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AUTHOR

Howard, Harry N.

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ABSTRACT

This study syllabus on the Near East and North Africa is divided into twelve units. Designed to familiarize government personnel assigned to the area with the region and people, each unit consists of a statement of the main objectives to be studied, questions for consideration, and a list of suggested readings from books and periodicals. Units are: "Historical Backgrounds in the Middle East," "The Geopolitical Significance of the Middle East," The Impact of the West on the Middle East," "Nationalism in the Middle East," "Types of Middle Eastern Societies," "The Northern Tier of the Middle East," "Israel as a Nation State," "The Middle East in Conflict," "American Interest and Policy in the Middle East," "The Arabian Peninsula," and, "North Africa." SO 005 925, SO 005 913-919 are related documents. (OPH)

FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE



CENTER FOR AREA AND COUNTRY STUDIES NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA A QUESTION SYLLABUS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH.

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HARRY N. HOWARD 1972



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

STÜD.Y SYLLABUS

NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

- UNIT I. THE GEOPOLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST
 - II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS IN THE MIDDLE EAST
 - III. THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON THE MIDDLE EAST
 - IV. NATIONALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST
 - V. THE IDFOLOGICAL REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST
 - VI. TYPES OF MIDDLE EASTERN SOCIETIES
 - VII. THE NORTHERN TIER OF THE MIDDLE EAST
 - VIII. ISRAEL AS A NATION STATE
 - IX. THE MIDDLE EAST IN CONFLICT
 - X. AMERICAN INTEREST AND POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST
 - XI. THE ARABIAN PENINSULA
 - XII. NORTH AFRICA

UNIT I

THE GEOPOLITICAL SETTING OF THE MIDDLE EAST

A. The Geographic Significance of the Middle East

1. The Intercontinental Crossroads: Historical and Contemporary Communications

2. The Land, Sea and Air Routes: Eastern Mediterrannean, the Turkish Straits, the Suez Canal, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea

Questions for Consideration

- 1. Delineate the major geographic features of the Middle East, including the principal waterways, rivers, mountain ranges, capitals and large cities.
- 2. Why has the Middle East been so important to the Soviet Union? Which of its strategic waterways, ports and air facilities are still essential to the commerce or defense of the "free" world? Why?
- 3. It is now suggested that the Middle East has long since lost whatever geographic significance it may once have had, that it is no longer an intercontinental crossroads. What is its significance today in the air and missile age?

- General: Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History (New York, Knopf, 1969), 749 pp. Chs. 1-2. Excellent, comprehensive text.
 - Tareq Y. Ismael, ed., <u>Governments and Politics in the Contemporary</u>
 <u>Middle East</u> (Homewood, Illinois, Dorsey Press, 1970), 495 pp.,
 especially pp. 3-38, 41-49. Very good for more recent developments.
- Selected: Roderic H. Davison, "Where is the Middle East?" <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, Vol. 38, No. 4 (July 1960), 665-675. Reprinted in Richard H. Nolte, ed. The Modern Middle East (New York, Atherton, 1963), 13-29.
 - Harry N. Howard, "The Turkish Straits after World War II: Problems and Prospects," <u>Balkan Studies</u>, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1970), 35-60.
 - Robert C. Kingsbury and Norman J. G. Pounds, An Atlas of Middle East Affairs (New York, Praeger, 1963), 117 pp.
 - Walter Laqueur, The Struggle for the Middle East: The Soviet Union in the Mediterranean (New York, Macmillan, 1969), especially pp. 181-194.

Stephen H. Longrigg, The Middle East: A Social Geography (Chicago, Aldine, 1963), 291 pp. Excellent general treatise, by a well-known British authority.

Lawrence H. Martin, "The Changing Military Balance", in J.C. Hurewitz, ed., Soviet-American Rivalry in the Middle East (New York, Praeger, 1969), 61-74.

B. The Economic Significance of the Middle East

- 1. Middle Eastern Oil
- 2. Other Middle Eastern Economic Resources
- 3. Agriculture and Industry in the Middle East

- 1. Trace the origin and nature of the existing land tenure systems in various Middle Eastern countries. What has been done to modernize it? How has land reform, if undertaken, affected production, distribution of agricultural income, investment in agriculture, and migration to the cities?
- 2. How much and what kinds of capital have been used to finance economic development?
- 3. Describe the nature and extent of government control over the economy in different Middle Eastern countries. How effective has the government been in stimulating economic growth?
- 4. What is the significance of Middle Eastern oil in the current world economy? What seem to be the prospects for the future?
- 5. Aside from oil companies, what American business interests are involved in the Middle East? How would you evaluate their experience, from the standpoint of the host country and their own commercial interests?
- 6. How has the arms race in the Middle East affected economic development?
- 7. Describe briefly the essential supply and demand factors involved in Middle Eastern and North African oil production, including estimated reserves, current production, transport and refining facilities, and major consumers. How is this picture likely to be affected by the discovery of gas in the North Sea? the development of U.S. shale oil and other sources of energy?
- 8. What is the U.S. stake (private and public) in the oil industry in the Middle East?
- 9. What is OPEC and why was it formed? How is it likely to affect the oil picture in the Middle East in the coming decade?
- 10. Is nationalization of the oil industry in the Middle East likely? Why or why not?

- Henry Cattan, The Evolution of Oil Concessions in the Middle East and North
 Africa (Dobbs Ferry, Oceana Publications, 1967), 173 pp. Very useful
 legal summary by a legal counsel for ARAMCO and TAPLINE.
- Z. Y. Hershlag, Introduction to the Modern Economic History of the Middle East (Leiden, Brill, 1964), 419 pp. General, useful.
- Charles Issawi, ed., The Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914: A Book of Readings (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1966), 524 pp. Excellent symposium on Middle Eastern economic history.
- Stephen H. Longrigg, Oil in the Middle East: Its Discovery and Development (New York, Oxford, 1968), 519 pp. By a distinguished British authority.
- United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Division of Foreign Labor, Labor Law and Practice in...(1) Iraq, BLS Report 221 (1962), 34 pp; (2) Turkey, BLS Report 239 (1963), 70 pp; (3) Cyprus, BLS Report 243 (1963), 44 pp; (4) Saudi Arabia, BLS Report 269 (1964), 44 pp; (5) United Arab Republic (Egypt), BLS Report 275 (1965), 100 pp; (6) Iran, BLS Report 276 (1964), 64 pp; (7) Morocco, BLS Report 282 (1965), 73 pp; (8) Tunisia, BLS Report 294 (1965), 50 pp; (9) Libya, BLS Report 297 (1966), 50 pp; (10) Lebanon, BLS Report 304 (1966), 98 pp; (11) Israel, BLS Report 315 (1967), 100 pp; (12) Jordan, BLS Report 322 (1967), 70 pp.

 These are all excellent summaries of the countries concerned.

C. Human Geography of the Middle East

- 1. The Middle East as a Melange of Peoples
- The Varied Peoples: Arabs, Turks, Persians, Jews, Armenians, Kurds, etc.
- 3. Social Institutions: Family, Clan, Tribe, Village, etc.

- 1. The pattern of social organization in the Middle East and North Africa has been depicted as a mosaic. Describe the components of this mosaic and their relationship to one another. What are the implications of the mosaic pattern for economic development? For the emergence of nation-states?
- 2. Describe the political structure of a village in a Middle Eastern country. What are some of the problems encountered in developing cooperation between the government and the village community?
- 3. What are the salient features of the Middle Eastern family system? What contrasts does this system present with respect to the middle-class American family?
- 4. Characterize the status and role of women in various Muslim countries.

- 5. How would you define "race" in the Middle Eastern context? Is "race" an important factor in political and social dynamics?
- 6. What are the traditional Middle Eastern attitudes toward time, prestige and status, work, technical competence, social competence, authority? What conventions folkways and practices stand in greatest contrast to those prevailing in the United States?

- Morroe Berger, The Arab World Today (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1962), 480 pp. Sociological analysis, confined to Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq. Lucid, popular discussion.
- Samia Hamady, <u>Temperanment and Character of the Arabs</u> (New York, Twayne, 1960). Very perceptive treatment.
- Daniel Lerner and Lucille Pevsner, <u>The Passing of Traditional Society</u> (New York, Macmillan, 1958), 466 pp. A sociological study by a professor at M. I. T. which examines urbanization, the role of the intellectual, and the impact on a changing Middle Eastern society.
- Louise E. Sweet, ed., <u>Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East: An Anthropological Reader</u> (New York, Natural History Press, 1970), 2 volumes. Volume I treats of depth and diversity in the area; Vol. II focuses on rural and urban societies and their interrelationships, and is particularly useful for students of urbanization.

UNIT II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A. The Cultural Foundations in the Middle East

- 1. The Cultural Foundations of Western Civilization
- 2. The Religious and Philosophical Foundations
 - a. Ur and Sumer
 - b. The Phoenicians
 - c. The Ancient Jews and Judaism .
 - d. Christianity
 - Te. Islam: The Faith and the Law (Sharia)

Questions for Consideration

- 1. What are the primary teachings of Islam? In what ways are they similar to those of Judaism and Christianity? In what ways do they differ? What features of Islam appear to be incompatible with modern science and technology? With social reform? Are there any features of Islam which could be used to further modernization?
- 2. What is meant by the <u>Sharia</u> and what are its most important provistions with respect to religious observance, man's economic activities, the status of non-Muslims? How much of the <u>sharia</u> remains in Muslim countries today?
- 3. What has been the traditional role of the <u>ulema</u> in Muslim society? How would you evaluate their influence today?
- 4. What major contributions were made in the Middle East by the Greeks? the Romans? the Persians? In what ways did the underlying Semitic culture modify these contributions?

