Gulf Research Center
Knowledge for All

Defense and Regional Security

in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf States, 1973-2004:

An Annotated Bibliography

J.E. Peterson

Published by
Gulf Research Center

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“By publishing this volume, the *Gulf Research Center* (GRC) seeks to contribute to the enrichment of the reader’s knowledge out of the Center’s strong conviction that *knowledge is for all.*”

Abdulaziz O. Sager
Chairman
Gulf Research Center

About the Gulf Research Center

The **Gulf Research Center** (**GRC**) is an independent research institute located in Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UAE). The **GRC** was founded in July 2000 by Mr. Abdulaziz Sager, a Saudi businessman, who realized, in a world of rapid political, social and economic change, the importance of pursuing politically neutral and academically sound research about the Gulf region and disseminating the knowledge obtained as widely as possible. The **Center** is a non-partisan think-tank, education service provider and consultancy specializing in the Gulf region. The **GRC** seeks to provide a better understanding of the challenges and prospects of the Gulf region.

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Introductory Note

The Gulf Research Center is delighted to publish Dr. J. E. Peterson's *Defense and Regional Security in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf States, 1973-2004*, an annotated bibliography of publications covering the past three decades. The publication of this valuable reference work is very much in line with GRC's vision of "Knowledge for All".

It is important that academic studies be built on the foundation of extensive literature reviews so that they take in to account what has already been written on a given issue. This bibliography facilitates this process for any researcher interested in defense and security issues related to the Gulf region. The work is comprehensive and each included publication has been carefully commented on by Dr. Peterson, a renowned senior researcher on Gulf issues.

The value of this work goes far beyond its utility in research. By browsing through the various publications and reading the commentaries, audiences will appreciate the trends and shifts in Gulf security and will have an understanding of the significance of certain events without having to read the complete referenced publications themselves. In this regard, the bibliography can be utilized by the novice and the expert alike; both can expect to extract a high degree of value from this unique reference guide.

This work is a worthy contribution to the literature on the Gulf; its guidance is sure to be used for many years to come. The Gulf Research Center is proud to publish it and thus make it available to all those interested in defense and regional security in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf States.

Abdulaziz O. Sager

Chairman
Gulf Research Center

Foreword

Dr. J.E. Peterson's *Defense and Regional Security in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf States, 1973-2004* deals with a part of the world that is unrivalled in its international strategic significance. Not least among the reasons are the following: One, it encompasses the epicenter of prayer and pilgrimage, and of faith and spiritual devotion, for more than a quarter of humanity. Two, its natural resources include 70 percent of the planet's known petroleum reserves and a substantial and growing share of its reserves of natural gas as well as liquid petroleum gas. Collectively, these resources constitute the foremost engine of world economic growth and a core component of material well being for billions globally. Three, from the perspective of sheer geographic vastness as well as key aviation and maritime routes, an extraordinary amount of international commerce transits this region's seas and airspace. Four, although lacking in demographic depth compared to Arab and Middle Eastern countries elsewhere, the peoples of Arabia and the Gulf possess the vast majority of the Arab world's financial assets, liquid capital, and most robust stock markets, making the citizens among them the wealthiest in the developing world in terms of income per capita.

Peterson's work makes abundantly clear that over the past half century, few if any other developing regions have had as direct a link to major issues of war and peace affecting millions of people both near and far. Indeed, no other area over this period of time has had as great an impact upon global defense and security issues or the standards of living of such a wide swath of humanity as the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf states. One need only point to the consequences, many of them ongoing, of five major wars occurring in or adjacent to this region during the past four decades.

The five international conflicts, all of which are covered in Dr. Peterson's work, have been, respectively: the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, which occasioned the most far-reaching international oil embargo in history; the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-88; the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan of 1979-88; the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait in 1990-91; and, most recently, and showing no signs of near-term resolution, the American-led Allied Coalition invasion and occupation of Iraq that commenced on March 19, 2003.

Not surprisingly, the nature and scope of the internationally concerted actions to reverse three of these aggressions and limit their damage had far-reaching ramifications. In each instance, the actions undertaken and not taken entailed extraordinary challenges not only to the peoples and governments in the immediate region, but also to the world at large. In addition, what has also been unique with regard to the impact of these conflicts is that to no other corner of the

planet have Western and other Allied forces been mobilized and deployed in such vast numbers.

Three themes emerge from Dr. Peterson's study of all five wars as they were written about and analyzed by respected authorities at the time. The first is the degree to which the onset of each of the conflicts represented a breakdown in the prevailing regional order. It is true that the order that existed was not dictated by or enshrined in the language of specific treaties or defense pacts to which the regional actors were signatories. A minor exception was the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf countries' general adherence to the 1958 Geneva Law of the Sea, which fixed their maritime borders in accordance with the median line between their respective coasts. Further, it is largely also the case that the regional order was neither embodied in either the creation or subsequent activities of the six-state Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Here, too, there was an important exception to the effect that, as stated in an early declaration by the organization's heads of state, an attack on one of the members would be construed by the members as an attack on them all. Nor, apart from a few pronouncements such as at the beginning of the 1983 GCC summit in Doha, Qatar, did it become clear, at least in the minds of the GCC countries' leaders, that defense of the Gulf's international waters and airspace would be primarily an international, and not merely a local or regional, responsibility.

Even so, and despite its uncertain status in law and international organizations, the regional order that existed was nonetheless palpable and effective. Indeed, state actors, in the course of exercising self-restraint, avoiding threats or intimidation, and acting within the overall context of international law and the norms of international legitimacy, were able to plan and conduct their external affairs more or less successfully. What is more, with the five wars being the exceptions that proved the general rule, the governments involved were able to do so for the most part with a degree of certainty and predictability that was broadly acceptable to all the parties concerned.

The second theme that emerges from a close study of Dr. Peterson's work is clearer in retrospect than was the case at the time and is the degree to which many strategists and military planners were shocked to learn how the regional order within which they conducted their external relations was as fragile as it repeatedly proved to be. Indeed, hindsight indicates that the extended preludes to these wars were accompanied by the fact that innumerable ill-informed analysts misjudged the trends and indications afoot that led to the outbreak of war.

From the vantage point of the rear view mirror, it is nowadays indisputably clear that the national and regional systems of deterrence, defense, and

containment in place when these conflicts erupted were based on conjectures and assumptions that were seriously flawed. Yet in the period since the first four of these wars were fought - and with regard to the fifth one that is still underway - it is reasonable to ask to what extent the lessons imbedded in those conflicts have been effectively understood and absorbed.

Certainly, the devastation and chaos that ensued following the March 2003 breakdown of order in the strategic corner of Arabia and the Gulf that is Iraq raises serious questions as to what extent lessons from the previous conflicts have been applied. Instead, what is alarmingly apparent is that there have been replays of the earlier widespread ignorance and over-confidence among many of the outsiders involved. Indeed, pre-war strategic planning related to necessary force levels, defense systems and equipment, alliance maintenance, economic reconstruction, and matters pertaining to governance, education, training, and broad-based as well as multifaceted development, on one hand, and the immense amount of pre-invasion intellectual investment in various scenarios for promoting and maintaining national as well as regional peace and stability, on the other, have once again proved inadequate to the need.

The third theme permeating Dr. Peterson's work has to do with the often limited degree to which outside defense analysts have sufficient in-depth knowledge or linguistic ability to effectively interpret local and intra-regional affairs. A close cousin of this ongoing deficiency is the relative lack of understanding among many foreign affairs practitioners of some of the most rudimentary constants and variables that can spell the success or defeat of what it is that international strategy seeks to accomplish. The reference here is to basic cultural, social, and political knowledge, honed in empirical experience on the ground, that is key to outsiders being able to maneuver effectively within the regional and national environments in which these conflicts have occurred and where, even now, efforts to place the region's security and stability on a firmer foundation for the future are being attempted.

Nowhere has this shortcoming been more apparent and pervasive than with regard to the degree of expertise available among outsiders for dealing with the religious, sectarian, tribal, and ethnic matters within specific countries, within particular areas of individual countries, and within the broader region as a whole. In this context, it should not be surprising that many foreign policymakers and policy implementers have at worst exhibited appalling degrees of arrogance and ignorance with regard to such phenomena and, at best, naïveté. Equally, their periodic and unwarranted degree of condescension and insensitivity towards regional and national peoples' religious beliefs and moral principles - for many peoples, two core components of their culture - has been compounded by a

recurring Western imperial outlook and frames of reference rooted in hubris and flawed policies.

What is worse, the policy shortcomings of primarily American and other Western powers over time have tended to antagonize and provoke the region's Arab, Iranian, and Kurdish peoples to a far greater extent than even these powers' harshest critics could have imagined or expected. In this regard, Iraq remains the most dramatic case of the many largely American self-inflicted wounds of policy and policy implementation to have occurred thus far. If anything, the Bush administration's numerous false claims and flawed assumptions related to Iraq that were proclaimed in the run-up to the invasion and the occupation that followed have been matched, if not surpassed, in its ensuing unwillingness to acknowledge mistakes, change course, or alter its stated objectives. Instead, its insistence upon implementing ineffective and counterproductive policies regardless of the consequences, in being reflective of an ongoing approach that proved problematic from the beginning, has continued as of this writing. Indeed, official Washington's stubbornness in its insistence upon the righteousness of its actions and attitudes, and of its policies and positions, has done as much as anything else to incite, increase, and sustain the transnational conflict and economic as well as civil chaos that its unilaterally determined intention to invade and occupy Iraq unleashed.

It is in this third thematic area where Dr. Peterson's work provides an additional immense service to the cause of increasing international knowledge and understanding of Arabian and Gulf affairs. He has done so by interspersing throughout the volume essential information and insight into how the region, its inhabitants and their leaders operate locally, regionally, intra-regionally and in interstate affairs generally that would be hard to come by in any other single published source. In addition, the author's empirically-grounded expertise spanning three decades and counting is apparent throughout in his observations of how external phenomena have affected and to this day continue to affect domestic dynamics within the region's polities and vice versa.

In all three thematic categories, Dr. Peterson's work provides a unique and convenient guide to an immense body of opinion and thinking about Arabia and the Gulf as a whole. What he has accomplished is more than glean and succinctly analyze a wealth of diagnostic, analytical and policy-related works authored by many of the world's most renowned writers and specialists in international defense and security strategy, geo-economics, and geopolitics. In addition, he has summarized and provided an exceptionally rich range of interpretive commentary on a voluminous array of publications by leading regional and country specialists. His ability to combine generalist and specialist areas of expertise alike, and to

weave the two into a meaningful interpretive whole, is rare. The sum effect makes for a volume that planners of grand strategy and tactics, no less than those who contend with more micro considerations related to trade, investment, technology, and commercial ventures in the region, can ill afford to ignore.

Finally, there is a forward-looking dimension to the value of Dr. Peterson's work with respect to implications related to China, India and possibly other countries that needs to be underscored and has much to do with these two Asian countries' respective quests for greater access to Arabia and the Gulf's nonrenewable energy resources. At issue is the fact that these resources are essential to the national economic and security interests of two of the world's fastest growing economies and largest countries whose peoples constitute half the planet's inhabitants. Their and other developing economies' heightened competition with one another for ever-increasing shares of a vital commodity's uncertain supply will bear close watching in the period ahead.

On the international energy fronts, one can already anticipate a resultant acceleration of tensions and policy disagreements in international regulatory and political institutions. The World Trade Organization and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) are but two among other cases in point. More ominously, one cannot rule out future physical power plays and varying forms of thinly veiled coercion and intimidation by one or more Great Powers. The reason: to further their quests to reconfigure existing international and regional orders in pursuit of economic gain and strategic advantage.

In such scenarios, the accompanying tensions and unsettling trends could hardly be expected to bypass Arabia and the Gulf. Indeed, in the absence of due care and effective national and international leadership from this point forward, one cannot dismiss the likelihood of the following: at issue in very rapid succession could be the sanctity of the status quo regarding international borders, the durability of current concessions for oil and gas, the security of foreign as well as local investments, patents, copyrights, technology and, not least, the overall nature of how outside powers relate to each other and the region's countries as well as vice versa.

Such issues, with all the attendant questions and implications for regional defense, domestic security, and international relations that they entail, are not the product of idle speculation. They relate directly to what Dr. Peterson has written that is relevant to the future. Indeed, in underscoring the many lessons to be learnt from the past and contemporary mistakes, as well as sound decisions taken during the period examined, his book serves as a primer for more effective planning in the years ahead. In particular, it provides future guidance for analysts and

decision-makers tasked with increasing the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf countries' capacities for deterrence and defense in association with their friends, allies, and strategic partners.

Having known and been associated in scholarly endeavors with Dr. Peterson for more than 30 years, I can attest to his gifted productivity as evidenced by his prodigious output of published works on the region in question. The National Council on U.S-Arab Relations is pleased to have been able to underwrite the author's research and writing for this work. The Council is equally pleased to have helped bring it to fruition in association with the Gulf Research Center in Dubai, a relatively new institution that is already recognized the world over for its high caliber contributions to understanding regional and national affairs spanning the length and breadth of Arabia and the Gulf as a whole.

John Duke Anthony, PhD

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Explanatory Notes

This is the second edition of an earlier bibliography on the same subject, published in 1985. This edition includes all of the original entries as well as all possible entries from 1985 through the end of 2004. The principal cut-off date is 31 December 2004.

No bibliography can ever be as comprehensive as it is intended to be, and that certainly holds true for this one. Thus, some caveats are in order. The entries herein are principally in English, with efforts to include other Western languages as appropriate. No attempt has been made to include publications in non-European languages. To do so would have greatly complicated and expanded the scope of the bibliography and its printed size. For similar reasons of maintaining a manageable size, no attempt has been made to include material from general magazines, weekly and daily news organs, or specialized newsletters.

The multiplicity of wars in the Gulf, or more specifically in the northern Gulf, has created confusion in terminology, particularly but not only in the West. "The Gulf War" was initially applied to the Iran-Iraq War and then, in an astonishing example of memory loss, transferred to the conflict in Kuwait in 1991. With hostilities in Iraq in 2003, the confusion has only grown with commentators initially unable to decide whether to call the latest conflagration "Gulf War II" or "Gulf War III." This terminology does not, of course, address the fact that all three wars have taken place solely in the northern Gulf and that terming them all "Gulf Wars" is rather like calling the American intervention in Grenada the "Caribbean War." To avoid these problems, this bibliography adheres to the following terminology. The conflict between Iraq and Iran from 1980 to 1988 is termed "the Iran-Iraq War." The war between Iraq and the coalition of forces involved in the liberation of Kuwait in 1991 is termed "the Kuwait War." The American attack on Iraq in 2003, with British and some other assistance, is termed "the Iraq War." The phrase "Gulf states" normally refers to the six monarchies that form the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC): Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Oman.

The Kuwait War has created a voluminous literature, not all of which is central to this bibliography. There has been no intention to include annotations for most works dealing solely with military aspects of the wars, those focusing on the impact of the war on domestic politics and society outside the Gulf, and works dealing with environmental damage. Shorter works, accounts of military action at the Service or unit level, and more ephemeral citations typically have been excluded. Works on internal developments in Iraq, including the Shi'ah uprising in the south and Kurdish affairs in the north, have also been excluded except

where they can be regarded as having an impact on Iraqi policy or actions towards its Gulf neighbors. Fuller coverage of these topics is contained in Andrew Orgill's *The 1990-91 Gulf War: Crisis, Conflict, Aftermath - An Annotated Bibliography*. Similarly, a number of similar works dealing with the Iran-Iraq War have not been provided with annotations.

A similar problem occurs with the equally burgeoning literature on al-Qa‘idah and terrorism that appeared after the attacks of 11 September 2001. On the same grounds, this bibliography does not claim to be comprehensive on this frequently peripheral subject but includes material only when it is directly relevant to the volume's headings.

The Iraq War in March-April 2003 added another burgeoning literature to the subject of Gulf security. While it is still too early for the appearance of many serious publications on the war and its aftermath, a growing number of works have been published, as the bibliography will show. The continuing US involvement in Iraq and the intractable opposition to the US presence, often styled as an “insurgency,” has continued to hold the attention of both general commentators and specialists on the Gulf. As a consequence, this bibliography includes a number of entries from the policy debate before the war, as well as an emerging body of literature on the aftermath of the war and the subsequent political situation in Iraq.

Author's identifications are given as they appear in the published work. No attempt has been made to update affiliations. In this sense, the bibliography may be useful also in providing limited biographical information through authors' careers. Page numbers have been provided for all quotations, except for quotations used in entries from the first edition. Citations from the first edition have been identified with a ¤ symbol following the annotation. Stylistic differences have also crept in between the first edition and the new entries for this edition. With a separation of nearly two decades, this is only to be expected. Institutions and abbreviations such as the GCC and CENTCOM have become familiar while new institutions and abbreviations such as WMD and UNIKOM have appeared in the interim. The details and debate over the US establishment of a rapid deployment force, current at the time that the first edition appeared, are only of historical interest now and a section detailing with this topic has been retained intact from the first edition.

It may be seen that the definition of “regional security” has been stretched rather far when it comes to publications on individual countries of the Arabian Peninsula. A number of books and articles have been selected for inclusion because they may provide useful perspective on the state of affairs that underpin these countries' security requirements and environment, even if they are not directly concerned with matters of defense and security.

Despite diligent efforts, it was not always possible to examine each bibliographic citation, which accounts for the absence of an annotation for a minority of entries. In addition, page numbers are absent in a few entries because they were accessed online or because references were incomplete and the items were not accessible for examination. Every attempt has been made to make the bibliography comprehensive up to the cut-off date of 31 December 2004.

J.E. Peterson

June 2005

Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBW	Chemical and Biological Warfare
CENTCOM	Central Command (United States)
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority (US and British administration of Iraq)
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GWOT	Global War on Terror
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IEA	International Energy Agency
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAPEC	Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
RDF	Rapid Deployment Force
RUSI	Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (UK)
SAF	Sultan's Armed Forces (Oman)
SANG	Saudi Arabia National Guard
SAS	Special Air Service (UK)
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNIKOM	United Nations Iraq Kuwait Observer Mission
UNMOVIC (Iraq)	UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission
UNSCOM	United Nations Commission on Iraq

UNSCR	United Nations Security Council resolution
USGPO	United States General Printing Office
USMTM	United States Military Training Mission (Saudi Arabia)
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

Overall Views and General Discussion

1. Ahrari, M.E., and Brigid Starkey. "Polarity and stability in the post-Cold War Persian Gulf." *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Winter-Spring 1997), pp. 133-151. ●● Professors at the Armed Forces Staff College and the University of Maryland respectively argue that "The decisive nature of the military response of the U.S.-led coalition during the Desert Storm has faltered in the five ensuing years…" and the GCC states "are still looking for a viable security formula." (p. 133)

2. Ahrari, M.E., and James H. Noyes. *The Persian Gulf After the Cold War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993. ●● Co-editor James H. Noyes (Hoover Institution) begins this volume with a look at the impact of the newly independent Central Asian states of the former Soviet Union on the Gulf and US policy. Leon T. Hadar (American University) follows with an examination of a possible European challenge to US hegemony in the Gulf. A section on the role of regional states in a post-Cold-War Gulf order includes contributions on Iran by M.E. Ahrari (US Air War College), Iraq by Ahmad Hashim (consultant), and Saudi Arabia by Joseph Twinam (The Citadel). David Winterford and Robert E. Looney (both of the Naval Postgraduate School) examine the role of Gulf oil in global strategic calculations, Ahrari looks at developments in the Gulf arms race, and Kenneth Katzman (Congressional Research Service) assesses the prospects of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

3. Ahrari, M.E., and Omar Khalidi. "The Emerging Shape of Strategic Competition in the Persian Gulf." *Strategic Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Fall 1990), pp. 23-29. ●● A review of the recent security environment in the Gulf by a professor at US Air War College and a staff member with the Agha Khan Program for Islamic Affairs at Harvard University and MIT respectively. The authors feel that "The dynamic relations among the Gulf states are likely to play an important role in determining the scope and nature of strategic competition in that area in the coming decades. Both superpowers are likely to play reactive roles." (p. 28)

4. Alaolmolki, Nozar. *Struggle for Dominance in the Persian Gulf: Past, Present and Future Prospects*. New York: Peter Lang, 1991.

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5. _____. *The Persian Gulf Region in the Twenty First Century: Stability and Change*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996. ●● In the first

book, an associate professor of political science at Hiram College (Ohio) reviews security-related developments in the Gulf from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. The work concentrates heavily on Iran, with chapters focusing on Iran's military capabilities, its political system, the fall of the Pahlavi monarchy and developments in the Islamic Republic. In the second work, Alaolmolki takes a broader perspective by surveying the history, social composition, economy, and foreign policies of all eight Gulf littoral states.

6. Alshayeji, Abdullah K. "Stability in the [Persian] Gulf Region: Clash of Visions." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer 1996), pp. 320-352. ●● A review of flashpoints in the Gulf by an assistant professor of political science at Kuwait University. He concludes that political survival and economic prosperity are inextricably linked in the Gulf and therefore "It is high tme for all the [Persian] Gulf political elite, the decision makers in Washington and the West, and the intelligentsia and Islamists to work for gradual political reforms, help assuage fear, and defuse tension in domestic, regional, and interrelations politics." (p. 349)

7. Barnett, Michael. "Regional Security after the Gulf War." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 111, No. 4 (Winter 1996-1997), pp. 597-618. ●● An associate professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin-Madison looks at developments in the regional security of the Middle East (not just the Gulf). He regards regional security as depending on viable cooperative security arrangements based on strategic stability and mutual assurance and on a domestic order that supports (or acquiesces in) such principles and arrangements. His judgment is that "Thus far, the region has made substantial progress toward regional order, some progress toward regional stability, and little headway toward domestic stability and order" and "so long as there is little domestic peace, there is unlikely to be regional peace." (pp. 617-618)

8. Basheer, Tahseen M. "Structural Challenges to Security in the Gulf." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Fall 1991), pp. 26-37. ●● A former Egyptian representative to the Arab League stresses that stability is the key to a security system for the Gulf. This can be achieved only with solutions to certain problems: a clear definition of Arab state sovereignty, resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, a transformed relationship between Iran and the Arab states, a deep relationship between the Arab states and African states, and management of the domestic struggle for legal democratization and human rights.

9. Bulloch, John. *The Gulf*. London: Century, 1984. Published in US as: *The Persian Gulf Unveiled*. New York: Congdon & Weed, 1984. ●● A general history of the Gulf in the mid-20th century, intended for an audience not

familiar with the area and written by a journalist with the *Daily Telegraph* (London). The tone is anecdotal, rather than systematic or comprehensive, and the book ends with a warning that the Gulf may face interference by outside powers, especially the Soviet Union, in the coming century.

10. Dalton, Richard. *Winning the Peace in the Gulf: A Long-Term View*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1993. ●● A British diplomat and visiting fellow at the RIIA examines potential sources of danger in the Gulf and explores alternative methods for keeping peace in the region. He concludes that "Proposals for Gulf security have included a repeat of Desert Shield or a copy of European security structures. But both would be flawed. … The ambitious proposals for a Middle East Security Conference presuppose a solution of all the region's outstanding political issues. What is required instead is a more pragmatic approach using the sort of cooperation that will build confidence such that the more dangerous issues can be tackled and solved in the future. Its initial basis can be the coalition, which explicitly and implicitly included all the states of the region in an consensus against the attempt to extinguish the existence of Kuwait." (p. 34)

11. Davies, Charles E., ed. *Global Interests in the Arab Gulf*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992. ●● A collected volume from papers given at an annual University of Exeter conference on the Gulf. The initial papers deal with Gulf history while the second part discusses oil prospects in a paper by Peter A. Davies (British Petroleum) and Paul J. Stevens (University of Surrey) and Arab labor in the GCC in a paper by J.S. Birks and C.A. Sinclair (Birks and Sinclair Ltd.). K. Subrahmanyam (Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi) discusses relations between the Gulf and the Indian subcontinent while Anoushiravan Ehteshami (University of Exeter) broadens the focus to Gulf relations with newly industrializing countries. Willem Van Eekelen (Secretary-General of the Western European Union) covers Western European security interests in the Gulf while Susumi Ishida (International University of Japan) details Japan's oil strategy. The Soviet Union's role in the Gulf and wider region is handled by Vitaly Naumkin (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow) and Alexei Vassiliev (Institute for African Studies, Moscow) while Anthony H. Cordesman (Georgetown University and US Senate adviser) adds a long paper on US power-projection capabilities in the region and Richard W. Murphy (US Council on Foreign Relations) discusses American political policy. Rolf Müller-Syring (Leipzig University) outlines the process of militarization and John Townsend (Business International) observes the far-reaching economic and political changes in the Gulf's last few decades, concluding that if any ruling family in the Gulf is seen by the people to be putting dynastic survival ahead of overall national interests and in doing so emphasises its lack of accountability to the people, then that

family will assuredly be ousted." (p. 386)

12. Dickman, François M. "A Post-Gulf War Policy for the Middle East." *Asian Affairs* (Washington), Vol. 18, No. 1 (June 1991), pp. 5-12.

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13. Sours, Martin H. "Saudi Arabia's Role in the Middle East: Regional Stability Within the New World Order." *Asian Affairs* (Washington), Vol. 18, No. 1 (June 1991), pp. 43-51. ●● Two articles drawn from an issue devoted to the search for peace in the Middle East. Dickman, a former US ambassador to the UAE and Kuwait, states that "Very little consideration … was given to what the United States might hope to accomplish once Iraq left Kuwait. Now that the war has ended, it remains unclear … how the United States hopes to achieve regional stability in the Middle East." (p. 5) Sours, a professor at the American Graduate School of International Management, says that US hegemony in a new world order will be restricted by its economic and social weakness, thus increasing the roles played by prominent regional states such as Germany in Europe, Japan in the Pacific Rim, and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East. "By hosting and participating in the coalition that defeated Iraq, the Saudi regime has shown the ability to operate on the global level." (p. 50)

14. Ditchley Foundation. *The Middle East and the Gulf: a Fresh Look at Western Interests and Ways of Safeguarding Them*. Oxfordshire, Eng.: Ditchley Foundation, 1985. Ditchley Conference Report, No. 14, 1985/85.

15. Doran, Charles F., and Stephen W. Buck, eds. *The Gulf, Energy, and Global Security: Political and Economic Issues*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991. ●● The product of a project sponsored by the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C., this volume gathers papers presented at a joint conference between the institute and Johns Hopkins University SAIS that attempt to assess the situation in the Gulf at the beginning of the 21st century. The project began and the conference was held before the Kuwait War but, by the publication cut-off, the papers were able to include comments between the Iraqi invasion and the war. Some of the contributions concentrate on individual countries in the region while other authors look at the interests of external powers.

John W. Limbert (US Consul-General in Dubai) concludes that Iranian politics lurched unpredictably from one extreme to the other during the 1990s and looked likely to continue to do so. Phebe Marr (National Defense University) notes that "With the need to rebuild, Iraq could not play much of a regional role and, indeed, could become prey to hostile neighbors." (p. 49) David E.

Long (US Coast Guard Academy), writing on Saudi Arabia, foresees that "Once the immediacy of the Kuwait crisis recedes, and assuming the Saudi political system escapes unscathed, … changes are likely to be most reflected not in major policy shifts but in an incremental decrease in Saudi willingness to accommodate US oil, economic, political, and defense interests." (pp. 104-105) Joseph Wright Twinam (The Citadel) ends his survey of the other GCC states by observing that two regional problems will complicate US relations with the GCC states: how to deal with revolutionary Iran and perceptions of the US role in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Shahram Chubin (Graduate Institute of International Studies) anticipates the collapse of the Soviet Union by postulating that Soviet policy in the Gulf might become more benign and amenable to greater cooperation with the United States. The essay on the European Community and the Gulf by Philip Robins (Royal Institute for International Affairs) judges that European Community policy towards the Gulf will continue to focus on oil and the possible disruption of trade despite the continuation of twelve individual European policies. Meanwhile, Ukeru Magosaki (Japanese Foreign Ministry) and Yasumasa Kuroda (University of Hawaii) notes that Japan is developing a policy in the Gulf independent of the United States (mainly to protect its oil interests and access to markets) but they foresee US-Japanese differences remaining narrow and acceptable.

In other papers, Edward N. Krapels (Energy Security Analysis) sees a continuing rise in US oil imports from the Gulf, which will mean that "the United States will continue to regard the strategic defense of oil-exporting countries against outside threats as one of its primary military missions." (p. 24) Michael Collins Dunn (International Estimate) declares that "The end of the Iraq-Kuwait crisis will not end the arms race in the Gulf; in fact, the crisis itself will be a major determinant in procurement decisions." (p. 82) In the final essay, co-editor Charles F. Doran (Johns Hopkins University SAIS) lays out the formal conclusions of the study, which are that the "managing of external hostilities and vulnerabilities caused by the hostilities" is of higher priority than "focusing upon the matter of domestic political stability of régimes, which will tend to take care of itself…." and that "the US government, in conjunction with cooperating countries inside and outside the Gulf region, embark on a set of two track arms control initiatives involving both arms suppliers and purchasers" because "without arms constraint, the next war will be much more devastating than the last." (p. 208) (Co-editor Stephen W. Buck is with the US Department of State.)

16. Dowdy, William L., and Russell B. Trood, eds. *The Indian Ocean: Perspectives on a Strategic Arena*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press,

1985. ●● A collection of papers from a 1982 conference on the international relations and security issues of five regions in the Indian Ocean basin: the Gulf, South Asia, the Red Sea and Horn of Africa, Eastern and Southern Africa, and Australasia, edited by faculty members at Acadia University, Nova Scotia, and the Australian National University respectively. Those contributions most directly relevant here include R.M. Burrell (University of London School of Oriental and African Studies) on the security implications of the Iranian Revolution for the Gulf, James A. Bill (University of Texas, Austin) on political stability in Iran, Tareq Y. Ismael (University of Calgary) on the Iran-Iraq conflict, and R.K. Ramazani (University of Virginia) on the GCC. J.E. Peterson discusses inter-Yemeni relations and the international impact, Michael MccGwire (Brookings Institution) examines force projection into the region by external powers, Larry W. Bowman and Jeffrey A. Lefebvre (both of the University of Connecticut) cover US military and strategic policy regarding the Indian Ocean, Joel Larus (New York University) describes the background to the US military base on Diego Garcia Island, Alvin J. Cottrell (Center for Strategic and International Studies) looks at US naval deployments in the Indian Ocean, and Oles M. Smolansky (Lehigh University) analyzes Soviet interests in the Gulf.

17. Dunn, Michael Collins. "The New Geopolitics of Southwest Asia." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (May 1997), pp. 142-149. ●● The editor of The Estimate opines that "a great many games, both great and small, are being played [in the increasingly linked Central and Southwestern Asia…." (p. 142) He makes the points that links between Central Asia and its southern neighbors are much deeper than previously realized; that links between the Tajik and Afghan wars began during the Afghan-Soviet period; Islam has always been a rallying point in Central Asia but not in the modern, urban, political Islamist sense; the Tajik civil war is a rivalry of regions and not a conflict between Islam and secularism; the Taliban are a Pushtun traditionalist movement seeking to restore a romanticized version of the tribal village; Pakistan and perhaps the US initially encouraged the Taliban because they seemed able to unite Afghanistan; pipeline politics and broader trade opportunities, as well as ethnic allegiances, explain changing regional alignments; and ethnopolitics plays a major but not decisive role in regional conflicts.

18. Ehteshami, Anoushiravan, and Gerd Nonneman, with a contribution by Charles Tripp. *War and Peace in the Gulf: Domestic Politics and Regional Relations into the 1990s*. Reading: Ithaca Press, 1991. ●● The authors, from the University of Exeter, examine domestic politics in Iran and Iraq (the latter chapter is contributed by Tripp, of the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies), Iraq's relations with the other Arab Gulf states,

military developments in the Gulf, and the defense investment and military procurement strategies of Iran and Iraq. The final two chapters consist of a collection of relevant documents and a chronology of Gulf events over the period of 1980-1991. The book was written before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait although a February 1991 postscript discusses the consequences of the onset of Kuwait War and suggests that a satisfactory solution to the situation in the Gulf and the Arab-Israeli dispute will impossible without addressing the Middle East arms race and the absence of a viable regional security structure.

19. Ehteshami, Anoushiravan, ed. *From the Gulf to Central Asia: Players in the New Great Game*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994. ●● Papers from a 1993 conference at the University of Exeter's Centre for Arab Gulf Studies. Among the contributions, Valeria F. Piacentini (Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan) discounts Iranian political-imperialistic policy in Central Asia and charges that Saudi Arabia's support for the re-Islamization of the area is due to its desire to limit Iranian influence there. Mai Yamani (University of Oxford) traces the connection between Saudi Arabia and Central Asia throughout Islamic history and the integration of Central Asian immigrants into Saudi society. The editor, Anoushiravan Ehteshami (University of Durham) examines Iran's relations with the Central Asian republics and sees the possibility of a shift in the Gulf's balance of power because of GCC competition. Rosemary Hollis (Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies) discusses Western and primarily American security policy in the region and remarks on the contrast between policy towards Central Asia - tentative and multilateralist - and policy towards the Gulf - pronounced direct involvements and commitments. Vitaly Naumkin (Russian Center for Strategic Research and International Studies) discusses political and security linkages between the Gulf and Central Asia.

20. Gause, F. Gregory, III. “Gulf Regional Politics: Revolution, War, and Rivalry.” In W. Howard Wriggins, ed., *Dynamics of Regional Politics: Four Systems on the Indian Ocean Rim* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 23-88. ●● An assistant professor at Columbia University at the time of publication provides a detailed overview of international politics in the Gulf between 1971 and 1991. He focuses on the changing environment of regional politics between the 1970s and the 1980s, the impact of the Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq War, and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent war.

21. Graz, Liesl. *The Turbulent Gulf*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1990. 2nd ed., 1992. ●● A Swiss journalist gives a general overview of developments in the Gulf, on a country-by-country basis, during what she calls the “turbulent decade” of the 1990s. The book originally was completed just before the Iraqi invasion of

Kuwait but the second edition covers events through the war.

22. Green, Jerrold D. "Gulf Security Without the Gulf States?" *Harvard Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1995), pp. 78-89.

23. Hameed, Mazher A. *Arabia Imperiled: The Security Imperatives of the Arab Gulf States*. Washington, DC: Middle East Assessments Group, 1986. Also published as *Saudi Arabia, the West and the Security of the Gulf* (London: Croom Helm, 1986). ●● The executive director of the Middle East Assessments Group examines Gulf security with an emphasis on the security perceptions, resources, and problems experienced by the Gulf states themselves. A final chapter deals with strategies for protecting US interests in the Gulf. He advises that "U.S. assistance to the GC states must be defined in terms of what these countries need to improve their ability to handle their own security as much as possible, thereby reducing the need for or likelihood of U.S. intervention…" (p. 170) and warns that "one of the most effective ways of protecting U.S. interests in the region lies in ensuring that there is enough movement toward a just and lasting peace between the Arab states and Israel." (p. 172)

24. Hasnat, S. "The Persian Gulf as a Regional System: Its Operation in the New World Order." *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1989), pp. 23-37.

25. Hiro, Dilip. *Neighbors, Not Friends: Iraq and Iran after the Gulf Wars*. London: Routledge, 2001. ●● A London-based writer and journalist provides an account of developments in Iraq after the Kuwait War, including sanctions, mutual hostility between American presidents and Saddam Husayn, and Operation Desert Fox in 1998. He couples this with a similar examination of Iran, the impact of Rafsanjani's policies, the emergence of Khatami, and the struggle for control between reformers and reactionaries. An epilogue describes the situation after the election of George W. Bush as US president.

26. Hollis, Rosemary. *Gulf Security: No Consensus*. London: Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, 1993. Whitehall Paper Series, 1993. ●● A research fellow at the RUSI examines the respective views on Gulf security of each of the four actors in the Gulf: Iran, Iraq, the GCC, and the West. Her balance sheet is that "There is no prospect of agreement on Gulf security between all those involved so long as they retain incompatible objectives. … The result is a stand-off…." (p. 71)

27. _____, ed. *Oil and Regional Developments in the Gulf*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Middle East Programme in association with Division of Research and Studies, Crown Prince Court of Abu Dhabi, 1998.

●● Papers from a 1997 conference in Abu Dhabi. John V. Mitchell (RIIA) begins the book with an overview of developments in the global oil and gas industry while David G. Heard (Abu Dhabi Petroleum Company) looks at the industry in the UAE. Gary G. Sick (Columbia University) examines the failure of Washington's "dual containment policy" while the editor (RIIA) scrutinizes differences between the US and Europe regarding Gulf policy. Raad Alkadiri (Petroleum Finance Company) assays the problems in the Iraq sanctions policy and Edmund Herzig (RIIA) surveys Iran's regional relations. Mai Yamani (RIIA) provides a look at generational change in Saudi Arabia. The editor, in her concluding remarks, states that "there is reason to believe that the period of US predominance in the management of Gulf security may have peaked" and "the desire of Gulf Arabs to build up regional alignments and connections in response to specifically regional concerns is clearly present. These sentiments seem likely to portend an end to the relative isolation of Iraq and Iran." (p. 158)

28. _____, ed. *Managing New Developments in the Gulf*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, October 2000. In association with Abu Dhabi Crown Prince's Court, Research and Studies Division. ●● A collection of papers on the impact of regional politics on energy policies. Peter Kassler discusses the global energy market, Gary Sick deals with US policy in the Gulf, Edmund Herzig outlines Iran's domestic and foreign policies, Raad Alkadiri analyzes policy options toward Iraq, and Mai Yamani surveys the attitudes of Saudi youth.

29. Hooglund, Eric. "Rethinking Persian Gulf Security?" *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (January-February 1996), pp. 31-33. ●● A contributing editor to *Middle East Insight* reports on a January 1996 conference on Gulf security held at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research in Abu Dhabi.

30. Hunter, Shireen T. "Persian Gulf Security: Future Challenges." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (November-December 1992), pp. 22-31.

31. *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 1990), section on "Strategic Discussions." Papers drawn from a September 1989 conference include: Edward Lavalle, "Collective Security and the Superpowers: Trends of Significance for the Persian Gulf States" (pp. 3-20); Helmut Hubel, "The Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf in the 1980s and Beyond" (pp. 21-35); Tuomo Melasuo, "The Role of the Persian Gulf in the Importance of the Indian Ocean" (pp. 37-49); A.F. Borovali, "Turkey and the Gulf" (pp. 49-58); Elizabeth Gamlen, "US Strategic Policy Toward the Persian Gulf" (pp. 59-84); Hamid Mowlana, "Geopolitics of Communication in the Persian Gulf" (pp. 85-106); and Muwahid Hussein Shah, "Enwrapped in the Flag: How US

Lawyers View the War in the Persian Gulf" (pp. 139-149).

32. *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 5, Nos. 3-4 (Fall-Winter 1993-1994). ●● This double issue contains papers presented at a conference on "The Prospects for Peace and Stability in the Persian Gulf and the Oman Sea" held in Tehran in June 1993. Papers dealing with regional security include: James A. Bill, "Regional Security and Domestic Stability in the Persian Gulf" (pp. 561-574); Jerrold D. Green, "Conflict, Consensus, and [Persian] Gulf Security" (pp. 698-711); Jo-Anne Hart, "Current Issues in Persian Gulf Security" (pp. 712-721); Eric Hooglund, "US Perspectives on Persian Gulf Security" (pp. 659-171); Amin Saikal, "The US Approach to the Security of the Persian Gulf" (pp. 640-658); and Mohammad Ali Emami, "Perspectives on the Security of the Persian Gulf." (pp. 672-697).

