The Special Studies Series

THE MIDDLE EAST: SPECIAL STUDIES 1970-1980


The General Inquirer system of content analysis was used to analyze Egyptian and Israeli documents for the period July 19-28, 1956. An extensive experiment on methods of scaling action data has been performed, and the scale was used to analyze behavior during the time period studied. The data for the time period studied were rather limited, thus an adequate test of hypotheses must be deferred until data for subsequent periods are analyzed. Yet even with the data at hand, techniques of analysis reveal that some important distinctions were made by Egyptian and Israeli decision makers. But at this early stage in the research their significance is only speculative.

Israel and the Eastern Arab States: A Strategic Source Book.


Recent events in the Middle East, particularly the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, have once again highlighted the area as a focal point of interest and concern to the major world powers. The complexity of the region has been further evidenced by the factors involved in the 1967 conflict and its aftermath. This source book makes readily available a brief appraisal of factors of strategic significance in the Eastern Arab states and Israel. Accompanying the survey are charts, tables, other supporting data, and references assembled from numerous sources, both Middle Eastern and Western, and compiled in this paper to facilitate their use. It is intended that this survey will provide the user with an understanding of the factors at work in the Middle East, the data in support of the conclusions reached, and sources for more detailed examination of the subjects discussed. Although the compilation is focused on factors of a strategic nature, it is not intended to deal solely with that aspect of Israel and the Eastern Arab states.
The Control of Local Conflict: Case Studies. Volume III. Middle East and North African Case Studies.
The volume presents a portion of the results of a thirteen-month study project performed under contract with the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in order to advance the Agency's research program directed toward the development of arms control and disarmament measures applicable to conflict and pre-conflict situations in the less developed areas of the world. The present study provides an analysis of cases of local conflict in the Middle East and North African states.

An Examination of the International Flow of Crude Oil, with Special Reference to the Middle East.
This paper describes the basic nature of crude oil transportation, its technology, worldwide pattern, and future. It gives special emphasis to the movement of crude oil between the Middle East and Western Europe because of the critical supply and demand relationships existing between the two regions; further, it underscores the growth of both the crude oil tanker and crude oil pipelines, and the effect that this growth will have on the future patterns of crude oil flow. And it notes that the interest of the Soviet Union in the Middle East and the Suez Canal is an increasingly influential factor in the international flow of crude oil. The future role of the United States in the Middle East will derive in an important way from its ties with Western Europe. Since what is vital to the one will be of concern to the other, the United States will continue to regard the flow of crude oil to Western Europe (and the growing influence of the Soviet Union on it) as an important foreign policy matter.

Political Functions of the Military in the Middle East and North Africa.
The purpose of the research was to examine the nature, causes, and consequences of military-political intervention in developing polities. Military intervention was studied in seven Middle Eastern states. Forty-one coups and countercoups were analyzed. Variables such as the success and failure of coups, organized mass and political support, opposition or indifference to coups, the ideological orientations of the coups, the type of regime legitimation, the rank of the coup makers, and the legacy of the military establishment were examined.

An Interaction Survey of the Middle East.
Department of International Relations, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. Charles A. McClelland and Anne Ancoh. March 1970. 40 f.
The authors treat the Middle East conceptually as a separate and distinct world arena, and compare relations for this arena with other subsystems. The findings suggested that the Middle East arena possesses some unique characteristics among which is the propensity of nations in the area to direct a larger proportion of their interactions to their neighbors within the region, than to the rest of the members of the international system. The authors gained some insight into Theoretical propositions regarding Israeli retaliation policies and the relationship between some trends in inter-Arab cooperation and the Arab-Israeli conflict.
AID Spring Review of Land Reform. Volume II. Land Reform in Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and Indonesia.
The document on Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and Indonesia is one of a series covering most nations that have experienced or are considering land reform. The design for each country's paper is the same: the situation before reform, the reform program, and the effects of the program.

An overriding concern: major interests in the Middle East; expanding Soviet naval activities; United States and U.S.S.R. aid to the Middle East; and Geographic accessibility and superpower developments.

Reel II

MIDDLE EAST (cont.)

Department of Political Science, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Jeffrey S. Milstein. 1971. 36 f.
The report examines the extent to which the U.S. and U.S.S.R. have been able to affect the amounts of military spending by Israel and the Arab countries, and thus help to control the Middle East arms race with its grave potential for mutual destruction of Arabs and Israelis. Yearly quantitative data (1948-64) on the arms budgets of Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq, and on such large-scale Soviet and American actions as trade, economic aid, and military aid are used in statistical correlation and multiple regression analyses.

A measure of relative Soviet-American influence; distribution of Arab and Israeli UN votes; aid and trade and UN voting; the Arab-Israeli arms race and UN voting; Arab-Israeli violence and UN voting; domestic economic frustration and UN voting.

U.S. Middle East Oil: The Petroleum Reserves Corporation.
There is one incident recorded in which the U.S. government attempted to nationalize private American oil interests. During World War II the U.S. government formed a corporation specifically for the purpose of acquiring proven foreign petroleum reserves. Under a veil of secrecy the Petroleum Reserves Corporation (PRC) was formed by President Roosevelt in June 1943 to buy a controlling interest in the Arabian-American Oil Company. Once the matter became public the White House fell silent. The oil company refused to sell and apparently
had a greater lobby in Congress than the Executive Department. The PRC project became a dead duck. Using an extensive literature search of primary source documents, the author reconstructs this brief but important episode of wartime diplomatic history.

**United States Strategic Alternatives in the Middle East.**

The strategic importance of the Middle East stems from two fundamental elements: geography and natural resources. Middle East oil and the land and sea routes over which it is transported are of vital interest to both East and West. Since 1948, this strategically important area has been in continuous conflict, causing a significant shift in the power balance of the Middle East. American influence has declined and Soviet involvement has substantially increased in the Arab world. Western naval power is being challenged; Soviet prestige is higher than ever, and the unprecedented Soviet military presence threatens the entire military balance of the region. Soviet encroachment and the Arab-Israeli crisis threaten American interests. Immediate action is required to evaluate possible United States strategic alternatives which would support American interests and objectives in the Middle East. American complacency and indifference to activities in the Middle East must be replaced by an effective and dynamic strategy. Positive action must be taken to: promote a fair and peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli crisis; stop the escalation of arms to Arabs and Jews; bolster Western naval power in the Mediterranean; strengthen American relations with Turkey and Iran; buildup NATO forces contiguous to the Mediterranean; and encourage closer ties with NATO for the security of vital Western interest in the region. The balance between East and West may well depend on United States action or inaction in the Middle East.

**American and Soviet Influence, Balance of Power, and Arab-Israeli Violence.**

Research has sought to determine what the pattern of Arab-Israeli violence has been since 1948 and the extent to which that violence has been systematically influenced by economic aid, military aid, and trade from the United States and the Soviet Union, and by the balance of military power between Arabs and Israelis. The systematic effects of these large-scale American and Soviet actions and of the balance of military capabilities on five types of violence initiated by several countries in the Middle East are separately measured and evaluated using qualitative data and statistical methods.

**The U.S. Energy Crisis, the Multinational Oil Corporations and Their Relationship to U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East.**

America's current energy crisis consists of a growing dependence on foreign oil brought about by a continuing diminution in known domestic petroleum reserves and aggravated by a host of domestic anomalies that cry out for some sort of unified energy policy. Yet any steps taken domestically will have far-reaching international effects, particularly in the Middle East. Eight giant corporations (five of them American) discover and pump most of the oil out of the ground in
the producing countries. Hence, they have a powerful influence in the Middle East and are a contributing factor in the stability of that politically volatile part of the world.

The primary question is whether or not the war in the Middle East in June 1967 was a limited war. Data was gathered from a variety of literary sources, but much of the material and interpretation was based on the author's personal experience as the operations officer of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine from 1966 to 1970. The background of the situation prevailing in the Middle East and the major events preceding the war are reviewed in order to examine the question of whether this war was part of a grand strategy by either side. Both Arab and Israeli strategy and defense plans are reviewed. It is concluded that this war, like so many others, was not inevitable, but resulted from a series of miscalculations and overreactions by all parties concerned.

0299 Should the United States Continue to Support CENTO?
The purpose of this research report is to determine if the United States should continue to support the Central Treaty Organization. In addressing this problem, CENTO's origin, historical development, membership, accomplishments, problems, and prospects are examined to include the communist threat to the region and United States support provided to CENTO and its regional members. This examination indicates that the alliance was formed primarily as a mutual security pact in response to the threat of communist aggression. Current emphasis in CENTO affairs, however, appears directed more toward the mutual well-being and economic development of its regional members. Additionally, there is a lack of agreement concerning the communist threat to the region, and its members are disenchanted with the organization's effectiveness.

0369 Arab Negotiation: Not No, But Hell No.
The Arabs have consistently refused to enter open negotiations with Israel with a view toward ending the state of war and concluding a final peace agreement. Too often the pragmatists of the West have ignored all but the logical aspects of the bars to negotiation. The paper explores some of this illogical resistance to negotiation. The exploration is only from the Arabs' perspective and does not consider the Israelis' views. The periods of time surrounding three fundamental happenings are examined to explain the bases for the Arabs' refusal to negotiate: the foundings of Islam by the Arabs (seventh century A.D.), the eastward expansion of the West against Islam (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D.), and the establishment of the "national homeland" of the Jews in Palestine as a result of World War I.

0413 The U.S.S.R.'s Current Role in the Middle East.
The basic question is whether the U.S.S.R.'s current posture in the Middle East is a threat to U.S. security. The essay shows the evolution of the present level of Soviet political and military activity in the Middle East, and the options open to the U.S.S.R. in the remainder of the 1970s.

**047 The Soviet Union, the Middle East, and the Evolving World Energy Situation.**

**0458 The Superpowers in the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1970-1973.**

The essay examines the interactions of the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the Middle East arena from 1970. The period treated begins with the heating up of the War of Attrition and ends with the explosion of the Yom Kippur-Ramadan War. The focus of interest is on the changing nature of Soviet involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict and the pattern of U.S. reaction thereto.

**0528 An Analysis of the Goals of Five Oil Producing Nations.**
*Research Foundation, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. Patrick T. Callahan. December 1973. 81 f.*

This paper is part of a research project attempting to develop long range forecasting models for foreign policy planning. An attempt will be made to analyze the goals of five nations: Iraq, Iran, Algeria, Libya, and Saudi Arabia. The relevance of this enterprise to foreign policy planning is that the goals of a state determine what it would be willing to give up in negotiations and what kind of bait can be used to strike bargains with that state. A goal will be understood to mean a desired state of affairs. A nation's goals are those of the top decision-making elite in the nation. It is assumed that to some extent the elite is a coherent group and the goal set is uniform for all members. The desired states may be either those which can be attained only with some change or those which are already achieved and only need to be preserved. Goals may be either specific or general quantitative targets or open-ended growth desires. Goals may be either ends in themselves or means to other goals, or both.

