

## Islam, Regions, and Politics in Historical Perspective: Past & Present

Edited by: ABDALLAH ABDEL-ATI AL-NAGGAR – ZOLTÁN PRANTNER







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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	6
INTRODUCTION	8
I.) STUDIES	
ZOLTÁN PRANTNER – ABDALLAH ABDEL-ATI AL-NAGGAR	12
توحيد اليمن في أعين المجر الرسمية	
ISTVÁN ZIMONYI	38
المجريون الأوائل في المصادر العربية	
JÁNOS SÁRINGER	52
The Realignment and Staffing of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign	
Affairs between 1945 and 1950	
GÁBOR ANDREIDES	71
A Diplomat of the People's Republic	
JÁNOS SÁRINGER	93
The Hungarian-Czechoslovak Relations from Hungarian Perspective	3
(1990–1992)	
II.) BOOK REVIEWS	
ABDALLAH ABDEL-ATI AL-NAGGAR – ZOLTÁN PRANTNER	.112
قوات حفظ السلام المجرية العاملة في إفريقيا	
ARYA WANDA WIRAYUDA	.115
A History of Territorial Disputes in the Middle East	
ARYA WANDA WIRAYUDA	.119
A History of Four Thousand Years	
BETTINA GUTTYÁN	.124
Central Eurasia in Global Politics	
BETTINA GUTTYÁN	.130
The Greater Middle East in Global Politics	

4	
ISTVÁN DÁVID VÁCZ1	36
Islam as a Diverse Totalitarian Political Ideology from the Perspective	
of the History of Ideas	
ISTVÁN DÁVID VÁCZ1	41
Controversial Questions about Islam in the 21st Century	
JÁKOB JÁNOS HORVÁTH	46
Historiography in Islam	
JÁKOB JÁNOS HORVÁTH1	50
The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam on the Blue Nile	
MÁRK JONATÁN ZÁMBORI1	54
Hungary and the Arab Region	
MÁRK JONATÁN ZÁMBORI1	58
History of the Arab Countries 1913–2003	
MUSTAFA BURAK ŞENER1	61
The Influence of Sects in the Middle East: The Assad Regime,	
Hezbollah, and Iran Cooperation in the Syrian Civil War	
MUSTAFA BURAK ŞENER1	66
A Historical Analysis of Turkish-Qatar Relations: Growing	
Cooperation in the Tumultuous Region	
RANIA MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM1	<b>71</b>
The First Trip by Automobile on the Banks of the Nile	
RANIA MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM1	75
Egyptian-Hungarian Relations between the Two World Wars	
SHALU JOSEPH1	<b>79</b>
Israel's Border Wars	
SHALU JOSEPH1	83
A Modern History of the Islamic World	
TIBOR MEZEI	86
When did the Suez Crisis Begin? A New Attempt at Contextualizing	
the Second Arab-Israeli War	
TIBOR MEZEI1	90
Exploring the Origins of Jihadist Terrorism	
ZOLTÁN PRANTNER – ABDALLAH ABDEL-ATI AL-NAGGAR1	94
The Creation of the Unpredictable Middle East	

III.) PRESS	REVIEWS

FOREIGN TRADE: MORE FACILITIES FOR EGYPTIAN EXPORTS TO HUNGARY200
FINLAND AND HUNGARY WON THE FIRST PRIZE AT THE INTERNATIONAL
FESTIVAL FOR EXPERIMENTAL THEATRE202
CHAOS OF THE TROPHIES IN THE EXPERIMENTAL FESTIVAL. THE FINISH AND THE
HUNGARIAN ARE NOT THE BEST SHOWS204
(Translated by SHERIF REDA ABOUSHANAB)
ABOUT THE AUTHORS206

### **FOREWORD**

If we want to study the past and present of the Middle East, the Mediterranean, we will find many books that will significantly enrich our previous knowledge of the region. These certainly include this sophisticated volume edited by two distinguished scholars of the Middle East, Abdallah Abdel-Ati Al-Naggar and Zoltán Prantner.

