

## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>A History of the Arab Peoples</i>, by Albert Hourani—A world-renowned and respected scholar, Hourani writes this comprehensive history in accessible, and lucid, language. For the scope of the topic at hand, this book is surprisingly concise without losing nuance. This book is a valuable tome for anyone's library, and an excellent place to start.</p>
	<p><i>Global Middle East</i>, edited by Asef Bayat and Linda Hernandez—This is a wide-ranging analytical and revelatory collection of essays. The book explores the many ways that the Middle East is global and has become globalized, historically, culturally, religiously, politically, economically, and socially. Many chapters will be delightfully surprising and all contain perspectives and analysis that will be of great interest to a general reader.</p>
	<p><i>Orientalism</i>, by Edward Said—This classic is less about diplomatic or political history, and more about cultural dynamics in the relationships between Europe and the West on the one hand, and the so-called “Orient” on the other. Perhaps no book on the Middle East has sparked as much debate. Said's main approach concerns the West's (mis-) representation of the Middle East. A seminal contribution, but not easy reading, this book is part of Said's trilogy, which also includes <i>Covering Islam</i> and <i>The Question of Palestine</i>.</p>
	<p><i>On Edward Said: Remembrance of Things Past</i>, by Hamid Dabashi—In this collection of essays, Dabashi offers appreciative acknowledgement of all that Edward Said meant to him personally and to the literary and activist communities. The pieces are richly written and not only recognize the range of topics Said brilliantly paved the way on, but also demonstrate Dabashi's profundity of thought, courageous engagement, and important perspective on critical issues. Smoothly readable, this volume is a wonderful and intelligent homage.</p>
	<p><i>Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939</i>, by Albert Hourani—This seminal volume presents major figures in Arab reformist and modernizing thought during the time of intensified interaction between the Middle East and Europe. This is an intellectual history at its best, focusing on influential thinkers in Egypt and Lebanon, but who have had an impact more widely. In it, Hourani addresses extensively the issues of the relationship of state and religion.</p>
	<p><i>The Arab Awakening</i>, by George Antonius—This book is a classic and essential reading, analyzing promises made by the European powers, particularly Great Britain and France, regarding the Middle East. Examining the McMahon-Hussain correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Accord, and the Balfour Declaration, Antonius traces the duplicity of the Europeans, and asserts the rise of an Arab consciousness.</p>



<p><b>The GREAT BETRAYAL</b> THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST FAWAZ A. GERGES</p>	<p><i>The Great Betrayal</i>, by Fawaz Gerges—This is a sweeping historical analysis of the last century, going back to the end of World War I and continuing through the Arab Spring. Gerges analyzes how the people of the region have been betrayed by outside powers, by their own leaders, and by internal national crises and conflicts. As a result, the people have been denied self-determination, political representation, and effective government. Gerges is deliberate in offering both a top-down and bottom-up perspective of this historical period.</p>
<p>AMIN MAALOUF <b>DISORDERED WORLD</b> Setting a New Course for the Twenty-first Century</p>	<p><i>Disordered World: Setting a New Course for the Twenty-first Century</i>, by Amin Maalouf—In this extended and profound essay, Maalouf makes a strong case for a more humane approach to global interaction. He is critical of national self-interest as a motivating force in international relations, and uses episodes in Middle East history to illustrate his framework. Maalouf asserts that the human condition in the new century requires cooperation and attention to relationship building, with an eye toward human dignity and preservation of our common environment.</p>
<p>Notes on a Foreign Country An American Abroad in a Post- American World Suzy Hansen WELCOME</p>	<p><i>Notes from a Foreign Country</i>, by Suzy Hansen—In this well-written and deeply reflective book, Hansen shares her awakening as a young American living in Turkey. Throughout her time there, she offers perspectives on the country, and the relationship of her own country, the US, with Turkey. While deeply informative about Turkey, an added value of this book is Hansen's critical examination of the role of the US in the world, and especially the relationship between international relations and race relations in the US. Hansen therefore draws on Baldwin, Sartre, Camus, and other thinkers as she offers her own conclusions and critique.</p>
<p><b>TARIQ RAMADAN</b> ISLAM and the ARAB AWAKENING</p>	<p><i>Islam and the Arab Awakening</i>, by Tariq Ramadan—Political, sociological, and philosophical/theological, this volume offers a clear alternative to the bifurcated debate between “Islam” and “the West.” Ramadan is especially strong in arguing for a new pathway, afforded by the Arab awakening, that would assert Islam's best qualities and promote a recalibration of East-West relations. His caution is that the uprisings would lead to a perpetuation of former, familiar patterns. Ramadan's ideas provide—and stimulate—analysis of global relations in healthy ways.</p>
<p>A leading cultural observer Washington Post <b>THE ARAB SPRING</b> THE END OF POSTCOLONIALISM HAMID DABASHI</p>	<p><i>The Arab Spring: The End of Postcolonialism</i>, by Hamid Dabashi—In this set of intelligent and acute essays, Dabashi contributes to the discussion on the relationship between “East” and “West” (as well as Islam) and what the Arab Spring means for that relationship. His basic argument is that the uprisings across the Arab world represent the beginning of a new phase, one that goes beyond traditional binaries, and helping Europe and the US understand that things are different, as expressed by the people in the region. Written early in the thrust of these times, Dabashi is at times exceedingly optimistic, but his enthusiasm does not diminish from the arguments he makes.</p>

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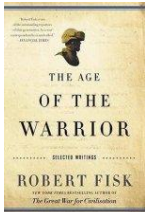
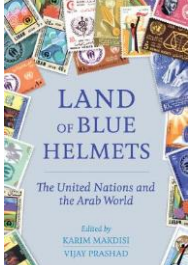
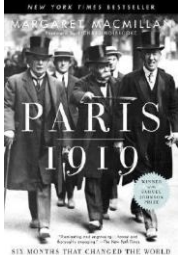
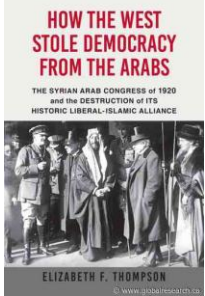
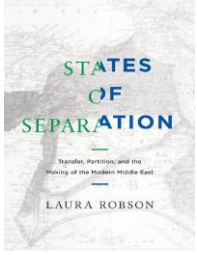


	<p><i>This Arab Life</i>, by Amal Ghandour—In this mix of memoir and cutting commentary, Ghandour shares the story of her family’s journey of displacement through the Middle East, pressed by events around them and political circumstances and historical events. She also offers critique of a generation in the Arab world who have retreated from social and political engagement to the detriment of pressing for rights and justice.</p>
	<p><i>The Invisible Arab</i>, by Marwan Bishara—Even though this discussion of the “Arab Spring” was written in early 2012, it remains a helpful source for what preceded the Arab uprisings of 2011. Bishara asserts that the Western media’s emphasis on the role of Western policies and technologies is misplaced; that people’s movements and dissatisfaction were already present, and in fact had long historical roots. This book is a healthy counterpoint to other analyses. Not being able to anticipate several of the outcomes does not diminish Bishara’s helpful look into what led up to the protests for rights and change.</p>
	<p><i>A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East</i>, by David Fromkin—Perhaps the best account of World War I as it impacted the Ottoman Empire, this book is important in helping readers today understand the processes that led to the dilemmas and difficulties facing prospects for peace today. Highly recommended.</p>
	<p><i>Lawrence in Arabia</i>, by Scott Anderson—This is an excellent and well-written history of the WWI era, told through the narrative biographies of TE Lawrence and three other characters of consequence. Sometimes a bit heavy on military history, nonetheless the story flows and the history is indispensable, without lionizing Lawrence as others have done.</p>
	<p><i>The Great War for Civilization</i>, by Robert Fisk—Not about the so-called modern “clash of civilizations,” this book’s title may surprise the reader, as it refers to another historical period. In Fisk’s unparalleled style, each chapter tells the story of an aspect of modern Middle East history. From the Armenians to Palestine, Lebanon and beyond, this book is fascinating and deeply engaging. It is not for the light-hearted (it’s over 1000 pages long), but each chapter is a self-contained unit worthy of study on its own.</p>
	<p><i>Night of Power</i>, by Robert Fisk—In this collection of long-form essays, published posthumously with an afterword by Fisk’s wife, Fisk covers the Israel war (2003), Israel/Palestine, the “Arab Spring,” and the war in Syria. In typical fashion, Fisk includes reporting of individuals and their stories as well as big-picture analysis, and especially critique of Western policies.</p>



