

A Middle East Reading Guide



PALESTINIAN SCHOOL

Middle East Research & Information Project

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MERIP

READING

GUIDE

Learning About the Middle East: A General Orientation

This guide is not intended as a substitute for a complete bibliography about the Middle East — several such general bibliographies exist, and should be consulted for more specific resources. Nor does this qualify as a study-guide, which would include guidance on methods of research. It is intended quite simply as an introductory reading list, appropriate for use by individuals, study groups, or courses, and has been prepared from an anti-imperialist perspective. Its aim is to introduce readers to sources of information and analysis about US and world capitalist involvement in the Middle East and the national and class forces which either encourage or resist imperialist penetration.

Much of the research on the Middle East has been conducted by scholars who have rather well-defined orientations, although some scholars combine more than one trend. The earliest type is the Orientalist or Arabist, who loves or is fascinated by traditional Arab culture, who has a hard time dealing with modern political concepts and struggles, but who can provide much helpful information. The second orientation is that of the imperialist, who studies the Middle East and its peoples in order to facilitate their domination. A subset of the preceding group is made up of scholars with Zionist orientations. Works falling into these categories should be treated very carefully. A third orientation is that of the “academic” social scientists — overweight methodological baggage usually leaves them running along behind. A fourth orientation is that of the “pop” writers, who often slip into racist caricature when dealing with Arabs. The fifth orientation is that of the official propaganda lines as presented by governments, which in some cases appear disguised as “scholarly” research.

Very few scholars who approach the history or political economy of the Middle East start from the viewpoint of anti-imperialism or use the methodology of historical materialism. But many other scholars have made valuable contributions towards an understanding of the forces of oppression and liberation. As a result we have included much that is not anti-imperialist or Marxist, but that helps in developing such an understanding of the region, its people, and the struggles for revolutionary change.

On the other hand, we point out that much current “radical” or “leftist” literature, especially in periodicals and newspapers, is written by authors who have little or no acquaintance with the peoples of the Middle East or their cultures, and who do little more than apply abstract “Marxist” formulae to the Middle East — such literature should be read with considerable caution.

The reading guide was prepared for English speaking people and thus we have limited it mainly to works in English, leaving out the literature produced by Middle Eastern peoples in their own languages.

Any attempt at categorizing books within sections is to some degree artificial, but we have tried to find logical breaks and distinctions. We have, however, put all the books that specifically deal with Palestine in one section, although we feel strongly that the Palestine problem cannot be understood outside the context of the national and class struggles against imperialism taking place throughout the Middle East, and indeed throughout the world.

Certain topics that might be expected to appear in this guide have not been included — thus, Turkey and the Sudan are not found here, nor is Pakistan. For Pakistan, we refer readers to the bibliography on Pakistan that appeared in *MERIP Reports No. 16*. On the other areas, we hope in the months ahead to provide additional annotations on sources of information as these topics are treated in issues of the *Reports*.

Within each section, generally, the first work mentioned is the best or briefest introduction to the subject matter, and should be read if nothing else can be read.

I. GENERAL HISTORICAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

On this subject there are numerous general books from all types of writers. We have selected a small number of books that can aid readers to get an overall insight into the history, culture and politics of Arabs and Jews. The first three books are excellent general resources; the remainder are essential for a complete understanding.

Lewis, Bernard. *The Arabs in History*. New York: Harper and Row, 1960. 198 p. Harper Torchbook.

A concise summation of Western understanding of the Arab peoples until the 16th century, in the categories of mainstream Western academia. Sections on early history, especially on lower class revolutionary movements, are most thorough. Bibliography contains a full listing of basic Western sources up to 1960.

Gibb, H. A. R. *Mohammedanism*. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1968. 208 p. (2nd ed. first pub. 1953.)

An historical survey of the development of Islamic civilization viewed here mainly as a religious community. Although this study provides little sense of the material conditions of Islamic civilization, it is a useful reference for the specifically religious understanding of that culture which is still an important component of Middle Eastern society.

Watt, W. Montgomery. *Islam and the Integration of Society*. Evanston: Northwestern Univ., 1961. 293 p.

An investigation of some of the economic, social and political conditions of the origins and development of Islam and Muslim society by a non-Marxist. It provides useful data for a materialist approach to the history of Islamic society.

Lutsky, Vladimir Borisovich. *Modern History of the Arab Countries*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969. 421 p.

A coherent and systematic outline of Arab history from the 16th century to World War I, emphasizing the analysis of Arab societies' modes of production and class structures within the context of the capitalist and later imperialist systems.

El-Kodsy, Ahmad. "Nationalism and Class Struggles in the Arab World" in Ahmad El-Kodsy and Eli Lobel, *The Arab World and Israel*. New York: Monthly Review, 1970. pp. 1-62. Paper.

Looks at the hegemonic role of the merchant class in Arab societies, refuting the idea that they were "feudal." An important and fresh contribution to both Arab history and Marxist historiography.

Rodinson, Maxime. *Islam et capitalisme*. Paris: Seuil, 1966. 302 p. [in French]. Available in English as *Islam and Capitalism* from Pantheon in July 1974.

A socio-historical study by the great French Marxist Arabist of the relation between Islam and the means and systems of production in the Arab world. Scholarly, but with a polemical intent directed against those who too easily equate Islam with any particular economic system.

Leon, Abram. *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*. New York: Pathfinder, 1970. 270 p. Paper.

Written during World War II by a Belgian Trotskyist, the only Marxist history of the Jews. Although a little schematic, its research and theoretical insights are excellent, and serve as a valuable antidote to Zionist perceptions of Jewish history.

Warriner, Doreen. *Land and Poverty in the Middle East*. London: Oxford Univ., 1948. 149 p.

An excellent examination of the social structure, in particular the system of land tenure, in the Fertile Crescent and Egypt, with 30 pages on Palestine. Cf. also her *Land Reform and Development in the Middle East*, London: Oxford Univ., 1957. 197 p.

II. IMPERIALISM AND NATIONALISM: THE EARLY PERIOD

This section is divided into three parts. The first deals with the development of Arab nationalist theory in the period before World War II, the second with Arab national political struggles, and the third with imperialist political and economic domination of the area.

A. Arab Nationalist Theory

Hourani, Albert. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1798-1939*. London: Oxford Univ., 1962. 403 p.

A study of Arab political and social thought in its efforts to deal with the ideas, institutions and power of Europe from the time of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt until World War II. The book is a valuable scholarly reference for the roots of present Arab nationalist theory.

Karpat, Kemal, ed. *Political and Social Thought in the Middle East*. New York: Praeger, 1968. 397 p. Paper.

A collection of selections from Middle Eastern writers, mostly Arab, and mostly about the origins and growth of Arab nationalism on an intellectual plane. Rather specialized.