Suggested Readings

General: Fisher, Tre Middle East: A History, Chs. 5-9, pp. 58-132.

William H. McNeill, The Rise of the West (New York, Mentor, 1965), 461-83. Excellent, comprehensive.

Sclected: Richard N. Frye, <u>The Heritage of Persia</u> (New York, Mentor, 1966), 349 pp. Classic work by a distinguished scholar.

Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb, Mohammedanism: A Historical Survey (New York, Mentor, 1962), 159 pp. Brief, classic treatment.

Philip K. Hitti, Islam and the West: A Historical and Cultural Survey. Brief work, with illustrative documentation.

B. <u>Institutional Devélopment</u>

- 71. The Persian Empire
- 2. The Arab Kingdoms and Empires
- 3. The Ottoman Empire
- 4. Ottoman Institutions

Questions for Consideration

- 1. What has been the role of the Christian-Muslim frontier in Middle Eastern history? In what sense does it still exist today?
- 2. How were the early Islamic empires (the Umayyad and Abbasid) organized, politically, militarily and financially? Why did they fail to achieve social cohesion and political stability?
- 3. When and under what circumstances did the Turks enter Middle Eastern history? Why were they atle to dominate the indigenous population so rapidly?
- 4. To what factors do you attribute the rise and expansion of the Ottoman Empire? When and why did it begin to decline?

- Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History (London, New York, 1950), 196 pp. Brief and comprehensive.
- Anthony Nutting, The Arabs (New York, Mentor, 1965), 425 pp. Well-written popular treatment of the historical and contemporary scene.
- Dankwart A. Rustow, <u>Middle Eastern Political Systems</u> (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1970), especially Chs. 1-3. Brief and summary treatment.
- John J. Saunders, ed., <u>The Muslim World on the Eve of Europe's Expansion</u> (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1966), 146 pp. Excellent, brief compendium of documentary and other materials.
- Wayne S. Vucinich, <u>The Ottoman Empire: Its Record and Legacy</u> (Princeton, N.J., D. Van Nostrand, 1965), 191 pp. Brief survey with illustrative citations and selected bibliography.

UNIT III

THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON THE MIDDLE EAST

A. The Beginnings of the Eastern Questions

- 1. The Decline of the Ottoman Empire
- 2. Internal Elements in the Decline
- 3. External Factors in the Decline .

Questions for Considerati m

- 1. What, in essence, were the basic elements in the decline of the Ottoman. Empire, as indicated in the Seventeenth Century?
- 2. What were the external factors involved? Was the decline "absolute" or only relative to the advance of the West in this period?
- 3. What, basically, was the Eastern Question and how was it viewed by the various European Powers? by the Ottoman Empire?
- 4. Describe the ways in which the West made itself felt in the Middle East --militarily, politically, economically and culturally. What countries and what areas of life were most affect 1 and why?

Suggested Readings

General: Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, 261-349.

Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (London, Oxford, 1961, 1968), 511 pp., passim. A classic work on the subject. See especially Ch. III.

M. S. Anderson, The Eastern Question, 1774-1923: A Study in International Relations (London, Macmillan, 1966), 436 pp., passim. Comprehensive treatment; utilizes Russian sources.

William H. McNeill, The Rise of the West (New York, Mentor, 1965), 755-767

Selected: Roderic H. Davison, <u>Turkey</u> (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1968), 181 pp. The Modern Nations in Perspective. Brief and succinct treatise.

Albert Hourani, "The Decline of the West in the Middle East," in Richard H. Nolte, ed., The Modern Middle East (New York, Atherton, 1963), 30-56.

George Lencowski, ed., The Political Awakening in the Middle East (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1970), 1-78.

B. The Scench Revolutionary Influences

- 1. The Impact of French Revolutionary
 Doctrines: Liberty, Equality and
 Fraternity
 - 2. The French Cultural Influence
- 3. The Centers of French Influence: The Balkan Area, Greece, Istanbul, Beirut, Damascus, Cairo

Questions for Consideration

Trace the French cultural impact in the Middle East. What were its roots? Where did they strike most deeply?

What was the most fundamental of the French Revolutionary influences in the Middle East?

Suggested Readings

Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey (Montreal, McGill, 1964), Chs. 1-3 and passim. Best single work on the subject.

George .irk, A Short History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to Modern Times (New York, Praeger, 1963), Ch. IV.

C. The Legacies of the West

- 1. Western Imperialism in the Middle East
- 2. Western Nationalism in the Middle East
- 3. The Western Cultural Impact

- 1. Why were the Otroman Empire and Iran able to escape direct foreign rule?
 Has this helped or hindered their national development? Their diplomatic relations with the West?
- 2. Compare the policies of the British and the French in the Middle East (including the later mandated areas) with respect to aims, methods, administration, land policy, economic and cultural development and political institutions.
- 3. Where and how has the withdrawal of the West from the Middle East been accomplished peacefully? with violence? What have been the implications for the countries involved?
- 4. What have been the positive contributions of Western imperialism in the Middle East?

- George Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs (Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell, 1962), Chs. 1-3.
- Vernon J. Puryear, Napoleon and the Dardanelles (Berkeley, University of California, 1951), 437 pp. Comprehensive study of French policy

D. The Policies and Interests of the Powers in the Middle East

- 1. The Imperial Russian Interest
- 2. The Habsburg Interest
- 3. The French Interest
- 4. The British Interest
- 5. The Imperial German Interest
- 6. The American Interest: The Commercial, Missionar, Educational and Political interests

Questions for Consideration

- 1. Trace the continuities between imperial Russian and Soviet policies in the Middle East. Among other things note the significance of the treaties of KüçükKaynarca (1774) and Hünkar Iskelesi (1833).
- 2. What factors lay behind the French annexation of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco? The British domination and control of Egypt? The British position in Cyprus after 1878?
- 3. To what extent was German policy after 1871 in the Middle East a challenge to Imperial Russia and to France and Great Britain? Characterize German policy under William II.
- 4. Great Britain, it has been suggested, had no Middle Eastern policy. It had an Indian policy. Explain.
- 5. Trace the evolution of American interest and policy in the Middle East, especially the commercial and the American missionary-educational interest.

Suggested Readings

- John A. DeNovo, American Interests and Policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939 (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1963), 447 pp. Best general study.
- David H. Finnie, <u>Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East</u> (Cambridge, Harvard, 1967), 333 pp. Excellent work; story of missionaries, travelers, diplomats, traders, etc.
- Sydney N. Fisher, "Two Centuries of American Interest in Turkey," reprinted from <u>A Festschrift for Frederick B. Artz</u> (Durham, N. C., Duke, 1954), 113-138.

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- Leland Gordon, American-Turkish Relations, 1830-1930: An Economic Interpretation (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1932), 402 pp. Good, general account.
- George Lenczowski, ed., <u>United States Interests in the Middle East</u> (Washington, D.C., American Enterprise Institute, 1968), 129 pp. Broad and comprehensive treatment, well-balanced account of American interests.
- A. L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine, 1800-1901 (London, Oxford, 1961), 280 pp. Scholarly account of missionary activities.
- ---, American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work (London and New York, Oxford, 1966), 333 pp. A parallel volume. Good reading.

UNIT IV

NATIONALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A. The Roots of Middle Eastern Nationalism

- 1. The Middle Eastern Backgrounds
- 2. The French Revolution
- 3. The Western Influences

Questions for Consideration

- Trace the essential roots of Middle Eastern nationalism during the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries.
- 2. Where and under what circumstances did nationalist movements first arise in this area?
- 3. What historical events or achievements have been drawn on in developing nationalist ideologies? What streams of European thought have been most influential?
- 4. We often speak of American, British and French--Western European contributions to the development of Middle Eastern nationalism. What of contributions from Eastern Europe? From Imperial Russia?

- George Antonius, <u>The Arab Awakening</u> (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1939), 471 pp. A classic statement on the origins and development of Arab nationalism. Paperback edition Capricorn 119 (Putnam).
- Sylvia Haim, ed., Arab Nationalism: An Anthology (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California, 1962), 255 pp. Excellent symposium; see especially pp. 3-72, 75-228.
- George Kirk, Short History of the Middle East (New York, Praeger, 1964), Ch. V.
- Hans Kohn, "Zion and the Jewish National Idea." Reprinted from the author's Reflections on Modern History (Princeton, D. van Nostrand, 1963), and Alan R. Taylor and Richard N. Tetlie, eds., Palestine: A Search for Truth (Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1970), 22-54.
- ---, The Age of Nationalism: The First Bra of Global History (New York, Harper and Row, 1962), 178 pp. Torch Book 1380.
- ---, The Idea of Nationalism (New York, Macmillan, 1961), Chs. 1-2. A profound classic on the subject.
- Roger R. Trask, The United States Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform, 1914-1939 (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1971), 1-64.
- Zeine N. Zeine, The Struggle for Arab Independence (Beirut, Khayats, 1960), 297 pp. A correction to George Antonius' Arab Awakening.

B. The Ingredients in Middle Eastern Nationalism

- The essential similarities with Western Nationalism
- 2. The differing ingredients
- Nationalism as a driving force in the Middle East

Questions for Consideration

- It has been observed that Nationalism in the Middle East is essentially different from that in the West, that it is artificial, anti-Western, anti-democratic, etc. Comment on this observation.
- In what respects does Middle Eastern Nationalism differ from that in the West? In what ways is it similar?
- What do you consider to be the essential ingredients of Middle Eastern Nationalism?