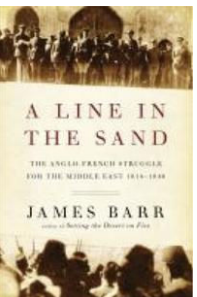
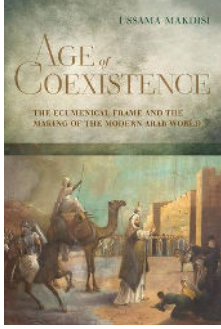
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	<p><i>The Age of the Warrior: Selected Essays</i>, by Robert Fisk—If you are not familiar with Fisk, he is based in Beirut, and has a deep appreciation for the history of the region, as well as an insightful and provocative way of relating current events. This book treats 2001-2007 through articles he wrote for his British newspaper columns.</p>
	<p><i>Land of the Blue Helmets</i>, edited by Karim Makdisi and Vijay Prashad—In this collection of essays and analysis, the role the UN has played in the Middle East is examined in sections focusing on diplomacy, enforcement and peacemaking, humanitarianism and refugees, and development. The internal UN workings and conflicts, as well as the divide between the political and the programmatic sides of the institution, have contributed to a deeply flawed engagement in the region. This is a useful study and reference.</p>
	<p><i>Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World</i>, by Margaret MacMillan—This book is a masterful treatment of the negotiations to end WW I, with chapters dedicated to many of the global issues facing the leaders at that time. Chapters on many of the countries of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East are very helpful in understanding the context of the discussions. While the Middle East section left a little to be desired, the holistic approach and the focus on many issues is helpful.</p>
	<p><i>How the West Stole Democracy from the Arabs</i>, by Elizabeth F. Thompson—In this eminently readable history of the period immediately following WWI, Thompson focuses on the shared effort among Arabs in Greater Syria to create an autonomous and independent state, consistent with Pres. Wilson's Fourteen Points. The Syrian Declaration of Independence and Constitution would have resulted in a state marked by religious diversity and a constitutional monarchy. The European mandates that were imposed prevented that state and the ideas that undergirded it from prevailing.</p>
	<p><i>States of Separation</i>, by Laura Robson—In this tightly argued historical examination of the post-WWI Middle East, Robson explores the status of the Armenians and Assyrians as refugees who were relocated by the French and British, and the European Jews who also resettled in the Middle East following the Holocaust. She delves into the colonial project of the post-Ottoman Middle East, and compares the motivations and attitudes of the three cases, pointing out significant differences between the first two and the latter.</p>

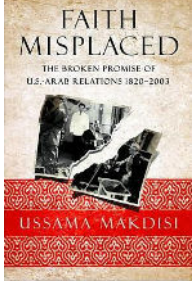
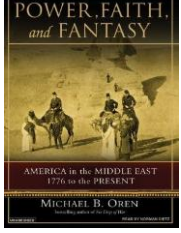
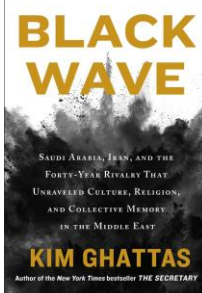
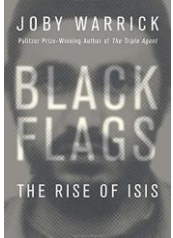
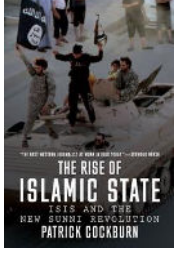
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	<p><i>America's Forgotten Middle East Initiative</i>, by Andrew Patrick—At the end of WWI, the US sought to take a different approach to determining the future of the defeated Ottoman Empire. By sending the King-Crane Commission, Pres. Wilson expressed a desire to hear the ideas and wishes of the people of the region, as opposed to the British and French effort to divide the area amongst themselves. This book tells the story of the Commission, including their preconceived notions of modernity, race, and religion—their “social imaginary”—as well demonstrating the general opinions of those the Commission interviewed on self-determination, mandates, nationalism, the place of Islam, and Zionism. A century ago, the US was interested in nation-building, not colonial empire. Today, these debates continue, but the historical trajectory has given glimpses of what might have happened, if the King-Crane recommendations had carried the day.</p>
	<p><i>A Line in the Sand</i>, by James Barr—In this richly detailed account of the period from WWI through WWII, Barr tells a fascinating story of the dynamics between Great Britain and France, allies in the period, but rivals in the Middle East. Fighting common enemies in the world wars, the two countries had a much more fraught relationship as their aspirations in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Palestine were concerned. Barr chronicles the developments and intrigues providing a colorful and surprising backstory to colonialism and control, starting with the Sykes-Picot agreement, and continuing through the establishment of the state of Israel.</p>
	<p><i>What Really Went Wrong</i>, by Fawaz Gerges—In this piercing historical analysis of the 1950s, Gerges suggests that the problems that exist today between the US and the Arab countries are traceable to a time when the US, as a new power in the world and in a Cold War context, failed to support independence, sovereignty, democratic norms, human rights, and self-determination. By actively undermining Mossadegh in Iran and Nasser in Egypt, the US demonstrated an intolerance for non-alignment, and that it put primacy in dominance, defense pacts, and exploitation.</p>
	<p><i>Age of Coexistence</i>, by Ussama Makdisi—This is a rich historical examination of a bygone time, when “coexistence” was not yet a term, but a lived reality. The “ecumenical frame,” as Makdisi calls it, was carefully constructed as a paradigm of life that predated sectarianism and secularism, both of which were introduced from outside. Looking back into the mid-1800s and forward through the mid- to late-1900s, Makdisi argues that shifts due to colonialism (not without the missionary movement) and nationalism put an end to a model of communal harmony that was social, even if not juridical. By examining Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon, and Israel/Palestine, Makdisi traces the shifts in Middle Eastern society as reactions to influences that challenged a complicated, but generally successful, social contract.</p>

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	<p><i>Faith Misplaced: The Broken Promise of U.S.-Arab Relations: 1820-2001</i>, by Ussama Makdisi—If the beginning date looks familiar, it is not coincidence. Makdisi has chosen to begin this excellent analysis of American relations in the Middle East with the initial encounter of Board missionaries. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Makdisi argues, potential for good relationships existed, and by examining the writings of people from the Middle East, documents this hope. The main turning point was the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, when hopes and actual policies clashed. His examination of Arabic sources is especially informative.</p>
	<p>Michael Oren's book, <i>Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present</i>. Michael Oren is the current Israeli ambassador to the US, and academic. This book is an attempt in roughly 600 pages to cover the US' diplomatic, religious (missionary), and cultural engagement with the Middle East over the life of the US. In it, he treats the 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary movement, and deserves our attention for that reason. It should be read critically for its treatment of themes and motives.</p>
	<p><i>Black Wave</i>, by Kim Ghattas—This book is an important examination of the trend in the Middle East and Southern Asian Muslim countries toward greater religious conservatism in society and politics. Starting with the several critical events of 1979, Ghattas analyses the impact of the rivalry in the quest for influence between Iran and Saudi Arabia in the region. Ghattas' writing is narrative, and she reveals the consequences of this rivalry through historical trajectory and in the lives of individuals, especially those who did and have worked for a better future.</p>
	<p><i>Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS</i>, by Joby Warrick—In writing that flows like a novel, Warrick traces the roots and development of the Islamic State (ISIS, ISIL) focusing on the personae of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leaders of the movement. He follows its rise from Jordan to Iraq and eventually Syria, as well as the Jordanian and US response to the persons and the movement. Warrick's storytelling abilities make this complicated subject more accessible.</p>
	<p><i>The Rise of Islamic State</i>, by Patrick Cockburn—This is an outstanding introduction to the movement that has dominated headlines. Cockburn traces the background of the group known as Islamic State and how it emerged in the power vacuum following the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, and subsequent political instability there, as well as how it gained a foothold and preeminence in Syria following the beginning of the crisis there. While more like an extended essay, Cockburn's book is helpful to understanding the ascendancy of Islamic State (also known as ISIS, ISIL, and <i>Da'sh</i>).</p>



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	<p><i>The Terror Years</i>, by Lawrence Wright—Wright’s second book on Islamic extremism (see below), this collection of chapters focuses on the years since the attacks of 9/11/2001, with a special focus on the US-led War on Terror, including al-Qa’eda and up to the Islamic State. As in <i>The Looming Tower</i>, Wright’s writing is gripping and informative. He has studied the phenomenon and its implications extensively and his work will provide much for those interested in the US response to manifestations of radical political Islam in the Middle East.</p>
	<p><i>The Looming Tower</i>, by Lawrence Wright—This is a remarkable and magisterial account of the emergence and impact of al-Qa’eda. Wright offers a flowing narrative that demonstrates tremendous research into the movements that led to al-Qa’eda’s formation, its competing ideologies, and ultimately its execution of the 9/11 attacks. Despite some orientalist language, this book is broadly regarded as definitive and original.</p>
	<p><i>The Black Banners</i>, by Ali Soufan—This volume is an important complement to <i>The Looming Tower</i>. It is written by a Lebanese-American FBI agent who took a lead role in tracking al-Qa’eda in the late 1990s and into the early 2000s. Soufan shares in detail his experience in investigating and interrogating members of the organization, embedded in an engaging narrative of the historical events, as well as with commentary on the relationship between the FBI and CIA. He argues that, with better cooperation from the CIA, it is possible that more could have been done to prevent al-Qa’eda’s terrorist attacks, including 9/11.</p>
	<p><i>The Triple Agent</i>, by Joby Warrick—In this fast-paced narrative that reads better than a good spy novel because it is real, Warrick tells the story of the collaboration between the CIA and the Jordanian intelligence agency in the Global War on Terror against al-Qa’ida. A Jordanian doctor is the agent who serves several masters in the quest to decapitate al-Qa’ida in Afghanistan. Warrick writes well, and the story is a fascinating inside look at espionage in this age.</p>
	<p><i>Away from Chaos</i>, by Gilles Kepel—A longtime student, expert, and analyst of the Middle East, and especially politico-religious movements there, Kepel examines in great detail the region’s dynamics and interactions with the West since 1973. He has done a remarkable job in connecting many dots, particularly in the first section of the book on Islamist movements, and then continuing with a sweeping historical examination of events. This book is of much value to those interested in delving deeply into Middle Eastern-Western relations.</p>