    Boundary questions are discussed in: Asghar Jaffari Valdani, "Unstable Borders in the Persian Gulf" (pp. 539-560); Keith McLachlan, "The Iran-Iraq Boundary Question" (pp. 584-603); Richard Schofield, "Disputed Territory, the Gulf Cooperation Council, and Iran" (pp. 614-639); and Mohammad Reza Dabiri, "Abu Musa Island: A Binding Understanding or a Misunderstanding" (pp. 576-583). Iranian-Iraqi relations and the future of Iraq are the subject of: Ali Asghar Kazemi, "The Legal Issues Pending in the Present Iran-Iraq Relations" (pp. 604-613), and John Waterbury, "Iraq's Future: Is Democracy the Only Way Out" (pp. 775-780).

    The role of oil in security considerations is discussed by: Paul Rogers, "Oil and Security in the Persian Gulf" (pp. 722-737); Narsi Ghorban and Mohammad Sarir, "Oil and Gas: An Outlook for Future Cooperation Among the Persian Gulf States" (pp. 738-754); and Mark J. Gasiorowski, "The Politics of World Oil Prices: Lessons from the Past and Prospects for the Future" (pp. 755-774).

33. Johar, Hasan A. "New Dimensions of Future Security in the Gulf." *Journal and Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Fall 1997), pp. 267-294. ●● A member of the Kuwaiti National Assembly reviews such pertinent aspects of Gulf security as domestic politics, relations within the GCC, and regional security. He advises that the Gulf states must face certain realities, including en end to "the tribal age based on isolation," the necessity for a regional approach to development, the need for political reform to stop "outrageous expenditures, abuse of authority, administrative corruption," and the requirement for enacting a regional security project. (pp. 290-291)

34. Jones, Peter. "Maritime Confidence and Security-Building Measures in the Persian Gulf Region." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 2

(Summer 1996), pp. 368-392. ●● The author, Middle East Security and Arms Control Project leader at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, stresses the importance of maritime security in the Gulf and advances some ideas for maritime confidence-building measures, such as the exchange of information on naval procurement policies and exercises, and agreements not to attack civilian targets.

35. Karasik, Theodore William. *Azerbaijan, Central Asia, and Future Persian Gulf Security*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1993. N-3579-AF/A.

36. Kemp, Geoffrey, and Janice Gross Stein, eds. *Powder Keg in the Middle East: The Struggle for Gulf Security*. London: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995. ●● The outcome of three workshops sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and edited by a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a professor at the University of Toronto respectively. The book begins with several overview essays, including Saad Eddin Ibrahim (Ibn Khaldoun Center for Developmental Studies) on ethnic conflict and state building in the Arab world and Ghassan Salamé (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris) on future arrangements for regional security. The views and policies of regional actors on Gulf security are discussed by Shaul Bakhash (George Mason University) on Iran, Shahram Chubin (formerly at the Graduate School of International Studies, Geneva) on Iran as well, Charles Tripp (University of London SOAS) on Iraq, Soli Özel (Johns Hopkins University SAIS) on Turkey, Abdel Monem Said Aly (Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Cairo) and Hassan Saleh (Amiri Diwan, Qatar) on the GCC, David McDowell (independent writer) on the Kurds, and Barham A. Salih (representative of the Kurdish Regional Government in the United States) also on the Kurds. The key issue of WMD and delivery systems is covered by Marvin M. Miller (MIT) and the potential of water leading to regional conflict is examined by Thomas Naff (University of Pennsylvania). Implications of Gulf security arrangements on US policy are handled by William B. Quandt (University of Virginia), Thomas L. McNaugher (RAND Corporation), and Richard K. Hermann (Mershon Center and Ohio State University).

37. Kemp, Geoffrey. “The Persian Gulf Remains the Strategic Prize.” *Survival*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Winter 1998/1999), pp. 132-149. ●● The director of regional strategic programs at the Nixon Center argues that, despite current downward trends in oil prices, dependence on Gulf oil will increase in future and thus the Gulf's security will remain important to the global economy. With this in mind, “the continued crisis over Iraq and the US stand-off with Iran are vivid reminders of the region's continued instability. Although the US remains Gulf oil's protector of last resort, America's forward military presence is itself a

cause of political unrest in the Muslim world." (p. 149)

38. Kraig, Michael. "Assessing Alternative Security Frameworks for the Persian Gulf." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 139-156. ●● A program officer at the Stanley Foundation divines two approaches to Gulf security: US hegemony and principled multilateralism. Of these, he sees the latter as more advantageous since its conception involves the creation of strong interdependence between the Gulf states through a web of military and economic agreements. He concludes that "Time will tell whether the United States and its global and regional partners have the foresight to adopt this revolutionary strategy for providing security in the Gulf in the twenty-first century." (p. 154)

39. Long, David E., and Christian Koch, eds. *Gulf Security in the Twenty-First Century*. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1997. ●● A collection of papers from a 1994 conference in Abu Dhabi, edited by a former US State Department official and the head of the strategic studies department at the ECSSR in Abu Dhabi. Regional threats are covered by Jerrold D. Green (RAND Corporation), looking at Iran, and Phebe Marr (National Defense University) on Iraq. Relations with Great Powers are covered by Joseph Moynihan (formerly with the ECSSR) on the United States, Rosemary Hollis (Royal Institute of International Affairs) on Europe, and Robert V. Barylski (University of South Florida) on the Soviet Union/Russia. Long then examines the impact of revolutionary Islamism, Richard Schofield (University of London SOAS) describes the territorial disputes, and Glenn E. Robinson (Naval Postgraduate School) discusses the relationship between Gulf security and the Arab-Israeli problem. In regard to internal determinants of Gulf security, Charles F. Doran (Johns Hopkins University SAIS) discusses the economic aspects, Jill Crystal (Auburn University) dwells on social change, Michael E. Bonine (University of Arizona) analyzes population growth and the labor market, and Mai Yamani (University of London SOAS) covers health, education, and gender.

40. Long, David. "Prospects for Armed Conflict in the Gulf in the 1990s: The Impact of the Gulf War." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1993), pp. 113-125. ●● A retired US Foreign Service officer suggests that the most plausible scenario for conflict would be either Iran or Iraq attacking each other or one of the smaller Gulf states. Still, he judges that "the chances of a renewal of major armed conflict in the Gulf in the 1990s are fairly low." (pp. 123-124) He notes that Washington's ability to keep a balance in the Gulf depends on its capability in maintaining a military presence in the region. "However, the longer the United States feels compelled to deploy military forces in the region, the more likely it is to wear out its welcome." (p. 125)

41. McKnight, Sean, Neil Partrick and Francis Toase, eds. *Gulf Security: Opportunities and Challenges for the New Generation*. London: Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, 2000. Whitehall Paper. Published with the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. ●● A collection of papers presented at a 1999 conference by academics, diplomats, and British politicians. A section on the GCC contains papers by Andrew Rathmell (Kings College London) on GCC military and political cooperation, Othman al-Rawaf (King Saud University, Riyadh) on a Gulf view, and Richard Schofield (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) on border disputes. Ali Ansari discusses Iran's internal politics while Christopher Rundle (formerly with the British Foreign Office) focuses on the impact of US and European policy on Iran, and Hadi Semati dissects Iran's view of Gulf security. Iraq is the subject of papers by Mustafa Alani (RUSI) on Saddam's support structure, Tim Niblock (University of Exeter) on post-Saddam Iraq, and Nemir Kirdar (Investcorp Ltd.) on the economic aspects of Gulf security. Jamal Suweidi (Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi) discusses the threat of weapons of mass destruction, Robert Joseph (National Defense University, Washington) analyzes deterrent strategies regarding WMD, and Peter Jones (Privy Council Office, Ottawa) regards prospects for a regional arms control regime. Fred Halliday (London School of Economics) outlines the dangers of Islamic radicalism, Magnus Ranstorp (University of St. Andrews) presents the threat this poses to the GCC states, and Gerd Nonneman (Lancaster University) responds with régime responses to the threat. Paul Stevens (University of Dundee) looks at the impact of declining oil revenues in the GCC states.

42. McMillan, Joseph, Richard Sokolsky, and Andrew C. Winner. "Toward a New Regional Security Architecture." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Summer 2003), pp. 161-175. ●● Two research fellows at the US National Defense University and a staff member at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis in Cambridge, MA, respectively, argue that the focus on reconstruction in Iraq has diverted attention from the unfinished business of creating the basis for lasting security in the Gulf. The authors examine the problems remaining in the region for the US and advance the case for a Gulf collective security architecture relying on the participation of all the littoral states and consisting of "a mutually reinforcing network of linkages among all the Gulf states, including Iraq and Iran." (p. 167) They see the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a model. The US should not be a formal member but instead provide support and assistance.

43. Mahallati, Mohammad Jafar. "The New Persian Gulf Security Arrangement and the Relevant Factors." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (July-August 1991), pp. 22-24. ●● A former Iranian ambassador to the UN notes three

approaches to Gulf security: domination by a single hegemonic power (which is completely outdated), a balance of power (which was responsible for the major destabilizing events in the region through the 1980s), and collective security (featuring non-interference by external powers).

44. Mottale, Morris M. *The Origins of the Gulf Wars*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001. ●● A textbook concentrating largely on such background factors as oil, ideology, the role of the superpowers, and the recent history and military policies of Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia.

45. Nuri, M. "Indo-Gulf Relations in the 1980s." *Regional Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1986), pp. 80-97.

46. Pamir, Peri. "The Gulf in a New World Order: Peace-Building Scenarios for the Middle East." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1992), pp. 283-300. ●● The program coordinator at the Conference of Rectors of European Universities argues that the responsibility for picking up the pieces from the Iran-Iraq War rests ultimately with the international community and that "The main challenge for the UN in the postwar period will be to link the issues of security, stability, democracy and developmentin the Middle East and, by so doing, to try to heal the wounds of war and lay the foundations for a lasting peace in the region." (p. 297) The first step is a solution of the Israel-Palestinian conflict.

47. Peterson, J.E. *Defending Arabia*. London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986. ●● A study of Gulf security concerns over the course of most of the 20th century. British security policy in the Arabian Peninsula pre-dated global dependence on oil and the establishment of civil and military air routes and landing grounds in the peninsula between the two world wars formed a principal focus of British activity. After the Second World War, Britain sought to defend its interests in the region through air operations in the Aden Protectorate, assistance to the Sultan of Oman in the 1950s and again in the 1960s-1970s, protection for Kuwait during the Iraqi threat of 1961, and the withdrawal from Aden in 1967 and from the Gulf in 1971. American replacement of the British security umbrella over the Gulf took time to unfold but gathered steam in the 1980s following the Iranian Revolution and the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War. At the same time, the Gulf states sought to expand their own military capabilities and joined together in the Gulf Cooperation Council. "The United States and Saudi Arabia - and behind the Saudis, the other five GCC states - will remain mutually dependent far into the next century. Neither can afford to jeopardise the support and co-operation of the other during this period. Consequently, the necessarily close co-ordination of security interests in the Gulf between these states must build on foundations of mutual trust and sensitivity." (p. 246) A distillation of these

themes was published earlier as J.E. Peterson, "Defending Arabia: Evolution of Responsibility," *Orbis*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Fall 1984), pp. 465-488.

48. Potter, Lawrence G. "Confidence-Building Measures in the Persian Gulf." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer 1996), pp. 353-367. ●● The deputy director of the Gulf/2000 project at Columbia University suggests as confidence-building measures: declarations of peaceful intent by regional leaders, exchange of basic information, better communications, improved maritime security, and regular consultation between military forces. A shorter version of the article was also published as "The Need for Confidence-Building Measures in the Persian Gulf." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (January-February 1996), pp. 27-30, and a longer version under the same title in Gary G. Sick and Lawrence G. Potter, eds., *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economy, Security, and Religion* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 231-248.

49. _____. *The Persian Gulf in Transition*. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1998. Headline Series, No. 315. ●● The deputy director of the Gulf/2000 project and adjunct professor at Columbia University concisely summarizes developments in the Gulf, emphasizing the internal transition of the Gulf nations from traditional entities to modern states, the impact of recent wars in the region, the prospects for regional cooperation, and prospects for US policy. His conclusion is that "The American age in the Persian Gulf, historically speaking, has just begun and will probably be of much shorter duration than that of the British. While it lasts, the United States should work to promote regional reconciliation and not permit the countries to postpone facing their problems." (p. 69)

50. _____, and Gary G. Sick, eds. *Security in the Persian Gulf: Origins, Obstacles and the Search for Consensus*. New York: Palgrave, 2001. ●● The second volume of papers from the editors' Gulf/2000 conferences begins with a historical study of Gulf security by J.E. Peterson and is followed by a survey of the Gulf's ethnic diversity by Mehrdad Izady. The GCC perspective on Gulf security is analyzed by Ibrahim A. Karawan while the Iranian perspective is provided by Saideh Lotfian and separately by Bijan Khajehpour-Khouei. The islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs, disputed between the United Arab Emirates and Iran, are covered from the Iranian perspective by Jalil Roshandel, from the Arab Perspective by Hassan Al-Alkim, and by Richard Schofield. Papers on the "new generation" are contributed by Mai Yamani on Saudi Arabia and Hadi Semati on Iran. Abdullah Alshayeji discusses Iranian-GCC relations while Raad Alkadiri covers Iraq and the GCC.

51. Pridham, B.R., ed. *The Arab Gulf and the West*. London: Croom Helm, for

the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, 1985. ●● A compilation of papers originally presented at a 1984 Exeter symposium and edited by the deputy director of the Centre for Arab Gulf Studies at the university. The volume begins with a pair of contributions on the establishment of the British treaty system in the Gulf: David Roberts (retired British diplomat and Middle East Association) provides a British view and Husain M. Albaharna (Bahraini Minister for Legal Affairs) a Gulf view. Anthony Parsons (retired British diplomat) follows with a British perception of the Gulf. Economics are covered by John Townsend (Business International) on economic interdependence, Yousuf A. Shirawi (Bahraini Minister of Development and Industry) on the transfer of technology, Sinclair Road and Averil Harrison (both of the Committee for Middle East Trade) on Gulf investment in the West, and Giampaolo Calchi Novati (University of Pisa) on the EEC and the GCC. A section on international politics and security contains papers by John Duke Anthony (National Council on US-Arab Relations) on US views of Gulf security, William L. Dowdy (University of Lancaster) on the security implications of the Strait of Hormuz, and Bichara Khader (University of Louvain) on the Gulf, Palestine, and the West. Robert Swann (Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation) examines cultural interchange from the European point of view while Levon H. Melikian (University of Qatar) surveys the Gulf reaction. The final section consists of various viewpoints on the future of Gulf-European-American relations: Abdullah ibn Faisal ibn Turki Al Sa'ud (Royal Commission for the Development of Jubail and Yanbu') for the Gulf, Michael Sterner (retired US diplomat and International Relations Consultants) for the US, and Olivier Carré (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales) for Europe.

52. Puri, Madan Mohan. "Persian Gulf Geopolitics." *International Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (October-December 1993), pp. 437-474. ●● A survey of the geographic, economic, and political determinants of all eight of the Gulf states by a professor at Panjab University, Chandigarh. The utility of the article is limited because of its cut-off date of 1983.

53. Robins, Philip, with a chapter by Jonathan Stern. *The Future of the Gulf: Politics and Oil in the 1990s*. Aldershot, Hants, England: Dartmouth, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs; Brookfield, VT: Gower, 1989. ●● A research fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs summarizes political and economic developments in Iran, Iraq, and the GCC states before examining the role of the superpowers in the Gulf and then Stern looks at the importance of the Gulf for oil supplies.

54. Roshandel, Jalil. "Confidence-Building Measures in the Persian Gulf." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall 1996), pp. 627-

642. ●● The author explores the idea of establishing a strategy of Non-Offensive Defense within a collective Gulf security system. Such a strategy would embrace friendly relations, peaceful resolution of differences, arms control, disarmament, measures to create confidence and security, and a defense-oriented restructuring of the armed forces.

55. Rubin, Barry. *Cauldron of Turmoil: America in the Middle East*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992. ●● An overview of US policy in the Gulf in the context of the dilemmas raised by Iranian revolution, the Iran-Iraq War, and the invasion of Kuwait and subsequent war. The author relies heavily on personal observations and anecdotes.

56. _____, ed. *Crises and Quandaries in the Contemporary Persian Gulf*. London: Frank Cass, 2002. Published in the United States as *Crises in the Contemporary Persian Gulf*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2002. ●● A collection of articles on current developments in the Gulf. Contributors include Turki al-Hamad on GCC cooperation, Sean Foley on UAE security, Daniel L. Byman and Jerrold D. Green on political stability in the GCC states, Shafeeq Ghabra on socioeconomic change in Kuwait, Daryl Champion on Saudi Arabia's stability, Jon B. Alterman on US-GCC security relations, Amin Tarzi on US policy vis-à-vis Iraq, Amatzia Baram on Iraqi politics and foreign policy, Michael Eisenstadt on Iran's nuclear policy, Seth Carus on Iran's possession of weapons of mass destruction, and Abbad Samii on Iranian domestic politics. Most contributions were previously published electronically in the *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)* apart from three published elsewhere; all can be found in this bibliography in separate entries under the author's name.

57. _____. "The Persian Gulf After the Cold War: Old Pattern; New Era." *MERIA News*, Issue 4 (April 1999), distributed electronically. ●● The deputy director of the BESA Center for Strategic Studies in Israel summarizes recent developments in Iran and Iraq and suggests that in the coming decade "the focus on the Gulf will involve several crises and one or more war." The article was also published in German in *Internationale Politik* (June 1999).

58. Shikara, Ahmad. *Iran, Iraq and Turkey: Strategic Impact on Gulf Security*. Cairo: Boustany, 2002.

59. Sick, Gary G., and Lawrence G. Potter, eds. *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economy, Security, and Religion*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. ●● A collection of a dozen papers presented at conferences organized by the Gulf 2000 project in 1994-1995 and edited by the director and deputy director of the project. Gary Sick begins the volume

with an elaboration of what he regards as a "crisis in slow motion" that stands to transform the domestic politics and relations of the Gulf states with their neighbors and the outside world. Richard K. Hermann and R. William Ayres (both of Ohio State University) look at the Gulf after the end of the Cold War and regard the future geopolitics of the Gulf as being determined most on the domestic level. F. Gregory Gause III (University of Vermont) examines the political economy of national security in the GCC states and Paul Stevens (University of Dundee) looks at the impact of oil (and oil prices) on Gulf politics. Karim Pakravan (First National Bank of Chicago) discusses private sector development and privatization mainly in Iran and Saudi Arabia while Richard N. Schofield (University of London SOAS) surveys the resolution of many border disputes. Munira A. Fakhro (University of Bahrain) provides background on and an assessment of the 1990s political unrest in Bahrain. Anthony H. Cordesman (Center for Strategic and International Studies) analyzes Iranian military capabilities and outlines Tehran's strategic options. Lawrence Potter examines the viability of confidence-building measures in the Gulf. Frank E. Vogel (Harvard Law School) looks at Saudi Arabia and Iran as case studies for Islamic governance. Roy P. Mottahedeh (Harvard University) and Mamoun Fandy (Georgetown University) then discuss Islamic movements in the Gulf and assess whether they should be included in the political process. Finally, Anwar M. Gargash (independent scholar in the UAE) looks at challenges the Gulf faces in the future, including the problem of regional powers vis-à-vis small states, the dilemma of security, unsolved territorial disputes, and internal change. He emphasizes the need to break the cycle of mistrust in the region and charges that "The larger states in the Gulf must initiate this process…." (p. 338)

60. Sindelar, H. Richard, III, and J.E. Peterson, eds. *Crosscurrents in the Gulf: Arab, Regional and Global Interests*. London: Routledge, for the Middle East Institute, 1988. ●● A collection of papers originally presented as lectures at the Middle East Institute in Washington, DC. Zbigniew Brzezinski (Columbia University and former National Security Adviser to President Carter) provides an introduction to US policy in the region and the Carter Doctrine, which he helped to formulate. The following three papers look at the Gulf in international affairs, with papers by Hermann Frederick Eilts (Boston University and a former US ambassador) on the GCC states' foreign-policy perspectives, John Duke Anthony (National Council on US-Arab Relations) on the GCC, and Roger F. Pajak (Office of the US Secretary of the Treasury) on Soviet policy in the region. The next section consists of contributions by Wayne E. White (US State Department) on the Iran-Iraq War, Joseph C. Story (Gulf Consulting Services) on Gulf oil policies in the 1980s, and Rouhollah K. Ramazani (University of Virginia) on the potential for terrorism. Studies of individual Gulf states as provided by Dale F. Eickelman (New York University) on the

next generation in Oman, David E. Long (Georgetown University and US State Department) on Saudi Arabia's policies toward its neighbors, and J.E. Peterson on the future of federalism in the UAE.

61. Tanaka, Mitsuhiko. "Current Military Considerations in the Gulf." *JIME Review*, No. 29 (1995), pp. 35-62. ●● A senior research fellow at JIME in Tokyo surveys the security situation in the Gulf and the military build-up of the GCC states and their ties to external protectors. He notes that "the United States and other nations that are deeply involved in the Gulf and Middle East through arms transfers have many problems of their own. … [But] The United States is working to maintain its overwhelmingly large presence in the Gulf. Meanwhile, countries such as France and Russia are trying to boost their arms export shares, as well as their influence in the region." (p. 51)

62. Tehranian, Majid, ed. *Bridging a Gulf: Peacebuilding in West Asia*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003. ●● A collection of papers on alternatives to war in the Middle East, sponsored by the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research and its collaborators.

63. Wells, Samuel F., Jr., and Mark A. Bruzonsky, eds. *Security in the Middle East: Regional Change and Great Power Strategies*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987. ●● A great deal of this book deals with the Arab-Israeli conflict but there are a number of essays on the security situation of individual countries, among them Adeed I. Dawisha (George Mason University) on Saudi Arabia, Christine Moss Helms (Smithsonian Institution) on Iraq, and Robert S. Litwak (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars) on Iran. In addition, Robert J. Lieber (Georgetown University) looks at relations between the industrialized countries during the 1970s and 1980s while Dennis Ross (National Security Council) and Shahram Chubin (Graduate Institute of International Studies) discuss Soviet policy-making in the region. The second contribution by Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke University) "reviews the premises and emerging outlines of a US military strategy in Southwest Asia and advances some ideas concerning the integration of US military capabilities into a broader political framework." (p. 306)

64. Wizarat, Talat A. "Strategies for Conflict Resolution in the Persian Gulf." *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (October 1991), pp. 31-39. ●● The chair of the international relations department at the University of Karachi reviews the many disputes in the Gulf and suggests three areas of attention to promote peace and security: tension relaxation and confidence-building measures, a regional security agreement, and a Gulf common market.

Oil Security

65. Aarts, Paul, and Dennis Janssen. "Shades of Opinion: The Oil Exporting Countries and International Climate Politics." *Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December 2003), pp. 332-351. ●● The authors assess the future of Middle Eastern oil-exporting countries, particularly in the light of increased emphasis on alternative, more environmentally friendly, sources of fuel. They find that " Contrary to received wisdom, OPEC countries do not always act or speak in unity, and accordingly hold varying positions in the climate change debate. Different perceptions on climate change abatement policies exist within the group of developing countries as within the oil exporting countries." (p. 348)

66. Abdullah, H. "OPEC and the Oil Market After the Gulf Crisis." *JIME Review*, No. 13 (1991), pp. 51-70.

67. Abu-Khadra, Rajai M. "Is the Gulf War Endangering World Oil Supplies?" *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 5, No. 5 (January-February 1988), pp. 42-45. ●● A former adviser to the Kuwaiti Ministry of Oil sees that the possible disruption of Gulf oil supplies to the West will be mitigated by over-production by Gulf producers, by unused production capacity outside the Gulf as well as inside it, by the equivalent of one month's exports of Gulf oil at sea at any one time, and by far larger Western government and company oil stocks than in previous crises. "The real danger to oil supplies is if the tanker war is escalated into attacks on oil installations." (p. 45)

68. Adelman, M.A. "Oil Fallacies." *Foreign Policy*, No. 82 (Spring 1991), pp. 3-16. ●● A professor emeritus of economics at MIT stresses the importance of oil in the health of international economy and reviews the circumstances in which oil price explosions occur. He is decidedly anti-OPEC, accuses Saudi Arabia of regularly violating promises regarding oil supplies, and contends that "only American armies kept Iraq out of Saudi Arabia." (p. 16)

69. Ahrari, Mohammed. "OPEC, Saudi Arabia and Iran: The Dilemmas of Shared Power." *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1985), pp. 80-95.

70. Ajami, Riad. "US Oil Security: An Oil Imports Policy for the Turbulent 1990s." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 7, Nos. 2 & 3 (1990), pp. 55-63.

71. Ajmi, Fahed M. al-. "The Effect of Sociopolitical Events on OPEC's Market-Share Stability." *Journal of Energy and Development*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring 1990), pp. 275-286. ●● An analyst with the Saudi American Oil Company

employs statistical modeling to measure the impact of indicators of sociopolitical instability on OPEC and finds that "this study did not find a significant structural shift in OPEC's production behavior after the 1970-1982 period." (p. 283)

72. Akacem, Mohamed. "A New World Order for Oil." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1992), pp. 23-32. ●● An associate professor of economics at Metro State College believes that "Desert Storm reaffirmed the dominance of the wealthy Gulf states in future oil matters. That dominance will not necessarily translate into the disintegration of OPEC as we know it, but the center of power has already shifted from Vienna to Riyadh." (p. 23)

73. Alkadiri, Raad, and Fareed Mohamedi. "World Oil Markets and the Invasion of Iraq." *Middle East Report*, No. 227 (Summer 2003), pp. 20-27. ●● The director of the markets and countries group and the chief economist at the Petroleum Finance Corporation concur that the US invasion of Iraq has the potential to change the dynamics of the global oil market but much depends on the direction and timing of changes, as previous experience with Saudi Arabia and Venezuela demonstrate.

74. Amirahmadi, Hooshang. *Oil at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century: Interplay of Market Forces and Politics*. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research, 1996. The Emirates Occasional Papers, No. 5. ●● The chair of the urban planning and policy development program at Rutgers University advises that the international oil outlook is uncertain for both consumers and producers and gauges that "World oil demand is on a steady rise. In the long run, supply will catch up with demand and oil prices will stabilize at a higher price." (p. 8) He argues for a more hospitable attitude from the West toward OPEC, as it will benefit the West and its oil companies. A "reciprocal supply-demand security" will give OPEC producers "predictable and unimpeded access to stable markets at fair prices…" (p. 35) while OPEC guarantees "adequate and steady flow of oil at fair prices to its consumers." (p. 36)

75. Bahgat, Gawdat. *American Oil Diplomacy in the Persian Gulf and Caspian Sea*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003.

76. _____. "Oil Security at the Dawn of the New Millennium." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Fall 1999), pp. 275-290. ●● The author, from Indiana University of Pennsylvania, looks at recent developments on both the supply side and the demand side of the international oil industry and suggests that the United States' policy towards Iran and Iraq involves contradictory goals: "economic (promoting the

interests of American corporations abroad) and strategic (punishing régimes whose policies are perceived as a threat to American national security).” (p. 290)

77. Bina, Cyrus. *The Economics of the Oil Crisis: Theories of Oil Crisis, Oil Rent, and Internationalization of Capital in the Oil Industry*. New York: St. Martin's Press; London: Merlin, 1985. ●● The book opens with a discussion of the various theories advanced for the 1973-1974 oil crisis, which the author groups into traditional, dependency, and conspiratorial theories, and judges to be subjective and speculative. After a historical review of international oil pricing, Bina examines the role of raw materials, theories of rent and competition, the role of US oil production, and econometric models of oil prices and oil rents. He then develops an alternative theory concluding that “the individual value of crude oil, from the aged U.S. oil fields … is the basis of the market value of the entire energy industry at the global level.” (p. 118) In his view, “ ‘contrary to conventional wisdom,' … the increase in the oil royalties of the Middle East was *not the cause* but the consequences of the oil crisis.” (p. vi; emphasis in original)

78. Blin, Louis. *Le pétrole du Golfe: Guerre et paix au Moyen-Orient*. Paris: Éditions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1996.

79. Brown, William R. “The Oil Weapon.” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (1982), pp. 301-318. ●● The author, Dean of Arts and Sciences at Central Connecticut State University, addresses various arguments that have been raised about the “Arab oil weapon.” While he agrees that the oil embargo in 1973/1974 was ineffective, he takes issue with the assertion that petroleum is a matter of economics and that therefore the Arab oil producers will not risk their oil income to pursue a solution of the Palestinian issue. Furthermore, Brown contends that the oil glut of the early 1980s represented a temporary phenomenon that was not likely to prevail for long. He notes that the Arab producers have begun to take steps toward a more viable oil strategy, including marketing changes in the direction of bilateral state trading arrangements, increasing the proportion of oil shipped in Arab tankers, expanding Arab refining capacity, and exercising greater control over eventual oil destinations. Brown points out that application of oil diplomacy is essentially a last-resort strategy for the Arabs, and for Saudi Arabia in particular. Its success depends on the intricacy and friendliness of the US /Saudi relationship, and the Saudis are not likely to take the high risks of employing the oil weapon unless they become “totally exasperated with Washington's procrastination as successive administrations attempt to manage rather than resolve the problem which Arabs see as being the result of Israeli obstinacy.” ¤

80. Chalabi, Fadhil J. "OPEC: An Obituary." *Foreign Policy*, No. 109 (Winter 1997-1998), pp. 126-140. ●● The executive director of the Center for Global Energy Studies and a former acting secretary-general of OPEC examines OPEC's dwindling influence in the international oil markets, especially following the Kuwait War, but concludes that "despite … dire predictions, the news of OPEC's demise might be premature" (p. 139) since global energy demand is expected to rise significantly. This, however, the author says, is unlikely to solve OPEC's myriad problems and he singles out the Gulf states for remaining "adamant in their resistance to privatization, deregulation, and fiscal discipline." (p. 139)

81. Collins, John M., and Clyde R. Mark. *Petroleum Imports from the Persian Gulf: Use of U.S. Armed Force to Ensure Supplies*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, 26 April 1979; updated 8 January 1980. Issue Brief No. IB79046. ●● Basically an updated and condensed version of the authors' earlier study, Oil Fields as Military Objectives. This issue brief summarizes vital US interests in the Gulf, assesses the limited amount of military force that could be spared for a Gulf emergency, and factors in the consequences of Soviet intervention. The authors reiterate their earlier conclusions, charging that the US defense establishment lacks much latitude to cope with sizeable contingencies. In the view of those who feel that an American-Soviet confrontation in the Gulf is a distinct possibility, say the authors, two courses of corrective action are available: "accept the possible sacrifice of U.S. and allied interests that prominent spokesmen in Congress and the Executive Branch consider crucial, or strengthen our defense establishment." Another version of this issue brief, slightly updated with the assistance of Elizabeth Ann Severns, was reprinted in: U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, U.S. Security Interests and Policies in Southwest Asia; Hearings (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1980), pp. 336-366. ¤

82. Conant, Melvin A. "Access to Oil." In J.C. Hurewitz, ed., *Oil, the Arab Israeli Dispute, and the Industrialized World: Horizons of Crisis*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1976, pp. 65-75. ●● An international energy consultant outlines the strategic importance of oil since World War II, emphasizing that consumer governments and companies have taken the path of accommodation with increasingly assertive producers, rather than resorting to military force. ¤

83. _____. "Recognizing U.S.-Arab Interdependence: The U.S. Stake in Gulf Oil." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 20 (Spring 1987), pp. 57-61. ●● A short article, adapted from a speech by the president of Conant and Associates, emphasizes the high proportion of world oil reserves in the Gulf and suggests that "By the mid-1990s, it would not be surprising if the Gulf provided not

today's 50 percent of international oil, but 75 percent." (p. 57) For this reason, the author states American interests towards the Gulf as being uninterrupted access to Gulf energy, a substantial presence in the region to limit Soviet expansion, helping to ensure the security and independence of all Gulf states from external aggression, and helping to insure the independence of Israel from external aggression.

84. _____, and Elena Turner. *Saudi Oil Policy, 1987-2000*. Washington, DC: Conant, 1988.

85. Copaken, Robert R. *The Arab Oil Weapon of 1973-74 as a Double-Edged Sword: Its Implications for Future Energy Security*. Durham, UK: University of Durham, Institute for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, June 2003. Durham Middle East Paper, No. 75. ●● A former senior Middle East analyst at the US Department of Energy observes that the oil weapon "ultimately hurt those nations that wielded it at least as much as it did its intended targets." (p. 2) But, he contends, Saudi Arabia has learned its lesson and has not repeated the strategy; rather, it has sought to make up any shortage in oil supplies due to hostilities.

86. Cordesman, Anthony H. "The One True U.S. Strategic Interest in the Middle East: Energy." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 2001), pp. 117-127. ●● The Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies reasons that the key to the Middle East's expanding strategic value lies in two factors: "oil will retain its importance as a critical energy supply" for the foreseeable future (p. 117) and because the Gulf's oil reserves are vast. The question is whether the region "will act as a stable supplier of oil and gas exports at market-driven prices." (p. 124)

87. _____. "Middle Eastern Energy After the Iraq War: Current and Projected Trends." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 126-147. ●● In a follow-up to his earlier article, the author notes that the Iraq War has had little impact on the overall importance of Middle Eastern energy or meaningful changes in global and US dependence on the region's oil and gas exports. After examining global reserves, Cordesman notes that "most estimates indicate that the Middle East will steadily expand its oil production, increase its share of world production, and increase its impact on the global economy through 2030." (p. 130)

88. Deese, David A., and Joseph S. Nye, eds. *Energy and Security*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger,1981. A Report of Harvard's Energy and Security Research Project. ●● The authors of this study examine the relationship between energy, particularly oil, and national security needs in various countries

around the world, with emphasis on implications for the US. Joseph S. Nye provides an introductory chapter on energy and security, and Thomas L. Neff discusses structural changes in the world oil market. Other contributions of interest here include Gary Samore's survey of politics and energy policies in the Gulf and Geoffrey Kemp's examination of potential military threats to Western interests in the Gulf and possible responses. ¤

89. Georgiou, George C. "The Persian Gulf Crisis and the Future of OPEC." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 100-117. ●● The author, a professor of economics at Towson State University, looks at international oil reserves and production and contends that "the impact of the Persian Gulf crisis on the world oil situation and the future of OPEC is of little significance in the long run." (p. 101)

90. Gillespie, Kate, and Clement M. Henry, eds. *Oil in the New World Order*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995. ●● The product of a 1992 conference at the University of Texas at Austin, and edited by two professors at that institution, this collection of papers focuses on the international oil industry after the Kuwait War. In addition to examinations of global issues affecting the industry, papers concentrate on developments in the former Soviet Union and managerial perspectives from Britain, Japan, Venezuela and Russia. Case studies of national oil strategies in the Middle East include Lahouari Addi (Université d'Oran, Algeria) on Algeria, Mary Ann Tétreault (Iowa State University) on Kuwait, Hooshang Amirahmadi (Rutgers University) on Iran, Peter Sluglett (University of Utah) on Iraq, and David E. Long (C & O Resources, Washington) on the GCC states.

91. Goldmuntz, Lawrence. "The Oil Glut Is Not Forever: Pay Now or Pay More Later." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (1986), pp. 31-34.

92. Golub, David B. *When Oil and Politics Mix: Saudi Oil Policy, 1973-1985*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1985. Harvard Middle East Papers, Modern Series, No. 4. ●● A Marshall Scholar at St. Antony's College, Oxford, argues that oil and politics have been inseparable in Saudi Arabia and discerns that "the overall picture of Saudi oil policy since 1973 is … one of long periods of price maintenance punctuated by two periods [1973-1974 and 1978-1979] during which Saudi policy caused or exacerbated sharp price increases." (p. 4) Golub perceives that various forces at the international, regional, and internal levels have influenced Saudi decision-making, which is based on Riyadh's perceptions of its vulnerability. " [T]he centrality of security-related concerns calls into question the importance of the Saudi desire to maximize oil sector profits. How important can long-term profits be when short-term security-related concerns seem to

have determined policy during the two oil crises?" (p. 45)

93. Han, Vo Xuan. *Oil, the Persian Gulf States, and the United States*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993. ●● An economist at Winthrop University (South Carolina) analyzes the impact of oil on the rentier states of the Gulf and the evolution of their economies as a result. He notes that US-GCC relations in the future will be affected by US dependence on Gulf oil, long-term economic performance in the Gulf states, the speed of technological development in the region, and the Gulf's internal political development.

94. Hansen, Richard Earl. "The Strait of Hormuz and Secure Oil Routes: A Challenge to U.S. Strategy." *Conflict*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1980), pp. 121-135. ●● A retired air force colonel provides an alarmist look at potential threats to the strait. Hansen attacks the US Government for not having replaced American for British forces in the region, for having allowed the Soviet Union to move into Ethiopia and South Yemen, for letting the Shah fall, and for alienating South Africa ¤

95. Hartshorn, J.E. *Oil Companies and Governments: An Account of the International Oil Industry in its Political Environment*. London: Faber & Faber, 1962; 2nd rev. ed., 1967.

96. "International Energy Security." *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 19 (Summer 1997), pp. 8-35. ●● A special section including short articles debunking the idea of an imminent energy crisis (Sarah A. Emerson) and looking at Middle East stability and oil supply (Richard Cooper).

97. Jaffe, Amy Myers, and Robert A. Manning. "The Shocks of a World of Cheap Oil." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1 (January-February 2000), pp. 16-29. ●● Jaffe and Armstrong (from the Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice University and the Council on Foreign Relations respectively) contend that, instead of oil shortages, the world faces a long-term danger of "a prolonged oil surplus and low oil prices over the next two decades." (p. 16) The consequence of reduced oil income in the Gulf, the authors argue, is likely to be shrinking economies, bleak employment prospects, increased political opposition, and fewer means for governments to buy off critics. This does not bode well for US policy, they conclude. While the US proved its capability to handle external threats to the flow of Gulf oil by the Kuwait War, it does less well in coping with internal threats. In addition, the fall in Gulf oil exports to the US (but growth in exports to Asia) may well mean that "the expensive military role of 'guardian of the Gulf' will become increasingly vulnerable to those at home calling for more burden-sharing." (p. 27)

98. Johnson, Thomas M., and Raymond T. Barrett. "Mining the Strait of Hormuz." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 107, No. 12 (December 1981), pp. 83-85. ●● A short note by two military officers who were members of a State Department/Department of Defense military survey team sent to Oman in 1979. They argue that the strait is "deep enough to deny bottom mining against all but the deepest vessels and to deny blockage by sinkings. It is wide enough to make the mining task difficult, because it calls for the use of moored mines which are somewhat easier … to find and remove." But the authors note that mining can pose a psychological threat to shipping. ¤

99. Kanovsky, Eliyahu. "Oil: Who's Really Over a Barrel?" *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 51-64. ●● An economic professor at Bar-Ilan University in Israel rejects the idea of an OPEC revival or a serious shortage of oil supplies being behind recent oil price rises. Instead, he blames it on "errors of judgment, including: a shortage of refineries…; neglect of infrastructure needed for electric power; bungled policies in California's electrical sector; and harsher winters in Europe which increased demand for fuel oil" (p. 56) and "a shortage of revenues for the producing countries." (p. 53) This leads him to conclude that Saudi Arabia's budgetary problems are primarily due to the need to continue defense spending because of corruption.