Suggested Readings

- Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey (montreal, McGill, 1964), 537 pp. Best work on the subject.
- Sylvia Haim, ed., Arab Nationalism: An Anthology. Cited
- Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939 (New York, Oxford, 1962), 403 pp. A classic work.
- Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (New York, Oxford, 1961), Ch. III, "Impact of the West." A classic work.
- George Lenczowski, ed., The Political Awakening of the Middle East (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 1-78.
- Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh, The Ideas of Arab Nationalism (Ithaca, New York, Cornell, 1962), 227.

C. The Varying Types of Middle Eastern Nationalism

- 1. The Northern Tier: Greece, Turkey and Iran
- 2. Egypt and the Arab States
- 3. Political Zionism and the State of Israel

- Where and under what circumstances did nationalist movements first arise in the Middle East?
- What has been the relationship between nationalism and insurgency?
- Describe the nationalist movement in various Middle Eastern countries (Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Israel, Syria, for example) in terms of organization, leader ship, ideology, tactics and effectiveness in achieving independence. Has

the movement been as effective in governing the country after the achievement of independence?

- In what ways does the emergence of political Zionism parallel that of the nationalist movements in the Middle Eastern countries. Describe the ideology, organization, tactics and leadership of the Zionists, inside and outside of Israel. Where does Zionism stand in Israel today?
- Who are the nationalist heroes in the various Middle Eastern countries--Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Israel, etc.? What do these choices tell you about national values? the leadership qualities which are admired?

- Harry N. Howard, "Nationalism in the Middle East," Orbis, Vol. X, No. 4 (Winter 1967), 1200-1213.
- Kemal H. Karpat, ed., Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East (New York, Praeger, 1968), 397 pp; especially pp. 3-132.
- William R. Polk, The United States and the Arab World (Cambridge, Harvard, 1969), 377 pp. Comprehensive treatment.

UNIT V

THE IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A. The Challenge to Traditional Values

- 1. The Challenge of Nationalism to Traditional Societies and Values
- 2. The Ideological Challenge

Questions for Consideration

- What, in your opinion, is the basic ideological current in the Middle East today? Cite examples here and there in the area.
- Who are the outstanding writers and thinkers today? What is their ideological orientation? Cite the major newspapers and political journals. What is their ideological orientation?
- To what extent has Nationalism in various Middle East country essentially "challenged" the religious values of Islam? To what extent has Islam and other religious traditions proved a barrier to the newer secular ideologies?

Suggested Readings

- General: Leonard Binder, The Ideological Revolution in the Middle East
 (New York, Wiley, 1964), 287 pp. Comprehensive work on subject.
 - J. C. Hurewitz, <u>Middle East Politics: The Military Dimension</u> (New York, Praeger, 1969),553 pp. Wide ranging discussion.
 - Malcolm H. Kerr, <u>The Arab.Cold War: A Study of Ideology in Politics</u> (New York, Oxford, 1967), 169 pp. Succinct treatment.
 - Hisham B. Sharabi, Arab Intellectuals and the West: The Formative Years, 1875-1914 (Baltimore, Md., Johns Hopkins, 1970), 139 pp. Excellent introduction.
 - Dankwart A. Rustow, <u>Middle Eastern Political Systems</u> (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1971), Ch. 4.
 - C. M. Woodhouse, A Short History of Modern Greece (New York, Praeger, 1968). Excellent brief history by a British authority.

B. The Carriers of Change

- The Educated Classes
- 2. The Army
- 3. The Civil Service



Questions for Consideration

- Examine the role of the military in various Middle Eastern countries (Greece, Turkey, Iran, Syria and Egypt, for example). Describe the way in which it has achieved its current position.
- Is there any evidence of a division within the military, either along lines of rank, politics or ideology?
- Who are the outstanding political leaders, inside, or outside the Government? What are their ideological orientations?
- In general what have been the channels of ideological change in various Middle Eastern countries?

Suggested Readings

- Morroe Berger, The Arab World Today (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1962), 480 pp. Anchor 106. Excellent popular treatment by a Princeton sociologist.
- Manfred Halpern, The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North
 Africa (Princeton, Princeton University, 1963), 431 pp. Basic work on subject.
- J. C. Hurewitz, Middle East Politics: The Military Dimension (cited), passim.

C. The Basic Ideologies in the Middle East

- 1. Communism
- 2. Arab Socialism
- 3. Neutralism
- 4. Arab Unity

- To what extent, in your view, is Islam a "bulwark against Communism" in the Middle East? To what elements in Middle Eastern society do Communist ideology and programs appeal most? Least?
- What particular problems have Communist Parties faced in attempting to expand their organization and influence? To what extent have these been overcome and by what methods?
- Review the military and political attempts of the Soviet Union to extend its influence over the Northern Tier countries since World War II. What were the Soviet motives? How were they countered?
- When and how did Soviet influence penetrate Egypt and other Arab countries?



- What has been the extent and distribution of Soviet and Chinese aid to Middle Eastern countries? How does it compare with that of the United States?
- In what specific ways does Communism represent an internal and external threat in various Middle Eastern countries--Turkey, Iran, Egypt, for instance?
- To what extent is the socalled ideological revolution in the Middle East to be traced to Western influences? To Soviet or Chinese influences?
- It has been observed that the essential components in the ideological revolution lie in nationalism, socialism, the demand for national equality and sovereignty, and neutralism. Comment on this proposition.
- To what extent do ideological considerations determine foreign or domestic politics?
- What is the impact of the technological upon the ideological revolution?
- How does the ideological revolution in the Middle East differ from ideological changes in the West? In Eastern Europe? Elsewhere in the world?

- Adel Daher, Current Trends in Arab Intellectual Thought (Santa Monica, California, RAND, 1969), 33 pp.
- Kemal H. Karpat, ed., Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East (New York, Praeger, 1968), 132-184, 225-244, 245-294.
- George Lenczowski, ed., The Political Awakening in the Middle East, 119-164:
- William R. Polk, ed., <u>The Developmental Revolution: North Africa, the Middle East and South Asia</u> (Washington, D. C., Middle East Institute, 1963), 269 pp.
- Fayez Sayegh, The Dynamics of Neutralism in the Arab World; A Symposium (San Francisco, Chandler, 1964), 275 pp.
- Hisham B. Sharabi, Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab World (Princeton, D. van Nostrand, 1966), 176 pp.t
- J. H. Thompson and R. D. Reischauer, eds., Modernization of the Arab World (Princeton, D. van Nostrand, 1966),249 pp. First class symposium.

UNIT VI

TYPES OF MIDDLE EASTERN SOCIETIES

A. The Traditional Societies

- 1. The Persian Gulf Area: Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, etc.
- 2. North Africa: Morocco
- 3. The Processes of Change
- 4. The Technological Impact
- 5. The Prospects

- What particular important differences or similarities can be seen among the various political units of the Middle East and North Africa, in regard to the societal and cultural, and philosophical bases, as well as economic underpinnings, for the conduct of nation-states at this time?
- What significance can be attached to these differences or similarities, in terms of societies as affected by and reflected in the polities, the kids of problems or political development which will be encountered, and the effect upon known economic development within these various units, as well as the effect upon the relations among these units?
- It has become customary for many analysts to examine the states and societies in the Middle East and North Africa from the standpoint of their "traditional", "moderate," or "radical" character, although one writer refers to "modern political systems," "traditional political systems," and "political systems in flux." To what extent would one expect, or not expect, to find that, with the impact of modern technology, and considering their great wealth, the so-called "traditional societies", which do not have rigid ideologies to guide them, would be likely to undergo more rapid and profound change, and perhaps in a more pragmatic manner, than the more "radical" regimes? In accord with what characteristics may one engage in an analysis of the viability, and the capacity or likelihood for change, of these more "traditional" societies?
- In "traditional" society, and especially in states arising from the former Ottoman Empire, the channels for transmission of values were the Ulema, the military and the civil servants, who came to constitute the conservative, educated classes. To what extent are these visible, influential or even decisive factors present not only in the society and economy, but in the polities of today? To what extent do they appear now capable of ordering the value systems of oncoming generations?

- American University, Foreign Area Studies, Area Handbooks for The Persian Gulf (1970), Saudi Arabia (1970) (Washington, USGPO, 1970 ff).
- Douglas E. Ashford, Political Change in Morocco (Princeton, Princeton University, 1961), 456 pp.
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, pp. 546-589.
- Tareq Y. Ismael, ed., Governments and Politics in the Contemporary Middle East (Homewood, Illinois, Dorsey Press, 1970), Chs. 15-18.
- George Lenczowski, ed., The Political Awakening in-the Middle East, pp. 28-48.
- Daniel Lerner and Lucille Pevsner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1958), 466 pp.
- Manfred Wenner, Modern Yemen (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1967), 231 pp. Very useful history.
- R. Bayly Winder, Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century (New York, St. Martin's, 1966. Excellent history by competent scholar.

B. The "Moderate" Regimes

- 1. Lebanon, Jordan, Tunisia
- 2. The Differing Systems
- 3. The Varying Processes of Change

Questions for Consideration

- What are those traditional or external elements of a societal, cultural, political, religious or economic nature, which may cause and characterize the "moderateness" of the socalled "moderate" states? What appear to be the criteria for judgment in these matters?
- What are the differences, basically, in the experience and development of societies like those in Lebanon, Jordan, and Tunisia? The similarities?
- What distinctive qualities or characteristics, if any, which set off the socalled "moderate" from the more "radical" societies?

- American University, Foreign Area Studies, Area Handbook for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1969), 370 pp.
- Leonard Binder, ed., Politics in Lebanon (New York, Wiley, 1966), 345 pp. Seventeen essays on Lebanese politics.