Abdel-Malek, Anouar, ed. *La Pensee politique arabe contemporaine*. Paris: Seuil, 1970. 378 p. [in French].

Excellent anthology of contemporary Arab political thought, with over 50 selections, mainly Egyptian. Interesting introduction by the editor, an Egyptian Marxist.

Laroui, Abdallah. *L'Ideologie arabe contemporaine*. Paris: Maspero, 1967. [in French].

By a Moroccan historian, interesting description of the ambivalent attitude of Arab intellectuals towards Western thought. Classifies Arab ideology as clerical (traditional and religious), liberal and technophile.

B. Arab National Political Struggle

Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening*. New York: Putnam, 1965. 471 p. Capricorn paper.

The classic study of the rise of Arab nationalism since the mid-19th century through 1940. Its emphasis on the importance of the minority religious communities and the consequent secular thrust of Arab nationalism has been challenged by Zeine.

Zeine, Zeine N. *The Emergence of Arab Nationalism, with a Background Study of Arab-Turkish Relations in the Near East*. Beirut: Khayat's, 1966. 205 p.

Emphasizes the strong role of Islam as a factor in Arab nationalism, and the consequent weaknesses of secularization in the recent past and present.

Kirk, George E. *A Short History of the Middle East*. London: Methuen, 1964. 340 p. Paper.

A pro-Western account, with special emphasis on the growth of imperialism and nationalism. In Appendix, see "The 'Arab Awakening' Reconsidered" for summary of the recent criticism of Antonius.

C. Imperialism

Issawi, Charles, ed. *The Economic History of the Middle East: A Book of Readings*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1966, 543 p.

Good collection of articles containing much useful data, which could be the basis for a materialist interpretation of Middle East history. Many of the entries are translated from other languages, including Arabic, and some, e.g. Smilianskaya, are of exceptional worth.

Landes, David S. *Bankers and Pashas: International Finance and Economic Imperialism in Egypt*. New York: Harper, 1958. 354 p. Harper Torchbook.

Based on correspondence between a French banker and the private banker of the ruler of Egypt between 1858 and 1868, a remarkable study of the growth of banking in Europe, and the takeover of the finances of Egypt.

Klieman, Aaron. *The Foundations of British Policy in the Arab World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ., 1970, 322 p.

Detailed examination of British imperial policy in the years following World War I, focusing on the contradictions within and popular threats against the division and subjugation of the Arab territories, especially Palestine and Iraq.

Monroe, Elizabeth. *Britain's Moment in the Middle East: 1914-1956*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963. 254 p.

A useful account of the decline of British power in the Middle East, from a British viewpoint, and with a reluctant, let's-make-the-best-of-it tone.

III. ZIONISM

Zionist literature is very extensive—we have omitted many works, including those by many Zionist historians, ideologues and activists, as well as anti-Zionist works that are not generally leftist. For deeper study, however, we would recommend biographies, autobiographies and other writings of Zionist leaders. This section presents A) various interpretations of Jewish history, B) the history and ideology of Zionism, C) the development of Zionism in America, and D) a variety of critiques of Zionism.

A. Jewish History

Leon, Abram. *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*. See annotation above in I.

Baron, Salo W. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*. New York: Columbia Univ., 1937. 3 vols. 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged, 1952 on, 15 vols. to date.

The major source in English on Jewish history. Obviously a reference work, but readable and reliable. Zionist but not propagandist. Baron's essay in Leo Schwarz, ed., *Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People*, is a useful summary of the 18th and 19th century period.

Arendt, Hannah. *Antisemitism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1965. 136 p. Harper Torchbook.

Part of her monumental study of totalitarianism, clearly distinguishes between traditional "Jew-hatred" and the political antisemitism of the late 19th century. Political antisemitism is shown as directly related to the specific political, economic and social struggles between liberalism and reaction.

B. History and Ideology of Zionism

Laqueur, Walter. *A History of Zionism*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972. 640 p.

A discussion of the European background of Zionism since the French Revolution, of the origins and development of the Zionist movement up to 1947, and of the establishment of Israel. The book is sympathetic to Zionism, but is a valuable reference source for an understanding of that movement in its first five decades.

Hertzberg, Arthur, ed. *The Zionist Idea*. New York: Atheneum, 1970. 638 p. Paper.

A collection of the most important historical documents: religious, revisionist, maximalist and socialist-Zionist together in one reference volume. Hertzberg's annotations present concise pictures of the personalities involved. Required reading for serious students of the history of Zionism.

C. Zionism in America

MERIP Reports no. 29, "Zionism and American Jews," by Sharon Rose, June 1974.

Silverberg, Robert. *If I Forget Thee, O Jerusalem: American Jews and the State of Israel*. New York: Morrow, 1970, 620 p. Paper.

Zionist version of the history of the struggle for Palestine. The book throws light on the political struggle within the Zionist movement. A good reference on who was who, and why.

Halperin, Samuel. *The Political World of American Zionism*. Detroit: Wayne State Univ., 1961. 431 p.

Contains much historical material. Good insight into the machinations of various factions.

Halpern, Ben. *The American Jew: A Zionist Analysis*. New York: Herzl Foundation, 1956. 174 p.

A sophisticated historical and ideological treatment of the difference between Europe and America, urging the necessity of Zionism for American Jews.

D. Critiques of Zionism

Chomsky, Noam. *Peace in the Middle East? Reflections on Justice and Nationhood*. Foreword by Irene Gendzier. New York: Vintage, 1974. 198 pp. Paper.

A collection of essays by the noted critic of US policy in Vietnam. Chomsky's long relationship to Zionism and Israel makes his critical analysis particularly interesting.

Deutscher, Isaac. *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays*. London: Oxford Univ., 1968. 164 p. Hill and Wang paper.

Nine essays, gathered posthumously, by the noted non-Zionist Jew and biographer of Stalin and Trotsky, including "Who is a Jew?" "The Russian Revolution and the Jewish Problem," and several on Israel.

Selzer, Michael. *The Aryanization of the Jewish State*. New York: D. White, 1967. 126 p.

Argues that the origin of Zionism in Eastern Europe was the self-hatred of Jews who believed themselves to be primitive, alien Orientals in the midst of the white, Christian, modern, Western world.

Selzer, Michael, ed. *Zionism Reconsidered: the Rejection of Jewish Normalcy*. New York: Macmillan, 1970. 259 p. Macmillan paper.

Collection of essays—from the Lebuwitzer rebbe to Philip Roth—various forms of cynicism about Zionism. Best one is Hannah Arendt's "Zionism Reconsidered," written in 1945 but still compelling today. Arendt is the author of *Antisemitism* (see III. A. above) and *Eichmann in Jerusalem*.

Bober, Arie, ed. *The Other Israel: the Radical Case Against Zionism*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1972. 264 p. Anchor paper.

