

University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations

Hilary Term 2008

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

(Optional Subject for the MPhil in International Relations)

Instructor: **Professor Avi Shlaim, St Antony's College**

1. COURSE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This optional subject seeks to build on the work of the core courses in the MPhil and to provide an advanced understanding of the international politics of the Middle East.

The course also provides training for those who intend to engage in further professional work in this field, whether in research, university teaching, the media, NGOs, government, diplomacy, or international organisations.

2. COURSE CONTENT

The content of the course will be described in the *Examination Decrees 2008* as follows:

The International Relations of the Middle East. This course covers the international politics of the Middle East and of the Persian Gulf with an emphasis on the period since 1945. There are three main elements: the foreign policies of the Arab states and the relations between them; the Arab-Israeli conflict; and external involvement in the affairs of the region. The course also examines a number of issue areas such as the impact of economic power, the role of Islam, secular ideologies, security, and the causes and consequences of war.

3. ORGANIZATION OF TEACHING

The class for this course in Hilary Term is held on Thursday at 2.00 - 4.00 pm in the seminar room in the library in Manor Road. It is chaired by Professor Avi Shlaim. This optional course is also available to students doing the MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. Attendance is compulsory for all MPhil students who have chosen this option. DPhil students may attend on request. Two topics are tackled each week through the medium of student presentations and class discussion. In addition to the essays presented in class, each student is expected to prepare two essays to be discussed in individual or paired tutorials, making up a total of three or four essays during the term. The tutorial teaching for MMES students will be done by Dr Philip Robins and Dr Michael Willis.

4. EXAMINING

This course is examined by means of a three-hour paper in Trinity Term of the second year on which candidates have to answer three questions.

Queries about this course can be addressed to Professor Avi Shlaim, St Antony's College.

The International Relations of the Middle East

Topics Covered in the Reading List

1. Britain and the Middle East

- a. Britain
- b. The Suez War

2. The Arab Israeli Conflict

- a. General
- b. The 1948 War

3. Egypt and Arab Nationalism

- a. Egyptian foreign policy
- b. Arab Nationalism
- c. Islam and International Relations

4. The Levant

- a. Syria
- b. Lebanon

5. Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians

- a. Israel
- b. The Palestinians
- c. Jordan
- d. The Peace Process since 1991

6. The Superpowers

- a. General
- b. The United states
- c. The Soviet Union

7. Saudi Arabia and Iran

- a. Saudi Arabia
- b. Iran

8. The Persian Gulf

- a. General
- b. Iraq
- c. The Iran-Iraq War
- d. The Gulf War

The International Relations of the Middle East

Week 1: Britain and the Middle East

1. What role did Britain play in shaping the state system of the Middle East? Why and how did British influence decline between 1945 and 1971?
2. Was Suez a turning point in the post-war history of the Middle East?

Week 2: The Arab-Israeli Conflict

1. Examine critically the traditional Zionist and the revisionist accounts of the first Arab-Israeli war. Why has the debate about 1948 generated so much heat?
2. What are the principal causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict? Account for the progress made in resolving this conflict since 1991.

Week 3: Egypt and Arab Nationalism

1. Has Egyptian foreign policy since the revolution been characterised more by continuity than by change?
2. Account for the rise and decline of Arab nationalism since 1945.

Week 4: The Levant

1. Assess the role of Ba'ath ideology and national interests in the making of Syrian foreign policy since 1970.
2. 'A victim of the cruel geopolitics of the region' (Richard Falk). Examine critically this description of Lebanon.

Week 5: Israel and the Palestinians

1. Compare and contrast the foreign policy of the Labour Party with that of the Israeli Right.
2. How and why did the PLO change its political programme between 1964 and 1993?

Week 6: The Superpowers

1. What have been America's main interests in the Middle East since 1945 and how successful has she been in achieving them? Have American policies promoted stability in the region?
2. What were the Soviet Union's main interests in the Middle East? Was soviet policy defensive or expansionist?

Week 7: Saudi Arabia and Iran

1. Is it accurate to describe Saudi foreign policy as a ceaseless quest for security?
2. Examine the foreign policy aims of revolutionary Iran and account for its failure to export the Islamic revolution.

Week 8: The Persian Gulf

1. What were the main causes of the Iran-Iraq War? What role did third parties play in determining its course and outcome?
2. Examine the causes and consequences of the 1991 Gulf War.