- Leon Carl Brown, State and Society in Independent North Africa (Washington, D. C., Middle East Institute, 1966), 332 pp. Comprehensive study.
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, 590-639, 673-682.
- Michael Hudson, The Precarious Republic: Political Modernization of Lebanon (New York, Random House, 1969), 346 pp. Comprehensive study of Lebanese politics.
- Tareq Y. Ismael, ed., Government and Politics in the Contemporary Middle East, Chs. 11, 13.
- D. L. Ling, <u>Tunisia: From Protectorate to Republic</u> (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1965), 273 pp.
- Leila M. T. Meo, <u>Lebanon: Improbable Nation</u> (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1965), 246 pp.
- Michael W. Suleiman, Political Parties in Lebanon: The Challenge of a Fragmented Political Culture (Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell, 1967), 326 pp. Basic study.
- P. J. Vatikiotis, <u>Politics and the Military in Jordan: A Study of the Arab</u> Legion, 1921-1967 (New York, Praeger ,1967), 182 pp. By a well-known British writer.

C. The "Radical" Regimes

- 1. The "Radical" Resimes in Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Algeria
- 2. The Varying Ideologies
- 3. The Processes of Change

- In regard to the socalled "radical" regimes, all of which appear now devoted to varying forms of "Arab socialism," all of which have certain of the guises of military dictatorships, and a number to rest on somewhat shaky foundations:
 - (1) To what extent do these various elements appear now or in the future to be inevitably interconnected with the socalled "radical" nature of the regimes?
 - (2) To what extent do these move along with, or contravert, the fundamental societal, cultural, and traditional political thought and patters of these particular regions?
 - (3) To what extent are these the elements which constitute the basic distinction differentating these "radical" states from the "moderate" and "traditional" states?



- What appear to be the primary causes, characteristics and effects of the interaction between economic and technical development, whether through technical assistance or otherwise, on the polities of the Middle East and North Africa?
- To what extent is the influence of international political factors, and of the objectives and means of countries external to the area, visible upon the ideological and/or the institutional aspects of political development in the various countries of the area?

- Anouar Abdel-Malek, Egypt: Military Society: The Army Regime, the Left, and

 Social Change Under Nasser (New York, Random House, 1968), 458 pp. Critical of the Nasser regime.
- American University, Foreign Area Studies, Area Handbook for Algeria (1965), Libya (1969), and Egypt (1970). Very useful handbooks.
- Kamel S. Abu Jaber, The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party (Syracuse (Syracuse University, 1966),218 pp. Thoughtful, informed study.
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, Chs. 31, 33, 39, 41.
- Sylvia Haim, ed., Arab Nationalism, 229-246.
- George Lenczowski, The Political Awakening in the Middle East, 121-164.
- Tareq Y. Ismael, ed., Government and Politics in the Contemporary Middle East, Chs. 9, 10, 14, 16, 17.
- Majid Khadduri, Republican Iraq: A Study of Iraqi Politics since the Revolution of 1958 (New York, Oxford, 1969), 318 pp.
- Patrick Seale, The Struggle for Syria; AStudy of Post-war Politics, 1945-1958 (New York, Oxford, 1965), 344 pp. Authoritative study by a British observer.
- Gordon H. Torrey, Syrian Politics and the Military, 1945-1958 (Columbus, Ohio State University, 1964), 438 pp. Authoritative study.

UNIT VIT

THE NORTHERN TIER OF THE MIDDLE EAST

A. Greece in World War II and After

- 1. The Greek Experience in World War II
- 2. The Critical Postwar Years, 1946-50
- 3. The Truman Doctrine: March 12, 1947
- 4. The Development of Greece
- 5. The Cyprus Problem
- 6. The Government of the Colonels, 1967 ff

Questions for Consideration

- Trace the development of Greek policy during World War II. What was the impact of Nazi-Fascist occupation on Greece during and after the conflict?
- To what extent was Communism a threat to Greece during the period immediately following the war? What role did the United Nations play in Greece during this period? Was it an effective role?
- What was the American role in Greece during the immediate postwar period? Would you consider the Truman Doctrine effective in Greece during this period? What are the wider implications of the doctrine?
- Discuss the basic elements in the Cyprus problem. To what extent is the problem a result of national conflict? What do you suggest as possible "solutions" of the problem?
- It has been suggested that the Greek people often go from one extreme to the other. Discuss this proposition in the light of the period immediately prior to and after the advent of the Colonels in April 1967.
- The United States Government evidently considers Greece as very important strategically on the southeastern flank of NATO in the Eastern Mediterranean. Analyze the position of Greece in this connection.

- Thomas W. Adams and Alvin J. Cottrell, Cyprus Between East and West (Baltimore, Md., Johns Hopkins, 1968), 92 pp. Focuses on problem of Communism.
- Andrew and Jane Carey, The Phoenix of Modern Greece (New York, Praeger, 1965). Examination of development in postwar period.
- Theodore A. Coloumbis, Greek Political Reaction to American and NATO Influences (New Haven, Yale, 1966).

- Dimitrios G. Kousoulas, <u>Revolution and Defeat: The Story of the Greek Communist</u>
 Party (New York, Oxford, 1965).
- C. M. Woodhouse, A Short History of Modern Greece (New York, Praeger, 1968. By a distinguished British authority.
- Stephen G. Xydis, Cyprus: Conflict and Conciliation, 1954-1958 (Columbus, Ohio State University; 1967), 563 pp. The Greek side of the problem, well researched and well presented.
- ---, Greece and the Great Powers, 1944-1947: Prelude to the "Truman Doctrine" (Thessaloniki, Greece, Institute for Balkan Studies, 1963),758 pp. Rasic work on the subject.

B. The Development of the Turkish Republic

- 1. The Ottoman Backgrounds
- 2. World War I and the Partition of the Ottoman Empire
- 3. Mustapha Kemal Atatürk and the Turkish Republic
- 4. The Revolutionary Program: Independence, Revolution and Reform, Populism, Etatism, and Secularism
- 5. Inbnil as Atatürk's successor
- 6. World War II and After
- 6. The Coup d'etat of 1960 and the "Second Republic"
- 7. Turkish Foreign Relations

Questions for Consideration

What are the basic ideological elements which entered into the Turkish revolution under Ataturk? Compare with those which played a role in the Arab national revolutions.

What have been the essential reforms under the Turkish revolution?

What has been the role of the military in the Turkish Republic? Of other elements?

What has been the essential impact of the Turkish Revolution upon other countries and peoples of the Middle East?

What now seem to be the prospects of further social, political and economic change within Turkey?

It has been observed that "Turkey faces West." What have been the basic elements in this orientation? Do they still hold today?

- American University, Foreign Area Studies, Area Handbook for Turkey (Washington, USGPO, 1970), 438 pp.
- Balfour, John Patrick Douglas, Baron Kinross, Atatürk: A Biography of Mustafa Kemal, Father of Modern Turkey (New York, Morrow, 1965), 614 pp. Most recent, comprehensive biography.
- Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey (Montreal, McGill, 1964), 537 pp. Basic study of subject.
- ---, ed., <u>Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization</u>: <u>Selected Essays, of Ziya</u>
 <u>Gokulp</u> (New York, Columbia, 1959). Writings of the Turkish nationalist ideologue.
- Roderic H. Davison, <u>Turkey</u> (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1968), 181 pp. Excellent summary treatment.
- C. H. Dodd, <u>Politics and Government in Turkey</u> (Berkeley and Los A geles, University of California, 1969), 335 pp. Well-balanced study of Turkish politics.
- Frederick W. Frey, The Yurkish Political Elite (Cambridge, MIT, 1965), 438 pp. Excellent study.
- Ziya Gökalp, The Principles of Turkism (Türkçülügün Esaslari). Translated from the Turkish and annotated by Robert Devereux (Leiden, Brill, 1968), 141 pp. Essays of the Turkish ideologue.
- George S. Harris, The Origins of Communism in Turkey (Stanford, Stanford University, 1967), 215 pp. Authoritative study; well-documented, bibliography.
- Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (New York, Oxford, 1968), 511 pp. Classic one-volume study.
- Geoffrey Lewis, <u>Turkey</u> (New York, Praeger, 1965), 280 pp. Third edition of a standard work.
- Ferenc A. Vali, <u>Bridge Across the Bosphorus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey</u> (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1971), 410 pp. Useful, comprehensive analysis.
 - C. White Revolution in Iran
 - 1. Iranian Backgrounds
 - 2. The Course of Change in the Interwar Period: Reza Shah
 - 3. The Shah and the Reform Movement in Iran
 - 4. The Problem of Iranian Oil
 - 5. Iran as a Stabilizing Influence in the Middle East
 - 6. The Upshot

Questions for Consideration

- The long established identity of Iran and the Iranian people has often been stressed. What is the significance of this identity? Compare with Turkey, Egypt and the various Arab states and people.
- Compare the reforms of Reza Shah Pahlevi with those of his son, Mohammed Reza Shah. With those of Ataturk in Turkey.
- What has been the role of modern technology in reform and change in Iran?
- What has been the role of the various elements in society—the army, the civil service, the Muslim clergy, the merchant class, the lands, etc?
- What, in your view, are the prospects of Iran for the future?

- American University, Foreign Area Studies, Area Handbook for Iran (Washington, USGPO, 1971), 651 pp. Comprehensive handbook.
- Peter Avery, Modern Iran (New York, Praeger, 1965), 527 pp. Excellent one volume study.
- Leonard Binder, Factors Influencing Iran's International Role (Santa Monica, RAND, 1969), 51 pp.
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, Chs. 34-37.
- Richard W. Cottam, <u>Nationalism in Iran</u> (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 1964), 319 pp. Systematic, critical treatment.
- Rouhollah K. Ramazani, <u>The Northern Tier: Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey</u> (Princeton, D. Van Nostrand, 1966), 142 pp. Brief treatment.
- Zepehr Zabih, The Communist Movement in Iran (Berkeley, University of California, 1966), 279 pp. Authoritative treatment.