**0609 The Soviet Union and the Middle East.**

Russia has been interested in the Middle East intermittently for centuries, but in the past this interest has focused on security considerations. Since the emergence of the Soviet Union as a great power, and particularly since the beginnings of normal Soviet ties with some Arab states, the U.S.S.R. has viewed the Middle East as an area in which Soviet influence should be acknowledged and respected. Playing an active political, economic, military, and cultural role in the Middle East, the Soviet Union has sought to undermine Western power there, with a view both to reducing the strategic threat to the U.S.S.R. from Iran, Turkey, and the Mediterranean and to increasing Soviet influence in world councils.
MIDDLE EAST (cont.)

0001 Economic Impact on the Free World of the Oil Crisis, October 1973-March 1974. 
    The Arab-Israeli October 1973 War resulted in an oil embargo against countries 
    supporting Israel and substantially higher petroleum prices charged by oil-
    exporting countries. The essay presents prewar petroleum conditions, the develop-
    ment and effect of the oil embargo, international economic imbalances created 
    by higher oil prices, and the impact of the energy shortage and higher prices on 
    the U.S. economy and industrial activities. The seriousness of trade imbalances 
    caused by higher oil prices and the shift of economic power from oil-consuming to 
    oil-producing nations is developed. The newly gained economic strength of oil-
    producing countries and how the wealth is being used is discussed. The current 
    inability of the Western world to cope with or influence the actions of the oil-
    producing countries is also presented.

0034 Great Power Interests and Conflicting Objectives in the Mediterranean-Middle 
    East-Persian Gulf Region.
    Strategic Studies Center, Stanford Research Institute, Arlington, Virginia. 
    William M. Carpenter, Stephen P. Gilbert, Edmund L. DuBois, Paul P. Stassi, 
    The study examines the Mediterranean-Middle East-Persian Gulf region in the 
    context of the conflict of the interests and objectives of the great powers. Key 
    issues addressed include (1) the competition for regional influence between the 
    United States and the Soviet Union, (2) the Arab-Israeli problem, (3) the Middle 
    East oil problem, and (4) the regional instabilities and tensions and their effects 
    on U.S. relations with the Middle East nations. The study concludes with the 
    presentation of U.S. policy options designed to cope with the threats to U.S. 
    interests, in the time frame from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s.

0175 Oil and U.S. Policy.
    Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. 
    The paper analyzes the rapidly growing demand for energy by the industrialized 
    nations of the world and the growing importance of Middle East oil. Today, 
    Western Europe and Japan are heavily dependent on Middle East oil, and with 
    U.S. oil production at or near peak capacity, the United States must now also 
    look to the Middle East for ever-increasing amounts of oil—at least through 
    1985. Russian influence in the international oil market, the financial impact of in-
    creased imports, the changing role of the international oil companies, and avail-
    able alternatives are discussed. U.S. vulnerability to possible short-term supply 
    interruptions and to longer-term shortfalls are projected, and remedial measures 
    discussed.

0207 Great Power Interests and Conflicting Objectives in the Mediterranean-Middle 
    East-Persian Gulf Region: Part I, Background Studies.
    Strategic Studies Center, Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, California. 
    R.M. Burrell, Curt W. Gasteyger, Alvin J. Cottrell, Bernard Lewis, and S.W.B. 
This volume contains a collection of background papers prepared by recognized experts on subjects pertinent to the Middle East situation; these papers were used, among many other sources, for appropriate inputs of information and analytical interpretation into the main study. Topics include: foreign policies of Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia; analysis of the issues affecting South Asian regional and international security and stability; Western Europe, the Middle East, and transatlantic relations; and the Arab-Israeli conflict and the military balance in Arabia and central Asia.

0350  **Cooperation and Conflict: Egyptian, Iraqi, and Syrian Objectives and U.S. Policy.**

*Middle East Center, American Institutes for Research, Washington, D.C.*


Taking into account the impact of domestic, inter-Arab, Arab-Israeli, superpower, and other international economic, political, military, and social considerations, this research identifies the areas of convergence of and divergence between United States interests and policies and those of Egypt, of Iraq, and of Syria. It also suggests techniques and policy alternatives that might enable the United States to capitalize on cooperative potential and minimize possible conflicts with these countries.

0674  **Press Coverage of Secretary Kissinger’s Remarks on Military Action in the Middle East.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.*


In an interview with *Business Week* magazine, Secretary of State Kissinger said he would not rule out completely the use of military force in the Middle East in the face of “strangulation” of the industrialized world. His remarks about military force stirred worldwide controversy. The use of military force against Middle East oil producers had been a subject in the press as far back as the 1973 oil embargo, but the question had not been addressed by anyone directly responsible for U.S. foreign policy prior to Secretary Kissinger’s remarks. The press responded with wide coverage of the interview in news stories, opinion columns, and editorials. After examining the press coverage in the United States in January 1975, it was concluded that while the press did overreact in playing up the remarks by overshadowing the rest of the interview, the news stories were nevertheless objective. More of the newspaper columnists and editorials supported rather than opposed the remarks.


*Middle East Center, American Institutes for Research, Washington, D.C.*


This interim report describes a series of approaches to the use of systematic content analysis of public media to derive new analytical perspectives on foreign perception. The report reviews media output on Middle East security issues, focusing on options advanced to resolve or attenuate these conflicts for the brief period from March to May 1975. In addition, the report identifies the priorities, interests, and perspectives of the media surveyed and describes the development of a new tool in media analysis.
Moscow and the Middle East Settlement: A Role for Soviet Guarantees.
The author concludes that with regard to the negotiation of a general settlement, the threat of Soviet sabotage or veto appears limited by inadequate control over client behavior and by concern for global objectives of equal or greater weight than Middle Eastern stakes. If the present controversy between Egypt, Syria, and the PLO develops into a serious split, Soviet cooperation will most likely be withheld, if only because Moscow lacks the degree of influence and trust among its principal clients required to avoid jeopardizing the Soviet position in the region. With respect to the Soviet role in the implementation of a settlement, this paper argues (1) Soviet participation in a guarantee to Israel would be both incredible and dangerous; (2) a Soviet guarantee to the Arab side complementing an American guarantee to Israel would, under conditions of continued Arab-Israeli conflict, be a prescription for maintaining if not sharpening Soviet-American tensions in the Middle East; and (3) a multilateral or UN guarantee would ease the second problem only at the cost of destroying the usefulness of the guarantee.

An Analysis of Alternative Mideastern Oil Agreements.
This report describes an application of prescriptive decision analysis to a problem of choosing between alternative U.S. foreign policy options. More specifically, the choice relates to possible agreements with a Mideastern country which involve different degrees of U.S. political and economic concessions in return for improved prospects for the supply of oil to the U.S. The analysis described in this report involved the development and use of a flexible decision model to evaluate three sharply different negotiating strategies regarding a possible agreement with a Mideastern country. A baseline option involved no change now or later in U.S. policies toward this Mideastern country and was used primarily as a reference point for purposes of comparison. A maximum option involved an agreement which went most of the way toward what certain Mideastern countries want. The third option was an intermediate strategy reflecting a moderate change in U.S. policy which would be attractive to the Mideastern country, but not politically difficult for the U.S.

Reel IV

MIDDLE EAST (cont.)
The Impact of the October War on Superpower Middle East Policy.
The thesis analyzes the impact of the October 1973 Middle East War on superpower Middle East policy. The analysis is conducted within the context of the overall Middle East crisis, both before and after the 1973 war. Consideration is given to the historical roles of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. in the Middle East to highlight the changes in those roles as a result of the war. New patterns of superpower involvement in the area are described, and the potential effects of these patterns on future Middle East developments are projected.
The Impact of the Arab Decision Makers on the Oil Market.

This thesis examines the political arena of the oil industry and the decision makers of the Arab oil countries. The two primary areas of study are OPEC and the various political relationships, both inter-Arab and Arab-Western. The oil weapon strategies are analyzed as a form of deterrence. The main hypothesis is that these countries have three options available in which to utilize their oil weapon: embargo; production slow down; and price fixing and raising. The potential of each option is analyzed in detail based on the attitudes, goals, reactions, and various oil market roles of the countries involved. The conclusion reached is that, with only those three options available, the oil weapon is becoming less of a credible deterrent. Only total embargo currently remains as a plausible option. Both sides are beginning to realize that an equilibrium state of supply and demand is the only realistic alternative to ensure that all parties derive maximum benefit from an expendable resource.

Soviet Middle East Policy Since the October War.

The current report gives particular attention to regional Soviet military actions and deployments but also considers economic assistance, trade, and foreign policy to the extent these affect security matters. The Soviet Middle East presence has diminished and is now probably at a level justified by Soviet proximity, interests, and willingness to commit resources. Regime changes in Egypt and Syria, new regional perceptions of U.S. policy, and significant financial changes following the 1973-1974 oil embargo and subsequent price increases—these developments have left the U.S.S.R. in a poor position to exert its influence over regional decisions. This trend will continue, except in the Persian Gulf where Soviet influence is only beginning to be felt and will probably increase somewhat over the next five years. Meanwhile, although the Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean has grown, the Mediterranean Squadron is still no match for the combined NATO forces. In the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean areas, growing Soviet naval deployments and capabilities also still remain less than those of the West. The Soviet military presence in the Middle East and adjacent areas poses no major threat to Western interests short of general war. Indeed recent U.S. foreign policy has placed the Soviet Union on the offensive in the Middle East.

Political Interactions and the Arab Subsystem.

This thesis tests the hypothesis that as regional political integration increases, there is a corresponding decrease in political interactions between the nations of that region and other nations of the world. The method of analysis for integration and interactions is quantitative. The variables used are national, executive level state visits and diplomatic representative exchanges, both as a function of time. The region selected is the Arab world. The author concludes that, for the Arab world, there is a direct relationship between political integration and extra-regional political interactions, with increases in the former adversely affecting international political interactions.
The Political Impact of U.S. Military Force in the Middle East.
This study used a rigorous content analysis/events data system to evaluate the impact of events relating to broadly defined U.S. force. Arab media seem to see the United States and the Soviet Union in a situation of mutual deterrence. The press is relatively inattentive to strategic weapons development and arms control, but follow technology and weapons development relevant to the Middle East. All the newspapers surveyed depended heavily on Western sources—particularly AP, UPI, AFP, and Reuters—for their news. Even on issues such as the global balance, Western news is the dominant source. The primary subject of the newspapers is military assistance and arms transfers in and to the Middle East. This area accounts for over one third of the total coverage of force events. American and Soviet weapons are both highly regarded. Soviet weapons are viewed more favorably than overall Soviet technology. In general, U.S. high technology is greatly respected, as is advanced American military technology. Soviet air defense and ATGMs received particularly favorable treatment. American 'commitment' to Israel is seen to be in terms of Israel's existence only, not support of any particular Israeli policy.

Oil Supply Shortfalls Resulting from a Middle East Cutoff, 1978-1980.