A collection of anti-Zionist analytical articles on the history, ideology, economic development and class structure of Israel and Zionism, by members of the Israeli Socialist Organization (*Matzpen*). The I.S.O. contends that peace in the Middle East is impossible unless Israel and the Arab states are integrated in a socialist, united Middle East.

IV. I. PALESTINE BEFORE 1948

Few periods in history have provoked more propagandistic works than this one. We have provided a very selective listing of books that we consider an adequate introduction to the pre-1948 developments. This section deals with A) essays on specific historical problems and reference works, B) general historical accounts, and C) cultural and political developments among Palestinian Arabs and Jews.

A. Specific Problems and Reference

Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim, ed. *The Transformation of Palestine*. Evanston: Northwestern Univ., 1971. 521 p.

Collection of scholarly essays about transformation of Palestine into Israel, and the transformation of the struggle for Palestine into an inter-state Arab-Israeli conflict. The authors are not radicals, but the book is essential because of its unique perspective. Part II, focusing on land and people, has three essays of exceptional quality. The editor's introduction to each essay is extremely valuable.

John, Robert and Sami Hadawi. *The Palestine Diary*. Two vols.: 1914-1945 and 1945-1948. Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1970. 421 and 428 p. (Two more volumes in preparation.)

A thoroughly-documented account of the Palestine question, presented chronologically. This publication is the most readable presentation of the documentation, but it has pro-British sympathies at times. Best used as a reference source on specific events.

Khalidi, Walid, ed. *From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem until 1948*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971. 914 p.

A wide-ranging collection of written materials on Zionism and Palestine from 1897 to 1948. Much of the material is selected from Zionist and imperialist sources. The purpose of the collection is to illustrate the process by which Zionism has sought to wrest control of Palestine from the Arabs.

Laqueur, Walter, ed. *The Israel-Arab Reader*. New York: Citadel, 1969. 371 p. (Rev. ed.) Bantam paper.

Excellent resource book, with World War I correspondence, British White Papers during Mandate, Erskine Childers' "The Other Exodus," and several contemporary essays including I. F. Stone on the 1967 War.

B. General Historical Accounts

Hurewitz, Jacob C. *The Struggle for Palestine*. New York: Norton, 1950. 404 p.

An invaluable, highly detailed account of the political struggle in Palestine, focusing on 1938-1947. Hurewitz is not pro-Zionist in this account, but there is the clear bias of "law'n'order" in which the Palestinians, because they were forced to resort to armed struggle, come off to some extent as the villains.

Waines, David. *The Unholy War: Israel and Palestine, 1897-1971*. Wilmette, Ill.: Medina Univ. International, 1971. 208 p.

An historical sociological account of the Arab-Zionist conflict, emphasizing the British Mandate period. Noteworthy contributions are the analysis of the ways in which the British encouraged the Zionist development of autonomous institutions and the presentation of how the Arab-Palestinian response to Zionism took the form of a national liberation struggle.

Taylor, Alan R. *Prelude to Israel: An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy, 1897-1947*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. 136 p.

A critical study of the nature of Zionism, concentrating on the diplomatic activities of its leaders, and giving little attention to developments in Palestine.

Stevens, Richard M. *American Zionism and United States Foreign Policy, 1942-1947*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970. 236 p.

Comprehensive factual study of the Zionist switch from British to US support, detailing the campaign to convert the American Jewish community and American political leaders to all-out support for making Palestine a Jewish state.

C. Palestinian and Jewish Developments

Lobel, Eli. "Palestine and the Jews," in Ahmad El-Kodsy and Eli Lobel, *The Arab World and Israel*. New York: Monthly Review, 1970. pp. 63-137. Paper.

The best brief anti-Zionist Marxist study of the relation between Zionism and the Palestinian people.

Abu-Ghazaleh, Adnan Mohammed. *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1973. 114 p. Paper.

Study of selected, representative authors and the themes of their writings from the 1830s to 1948, showing not only the growth and expression of nationalism, but the high degree of cultural development of the Palestinian people in that period.

Porath, Yehoshua. *The Palestinian National Movement: A Study of its Emergence, 1918-1929*. London: Frank Cass, 1972.

Traces origins and emergence of the Palestinian national movement against the background of British policy and Zionist colonization. Author on the faculty of Hebrew University, Asian and African Studies.

Elon, Amos. *The Israelis: Founders and Sons*. New York: Bantam, 1971. 469 p. Paper.

A version of the early Zionist colonization of Palestine that stresses "counter-cultural" and student movement aspects of the colonizers in an apparent attempt to make the Zionist movement acceptable to young leftists of the present. The book contains much interesting material about the early settlers, but the rest is of little value.

Rodinson, Maxime. *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* New York: Pathfinder, 1973. 125 p. Paper.

Originally published in Jean-Paul Sartre's *Les Temps Modernes* collection in 1967. The description of Israel's colonial background and policies was very important in turning the French "New Left" against Zionism after the 1967 War. Seems a little dated now.

Hattis, Susan Lee. *The Bi-National Idea in Palestine during Mandatory Times*. Tel Aviv: Shikmona, 1970. 355 p.

An extensive and thorough treatment of the subject, but limited by the author's failure to place the idea of binationalism in its political context.

IV. II. PALESTINE AFTER 1948

The literature on this subject is again extensive, and much of it propagandistic—we have selected the soundest material available. This section deals with A) the Arab-Israeli conflict on a general level, B) the Palestinian people and their resistance struggle, C) the Arabs in Israel and D) Israeli social, economic, political, and military developments.

A. The Arab-Israeli Conflict

MERIP Reports no. 22, "The October War," by John Galvani, Peter Johnson and Rene Theberge, November 1973.

"Roots of the October War," by John Galvani, Peter Johnson and Rene Theberge. *Socialist Revolution*, no. 17, Sept.-Oct. 1973. A revision and enlargement of *MERIP Reports* no. 22.

Schleifer, Abdullah. *The Fall of Jerusalem*. New York: Monthly Review, 1972. 247 p. Paper

A fine combination of almost lyrical prose and intelligent journalism placing the 1967 war in the context of Arab and Palestinian resistance to Western and Israeli attempts at dominating the Arab world, by an American Jewish convert to Islam who lived in Jerusalem in 1967.

Rodinson, Maxime. *Israel and the Arabs*. Middlesex, Eng.: Penguin, 1970. 250 p. Paper.

A broad outline of the Palestine and Arab-Israeli conflicts, concentrating on the period from 1948 through the 1967 War. The author analyzes the conflicts themselves, using historical facts mainly as illustrations, and discusses Arab nationalism and Zionism extensively. Rodinson has considerable personal knowledge of leftist forces in the Middle East, and is able to give a better insight into the left than other authors.

Childers, Erskine B. *The Road to Suez: A Study of Western-Arab Relations*. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1962. 416 p.

