The Middle East: Special Studies, 1980-1982
Supplement

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**The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Effects of Islamization.**

*Army Command and General Staff Coll., Fort Leavenworth, KS. Rafik Ben Abdellaziz Chabbi. 6 June 1980. 159pp.*

The study attempts to appraise the strategic effects at regional and global levels in the event of Islamization of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The analysis addresses the weight of religion in Middle Eastern politics, the forms of expression of religious solidarity and the strategic value of the Islamic world. Analysis reveals a religious perception of the Arab-Israeli conflict is likely among Muslims in the mid-term because of the growing spread of Islamic revival and the threat to Islamic values and holy places in Palestine. Hence, in case of Islamization of this conflict, the regional strategic bearing is likely to be affected by: An upset of the regional balance of power. An impediment to great powers’ direct involvement. A change in great powers’ ranking of their interests in the Middle East.

**Kurdish Nationalist Movement.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA. Donald Bruce Disney, Jr. 236pp.*

*The Kurdish National Movement and External Influences* is a historic examination of the Kurds, the Kurdish national movement, and the effects of external actors on the movement. It discusses who the Kurds are, where they are located and how many of them there are. The primary topics covered are Kurdish revolts, leaders, Kurdish political evolution, and the roles which local and non-Middle-Eastern countries have played in Kurdish national development. The primary countries discussed, as actors, are: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Israel, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Kurdish links to other groups, such as the Armenians, and the Palestine Liberation Organization are also described. Finally an assessment as to the effects of external actors on Kurdish nationalism is made and a prognosis for further Kurdish prospects is included.

**Middle East Government and Industry Fishery Organizations.**


A report on the fishing industries of Bahrain, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the United Arab Emirates has been prepared by the Division of Foreign Fisheries Analysis. The report lists government agencies, fishery trade associations, fishing companies, commercial representation, and additional information for each country.
The first and most important conclusion to be drawn from the preceding analysis of the Soviet intervention calculus is that the United States and its Western Allies must increase their capabilities to project power into the Persian Gulf. While we may assert as a matter of historical interpretation that past Soviet threats to intervene in the Middle East have been bluffs, there is too much uncertainty in our ability to determine even past Soviet motives to confidently predict them for the future. We have seen that a sufficient number of factors have changed since the early 1970's to cast serious doubt on whether or not the earlier pattern of Soviet restraint will continue. Other unforeseen developments, such as a wholesale change in the risk-taking propensities of the Soviet leadership as a result of the Brezhnev succession, could have different and incalculable effects. While recent events suggest that residual U.S. capabilities may be sufficient to deter Soviet adventurism—and indeed, our collective survival depends on this being the case—it would be foolish to base long-term policy on this assumption. In addition to creating the physical resources to defend Western interests in the Gulf, the United States must communicate clearly to Moscow its intention to use them if necessary.

This memorandum examines the general nature of US strategic interests in the Middle East in the 1980's. The author briefly reviews traditional strategic interests in the region and follows this with a discussion of the factors which influence US interests. Next, US strategic interest for the 1980's are outlined. Finally, the author provides several suggested courses of action for the United States to further its strategic interests in the Middle East this decade.

This thesis examines the current conflict between Iraq and Iran and looks at the causes, both stated and unstated, offering an opinion as to the real causes of the war. Secondly the thesis examines the Arab Nation and the reaction of several of the states of that nation to the war in an attempt to lay out why certain states support Arab Iraq or Persian Iran. Also included is a look at the impact of the war on the options available to the U.S. and U.S.S.R. The thesis concludes with a look at the interworking of the various factors and stimuli to determine if a new Arab alliance will result from the war, and to state who will be the real winner of the war.

