

Syrian Foreign Policy from 1946 to Present:

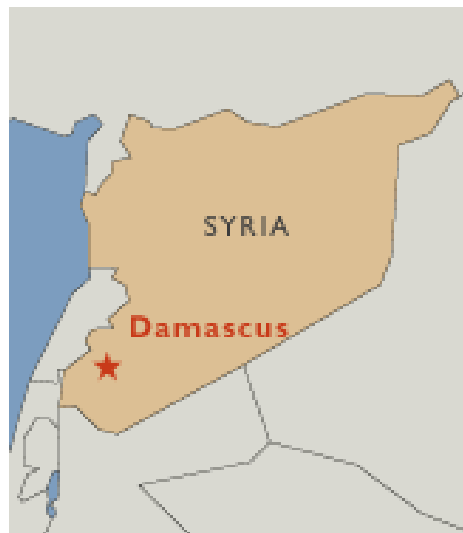
An Annotated Bibliography

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Introduction

The country of Syria has long been a source of enigma and intrigue as well as a land of great beauty and hospitality. Since ancient times, its strategic location on the Mediterranean Sea has made it the site of numerous invasions and occupations by the Greeks, Romans, Mongols, Crusaders, Ottomans, and, most recently, the French. The country has served as the former seat of the Islamic Empire and birthplace of Arab nationalism. Syria's rich history and diverse population are sources of pride among the its population today.

Situated in the middle of a political, religious and historical conflict between Israel, the West and the Islamic world, Syria has consistently been a key piece of the puzzle that makes up the modern Middle East. However, the country is largely isolated from the rest of the world and ruled by an authoritarian government. When one hears about the tragedy and conflict of the Middle East, they often come across terms such as the Palestinians, Occupied Territories, Golan Heights, Six Day War, Hamas, and Hezbollah. As the world continues to watch the Middle East, understanding Syria will remain crucial for the potential for peace in the region. By constructing a comprehensive resource guide on Syria's foreign relations, we hope that one can fully utilize the resources that the George Camp Kaiser Library has to offer.

The resource guide begins by providing background information on Syria's ancient history, facts and figures, maps, culture and geography. The next section contains a few selected readings on Syria's foreign policy designed to cover key areas of recent history, politics and war. The next three sections divide Syria's modern history into three periods; the Independence era (1946-1970), the rule of Hafez al-Asad (1970-2000) and Syria under Bashar al-Asad (2001-present). Each of these sections includes the books, documents and articles available in the George Camp Keiser Library.

General Works on Syria

These works provide comprehensive background on Syria pertinent to understanding its foreign policy. In particular they elucidate political, social and economic circumstances that shaped the decisions in which Syrian leaders made their foreign policy decisions.

Some of the selections include works on life in Syria under the rule of the Ottoman Empire as well as the French occupation during WWII. Other books describe in detail the personalities that were the driving forces behind Syria including Colonel Husni Za'im (1949), Hashim al-Atassi (1936-1939;1954-1955), Adib Shishakli (1951-1954), and Hafez al-Asad(1970-2000). This section is intended to provide sources from a wide range of subjects on Syria from ancient Syria to the rise of the Ba'th Party.

AbuKhalil, As'ad, "Syria," in *The Middle East, 10th ed.*, Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005, 403-420

- DS 63.1 .M484 2005 REF

This chapter gives a brief overview of Syria's geography, history, economy, and political developments from 2500 BC to 2005. It also contains a "Key Facts" section and a map of the Levant.

Carleton, Alford, "The Syrian Coups d'Etats of 1949," *Middle East Journal*, 4.1 (1950): 1-11

Alford Carleton provides a glimpse into the social, economic, and political dynamics in Syria during the tumultuous years following its independence by describing the rise to power and sudden decline of Colonel Husni Za'im in 1949.

Commins, David, *Historical Dictionary of Syria*, Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004.

- DS 94.9 .C66 2004 REF

This source contains encyclopedic descriptions of various historical events, figures, and trends in Syria. It also includes a timeline of Syrian history from 3500 BC to present.

Douwes, Dick, *The Ottomans in Syria: A History of Justice and Oppression*, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2000

- DS 97.4 .D68 2000

Using primarily local chronicles and the records of the court of Hama,

Dick Douwes chronicles the history of the Ottomans in Syria and the injustice and oppression that characterized their rule.

Fisher, W. B., "Syria," in *Regional Surveys of the World: The Middle East and North Africa 2001*, London, England: Europa Publications, 2000, 1054-1102

- DS 49 .M5 2001 REF

WB Fisher provides brief, yet comprehensive descriptions of Syria's history, geography, economy, from ancient to modern times. He also includes contact information for various embassies, periodicals, transportation services, etc., in Syria at the end of his article.

Hinnebusch, Raymond, "The Foreign Policy of Syria," in *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, ed. Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc, 2002, 141-166

- DS 63.1 .F67 2002

This chapter describes Syria's national identity and how it perceives its position and role in the Arab world. It also describes how the loss of the Golan Heights giving a Syrian territorial grievance to the Arab-Israeli conflict, alliance with Iran, and Syria's relationship with Lebanon as its 'parent state.' Hinnebusch also outlines Syria's foreign policy goals and how it operated in the bi-polar environment of the Cold War.

Khoury, Philip, *Syria and the French Mandate*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987

- DS 98 .K46 1987

This book traces the rise of Arab nationalism in Syria during the French mandate and emphasizes the role local elites played in shaping and employing this ideology for their own ends.

Lawson, Fred Haley, *Why Syria Goes to War: Thirty Years of Confrontation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

- HC 415.23 .Z9 D43 1996

This work provides a historical background on Syria's military involvements. It gives insight on the wars with Israel, its involvement in Jordan, intervention in Lebanon, as well as tension with Iraq and Turkey.

Leverett, Flynt, *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005. 112-29.

- DS 98.6 .L48 2005

Flynt Leverett evaluates Bashar al-Asad's presidency from 2000 to 2005, emphasizing how Syria's changing "strategic environment" has necessitated a departure from the late, elder al-Asad's domestic and foreign policies. Leverett concludes by enumerating various options and recommendations for US foreign policy towards Syria.

Moubayed, Sami, *Steel and Silk: Men and Women Who Shaped Syria 1900-2000*, Seattle: Cune Press, 2006

- CT 1916 .M68 2006

This book depicts the lives of Syrian officers, administrators, politicians, national activists, diplomats, educators, journalists, and scholars who shaped the country from 1900 to 2000.

Seale, Patrick, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989. 267-89.

- DS 98.3 .A8S42 1989

Seale provides a chronology of the life of al-Asad from his days as a young revolutionary to his ascension to the presidency of Syria. Seale also highlights the events of the Six Day War and al-Asad's relationship with other historical figures.