100. Knauerhase, Ramon. "Saudi Arabian Oil Policies." *Current History*, Vol. 83, No. 489 (January 1984), pp. 29-32, 36-37. ●● The author, a professor of economics at the University of Connecticut, contends that Saudi oil policymaking is shrouded in deepest secrecy. In theory, the king makes all oil decisions but he is supported by three advisory bodies: the Council of Senior Princes, the Council of Ministers, and the Higher Petroleum Council. Knauerhase suggests that Saudi policymakers have two options: to restrict output and sell at a high price, or expand output and sell more oil at a lower price. In the author's view, Saudi Arabia has chosen the first option. ¤

101. Lenczowski, George. "The Persian Gulf Crisis and Global Oil." *Current History*, Vol. 80, No. 462 (January 1981), pp. 10-13, 43. ●● A discussion of the impact of the Iran-Iraq war on international oil supplies. Although early attacks on oil installations resulted in a large drop in oil exports for both countries, the existence of spare capacity around the world limited the adverse effects on oil prices and supplies. Lenczowski concludes that the war will not cause global disruptions but it may result in serious temporary shortages for heavily dependent customers. He advises major powers with a stake in the region to work to reduce tensions and suggests that the development of alternative export routes would be prudent. ¤

102. Levy, Walter J. *Oil Strategy and Politics, 1941-1981*. Ed. by Melvin A. Conant. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982. ●● A collection of reprinted articles by a well-known oil consultant, reflecting major stages in international oil developments from the beginning of World War II to the early 1980s. Of particular interest here are Levy's Foreign Affairs articles on "Oil Power, "Oil and the Decline of the West," and "Oil: An Agenda for the 1980s." In "Oil Power" (Vol. 49, No. 4 [July 1971]), Levy points out that the emergence of OPEC has signaled a shift in the balance between oil producers and oil importers in favor of the former. He emphasizes that "Despite their new position of power the attitude of the oil-producing countries still reflects a lingering heritage of emotional resentments against former colonial administrators and concessionary circumstances."

Levy begins "Oil and the Decline of the West" (Vol. 58, No. 5 [Summer 1980]) with the gloomy observation that "The year 1979 was one of grievous setbacks for the future security of the oil supply of the Western world, its economic and financial prospects, its strategic capabilities, and its political stability." In his view, both the oil-exporting and oil-importing countries had adopted irresponsible policies which resulted in an unstable world oil market.

A year later, in "Oil: An Agenda for the 1980s" (Vol. 59, No. 5 [Summer 1981]), Levy's outlook appears somewhat more positive. Despite the emerging oil glut, Levy suggests that substantial dependence on OPEC oil will continue and attaches considerable importance to the actions of Saudi Arabia. However, he points out that in the foreseeable future, no firm reliance can be safely placed on the future availability of the required volumes of Middle Eastern oil at manageable prices. Levy advises a balanced accommodation between oil exporters and importers, with close consultation and adoption of military measures to maintain the security of the Gulf. ¤

103. Looney, Robert. "Petroeuros: A Threat to U.S. Interests in the Gulf?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2004), pp. 26-37. ●● An economist at the US Naval Postgraduate School examines the possibility that the international currency of oil might be switched from US dollars to Euros. In addition to noting that the strong recent performance of the Euro vis-à-vis the dollar may not be sustained in the long run, Looney concludes that "For a number of technical reasons, OPEC is unlikely to bring about or even try to shift markets to euro-priced oil. There would be costs and inefficiencies involved, with no real benefits gained. The same applies to the buyers of oil." (p. 36)

104. McNaugher, Thomas L. *Pipelines and Power in the Gulf: Shifting Balances*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Energy Research Associates, 1986.

Private Report. ●● A research associate at the Brookings Institution examines the impact of the Iran-Iraq War on the development of new oil pipeline projects from the Gulf. While new pipelines will reduce dependence on the Strait of Hormuz, they will not eliminate it. More importantly, "The major concern remains the security of states that make export decisions, not the security of the means by which their oil leaves the Gulf." (p. 14)

105. Maechling, Eugenie. "Security Risks to Energy Production and Trade: The Problems of the Middle East." *Energy Policy*, Vol. 10 (June 1982), pp. 120-130. ●● The author, a research associate at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), examines physical threats to Western supplies of Gulf oil, with emphasis on Saudi Arabia. Maechling notes that the limited capacity of east-west pipelines and Mediterranean ports means that the Strait of Hormuz will remain the primary route for Gulf oil exports in the foreseeable future. She questions the ability of Gulf oil producers and their allies to defend their oil installations, their coastlines, and the strait. In particular, Maechling points out that Saudi Arabia could not withstand an attack from Israel; consequently, it is critical that the US provide Israel with sufficient guarantees of support and incentives not to carry out a pre-emptive strike against Saudi air defenses. Finally, Maechling notes that Gulf oil security is ultimately a political problem, and diplomatic moves to defuse the tensions in the Middle East are the best way to protect oil installations. ¤

106. Maugeri, Leonardo. "Not in Oil's Name." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (July-August 2003), pp. 165-174. ●● A vice-president of ENI takes note of the conspiracy theories linking the Iraq War to control of oil and warns that the linkages between oil and politics is not simple. He notes that "In short, the world is not running out of oil, and there is no oil security problem in today's world market. The problem instead is that many Western observers speak about oil security when what they have in mind is stable and cheap oil supplies." (p. 171) He advises policymakers to bear in mind that some volatility in oil prices is inevitable and that sounder Middle East policies are required.

107. Mohamedi, Fareed. "Oil Prices and Regime Resilience in the Gulf." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 36-39.

108. Morse, Edward L. "The Coming Oil Revolution." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 5 (1990), pp. 36-56. ●● The publisher of *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly* and a former deputy assistant Secretary of State for International Energy Policy holds that "While the wild card recently placed on the table by Iraq is changing many of the rulers of the game, it is unlikely to affect them very

substantially in the long run. The oil system has been moving in directions based much more on the economic logic that has governed its growth than on specific government acts." (p. 56) He believes that "The transitional period between the oil industry's deep recession of the past few years and its coming boom is bound to be bumpy [and] We can expect upward and downward price gyrations over the next couple of years." (p. 41) Still, he sees an inevitable rise in oil prices over the decade of the 1990s.

109. _____, and James Richard. "The Battle for Energy Dominance." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (March-April 2002), pp. 16-31.

-and –

110. Telhami, Shibley, and Fiona Hill. "America's Vital Stakes in Saudi Arabia." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 6 (November-December 2002), pp. 167-173. ●● The authors of the first article (associated with Hess Energy Trading and Firebird Management respectively) address "the contest for energy dominance between the world's two largest oil exporters, Saudi Arabia and Russia" (p. 16) and describe how the Russian and Central Asian oil industry has been able to take market share away from Saudi Arabia's stagnant, state-controlled industry. They suggest that Saudi Arabia can block the oil development of their Russian and Central Asian rivals if they are willing to sustain a cut-throat price war, which might require oil prices to sink to $10 a barrel for two years or more. Morse and Richard conclude that "If both Washington and Moscow encouraged what their companies and publics already do - increasing production in both countries while restraining demand in the United States - the stage could be set for a very new petroleum world." (p. 31)

Telhami (a professor at the University of Maryland and senior fellow at the Brookings Institution) and Hill (a fellow at Brookings) take issue with the contention by Morse and Richard that the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia are losing their significance for the US. They point out that the world's oil importers "are all part of a single, seamless oil market driven by supply and demand, and global demand for oil has risen steadily over the last several decades. The options available to these oil importers are clearly determined by price - and therefore by those countries that hold the reserves." (pp. 167-168) More than 60% of the world's reserves are located in the Gulf, with 25% of the total in Saudi Arabia alone. They contend that Saudi Arabia will remain important to the US not only because American strategy is based on ensuring an uninterrupted flow of oil but also to prevent hostile forces from seizing control of Gulf oil.

Their essay is followed by a short rebuttal by Abdullatif A. al-Othman (executive director of Saudi ARAMCO Affairs) who says that Morse and Richard incorrectly suggest that Saudi Arabia supplies cheap oil to the United States as a quid pro quo for a favorable US policy toward Saudi Arabia [but instead] Saudi Aramco sells Saudi crude oil at prices based on the prices of selected 'benchmark' crudes, which fluctuate constantly…." (pp. 174-175) In addition, Cyrus H. Tahmassebi (president of Energy Trends) challenges the Morse and Richard assertion that Saudi Arabia discounts the price of its oil by $1 a barrel to subsidize the American people and points out that the difference in amount reflects the additional transportation costs from Saudi Arabia to the US. He also disputes the idea of altruistic motives behind Saudi Arabia's spare capacity of 3mbd and charges that "Saudi spare capacity has emerged often not because of a well-conceived advance plan, but as a result of their miscalculations about future demand for oil." (p. 176) Morse and Richard reiterate their conclusions in a response.

111. Mullins, Thomas D. "The Security of Oil Supplies." *Survival*, Vol. 28, No. 6 (November-December 1986), pp. 509-523. ●● An independent consultant reviews the effect of the Iran-Iraq War on oil supplies and regards a worst-case scenario as serious but better than in 1973 and 1980 since "consumers and their governments have taken unprecedented steps in encouraging conservation and alternative fuel substitution as well as a restructuring of the oil industry and with it the relationship between the consumers and the producing states." (p. 523)

112. Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. "Bringing Capital Accumulation Back In: The Weapondollar-Petrodollar Coalition - Military Contractors, Oil Companies and Middle-East 'Energy Conflicts.'" *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 2 (Summer 1995), pp. 446-515.

113. *Oil and International Security, Proceedings*. New York: International Security Council, 1987. ●● The proceedings of a conference held in Washington, D.C., in May 1987. The conference summary states that "Only exceptional events such as a major nuclear accident in densely populated regions or a complete interruption to Middle East exports were felt likely to cause a rapid move to high prices. No economic pressure was felt to exist for higher prices." (p. 10)

114. Olayan, Sulaiman S. "Saudi Arabia: The Burden of Moderation." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Autumn 1983), pp. 32-41. ●● A Saudi businessman calls for greater understanding of the role that Saudi Arabia has played within OPEC. Because of its position as a swing supplier of oil within OPEC (which has become the swing supplier of oil in the world market), the

author contends that Saudi Arabia has been guided by long-term principles ensuring world stability. From the Saudi point of view, to avoid pressures to overproduce there must be a price floor high enough to discourage excessive consumption. At the same time, the price must not be so high as to eliminate world demand for oil before Saudi Arabia completes its industrial development. As a result, the Saudis have found themselves at odds with both the West and OPEC. ¤

115. Ortiz, Rene G. "The OPEC Role Until the Year 2000." *Fletcher Forum*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer 1984), pp. 285-290.

116. Pakravan, Karim. *Oil Supply Disruptions in the 1980s: An Economic Analysis*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1984. Hoover International Studies. ●● The author, an analyst for the First National Bank of Chicago, contends that international cooperation, ideally taking place between OPEC, other oil exporters, and oil importers (including both North and South) is essential to reducing the economic costs of a potential disruption. In this regard, he elaborates a number of "countervailing policies" aimed at reducing disruption costs. For the US, he advocates both "anticipatory policies," such as an import tariff, stockpiling, and domestic oil and gas deregulations, and "emergency measures," including the unlimited release of oil reserves at market prices, and regulations requiring the switching to alternative fuels. But Pakravan cautions that the long-term solution to Gulf oil security problems can be found only in the region itself, where he advocates economic integration, beginning with the hydrocarbon industries. ¤

117. Parra, Francisco. *Oil Politics: A Modern History of Petroleum*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.

118. Quandt, William B. *Saudi Arabia's Oil Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1982. A Staff Paper. ●● Growing out of the author's research for his book on Saudi Arabia in the 1980s, this study examines the key role played by Saudi Arabia in the world energy market due to its vast excess production capacity. As for Riyadh's overall oil policy, Quandt rejects the image of a "a country aggressively bent on wielding the oil weapon to extract profits and political payoffs from the industrialized West. With few - but important - exceptions, the Saudis have set production levels so as to meet world demands for oil." He also points to a direct correlation between regional political problems and Saudi oil production. With the US in mind, he suggests that "good Middle East policy will also prove to be good energy security policy." ¤

119. Ramazani, Rouhollah K. *The Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz*.

Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff and Nordhoff, 1979. International Straits of the World, Vol. 3. ●● Provides a physical description of perhaps the world's most economically important strait. Ramazani also discusses littoral attitudes to rights of transit, scenarios for possible disruption of oil supplies dependent on the strait, along with an examination of conflicts present in contiguous areas. He concludes with three suggestions: the US should seek collective security for the strait and yield security responsibilities to regional states; both superpowers should reduce military supplies to the region; and the US should encourage an Arab-Israeli peace settlement. While the book is dated in a factual sense (it was written before either the Iranian revolution or the Iran-Iraq war), its analysis of the importance of the Strait of Hormuz and potential dangers remains just as pertinent today. See also Ramazani's "The Strait of Hormuz: The Global Chokepoint," in Larry W. Bowman and Ian Clark, eds., *The Indian Ocean in Global Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Nedlands: University of Western Australia, 1981), pp. 7-20. ¤

120. Richardson, Neil. "Oil and Middle Eastern Politics." *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (September 1991), pp. 34-44. ●● A political scientist at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee reviews developments in the international oil industry during the 1970s and 1980s, with particular emphasis on the role of OPEC. He judges that "The further stability of prices will therefore rest more on diplomatic relations and domestic political calm, and less on market control, than in the last twenty years." (p. 43)

121. Romm, Joseph J., and Charles B. Curtis. "Mideast Oil Forever?" *Atlantic Monthly* (April 1996), pp. 57-60, 62-67ff. ●● The authors look at the future role of oil in global energy and assess the likelihood of another oil crisis in coming years. They discount the chances of further sources of oil outside the Gulf and increased domestic US supply providing a solution to an expected crisis and argue in favor of a technological approach relying on US leadership in research and development. In their view, the world is on the verge of a revolution in energy and environmental technologies.

122. Rose, Euclid. "OPEC's Dominance of the Global Oil Market." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 424-443. ●● An assistant professor of political science at Siena College recapitulates OPEC's strong position in the 1970s, decline in the 1980s, and more recent return to dominance. He sees that this dominance is likely to persist well into the future.

123. Rubin, Avshalom. "The Double-edged Crisis: OPEC and the Outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*,

Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 2003), distributed electronically. ●● A Fulbright Scholar at Ben-Gurion University examines the ironic effect of the war's outbreak in allowing importing nations to display a resurgence of initiative while OPEC's bargaining power declined.

124. Salameh, Mamdouh G. "Is a Third Oil Crisis Inevitable?" *Arab Affairs*, No. 11 (Summer 1990), pp. 85-95. ●● A World Bank consultant answers his own question by judging that "the world economy is heading towards its third oil crisis in this century probably by 1995…." (p. 85) Furthermore, "as long as the bulk of oil supplies will come from the Arab producers in the Gulf and as long as the Palestinian conflict is not settled, the continuity of oil supplies cannot be relied upon." (p. 94)

125. Sarkis, Nicolas. "Les incidences pétrolières de la crise du Golfe." *Le Trimestre du Monde*, No. 4 (1990), pp. 171-176.

126. Schuler, G. Henry M. "A Petroleum Forecast: The Impact on US-Arab Relations in the Coming Years." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 19 (Winter 1986-87), pp. 83-87. ●● A resident fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies assesses the international role of Middle Eastern oil in the coming years and observes that the region's importance is bound to increase because of its unused production capacity and undeveloped reserves. His requirements for better US-Arab relations include the recommendation that the GCC states abandon a quest for oil prices that are perceived as predatory.

127. Skeet, Ian. *OPEC: 25 Years of Prices and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. ●● A former Shell official provides a detailed history of OPEC, including an examination of its pricing strategies and production levels. He points out that "Consumer governments were particularly ignorant about oil in 1973. Postwar OECD resurgence had been fuelled on oil but it was provided, as if by sleight of hand, by the international oil industry. … The crisis of 1973 came as a traumatic shock." (p. 234) He goes on to explain how the international oil environment changed dramatically in the following decade and a half.

128. Sowayyegh, Abdulaziz Al-. *Arab Petropolitics*. London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984. ●● Saudi Arabia's Assistant Deputy Minister for Foreign Information looks at the purpose, utility, and goals of the "oil weapon." After a recapitulation of the development of the oil industry in the Middle East, the creation of OPEC and its members' "triumph" in gaining control of their oil resources, the author examines the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the beginnings of a coalescence of oil and politics. The

heart of the book consists of a detailed analysis of the emergence of oil as a weapon against US support of Israel and an assessment of its future viability and success. Al-Sowayegh concludes that "The real challenge facing the Arabs in the 1980s is to use their oil as an opportunity to promote economic prosperity, and to reaffirm their political sovereignty and international influence to effect legitimate Arab demands for a just and lasting solution of the Palestine problem." ¤

129. Telhami, Shibley. "The Persian Gulf: Understanding the American Oil Strategy." *Brookings Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 32-35. ●● The Anwar Sadat professor at the University of Maryland warns that buying oil from other regions than the Middle East or Saudi Arabia will not resolve the problem of US reliance on the region's supplies. But he observes that "for more than half a century a central drive behind the American military strategy in the oil-rich region … has been to deny the control of such vast resources to powerful enemies who would thereby become even more powerful and thus more threatening." (p. 34)

130. Tétreault, Mary-Ann. "Independence, Sovereignty, and Vested Glory: Oil and Politics in the Second Gulf War." *Orient*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (March 1993), pp. 87-103. ●● A professor at Old Dominion University remarks on the central importance of oil to the Kuwait in statements emanating from both Baghdad and Washington but declares that oil was "at best a half-truth and at worse a smoke screen intended to hide other reasons for the second Gulf war." (p. 87)

131. U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Government Operations. Environment, Energy and Natural Resources Subcommittee. *Effect of Iraqi-Iranian Conflict on U.S. Energy Policy*; Hearing, 30 September 1980. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● This hearing, held only a few weeks after the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, provides a relatively positive view of the war's energy ramifications for the rest of the world. The witnesses include C.L. Campbell (Gulf Oil Trading and Transportation), William Edwards (Edwards Energy Consultants), and Brice A. Sachs (Exxon International). ¤

132. _____. Committee on International Relations. *Oil Fields as Military Objectives: A Feasibility Study*; Prepared by the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1975. ●● A comprehensive study of the viability of using US military force to occupy Saudi Arabia's oilfields in case of an OPEC embargo. The authors, John M. Collins and Clyde R. Mark of the Congressional Research Service, conclude that the US could easily defeat defending forces while seizing oilfields and

facilities but preserving the installations intact would be uncertain even under ideal conditions. It would be nearly impossible to arrive quickly enough to prevent sabotage, and a considerable investment in material and workers imported from the US, not to mention a lengthy period of time, might be required to repair damages. Furthermore, several US divisions, complete with adequate air, land, and sea support, would be needed indefinitely to maintain security over the installations, and strategic reserves would be depleted to the point that little would be left for contingencies elsewhere. Direct Soviet intervention, a distinct possibility, might well make the US mission impossible, particularly in protecting the sea lanes. Success, the authors argue, would depend on two prerequisites: slight damage to key installations and Soviet abstinence from armed intervention. ¤

133. U.S. Congress. Joint Economic Committee. Subcommittee on Trade, Productivity, and Economic Growth. *The Economic Impact of the Oil Price Collapse*; Hearing, 12 March 1986. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1986.

134. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. *The Geopolitics of Oil*, a Staff Report. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1980. ●● There are six principal conclusions to this report: (1) oil exports from the Gulf and North Africa are not likely to rise substantially in the next 10 years; (2) even if the Iran-Iraq war is settled quickly, a major oil supply disruption within the next decade is likely; (3) oil has become a political instrument in the hands of the major oil producing nations; (4) unless there is a major shift in current policies, the next two decades could witness growing competition among the governments of the consuming nations for scarce crude supplies; (5) the Soviet Union's growing interest in the Middle East and its increasing control over Western Europe's energy supplies pose grave dangers for the Western alliance; and (6) the economic slowdown in the developing countries and the huge increase in their foreign debt jeopardize economic development and threaten to undermine the international financial system. In addition, the report points out that an energy policy aimed solely at reducing imports will not adequately insulate the US from energy crises. “As a consequence our foreign and defense policies must be considered as much a part of our overall energy policy as our traditional programs to reduce oil imports.” ¤

135. _____. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. *United States-OPEC Relations*; Selected Materials Prepared by the Congressional Research Service. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1976. ●● Includes: (1) a year-by-year chronology of US-OPEC relations between 1960 and 1976; (2) a list of firms producing and exploring for oil in Middle Eastern states; (3) selected statements by OPEC officials; (4) selected documents on US international energy policy; (5) a collection of relevant articles; and (6) a bibliography of

articles, government documents, and books on the subject. ¤

136. U.S. Department of Energy. Energy Information Administration. *World Oil Market and Oil Price Chronologies: 1970-2003*. Washington, March 2004. Accessed online.

137. U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Western Vulnerability to a Disruption of Persian Gulf Oil Supplies: U.S. Interests and Options*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 24 March 1983. ●● This Congressional Research Service (CRS) project estimates the short-term economic effects on the West of a hypothetical disruption of Gulf oil supplies and concludes that the effects would be catastrophic. A complete cessation of all oil traffic through the Strait of Hormuz in 1980 (before the recession took hold) would have caused the major industrialized countries to suffer a shortfall of 20-25 % in their oil requirements. Crude oil prices would have risen from $30 to between $90 and $300, gross national product would have fallen 12-27 % and employment would have dropped by 15-30%. A projection for a similar disruption in 1982 shows milder but still grave effects. The study suggests that the oil glut of the past few years has created a false sense of security and contends that the US and the West are likely to rely increasingly on Gulf oil throughout the 1980s. Western policymakers are advised to emphasize policies designed to diminish the possibility of a major disruption and to improve preparations, including a useable strategic petroleum reserve and close cooperation with allies to prevent an "every man for himself" competition, in case a disruption occurs. ¤

138. Yetiv, Steve A. *Crude Awakenings: Global Oil Security and American Foreign Policy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

The Iran-Iraq War (1980 - 1988)

Political Aspects of the War and External Involvement

139. Abdulghani, Jasim M. *Iraq and Iran: The Years of Crisis*. London: Croom Helm; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. ●● A United Arab Emirates diplomat analyzes Iraq's relations with Iran between the Ba'th Party's accession to power in 1968 and the 1975 Algiers Agreement that established a boundary line in the Shatt al-'Arab and secured the Shah of Iran's promise to end support for Kurdish rebels. He also discusses Saddam Husayn's abrogation of the Algiers Agreement, which constituted the opening salvo in the Iran-Iraq War. While emphasizing the importance of the Iranian revolution in upsetting Iranian-Iraqi relations, the author also notes that the war "has had cataclysmic consequences for both countries in economic, military and human terms. It has also had wide-ranging ramifications, both regional and global, and its prolongation and potential spill-over effects on neighbouring states have exacerbated tension and threatened stability in a highly strategic area." (p. 218)

140. Ali, Sheikh R. "Holier Than Thou: The Iran-Iraq War." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1984), pp. 50-57. ●● A political scientist at North Carolina Central University reviews the course of the Iran-Iraq War and notes, inter alia, that the war has exposed the prevailing insecurity in the Gulf, that Saddam's failure to achieve his stated objectives means he grows weaker as the war rages on, that the war has had a profound impact on the Iranian revolution, that it has proved that an aggressor may lose international prestige if he does not achieve a quick victory, that it has stimulated the West to build up its strategic reserves and increased competition in the search for more oil, and it has pushed the Arab-Israeli conflict off center stage.

141. Aliboni, Roberto. "Recent Developments in the Gulf Crisis: The West and the Gulf." *Journal of Arab Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring 1988), pp. 49-60. ●● Six months ago, says the author, the Director of Studies at the Italian Instituto Affari Internazionali, the Iran-Iraq conflict was a forgotten war in the media, but then circumstances changed. One reason, he suggests, that it may have been forgotten was due to Western countries' difficulty in taking sides. The positions of Western European states were remarkably different from the United States' official neutrality but with a slight pro-Arab tilt and were more opportunistic than politically inspired. Why were 40 Western European warships included among the 80 Western ships in the Gulf at the time of writing? Aliboni thinks it was probably because of European perceptions that Southwest Asian security was changing and thus the European role must also

change, with reinforcement from an Atlantic consensus on such policies as protecting international navigation in Gulf.

142. Alnasrawi, Abbas. "Iraq's Perspectives." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 133-155. ●● A professor of economics at the University of Vermont dissects Iraq's motivations for and its perspectives during the war with Iran, as well as noting the American position that it did not wish to see either side achieve victory.

143. Amin, S.H. "The Iran-Iraq Conflict: Legal Implications." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 31, Pt. 1 (January 1982), pp. 167-188. ●● A lecturer in law at the Glasgow College of Technology examines the legal background to the war, concentrating on the dispute over the Shatt al-'Arab, and the territorial sea and continental shelf boundaries. ¤

144. Amirahmadi, Hooshang. "Economic Reconstruction of Iran: Costing the War Damage." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January 1990), pp. 26-47.

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145. Mofid, Kamran. "Economic Reconstruction of Iraq: Financing the Peace." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January 1990), pp. 48-61. ●● This pair of articles assesses the war damage and expenditure of both participants and looks at their post-war reconstruction. Amirahmadi, Director of Middle East Studies at Rutger University, estimates that the direct and indirect war damage to the Iranian economy was about $592 billion while the financial and budgetary damage added another $53-56b. (p. 30) Mofid, a Senior Lecturer in Economics at Coventry Polytechnic, estimates the monetary cost of the war to Iraq at $452b (p. 53) and notes that the total cost to both countries "exceeds the total oil revenue which Iran and Iraq have received throughout this century." (p. 53) Both authors note the difficulties involved in reconstruction, which are not only financial and domestic but should include a lasting peace between the two combatants (and within the entire Gulf region as well) to prevent another war.

146. Anthony, John Duke. *The Iraq-Iran War and the Gulf Cooperation Council*. Washington, DC: National Council on US-Arab Relations, June 1984. National Council Reports, No. 1.

147. Axelgard, Frederick W. "Iraq and the War With Iran." *Current History*, Vol. 86 (February 1987), pp. 57-60, 82, 90-91. ●● A fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies charges that "A decisive victory by Iran

would amount to the most disastrous setback to Western interests in the Middle East since the end of World War II. Iran's extremist and destabilizing influence would be brought directly to bear against Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, endangering the political as well as their oil-policy independence." (p. 57)

148. Azhary, M.S. El, ed. *The Iran-Iraq War: An Historical, Economic and Political Analysis*. London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, for the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies and the University of Basra Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, 1984. ●● A collection of ten papers, most first presented at the July 1983 Exeter symposium. The first two are historical: Peter Hunseler (of the Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs) provides a chronological outline of the Shaft al-'Arab dispute since the seventeenth century; and Arab claims to Khuzistan (or 'Arabistan) over the last several centuries are discussed by Mustafa al-Najjar (Director of the Basra Centre) and Najdat Fathi Safwat. Then, David E. Long (a State Department analyst) discusses the impact of the war on the international oil market, while John Townsend (of Business International, Geneva) analyzes its economic impact on the belligerents. Basil al-Bustany (professor of economics at the University of Baghdad) contends that Iraq's gamble of wholeheartedly pursuing development efforts while carrying out the war has been successful.

Three papers address the impact of the war on outside parties. G.H. Jansen (a correspondent for The Economist) contributes a brief survey of the reactions of various Arab governments; the editor, M. S. El Azhary (from the University of Exeter), adds an assessment of superpower attitudes to the war (also published in International Affairs); and John Duke Anthony (President of the National Council on US-Arab Relations) provides a more substantial analysis of regional and worldwide implications. Finally, H. G. Balfour-Paul (a former British ambassador in Baghdad, now associated with Exeter) looks at the numerous missed opportunities for bringing the long war to an end, and expresses the hope that Iran and Iraq, having turned to war for a settlement of specific disputes between them, will pursue peaceful means to advance their respective claims to regional hegemony. ¤

149. _____. "The Attitudes of the Superpowers Towards the Gulf War." *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 59, No. 4 (1983), pp. 609-620. ●● The author, Deputy Director of the Centre for Arab Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter, traces the involvement of both the US and the Soviet Union in the Iran-Iraq war, and their relationship with each of the combatants. He concludes that both superpowers have found themselves sitting on the sidelines, due to a lack of leverage over either Iran or Iraq. ¤

150. Bani-Sadr, Abol Hassan. "La guerre Iran-Irak: Une guerre contre une politique-monde." *Peuples Méditerranéens*, No. 40 (July-September 1987), pp. 3-16. ●● The former Iranian president charges that the Iran-Iraq War has become multilateralized in an attempt to reverse the consequences of the Iranian revolution.

151. Baram, Amatzia. "After the Iran-Iraq War - What?" *Jerusalem Quarterly*, No. 49 (Winter 1989), pp. 85-96. ●● A professor at Haifa University analyzes the devastating impact of the Iran-Iraq War on Iraq and speculates on what might replace the Iraqi régime, should it fall, what future direction the Ba'th party might take in foreign affairs, and prospects for normalization between Iraq and Syria.

152. Braun, Ursula. "The Iran-Iraq War: Its Regional and International Dynamics." *Orient*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (December 1986), pp. 606-628.

153. Brenner, Michael J. "The Iraq-Iran War: Speculations About a Nuclear Re-Run." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 8 (March 1985), pp. 22-37. ●● The author uses the Iran-Iraq War as a case study "to assess how nuclear arms, in the possession of either party, or both, could have affected the outbreak of the conflict, its progression and its conclusion." (p. 24) He surmises that if Iraq had the bomb, it probably would have had to use it to force Iran to capitulate whereas Iranian nuclear capability probably would have deterred Iraq from attacking and may have encouraged Iran from pressing its campaign to get rid of Saddam Husayn. The result if both parties had nuclear weapons might be lowered inhibitions on their use and systemic instabilities rather than mutual deterrence.

154. Celine, K. "Kuwait Living On Its Nerves." *MERIP Reports*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (February 1985), pp. 10-12.

155. Chalala, Elie. "Syria's Support of Iran in the Gulf War: The Role of Structural Change and The Emergence of a Relatively Strong State." *Journal of Arab Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1988), pp. 107-120. ●● The author discounts three common explanations for Syria's support of Iran against Iraq. The ideological theory, based on Iranian opposition to Israel and the US, he says, is simply propaganda. Similarly, the idea of an affinity between Syrian 'Alawis and Iranian Shi'ah ignores the fact that the 'Alawis are a small proportion of the population and cannot control everything in Syria. The regional rivalry between Syria and Iraq makes more sense but is convincing only if the conditions which transform it into an actual policy can be specified. Chalala explains the policy to support Iran as resulting from (1) Iraq's decision to go to war, which left Syria with no choice but to side with

Iran to check Iraq; (2) the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which led to the emergence of the Shi'ah as the second most powerful Lebanese force and the only one with which Syria could work; (3) the emergence of a strong Syrian state, which allowed it to exploit opportunities with confidence; and (4) the strength of the Syrian-Saudi relationship (although a weaker factor than the others).

156. Chubin, Shahram. *Iran and Its Neighbours: The Impact of the Gulf War*. London: Centre for Security and Conflict Studies, 1987. Conflict Studies, No. 204. ●● The author, at the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva), looks at Iran's foreign policy vis-à-vis the Gulf states, Syria, Turkey, Pakistan, and Afghanistan - all in the context of its war with Iraq. He concludes that "Contemporary Iran's pragmatism in its [non-Gulf] relations … has brought some rewards but in the primary issue of the day, the prosecution of the war with Iraq, it has been unable to build up trust or sustain confidence with its Arab neighbours. The reasons for this derive both from the dynamics of the war and the nature of contemporary Iranian society." (p. 31)

157. _____, and Charles Tripp. *Iran and Iraq at War*. London: I.B. Tauris; Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988. ●● The authors, from the Geneva Center for Security Policy and the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies respectively, look beyond the fighting to examine the impact on Iranian and Iraqi politics, economy, and social conditions. The effect on Iraq has been to "widen the gap between the illusion and the reality of the state, creating expectations which cannot be fulfilled and necessitating further recourse to coercive methods." (p. 245) As for Iran, in its failure to beat Iraq back and demand retribution in 1982, "Unable to muster the military capability to overthrow the enemy or to bring about its change through internal revolt, Iran was destined to fight a long, arduous and costly war, which in historical perspective appeared arcane and senseless." (p. 251)

158. Chubin, Shahram. "La guerre irano-irakienne: paradoxes et particularités." *Politique Étrangère*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (June 1982), pp. 381-394. ●● An analysis of the Iran-Iraq war as a model for Third World conflicts. Chubin points out that this war is being fought over ideological differences and not territory, which differentiates it from other conflicts. It is suggested that there is little chance that the war will end with an outright military victory for either side, but more likely will halt with a compromise in favor of the country possessing the greatest quantities of military and economic reserves. The author concludes that the Iran-Iraq war is full of paradoxes and cannot serve as an adequate model for future Third World conflicts. ¤

159. _____. "The Iran-Iraq War and Persian Gulf Security." *International Defense Review*, Vol. 17, No. 6 (1984), pp. 705-712.

160. _____. "Israel and the Iran-Iraq War." *International Defense Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1985), pp. 303-304.

161. _____. "The Last Phase of the Iran-Iraq War: From Stalemate to Ceasefire." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (April 1989), pp. 1-14. ●● The author, from the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva), provides a summary of the causes and the progress of the war and notes that in its latter stages, "Iran's leadership had begun to despair of a military solution to the conflict, but was still far from devising a diplomatic strategy for Iran's extraction from the war." (p. 10) Chubin concludes that "The major casualty of the war has been the credibility of the Islamic republic among its own rank and file. It will no longer be able to call effectively upon its populace for crusades and sacrifices, but will have to act more like a traditional state." (p. 14)

162. Cottam, Richard. "The Iran-Iraq War." *Current History*, Vol. 83, No. 489 (January 1984), pp. 9-12, 40-41. ●● An attempt to explain the causes of the Iran-Iraq war, the reasons for its prolongation and the inaction of the superpowers. The author asserts that Iraq attacked for three reasons: to stop an expansionist Iran; because Iran was part of a dangerous regional alliance aimed at countering Iraqi efforts against Zionism and imperialism; and because of Khomeini's threats to spread Islamic fundamentalism. Despite Iraq's poor military performance, the real miscalculation was political, since the Khomeini régime did not collapse, contrary to Baghdad's expectations. Meanwhile, the author contends that both the US and the Soviet Union have been unable to formulate policies to cope with the war, since the dynamics of events in the Middle East remain disruptive and beyond the control and understanding of either superpower. ¤

163. Creighton, John. *Oil on Troubled Waters: Gulf Wars 1980-91*. London: Echoes, 1992. ●● Primarily concerned with the Iran-Iraq War although a final chapter discusses the Kuwait War.

164. Davies, Charles, ed. *After the War: Iraq, Iran and the Arab Gulf*. Chichester, West Sussex: Carden Publications, for the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, 1990. ●● Papers from an annual University of Exeter conference on the Gulf, edited by a research fellow at the centre, deal with four aspects of the Iran-Iraq War's aftermath. The first section deals with Iraq and the GCC and includes papers by Liesl Graz (The Economist) on the effectiveness of the GCC, Gerd Nonneman (University of Exeter) on Iraqi-

GCC relations, Kamel S. Abu Jaber (University of Jordan) on Iraq as a regional power, and Ahmad Shikara (UAE University) on the Kurds of Iraq and the prospects for national integration. The economic impact of the war is discussed by Kamran Mofid (Coventry Polytechnic) focusing on Iran and Rodney Wilson (Durham University) on Kuwait. Sinclair Road (a consultant for the Committee for Middle East Trade) reviews trade and business prospects for the Gulf while Paul Stevens (University of Surrey) looks at oil and the role of OPEC. George Joffé (London University SOAS) examines developments in Iraq since the end of the war, Homa Katouzian (formerly at the University of Kent) looks at religious politics in Iran, and J.E. Peterson dissects changes in Arab Gulf society. A final section concentrates on strategic issues, with papers by Elizabeth Gamlen (doctoral student at the University of Bradford) on the "tanker war" and US responses, Anoushiravan Ehteshami (University of Exeter) on the military balance in the Gulf, Edgar O'Ballance (Gulf Centre for Strategic Studies) on the impact of the Cold War on the Gulf, and Eric Hooglund (Johns Hopkins University SAIS) on US policy toward the Gulf in the 1990s.

165. Dawisha, Adeed. "Iraq and the Arab World: The Gulf War and After." *World Today*, Vol. 37, No. 5 (May 1981), pp. 188-194. ●● The Assistant Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs emphasizes that the Iran-Iraq war is a risky undertaking for the Iraqis. Domestic pressures may make it difficult to stop short of total victory and the effects of military defeat are potentially disastrous to the regime. In addition, Iraq's economic policies have been undermined by the war and the slowing of growth rates may cause discontent. While the war has exacerbated inter-Arab divisions, these have not yet acquired a significant military manifestation. In conclusion, Dawisha warns that the present conflict in the Middle East need not be seen as permanent; in the past, leaders have been able to resolve differences and foster cooperation suddenly and without warning. ¤

166. Demack, Gary C. "Perception and Misperception in the Persian Gulf: The Iran-Iraq War." *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (June 1983), pp. 65-73. ●● A very basic survey of the causes of the war and motives of the combatants, culled from secondary sources. ¤

167. Faksh, Mahmud A. "Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Crisis: Foreign and Security Policy Dilemma." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Summer 1987), pp. 47-53. ●● A view of Saudi Arabia's security situation in light of the Iranian revolution and subsequent Iran-Iraq War by a visiting associate professor at Duke University. He notes that "As the Gulf war continues in its sixth year and with no end in sight, the Saudis and the other GCC members are becoming aware that their financial support of Iraq cannot go on indefinitely,

and that the continuation of an open-ended conflict might eventually cause it to spread into their own territories." (p. 51)

168. Farhang, Mansour. "The Iran-Iraq War: The Feud, The Tragedy, The Spoils." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 2 (Fall 1985), pp. 659-680.

169. Fayazmanesh, Sasan. "US Foreign Policy and the Persian Gulf War." *Jusur*, Vol. 7 (1991), pp. 37-49. ●● According to this article, the American goal during the Iran-Iraq war was to destroy both countries as military and economic powers in the region. But tilting against Iran in that conflict left Iraqi power undiminished. Consequently, the US needed an excuse to destroy Iraq, which appeared when Saddam invaded Kuwait. Thus, the author alleges, the ensuing war was intended deliberately to finish the job of ensuring that Saudi Arabia would be the only pillar of US foreign policy in the region.