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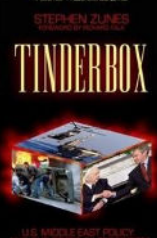
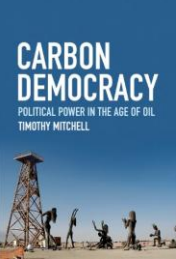
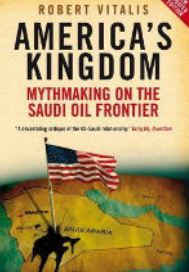
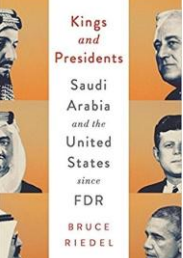



	<p><i>Spiral</i>, by Mark Danner—Essentially two long essays, this book explores the lead-up and the impact of the US engagement in military wars in the Middle East since 9/11/2001. The first section focuses on the George W. Bush Administration’s engagement and the second on Barack Obama’s. The US has been changed during this “forever war,” and has allowed the war to define the country. This is a provocative and thoughtful work on the state of the US, as shaped by its longest war.</p>
	<p><i>Losing the Long Game</i>, by Philip Gordon—This is a critical examination of US involvement or support of efforts to propagate regime change in the Middle East. From Iran to Afghanistan, Iraq, Egypt, Libya, and Syria, the US has encouraged to varying degrees regime change, with a poor track record. Gordon recounts each case in well-researched historical narrative and examining how the US failed in each case. His introduction and concluding chapters are more theoretical, looking at the patterns of US regime change efforts and the expected outcomes.</p>
	<p><i>America’s War for the Greater Middle East</i>, by Andrew Bacevich—Spanning US military involvement in the Middle East broadly-defined, Bacevich is critical of unclear goals and objectives, limited accomplishments counted as victories, expansion of theater, and a lack of accountability. Beginning with Pres. Carter’s military effort to rescue US hostages in Iran, Bacevich challenges the continuous and ever-expanding military mission in the Middle East in this well-written and frank history and assessment.</p>
	<p><i>Witnesses of the Unseen</i>, by Lakhdar Boumediene and Mustafa Ait Adir—This book is an oral history of two men’s lives before, during, and after their unjustified imprisonment and detention at Guantanamo. The two authors share the intimate details of their experience, including their day-to-day lives in prison, and the efforts to free them. This is an important and humanizing contribution on the way the US has suspected and treated people during the past 9/11 era, and the hope that innocent victims retain, even in the most trying of circumstances.</p>
	<p><i>Don’t Forget Us Here</i>, by Mansoor Adayfi—In this deeply personal account of Adayfi’s detention at Guantanamo following 9/11, he shares the horror of torture and isolation, laced with humor and deep reflection. This book will enrage and inspire its readers, and demand introspection on national principles and practices, as well as on human nature.</p>
	<p><i>America’s Misadventures in the Middle East</i>, by Chas W. Freeman—In this collection of speeches and papers, Freeman offers a candid and clear critique of the US approach to Middle East issues in the last two decades. From Afghanistan and Pakistan to Iraq (twice), to Israel/Palestine, Freeman offers a forest-and-the-trees perspective on the US’s mistakes, and ways to address them, foremost among them is a renewed commitment to diplomacy, as opposed to belligerency.</p>



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	<p><i>Tinderbox: U.S. Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism</i>, by Stephen Zunes—Zunes' brief yet deeply analytical book offers a helpful perspective on the history of U.S. involvement in the Middle East, with an argument that will help the reader understand attitudes in the region toward that very same policy.</p>
	<p><i>Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil</i>, by Timothy Mitchell—Tracing the impact of the shift from coal to oil as the primary source of energy, Mitchell argues that the ability of workers to press demands has been diminished. He analyses the connection between oil and the global arms trade (“necessary” and “unnecessary” commodities), the impact of nationalization movements and the establishment of OPEC, the political aspects of oil control, and the creation of modern economy. A challenging book, but well worth the effort, Mitchell's volume teaches and reveals. [Mitchell appeared in a panel on an episode of al-Jazeera's “Empire” (watch here: <a href="http://tinyurl.com/cpyqg3c">http://tinyurl.com/cpyqg3c</a>) in which he discusses issues raised in his book, in response to a 4-part series aired by al-Jazeera called “The Secret of the Seven Sisters.”]</p>
	<p><i>America's Kingdom</i>, by Robert Vitalis—In this penetrating examination of ARAMCO, its policies, and practices from its founding through its first three decades, Vitalis contextualizes the way a major US company acts with the larger reality of US industry and US territorial expansion. Marked by the racism, workers' exploitation, and control of resources, ARAMCO was consistent with other US companies' behavior on three continents. This book is not a history of ARAMCO, but more than that. It raises many difficult questions, and makes many ties explicit.</p>
	<p><i>Kings and Presidents</i>, by Bruce Riedel—Riedel examines the several chapters of US-Saudi relations, beginning with FDR and Abd al-Aziz who met immediately following WWII. Speckled with anecdote and informed by direct personal engagement, the book is a comprehensible and accessible account of the personal, political, and issue-oriented aspects of this relationship. Continuing through the early Trump presidency, the book concludes with an outlook for the future of the Kingdom</p>
	<p><i>Daring to Drive</i>, by Manal al-Sharif—In this rare and brave memoir, al-Sharif shares with intimate detail her formative life, and her courageous act of “driving while female” in Saudi Arabia. In addition to recounting a first-hand narrative of her driving, arrest, and ordeal of prison, this book provides insight into life and customs in Saudi Arabia that is not only commentary but reflective. Written with passion and fearlessness, al-Sharif connects women's rights with other civil rights struggles globally, even as she learns about them.</p>



	<p><i>Sleeping with the Devil</i>, by Robert Baer—This book is a sharply critical history of the US’ engagement with Saudi Arabia. Discussing the history of the establishment of Saudi Arabia, FDR’s initial and direct discussions with its king, and the ways that the US has failed to benefit from the relationship, built around the oil industry, Baer doesn’t hold back in suggesting the triangular relationship among US dollars, Saudi oil, and Islamic radicalism.</p>
	<p><i>The World As It Is: Dispatches on the Myth of Human Progress</i>, by Chris Hedges—In this collection of essays, columns, and speeches, the journalist and moralist Chris Hedges offers challenging and honest perspectives on several topics, including how corporate interests dominate politics. A significant portion of this book addresses the US role in the Middle East, especially Israel/Palestine. Hedges’ continued efforts to convey truth is welcome and necessary.</p>
	<p><i>Illusion of Progress in the Arab World: A Critique of Western Misconceptions</i>, by Galal Amin—In this short but thoughtful book, Amin is back with a critique of a universal approach to issues related to development. This book is a response to the UN Reports on Development in the Arab World, and is an examination of the methodology and issues of those reports. Amin is a philosopher economist, and this book is just as much about the specific issues as it is about the ideas themselves in a broad context.</p>
	<p><i>Obama and the Middle East: The End of America’s Moment?</i>, by Fawwaz Gerges—Beginning with an overview of the Middle East policy Pres. Obama inherited, Gerges examines Obama’s first term engagement in the issues and explores possible ways forward on Israel/Palestine; Egypt, Iran, and Turkey; and the “war on terror.” This is a timely and intelligent book.</p>
	<p><i>The Secretary</i>, by Kim Ghattas—Covering Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State, Ghattas’ insightful book offers insider perspectives on American diplomacy during the 2009-2013 period, as well as a reflection on American power in the world. Naturally, the book focuses most heavily on the Middle East, but visits to and interactions with other regions are included as well. This book is informative on how diplomacy is conducted, and how America’s strategies, interests, and principles are put into practice and impact countries around the world.</p>