Secombe, Ian J., *World Bibliographical Series: Syria*, Oxford, England: Clio Press, 1987

- Z 3481 .S43 1987 REF

This source contains bibliographies of books and scholarly articles pertaining to various facets of Syria including history, politics, and foreign relations.

Van Dam, Nikolaos, *The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society under Asad and the Ba'th Party*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979

- DS 98.2 .D34 1996

Nikolaos Van Dam examines developments within the Ba'ath party from 1963 to 1996 and explains the factors that have enabled Hafiz al-Asad to stay in power longer than any other leader since Syria gained independence in 1946. Van Dam also discusses the potentially serious implications al-Asad's death would have on Syria's political stability.

Zamir, Meir, "De Gaulle and the Question of Syria and Lebanon during the Second World War: Part I," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43.5 (2007): 675-708

Meir Zamir contends that Charles de Gaulle's policy in the Levant should be examined in the broader context of his struggle against Vichy and his relations with Britain and the United States during World War II. He also explores the ways in which Syrian and Lebanese nationalist leaders exploited the rivalry between Free France and Britain to achieve independence and sovereignty.

Syrian Foreign Policy during the Post-Independence Period, 1946-1970

The books in this section have been chosen because they provide the reader with a basic overview of Syrian foreign relations from the time of Syria's independence (1946) to the rise of the Ba'th party and Hafez al-Asad (1970). The humiliating memories of subordination under the French Mandate instilled Syrians with a profound aversion to Western influence and presence in the region.

Following independence from France in 1946, the Syrian government suffered from a series of coup d'états. The beginning of the Cold War had a tremendous impact on the early years of Syria's history as a republic.

The foreign relations of this period were greatly affected by the Cold War. The United States sought to limit Soviet influence in the region by creating pacts with Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan. The U.S. and Syrian leaders sought to create a pact between their countries; however, Syria ultimately became a client state of the Soviet Union after the U.S. assisted Israel during the Six Day War. The center of Syria's foreign policy focused on the creation of the state of Israel and the Arab's efforts to reverse what they perceived as foreign influence and intervention in their land. The 1948 war with Israel, the Six Day War and the status of the Palestinian refugees set the trend of Syria's foreign policy towards the Jewish state and would carry on into the regime of Hafez al-Asad.

Pan-Arabism was another dominate feature of Syrian foreign policy and questions on how to create a union with other Arab states were a central part of the Syrian government's actions. Relations with Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser and the brief establishment of the United Arab Republic (1958-1961) was an example of efforts to achieve unity among the newly independent Arab states. During this time, Iraq supported the UAR and proposed to join. North Yemen also supported the UAR and also was part of a loose confederation with Syria and Egypt. Stability and economic growth existed in neighboring Lebanon during this period. However, Lebanon became home to thousands of Palestinian refugees.

This, along with Lebanon's historical inclusion as part of Greater Syria would be crucial in its relationship with Syria during this time and led to future turmoil in Lebanon.

Baram, Amazia, "Ideology and Power Politics in Syrian-Iraqi Relations, 1968-1984," in *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Maoz and Avner Yaniv, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986, 125-139

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

Amazia Baram explore Syria's rise as a modern state to its role as an actor in the Middle East during the Cold War era. This piece covers Syria's relations with Iraq in the wake of independence from Britain and France.

Dawn, C. Ernest, "The Rise of Arabism in Syria," *Middle East Journal*, 16.2 (1962): 145-168

Dawn studies the rise of Arab nationalism and describes the transformation of secret societies and the new movements into political parties after the termination of the mandate period.

Donovan, John, *U.S. and Soviet Policy in the Middle East, 1957-66*, New York: Facts on File, 1974. 158- 159

•DS 63.2 .U5 D65

John Donovan discusses the Soviet Union's relations with Afghanistan and Syria (1957-1966). The book provides the dates of visits by Soviet and Syrian leaders and details trade agreements between the two countries. Donovan also discusses Syria's burgeoning relationship with Communist China.

Eppel, Michael. "Syrian-Iraqi Relations during the 1948 Palestine War." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32, No. 3, (1996): 74-91.

Michael Eppel presents the development of Syria and Iraq's ties following Syria's independence. The political tension between the Syrian regime and the Kingdom of Iraq are discussed as well as the efforts by the two countries to build and command an Arab army in the 1948 war against Israel.

Freedman, Robert O., "Moscow, Damascus and the Lebanese Crisis," in *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Maoz and Avner Yaniv, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986, 224-250

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

Robert Freedman assesses Soviet policy towards Syria and the effects of Soviet influence in the region. The author also demonstrates how Egyptians, Jordanians and other pro-US regimes affected Soviet and Syrian decision making. Freedman lays out the dilemmas faced by the Soviets in trying to deal with the Lebanese crisis, Israel, the PLO and their alliance with Syria.

Glassman, Jon D., *Arms for the Arabs. The Soviet Union and War in the Middle East*, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1975.

•DS 63.2 .R9 655

Jon Glassman provides a history of the Soviet Union's military aid to Middle Eastern countries. He covers a range of events, including the Suez War (1956) and the Yom Kippur War (1973). He also explores the limits of Moscow's power in the Middle East and how its support for its client states evolved over the course of the Cold War.

Golan, Galia, *Soviet Policies in the Middle East: From World War II to Gorbachev*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 140-156.

•DS 63.2 .S65 G648 1990

Galia Golan illustrates the similarities and differences of ideology and strategic interests between the Soviet Union and Syria. Golan contends that the relationship was problematic and tense since the Soviets feared being drawn into a war with the United States over the Israel-Arab conflict and therefore sought to limit their commitment, to Syria.

Harris, William W., *Taking Root: Israeli Settlement in the West Bank, the Golan and Gaza-Sinai, 1967-1980*, New York: John Wiley, 1980, 59-104

•DS 127.6 .O3 H37 1980

William Harris provides a historical background on the central issues regarding the Syrian-Israeli border dispute. In particular, he focuses on the strategic implications of controlling the Golan Heights and the Israeli expansion of settlements in the region.

Hof, Fredric, *Line of Battle, Border of Peace? The Line of June 4, 1967*, Washington, DC: Middle East Insight, 1999

•DS 119.8 .S95 H64 1999

Fredric Hof clarifies the key points of the territorial dispute between Syria and Israel. Hof chronicles the history of Israeli-Syrian negotiations and describes the demilitarized zone between the two countries.

Kanovsky, E., "The Economic Aftermath of the Six-Day War: UAR, Jordan, and Syria: Part II, Syria and Jordan," *Middle East Journal*, 22.3 (1968): 278-296

Eliyahu Kanovsky describes the economic effects of the June 1967 War on Syria and Jordan.

Khoury, Fred J., "Friction and Conflict on the Israeli-Syrian Front," *Middle East Journal*, 17.1 (1963): 14

Fred Khouri analyzes the situation along the Israel-Syrian border before the June 1967 War. He elucidates the provisions of the 1949 Armistice Agreement and explains the problems occurring within the demilitarized zone between Israel and Syria.