This paper is an historical study of the strategy, tactics, and weapons employed by Israel, Egypt and Syria in the battle for air superiority from 1967 through 1973. The study is developed chronologically beginning with the 1967 war through the War of Attrition, and ending with the cease-fire in the 1973 war. It has been compiled from an extensive review of unclassified, primarily secondary, unofficial sources.
ship between the global and the regional actors. The factors identified as influencing this trend are (1) the arms transfer policies of the major systemic actors, (2) the increasing systemic dependence upon Middle East oil, and (3) the growing sense of political independence amongst the regional actors. The study concludes that the Arab-Israeli conflict can only be resolved within the framework of the essential rules of behavior of the subsystem, and that a systemically imposed settlement is unlikely. Some United States policy alternatives are suggested which are designed to facilitate the resumption of direct negotiations between the regional conflict partners.

0258 **Inter-Arab Conflict Contingencies and the Gap between the Arab Rich and Poor.**
This report documents a portion of Rand work on the military, political, and economic balance in the Middle East. It considers how income and wealth disparities among Arab countries in the mid-1980s might affect the occurrence and course of any military conflicts. The range of possible conflicts being wide, the report examines only a limited set of cases. It concludes that general demands by the poor for federation with the rich are much less likely than bilateral projects of union not necessarily motivated by economic need. Because some of these unions could lead to inter-Arab military conflict, and because the contingencies are complex and fraught with uncertainties, the U.S. should proceed cautiously with any policy interventions. The report considers possible U.S. actions with respect to general policy considerations, U.S. force planning and deployment, and policies on security assistance and economic assistance.

0298 **Mineral Industries of the Middle East (Report on Mineral Perspectives).**
The Bureau of Mines report presents a map and a concise summary of the mineral industry in each of the 16 countries of the Middle East. Reserves, production, mineral trade, the role of minerals domestically and in world supply, and developments in specific mineral industries are reviewed. Base maps for each country show locations of mineral deposits, mineral processing plants, and transportation facilities.

0355 **Regional Cooperation in the Middle East.**
In order to assess the prospects for regional cooperation in the Middle East, AID commissioned eight government agencies and ten private firms and individuals to evaluate the potential for cooperation in various sectors. These individual studies were used in this report. The report covers the economic and other technical considerations involved in pursuing a course of regional cooperation. Tables provide statistical data pertaining to the study. Appendices include a list of contractors and technical studies conducted and a summary of West Bank and Gaza economies.

0517 **Meeting U.S. Political Objectives through Economic Aid in the Middle East and Southern Africa.**
One way the United States advances its foreign policy objectives is through what is presently called Economic Support Fund assistance. The Congress has appropriated over $8 billion for this fund from fiscal years 1975 through 1979. In fiscal year 1978, the fund accounted for 40 percent of all U.S. bilateral economic aid. Notwithstanding the political focus of the fund, the Congress has also stressed in recent years that the assistance should, to the extent possible, be responsive to the new directions policy set forth in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. The importance of economic goals has also been emphasized. This report comments on how the fund is achieving these two broad objectives.

Aspects of International Labour Migration in the Arab Near East: Implications for U.S. AID Policy.
The implications of international migration of workers from low-income countries to high-income nations of the Arab Near East, in Maghrib, North Africa, the Nile Valley, the Levant, and the Arabian peninsula are investigated. Two factors to be of overriding significance are considered: the widening gap between rich and poor Arab Near East countries and the likelihood of large-scale unemployment when workers return to poor countries after being discarded by richer countries. The study predicts a turnabout in the Arab world labor market as employment opportunities in rich states diminish rather than grow, with employment of Arab migrant workers dropping sharply. Implementation of regional labor market strategy to predict and stabilize labor flows is suggested with efforts made to employ national remittances in broader rather than individual interests.

Men and Arms in the Middle East: The Human Factor in Military Modernization.
This study assesses the contributions of improvements in the quality of manpower organization to the military effectiveness of certain Arab states—Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq—plus Iran and Turkey. Military development in the first group directly affects the future of the Arab-Israeli balance, and the last two are interesting both because they may be modernization exemplars for their Arab neighbors and because they figure in other critical Middle East balances. Historically, the Israeli advantage has stemmed from its superiority in manpower and management. It has proven itself more advanced than its adversaries in both microcompetence—the operation and support of modern weapons—and macrocompetence—the organization of men and weapons in the pursuit of military objectives. The project reported on here was motivated by several factors. The apparent improvement of Arab forces relative to Israeli forces in 1973 may have signaled a gradual convergence in competence between the two sides. The new weapons being introduced into the region have implications for the importance of microcompetence and macrocompetence that differ from the past. Paths to military modernization adopted in non-Arab neighbor states in the Middle East may have influenced Arab military policies.
Reel VI

MIDDLE EAST (cont.)

0001 A Historical Analysis of Three Main Issues Affecting United States Foreign Policy in the Middle East.
The U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) is an instrument of foreign policy in the Middle East. The number of DOD personnel who are involved either directly or indirectly with the Middle East has grown significantly in recent years. These DOD personnel should find a usefulness in a study analyzing the main issues affecting United States foreign policy in the Middle East. This study began with a historical examination of the creation of Israel and early United States involvement in the Middle East. From this examination, three main issues affecting United States foreign policy emerged. These issues were the Arab-Israeli conflict, the importance of Middle East oil, and the Soviet threat. The authors demonstrated how these three issues have been the primary forces shaping United States foreign policy in the Middle East.

0214 Moslem Fundamentalist Movements and Their Impact on Middle Eastern Politics.
Most observers of the Arab world point out that Islam has and is currently playing a significant role in the region's political life. In particular, the fanatical, religiously based political movements have and are determining the internal stability of the Middle East and consequently affect the United States' political and economic position in the world. The success of the Iranian-Islamic revolution has dramatically underscored the United States' ignorance of the political impact of Islam. Not only has the revolution embarrassed the United States but it has also threatened the stability of those regimes which America currently depends upon economically and politically; specifically, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Given the political influence of Islam and the importance of Saudi Arabia to the United States, the question must be asked concerning Saudi Arabia's ability to withstand the current wave of Islamic revolutionary activity.

0490 After Camp David: The Role of Autonomy Negotiations in Furthering Middle East Peace.
This paper explores the question: How will the current autonomy negotiations based on the Camp David accords and the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty, and conducted by Ambassador Sol Linowitz, affect the future stability of the Middle East? Section I comprises a statement and analysis of various components related to the West Bank/Gaza autonomy talks. After a brief historical view of the role of previous U.S. envoys to the Middle East—with specific focus on Eric Johnston, 1953. Robert Anderson, 1956, and Henry Kissinger, 1974-75—the section focuses on the Camp David accords and the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty and the
implementation of these documents. Section II views the possible short-range and medium-range future geopolitical situation in the Middle East. It views the effects of events in Syria, Jordan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia that might hinder or precipitate a successful outcome of the autonomy negotiations. Section III draws conclusions and makes modest recommendations in light of the previous analysis.

**Geographic Determinants of Security Policies in the Middle East.**

This thesis examines Middle Eastern security issues and problems which are rooted to geographical considerations or determinants. Geography as a security policy determinant is also examined on a national level in selected countries which are the primary regional actors: Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Syria, and Iraq. A substantial portion of the work is naturally oriented toward the Arab-Israeli territorial disputes. It is not, however, restricted to that theme. Demographic and strategic communications problems, completely separate from the Arab-Israeli issues, are also explored.

**Congressional Presentation Fiscal Year 1981: Annex IV, Near East.**

Annex IV presents to the Congress all the Economic Support Fund (ESF) and Development Assistance (DA) programs for the Near East for which AID is requesting funds for FY 1981.

**Indices of Agricultural Production in Africa and the Near East, 1970-79.**

Indices of agricultural production in foreign countries are prepared as part of a continuing assessment of current agricultural situations abroad. The country indices are calculated by Laspeyres' base-weighted aggregative formula, are constructed from production series given in thousands of metric tons. Time reference is the calendar year in which the bulk of the crop is harvested, or, in some cases, notably coffee and cocoa beans, the marketing year beginning in the indicated calendar year. The base period for the indices is the average of calendar years 1961-65, weights are estimated base period average prices received by farmers expressed in U.S. dollars per metric ton. A separate schedule for price weights is used for each country.

**Soviet Policy in the Middle East: Perspectives from Three Capitals.**

This memorandum evaluates the success of Soviet foreign policy in the Middle East. The author evaluates the success of Soviet policy by the following criteria: the changed configuration of regional alignments that emerge as a consequence of Soviet behavior; the extent to which U.S. policy and interests are undermined; and the increments in Moscow's influence in specific countries or movements. The author concludes that Moscow views the Middle East as a growth stock—it really doesn't need much in the way of dividends for the time being, although it has already reaped a good deal.
EGYPT

0001 Top Management in Egypt: Its Structure, Quality, and Problems.
The paper is concerned with the study of top-level management in Egypt—directors of state enterprises—individuals who are playing the prime role in Egypt's economic development. An attempt is made to shed light on the effectiveness of top management as it exists today by investigating its quality, its motivation, and its business environment. In addition, problems which may hinder the effectiveness of top management are analyzed and possible solutions are recommended.

0069 The Usefulness of Private Programs in the Absence of Diplomatic Relations.
The study discusses the use of private assets to maintain an American presence in Egypt in the absence of diplomatic relations. It describes the social and economic problems confronting Egypt which require the greatly expanded use of private resources to solve, and traces the policy problems that have prevented the commitment of such resources. The study is based on a search of published literature, unpublished official documents, correspondence, interviews with government and private officials, and the experience of the author, who served in Egypt.

0143 The Strategic Implications of the Reopening of the Suez Canal.
Historical perspective of the Suez Canal; U.S.-Soviet rivalry in the Middle East; gateway to the Indian Ocean; economic effects of reopening the canal; and Middle East oil.

On 18 July 1972, Egypt's President Sadat announced that the functions of the Soviet military advisers in Egypt were terminated. The reasons for President Sadat's order appear many and complex. Chief among them were the friction between the Russians and the Egyptians arising over their respective adviser-advisee roles and the Soviet refusal to provide offensive weapons in response to Egypt's requests. The expulsion had an impact far beyond the immediate area and indeed may still be spreading. The Soviets suffered at least a temporary setback in their Middle East expansionistic policy.

0257 The Soviet Union's Quest for Access to Naval Facilities in Egypt Prior to the June War of 1967.
The study seeks to identify and elucidate Soviet attempts to secure access to naval facilities in Egypt before the June War of 1967. It describes the methods
which the Soviets employed toward that end. The study also seeks to explain why
the U.S.S.R. perceived a need for those facilities, and attempts to identify land-
marks in the Soviet effort to obtain access to them. The study also examines the
Suez crisis of 1956, the Syrian-Turkish crisis of 1957, and the Lebanon crisis of
1958 for the light which they shed on Egypt's subsequent response to Soviet
persuasion and pressure for access to its naval facilities. Where relevant to this
question, Egyptian views of the Sixth Fleet and other Western naval forces are
examined as well.