The United States has played a leading role in preserving the peace in the Sinai (the strategic peninsula directly adjacent to Israel's western border) since the 1973 war.
between Egypt and Israel. Through U.S. "Shuttle Diplomacy," Egyptian and Israeli forces were separated with buffer zones between them. Then in 1976, the United States established a civilian tactical early warning system in the strategic mountain passes of the Sinai to monitor adherence to the terms of the Sinai agreements. The United States, as a result of the current peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, will deploy armed forces in the Sinai as part of a multinational peace-keeping force to supervise implementation of the treaty. This deepening U.S. involvement in the Sinai is crucial to the peace process, but also raises serious issues for congressional consideration.

0804 A Strategic Analysis of the Gulf War.
This memorandum examines the Iran-Iraq War from a strategic perspective to determine its causes, to analyze the military strategy and events of the war in order to shed light on significant tactical and logistical developments, and to derive tentative conclusions regarding the strategic importance of the Gulf War. The author concludes that had Saddam Hussein properly evaluated the conflicting demands of his political objectives and security policy on his strategic concept, he would probably have abandoned the entire enterprise.

0839 The Persian Gulf and the National Interest.
With gasoline lines a fading memory, it is easy for Americans to misinterpret the energy crisis as overinflated, and even easier to underestimate the importance of the Persian Gulf. Yet, it was just two years ago, that former President Carter designated the Persian Gulf as a region of vital national interest. His purpose, in what came to be known as the Carter Doctrine, was to help ensure the steady flow of petroleum to the world market. President Reagan has subsequently confirmed that policy by increasing the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean, strengthening the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), and selling AWACS and other advanced military equipment to Saudi Arabia. What seemed to be a sensible policy direction with the turmoil in Iran, skyrocketing oil prices, and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, has come under increasing criticism in the light of today's plentiful supplies of oil. A growing chorus of optimists argues that reliance on the unfettered market will give us a future of abundant energy and freedom from dependence on oil imports.

0858 France, West Germany, and the Security of the Persian Gulf.
The series of events which began with the Arab oil embargo in 1973 and recently culminated in the Iranian Revolution, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the Iran-Iraq conflict have underscored the vulnerability of Western oil supplies from the Persian Gulf region. This research analyzes the potential role of France and West Germany as U.S. allies in relation to the problem of ensuring the security of the Persian Gulf while maintaining the credibility of deterrence in Europe. Included in this analysis are assessment of French and West German dependence on Persian Gulf oil supplies and an evaluation of each country's capability and intention to contribute to the security of the region. The conclusion reached is that neither country in the near term has a viable alternative to political and military efforts in this area, but the policy of France conforms more to American policy than that of the traditionally staunch supporter of U.S. policies, West Germany.

1072 The Nuclearization of the Middle East and the Subcontinent.
The nature of conventional warfare in the Middle East is changing. Contrary to the model of previous regional conflicts, war consists now of attritional contests between states, the political goals of which are no longer self-evident. Not only is this changed mode of warfare less responsive to megapolicies, but because of the potential economic importance of the contestants the ability of normally minor states to develop
significant action capabilities in the global arena has been notably enhanced. The possibilities for nuclear proliferation have, therefore, increased proportionally. This study seeks to document the development of regional nuclear options in a changed environment and to demonstrate the impact which the nuclear status of states outside the Middle East has had on the nuclearization of the traditional belligerents. A model of peacetime horizontal proliferation for the Middle East will be proposed and an attempt to fit this model to the strategy and tactics of nuclear deterrence under conditions of conflict will be made. Thus, it can be shown that a nuclear deterrent strategy based on mutual assured destruction is theoretically possible and, in point of practical fact, may be necessary for the long-term stability of the region. Concluding with the assertion that the actual state of bilateral relations between the superpowers is inadequate for the management of regional nuclearization in the event of uncontrolled escalation, this study will suggest that a global approach to the problem must be reformulated before the hypothetical becomes the real.