Kienle, Eberhard, *Ba'th v. Ba'th: The Conflict between Syria and Iraq, 1968-1989*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

•DS 95.6 .I72 K53 1990

This book covers the rise of the Arab Ba'th party in Syria and Iraq and describes how differences within the party led to prolonged hostilities between the two countries. It also chronicles the attempts by each country to promote their own geo-strategic interests in the late 1960 to the 80s.

Lawson, Fred Haley, *Why Syria Goes to War: Thirty Years of Confrontation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

•HC 415.23 .Z9 D43 1996

This book is a historical work on the role of Syria in the Arab-Israeli conflict and its skirmishes with Turkey and other Arab nations. It also provides insight into the economic and domestic conditions that existed prior to Hafez al-Asad's ascension to power.

Lesch, David W., *Syria and the United States: Eisenhower's Cold War in the Middle East*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.

•E183.8 .S95 L47 1992

This book is a comprehensive resource detailing the period immediately

following Syria's independence from France after WWII. It provides background on the regimes of al-Za'im, Shishakli, and al-Atasi and the role of the Cold War in early Syrian politics.

Little, Douglas, "Cold War and Covert Action: The United States and Syria, 1945-1958," *Middle East Journal*, 44.1 (1990): 51-75

Douglas Little outlines the history behind a CIA plot to overthrow President Shukri Quwatly and install a pro-Western regime in Syria. He traces how American-Syrian relations evolved from friendly to strained in the post-World War II era. In particular, he highlights the role of ARAMCO, and Syria's fractious relations with Turkey and Israel in the region.

Mufti, Malik, *Sovereign Creations: Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

•DS 98.2 .M84 1996

Malik Mufti highlights the role of Arab nationalism during Syria and Iraq's transition from European mandates to independent states.

Parker, Richard B., "The June 1967 War: Some Mysteries Explored," *Middle East Journal*, 46.2 (1992): 177-197

Parker analyzes the military aspects of the June 1967 War describing Israel's build-up of military forces along the Syrian border, the Soviet Union's relationships with Egypt and Syria, the mobilization of troops by the Arab forces, and the involvement of the United Nations peacekeeping force.

Philip, Thomas and Christopher Schumann, *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon*, Ergon in Kommission: 2004.

•DS 95 .F765 2004

This is a comprehensive resource on the relationship between Syria and Lebanon during the late Ottoman period. Thomas Philip and Christopher Schumann also cover the Arab revolts of the 1920's, the formation of Syria's identity, and the political socialization of Syria and Lebanon in the late 1950's.

Rabil, Robert. *Embattled Neighbors: Syria, Israel, and Lebanon*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003.

•DS 119.7 .R2199 2003

Robert Rabil provides a glimpse into the negotiations that produced the Armistice Agreement following the 1948 war as well as political developments during that time. Rabil also discusses the demilitarized zone between Israel and Syria, the role of the Palestinians and Syria's relationship with Lebanon.

Ramet, Pedro, *The Soviet-Syrian Relationship since 1955: A Troubled Alliance*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.

•DK 67.7 .S95 R36

Pedro Ramet describes the fractious relationship between the Soviet Union and Syria since 1955. He discusses relationships between Moscow and factionalism within the Kremlin.

Rathmell, Andrew, *Secret War in the Middle East: The Covert Struggle for Syria, 1949-1961*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

•DS 98.2 .R38 1995

Andrew Rathmell explores the world of covert U.S. operations and terrorism in Syria from 1949 to 1961. He describes how, historically, Syria was both the perpetrator and the victim of covert actions and terrorist plots. The author also provides an account of Syrian relations with its Arab neighbors, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq during that time.

Sanjian, Avedis K., "The Sanjak of Alexandretta (Hatay): Its Impact on Turkish-Syrian Relations (1939-1956)," *Middle East Journal*, 10.4 (1956): 379-394

Avedis Sanjian describes the deep sense of betrayal felt by Syrians after the French ceded the disputed Hatay region to Turkey during the Mandate. He also discusses the present-day legacy of this action and Syria's contentious relationship with Turkey.

Torrey, Gordon H., *Syrian Politics and the Military 1945-1958*, Ohio State University Press, 1964

•DS 98.2 .T6

Gordon Torrey provides a comprehensive work on Syria's ethnic groups, economics, political organizations and how they interacted with the Syrian military from 1945-58. The crucial topics covered in this book are the coups and counter-coups within Syria, the regimes and the regional crises that took place in this period.

Tzabag, Shmuel, "Termination of the Yom Kippur War between Israel and Syria," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 37.4 (2001): 182-206

This article examines the termination of the 1973 Yom Kippur War on the Israel-Syrian front emphasizing the role of Israel's ministerial level. In particular, it discusses the motivations, constraints, and problems underlying the Israeli ministers' decision to end the war with Syria and the ramifications of their actions or the region.

Syrian Foreign Policy Under Hafez al-Asad, 1970-2000

On November 13, 1970, a Syrian Air Force General named Hafez al-Asad initiated an inter-party coup and assumed control of the Syrian government. Al-Asad consolidated his rule by purging ultra-leftist members of the Ba'th party and other political opponents. Ruling Syria for three decades, his government made the key decisions regarding Syria's position in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Lebanese Civil War and the Cold War. Al-Asad's legacy continues to resonate through Syria's role in the Middle East to this day.

During al-Asad's rule, Syria became involved in several significant regional events. Growing internal divisions among Lebanon's various religious groups led Lebanon into a protracted and devastating civil war (1975-1990). In 1976, President al-Asad sent the Syrian army into Lebanon at the request of the embattled government. In 1989, the various factions involved in the war negotiated an end to the conflict resulting in the Taif Agreement which allowed Syria to maintain a large role in Lebanese internal affairs. In October 1990, the Syrian military consolidated its power in Lebanon by disbanding the various militias within the country. The exception was the Shia guerilla organization, Hezbollah (Party of God). With the support of Syria and Iran, the party cum-militia grew throughout the 1990's and led to Israel's subsequent withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000.

Al-Asad maintained close relations with the Soviet Union throughout most of the Cold War. Syrian military personnel received training in the Soviet Union as well as arms shipments. This led the United States to assert its own influence in the region in order to counter the Soviets. However, Soviet-Syrian relations were shaky and conflicting interests led to several periods of tension.

The 1973 Yom Kippur War was launched by Egypt and Syria in a surprise attack on Israel. However, Syria failed to regain the Golan Heights lost to Israel in the 1967 War. This issue continued to plague al-Asad throughout the rest of his rule. Although Syria and Egypt ultimately lost this war, it was portrayed as a victory

for Arab armies ability to inflict significant damage on Israel's military might.