General Works

- Atiyeh, George N. *The Contemporary Middle East 1948-1973: A Selective and Annotated Bibliography* (1975).
- Ayoob, Mohammed. *The Middle East in World Politics* (1981).
- Bill, James A. and Robert Springborg. *Politics in the Middle East* (1984, 2000).
- Blake, Gerald, John Dewdney and Jonathan Mitchell, eds. *The Cambridge Atlas of the Middle East and North Africa* (1987).
- Brown, L. Carl. *International Politics and the Middle East: Old Rules, Dangerous Game* (1984).
- — — ed., *Diplomacy in the Middle East: The International Relations of Regional and Outside Powers* (2001, 2004).
- Evron, Yair. *The Middle East: Nations, Superpowers and Wars* (1973).
- Fawcett, Louise, ed., *International Relations of the Middle East* (2005).
- Fisk, Robert. *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East* (2005, 2006)
- Fraser, T.G. *The Middle East, 1914-1979: Documents* (1980).
- Freedman, Robert O., ed. *The Middle East Since Camp David* (1984).
- ed., *The Middle East After the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon* (1986).
- ed. *The Middle East from the Iran-Contra Affair to the Intifada* (1991).
- Halliday, Fred. *The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology* (2005).
- . *100 Myths About the Middle East* (2005).
- Hinnebusch, Raymond A. *The International Politics of the Middle East* (2003).
- Hinnebusch, Raymond A. and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, eds. *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (2002).
- Hiro, Dilip. *Dictionary of the Middle East* (1996).
- Hurewitz, J.C. *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record* (1975).
- Ismael, Tareq Y. *International Relations of the Contemporary Middle East* (1986).
- Korany, Bahgat and Ali Dessouki, eds. *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Change* (1991).
- Lenczowski, George. *The Middle East in World Affairs* (1952, 1980).
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Middle East and the West* (1964, 1968).
- *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (2004).
- Mansfield, Peter. *A History of the Middle East* (1991, 2003).
- The Middle East Contemporary Survey* (annual reference work, Holmes & Meier,).
- McLaurin, R.D., Don Peretz and Lewis W. Snyder. *Middle East Foreign Policy: Issues and Process* (1982).
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley, and Peter Hinchcliffe, *Conflicts in the Middle East* (2001).
- Mostyn, Trevor and Albert Hourani. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Middle East and North Africa* (1988).
- Ovendale, Ritchie. *The Middle East since 1914* (1998).
- Owen, Roger. *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (1991, 2004).
- Polk, William R. *The Arab World Today* (1980, 1991).
- Quandt, William B., ed. *The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David* (1988).

- Robins, Philip. *Turkey and the Middle East* (1991).
- Sachar, Howard M. *Europe Leaves the Middle East, 1936-1954* (1972, 1974).
- Salame, Ghassan, ed. *The Foundations of the Arab State* (1987).
- Sayigh, Yezid and Avi Shlaim, eds. *The Cold War and the Middle East* (1997).
- Sela, Avraham. *Political Encyclopedia of the Middle East* (1998).
- Shlaim, Avi. *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History* (1995).
- Telhami, Shibley and Michael Barnett, eds. *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East* (2002).
- Tibi, Bassam. *Conflict and War in the Middle East: From Interstate War to New Security* (1998).
- Walt, Stephen M. *The Origins of Alliances* (1987).
- Yapp, M.E. *The Near East since the First World War* (1991, 1996).

Week 1: Britain and the Middle East

a. Britain

- Balfour-Paul, Glen. *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in Her Last Three Arab Dependencies* (1991).
- Bullard, Reader, Sir. *Britain and the Middle East: From Earliest Times to 1963* (1964).
- Cohen, Michael and Martin Kolinsky, eds. *The Demise of the British Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Responses to Nationalist Movements, 1943-1955* (1998).
- Fitzsimons, M.A. *Empire by Treaty: Britain and the Middle East in the Twentieth Century* (1964, 1965).
- Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (1989, 2000).
- Hahn, Peter L. *The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt, 1945-1956: Strategy and Diplomacy in the Early Cold War* (1991).
- Kedourie, Elie. *In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth: The McMahon-Husayn Correspondence and its Interpretations, 1914-1939* (1976, 2000).
- — — *England and the Middle East: The Destruction of the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1921* (1956, 1987).
- Louis, Wm. Roger. *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States and Postwar Imperialism* (1984).
- Monroe, Elizabeth. *Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914-1971* (1963, 1981).
- Parsons, Anthony. *They Say the Lion: Britain's Legacy to the Arabs* (1986).
- Tidrick, Kathryn. *Heart-beguiling Araby: The English Romance with Arabia* (1981, 1989).
- Williams, Ann. *Britain and France in the Middle East and North Africa* (1968).