The primary goal of the recognized editors was to ensure that the book would be a richly diverse work, both in terms of content and genre. The individual essays relate to different historical periods and raise a wide range of issues. The book does not only focus on political history in the strict sense, but also on the history of relations, political careers and political thinking.

The structure of the volume is well thought out, and the three main sections are distinctly different in character. The first section is made up of five extensive essays written by historians of considerable stature. The first study in the block examines the Hungarian political position on the unification of the two Yemenis; the second reviews Muslim sources on the Hungarian population before the occupation of the Carpathian Basin; the third looks at the restructuring and staffing of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry between 1945 and 1950, the fourth analyses the career of one of Hungary's most influential diplomats after the Second World War, while the fifth examines Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations from a Hungarian perspective in the period 1990–1992. In the second block, book reviews presenting the results of historical research on the Middle East with evaluative remarks are presented. Most of the twenty reviews were written by doctoral students of ELTE. The third block included translations of four newspaper articles on Hungarian-Arab relations that appeared in the Egyptian Al-Ahram in the early 1990s. In addition to Hungarian historians, historians from Egypt, India, Indonesia, Croatia and Turkey participated in the preparation of the volume. The book's commendable feature is its multilingualism. Arabic, English and Hungarian texts and sources allow a wider readership to gain insight into the publication.

Accept the volume for what its editors intended it to be: a valuable mosaic collection enriched with new colors, which they wanted to contribute to the shaping of our historical perspective, to a deeper understanding of the past of the Middle East, of the multifaceted relations between Europe and the Middle East, and to a nuanced interpretation of the crisis phenomena. This is a noteworthy work that may pave the way for further research.

Budapest, July 27, 2022.

## كلمة افتتاحية

إذا أردنا دراسة ماضي وحاضر الشرق الأوسط ومعه البحر المتوسط، حتما سنجد العديد من الكتب التي ستثري بشكل كبير معرفتنا السابقة بالمنطقة. وتشمل هذه بالتأكيد هذا العمل المعقد الذي حرره اثنان من الباحثين البارزين المتخصصين في الدراسات الشرق أوسطية: عبد الله عبد العاطي النجار – زولطان برانتنر.

الهدف الأساسي للمحررين المميزين هو إنتاج عمل متنوع وغني من حيث الفحوى والنوعية. تتعلق المقالات الفردية القابعة بين ثنايا الكتاب بفترات تاريخية مختلفة وتثير مجموعة واسعة من القضايا. لا يركز الكتاب فقط على التاريخ السياسي بمعناه الحرفي، ولكن أيضًا يتناول تاريخ العلاقات والمهام السياسية وكذا الفكر السياسي.

بنية الكتاب تم التمعن فيها مليا، فالفصول الثلاثة الرئيسية المكونة لهكيل العمل مختلفة بشكل واضح في طبيعتها. يتكون القسم الأول من خمس مقالات موسعة كتبها مؤرخون أصحاب مكانة رفيعة. تحلل الدراسة الأولى في المجموعة الموقف السياسي المجري من توحيد اليمنيين، بينما تستعرض الثانية المصادر الإسلامية حول السكان المجريين قبل احتلال حوض الكاربات. وعلى نفس النسق، تبحث الدراسة الثالثة في إعادة هيكلة وتنظيم وزارة الخارجية المجرية بين عامي 1945 و1950، أما الرابعة فتتناول المسار المهني لأحد أكثر الدبلوماسيين تأثيرًا في المجر بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية؛ هذا، فيما تغوص الخامسة والأخيرة في العلاقات المجرية التشيكوسلوفاكية بأعين مجرية في الفترة ما بين 1990–1992. في الفصل الثاني، يتم عرض مجموعة من مراجعات بأعين مجرية في الفتر التلاقات المجرية العربية نقدية لها. تمت كتابة معظم المراجعات العشرين بواسطة طلاب الدكتوراه في جامعة إتفوش لوراند ELTE. تضمن الفصل الثالث ترجمات لأربع مقالات صحفية عن العلاقات المجرية العربية ظهرت في جريدة الفصل الثالث ترجمات لأربع مقالات صحفية عن العلاقات المجرية العربين، شارك في هذا العمل مؤرخون من مصر والهند وإندونيسيا وكرواتيا وتركيا. الميزة الجديرة بالثناء في الكتاب هي تعدد اللغات. تسمح النصوص والمصادر العربية والإنجليزية والمجرية لمجتمع قراء أوسع باكتساب نظرة ثاقبة على العمل.