The collapse of the Soviet Union moderated Syria's foreign relations during the 1990's. Syria was part of the coalition in the 1991 Persian Gulf War against Saddam Hussein. This temporarily improved relations with the United States. Al-Asad negotiated directly with Israel in the Middle East Peace Conference in Madrid in 1991 but did not secure a peace treaty. Several other rounds of talks failed. After nearly thirty years of absolute rule over Syria, Hafez al-Asad died of a heart attack on June 10, 2000.

Avi-Ran, Reuven, *The Syrian Involvement in Lebanon since 1975*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991.

•DS 80.96 .S9 A8513 1991

Reuven Avi-Ran examines Syria's role in the Lebanese Civil War. He also explores the pattern of Syrian actions, the relationship with the different factions in Lebanon, and the position of Syria in the Arab world as well as the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Awartani, Hisham and Ephraim Kleiman, "Economic Interactions among Participants in the Middle East Peace Process," *Middle East Journal*, 51.2 (1997)

This article highlights the trade relations and agreements among the different countries involved in the Middle East peace talks. It discusses the role of peace treaties in increasing commercial trade between the countries. However, Awartani and Kleiman suggests that regional trade will continue to be hampered by political and security concerns in the region.

Bacevich, Andrew, Michael Eisenstadt and Carl Ford, *Supporting Peace: America's Role in an Israel-Syria Peace Agreement (Report)*, Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1994.

•DS 119.8 .S95B33 1994

Andrew Bacevich outlines American's involvement with the peace process between Syria and Israel. He highlights the security concerns of each side, how peacekeeping the Middle East has worked in the past, and recommendations for future U.S. policy in the conflict.

Baram, Amazia, "Ideology and Power Politics in Syrian-Iraqi Relations, 1968-1984," in *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Maoz and Avner Yaniv, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986, 125-139

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

Amazia Baram provides a historical account of the contentious relations between Syria and Iraq as well as other regional powers.

Ben-Meir, Alon, "The Israeli-Syrian Battle for Equitable Peace," *Middle East Policy*, 3.1 (1994): 70-83

Alon Ben-Meir examines the factors impeding an Israeli-Syrian peace agreement by examining each country's positions and perspectives on the disputed Golan Heights. Based on his analysis, Ben-Meir draws three conclusions: (1) "full withdrawal for full peace" is the only viable option, (2) renewed Israeli-Syrian armed conflict remains unlikely, and (3) Syria holds the key to a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace agreement and regional security.

Brand, Laurie, *Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations: The Political Economy of Alliance Making*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994, 152-195

•DS 154.16 .A65 B73 1994

Laurie Brand traces Jordan and Syria's relationship from 1970, when Syria supported the Palestinian uprising in Jordan.

-----, "Economics and Shifting Alliances: Jordan's Relations with Syria and Iraq, 1975-1981," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 26 (1994): 393-413.

Laurie Brand outlines the political and economic developments between Jordan and Syria in the mid-1970's and the role of trade in their bilateral relations. She also explains how relations between Jordan, Iraq and Syria began to decline in the 1980's.

-----, "Palestinians in Syria: The Politics of Integration," *Middle East Journal*, 42 (1988): 621-637

Brand discusses the plight of Palestinian refugees in the wake of the 1948 war and their status within Syria. She also discusses the legal status, freedom of travel, employment, and the role of women.

Clawson, Patrick, Michael Eisenstadt and Nicole Brackman, *The Last Arab-Israeli Battlefield? Implications of an Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon*. Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2000.

•DS 119.76 .L37 2000

Patrick et al. Clawson speculates the consequences of an Israeli withdrawal from the security zone in Southern Lebanon. They offer insights on how Hizbullah, the Palestinian refugees, Syria, Lebanon and

the United Nations might be effected by the Israeli pull-out.

Cobban, Helena, *The Israeli-Syrian Peace Talks: 1991-1996 and Beyond*, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1999.

•DS 119.8 .S95 C62 1999

Helena Cobban gives an account of the negotiations between Israel and Syria beginning with the Madrid Conference in 1991 explaining in detail why the talks broke down. This represents an essential work for understanding the inner workings of diplomacy between Israel and Syria during the 1990s.

-----, *The Superpowers and the Syrian-Israeli Conflict*, New York: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1991

•DS 119.8 .S95C63 1991

This work focuses on the final decade of the Cold War, exploring the efforts of the United States and Soviet Union to extend their influence in the Syrian-Israeli conflict. Cobban places a particular emphasis on the Israeli and Syrian involvement in Lebanon.

Dawisha, Adeed, *Syria and the Lebanese Crisis*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

•DS 95.6 .L4 D38 1980

Adeed Dawisha provides the reader with historical background on regarding Syria's involvement in Lebanon. The ethnic conflicts and political tension that led to the start of civil war in Lebanon as well as the diplomatic and military aspects of the early phase of the war.

Devlin, John F., "Syrian Policy in the Aftermath of the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon," in *The Middle East after the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon*, ed. Robert O. Freedman, Ithaca, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986, 299-322.

•DS 63.1 .M4845 1986

This chapter explains how Syria's relationship with its neighboring countries was altered following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. It focuses on Syria's domestic affairs and relations with the Soviet Union, Lebanon, the PLO, and the United States.

Diab, M. Zuhair, "Have Syria and Israel Opted for Peace?" *Middle East Policy*, 3.2 (1994): 77-90

M. Zuhair Diab argues that since Hafez al-Asad assumed power in 1970, Syria's relationship with Israel has undergone several incremental alterations due to changing internal, regional, and international conditions. Additionally, Diab expresses conditional optimism for a future Israeli-Syrian peace agreement.

Drysdale, Alasdair and Raymond A. Hinnebusch, *Syria and the Middle East Peace Process*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1991.

•JX 1581 .S95 Z5 1991

Drysdale and Hinnebusch take a look at Syria and its importance in the Arab-Israeli peace process. They provide background on al-Asad's regime, relations with other Arab countries, the conflict with Israel and Syria's role in the Cold War. They argue that Syria's involvement is crucial to resolving the problems of the region.

-----, "Syria Since 1988: From Crisis to Opportunity," in *The Middle East after Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait*, ed. Robert O. Freedman, Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993, 276-295

•DS 63.1 .M4844 1993

This chapter highlights the role played by Syria during the Persian Gulf War in 1991. He emphasizes Syria's political situation leading up to the war, the goals of Syria's foreign policy, the impact of the fall of the Soviet Union, and how Syria's neighbors influenced Hafez al-Asad's decisions.

-----, "Arab Unity Schemes Revisited: Interest, Identity and Policy in Syria and Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 27 (1995): 53-71.

This article discusses Pan-Arab nationalism and unity schemes in Syria and Egypt. Discusses how Syrian official's public discourse contributed to the Syrian identity and how other Arab countries portrayed the concept of Arab unity.