Probably the best available account of the 1956 Suez crisis and war, placing them in the context of the larger politics of Arab-European relations. Includes interesting chapters on the Western image of the Arabs, and on Arab-Western relations during the Cold War period, and an account of the 1956 Sinai war.

Khoury, Fred J. *The Arab-Israeli Dilemma*. Syracuse: Syracuse Univ., 1968. 436 p. Paper.

The best of the scholarly treatments of the conflict, focusing on the role of the United Nations while factually and fairly recounting the elements of the Arab-Israeli conflict up until 1968. Ends with a rather mushy approach to how peace might come.

Gendzier, Irene L., ed. *A Middle East Reader*. New York: Pegasus, 1969. 477 p. Paper.

Interesting and well-balanced collection of historical and contemporary essays on the Palestine problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

B. The Palestinian People and Resistance

Many of the Palestinian resistance organizations have publications in English, and translations of their important works. Addresses are available from MERIP. In addition, the P.L.O. Research Center, Box 1691, Beirut and the Institute for Palestine Studies, Box 7164, Beirut have extensive bibliographies.

MERIP Reports no. 28, "Resistance and Self-Determination in Palestine," by Qais Salim, May 1974.

Turki, Fawaz. *The Disinherited: Journal of a Palestinian Exile*. New York: Monthly Review, 1972. 156 p. Paper.

A poignant description of the life of an extremely literate Palestinian refugee undergoing exile and oppression in the Arab host country. The book lacks a full political understanding that could serve as a base for effective action.

Dodd, Peter and Halim Barakat. *River Without Bridges*. Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 1969. 208 p. Paper.

Interesting sociological study of Palestinian refugees of 1967 war, and why they left the territories occupied by Israel.

Kadi, Leila S. *Basic Political Documents of the Armed Palestinian Resistance Movement*. Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1969. 254 p. Paper.

Good historical background as introduction, with substantial and important documents of Fateh, DPFLP and PFLP, including interviews with leaders.

Stetler, Russell, ed. *Palestine: The Arab-Israeli Conflict*. San Francisco: Ramparts, 1972. With photographs by Jeffrey Blankfort. 297 p. Paper.

Collection of essays, programs of the various resistance organizations, interviews, and the remarkable "Diary of a Resistance Fighter," written during September 1970.

Sharabi, Hisham. *Palestine Guerrillas: Their Credibility and Effectiveness*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970. 64 p. Paper.

Still one of the best evaluations of the strengths and weaknesses of the Palestinian resistance before September 1970. Can be read as over optimistic, but objectively pinpoints the political-military conditions necessary for the movement to thrive. When these conditions disappeared (e.g., the active Suez Front), Sharabi's analysis foresaw quite accurately the problem that would come.

Palestinian Leaders Discuss the New Challenges for the Resistance. Beirut: P.L.O. Research Center, April 1974. 74 pp.

Chaliand, Gerald. *The Palestinian Resistance*. London: Penguin, 1972. 190 p. Paper. First published in French in 1970.

Based largely on interviews with members of the Palestinian resistance, one of the best sympathetic treatments of the movement "from the inside." Rather dated now.

Quandt, William B., Fuad Jabber and Ann Mosely Lesch. *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism*. A RAND Corporation Research Study. Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1973. 234 p. Paper.

A factual treatment of the Palestinian resistance, the history of the Palestine problem, and the role of the Palestine problem in inter-Arab politics. Quandt has been an advisor to Henry Kissinger, and his orientation and methodology prevent him from real sympathy with Palestinian aspirations. Lesch's piece on the Mandate period is helpful.

Cooley, John K. *Green March, Black September: The Story of the Palestinian Arabs*. London: Frank Cass, 1973.

Sympathetic account of the Palestinians as a *people*: brief history, language, art, "notables" (or "success stories"), emphasis on their revolution, its strengths, weaknesses and future. Semi-journalistic, but well researched with much insight and many interesting on-the-spot tidbits. By a veteran Middle East correspondent. little "Palestino-phile."

C. The Arabs in Israel

MERIP Reports no. 17, "Notes from Inside Israel," by B. T. Ross, May 1973.

Jiryis, Sabri. *The Arabs in Israel*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969. 180 p. Paper.

An account of the Arab people remaining in Israel after 1948 up to the abolition of the Israeli Military Governate within Israel itself in 1966. The author, an Israeli Arab lawyer, presents the authoritative description of the legal repression of Palestinian-Israelis by the Zionist government of Israel.

Jiryis, Sabri. *Democratic Freedoms in Israel*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1972. 109 p. Paper.

A study of democratic freedoms in Israel that proves that Israel cannot be described as truly democratic, especially in its treatment of Arab citizens but also in its treatment of Jewish citizens. The author demonstrates that opposition to the Zionist concept of Israel, rather than pure racism, provokes repression of democratic freedoms.

Peretz, Don. *Israel and the Palestine Arabs*. Washington: Middle East Institute, 1958. 264 p.

Good general study, with excellent documentation of the contribution of confiscated Palestinian property to the economy of Israel.

Ben-Porath, Yoram. *The Arab Labor Force in Israel*. Jerusalem: Falk Institute, 1966. 96 p.

Most data gathered in early 1960s. Statistical information on the size and distribution of the Arab population and labor force in Israel, with comparative data on Jews. Discussion of discrimination against Arabs and use of Arab manpower. Conclusion is liberal/progressive and optimistic about closing the gap between Jews and non-Jews.

D. Israeli Developments

MERIP Reports no. 24, "Israeli Economic Policy in the Occupied Areas," by Sheila Ryan, January 1974.

Bober, Arie, ed. *The Other Israel: The Radical Case Against Zionism*. See annotation above in III.D.

Eisenstadt, S. N. *The Absorption of Immigrants: A Comparative Study Based Mainly on the Jewish Community in Palestine and the State of Israel*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954. 275 p.

Useful statistical data included on the early history of Israel; should be read in conjunction with more recent materials. Focus on disadvantaged status of Oriental Jews.

Zahlan, Antoine. *Science and Higher Education in Israel*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970. 153 p.

Statistics and analysis showing "key role universities and research play in the metabolism of the modern state." Relationship of Israeli military and its needs to scientific research, an important aspect distinguishing Israel from underdeveloped countries.

Halevi, Nadav and Ruth Klinov-Malul. *The Economic Development of Israel*. New York: Praeger, 1968. 321 p.

A general survey of Israel's economy from 1948-1965, concentrating on immigration, capital impact, and rapid growth. With 96 tables, an indispensable research tool.

Kanovsky, Eliyahu. *The Economic Impact of the Six-Day War*. New York: Praeger, 1970. 451 p.

The first major study of the economic effects of the 1967 War on Israel, the occupied territories, Jordan and Egypt. The book has sections on the pre-war economies, the war's immediate economic implications, and the post-war situation.