العمل ظهر وتجلى كما أراد محرروه أن يكون تماما: مجموعة فسيفساء قيمة غنية بالألوان الجديدة أرادوا بها المساهمة في تشكيل منظورنا التاريخي لفهم أعمق لماضي الشرق الأوسط وللعلاقات متعددة الأوجه بين أوروبا والشرق الأوسط، علاوة على تفسير دقيق لظاهرة الأزمة. هذا عمل يستحق التقدير، وقد يمهد الطريق لمزيد من الدراسات والأبحاث.

بودابست في 27 يوليو 2022.

زولطان كالمار

### INTRODUCTION

In Hungary the oriental studies have always been an organic part of academic interest and achievements. Although the traditional approach of orientalistics has mainly focused on Central Asia, Tibet and East Asia, great many scholars from the mid-19th century have been aware of the extraordinary importance of the general problematics of the Islamic world and its contacts with Hungary from the time of the establishment of Hungarian state up to the most contemporary period. Great oriantalists like Sándor Kőrösi Csoma, Aurél Stein, Ármin Vámbéry, Ignác Goldziher, Gyula Germanus became highly appreciated personalities of the global oriental studies. The later generatoin of academics have also created a lasting impact on oriental studies including the modern problems of Islam and the extremely exciting developments of certain regions and countries of the Muslim world. Fortunately, many of them go on working on Islamic problematics with special emphasis on vital political aspects. Among them excellent scholars like Zsolt Rostoványi and László Nagy have played for many years an eminent role in academic life of the Corvinus University (Budapest) and the University of Szeged.

That is why I show a special interest and pleasure that the members of the younger generation of scholars, many of them are renown academics, have decided to publish a good collection of studies, book reviews and a few press reviews collected in the chosen topic. Abdallah Abdel-Ati' Al Naggar's and Zoltán Prantner's introductory chapter is highly promising. The unification of Yemen enjoys a great interest today and with all probability will be an important issue in the future studies as well. Taking into consideration of the somewhat important role the Hungarian State played after the independence of South Yemen the readers would be curious to see the relevant Hungarian documents of this theme.

Everybody taking interest in old Hungarian history will be enthusiastic to read Istvány Zimonyi's review of Muslim sources of Hungarian history before the settlement of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin. I wholeheartedly appreciate that the authors do not forget about an evergreen topic, the Palestinian question. Good idea to go back to four thousand years and make an attempt to see the continuity and contadictions of some historical problems.

The propery selected book reviews constitute a valuable part of the volume. I am really impressed by the book review written by I. D. Vácz on the excellent presentation of Zsolt Rostoványi on the current questions in the modern islamic politics and society.

I highly appreciate the brave endeavour of Arya Wanda Wirayuda who undertook to review a very exciting topic of the age-long territorial disputes in the Middle East.

Excellent idea that the outstanding scholar Róbert Simon's book "Historiography in Islam" has got a review. Simon's unique comprehensive approach is rooted in his general understanding of the Middle East making use of his exceptional expertise not only in Arab but also in Iranian studies.

Worth remembering that a relevant review emphasises a very dramatic contemporary issue, the "Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam on the Blue Nile". A very positive sign is that the new generation of scholars have a profound knowledge of the unfinished story of the dam that directly influences hundreds of millions people's daily life and is a permanent source of the destabilization of a vast region of Africa.