Ehteshami, Anoushiravan, *Syria and Iran: Middle Powers in a Penetrated Regional System*. London: Routledge, 1997.

•DS 95.5 .E374 1997

This work examines the foreign policies of Iran and Syria and how their goals have coincided or diverged throughout Hafez al-Asad's regime. Topics discussed include Iranian and Syrian interests in Lebanon, the Arab-Israeli peace process.

Eisenstadt, Michael and Kenneth Pollack, "Armies of Snow and Armies of Sand: The Impact of Soviet Military Doctrine on Arab Militaries," *Middle East Journal*, 55.4 (2001): 549-578.

Michael Eisenstadt and Kenneth Pollack discusses the role of the Soviet Union in training Iraqi, Egyptian and Syrian military personnel during the Cold War. He contends that the three countries received different training and equipment due to their individual experiences with the

Soviet Union.

Evron, Yair, "Washington, Damascus, and the Lebanese Crisis," in *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Maoz and Avner Yaniv, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986, 209-223

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

This chapter outlines the foreign policy and the United States' relationship with Syria during the Lebanese crisis.

Faksh, Mahmud A., "Asad's Westward Turn: Implications for Syria," *Middle East Policy*, 2.3 (1993): 49-61

This article analyzes Syria's shift toward the West following the Gulf War (1990-1991) and assesses its impact on Syrian domestic politics and foreign relations. It also discusses the future of Hafez al-Asad's regime and how the West should deal with Syria's repositioning.

Gresh, Alain, "Turkish-Israeli-Syrian Relations and Their Impact on the Middle East," *Middle East Journal*, 55 (1998): 188-203.

This article describes the alliance between Israel and Turkey and how this affects the geo-strategic balance in the Middle East for Syria. Gresh explains how Turkey's strained relations with the Arab countries led it to closer ties with Israel and how this affects the prospects of Syrian-Israeli peace.

Hannah, John P., *At Arms Length: Soviet-Syrian Relations in the Gorbachev Era*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy: 1989.

•DS 95.6 .S65 H36 1989

John Hannah illustrates the change in Moscow's foreign policy during the Gorbachev years and how it impacted the Soviet-supported regimes in the Middle East.

Hinnebusch, Raymond A., "Asad's Syria and the New World Order: The Struggle for Regime Survival," *Middle East Policy*, 2.1 (1993): 1-14

In this article, Raymond Hinnebusch cites Hafez al-Asad's astuteness in the face of external threat and internal instability and personalization of power as key factors explaining the longevity of his regime. Hinnebusch expresses concern over the ability of al-Asad's regime to survive succession.

-----, "Syria: The Politics of Peace and Regime Survival," *Middle East Policy*, 3.4 (1994): 74-87

Raymond Hinnebusch posits that a successful Israeli-Syrian peace settlement would have to allow Hafez al-Asad to take credit for achieving a restoration of Arab land and dignity and justify the enormous investment Syria has put into the conflict. However, he argues that due to both parties' intransigence on certain issues, such a settlement is unlikely in the foreseeable future.

Hirschfeld, Yair, "The odd couple: Ba'athist Syria and Khomeini's Iran," in *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Ma'oz and Avner Yaniv, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986. 105-24

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

This chapter describes the relationship between Iran and Syria and how the two countries' goals in the region have alternately converged and diverged over the years. Syria's motives for cooperation with Iran during the Iran-Iraq War, strong influences in Lebanon and confrontation with Israel are also discussed.

Kass, Ilana, *Soviet Involvement in the Middle East: Policy Formulation, 1966-1973*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978, 17-24; 130-141

•DS 63.2 .R9K35 1978

Ilana Kass discusses the Soviet Union's interests and policies towards the Middle East from 1966-1973. Kass the role of Soviet Media, Soviet military power and Syrian-Soviet cooperation in the Middle East.

Kass, Ilana, *Soviet Involvement in the Middle East: Policy Formulation, 1966-1973*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978, 17-24; 130-141

•DS 63.2 .R9K35 1978

This work illustrates the Soviet Union's influence and policies in the Middle East during the Cold War. In particular, Kass discusses the ways in which the Soviet Union aided the Arab armies during their successive wars with Israel and coped with their defeats.

Kaufman, Asher. "Who Owns the Shebaa Farms?" *Middle East Journal*, 56 (2002): 576-596.

Asher Kaufman describes the border dispute between Israel, Lebanon, and Syria. He outlines the problems surrounding the Shebaa Farms territory and the UN's role in the dispute.

Khalidi, Ahmed S. and Hussein Agha, "The Syrian Doctrine of Strategic Parity" in *The Middle East in Global Perspective*, ed. Judith Kipper and Harold H. Saunders, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991. 186-218.

•DS 63.1 .M4887 1991

This chapter describes Syria's ideological, yet pragmatic, approach to confronting Israel.

Kienle, Eberhard, *Ba'ath v. Ba'ath: The Conflict between Syria and Iraq, 1968-1989*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

•DS 95.6 .I72 K53 1990

This book covers the rise of the Arab Ba'th party in Syria and Iraq and describes how differences within the party led to prolonged hostilities between the two countries. It also chronicles the attempts by each country to promote their own geo-strategic interests in the late 1960 to the 80s.

-----, "Syria, the Kuwait War, and the New World Order," in *The Gulf War and the New World Order: International Relations of the Middle East*, ed. Tareq Y. Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael, Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1994, 383-398

•DS 63.1 .G86 1994

Kienle illustrates the effects of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the termination of the 1991 Persian Gulf War on Syria's relations with other Middle Eastern countries towards the West.

Kushner, David, "Conflict and Accommodation in Turkish-Syrian Relations," in *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Ma'oz and Avner Yaniv, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986. 85-104.

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

This work describes the contentious relationship between Turkey and Syria, emphasizing their dispute over the province of Alexandretta (Hatay). Kushner shows that while Syria initially had difficulties establishing friendly relations with Turkey, it shifted to a policy of rapprochement and reconciliation in the 1970s.

Lawson, Fred H., "Domestic Pressures and the Peace Process: Fillip or Hindrance," in *Contemporary Syria: Liberalization between Cold War and Cold Peace*, edited by Eberhard Kienle, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994, 132-154

•DS 98 .C64 1994

This chapter discusses the economic situation within Syria under the

rule of Hafez al-Asad and how Damascus found itself isolated after the fall of the Soviet Union. It also touches on Syria's participation in the Madrid peace talks in 1991.

-----, "Can US Economic Assistance Alter Syria's Posture Toward Israel?" *Middle East Policy*, 4.4 (1996): 102-109

Fred H. Lawson evaluates the impact US aid would have on Syria's economy and relations with Israel.

Lesch, Ann Mosely, "Contrasting Reactions to the Persian Gulf Crisis: Egypt, Syria, Jordan and the Palestinians," *Middle East Journal*, 45 (1991): 30-50.