1137 Possible Scenarios for Iran and Saudi Arabia In the 1980's.

This memorandum evolved from the Military Policy Symposium, “Iran and Saudi Arabia: Problems and Possibilities for the United States in the Mid Range,” sponsored by the Strategic Studies Institute in April 1982. During the Symposium, academic and government experts discussed a number of issues concerning this area which will have a continuing impact on U.S. strategy. This memorandum, which includes two of the papers presented, considers possible scenarios for Iran and Saudi Arabia in this decade.

Reel II

Middle East (Cont.)

0001 Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East: Implications for the Superpowers.

The diffusion of nuclear technology in the Third World and the possibility of nuclear weapons proliferation comprise one of the most acute security concerns confronting the US and its allies. Nowhere are the implications for world peace more precarious than in the volatile Middle East. In contrast to the US-Soviet political environment which a nuclear 'code of conduct' has developed, no such code of behavior exists in the Arab-Israeli milieu. A potential nuclear scenario thereby looms large in any renewed significant conflict in the Middle East, with the consequent implications for catastrophe in the area, as well as for superpower confrontation. The political, military, and economic incentives which might impel a state to 'go nuclear' clearly obtain for Israel and its primary Arab antagonists. Israel appears on virtually every list of would-be proliferators, while politico-military incentives and the requisite economic capabilities for obtaining a nuclear capability are undeniably present in several Arab states.

0124 Economic Dimensions of US Relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia In the 1980's.

The Iranian Revolution of February 1979, the hostage crisis, and the anti-American fervor of the clerical leadership in Iran have led to a situation where both Iran and the United States—after over a quarter of a century of close relations—seem to have parted ways. For the American government and the public, the mess in Iran is something they wish to forget, fearing any public statements would worsen the already poor or non-
existent state of relations. On the Iranian side, the United States remains the scapegoat for all failures of the clerical regime: everything from the war with Iraq to urban guerrillas and electrical shortages. This brief analysis is intended to show whether there are, in fact, any prospects and possibilities for mutuality of economic interests between Iran and the Western World in the mid-range.

**0143** Definition of the Role of Saudi Arabia and Iran in US Policy: The Military-Strategic Dimension.
*Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA. William O. Staudenmaier. 1 December 1982. 18pp.*

This memorandum examines some of the strategic concepts that relate to the protection of US national interests in Southwest Asia from the military perspective. The author briefly reviews the US interests in the Persian Gulf region, then defines threats to US interests in the context of Saudi Arabia and Iran. Finally, the author suggests some strategic concepts that might be helpful in achieving US interests in the area, with particular reference to Saudi Arabia and Iran.


This annex begins with a summary table which provides a breakout by country and appropriation account of Near East funding from Fiscal Year 1981 to Fiscal Year 1984 for both Economic Support Fund and Development Assistance. There is also a regional summary table showing economic and social data for countries that receive Agency for International Development assistance. Immediately following these tables is an overview of Economic Support Fund and Development Assistance programs followed, in alphabetical order, by country narratives which describe the total Agency for International Development program, including the projects for which funds are being requested in the nine countries and two regional programs for Fiscal Year 1984. The narratives are followed by planned project summary sheets which present in detail requests for proposed new projects in Fiscal Year 1984. Note that the regional projects presented in this annex are different from centrally funded activities, which are described in Annex V. This is followed by an ‘Other Programs’ section which describes the proposed assistance program for Lebanon in Fiscal Years 1983–1984.

**Afghanistan**

**0316** An Explanation of the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan.

This sine qua non of an effective response to Soviet actions in Southwest Asia is an accurate definition of the situation there. Their invasion of Afghanistan in December of 1979 is the most recent—and most visible—manifestation of the threat those actions can pose. As such, it has been taken by many as the harbinger of things to come, and it obviously has had a major impact on American assessments of the problems that must be dealt with in that region and the steps that should be taken to cope with those problems. But is it that harbinger? Why did the Soviets invade Afghanistan? This study represents an attempt to answer both of these questions. The discussion begins with a brief description of the problems facing any analysis of Soviet intentions and the approach to their solution adopted here. Next, the context in which the actions under examination took place is sketched out. The discussion then turns to a review of the course of events in Afghanistan and the role apparently played by the Soviets there. Following this, the motivations judged most likely to have precipitated the invasion are outlined. The discussion concludes with a brief treatment of some of the implications of this conclusion. A listing and evaluation of other, less plausible explanations of the Soviet decision to invade are appended.
Egypt