Very encouraging that the rewiever gives an impressive account of the outstanding Hungarian Arabist, László J. Nagy's book "Hungary and the Arab Region". In a common effort to show the old as well as the modern Middle-Eastern-Hungarian contacts. László Nagy continues playing a special role in the joint efforts. Good to remember his other fundamental book "History of the Arab Countries (1913-2003)" which is also reviewed in this publication. I hope it will be available in both Arabic and English, very soon.

Budapest, August 20, 2022.

András Balogh<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> András Balogh (born 6 March 1944) is a Hungarian historian, diplomat, and former ambassador to Thailand. His party, the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) nominated him to the position of President of Hungary in 2010. During a parliamental election the Fidesz-Christian Democratic People's Party's candidate Pál Schmitt was elected.

## تــقـديــم

لطالما كانت الدراسات الشرقية في المجر جزءًا لا يتجزأ من الاهتمامات والإنجازات الأكاديمية. وعلى الرغم من أن النهج التقليدي للاستشراق قد ركز بشكل أساسي على آسيا الوسطى ومنطقة التبت وشرق آسيا، إلا أن العديد من كبار الباحثين – في منتصف القرن التاسع عشر – كانوا على دراية بالأهمية الاستثنائية للإشكاليات العامة للعالم الإسلامي وعلاقاته مع المجر منذ تأسيسها وحتى الوقت الراهن. أضحى كبار المستشرقين، من أمثال شاندور كوروشي تشوما "Armin Vámbéry" وإجناتس جولدتسيهر "Aurél Stein" وأوريل شتاين "Gyula Germanus" وجولا جرمانوس "Gyula Germanus" شخصيات تحظى بتقدير كبير في الدراسات الشرقية على الصعيد العالمي. أحدث الجيل الأكاديمي اللاحق أيضًا تأثيرًا ممتد المفعول على الدراسات الشرقية بما في ذلك المشكلات الحديثة النتعلقة بالإسلام والتطورات المثيرة للغاية في مناطق ودول معينة في العالم الإسلامي. لحسن الحظ، يواصل العديد منهم العمل على الإشكاليات الإسلامية مع التركيز بشكل خاص على الجوانب السياسية الحيوية. من بين على الإشكاليات الإسلامية مع التركيز بشكل خاص على الجوانب السياسية الحيوية. من بين المقولاء، نذكر هنا باحثين ممتازين، مثل جولت روشتفاني "Zsolt Rostoványi" وقد لعبوا لسنوات عديدة دورًا بارزًا في الحياة الأكاديمية، وخاصة في إطار أوقة جامعتي كورفينوس (بودابست)، وسجد العريقتين.

ومن هذا المنطلق، أبدي اهتمامًا خاصًا وسعادة غامرة لأن أبناء الجيل الأصغر من الباحثين، وكثير منهم أكاديميون مشهورون، قرروا نشر مجموعة جيدة من الدراسات وعروض الكتب وبعض المراجعات الصحفية التي تم جمعها داخل الإطار العام لموضوع العمل المختار. يعتبر الفصل التمهيدي لعبد الله عبد العاطي النجار وزولتان برانتنر واعدًا للغاية، حيث يحظى توحيد اليمن اليوم باهتمام كبير وبكل الاحتمالات سيكون موضوعًا مهمًا في الدراسات المستقبلية أيضًا، مع الأخذ في الاعتبار الدور المهم إلى حد ما الذي لعبته الدولة المجرية بعد استقلال اليمن الجنوبي. حتما، سيتطلع القراء بغضول لرؤية الوثائق المجرية ذات الصلة أيضا.