b. The Suez War

- Bar-On, Mordechai. *The Gates of Gaza: Israel's Road to Suez and Back, 1955-1957* (1994).
- Carlton, David. *Britain and the Suez Crisis* (1988).
- Eveland, Wilbur Crane. *Ropes of Sand: America's Failure in the Middle East* (1980).
- Fawzi, Mahmoud. *Suez 1956: An Egyptian Perspective* (1986).
- Golani, Motti. *Israel in Search of a War: The Sinai Campaign, 1955-1956* (1998).
- Heikal, Mohammed H. *Cutting the Lion's Tail: Suez through Egyptian Eyes* (1986, 1988).
- Kyle, Keith. *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East* (2003).
- Lloyd, Selwyn. *Suez 1956: A Personal Account* (1978).

- Louis, Wm. Roger and Roger Owen, eds. *Suez 1956: The Crisis and its Consequences* (1991, 1989).
- Love, Kenneth. *Suez: The Twice Fought War* (1969, 1970).
- Lucas, W. Scott. *Divided We Stand: Britain, the US and the Suez Crisis* (1991, 1996).
- Nutting, Anthony. *No End of a Lesson: The Story of Suez* (1967).
- Oren, Michael B. *The Origins of the Second Arab-Israeli War: Egypt, Israel and the Great Powers, 1952-1956* (1992).
- Shlaim, Avi. 'The Protocol of Sèvres, 1956: Anatomy of a War Plot', *International Affairs*, 73:3, July 1997.
- Shuckburgh, Evelyn. *Descent to Suez: Diaries 1951-1956* (1986).
- Tal, David, ed. *The 1956 War: Collusion and Rivalry in the Middle East* (2001).
- Thornhill, Michael T. *Road to Suez: The Battle of the Canal Zone* (2006).
- Troen, Selwyn Ilan and Moshe Shemesh, eds. *The Suez-Sinai Crisis: Retrospective and Reappraisal* (1990).
- Woollacott, Martin. *After Suez: Adrift in the American Century* (2006).

Week 2: The Arab-Israeli Conflict

a. General

- Bailey, Sidney D. *Four Arab-Israeli Wars and the Peace Process* (1990).
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy* (2005).
- Bregman, Ahron and Jihan El-Tahri. *The Fifty Years War: Israel and the Arabs* (1998).
- Cohen, Michael J. *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict* (1987).
- Dayan, Moshe. *Breakthrough: A Personal Account of the Egypt-Israel Peace Negotiation* (1981).
- Dupui, Trevor N. *Elusive Victory: The Arab-Israeli Wars, 1947-1974* (1978, 1992).
- Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Neil Caplan. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities* (1998).
- Finkelstein, Norman G. *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict* (1995, 2003).
- Flapan, Simha. *Zionism and the Palestinians* (1979).
- Fraser, T.G. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict* (2004).
- Gabbay, Rony E. *A Political Study of the Arab-Jewish Conflict: the Arab Refugee Problem* (1959).
- Gelvin, James L. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (2005).
- Gilbert, Martin. *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (2002, 2005).
- Harkabi, Yehoshafat. *Arab Strategies and Israel's Response* (1977).
- — — *Arab Attitudes to Israel* (1971, 1976).
- Heikal, Mohamed H. *Secret Channels: The Inside Story of Arab-Israeli Peace Negotiations* (1996).
- Herzog, Chaim. *The Arab-Israeli Wars: War and Peace in the Middle East from the 1948 War of Independence to the Present* (1982, 2004).
- Hirst, David. *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East* (1977, 2003).
- Khoury, Fred J. *The Arab-Israeli Dilemma* (1968, 1976).
- Laqueur, Walter and Rubin, Barry, eds. *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (1969, 2001).
- Lorch, Netanel. *One Long War: Arab versus Jew since 1920* (1976).

