

Contents

<i>Vignettes and Maps</i>	v
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	vii
<i>A Note on Transliteration</i>	viii

Introduction: 9/11 in Historical Perspective	1
--	---

PART I: THE ADVENT OF THE MODERN AGE 9

1 From Late Antiquity to the Dawn of a New Age	15
2 Gunpowder Empires	27
3 The Middle East and the Modern World System	35
4 War, Diplomacy, and the New Global Balance of Power	47

Documents 60

Draft Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the Ottoman Empire and France, February 1535 60

The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East-Indies (1) 61

The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East-Indies (2) 63

Suggested Readings 66

PART II: THE QUESTION OF MODERNITY 69

5 Defensive Developmentalism	73
6 Imperialism	88
7 Wasif Jawhariyyeh and the Great Nineteenth-Century Transformation	100

Photo Essay: The Great Transformation 111

8 The Life of the Mind	123
9 Secularism and Modernity	132
10 Constitutionalism	139

Documents 147

Commercial Convention (Balta Liman): Britain and the Ottoman Empire 147

The Hatt-i Sharif of Gulhane 148

The Islahat Fermani 150

The d'Arcy Oil Concession 154

Algeria: Poetry of Loss 157

Huda Shaarawi: A New Mentor and Her Salon for Women 158

Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi: The Extraction of Gold or an Overview of Paris 160

Muhammad 'Abduh: The Theology of Unity 161

- Namik Kemal: Extract from the Journal Hürriyet* 163
The Supplementary Fundamental Laws of 7 October 1907 164
Suggested Readings 167

PART III: WORLD WAR I AND THE MIDDLE EAST STATE SYSTEM 171

- 11 State-Building by Decree 175
12 State-Building by Revolution and Conquest 186
13 The Introduction and Spread of Nationalism 197
14 The Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Dispute 206

Documents 215

- Resolution of the Syrian General Congress at Damascus, 2 July 1919* 215
Theodor Herzl: A Solution of the Jewish Question 217
The Balfour Declaration, 2 November 1917 218
Mahmud Darwish: Eleven Planets in the Last Andalusian Sky 219

Suggested Readings 220

PART IV: THE CONTEMPORARY ERA 223

- 15 State and Society in the Contemporary Middle East:
An Old/New Relationship 231

16 Oil 247

- 17 The United States and the Middle East 257

- 18 Israel, the Arab States, and the Palestinians 271

- 19 The Iranian Revolution 282

- 20 Islamic Political Movements 294

Conclusion: The Middle East in the "Age of Globalization" 304

Documents 312

- Speech Delivered by President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser at Port Said on the
Occasion of Victory Day on 23 December 1961* 312

- Zakaria Tamer: Tigers on the Tenth Day* 313

- U.N. Security Council Resolution 242* 316

- 'Ali Shari'ati: The Philosophy of History: The Story of Cain and
Abel* 317

- Ayatollah Khomeini: Islamic Government* 319

- Sayyid Qutb: Milestones* 320

Suggested Readings 323

Timeline 325

Biographical Sketches 329

Glossary 335

Credits 344

Index 346