علاوة على ذلك، سيكون كل من يهتم بالتاريخ المجري القديم متحمسًا لقراءة مقالة إشتفان زيموني "István Zimonyi" التي تتناول المصادر الإسلامية للتاريخ المجري قبل توطين المجريين في منطقة حوض الكاربات. كما إنني أقدر وبصدق أن المؤلفين لم ينسوا موضوعًا حاضرا بشكل دائم، وهو القضية الفلسطينية. كم هي فكرة جيدة أن نعود إلى الوراء بأربعة آلاف سنة ونحاول أن نرى استمرارية وتناقضات بعض المشاكل التاريخية.

تشكل عروض الكتب المختارة بشكل خاص جزءًا قيمًا من هذا الإنتاج العلمي. إنني معجب حقًا بعرض الكتاب الذي قام به إشتفان دافيد فاتس حول العرض الممتاز لجولت روشتفاني حول الأسئلة الدائرة حاليا في السياسة والمجتمع الإسلامي الحديث.

كما أقدر عاليا المسعى الشجاع للباحث أريا واندا الذي تعهد بمراجعة موضوع مثير للغاية للنزاعات الإقليمية طويلة الأمد في الشرق الأوسط.

كما أن عمل عرض لكتاب الباحث البارز روبرت شيمون "Róbert Simon" الذي يحمل عنوان "تاريخ الإسلام" كانت فكرة ممتازة. نهج سيمون الشامل الفريد متجذر في فهمه العام للشرق

الأوسط مستفيدًا من خبراته الاستثنائية ليس فقط في الدراسات العربية، ولكن أيضًا في الدراسات الإيرانية.

وتجدر الإشارة إلى أن تناول كتاب "سد النهضة الإثيوبي الكبير على النيل الأزرق" بالعرض يمثل إضافة، كونه يبحث في مسألة دراماتيكية صعبة. هناك علامة إيجابية للغاية وهي أن الجيل الجديد من الباحثين لديهم معرفة عميقة بالقصة غير المكتملة للسد والتي تؤثر بشكل مباشر على حياة مئات الملايين من الناس، وهي مصدر دائم لزعزعة الاستقرار في مساحات شاسعة من القارة الافريقية.

من المشجع جدًا أن يقدم باحثا آخرا عرضًا مثيرًا للإعجاب لكتاب العالم والمتخصص في الشأن العربي لاسلو ناج، والذي حمل عنوانا "المجر والمنطقة العربية". يلعب مؤلف هذا الكتاب دورا خاصا في الجهود المشتركة لتعزيز الاتصالات القديمة والحديثة بين الشرق الأوسط والمجر. وهنا يجدر بنا المقام أن نشير بالذكر إلى كتابه الأساسي الآخر "تاريخ الدول العربية (1913-2003)" والذي تم عرضه أيضا في هذا العمل الذي بين أيدينا، آملا أن يكون متاحًا باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية قريبًا.

بودابست في 20 أغسطس 2022.

أندراش بالوج2

أندراش بالوج (من مواليد 6 مارس 1944) مؤرخ مجري ودبلوماسي وسغير سابق في تايلاند. رشحه الحزب الاشتراكي المجري لمنصب رئيس المجر في عام 2010، بيد أنه خلال الانتخابات البرلمانية، تم انتخاب بال شميت مرشح حزب الشعب الديمقراطي المسيحي فيدس.

## WHEN DID THE SUEZ CRISIS BEGIN? A NEW ATTEMPT AT CONTEXTUALIZING THE SECOND ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

Krajcsír, Lukács: *Válságból válságba: A Szuezhez vezető út 1955–56.* [From Crisis to Crisis – The Road Leading to Suez 1955–1956] Budapest: Antall József Tudásközpont, 2021. 408 pp. ISBN: 9786155559853. Language: Hungarian.