Brecher, Michael. *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*. New Haven: Yale Univ., 1972. 693 p.

About half of this large book is spent explaining Brecher's schematic apparatus of subsets and systems by which he purports to analyze a country's foreign policy, with Israel as a case study. This nonsense should be overlooked, because the rest of the book is crammed with useful facts, occasional insights and illuminating quotes, not just about Israel's foreign policy, but about Israeli political society, institutions and personalities.

Allon, Yigal. *Shield of David: The Story of Israel's Armed Forces*. New York: Random House, 1970. 272 p.

Full of pictures, a chatty sketch of the history of Zionist armed forces by an Israeli cabinet minister.

Handel, Michael I. *Israel's Political-Military Doctrine*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. C.F.I.A., 1973. 73 p. Paper.

Written before the October War of 1973, future pre-occupations are about counter-terrorist activities and morale of the Israeli Defense Forces. Contains thorough historical account of the development of the military doctrine and its suffusion with political considerations.

V. MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES

This section includes books about contemporary political developments throughout the Middle East, and studies on specific countries. Most of the general works that are available are poor, and many countries have been inadequately treated. Considerable attention has been devoted to Egypt, Lebanon and North Africa, less to Iraq and Syria, and almost none to the other countries. For the areas with little coverage, there are always the *Area Handbooks* prepared by American University "to be useful to military and other personnel who need a compilation of basic facts." For contemporary developments in most of the countries it is necessary to consult periodical literature (see section below). In this section we have tried to select only books which are useful, omitting distorted and misleading material.

A. General Works

Khadduri, Majid. *Political Trends in the Arab World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1970. 298 p. Paper, 2nd ed.

A study of the main currents of contemporary Arab thought and an assessment of its relation to political movements. The author sees contemporary Arab political movements as attempting to develop systems capable of superseding the traditional Islamic system.

Be'eri, Eliezer. *Army Officers in Arab Politics and Society*. New York: Praeger, 1969. 514 p.

Interesting and well-documented treatment of the role of army officers, with attention to the implications of the petty bourgeois class position of the officer corps.

Said, Edward and Fuad Suleiman, ed. *The Arabs Today: Alternatives for Tomorrow*. Columbus, Ohio: Forum Associates, 1973. 142 p.

Collection of critical, scholarly essays presented at the Arab-American University Graduates' Convention in October 1971, all but one by Arabs, most more or less leftist. The present state of Arab language, science, society, economy, politics and revolution; why and what are the challenges.

Rodinson, Maxime. *Marxisme et Monde Musulman*. Paris: Seuil, 1972. 691 p. [in French].

Excellent collection of recent essays focusing on specific problems of the relations among Marxism, Arabism, Islam, capitalism and socialism. Highly specialized but a major contribution to development of Marxist thinking and action in the Middle East.

Agwami, M.S. *Communism in the Arab East*. New York: Asia Publishing House, 1969. 259 p.

A valuable, objective treatment of communist party activities in Arab countries, discussing their problems, achievements and defeats. Especially useful source for developments in Iraq under Qassem.

Hanna, Sami and George H. Gardner. *Arab Socialism: A Documentary Survey*. Leiden: Brill, 1969. 417 p.

Contains some important documents, including the constitution of the Baath Party and the Egyptian National Charter. The essays are liberal and not very useful.

B. Egypt

MERIP Reports no. 17, "Retreat of the Revolution in Egypt," by Peter Johnson, May 1973.

Riad, Hassan. *L'Egypte Nasserienne*. Paris: Minuit, 1964. 249 p. [in French]

By far the best Marxist analysis of Egypt, and particularly of the development of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, by an Egyptian Marxist. Four chapters based on much data lead to a conclusion that the Egyptian petty bourgeoisie gradually transformed itself into a state bourgeoisie.

Abdel-Malek, Anouar. *Egypt: Military Society, the Army Regime, the Left and Social Change under Nasser*. New York: Vintage, 1968. 459 p. Paper.

By the eminent exiled Egyptian Marxist sociologist, a devastating critique of the "socialism without socialists" which was to occur without class conflict.

Hussein, Mahmud. *Class Conflict in Egypt, 1945-1970*. New York: Monthly Review, 1974. 379 pp.

An important account of the rise of the "state bourgeoisie" under Nasser, unfortunately more often based on anecdotes than economic data, by a left-wing Egyptian Marxist. His basic contention that the masses make history influences his understanding of events.

Mahfouz, Afaf el-Koshari. *Socialisme et Pouvoir en Egypte*. Paris: Librairie Generale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1972. 287 p. [in French]

A thorough and well-organized account of the development of Nasserist ideology, the struggles among various tendencies, focusing on the early 1960s, from a left-Nasserist point of view.

Issawi, Charles. *Egypt in Revolution: An Economic Analysis*. London: Oxford Univ., 1963. 343 p.

A thorough and generally sympathetic study by the foremost academic expert on the Egyptian economy.

O'Brien, Patrick. *The Revolution in Egypt's Economic System: From Private Enterprise to Socialism, 1952-1965*. London: Oxford Univ., 1966. 354 p.

Excellent treatment of the political framework within which economic change has taken place. Sees the development of a "centralized market economy" determined by events more than by ideology. Useful statistical material.

Saab, Gabriel S. *The Egyptian Agrarian Reform: 1952-1962*. London: Oxford Univ., 1967. 236 p.

Well documented scholarly account.

Heikal, Mohamed. *Nasser: The Cairo Documents*. New York: Doubleday, 1973. 360 p.

Chatty and generally superficial accounts of Nasser's encounters with eleven important world figures, from John Foster Dulles to Che Guevara, by the Egyptian editor who often served as Nasser's spokesperson.

Copeland, Miles. *The Game of Nations: The Amoral of Power Politics*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969. 272 p.

Remarkable account by an ex-CIA agent of US machinations in the Middle East and particularly in Egypt. Good for facts, better for insight into mentality of CIA.

Lacouture, Jean. *Nasser: A Biography*. New York: Knopf, 1973. 399 p.

The most readable and sympathetic of the several biographies which have appeared since Nasser's death.

C. Syria

MERIP Reports no. 25, "Syria and the Baath Party," by John Galvani, February 1974.

Seale, Patrick. *The Struggle for Syria*. London: Oxford Univ., 1965. 344 p.

A history of Syrian politics from the end of World War II to the union with Egypt in 1958. Seale insists upon the centrality of developments in Syria as the key to understanding Arab politics at this critical period.

Rabinovich, Itamar. *Syria under the Baath: 1963-1966*. Jerusalem: Israel Universities, 1972. 276 p.

Emphasizes the role of military officers in this first period of full Baath Party rule in Syria. Based mainly on written Arabic documents and radio broadcasts, the book tends to be somewhat narrow in its total concentration on the highest echelons of the Baath, but it is useful in conjunction with Petran and Seale.