Ann Mosely Lesch describes Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinians' different attitudes and behaviors following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Lesch argues that Hafez al-Asad's decision to join the Western Coalition was the result of strategic calculation.

Ma'oz, Moshe, "From Conflict to Peace: Israel's Relations with Syria and the Palestinians," *Middle East Journal*, 53 (1999): 393-416.

This piece provides a historical analysis of Israel's relations with Syria and the Palestinians.

Ma'oz, Moshe and Avner Yaniv, "On a Short Leash: Syria and the PLO," in *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Ma'oz and Avner Yaniv, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986, 191-208

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

Moshe Ma'oz provides an analysis of Syria's relationship with the Palestinian Liberation Organization. He also discusses the role of Syria and various Palestinian factions in the Lebanese Civil War.

Moore, James W., "An Israeli-Syrian Peace Treaty: So Close and Yet So Far," *Middle East Policy*, 3.3 (1994): 60- 82

James Moore explores the reasons for the lack of progress of the Israeli-Syrian peace process. He presents a framework for a possible Israeli-Syrian peace agreement and identifies potential areas of agreement and disagreement between the two parties.

Muslih, Muhammad Y., "The Golan: Israel, Syria, and Strategic Calculations," *Middle East Journal*, 47 (1993): 611-632.

This article examines Syria and Israel's different stances on the DMZs established after the 1948 war and the return of the Golan Heights.

Muslih concludes that the Israeli-Syrian dispute can be resolved separate of the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations and that Syrian repossession of the Golan Heights will lead to normalization of relations with Israel.

Nasrallah, Fida, "Syria after Ta'if: Lebanon and the Lebanese in Syrian Politics," in *Contemporary Syria: Liberalization between Cold War and Cold Peace*, edited by Eberhard Kienle, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994, 132-38

•DS 98 .C64 1994

The author describes the transition that Syria underwent after the signing of the Ta'if Agreement at the end of the Lebanese Civil War. She provides a comprehensive overview of Syria's goals in Lebanon and the different factions involved in the conflict.

Nevo, Joseph, "Syria and Jordan: The Politics of Subversion," In *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Maoz and Avner Yaniv. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986. 140-56.

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

This chapter outlines the history of Syrian-Jordanian relations through the 1980s. The main issues discussed include the role of the Palestinians, ties with the Soviet Union, and relations with other Arab countries. The author also emphasizes ideology and military involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Nizameddin, Talal, "The Political Economy of Lebanon under Rafiq Hariri: An Interpretation," *Middle East Journal*, 60 (2006): 95-114.

This article discusses how Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri's (d. 2004) liberal economic policies – which necessitated political stability and moderation – clashed with Syria's desire for unequivocal influence in Lebanese affairs. Due to Syria's insecurity in Lebanon, disapproval of Hariri's Western associations, and vested financial interests in Lebanon's economy, it endeavored, through allies like President Emile Lahoud, to undermine Hariri's efforts.

-----, *Russia and the Middle East: Towards a New Foreign Policy*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. 160-180

•DS 63.2 .R9 N59 1999

This section describes Russia's with the Middle East during the Cold War, emphasizing its role during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and dealings with Syria.

Olson, Robert W., *Turkey's Relations with Iran, Syria, Israel and Russia 1991-2000: The Kurdish and Islamist Questions*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2001.

•DS 477 .O476 2001

Robert Olson examines Turkish foreign and domestic policy from 1991 to 2000, including its relations with Syria.

Rabil, Robert. *Embattled Neighbors: Syria, Israel, and Lebanon*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003.

•DS 119.7 .R2199 2003

Robert Rabil chronicles the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, emphasizing the role of the United States, and Syrian-Israeli peace negotiations. He also discusses contentious issues like the return of the Golan Heights and access to water.

Rabinovich, Itmar, *The Brink of Peace: The Israeli-Syrian Negotiations*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.

•DS 119.8 .S95 R33 1998

This book gives a behind-the-scenes view of the negotiations between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Hafez al-Asad. Rabinovich explains the events that led the two countries to the Madrid Conference. He also provides insight into the roles of Jordan, the Palestinians and the United States in the Syrian-Israeli negotiations.

-----, "The Changing Prism: Syrian Policy in Lebanon as a Mirror, an Issue and an Instrument," in *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Maoz and Avner Yaniv, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986, 179-190

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

This chapter discusses Syrian military intervention in Lebanon as well as the roles of the Soviet Union and the Palestinians during the Lebanese Civil War.

Ryan, Curtis R., "The Odd Couple: Ending the Jordanian-Syrian 'Cold War,'" *The Middle East Journal*, 60 (2006) 34-56

Curtis Ryan provides an overview of Syria-Jordanian relations and how differences in ideology and foreign alignments have produced friction between the two countries.

Seale, Patrick, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, Berkeley, CA: University of

California Press, 1989, 267-89.

•DS 98.3 .A8S42 1989

Patrick Seale provides details on the life of Hafez al-Asad from his days as a young revolutionary to President of Syria. Seale provides details on the Six Day War, al-Asad's relationship with other historical figures, and Syria's position in the Middle East today.

-----, "The Syria-Israel Negotiations: Who is Telling the Truth?" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 29.2 (2000): 65-77.

Patrick Seale reflects on his experience as a messenger during the negotiations between former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Syrian President Hafez al-Asad in 1999. He provides insight into the extent of each side's commitment to the peace and the pertinent issues discussed.

Seelye, Talcott W., "Syria and the Peace Process," *Middle East Policy*, 2.2 (1993): 104-109.

This article traces Syria's involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict from 1949 to present and briefly forecasts future developments in the peace process.

Shalev, Aryeh, *Israel and Syria: Peace and Security on the Golan*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994.

•DS 119.8 .S95 S513 1994

Aryeh Shalev provides history of the dispute between Israel and Syria emphasizing the country's on-going negotiations and prospects for peace. The author offers her own framework for an Israeli-Syrian peace agreement.

-----, *The Israel-Syria Armistice Regime*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990.

•JQ 1825 .P3 S52 1993

Shalev describes early Israeli-Syrian negotiations following the 1948 War. In particular, the author describes how Syria and Israel cooperated on issues such as the demilitarized zone and restoring civilian life to the border.

Strindberg, Anders, "The Damascus-Based Alliance of Palestinian Forces: A Primer," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 29 (2000): 60-76.

This article describes the history, purpose, and activities of the Damascus-based Alliance of Palestinian Forces (APF) as well as the ideologies and interrelationships of its different member factions. Additionally, the article examines the current challenges facing the APF and how it is coping with them.

Tanter, Raymond, *Rogue Regimes: Terrorism and Proliferation*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, 169-195

•HV 6431 .T39 1998

In this chapter, Raymond Tanter explores the role of the Syrian government emphasizing Hafez al-Asad's absolute rule over the country. He discusses how the cult of personality, social conditions, and the end of Soviet patronage impacted al-Asad's decision making. The chapter also describes how the U.S. is constrained in its policy toward Syria due to domestic politics.