0331  Suez Canal Clearance Operation: Task Force 65.
      Task Force 65, Norfolk, Virginia. May 1975. 113 f.
This report provides the documentation of the Suez Canal Clearance Operations
NIMBUS STAR, NIMBUS MOON, and NIMROD SPAR undertaken by
Task Force 65 during the period 11 April to 15 December 1974. Under the terms
of two bilateral agreements between the government of Egypt and the U.S.
government. U.S. forces were employed to sweep the Suez Canal of influence
mines (Operation NIMBUS STAR), advise and assist in clearance of unexploded
ordnance from the canal and adjacent land areas (Operation NIMBUS MOON),
and remove ten designated wrecks from the canal (Operation NIMROD SPAR).
The report discusses mission background, operational accomplishments, logis-
tical support, technical methods and equipment, and environmental factors,
and provides conclusions and lessons learned.

0445  The Soviet Union and the Reopening of the Suez Canal: Mine-Clearing Oper-
      ations in the Gulf of Suez.
      41 f.
The Suez Canal's return to service has once again led to discussion in the United
States of the possible effect on U.S. interests of such a development. In particular,
the question of how Soviet use of the canal will affect the superpower maritime
balance in the Indian Ocean has received much attention. The author briefly
examines the Soviet Union's behavior during the minesweeping operation before
the reopening of the canal and the events that preceded it.

0486  Egypt: Major Constraints to Increasing Agricultural Productivity.
      Foreign Development Division, Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C.
This report presents findings and major recommendations of the Egyptian-U.S.
Agricultural Sector Assessment Team, assigned to appraise major constraints to
increasing agricultural productivity in Egypt. Necessary background information
is included. Major emphasis is placed on soil and water management on both old
and new lands, and needed improvements in the livestock industry. Other topics
include broad aspects such as pricing policy, improved research, extension and
teaching, agribusiness and marketing, and rural development. Projections based
on improved cropping patterns for 1985 are given for old lands in nine agronomic
zones.

0687  Moscow's Rift with Sadat: Implications for Soviet Middle East Policy.
      20 f.
The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence in Egypt.
Since Peter the Great, Russia has wanted a foothold in the Middle East for both military and commercial reasons. After the 1952 Egyptian revolt the new government turned to the West and the United States for aid and arms but was turned down repeatedly. Egypt then turned to the U.S.S.R., and by 1957 Russia had the long-desired Mideast presence. After Nassar's death in 1970 it seemed that the strong relationship would continue. Russia, however, failed to understand the Egyptian people and their government and failed to deliver the kind of arms and aid Sadat requested. In 1972 he expelled most of the Russian advisors and in the spring of 1976 there was a virtual break between the two nations. After 1975 Egypt again turned to the West. The author believes the U.S. must learn from lessons of the recent past and deal pragmatically with Egypt's requests for arms and aid in order to reestablish lost American influence and prestige in Egypt.

This thesis explores the post-1973 Middle East War arms procurement policy of Egypt. In embarking upon a policy of arms diversification shortly after that conflict, Egypt is seeking to end a 20-year period of exclusive reliance on the Soviet Union as a source of military hardware and training. Egypt is a unique case because she will face not only the wide array of problems common to any nation seeking to change the hardware and training base of its military forces from one source to another but an additional set of problems stemming from the fact that she is one of the principal Arab confrontation states in the Middle East. This thesis addresses the decline in Soviet/Egyptian relations which led to the new arms procurement policy, the evolving status of Egypt's military capability, and the technical problems to be overcome in acquiring Western hardware and integrating that hardware into the Egyptian force structure. It finally addresses the political issues which will complicate the process of arms diversification. It concludes that in the absence of significant pressure for a new war in the Middle East, it will be possible for Egypt to rebuild its armed forces using Western equipment, at the exclusion of the Soviet Union.

Reel VIII

EGYPT (cont.)

An Evaluation of the U.S. Early Warning System in the Sinai: Departments of State and Defense (Sinai Support Mission).
The report examines the U.S. participation in the early warning system in the Sinai. It focuses on the establishment and operation of the system, compliance with the provisions of both the U.S. proposal and the joint resolution, and the possible future implications of the U.S. peacekeeping role in the Sinai.
0087 Egypt’s Capacity to Absorb and Use Economic Assistance Effectively.
This report reviews the purpose and effectiveness of U.S. assistance to Egypt from 1974 through late 1976 to determine (1) how assistance levels were established; (2) how projects are designed and implemented; (3) how the U.S. program is coordinated with those of other donors; and (4) the impact of foreign assistance on the Egyptian economy. Investigators examined U.S. policy papers, strategy statements, program documents, reports, correspondence, and other pertinent data and talked with officials of the Agriculture, State, and Treasury Departments, the Agency for International Development, and the Egyptian government. Findings are discussed.

0142 The Egyptian Military Elite: An Operational Code.
This thesis attempts to define the decision space of Egyptian military leaders and to provide a tool for predicting future Egyptian military attitudes and decisions. The operational code construct developed by Alexander George and others is used. The author analyzed (1) the decision-making process of Egyptian military leaders and (2) the operational code as a vehicle for predicting decision-making processes of political groups. The Egyptian military is both the dominant factor in Egyptian politics and the training ground for political leaders. One hundred six speeches and interviews between 1955 and 1975 provided the data for constructing the code. Findings: (1) the Egyptian military elite has a common approach to decision making born of common experience and social background; (2) they see the political universe in perpetual conflict and will continue to feel that the only answer is strong and decisive action at the correct historical moment; and (3) the operational code, although flawed, is an excellent tool for analyzing group decision-making parameters.

0309 Anatomy of a Failure: Soviet Military Assistance to Egypt.
This paper is a study of the history of the Soviet-Egyptian military relationship from 1955 to 1977. It traces the development of the Soviet military assistance program to the Arab Republic of Egypt from the first arms agreement in 1955, through the three Arab-Israeli wars, to the final break between the two countries. This paper relies primarily on Soviet sources, and presents the Soviet view of the stormy course of the Moscow-Cairo military relationship.

0383 Health in Egypt: Recommendations for U.S. Assistance.
*Institute of Medicine, Washington, D.C. January 1979. 155 f.*
The report sets out criteria for future AID health, population, and nutrition programs, recommends some general program areas, pinpoints some specific problems in these areas, and suggests ways in which the administration of the U.S. program in Egypt might be strengthened. AID support, the report says, should go to sustained efforts to reduce infant, preschool child, and maternal mortality; a program to improve production and distribution of vaccines and pharmaceuticals needed for the first-mentioned effort; establishment of nationwide emergency medical services; strengthening hospital administration; and a cooperative
research program for health, family planning, and nutrition. The report also contains five chapters of background information on Egyptian economic, demographic, and social factors: health problems; health resources; population and family planning; and nutrition.

0538 Socioeconomic Profile of Rural Egypt. 
A socioeconomic profile of rural Egypt focusing on the impact of agrarian reform programs undertaken in recent years is presented. It suggests that despite mixed results, the record of agrarian reform in Egypt has been upheld and that original objectives have been fulfilled, particularly in areas of land distribution, maintenance, preservation of productivity, secure tenancy for small farmers, credit facilities, political domination, participation in national policy regarding agriculture, and extending social services into rural areas. The report notes that small cultivators have become the mainstay of Egypt's agricultural economy and finds that agricultural mechanization has not undermined the country's household economy but rather sustained it through easy credit terms, land consolidation, and large-scale production adjusted to household systems of cultivation through cooperatives. The study finds continuation of widespread poverty, citing national government efforts to reclaim desert lands as a key program in offsetting land shortage.

0706 Political Culture and the Nature of Political Participation in Egypt. 
This thesis analyzes Egyptian political culture and the direct effect which it has upon political development, elite recruitment, and the nature of political participation. The pervasive nature of Islam and the centrality of kinship remain the basic factors in determining the nature of political participation in Egypt's noninstitutional and personalist politics. The basis of Sadat's control, like that of his predecessor, rests with his continued support of the regime's conditional guardian, the military, and his ability to manage an intricate network of political clients. Despite the forces of modernization, political influence in Egypt rests with the traditional leadership of the rural elite and their urban family linkages. As such, a major threat to the regime's internal stability would not likely arise without the support of traditional rural elites, whose interests are strongly represented in the military. The masses are likely to resort to extra-legal activities only when fundamental values are threatened.

Reel IX

INDIAN OCEAN

0001 U.S. Indian Ocean Policy. 
The United States has national interests in the Indian Ocean region, and this paper recommends a U.S. government policy and a mid-range military strategy to support these interests. The interests of the littoral and major nonlittoral na-
tions are identified and examined. Alternative U.S. policies and strategies are
developed and evaluated. It is concluded that the primary interests of the United
States in the region are to insure that the United States and its allies have access to
Mideast oil, that the concept of "freedom of the seas" is maintained, and that no
unfriendly nation be allowed to become dominant in the region. The paper
recommends that the United States place primary emphasis on diplomacy, and
on economic and technical assistance to achieve U.S. objectives.

Soviet and American Naval Forces in the Indian Ocean: Arms Race, Military
Balance, or Zone of Peace.
Naval War College. Center for Advanced Research, Newport, Rhode Island.
Kenneth Wimmel. 1976. 135 f.
The main points of the history of the American installation on Diego Garcia,
especially its complicated legislative history, and of the Soviet naval presence in
the Indian Ocean since 1968, including the base at Berbera, are traced (to early
May 1976). Some of the theories that have been advanced to explain the motives
behind the activities of the two superpowers are considered, especially the argu-
ment that preparations by the United States during the 1960s to deploy SSBNs
in the Indian Ocean prompted the Soviet Union to deploy forces there as a
defensive reaction. The almost unanimous opposition by the countries of the lit-
toral to the superpower presence is considered through analysis of the results of
canvassing by the Department of State in those countries and certain public
statements by their governments. The principal points of the United Nations
resolution declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace are reviewed. The paper
concludes that the arguments on the public record to support the need for the
base on Diego Garcia have not been persuasive, that the base has not been the
political asset for the United States in the Indian Ocean region its advocates claim
it is, and that a review of current policy ought to be made, carefully weighing the
military advantages claimed for the base against the political and psychological
price already being paid by the United States for its acceptance of the principles
embodied in the UN peace zone declaration and its willingness to enter into
negotiations to translate that declaration into a workable international
agreement.

Indian Ocean NALT: An Exercise in the Revision of U.S. Foreign Policy.
Center for Advanced Research, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. J.F.
Giblin, Jr. June 1979. 103 f.
The initiation of Naval Arms Limitation Talks (NALT) with the Soviet Union
in June 1977 was significant because it represented a clear departure in U.S. for-
eign policy for the Indian Ocean. Reviewing the events that led to the Indian
Ocean NALT, this study analyzes NALT by identifying the rationale for the
apparent shift in U.S. Indian Ocean policy and examining certain issues that may
have confronted the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. during their negotiations.

IRAN

Army Roles, Missions, and Doctrine in Low Intensity Conflict (ARMLIC):
Preconflict Case Study 3, Iran.
Iran is one of seven nations selected for analysis of the factors which lead to low intensity conflict and loss of government control. Study of the preconflict period, defined for research purposes as 1921-51, was conducted on an interdisciplinary basis, examining political, economic, sociological, psychological, public health, scientific-technological, and military aspects of the period.