UNIT VIII

ISRAEL AS A NATI' STATE

A. Backgrounds of the State of Israel

- 1. The Ancient Heritage
- 2. The Advent of Political Zionism
- 3. The Conflict between Political Zionism and Arab Nationalism
- 4. The Palestine Mandate and its Problems

B. Establishment of the State of Israel (1947-1948)

- 1. The UN Partition Plan in Palestine (1947)
- 2. The Arab-Israel Conflict (1947-1948)
- 3. The Legacy of the Arab-Israel Conflict

C: Israel and its Problems

- 1. The Character of Eretz Israel: Its Position in the Middle East
- 2. The Basic Political Problems: Israel and Zionism
- 3. The Basic Economic Problems: External Support
- 4. 1
- 4. The Basic Cultural Problems: The Oriental Jews
- 5. The Arabs in Israel and the Occupied Territories

Questions for Consideration

- It is suggested that the Palestine conflict is one between two rival, secular nationalisms (Political Zionism and Arab Nationalism). Examine the validity of this proposition.
- It has also been suggested that peace in the Middle East is doubtful as long as Israel remains an "exclusivist," Zionist, Jewish state, since Israeli and Arab interests are irreconcilable. To what extent does this appear to be true?
- What appear to be the well-springs of conflict, within the societal, economic and political patterns of Israel and of the Arab nations, and to what extent are these influenced by interests, actions and influences of outside nations, such as the United States and the Soviet Union?

What appear to be the outlines of a settlement, which would fairly treat with



the interests of Israel and the various Arab states? How feasible, in terms of attitudes and outlooks of these various nations—and the Palestinian Arabs—would such a settlement be?

- Uri Avnery, <u>Israel Without Zionists: A Plea for Peace in the Middle East</u> (New York, Macmillan, 1968), 215 pp. By a non-Zionist Israeli journalist.
- John C. Campbell, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict: An American Policy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 49, No. 1 (October 1970), 51-69.
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, Chs. 32, 40.
- Nahum Goldmann, "The Future of Israel," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 48, No. 3 (April. 1970), 443-459.
- Henry Cattan, <u>Palestine</u>, the Arabs and Israel: The Search for Justice (London, Longmans, 1969), 281 pp. Politico-legal case by a distinguished Arab attorney.
- Malcolm H. Kerr, The Middle East Conflict (New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1968), 63 pp. Headline Book 191. Brief and succinct.
- Leonard J. Fein, Israel: Politics and People (Boston, Little, Brown, 1968), 338 pp. Useful handbook on Israeli politics.
- American University, Foreign Area Studies, Area Handbook for Israel (Washington, USGPO, 1970), 457 pp. Comprehensive.
- Benjamin Halperin, The Idea of the Jewish State (Cambridge, Harvard, 1961, 1969), 492 pp.
- Arthur Hertzberg, ed., <u>The Zionist Idea</u> (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1959), 638 pp. Excellent compendium, with 37 Zionist writers represented; brilliant introduction.
- Walid Khalidi, ed., From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem until 1948 (Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971), 914 pp. Comprehensive symposium, brilliant introduction.
- Walter Laqueur, ed., The Israel-Arab Reader: A Bocumentary History of the Middle East Conflict (New York, Bantam, 1969), 371 pp. Excellent symposium.
- Christopher Sykes, Crossroads to Israel (Cleveland and New York, World Publishing Co., 1966), 404 pp. Thoughtful study.
- Alan R. Taylor and Richard N. Tetlie, <u>Palestine: A Search for Truth: Approaches</u> to the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1970), 284 pp.

UNIT IX

THE MIDDLE EAST IN CONFLICT

A. The Arab-Israel Conflict

- 1. The Backgrounds of Conflict
- 2. The Continuation of Conflict
- 3. The Attempts at Solution
- 4. The Prospects of Settlement

Questions for Consideration

- What, in your view, is the essence of the Arab-Israel conflict? How would you go about finding "solutions" of the conflict?
- What are the cultural, religious, political and secular roots of the Arab-Israel conflict concerning Palestine?
- Trace the complications of the Jerusalem Question in the Arab-Israel conflict: How important do you consider this problem to be?
- Similarly trace the problem of the Arab refugees. How serious is this problem? Connect it with the radicalization of Arab politics and the intensification of Palestinian nationalism.
- What should be the proper role of the United States in the Arab-Israel conflict? Of the United Nations?

- American Friends Service Committee, et al, <u>Search For Peace in the Middle East</u> (Philadelphia, 1970), 75 pp. Excellent, brief study.
- Eugene Bovis, <u>The Jerusalem Question</u> (Stanford, Cal., Hoover Institution, 1971), 175 pp. Excellent, brief study.
- Walter Laqueur, The Road to War: The Origin and Aftermath of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1967-68 (Baltimore, Pelican, 1969), 456 pp. Brief account, pro-Israel in approach.
- Fred J. Khouri, <u>The Arab-Israeli Dilemma</u> (Syracuse, Syracuse University, 1968), 436 pp. Well-balanced.
- Maxime Rodinson, <u>Israel and the Arabs</u> (New York, Pantheon, 1968), 239 pp. Brilliant and profound analysis, by a French sociologist.
- Nadav Safran, From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948-1967 (New York Pegasus, 1969), 464 pp. Comprehensive, sympathetic to Israel.
- Evan M. Wilson, <u>Jerusalem: Key to Peace</u> (Washington, Middle East Institute, 1970), 175 pp. By the former U. S. Consul General in Jerusalem. Exeellent study, which combines reminiscence with delineation of the problem.

B. The Cyprus Conflict

- 1. The Backgrounds of the Cyprus Problem
- 2. The National Conflict on the Island
- 3. The Question of Enosis
- 4. The Prospects of Settlement

Questions for Consideration

- What, in your view, is the essence of the conflict in Cyprus? How would you go about finding "solutions" of this question?
- Trace something of the American interest in the problem of Cyprus. Why has the United States been so closely involved in recent years?
- Analyze the problem of enosis in connection with the Cyprus problem. Would you regard enosis as a "solution" of the problem? Why or why not? To what extent, in your view, is the Government of Cyprus interested in it? The Government of Greece?
- Analyze the Turkish "solution" of the problem of Cyprus. To what extent is the Government of Turkey interested in it?
- What should be the proper role of the United States in this problem? Of the United Nations?

- Thomas W. Adams and Alvin J. Cottrell, <u>Cyprus Between East and West</u> (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1968),96 pp. Notes. Chronology. Focuses primarily on problems relating to Communism on Cyprus.
- Stanley Kyriakides, Cyprus: Constitutionalism and Crisis Government (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 240 pp. Political history with stress on the contemporary period from World War II to the Zurich agreement
- Halil Ibrahim Salih, Cyprus: An Analysis of Cypriot Political Discord (Brooklyn, Theo. Gaus, 1968), 184 pp. Views of a scholar of Turkish Cypriot heritage.
- Stephen G. Zydis, Cyprus: Conflict and Conciliation, 1954-1958 (Columbus, Ohio State University, 1967), 563 pp. A Greek view, based on archival and published sources.

C. The Middle East in Ferment

- 1. The Basic Elements in Middle Eastern Ferment and Change
 - 2. The Role of Ideologies in the Ferment
 - 3. The Role of Technology in Ferment and Change
 - 4. The Role of Foreign and Domestic Pol-. itics in Ferment and Change
- 5. The Upshot in the Middle East

Questions for Consideration

- What are the basic elements in ferment and change in the Middle East?
 What has been the role of ideologies in the Middle Eastern ferment?
 Of modern science and technology?
- To what extent has the Palestine issue served to bring about the ferment in the Middle East? To what extent has it served to "radicalize" Arab politics? What are the other factors?
- To what extent have external influences—great power politics, for example—played a role in the changing scene in the Middle East?
- Granted the flux and change in the Middle East as an enduring condition, what do you consider the possibilities of peaceful adjustment?

- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, Ch. 42.
- J. C. Hurewitz, ed., <u>Soviet-American Rivalry in the Middle East</u> (New York, Praeger, 1969), 232 pp.
- Tareq Y. Ismael, ed., Government and Politics in the Contemporary Middle East, Ch. 19.
- Walter Laqueur, The Struggle for the Middle East: The Soviet Union in the Mediterranean, 1958-1968 (New York, Macmillan, 1969), 359 pp. Useful; should be read with care.
- Benjamin Rivlin and Joseph S. Szyliowics, eds., <u>The Contemporary Middle East</u> (New York, Random House, 1965), 505-554. Excellent compendium.
- J. H. Thompson and R. D. Reischauer, eds., <u>The Modernization of the Arab World</u> (Princeton, D. Van Nostrand, 1966), 212-249. Excellent compendium.



UNIT X

AMERICAN INTEREST AND POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

- A. The Basic American Interests of the United States in the Middle East
 - 1. The Early American Interest in the Ottoman Empire
 - 2. The American Missionary-Educational-Philanthropic Enterprise
 - The American Commercial Aspirations: The Problem of the Straits
 - 4. The Lack of a Politico-Strategic Interest

Questions for Consideration

- The assumption is often made that the United States is a "newcomer" to the Middle East. Trace the development of American interest and policy and examine the proposition critically.
- Examine the character of the American missionary-educational-philanthropic enterprise in the Middle East and give a reasoned estimate of its significance.
- Similarly trace the development of the American commercial interest in the Middle East.
- To what extent, if any, did the United States have any politico-strategic interest in the period prior to World War I?
- To what extent, if any, did the American missionary-educational enterprise influence United States policy in the Middle East?