	<p><i>Democracy Prevention: The Politics of the US-Egyptian Alliance</i>, by Jason Brownlee—Students of <i>realpolitik</i> will not be surprised by Brownlee’s conclusions but his analysis is comprehensive. In this volume, the US-Egyptian relationship is examined and the principles on which it was based through Mubarak’s presidency are identified. These principles led to policy consequences, which are also explored. It remains to be seen what the new era of Egypt’s political history will mean for this relationship.</p>
	<p><i>Preventing Palestine</i>, by Seth Anziska—In this thoroughly researched and deeply analytical volume, Anziska examines the diplomatic history from the 1970s to the 1990s that has denied the possibility of a Palestinian state. Beginning with Camp David and running through Oslo, the reader is taken inside the political process. A key concept in the book is the strategic difference that Israeli leadership made between Palestinian self-rule and self-determination, and the efforts made to focus on individual instead of geographic autonomy. The fruits of these efforts are visible in the Oslo outcomes, and even until today. This is a fascinating and well-written account.</p>
	<p><i>Brokers of Deceit: How the US has undermined peace in the Middle East</i>, by Rashid Khalidi—An historian and participant in some of the negotiations discussed, Khalidi examines three “moments” in peacemaking efforts: the 1982 efforts and foundational documents; the Madrid/Oslo period; and Pres. Obama’s first term. This is a much broader history, though, connecting the consistency and evolution of US involvement, identifying guiding US interests and their consequences, and showing the ultimately negative role the US has played. Khalidi’s focus on language, describing it as Orwellian, is astute. This is a short, but quite valuable, contribution.</p>
	<p><i>Pathways to Peace: America and the Arab-Israeli Conflict</i>, edited by Daniel Kurtzer—In this collection of chapters written by knowledgeable insiders and analysts, prospects for possible paths forward are examined. The book is divided into three sections: the regional dimension, the Israeli and Palestinian dimensions, and the United States and the peace process. Twelve experts present insight and suggestions. A fast read, this volume is a timely assessment. Every reader will not necessarily agree with each writer, thus adding value.</p>
	<p><i>Genesis: Truman, American Jews, and the Origins of the Arab/Israeli Conflict</i>, by John B. Judis—This is a masterful history of Zionism since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, American Zionism, and the engagement of the Truman engagement leading up to, and following, the declaration of recognition of the newly established State of Israel. Judis has combined extensive research, a clear and engaging writing style, and a focus on diplomatic—as well as moral—discussion to make this book indispensable.</p>



## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>A Safe Haven: Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel</i>, by Allis Radosh and Ronald Radosh—This book walks the reader through the internal debates within the Truman administration and the internal debates within the American Jewish community on the issue of Israel and Jewish statehood. It is most valuable for these two aspects, as the research is quite good.</p>
	<p><i>Eisenhower 1956</i>, by David A. Nichols—In this book, Nichols examines the convergence of the Suez Crisis, the Soviet invasion of Hungary, Pres. Eisenhower's health threats, and the US presidential elections in the second half of 1956. The main narrative focuses on Suez and the inner circle of decision-making that took place in the Administration. Following daily and hourly events, Nichols paints a detailed picture of the developing crisis. He concludes with analysis of Eisenhower's leadership and the implications for today's Middle East.</p>
	<p><i>Grand Delusion</i>, by Steven Simon—Having loved and participated in the US' engagement in the Middle East through several administrations, Simon is in a good position to offer insight and critique. Starting with President Carter, and then continuing chronologically from Reagan to Biden, Simon traces US involvement in the region. He focuses on Israel, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Iraq, and concludes with thoughts about the future of US-Middle East relations. The history is familiar; it is Simon's proximity to the work that is this book's added value.</p>
	<p><i>A World of Trouble: The White House and the Middle East from the Cold War to the War on Terror</i>, by Patrick Tyler—This is extensive history covers administrations from Eisenhower to George W. Bush with recommendations for the new administration. It is well-written and, as might be expected from a book on this breadth, fairly long (500+ pages). Essentially, each chapter focuses on an administration, with the narrative of a defining Middle East-related policy question as the narrative. It helps the reader live through some of these events in 20<sup>th</sup> century history, and into the 21<sup>st</sup>. The only drawback is that it tends to focus on one particular issue for each president, rather than the variety of issues faced by each.</p>
	<p><i>Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israel Alliance</i>, by Warren Bass—Tracing the chronology of the Kennedy presidency in its Middle East engagements, this book will offer insight into the development of the "special relationship" between the U.S. and Israel from the early days. It treats on questions of military support as well as nuclear capabilities.</p>

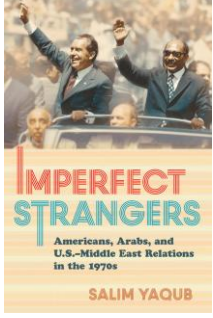
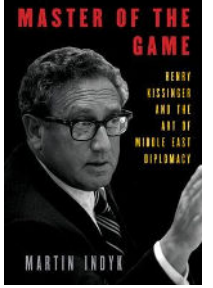
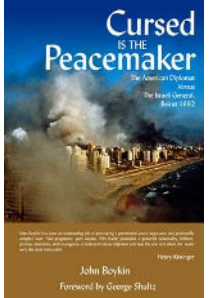
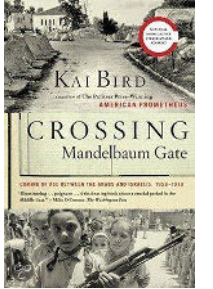
## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>America's Great Game</i>, by Hugh Wilford—This historical exploration of US involvement in the Middle East in the 1940s and 1950s is presented through the lens of biography of Kim and Archi Roosevelt and Miles Copeland. It is the engrossing tale of the founding of the CIA and the involvement of it and the State Department in Lebanon, Syria, Israel/Palestine, and Egypt, among others. The establishment of Israel, the coup in Iran, and the Egyptian Revolution all took place in the period. The book examines the struggles in US domestic politics over Middle East issues, as well as changes in the Middle East, through (but not limited to) the personages who were especially instrumental.</p>
	<p><i>Double Crossed</i>, by Matthew Avery Sutton—Sutton focuses on four missionaries serving as spies in WWII. It looks at four church people, including a Lutheran, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist. Bringing to light their ecclesial and governmental undercover roles, Sutton profiles John Birch (Japan), William Eddy (North Africa), Stewart Herman (Nazi Germany), and William Donovan (head of the Office of Strategic Services, precursor of the CIA). These are fascinating historical biographies.</p>
	<p><i>The Back Channel</i>, by William Burns—In this memoir, William Burns, who spent significant time working in and on the Middle East in the US diplomatic corps, shares with some detail the ways in which he engaged on various issues in the region during his career. These episodes include engagement with Jordan, the “Arab Spring,” and the lead-up to the Iran nuclear deal (JCPOA). Beyond the particular episodes, Burns helps the reader understand the role of diplomats, and urges a return to a strong State Department and US diplomacy.</p>
	<p><i>The Ambassadors</i>, by Paul Richter—Some of the four US ambassadors to the Middle East and Southern Asia regions profiled in this book discovered their interest in reading <i>The Arabists</i> (below). The narrative gives a sense of the working of diplomacy today and the US' aims and methods. The diplomats are the heroes in this interesting book, even if there is little criticism of US policy. Despite portraying the “romance of the East,” the book is helpful for a general history of US diplomatic engagement in this region.</p>
	<p><i>The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite</i>, by Robert D. Kaplan—An interesting examination of the engagement of Americans in the Middle East, especially by the diplomatic corps, Kaplan looks at the way people who took language and culture seriously eventually emerged as leaders in important roles, particularly in U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East.</p>

## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>Imperfect Strangers</i>, by Salim Yaqub—In this masterful volume, Yaqub examines US-Arab relations through the decade of the 1970s (starting with the 1967 War and continuing through the end of the Carter Administration). It is an in depth and critical look at the US approach to the Middle East with a parallel examination of the rise in Arab-American activism on Middle East issues. Yaqub asserts a greater awareness of the Middle East due to oil and the prominence of the Palestinian cause, and at the same time, increased suspicion of Arab-Americans and Americans with sympathy for the Arab world. The narrative is remarkable in its setting the groundwork and for mirroring circumstances in the post-9/11 US.</p>
	<p><i>Master of the Game</i>, by Martin Indyk—The role of Henry Kissinger in establishing the Middle East “peace process” is undeniable, and his personal engagement was deep. Martin Indyk explores Kissinger’s involvement in his years at the US’ top diplomat, chronicling his meetings and strategies at ground level, and sometimes on a daily—and even hourly—basis. This is a fascinating, and at times critical, narrative that helps us to understand why we are where we are today. Kissinger’s approach was less about finding a lasting peace, and more about creating conditions for temporary balances of power.</p>
	<p><i>Cursed is the Peacemaker: The American Diplomat versus the Israeli General, Beirut 1982</i>, by John Boykin—A fascinating and very well researched account of the work of Amb. Philip Habib to negotiate peace in Lebanon in the summer of 1982, this book is also a biography of Habib. Most of the 320 pages of the book focus on a period of about 2 months in Lebanon, with inside accounts of the intense negotiations directed by Habib. The efforts to bring about a solution were intense, and heated. The book is extremely helpful if you wish to understand the invasion of Lebanon by Israel in that year, and the players involved. The author is sympathetic to Habib, who personally managed the PLO’s exit from Beirut, and the story is told largely from over Habib’s shoulder.</p>
	<p><i>Crossing Mandelbaum Gate</i>, by Kai Bird—In this history-cum-memoir, Bird explores his own coming of age growing up in the Middle East: Saudi Arabia, Jerusalem, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and India and the US, in the 1960s and 1970s. With access to the expat community, and through his own journalistic investigation and memory, Bird offers an insightful and fascinating chronicle of Middle Eastern history, focusing on some of the iconic personalities and events. He also offers a memoir of his wife’s family, which includes Holocaust survivors, and the history of anti-Semitism in Europe. All together forms a fascinating narrative.</p>



## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>The Good Spy</i>, by Kai Bird—Told through the biography of Robert Ames, Bird’s book is also a history of the Middle East during the 1970s and early 1980s. This turbulent time in history is recounted in fascinating and well-told writing. Covering several presidencies and events, including the Iran hostage crisis and culminating with the Beirut embassy bombings, the book follows the career and engagement of Ames as he rose through the CIA’s channels in the Middle East.</p>
	<p><i>Beirut Rules</i>, by Fred Burton &amp; Samuel Katz—This book begins with the 1983 US Embassy bombing in Beirut and continues through the assassination of Imad Mughniyyeh, the principal suspect in the bombing. It profiles CIA station chief William Buckley, his life and career, and his death in Beirut; the episodes of US hostages in Lebanon; and traces the 1980s in Lebanon, the rise of Hizbullah, and the role of Iran in the region. It is a well-researched and colorful history of a fascinating history of the US engagement in Lebanon and the Middle East.</p>
	<p><i>When Reagan Sent in the Marines</i>, by Patrick Sloyan—working back from the US Embassy bombing and the Marine base bombing in Beirut in 1983, Sloyan looks at the reasons for the Marines’ presence and Pres. Reagan’s rationale for engagement as well as (in)actions. This is a very helpful account of the reality on the ground in Lebanon, as well as the debates in Washington. Sloyan has written a fast-paced book that will be revelatory, and will also resonate for more contemporary times.</p>
	<p><i>Beirut 1958</i>, by Bruce Riedel—Riedel, a veteran of the CIA has written a short, but immensely useful, book examining the first US military campaign in the Middle East. Setting the context of 1958 in the region, including changes in leadership in Iraq, the Syrian-Egyptian confederation, and the Baghdad Pact, the Eisenhower Doctrine was established to prevent the spread of communism in the region. The particularly unsettled political reality in Lebanon that year led to a civil war, and regional events led to the Marine landing in Beirut to prevent Lebanon’s “fall” to communism. Riedel links 1958 to the present, and suggests four key lessons for US policymakers as they engage the Middle East.</p>
	<p><i>Innocent Abroad</i>, by Martin Indyk—Indyk, who served multiple Administrations in different capacities, offers an up-close and detailed narrative of the diplomatic efforts made to reach agreements between Israel and its neighbors. The value of this book is the unrivalled access, which allows for fascinating reading.</p>

## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>The Missing Peace</i>, by Dennis Ross—This dense volume is a very thorough account of the negotiations that took place at Camp David in July 2000, written by one of the central players. Written with much detail, and personal impressions, Ross's book is important as documentation of the meetings with Pres. Clinton, Prime Minister Barak, and Pres. Arafat.</p>
	<p><i>The Truth About Camp David</i>, by Clayton Swisher—If you have read Dennis Ross's 800-page account of Camp David 2000, this book will be very helpful in understanding Camp David through the eyes of insiders other than Ross, and provides perspectives that sometimes contradict Ross's account. This book is indispensable in understanding what happened in the year leading up to the summit, during the days at Camp David, and in the weeks following it. It is well-researched and told in a very readable fashion.</p>
	<p><i>Palestine, Peace not Apartheid</i>, by Jimmy Carter—While too much attention has been given to the title of Pres. Carter's book, the content is more about his role in brokering the Camp David accords and how his emphasis on the occupation of Palestinian land has not been followed through. President Carter also helps to describe accurately the situation in the occupied West Bank.</p>
	<p><i>We Can Have Peace in the Holy Land</i>, by Jimmy Carter—Pres. Carter spends much time recapitulating history, most insightfully with excerpts from his own journal. He shares impression of the people he engaged with as President, and much the work he has done since. He then offers analysis and some ideas for the new president on pursuing peace in the Middle East. His most important point is that it is immediately urgent to decide what Israel-Palestine will look like: a one- or two-state solution, and pursue that fervently, with the hard choices involved.</p>
	<p><i>Thirteen Days in September</i>, by Lawrence Wright—In this briskly paced book, Wright chronicles the 1978 Camp David summit that led to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty the following year. But this book is more than that; it provides important biographical background of Presidents Carter and Sadat, and Prime Minister Begin. It is a study of the characters involved and the historical contexts that led them each to Camp David. Positions staked out then have bearing on the state of the conflict today, and is therefore is an especially relevant as contemporary insight.</p>
	<p><i>Resurrecting Empire</i> and <i>Sowing Crisis</i>, by Rashid Khalidi—These two books are clear descriptions of the ways that the US and Europe have impacted the current state of the Middle East, through an historical examination. Khalidi's writing—and critique—are helpful contributions to understanding current dynamics.</p>

## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>Blind Spot</i>, by Khaled el-Gindy—This book traces US diplomatic engagement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through the 20<sup>th</sup> and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, beginning with the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and ending with President Trump’s first 2 years in office. The main thesis el-Gindy asserts is that the US “blind spot” is Israeli power and Palestinian politics, i.e. that the US has done nothing to address the imbalance in power of the two parties (and has added to Israel’s) while focusing on Palestinian governance reform as a condition. This approach has led nowhere. This is a very good diplomatic historical analysis.</p>
	<p><i>Shattered Hopes: Obama’s Failure to broker Israeli-Palestinian peace</i>, by Josh Ruebner—This is a clearly written and comprehensive chronology and analysis of Obama’s first term engagement with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Divided into two parts, Ruebner first offers a history of events on the I/P front from 2008-2012, and then analyzes Washington’s involvement thematically. Ruebner’s indictment of US engagement is well-founded; his analysis and perspectives are clear and forthright. This book is essential as time for a two-state solution runs out.</p>
	<p><i>A Path to Peace</i>, by George Mitchell and Alon Sachar—The proposal in this book is not groundbreaking, and falls along the generally-accepted outline for a 2-state solution between Israelis and Palestinians that the US has supported for several years. The value of this book is twofold: it offers an overview of history of US engagement in this issue and negotiations, and it provides some insight into the mainstream US approach. Mitchell and Sachar have been involved directly in negotiations, and this book would be better with more direct experiential narrative.</p>
	<p><i>The Much Too Promised Land</i>, by Aaron David Miller—Miller recounts diplomatic history from the 1970’s through the present, by someone on the inside of American administrations. Focusing on Kissinger, Carter, and James Baker, as well as Clinton, Miller offers some honest and helpful assessment of the US’s role in seeking peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. Not overly partisan, Miller attempts to identify key issues and assess what the US has done right and wrong.</p>
	<p><i>The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic</i>, by Chalmers Johnson—This book is part of a series Johnson has written critiquing US foreign policy, and is particularly useful in understanding the US’ interest and reach in the Middle East. Johnson’s research is extensive, and his critique is strong. Here, he focuses on the military-industrial complex and the relationship between the arms industry and politics in this country. Other books include <i>Blowback</i> and <i>Nemesis</i>.</p>



## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



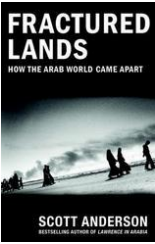
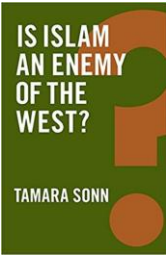
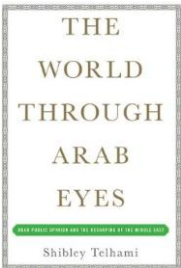
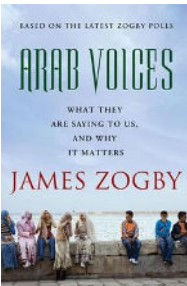
	<p><i>Kidnapping in Milan: The CIA on Trial</i>, by Steve Hendricks—This book reads like a great novel, but is non-fiction. Hendricks has done a fine job of putting many pieces together in this account of the CIA's work—in cooperation with and independently of Italian authorities—to take into custody a suspected leader in a cell of terrorists in Milan. This book is about the US, Italy, and Egypt. At some points, it is graphic, but in that is accurate.</p>
	<p><i>The Middle East Crisis Factory</i>, by Iyad el-Baghdadi &amp; Ahmed Ghatnash—In this briskly paced volume, the authors (both of whom are activists) provide a helpful historical analysis and pathway forward for change in the Middle East. They identify the “vicious triangle” of terrorists, tyrants, and foreign intervention that feed off of each other and that have preserved the order up until recently. 2011 was the beginning of a period of change that they believe will take 30 years, but that is indeed underway, due to important generational and attitudinal shifts in the region.</p>
	<p><i>The Second Arab Awakening</i>, by Adeed Dawisha—In this compact volume, Dawisha looks at the current events in the Middle East in the context of an earlier period, that of the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That era was marked by nationalism and anti-colonial movements, and the emergence of Islamic groups in Arab politics, as well. Dawisha examines the historical currents that defined the first Arab awakening, and describes the challenges faced by the current generation of revolutionaries. Sweeping yet detailed, this is a valuable book to understand historical context and political developments.</p>
	<p><i>A Rage for Order</i>, by Robert Worth—Focusing on Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen, and Tunisia, Worth offers an intelligent and human, even if pessimistic, entry into the “Arab Spring.” The book's two parts focus on the euphoria of the events of revolution in the early stages, and the less hopeful outcomes after some time has passed. Worth introduces the reader to the people involved, from liberals to Islamists, and paints a picture of the changes that took place, beginning with hope and continuing with ISIS.</p>