**Spectrum of Violence Short of Limited War: Iran, 1945 to 1953.**
The turbulence in Iran from the end of World War II until the downfall of Premier Mossadegh in August 1953 has been examined to identify distinct stages of violence. The steps taken by various factions which contributed to the increase or decrease in the violence are examined.

**Iran and the Persian Gulf.**
Geographical and historical influences; contemporary Iran and Persian Gulf politics (Mohammad Reza Shah, threat of Arab revolution, Iran’s reaction to Arab revolutionary policies, ancient problems and new contingencies); economic interests (oil interest, the gulf as Iran’s artery, the gulf as a market, fishing potential); Persian Gulf security problems and prospects (alternative security arrangements, Iran—leader in partnership, superpowers and the Persian Gulf).

**Reel X**

**IRAN (cont.)**

**0001 Technical Cooperation with Iran: A Case Study of Opportunities and Policy Implications for the United States.**
A case study was made to explore the possibilities of establishing programs of technical cooperation with Iran. A brief review is provided of past U.S.-Iran technical cooperation activities, and areas for expanded cooperation are identified. Among the latter are the areas of agriculture, especially increased protein production; mineral exploration and development; and science and education, including the exchange of professionals and students. Various recommendations are made for follow-up by various U.S. agencies, and for strengthening the AID capabilities to assist Iran and other countries in a similar development status.

**0116 The Role of Iran in the Persian Gulf.**
The purpose of the paper is to examine the role of Iran in the Persian Gulf since the withdrawal of British military forces and analyze this role in light of United States and Allied interest in maintaining the stability of the area and an uninterrupted supply of oil. The paper is divided into four research areas to narrow the scope of presentation: Chapter I is a brief historical summary of the major events
of Iran's past that may influence her future actions; Chapter II is a study of Iran's internal and external economic interests; Chapter III focuses on the stability of Iran's government and its external political interests and foreign policy; and Chapter IV is concerned with Iran's military capabilities and discusses possible security arrangements within the gulf.

0173  
**Iran: Agricultural Production and Trade.**  

Iran's economy is growing rapidly, exceeding 14 percent in both 1971-72 and 1972-73. Increasing oil production dominates export revenue. Agriculture's share of GNP continues to decline but it still employs the largest share of the labor force. Agricultural exports comprise about 7 percent of total exports and consist mainly of cotton, fruits and nuts, and hides and skins. Major agricultural imports are cereals, especially wheat, fats and oils, sugar, tea, and dairy products. Wheat is the most important food grain. Production fluctuates substantially from year to year depending on the weather, and Iran may be either self-sufficient or in need of imports. On occasion, wheat has even been exported. The growth of the livestock sector has been slow, due mainly to severe winters and lack of feed. The land reform program, begun in 1962, is now substantially completed and is expected to stimulate agricultural development. Expanded irrigation facilities and increased productivity are major goals of agricultural development. In addition, efforts are being made to improve Iran's marketing and distribution systems.

0233  
**Iran: A Balance between East and West.**  

Iran is the largest nation on the Persian Gulf, the second largest oil producer there, and the fourth largest oil producing nation. The paper discusses Iran's present and future and her stability and her relationship with her neighbors and the big powers. Iran does provide stability in the gulf while simultaneously pursuing an independent foreign policy while receiving both military and technical assistance from the big powers. The question is: Has Iran achieved a fundamental understanding with the big powers concerning her status quo while simultaneously dealing with the East and West?

0259  
**The Role of Iranian Power in the Middle East.**  

Iranian development since the assumption of power by His Imperial Majesty (HIM) Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi is examined to determine the extent of national power. Iranian national objectives are pursued in light of current alliance arrangements and the prospect for future alignments which could significantly affect the balance of power in the Middle East.

0285  
**Iranian-Iraqi Antagonisms: Source for U.S.-U.S.S.R. Confrontation.**  

This paper, through documentary research and analysis, evaluates the risk of a U.S.-U.S.S.R. confrontation over the control of the Persian Gulf as a result of client state sponsorship. Iran by the United States and Iraq by the Soviet Union.
Primary superpower objectives considered are Soviet Union attainment of area hegemony and United States support of stability and assurance of a free oil flow to the West. Several Iraqi-Iranian issues are identified as potentially explosive, e.g., differences over control of territories within the littoral, a boundary dispute, the Kurdish problem, conflict in Oman, and religious minorities. Some of the major conclusions reached are: (1) Iranian and Iraqi common interest in reaping oil export profits and Soviet satisfaction with the price dispute between the West and the oil exporters have temporarily served to calm issues and lessen the chances of a U.S.-U.S.S.R. confrontation; (2) the client nations would prefer to conduct gulf affairs without outside influence; (3) no outside power can ensure gulf stability; (4) continued provision of sophisticated military equipment to client nations increases the risk of superpower confrontation; and (5) skillful United States diplomacy may be needed to avert a future confrontation.

0312 Iran: Regional Stability.
In this paper, the authors examine Iran's essential elements of power by studying its past experiences (from the Second World War to the present time) in recovering from the effects of the war, its dealings with communism, the handling of its internal difficulties, measures taken by it against outside influences, planning of its successful economic growth, progress made in its approach to mass education, the process of its becoming an industrial nation in a relatively short period of time, the building of a comparatively strong military force, and last but not least, its former leader.

0372 United States Foreign Military Sales to Iran: Major Advantages and Disadvantages to Both Countries.
The Security Assistance Program is an integral part of the foreign policy of the United States. In light of the growth of the foreign military sales portion of the program, DOD logistics managers should be able to follow the achievements of the program by an analysis of its results in regard to one country which has shared a legacy of cooperation with the United States. The authors analyze the achievements of the foreign military sales program to Iran from 1965 to 1975 in terms of what advantages and disadvantages it has provided to both the United States and Iran.

0501 Iran in the View of the Persian Gulf Emirates.
The Persian Gulf has recently [1976] enjoyed political stability due to Iran's emergence as a regional power and Arab-Iranian cooperation. But perceptions of the four small Arab states of the lower gulf (Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE, and Oman), of how Iran is managing its leading role, are crucial to the continuation of gulf cooperation. Historically there has been an even process of ebb and flow of Arab and Iranian control over the gulf. From the perspective of the four Arab states of the lower gulf the following are potential problem areas in their relations with Iran: conflicting nationalisms, outside influences, Israel, the gulf Arabs'
image of Iran, Iranian minorities in the gulf, and the Iranian military buildup. There are two possible models for future political relations in the gulf.

0556 Implications of U.S. Arms Sales to Iran.
Current U.S. arms sales to Iran were investigated against the background of charges that the sales were “out of control,” and that the U.S. was becoming a modern day “merchant of death” in the Persian Gulf. Iran’s arms requirements were analyzed in the light of Iran’s perceptions of local and regional threats, her desire for area stability, and her need to protect her oil resources and shipping lanes. Rationales for the U.S. supply of arms to Iran were also examined, including the mutuality of national interests, the high U.S. dependency on Persian Gulf oil, and the benefits of arms sales to U.S. defense industries. Major implications of the arms sales are the dependency of Iran’s armed forces on U.S. support and the unwritten commitment of the U.S. to supply that support for the next decade. Iran and the United States will reduce their strong interdependency in the future, as the U.S. adopts a more restrictive arms sales policy, and Iran shops in other countries for arms.

0712 Arms Transfer and National Security: An Interpretation of Iran’s Perspective.
This memorandum focuses upon arms acquisition and national security, as essential and interrelated components of Iran’s foreign and defense policy, within the context of Iran’s strategic and economic significance to the West. The author considers the major factors contributing toward Iran’s commitment to modernize its armed forces and evaluates the impact of arms acquisitions on Iran, on regional stability, and upon U.S.-Iranian relations in the context of this critical region of the world.

The serial report contains information on socioeconomic, government, political, and technical developments in Iran.

The serial report contains information of socioeconomic, government, political, and technical developments in Iran.

The interview is reported in three parts. The first focuses on Khomeini’s “personality,” on the atmosphere surrounding him, on his visualization of the Islamic republic that he is advocating and on whether the current popular movement is capable of maintaining its momentum until the creation of this republic. The
second part centers on Khomeini's position toward Israel—a position with a history connected with the moment when the movement started—and his position toward the Arabs, with a pause on the gulf issue and Iran's role in the gulf. The third part deals with Khomeini's position toward women in particular and then toward the age and its means of progress.

Reel XI

IRAN (cont.)


In the wake of the British withdrawal from the Persian Gulf and the third Indo-Pakistani war, Iran's leadership revised its foreign policy with the intent both of succeeding Britain as the policeman of the Persian Gulf as well as committing the country to a more active role in regional affairs. Iran's Dhofar expedition in 1973 and support for the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq in 1974 posed a challenge to Soviet interests in the region. Soviet concern was exacerbated further by the scope of Iran's post-1974 arms purchases, by the success of its petro-dollar campaign to reduce Soviet influence on the subcontinent and in the Horn of Africa, and by Sino-Persian support for Muslim insurgents in Afghanistan. When the Iranian Revolution erupted in 1978, Moscow was initially content to remain on the sidelines. The Kremlin is now actively attempting to improve its ties with the Iranian left, however, in the hope of influencing the policies of a post-Khomeini government.


This paper examines the impact on the world oil market of the recent oil shortage caused by the revolution in Iran. In the first quarter of 1979, the political disturbances in Iran caused a loss of approximately six million barrels per day (MMBD) of oil production and these disturbances may have even impaired the ability or willingness of Iran to produce such large volumes of oil in the future. This paper examines the effects of this loss on the short- and mid-term world oil prices and provides estimates of the short-run petroleum product prices and demands in the United States.


Earlier this year [1979], the Iranian government cancelled and/or the Defense Department reduced about $10.6 billion of Iran's $12.6 billion in undelivered foreign military sales orders. Senators Max Baucus and Donald W. Riegle, Jr. questioned GAO about the effects of Iran's actions. In summary, GAO said that one way to protect the financial interests of the United States would be for the Con-
gress to amend the Arms Export Control Act to require purchasers to deposit, in advance, enough funds to cover potential costs of a cancelled contract. Until the Congress considers legislative changes, the Department of Defense should take the initiative to collect potential termination costs on all foreign military sales. To solve continuing accounting and financial management problems, the Congress and the Secretary of Defense should adopt earlier GAO recommendations to centralize accounting and financial management for the foreign military sales program.

0281 Iranian Oil Cutoff: Reduced Petroleum Supplies and Inadequate U.S. Government Response.


This report discusses the effect of the Iranian oil cutoff on the nation's supply of petroleum products and evaluates the Department of Energy's attempts to respond to the situation.

0345 Changes in Soviet Policy toward Iran.


This memorandum discusses the evolution of Soviet policy toward Iran during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, 1941-78, in the context of the changes in the international system in general, and within the setting of changing U.S.-Iranian and Soviet-Iranian relations in particular. An attempt is made to analyze the changes in Soviet policy toward Iran from the perspective of a small nation (Iran) located directly below the Soviet Union, and the overall impact of the effect of that geopolitical reality on Iran's foreign relations with Moscow and Washington.

