

# CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xi
<i>Preface to the Sixth Edition</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xix
<i>A Note About Place Names and Transliteration</i>	xxi

## PART ONE

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 1

- 1 **The Rise and Expansion of Islam 5**
  - Pre-Islamic Arabia 6
  - Muhammad and the Foundations of Islam 8
  - The Arab Conquests and the First Empire 12
  - The First Civil War and the End of the Rashidun Caliphate 14
  - From Arab Exclusivism to Islamic Universalism:
    - The Umayyad and Abbasid Empires 15
  - Conclusion 17
- 2 **The Development of Islamic Civilization to the Fifteenth Century 19**
  - Patterns of Islamic History 19
  - The Creation and Uses of Wealth 20
  - Islamic Rituals and Institutions 23
  - Two Versions of Leadership: Sunni Caliph and Shi'a Imam 30
  - The Middle East from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Centuries: An Overview 32
  - Conclusion 34
- 3 **The Ottoman and Safavid Empires: A New Imperial Synthesis 35**
  - The Rise of the Ottoman Empire 36
  - Ottoman Ruling Institutions and Attitudes 39
  - The Loss of Ottoman Superiority 46

The Triumph of Shi'ism: The Safavid Empire of Iran, 1501–1736 48  
Conclusion: The Sunni-Shi'a Struggle for Iraq 51

■  
**PART TWO**

**THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ERA OF TRANSFORMATION 53**

**4 Forging a New Synthesis: The Pattern of Reforms, 1789–1849 58**  
Selim III (1789–1806): Between Old and New 58  
A Revived Center of Power: The Egypt of Muhammad Ali, 1805–1848 61  
Nationalism and Great Power Intervention: The Greek Revolt, 1821–1829 70  
Sultan Mahmud (1808–1839): Centralization and Transformation 73  
Conclusion 75

**5 The Ottoman Empire and Egypt During the Era of the Tanzimat 76**  
The Tanzimat: Continued Ottoman Reform Under the Bureaucrats 76  
The Arab Provinces of Greater Syria During the Tanzimat 84  
Egypt During the Era of Civilian Reform 87  
Conclusion: The Dualism of the Nineteenth-Century Reforms 94

**6 Egypt and Iran in the Late Nineteenth Century 96**  
England on the Nile: The British Occupation of Egypt, 1882–1914 96  
Iran During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century 102  
Conclusion 108

**7 The Response of Islamic Society 111**  
Religious Assertiveness and Authoritarian Reform:  
The Era of Abdul Hamid II 111  
Islamic Puritanism on the Tribal Frontiers:  
The Wahhabi, Sanusi, and Mahdiyyah Movements 114  
The Reform of High Islam 117  
Emerging Currents of Arab Cultural Distinctiveness 119  
Conclusion 122

**8 The Era of the Young Turks and the Iranian Constitutionalists 124**  
The Revolt of 1908 and the Young Turks in Power 125  
The Period of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution 134  
Conclusion 137

**9 World War I and the End of the Ottoman Order 139**  
The Middle East in World War I:  
An Overview of Military and Diplomatic Initiatives 140  
The Peace Settlement 152  
Conclusion: The End of the Ottoman Order in the Middle East 159

■

## PART THREE

### THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE: THE INTERWAR ERA TO THE END OF WORLD WAR II 161

- 10 Authoritarian Reform in Turkey and Iran 166**  
 The Atatürk Era in Turkey 166  
 Iran under Reza Shah 176  
 Turkey and Iran During World War II: Sovereignty and Occupation 181  
 Conclusion 182
- 11 The Arab Struggle for Independence: Egypt, Iraq, and Transjordan from the Interwar Era to 1945 184**  
 The Struggle for Power in Egypt in the Interwar Period 184  
 An Overview of World War II 191  
 Egypt During World War II: Pivot of the British Defense System 192  
 Iraq Between the Wars 195  
 Iraq During World War II 201  
 Transjordan: The Desert Mandate 203  
 Conclusion 205
- 12 The Arab Struggle for Independence: Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia from the Interwar Era to 1945 206**  
 The French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon 207  
 Lebanon Under the Mandate: The Establishment of Confessional Politics 213  
 Syria and Lebanon During World War II:  
 The Troubled Path to Independence 216  
 New Kingdom in Arabia: The Rise of the Saudi State 219  
 The Search for Identity: Regionalism, Arabism, Islam 222  
 Conclusion 225
- 13 The Palestine Mandate and the Birth of the State of Israel 226**  
 The Emergence of Political Zionism 227  
 The Balfour Declaration 230  
 The Mandate for Palestine: British Administration 231  
 The Palestinian Arab Community: Leadership and Institutions 234  
 The Jewish Community: Leadership and Institutions 236  
 Immigration and Land 240  
 Communal Conflict and the British Response 242  
 World War II and the Birth of the State of Israel 246  
 The First Arab-Israeli War 252  
 Conclusion 255

