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," "The Ideological Revolution 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

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STUDY 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 IDEOLOGICAL 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 Mediterranean, 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?

Suggested Readings


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

**Questions for Consideration**

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?
Suggested Readings


C. Human Geography of the Middle East

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

Questions for Consideration

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?

**Suggested Readings**


Louise E. Sweet, ed., *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East: An Anthropological Reader* (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
   e. 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 Sharia and what are its most important provisions with respect to religious observance, man's economic activities, the status of non-Muslims? How much of the sharia remains in Muslim countries today?

3. What has been the traditional role of the ulema 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


B. Institutional Development

1. 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 able 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?

Suggested Readings


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 Consideration

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 affected and why?

Suggested Readings


B. The French 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


George A. Kirk, 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

Questions for Consideration

1. Why were the Ottoman 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?
Suggested Readings


**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, Missionary, 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 Kucuk Kaynarca (1774) and Hunkar 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**


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

1. 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?

Suggested Readings


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.


Roger R. Trask, The United States Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform, 1914-1939 (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1971), 1-64.

B. The Ingredients in Middle Eastern Nationalism

1. The essential similarities with Western Nationalism
2. The differing ingredients
3. 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


Sylvia Haim, ed., *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology.* Cited


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

Questions for Consideration

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, leadership, 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?

Suggested Readings


Kemal H. Karpat, ed., Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East (New York, Praeger, 1968), 397 pp; especially pp. 3-132.

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


B. The Carriers of Change

1. 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


C. The Basic Ideologies in the Middle East

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

Questions for Consideration

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 so-called 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 proposal 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?

Suggested Readings

Adel Daher, Current Trends in Arab Intellectual Thought (Santa Monica, California, RAND, 1969), 33 pp.


George Lenczowski, ed., The Political Awakening in the Middle East, 119-164.


Fayez Sayegh, The Dynamics of Neutralism in the Arab World; A Symposium (San Francisco, Chandler, 1964), 275 pp.


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

Questions for Consideration

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 kinds 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?
Suggested Readings


George Lenczowski, ed., The Political Awakening in the Middle East, pp. 28-48.


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 so-called "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 so-called "moderate" from the more "radical" societies?

Suggested Readings


C. The "Radical" Regimes

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

Questions for Consideration

In regard to the so-called "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 so-called "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 patterns of these particular regions?
3. To what extent are these the elements which constitute the basic distinction differentiating 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?

**Suggested Readings**


Kamel S. Abu Jaber, *The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party* (Syracuse (Syracuse University, 1966), 218 pp. Thoughtful, informed study.


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.


UNIT VI:

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

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.

Suggested Readings


Theodore A. Coloumbis, Greek Political Reaction to American and NATO Influences (New Haven, Yale, 1966).


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.


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, Ethatism, and Secularism
5. İnönü as Atatürk's successor
6. World War II and After
7. The Coup d'etat of 1960 and the "Second Republic"
8. Turkish Foreign Relations

Questions for Consideration

What are the basic ideological elements which entered into the Turkish revolution under Atatürk? 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?
Suggested Readings


C. H. Dodd, Politics and Government in Turkey (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California, 1969), 335 pp. Well-balanced study of Turkish politics.


Ferenc A. Váli, Bridge Across the Bosphorus: The Foreign Policy of Turkey (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 Atatürk 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?

Suggested Readings


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.


UNIT VIII

ISRAEL AS A NATIONAL 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. 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?

Suggested Readings


Christopher Sykes, Crossroads to Israel (Cleveland and New York, World Publishing Co., 1966), 404 pp. Thoughtful study.

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?

Suggested Readings


Fred J. Khouri, The Arab-Israeli Dilemma (Syracuse, Syracuse University, 1968), 436 pp. Well-balanced.


Evan M. Wilson, Jerusalem: Key to Peace (Washington, Middle East Institute, 1970), 175 pp. By the former U. S. Consul General in Jerusalem. Excellent 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?

Suggested Readings


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 Politics 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?

Suggested Readings

Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, Ch. 42.


Tareq Y. Ismael, ed., Government and Politics in the Contemporary Middle East, Ch. 19.


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

3. 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?

Suggested Readings


Robert L. Daniel, American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1960 (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, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East* (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.


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
6. The Montreux Conference on the Straits
7. 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 so-called 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)?

Suggested Readings


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.


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
2. 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

Questions for Consideration

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.


Sydney N. Fisher, *The Middle East: A History*, Ch. 42


Convenient Documentation

**United States Government**

---, 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.


Unofficially Published Documents


Royal Institute of International Affairs. Documents on International Affairs (London, Oxford [RIIA], 1920 down to date. Annual volumes with significant coverage of Middle East; companions to the Annual Surveys of International Affairs.

World Peace Foundation and Council on Foreign Relations. Documents on American 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 The United States in World Affairs.
Ralph H. Magnus, Documents on the Middle East: United States Interests in the Middle East (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 PENINSULA

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?

Suggested Readings


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?

Suggested Readings


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?

Suggested Readings


Clarence Mann, Abu Dhabi: Birth of an Oil Sheikdom (Beirut, Khayats, 1964).


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


--, The Races of Europe (New York, Macmillan, 1939), passim. Includes the Middle East.


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

1. 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


Sydney N. Fisher, The Middle East: A History, Ch. 35.


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.


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 talk 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 characteristics 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?

Suggested Readings


--- *Perspectives of a Moroccan Nationalist* (Totowa, N. J., Bedminster, 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 of political participation at the local level.


--*, *The Maghrib and the Middle East* (Santa Monica, California, RAND, 1969), 30 pp. Brief and concise study.


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."


