect upon a number of critical methodological and analytic issues, including but not limited to the questions of narrative, agency, and scale, as well as the use of sources and the notions of historic change.

### **Weekly Readings**

This is a graduate seminar that provides an opportunity for its participants to reflect upon the readings assigned for each week. As such, it is a forum where we can discuss freely, test and exchange ideas and perspectives. I therefore expect everyone to come to class having done the weekly readings, taken notes, and reflected upon each text's key insights and arguments.

I have assigned four readings for each week—three required and one optional. Lengths vary. These weekly readings will be made available via Google Drive at the beginning of the semester.

### **Assignments & Evaluation**

#### **1) Attendance & Participation (25 percent)**

Students are expected to be present in each session and participate actively in discussions. Absence is only allowed on the grounds of documented medical emergencies.

Each unexcused absence will drop a letter grade (e.g. from AA to BA); those with two unexcused absences will fail the course.

## **2) Paper Drafts (15 percent)**

Students are expected to have scheduled individual meetings with the instructor (in-person or online) and choose a final research paper topic by **March 10** at the latest. The expectation on my part is that you choose a paper topic that will require you to do research in primary and secondary sources.

First drafts of your research papers are due on **April 21**. The draft should be at least 10 pages for MA students and 15 pages for PhD students; double-spaced, with footnotes.

## **3) Presentation (10 percent each)**

Each student will be asked to present one pre-selected piece from the optional readings. The presentation will last 15 to 20 minutes and the presenter will discuss the content of the select piece (arguments, methods, themes, historiographical interventions, use of sources). Reading from slides will be frowned upon. (10 percent).

Students will present their final paper projects on **May 24** to receive feedback from their classmates. The presentation will last around 15 minutes, preferably with a PowerPoint (though reading from slides and/or notes will be frowned upon). During your presentations, you are expected to discuss your research questions and introduce your arguments, while identifying your interventions within the existing body of secondary literature. Reflections on source material, theory, and/or methodology, if appropriate, will also be welcome.

## **4) Final Paper (40 percent)**

Students are expected to turn in a final paper that is revised in accordance with the feedback received a month prior on the draft version. The final paper is due **June 7** (15 pages at least for MA students; 20 pages for PhD students; double-spaced, with footnotes).

# COURSE SCHEDULE

## Week 1, February 14

### Introduction

Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolutions: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) chapters 1 and 2.

George Lawson, *Anatomies of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) pp. 21-47.

Fred Halliday, "The International as a Cause," in *Revolution and World Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Sixth Great Power*, pp. 161-91.

Eric Selbin, "Stories of Revolution in the Periphery," in *Revolution in the Making of the Modern World: Social Identities, Globalization and Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2008) pp. 130-47.

## Week 2, February 21

### Atlantic Revolutions in a Global Perspective

David A. Bell, "Atlantic Revolutions" in *Revolutionary World: Global Upheaval in the Modern World*, ed. David Motadel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) pp. 38-65.

Rafe Blaufarb, "The Western Question: The Geopolitics of Latin American Independence," in *The American Historical Review*, 112:3 (2007) pp. 742-63.

Simeon Simeonov, "Miranda in the Balkans: Decadent Despotism, Consulship, and the Making of a South-eastern Revolutionary in the Age of Revolution," in *Journal of Global History*, 16:3 (Nov. 2021) pp. 375-94.

### Optional Reading

Janet L. Polasky, "Rumors of Freedom in the Caribbean," in *Revolutions without Borders: The Call to Liberty in the Atlantic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015) pp. 138-71.

## Week 3, February 28

### Ottoman Age of Revolutions?

Maurizio Isabella and Konstantina Zanou, "The Sea, its People and their Ideas in the Long Nineteenth Century," in *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016) pp. 1-23.

Frederick F. Anscombe, "The Balkan Revolutionary Age," in *The Journal of Modern History* 84, no. 3 (2012) pp. 572-606.