Usher, Graham. "Hizbollah, Syria, and the Lebanese Elections," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 26 (1997): 59-67.

Graham Usher describes how Hizbollah shifted its image to attract mainstream support in Lebanon and Syria's position as a power broker in the Lebanese elections in the late 1990s.

Weinberger, Naomi J., *Syrian Intervention in Lebanon*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

•DS 87.5 .W45 1986

Syria's involvement in the Lebanese Civil War had tremendous impact on the Levant's regional politics today. Naomi Weinberger outlines how and why Syria occupied Lebanon during the war. She also discusses how Syria struck a delicate balance of between aiding Palestinian guerillas and preserving the Lebanese state.

Yaniv, Avner, "Syria and Israel: The Politics of Escalation," in *Syria under Assad: Domestic Constraints and Regional Risks*, ed. Moshe Maoz and Avner Yaniv, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986, 157-178.

•DS 98.2 .S97 1986

Avner Yaniv examines the dynamics of Israel-Syrian tension in the wake of the 1948 war. In particular, he discusses the violations of cease-fires on the demilitarized zones by both sides and the events that led up to the Six Day War and the skirmishes that took place between Israel and Syria during the Lebanese Civil War.

The Foreign Policy of Bashar al-Asad, 2001 to present

When Bashar al-Asad learned about his elder brother's death in a car accident in 1994, he was studying ophthalmology in London. Almost overnight, Bashar was lunched into the official spotlight as his father, the seemingly interminable Syrian President Hafez al-Asad (1970-2000), began grooming him to be his successor. Over the next six years, al-Asad carefully laid the groundwork for his son's transition to power, selecting him to be the Secretary General of the Ba'ath Party, promoting him to the rank of Lieutenant General and appointing him Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.¹ Additionally, al-Asad entrusted Bashar with the vital Lebanon file and arranged meetings between his son and various Lebanese political figures, including the secretary general of Hizbullah, Hassan Nasrallah.² As a consequence of these actions, Bashar's ascension to presidency following his father's death in June 2001 occurred without incident.³

Due to the relatively nascent nature of Bashar's regime and the rapid changes that have occurred in Syria's "strategic environment," the implications of his leadership on Syria's foreign relations have yet to be fully realized. In his article entitled "The New Asad: Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Syria," Najib Ghadbian predicts that Bashar will exhibit more flexibility on some issues because of his "background, youth, and more extensive contact with the rest of the world."⁴ Thus far, Bashar has generally adhered to his father's foreign policy "script" with regards to Lebanon, the Arab-Israeli conflict, regional balance, and relations with the United States; however, recent events have forced him to adapt al-Asad's foreign agenda to changing circumstances.⁵ Since assuming power, Bashar has been privy to several events that have fundamentally altered Syria's position in the regional order and its relations with the United States: The withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon in May 2000; the eruption of Intifada Al-Aqsa in September 2000; the ascension of George W. Bush and Ariel Sharon to political power in the United States and Israel in early 2001; and the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States and subsequent US-led invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan and global war on terror.⁶

The scholarly literature cited in this section reflects Syria's growing significance

¹Ghadbian, Najib, "The New Asad: Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Syria," *Middle East Journal*, 55.4 (2001): 626

²Leverett, Flynt, *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2005, 100

³Ghadbian, Najib, "The New Asad: Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Syria," 626

⁴Ghadbian, Najib, "The New Asad: Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Syria," 627

⁵ Leverett, Flynt, *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire*, 101

⁶For more details see Leverett, Flynt, *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire*, 101-102

in US foreign policy and the Arab world in light of these changes. While in previous decades, scholars have tended to emphasize Syria's historical record and internal political developments, current research has increasingly focused on the country's role as a strategic world actor. In particular, Syria's continued sponsorship of Hizbullah and other terrorist organizations, close relations with Iran, and integral role in the Arab-Israeli peace process have rendered it indispensable to the Middle East peace process.

Ajami, Fouad, "The Autumn of the Autocrats," *Foreign Affairs*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 84.3 (2005): 20-35

In this article, Fouad Ajami predicts the future of Syrian presence in Lebanon and of Bashar al-Asad's autocratic regime following Rafiq Hariri's assassination in February 2005. Ajami argues that increased opposition to Syrian influence in Lebanon and US democratic designs on the region jeopardize Syria's leadership and asymmetric power relationship with Lebanon.

Ghadbian, Najib, "The New Asad: Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Syria," *Middle East Journal*, 55 (2001): 624-641.

This article evaluates Bashar al-Asad's leadership one-and-a-half years after he assumed presidency. The author contends that while Bashar has demonstrated willingness to institute domestic reforms, he remains committed to maintaining his father's foreign policy agenda.

Goes, Eva and Reinoud Leenders, "Promoting Democracy and Human Rights in Lebanon and Syria," in *Crescent of Crisis: US-European Strategy for the Greater Middle East*, ed. Ivo Daalder, Nicole Gnesotto, and Philip Gordon, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2006

- DS 63.2 .U5 C74 2006

This chapter begins by describing the 2005 protests in Lebanon against Syrian presence in the country. It also discusses the EU's successes and failures to promote reform in Syria and describe how political dialogue, trade relations and the rule of law can improve human rights.

Hinnebusch, Raymond, "Globalization and Generational Change: Syrian Foreign Policy between Regional Conflict and European Partnership," in *Analyzing Middle East Policies and the Relationship with Europe*, ed. Gerd Nonneman, New York: Routledge, 2005, 81-99

- DS 63.2 .E8 N66 2005

In this chapter, Raymond Hinnebusch analyzes Syrian foreign policy under Bashar al-Asad, emphasizing the leader's pursuit of strategic alliances to balance against Israel and the United States and cautious integration of Syria into the world economic system. In particular, Hinnebusch discusses Syria's recent economic partnership with the European Union, contending that the union has been both commercially and strategically advantageous for Syria.

Jouejati, Murhaf, "Syrian Motives for its WMD Programs and What to Do About Them," *Middle East Journal*, 59.1 (2005): 52-61

Murhaf Jouetai argues that Syria's pursuit of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) has developed in response to perceived external threats from Israel and the United States. The author asserts that the United States should focus on facilitating a peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict rather than adopting a hardliner stance against Syria if it wants to remove WMD from Syria's arsenals.

Kaplan, Seth, "A New US Policy for Syria: Fostering Political Change in a Divided State," *Middle East Policy*, 15.3 (2008)

Seth Kaplan argues that Syria should pursue a "middle path" between President Bashar al-Asad's piecemeal reforms and President George W. Bush's desire for an abrupt political transformation to overcome a deteriorating socioeconomic situation, maintain long-term stability, and move towards a more transparent system of governance.