0371 Oil and Domination.


A partial listing of topic areas includes: role of oil in the Iranian economy; oil's place in the economic future of Iran and the world; the role of oil in the industrial economies; different types of oil companies in the activities of the industrial economies; capital formation and attraction; the effects of capital on the orientations of dominant and dominated economies; deception in oil prices and the transfer movement of oil revenues.


Iran has had a long history of relations with Czarist and Soviet Russia, one which has often been characterized by highly opportunistic attempts by Russian leaders to dominate Iran. The development and success of the Islamic revolt which toppled Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran, in 1979, had a profound effect on the Soviet-Iranian relationship. Unsure of the eventual outcome, Moscow's leaders reacted cautiously but at the same time opportunistically. The Soviet aim was to avoid committing its support before the revolution's outcome was clear, to protect Soviet interests which could be affected by the instability in
Iran, and yet to be in a position to take advantage of whatever situation developed as a result of the conflict. Despite its best efforts, however, the Kremlin has been unable to exploit to any significant degree the advantages thought to be inherent in the overthrow of the Shah and the demise of American influence in Iran, and finds itself instead confronted with a number of issues which hinder its ability to do so.

Reel XII

IRAQ

The subject of the paper is the visit of Admiral Gorshkov and a contingent of Soviet naval ships to Iraq in April 1973, at the time of the Iraq-Kuwaiti border dispute. First, the events which occurred prior to the arrival of the Soviets are reviewed. Then, several hypotheses about Soviet behavior are discussed, and a plausible explanation is suggested. The paper concludes with observations on the implications of this diplomacy. Although the evidence is circumstantial and incomplete on Soviet objectives, there is sufficient evidence that more than a routine port visit occurred. That is, it was an exercise in crisis diplomacy.

This memorandum assesses the success of Soviet policy toward Iraq. The author first examines Soviet policy toward the entire Middle East, since Soviet policy toward Iraq is very much a component of its overall policy toward the region. In addition, he considers the nature of the Ba'thist regime in Iraq, since many of the successes achieved and problems encountered by the U.S.S.R. in its dealings with the Iraqis stem from the rather singular nature of the Iraqi regime which has been beset by serious domestic and foreign problems since it came to power. The paper finally examines the evolution of the Soviet-Iraqi relationship from the coup d'etat which brought the Ba'thists back to power in July 1968 until the present, and draws some conclusions about the success of Soviet foreign policy during that time.

0084 The Soviet Union and Iraq Since 1968.
The Soviet Union and Ba'thist Iraq have maintained a close political relationship since 1968 on the basis of their shared antiimperialism. Soviet arms transfers and political and economic support have enabled Iraq to remain independent of and often hostile to the West. Otherwise, Ba'thist Arab nationalism and Soviet Marxism-Leninism diverge. From 1968 to 1972 Soviet-Iraqi relations were cordial but disputes emerged over the Kurds and the Arab-Israeli dispute. They were closest between 1972 and 1975, when Iraq's conflicts with Iran, the Kurds, Israel, and Western oil companies drove it to heightened dependence on Soviet arms transfers. In the third phase from 1975 to the present (1980), relations have deteriorated because of a reversal of the earlier dependencies. Iraqi oil wealth, the role
that France has played as an alternative arms supplier, and increasingly sharp ideological disputes suggest that Iraq's present alienation from the Soviet Union may persist into the future.

ISRAEL

0176 Israeli Reprisal Policy and the Limits of U.S. Influence.
The paper is useful as a remedy for the intoxicating effects of the Arab and Israeli presses. Readers of those presses and generally interested persons will find this paper helpful in striking a balance between what the two presses state or imply about the extent of formal U.S. influence over Israel.

0210 Israel and the Palestinian Occupied Territories: Military-Political Issues in the Debate.
A study of Israeli views on the disposition of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Relatively dormant since the conclusion of Israel's War of Independence in 1948-1949, the Palestinian problem as an issue of Israeli policy was revived by the addition in 1967 of the million Arabs to the 400,000 already in Israel. Sharp internal debate produced a wide range of ideas for disposition of the conquered Palestinian territories, from annexation to the return of all areas except Jerusalem to their previous Arab ruler—including creation of a Palestinian state. Due to the lack of a consensus, the government took no official position. The debate concentrated primarily on the extent to which the territories would improve Israel's security, their significance in Jewish history, and their large, nationally conscious Arab population.

0340 Pro-Israel Interest Groups and the Formulation of U.S. Foreign Policy for the Middle East.
The importance of maintaining peace, stability, and United States prestige throughout the Middle East is acknowledged by most scholars and statesmen. Many of these authorities believe that U.S. policy has been decidedly pro-Israel and that this bias has resulted in a deterioration in U.S. influence in the area. Some attribute this pro-Israel bias to interest group influence. The paper considers the foreign policy process in the federal government and identifies points of access into the process which may be used by interest groups.

0391 A Study of Israeli Decision Making.
A recommendation is made that the State Department should consider using a management information system for developing and testing hypotheses on Israeli decision making. Using the Six Day War of 1967 as the scenario, 12 major Israeli decisions made prior to the war were examined by stages (time), information available, size and type decision unit, alternatives, values of the leaders, and reinforcement received for the decisions. Using a literature search, Zionism, government organization, and Israeli leaders were studied to determine how de-
Decisions are made, what influences exist, and what the values of the leaders were. Eight hypotheses were developed on future Israeli decision making based on these studies.

0465 Israel's Treatment of Its Major Ethnic Groups.
The question of whether Oriental Jews and Arab-Israeli citizens living in Israel receive the government's treatment of the ruling-class Ashkenazi Jews is discussed. Other minority groups such as Christians, Arab refugees, and Druzes are not examined. Brief historical and biblical perspectives are presented on economic, political, and social discrimination. The Black Panther movement is discussed. The paper does not consider whether or not there is a possibility of insurgency.

0518 The Role of Women in the Defense Force of Israel.
The purpose is to examine the role of women in the Israeli military, with a view toward clarifying misconceptions as to their utilization and assignment, and toward developing an understanding of the reasons for Israeli policies. The research material was obtained by personal interviews and visits to the sites described in Israel. There is conscription of women in Israel, but women are drafted only in numbers necessary to meet manpower shortages. In general, the tasks the women perform are administrative, technical, and service duties that require either no specialized training or very little training. Women are neither trained for combat nor assigned to combat roles, but some serve with combat units. There is no type of ground unit to which they cannot be assigned as non-combat personnel; however, they do not serve on ships or fly aircraft.

0600 The Impact of the 1973 October War on Israeli Policy and Implications for U.S. Defense Policy.
The 1973 October War, and the events that followed, have had a profound impact on virtually all aspects of Israeli society, including Israel's defense posture, its diplomatic flexibility, and the political climate within which its key decision makers operate. This report analyzes the impact of this war and its aftermath on Israeli defense, security and settlement policy within the context of the broad social, political and military environment existing in Israel, since these societal forces serve to shape and limit both Israeli policy and the demands placed on the United States as Israel's principal arms supplier and as agent for securing peace in the Middle East. Part One addresses the fundamental questions of: (1) how Israeli defense, security and settlement policy is in fact formulated; (2) which publics exert influence and how much; and (3) what tensions exist among these groups. Part Two describes and analyzes how the key publics, political parties and their fundamental policies serve to constrain Israel's political and military leadership with respect to present and future policy, especially a settlement with the Arab states. Part Three contains the analysis of the potential for U.S. policymakers, based on the centrifugal forces operating in Israeli society and their impact on the political and military leadership.
One of the most significant outcomes of the 1973 October War and its aftermath has been the emergence of the United States as both the major weapons supplier to Israel, as well as certain Arab states, and as a principal agent attempting to establish a strategic balance in the Middle East region. It is necessary for U.S. defense planners to develop a range of options that meet the vital security needs of Israel, in terms of critical weapons systems, secure borders, early warning assistance, and supporting economic aid without creating destabilizing shifts in the critical force balance. The present report analyzes perceptions of the Middle East strategic balance held by the Israeli leadership and public. Since it is these views which ultimately serve to shape Israeli policy, and the demands placed on the United States, this analysis explores both how the Israelis view alternative American policy options and the impact various alternative American options can be expected to have on the Israeli decision-making process and ultimate policy flexibility.

The U.S.-Israeli "special relationship" has drawn the United States into a closer and more direct involvement in the Middle East. This memorandum analyzes the basis for the U.S.-Israeli connection and various plausible options for the form and structure of future U.S.-Israeli relations. The author indicates that, in the absence of a comprehensive peace settlement, formalization of the relationship is unlikely in order to retain U.S. flexibility with both Arabs and Israelis. However, ultimately, some form of formal U.S. bilateral alliance may evolve, possibly involving U.S. military forces in conjunction with a final peace settlement. Such a bilateral arrangement would be supplemental to a multilateral guarantee involving both superpowers and perhaps UN peace observers. In any case, the author concludes that unless Israel undermines its American public support, the U.S.-Israeli connection will continue to be very close and perhaps even grow stronger.

This thesis summarizes the history of Israel from a military point of view by looking at the major Arab-Israeli wars. The present Israeli armed forces structure, i.e., air force, army, and naval strengths is presented, and the Arab threat which they are intended to counter is analyzed. Following a brief description of the evolution of U.S.-Israeli military aid, is a summary of all U.S. FMS, economic aid, and security supporting agreements to Israel, including repayments and
waived payments. Recent world events to a military, economic, political, and social nature which may have an impact on FMS to Israel and on Israel's survival are included. The authors offer conclusions and recommend that future research be made.

0406 Jewish-Zionist Terrorism and the Establishment of Israel. 
Terrorist bombings of public buildings, attacks on public officials, hijackings and assassinations of political leaders are not new phenomena in Middle East politics. In recent history, incidents initiated by the Palestine Liberation Organization and its various components have captured headlines around the world. As recently as World War II, however, another terrorist war was fought over the same territory and for the same purposes—the creation of a Palestinian state. This time, though, the terrorists were Jewish. This paper looks at the activities of the Jewish "terror" organizations in their quest for a Jewish state. Through three chronological, more or less parallel, tracks, the paper deals with the formation of the military and paramilitary groups, their organization, leadership, philosophy and actions, which eventually forced Great Britain to yield to Zionist demands for a Jewish state in Palestine.

0538 U.S. Economic Assistance for Israel.
The report on the Security Supporting Assistance Program for Israel describes the program's composition, how it works, what has been accomplished, and how the program is being changed. An overview of other U.S. economic aid to Israel is also included. The survival and security of Israel is a key U.S. foreign policy concern, and the economic aid described in this report is part of an overall U.S. interest in bringing about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. U.S. efforts are intended to involve the Middle East countries in economic rather than military concerns.