Petran, Tabitha. *Syria*. London: Ernest Benn and New York: Praeger, 1972. 284 p.

Although a general survey of Syria is included, the book concentrates mainly on recent history. Petran's antipathy to Gamal Abdul Nasser distorts her judgments on many crucial points, but more information is given on the Baath, on popular movements, and on the significance of Palestine than is available in other sources in English.

D. Iraq

MERIP Reports no. 12, "The Baathi Revolution in Iraq," by John Galvani, October 1972, out of print.

Khadduri, Majid. *Republican Iraq*. London: Oxford Univ., 1969. 318 p.

The "authoritative," if unexciting, account of what happened in the first decade after the 1958 revolution. Khadduri's lack of sympathy for more leftist trends can prove irritating.

Dann, Uriel. *Iraq under Qassem*. New York: Praeger, 1970. 405 p.

A good study of Iraq from the end of the pro-British monarchy in 1958 to the coup that overthrew the government of Qassem in 1963. A generally adequate interpretation of political events, but deliberately eschews treatment of economic and social developments.

E. Lebanon

MERIP Reports no. 19, "Student Protests and the Coming Crisis in Lebanon," by Samih Farsoun, August 1973.

Meo, Leila M. T. *Lebanon: Improbable Nation, A Study in Political Development*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ., 1965. 246 p.

A study in the development of the Lebanese political system, ending with the late 1950s and including an account of the 1958 civil upheaval and of Lebanon's relation to the West, especially the United States, in the Eisenhower era.

Suleiman, Michael W. *Political Parties in Lebanon: The Challenge of a Fragmented Political Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ., 1967. 326 p.

An empirical study of contemporary Lebanese parties, classified by their ideological stances; and a rendition of their history, organization, platforms and current role.

Hudson, Michael C. *The Precarious Republic: Political Modernization in Lebanon*. New York: Random House, 1968, 364 p.

A study in political development in terms of current modernization theory of American academia. Includes section on political actors both inside and outside the formal establishment and analysis of formal governmental institutions.

F. Jordan

MERIP Reports no. 7, "The US and Jordan: The Thrice-Rescued Throne," by Sheila Ryan and Joe Stork, February 1972.

Aruri, Naseer. *Jordan: A Study in Political Development, 1921-1965*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972. 206 p.

A very critical account of the Hashemite regime and its monopolization of the instruments of violence, by a Palestinian scholar.

Vatikiotis, P. J. *Politics and the Military in Jordan: A Study of the Arab Legion, 1921-1957*. New York: Praeger, 1967. 166 p.

Thorough documentation of the role of the Legion in creating and maintaining the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

G. Saudi Arabia, the Peninsula and the Gulf

MERIP Reports no. 15, "Socialist Revolution in Arabia, A Report from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen," by Joe Stork, March 1973.

MERIP Reports no. 26, "Saudi Arabia: Bullish on America," by the MERIP staff, March 1974.

MERIP Reports no. 6, "The Liberation of Dhofar," by Fawwaz Trabulsi, January 1972, out of print.

US House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Near East and South Asia. *New Perspectives in the Persian Gulf*. Washington: 1973.

Goldmine of information about countries of the area. with figures on US economic and military aid. Official testimony lays out US perceptions of developments.

Holden, David. *Farewell to Arabia*. New York: Walker, 1966. 266 p.

A readable account of the changes in the Peninsula in the 1960s, unsympathetic to revolutionary developments but useful as background to the present.

Bujra, Abdalla S. *The Politics of Stratification*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971. 201 p.

First-rate presentation and analysis of changes in a traditional tribal and land-based system under pressure from "modern" capitalist elements. Based on experiences of a social anthropologist in the Hadramaut.

Wenner, Manfred. *Modern Yemen: 1918-1966*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1967. 257 p.

An academic but readable account of Yemen through 1967, with historical and sociological analysis.

O'Ballance, Edgar. *The War in the Yemen*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1971. 218 p.

A detailed treatment, not without an anti-revolutionary bias, but a vast improvement over Dana Adams Schmidt's *Yemen: The Unknown War*. Schmidt's book is useful only for its insights into the mind of a right-wing journalist as an amateur political agent.

H. Iran

MERIP Reports no. 18, "Iran: Ten Years After the White Revolution," by Rene Theberge, June 1973.

Nirumand, Bahman. *Iran: The New Imperialism in Action*. New York: Monthly Review, 1969. 196 p. Paper.

A good general history of the nationalist and anti-imperialist struggle in Iran from 1945 through the 1960s. Decent on the American penetration of Iran, foreign aid and oil. Deals briefly with the White Revolution and land reform. National democratic perspective.

Bill, James A. *The Politics of Iran: Groups, Classes and Modernization*. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1972. 174 p.

A non-Marxist class study of the Iranian power structure. Looks at power relationships and change in terms of maintaining balance of tension between classes and points of power. An elite theory of political change.

Zabih, Sepehr. *The Communist Movement in Iran*. Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1966. 279 p.

A detailed study of the Communist movement in Iran since the early 20th century. Does not see the Communist movement in the context of Iran's political economy. No class analysis.

Zonis, Marvin. *The Political Elite of Iran*. Princeton: Princeton Univ., 1971. 389 p.

A study of the Iranian political elite, their origins, education, attitudes. Not critical of the repressive base of the existing system, but useful for information.

I. Libya

MERIP Reports no. 27, "Imperialism and Revolution in Libya," by Carole Collins, April 1974.

Wright, John. *Libya*. New York: Praeger, 1969. 304 p.

General history of Libya, best on the Italian period, very uncritical of Idris and the oil companies.

J. Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia

Hermassi, El Baki. *Leadership and National Development in North Africa*. Berkeley: Univ. of Calif., 1972.

An important comparative study analyzing the role of colonization in culturally and politically fragmenting a society.

Amin, Samir. *The Maghreb in the Modern World*. Middlesex, Eng.: Penguin, 1970. 256 p. Paper.

Concise but comprehensive, this is the best introduction to the political economy of the Maghreb, treating all three countries. Expresses socialist concern for "putting politics in command" and development of self-reliance.

Clegg, Ian. *Workers' Self-Management in Algeria*. New York: Monthly Review, 1971. 249 p. Paper.

Both a history of modern Algeria and a theoretical analysis of the revolutionary import of workers' management and of centralized versus decentralized decision-making. Concludes that workers' self-management was not revolutionary in Algeria because it lacked both a political framework and supportive institutions.

Ottaway, David and Marina Ottaway. *Algeria: The Politics of a Socialist Revolution*. Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1970. 322 p.

A detailed historical approach to the development of the Algerian revolution, the Ben Bella regime, the origins of the coup of 1965, and the early years of the Boumedienne regime.

Waterbury, John. *The Commander of the Faithful*. New York: Columbia Univ., 1970. 367 p.