Lawson, Fred, "Syria's Relations with Iran: Managing the Dilemmas of Alliance," *Middle East Journal*, 61 (2007): 29-47.

This article depicts what the author terms the "alliance dilemma" that exists between Syria and the Islamic Republic of Iran. In particular, whenever Syria confronts one of its adversaries, Iran is more likely to pursue risky foreign policy initiatives that have the potential to draw Syria into unwanted conflicts; contrastingly, whenever Syria makes conciliatory advances towards a major adversary, Iran becomes suspicious and occasionally make overtures of its own to the adversary.

Lesch, David W., "The 1957 American-Syrian Crisis: Globalist Policy in a Regional Reality," in *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment*, ed. David W. Lesch, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2003, 133-148

- DS 63.2 .U5 M43 2003

This chapter deals with the American-Syrian crisis that began in August 1957 when the Syrian government announced the discovery of a US-

engineered attempt to overthrow the regime and subsequently expelled three US diplomats. David Lesch describes how Eisenhower’s obsession with the Soviet Union’s growing influence in Syria and the Middle East hindered his ability to seek viable regional solutions to defuse the crisis.

Leverett, Flynt, *Inheriting Syria: Bashar’s Trial by Fire*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005. 112-29.

•DS 98.6 .L48 2005

Flynt Leverett evaluates Bashar al-Asad’s presidency from 2000 to 2005, emphasizing how Syria’s changing “strategic environment” has necessitated a departure from the late, elder al-Asad’s domestic and foreign policies. Leverett concludes by enumerating various options and recommendations for US foreign policy towards Syria.

Levitt, Matthew, *Targeting Terror: US Policy Toward Middle Eastern State Sponsors and Terrorist Organizations, Post-September 11*, Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2002, 48-61.

•HV 6432 .L48 2002

In the chapter entitled “Syria and the War on Terror,” Matthew Levitt discusses how the United States has consistently preferred indirect methods for compelling Syria to renounce terrorism (i.e. by facilitating a Syria-Israel peace treaty) over direct ones. Levitt argues that pressing Syrian leadership to reject terrorism should be “a higher US priority than ever before” and examines several possible financial, diplomatic, and military options that the United States might pursue toward this end.

Mearsheimer, John and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2007

• E183.8.I7 M428 2007

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt provide a detailed account of the Israel lobby’s influence in the United States’ congressional, academic, and media spheres. In particular, they argue that this influence has occasionally misguided US foreign policy in the Middle East.

Nizameddin, Talal, “The Political Economy of Lebanon under Rafiq Hariri: An Interpretation,” *Middle East Journal*, 60 (2006): 95-114.

This article discusses how Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri’s (d. 2004) liberal economic policies – which necessitated political stability and moderation – clashed with Syria’s desire for unequivocal influence in Lebanese

affairs. Due to Syria's insecurity in Lebanon, disapproval of Hariri's Western associations, and vested financial interests in Lebanon's economy, it endeavored, through allies like President Emile Lahoud, to undermine Hariri's efforts.

Norton, Augustus, "Hizbullah and the Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 30 (2000): 22-35

Although this article primarily examines Hizbullah's evolution from a radical resistance group to a professional guerilla force and a pragmatic political party, it also analyzes the group's changing relationship with Syria following Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon in May 2000.

Perthes, Volker, "The Syrian Solution," *Foreign Affairs*, 85 (2006): 33-40

Volker Perthes explores the political aspects of Syrian decision-making during the summer 2006 war between Hizbullah and Israel. He explains how Syria sought to reassert itself following the pullout from Lebanon and prove that it still was a crucial player in the peace process.

Rabil, Robert G., *Syria, the United States, and the War on Terror in the Middle East*, Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006.

- E183.8 .S95 2006

Robert G. Rabil chronicles the history of US-Syrian relations from 1946 to 2006, emphasizing how the countries' conflicting national and regime security interests have set them on a "collision course." Rabil concludes by assessing Washington and Damascus's policy options and discussing the implications of the "cultural attack" Syria has launched on the United States.

-----, "The Ineffective Role of the US in the US-Israeli-Syrian Relationship," *Middle East Journal*, 55 (2001): 415-438

Starting from the Gulf War (1990-1991), Robert Rabil analyzes the changes and consistencies in the US-Israeli-Syrian triangular relationship to see what patterns have emerged over time and what implications these patterns have had on US foreign policy in the region.

Ryan, Curtis R., "The Odd Couple: Ending The Jordanian-Syrian 'Cold War,'" *Middle East Journal*, 60.1 (2006): 33-56

Curtis R. Ryan describes the current amicability that exists between Jordan and Syria today after decades of hostility and mistrust. The

author provides an empirical analysis of Jordan and Syria's brief alliance in the 1970s in the hopes of shedding light on the present and future of Jordanian-Syrian relations.

Samii, Abbas William, "A Stable Structure on Shifting Sands: Assessing the Hizbullah-Iran-Syria Relationship," *Middle East Journal*, 62.1 (2008): 32-53

In this article, Abbas William Samii chronicles the history of the Hizbullah-Iran-Syria relationship from the early 1980s to present and the evolution of Hizbullah from a radical resistance group to a pragmatic player in Lebanese politics. Samii also addresses the implications of this triangular relationship for US policymakers.

Strindberg, Anders, "Syria under Pressure," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 33 (2004): 53-69.

Based on interviews with Syrian government officials, academics, opposition figures, and ordinary citizens, Anders Strindberg analyzes Syria's reactions to US condemnation following Syria's sharp criticism of the US-led invasion of Iraq. Strindberg's report also examines recent changes in Syrian political culture as well as various domestic developments.

Sunayama, Sonoko, *Syria and Saudi Arabia: Collaboration and Conflicts in the Oil Era*, New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007

- DS 95.6 .S33 S86

This book sheds light on the Syrian-Saudi Arabian alliance, including its origin, longevity, and its importance in inter-Arab politics from 1946 to present. The author identifies and explains several key landmarks and patterns in Syrian-Saudi relations during this period.

Online Resources

BBC News, Syria Country Profile

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/country_profiles/801669.stm

CIA World Factbook

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sy.html>

Syrian government website

http://www.syriagate.com/Syria/Government/Ministries_And_Establishments/

US Embassy in Damascus

<http://damascus.usembassy.gov/>

US State Department Country Information, Syria

<http://www.state.gov/p/nea/ci/c2420.htm>

US Library of Congress, Portals to the World, Syria

<http://www.loc.gov/rr/international/amed/syria/syria.html>

International Monetary Fund Country Information, Syria

<http://www.imf.org/external/country/SYR/index.htm>

UNICEF, Country Statistics, Syria

http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/syria_statistics.html

UNDOF (United Nations Disengagement Observer Force), Syria

<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/undof/index.html>

Attributions

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