	<p><i>The Battle for the Arab Spring: Revolution, Counter-revolution and the Making of a New Era</i>, by Lin Noueihed and Alex Warren—In this most comprehensive examination of the “Arab Spring,” the authors recognize the continuing nature of the revolts, but consistently remind the reader that the main issues that prompted them are economic. Well-written and well-argued, these knowledgeable observers of the Middle East provide excellent coverage of the first year and beyond of the events in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen, Libya, and Syria.</p>
	<p><i>The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life</i>, by Roger Owen—This book is an overview of the characteristics of Arab “permanent” presidencies, and a country-by-country presentation of how they got there. With democracy emerging after the end of the Cold War, the Arab world has been described as exceptional—where democracy did not similarly emerge. Owen looks at this phenomenon, and how Arab leaders consolidated their power. Written just before the “Arab Spring,” it identifies weaknesses that would later be exposed.</p>
	<p><i>When Victory is not an Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics</i>, by Nathan J. Brown—Brown examines the impact of semiauthoritarian regimes on Islamist movements in the contexts of Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, and Palestine. A rigorous political science study, Brown’s observations, access, and analysis are quite valuable in understanding the roles Islamist movements attempt to play and to define for themselves, as well as the impact of their political context (in which political victory is not an option) on those attempts. He suggests, “As long as Arab semiauthoritarian regimes are in place, Islamist movements will ... experiment with many things but fully commit to little.”</p>
	<p><i>Life as Politics</i>, by Asef Bayat—In this pre-“Arab Spring” compilation of academic articles, Bayat hypothesizes that the Middle East is replete with efforts to bring about change. He defines the “art of presence” as the “aptitude and audacity associated with active citizenry.” He focuses on women’s movements, the working poor, and religious movements, suggesting that they constitute political “non-movements.” Bayat’s insight into Iran and Egypt is especially helpful.</p>

## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>Fractured Lands</i>, by Scott Anderson—Originally published in a shorter format in the New York Times Magazine, this telling of individual stories from throughout the Middle East—Iraqi, Kurd, Egyptian, Libyan, and Syrian—helps illuminate some of the dynamics following the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the Arab Spring in 2011. Anderson is a skilled and knowledgeable journalist at his best when telling peoples’ stories such as in this account.</p>
	<p><i>Is Islam an Enemy of the West?</i> By Tamara Sonn—This volume is comprised of an essay addressing the perceived conflict between “Islam” as a faith and the “West” as a cultural construct. It is a very concise argument, supported by empirical data, which shows how it is not “Islam” but rather people who have experienced colonialism and the negative impacts of foreign policies who oppose Western presence. It is not about faith, but rather geo-politics. And Sonn shows that overwhelming numbers of Muslims in the world are opposed to the methods of marginal groups like the Islamic State.</p>
	<p><i>The World through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East</i>, by Shibley Telhami—Telhami is a prominent analyst of public opinion in the Middle East. Relying on opinions garnered from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Lebanon, Jordan, and United Arab Emirates, as well as the US and Israel, Telhami examines a variety of questions including local and regional politics, media, the Middle East and relations with the US and Europe, democracy, women, the Arab uprisings of 2011, and the future. This is an excellent reference with Telhami’s sharp explication and analysis.</p>
	<p><i>Arab Voices: What they are saying to us and why it matters</i>, by James Zogby—Written by the director of the Arab-American Institute, this book is very helpful in helping a broader audience learn about Arabs, the Middle East, and Arab-Americans. Zogby’s writing style is lucid which makes the topics he addresses more interesting. The book dispels myths about Arabs and the Middle East, gives some history and current politics, and provides access to a variety of Arab opinions, with analysis.</p>





	<p><i>Who Speaks for Islam?</i> by John Esposito and Dalia Mogahed—This study makes an important contribution to the literature on Muslim opinions on a variety of subjects is impressive and important. It is a highly readable and accessible book, with much that may be surprising. It's greatest value is that it offers voice to Muslims around the world.</p>
	<p><i>Engaging the Muslim World</i>, by Juan Cole—With a historian/academic's approach, Cole writes with much experience and speaks to the layperson. This is not an overly academic book, and offers much in the way of history and background in many issue areas and on many countries. Cole is the author of the blog, "Informed Content," <a href="http://www.juancole.com/">http://www.juancole.com/</a>, which is a source readers may wish to visit.</p>
	<p><i>Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror</i>, by Mahmood Mamdani—In this study of 20<sup>th</sup> century US engagement with Islam, Mamdani attempts to discredit "clash of civilization" theories and approaches to the "war on terror." This book traces the history of positive US engagement with certain Muslims, and the oppositional US policy to other Muslims, and the respective contributions to today's circumstances.</p>
	<p><i>Hymens and Headscarves</i>, by Mona ElTahawy—In this brisk but illuminating book, ElTahawy explores issues of women and women's rights in the contemporary Middle East. Asserting that women are subject to governmental, social, and domestic patriarchy, ElTahawy examines areas of life where these controls are exemplified: domestic violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation, street sexual violence, and others. At times deeply personal, this book is essential to understand this real division in the Arab and Islamic world.</p>
	<p><i>Beyond War: Reimagining American influence in a new Middle East</i>, by David Rohde—In this collection of journalistic articles, Rohde highlights examples of the positive impact of the investment of diplomatic and development dollars in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and explores similar possibilities in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Iraq, and Turkey. Through such an approach, the US can change its course and its effectiveness—in contrast with continued high levels of military spending. An especially helpful chapter on drones is a timely contribution.</p>


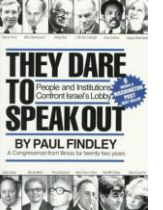
## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>A Necessary Engagement</i>, by Emile Nakhleh—A former US Government Intelligence agent, and a Palestinian Christian, Nakhleh offers much insight and wisdom into the issue of how the US Government has treated Islam, from an insider’s perspective, and offers solid advice on how the new administration should proceed to improve relations with the Muslim world. His book is short, but rich.</p>
	<p><i>Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism</i>, by Robert Pape—This book, which was originally published in 2005, is a systematic presentation of ground-breaking research on suicide terrorism. Compiling an all-inclusive database of incidents of suicide terror from 1980-2003, Pape looks at what common threats link the over 300 incidents. His conclusion is that nationalist movements confronting an occupation by a democratic state that is of a different religion are most likely to employ suicide terrorism. His cases are strong, and his conclusion is convincing. Religion, including Islam, is not a primary motivating factor, and this is an important finding. Pape’s book has become a seminal study in the few years since it was published, and has important recommendations for reforming US foreign policy.</p>
	<p><i>Peace out of Reach: Middle Eastern Travels and the Search for Reconciliation</i>, by Stephen Eric Bronner—This book is a collection of essays on countries such as Syria, Iraq, Iran, and the Sudan, and on political theory. Bronner is a political scientist, and writes here from his informed and direct experience about the Middle East, asserting the need for a “cosmopolitan sensibility.” His interest is high, and his writing is lucid. Bronner’s book will make the reader want to learn more about history. Bronner’s approach to social and political relations as they pertain to the Middle East is helpful and can move the discussion forward.</p>
	<p><i>Last Chance: The Middle East in the Balance</i>, by David Gardner—This short, but dense, volume is an excellent review of the contemporary history of US (and European) engagement with the Middle East, with helpful analysis and reasonable policy recommendations for the future of relations in the region and with Islam.</p>
	<p><i>The Record of the Paper: How the New York Times Misreports US Foreign Policy</i> by Howard Friel and Richard Falk, and <i>Israel-Palestine on Record: How the New York Times Misreports Conflict in the Middle East</i>, by Richard Falk—These companion books are meticulously researched and reveal, for some, surprising findings. On Iraq and Israel/Palestine, the “paper of record” has not been a faithful chronicler of events and debate, argue the authors. Correctives are necessary, and the reading audience should know of the critique offered in these books.</p>

## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



 <p>Taking Sides</p> <p>SHERINE TADROS</p>	<p><i>Taking Sides</i>, by Sherine Tadros—This is an inspiring memoir of a former journalist who now works on human rights with Amnesty International. Tadros has covered the Middle East for al-Jazeera, among other networks, while searching for ways to have an impact for change. This memoir is deeply personal, taking the reader to Gaza and Egypt, and offering access to Ms. Tadros' commitment to human rights and justice. (It is also worth watching the film, <i>The War Around Us</i>, which is a good companion to this book.)</p>
 <p>PEOPLE LIKE US</p> <p>MISREPRESENTING THE MIDDLE EAST</p>	<p><i>People Like Us: Misrepresenting the Middle East</i>, by Joris Luyendijk—A Dutch journalist, Luyendijk takes the opportunity to expose the ins and outs of how the Middle East is covered, and in so doing, reveals much about the industry of “news.” Having spent years in the Middle East, and having engaged deeply with other journalists from the West (including the US), Luyendijk is in a good position to share this kind of insight. This book demonstrates how news is determined. (A related resource is the DVD, <i>Peace, Propaganda, and the Holy Land</i>.)</p>
 <p>THEY DARE TO SPEAK OUT</p> <p>People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby</p> <p>BY PAUL FINDLEY</p>	<p><i>They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby</i>, by Paul Findlay—Findlay was a US Congressman from Illinois for 22 years, but lost his reelection campaign, and tells the story of the impact and influence of AIPAC in that election. This book was written in 1985 and provides historical data for today's debate about the Israel Lobby.</p>
 <p>THE ISRAEL LOBBY</p> <p>AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY</p> <p>John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt</p>	<p><i>The Israel Lobby</i>, by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt—This is an important book, and expanded version of their 2006 London Review of Books article on the same topic (<a href="http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby">http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby</a>). Much debated, the co-authors, prominent professors, present the argument that several types of organizations (Jewish and non-Jewish) are quite influential in their lobbying in Washington, giving the state of Israel sufficient support in the US. Detailed and well-written, this book has become important in the short time since it was published.</p>
 <p>LOBBYING FOR ZIONISM ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC</p> <p>ILAN PAPPE</p>	<p><i>Lobbying for Zionism on Both Sides of the Atlantic</i>, by Ilan Pappé—In this thorough and detailed historical examination of pro-Israel lobby efforts in the US and the UK, Pappé traces a chronological trajectory in each context with a focus on Jewish and non-Jewish advocacy efforts to advance pro-Israel policies. This is a long read, but worth the effort, as it examines the roots of Christian Zionism its adherents' advocacy, as well as that of various agencies.</p>