Peter Hill, "Ottoman Despotism and Islamic Constitutionalism in Mehmed Ali's Egypt," in *Past and Present*, 237 (Nov. 2017) pp. 135-66.

### Optional Reading

Peter Hill, "How Global was the Age of Revolutions? The Case of Mount Lebanon, 1821," in *Journal of Global History*, 16:1 (March 2021) pp. 65-84.

### **Week 4, March 7**

#### **Revolutionary Waves of 1848 and the Ottoman World**

Christopher Clark, "The Revolutionary Waves of 1848," in *Revolutionary World: Global Upheaval in the Modern World*, ed. David Motadel (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2021) pp. 66-91.

James Morris, "Locating the Wallachian Revolution of 1848," in *The Historical Journal*, 64:3 (June 2021) pp. 606-25.

Enzo Traverso, "The Revolutionary Intellectual, 1848-1945," in *Revolution: An Intellectual History* (London: Verso, 2021) pp. chapter 4.

### Optional Reading

Paul W. Schroeder, "The 19<sup>th</sup>-Century International System: Changes in the Structure," in *World Politics*, 39:1 (Oct. 1986) pp. 1-26.

### **Week 5, March 14**

#### **Revolutionary Youth**

Niall Whelehan, "Youth, Generations, and Collective Action in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and Italy," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 56:4 (2014) pp. 934-66.

Anna Vakalis, "Tanzimat in the Province: Nationalist Sedition (*Fesat*), Banditry (*Eşkiya*) and Local Councils in the Ottoman Southern Balkans (1840s to 1860s)," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Basel, 2019, pp. 116-99.

Nazan Çiçek, *The Young Ottomans: Turkish Critics of the Eastern Question in the Late Nineteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010) pp. 1-69.

### Optional Reading

Alexander Vezhenkov, "In the Service of the Sultan, in the Service of the Revolution: Local Bulgarian Notables in the 1870s," in *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: The Great Powers, The Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building*, eds. Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer and Robert Pichler (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011) pp. 135-54.

### **Week 6, March 21**

#### **Ottoman Radical Turn**

Tasos Kostopoulos, "'Land to the Tiller': On the Neglected Agrarian Component of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement, 1893-1912," in *Turkish Historical Review*, 7 (2016) pp. 134-66.

Keith Brown, *Loyal unto Death: Trust and Terror in Revolutionary Macedonia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013) pp. 41-69.

Lucia Carminati, "Alexandria, 1898: Nodes, Networks, and Scales in Nineteenth-Century Egypt and the Mediterranean," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 59:1 (Jan. 2017) pp. 127-53.

#### Optional Reading

Ramazan Hakkı Öztan, "Tools of Revolution: Global Military Surplus, Arms Dealers, and Smugglers in the Late Ottoman Balkans, 1878–1908," in *Past & Present* 237:1 (2017) pp. 167-95.

### **Week 7, March 28**

#### **Connected Constitutionalism**

Charles Kurzman, "The Global Wave of Constitutional Revolutions, 1905-1915," in *Revolutionary World: Global Upheaval in the Modern World*, ed. David Motadel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) pp. 111-29.

Houri Berberian, *Roving Revolutionaries: Armenians and the Connected Revolutions in the Russian, Iranian, and Ottoman Worlds* (University of California Press, 2019) pp. 1-43.

Nader Sohrabi, "Global Waves, Local Actors: What the Young Turks Knew about Other Revolutions and why it Mattered," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44:1 (Jan. 2002) pp. 45-79.

#### Optional Reading

Cemil Aydın, "Beyond Civilization: Pan-Islamism, Pan-Asianism and the Revolt against the West," in *Journal of Modern European History*, 4:2 (Fall 2006) pp. 204-23.

### **Week 8, April 4**

#### **1917 and the Socialist Wave**

Rachel G. Hoffman, "The Global Red Revolution," in *Revolutionary World: Global Upheaval in the Modern World*, ed. David Motadel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) pp. 130-51.

