Almost three months before the Bush administration invaded Iraq, a group of historians from more than forty colleges and universities gathered at the 117th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago and formed a new national network, “Historians Against the War” (HAW). Its initial statement called for “a halt to the march toward war against Iraq.” HAW also expressed deep concern “about the needless destruction of human life in the Middle East” as well as the simultaneous “undermining of constitutional government in the U.S., the egregious curtailment of civil liberties and human rights both at home and abroad and the obstruction of world peace for the indefinite future.” Unfortunately, HAW’s efforts and those of other like-minded people did not prevent the outbreak of war in March 2003. But we’re still trying. Help us be more effective.

HAW has continued and expanded its anti-war activities, one of which is the production of such educational materials as this and other resource materials. A list may be found on the HAW website, at http://www.historiansagainstwar.org/resources This bibliography has been and will continue to be periodically updated.

I. HISTORICAL ANTHOLOGIES

Gettleman, Marvin and Stuart Schaar, eds., The Middle East and Islamic World Reader (New York: Grove Press, 2003). A comprehensive collection of mainly primary sources, surveying fourteen centuries of Islamic Middle Eastern history.


II. PERIODICALS

International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES). Published under the auspices of the Middle East Studies Association of North America at the University of Michigan, by Cambridge University Press, 40 West 20th St, New York, NY 10011. This is the main English-language refereed journal.

Middle East Report. Published monthly by the Middle East Research & Information Project
III. GENERAL WORKS ON THE MIDDLE EAST


Burke, Edmund, III, ed., *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1993). One of the modern classics of Middle Eastern social history, containing biographies of people, some well known and others not so.


Humphreys, R. Stephen, *Between Memory and Desire: The Middle East in a Troubled Age* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999). One of the best analyses of the contemporary Middle East, providing a needed corrective to Bernard Lewis’ work (below, in “Islam” section).


III. ISLAM


Bulliet, Richard W., *Islam: The View from the Edge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995). A Middle Eastern medievalist, Bulliet argues that most Muslims can live without an Islamic state since their lives revolve around powerful social structures which order their existence.


Hodgson, Marshall G. S., *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World*
Civilization (3 vols., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974). Still pertinent after 30 years, this classic study of Islam's rich diversity places its vast subject within a global context.

Lewis, Bernard, “Roots of Muslim Rage,” Atlantic Monthly, Sept., 1990. A grim perspective by a much-touted leading orientalist against whom the late Edward Said sparred for years. Said’s “Clash of Ignorance,” The Nation, October 22, 2001, is a vigorous polemic against Lewis and a similarly oriented Samuel Huntington, who wrote on “The Clash of Civilizations” between the West and the Islamic World. (Both Lewis’ and Said’s pieces are in Gettleman/Schaar, The Middle East and Islamic World Reader, reading #36.)

Mamdani, Mahmood, Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror (New York: Pantheon, 2004), a wide-ranging examination of the context of modern Islam and its antagonists.

Ramadan, Tariq, In the Footsteps of the Prophet (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). This Swiss scholar, unable to obtain a visa to enter the U.S., offers a favorable view of the Prophet Muhammad in this biography. Its subtext is to show that Islam (but not the radical fundamentalist version) is compatible with Western democracy.


IV. WOMEN AND GENDER


Gettleman/Schaar, The Middle East and Islamic World Reader, readings #1, 4, 9, 15a and c, and 33 a and b all deal with women and gender.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck and John L. Esposito, eds., Islam, Gender and Social Change (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Shows how Muslim women have struggled to define gender across North Africa, the Middle East and South Asia.


Meriwether, Margaret L. and Judith Tucker, eds., A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East (Boulder CO: Westview, 1999). Useful collection including historiographical studies.

Schimmel, Annemarie, My Soul Is a Woman: The Feminine in Islam (New York and
London: Continuum, 2003). Through an examination of sacred texts and social customs, the author explores both Islamic doctrines and feminism.


V. THE ARAB WORLD


Crystal, Jill, Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar (Cambridge UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Fascinating account about how the Kuwaiti merchants abdicated their political power in return for regular oil revenues.

Fandy, Mamoun, Saudi Arabia and the Politics of Dissent (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999). Description of the sources of instability in the oil-rich desert kingdom.


VI. AFGHANISTAN, IRAN, PAKISTAN, TURKEY


Weaver, Mary Anne, *Pakistan: In the Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002). An experienced journalist account of one of the main trouble-spots in the Islamic world.


VII. PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM AND ZIONISM


subject, containing many primary source documents.


Geneva Accords, 2003. An unofficial effort by prominent Israeli and Palestinian negotiators meeting in Geneva, Switzerland to complete the 2001 Tabas negotiations for a two-state solution (the Tabas text is in Gettleman/Schaar, *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*, reading #25c while the Geneva text is on the web at www.mideastweb.org/geneva1.htm.


Gettleman/Schaar, *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*, chapter V, offers a documented survey of the Palestinian-Zionist conflict, including Herzl’s 1896 *Jewish State*, early Arab perceptions of Zionism’s dangers, The Balfour Declaration, documents from the British mandate, Vladimir Jabotinsky’s “Revisionism,” the creation of Israel, PLO and Hamas documents, accounts of the first and second *intifadas*, and statements of Yitzhak Rabin, Yasser Arafat, and Ariel Sharon.


**VIII. RELIGIOUS RADICALISM**


**IX. 9/11, THE WARS IN AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ & U.S. POLICIES**


Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002) ably refutes the views that the U.S. is not an imperialist power.


Clarke, Richard A., Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror (New York: Free Press, 2004). The most cogent critique so far by a Washington official in the Bush and earlier administration with responsibility for anti-terrorism policies, who resigned over because of what he considered the weakening of the battle against terrorism brought on by the 2003 U.S. war on Iraq.


Hersh, Seymour M., Chain of Command (New York: HarperCollins, 2004). The great journalist who won a Pulitzer Prize for revealing the atrocities at My Lai (Vietnam 1968) has now unraveled the road from 9/11 to the dirty war the U.S. is fighting in Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib. His recent essay on “The Iran Plans,” The New Yorker (April 17, 2006) points to possibly greater dangers in a war against Iran.

Khalidi, Rashid, Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004). A critical examination of the impact of U.S. power on the Middle East.

Leone, Richard C., and Greg Anrig, Jr., eds., The War on our Freedoms: Civil Liberties in an


Ramadan, Tariq, In the Footsteps of the Prophet (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). The U.S. government refuses to grant a visa to this moderate Swiss scholar whose favorable biography of the Prophet Muhammad was just published in the U.S. A subtext of the book is the compatibility of Islam (but not its radical fundamentalist versions) with Western democracy.

Ricks, Thomas E., Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq (New York: Penguin, 2006). At least as well-informed as Packer’s Assassins Gate, this journalist’s account of the U.S. war in Iraq is more realistic and sober.


who called themselves “the cabal.”


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