170. Ghareeb, Edmund. "The Forgotten War." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 5 (Summer 1983), pp. 59-75. ●● A comprehensive survey of the Iran-Iraq war. The author first examines the long history of conflict between the two countries, to which may be added more recent factors of personal enmity between their leaders and ideological differences. An environment of sustained border clashes and Iranian support for subversion within Iraq helped provoke the Iraqi attack in September 1980. The author points out that after several years of hostilities, the war has reached a military stalemate, with Iran's greater manpower and superior navy balanced by Iraq's air superiority and better ground-support operations. A war of attrition has been the result. Ghareeb also discusses the impact of the war on the internal situation in both countries, concluding that Saddam Hussein's position, although secure at the moment, faces potentially serious challenges if a settlement is not reached soon. As for the Iranian régime, the war has served to arouse religious and nationalist feelings. Since the economy has improved and oil exports are on the rise, the regime does not feel threatened and has no reason to negotiate. Finally, Ghareeb emphasizes that although this is a war between two states, there are considerable regional implications. ¤

171. Goldstein, Walter. "The War Between Iraq and Iran: A War That Can't Be Won or Ended." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1984), pp. 41-49. ●● A critical review of a struggle between "two … scorpions locked in a bottle" by an energy specialist at the State University of New York at Albany. The author calls for a quick end to the war and suggests that "Now that both Super Powers are tilting toward Iraq, perhaps they will exercise sufficient restraint to keep the war to severely local limits and to preserve the incompetence of the men fighting it." (p. 48)

172. Grummon, Stephen R. *The Iran-Iraq War: Islam Embattled*. New York: Praeger, for the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1982. Washington Papers, No. 92. ●● A State Department analyst on Iran provides the most comprehensive analysis of the war yet published, even though more than two years of fighting have ensued since Grummon wrote this monograph. The author looks at the historical origins of the conflict, the strategy and tactics employed in the war and military operations, and its impact on the domestic policies of both combatants. Other chapters address regional responses to and implications of the war (including the creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council), the role of the superpowers, and efforts at negotiation. Grummon expects that "The Iran-Iraq conflict will continue to be a major source of tension and instability in the Persian Gulf region for the indefinite future," and adds that the Gulf has become another region with "an almost intractable dispute," like the eastern Mediterranean (with Arab-Israeli and Greek-Turkish conflicts) and South Asia (India-Pakistan). He also notes that the experience of this war "suggests that one aspect of a comprehensive US security policy should focus on the issue of intraregional security." The monograph is enhanced by the addition of a number of helpful maps. ¤

173. "The Gulf War, Year Five." *Orbis*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Fall 1984), pp. 437-447. ●● Four authors provide views on different aspects of the Iran-Iraq War. Dennis Ross (Berkeley-Stanford Program on Soviet International Behavior) discusses the twists in Soviet policy toward the war and concludes that "while the current Soviet level of activism should be expected to continue, it is likely to be tempered if things begin to heat up dramatically…." (p. 447) John Duke Anthony (National Council on US-Arab Relations) argues that in light of the Reagan administration's policies, "the GCC's efforts to reduce the causes - whether needs or pretexts - of superpower intervention deserve far more support and encouragement." (p. 450) Bijan Mossavar-Rahmani (Harvard University) looks at the impact of the war on the world oil market and sees Iran and Iraq as recovering much of their strength after the war ends, largely at the expense of Saudi Arabia. Marshall W. Wiley (former US ambassador to Oman) perceives flaws in Washington's views of the Gulf and advances suggestions to achieve US security goals, among them "The United States would probably be better advised to strengthen non-military, commercial links between Iran in the West in the hope that a reduction in commercial isolation would accelerate the maturation of the Iranian régime." (p. 464)

174. Hadar, Leon T. "The Arab Gulf States: Trying to Confront the Iranian Military Threat." *Journal of Defense and Diplomacy*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1988), pp. 46-50. ●● An adjunct professor at Mount Vernon College and American University provides short summaries of various Gulf states' views on the Iran-Iraq War, as well as of GCC security measures, concluding that "a clear

Iranian victory in the Gulf War will lead these states to a move to reach bilateral agreement á la live and let live with Tehran." (p. 50)

175. Heller, Mark A. *The Iran-Iraq War. Implications for Third Parties*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, January 1984. Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies Paper, No. 23. ●● The author, a senior research associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, assesses the impact of the war on regional actors (including Saudi Arabia, the smaller Gulf states, Syria, Jordan, and Israel), as well as on the Soviet Union, the US, and France. He concludes that none of the principal third parties to the war wishes to see a decisive victory by either Iran or Iraq. Furthermore, while some of these parties may hold some influence with Iraq, they have limited ability to induce Iran to moderate its war aims: there is therefore little likelihood that third parties will be able … to secure an end to the fighting in the near future. ¤

176. _____. "Turmoil in the Gulf." *The New Republic*, Vol. 190 (23 April 1984), pp. 16-20. ●● The author suggests that while the combatants in the Iran-Iraq war are matched militarily, Iran is likely to be the eventual victor because of its relative political and economic strength combined with the solidarity of its people in support of the government's war aims. Further, he contends that once the Iraqi obstacle is removed, the way would be open to the spread of Islamic fundamentalism throughout the Middle East. In order to prevent such a development, Heller suggests that the West support an Iraqi strike on Iran's oil facilities. ¤

177. Helms, Christine Moss. "The Iraqi Dilemma: Political Objectives versus Military Strategy." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 5 (1983), pp. 76-85. ●● The author, an analyst at the Brookings Institution, contends that Iraq's political objectives in attacking Iran were to gain recognition of Iraq's legal rights to the Shatt al-'Arab, to discredit Khomeini, and to warn Iran against interference in internal Iraqi affairs. Surprisingly, Iraq pursued only limited military objectives in the early stages of the war. Various reasons have been advanced for this anomaly, including military problems, international political restraint, concern over casualties, the handicapping of military planners by Iraq's civilian leadership, or restraint urged by Saddam Husayn. In addition to underestimating the resolve of the Iranian régime, an Iraqi miscalculation in the early stages seems to have been the absence of a military or diplomatic plan to bring the war to a conclusion while Iraq still had the upper hand. ¤

178. Hess, Andrew C. "The Gulf as a No-Man's Land." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No.4 (Fall 1986), pp. 41-49. ●● A professor at the Fletcher School of

Law and Diplomacy speculates on the consequences of a number of dramatic scenarios in the Iran-Iraq War. He concludes that "To let warfare in the Gulf continue until a whirlpool of violence drowns the Gulf régimes and draws the superpowers into a military confrontation is shortsighted. A farsighted policy is to encourage a negotiated settlement to the war and international development of the Indian Ocean economy." (pp. 48-49)

179. Hooglund, Eric. "Iran and the Gulf War." *MERIP Reports*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (September-October 1987), pp. 12-18.

180. Howarth, H.M.F. "The Impact of the Iraq-Iran War on Military Requirements in the Gulf States." *International Defense Review*, No. 10 (1983), pp. 1405-1409. ●● A contributing editor of the International Defense Review looks at the background of the war and discusses regional perceptions of the threats produced by the war and the Iranian revolution. The author contends that questions about the role of the US and suspicions of alliances have so far frustrated Arab attempts at developing a counterpart to the US RDF. Nonetheless, there have been signs recently of cooperation among members of the Gulf Cooperation Council in regard to mutual defense. ¤

181. Hunter, Shireen. "Arab-Iranian Relations and Stability in the Persian Gulf." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Summer 1984), pp. 67-76. ●● The Deputy Director of Middle East Studies at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies examines the important role that longstanding Arab-Iranian tensions played in determining recent events in the Gulf. To ameliorate these tensions, she suggests that Arabs and Iranians should set aside conflicting territorial claims, adopt a non-aligned posture and avoid becoming superpower proxies. Iran should stay clear of intra-Arab politics and the Arabs should accept a regional role for Iran in the Gulf commensurate with its size and population. As for the West, it should refrain from taking sides on territorial disputes, encourage a rough military balance between Iran and its Arab neighbors, and acquire a better appreciation of regional political linkages and perceptions. ¤

182. Irfani, S. "The Iran-Iraq War and Its Implications for the Region." *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1987), pp. 38-59.

183. Ismael, Tareq Y. *Iraq and Iran: Roots of Conflict*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982. ●● A collection of documents on the background to the Iran-Iraq war, with a 40-page introduction by a political scientist and specialist on the Middle East at the University of Calgary. Ismael's introduction treats the historical roots of the conflict, the legal dimension, and ideological aspects. The documents are divided into two categories, one

consisting of legal and historical documents (ranging from the 1847 Treaty of Erzerum to the 1975 Iran-Iraq treaty), the following ones being a selection of ideological and political documents, culled from recent statements and publications by leaders in both countries. See also Ismael's "The Iraq-Iran Conflict," *Behind the Headlines*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (September 1981), pp. 1-21. ¤

184. Jawdat, Nameer Ali. "Reflections on the Gulf War." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 5 (1983), pp. 86-98. ●● An Iraqi journalist's view of the Iran-Iraq war. The author feels that the most probable outcome is the collapse of one side and victory for the other by default. If Iraq were to win, it could not hope to rule over a country of 40 million people and so would settle the outstanding points of dispute in its favor and turn to rebuilding its economy. But the author contends that an Iranian victory would be disastrous, as it would lead to the collapse of the other Gulf states in quick succession and play into Israel's hands. He urges American support for Iraq, since a stalemate cannot continue indefinitely between two countries with such unequal populations. Continued American inaction is likely to be interpreted by Iran as a sign of weakness and fear. The author concludes by asserting that "Iran today is the clear and present danger to the stability of the region and the world. Iraq is not." ¤

185. Johansen, Robert C., and Michael G. Renner. "Limiting Conflict in the Gulf." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (October 1985), pp. 803-838. ●● The authors, fellows at the World Policy Institute and Princeton University respectively, outline external involvement in the Iran-Iraq War and charge that international indifference to the conflict is rooted in the desire to keep the belligerents bogged down, the profits to be gained from arms sales to the warring parties, and the opportunity the war provides the United States in expanding its military influence in the region. "By basing conflict resolution on an unprincipled trade in arms and military influence, the United States and other nations increase the risk of a wider war and damage future prospects for lasting peace." (p. 816) The authors recommend multinational initiatives and a reduction in US military commitments in the Gulf, as well as oil sanctions against both combatants.

186. Joyner, Christopher C., ed. *The Persian Gulf War: Lessons for Strategy, Law, and Diplomacy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990. ●● A comprehensive look at the Iran-Iraq War (inaptly titled in retrospect) and edited by a political scientist at George Washington University. The first part dwells on strategic and political dimensions. Edmund Ghareeb examines the roots of the crisis in both countries, Eric Hooglund (University of California, Berkeley) looks at Iran's objectives in the war, Phebe Marr (National Defense University) gives the view from Iraq, Bernard Reich (George Washington

University) analyzes the role of Israel, Joseph A. Kechichian examines the impact on the Gulf Cooperation Council, Thomas L. McNaugher (Brookings Institution) and Maxwell Orme Johnson (Tacoma Shipbuilding) dissect US policy and use of military force in the war, and Mark N. Katz (George Mason University) looks at the Soviet role. The second part is concerned with diplomatic and legal dimensions and contains articles by David D. Caron (University of California, Berkeley) on the reflagging of the Kuwaiti tankers, Boleslaw Adam Boczek (Kent State University) on the law of maritime warfare and neutrality, Anthony Clark Arend (Georgetown University) on the part played by the United Nations, Charles G. MacDonald (Florida International University) on legal aspects of cease-fire negotiations, and R.K. Ramazani (University of Virginia) who advances a proposal for peace.

187. Kaplan, Robert D. "Bloodbath in Iraq." *The New Republic*, Vol. 190 (9 April 1984), pp. 21-23. ●● A journalist's impressionistic account of the difficulties the Iraqi government faces in its war with Iran, and in maintaining itself in power. ¤

188. Karsh, Efraim. *The Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Essential Histories, No. 20.

189. _____, ed. *The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications*. London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. In association with Tel Aviv University, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies. ●● A collection of papers presented at a Tel Aviv University conference in September 1988 but updated in early 1989 subsequent to the end of the war. The combatants' views of the war are dissected by Shahram Chubin (Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva), who concludes that the politics submerged during the war have resulted in a "resurfacing of contentious issues long left dormant or unresolved." (p. 24) Karsh (Tel Aviv University) looks at the Islamic Republic's relationship with the other Gulf states while David Menashri (Tel Aviv University) concentrates on the role of the revolution in Iran's development through the war. Charles Tripp (University of London), judges that "the removable of an unmistakable Iranian military threat [is] likely to present Saddam Hussein with considerable challenges in the future" (p. 76). Amatzia Baram (University of Haifa) reviews Iraq's history of vacillation between the superpowers.

A subsequent section deals with the regional impact of the war. Itamar Rabinovitch (Tel Aviv university) looks at the impact on the Arab world, Robin Wright (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) examines the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, Barry Rubin (Johns Hopkins University SAIS) surveys the role played by the noncombatant Gulf states, Henri J.

Barkey (Lehigh University) discusses the impact on Turkey, and Joseph Alpher (Tel Aviv University) analyzes the impact on Israel. Farther afield, Thomas L. McNaugher (Brookings Institution) looks at the "tightropes" the US has been forced to walk in the Gulf, Robert S. Litwak (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars) surveys the Soviet Union's role, and John Chipman (International Institute for Strategic Studies) discusses Europe's role. Eliyahu Kanovsky (Bar-Ilan University) contributes a piece on the economic impact, concluding that while the end of the war may have negative effects on the oil-producing states, "the world's oil-importing countries … will breathe a sigh of relief." (p. 251)

A final section consists of a military-strategic overview of the war by Chaim Herzog (President of Israel), an analysis of the post-war arms race by Geoffrey Kemp (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), and an examination of the role "escalation" played in the broadening of the war, with a call for paying more attention to the possibility of de-escalation in such conflicts, by Philip A.G. Sabin (Kings College London).

190. _____. "Geopolitical Determinism: The Origins of the Iran-Iraq War." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Spring 1990), pp. 256-268. ●● A lecturer at King's College of the University of London provides historical background and reasons that "geopolitics is the most important single factor that has influenced Iranian-Iraqi relations for generations and, in consequence, accounts for the outbreak of the war…." Essentially, "the war began because the weaker state, Iraq, attempted to resist the hegemonic aspirations of its stronger neighbor, Iran, to reshape the regional status quo according to its own image." (p. 257)

191. Kassicieh, Suleiman K., and Jamal R. Nassar. "Revolution and War in the Persian Gulf: The Effect on MNCs." *California Management Review*, Vol. 26 (Fall 1983), pp. 88-99. ●● The authors first assess the effects of the Iranian revolution on Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates in terms of political risk. While they contend that the components of Iran's revolution are largely absent from the Arab states, they feel that modernization may still exacerbate internal tensions. Kassicieh, a management sciences professor at New Mexico State University, and Nasser, a political scientist at Illinois State University, also look at the impact of the Iran-Iraq war on multinational corporations. They contend that sales and investments have declined significantly while contracts have decreased in absolute terms. ¤

192. Katz, Mark N. "The USSR and the Iran-Iraq War." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (January-February 1987), pp. 8-13. ●● A research associate at the Woodrow Wilson Center judges that an end of the war, no matter who

wins, "may provide the USSR with some opportunities, but they [sic] also pose serious risks that Moscow might lose influence in both countries." (p. 13)

193. Kimche, Jon. "The Gulf War: Iran and-Israel?" *Midstream*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (April 1984), pp. 3-5. ●● The former editor of the *New Middle East* and *Afro-Asian Affairs* charges that the danger to Israel from the Iran-Iraq war exceeds that from Lebanon. Kimche feels that peaceful settlement of the war could be disastrous: it could destroy OPEC and cause the worldwide collapse of oil prices. Furthermore, the threat of an Iranian victory is considerable and Israel's assistance to ward off the spread of Islamic subversion should be considered. ¤

194. King, Ralph. *The Iran-Iraq War: the Political Implications*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1987. Adelphi Papers, No. 219. ●● A research associate at IISS outlines the political ramifications of the war on the combatants, on their neighbors in the Gulf, and on the Soviet Union, the United States, and France. He concludes that "The Gulf is not the only region in the world where local states face 'internal problems' and the open or latent hostility of their neighbours. But it is one of the few where these factors impinge so closely upon the interests of states outside the region (including both super-powers) and can so readily be aggravated by them." (p. 62)

195. Kishtainy, Khalid. "The Iraq-Iran War: The War of Miscalculations." *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 241 (October 1982), pp. 175-180. ●● An Iraqi view of the background to the Iran-Iraq war and the problems inherent in bringing it to an end. Kishtainy suggests that the war probably should be called the "War of Miscalculations," as exemplified in Iraq's assumption that Iran would sue for peace when it was invaded, Iraq's failure to gain the support of the Arabs of Khuzistan, and Iran's inability to provoke rebellion among the Iraqi Shi'ah. The author maintains that Iran realizes that Iraq desires peace the most and that Tehran's intransigent demands are fast becoming another miscalculation. ¤

196. McNaugher, Thomas, and William Quandt. *Oil and the Outcome of the Iran-Iraq War*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Energy Research Associates, 1984. Private Report. ●● This study assesses the impact of alternative outcomes to the Iran-Iraq war (as seen from spring 1984) on the international oil market. The authors, both at the Brookings Institution, suggest that if the war ends in stalemate, with a rough balance of power between Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, there is likely to be downward pressure on oil prices. Although seen as a less likely outcome, the worst-case scenario presented in this study is that of a decisive Iranian victory in southern Iraq leading to Iranian

hegemony in the Gulf, which would make it easier for Iran to exert pressure on its neighbors to keep their production low and thus prices high. A variant of these outcomes would be a continuation of the war, with Iran in a strong position but without a clear-cut victory. While this would produce a recurring danger of oil disruptions, they are likely to be limited in size and duration. ¤

197. Maull, Hans W., and Otto Pick, eds. *The Gulf War: Regional and International Dimensions*. London: Pinter; New York: St. Martin's, 1989. ●● The result of a 1988 symposium held in Bonn and edited by a professor of international relations at the Catholic University of Eichstätt and an emeritus professor of international relations at the University of Surrey. After an introduction by Stephen Low (Johns Hopkins University SAIS, Bologna Center), three papers provide a larger perspective on the Iran-Iraq conflict. Shahram Chubin (Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva) discusses the Iranian experience in the war, Giacomo Luciani (independent economic consultant) looks at the role of oil in the war, and John Voll (University of New Hampshire) examines the impact of Islamic fundamentalism on regional dynamics. Examinations of regional actors are given by Philip Robins (Royal Institute of International Affairs) on Iraq, Johannes Reissner (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Munich-Ebenhausen) on Iran, Anthony Cordesman (Georgetown University) on the regional balance, Ursula Braun (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Munich-Ebenhausen) on the GCC, and Malcolm Yapp (University of London SOAS) on the Kurds and the Turks. The impact on non-regional actors is assessed by Gary Sick (Columbia University) on the United States, Helmut Hubel (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Bonn) on the Soviet Union, Hanns W. Maull on alliance cooperation, and Masashi Nishihara (Japanese National Defense Academy) on Japan.

198. Miller, Marshall L. "Will Iran or Iraq Close the Straits of Hormuz?" *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 121, No. 5 (December 1983), pp. 24-26. A Washington lawyer (and former Defense Department official) points out the difficulties in trying to close the Strait of Hormuz and suggests that both countries may be bluffing in their threat to do so. Instead, he deems it more likely that Iran will launch several air-strikes on key Saudi and Kuwaiti oil installations while Iraq, which would achieve more by blocking Iran's oil exports than through action on the battlefield, may choose Iranian targets in the northern Gulf. ¤

199. Mylroie, Laurie. "The Superpowers and the Iran-Iraq War." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 21 (Summer 1987), pp. 15-26. ●● An assistant professor of government at Harvard University addresses the effect of the war on the positions in the Gulf of the United States and the Soviet Union. The author

maintains that "the Iran-Iraq war is in fact eroding American influence in the Gulf and providing an opening for the Soviets; it is Moscow that is benefiting from the continuation of the war." (p. 15) She declares that the US should abandon its neutrality in the war since "Iran is threatening, and Iraq is protecting, America's allies…." (p. 25)

200. Naff, Thomas, ed. *Gulf Security and the Iran-Iraq War*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1985. ●● The product of a series of seminars organized by the Middle East Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania on behalf of the National Defense University, and edited by the director of the institute. Contributions include Michael Sterner (consultant and former US ambassador to the United Arab Emirates) discussing the Gulf Cooperation Council and Gulf security, Philip H. Stoddard (retired State Department deputy assistant secretary) on Egypt's connection to the war, Harold H. Saunders (former assistant secretary of state for Near East and South Asia) on implications of the war for US policy, Michael Lenker (University of Pennsylvania) on Soviet strategy in the war and Gulf, Craig Baxter (Juniata College) on Pakistan and the Gulf, John Devlin (consultant and former CIA analyst) on Iraqi military policy, and Shireen Hunter (Georgetown University CSIS) on Iran's defense policy.

201. Neumann, Robert G., and Shireen T. Hunter. "Crisis in the Gulf: Reasons for Concern But Not Panic." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 9 (Summer 1984), pp. 16-21. ●● The authors, both presently affiliated with Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, advance the opinion that, despite the potential for expansion of the Iran-Iraq war in 1984, "the conflict is less likely to escalate further than to be contained." As reasons, Neumann and Hunter point to military weaknesses and increased war-weariness on both sides. ¤

202. Olson, William J. "The Iran-Iraq War and the Future of the Persian Gulf." *Military Review*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (March 1984), pp. 17-29. ●● An analyst at the US Army War College examines various possible outcomes of the Iran-Iraq war and concludes that the chances for resolving the dispute in the foreseeable future are remote. ¤

203. _____. "The Gulf War: Peace in Our Times?" *Parameters*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Winter 1986), pp. 47-56.

204. Parasiliti, Andrew T. "Iraq's Military Containment of Iran." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall-Winter 1989), pp. 128-145. ●● The program officer at the Middle East Institute examines primarily the domestic consequences of Iraq's war with Iran and looks at the

country's future after the ceasefire. He concludes that "On the domestic front, Iraqi society showed [an unprecedented] degree of unity and cohesion in confronting Iran" and that "The lack of a peace agreement with Iran means that Iraq must still devote its energy to its demographically and geographically superior neighbor." (p. 145)

205. Parrott, J.B. "The Response of Saudi Arabia to the Iran-Iraq War." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Winter 1986), pp. 42-56. ●● A doctoral candidate at the University of Virginia contends that "during the first five years of the Iran-Iraq war, Saudi Arabia sought to contain its spread while maintaining a balance of power between the two belligerent states." (p. 42) But this was not always possible in his view. Saudi assistance to Iraq did not provide much leverage with Baghdad and even less through Iran on Syrian opposition to Iraq.

206. Pelletière, Stephen C. *The Iran-Iraq War: Chaos in a Vacuum*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992. ●● An analyst at the US Army War College provides an introduction to the Iran-Iraq War, tracing the origins of the war, Iraq's decision to attack, Iran's decision to carry the war back into Iraq, and the al-Faw, Karbala, and Tawakalna ala Allah campaigns. He adds a postscript on the Kuwait War, judging that Saddam Husayn invaded Kuwait because he was financially strapped and that the professionalism and high caliber of the Iraqi army allowed it to withstand the prolonged bombing and then restore order in the country. In addition, he believes that there does not seem to have been a genuine revolt in the south of Iraq after the war: "We believe that the Iranians - specifically the Revolutionary Guards - took advantage of the chaos of the Iraqi army's retreat to infiltrate the south in order to provoke a revolt." (p. 153)

207. Petrossian, Vahe. "The Gulf War." *World Today*, Vol. 36, No. 12 (December 1980), pp. 415-417. ●● A writer for the *Middle East Economic Digest* contributes a short note on the reasons for the Iran-Iraq war and its progress in the first few months. Like many observers at the time, Petrossian was misled by his belief that a prolonged war was improbable. ¤

208. Potter, Lawrence G., and Gary G. Sick, eds. *Iran, Iraq and the Legacies of War*. New York: Palgrave, 2004. ●● Papers from a conference sponsored by the Gulf/2000 Project dealing with the Iran-Iraq War and its subsequent impact. Shaul Bakhash contributes a background paper on relations between the two countries between 1930 and 1980 and Richard Schofield follows with an examination of the Shatt al-'Arab dispute and M.R. Izady studies Iraq's policies towards its Kurds. The lasting impact of the conflict on younger generations is discussed for Iran by Farideh Farhi and for Iraq by Laith

Kubba. Joost R. Hiltermann examines Iraq's use of chemical weapons during the war, Gerd Nonneman outlines the role of the other Gulf states during the war, and Rosemary Hollis elucidates the US role.

209. Quandt, William B. "The Gulf War: Policy Options and Regional Implications." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 9 (Summer 1984), pp. 1-7. ●● In an article originally presented at a June 1984 seminar, Quandt notes that few would have predicted in 1980 that the Iran-Iraq war would continue for as long as it has. Surprisingly, there still seems to be no end in sight, nor has the war had a dramatic effect on oil supplies, nor have the superpowers become deeply involved (although both have begun to express greater support for Iraq since 1983). Quandt points out that there is little the US can do to end the conflict and suggests that "The end of the war will have to grow out of fundamental political changes within the two societies." ¤

210. Rajaee, Farhang, ed. *The Iran-Iraq War: The Politics of Aggression*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992. ●● Amongst the papers published from a 1988 conference on "aggression and defense" sponsored by a number of Iranian universities are those looking at various aspects of the war. Ibrahim Anvari Tehrani (Iranian Foreign Ministry) discusses Iraqi attitudes towards the 1975 border agreement, Keith McLachlan (University of London) looks at Iran-Iraq discord during the 1979-1980 period, S. Taheri Shemirani (Iranian Foreign Ministry) examines the "war of the cities," Laith Kubba (Iraqi writer) analyzes the war's impact on Iraq, and Abdolrahman Alem (Tehran University) poses the question of whether war responsibility belongs to governments or individuals.

In other papers, Mohiaddin Mesbahi (Florida International University) looks at Soviet involvement in the war, A. Reza Sheikholeslami (University of Oxford) examines the Saudi-American relationship, Elizabeth Gamlen and Paul Rogers (both of the University of Bradford) explain the US decision to reflag Kuwaiti tankers, Bahman Baktiari (University of Maine) looks at the role of international law, and Paul Tavernier (Rouen University) offers a parallel analysis of the role of the UN Secretary-General.

Djamchid Momtaz (Tehran university) raises the principle of the right of self-defense in the war, Hamid Algar (University of California) looks at the problem of retaliation in terms of *fiqh*, James A. Bill (College of William and Mary) examines the basis of Iranian power in the war, Richard W. Bulliett (Columbia University) contributes an essay on aggression in historical perspective, and Saeid Marzaee Yengejeh (Mission of Iran to the UN) argues for a modification of the laws of war in modern international law.

211. _____, ed. *Iranian Perspectives on the Iran-Iraq War*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997. ●● A collection of papers on the war and the internal debate in Iran, all by Iranian authors. The first part examines the positions of outside actors. Saideh Lotfian (Tehran University) looks at the sides taken by the two combatants' neighbors, Kazem Sajjadpour (Institute for Political and International Studies) examines the policy of the Soviet Union regarding the conflict, while Ahmad Naghibzadeh (Tehran University) does the same for Western Europe and Reza Ra'iss Tousi (Tehran University) discusses the United States. Bahram Mostaghimi and Masoud Taromsari (both of Tehran University) analyze the role of the United Nations Security Council.

Aspects of the war affecting the two combatants, particularly Iran, provides the focus of the second part. Neguin Yavari looks at national, ethnic, and sectarian issues in the war, while Hossein S. Seifzadeh (Tehran University) examines the Iranian revolution and the role of ideology. Iraq's disclaimer of the 1975 treaty dividing the Shatt al-'Arab is discussed by Jalil Roshandel (Institute for Political and International Studies) while Mahmood Sariolghalam (Shahid Beheshti University) looks at Iraqi decision-making before the war and Ali Asghar Kazemi (Azad University) discusses the cease-fire negotiations. Djamchid Momtaz (Tehran University) follows up with an examination of UN Resolution 598, adopted in 1987 to force the two sides to accept a cease-fire. Houchang Hassan-Yari (University of Quebec) looks at Iranian foreign policy after the war and Daryoush Akhavan-Zanjani (Tehran University) adds a piece on Iraq's decision to attack Kuwait.

212. Ramazani, R.K. "The Iran-Iraq War: Underlying Conflicts." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (1984), pp. 8-11. ●● Noting that the current conflict in the Gulf is "already the longest, the bloodiest, and the costliest war in the contemporary history of the Middle East," Ramazani delves into various reasons for the war, such as power politics, opposing ideologies, sociopolitical differences, and "displaced aggressions." He urges the international community to "compel the warring parties - if it continues to fail to persuade them to negotiate a peaceful settlement-by imposing real sanctions." ¤

213. Renfrew, Nita M. "Who Started the War?" *Foreign Policy*, No. 66 (Spring 1987), pp. 98-108. ●● A free-lance journalist formerly with *Le Monde Diplomatique* charges that, although Iraqi troops were the first to cross the border, Iran actually started the Iran-Iraq War. "It broke the peace when, soon after Khomeini's return, it began active steps to export his revolution to Iraq" and "the ayatollah and his agents proceeded to call upon Iraqis to overthrow their government and to install in its place an Islamic revolution under his

jurisprudence." (p. 98) The author cites Iran's continued intention to export the Islamic revolution as the reason why it is unwilling to stop the war. "Khomeini provoked the war. Now he wants to win it. The outside world must not let him." (p. 108)

214. Richman, Sheldon L. *Where Angels Fear to Tread: The United States and the Persian Gulf Conflict*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 1987. Policy Analysis No. 90.

215. Rubinstein, Alvin Z. "Perspectives on the Iran-Iraq War." *Orbis*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Fall 1985), pp. 597-608. ●● An essay on the far-reaching impact of the war and its unintended consequences by a professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania. He concludes that "Iran's leaders sense the permanent threat from Moscow, and this has brought a greater realism in foreign affairs - and, hence, a diminished threat to the Arab régimes of the Gulf. A prudent and low-profile US policy has helped make all this possible." (p. 608)

216. Rundle, Christopher. "The Iran-Iraq Conflict." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 17, Pt. 2 (June 1986), pp. 128-133. ●● A British Foreign and Commonwealth Office official provides background on the long-running war and outlines the views of each side on how the conflict might be brought to an end. He notes that the Shatt al-'Arab, the important waterway partially dividing the two countries, "which geographically lies at the heart of the Iran-Iraq conflict, will be less important after the war, precisely because neither Iran nor Iraq is likely to risk putting too many eggs in that basket." (p. 133)

217. Sharma, R.C., ed. *Perspectives on the Iran-Iraq Conflict*. New Delhi: Rajesh Publications, 1984. ●● A collection of articles on the war by Indian authors and edited by a professor of political geography at Jawaharlal Nehru University. Contributions focus both directly on the conflict and on the ramifications for the combatants, the Arab world, and the superpowers.

218. Sick, Gary. "Trial By Error: Reflections on the Iran-Iraq War." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 230-244. ●● An adjunct professor at Columbia University looks back at the origins of the war, the role of the UN Security Council and the US, reasons for its continuation, and the factors in its eventual termination. He points out that "Both Iraq and Iran are crucial to any long-term US strategy in the Gulf" and that "The United States can take little pride in its policies toward either of these difficult régimes. Washington has been clumsy and inconsistent, and its policies have tended to vacillate between extremes." (p. 244)

219. Sigler, John H. "The Iran-Iraq Conflict: The Tragedy of Limited Conventional War." *International Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Spring 1986), pp. 424-456. ●● A professor of political science at Carleton University, Ottawa, points out that the Iran-Iraq War is one of the bloodiest wars in modern history but attracts far less international attention than the Arab-Israeli conflict. He follows his brief survey of the progress of the war with the role played by other regional states and the superpowers. He believes that "In strict terms of the United Nations charter, Iraq had little justification for launching this war, but the great powers, none of whom had much sympathy for revolutionary Iran, were reluctant to intervene on behalf of the aggrieved party whose hands were far from clean." (p. 455)

220. Springborg, Robert. "The Gulf War and Political Stability in Iraq." *Peuples Méditerranéens*, No. 40 (July-September 1987), pp. 17-42.

221. Stauffer, Thomas. "Economic Warfare in the Gulf." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 14 (Fall 1985), pp. 98-116. ●● An adjunct professor at Georgetown University weighs the uses and limitations of economic warfare as presented in the Iran-Iraq War. The combatants' economic objectives have been to interdict critical imports, destroy oil export facilities, interrupt transit routes (including those of allies), and attack oil refineries. He notes that both countries were particularly vulnerable to economic interdiction but neither side was seriously hampered in its warmaking. The impact on Iran was muted because of the economic dislocations from its revolution and time is on Iraq's side because of the construction of pipelines through Turkey and Saudi Arabia. A short statement on US-Iraqi relations by the Iraqi ambassador to the United States, Nizar Hamdoon, immediately precedes this article (pp. 95-97).

222. Sterner, Michael. "The Iran-Iraq War." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Fall 1984), pp. 128-143. ●● A partner in the IRC Group and former US ambassador to the United Arab Emirates looks at the impact after three years of war on the combatants, neighbors in the Gulf, and outside powers. He observes that the US has three policy objectives with regard to the war: prevent any disruption of Gulf oil shipments, ensure the security of friendly oil-producing governments, and favor an outcome to the war that does not give the Soviet Union a dominant position in either country.

223. Steinbach, Udo. "The Iranian-Iraqi Conflict and Its Impact Upon the 'Arc of Crisis.'" *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Summer 1983), pp. 6-21. ●● The Director of the Deutsches Orient-Institut in Hamburg discusses the implications of the Iran-Iraq war. He points out that this war has blurred the distinction between "traditional" and "progressive" regimes. The political landscape now pits Islamic regimes against non-Islamic

ones. Furthermore, the recourse to Islam as a means of correcting social and political injustices strengthens feelings of solidarity between the Arabs of the Gulf and their Palestinian brethren, particularly insofar as Islamic precepts are seen as legitimizing the Palestinians' cause. Steinbach also notes that while the war has heightened tensions throughout the region, it serves the interests of neither superpower. Above all, he asserts, internal forces dictate changes in the region and Western security policy toward the Gulf should involve greater detachment and composure, with less attempts to "steer" developments. In particular, Steinbach argues that a US policy that sets up Saudi Arabia as the regional power is dubious, since Riyadh's influence is limited. ¤

224. Stork, Joe. "The War in the Gulf." *MERIP Reports*, No. 97 (June 1981), pp. 3-18. ●● An editor of MERIP Reports provides an overview to Iraqi society, economics and politics, and discusses various causes of the Iran-Iraq war. The war itself receives very little attention. ¤

225. Tahir-Kheli, Shirin, and Shaheen Ayubi, eds. *The Iran-Iraq War: New Weapons, Old Conflicts*. New York: Praeger, for the Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1983. ●● Four of the papers published in this volume are concerned with the war itself and its impact on the warring sides: the origins of the conflict (Daniel Pipes, Harvard University), the military and strategic aspects of the war (William O. Stauden maier, US Army War College), the war's economic implications for the two participants (Bijan Mossavar-Rahmani, Harvard University), and the prospects for conflict resolution (Richard W. Bulliet, Columbia University). Other papers address: the minorities question in Iran (Nikki Keddie, UCLA), ideology in recent Iraqi foreign policy (Tareq Y. Ismael, University of Calgary), the impact of Iran's revolution on instability in the Gulf (Barry Rubin, Georgetown University), the war's impact on inter-Arab relations (Nazih Ayubi, then at UCLA), and the relationship between Iran, Iraq, and the superpowers (Claudia Wright, a Washington-based journalist). The editors (of Temple University and the Foreign Policy Research Institute, respectively) have added an epilogue on the future prospects of the war. ¤

226. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *War in the Gulf*; a Staff Report. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1984. ●● Based on two staff trips to the Gulf in July 1984, this report assesses recent developments in the Iran-Iraq War, the political perspectives of each of the Gulf states, and implications for the US The authors of the report note that the military balance in the war has shifted in Iraq's favor during the past year, even though serious Iraqi liabilities still remain. They maintain that "an Iranian assault on Iraq would probably lead to a defeat for Iran unless Iraqi morale collapses." An Iranian attempt to close the Gulf is viewed as a desperate act of last resort.

While the US has the capability to counter such an attempt (at present there are 11,500 American military personnel in the Gulf and Arabian Sea area), doing so "could provide political and military opportunities for the Soviets in Iran." The report concludes that should the upper Gulf be closed to oil exports, the lost production could be made up quickly elsewhere. However, a total closure of the Gulf could result in a worldwide shortage. ¤

227. Viorst, Milton. "Iraq at War." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Winter 1986-1987), pp. 349-365. ●● A writer on Middle East affairs compares Iran and Iraq to two exhausted boxers after going a dozen rounds. By conventional assessments, he says, Iran should have the upper hand in this war but Iraq has more men under arms and has kept them better equipped because of more outside assistance. The author reports that "Iraqis believe the United States, particularly if it were willing to work with the Soviet Union, could somehow put an end to the war." (p. 364) He believes that American officials are more amenable to assisting Iraq but only in private.

228. Workman, W. Thom. *The Social Origins of the Iran-Iraq War*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994. ●● A revision of a doctoral thesis at Canada's York University (where the author serves as associate director of the Centre for International and Strategic Studies), this study of the war is divided into two parts. The first looks at "the complex sociopolitical dynamics at work within each country" (p. 23), examining the role of social transformation in creating revolution in Iran and "the repetitive alienation of [Iraq's] political elite from the wider population" (p. 59) during the monarchy and especially under Ba'thi rule. The consequence was increasing antagonism and a drift to a long, bloody, and indecisive war. The second part examines how the war consolidated the radical clerics' hegemony in Iran and permitted the Iraqi "régime with special opportunities to consolidate political control and extend its grip on Iraqi society." (p. 145) The author concludes that "The Iran-Iraq War, to state it baldly, had two victors: the Ba'th régime in Baghdad and the Theocratic régime in Tehran." (p. 2)

229. Wright, Claudia. "Implications of the Iran-Iraq War." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (Winter 1980-1981), pp. 275-303. ●● An early look at the initial aims, objectives, and motivations of the combatants in the Iran-Iraq war, written by the Washington correspondent of the New Statesman. Wright notes that the US reaction has been restricted to an increase in an over the-horizon naval presence. No direct involvement is foreseen, but she points out that AWACS aircraft were dispatched to an alarmed Saudi Arabia and declares that this was consistent with an American even-handed policy toward the war. Wright concludes by contending that the war has been a disaster for the region and that it has demonstrated the risks to the superpowers of fostering

close alignments within the region. ¤

230. _____. "Religion and Strategy in the Iraq-Iran War." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (October 1985), pp. 839-852. ●● The Washington correspondent of the *New Statesman* and *Témoignage Chrétien* (Paris) advances the thesis that "religion and religious sectarianism were not important factors in Iraq's decision to go to war - they have become important only after the fact." (p. 840) Subsequent to the Iraqi attack on Iran, Saddam Husayn sought to portray Iran as an expansionist Islamic state to fellow Arabs and to play up Sunni-Shi'i divisions. After reviewing the strategies of both sides in the war, the author concludes that "If Shiite clerics can be as inept as Sunni secularists, then perhaps the religious label does not mean much at all." (p. 852)

Military Aspects of the War

231. Burgess, William H., III. "Iranian Special Operations in the Iran-Iraq War: Implications for the United States." *Conflict*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1988), pp. 23-40. ●● The author examines the organization and utilization of Iran's Special Operations forces and concludes that "Win, lose, or draw, the Iranians will emerge from the war with a large corps of special operations personnel of substantial operational experience. … The result could be that more and better special operations will be mounted against the enemies of the Islamic Republic." (p. 35)

232. Cable, James. "Outside Navies in the Gulf." *International Relations*, Vol. 9 (May 1988), pp. 228-243.

233. Cordesman, Anthony H. *The Iran-Iraq War and Western Security, 1984-87: Strategic Implications and Policy Options*. London: Jane's, 1987. The RUSI Military Power Series. ●● An adjunct professor at Georgetown University and Vice-President of the Systems Development and Research Corporation notes at the outset that "The Iran-Iraq War is of critical importance to Western security. More than half of all the world's proven oil reserves are located in [the Gulf and all of its littoral states] are affected by the war, and an Iranian victory could threaten the stability of the West's access to oil for decades to come." (p. 1) He proceeds to analyze the course of the war through the years 1984 to 1987 and assess each side's strengths and weaknesses. His prognosis holds that there is no clear end in sight and he counsels that "The highest priority challenges for Western policy are to overcome the heritage of American and other covert arms sales to Iran, and to show that the West will now enforce tight controls on arms sales to Iran." (p. 161) Furthermore, "even

if Iraq suffers further reversals, it will be necessary to continue to finance Iraq and vital not to provide arms to Iran." (p. 162)

234. _____, and A.R. Wagner. *Lessons of Modern War, Vol. II; The Iran-Iraq War*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990. ●● The second in a four-volume set covering recent major conflicts around the world, written by a Georgetown University professor and assistant to US Senator John McCain (Cordesman) and a consultant with the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (Wagner). The lessons of the Iran-Iraq War as perceived by the authors include the participants' need for grand strategy, the limited utility of force ratios as a measure of military strength, the importance of military professionalism, the difficulty in conducting combined arms operations, the importance of infantry in modern war and the difficulty of employing air power effectively, the problems of integrating complex weapons and technology transfer, the critical factors of logistics and supply. and the problem for Western forces of power projection in low-intensity conflicts.