0583 Does Israel Have a Need to Retain the Golan Heights: The View from Israel.
This thesis examines, from the viewpoint of Israel, the need of Israel to retain the Golan Heights. Geographical and economic background factors are discussed, followed by political and military factors in terms of this area. Since World War II, the Arab-Israeli dispute has erupted into five wars and keeps the region in a constant state of tension. The former British mandate of Palestine, which is subject to claim by two different nations, Arabs and Jews, has been the area of persistent conflict. The recent Arab-Israeli war in 1973 was not limited to a war between opponents, but resulted in an oil embargo against the Western industrial nations by the Arab oil producing countries and nearly caused a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Arab initiative in the last war was an attempt to force a fresh political effort to alter the status quo of the area. One of the unsolved problems constitutes the boundary disputes between Israel and her neighbors. The focus of current Arab demands is the problem of land lost in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. The recently completed peace treaty between Israel and Egypt has settled the land dispute in the Sinai. However, the
problems of the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and Jerusalem remain. The Golan Heights, occupied by Israel in the 1967 war, characterizes a very controversial problem between Israel and her neighbors. The analysis of the background and the political/military environment reveals that, in fact, Israel has legitimate reasons for retaining the Golan Heights for the foreseeable future.

**JORDAN**

**0699 United States Reaction to the 1970 Jordanian Crisis.**

The study covers the period January through September 1970 and concentrates on events in Jordan and U.S.-U.S.S.R. military and diplomatic moves during September 1970. Research consisted of examination of daily news accounts and periodicals for the period of time involved. The action taken by the United States in an effort to preclude broadening the scope of the conflict in the Middle East was the only feasible course to pursue.

**0761 Crisis in Jordan: 1970.**

What prompted the September crisis which pitted Arab against Arab in the bloodiest civil war that Jordan has known? An examination of the key participants, including King Hussein, the king's army, and the Palestinian guerrillas in terms of recent history helps one to understand some of the problems which Hussein faced in 1970. Although the king was sympathetic to the guerrilla cause, the use of Jordan as a training ground and base of operations caused many problems. When the guerrillas challenged his authority directly in 1970, he had no choice except to fight. His victory may be short lived, because the large problem, the Arab-Israeli conflict, remains unsolved.

**Reel XIV**

**JORDAN (cont.)**

**0001 Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1976-1980: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.**

Since the beginning of the second half of this century, Jordan has recognized that foremost among the requirements of development as a continuous socioeconomic activity are careful preparation and planning. Consequently, Jordan embarked upon a Seven-Year Development Program and followed it up with the Three-Year Development Plan which was completed last year. This year [1976] Jordan has launched the Five-Year Development Plan, and it was the purpose of the council to examine the plan and participate in its implementation. The following areas were examined: banking system and monetary policy, cooperatives, agriculture, water, mining and industry, tourism and antiquities, electricity, trade, transportation, communications, culture and information, education and youth welfare, health, social work, labor and vocational training, housing and govern-
merit buildings, municipal and rural affairs, AL-AWQAF, Islamic affairs and holy places, statistics, the Royal Scientific Society.

0412 The Circassians in Jordan.

This thesis examines the political, economic, and cultural position of the Circassian minority in Jordan. Although the Circassian minority constitutes only about 1 percent of the population it occupies a disproportionately influential political and economic position. This thesis provides a brief historical background of the Circassians prior to their migration to Transjordan, outlines the means by which the Circassians reached their high status in Jordanian society, the methods by which they have maintained this position, and offers a projection as to the future of the Circassians in Jordan.

LEBANON

0544 Zionism and Southern Lebanon: A Historical Perspective on Six Decades of Controversy.

Current events in southern Lebanon are connected to a territorial dispute that emerged over sixty years ago, when leading Zionists claimed the region. That claim, which was based upon the projected economic and security needs of the Jewish national home in Palestine, did not prevail in the course of post-World War I Anglo-French diplomacy. Since then the Zionist leaders of Palestine and Israel have tried to overcome the negative economic and security implications of the boundary settlement. Yet Zionist access to southern Lebanese water has been consistently blocked, and the frontier has proven vulnerable to raids and rocket attacks by hostile forces. It appears, however, that Israel has recently converted the border region from a long-standing liability into a current geopolitical asset. Recent Israeli policies in southern Lebanon have (1) aggravated sectarian tensions in Lebanon, (2) kept Syria tied down in a difficult stability operation, and (3) made Israel's northern settlements less vulnerable to land attacks by Palestinian commandos.

0779 Can Lebanon Survive?

The crisis in Lebanon involves both an internal political upheaval and the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict over the armed Palestinian presence in the south. The three periods of civil war, interspersed with often-violated cease-fires and sporadic violence, have left much of the country physically and socioeconomically devastated. However, little has been resolved, and civil war could reignite at little provocation. The government faces a growing legitimacy crisis, and the steps toward a political solution have not yet as much as begun. Armed militias of the internal factions, Palestinian commando units, and outside military forces rule the country. Meanwhile, clashes between Lebanese, Palestinian, and Israeli units continue to make the south a fortified battlefield. The longer this impasse remains, the more the future viability of Lebanon comes into question.
Reel XV

OMAN

0001 Political Dynamics in the Sultanate of Oman.

PALESTINE

0030 Palestine Refugees: Toward a Solution.
The core of the political Arab-Israeli dispute is the human problem of the Palestinian refugees. Can this human problem be solved? In search of an answer, a literature survey was conducted for proposed solutions.

0088 The Palestinian Resistance and Inter-Arab Politics.
The resistance movement before June 1967; the Arab world after the defeat; the Arab regimes and the Palestinian revolution; the Fedayeen as a domestic factor; and the Jordanian crisis of September 1970.

0121 Palestinian Nationalism: Its Political and Military Dimensions.
Analysis of developments within the Fedayeen movement from its origin to 1971. Many Palestinians have expressed a distinctive nationalist sentiment, but only the commando groups (the Fedayeen) formed after 1965 have succeeded in giving organized expression to these feelings. Although the commandos have a valid claim to represent a substantial part of the Palestinian community, dependence on Arab regimes for arms, funds, and territory in which to organize has kept them divided along the lines of inter-Arab conflict. In spite of organizational weakness, military defeats, and problems of collective leadership, the Palestinians have had a considerable impact in the areas of political and social development.

0258 The Palestinian Guerrilla Organizations: Revolution or Terror as an End.
The basic question of the paper is whether or not the Palestinian guerrilla organizations have given up hope in their drive toward Palestinian nationalism and the elimination of the Zionist state of Israel and have turned instead to nihilism as a way of life. Information was gathered using a literature search involving both published works and research studies, as well as a heavy reliance on periodicals and newspapers for current data.

0338 The Palestinian Refugee Problem: A Proposed Solution.
Official governmental positions (United States, Soviet Union, Arab governments, Arab refugees, Israel); special illustrations; and special charts.
Conditions for United States Recognition of the P.L.O.

Since 1964 the Fedayeen organizations have become a major factor in the politics of the Middle East. These groups have not only been the source of disagreements and discussions between Israel, the Arab states, other nations, and the United Nations, but also they have been the source of conflict within the separate states. The purpose of this thesis is to give some proposals or conditions by which the United States may recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as a separate entity. In order to provide valid proposals, the emphasis of the study is on the P.L.O., the Fedayeen, their organization and positions, and the United States' positions on this subject. Concerning the latter, the position of Israel is included because of the historical ties between the two nations. The thesis is divided into four major areas: the rise of the Fedayeen and its current place in international politics; the organization of the P.L.O. and Fedayeen's major groups; the United States' position; and proposals.

U.S. Economic Aid for the West Bank and Gaza: A Positive Contribution.

The report presents observations on U.S. economic assistance for the West Bank and Gaza. The program is a continuing aspect of U.S. peace initiatives in the Middle East and reflects Congressional concern for the area and interest in building stronger social and economic foundations. The study indicates that the program is making a positive contribution to the well-being of the area's residents. The U.S. voluntary agencies and the local institutions contacted were effectively managing their program activities. The humanitarian and development work being done was generally impressive. What now needs to be done is to identify the area's priority needs, clarify U.S. objectives for the program, and adopt a strategy for meeting needs and accomplishing objectives. Recommendations are discussed.

The Legal Implications of a Palestinian Homeland.

This thesis is based on the presumption that a Palestinian homeland exists. As such, it reviews some of the key legal documents which have formed the political and historical background of Palestine from the Balfour Declaration of 1917 to the present day. These documents are reviewed in light of basic principles of international law as viewed by European and American jurists and scholars relative to questions of sovereignty, title to territory, and the implication of recognition by third states. Finally, this thesis briefly analyzes some of the immediate effects of Palestinian statehood.

PERSIAN GULF

_Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania._ Thomas G. Donahue. March 8, 1971. 65 f.

The Persian Gulf was always an unstable area until the British restored order.
Their withdrawal before the end of 1971 was more than likely to cause the gulf to return to its previous condition. This region is the world's single largest pool of oil reserves upon which the world will depend more and more. The Soviets are interested in extending their influence south into this region for many reasons including that of obtaining oil which they will need to import by the end of the decade or possibly sooner. In addition, Moscow may try to deny this strategic area to the West. The Persian Gulf is now considered a potential power vacuum which can best be cured by development of the local states. Soviet conduct will only be tempered in this vital area by Moscow's evolving relationships with the West.

0729  The Persian Gulf. 
The study is concerned with the strategic and political factors operating in the Arabian Peninsula region as they might impact on the interests, policy, and activity of the U.S., particularly in the period following the British withdrawal from points east of Suez, including the Persian Gulf region. Details of the gulf—its geography, social systems, economies, cultures, etc.—may be found in the various sources cited in the references to the text and in the selected bibliography.

Reel XVI

PERSIAN GULF (cont.)

0001  Oil and the Persian Gulf in Soviet Policy in the 1970s.  
The paper attempts to develop some of the relevant considerations affecting Soviet policy in the gulf. A first and major one is Soviet economic interest in Middle Eastern oil, an issue that generally neglects tradeoffs with natural gas. The second selection examines the implications of a probable change in the U.S.S.R.'s oil trade position in the context of the evolving oil politics of the Middle East. It concludes with consideration of interstate conflict in which Soviet policy will have to operate.

0051  The Strategic Importance of the Persian Gulf Region to the United States. 
The essay examines the Persian Gulf region as a continuing source of oil to meet the energy requirements of the United States and the free world. Specifically, it investigates the importance of gulf oil, the effects of the British withdrawal, and the external force at work in the area affecting future United States strategic interests.

The number of Americans residing in the Persian Gulf littoral—Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, and Oman—is
rapidly increasing, and so is the importance of that American overseas community in U.S. foreign policy. The size of that community is projected to 1980, and three tables are presented which differentiate government employees from private citizens, those working in DOD-related fields from those who are not, and principals of families from dependents for all eight countries. Data sources and data collection approaches are identified, respondents' key assumptions pertaining to the data are noted, and the likelihood of overstatement or understatement of the projections stemming from the approach used is appraised.

Though the new sensitivity to energy problems led to a veritable deluge of articles and books addressing the general foreign policy implications for the United States, the specific matter of defense policy received little more than intermittent attention. This article is an attempt to help fill the void by probing some of the relevant defense policy considerations that policymakers will have to confront. Because of the exigencies of time and space, the comments have been restricted to the main oil producing area, the Persian Gulf, and general questions of American military intervention therein.