- John S. Badeau and Georgiana G. Stevens, <u>Bread from Stones: Fifty Years of Technical Assistance</u> (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1966), 133 pp. A symposium on the Near East Relief and Near East Foundation.
- Robert L. Daniel, American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1860 (Athens, Ohio University, 1970), 322 pp. Scholarly treatment of the missionary-educational enterprise in the Middle East, which ranges from Greece and the Balkan area to the Turkish and Arab portions of the area. Excellent for delineation of long-standing and wide-ranging American interest.

- John A. DeNovo, American Interests and Policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939 (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1963), 447 pp. Excellent, comprehensive, well-documented discussion of American policy and interest in the period prior to World War I and the interwar era.
- David H. Finnie, <u>Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East</u> (Cambridge, Harvard, 1967), 333 pp. The fascinating story of the earlier American association with the Middle East—the traders, the military people, the diplomats and the missionary educators. The American heritage in the Middle East.
- Sydney N. Fisher, "Two Centuries of American Interest in Turkey", A Fest-schrift for Frederick B. Artz (Durhan, N. C., Duke, 1964), 113-138. Brief and succinct, comprehensive and perceptive.
- Leland J. Gordon, American Relations With Turkey, 1830-1930: An Economic Interpretation (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1932), 402 pp. Based on archival and published materials. Still worthwhile.
- Joseph L. Grabill, <u>Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927</u> (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1971), 395 pp. The American concern with the missionary-educational enterprise; the impact of the missionary establishment on official American policy.
- William B. Hesselline and Hazel C. Wolf, The Blue and the Gray on the Nile (Chicago, The University of Chicago, 1961). The story of former Union and Confederate officers, who rehabilitated the Egyptian Army, carried out engineering surveys, etc., in Egypt during 1871-1883.
- A. L. Tibawi, American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work (London and New York, Oxford, 1966), 333 pp. Deals with the American missionary-educational enterprise, the establishment of the American University of Beirut, publication of text books and religious literature in Arabic, and the creation of a substantial Protestant community. Based on archival and published sources. Excellent bibliography.

B. American Policy in the Middle East During World War I and the Interwar Era (1914-1939)

- 1. The Lack of a Political Interest in the Middle East
- 2. The American Position During World War I
- 3. The American Position at the Paris Peace Conference
- 4. The American Position from Sevres to Lausanne
- 5. The Essential American Withdrawal
- 5. The Montreux Conference on the Straits
- 6. The Concern with the Missionary-Educational-Philanthropic Enterprise



7. The American Concern with Business and Commerce

Questions for Consideration

- What were the primary American concerns in the Middle East prior to the outbreak of World War I? During the interwar period of 1919-1939?
- Analyze American policy relative to the Middle East during World War I. What was the basic American position concerning the socalled secret agreements for the partition of the Ottoman Empire?
- Analyze the American position concerning the essentials of peacemaking in the Middle East as to Palestine, the Turkish Straits, Turkey, Armenia, the Arabs? What was the King-Crane Commission? What were its basic recommendations concerning peace in the Middle East?
- Discuss the evolution of American policy relative to the Middle East from Sevres to the Lausanne Conference of 1922-1923. What were the primary elements in the development of American policy? To what extent was the problem of oil a factor?
- What were the primary considerations in American policy during the period of the Montreux Conference (1936)?

- John A. DeNovo, American Interests and Policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939, passim.
- Laurence Evans, <u>United States Policy and the Partition of Turkey</u>, 1914-1924 (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1965), 424 pp. A well balanced study of American policy relative to the partition of the Ottoman Empire.
- James B. Gidney, A Mandate for Armenia (Kent, Ohio, Kent State University, 1967), 270 pp. A study of the problem of Armenia and of the question of an American mandate, with all appropriate background.
- Harry N. Howard, The King-Crane Commission: An American Inquiry in the Middle East (Beirut, Khayats, 1963), 369 pp. A documented study of the origins of the Commission, its investigations, and of its proposals for peace in the Middle East during 1919; American policy down to and including the Lausanne Conference.
- ---, The Partition of Turkey, 1913-1923: A Diplomatic History (Norman, Oklahoma, 1931; New York, Howard Fertig, 1966), 486 pp. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.
- E. A. Speiser, The United States and the Near East (Cambridge, Harvard, 1947), 261 pp. An early volume in the Harvard American Foreign Policy Library.
- Lewis V. Thomas and Richard N. Frye, <u>The United States and Turkey and Iran</u> (Cambridge, Harvard, 1951), 291 pp. Another early volume in the American Foreign Policy Library.



- C. The United States and the Middle East During World War II and After (1939 to the present)
 - 1. The Position of the United States During World War II relative to the Middle East
 - The United States and the Soviet Threat to the Middle East
 - 3. The Truman Doctrine (1947): The Enduring Politico-Strategic Interest
 - 4. The American Interest in Middle Eastern Oil: the Problem of Access
 - 5. The American Concern in the Palestine Problem: the Arab-Israel Conflict
 - 6. American Assistance Programs in the Middle East
 - 7. The Essential American Interests: Communications, Economics, Politico-strategic, People

- What do you consider to be the basic American interests in the Middle East? In the areas of conflict? What of the Soviet Union and other Powers?
- In the Palestine issue, where do the national interests of the United States lie, for what reasons, and to what extent, and how should this factor affect current American policy toward the conflict?
- Is it possible at all to say that modern technology is so far advanced, particularly in the military sense, that the Middle East is no longer of vital importance, because of its location, or because of its resources?
- In general, are the proclaimed objectives of American policies in the area-peace, security and orderly change--realizable?
- What are the formal American politico-military commitments in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East as a whole? In the area of the Arab-Israel conflict?
- Trace the development of American security policy in the Middle East from the period of the Truman Doctrine to the Eisenhower Doctrine (1947-1957). Would you consider the assumptions on which the Doctrines were based as valid then and today? What of the association of Greece and Turkey with NATO and of Iran with CENTO?
- Discuss the significance of American policy relative to the problem of Cyprus.

Suggested Readings

- American Friends Service Committee, Search for Peace in the Middle East
 (Philadelphia, 1970), 75 pp. A study prepared by a working party, initiated
 by the AFSC and the Canadian Friends Service Committee, etc. Highly responsible contribution to the problem of peace in the Arab-Israel conflict.
- John S. Badeau, <u>The American Approach to the Middle East</u> (New York, Harper and Row [for The Council on Foreign Relations], 1968),209 pp. Excellent contribution to the consideration of American policy in the Middle East.
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, Ch. 42
- Charles F. Gallagher, <u>The United States and North Africa</u> (Cambridge, Harvard, 1963), 275 pp. The Harvard American Foreign Policy Library.
- Harry N. Howard, "US Interest in the Middle East," Military Review, Vol. 50, No. 1 (January 1970), 64-76.
- Parker T. Hart, "An American Policy Toward the Middle East," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and SocialScience, No. 390 (July 1970), 98-113.
- J. C. Hurewitz, ed., Soviet-American Rivalry in the Middle East (New York, Praeger [for t he Academy of Political Science], 1969) 232 pp. Analyses of aspects of Soviet-American rivalry.
- George Lenczowski, ed., <u>United States Interests in the Middle East: Special Analysis</u> (Washington, D. C., American Enterprise Institute, 1968), 128 pp. Useful, brief study of aspects of American interest and policy.
- The Middle East Institute, American Interests in the Middle East (Washington, D. C., 1969), 18 pp. Succinct statement.
- William R. Polk, The United States and the Arab World (Cambridge, Harvard, Cambridge, 1969), 377 pp. Another volume in the American Foreign Policy Library. Covers historical, political and social developments and relations of Arab world with the United States.
- Nadav Safran, <u>The United States and Israel</u> (Cambridge, Harvard, 1963), 341 pp. The American Foreign Policy Library. Good on economy and defense, weak on relations with United States.
- Georgiana G. Stevens, ed., <u>The United States and the Middle East</u> (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1964), 182 pp. Excellent compendium, comprehensive in treatment.

Convenient Documentation

United States Government

Department of State, American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1950-1955, 2 volumes. Annual after 1956 as <u>Current Documents</u>. Edited in the Historical Office of the Department of State. Indispensable for consideration of American policy in the Middle East and other areas. The last volume to appear 1967 (published in 1969). Unfortunately now discontinued.



- ---, Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers. Edited in the Historical Office of the Department of State, these indispensable volumes are now generally available down to 1947.
- ---, The Suez Problem, July 26-September 22, 1956: A Documentary Publication Edited in the Historical Office, Department of State (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1956), 370. Indispensable.
- ---, United States Policy in the Middle East, September 1956-June 1957: Documents. Edited in the Historical Office, Department of State (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1957), 425 pp. Indispensable.
- ---, <u>United States Policy in the Near East Crisis</u>. Department of State Publication 8269, Near and Middle East Series 75 (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1967), 24. Public statements of policy and a selection of documents.
- ---, <u>United States Foreign Policy</u>, 1969-1970: A Report of the Secretary of State (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1971), 617 pp. Documents and statements, with substantial coverage of Middle East policy.
- U. S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's: A New Strategy for Peace. A Report to to the Congress by Richard Nixon, President of the United States. February 18, 1970 (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1970), 160 pp. Ample coverage of Middle East, 77-83.
- ---, Building for Peace. A Report to the Congress by Richard Nixon, President of the United States, February 25, 1971 (Washington, D. C., 1971), 235 pp. Middle East, 121-134.
- United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. A Select Chronology and Background Documents Relating to the Middle East (First revised edition).