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	<p><i>Transforming America's Israel Lobby: The Limits of Its Power and the Potential for Change</i>, by Dan Fleshler—This book gives a “map” of the American Jewish community and its organizations, with discussion of the various approaches to Israel/Middle East policy by them. The author is partial to the new peace-related organizations, especially J Street, and is hopeful that it will have some impact. It discusses the relationship and work of some of the church organizations, as well, such as Churches for Middle East Peace. This is a very good contribution to the emerging literature, spawned by Mearsheimer and Walt’s article and book a couple of years ago on this topic.</p>
	<p><i>Congress and the Shaping of the Middle East</i>, by Kirk Beattie—In this book, Beattie combines political science and anecdotal evidence to show how Congress is influenced and why it behaves as it does on the Middle East, and specifically the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Over two periods of research in the 2000s, Beattie interviewed Congressional staffers, examined financial influence, and tracked the production of legislation and resolutions related to this conflict. His product is a fascinating insight into a “broken” institution—Congress.</p>
	<p><i>Our American Israel</i>, by Amy Kaplan—The United States and Israel share some essential foundational narratives, a “shared exceptionalism,” and a projected sense of “extreme vulnerability” juxtaposed with “fundamental indomitability.” Kaplan explores these ideas over the course of the second half of the twentieth century in this cultural and political analysis. Her approach is keen and insightful, critical and expository. This book is essential for those interested in the intersection of historical, political, and cultural narrative.</p>
	<p><i>The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey</i>, by Fouad Ajami—This masterful text is a well-written and informative insight into the pan-Arab movement, particularly through the lens of Arab writers. Ajami is superior in conveying the writing of Arab nationalists.</p>
	<p><i>The Media Relations Department of Hizbullah Wishes you a Happy Birthday: Unexpected Encounters in the Changing Middle East</i>, by Neil MacFarquhar—The title of this book gives a sense that this is light reading. It is not. MacFarquhar is the former Middle East correspondent for the <i>New York Times</i>, and this book lives up to that billing. It does have some light moments, but in the context of insightful analysis of the region as a whole. MacFarquhar gives us bits from his time spent in countries throughout the region, and takes us inside some of the discourse and debate in the region.</p>



	<p><i>Dining with al-Qaeda: Three decades exploring the many worlds of the Middle East</i>, by Hugh Pope—Pope is an excellent writer. Now with the International Crisis Group, he has spent more than 30 years covering the Middle East for major English-language newspapers. This book delves deeply into the heterogeneity of the Middle East in an attempt to go beyond facile images and representations. A book of memoirs and recollections of seeking stories for his newspaper, Pope conveys voices from the region. He also comments on the industry of media in its effort to get the story it wants, and the associated frustration of the local correspondent who knows that there's much more to the story. Finally, he reflects on the role of the war correspondent, and how his own approach changed as a husband and as a father.</p>
	<p><i>Heirs to Forgotten Kingdoms</i>, by Gerard Russell—Russell, a former British diplomat, has written an interesting and accessible book on several lesser known religious communities of the Middle East and Central Asia. Chapters on the history and current realities of the Mandaeans, Yazidis, Zoroastrians, Druze, Samaritans, Copts, and Kalashas, provides insight into the lives and customs of these various communities, both in their place of origin and in the diaspora. Some of these religious communities will be more familiar, or will be recognized because of current media coverage of the Middle East, but most groups are largely ignored or simply unknown.</p>
	<p><i>The Return</i>, by Hisham Matar—Perhaps the best-known dissident writer from Libya, Matar shares the personal story of his return there to try and learn the story of his father's fate. Jaballa Matar, also a dissident, had been imprisoned by the Qadhafi regime for many years, with no news about him after 1996. Hisham writes this memoir and quest with a quick pace, but helpful insight about Libya's history. Hisham is better known for his semi-autobiographical novels, such as <i>In the Country of Men</i>.</p>
	<p><i>From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East</i>, by Bernard Lewis—Prof. Lewis has been a prominent scholar of the Middle East for many decades. This book is a collection of many articles he wrote over the course of that span of time, and is replete with good scholarship. One can learn a great deal from this book about culture and politics in the region; many of the sections conclude with a policy recommendation or comment that reveals Lewis' approach.</p>
	<p><i>Water Wars: Coming Conflicts in the Middle East</i>, by John Bulloch and Adel Darwish—While several years old, this book gives a detailed and prescient look at the importance of and conflict over water throughout the region.</p>

## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics</i>, by Joseph Nye—While not specifically on the Middle East, Nye coined the term “Soft Power” to measure non-military means. In this book, Nye outlines economic and cultural power as especially important in co-option and attraction. He proposes that international relations be considered as a multi-layered chess board, with military might (means of coercion) playing out on one of the levels, but all levels of the game are concurrently moving.</p>
	<p><i>Rescue</i>, by David Miliband—In this easily-accessible and clearly written short book, Miliband addresses the global refugee and displacement crisis from the personal, policy, and moral points of view. He employs facts, stories, and some statistics to make a strong case for the imperative of the international community, bound by a common humanity, to respond appropriately and collectively to the crisis, which he suggests is not a passing episode. This is an excellent and in-depth introduction to the issue, and is accompanied by Miliband’s TED Talk on the same topic: <a href="https://www.ted.com/talks/david_miliband_the_refugee_crisis_is_a_test_of_our_character">https://www.ted.com/talks/david_miliband_the_refugee_crisis_is_a_test_of_our_character</a></p>
	<p><i>The New Odyssey</i>, by Patrick Kingsley—This is a harrowing and thorough presentation of the attempt of refugees to flee into Europe across several different borders, and the journeys they have already taken to get to those borders. It expands the discussion beyond Syrians, but clearly they are the largest and most visible group. Kingsley provides important context for how Europe is dealing with the influx, as well as personal stories of refugees making the voyage. This is an essential read to understand the reality from the policy and human sides.</p>
	<p><i>Cast Away</i>, by Charlotte McDonald-Gibson—A good complement to <i>The New Odyssey</i>, this book puts a human face on the tribulations of people fleeing their homes and countries for various reasons, and seeking refuge in Europe. From Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, McDonald-Gibson tracks the life journeys of several people displaced by conflict and other situations. Their stories are gripping and true, and the ways that the different highlighted European countries and the EU cope with the waves of migrants are also telling.</p>
	<p><i>Upheaval</i>, by Navid Kermani—In this extended essay, Karmani gives close-up on-the-ground perspectives on the situation of refugees in Europe and western Turkey. Through interviews, direct participation, and his own reflection, Kermani offers valuable observations and access to the reality of Syrian, Afghan, and other refugees coming into and through Europe. This is a short book that is valuable for those who wish to go beyond statistics and enter the human realm.</p>



## The Middle East, the US, and Europe



	<p><i>Fortress Europe</i>, by Matthew Carr—This book is a significant accomplishment in that it traces the 20<sup>th</sup> century history of the development of European borders and efforts to manage the movement of people. It takes the reader to several points of contact between Europe and beyond—Poland, Greece/Turkey, the Mediterranean, Morocco/Spain, and the UK—and examines the ways that people are (mis)treated as they attempt, for varied reasons, to enter Europe. It introduces the reader to the people on both sides of the debates on migration as well as migrants and border guards. And it examines the concept of a borderless world. Carr has made an important contribution that humanizes the reality of the movement of people in and to Europe.</p>
	<p><i>Violent Borders</i>, by Reece Jones—This is a clear analysis of the global border regime that has developed over the past few centuries. Jones traces the evolution of borders and their function, the rise of states, and the history of the movement of people. He examines the violence inherent in boundary regimes at the US-Mexico border, between Israelis and Palestinians, European internal and external borders, and Southern Asia, and explores motivations for movement, suggesting the imbalance in access to movement and the injustice of such systems, including international agreements on trade and climate change. This is a valuable contribution to the literature.</p>
	<p><i>A Map of Future Ruins</i>, by Lauren Markham—This is a book about the refugee crisis in Europe, specifically Greece, and a story of a fire that razed the Moria refugee camp on Lesbos. It is also the author's search for family history and roots in Greece, which is a part of the story of migration. And it is an essay on migration, roots, and race/racism. Well-written and thoughtful for our times, it is also historically rooted.</p>
	<p><i>The Good Deed</i>, by Helen Benedict—In this realist fictional novel, Benedict offers narratives of refugee lives and stories in a compelling narrative that also introduces the idea of Western “savior” complex. The story is a fast read, poignant and important. Benedict has spent time on Samos, Greece, where the story is set, and has first-hand experience with the ideas and realities she treats.</p>
	<p><i>The Wrong End of the Telescope</i>, by Rabih Alameddine—This poignant novel is about a Lebanese-American who volunteers on Lesbos to assist with the influx of refugees, and her encounter with a Syrian family. On another level, it is also about the way that Western volunteers and aid workers interact with refugees, as observed by their Middle Eastern counterparts. The character development is especially rich, and the storytelling keeps the reader's attention.</p>