- Lukacs, Yehuda, ed. *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A Documentary Record 1967-1990* (1992).
- Moore, John Norton, ed. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Readings and Documents* (1977).
- Morris, Benny. *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (1999, 2001).
- Ovendale, Ritchie. *The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Wars* (1984, 2004).
- Pappé, Ilan, ed. *The Israel/Palestine Question* (1999, 2007).
- Parker, Richard B. *The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East* (1993).
- Quandt, William B. *Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics* (1986).
- Rabinovich, Itamar. *The Road Not Taken: Early Arab-Israeli Negotiations* (1991).
- Rodinson, Maxime. *Israel and the Arabs* (1968, 1982).
- Rubin, Barry, Joseph Ginat and Moshe Ma'oz, eds. *From War to Peace: Arab Israeli Relations, 1973-1993* (1994).
- Rubinstein, Alvin Z., ed. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Perspectives* (1984, 1991).
- Safran, Nadav. *From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948-1967* (1969).
- Schulze, Kirsten E. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict* (1999).
- Sela, Avraham. *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order* (1998).
- Shalev, Aryeh. *The Israel-Syria Armistice Regime, 1949-1955* (1994).
- Sheffer, Gabriel, ed. *Dynamics of a Conflict: A Re-examination of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (1975).
- Shlaim, Avi. *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (2000, 2001).
- Smith, Charles D. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (1988, 2004).
- Stein, Kenneth W. *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (1999).
- Tessler, Mark. *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (1994).
- Touval, Saadia. *The Peace Brokers: Mediators in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1979* (1982).
- Wasserstein, Bernard. *Israel and Palestine: Why They Fight and Can They Stop?* (2003, 2004).

b. The 1948 War

- Abu Nowar, Maan. *The Jordanian-Israeli War, 1948-1951: A History of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan* (2002).
- Bar-Joseph, Uri. *The Best of Enemies: Israel and Transjordan in the War of 1948* (1987).
- Doran, Michael. *Pan-Arabism before Nasser: Egyptian Power Politics and the Palestine Question* (1999).
- Flapan, Simha. *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities* (1987).
- Gelber, Yoav. *Palestine 1948: War, Escape and the Emergence of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* (2001).
- Karsh, Efraim. *Fabricating Israeli History: The 'New Historians'* (1997, 2000).
- Kelemen, Paul. 'Zionist Historiography and its Critics: A Case of Myth-taken Identity?' *Economy and Society*, 27:4, November 1998.
- Khalidi, Walid, ed. *From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem Until 1948* (1971).
- Lockman, Zachary. 'Original Sin', *Middle East Report*, May-June 1988.
- Louis, Wm. Roger and Robert W. Stookey, eds. *The End of the Palestine Mandate* (1986, 1988).
- Lustick, Ian. 'Israeli History: Who is Fabricating What?' *Survival*, 39:3, Autumn 1997.

- Morris, Benny. *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (1987).
——— *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* (1990, 1994).
——— *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (2004).
——— 'Re-Fabricating 1948,' *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 27:2, Winter 1998.
——— ed., *Making Israel* (2007).
- Pappé, Ilan. *Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1951* (1988).
——— *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1951* (1992, 1994).
——— *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2006).
——— 'Critique and Agenda: The Post-Zionist Scholars in Israel,' *History and Memory*, 7:1, (Spring/Summer 1995).
- Rogan Eugene L. and Avi Shlaim, eds. *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (2001, second edition 2007).
- Segev, Tom. *1949: The First Israelis* (1986).
- Sela, Avraham. 'Transjordan, Israel and the 1948 War: Myth, Historiography and Reality', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 28: 4, October 1992.
- Shapira, Anita. 'Politics and Collective Memory: The Debate over the "New Historians" in Israel,' *History and Memory*, 7:1 (Spring/Summer 1995).
- Shlaim, Avi. *Collusion across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine* (1988).
——— *The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists, and Palestine, 1921-1951* (1990, 1998).
——— 'Britain and the Arab-Israeli War of 1948', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 16:4, Summer 1987.
——— 'The Debate about 1948', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 27: 3, August 1995. (reprinted in Pappé 1999 and Morris 2007).
- Tal, David. *War in Palestine, 1948: Strategy and Diplomacy* (2004).
- Teveth, Shabtai. 'Charging Israel with Original Sin', *Commentary*, 88, September 1989.