 91st Congress, 1st Session. May 1969 (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1969),
 287 pp. Excellent chronology, 1946-1969 and selection of documents.

Unofficially Published Documents

- M. S. Agwani, <u>The Lebanese Crisis 1958: A Documentary Record</u> (New York, Asia Publishing House, 1965), 407 pp. Documents illustrating the origins of the crisis and its local, regional and global implications.
- J. C. Hurewitz, <u>Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East</u>. Vol. I, <u>1535-1914</u>; Vol. II, <u>1914-1956</u> (Princeton, N. J., D. Van Nostrand, 1956). A basic collection of documents on the Middle East, its history and development, especially in the field of international relations. Now under revision.
- Royal Institute of International Affairs. <u>Documents on International Affairs</u> (London, Oxford [RIIA], 1920 down to date. Annual volumes with significant coverage of Middle East; companions to the <u>Annual Surveys of International</u> Affairs.
- World Peace Foundation and Council on Foreign Relations. <u>Documents on American</u>
 Foreign Relations. 1938 ff. Published by the World Peace Foundation originally; after 1952 the series was continued annually by the Council on Foreign Relations as a companion volume to the annual survey of <u>The United</u>
 States in World <u>Affairs</u>.

Ralph H. Magnus, <u>Documents on the Middle East: United States Interests in the Middle East</u> (Washington, D. C., American Enterprise Institute, 1969), 232 pp. A selection of documents illustrating the development of American policy and interest in the Middle East, covering 1) the origins of problems and policies; 2) Mutual security treaties, agreements and policies; 3) United States relations with the Arab States; 4) United States relations with the Northern Tier States; 5) the Palestine problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict; 6) the June War and its aftermath.

UNIT XI

THE ARABIAN PENISULA

A. Saudi Arabia

- 1. The Geographic Setting of Saudi Arabia
- 2. Politics and the Historical Background
- 3. The People and their Culture: The Traditional Society
- 4. The Processes of Change: The Technological Impact

Questions for Consideration

- 1. Trace the essential development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia and its impact on the traditional society of that country. Compare the impact of modern technology with the ideological development in Saudi Arabia.
- 2. What do you regard as the basic problems of a country like Saudi Arabia? In your view is the Government of Saudi Arabia likely to prove able to solve them intelligently and with sufficient speed?

- American University, Foreign Area Studies. Area Handbook for Saudi Arabia (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1966), 371 pp. Comprehensive coverage of history, institutional development and current problems.
- Arabian American Oil Company, ARAMCO Handbook: Oil and the Middle East (Dhahran, Saudi, Arabia, ARAMCO, 1968), 279 pp. Excellent handbook on oil exploitation in Saudi Arabia and the Middle East. Rich in charts and tables.
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History (New York, Knopf, 1969), Ch. 38.
- Tareq Y. Ismael, ed., Governments and Politics in the Contemporary Middle East (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1970), Chs. 15-18.
- George Lenczowski, ed., The Political Awakening in the Middle East (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prantice-Hall, 1970), pp. 28-48.
- George Rentz, "Saudi Arabia: The Islamic Island," ed by J. H. Thompson and R. D. Reischauer, Modernization of the Arab World (Princeton, N. J., D. Van Nostrand, 1966), 115-125.
- United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Division of Foreign Labor, <u>Labor Law and Practice in Saudi Arabia</u> (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1964), 44 pp. BLS Report No. 269. Excellent, comprehensive summary.
- H. St. John Philby, Saudi Arabia (New York, Praeger, 1955), 393 pp. By the noted British authority.
- R. Bayly Winder, Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century (New York, St. Martin's, 1966). 312 p. Excellent history by competent American scholar.

B. Yemen and South Yemen

- 1. Historical and Institutional Backgrounds
- 2. The Development of Yemen
- 3. From Aden to the People's Republic of Southern Yemen

Questions for Consideration

- 1. Trace the development of Yemen to the revolt of 1962. What was Egyptian policy relative to Yemen following the revolt? What role did the United States play in the course of the revolt? The United Nations?
- 2. Similarly trace the development of Aden to the People's Republic of Southern Yemen? What has been the British role in this development? What are the prospects for the future as you see: them? What is the possible American interest in the area?

- American University, Foreign Area Studies, Handbook for the Peripheral States of the Arabian Peninsula (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1971), Chs. 3-4.
- William R. Brown, "The Yemeni Dilemma," The Middle East Journal, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Autumn 1963), 349-367.
- David Holden, Farewell to Arabia (New York, Walker, 1966), 268 pp.
- Harold Ingrams, The Yemen: Imams, Rulers and Revolutions (London, Murray, 1963), 164 pp.
- Montague Kern, "In the High Yemen," Mid East, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January-February, 1968), 20-29.
- Eric Macro, Yemen and the Western World (New York, Praeger, 1968), 150 pp.
- Tom Little, South Arabia: Arena of Conflict (New York, Praeger, 1968), 196 pp.
- Elizabeth Monroe, "Kuwayt and Aden: A Contrast in British Policies," <u>Middle</u>
 <u>East Journal</u>, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Vinter 1964), 63-74.
- Dana Adams Schmidt, Yemen: The Unknown War (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), 316 pp.
- Manfred W. Wenner, Modern Yemen, 1918-1966 (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1967), 257 pp.

C. The Persian Gulf (Arab Sea) States

- 1. Historical Backgrounds
- 2. Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar
- 3. Oman and Muscat
- 4. The Union of Arab Emirates
- 5. Prospects in the Area

Questions for Consideration

- 1. Trace the development of the oil economy and technology in the region of the Persian (Arab) Gulf.
- 2. Note particularly the impact of the oil economy and technology in Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and Abu Dhabi.
- 3. What do you consider to be the major problems in the general area of the Persian Gulf?
- 4. What is the possible significance of the British withdrawal from the area? For the USSR? For the USA? For Iran? For the Arab principalities?
- 5. What, in your view, are the prospects for the new Union of Arab Emirates?

- American University, Foreign Area Studies, Area Handbook for the Peripheral States of the Arabian Peninsula (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1971), Chs. 5-7. Selected bibliographies.
- --, Area Handbook for Iran (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1971), 653 pp. Selected bibliographies.
- --, Area Handbook for Saudi Arabia (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1966), 371 pp. Selected bibliographies.
- William D. Brewer, "Yesterday and Tomorrow in the Persian Gulf," The Middle East Journal, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring 1969), 149-158.
- K. G. Fenelon, The Trucial States: A Brief Economic Survey (Beirut, Khayats, 1967).
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History (New York, Knopf, 1969), Ch. 38.
- David Holden, Farewell to Arabia (New York, Walker, 1966), 268 pp.
- J. C. Hurewitz, Middle East Politics: The Military Dimension (New York, Praeger, 1969), Chs. 13, 15, 19.
- J. B. Kelly, Eastern Arabian Frontiers (New York, Praeger, 1964), 319 pp.
- Majid Khadduri, "Constitution and System of Government," <u>Emergent Nations</u>, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn 1965), 14-15.



- --, "Political Trends in Iraq and Kuwait," <u>Current History</u>, Vol. 52, No. 306 (February 1967), 84-89.
- Ministry of Guidance and Information of Kuwait, Kuwait Today: A Welfare State (n. d.), 192 pp.
- Robert G. Landen, Oman Since 1856: Disruptive Modernization in a Traditional Arab Society (Princeton, N. J., Princeton University, 1967), 488 pp.
- Stephen H. Longrigg, The Middle East: A Social Geography (Chicago, Aldine, 1963), 291 pp.
- Ragei El-Mallakh, "Kuwait Initiates Productive Co-Existence," Emergent Nations, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn 1965), 46-47.
- Clarence Mann, Abu Dhabi: Birth of an Oil Sheikhdom (Beirut, Khayats, 1964).
- John Marlowe, The Persian Gulf in the Twentieth Century (New York, Praeger, 1962), 280 pp.
- Wendell Phillips, Oman: A History (New York, Reynal, 1968), 319 pp.
- Fakhri Shehab, "Kuwait: A Super-Affluent Society," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 42, No. 3 (April 1964), 464-474.

UNIT XII

NORTH AFRICA

A. North African Backgrounds: Human Geography

- 1. The North African Landscape
- 2. North Africa and Europe
- 3. North Africa and the Middle East
- 4. The Peoples of North Africa: The Berbers

Questions for Consideration

- 1. Geographically North Africa and its peoples are part of the Mediterranean World. Why do we also consider it a part of the Near and Middle East?
- 2. What are the essential commercial and economic lines which inter-connect the countries of North Africa with Western and Central and Southern Europe? What are the cultural ties?
- 3. Examine the strategic importance of North Africa especially to France and Italy?

Suggested Readings

- Carleton S. Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East (New York, Holt, 1958), 386 pp. Excellent anthropological introduction.
- --, The Races of Europe (New York, Macmillan, 1939), passim. Includes the Middle East.
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, 1969), Ch. 1. General text; excellent introduction.
- W. B. Fisher, The Middle East: A Physical, Social and Regional Geography (New York, Dutton, 1963), 568 pp. Excellent authoritative and comprehensive work.