	<p><i>Nowhere Boy</i>, by Katherine Marsh—This is a novel, a modern-day fictional Anne Frank story, is written for a young adult audience but should be read by people of all ages. It is a poignant story of a Syrian teen-ager refugee in Europe, aided by an American boy of roughly the same age, whose family is in Belgium for a year. The efforts of Max to befriend, help, and support Ahmed are inspired by the true-life story of a Belgian who provided sanctuary and aid to a migrant Jew during WWII. <i>Nowhere Boy</i> is a fast-paced read, engaging, and socially-aware novel, with lucid descriptions and commentary. Additional resources can be found on the book's website: <a href="https://katherinemarsh.com/books/nowhere-boy/">https://katherinemarsh.com/books/nowhere-boy/</a></p>
	<p><i>We are Displaced</i>, by Malala Yousafzai—Malala is well-known, especially after having received the Nobel Prize for Peace. She continues to speak out and advocate for those who have been forcibly displaced from their homes and countries. This book is a compilation of the stories of several women and youth who share their experiences, with an introduction by Malala. Whether from the Middle East, Southern Asia, Latin America, or elsewhere; for whatever reason; and now resettled in different places, all the contributors share a common characteristic: they have all been forced from their residence. Written primarily for young adults, this book is valuable for readers of all ages.</p>
	<p><i>The Optician of Lampedusa</i>, by Emma-Jane Kirby—This is the story of one man, an optician, who lives on the island of Lampedusa in the Mediterranean Sea, and his encounter with migrants. On a vacation boat trip, he, his wife, and his friends become involved in the rescue of more than 40 migrants whose boat has capsized. Many more did not survive, but as a result of this event, the optician has a kind of epiphany, and his thinking changes about what he hears about on the news every day: the plight of migrants crossing the sea.</p>
	<p><i>The Mediterranean Wall</i>, by Louis-Philippe Dalembert—What are the factors that push people to leave their homes and seek refuge in Europe? What compels people to take extreme risks to themselves and their families to leave home? This novel follows three migrants from different backgrounds and circumstances [Shoshana, who is Jewish, from Nigeria; Semhar, Christian, from Eritrea; and Dima, Syrian Muslim] on their path to Libya, and then on the boat on the Mediterranean with Lampedusa as their destination. It is a moving and poetic narrative.</p>
	<p><i>Exit West</i>, by Mohsin Hamid—In this short novel, Hamid offers a perspective on forced migration from the perspective of two people coming, presumably, from the Middle East, fleeing a violent conflict. Through the experiences of Nadia and Saeed, Hamid goes far beyond stereotypical treatment of refugees and migrants, humanizing the characters. The narrative is interspersed with events in places around the world related to migration, but the main story is poignant with well-developed characters.</p>




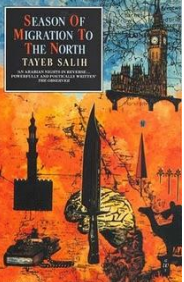
	<p><i>Fractured Continent</i>, by William Drozdiak—Drozdiak is a journalist covering Europe for the <i>Washington Post</i> and has drawn on that experience to explore the current state of affairs in Europe, through a careful examination of several countries, including Germany, France, Italy, Greece, and several others. He traces the rise in populism and right-wing movements, the impact of the financial crisis in Europe's southern tier, the reality of identity politics, and the responses to the global refugee crisis, all of which have threatened the European project.</p>
	<p><i>After Europe</i>, by Ivan Krastev—This short book is rather two long essays on the current state of Europe, with a healthy dose of pessimistic analysis of the current state of Europeanism, given the rise of nationalist and populist trends. Krastev is a keen observer and historian, reflecting on the impact of issues such as the refugee crisis on increased attention to national identity. This is a thoughtful and quick read, that is both poetic and clear-headed.</p>
	<p><i>The Full Catastrophe</i>, by James Angelos—A Greek-American journalist, Angelos provides a window into contemporary Greek politics and society. With the Greek economic crisis as a backdrop, he explores Greek political parties, social movements, Greek Orthodox Church dynamics, relations with Europe (especially Germany), and general public opinion, all through good reporting and reflection. This book is especially useful for those who are looking for deep insight into modern Greece, its last 200 years of history, and its last decade of life.</p>
	<p><i>Orbán</i>, by Paul Lendvai—Written by a native Hungarian journalist living in Austria, and critic of the direction Viktor Orbán has taken Hungary, this is an exceptionally helpful political biography of Viktor Orbán and the Fidesz party. In doing so, Lendvai tracks Hungarian politics since the fall of communism in Hungary. This is a fast and insightful read.</p>
	<p><i>The Eternal Nazi</i>, by Nicholas Kulish and Souad Mekhennet—In this book which is really a detective story, Kulish and Mekhennet trace the life of the so-called Doctor of Death, Dr. Aribert Heim, who was a member of the SS and worked in the death camps of Germany. Escaping after the war to Cairo, and living under an alias, Heim survived for years. The book provides insight into the post-war effort to bring Nazis to justice, the ways that some escaped, and the relationships they had (or couldn't have) with their families and others.</p>





	<p><i>Ornament of the World</i>, by Maria Rosa Menocal—Recapturing the mystique of al-Andalus, Spain in the medieval era, Menocal tells the history of a golden age of interreligious tolerance, and even better, true coexistence, among Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Lyrically, this book relates the cultural history of that era, which was indeed a culturally thriving time. Opening with the ascendant influence in Iberia of the Umayyad dynasty after its demise in the East, and closing with the Inquisition and beyond, the fascinating period of nearly eight centuries is told through the stories of important personae who lived it. The place and time is much overlooked in standard histories, but this compact volume helps to reclaim a model of learning and tolerance.</p>
	<p><i>The Polymath</i>, by Bensalem Himmisch—This is an (auto-)biographical novel of the great Arab historian and sociologist Ibn Khaldoun. It is creative in that it goes far beyond a typical depiction of this major scholar by imagining the life and different roles Ibn Khaldoun took on: historical, religious authority, court judge, husband, father, and wise counsel.</p>
	<p><i>Muslims and Jews in France</i>, by Maud Mandel—The history of the relationship between Muslims and Jews in France is complicated. In this volume, Mandel explores the impact of the establishment of the State of Israel, the end of French colonialism, the 1967 war, the impact of the late 1960s protests, and the rise of anti-racist/anti-immigrant debates in modern France. Mandel explores the diversity of opinions within each community, as well as the impact of these players and episodes on French diplomatic history.</p>
	<p><i>Why the French Don't Like Headscarves</i> and <i>Can Islam be French?</i>, by John Bowen—These two volumes are complementary. In them, Bowen explores the history of religion and state in France, including explicating the concepts of <i>laïcité</i> and French Republicanism that are so important to the context. Then, through anthropological exploration, presents attitudes and responses of two groups—French of European heritage, and those of Arab and North African heritage. He considers French reactions to the headscarf issue, as well as the development of Islamic institutions in France. These are somewhat academic in approach, but useful nonetheless.</p>
	<p><i>We Are All Moors</i>, by Anouar Majid—In this study, Majid traces a direct line between the Spanish expulsion of Muslims and Jews in the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the situation facing Europe and the United States today regarding immigration. Positing that European attitudes toward Muslims and US attitudes towards Hispanics are similar to the earlier period, he asserts that “since the defeat of Islam in medieval Spain, minorities in the West have become...reincarnations of the Moor, an enduring threat to Western civilization.” A careful treatment of the historical relationships among Jews, Christians, and Muslims is especially enlightening; linking historical events to contemporary</p>



	debates is equally instructive.
	<p><i>Algerian Chronicles</i>, by Albert Camus—In this collection of articles, essays, and speeches, the voice of Camus comes through clearly. Camus, a native of Algeria, conveyed to French readership the complexity of French involvement there, and described the poverty and misery that French colonialism had resulted in. While he did not advocate for an independent Algeria, Camus did support non-violent efforts and was critical of both French colonial policies and of violent Algerians. He names the injustice of policies, the discrimination of <i>pieds noirs</i>, and of the racism that was extant. This is a valuable perspective and collection from a Nobel laureate.</p>
	<p><i>Season of Migration to the North</i>, by Tayeb Salih—This short novel has become a classic in Arabic literature, dealing with issues of colonialism and the quest for independence of Arab states. Written in the 1960s, <i>Season of Migration</i> is set in a village in the Sudan, and the main characters wrestle with issues of a fellow Sudanese who has returned to the Sudan after living in Europe. Salih's approach is fairly complex, but the novella is highly readable and draws one in to the story and themes.</p>