235. Cordesman, Anthony H. "The Iraq-Iran War: Attrition Now, Chaos Later." *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 120, No. 10 (May 1983), pp. 36, 38, 40-41, 43, 116-117. ●● Cordesman points out that Iran seemed on the verge of a major victory in spring 1982 but was unable to carry through. Subsequently, the conflict lapsed into a war of attrition with both sides potentially risking internal collapse. Regardless of which side wins, the author suggests that a number of developments are likely, including massive rearmament, a high technology arms race (possibly ushering in nuclear weapons), an oil war in the Gulf, and growing religious and political conflict in the Arab world. ¤

236. _____. "The Iran-Iraq War in 1984: An Escalating Threat to the Gulf and the West." *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 121 (March 1984), pp. 22-24, 27, 30, 75. ●● The author describes the progress of the Iran-Iraq war over the preceding year, with emphasis on the military weaponry employed by both sides. Cordesman feels that the following year should decide the outcome of the war and he suggests that Iraq is more likely to triumph than Iran, if it can withstand internal strains. As for the US it Aneeds to speak quietly but clearly, and to carry a medium-sized stick. A ¤

237. _____. "The Gulf Crisis and Strategic Interests: A Military Analysis." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 9 (Summer 1984), pp. 8-15. ●● Adapted from a June 1984 seminar presentation, this article notes that "The situation in the Gulf war has shifted strikingly over the last eight months, generally in favor of Iraq." Cordesman sees the war as having reached a military stalemate, equally advantageous to both parties. He believes that the combination of US

over-the-horizon military capabilities and Saudi armed forces should be adequate to deal with all but unconventional warfare contingencies. “It is the threat of terrorist attack and the possibility that Iraq might make a major mistake on the battlefield that seems the most serious threat to the Gulf at this time.” ¤

238. _____. “The Iran-Iraq War, 1984-1986.” In *Royal United Services Institution and Brassey's Defence Yearbook 1987* (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1987), pp. 281-337.

239. Guttry, Andrea de, and Natalino Ronzitti, eds. *The Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) and the Law of Naval Warfare: A Collection of Documents and Related Commentaries on Naval Practice*. Cambridge: Grotius, 1993. ●● A compilation of documents, edited by two professors from the University of Pisa. The volume covers legal aspects of maritime hostilities during the Iran-Iraq War, including the principle of freedom of navigation, the right of visit and search, convoy, the régime of international straits in time of war, and the legitimacy of mine-laying. Sections are organized by country, with materials including legislation and other administrative orders, parliamentary documentation, and diplomatic documents. Each section is preceded by a commentary by a professor of law. In addition to the two combatants, Iran and Iraq, other countries included are the United States, United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, as well as material from the United Nations, the European Community, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Western European Union.

240. Heller, Mark. “The War Strategy of Iran.” *Middle East Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Summer 1987), pp. 17-24. ●● A research associate at Tel Aviv University reviews the early stages of the Iran-Iraq War and notes that “Iranian capabilities … were limited by the political agenda of the regime … not to be aligned with either superpower….” (p.19) Because of Iraq's military superiority, Iran's strategy relied more on a war of attrition and exploitation of its economic and social advantages in a prolonged war. “In the final analysis, however, Iran was unable to neutralize Iraqi efforts to change the terms of the conflict or to bring to bear its potential advantage in a protracted war of attrition. … What remained was an intangible but important spiritual foundation: faith in the existence of Iranian moral superiority and in the ultimately decisive impact of morale.” (p. 23)

241. Iombersteg, Ulrich. “Chemical Weapons in the Gulf War.” *Swiss Review of World Affairs*. Vol. 37, No. 5 (August 1987), pp. 26-27. ●● A short report by a Swiss member of a UN group of experts sent to Iran and Iraq to investigate charges of the use of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq War. The team

concluded that both sides had probably used chemical weapons against the other and Iombersteg notes that "The use of chemical weapons in the Gulf war will not decisively influence the outcome of that conflict." (p. 27)

242. Karsh, Efraim. *The Iran-Iraq War: A Military Analysis*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1987. Adelphi Papers, No. 220. ●● A political scientist at Tel Aviv University analyzes the military dimensions of the war through its first six-and-a-half years, including the history of strategic relations between the two countries, developments on the battlefield, and an assessment of combat performance by both sides. He concludes that "The Iran-Iraq war is unlikely to go down in history either for its direct strategic lessons or for its military accomplishments. Instead it may be remembered as a 'delicate balance of incompetence' (to use Lawrence Freedman's words) and as a textbook illustration of the failure to apply most of the classic principles of war, from the adoption of realistic war aims to the conduct of the war itself." (p. 54)

243. _____. "Military Lessons of the Iran-Iraq War." *Orbis*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 209-223. ●● A political scientist at Tel Aviv University points out that "The Iran-Iraq War provides devastating proof … of the precariousness of armed force as a foreign-policy instrument. The ending of the war on the basis of the 1980 status quo ante after eight years of bitter fighting, over a million human casualties, and exorbitant economic dislocations has left the two protagonists virtually empty-handed…." (pp. 222-223) The lessons he cites are that wars are not easily limited, victory requires high morale, but morale cannot replace competence, strategic bombing can work, escalation can be a rational strategy, and timidity is as dangerous as temerity.

244. Liner, Bennice L. "Iran and Iraq: An Overview." *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (July-August 1984), pp. 97-102. ●● A very short and superficial overview of the war and possible implications for the US, written by a naval officer who is presently on the staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. ¤

245. McNaugher, Thomas L. "The Iran-Iraq War; Slouching Towards Catastrophe?" *Middle East Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Summer 1987), pp. 5-16. ●● A research associate at the Brookings Institution notes that "each year since 1983 has evinced roughly the same pattern of Iranian attack, Iraqi air strikes, and general stalemate." (p. 5) Although "the dull regularity of the Iran-Iraq war may not go on indefinitely; there is potential here for a wider war, possibly even for the ultimate catastrophe - an Iranian victory." (p. 5) The author proceeds to examine Iran's growing military competence and diminishing strategic reserve, the US impact, and developments in both

combatants' strategies.

246. "The Naval Stakes in the Gulf." *Navy International*, Vol. 92 (October 1987), pp. 527-533. ●● Three points of view on the subject. Nick Childs traces the naval aspects of the Iran-Iraq War and reviews Western naval commitments to the Gulf. Major-General Edward Fursdon explains the rules of passage through the Strait of Hormuz and Omani territorial waters, and Captain C.W. Koburger, Jr., notes that aircraft and surface gunfire can deal with threats to Gulf shipping from speedboats while air power can deal with missiles but mines present "the most dangerous unanswered threat to those passing on their lawful occasions." (p. 533)

247. North, Don. "Eye of the Storm." *Middle East Insight*, Part I: Vol. 12, No. 1 (November-December 1995), pp. 36-40; Part II: Vol. 12, No. 2 (January-February 1996), pp. 16-23. ●● A journalist and press aide to General Khalid b. Sultan Al Sa'ud (the commander of Arab forces during Operation Desert Storm) returns to Saudi Arabia five years after the war to interview Saudi military and civilian leaders about the events - as well as some Western politicians and analysts. He observes that "I found the men who fought it upbeat about the experience, although most of them are now retired from their military careers." (p. 22)

248. O'Ballance, Edgar. *The Gulf War*. London: Brassey's, 1988. ●● A blow-by-blow account of the Iran-Iraq War by a military historian, concentrating almost exclusively on the military aspects. His account ends in April 1987 (although a brief postscript takes the story up to the end of 1987) and thus does not include the end of the war. In asking the question, when will it end, the author concludes that the war's "continuance depends solely upon Ayatollah Khomeini, who remains in a vengeful mood, insisting that Saddam Hussein must be removed from power; but Saddam Hussein rides a tiger and cannot dismount." (p. 214)

249. _____. "The Iraqi-Iranian War: The First Round." *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 1981), pp. 54-59. ●● *plus* ●● O'Ballance, Edgar. "The Kurdish Factor in the Gulf War." *Military Review*, Vol. 61, No. 6 (June 1981), pp. 13-20. ●● A pair of short articles written by a military historian during the early months of the Iran-Iraq war. The first looks at the military capabilities of the adversaries and assesses the nature of the Iraqi strike into Iran. The second article is concerned less with the war than with a summarization of recent political developments involving Kurdish nationalist movements. ¤

250. _____. "Iran vs. Iraq: Quantity vs. Quality?" *Defence Attaché*, No. 1

(1987), pp. 25, 28-31.

251. _____. "Iran-Iraq: The War and Prospects for a Lasting Peace." In Anoushiravan Ehteshami and Manshour Varasteh, eds., *Iran and the International Community* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 124-142. ●● A view of the Iran-Iraq War by a defense consultant and author. He notes that the end of the war has been followed by a new arms race in the region and opines that it will take a new generation of leaders in the Gulf states, able to see through the mists of propaganda and prejudice … to wipe out the root causes of this new 'Cold War.'" (p. 142)

252. Pope, Sterett. "The Great Gulf War." *Worldview*, Vol. 27, No. 5 (May 1984), pp. 4-7. ●● A freelance writer compares the Iran-Iraq war with World War I, concluding that the low-technology, labor-intensive character of the war has given it a distinctively Third World quality. He feels that the three factors of petroleum, the attitude of the superpowers, and the course of the Iranian revolution will determine the war's future. ¤

253. Sabin, Philip A.G., and Efraim Karsh. "Escalation in the Iran-Iraq War." *Survival*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (May-June 1989), pp. 241-254. ●● A lecturer in war studies at King's College, London, and a senior fellow at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University examine the logic and pressures of escalation in the Iran-Iraq War as a case study by which to evaluate theoretical assumptions.

254. Segal, David. "The Iran-Iraq War: A Military Analysis." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 66, No. 5 (Summer 1988), pp. 946-963. ●● A writer specializing in military affairs gives a blow-by-blow account of the recent months of the war and analyzes the combatants' strategies and capabilities. He points out that Iranian actions to embroil Kuwait and Saudi Arabia in the war have not worked. Iran has been successful in avoiding retaliatory action by the superpowers but "If they are moving toward a consensus on how to deal with the problem, as certain recent developments seem to suggest, then Iraq will survive, and the war may end far sooner than most people now expect." (p. 962)

255. Slade, A.K. "Seven Navies, Seventy Ships: The Gulf, May-October 1987." *Army & Defence Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 117 (October 1987), pp. 456-467.

256. Staudenmaier, William O. "Military Policy and Strategy in the Gulf War." *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (June 1982), pp. 25-35. ●● An analyst at the US Army War College looks at the strategies pursued by both sides in the Iran-Iraq war. He observes that before

a nation goes to war it should ensure that the military means of force are consistent with political objectives; this, he contends, Saddam Husayn failed to do and consequently the war may prove to be his Waterloo. Staudenmaier also contends that inept Iraqi strategy constituted the primary reason why Iran was not defeated in the early stages of the war, and notes that although both sides were armed with the most sophisticated weaponry it has been used ineffectively and neither side has demonstrated initiative or aggressiveness in battle. ¤

257. Tucker, Anthony R. "Armoured Warfare in the Gulf." *Armed Forces*, Vol. 7 (May 1988), pp. 223-226. ●● A look at the role of land forces in the Iran-Iraq War, concluding that "Tactical use of tanks on both sides has at best been unimaginative. Regardless of the unfavourable terrain, neither side seems to be able to organise and conduct large-scale armoured operations effectively." (p. 226)

The Tanker War and Other Direct US Involvement

258. "The Attack on the Stark." *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 114 (May 1988), pp. 62-77. ●● A three-part examination of the Iraqi attack on the frigate USS Stark and its repercussions for the US Navy, by Michael Vlahos, Joseph Metcalf, and Edward W. Carter, III.

259. Axelgard, Frederick W. "The 'Tanker War in the Gulf: Background and Repercussions." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 3 , No. 6 (1984), pp. 26-33.

260. Chapin, Stephen R. "Countering Guerrillas in the Gulf." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 114 (January 1988), pp. 65-69. ●● A US naval officer argues that since shipping in the Gulf is threatened by the Iranian Pasdaran, who use small, highly armed boats, the US response should be to reduce its conventional ships in the Gulf and replace them with Pegasus hydrofoils.

261. Chichester, Michael. "Allied Navies and Gulf War: Strategic Implications." *Navy International*, Vol. 93 (June 1988), pp. 318-321.

262. Gallagher, James P., and DeForest A. Hamilton III. *Oil Tanker Reflagging in the Persian Gulf: A Policy Analysis*. Washington, DC: Republican Study Committee, 1987.

263. Gamlen, Elizabeth. "U.S. Strategic Policy Toward the Middle East: Central Command and the Reflagging of Kuwait's Tankers." In Hooshang Amirahmadi, ed., *The United States and the Middle East: A Search for New*

Perspectives (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), pp. 213-249. ●● The holder of a Ph.D. in peace studies from the University of Bradford examines the circumstances that led to the US decision to reflag Kuwaiti tankers to protect them from Iranian attacks during the Iran-Iraq War. She argues that "If the United States is to seriously pursue its prime goal of securing oil supplies from the Gulf region it must take advantage of the cessation of hostilities to review both its military and nonmilitary strategies. In particular, it must resolve the dilemmas over its relations with Iran." (p. 243)

264. "The Gulf War." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 114 (May 1988), pp. 29-57. ●● A set of four articles focusing on the "tanker war" of the latter stages of the Iran-Iraq War (by Ronald O'Rourke), the US Navy's escorting of Kuwaiti tankers (Wesley L. McDonald), press coverage in the US of the war (Jack Cushman), and an interview with the commander of the US ship assigned to the first convoy (Frank C. Seitz, Jr.).

265. Hanks, Robert J. "The Gulf War and U.S. Staying Power." *Strategic Review*, Vol. 15 (Fall 1987), pp. 36-43. ●● A former commander of the US Navy's Middle East Force highlights the risks to US naval deployment in the Gulf from the combatants, as illustrated by the Iraqi missile strike on the USS Stark and Iranian maritime mining. He notes that "The stakes that have impelled the US military commitment in the Persian Gulf are indeed - and unchallengeably - 'vital'" but even greater peril lies in the US allowing "those risks to deflect it from strategic purpose" since "a US retreat from its commitment in the Gulf would spell a strategic disaster." (p. 43)

266. Hawkins, William R. "Strategy and 'Freedom of Navigation.'" *National Interest*, No. 12 (Summer 1988), pp. 48-56. ●● The research director of the South Foundation agrees that it was in the United States' national interest to reflag the Kuwaiti tankers in 1987, but he argues that the Reagan administration goes too far in sometimes stating its role in the Gulf as being a "global policeman," rather than confining its posture to defense of its allies and its own interests. Although Iran's targeting of the tankers had compromised Kuwait's status as a neutral, Hawkins notes that its anti-shipping strategy is not "mad" or "criminal" and Ait would be counter-productive in the long-run to whip up a crusade against Iran on such grounds. Iran's strategy is understandable; it is just not in the US interest that it be allowed to succeed. (p. 54)

267. Navias, Martin S., and E.R. Hooton. *Tanker Wars: The Assault on Merchant Shipping During the Iran-Iraq Crisis, 1980-1988*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1996. ●● An examination of the Iran-Iraq War as it related to

maritime hostilities. The last chapter extends the discussion through the Kuwait War. The authors note that "Traditionally the maritime powers were naval powers with the resources and the will to prevent interference with trade, but since 1945 the trend has been for owners to seek flags of convenience. In seeking cost benefits owners have abandoned protection, swapping steel for gold, for the price of financial freedom is the absence of naval power." (p. 104) A 10-page appendix lists all the civilian ships attacked during the war.

268. Noyes, James. "Through the Gulf Labyrinth: Naval Escort and U.S. Policy." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 29 (Summer 1989), pp. 1-19. ●● A Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution (Stanford University) examines the purposes in reflagging and escorting Kuwaiti tankers during the latter stages of the Iran-Iraq War and concludes that the USA demonstrated successful use of our forces in a murky situation without absolute win-or-lose categories, and absent a precise knowledge of how long we would be there…. (p. 19)

269. "The Persian/Arabian Gulf Tanker War: International Law or International Chaos." *Ocean Development and International Law*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1988), pp. 299-321.

270. Phillips, Todd A. "Exchanging Excuses for Uses of Force - The Tug of War in the Persian Gulf." *Houston Journal of International Law*, Vol. 10 (Spring 1988), pp. 275-293. ●● An examination of the legal basis behind the American use of force in the Gulf as a response to Iranian provocations in attacking oil tankers and mining Gulf waters. The author suggests that it might have been better for the US to have abstained from involvement in the Iran-Iraq War and thereby preserve its neutrality: "Rather than trying to police the Kuwaiti convoys while hiding behind the mask of neutrality, the United States could have backed the United Nations in protecting the convoys under the U.N. flag." (p. 292)

271. Ramazani, R.K. "The Iran-Iraq War and the Persian Gulf Crisis." *Current History*, Vol. 87 (February 1988), pp. 64, 86-88. ●● A professor of government and foreign affairs at the University of Virginia looks at the Kuwaiti decision in 1987 to seek to protect its oil tankers under the American flag from Iranian attacks. He suggests that the proposal of a United Nations Naval Patrol Authority should be followed up.

272. Shazly, Nadia El-Sayed El-. *The Gulf Tanker War: Iran and Iraq's Maritime Swordplay*. London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998. ●● A detailed examination of the maritime aspects of the Iran-Iraq War, including detailed chronological narrative of events and the decision for

the US to reflag Kuwaiti tankers. The author points out that Iraq's decision to escalate into a tanker war was due to its "desperation to see an end to the protracted war [by] adoption of a strategy based on the exploitation of its superiority in airpower." (p. 305) She also concludes that, despite contradictions, "in the longer run, and in a rather roundabout manner, Baghdad did accomplish its main goal of bringing the Iran-Iraq War to a standstill." (p. 308)

273. Sreedhar, and Kapil Kaul. *Tanker War Aspect of Iraq-Iran War 1980-88*. New Delhi: ABC, 1989. ●● An introduction on the Iran-Iraq War and the development of the tanker war in 1987 is followed by detailed tables on allied navies in the Gulf, an extensive chronology of the Iran-Iraq War, and a list of tankers sunk or damaged during the war.

274. Stork, Joe. "Reagan Re-Flags the Gulf." *MERIP Reports*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (September-October 1987), pp. 2-5.

275. U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Armed Services. Investigations Subcommittee, and Defense Policy Panel. *The Policy Implications of U.S. Involvement in the Persian Gulf*. Joint Hearings, 9 and 11 June 1987. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1988. ●● Amid concern over the impact of the attack on the USS Stark, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger testifies that "The Stark incident was a tragic accident which shows that danger is always near." (p. 9) Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., adds that "The Stark incident has brought home in a painful way that we must remain constantly alert and we are now working out with Baghdad some procedures to avoid a recurrence of an accidental attack. .. Since the Stark attack we have not as yet seen any changes in Iranian conduct at sea - in fact they appear be even more cautious than previously." (p. 21) In his testimony, Richard W. Murphy (Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs) points out that the Soviets would have been happy to escort Kuwaiti tankers if the US had declined and thereby would have gained additional facilities in the Gulf. He also notes that the Iranian deployment of Silkworm missiles raises the threat to shipping in the Strait of Hormuz.

276. _____. Committee on Armed Services. Investigations Subcommittee, and Defense Policy Panel. *National Security Implications of United States Operations in the Persian Gulf*; Report, July 1987. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987. ●● This report was ordered as a result of the attack on the USS Stark and the Kuwaiti request for the reflagging of tankers but considers wider aspects of US policy relating to the Gulf. It concludes that "The Administration, by agreeing without significant consultation to the Kuwaiti

request to reflag the 11 tankers, placed the Congress in a potentially untenable position" (p. 77), although it also recognizes that the negative effect of this was exceeded by benefits from the reflagging itself. Furthermore, the justification for escorting tankers in the Gulf is seen as necessarily political rather than military. The Administration's primary objective in acceding to the Kuwaiti request was to limit Soviet penetration and presence in the Gulf area." (p. 78) An appendix provides details on the commercial shipping attacked by Iran between May 1984 and July 1987.

277. _____. Committee on Armed Services. Investigations Subcommittee. Defense Policy Panel. *Report on the Staff Investigation into the Iraqi Attack on the USS Stark*. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987.

278. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Arms Control, International Security and Science, and on Europe and the Middle East. *Overview of the Situation in the Persian Gulf*; Hearings and Markups, 19 May, 2, 9, 10, 11 and 23 June, 1987. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987. ●● A series of hearings to consider implications of the Iraqi attack on the USS Stark (17 May 1987), various House resolutions (on requiring a report on US security arrangements in the Gulf, Allied participation in security arrangements, and support for a ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war), Witnesses include Michael H. Armacost, Richard W. Murphy, and Edward P. Djerejian from the State Department, Caspar W. Weinberger (Secretary of Defense), Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr. (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), Lt. General R.A. Burpee and Sandra Charles from the Department of Defense, and Congressmen Charles Bennett, Henry Gonzalez, Tom Lantos, and Thomas J. Downey. The committee's concern seems to center on apprehensions that the attack on the Stark and the decision to reflag Kuwaiti tankers could increase the potential for US entanglement in the Iran-Iraq War.

279. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Arms Control, International Security and Science, and on Europe and the Middle East. *U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf*; Hearing, 15 December 1987. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1988. ●● The first witness, Richard W. Murphy (Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs), briefs the subcommittees on recent steps the US administration has taken in the Gulf while the following witness, Edward Gnehm (Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs) provides more detail on the 21 convoys that the US Navy conducted in the Gulf without incident.

280. _____.Democratic Study Group. *Special Report: The Persian Gulf Controversy*. Washington, 9 June 1987. DSG Report No.100-9.

281. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. *Persian Gulf: Report to the Majority Leader, U.S. Senate, from Senator John Glenn and Senator John Warner on Their Trip to the Persian Gulf May 27-June 4, 1987*. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987. Committee Print No. 100-38. ●● The two senators report on their visit to assess the threats to US and friendly forces in the Gulf and to assess options available to improve security arrangements with friendly Gulf countries. They conclude that efforts should be continued to bring the Iran-Iraq War to a conclusion, that an increase in US military forces is required because of escort commitments connected to the reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers, and that more support from GCC states and additional burden-sharing by NATO allies is needed. "If we are to succeed, our commitment must be firm, unequivocal, and enduring. Moreover, it must be well understood and backed by the Congress." (p. 20)

282. _____. Committee on Armed Services. *Investigation into the Downing of an Iranian Airliner by the U.S.S.* "*Vincennes"*; Hearing, 8 September 1988. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1988.

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283. U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Armed Services. Investigations Subcommittee and Defence Policy Panel. *The July 3, 1988, Attack by the Vincennes on an Iranian Aircraft*; Hearing, 21 July 1992. 102nd Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1992. ●● Hearings on the incident in which a United States Navy cruiser mistakenly shot down an Iranian civilian airliner on its scheduled flight to Dubai.

284. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf*; Hearings, 29 May, 16 June, and 23 and 28 October 1987. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1990. ●● In the first hearing, Richard W. Murphy (Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs), Richard L. Armitage (Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs), and Admiral Henry C. Mustin (Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Plans, Policy and Operations) discuss the attack in the Gulf on the USS Stark (17 May 1987) and the American reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers. The hearing on 16 June heard testimony from Congressman Charles E Bennett (Florida), Michael H. Armacost (Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs), Richard Armitage again, Rear Admiral John W. Kime (Chief of the Office of Marine Safety, Security, and Environmental Protection for the US Coast Guard), Robert E. Hunter (former staff member of the National Security Council), Karl Landgrebe (special assistant to the President of the National Engineers' Beneficial Association), and Frank Pecquex (legislative director of the Seafarers International Union of North America)

on the subject of US involvement in hostilities in the Gulf and the reflagging of the Kuwaiti tankers. Caspar W. Weinberger (Secretary of Defense) testified on 23 October about the American attack (of 17 October) on an Iranian oil platform used by the Revolutionary Guard. And on 28 October, former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and former Secretary of Defense Elliot L. Richardson testified on the UN role in the Gulf.

285. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Preventing United States Involvement in Hostilities in the Persian Gulf*; Report Together With Additional Views To Accompany S. 1327. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987.

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286. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Persian Gulf and the War Powers Resolution*; Report Together With Additional Views To Accompany S. 1343, 10 July 1987. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987. ●● Background for bills submitted by Senator Claiborne Pell (Rhode Island) that would require that the use of US armed forces in escort duties in the Gulf complies with the War Powers Resolution (enacted in 1973 as a result of Vietnam to enable Congress to impose limitations on the President's ability to introduce troops into hostile situations).

287. _____. Committee on Armed Services. *U.S. Military Forces to Protect "Reflagged" Kuwaiti Oil Tankers*; Hearings, 5, 11, and 16 June 1987, Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987. ●● The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., provides testimony that stresses that "We have a vital stake in seeing that the region's supply of oil to the free world remains unimpeded." (p. 15) But he concedes that it is difficult to construct a simple policy for the region. More details on the situation in the Iran-Iraq War and US involvement in the Gulf are provided by Michael H. Armacost (Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs), Richard L. Armitage (Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs), and Rear Admiral Robert Ailes (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations).

288. U.S. General Accounting Office. *Additional Costs to Government: Reflagging Kuwaiti Ships and Protecting Them in the Persian Gulf*; Fact Sheet for the Honorable Ernest F. Hollings, United States Senate. Washington, 8 October 1987. GAO/NSIAD-88-9FS, B-228983.

289. U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *The Persian Gulf and the U.S. Naval Presence: Issues for Congress*. Washington, 3 August 1987. Issue Brief IB87145.

290. _____. *The Persian Gulf Crisis: U.S. Military Operations*. Washington, 7 October 1987. Issue Brief IB87145.

291. _____. *Persian Gulf and the War Powers Debate: Review of Events*. Washington, 3 November 1987. Issue Brief IB87207.

292. U.S. President (1981-1989: Reagan). *Report on United States Military Action*; Communication. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1988.

293. Wachenfeld, Margaret G. "Reflagging Kuwaiti Tankers: A US Response in the Persian Gulf." *Duke Law Journal*, Vol. 1988 (February 1988), pp. 174-202. ●● A detailed examination of the legality of the tanker reflagging policy under international and domestic standards. The author concludes that "The reflagging of the Kuwaiti tankers as a flagging event was a lawful undertaking. The administration was careful to comply with or seek waivers for all documentation requirements. The tenuousness of the link between the tankers and the United States may give rise to skepticism over the degree to which states may abuse the genuine link concept, but such skepticism does not give any state the right to deny the United States nationality of the tankers." (p. 174)

294. Wolfrum, Rudiger. "Reflagging and Escort Operation in the Persian Gulf: An International Law Perspective." *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 29 (Winter 1989), pp. 387-399. ●● A professor of international law at the University of Kiel notes that "Both the reflagging of [eleven Kuwaiti oil tankers] and U.S. naval escort operations raise significant issues under international law. Moreover, because the acts of reflagging and escort are closely linked (the U.S. government reflagged the Kuwaiti ships in order to legalize its naval escort operations), the international law issues raised by each act are similarly linked." (p. 387)

The Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait and the Kuwait War (1990-1991)

Background to the Invasion and Developments During the Iraqi Occupation

295. Abidi, A.H.H. "Roots and Dimensions of the Border Dispute Between Iraq and Kuwait." *International Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (April-June 1991), pp. 129-140. ●● A professor at Jawarhalal Nehru University traces the border dispute from the 1960s through the end of the Kuwait War.

296. Abideen, Muhammad Ali. *The Historical Pretext for the Occupation of Kuwait*. Qom, Iran: Dar Al-Mostafa, 1995. ●● A translation from the original Arabic of an anti-Saddam Husayn treatise. The author disputes Iraq's contention that Kuwait was part of the former Ottoman Empire and thus belonged to Iraq as a successor state. Similarly, claims to Kuwait during the Iraqi monarchy and then the republic are dismissed as without foundation and the author attributes the invasion in 1990 to Saddam's "vainglory and megalomania." (p. 77)

297. Ali, Omar. *Crisis in the Arabian Gulf: An Independent Iraqi View*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993. ●● An impassioned view of the reasons why Iraq invaded Kuwait and its perceived domination first by Britain and then by the United States by an Iraqi resident in the US. The author is supportive of Iraq's claims to Kuwait but critical of its decision to invade. He believes that a pillar of US regional policy is "that no Arab state or combination of Arab states should reach parity with Israel in military potential." (p. 144) The author sees that "The Iraqi invasion and its aftermath have destroyed the fabric of any existing Arab solidarity" (p. 137) and that "Had Kuwait and other Arab members of the Alliance had true democratic institutions, they would not have allowed their governments to cooperate in a conspiracy to destroy the military power of an Arab government." (p. 139)

298. Anderson, Ewan W., and Khalil Rashidan. *Iraq and the Continuing Crisis in the Middle East*. London: Pinter, 1991.

299. Aziz, Tareq. "Historical Background of the Iraq-Kuwait Dispute." *Korean Journal of Middle East Studies*, No. 11 (1990), pp. 41-53.

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300. Shewaihy, Mohammed A. al-. "Historical Claim of Iraq Over Kuwait and the Position of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Its Peaceful Solution." *Korean Journal of Middle East Studies*, No. 11 (1990), pp. 55-67. ●● The Iraqi Foreign Minister provides justification for the invasion by combining an outline of Iraq's historical claims to Kuwait with perceived Kuwaiti antagonism by flooding the market with oil. The Saudi Arabian ambassador to South Korea responds by refuting Iraq's historical claims as "sheer lies" and then sets out the kingdom's position on the crisis, together with its insistence that there can be no solution without total Iraqi withdrawal and full restitution of the Kuwaiti government.

301. Baram, Amatzia, and Barry Rubin, eds. *Iraq's Road to War*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. ●● This edited book presents papers originally presented at a 1991 conference at the University of Haifa. The papers are organized around five subjects. Amatzia Baram (University of Haifa) opens the volume with a discussion of the making of Iraq's decision to invade Kuwait, followed by an examination of the weaknesses and strengths of the Iraqi army by Mark A. Heller (Tel Aviv University) and an analysis of the political attitudes of Iraq's Shi'ah and Kurds by Ofra Bengio (Tel Aviv University). Then a section of economic roots of the crisis includes papers by Patrick Clawson (Orbis) on Iraq's economy and international sanctions and by Robert J. Lieber (Georgetown University) on the impact of the war on the international oil market. Chapters on the impact on the Arab world include Joseph Kostiner (Tel Aviv University) on Kuwait, Jacob Goldberg (Tel Aviv University) on Saudi Arabia, Joseph Nevo (University of Haifa) on Jordan, co-editor Barry Rubin (Johns Hopkins University) on the PLO, Ilan Pappe (University of Haifa) on Israel's Arabs, Michael Eppel (University of Haifa) on Syria, and Yoram Meital (University of Haifa) on Egypt. Farther afield, David Kushner (University of Haifa) discusses the impact on Turkey, Shaul Bakhash (George Mason University) on Iran, and Avner Yaniv (University of Haifa) on Israel. Final chapters include Barry Rubin on US policy towards Iraq before and during the war and Helmut Hubel (Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Auswärtige Politik) on French and German policy. The book concludes with a short essay by P.J. Vatikiotis (University of London) placing the Kuwait War in the larger context of 20th-century political trends in the Middle East.

302. Bishku, Michael B. "Iraq's Claim to Kuwait: A Historical Overview." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 37 (1991), pp. 77-88. ●● A professor at the University of Nebraska at Kearney details the history of Iraqi-Kuwaiti border relations from the origin of the dispute, through the 1961 alarm caused by Iraq's apparent mobilization to move into Kuwait, until 1990.

303. Boxhall, Peter. "The Iraqi Claim to Kuwait." *Army & Defence Quarterly*

Journal, Vol. 121, No. 1 (January 1991), pp. 33-37.

304. Braun, Ursula. "Epicentre Kuwait: The International Political Dimension of a Regional Conflict." *Aussenpolitik*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (1991), pp. 58-67.

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305. Arnold, Hans. "The Gulf Crisis and the United Nations." *Aussenpolitik*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (1991), pp. 68-77. ●● In the first article, written on the eve of the Kuwait War, the author (associated with the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik and the German Orient Institute) reviews the background to Iraq's invasion and looks at the development of the coalition to oust the invaders. She observes that Saddam is unlikely to withdraw from Kuwait and remarks that efforts were underway to find a political solution. "In view of the outlined risks of a military operation to enforce UN resolutions this should only be considered as a *last resort.* A military conflict could not be limited to the Gulf region." (p. 67; emphasis in original)

Although Arnold, a former German ambassador to the United Nations, believes that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is more of a regional problem than a threat to world peace, he feels that settlement of the crisis is important for the UN, "whether by military means on the part of the major northern powers and bypassing the UN or … through a negotiated UN solution (perhaps reinforced by the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces). The first solution would substantially weaken the UN, the second would strengthen it somewhat." (p. 76)

306. Brown, Gordon S. *Coalition, Coercion, and Compromise: Diplomacy of the Gulf Crisis, 1990-91*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1997. ●● A former American ambassador and political adviser to General Norman Schwarzkopf during the Kuwait War focuses on the period between the Iraqi invasion in August 1990 and the launching of the air war in January 1991. He concludes that "Diplomacy failed to avert the war because, by October, the major protagonists gave very little room for negotiation." (p. 84) In fact, he argues, mediation efforts may have convinced Saddam Husayn that the coalition did not have the stomach for war. His refusal to take advantage of negotiating efforts may have been tactical at first but seemed to be driven by "sheer obstinacy in the end." (p. 84) Brown also observes that it is not surprising that the solidarity of the coalition should have evaporated soon after the cease-fire since it "seems in retrospect to have been more a product of its specific time and circumstances than a reproducible contribution to a new international order." (p. 91)

307. Bulloch, John, and Harvey Morris. *Saddam's War: The Origins of the Kuwaiti Conflict and the International Response*. London: Faber & Faber, 1991. ●● An account of the Kuwait War by two British journalists, with emphasis on explaining the personality of Saddam Husayn and his motivation for invading Kuwait. To the question of whether Kuwait was worth a war, the authors answer that "the crisis was never just about restoring the independence of Kuwait. With his annexation of a sovereign state, Saddam challenged the very basis of international relations within the United Nations, just at a time when that body was emerging from the Cold War era as an effective forum for the resolution of international disputes." (p. xi) Rejecting the contention that the US or Kuwait was responsible for the crisis, they lay the blame squarely on Saddam for "all the consequences of the aggression." (p. xiii) They argue that "The invasion was a deliberate stage in Saddam's war, a war which he waged against his political opponents, against his own people, against Iran and in which, ultimately, he threatened to embroil the rest of the world." (p. xiii) The book includes a small selection of photographs but omits any bibliography and has only one rudimentary map.

308. Carpenter, Ted Galen, ed. *America Entangled: The Persian Gulf Crisis and Its Consequences*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 1991. ●● Papers from a conference held on the Kuwait crisis before the war began, with emphasis on implications for US foreign policy. Most of the short contributions are by journalists. The first part (with contributions by Christopher Layne, Robert E. Hunter, Ted Carpenter, and Peter Riddell) concentrates on the nature of a "new world order" and what that means for US political and military leadership in the world, as well as relations with traditional allies in Europe. The second part looks at the impact of the invasion on international oil and features contributions from David R. Henderson, Michael E. Canes, William A. Niskanen, and Richard K. Thomas. In part three, Sheldon L. Richman looks at "Washington's interventionist record in the Middle East." Charles William Maynes posits that an American decision to go to war will be based on the factors of oil, order, security, and Israel. Gene R. La Rocque counsels against military action in favor of a diplomatic interlude of one year, Gerald F. Seib emphasizes the "tricky task of keeping the various powers of this dangerous region in balance," (p. 83) and Leon T. Hadar concludes that the American Cold-War policy in the Middle East will not solve problems of US involvement in the Middle East. The final two papers by Doug Bandow and Rosemary Fiscarelli deal with restoring Congressional war powers and a countervailing view that US security interests must be focused on non-Gulf threats.

309. Collins, John M. "Options in the Middle East." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 116 (October 1990), pp. 119-122. ●● A specialist in

national defense at the US Congressional Research Service provides lists of eight Iraqi and eight American options of what to do following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. He notes that on both sides, the available options are not mutually exclusive.

310. Cooley, John K. "Prewar Gulf Diplomacy." *Survival*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (March-April 1991), pp. 125-139.

311. *Crisis in the Gulf*. Washington, DC: Institute for Policy Studies, 1990. ●● A pamphlet produced just after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and George Bush's decision to drive Saddam out. The authors note that "In the rush to resolve the Gulf crisis, nothing is done to reverse the foolish and dangerous policies of oil dependence that brought a U.S. military force into the Arabian desert." (p. 5) They also call for a public debate on the decision.

312. Damkhi, Ali Mohamed al-. *Invasion: Saddam Hussein's Reign of Terror in Kuwait*. London: Kuwait Research and Advertising Company, 1992.

313. Dann, Uriel. *The Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait: Historical Observations*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1990. ●● A short paper written shortly after the invasion and providing background on Kuwait.

314. Darwish, Adel, and Gregory Alexander. *Unholy Babylon: The Secret History of Saddam's War*. London: Gollancz, 1991. ●● A detailed accounting of arms transfers and other assistance to Iraq during the 1980s and a criticism of the West for arming Saddam Husayn and thus enabling, if not encouraging, him to attack Kuwait.

315. Delmonte, L. "Crisis and War in the Gulf: An Initial Approach." *Revista de Africa y Medio Oriente* (Havana), Vol. 3, No. 1 (1991), pp. 1-22.

316. Duncan, B.A.C. "Cruelty and Compassion: An Englishman in Kuwait." *Army Quarterly and Defence Journal*, Vol. 121, No. 2 (1991), pp. 160-178.

317. Eilts, Hermann Frederick. "The Persian Gulf Crisis: Perspectives and Prospects." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 1991), pp. 7-22. ●● A professor at Boston University and former US ambassador to Saudi Arabia examines impact of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and its antecedents in an article published before Operation Desert Storm. He warns that the US should not "keep US ground forces permanently deployed in the Middle East [as it] will weaken the régimes of countries where US troops are allowed to be stationed" and advises that "Any future collective security arrangement in the

region, if it is to be indigenously acceptable, must have its origins in the area itself." (p. 22)

318. Finnie, David. *Shifting Lines in the Sand: Kuwait's Elusive Frontier with Iraq*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1992. ●● A comprehensive examination of the boundary dilemma between Kuwait and Iraq by a lawyer, relying extensively on British documents as well as secondary sources. He reviews the wrangling over Kuwait between Britain and the Ottoman Empire prior to the First World War, as well as negotiations during the Iraqi mandate and independence (until 1958). Subsequent chapters deal with the crisis of 1961, when it appeared that Iraq might invade Kuwait, and Kuwaiti-Iraqi relations during the Iran-Iraq War. A final chapter analyzes the reasons for invasion put forward by Iraq in 1990. The author dismisses Iraq's claim that Kuwait is part of Iraq by citing the 1963 agreement by which Baghdad agreed to abandon its claim and acceptance of Kuwait as a fellow member of the Arab League and the United Nations. As for the dispute over the Rumaylah oilfield, "Kuwait's alleged transgression of the oil at or near Rumaila can hardly be considered a legitimate *casus belli*, much less an excuse for disregarding an otherwise well-established frontier." (p. 173) He tends to dismiss the conspiracy theory that Kuwait was deliberately overproducing its OPEC quota in collusion with the United States in order to deprive Iraq of income. He finds greater value in Iraq's requirement for better access to the Gulf although noting that "Saddam Hussein's reckless aggression, together with his postwar posturing, understandably reduced international sympathy for Iraq's geographic plight very nearly to the vanishing point…" (p. 175) and points out that the UN Security Council Resolution 687 after "closed the door" on the border disagreement.

319. Ghabra, Shafeeq. "Interview: Fighting Saddam with a Mac." *American Legion Magazine*, Vol. 149, No. 2 (August 2000); as reprinted in GulfWire Special Supplement, 31 August 2000. ●● A Kuwait University professor is interviewed about his experiences during the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in 1990.

320. Gow, James, et al. *The Gulf Crisis: Politico-Military Implications*. London: Brassey's, 1990. London Defence Studies, No. 2.