Week 3: Egypt and Arab Nationalism

a. Egypt

- Ayubi, Shaheen. *Nasser and Sadat: Decision-Making and Foreign Policy, 1970-1972* (1994)
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. 'The Foreign Policy of Egypt in the Post-Sadat Era', *Foreign Affairs*, 60:4, Spring 1982.
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros. *Egypt's Road to Jerusalem: A Diplomat's Story of the Struggle for Peace in the Middle East* (1997).
- Cohen, Raymond. *Culture and Conflict in Egyptian-Israeli Relations: A Dialogue of the Deaf* (1990).
- Cremeans, Charles D. *The Arabs and the World: Nasser's Arab Nationalist Policy* (1963).
- Dawisha, Aaded I. *Egypt in the Arab World: The Elements of Foreign Policy* (1976).
- Fahmy, Ismail. *Negotiating for Peace in the Middle East* (1983).
- Farid, Abdel Magid. *Nasser: The Final Years* (1994).
- Heikal, Mohamed H. *The Cairo Documents* (1972).
——— *The Road to Ramadan* (1975, 1976).

- — — *Sphinx and Commisar: The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence in the Arab World* (1978).
- — — 'Egyptian Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, 56:1, July 1978.
- James, Laura M. *Nasser at War: Arab Images of the Enemy* (2006).
- Kamel, Mohamed Ibrahim. *The Camp David Accords: A Testimony* (1986).
- Kerr, Malcolm. *The Arab Cold War: Gamal Abd al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958-1970* (1971).
- Meital, Yoram. *Egypt's Struggle for Peace: Continuity and Change, 1967-1977* (1997).
- Riad, Mahmoud. *The Struggle for Peace in the Middle East* (1981).
- Stephens, Robert. *Nasser: A Political Biography* (1971, 1973).
- Tripp, Charles and Roger Owen, eds. *Egypt Under Mubarak* (1989).
- Vatikiotis, P.J., ed. *Egypt since the Revolution* (1968).

b. Arab Nationalism

- Ajami, Fouad. *The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice since 1967* (1981, 1992).
- — — 'The End of Pan-Arabism', *Foreign Affairs*, 57:2, Winter 1978/79.
- — — *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey* (1998).
- Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (1938).
- Barnett, Michael N. *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order* (1998).
- Dawisha, Adeed. *The Arab Radicals* (1986).
- — — *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair* (2003, 2005).
- Farah, Tawfic E., ed. *Pan-Arabism and Arab Nationalism: The Continuing Debate* (1987).
- Hassouna, Hussein A. *The League of Arab States and Regional Disputes: A Study of Middle East Conflicts* (1975).
- Jankowski, James and Israel Gershoni, eds. *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (1997).
- Kerr, Malcolm. *The Arab Cold War: Gamal Abd al-Nasir and his Rivals, 1958-1970* (1971).
- Podeh, Elie. *The Decline of Arab Unity: the Rise and Fall of the United Arab Republic* (1999).
- Sharabi, Hisham. *Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab World: The Middle East and North Africa* (1966).
- Tibi, Bassam. *Arab Nationalism: A Critical Inquiry* (1981, 1990).
- Zeine, Zeine N. *The Emergence of Arab Nationalism* (1966, 1973).

c. Islam and International Relations

- Ajami, Fouad. *Vanished Imam: Musa al-Sadr and the Shia of Lebanon* (1986).
- Ayubi, Nazih N. *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World* (1991).
- Bill, James A. 'Resurgent Islam', *Foreign Affairs*, 63:1, Fall 1984.
- Dawisha, Adeed, ed. *Islam in Foreign Policy* (1983).
- Esposito, John L. *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality* (1992, 1999).
- Gerges, Fawaz A. *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* (1999).
- — — *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global* (2005).
- Halliday, Fred. *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East* (1996, 2003).
- Hroub, Khaled. *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide* (2006).
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley. *Islamic Politics in Palestine* (1996, 1999).

- Mishal, Shaul and Avraham Sela. *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (2000, 2006).
- Munson, Henry. *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East* (1988).
- Piscatori, James. *Islam in a World of Nation-States* (1986).
- Third World Quarterly*, special issue, Islam and Politics, April 1988.
- Roy, Oliver. *The Failure of Political Islam* (1994).
- Wright, Robin. *Sacred Rage: The Wrath of Militant Islam* (1985).
- Zubaida, Sami. *Islam, the People and the State: Essays on Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East* (1988, 1993).