Current environmental problems facing Egypt are caused by the concentration of intensive agricultural irrigation and high population densities on 4% of the nation's land area. The report analyzes Egypt's natural resources of minerals, water, soil, flora and fauna; and the impact on these resources by irrigation projects, land reclamation, dust storms, and industry. A brief final section lists the country's major environmental problems and strategies to counter them.

0480 U.S. Assistance to Egyptian Agriculture: Slow Progress After Five Years.

In 1975, the Agency for International Development (AID) undertook a high-level development effort aimed at helping the government of Egypt increase agricultural production. However, with $357 million obligated to fund the program, most of the projects are only now getting underway. Project implementation problems are a primary reason for slow progress. However, full benefits of U.S. assistance would not be realized even with improved progress unless AID places greater emphasis on developing Egypt's ability to extend technology to the farmer and unless Egypt undertakes policy changes to provide an environment more conducive to agricultural development.

0593 Urbanization and Agricultural Policy In Egypt.

Policies related to agricultural production procurement in Egypt have pushed people out of rural areas while food subsidies have attracted them into cities. Urban growth in turn has caused substantial cropland loss, increased food imports, and led to political and economic destabilization. The study examines the relationship between agricultural policy and the tremendous growth of urban areas, and proposes changes in Egypt's agricultural pricing, food subsidy, and land use programs.

Indian Ocean (Western)

0644 United States Policy Options in the Western Indian Ocean.

This thesis examines United States interests in the Western Indian Ocean and recommends a policy toward the area. It analyzes the economic and regional importance of the main states in the area: Madagascar, Mozambique, Mauritius, The Comoros, and The Seychelles. Particular attention is given to strategic, economic and political considerations. United States policy objectives and options in the area are broadly explored and recommendations are made for a policy that is affirmative rather than reactive in approach to the area and its problems. This approach should not target a specific country but rather must look at the area in a regional and global perspective.

Iran

This memorandum focuses on the Iranian Revolution of 1978-79: its roots, its major domestic and external actors; the factors that led to the eruption of the upheavals in 1978; the options to consolidate the Iranian Revolution; and some of the potential implications of the revolution for major countries in the area.

0816 Where Was the Shah's Army. 
Army Command and Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS. John M. Smith, 6 June 1980. 129pp.

This study attempts to determine why the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was successfully overthrown by a religion, Shiite Islam. The investigation is focused on the large and powerful imperial Iranian Armed Forces, the Shah's political authority for over thirty-seven years, which had been trained and equipped by the U.S. Department of Defense since the early fifties. In 1978, the Islamic clergy led the opposition movement against the Shah of Iran's repressive regime and political rule in the form of mass demonstrations, and during 1978, riots reached into hundreds of cities, towns, and remote villages with fatalities estimated in excess of 5,000. Americans, and westerners in general, know surprisingly little about Iran or its culture; perhaps causing internal problems without ever knowing it. Furthermore, the unprecedented, enormous, and totally indiscriminate military sales to Iran gave the Shah, or his armed forces, a sense of omnipotence. Iran requires a new and probing look based on the events since February 12, 1979, and may force the US to reconsider its position as a major arms merchant; it may further require an assessment of our foreign policy towards the Third World.