Masha Kirasirova, "The 'East' as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration: The Arab Section of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East," in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 18:1 (2017) 7-34.

Abdulhamit Kırmızı, "After Empire, Before Nation: Competing Ideologies and the Bolshevik Moment of the Anatolian Revolution," in *Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions: 1917 and its Aftermath from a Global Perspective*, eds. Stefan Rinke and Michael Wildt (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2017) pp. 119-37.

#### Optional Reading

Samuel J. Hirst, "Anti-Westernism on the European Periphery: The Meaning of Soviet-Turkish Convergence in the 1930s," in *Slavic Review*, 72:1 (Spr. 2013) pp. 32-53.

**Week 9, April 11**  
**Wilsonian Moment**

Erez Manela, "The Wilsonian Uprisings of 1919," in *Revolutionary World: Global Upheaval in the Modern World*, ed. David Motadel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) pp. 152-74.

Alp Yenen, "Internationalism, Diplomacy and the Revolutionary Origins of the Middle East's 'Northern Tier'," in *Contemporary European History*, 30:4 (Nov. 2021) pp. 497-512.

Michael Provence, "Ottoman Modernity, Colonialism, and Insurgency in the Interwar Arab East," in *IJMES*, 43 (2011) pp. 205-25.

Optional Reading

Perin Gürel, "Turkey and the United States after World War I: National Memory, Local Categories, and Provincializing the Transnational," in *American Quarterly*, 67:2 (June 2015) pp. 353-76.

**Spring Break, April 17 – April 21**

Drafts of Final Papers due April 21!

**Week 10, April 25**  
**Revolutionary Decolonization**

David Motadel, "The Global Authoritarian Moment and the Revolt against Empire," in *The American Historical Review*, 124:3 (2019) pp. 843-77.

Reem Abou-El-Fadl, "Building Egypt's Afro-Asian Hub: Infrastructures of Solidarity and the 1957 Cairo Conference," in *Journal of World History*, 30:1-2 (June 2019) pp. 157-92.

Matthew Connelly, "Taking off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence," in *The American Historical Review*, 105:3 (2000) pp. 739-69.

Optional Reading

Michael Goebel, "The Capital of the Men without a Country: Migrants and Anticolonialism in Interwar Paris," in *The American Historical Review*, 121:5 (2016) pp. 1444-67.

**Week 11, May 2**  
**The Long Sixties**

Mark T. Berger, "After the Third World? History, Destiny and the Fate of Third Worldism," in *Third World Quarterly*, 25:1 (2004) pp. 9-39.

Sune Haugbolle, "The New Arab Left and 1967," in *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 44:4 (2017) pp. 497-512.

Emin Alper, "Reconsidering Social Movements in Turkey: The Case of the 1968-71 Protest Cycle," in *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 43 (2010) pp. 63-96.

Optional Reading

Güneş Murat Tezcür, “Violence and Nationalist Mobilization: The Onset of the Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey,” in *The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 43:2 (2015) pp. 248-66.

**Week 12, May 9**

**From Islamic Revolution to Arab Winter**

Abbas Amanat, “The Global Islamic Revolution,” in *Revolutionary World: Global Upheaval in the Modern World*, ed. David Motadel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) pp. 192-214.

James L. Gelvin, “The Arab Uprisings,” in *Revolutionary World: Global Upheaval in the Modern World*, ed. David Motadel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) pp. 242-61.

Kurt Weyland, “The Arab Spring: Why the Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of 1848?,” in *Perspectives on Politics*, 10:4 (Dec. 2012) pp. 917-34.

Optional Reading

Cihan Tuğal, “Elusive Revolt: The Contradictory Rise of Middle-Class Politics,” in *Thesis Eleven*, 130:1 (2015) pp. 74-95.

**Week 13, May 16**

**Presentations**

Presentations of final paper projects

**Finals Week**

**May 24 – June 7**

Final Papers due June 7