Week 4: The Levant

a. Syria

- Agha Hussein J. and Ahmad S. Khalidi. *Syria and Iran: Rivalry and Cooperation* (1995).
- Devlin, John F. *Syria: Modern State and Ancient Land* (1983).
- Drysdale, Alasdair and Raymond Hinnebusch. *Syria and the Middle East Peace Process* (1991).
- Eberhard Kienle, *Ba'th versus Ba'th: The Conflict Between Syria and Iraq* (1990).
- — — *Contemporary Syria: Liberalisation between Cold War and Cold Peace* (1994).
- Ma'oz, Moshe. *Asad: The Sphinx of Damascus – A Political Biography* (1988).
- — — *Syria and Israel: From War to Peacemaking* (1995).
- Ma'oz, Moshe and Avner Yaniv, eds. *Syria Under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks* (1986).
- Olson, Robert. *The Ba'th and Syria, 1947 to 1982: The Evolution of Ideology, Party, and State, from the French Mandate to the Era of Hafiz al-Asad* (1982).
- Pipes, Daniel. *Greater Syria: The History of an Ambition* (1990).
- Seale, Patrick. *The Struggle for Syria: A Study in Post-war Arab Politics, 1945-1958* (1965, 1987).
- — — *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (1988, 1995).
- Van Dam, Nikolaos. *The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society Under Asad and the Ba'th Party* (1979, 1996).
- Zisser, Eyal. *Asad's Legacy: Syria in Transition* (2001).

b. Lebanon

- Ajami, Fouad. 'Lebanon and its Inheritors', *Foreign Affairs*, 63:4, Spring 1985.
- Ball, George W. *Error and Betrayal in Lebanon* (1984).
- Cobban, Helena. *The Making of Modern Lebanon* (1985).
- Dawisha, Aheed. *Syria and the Lebanese Crisis* (1980).
- — — 'The Impact of External Actors on Syria's Intervention in Lebanon', *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 2:1, 1978.
- Evron, Yair. *War and Intervention in Lebanon: The Israeli-Syrian Deterrence Dialogue* (1987).
- Fisk, Robert. *Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War* (1990, 2002).
- Friedman, Thomas. *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (1990, 1989).
- Gendzier, Irene L. *Notes from the Minefield: United States Intervention in Lebanon and the Middle East, 1945-1958* (1997, 2006).
- Gilmour, David. *Lebanon: The Fractured Country* (1983, 1987).

- Harris, William. *Faces of Lebanon: Sects, Wars, and Global Extensions* (1997).
- Hetter, Peter B. 'The Syrian Factor in the Lebanese Civil War', *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 4:1, Fall 1980.
- Hudson, Michael. *The Precarious Republic: Political Modernization in Lebanon* (1968, 1985).
- Khalidi, Rashid. *Under Siege: PLO Decision-making during the 1982 War* (1986).
- Khalidi, Walid. *Conflict and Violence in Lebanon: Confrontation in the Middle East* (1979). *Middle East Journal*, special issue on Lebanon, 38:2, Spring 1984.
- Rabinovich, Itamar. *The War for Lebanon, 1970-1983* (1985).
- Randal, Jonathan. *The Tragedy of Lebanon: Christian Warlords, Israeli Adventurers, and American Bunglers* (1983, 1990).
- Salibi, Kamal. *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (1988).
- Schiff, Ze'ev and Ehud Yaari. *Israel's Lebanon War* (1984, 1986).
- Schulze, Kirsten E. *Israel's Covert Diplomacy in Lebanon* (1998).
- Sirriyeh, Hussein. *Lebanon: Dimensions of Conflict* (IISS, Adelphi Paper No. 243, 1989).
- Tanter, Raymond. *Who's at the Helm? Lessons of Lebanon* (1990).
- Weinberger, Naomi. *Syrian Intervention in Lebanon: The 1975-76 Civil War* (1986).
- Yaniv, Avner. *Dilemmas of Security: Politics, Strategy and the Israeli Experience in Lebanon* (1987).

Week 5: Israel and the Palestinians

a. Israel

- Bar-Siman-Tov, Yaacov. *Israel and the Peace Process, 1977-1982: In Search of Legitimacy for Peace* (1994).
- Bialer, Uri. *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation, 1948-1956* (1990).
- Brecher, Michael. *The Foreign Policy System of Israel* (1972).
- — — *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy* (1975).
- Cohen, Avner. *Israel and the Bomb* (1998).
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