TIBOR MEZEI

Eötvös Loránd University, **Hungary** 

The main proposition of the book is that the Second Arab-Israeli War was a direct consequence of the arms deal between Egypt and Czechoslovakia signed in September 1955 (p. 13). In the Epilogue the author concludes that the arms deal between Egypt and Czechoslovakia generated an enduring crisis in the Middle East that lead directly to the Second Arab-Israeli War and indirectly to the British-French invasion. (p. 314) Mr. Krajcsír asserts that the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt was merely a step in the crisis which began to unfold already with Egyptian-Czechoslovak arms deal. Having put forward this argument he does not offer a detailed account of how the Second Arab-Israeli War evolved between July 1956 – when the nationalization of the Suez Canal was announced – and October 1956, but provides only a short summary of the events. While the book convincingly demonstrates that the arms deal between Egypt and Czechoslovakia was a major development in Middle East politics, I miss the argument on demonstrating that the deal was indeed a direct cause of the Second Arab-Israeli War. In other words, I do not see how the author can make the claim that the arms deal triggered the crisis leading to the war without showing a direct, step by step connection between the arms deal and the outbreak of the war. Simply stating that "the arms deal generated an enduring crisis in the Middle East that – though proceeded with fluctuating intensity – in combination with the repeated armed conflicts occurring along the lines of ceasefire [between Egypt and Israel], lead directly to the Second Arab-Israeli War" (p. 314) does not seem to provide a sufficient explanation for why the war actually broke out. Concrete decisions have to be made to launch a war. In the case of the Second Arab-Israeli War the Israeli side decided to attack Egypt, so I do not think that a proper assessment can be made about the causes of the war without investigating the reasons for the Israeli decision.

His areas of research include the involvement of Czechoslovakia in Middle East politics, also contemporary Chinese-Russian¹ as well as Egyptian-Russian relations. He was a staff member of Antall József Tudásközpont in Budapest until its dissolution at the end of 2021. He is currently a researcher at the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security, and a part-time instructor at the Institute for International and Regional Studies, Faculty of Law, University of Szeged. His knowledge of Czech language has enabled him to conduct extensive research in the archives in the Czech Republic, the results of which are included in this book as well. Present volume has also incorporated the research he had done in American digital archives as well as in Hungarian archives. Although Hungary did not play a major role in the Middle East in 1955–1956, Mr. Krajcsír regularly makes references to Hungarian documents where they can add some interesting detail to the general picture. The author did not rely heavily on the printed media of the investigated period; he only occasionally cites from the Czech or the Hungarian press.

The book, at first, gives a short introduction about the history of British presence in Egypt, the First Arab-Israeli War, and the events leading up to the Egyptian Free Officers removing the king and establishing the republic. The bulk of the book investigates how the relations among the various states – Egypt, the United States, Great Britain, France, Israel, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia – developed between July 1952 and July 1956. Egypt is in the focus, but the author also explores how Israel's relations to the Western powers changed during this period. The new government of Egypt, between 1952 and 1954, had two inter-related priorities: to consolidate its power internally and to modernize the Egyptian armed forces. To modernize the army, they needed modern weapons. Egypt was trying to procure weapons from one of the Western powers, but it was not successful because the Tripartite Declaration<sup>2</sup> signed by the United States, Great Britain and France severely restricted arms sales to the Middle East and North Africa. The situation at the border with Israel was relatively quiet; there were even some secret talks held between the two countries during this period.

However, in 1955, as the author convincingly demonstrates, major developments began to unfold in international relations. In January the Baghdad Pact (Middle East Treaty Organization) was formed by Iraq and Turkey, under the influence of the United States, in order to prevent Soviet expansion in the Middle East and Asia Minor. In February the Israeli Defence Force attacked Egyptian troops stationed in the Gaza Strip, as a result of which tension suddenly increased

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr. Krajcsír's first book was on contemporary Chinese-Russian relations: *Chinese-Russian Cooperation in the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century*. Veszprém, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In May 1950 the United States, Britain, and France jointly issued the Tripartite Declaration, which guaranteed the territorial *status quo* determined by 1949 Arab-Israeli armistice agreements and stipulated close consultation among the three powers with a view to limiting the Arab-Israeli arms race.