B. North African Backgrounds: Historical Outline

- 1. North Africa in the Ancient World
- 2. The Muslim-Arab Conquest of North Africa: 7th and 8th Centuries A. D.
- 3. The French Conquest and Development of Algeria (1830), Tunis (1881), Morocco (1904)
- 4. North Africa in International Politics, 1904-1914: The Interwar Years (1919-1939
- 5. World War II: North African Independence and Nationalism

Questions for Consideration

- To what extent do you consider North Africa "Arabized" as a result of the Arab-Muslim conquests in the 7th and 8th Centuries, A. D.? Describe the processes of Arabization and indicate the basic results.
- 2. What were the basic results of the French conquests in North Africa in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries? What is the significance of the French position in the Arab World today?
- 3. What role did North Africa play in the international politics of the early Twentieth Century? What role in the period of World War II? After World War II?

Suggested Readings

- Nevill Barbour, A Survey of Northwest Africa (New York, Oxford, 1962), 411 pp. General treatise by a British authority on the area.
- Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, Ch. 35.
- George Kirk, The Middle East in the War, 1939-1946 (London, Oxford, 1953), 379-404 (former Italian colonies), the Maghrib (405-442).
- Alan Moorehead, The March to Tunis: The North African War, 1940-1943 (New York, Dell, 1968), 767 pp. This is a 3-volume-in-one_reproduction of the original publication (1941, 1943), based on the author's dispatches and recollections of the North African campaign. It covers the Mediterranean front, the year of battle and the end in North Africa. Brilliant, movingly written.
- George F. Howe, The Mediterranean Theater of Operations. Northwest Africa:

 <u>Seizing the Initiative in the West</u> (Washington, D. C., Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1957), 748 pp. Official, comprehensive account.

C. Independent North Africa

- 1. The Maghrib: Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia
 - a. The Struggle for Independence
 - b. The Varying Paths to Independence
 - c. The Achievement Since Independence
- 2. Libya: From Trusteeship to Independence
 - a. Libya as a Trusteeship
 - b. Libya as a Kingdom
 - c. The Socialist Republic
- 3. The Place of the Maghrib in the Arab World

Questions for Consideration

- 1. One often hears tall and discussion of Maghrib "unity." What are the factors, in your view, which work toward unity and those which militate against it?
- 2. Morocco is often considered to be one of the more "conservative" states in the Arab world. What are the elements in Morocco's historical and cultural development which distinguish it in this respect? Compare it with both Algeria and Tunisia.
- 3. Why is Algeria considered as a "radical" regime among the North African states? What are the characterics of Algeria as a "radical" regime. Compare it with other "radical" regimes in the Arab world such as Syria, the Arab Republic of Egypt, etc.
- 4. Until the revolt of 1969, Libya was considered a "conservative" regime. What is it that now makes it a "radical" regime? Trace the role of oil in its development since ca. 1959.
- 5. What elements in its development and leadership qualify Tunisia as one of the more "moderate" states in the Arab world? What has been the impact of Bourguiba's leadership?

- American University, Foreign Area Studies. Area Handbook for Algeria (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1965), 520 pp. Comprehensive handbook; selected bibliography.
- --, Area Handbook for Morocco (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1965), 459 pp. Comprehensive handbook; selected bibliography.
- --, Area Handbook for Libya (Washington, D. C., USGPO, 1969), 307 pp. Comprehensive handbook; selected bibliography.
- Douglas E. Ashford, <u>Political Change in Morocco</u> (Princeton, N. J., Princeton University, 1961), 456 pp. Careful description of the pattern of Moroccan national politics at the time of independence, with an analysis of changing patterns down to date of publication.
- --, Perspectives of a Moroccan Nationalist (Totowa, N. J., Bedminister, 1964), 171 pp. Case history of political development.
- --, National Development and Local Reform: Political Participation in Morocco,

 Tunisia and Pakistan (Princeton, Princeton University, 1967), 439 pp. Comparative study of ways in which three political systems have attempted to solve the problem o' political participation at the local level.
- Nevill Barbour, Morocco (New York, Walker, 1965), 239 pp. An item in the New Peoples and Nations series, this is an excellent discussion of the development of modern Morocco.

- Willard A. Beling, Modernization and African Labor: A Tunisian Case Study (New York, Praeger, 1965), 259 pp. Fraeger Special Studies in International Economics and Development. Covers French labor and the first stage of Tunisian nationalism, conflicting interest, Tunisian labor and the WFTU, ICFTU, UGTT, Pan-Arabism and Pan-Maghrib and Pan-African movement.
- Richard and Joan Brace, <u>Algerian Voices</u> (Princeton, N. J., D. Van Nostrand, 1965), 233 pp. Travel diary of two visits to revolutionary headquarters during the last year of the Algerian war of independence.
- Leon Carl Brown, ed., State and Society in Independent North Africa (Washington, D. C., 'Middle East Institute, 1966), 332 pp. Covers developments of past two decades in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, including social, economic, political and cultural changes. Bibliography and glossary.
- Stephane Bernard, The Franco-Moroccan Conflict, 1943-1956 (New Haven, Yale, 1968), 680 pp. Historical, sociological account.
- Jacques Berque, French North Africa: The Maghreb Between Two World Wars (New York, Praeger, 1967), 422 pp. A basic study of the forces and values which have shaped the North African world, written by the distinguished French scholar, well acquainted with the area.
- Andre N. Chouraqui, <u>Between East and West: A History of the Jews of North Africa</u> (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1969), 376 pp. History of North African Jews from the most ancient of days. History of modern Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian communities. By an advisor to Ben-Gurion, born in North Africa.
- Mark I. Cohen and Lorna Hahn, Morocco, Old Land, New Nation (New York, Praeger, 1964), A history of the Moroccan national movement.
- Ghazi Douaji, Economic Development in Tunisia: The Impact and Course of Economic Planning (New York, Praeger, 1967), 210 pp. Useful to the layman in setting the magnitude of economic problems in Tunisia.
- Charles F. Gallagher, <u>The United States and North Africa</u> (Cambridge, Harvard, 1963), 275 pp. Excellent general discussion of basic problems and development, with due consideration of American relations with area. Good bibliography.
- --, The Maghrib and the Middle East (Santa Monica, California, RAND, 1969), 30 pp. Brief and concise study.
- David C. Gordon, <u>The Passing of French Algeria</u> (New York, Oxford, 1966), 265 pp. Brief treatise, well-balanced.
- --, Women of Algeria: An Essay on Change (Cambridge, Harvard, 1968), 83 pp. Brief essay on the change in the status of women. Bibliography and notes.
- John P. Halstead, Rebirth of a Nation: The Origins and Rise of Moroccan Nationalism, 1912-1944 (Cambridge, Harvard, 1967), 270 pp. Indispensable to the student of North african nationalism. Covers the historical setting, development of French protectorate, external factors in Europe and Arab world, and development of modern nationalism in Morocco.

- Bernard G. Hoffman, The Structure of Traditional Moroccan Rural Society (The Hague: Mouton, 1967), 223 pp. Useful synthesis on rural Moroccan society.
- J. C. Hurewitz, <u>Middle East Politics: The Military Dimension</u> (New York, Praeger, 1969), Chs. 10, 12, 18. Comprehensive discussion of the problem.
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, <u>The Economic Development of Libya: Report of a Mission Organized at the Request of the Government of Libya</u> (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1960), 524 pp. Comprehensive economic survey.
- --, The Economic Development of Morocco: Report of a Mission Organized at the Request of the Government of Morocco (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1966), 356 pp. Comprehensive economic survey.
- Majid Khadduri, Modern Libya: A Study in Political Development (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1963), 404 pp. First full account of Libyan development from independence to date of publication.
- D. L. Ling, <u>Tunisia: From Protectorate to Republic</u> (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1967), 273 pp. Historical development of Tunisia from period of French protectorate to achievement of independence. Competent study.
- Clement Henry Moore, <u>Tunisia Since Independence</u>: <u>The Dynamics of One-Party Government</u> (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California, 1965), 222 pp. Examines Bourbuigism and Socialist Destour Party.
- Edgar O'Ballance, <u>The Algerian Insurrection</u>, <u>1954-1962</u> (Hamden, Conn., Archon, 1967), 231 pp. Discussion of war of independence vs. France by a British military writer.
- David and Marina Ottoway, Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution (Berkeley, University of California, 1970), 322 pp. Excellent analysis.
- John C. Pawera, Algeria's Infrastructure: An Economic Survey of Transportation, Communication and Energy Resources (New York, Praeger, 1966), 234 pp. Covers highways, railroads, pipelines, maritime transportation, energy resources and consumption, natural gas, electricity, oil, etc. Selected bibliography.
- Adrian Pelt, Libyan Independence and the United Nations: A Case of Planned Decolonization (New Haven, Yale, 1970), 888 pp. By the former UN Commissioner who was "present at the creation."
- William B. Quandt, <u>Revolution and Political Leadership: Algeria, 1954-1968</u> (Cambridge, MIT, 1969), 313 pp. Basic study of the problem.
- Charles F. Stewart, <u>The Economy of Morocco</u>, 1912-1962 (Cambridge, Harvard, 1965), 234 pp. An economic history of Morocco.
- United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Division of Foreign Labor. <u>Labor Law and Practice in Morocco</u>, BLS Report 282 (1965), 73 pp; <u>Tunisia</u>, BLS Report 294 (1965), 50 pp; <u>Libya</u>, BLS Report 297 (1966), 50 pp. Brief, concise discussion of history, economic development, etc.
- John Wright, <u>Libya</u> (New York, Praeger, 1969), 304 pp. Survey of Libya's history from Punic, Greek and Roman times to present.



- William I. Zartman, <u>Problems of New Power: Morocco</u> (New York, Atherton, 1964), 276 pp. Covers political, military, international, social and economic aspects of a developing nation.
- --, Destiny of a Dynasty: The Search for Institutions in Morocco's Developing Society (Columbia, University of South Carolina, 1964), 108 pp.

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