0945 An Analysis of the Impact of American Arms Transfers on Political Stability in Iran.

During the decade of the 1970s, the United States sold more arms to Iran than to any other country. In spite of Iran's vast oil wealth, the billions of dollars spent by the Shah on arms acquisitions had a measurable impact on both the country's economy and its ability to maintain a steady rate of developmental growth. Iran has traditionally been regarded as a non-resource constrained nation. However, in the latter half of the 1970s Iran's trade surpluses dwindled, its foreign exchange reserves shrank, and government expenditures outran revenues, all of which indicated that Iran was becoming resource constrained. As such, the nation's tremendous defense budget proved to be an economic burden. Spiralling inflation, failing development plans and rising unemployment were the result. The people's rising expectations, brought on by the oil boom in 1973, were quickly replaced by a perception of relative deprivation. This prompted a linkage of various disenchanted groups within Iranian society which together formed the basis for Iran's civil strife in 1977-78, and the eventual downfall of the Shah.

1071 Iran and the Persian Gulf.

Partial Contents: Exporting the Revolution; Stability and Instability on the Arab Side of the Gulf; and Gulf Strategic Interests: The Superpowers and Others.

1107 Iran—Regional Country Study.

The essay provides a background and review of events in Iran from 1921 to 1978 including a description of education, religion, society, politics and economics. The revolution of 1978 is described to include the resultant economic distress of the country. Post-revolutionary trends are described, followed by an analysis of U.S. interests and a summary.
Reel III

Iran (Cont.)

0001 Foreign Policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
This paper covers several aspects of the Iranian society to include a brief account of the history of the reign of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi since 1941; an account of the Islamic Revolution; a survey of Iran's political system; a description of the economic system; and a brief account of Iran's foreign policy. The essay is a broad survey of the sections mentioned above.

0039 Analysis of Iran's Political Leadership.
The present political leadership of Iran that emerges from this analysis can be summed up briefly. Since the revolution an alliance of clergy and religiously motivated non-clerics have succeeded in creating an effective, mass political party which they utilize to mobilize support for their programs. This party, the Islamic Republican Party, dominates politics in Iran. The party in turn is dominated by its clerical wing, although none of the senior clergy of the country have joined the Islamic Republican Party. Since its creation, the lay politicians have been junior partners in the Islamic Republican Party, a fact which is a source of resentment among the more ambitious members. However, at least up to the summer of 1981, the Islamic Republican Party's struggle with a diverse array of political opponents had served to keep its internal dissensions under control. The Islamic Republican Party's victory over all opposition and its consolidation of effective control over all branches of the government have helped to bring to the fore the question of which wing should lead the party and by implication the government—the clerical or the non-clerical. Just how divisive an issue this may become for the political leaders is not clear. In a very real sense, both the clergy and the lay politicians need each other's support to rule, a fact which is appreciated by some of the elites in both wings of the Islamic Republican Party. Whatever may develop in the future, it can be certain that the Islamic Republican Party, the only genuine mass political movement to emerge out of the revolution to date, will necessarily have a significant role to play, and its leaders, be they of the clergy or not, will continue to exercise considerable influence in Iranian politics.

Iraq

0065 Iraq-Iran and the Gulf: The Regional Dynamic.
Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA. Ann B. Radwan. 10 January 1982. 23pp.
The elements that interact to create the dynamic of the subregion fall within three broad categories: interstate relations, transnational interactions, and subregional interactions. Developments within the states have affected interstate relationships. The Ba'thists' ability to gain and retain power have shaped the domestic situation and foreign relations of Iraq. The stability and strength of the Shah's Iran led to a "Pax Irania" in the Gulf area. With the coming of the Islamic revolution, not only has the preeminent power of Iran disappeared but new factors have been added to the subregional equation.
Israel


Brief remarks on the evolution of political activity to expel Israel from the United Nations introduce a discussion of a current United States foreign policy problem: What position should the US take in the event of a future attempt to expel Israel from the United Nations? These remarks are followed by an outline of current strategic, economic, and political factors influencing a US policy decision on the expulsion question. An examination of the utility of the United Nations in a contemporary world follows in order to provide a background for the author's views on the probability of a future expulsion attempt being made against Israel, and what policy alternatives the US has. Four possible US courses of action are outlined with arguments both for and against their adoption. A preferred policy position is recommended.