188 Tibor Mezei

in the region. In April the Bandung Conference (Asian-African Conference) was held which proved to be a milestone in bolstering cooperation among Third World countries. Meanwhile a significant shift occurred in Soviet foreign policy; whereas earlier Moscow refused to cooperate with Arab and (non-communist) Asian states, this gradually changed after Joseph Stalin's death. The new Soviet strategy was to develop relations with those states that are not US allies on the basis of mutual benefit.

The Egyptian government, facing a potential conflict with Israel and acknowledging the Soviet opening to the Middle East, decided to purchase weapons from Eastern Europe to modernize its armed forces. Negotiations started between Egypt and Czechoslovakia, as a result of which an arms deal was concluded in September 1955. This was the first such contract between an Arab country and the Soviet bloc. The reactions of the Western powers as well as of the Arab countries showed that this move significantly strengthened Egypt's position in the international arena. For the Arab countries President Gamal Abdel Nasser's policy appeared as an alternative to joining the Baghdad Pact. Washington realized that exerting pressure on Cairo would not work, so the Eisenhower administration<sup>3</sup> tried to win over Egypt to its side through economic cooperation, and initiated talks on the construction of the Aswan High Dam by offering American support in December 1955.

The British and French reactions were different, and their Middle East policy began to diverge from that of the US. They did not consider approaching Egypt, but, in the first half of 1956, began to negotiate with Israel about selling weapons, and by June they did sign an arms deal. Meanwhile, in the US, internal political pressure grew against providing American financial support to build the Aswan High Dam. The Eisenhower administration, in the end, decided not to risk political defeat in the upcoming Congressional elections, and therefore, withdrew from the negotiations regarding the construction of the Aswan High Dam. In response, a few days later, President Nasser announced the nationalization of the British and French owned Suez Canal Company to use the income to be gained for building the Aswan High Dam. The "storyline" of the book ends with President Nasser's announcement, and the Epilogue merely offers a short overview of the period between July and October 1956.

The book provides a very detailed account of the diplomatic manoeuvres and foreign policy developments concerning the Middle East in the period between July 1952 and July 1956. Moreover, a lot of attention is paid to the Egyptian government's efforts for obtaining modern armament; an exhaustive description is offered on exactly what kind of weapons Egypt was trying to procure, and a complete list is given on what weapons were included in the arms deal with Czechoslovakia. It is a strength of the book that it highlights the importance of the role played by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dwight D. Eisenhower was the President of the United States between 1952 and 1960.

Czechoslovak government in facilitating cooperation with Egypt. It also emphasizes the Czechoslovakia's role in initiating cooperation with other Arabic countries, particularly Syria. The subtitle is perhaps misleading because when one reads "The Road Leading to Suez 1955–1956", one tends to think of the Suez Crisis; however, the book does not discuss the Suez Crisis at length, but – as I pointed out – it follows the chain of events in detail only up to the announcement made by President Nasser on nationalizing the Suez Canal in July 1956.

"From Conflict To Conflict" is a thorough and professional work, which offers a well-structured and concise overview of how Middle East politics changed in the course of 1955 and 1956. Moreover, the book definitely contributes to deepening our understanding of the role Czechoslovakia played in fostering cooperation between Egypt and the Soviet bloc. It also demonstrates in a convincing way that the situation in the Middle East had already become tense before President Nasser initiated the nationalization of the Suez Canal. However, I would argue that the author failed to undergird his claim that the arms deal between Egypt and Czechoslovakia generated a crisis leading directly to the Second Arab-Israeli War. It rather seems to be the case that the interplay of several factors – the British and French aversion against President Nasser, the lack of coordination between the US and its British and French allies, the "hawks" suppressing the moderates in the Israeli cabinet, and others – caused the outbreak of the war in October 1956. Nevertheless, "From Conflict To Conflict" is a worthwhile and rewarding reading, and it gives a profound and accurate picture of Middle East politics during the period between 1952 and 1956.

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