# Contents

Vignettes and Maps v  
Acknowledgments vii  
A Note on Transliteration 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
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

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
'AH 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