321. Gowan, Peter. "The Gulf War, Iraq and Western Liberalism." *New Left Review*, No. 187 (May-June 1991), pp. 29-70.

322. Greenwood, Christopher. "Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait: Some Legal Issues." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 5 (Spring-Summer 1991), pp. 21-31. ●● This study by a fellow at Magdalene College, Cambridge,

points out that "the invasion and subsequent annexation of Kuwait were a direct challenge to the principle which forbids the aggressive use of force and denies that an aggressor can still acquire legal title to conquered territory. The response to that invasion, particularly with the commitment of forces from a wide range of States to a massive military action, also demanded some hard thinking about the second principle and the relationship between law enforcement and self-defence." (p. 21) Another version of this article was published under the same title in *World Today*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (March 1991), pp. 39-43.

323. _____. "New World Order or Old? The Invasion of Kuwait and the Rule of Law." *Modern Law Review*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (March 1992), pp. 153-178.

324. Gresh, Alain, and Dominique Vidal. *Golfe: clefs pour une guerre annoncée*. Paris: Le Monde, 1991.

325. "The Gulf Crisis." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Winter 1991), special section, pp. 5-56 and 86-125. ●● Contributors look at various aspects of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. Walid Khalidi (Institute for Palestine Studies) provides historical background to the crisis, George T. Abed (Palestine Welfare Association) focuses on the impact on Palestinians, Norman Finkelstein ("teaching in New York") attacks the double standard applied to Israel and Iraq, an interview with Georges Corm (a Lebanese historian) concentrates on the regional impact, an interview with Hassan al-Ebraheem (Citizens for a Free Kuwait) looks at the Kuwaiti perspective, an interview with Pierre Terzian (Petrostrategies Inc.) looks at the oil factor, an interview with Mattiyahu Peled (University of Tel Aviv) examines the Israeli view, and Shafeeq Ghabra (Kuwait University) provides an eyewitness account of the invasion and occupation. Some of the articles appeared first in the related *Revue d'études Palestiniennes*, No. 37 (1990). A related article is by Michael Dumper (University of Exeter), "Letter from Kuwait City: End of an Era," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Autumn 1991), pp. 120-123.

326. "The Gulf Crisis: Global Ramifications." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 35 (Winter 1990-1991), pp. 1-57. ●● Proceedings of a conference on the Kuwait War held in Atlanta, Georgia. Under-Secretary of Defense for Policy Paul Wolfowitz reviews the accomplishments of the just-concluded war and notes that the war points out the requirement for a new security structure for the region as well as long-term development. William Quandt of the Brookings Institution identifies the principal challenges for US policy as being arms control, Arab-Israeli peacemaking, economic reform, and democratization.

Frank Carlucci, Vice-President of the Carlyle Group and former US Secretary of Defense, notes that "History teaches us that we cannot withdraw from the world, yet there is a coalition of far right and far left growing up in this country that prefers to withdraw." (p. 26) Algerian Ambassador Abderrahmane Bensid introduces the impact of the invasion and war on the Maghrib states. A panel with Jack Wilkinson, Talat Othman, John Christie, and Koro Bessho discusses the economic implications while another panel with Joseph Wright Twinam, David L. Mack, Robert G. Neumann, and Kenzo Oshima lays out the political implications. The final remarks by Clovis Maksoud, formerly the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, are concerned with the beginning of the healing process.

327. "The Gulf Crisis: Political and Economic Implications." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 1990), entire issue. Different perspectives on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait include Charles Tripp (University of London) on Iraqi politics, an interview with Serge Kirpitchenko (Chief of the Gulf Section of the Soviet Foreign Ministry), R.K. Ramazani (University of Virginia) on US Gulf policy, Joseph Ghougassian (former US ambassador to Qatar) on the mood in the Gulf, James Elles (Member of the European Parliament) on Europe's role, Tom Kono (New York University) on Japan's role, Shahram Chubin (M Group, Switzerland) on Iran, Kono on the economics behind the invasion, and Amy Kaslow (Christian Science Monitor) on the regional economic impact.

328. Halliday, Fred. "Historical Antecedents to the Present Crisis." *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 136 (Autumn 1991), pp. 40-43.

329. Hammadi, Abdulla al-. *The Big Terrorism of Nations Destroyers: Documented Stories and Atrocities During Savage Iraqi Invasion of State of Kuwait (Aug. 2nd 1990-Feb. 26th 1991)*. Kuwait: Fahad al-Marzouk, 1992.

330. "Hassan al-Ebraheem, The Gulf Crisis - a Kuwaiti Perspective: An Interview with." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (1991), pp. 94-99.

331. Haselkorn, Avigdor. "Underestimating Sadddam: Why Were the U.S. and Israel Surprised?" *Global Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1990), pp. 1-25. ●● The author, a defense consultant, charges that the US and Israel suffered from "a multiple, bi-national intelligence - and/or political - failure in Kuwait." (p. 18) This he blames on poor human intelligence, a failure to assess correctly Iraqi intentions as well as capabilities, erroneous estimates arising from US-Israeli intelligence cooperation, the hampering of reliable intelligence by political considerations, and the irrelevance of the presence of thousand of American

civilians in Iraq and Kuwait.

332. Hickman, William F. "Confrontation in the Gulf: Unintended Consequences." *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 44 (Winter 1991), pp. 49-61. ●● A US naval officer presents the historical background to Middle East and Gulf security crises and focuses on the unintended consequences of Saddam Husayn's invasion of Kuwait, including the possible Israeli reaction and the concession to Iran of all the Iraqi objectives during their war.

333. Howell, W. Nathaniel. "In the Wake of the Storm: Kuwaiti Society After Liberation." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (March-April 1995), pp. 36-38. ●● The US ambassador to Kuwait at the time of the invasion describes the trauma and effects of the occupation on the Kuwaiti population.

334. "L'invasion du Koweït." *Maghreb-Machrek*, No. 130 (October-November-December 1990), entire issue. ●● An entire issue devoted to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Ghassan Salamé, "Les enjeux d'une crise" (pp. 5-13), begins discussion by examining the issues at stake on all sides, including for Iraq, Kuwait, the US, Russia, and Europe. Henry Laurens, "Le contentieux territorial entre l'Irak et le Koweït" (p. 14-24), traces the nature of the conflicting territorial claims, including the 1913 Anglo-Ottoman accord and the 1961 crisis. Elizabeth Picard, "Le régime irakien et la crise: les ressorts d'une politique" (pp. 25-35), focuses on the internal nature and structure of the Iraqi regime which permitted its behavior. Benoît Parisot, "La situation économique et financière de l'Irak à la mi-1990: quelle influence sur la décision d'envahir le Koweït?" (pp. 36-44), concentrates on the economic motivations of Iraq. Jean Leca, "Aux origines de la crise: le discours des acteurs" (pp. 45-68), introduces speeches and interviews which give the viewpoints of Saddam Husayn, Yasir 'Arafat, Tareq Aziz, and Shaykh Ali Khalifah Al Sabah (the Kuwaiti Minister of Finance). The military and oil aspects are briefly covered by Louis-Jean Duclos on "Les forces militaires en présence" (pp. 69-73), and Khattar Abou-Diab on "Aspects pétroliers de la crise" (pp. 74-78). Broader Arab attitudes are explored by Alain Roussillon on "L'opposition égyptienne et la crise du Golfe" (pp. 79-98), and M. al-Ahnaf on "L'opposition maghrébine face à la crise du Golfe" (pp. 99-114). The issue also includes a chronology of events.

335. *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter 1990-1991). ●● This issue contains a collection of articles reacting to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh, "Crisis in the North-West of the Persian Gulf" (pp. 541-552) provides background on the crisis. Sohrab Shahabi discusses the implications for international oil in "The Persian Gulf Crisis and the Future of Oil Crisis" (pp. 553-554). Nasser Saghafi-Ameri analyzes

possible outcomes in "A Solution to the Persian Gulf Crisis" (pp. 555-558). Hooshmand Mirfakhraie's article on "Miscalculation and Strategic Naivety in the Iraq-Kuwait Crisis" (pp. 541-551) assesses Saddam Husayn's motivations. Fereidun Fesharaki places the Kuwait crisis in the broader oil context in his "OPEC: Past, Present, and Future" (pp. 587-590).

336. *Iraqgate: Saddam Hussein, U.S. Policy and the Prelude to the Persian Gulf War (1980-1994)*. Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey, August 1995. ●● A collection of microfilmed documents on US relations with Saddam Husayn prior to the Kuwait War.

337. Joyner, Christopher C. "Sanctions Compliance and International Law: Reflections on the United Nations Experience Against Iraq." *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 31 (1991), pp. 1-46.

338. Joxe, A. "La crise du Golfe: Les enjeux stratégiques internationaux." *Revue d'études Palestiniennes*, No. 37 (1990), pp. 40-46.

339. Karsh, Efraim, and Inari Rautsi. "Why Saddam Hussein Invaded Kuwait." *Survival*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January-February 1991), pp. 18-30. ●● A lecturer at the Department of War Studies, King's College, London, and a researcher at the University of Helsinki seek to answer this fundamental question and conclude that a "combination of impotence and omnipotence, of a deep economic plight and fears of an Israeli attack, on the one hand, and an undisguised air of self-importance, on the other, sealed the fate of Kuwait." (p. 24) The same authors collaborated on *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography* (London: Brassey's; New York: Free Press, 1991).

340. Kemp, Geoffrey. "The Gulf Crisis: Diplomacy or Force?" *Survival*, Vol. 32 (November-December 1990), pp. 507-517.

341. Khadduri, Majid. "Iraq's Claim to the Sovereignty of Kuwait." *International Law and Politics*, Vol. 23 (Fall 1990), pp. 5-34.

342. Khalidi, Walid. "The Gulf Crisis: Origins and Consequences." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (1991), pp. 5-28.

343. Khalil, S. al-. "Kuwaiti Rights are the Issue." *Middle East Report*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1991), pp. 14-16.

344. Khatib, Ahmad al-. "A Military Solution Will Destroy Kuwait." *Middle East Report*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1991), pp. 8-9.

345. Kono, Tom. “Road to the Invasion.” *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 34 (1990), pp. 29-45.

346. Kostiner, Joseph. “The Arab States of the Gulf Before and After the Second Gulf Crisis.” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (1997), pp. 788-797.

347. Kumarasamy, P. “Islam and Israel: Saddam Hussein's Two-Pillar Strategy in the Persian Gulf Crisis.” *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 14, No. 8 (1991), pp. 911-923.

348. Layne, Christopher, and Ted Galen Carpenter. *Arabian Nightmares: Washington's Persian Gulf Entanglement*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 1990.

349. Lawson, Fred H. “Rethinking the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait.” *Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn 2001), pp. 1-20. ●● A political scientist at Mills College in California finds the motivation for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait puzzling and reviews the various arguments put forth for it and places them in the context of international-relations theory. He suggests “To the extent that increasing vulnerability led Iraq to resort to coercion in its dealings with Kuwait during the summer of 1990, overt US military intervention in the Gulf that July precipitated a classic conflict spiral. … Washington's evident willingness to exercise military muscle in Gulf affairs prompted the Iraqi leadership to conclude that it must take desperate measures to buttress Iraq's strategic position before the United States and its allies succeeded in circumscribing Iraq's ability to influence regional affairs.” (p. 18) Furthermore, the unresolved aftermath of the Kuwait War and Iraq's continued vulnerability means that Aalmost all of the major sources of Iraqi insecurity that precipitated the 1990 invasion of Kuwait remain intact. (p. 18)

350. Leadbetter, Wyland F., and Stephen J. Bury. “Prelude to Desert Storm: The Politicization of Intelligence.” *Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 43-54.

351. Lesch, Ann. “Palestinians in Kuwait.” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1991), pp. 42-54.

352. Levins, John. *Days of Fear: The Inside Story of the Iraqi Invasion and Occupation of Kuwait*. Dubai: Motivate Publishing, 1997.

353. Luke, Timothy W. “The Discipline of Security Studies and the Codes of Containment: Learning from Kuwait.” *Alternatives*, Vol. 16 (Summer 1991), pp. 315-344.

354. Mansuri, Javad. "Persian Gulf Crisis and Its Political and Economic Implications." *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (January 1991), pp. 9-18. ●● The Iranian ambassador to Pakistan analyzes the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and its regional ramifications. He notes that Iran has considered the occupation illegal and has demanded Iraq's unconditional withdrawal. "The Islamic Republic of Iran during the eight years of its sacred defence against Iraqi aggression, had warned the countries supporting Iraq and supplying arms to it that one day they too will face dangerous consequences of their action." (p. 15) He adds that Iran opposes the presence of Western and American forces in the region.

355. Mendelson, Maurice, and Susan C. Hulton. "La revendication par l'Irak de la souveraineté." *Annuaire Français de Droit International*, Vol. 36 (1990), pp. 195-227. ●● The authors assert that Iraq's claim to Kuwait rested on weak grounds and in no way justified its invasion of its neighbor under international law.

356. Miller, Judith, and Laurie Mylroie. *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf*. New York: Times Books, 1990.

357. Morris, Mary E. *Regional Dynamics of the Gulf Crisis*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1991. P-7700. ●● A short paper by a RAND analyst based on comments delivered at several venues and giving a brief overview of the events leading to the Kuwait War, noting that "The indigenous problems of the Middle East that existed prior to the war … will still exist when the war is over. They will be the true survivors of the war, and, if anything, they will be worse at the end than at the beginning." (p. 11)

358. Musallam, Musallam Ali. *The Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait: Saddam Hussein, His State and International Power Politics*. London: British Academic Press, 1995. ●● Derived from a Ph.D. dissertation at Georgetown University, this book attempts to disentangle the causes of the 1990 Gulf crisis using insights derived from political theory, and more specifically the theoretical framework set out in Kenneth Waltz's widely acclaimed *Man, the State and War* … [and argues that the Kuwait War] "resulted from a combination of elements: the leadership of Saddam Hussein, the nature of the Iraqi state, and the international system of states and that the crisis was precipitated by a peculiarly unstable combination of these elements." (p. 5)

359. Mylroie, Laurie. "Why Saddam Hussein Invaded Kuwait." *Orbis*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 123-134. ●● A fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy contends that Saddam invaded because he "seems to have had a grand but simple design, beginning with gaining control of the

Persian Gulf's oil. As suggested by the Kuwait crisis, that dramatic act would make Saddam an Arab hero." (p. 126)

360. Neff, Donald. "The US, Iraq, Israel and Iran: Backdrop to War." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Summer 1991), pp. 23-41.

361. Parisot, B. "La situation économique et financière de l'Irak la mi-1990: quelle influence sur la décision d'envahir le Koweït?" *Maghreb-Machrek*, No. 130 (1990), pp. 36-44.

362. Pelletière, Stephen C. *Iraq and the International Oil System: Why America Went to War in the Gulf*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001. ●● A professor of national security affairs at the US Army War College presents the history of the oil industry and the emergence of an international oil company cartel before turning to the emergence of OPEC as a counter to the cartel and the role of Iraqi oil in this context. A final chapter deals with the Iran-contra affair and what the author terms a media campaign that led the US into the Kuwait War, which he sees as resulting from a breakdown of the international oil system. The author sees that Baghdad's victory in the Iran-Iraq War threatened to make it the head of OPEC, which "would have given it a great say … over how oil was produced, and that, of course, would have translated into control over pricing. This was a situation repugnant to many, and thus forces inimical to Iraq started a media campaign, the effect of which was to so polarize conditions between the Iraqis and the United States that, at a certain point, war became inevitable." (p. x)

363. Porter, Jadranka. *Under Siege in Kuwait: A Survivor's Story*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991.

364. "Pour comprendre la crise du Golfe." *Le Trimestre du Monde*, No. 12 (1990), special section. ●● There are two parts to this issue's collection of articles on the Iraqi invasion. First, five authors look at the diplomatic and strategic aspects of the crisis. Michel Foucher's "Proche et Moyen-Orient: clivages et divisions d'un ensemble géopolitque très complexe" (pp. 117-121), provides a brief introduction to the problem, including three useful maps. Jean Mathiex, in "Aux racines de la crise du Golfe" (pp. 123-136) recapitulates the historical background to the creation of Iraq and Kuwait and the boundary problem. Bertrand Lang's article, "Les données politico-stratégique du conflit du Golfe" (pp. 137-147) looks at the factors behind Iraq's decision to invade and the options available to the US. Victor-Yves Ghebali, "Le Conseil de sécurité face au conflit Irak-Koweit: un directoire en action" (pp. 155-162) carries the theme forward by looking at the UN's options (relevant resolutions are given in an annex). Siamak Parvine, "Le

Golfe persique: à la recherche de l'équilibre perdu" (pp. 163-170) addresses the impact on the Gulf. The oil and financial factors are covered by interviews with Nicolas Sarkis, "Les incidences pétrolières de la crise du Golfe" (pp. 171-176) and Jean-Claude Frelon (a pseudonym for a group of French financial experts on the Middle East), "Le Koweit et les incidences financières de la crise du Golfe" (pp. 177-180). The issue also includes an article by Jean-Claude Courdy on "Les incidences de la crise du Golfe sur les relations américano-japonaises" (pp. 89-93).

365. Rahman, H. *Making of the Gulf War: Origins of Kuwait's Long-standing Territorial Dispute with Iraq*. Reading: Ithaca Press, 1996. ●● A senior research officer at Qatar's Amiri Diwan contends that "To understand the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait in August 1990 it is first necessary to go back to the beginning of the twentieth century when the Ottoman authorities in Basra adopted a robust foreign policy, extending their influence further south … and in so doing raised the question of the status of Kuwait and its territorial limits." (p. xiii) From this point, he proceeds to outline Iraqi-Kuwaiti relations from the 1930s through the Kuwait War, with particular attention to the thorny questions of a frontier line, border disputes, the status of the borderline port at Umm Qasr, the British-led intervention to defend Kuwait against a presumed Iraqi threat in 1963, and Iraqi claims to the Kuwaiti islands of Warbah and Bubiyan. Rahman concludes that Iraq's invasion in 1990 was "prompted by [Saddam] Hussein's personal ambition of becoming the most powerful man in the Arab world … [d]espite the worldwide condemnation and unprecedented international unity in opposing the illegality of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait (since Kuwait had never been part of the Basra administration)…." (p. 321)

366. Rahman, Habibur. "Kuwaiti Ownership of Warba and Bubiyan Islands." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (April 1993), pp. 292-306. ●● The author reviews the historical claims to sovereignty over these two disputed and strategically important islands lying between Kuwait and Iraq, and concludes that Kuwait's ownership was established by the Anglo-Ottoman Convention of 1913 which independent Iraq subsequently accepted.

367. Rajab, Jehan S. *Invasion Kuwait: An English Woman's Tale*. London: Radcliffe Press, 1993. ●● A first-person account of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait by a long-time resident married to a Kuwaiti.

368. Rezun, Miron. *Saddam Hussein's Gulf Wars: Ambivalent Stakes in the Middle East*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992. ●● A political scientist at the University of New Brunswick (Canada) presents an overview of Saddam Husayn, Iraq, and the causes of the Kuwait War. The author has also written

Post-Khomeini Iran and the New Gulf War (Quebec: Centre Québécois des Relations Internationales, 1991) and *Intrigue and War in Southwest Asia: The Struggle for Supremacy from Central Asia to Iraq* (New York: Praeger, 1992).

369. Salinger, Pierre, and Eric Laurent. *Secret Dossier: The Hidden Agenda Behind the Gulf War*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1991. Originally published as *Guerre du golfe: le dossier secret* (Paris: Orban, 1990).

370. Saunders, Harold. "Political Settlement and the Gulf Crisis." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 1-16. ●● A visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution and former National Security Council and State Department official explores the option of a political settlement as an alternative to the Kuwait War, arguing that "The practical question is whether and how policymakers can devise ways of confronting lawless and evil acts effectively by using instruments that will not destroy what they are trying to preserve." (p. 16)

371. Schofield, Richard. *Kuwait and Iraq: Historical Claims and Territorial Disputes*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, April 1991. 2nd ed., 1993. Middle East Programme Report. ●● A detailed study of the Iraqi claim to Kuwait and the two countries' border disputes. The author examines the origins of Kuwait and its international status and launches a close narrative of disputes on an almost-yearly basis through the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the immediate post-liberation period.

372. Sharp, Paul. "The Great Test: Soviet Diplomacy and the Gulf War." *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (July 1992), pp. 272-302.

373. Silverburg, S. "US Interests Versus Iraqi Interests: From Invasion to Ultimatum." *JIME Review*, No. 12 (1991), pp. 7-20.

374. Solh, Raghid El-. "The Gulf Crisis and Arab Nationalism." *Peuples Méditerranéens*, No. 58-59 (January-June 1992), pp. 221-231.

375. Sterner, Michael. "Navigating the Gulf." *Foreign Policy*, No. 81 (Winter 1990-1991), pp. 39-52. ●● A partner in the IRC Group and former US ambassador to the United Arab Emirates dissects the United States' role in the Gulf on the eve of the Kuwait War. While noting that the eviction of Iraq from Kuwait is a positive objective, he adds that such action would leave Iraq's military capability intact, as well as its claim to Kuwait. Thus, "The objective must be expanded to include the establishment of a stable post-withdrawal military environment that will enable the United States to withdraw the bulk of its military forces and establish a peacekeeping régime." (p. 44)

376. Stork, Joe, and Ann M. Lesch. "Why War? Background to the Crisis." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 20, No. 6 (November-December 1990), pp. 11-18. ●● The editor of Middle East Report and a professor at Villanova University team up to give the background to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait through brief glances at the history of oil, Iraq, Kuwait, and the Iran-Iraq War. They charge the US with "very selective opposition to aggression" and note "Saddam's challenge has appropriated its political strength from the Palestinian and broader Arab resentment against the apparent collusion of the US, the West and most of the Arab régimes to maintain a political and economic status quo which, for millions, has become intolerable." (p. 18)

377. Telhami, Shibley. "Between Theory and Fact: Explaining American Behaviour in the Gulf War." *Security Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Autumn 1992), pp. 96-121.

378. Timmerman, Kenneth R. *The Death Lobby: How the West Armed Iraq*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991.

379. U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Armed Services. *Crisis in the Persian Gulf: Sanctions, Diplomacy and War*; Hearings, 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, and 20 December 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● Principal witnesses in these hearings included James E. Akins (former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia), George W. Ball (former Under Secretary of State), James A. Bill (College of William and Mary), James A. Blackwell, Jr. (Center for Strategic and International Studies), General Duane H. Cassidy (former Commander in Chief of US Transportation Command), Richard Cheney (Secretary of Defense), Eliot A. Cohen (Johns Hopkins University), General William E. Depuy (former Commander, US Army Training and Doctrine Command), General Charles L. Donnelly, Jr. (former Commander-in-Chief, US Air Force Europe), Admiral Robert F. Dunn (former Assistant Chief of Naval Operations [Air Warfare]), Colonel Trevor N. Dupuy (military analyst), Hermann Eilts (Boston University and former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Egypt), Edward Heath (former British Prime Minister), Martin Indyk (Washington Institute for Near East Policy), Judith Kipper (Brookings Institution), Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (former Representative to the UN), Lawrence J. Korb (Brookings), General Frederick J. Kroesen (former Commander-in-Chief, US Army in Europe, Samuel Lewis (US Institute for Peace), Phebe Marr (National Defense University), General Edward G. Meyer (former Army Chief of Staff), Richard Murphy (former Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs), Janne E. Nolan (Brookings Institution), Jerrold Post (George Washington University), General Colin L. Powell (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), William B. Quandt (Brookings Institution), Brad Roberts (Washington Quarterly), Joseph J.

Sisco (former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs), Helmut Sonnenfeldt (former State Department official), Leonard S. Spector (Carnegie Endowment), Colonel Harry G. Summers, Jr. (military analyst), Cyrus Vance (former Secretary of State), and William H. Webster (Director of the Central Intelligence Agency).

380. _____. Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs. *Economic Impact of the Persian Gulf Crisis*; Hearings, 27-28 November 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. Serial No. 101-180.

381. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Consideration of Draft Legislation on the Situation of the Persian Gulf*; Markup, 9 January 1991. Washington, DC: USPGO, 1991.

382. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Crisis in the Persian Gulf*; Hearings and Markup, 4 and 27 September and 18 October 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1990. ●● Secretary of State James A. Baker, III, defines the US response to Iraq's provocation in terms of (1) "a political test of how the post Cold War world will work"; (2) an opportunity which must be seized to "solidify the ground rules of the new order": and (3) a necessary consequence of the "dependence of the world on access to the energy resources of the Persian Gulf." (pp. 7-8) He then reiterates President Bush's objectives as being "first, the immediate, complete, and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait …; second, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government. Third, the protection of the lives of American citizens held hostage by Iraq, both in Iraq and Kuwait: and fourth, a commitment to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf region." (p. 8) Six weeks later, Secretary Baker updated the committee reporting that US activities had included isolating Iraq through the UN Security Council, achieving cooperation with the Soviet Union on the issue, and building a coalition of 54 nations to contribute militarily or economically to collective action against Iraq.

383. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Human Rights Abuses in Kuwait and Iraq*; Hearings, 8 January 1991. ●● This session heard from representatives of Amnesty International USA (John G. Healey) and Middle East Watch (Andrew Whitley), two Kuwaitis from Citizens for a Free Kuwait (Dr. Hassan Al-Ebraheem and Dr. Fawziyah A.A. Al-Qattan), as well as several former American hostages in Kuwait.

384. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Arms Control, International Security and Science, Europe and the Middle East, and on International Operations. And U.S. Congress. Joint Economic Committee.

The Persian Gulf Crisis; Joint Hearings, 8 August, 18 and 25 September, 17 October, 28 November, and 11 December 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● A lengthy compendium of statements by a number of witnesses on various related topics. The first hearing features statements by Joel Popkin, John Lichtblau, Richard W. Murphy, and Thomas McNaugher on the immediate aftermath of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on 2 August. A month later, John H. Kelly Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs) and Henry S. Rowen (Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs) reported on the regional and military situations. In October and November, witnesses Richard K. Hermann, James Placke, Sohrab Sobhani, Edward N. Luttwak, Harold H. Saunders, and Patrick Clawson provided views on long-term implications of the Iraqi action. The final hearing centered on US policy in the Gulf with testimony provided by Jerrold M. Post, Laurie Mylroie, and Graham E. Fuller.

385. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Arms Control, International Security and Science, and on Europe and the Middle East. *Update on the Situation in the Persian Gulf*; Hearings, 26 September and 6 December 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● Secretary of State James A. Baker III appears to present the Administration's strategy against Iraq. The print includes a report by a House study mission to the Gulf in November 1990.

386. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *United States-Iraqi Relations*; Hearings, 26 April 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1990.

387. U.S. Congress. Senate. *U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf*; Hearings, 5 September-17 October 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1990.

388. _____. Committee on Armed Services. *Crisis in the Persian Gulf Region: U.S. Policy Options and Implications*; Hearings, 11 and 13 September, 27, 28, 29, and 30 November, and 3 December 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1990. ●● Richard Cheney (Secretary of Defense) testifies on the background to the invasion of Kuwait and the need for a military response. General Colin L. Powell (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) then provides details of the build-up of forces in the region. On 13 September, Terrence O'Donnell (General Counsel of the Department of Defense) discusses financial contributions of other countries. On 27 November, Dr. James R. Schlesinger (former Secretary of Defense, Secretary of Energy, and Director of Central Intelligence) reviews the global implications. On 28 November, General David C. Jones (former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) endorses President Bush's actions, Admiral William J. Crowe (also

former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) provides observations on the impact on friendly countries in the region while Dr. Henry A. Kissinger (former Secretary of State) discusses the relative merits of sanctions and military action. Additional testimony is provided on 29 and 30 November by James Webb, Edward N. Luttwak, Richard Perle, Christine M. Helms, James A. Placke, Phebe Marr, William E. Odom, Gary Milhollin, William R. Graham, and Leonard S. Spector. Then on 3 December, Cheney and Powell return to brief the committee on UN resolutions and Operation Desert Storm.

389. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf*; Hearings, 6, 12,and 13 December 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● As the countdown to war narrows, the Committee on Foreign Relations held three full days of hearings. The first day heard testimony from national religious leaders, as well as Roger Fisher (Harvard Negotiation Project), Charles Flowerree (former US Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament), Richard N. Perle (former US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy), and George Rathjens (MIT). On the second day, three former Assistant Secretaries of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs - Lucius D. Battle, Richard W. Murphy, and Harold H. Saunders - appeared with William Quandt (former National Security Council staff member). The final day heard from academic Middle East experts Fouad Ajami (Johns Hopkins), L. Carl Brown (Princeton), Michael Hudson (Georgetown), Laurie Mylroie (Harvard), and Amos Perlmutter (American University), as well as Frank J. Gaffney, Jr. (Center for Security Policy), Robert E. Hunter (Center for Strategic and International Studies), Geoffrey Kemp (Carnegie Endowment), Samuel W. Lewis (US Institute of Peace), and Nicholas Veliotes (former Ambassador to Egypt).

390. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf*; Hearing, 8 January 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● Cyrus R. Vance and Alexander M. Haig, Jr., two former Secretaries of State, provide testimony. The former characterizes the situation as "the most important political military and diplomatic challenge to face us since the end of the cold war" and adds that "What happens in the Persian Gulf can set a course for our engagement in the outside world for years to come." (p. 2) The latter stresses the importance of finding a military solution.

391. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf*; Hearings, 5 September-17 October 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1990.

392. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf*; Hearings, 4-5 December 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. S. Hrg.

101-1128, Pt. 1.

393. _____. Committee on Governmental Affairs. *Oil Prices and Supplies in the Wake of the Persian Gulf Crisis*; Hearings, 25 October- 1 November 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1990.

394. Vine, Peter, and Paula Casey. *Kuwait: A Nation's Story*. London: Immel, 1992.

395. Whicker, Marcia Lynn, James P. Pfiffner, and Raymond A. Moore, eds. *The Presidency and the Persian Gulf War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993.

396. Woodward, Bob. *The Commanders*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991. ●● An account of military decision-making during the George H.W. Bush administration, particularly the Panama crisis, the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, and early stages of the Kuwait War, and based on interviews with many of the key participants.

397. Wright, Robin. "Unexplored Realities of the Persian Gulf Crisis." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 1991), pp. 23-29. ●● In an article adapted from an address to the Middle East Institute and published prior to the Kuwait War, a journalist with the *Los Angeles Times* looks at four possible "by-products" of the crisis. She views the future of Iraq rather pessimistically, regards the Saudi talk of domestic changes as perhaps not going far enough, sees the appearance of new divisions within the Arab world that might endanger post-crisis regional stability, and believes that "the Gulf crisis cannot ultimately end until the Arab-Israeli crisis has also been resolved." (p. 27)

Political Aspects of the Kuwait War (1991) and General Accounts

398. Aarts, Paul. "Democracy, Oil and the Gulf War." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (1992), pp. 525-538. ●● A professor of international relations at the University of Amsterdam holds that while the successful liberation of Kuwait safeguarded Western access to oil for some years, the longer-term faces some uncertainties arising from the short term stability. "Tightened Western political, economic and military control will, sooner or later, backfire, and give rise to renewed instability - all this occurring precisely at a time when Middle East oil will become even more indispensable than it is now." (p. 525)

399. _____, and Michael Renner. “Oil and the Gulf War.” *MERIP Middle East Report* Vol. 21, No. 4 (July-August 1991), pp. 25-29. ●● The authors, from the University of Amsterdam and the Worldwatch Institute, state bluntly that “this war was about oil - access, prices, and profits.” (p.25) They perceive that “The arrangements that will follow the US defeat of Iraq will likely produce a kind of joint ‘oil dominion between major consumer countries and a core of oil exporters which will override the interests of the poorer oil importers and exporters like.” (p. 29) Instead of the “Seven Sisters,” the oil industry will be dominated by the “Four Stepsisters” - Saudi ARAMCO, PDV, Exxon, and Shell.

400. Alexandrova, Olga. “Soviet Policy in the Gulf Conflict.” *Aussenpolitik*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1991), pp. 29-42.

401. Algosaibi, Ghazi A. *The Gulf Crisis: An Attempt to Understand*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1993. First published in Arabic as *Azmat al-Khalij* (1991). ●● A former Saudi Arabian minister and his country's ambassador to the United Kingdom examines Saddam Husayn's motivations in occupying Kuwait and gives an Arab view of the events leading to Kuwait's liberation. He notes that “The ‘storms after the storm' were not limited to Iraq and its allies. The winds of change blew everywhere.” (p. 142) This included Saudi Arabia where petitions for reform were presented to the king.

402. Alia, Josette, and Christine Clerc. *La guerre de Mitterrand: la dernière grande illusion*. Paris: Olivier Orban, 1991.

403. Amos, Deborah. *Lines in the Sand: Desert Storm and the Remaking of the Arab World*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992.

404. Aroca, Santiago. *El gran engaño: la guerra del Golfo; la implicación española*. Barcelona: Planets, 1991.

405. Aspin, Les. *The Aspin Papers: Sanctions, Diplomacy and War in the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1991. Significant Issues Series, Vol. 13, No. 2.

406. Baker, James A., III. *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace, 1989-1992*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995.

407. Bethlehem, D.L., ed. *The Kuwait Crisis: Sanctions and Their Economic Consequences*. 2 vols.; Cambridge: Grotius Publications, for the University of Cambridge Research Centre for International Law, 1991. Cambridge International Documents Series, No. 2.

408. Blair, Arthur H. *At War in the Gulf: A Chronology*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M Press, 1992.

409. Boyne, Walter J. *Gulf War: A Comprehensive Guide to People, Places and Weapons*. New York: New American Library, 1991.

410. Brown, Ben, and David Shukman. *All Necessary Means: The Gulf War and Its Aftermath*. London: BBC, 1991.

411. Brune, Lester H. *America and the Iraqi Crisis, 1990-1992: Origins and Aftermath*. Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1993. Regina Guides to Contemporary Issues. ●● A basic guide, aimed at a general audience, to the invasion of Kuwait, the coalition response and buildup, and the war and its aftermath, by a retired Bradley University history professor.

412. Cooley, John K. "The Gulf War: Pre-War Gulf Diplomacy." *Survival*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (March-April 1991), pp. 125-139.

-and –

413. Chubin, Shahram. "The Gulf War: Post-War Gulf Security." *Survival*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (March-April 1991), pp. 140-157. ●● A pair of articles by an ABC News correspondent and a specialist on Middle East politics provide a before and after view of the Kuwait War. Cooley breaks the pre-war diplomacy down into three phases: an American failure to anticipate Saddam Husayn's move (up to 2 August 1990); an Arab failure in collective security (2 August-29 November 1990); and a predominantly European failure to exert more diplomatic energy in the crisis (30 November 1990-16 January 1991). Chubin discusses the unfolding of the crisis and alternative views of regional security after the crisis's denouement, noting that "It may be easier to devise military responses to crises than to summon the sustained political will to deal with issues short of crises. The episodic nature of US involvement in the past suggests that this is so." (p. 155)

414. Dannreuther, Roland. *The Gulf Conflict: A Political and Strategic Analysis*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1991. Adelphi Papers, No. 264.

415. David, Peter, et al. *Triumph in the Desert: The Definitive Illustrated History of the Gulf War*. London: Century 1991.

416. Freedman, Lawrence, and Efraim Karsh. *The Gulf Conflict, 1990-1991: Diplomacy and War in the New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University

Press, 1993. ●● An exhaustive scholarly account of the Kuwait War, including the invasion, the military build-up, the diplomatic activity, and the actual conduct of the war. The authors, of Kings College London, observe that "Saddam was unfortunate to pick a unique period in international affairs. Had he invaded Kuwait a few years earlier, such wide-ranging collaboration would have been unconceivable…." (p. 438) They also note that Kuwait might not have been invaded if it had not been for oil and that the successful prosecution of the war returned the United States to "a self-confident and an effective role at the heart of international affairs." (p. 441)

417. _____. "How Kuwait Was Won." *International Security*, Vol. 16 (Fall 1991), pp. 5-41. Reprinted as "How Kuwait Was Won: Strategy in the Gulf War" in Wolfgang Danspeckgruber and Charles R.H. Tripp, eds., *Iraq's Aggression Against Kuwait: Strategic Lessons and Implications for Europe* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 51-64. ●● The authors (both of Kings College, London) detail the American build-up to the Kuwait War and analyze Iraqi and Coalition strategy in preparing for conflict before providing an analysis of the course of the war itself. They also look at Saddam Husayn's miscalculations and the making of the American strategy in the war. Freedman and Karsh conclude that in order for President George Bush to utilize the advantages of overwhelming air power, he "had to depend on international tolerance of the spectacle of a largely unopposed air bombardment continuing day after day. When he called for a cease-fire, it was because he was aware of a growing unease at the carnage inflicted upon Iraqi troops, and because his basic objectives had now been achieved, even if the future of Saddam himself was left unresolved." (p. 41)

418. Freedman, Robert O. "Moscow and the Gulf War." *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 40 (July-August 1991), pp. 1-17.

419. Frank, André Gunder. "Third World War: Political Economy of the Gulf War and the New World Order." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1992), pp. 267-282.

420. Friedrich, Otto, ed. *Desert Storm: The War in the Persian Gulf*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1991.

421. Graubard, Stephen R. *Mr. Bush's War*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1992.

422. Hassan, Hamdi A. *The Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait: Religion, Identity and Otherness in the Analysis of War and Conflict*. Herndon, VA: Pluto Press, 1999.

423. Heidenrich, John G. "The Gulf War: How Many Iraqis Died?" *Foreign Policy*, No. 90 (1993), pp. 108-125. ●● A former military analyst with the US Defense Intelligence Agency charges that the US government refuses to release an estimate of Iraqi casualties for fear it will provide ammunition to the Pentagon's critics - too high and it will open the door to charges of barbarism, too low and it might bring accusations of cover-up. After evaluating various estimates, the author concludes that the total was well under the unofficially accepted figure of 100,000 and probably under 10,000. He also notes that "Today the bloodiest wars are not necessarily the largest wars [but] the drawn-out conflicts that we once dismissed as 'brushfire wars' and now called 'low-intensity conflicts.' Witness Somalia and what used to be called Yugoslavia." (p. 124)

424. Hiro, Dilip. *Desert Shield to Desert Storm: the Second Gulf War*. London: HarperCollins, 1992. ●● A journalist and author of previous works on revolutionary Iran and the Iran-Iraq War provides a comprehensive analysis of both the political and military aspects of the Kuwait War, as well as the historical background to the conflict and details regarding Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the coalition build-up to the war. The book also includes photographs, an extensive chronology, and a good selection of maps. The author judges that "The brutal haste with which [Saddam Husayn] implemented the first phase of his overall plan for the Gulf - the invasion of Kuwait - created a situation which reduced the international position of Iraq itself to halfway between independence and the status it had under British mandate after the First World War. This will remain the supreme irony of the Second Gulf War and the crisis that preceded it." (p. 453)

425. Hurst, Steven. "The Rhetorical Strategy of George H.W. Bush During the Persian Gulf Crisis 1990-91: How to Help Lose a War You Won." *Political Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (June 2004), pp. 376-393.

426. Hybel, Alex Roberto. *Power Over Rationality: The Bush Administration and the Gulf Crisis*. New York: State University of New York, 1993.

427. Ibrahim, Ibrahim, ed. *The Gulf Crisis: Background and Consequences*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1992. ●● *The Gulf Crisis* grew out of the 1991 annual conference of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, with several papers written subsequently for the book. Unlike many of the edited works on the Kuwait War, this volume places far more emphasis on the impact on the Middle East. Ibrahim Ibrahim and L. Carl Brown set the stage with a historical perspective on state relations in the region and America's Middle East policy, respectively. The roles of external actors are covered by Michael C. Hudson

(United States), Yelena Melkumyan (Soviet Union), Xiaoxing Han (China), and Augustus Richard Norton (the United Nations). As for the impact within the region, Phebe Marr discusses the impact on Iraq, Shamlan Y. Al Essa examines the political consequences for Kuwait, Bernard Reich covers Israel, Michael Simpson examines the Palestinian impact, and Sherif Mardin writes about Turkey. Other contributions are by Jo-Anne Hart on the "Arab state sub-system," John Duke Anthony on the Gulf Cooperation Council, Michael C. Dunn on lessons for Gulf security, and Hani A. Faris on the post-war Arab political order. Abbas Alnasrawi outlines the role played by oil in the roots of the crisis while the economic aftermath of the war is handled by Ibrahim Oweiss (economic impact), Nemir A. Kirdar (business), and Charles Ebinger and John P. Banks (OPEC). A useful 24-page chronology completes the volume.