SAUDI ARABIA

This is the five-year planning document for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia prepared by its central planning organization.

Reel XVII

SAUDI ARABIA (cont.)

0001 Saudi Arabian National Guard Modernization through U.S. Army Project Management.
This report outlines the development and organization of the project manager's office for the modernization of the Saudi Arabian National Guard. It lays out the managing of the program through foreign military sales cases to include materials, construction, and contract training of the National Guard units by a U.S. contractor. Examples are given of the modernized unit's organization and of equipment and costs associated with the program. A pattern is described for a new type of military assistance through U.S. Army management and U.S. civilian contractors. Data was gathered using U.S. government official records and records of the government of Saudi Arabia, personal interviews, and on site experience of the author. The effects of political and press pressures are examined as they affect the continuation of the United States influence in Saudi Arabia.
U.S. National Security Connections with Iran and Saudi Arabia.
This paper focuses on the development of U.S. national security policies toward Iran and Saudi Arabia, in the framework of the strategic and economic significance of the Persian Gulf area and touches upon the changing context of U.S. policy in the area as a result of events in the early 1970s.

An Investigation of the Scope, Purpose, and Effects of United States Foreign Military Sales to Saudi Arabia.
The United States Security Assistance Program has grown rapidly in the 1970s and Saudi Arabia has been an integral part of the growth. By 1976 Saudi Arabia became the largest purchaser of U.S. arms and equipment worldwide. The research analyzes the purposes and effects of U.S. foreign military sales to Saudi Arabia against a background which includes (1) the history of the U.S.-Saudi military supply relationship; (2) the economic, political, social, military and strategic environment of Saudi Arabia; and (3) the U.S. foreign military sales programs to Saudi Arabia. The background which is discussed in some depth provides essential information for analyzing U.S. foreign military sales to Saudi Arabia. The analysis reveals that despite an intricate and comprehensive arms transfer criteria, the United States evaluates primarily two considerations in making arms transfers to Saudi Arabia—the military balance of power in the Middle East region and the economic effects of arms transfers on the Saudi economy. The authors' net assessment is, that in light of these two criteria, arms transfers are justified and purposeful and exert a positive effect on Saudi Arabia.

Perspectives on Military Sales to Saudi Arabia.
Saudi Arabia is a major U.S. foreign military sales customer. U.S. involvement in Saudi Arabia is expected to increase as the United States and its allies become increasingly dependent on Saudi oil. This is the unclassified version of the classified report which identifies the military hardware, training, and construction services sold to that country and analyzes the U.S. rationale for doing so. It contains recommendations to increase Congressional oversight of the foreign military sales program in Saudi Arabia.

The Impact of Modernization in Saudi Arabia.
The Saudi leadership has greatly emphasized economic development in modernization efforts. Though development is readily measured in economic terms, the social impact of modernization is even more critical. Rapid changes in the configuration of power among elites can evoke a period of political instability which may invite foreign intervention. Personal interviews with Saudis coupled with general trends indicate changes in values and behavior among the society. As the momentum of modernization increases, risks of disorientation and elite confrontation become inevitable. Dual standards of behavior currently suggest a transi-
tion from traditional values to modernity. The loss of tradition in Saudi Arabia removes the legitimacy of the monarchy. Accommodation of innovations will require greater dependence upon bureaucratic and military elites by the ruling family. Such reconfiguration of power will serve to alienate the conservative elites and promote unrest among the populace. Added flexibility in government must be introduced at this stage or future problems will arise beyond the cure of money.

SYRIA

This report endeavors to explore one of those many elusive variables in the complicated confrontation environment of the Middle East. That variable includes consideration of the inherent strength and political influence of the Palestinian Resistance Movement, and why and how since the first al Fatah raid of 1965 Syria has proven to be, if not the most consistent, at least the most practically helpful to those Arab regimes which have at one time or another chosen to patronize the movement. in focusing attention on Syrian involvement with the resistance movement, this study intends to give one an opportunity to observe the politics and potentialities of the resistance as it is affected by its relationship with patron regimes. The question of guerilla strength and viability is of course a main concern of this study. But more importantly its intent is to smoke out the sometimes enigmatic, often secret Syrian policies guiding the relationship with the Palestinians, and in doing so to try to determine how the Palestine issue has fit into Syrian perceptions of the Arab-Israeli dispute and general Arab politics. Doing so, it will contrast the policies of the regime of Hafez al Assad with those of his neo-Baath predecessor. The study presents the issues chronologically, and thus in the main is a history of the relationship, acting much as a barometer registering the periodic waxing and waning of guerrilla fortunes vis-à-vis Syria. But beyond registering the phenomena historically, the study attempts to determine whether the Palestinian resistance can be assured of some practicable level of support (a bottom line, if you will) in its relations with Syria.

0505 Syrian Communist Party's Policy on Country's Political Situation.
This report contains the internal party document for the Syrian Communist Party's provincial and district organizations and for its various groups, and the party political bureau's report on the political situation in Syria and the Syrian Communist Party's policy, unanimously approved by the party central committee meeting held April 14-15, 1977.

TURKEY

0557 Report on Small Industry Programs in Turkey.
The report sets out observations based on a visit to Turkey made in January 1965 by the executive administrator of the U.S. Small Business Administration. The purpose of the visit was to evaluate certain plans of the government of Turkey
designed to modernize small-scale industry, to promote its integration into a balanced pattern of industrial development, and to create in small industry a significant capacity for import substitution and export activities. The topics covered in the report include: role of small industry in Turkey; planning for small industry; current activities to support small industry; some useful principles to guide the development and operation of small industry programs; comments on the small industry programs in Turkey; an agency for small industry programs.

0598 The Troubled Alliance: The United States and Turkey, Their Problems in Historical Perspective.
The work surveys the problems that have arisen in Turkish relations with the United States since the Second World War. In brief, it finds that the circumstances which generated Turkey's alliance with the West and the subsequent rapid expansion of ties led to an ungainly sprawling relationship which lacked central supervision or direction. Early divergencies in interest troubled the alliance during the Menderes era (1950-1960). But it was the freer atmosphere inside Turkey after the 1960 revolution, the worldwide detente in the Cold War, and the shock of opposing policies regarding the Cyprus dispute that unleashed widespread popular discontent among Turks with their ties to the United States. Criticisms of the alliance, originating in leftist circles within Turkey, affected the quality of cooperation between the Allies. The study finds that this trend is unlikely to be reversed, but that relations are likely to remain close—even though less intimate than in the recent past.

Reel XVIII

TURKEY (cont.)
0001 Urban Guerrillas in Turkey: Causes and Consequences.
Research on this paper included a study of recent political developments in Turkey, an appraisal of the literature of guerrilla strategy, and a review of the current operations in Turkey based on translations of primary source materials (radio and newspaper reports).

0062 Turkey: Continuing Close Ally or Emerging Neutral?
The basic question is whether or not Turkey will continue to be closely allied with the West. To develop answers to this question a review of current and past literature was conducted. In addition, extensive review of the Turkish press, the author's personal experience, and interviews with Department of State personnel were relied upon for data. Particular emphasis was placed upon the recently developed anti-American movement within Turkey and U.S.S.R efforts to capitalize upon the developing discord between Turkey and the United States.
The Significance of the Turkish Straits in Current U.S. and Soviet Strategic Planning.


The basic question is to determine to what extent, if any, the strategic significance of the Turkish Straits has changed since the signing of the Treaty of Montreux in 1936. Additional questions addressed include consideration of possible renegotiation of the Montreux Treaty and the impact of a reopened Suez Canal on military traffic through the straits.

General Growth and Basic Problems of the Turkish Economy.


The past decade has witnessed a significant acceleration in Turkey's rate of economic expansion. During the plan periods of 1963-67 and 1968-72 the annual average real rate of growth, i.e., independent of foreign loans, has been a prominent aim of the plans. Some basic problems are also noted.

Turkish-American Relations: An Affair to Remember.


The author reviews Turkish-American relationships from after World War II to the present.

Turkey: A Test Case in the Future of Alliances.


The 1974 Cyprus crisis and the chain of subsequent events have led to a new low in U.S.-Turkish relations, created a most serious threat to the viability of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) southeastern flank, and reduced U.S. capability to pursue its interests in the Middle East. These events have occurred at a time when other developments in the region are making sound U.S.-Turkish relations and continued firm commitment of Turkey to her NATO and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) alliances as imperative to U.S. strategic interests as they ever were. This paper seeks to identify those recent regional trends which enhance Turkey's significance to the United States. It also presents a brief profile of Turkish politics, economics, and foreign policy and suggests measures which may be required to reestablish U.S.-Turkish relations and to preserve the alliance structures.

Toward Independence: A Survey of the Determinants of Turkey's Foreign Policy.


In recent years Turkey has exhibited a definite shift in her foreign policy away from her previously narrow Western orientation toward a new multilateral and more independent stance. Events surrounding and foreign reaction to the Cyprus crises of 1964 and 1974 stand out as being instrumental in initiating Turkey's search for a more balanced foreign policy. However, there were and are other very potent factors affecting this new orientation. This study represents an analysis of the determinants of Turkish foreign policy, especially since World War II.
Changes and trends in Turkey's political, social and economic life which impacted upon her foreign policy are examined within the context of changes within the international system. After identifying the determinants of Turkey's foreign policies, both past and present, various options for new directions in her foreign policy are examined. Finally, a forecast for the future of Turkey's international relations and policies is offered.

**Turkish Development Prospects and Policies in Light of Experience Elsewhere.**
The text of a paper presented at a conference on Turkish security and development held in Istanbul in September 1979. The author identifies the principles of sustained national economic development and considers how they may apply to the economic performance, policies, and prospects of Turkey. Because development has political and military dimensions as well as economic ones, it is discussed in those terms. The discussion draws on economic theory and on the development experience, over the past several decades, of countries that have sought modernization with varying degrees of success.

**YEMEN**

**Conflict and Commitment: The Case of the Yemens.**
This thesis examines the relationship between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen from a systemic aspect; the intent, to gauge the potential for the South Yemeni to undertake specific tactical operations in a Soviet-surrogate manner. This work analyzes the Soviet-Yemeni military export relationship. In making this assessment, the internal political dynamics with the effects of a colonial legacy and a repressive imamate-turned-republic in South and North Yemen respectively have been explored. The results of these predicated the Soviet involvement. This effort includes an assessment of sino-Soviet competition there. Additionally, the United States' countercommitment and arms transfers to the YAR (with the deployment of a naval carrier task force to the Arabian Sea in light of the March 1979 PDRY-YAR border war specifically) are analyzed.
SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major subjects of the eighteen reels. The Roman numeral refers to the reel, and the Arabic numeral refers to the frame number at which a particular study begins. Hence, III: 0934 directs the researcher to the study which begins at Frame 0934 of Reel III. By referring to the Reel Index which comprises the initial section of this guide, the researcher can find the main entry for this study.

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