Israel's Strategic Doctrine.

This study offers a profile of current Israeli strategic doctrine. By strategic doctrine we mean a central core of generally shared organizing ideas concerning a given state's national security problems. It is the means-ends chain that a state believes will best achieve security for itself. Israeli strategic doctrine is not to be found in any comprehensive formal statement by the Israeli government. Rather, the view of Israeli doctrine developed in this report has been culled from prior studies of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), articles and books by Israeli civilian and military decisionmakers, Israeli practice in crises and wars, and the current force posture of the IDF. The study is divided into three sections: the conditioning factors affecting the doctrine, the intermediate level political-military elements of the doctrine, and the operational elements of the doctrine. These are interrelated. Political-military and operational elements reflect and address the conditioning factors identified. Operational elements serve as the means to the political-military elements or ends of the doctrine. The highest-level political ends of a strategic doctrine, associated with a given state's foreign policy, are not addressed here. Such a task is beyond our mandate, though a comprehensive examination of the relationship between those aspects of Israeli strategic doctrine discussed in this report and Israeli foreign policy would certainly be a useful exercise.

Israel and US National Interests in the Middle East.

This essay provides an overview of the history; people and resources; the economy; the social system: the government; and military of Israel. The writer discusses US interests in the Middle East and provides an analysis of US vital interests in the Middle East today and for the decade ahead. He concludes that: Israel is the most stable country in the Middle East; that nation's dedication to survival will continue to take precedence over internal economic matters; access to oil will continue to be a primary US national interest in the 1980's; Middle East remains the most potentially explosive area in the world today; and the US remains committed to and will continue to support Israel.

Saudi Arabia


This paper examines the vicissitudes of relations between Saudi Arabia and Egypt in the past decade and focuses on the aid flows and their political and military dimensions. In particular, and to their exclusion of private sector flows for which confidentiality is an important obstacle for research, cash flows from the Saudi public sector to the public
sector of Egypt will be ascertained, but no methodical attempt will be made to determine their ultimate effects at the microeconomic level. A conceptual overview of the many institutional and non-institutional channels through which Saudi aid to Egypt flows follows. The chart divides Saudi economic aid to Egypt into descriptive categories of origins and ends. Emanating from both the public and private sector in the recipient economy, often passing through intermediary financial institutions, aid has flowed to either the public or private sector in the recipient economy. The essential Arab aid institutions, bilateral and multilateral, and their respective assistance to Egyptian development are examined.

0358 **The United States and Saudi Arabia: A Special Relationship; Its Birth, Evolution and Reapportionment.**


The primary purpose of this work is to define what has so commonly been referred to as a special relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia. In accomplishing that task, there evolved two paramount theses. The first is that there is, indeed, a special relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia and the second is that the relationship underwent a significant change in 1973. Founded shortly after the birth of the nation-state kingdom within a context of private economic venture, it was a decade later before the relationship was expanded to include bilateral government relations. The year 1973 marked a watershed in the relationship for it was events of that year which prompted a redistribution of share-interests and a metamorphosis of the relationship into something of greater complexity and intertwining of interests. The method of approach is via chronological history. The first half of this work traces the birth and evolution of the relationship while the latter half focuses upon current vested national interests and possibilities of the future.

0570 **Saudi Arabia: The Flexibility of Islamic Fundamentalism.**


Saudi Arabia has long provided the classic modern example of an Islamic state. The Saudis proudly proclaim and their history and practice seem to have confirmed its Islamic character.

0517 **The Saudi-Pakistani Military Relationship and Its Implications for US Strategy in Southwest Asia.**

*Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA. William O. Staudenmaier, and Shirin Tahir-Kheli. 1 October 1981. 29pp.*

This special report considers the strategic value of a closer military relationship between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. A common approach to the defense problems of Southwest Asia (SWA) by these two countries impinges on US strategy in the region. Specifically, the report analyzes a military relationship that would exchange Saudi money in return for Pakistan combat troops. The Saudi money would be used by Pakistan to purchase modern military equipment from the United States.