Banned in Morocco. An analytical study of the modern Moroccan system emphasizing the control and manipulation of the Moroccan elite by the King, which inhibits social change.

Ayache, Albert. *Le Maroc: Bilan d'une colonisation*. Paris: Editions Sociales, 1956. 367 p. [in French.]

A Marxist analysis of Moroccan history focusing on economic exploitation. One of the rare books which talks about the growth of American imperialism in Morocco.

VI. US POLICY, THE OIL INDUSTRY, AND THE MILITARY

This section has three parts, dealing with US policy in the Middle East region, the political economy of oil, and military strategy. Many of the books overlap in some areas with each other and with those in the previous section. Most of the books in the first part are apologies for US interests. Unfortunately, a comprehensive anti-imperialist treatment of US policy in the Middle East has yet to be written. Any dissenting views expressed in the available literature are concerned with specific policy re-orientations within the structure of imperialism. The oil part is more evenly balanced and the books on military strategy encompass both straightforward anti-communist "containment" views and radical critiques. For this whole section, specialized periodical literature is the most important source for much of the necessary information.

A. US Policy

MERIP Reports no. 23, "US Policy and the October War," by Barry Rubin, December 1973.

MERIP Reports no. 31. "Open Door in the Middle East," by the MERIP Staff, October 1974.

Foreign Relations of the United States. Washington: Government Printing Office. (Currently available through 1947.)

This standard documentary reference is invaluable for the period covered. Provides most of the diplomatic cables and inter-Department memoranda on policy questions, grouped by countries and by topic (e.g., petroleum interests). In the recent volumes, for example, there are hundreds of pages on Iran and Palestine.

US Policy in the Middle East, Sept. 1956–June 1957: Documents. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957.

Compilation of the State Department's Historical Office on the Suez Crisis.

Campbell, John. *Defense of the Middle East*. New York: Harper, 1958. 392 p.

Written under the sponsorship of the Council on Foreign Relations, through which the corporate elite channel their foreign policy recommendations, a good account of how the US perceived and dealt with the political threats of Arab nationalism in the 50's. Much of the writing is abstract and general to the point of pabulum, but it will have to serve as a key reference until the diplomatic records of the period are finally made public some decade in the future.

Safran, Nadav. *The United States and Israel*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963. 341p.

Mostly about Israel, clear pro-Zionist and pro-imperialist orientation, by an ex-colleague and advisor of Kissinger.

Lenczowski, George, ed. *United States Interests in the Middle East*. Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1968. 129 p. Paper.

Cold War imperialist analysis of US economic, political and strategic interests in the Middle East in the wake of the 1967 War. The final section presents the authors' estimates of the various alternatives they see for US policy in the region.

Badeau, John. *An American Approach to the Arab World*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968. 209 p. Paper.

The author has decades of experience in the Middle East as an educator and was Kennedy's Ambassador to Egypt. This essay advocates essentially a liberal policy attempting to accommodate the aspirations of Arab nationalism.

B. Middle East Oil

MERIP Reports nos. 20 and 21, "Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis," by Joe Stork, Part I: Sept. 1973; Part II: Oct. 1973.

Tanzer, Michael. *The Political Economy of Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries*. Boston: Beacon, 1970. 435 p. Paper.

Not about the Middle East, but unquestionably the best book available for understanding the structure, strategy and power of the international oil industry.

Stocking, George. *Middle East Oil*. Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ., 1970. 485 p.

The best book available on Middle East oil, by a respected economist with well-known anti-monopoly sentiments. A wealth of information, with good analysis of specific incidents or controversies, but lacking an overall focus.

Mosley, Leonard. *Power Play: Oil in the Middle East*. New York: Random, 1972.

Slick and sometimes superficial, quick reading. Less solid than Stocking, some information, but expect very little by way of decent analysis.

Adelman, M. A. *The World Petroleum Market*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ., 1972.

An invaluable source of information, data, perceptions and insights. Many of Adelman's assertions and conclusions can be challenged, but the statistics, especially European market price data necessary for understanding the contradictions at work in the world oil industry in the Sixties, cannot be found in any other one place.

O'Connor, Harvey. *The Empire of Oil*. New York: Monthly Review, 1955. 372 p. *World Crisis in Oil*. New York: Monthly Review, 1962. 433 p. Paper.

In the best left muckraking tradition. Wealth of information, but both books are too long and not much analysis comes through. *Empire* focuses on domestic industry, *Crisis* on the international.

Ridgeway, James. *The Last Play*. New York: Dutton, 1973. 446 p.

Focus on the domestic machinations of the oil industry, particularly on the acquisition of coal and other competing energy sources. Basic financial and corporate data is laid out company by company, including financial institutions.

Congressional hearings are a rich source of information on the oil industry. Check under the following committees and sub-committees: House and Senate Interior, House and Senate Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations, House Small Business, Senate Anti-trust and Monopoly subcommittee of Judiciary, and Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

C. Military and Strategic

MERIP Reports no. 30. "The Political Economy of Arms Transfers to the Middle East." by Chris Paine, August 1974.

Klare, Michael T. *War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams*. New York: Knopf, 1972. 464 p. Vintage paper.

By far the most comprehensive study of US military strategy from a radical perspective. Deals successively with the shift from deterrence to counterinsurgency under Kennedy, the defense research establishment, "rapid deployment strategy," "electronic battlefield," "mercenarization," and the Kissinger doctrine. Of special relevance to the Middle East is the chapter entitled "Strategic Mobility and Intervention"—the "Doctrine of Rapid Deployment"—which deals with the C-5A strategic airlift (as during the October War) and the "instant air base" concept, the military expression of the "low profile" Nixon Doctrine.

Safran, Nadav. *From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948-1967*. New York: Pegasus, 1969. 464 p. Paper.

An analysis of the use of "coercion" in the Arab-Israeli conflict by a Harvard Zionist academic. Concentrates on the US-Soviet role, neglects the Palestinians; much detail on military expenditures, US and Soviet cooperation seen as the determining factor in any settlement. "Well worth the attention of the military reader," says *Military Review*.

Hurewitz, J. C. *Middle East Politics: The Military Dimension*. New York: Praeger, 1969. 553 p.

A study by a prominent "official" academic of the military as an agent for "modernization" in the Middle East. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations, it contains much useful information despite the obvious pro-US slant.

Hurewitz, J. C. ed. *Soviet-American Rivalry in the Middle East*. New York: Praeger, 1969. 250 p. Paper.

Prepared by the Academy of Political Science, Columbia University; sixteen essays by "official" academics covering: "The Struggle for Military Supremacy," "Economic Competition," "The Cultural Contest," "The Quest for Stability."

Insight Team of the *Sunday Times* (London). *Insight on the Middle East War*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1974. 230 p. Paper.