428. Jacobs, Richard H. "A Chronology of the Gulf War." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1-2 (1991), pp. 143-165.

429. Khadduri, Majid, and Edmund Ghareeb. *War in the Gulf, 1990-91: The Iraq-Kuwait Conflict and Its Implications*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. ●● This work seeks to provide views of the Kuwait War from all sides. A comprehensive review of the origins and the conduct of the war precedes several chapters discussing Arab and Western responsibility. The authors conclude that the Kuwait war was not inevitable. "Had Western powers been patient in dealing with Arab leaders, or had the Arab leaders acted more quickly before the wheels of Western intervention rolled, the crisis might have been resolved by peaceful means." (p. 260)

430. Kodmani-Darwish, Bassma, and May Chartouni-Dubarry. *Golfe et Moyen Orient: les conflits*. Paris: Institut Français des Relations Internationales, 1991. ●● Two analysts at the French institute of international relations summarize the Kuwait War, the background factors, its consequences, and the various roles of regional and external actors. The authors note that the war incontestably wrote a new page in the history of the Middle East but that it solved none of the region's problems and probably did not enhance its stability, especially as long as Iraq remains a military menace.

431. Lauterpacht, E., C.J. Greenwood, Marc Weller, and Daniel Bethlehem, eds. *The Kuwait Crisis: Basic Documents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Cambridge International Documents Series, Vol. 1.

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432. Weller, Marc, ed. *Iraq and Kuwait: The Hostilities and Their Aftermath*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Cambridge International Documents Series, Vol. 3. ●● A set of three volumes of documents on the Kuwait War and its aftermath. The first volume consists of documentary material on the historical background to Kuwait and Iraq, UN Security Council resolutions on the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, the imposition of sanctions on Iraq, the protection of individuals and property in Iraq and occupied Kuwait, proposals for peaceful settlement, and the responses of regional and international organizations.

The second volume, actually bound in two volumes, includes primary material on the United Nations, past enactments of economic sanctions, UN members' discussion of the application of Article 50 of the UN Charter, and proceedings of the UN sanctions committee.

The documents reproduced in the third volume include UN Security Council resolutions and proceedings, and other UN and international documents regarding human rights in occupied Kuwait, the outbreak and conduct of hostilities, the cease-fire, boundary demarcation, the Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission, the Iraq inspections régime and sanctions, other humanitarian and human rights issues, and further hostilities involving Iraq.

433. Makiya, Kanan. *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising, and the Arab World*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1993.

434. Matthews, Ken. *The Gulf Conflict and International Relations*. London: Routledge, 1993.

435. Moore, John Norton. *Crisis in the Gulf: Enforcing the Rule of Law*. New York: Oceana, 1992.

436. Munro, Alan. *An Arabian Affair: Politics and Diplomacy Behind the Gulf War*. London: Brassey's, 1996. US edition has title, *An Embassy at War: Politics and Diplomacy Behind the Gulf War*. ●● The British ambassador to Saudi Arabia during the war provides personal recollections with emphasis on the importance of Saudi Arabia to Coalition efforts.

437. _____. "Politics and diplomacy behind the Gulf War: 'An Arabian Affair.'" *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 141 (April 1996), pp. 16-20.

438. Newell, Clayton R. *Historical Dictionary of the Persian Gulf War, 1990-1991*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998.

439. Noorani, A.G. *The Gulf Wars: Documents and Analysis*. New Delhi:

Konark, 1991.

440. Pagonis, William G., with Jeffrey L. Cruikshank. *Moving Mountains: Lessons in Leadership and Logistics from the Gulf War*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1992.

441. Pelletière, Stephen C. *Managing Strains in the Coalition: What to do about Saddam?* Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 1996.

442. Ridgeway, James, ed. *The March to War*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1991. ●● A light reference book on the Kuwait War, aimed at a general audience. Apart from the editor's brief introduction and summing up, the book is divided into monthly sections, each with a chronology and reprints of contemporary commentaries.

443. Sifry, Micah L., and Christopher Cerf. *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions*. New York: Times Books, 1991. ●● A voluminous (526 pages) collection of reprinted material on the Kuwait War, with emphasis on American official and popular reactions. Most selections are taken from brief articles in the general media or newspaper op-ed pieces, augmented by a few background excerpts from books on the Middle East. The majority of the contributors are American politicians and pundits (representing a wide ideological spectrum) although some academics specializing on the Middle East are also represented. The authors include some speeches and other documentary material of US President George Bush and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, as well as speeches and testimony in the US Congress. The volume's obvious usefulness as a reference work or classroom text is weakened by the absence of maps, texts of UN resolutions and other primary documents, chronology, and other vital supplementary material. The bibliography is indifferent.

444. Smith, Jean Edward. *George Bush's War*. New York: Henry Holt, 1992.

445. Solh, Raghid El-. *Britain's Two Wars With Iraq, 1941, 1991*. Reading: Ithaca Press, 1995.

446. Stanwood, Frederick, Patrick Allen, and Lindsay Peacock. *The Gulf War: A Day by Day Chronicle*. London: Heinemann, 1991.

447. Stein, Janice Gross. "Deterrence and Compellence in the Gulf, 1990-91." *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Fall 1992), pp. 147-179. ●● A professor of political science at the University of Toronto argues that a series

of plausible tactical calculations caused Saddam to prefer "to retain Kuwait without war, but [to prefer] war to unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait." (p. 173) He apparently calculated that his regime could survive the military campaign and win a political victory, but he underestimated the impact of air power, in part because it had not figured in the Iran-Iraq War. She notes that "The attempt at deterrence was flawed, inept, and not credible, while the attempt at coercive diplomacy drew on carefully assembled political and military forces to signal unequivocally to Baghdad that the coalition would go to war if Iraqi forces were not withdrawn voluntarily from Kuwait." (p. 177) Both strategies failed in large part because Saddam was convinced that the US was determined to destroy his régime.

448. Tavernier, Paul, ed. *Nouvel ordre mondial et droits de l'homme: La guerre du Golfe*. Paris: Publisud, 1993. Université de Rouen, Centre de recherches et d'études sur les droits de l'Homme et le droit humanitaire.

449. Washington Institute for Near East Policy. *Gulfwatch Anthology: August 30, 1990-March 28, 1991: A Complete Collection of the Day-by-Day Analysis of the Gulf Crisis by the Scholars and Associates of the Washington Institute*. Washington, 1991. ●● A compilation of contributions by approximately a dozen analysts to the institute's regular two-page analysis on events (Gulfwatch) during the crisis period. Coverage includes US strategy, military aspects, Soviet policy, and Israeli interests.

450. Yant, Martin. *Desert Mirage: The True Story of the Gulf War*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1991.

451. Yetiv, Steve A. *The Persian Gulf Crisis*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997. Greenwood Press Guides to Historic Events of the Twentieth Century. ●● A comprehensive history of the Kuwait War intended for a general audience. The author, an assistant professor of political science at Old Dominion University, focuses on the background to US policy in the Gulf, the personalities of Saddam Husayn and George Bush, the part played by arms proliferation, the role of the UN and collective security, and the enduring impact of the war. Appendices include brief biographies, primary documents, and an annotated bibliography.

Military Aspects of the War

452. Allen, Charles. *Thunder and Lightning: The RAF Tells Its Stories of the Gulf War*. London: HMSO, 1991.

453. Allen, Thomas, F. Clifton Berry, Jr., and Norman Polmar. *CNN Reports:*

War in the Gulf. London: Maxwell-Macmillan, 1991.

454. Anderson, Jack, and Dale van Atta. *Stormin' Norman: An American Hero; Life of Norman Schwarzkopf*. New York: Zebra Books, 1991.

455. Andreas Olsen, John. *Strategic Air Power and the Gulf War*. London: Frank Cass, 2003.

456. Atkinson, Rick. *Crusade: The Untold Story of the Gulf War*. New York: Houghton Mifflin; London: HarperCollins, 1993.

457. Ball, Desmond. *The Intelligence War in the Gulf*. Canberra: Australian National University, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, 1991.

458. BBC World Service, comp. *Gulf Crisis Chronology*. London: Longman Current Affairs, 1991.

459. Bergot, Erwan, and Alain Gandy. *Operation Daguet: Les Français dans la guerre du Golfe*. Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1991.

460. Biddle, Stephen. "Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Tells Us About the Future of Conflict." *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Fall 1996), pp. 139-179.

461. _____. "The Gulf War Debate Redux." *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 163-174.

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462. Bishop, Patrick. *Famous Victory: The Gulf War*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1992.

463. Blackwell, James. *Thunder in the Desert: The Strategy and Tactics of the Persian Gulf War*. New York: Bantam, 1991.

464. Bourque, Stephen A. "Correcting Myths About the Persian Gulf War: The Last Stand of the Tawakalna." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Autumn 1997), pp. 567-583.

465. Chadwick, Frank, and Matt Caffrey. *Gulf War Fact Book*. Bloomington, IL: GDW, 1991.

466. Cigar, Norman. "Chemical Weapons and the Gulf War: The Dog That Did

Not Bark." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1992), pp. 145-155. ●● The author, of the US Marine Corps Command and Staff College, looks at the reasons why Iraq did not use its chemical weapons capability during the Kuwait War and judges that these included a fear of coalition reaction, an assessment that they would not have much effect because coalition forces were prepared for their use, delivery means were not reliable, and unfavorable weather. However, he makes the point that "more Third World states are likely to be tempted to continue trying to acquire CWs - the simplest weapon of mass destruction - and the means to deliver them, particularly surface-to-surface missiles. Their intent will be to keep up with their neighbors and to protect themselves from 'CW blackmail' during political confrontations, as well as for use in combat." (p. 153)

467. _____. "Iraq's Strategic Mindset and the Gulf War: Blueprint for Defeat." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol 15, No. 1 (1992), pp. 1-29. ●● A professor at the US Marine Corps Command and Staff College judges that "Iraq's own strategy must bear a significant portion of the responsibility for the speed and thoroughness of its defeat. … Iraq's key strategic assumptions included an underestimation of US national will, an underestimation of the cohesion of the United Nations coalition, a misinterpretation of the USSR's role, and a misreading of the military balance and of the likely nature of war in the Gulf." (p. 1)

468. Clancy, Tom, with Fred Franks, Jr. *Into the Storm: A Study in Command*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1997.

469. Clancy, Tom, with Chuck Horner. *Every Man a Tiger*. New York: G. P. Putnam's; 1999.

470. Cohen, Eliot A., *Gulf War Air Power Survey*. 5 vols. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1993.

471. Cohen, Roger, and Claudio Gatti. *In the Eye of the Storm: The Life of General H. Norman Schwarzkopf*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux; London: Bloomsbury, 1991.

472. Cooke, James J. *100 Miles from Baghdad: With the French in Desert Storm*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993.

473. Cordesman, A.H., and A.R. Wagner. *The Gulf War: Lessons of Modern War*, Vol. 4. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996.

474. Cordingly, Patrick. *In the Eye of the Storm*. London: Hodder & Stoughton,

1996.

475. Craft, Douglas W. *An Operational Analysis of the Persian Gulf War*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 1992.

476. de la Billière, Peter. *Storm Command: A Personal Account of the Gulf War*. London: HarperCollins, 1992.

477. _____. *Looking for Trouble: An Autobiography - from the SAS to the Gulf*. London: HarperCollins, 1994.

478. De Vos, Luc. *Le 3e guerre mondiale a-t-elle eu lieu? Les leçons du Golfe 1990-91*. Brussels: Didier Hatier, 1991.

479. Dubois, Thomas R. "The Weinberger Doctrine and the Liberation of Kuwait." *Parameters*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Winter 1991-92), pp. 24-38. ●● A US Air Force officer looks at national security decision-making policy before and during the Kuwait War and compares it to the six tests advanced by former Secretary of State Caspar W. Weinberger in 1984 for deciding whether to commit US combat forces abroad. He asserts that "US policy and strategy in the Persian Gulf crisis should certainly earn the approval of Weinberger and Clausewitz alike." (p. 38)

480. Dunnigan, James F., and Austin Bay. *From Shield to Storm: High-Tech Weapons, Military Strategy, and Coalition Warfare in the Persian Gulf*. New York: William Morrow, 1992.

481. Englehardt, Joseph P. *Desert Shield and Desert Storm: A Chronology and Troop List for the 1990-1991 Persian Gulf Crisis*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, Department of National Security and Strategy, 1991.

482. Eshel, David. "The Rape of Kuwait - First Assessments." *Military Technology*, Vol. 14, No. 9 (September 1990), pp. 92-94. ●● A retired Israeli army officer takes an immediate look at the Iraqi invasion and assesses the possible military options to counter it.

483. Foster, Edward, and Rosemary Hollis. *War in the Gulf: Sovereignty, Oil and Security*. London: Royal United Services Institution, 1991. Whitehall Papers, No. 8.

484. Francona, Rick. *Ally to Adversary: An Eyewitness Account of Iraq's Fall from Grace*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1999. ●● A personal

account of Iraq and the Kuwait War by a US Air Force intelligence officer who was stationed in Baghdad during the Iran-Iraq War and then served as personal interpreter for General Norman Schwarzkopf during the Kuwait War.

485. Friedman, Norman. *Desert Victory: The War for Kuwait*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1991.

486. Frostic, Fred L. *Air Campaign Against the Iraqi Army in the Kuwaiti Theater of Operations*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1994. MR-357-AF.

487. Frix, Robert S., and Archie L. Davis, III. "Task Force Freedom and the Restoration of Kuwait." *Military Review*, Vol. 72, No.10 (October 1992), pp. 2-10. ●● Two US Army officers describe the formation and work of the Kuwait Task Force, which was "charged with the responsibility for restoring civil order and emergency services" (p. 3) during the Kuwait War. They attribute the mission's success to the use of army reservists who held civilian qualifications in the same specialties as the Kuwaiti ministries with which they worked.

488. Gordon, Michael R., and Bernard E. Trainor. *The Generals' War: The Inside Story of the Conflict in the Gulf*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1995.

489. *The Gulf War: Military Lessons Learned*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1991. Interim Report of the CSIS Study Group on Lessons Learned from the Gulf War. ●● This report concentrates more on warnings for future US government policy than on the war itself. It does, however, note that the distinctiveness of the Kuwait war limits the ability to draw effective lessons for future wars. In addition, the authors argue that the complex nature of the conflict and its enormous military demands demonstrates a critical need for allies to help in carrying out a similar offensive in the future. Also, danger lies in danger lies in relying in new technology and weapons systems to the neglect of broader professional military requirements. The report also notes that despite a changed US military emphasis on a regional contingencies strategy, much of the US defense establishment is still focused on and structured for the Soviet threat.

490. "The Gulf War." *Survival*, Vol 33, No. 3 (May-June 1991), entire issue. ●● Lawrence Freedman (King's College, London) starts off this collection of articles with an essay on the implications of the Kuwait War for the new world order. The military aspects are covered by R.A. Mason (Foundation for International Security) on the air war, by William J. Taylor, Jr., and James

Blackwell (both at the Center for Strategic and International Studies) on the ground war, and by Gene I. Rochlin (University of California at Berkeley) and Chris C. Demchak (University of Arizona) on the technological and organizational aspects. Jonathan T. Howe (commander-in-chief of NATO's southern region) also discusses the implications for NATO.

491. Hayden, H.T., and G.I. Wilson. "The Tail That Wags the Dog." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 116 (October 1990), pp. 51-53. ●● A pair of US Marine Corps lieutenant colonels emphasize the essential role of logistics in military operations such as Operation Desert Shield, ending with admonition that "Perhaps the tail is indeed beginning to wag the dog - but unless it does, that dog just might not hunt the way it should." (p. 53)

492. Head, William, and Earl H. Tilford, Jr., eds. *The Eagle in the Desert: Looking Back on U.S. Involvement in the Persian Gulf War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996.

493. Hersh, Seymour M. "Overwhelming Force: What happened in the Final Days of the Gulf War?" *New Yorker* (22 May 2000), pp. 48ff.

494. Howe, Jonathan T. "NATO and the Gulf Crisis." *Survival*, Vol 33, No. 3 (May-June 1991), pp. 246-259.

495. Hutchison, Kevin Don. *Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm: Chronology and Fact Book*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.

496. Keaney, Thomas A., and Eliot A. Cohen. *Revolution in Warfare? Air Power in the Persian Gulf*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995.

497. Khaled Bin Sultan, HRH. *Desert Warrior*. London: HarperCollins, 1994.

498. Kumarasamy, P. "The Arabian Interpretation of Operation Desert Storm: An Analysis of Saudi Military Communiqués." *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1991), pp. 321-335.

499. Lambakis, Steven. "Space Control in Desert Storm and Beyond." *Orbis*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Summer 1995), pp. 417-333.

500. Lambeth, Benjamin S. *Desert Storm and Its Meaning: The View from Moscow*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1992. R-4164-AF. ●● A RAND analyst reviews Soviet pronouncements and reporting during the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and subsequent war and evaluates Soviet military analysis of the war and lessons to be learned. He observes that "Some of the

most important insights the Russians have drawn from the Gulf experience have been more political than military. These include an admitted need to disentangle from bad allies and a realization that it makes more sense to work with the West than against it." (p. ix)

501. _____. *Learning from the Persian Gulf War*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1993. P-7850. ●● Based on an earlier talk, the author, a RAND analyst, lists the unique factors of and lessons to be learned from the Kuwait War. He argues that new technology, although very important in the war, "would have been irrelevant in the absence of the human factor that underlay it and drove its application [and that] the impact of technology was almost entirely a function of that technology's having been intelligently applied." (pp. 12-13)

502. Leibstone, Marvin. "Desert Shield." *Military Technology*, Vol. 14 (October 1990), pp. 17, 19-20, 23, 27.

503. Leyden, Andrew, ed. by Camille Akin. *Gulf War Debriefing Book: An After Action Report*. Grants Pass, OR: Hellgate Press, 1997.

504. McCain, Thomas A., and Leonard Shyles. *The 1,000 Hour War: Communication in the Gulf*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. Contributions in Military Studies, No. 148.

505. McCausland, Jeffrey. *The Gulf Conflict: A Military Analysis*. London: Brassey's, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, November 1993. Adelphi Paper, No. 282.

506. Mandeles, Mark D., Thomas C. Hone, and Sanford S. Terry. *Managing "Command and Control" in the Persian Gulf War*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1996.

507. Mazarr, Michael J., Don M. Snider, and James A. Blackwell, Jr. *Desert Storm: the Gulf War and What We Learned*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, for the Center or Strategic and International Studies, 1993. ●● A study of the Kuwait War by three analysts at the Center or Strategic and International Studies. The authors discuss the political background to the conflict, as well as the military build-up, the failure of negotiation and deterrence, and the air and ground campaigns against Iraq. The final chapter offers lessons for the future regarding US defense planning, deterrence strategies, and arm control.

508. Moore, Molly. *A Woman at War: Storming Kuwait with the US Marines*. New York: Scribners, 1993. ●● An account by a *Washington Post*

correspondent.

509. Morin, Jean H., and Richard H. Gimblett. *Operation Friction, 1990-1991*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997. ●● An account of the role of Canadian forces in the war.

510. Morris, M.E. *Norman Schwarzkopf: Road to Triumph*. London: Pan, 1991.

511. Mueller, John. *Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

512. Murray, Williamson. "Air Wars in the Gulf: The Limits of Air Power." *Strategic Review* (Winter 1998), pp. 28-38.

513. Navias, Martin. *Saddam's Scud War and Ballistic Missile Proliferation*. London: Brassey's, 1991. London Defence Studies, No. 6.

514. O'Ballance, Edgar. *The Second Gulf War: About the Liberation of Kuwait (August 1990-March 1991)*. Bromley, UK: Galago, 1992.

515. Perry, William J. "Desert Storm and Deterrence." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Fall 1991), pp. 65-82.

516. Postol, Theodore A. "Lessons of the Gulf War Experience with Patriot." *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Winter 1991-1992), pp. 119-171. ●● The claim in this article that the Patriot air defense system was not effective against incoming Scud missiles in Israel was followed by a rebuttal by Robert M. Stein, on behalf of the Patriot manufacturer Raytheon, in *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1992), pp. 199-240.

517. Powell, Colin. *My American Journey*. New York: Random House, 1995.

518. Press, Daryl G. "The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare." *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001), pp. 5-44.

519. _____. "Lessons from Ground Combat in the Gulf: The Impact of Training and Technology." *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 137-146.

520. *Project Air Force Assessment of Operation Desert Shield: The Buildup of Combat Power*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1994. MR-356-AF.

521. Pyle, Richard. *Schwarzkopf: The Man, the Mission, the Triumph*. London: Mandarin, 1991.

522. Record, Jeffrey. "Defeating Desert Storm (and Why Saddam Didn't)." *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (April-June 1993), pp. 125-140.

523. Sackur, Stephen. *On the Basra Road*. London: London Review of Books, 1991.

524. Scales, Robert H. *Certain Victory: The U.S. Army in the Gulf War*. Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1997.

525. Schubert, Frank N., and Theresa L. Kraus, eds. *The Whirlwind War: The United States Army in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm*. Washington, DC: Center for Military History, 1995.

526. Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, and Peter Petre. *It Doesn't Take a Hero: The Autobiography*. New York: Bantam, 1992.

527. Sessions, Sterling D., and Carl R. Jones. *Interoperability: A Desert Storm Case Study*. Washington, DC: National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, July 1993. McNair Paper, No. 18.

528. Simpson, John. *From the House of War: John Simpson in the Gulf*. London: Arrow, 1991. ●● Personal recollections of a BBC television journalist.

529. Streusand, Douglas E. "High-Tech to the Rescue in the Persian Gulf." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (September 1994), pp. 63-70.

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530. Parker, Thomas. "High-Tech to the Rescue in the Persian Gulf." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 1999), pp. 13-21.

531. Summers, Harry G., Jr. *On Strategy II: A Critical Analysis of the Gulf War*. New York: Dell, 1992.

532. _____. *Persian Gulf War Almanac*. New York: Facts on File, 1995.

533. Swain, Richard M. "*Lucky War": Third Army in Desert Storm*. Fort Leavenworth, KA: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College Press, 1997.

534. "Symposium on the Gulf War and the Revolution in Military Affairs." *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp.137-174.

535. Taylor, William J., Jr., and James Blackwell. "The Ground War in the Gulf." *Survival*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (May-June 1991), pp. 230-245.

536. Terrill, W. Andrew. "The Gulf War and Ballistic Missile Proliferation." *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (April-June 1992), pp. 163-176.

537. U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on the Budget. *Update on Costs of Desert Shield/Desert Storm*; Hearing, 15 May 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● Sean O'Keefe (Comptroller of the Department of Defense) reports that about $371 billion of the $54.5 billion total agreed by US partners to defray the expenses associated with the Kuwait War. Richard Hecklinger (Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs) provides a breakdown of commitments state-by-state and Frank C. Conahan (Assistant Comptroller General of the General Accounting Office) provides a GAO-calculated total of all costs involved in the operation at about $100 billion.

538. _____. Committee on Ways and Means. *Foreign Contributions to the Costs of the Persian Gulf War*; Hearing, 31 July 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1992. ●● Some of the same witnesses provide similar information at this hearing as at the hearing above.

539. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Arms Control, International Security and Science, and on Europe and the Middle East. *Proposed Sales to Saudi Arabia in Association with the Conduct of Operation Desert Storm*; Hearing, 31 October 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● Reginald Bartholomew (Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology) and Paul Wolfowitz (Under Secretary of Defense for Policy) present the case for the sale to Saudi Arabia of $7.3 billion of arms, including 150 M-1A2 Abrams tanks, 200 Bradley Fighting Vehicles, 207 M-113 armored personnel carriers with support vehicles and logistics support, 9 multiple launch rocket systems, 12 AH-64 Apache attack helicopters, 8 UH-60 MEDEVAC helicopters, command, control and communications upgrades for Royal Saudi Naval Forces, 6 Patriot missile fire units with 384 Patriot missiles, 10,000 tactical wheeled vehicles, and 150 TOW II anti-armor guided missile launchers and 1750 TOW IIA missiles.

540. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Resolution Calling for the Submission to the House of Representatives of Certain Information Regarding*

Operation Desert Shield; Report Together with Minority Views to Accompany H. Res. 19 … Committee on Armed Services. Washington, 1991. Report, House, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, No. 102-5, Part 2.

541. _____. Committee on the Budget. *Briefing on Operation Desert Shield: Costs and Contributions*; Hearing, 4 January 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. Serial No. 102-1.

542. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations. Subcommittee. *Preparedness for the Persian Gulf*; Hearing, 22 January 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991.

543. _____. Committee on Armed Services. *Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm*; Hearings, April 24-June 20, 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991.

544. U.S. Department of Defense. *Conduct of the Persian Gulf War: Final Report to Congress Pursuant to Title V of the Persian Gulf Conflict Supplemental Authorization and Personnel Benefits Act of 1991 (Public Law 102-25)*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, 1992.

545. Vogt, William M., et al., eds. *Desert Storm*. Leesburg, VA: Empire Press, 1991.

546. Vox Militaris. "The First Fifty Days: Diary of the Iraq-Kuwait Crisis." *Army & Defence Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 120, No. 4 (October 1990), pp. 391-414.

547. Vox Militaris. "The Second Hundred Days of the Iraq-Kuwait Crisis." *Army & Defence Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 121, No. 1 (January 1991), pp. 5-24.

548. Vuono, Carl E. "Desert Storm and the Future of Conventional Forces." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 49-68.

549. Watson, Bruce W., ed. *Military Lessons of the Gulf War*. London: Greenhill Books; Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1993. ●● The editor and co-author (US Defense Intelligence College), along with the other co-authors Bruce George (UK House of Commons), Peter Tsouras and B.L. Cyr (both of the US Army Intelligence Threat and Analysis Center), and the "International Analysis Group on the Gulf War," cover the diplomatic activity prior to the war, the air, ground, and naval aspects of the combat, contributing factors to the coalition's success (including command and control, intelligence, electronic warfare, and logistics), and several other consequences such as the question

of "just war" and the issue of media access to information. The book includes useful appendices on financial and other support provided to the coalition, dates of UN resolutions, a chronology of Iraqi launches of Scud missiles, and air, ground, and naval orders of battle.

550. White, M.S., ed. *Gulf Logistics: Blackadder's War*. London: Brassey's, 1995.

551. Winnefeld, James A., Preston Niblack, and Dana J. Johnson. *A League of Airmen: U.S. Air Power in the Gulf War*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1994. MR-343-AF.

Aftermath of the War, Summaries, and the Impact on the Gulf

552. "After the Gulf War." *International Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (Spring 1994), pp. 183-407. ●● A number of essays analyze the impact of the Kuwait War on the Gulf and elsewhere. Mahmud A. Faksh (University of Southern Maine) looks at the prospects of Islamic fundamentalism and concludes that "the fundamentalists will not soon go away. But neither will they be able to dominate now or in the time to come." (p. 218) Anwar-ul-Haq Hady (Providence College) looks at various potential security arrangements for the Gulf, including the Damascus Declaration, all the Gulf littoral states, one based on just the Gulf monarchies, and an American-dominated system, and notes that the last "is not only militarily strong, but it is also likely to be durable because of the mutuality of interests among the participants." (p.237) Robert Mabro (Oxford University) examines the impact of the war on OPEC and world oil and Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon (University of Western Ontario) looks at the UN's role during and after the war. John Sigler (Carleton University) regards the pax Americana" and observes that "Where vital interests are concerned, the United States has made clear that it will continue to practice a coercive diplomacy tightly tied to the military in asserting deterrence, compellence, and reassurance." (p. 300) Alvin Z. Rubinstein (University of Pennsylvania) analyzes Moscow's role in the Kuwait War and notes that "The co-operation of the two superpowers during the Gulf crisis … confirmed how far they had moved from rivalry to reconciliation'" (p. 301)

Mohsen M. Milani (University of South Florida) examines Iran's post-Cold-War Gulf policy and sees that "The Persian Gulf region will not be stable unless Iran is stable. As the largest, most populous, and oldest nation in the region, Iran cannot be ignored by Washington" and the two countries "urgently need to begin a dialogue." (p. 354) Fred Lawson (Mills College,

California) surveys the progress of political participation in the Gulf states, concluding that "an indigenous Arab nationalist opposition … is precisely [the] kind of opposition that is apt to find the greatest resonance among potential dissidents in the other Arab states of the Gulf." (p. 407)

553. Ahmed, Hisham H. "Iraq's Conduct of the Gulf Crisis: A Critical Assessment." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1-2 (1991), pp. 11-35. ●● An Iraqi view of the events leading up to the Kuwait War and the impact of the war on the Iraqi people.

554. Ajami, Fouad. "The Summer of Arab Discontent." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 5 (1990), pp. 1-20. ●● A review of the impact of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on other states in the Arab world by the Majid Khadduri Professor of Middle East Studies at Johns Hopkins University SAIS. He perceives that "There were deadly if half-baked ideas floating in the Arab world when Saddam overran Kuwait - ruinous concepts of Arab nationalism…, atavistic resentments along that ancient fault-line between Sunni and Shia Islam, wild notions about how to break the impasse between the Arabs and Israelis, resentments toward the West born of the very attraction to it, and then that desire to place the blame on the gulf states for everything wrong under the sun. The Iraqi dictator plucked these ideas and resentments and turned them into monstrous instruments." (p. 20)

555. Akins, James E. "The New Arabia." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (Summer 1991), pp. 36-49. ●● A consultant and former American ambassador to Saudi Arabia looks at the lasting impact of the Kuwait War on the Gulf. "I can agree with confidence - not necessarily satisfaction - that the future Middle East will indeed be different from what we have known, but it will bear no relationship to the idealized picture of generous gulf Arabs using their riches to transform the Arab world." (p. 36) He notes that "as long as the gulf states remain secure the United States can reap great rewards" because of their dependence on the US following the Kuwait War. Since the US has not exerted self-discipline to free itself from dependence on oil, it has no choice but to exercise control of the Gulf. "Eventually the current Arab leaders or their successors will tire of the US presence and ask America to leave. The United States will have to withdraw or face a hostile population. In either case America will once again have to deal with the reality of insecure energy supply and high oil prices." (p. 49)

556. Anderson, Ewan W., and Jasem Karam. "The Kuwait-Iraq Border: A Reappraisal." *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 139 (June 1994), pp. 47-50, 55. ●● A view of the difficulties over settling the two countries' boundaries with a description of the present position by a reader in geopolitics at the University

of Durham and the Cultural Attaché at the Kuwait Embassy in London respectively. The article also appeared as "The Iraqi-Kuwaiti Boundary" in *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 7 (March 1995), pp. 120-121.

557. Awano, H. "Kuwait Still Suffering After-Effects of Its October Crisis with Iraq." *JIME Review*, No. 28 (1995), pp. 31-40.

558. Bark, A.M. "Did the Gulf War Demonstrate That War is Still a Necessary and Effective Instrument of Policy?" *British Army Review*, Vol. 103 (April 1993), pp. 73-82.

559. Beres, Louis René. "Iraqi Deeds and International Law: The Question of Punishment." *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (September 1992), pp. 22-43.

560. _____. "The United States Should Take the Lead in Preparing International Legal Machinery for Prosecution of Iraqi War Crimes." *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Spring 1991), pp. 381-401.

561. Bonine, Michael E. "Population and Labor After the Gulf War: Trends for the 1990s." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (January-February 1996), pp. 37-40. ●● A professor of geography at the University of Arizona explains that the Kuwait War did not alter overall basic labor needs but it did introduce significant changes, such as the expulsion of Palestinians from Kuwait and Yemenis from Saudi Arabia. The Gulf states will remain highly dependent on foreign labor and Asians will become even more dominant in numbers compared to Arab expatriates.

562. Calvocoressi, Peter. "After Kuwait." *International Relations*, Vol. 10 (November 1991), pp. 287-300.

563. Chahal, Nahla. "O va l'Irak?" *Politique Étrangère*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (1998), pp. 19-33. ●● A professor of sociology at the Lebanese University in Tripoli looks at the situation of Acrisis status quo" in which Iraq finds itself after the end of the Kuwait War, and poses - but does not answer - such pertinent questions as is a period of chaos inevitable; is civil war possible and can the country survive it; and what are the repercussions of the Palestinian problem?

564. Chubin, Shahram. "Gulf Regional Security After the Crisis." *International Defense Review*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (March 1991), pp. 204-208.

565. Cohen, Saul B. "The Geopolitical Aftermath of the Gulf War." *Focus*, Vol. 41 (Summer 1991), pp. 23-26.

566. Danchev, Alex, and Dan Keohane, eds. *International Perspectives on the Gulf Conflict, 1990-91*. London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. Published in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford. ●● This collection of articles by mostly British authors on the Kuwait War covers most of the main antagonists and concludes with some reflections on the conduct of the war. Although separate articles are devoted to the role in the conflict of Israel (Avi Shlaim, Oxford University) and the Palestinians (Anoushiravan Ehteshami, Durham University), the only article on the Gulf states deals with Iraq (Amatzia Baram, Haifa University, who notes that Saddam Husayn's decision to occupy Kuwait City was only one of a series of his miscalculations). Shahram Chubin (Geneva), however, provides an introductory chapter that analyzes the motivations and build-up to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Richard K. Hermann (Ohio State University) places US policy in the context of a domestic debate over the constitution of US interests and the objectives of US policy in the region before concluding that the end of the Cold War had greater impact on the debate than the war. Vladimir Nosenko (Russian Foreign Ministry) discusses the domestic Soviet debate over the crisis and reasons that "the Gulf crisis was a real turning-point in Soviet foreign policy." (p. 144) Dan Keohane (from Keele University, as is co-editor Alex Danchev) discusses the political and military role of Britain in "Operation Granby" and notes that British involvement did not cause intense domestic divisions, because of popular distaste for Saddam Husayn, the consensus between the main political parties, and Britain's participation in a United Nations coalition. Jolyon Howorth (University of Bath) observes that most of France's diplomatic and military participation "was a function of President François Mitterand's direct control of foreign and defence policy - the famous *domaine réservé*…." (p. 175)

Lawrence Freedman (King's College London) compares the Kuwait War with the earlier "limited wars" of Korea and Vietnam, concluding that "In the Gulf the basic political objectives - the eviction of Iraqi forces from Kuwait - gave the coalition commanders a very clear criterion for success. It was also attainable employing available capabilities." (p. 208) He notes the "limitation of means" consisted mainly of international public opinion while the principal "limitation of objectives" included the decision not to try to destroy Saddam Husayn and his régime. Edward Luttwak (Center for Strategic and International Studies) looks at the weaponry used in the air war, Adam Roberts (University of Oxford) details the application of the laws of war to the conflict, and Oliver Ramsbotham (Bradford University) discusses the ways in which various interpretations of the conflict arose.

567. Danilenko, Gennady M. "The Relevance of Humanitarian and Diplomatic Law to the Conflict in the Gulf." *Duke Journal of Comparative Law and International Law*, Vol. 1 (1991), pp. 125-133.

568. Danspeckgruber, Wolfgang, and Charles R.H. Tripp, eds. *Iraq's Aggression Against Kuwait: Strategic Lessons and Implications for Europe*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996. ●● Papers from the Second Liechtenstein Colloquium on European and International Affairs discuss the causes and military aspects of the Kuwait War, as well as its impact on various actors around the world. Charles R.H. Tripp (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) outlines the background to the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait, Laurie Mylroie (Washington Institute for Near East Policy) discusses the immediate background to the Iraqi invasion, and Gudrun Krämer (University of Bonn) examines the cataclysmic effect of the invasion and war on the Arab world. A section on "power, strategy, and technology" includes the reprint of an article by Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh on the war strategy of Iraq and the Coalition within their political contexts, Erik Yesson (Brown University) evaluates the role of new technology in the campaign, Gustav Däniker (retired Swiss general) reflects on the influence of classical military strategy on the conduct of the war, Christian Catrina (Swiss Federal Military Department) analyzes the impact of the war on conventional arms transfers, and Robert J. Lieber (Georgetown University) discusses the war's impact on global energy security. The role in the war and its effect on various participants are covered by: Amin Saikal (Australian National University) on the United States and Gulf security, William C. Wohlforth (Princeton University) and Irinia Zviagelskaia (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow) on the Soviet Union, Helmut Hubel (Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik) on Germany, Masaru Tamamoto (New School for Social Research) with Amy Cullen (John Snow Research and Training) on Japan, and Helmut Freudenschuss (Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) on the United Nations Security Council.

569. Davis, Eric. "The Persian Gulf War: Myths and Realities." In Hooshang Amirahmadi, ed. *The United States and the Middle East: A Search for New Perspectives* (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), pp. 251-284. ●● An associate professor of political science at Rutgers University charges that the American propensity to support authoritarian rather than democratic régimes was especially apparent in the Gulf where Washington provided Saddam Husayn with extensive assistance up to his invasion of Kuwait. He rejects the "mythology" that the US intervened to liberate Kuwait to safe a small state against a larger, bellicose neighbor without asking for anything in return. Instead, he charges that US action was based on "a desire to offset its declining power in the global economy, an effort to maintain access to oil

reserves and the integrity of its alliance structure in the Middle East, and the desire to send a message to the Third World that it now lives under a pax Americana." (p. 252)

570. Davis, Paul K., and John Arquilla. *Deterring or Coercing Opponents in Crisis: Lessons from the War with Saddam Hussein*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1991. R-4111-JS.

571. Dawisha, Adeed. "The United States in the Middle East: The Gulf War and Its Aftermath." *Current History*, Vol. 561, No. 561 (January 1992), pp. 1-5. ●● A brief viewpoint on the decision to end the war with the liberation of Kuwait and a broader look at the impact of the war on the Gulf states and the Middle East peace process.

572. Ebert, Barbara Gregory. "The Gulf War and Its Aftermath: An Assessment of Evolving Arab Responses." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1992), pp. 77-95. ●● The author, from the Science Applications International Corporation (Virginia), surveys the Arab world's evolving responses after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, during the war, and after the conflict's end, and reflects on the possibility of Arab nuclear weapons.

573. Ebraheem, Hassan Ali Al-. "Kuwait and the New World Order." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (May-June 1991), pp. 23-26. ●● A professor at Kuwait University and former Minister of Education believes that if the US had not reacted to Iraq's threat to world order, then it and its allies would have "found themselves at a loss to preserve peace in the face of an ever growing number of middle range nuclear powers…." (p. 24)

574. Freedman, Lawrence. "Lessons of the Gulf War." *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1993), pp. 273-279. ●● The author, a professor at King's College, London, begins by noting that wars are generally thought to generate lessons, even though every war is *sui generis*, before briefly cataloguing the "lessons" posed for the United States in the Kuwait War derived from experiences in Lebanon, Grenada, Panama, and Vietnam. He notes that "most commentators [saw] the return of the United States to a self-confident and an effective role at the heart of the international affairs" as a result of the Kuwait War but cautions against exaggeration. Freedman's conclusion is that "future conflicts are likely to be politically much more complex from the start and, in consequence, carry with them a higher military risk. … It is unlikely that the West will find many conflicts in the future in which the principles are so clear cut, or many enemies in the future so ready to take on western military power on its own terms and in circumstances so favourable to its application." (p. 279)

575. Freedman, Robert O., ed. *The Middle East After Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. ●● Bard E. O'Neill and Ilana Kass (both of the US National War College) begin this collection of papers delivered at a 1991 conference at Baltimore Hebrew University (and edited by a professor at that university) with an overview of the Kuwait War itself. The roles of external powers are then examined by Robert E. Hunter (Center for Strategic and International Studies) on the United States, Freedman on the Soviet Union/Russia, and Eugene Brown (Lebanon Valley College) on Japan. The impact on regional states is analyzed by Laurie Mylroie (Naval War College) for Iraq, Shireen T. Hunter (Center for Strategic and International Studies) for Iran, and F. Gregory Gause III (Columbia University) for Saudi Arabia. Other Middle Eastern states are the focus of chapters by Marvin Feuerwerger (formerly of the US Department of Defense) on Israel, Helena Cobban (Initiative for Peace and Cooperation in the Middle East) on the Palestinians, Alasdair Drysdale (University of New Hampshire) on Syria, Adam Garfinkle (Foreign Policy Research Institute) on Jordan, and Louis Cantori (University of Maryland, Baltimore County) on Egypt.