0546 **H. St. John Philby, Ibn Saud, and Palestine.**


The purpose of this work was to determine the policy of the founder of Saudi Arabia, King Ibn Saud, toward the establishment of a Jewish entity in Palestine—the "Palestine problem." H. St. John Philby was a British author, explorer and convert to Islam who had a very close association with Ibn Saud. Studying Philby's relationship with Ibn Saud and his attempts to get the King to negotiate with the Zionists provides a clear understanding of the original Saudi involvement in the Palestine problem.

0745 **Twin Dilemmas: The Arabian Peninsula and American Security.**

*Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA. Woolf P. Gross. 20 December 1981. 21pp.*

This memorandum considers two dilemmas facing US policymakers in the Arabian Peninsula. The first problem is the US/regional "dialogue of deaf" concerning the major threat to Arabian peninsular stability. The American position has been that the
Soviet Union constitutes the principal threat, either directly or through surrogates. On the other hand, most area governments are concerned primarily with solving the Arab-Israeli impasse, regaining lost land and establishing firmly the principle of Palestinian self-determination. The second dilemma is American capability and credibility as an ally. The author concludes that a short-term solution to these dilemmas seems achievable only by pressing forward to assist the regional states in improving their own self-defense capabilities, letting them take the lead in such cooperative efforts as may develop, and by accepting the imperative of a solution to the Arab-Israel confrontation as a necessary first step in focusing attention on Soviet pressures.

**Syria**

0766 The Syrian Army: An Activist Military Force in the Middle East.
Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA. Benedict F. FitzGerald. 30 April 1982. 39pp.

This occasional paper describes the Syrian ground forces and analyses these forces' ability to perform their mission against the most likely adversaries. The discussion covers a brief historical sketch, the social conditions, the military's relationship to the civil order, and a brief assessment of the forces' most recent combat performances. A review of the forces' composition includes manpower, organization, command and staff relationships, equipment, sources of supply, vulnerability, mix of forces, deployment, and tactical doctrines of employment. Scenarios of employment are examined, such as the kinds of war the forces can fight, and against whom and under what circumstances the forces will fight most likely. The paper concludes with an evaluation of strengths and weaknesses, future tendencies, and foreseeable crises or major changes anticipated.

**Turkey**

0805 The Influence of Islam in Turkey.

This thesis explores the influence of Islam in Turkey today. Dealing primarily with Republican Turkey, the influence of Islam is traced through the development of the various Turkish constitutions, through a brief study of the political elite structure, and finally by looking at the individual Turk. Although Islam is being seen as slowly being eroded by "secularization-by-modernization," it is still seen as a very strong, if subtle, force in the Turkish social fabric.

0902 The Military Relationship between the United States and Turkey Since 1947.

The United States and Turkey have had a joint military relationship since 1947. However, there has been a growing concern over this relationship since the mid-1960's. This concern increased during the Cyprus conflict of 1974, and the subsequent U.S. embargo on arms shipments to Turkey. This thesis explores the relationship from development to the present, including the reasons why the relationship developed, how it grew, the problems that have been encountered, and how each nation has modified its part of the relationship. In spite of the trying situations which have occurred, the research indicates that the military relationship has been and will remain strong. Although the Turkish nation will strive to become less dependent on U.S. arms, through domestic production and purchases from other nations, the close working relations between the military forces will continue for the foreseeable future.
In 1980, the United States and Turkey signed a bilateral agreement to foster military, economic, and social development. The agreement has improved U.S. access and interests in Turkey, a key NATO ally. However, Turkey's military needs are so great that the U.S. and other NATO countries are hard pressed to fill them. Thus, the Congress may be asked to increase security assistance or approve other alternatives to better meet Turkey's needs. This report, an unclassified version of a previously issued report, recommends some alternatives for the Congress to consider in providing this assistance.
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