■  
**PART FOUR**

**THE INDEPENDENT MIDDLE EAST FROM  
THE END OF WORLD WAR II TO THE 1970s 257**

- 14 Democracy and Authoritarianism: Turkey and Iran 261**  
The Role of the United States in the Postwar Years 261  
Turkey: The Transition to a Multiparty System 263  
Turkish Foreign Policy and the Cyprus Question 271  
Iran: The Reestablishment of Royal Autocracy 273  
Conclusion 284
- 15 The Middle East in the Age of Nasser: The Egyptian Base 286**  
The Paralysis of the Old Regime, 1945–1952 286  
The Free Officers and the Coup d'État of 1952 288  
Foreign Relations After 1952 293  
The Adoption of Arab Socialism 300  
Conclusion 305
- 16 The Middle East in the Age of Nasser:  
The Radicalization of Arab Politics 307**  
Syria: The Military in Politics 307  
Iraq: The End of the Monarchy 310  
The Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan: The Survival of Monarchy 313  
Lebanon: The Precarious Sectarian Balance 316  
Israel, the Arab States, and the June War 320  
Conclusion: The Nasser Era in Perspective 325
- 17 Israel and the Palestinians from 1948 to the 1970s 328**  
The Israeli Political System and Political Culture 329  
The Elections of 1977: Israel in Transition 337  
The Palestinian Factor after 1948 338  
Conclusion 348

■  
**PART FIVE**

**THE RESURGENCE OF ISLAM: THE MIDDLE EAST  
FROM THE 1970s TO THE 1991 GULF WAR 351**

- 18 The Iranian Revolution and the Revival of Islam 355**  
The Stages of Revolution in Iran 356  
The Revival of Islam 371  
Conclusion 375

- 19 Changing Patterns of War and Peace:**  
**Egypt and Lebanon in the 1970s and 1980s 378**  
 Egypt Under Sadat: Domestic and Diplomatic Realignments 379  
 The Lebanese Civil War, 1975–1990 389  
 Egypt in the 1980s 398  
 Conclusion 400
- 20 The Arabian Peninsula in the Petroleum Era 402**  
 The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia 403  
 Kuwait, Oman, and the Smaller Gulf States 413  
 Conclusion 421
- 21 The Consolidation of Authoritarian Rule in Syria and Iraq:  
 The Regimes of Hafiz al-Asad and Saddam Husayn 423**  
 Syria in the Al-Asad Era 424  
 Iraq in the Era of Saddam Husayn and the Ba‘th 433  
 The Iran-Iraq War, 1980–1988 440  
 Conclusion 445



**PART SIX**

**CHALLENGES TO THE EXISTING ORDER:  
 THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE 1990s AND 2000s 447**

- 22 The Palestinian *Intifada* and the 1991 Gulf War 451**  
 The *Intifada* from 1987 to 1991 451  
 The Gulf Crisis of 1990–1991 456  
 The Aftermath of the Gulf War 464  
 Conclusion 472
- 23 A Peace So Near, a Peace So Far:  
 Palestinian-Israeli Relations Since the 1991 Gulf War 474**  
 The Road to the Oslo Peace Accords 475  
 The Unraveling of the Oslo Peace Process 485  
 The Road from Taba 491  
 Conclusion 497
- 24 Patterns of Continuity and Change in Turkey, Iran, and Lebanon 499**  
 Turkey and Iran: Nations at a Crossroads 499  
 Hizbullah and the Struggle for Lebanon 512  
 Conclusion 516

**25 America's Troubled Moment in the Middle East 519**

- The Policy of Dual Containment 521
- Al-Qa'ida and the Attacks of September 11, 2001 523
- The Occupation of Iraq 524
- Iran's Nuclear Program 532
- Conclusion 535

**26 The 2011 Arab Uprisings and Their Aftermath 537**

- Understanding the Uprisings' Dynamics 538
- Egypt 541
- Syria 548
- Yemen and Libya 551
- Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Monarchies 552
- Conclusion: Connecting Threads 554

*List of Major Rulers* 557

*Glossary* 559

*Select Bibliography* 563

*Index* 589