An admirably objective day-to-day account of the October War, concentrating largely on the military aspect, but with some attention paid to the diplomatic maneuvering. Interesting appendix compares Arab and Israeli weaponry.

The Military Balance. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies.

An inventory of the military forces and equipment of most nations.

The Arms Trade with the Third World. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Details all major arms transfers to the Third World since 1946.

The US Military Apparatus: A Handbook. New York: North American Congress on Latin America.

Contains information on US military commitments in the Middle East, military and arms sales, and weapons systems.

VII. PERIODICALS

The following selection of periodicals and newspapers concentrates on materials available in the US. Inclusion in the list has been based either on usefulness of the publication for information and/or analysis of the Middle East, or because of the necessity to express cautions about the interpretations given in some sources that are commonly available.

Key: a., annual; q., quarterly; m., monthly; bi-w., bi-weekly; w., weekly; d., daily.

A. General Business Periodicals and Newspapers

The most useful sources in this category are: *Fortune*, m.; *Forbes*, w.; *Business Week*, w.; *Journal of Commerce*, d.; *Wall Street Journal*, d. These publications give regular coverage of financial and economic developments relating to the Middle East, from the point of view of the corporate elite.

B. Middle East Economics

More analytic and specialized coverage of economic developments in the area from a capitalist perspective is provided by: *The Quarterly Economic Review(s)*, published by the Economist Intelligence Unit, London, separately for virtually every country of the Middle East; *Overseas Business Report(s)*, for each country in the region by the US Dept. of Commerce; *Foreign Economic Trends*, a., a summary business analysis for each country from US embassies; *Middle East & African Economist*, m., a compilation of economic information; *Middle East Economic Digest*, London, a general summary and analysis. For a leftist perspective, a new publication from Paris, *Economiste du Tiers Monde*, bi.-m., is recommended.

C. Oil

For monitoring the oil industry, consult: *Platt's Oilgram*, w., mainly domestic; *Middle East Economic Survey*, from companies' point of view; *Arab Oil and Gas*, more nationalist; *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*.

D. Conventional News Summaries

Several publications are devoted to summaries and analyses of Middle East News. *Middle East Record*, Israel, is a comprehensive compilation of documents, accounts from the Arab press and radio, and other sources, on all major developments in the area. Publication of this invaluable source takes several years; the 1968 volume appeared in 1973. For more current coverage: *Arab World Daily* and *Arab World Weekly*, published by the Arab World Press Agency, Beirut; *Arab Report & Record*, bi.-w., London; *Middle East*

Monitor, bi.-w.; *Middle East Journal*, q., summary at end of each issue; *Swasia – North Africa*, with section of translations from Hebrew and Arab press; *Palestine Digest*, m., reprints mainly from the US press; *Viewpoint*, m., Jerusalem, an excellent source of translations and commentary from the entire spectrum of the Israeli press; *Daily News Bulletin*, a US Zionist publication from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. *Arab World Weekly* contains interesting longer pieces of analysis. *Arab Report & Record*, *Middle East Monitor* and *Viewpoint* are important sources.

E. Conventional Journalism

Caution must be exercised in reading the Western press on the Middle East. The wire services are particularly erratic, but many of the reporters for individual newspapers and radio/television networks are equally unreliable. The best coverage and analysis among those available in the US is provided by *Le Monde*, d., Paris (in French). The best US coverage is in *The Christian Science Monitor*, John Cooley's articles only. Other useful newspapers: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*; *The Times* and *The Guardian* (London); *The Jerusalem Post*; *L'Orient-Le Jour* and *The Daily Star*, Beirut; *Kayhan* (Iranian government, overseas weekly), a propaganda sheet. The monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Paris (in French), often includes very good leftist articles on the Middle East.

For news periodicals of the same type: *Aramco World*, m., and *Middle East International*, m., London. The latter frequently has useful articles.

F. Leftist News Sources

General anti-imperialist news services that give some coverage of the Middle East, though rarely very extensive, are: *Tricontinental News Service* (TNS); *Intercontinental Press*; and *Liberation News Service* (LNS). *Israleft* is a news service published in Israel. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman publishes a news summary in English, *Sawt al-Thawra*, in Aden, PDRY. Many of the liberation groups, in English, called *Sawt al-Thawra*. Many of the liberation fronts and organizations put out bulletins, newspapers or other publications in English, of varying interest and value. For details on these publications, write to MERIP. Unfortunately, most leftist Middle East publications have no English edition.

G. Leftist Periodicals and Newspapers

The most useful leftist material on the Middle East, aside from books, is in periodical literature. For analysis and information in the US, *MERIP Reports*, m., is clearly the most complete. *Resistance in the Middle East*, q., provides translations from non-English European sources, with a Trotskyist orientation. *The Gulf Solidarity Bulletin*, London, irregular, is a major source of information on liberation struggles in the Gulf and Peninsula. In French, *Afrique-Asie*, bi.-w., and *Jeune Afrique*, bi.-w., are often good sources of information and analysis. *Israel & Palestine*, m., provides news analysis especially of Israel, but has its own somewhat unusual perspective. *Al-Jabha*, Paris (in French) is a publication that

is well informed on Yemen and Dhofar.

Among general leftist periodicals, the best analytical material on the Middle East has appeared in *Monthly Review*; *New Left Review*, London; and *Socialist Revolution*. The articles in *Liberation* and *Ramparts* have been of uneven quality. The only left newspaper that attempts regular analysis of the Middle East is *The Guardian*, w.

H. Academic Journals

In this category there are two sources that stand out as important for basic information and research, though the analysis varies from article to article. *The Journal of Palestine Studies*, q., Beirut, concentrates on the Palestine question exclusively, and has excellent documents and news summaries. *The Middle East Journal*, q., has long been the prime source for publication of research articles from US academics. Material appears in many other journals, but these are best found through periodical indices.

VIII. BOOKS IN PREPARATION

The books listed in this section are studies by leftist writers that we feel promise to be of interest. In several cases they will represent the first serious leftist study of the country in question. In other cases they promise to add new and important material to what has already been published. We have listed the works alphabetically and without comment, since we have not been able to see the final content.

Batuta, John. A study based on ten years' research on Iraq.

Davis, Uri, Martin Blatt and Paul Kleinbaum. On draft resistance in Israel from 1948 to 1972. To be published by Longman's, England, fall 1974.

First, Ruth. On Libya. To be published in England by Penguin.

Halliday, Fred. On Saudi Arabia. To be published in England by Penguin and in the US by Random House.

Hussein, Mahmoud. On the October War. To be published by Seuil, spring 1974 [in French].

Ryan, Sheila and George Cavalletto. On the Palestinians.

Stork, Joe. (MERIP). *Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis*, a revision and expansion of *MERIP Reports nos. 20 and 21*. To be published by Monthly Review Press, winter 1975.