576. Garrity, Patrick J. "Implications of the Persian Gulf War for Regional Powers." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 153-170.

577. Gerges, Fawaz A. "Regional Security After the Gulf Crisis: The American Role." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1991), pp. 55-68.

578. Gow, James, ed. *Iraq, the Gulf and the World Community*. London: Brassey's, 1993. ●● Contributors include Charles Tripp on Iraq, Jo-Anne Hart on the US, Anoushiravan Ehteshami on the Arab world, George Joffé on North Africa, Trevor C. Salmon on Europe, Elahe Mohtasham on Iran, James Gow on the Soviet Union, Julian Thompson on the military coalition, Susan Willett on the economic impact, and Lawrence Freedman on the war and the new world order."

579. Grossman, Mark. *Encyclopedia of the Persian Gulf War*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1995.

580. "The Gulf Five Years After Desert Storm." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (January-February 1996), pp. 34-36. ●● A collection of five short articles and an interview with the Kuwaiti Minister of Information Shaykh Saud Nasir Al Sabah. Journalist Don North asks Saudi and American participants in Operation Desert Storm to look back at the war's impact (the first part of the article was published in *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 1 [November-December 1995], pp. 36-40), Lawrence G. Potter (Gulf 2000) stresses the need for confidence-building measures in the Gulf, Eric

Hooglund reports on his discussions on Gulf security in the UAE, John Duke Anthony (National Council on US-Arab Relations) looks at the threats to the GCC posed by Iran and Iraq, and Michael E. Bonine (University of Arizona) looks at population and labor trends in the Gulf.

581. "Gulf War: Repercussions, Reaction and Postwar Considerations." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 7, No. 5 (1991), pp. 2-23. ●● A bookend to an earlier issue on the invasion and occupation of Kuwait, this issue, published after the war ended, has an interview with Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati and contributions by R.K. Ramazani (University of Virginia) on the US "new world order," M.B. Ansari (Tehran Times) on implications of the war, Yuri Gloukhov (Pravda) on lessons to be learned, John Roberts (Oil Daily Energy Compass) on the European perspective, and Joseph A. Kechichian (RAND Corporation) on the emergence of a new regional order.

582. Halliday, Fred. "The Gulf War and Its Aftermath: First Reflections." *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 67, No. 2 (April 1991), pp. 223-234. ●● A professor of international relations at the London School of Economics provides an early analysis of Saddam Husayn's motivations for invading Kuwait, the impact on Gulf politics and regional security, and, most importantly, the impact on oil prices, production levels, and the security of supply.

583. Hashim, Ahmed. "Iraq, the Pariah State." *Current History*, Vol. 91, No. 561 (1992), pp. 11-16. ●● A Washington-based consultant looks at the rebellions in Iraq after its Kuwait War defeat and the effect of economic sanctions on Saddam Husayn's continued rule. "Iraq succumbed to hubris in 1990: Saddam Husayn hoped to make his country rich beyond belief and infinitely more powerful by incorporating Kuwait." As a result of the defeat, "one of the most highly developed countries in the Middle East has been crippled and left with limited sovereignty and a limited regional and international role." (p. 16)

584. Helms, Robert F., II, and Robert H. Dorff, eds. *The Persian Gulf Crisis: Power in the Post-Cold War World*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993. ●● An edited volume that places emphasis on the background to and consequences of the Kuwait War, both in terms of regional repercussions and wider implications for US political power and military policy. Among the contributors, Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke University) provides three chapters, which look at the background of US policy and superpower rivalry in the Gulf, as well as America's requirements for a new and appropriate Gulf policy. Christine M. Helms (an independent consultant) and Alan R. Taylor (American University) look at Arab politics and the impact of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on the region. Kimberly Ann Elliott (Institute for International

Economics) discusses economic sanctions on Iraq while James Blackwell (Center for Strategic and International Studies) outlines the military developments that enabled the US to win the Kuwait War. Other chapters examine the history, operation, and future trends in the international system that deal with security.

585. Hermann, Richard K. "The Middle East and the New World Order: Rethinking US Political Strategy After the Gulf War." *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Fall 1991), pp. 42-75.

586. Hilsman, Roger. *George Bush vs. Saddam Hussein: Military Success! Political Failure?* Novato, CA: Lyford Books, 1992. ●● The view of an emeritus professor at Columbia University that a principal reason for the Kuwait War was the clash of personalities between the American and Iraqi leaders, both of whom Hilsman sees as "driven men."

587. Hiro, Dilip. "Impact of the Gulf War on Iran." *Atlantic Community Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1987), pp. 129-144.

588. Hollis, Rosemary. "Inter-Arab Politics and the Gulf War: States' Rights Take Precedence Over Pan-Arabism." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Autumn-Winter 1991-1992), pp. 16-26.

589. Hollis, Rosemary. "Whatever Happened to the Damascus Declaration? Evolving Security Structures in the Gulf." In M. Jane Davis, ed., *Politics and International Relations in the Middle East* (Aldershot, UK: Edward Elgar, 1995), pp. 37-60. ●● A research fellow at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies looks at the factors behind the "Damascus Declaration," whereby Egypt and Syria were supposed to participate with the GCC in security matters on a more permanent basis, and its demise. "The problem with implementing the Damascus Declaration was not merely that the individual members of the GCC showed a preference for bilateral agreements with the Western powers" (p. 48) but that "the various signatories … have proved divided on how best to deal with Iran and how seriously to view the potential threat from Iraq." (p. 58)

590. Hooglund, Eric. "The Other Face of War." *Middle East Report*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (July-August 1991), pp. 3-7, 10-12. ●● The author judges the Kuwait War as "the single most devastating event in the Middle East since World War I." (p. 3) He focuses on the numbers of deaths caused by the war, the displacements before the war, and the displacements in Iraq as a result of the Kurdish and Shi'ah uprisings. Hooglund believes that "The political, social and economic consequences of the US assault on Iraq, and the Iraqi regime's

consequent assault on its own people, will afflict the region and the world well into the next century." (p. 12)

591. Hudson, Michael C. "The Middle East Under Pax Americana: How New, How Orderly?" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1992), pp. 301-316.

592. Hunter, Shireen T. "Persian Gulf Security: Lessons of the Past and the Need for New Thinking." *SAIS Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1992), pp. 155-166.

593. *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Fall 1991). ●● A few months after publishing an issue on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, this journal published several articles on the theme of implications of the successful war to liberate Kuwait on the so-called "new international order," especially in regard to the Middle East. These articles included: Mehdi Noorbakhsh, "The Old and New World Order: the Middle Eastern Perspective" (pp. 453-460); John Chipman, "The New World Order and the Persian Gulf Region" (pp. 461-468); Salim Mansur, "The [Persian] Gulf War: The United States and the Middle East" (pp. 469-482); and Abbas Maleki, "The Content and Necessity of the New International Order in the New International Environment" (pp. 483-489).

594. Kieh, George Klay, Jr. "Western Imperialism in the Middle East: The Case of the United States' Military Intervention in the Persian Gulf." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 1-16 ●● An assistant professor at Illinois Wesleyan University contends that "the motivations for the United States' military intervention in Iraq [sic] emanated from the exigencies of imperialism: pressures from the American political economy and global considerations" and "had nothing to do with the United States' desire to promote respect for international law, and to ensure democracy." (p. 15)

595. Khalidi, Walid. *The Middle East Postwar Environment*. Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1991.

596. Kingdon, Gareth. *No Security Without Democracy in the Gulf*. 2nd ed.; London: Gulf Centre for Strategic Studies, 1991.

597. *Kuwait: War in the Gulf*. Kuwait: Sipa Press; Kuwait Bookshop Co., 1992.

598. Kyle, Keith. "The Gulf War: Lessons of Suez." *World Today*, Vol. 47, No. 12 (December 1991), pp. 216-219.

599. Lesch, Ann M. "Kuwait Diary: A Scarred Society." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 21, No. 5 (September-October 1991), pp. 34-37. ●● An account

of a visit to Kuwait in May 1991 for Human Rights Watch. She notes the emotional scars suffered by many Kuwaitis, the situation of Palestinians resident in the country, and the plight of the *bidun* (Kuwait's stateless residents). A number of Kuwaitis fear that the situation in Kuwait might not improve and worry about collective violence against non-Kuwaitis.

600. Looney, Robert E. "The Gulf War and the Price of Oil: Prospects for the Medium Term." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Vol. 17, Nos. 3-4 (Fall-Winter 1992), pp. 273-301.

601. Macdonald, Scot. "Hitler's Shadow: Historical Analogies and the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait." *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (December 2002), pp. 29-59.

602. McDonnell, Janet A. "Rebuilding Kuwait." *Military Review*, Vol. 73, No. 7 (July 1993), pp. 51-61.

603. McKinley, Michael, ed. *The Gulf War: Critical Perspectives*. St. Leonards, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin; Canberra: Australian National University, 1994.

604. Menos, Dennis. *Arms Over Diplomacy: Reflections on the Persian Gulf War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992.

605. Monshipouri, Mahmood, and Thaddeus T. Zotyl. "Shaping the New World Order: America's Post-Gulf War Agenda in the Middle East." *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Summer 1993), pp. 551-577.

606. Moore, John Norton. "War Crimes Trials and the Rule of Law." *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Spring 1991), pp. 403-415. ●● Outlines the legal case for a conducting war crimes trial against Saddam Husayn.

607. Morrison, Rodney J. "Gulf War Reparations: Iraq, OPEC and the Transfer Problem." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (October 1992), pp. 385-399.

608. Munro, Alan. "Gulf Security: The War and Its Aftermath." *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 138 (August 1993), pp. 6-10, 17.

609. Murphy, Richard. "The Effects of the Gulf War on Intraregional Relationships." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 5 (May-June 1992), pp. 7-12. ●● A former State Dept. official and ambassador surveys the impact of the

war on various Gulf states and concludes that the US should "remain modest in prescriptions about the direction and pace of change in [Arabian Peninsula] political structures." (p.12)

610. Nakhjavani, Mehran. *After the Persian Gulf War: The Potential for Economic Reconstruction and Development in the Persian Gulf Region*. Ottawa: Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, 1991. Working Papers, No. 34.

611. Nye, Joseph S., Jr., and Roger K. Smith. *After the Storm: Lessons from the Gulf War*. Lanham, MD: Madison Books for the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1992. ●● Papers from Aspen Strategy Group workshops, edited by the group's directing staff. Many of the contributions focus on the impact of the Kuwait War on US domestic and military policy, but Martin Indyk (Washington Institute for Near East Policy) and Fouad Ajami (Johns Hopkins University SAIS) contribute chapters on the impact on the Middle East and Richard N. Cooper (Harvard University) examines the impact of oil on the Middle East and the world economy and Bernard E. Trainor (Harvard University) analyzes how and why the war unfolded as it did. Trainor warns that "the U.S. armed forces must not rest on their laurels in the afterglow of their dramatic victory in the Gulf. It is well to remember that a British expeditionary force armed with the high-technology weapons of the day achieved a similar striking victory at low cost at Omdurman in the Sudan in 1898. A year later that same force was pinned down in South Africa, being embarrassed by a motley army of Boer farmers." (p. 219) A lengthy chronology and the texts of relevant UN resolutions are included.

612. Pagliano, Gary J. "Iraq/Kuwait Crisis: The International Response and Burden Sharing Issues." U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, 1991.

613. Parasiliti, Andrew T. "The Causes and Timing of Iraq's Wars: A Power Cycle Assessment." *International Political Science Review/Revue Internationale de Science Politique*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (January 2003), pp. 151-166.

614. Pimlott, John, and Stephen Badsey, eds. *The Gulf War Assessed*. London: Arms and Armour Press, 1992. ●● Members of the Department of War Studies at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, dissect various aspects of the Kuwait War from the underlying causes and military buildup through the prosecution of the war and its international ramifications, along with examinations of the media's role and the impact on the environment.

615. Quandt, William B. "After the Gulf Crisis: Challenges for American Policy." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 35 (1990-1991), pp. 11-19.

616. Record, Jeffrey. *Hollow Victory: A Contrary View of the Gulf War*. New York: Brassey's (US), 1993. ●● A US Senate aide and military analyst reassesses the Kuwait War and observes that the ending of the war left Saddam Husayn in power and Iraq with the ability to resist American demands. Furthermore, he contends that the war may have damaged the legitimacy of the GCC states and he concludes that "The Gulf War was a magnificent military victory barren of any significant diplomatic gains. It was fought to repel Saddam Hussein's challenge to the *old* order in the Persian Gulf, not to create a new one. Accordingly, future historians may regard the war as a complete failure." (p. 159; emphasis in original)

617. Robins, Philip. "Change in the Gulf: Some Observations on the New Situation." *JIME Review*, No. 13 (1991), pp. 35-42.

618. Rowe, Peter, ed. *The Gulf War 1990-91 in International and English Law*. London: Routledge, 1993.

619. Sabah, Saud Nasir Al-. "Interview: Kuwait and the Gulf Five Years Later." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (January-February 1996), pp. 24-26.

620. Salamé, Ghassan. "Le Golfe un an après: un pétro-dinar belligène." *Maghreb-Machrek*, No. 133 (July-September 1991), pp. 3-18. ●● The author examines the unsatisfactory state of affairs one year after the invasion, concentrating on the inadequate nature of the sanctions and a look on the continuing impact of the war on a country by country basis, before finishing with observations on the current status of an "American Gulf."

621. Salamé, Ghassan. "Le Golfe: nuages après la tempête." *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (1991), pp. 455-464.

622. Simpson, John. "The Aftermath of the Gulf War." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 23, No. 2 (1992), pp. 161-170.

623. Sterner, Michael. "Closing the Gate: The Persian Gulf War Revisited." *Current History*, Vol. 96, No. 606 (January 1997), pp. 13-19. ●● A retired US diplomat appraises the revisionist approach that criticizes the American decision to bring the Kuwait War to an end without deposing Saddam Husayn. He concludes, "from what we now know about the uprising [in Iraq's south and] the internal situation in Iraq, it is hard to make the case that another day of fighting would have made the difference between Saddam's

survival and ouster." (p. 19)

624. Szasz, Paul. "International Law Applicable to the Gulf War." *Disarmament*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1992), pp. 128-161.

625. Tarr, David W. "Coercive Diplomacy in the Gulf Crisis: Deterrence vs. Compellence." *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 13 (September 1991), pp. 45-62.

626. Terry, James P. "The Environment and the Rules of War: The Impact of Desert Storm." *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 61-67.

627. Thompson, Brent, ed. *Common Ground on Iraq-Kuwait Reconciliation*. Washington, D.C.: Search for Common Ground, 1998. ●● The product of a Search for Common Ground project on the possibilities for Iraqi-Kuwaiti reconciliation. The treatise features a dialogue between Kuwaiti Sami al-Faraj and Iraqi Laith Kubba and includes additional chapters by Dov S. Zakheim and Mohammad K. Shiyyab.

628. Trabulsi, Fawwaz. "Harvest of War." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (July-August 1991), pp. 30-32. ●● A contributing editor of MERIP gives a short criticism of the war against Iraq and concludes that "it was an oil crusade [and] Arab people everywhere will not forgive those régimes which not only invited and financed this massacre but also squandered the wealth that could have opened for the Arabs the door to the 21st century!" (p. 32)

629. U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Persian Gulf War Illnesses Task Force. *CIA Support to the US Military During the Persian Gulf War*. Washington, DC, 16 June 1997. A seven-page report providing general information on the types of CIA assistance and including a detailed map of the Iraqi order of battle on 4 October 1990.

630. U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Arms Control, International Security and Science, and on Europe and the Middle East. *Post-War Policy Issues in the Persian Gulf*; Hearings, 31 January, 21 and 28 February, and 11 April 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● Geoffrey Kemp (Carnegie Endowment), Leonard S. Spector (Carnegie Endowment), and Lt. General Bernard Trainor (Kennedy School of Government, Harvard) examine US policy issues in the region, while Martin Indyk (Washington Institute for Near East Policy), Shibley Telhami (Cornell University), and Judith Kipper (Brookings) discuss political matters in the Middle East. Ehud Sprinzak (Georgetown and Hebrew

Universities), Sabri Sayari (George Washington University and RAND), and R.K. Ramazani (University of Virginia) focus on Iran, Israel, and Turkey, while Mark N. Katz (George Mason University) and Galia Golan (Hebrew University) explicate Soviet policy in the Middle East.

631. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Europe and the Middle East and on Human Rights and International Organizations. *Human Rights and Democracy in Kuwait*; Hearing, 11 June 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● Representatives of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, and Gulf Outreach (Kuwait University professor Saif Abbas Abdulla) provide information on alleged Kuwaiti reprisals against suspected Palestinian and other collaborators with Iraqi forces during the occupation of Kuwait.

632. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *United States-Iraqi Relations*; Hearing, 21 March 1991. ●● Includes the testimony of the US ambassador to Iraq at the time of the invasion, April Glaspie.

633. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security and Science. *The Persian Gulf Crisis: Relevant Documents, Correspondence, Reports*; Report, June 1991.

634. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *United States-Iraqi Relations*; Hearing, 21 March 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991.

635. U.S. Congress. Joint Economic Committee. And Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Postwar Economic Recovery in the Persian Gulf*; Proceedings of a Workshop, 28 March 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. Joint Committee Print.

636. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Persian Gulf: The Question of War Crimes*; Hearing, 9 April 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● Anthony D'Amato (Northwestern University), Elie Wiesel (Boston University), and Robert K. Woetzel (Foundation for the Establishment of an International Criminal Court) discuss the possibilities and implications of bringing Saddam Husayn before a war crimes tribunal.

637. U.S. General Accounting Office. *Operation Desert Shield/Storm: Update on Costs and Funding Requirements*. Washington, DC, 1992. GAO/NSIAD-92-194. ●● Total US costs for the war are gauged at more than $120 billion.

638. Walker, George K. "The Crisis Over Kuwait: August 1990-February 1991." *Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law*, Vol. 1 (1991), pp. 25-55.

639. Williams, Kenneth A. "The Iraq Kuwait Crisis: An Analysis of the Unresolved Issue of War Crimes Liability." *Brooklyn Journal of International Law*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1992), pp. 385-413.

The Impact of the War Outside the Gulf

640. Agate, Pierre Sateh, and Maurice Flory. "Le Golfe: action internationale et réaction arabe." *Annuaire Français de Droit International*, Vol. 37 (1991), pp. 221-237.

641. Alpher, Joseph, ed. *War in the Gulf: Implications for Israel*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 1992. ●● The product of a collaborative effort by an 18 member study group within the Jaffee Center, this book was originally published in Hebrew in September 1991 and then updated to late 1991 for publication in English. Attention is given in the first part to the impact of the crisis on the US, Soviet Union, and Arab world, but with special attention to US-Israeli relations. The second part concentrates on military lessons, once again with emphasis on implications for Israel. Part three examines the inter-relationship between the crisis in the Gulf and the Arab-Israeli peace process while the final part looks at attitudes within Israel during the war, developments on "the home front," and the impact on the Israeli economy.

642. "L'Après-Guerre du Golfe." *Politique Étrangère*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (1991), special section, pp. 411-464. ●● Contributions deal with strategic lessons (François Heisbourg, International Institute for Strategic Studies), the dilemmas of a victorious United States (Robert Hunter, Center for Strategic and International Studies), the shock to Soviet strategy (Roland Lomme, French Assemblée nationale), the role of France (Frédéric Prater), and the situation in the Gulf after the storm (Ghassan Salamé, Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques).

643. "The Arab World and the Gulf War." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1-2 (Winter/Spring 1991), entire issue. ●● An issue devoted to the impact of the Kuwait War on the Arab World. Muhammad Hallaj discusses US policy towards the Gulf while Hisham H. Ahmed looks at Iraq's conduct and Ahmad S. Nufal at the Gulf states' response. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod and Roger Heacock look at the Palestinian role, Elmer Berger at the Israeli role, and

Jamil E. Jreisat and Hanna Y. Freij at the Jordanian role. Rex Brynen and Paul Noble consider the prospects for a new regional order while Reja-e Busailah contributes a poem on "Hulagu Revisited." The issue also contains a detailed chronology by Richard H. Jacobs.

644. Azzam, Maha. "The Gulf Crisis: Implications for Political Stability in the Middle East." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Autumn-Winter 1991-1992), pp. 34-43.

645. Bacevich, Andrew J. "A Less than Splendid Little War." *Wilson Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 83-94.

646. Baduel, Pierre Robert, ed. "Crise du Golfe: la 'logique' des chercheurs." *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerannée* (Editions Edisud), No. Hors série (March 1991).

647. Barzilai, Gad, Aharon Klieman, and Gil Shidlo. *The Gulf Crisis and Its Global Aftermath*. London: Routledge, 1993.

648. Bennett, Andrew, Joseph Lepgold, and Danny Unger. "Burden-sharing in the Persian Gulf War." *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Winter 1994), pp. 39-75. ●● The authors, all assistant professors of government at Georgetown University, pose the question "why do states contribute to alliances?" and seek to answer it by examining the burden-sharing of six contributors to Operation Desert Storm - the United States, Britain, Egypt, France, Germany, and Japan. They conclude that few countries other than the United States can lead international coalitions successfully, and even for the United States demanding conditions must be met. American leaders must often take the initiative and solicit contributions from allies who depend on the United States for their security or well-being" (p. 74) This, they perceive, will be difficult in a system of ad hoc coalitions and circumstances in which the public good is not as obvious as it was in the Kuwait War.

649. Bennett, W. Lance, and David L. Paletz. *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

650. Bennis, Phyllis, and Michel Moushabeck, eds. *Beyond the Storm: A Gulf Crisis Reader*. New York: Olive Branch Press, 1991. ●● A comprehensive treatment of the Kuwait War edited by a journalist with Pacifica Radio (Bennis) and an editor of the Olive Branch Press (Moushabeck), with a heavily left-of-center point-of-view, including a foreword by Edward Said and an introduction by Eqbal Ahmad. Many of the contributions are very

brief. The first part consists of historical introduction, including Moushabeck on the Iraqi domestic scene, Hala Fattah (Georgetown University) on Kuwait's history, Bishara A. Bahbah (Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine) on Iraq's decision to invade, and Steve Niva (Columbia University) on the course of the war.

A second section deals with US foreign policy regarding the invasion and war. Noam Chomsky (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) discusses US policy in the Middle East, Barbara Ehrenreich (columnist for Time magazine) compares the situation to the US role in Panama. Sheila Ryan (freelance writer) outlines the US military buildup in the Gulf, Jeanne Butterfield (director of Palestine Solidarity Committee) criticizes continuing US aid to Israel during and after the war, and Phyllis Bennis describes the US domination of the United Nations.

The next section is concerned with events and views solely within the US but it is followed by various examinations of regional repercussions. Among these are Ibrahim Abu-Lughod's (Northwestern University) linkage of the Arab-Israeli Conflict to the war, the impact on the Palestinian occupied territories by Samir Huwaileh (Palestinian economist), the role of the Israeli peace movement by Stanley Cohen (Hebrew University in Jerusalem) and Mordechai Bar-On (a reserve colonel in Israeli Defense Forces and a founder member of Peace Now), Jordan's response by Mustafa B. Hamarneh (University of Jordan), Egypt's role by Sherif Hetata (Egyptian poet and novelist), and the Islamist perspective on the war by Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (University of Massachusetts).

Another section broadens the scope to oil, Britain, Europe's peace movement, and South Asia. Finally, Naseer Aruri (University of Massachusetts) tackles the issue of human rights, Penny Kemp (former co-chair of the British Green Party) looks at the environmental catastrophe, and Louise Cainkar (Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights) describes post-war Iraq.

651. Bresheeth, Haim, and Nira Yuval-Davis, eds. *The Gulf War and the New World Order*. London: Zed Books, 1991. ●● An eclectic collection of articles on the Kuwait War, differing from most of the multitude of the same idea on the same subject in its generally leftist perspective and mixture of more general commentators, such as Noam Chomsky, with well-respected regional specialists. Thus, US policy is a topic of discussion, principally through Chomsky's criticism and Nira Yuval-Davis's treatise on women in the US armed forces, as well as in a treatment of Soviet-US relations through the crisis by H.H. Ticktin. Not surprisingly, given the book's place of publication, there is a contribution on the British role by Barney Dickson. The new world

order is analyzed by Haim Bresheeth and Adel Samara. The impact on regional actors is handled by Dina Haseeb and Malak S. Rouchdy (Egypt), Dario Navaro (Turkey), Maryam Poya (Iran), David Seddon (North Africa), Kathy Glavanis and Yael Lotan (Israel and the Palestinians), Falih Abd al-Jabbar (Iraq), and Moshé Machover (Palestinians). Sami Yousif contributes a peace on the conspiracy theory about the US role in sparking the crisis while Yezid Sayigh explains why much of the Arab World applauded Saddam Husayn. Economic background is provided by Alan Freeman and an analysis of oil by Toby Shelley, while Joni Seager traces the environmental destruction of the war. The economic and political impact on the Gulf is examined by Pandeli Glavanis and Val Moghadam respectively, and Fred Halliday discusses the impact of the war on the Left.

652. Brittain, Victoria, ed. *The Gulf Between Us: The Gulf War and Beyond*. London: Virago Press, 1991. ●● A wide range of views on the impact of the Kuwait War around the world, many of which deal with events outside the Gulf. But Faleh Abd al Jabar (an Iraqi journalist) looks at the Iraqi political dynamics which led to the invasion. Retired US rear admirals Gene R. La Rocque and Eugene J. Carroll, Jr. (both of the Center for Defense Information), discuss how the overwhelming superiority of the coalition armed forces won the war while Haifaa Khalafallah (an oil journalist) looks at Egypt's contribution.

653. Blumberg, Herbert H., and Christopher C. French, eds. *The Persian Gulf War: Views from the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. New York: Lanham, 1994.

654. Campbell, David. *Politics Without Principle: Sovereignty, Ethics, and the Narratives of the Gulf War*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993.

655. Coates, Ken, ed. *Third World War*. Nottingham, UK: Spokesman, 1991.

656. Coulon, Jocelyn, in collaboration with Yvan Cliche. *La dernière croisade: la guerre du Golfe et le rôle caché du Canada*. Montreal: Editions du Méridien, 1992.

657. DeAtkine, Norvell B. “The Middle East Scholars and the Gulf War.” *Parameters*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 53-63.

658. Denton, Robert E., Jr., ed. *The Media and the Persian Gulf War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993.

659. Dumont, Rene, and Charlotte Pacquet. *Cette guerre nous déshonore: quel*

nouvel ordre mondial? Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1992.

660. Evans, Eric. "Arab Nationalism and the Persian Gulf War." *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 1994), pp. 27-51. ●● A study by an A.M. candidate at Harvard of the impact on the Kuwait war on intellectual trends throughout the Arab world. After examining writings by such Arab poets and intellectuals as Nizar Qabbani, Adonis, and Fawwaz Trabulsi, the author asserts that "The Gulf War revolutionized the intellectual world of Arab thinkers in ways that have not yet become entirely apparent" [p. 27] but concludes that "The intellectual establishment of the Arab world has so far not been able to produce new ideologies to replace the ideas discredited during and before the Gulf War." [p. 28]

661. Fuller, Graham E. "Moscow and the Gulf War." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (Summer 1991), pp. 55-76. ●● A senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation notes that the Kuwait War had an impact on Soviet interests in many parts of the world as well as on Moscow's domestic power struggle. He concludes that "The Soviet Union has expressed its firm determination to be part of whatever new order emerges in the Middle East after the Gulf War" and notes that "current Soviet policies - at least on paper - show greater imagination and sensitivity to regional feelings than do those of the United States." (p. 75)

662. Gittings, John, ed. *Beyond the Gulf War: The Middle East and the New World Order*. London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, in association with the Gulf Conference Committee, 1991. ●● A collection of short essays deriving from a March 1991 conference organized by the Gulf Conference Committee on behalf of Media Workers Against the War. The papers (some of which were previously published) range from the impact of the war on the Arab world to the impact on Western views towards and treatment of Arabs and Muslims. The contributors are Richard Falk, Alain Gresh, Fadia Faqir, Yezid Sayigh, Haleh Afshar, Khalil Hindi, Marion Farouk-Sluglett, Peter Sluglett, Michael Gilsenan, Tim Niblock, Abbas Shiblak, Youssef Choueiri, Fred Pearce, and Rami Zreik.

663. Glennon, Michael J. "The Gulf War and the Constitution." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 5 (Winter 1991-1992), pp. 84-101.

664. Gnesotto, Nicole, and John Roper, eds. *Western Europe and the Gulf: A Study of West European Reactions to the Gulf War Carried Out Under the Auspices of the Institute for Security Studies of the Western European Union*. Paris: Western European Union, Institute for Security Studies, 1992.

665. Goot, Murray, and Rodney Tiffen, eds. *Australia's Gulf War*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992.

666. Greenberg, Bradley S., and Walter Gantz, eds. *Desert Storm and the Mass Media*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1993.

667. Hale, William. "Turkey, the Middle East and the Gulf Crisis." *International Affairs*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (October 1992), pp. 679-692.

668. Hallaj, Muhammad. "Taking Sides: Palestinians and the Gulf Crises." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Spring 1991), pp. 41-47.

669. Halliday, Fred. "The Gulf War 1990-1991 and the Study of International Relations." *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 20 (1994), pp. 109-130. ●● A discourse on the significance of the war to the discipline of international relations by a professor of the subject at the London School of Economics. He concludes that the war "did not provoke the need for a 'scientific revolution' in the teaching of IR…" but on many questions it raised issues central to our subject, and nowhere more so than on the ethical ones we have identified, particularly the importance of sovereignty, the new precedent for intervention, and the need to refine our conception of right intention." (p. 129)

670. Hartmann, Rainer. "Yemeni Exodus from Saudi Arabia: The Gulf Conflict and the Ceasing of the Workers' Emigration." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Winter 1995), pp. 38-52.

671. Heikal, Mohamed. *Illusions of Triumph: An Arab View of the Gulf War*. London: HarperCollins, 1992. ●● A leading Egyptian journalist and commentator places the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and resulting war in the context of a series of Middle East conflicts and dubs it the "Third Oil War." He traces the impact of the oil price revolution of the 1970s on the Arab world, the role Kuwait and the other Gulf monarchies played in financially supporting Iraq during its war with Iran, and the fault lines imposed by the intractable Arab-Israeli dilemma. He then details events in the Arab world that surrounded Iraq's invasion, including an account of the August 1990 Arab summit immediately following the occupation of Kuwait, as well as the war itself. The book ends with an epilogue concerned with the question of how to heal the deep divisions in the Arab world, which concludes by saying "The present generation of rulers could secure their place in history by beginning a long-overdue process of reform, but they seem more likely to be remembered as the Brezhnevs of the Arab world." (p. 338)

672. Ismael, Tareq Y., and Jacqueline S. Ismael. *The Gulf War and the New*

World Order: International Relations of the Middle East. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1994. ●● Professors at the University of Calgary present a wide-ranging collection of essays concerned with the impact of the Kuwait War on the Middle East, the United Nations, Europe, Japan, and the United States. Contributions dealing more directly with the Gulf include chapters on Iraq by Marion Farouk-Sluglett (University College of Wales, Swansea) and Peter Sluglett (University of Durham), and on Iran by Scheherazade Daneshkhu (Financial Times).

673. Iwasiow-Pardus, B. "The Influence of the Gulf War on Iraqi Policy." *Studies on the Developing Countries*, No. 4 (1987), pp. 149-167.

674. Jeffords, Susan, and Lauren Rabinovitz. *Seeing Through the Media: The Persian Gulf War*. New Brunwick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994.

675. Jobert, Michel. *Journal du Golfe: Aoùt 1990-Aoùt 1991*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1991. ●● An account of conduct of the Kuwait war by the French foreign minister at the time, with emphasis on the differences of policy between France and the United States. Jobert criticizes several weakness of American foreign policy. In his view, American foreign policy is determined by public relations as much as well-conceived national interests. Military confrontation, particularly in the post-Cold War era and as vividly demonstrated in the Kuwait War, is the favored course of action, rather than reliance on diplomacy. Application of American policy, acting in the name of international law in the case of Kuwait while ignoring equally egregious violations elsewhere. With the end of the Cold War, the perceived enemy has clearly shifted from the Soviet Union to more dispersed threats, such as the Islamic world. The danger for the US and allies alike, Jobert argues, lies in an increasing American propensity to intervene in arenas such as the Islamic world with force and for the wrong reasons.

676. Joffé, George. "Middle Eastern Views of the Gulf Conflict and Its Aftermath." *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (April 1993), pp. 177-199.

677. Johnson, James Turner, and George Weigel. *Just War and the Gulf War*. Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1991.

678. Johnstone, Ian. *Aftermath of the Gulf War: An Assessment of UN Action*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994. International Peace Academy, Occasional Paper Series.

679. Kaiser, Karl, and Klaus Becher. *Deutschland und der Irak-Konflikt*. Bonn:

Europa Union Verlag for Forschunginstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, February 1992. Arbeitspapiere zur internationalen Politik, No. 68.

680. Kelly, Michael. *Martyr's Day: Chronicle of a Small War*. New York: Random House, 1993.

681. Kettle, St. John, and Stephanie Dowrick. *After the Gulf War: For Peace in the Middle East*. North Sydney, New South Wales: Pluto Press.

682. Kielinger, Thomas. "The Gulf War and the Consequences from a German Point of View." *Aussenpolitik*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1991), pp. 241-250.

683. Lesch, Ann Mosely. "Contrasting Reactions to the Persian Gulf Crisis: Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinians." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 1991), pp. 30-50.

684. Malik, J. Mohan. *The Gulf War: Australia's Role and Asian-Pacific Responses*. Canberra: Australian National University, 1992. Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence, No. 90.

685. _____. "India's Response to the Gulf Crisis: Implications for Indian Foreign Policy." *Asian Survey*, Vol. 31, No. 9 (September 1991), pp. 847-861.

686. Mowlana, Hamid, George Gerbner, and Herbert I. Schiller. *Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf - A Global Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.

687. Nosenko, Vladimir. "Iraq's Aggression Against Kuwait in the Context of North-South Relations." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 96-108. ●● "One of the main lessons that the Gulf crisis taught both the West and the Soviet Union is … a clearer comprehension of the danger inherent in their foreign policy: detachment from the Third World," (p. 98) says a senior research fellow at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations in Moscow. The enthusiasm with which Third World masses greeted Iraq's action bolsters the view that the invasion of Kuwait was meant as an intentional challenge to the US and is symptomatic of deep divisions in North-South relations. While the demise of the Cold War provided a good opportunity to test American resolve, Russia's embrace of universal values remains alien to the Third World.

688. *The Palestinians and the War in the Gulf*. Washington, DC: Center for

Policy Analysis on Palestine, 1991.

689. Prater, Frédéric. "La France et la crise du Golfe." *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (1991), pp. 441-453.

690. Rathmell, Andrew. "The PLO and the Gulf Crisis." In *Royal United Services Institute and Brassey's Defence Yearbook 1991* (London: Brassey's UK, 1991), pp. 305-326.

691. Reed, Stanley. "Jordan and the Gulf Crisis." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 5 (1990), pp. 21-35. ●● A journalist with *Business Week* examines dilemma that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait caused for Jordan, its king, and its people. Many Jordanians, particularly the large proportion of Palestinians, questioned the West's concern about Kuwait when the Palestinian issue remained unsettled. This has been a headache for King Husayn, alongside worsening economic conditions, the growth of Islamic extremism, and expanding links with Iraq. The invasion created crisis because, as the author says, "While some in Washington may appreciate the bind in which King Hussein finds himself, the U.S. Congress and the gulf states do not believe that Amman currently merits their support." (p. 35)

692. Renshon, Stanley A., ed. *The Political Psychology of the Gulf War: Leaders, Publics, and the Process of Conflict*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993. ●● A collection of essays on personal psychologies and public belief systems of people and nations involved in the Kuwait War, edited by a City University of New York political scientist. Among the contributions, L. Carl Brown (Princeton University) discusses Middle-Eastern mind-sets, Dankwart A. Rustow (City University of New York) illuminates Arab perspectives of history, Stephen J. Wayne (Georgetown University) analyzes George Bush's decision to go to war, and Jerrold M. Post (George Washington University) does the same for Saddam Husayn. Janice Gross Stein (University of Toronto) addresses the question of why threat-based strategies of conflict management failed and Jarol B. Manheim (George Washington University) looks at strategic communication during the conflict. In addition, Shibley Telhami (Cornell University) analyzes Arab public opinion and Marvin Zonis (University of Chicago) looks at relations between Arab rulers and ruled.

693. Sabec, Christopher John. "The Security Council Comes of Age: An Analysis of the International Legal Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait." *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 63-122. ●● The author provides a comprehensive look at the role of the UN Security Council in the crisis. He sees that "the decisive

diplomacy that emerged as the Security Council addressed the events in the Persian Gulf was the latest evidence that the forty-five-year-old organization was determined to fulfill its intended role." (pp. 63-64) Moreover, he concludes that "the resolutions that addressed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait have advanced the capability of international law…" and numerous opportunities exist for an expanded role for the United Nations." (p. 101) Relevant resolutions are appended.

694. Sadowski, Yahya. "Revolution, Reform or Regression? Arab Political Options in the 1990 Gulf Crisis." *Brookings Review*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1990-1991), pp. 17-21. ●● On the verge of the Kuwait War, a research associate at Brookings regards "the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait [as] only one symptom of a much wider crisis in the Arab world." (p. 17) and warns that "If we urge Arab to fight Arab, we may revive the Arab cold war. Every Iraqi our troops kill will provide fresh ammunition for the Islamist campaign to expunge Western influence in the region." (p. 21)

695. Saikal, Amin, and Ralph King. *The Gulf Crisis: Testing a New World Order?* Canberra: Australian National University, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, 1991.

696. Salinger, Pierre. "The United States, the United Nations, and the Gulf War." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Autumn 1995), pp. 595-613. ●● A public relations executive and a former US presidential press secretary charges that the United States made no effort to stop the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait or to warn the United Nations that troops were on the Kuwaiti border before the war. He discusses the Iraqi-Kuwaiti talks in Jiddah in the days before the invasion and the failure of Arab negotiations with Iraq after the invasion. In his opinion, "the war was not needed. The Bush administration could have prevented Saddam Husayn from invading Kuwait by taking the tough military action that President Clinton took four years later. Even that tough military action would not have been necessary if President Bush had called Saddam Husayn on 28 July and told him that, if his troops crossed the border, the United States would intervene and there would be a brutal war." (p. 613)

697. Salzman, Marian, and Ann O'Reilly. *War and Peace in the Persian Gulf: What Teenagers Want to Know*. Princeton, NJ: Peterson's Guides, 1991.

698. Sanad, Jamal S. "Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait and UAE's Political Orientations." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Winter 1994), pp. 51-64. ●● A political scientist at the University of the United Arab Emirates reports the results of a survey of the attitudes of

UAE students toward the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and subsequent war. Among his findings are that the principal identity claimed by respondents was that of Muslim, that nearly 80% said they followed the news about the crisis on CNN and the BBC, and 96% agreed with Egypt's position on the crisis, 92% agreed with the UAE's position, 88% agreed with the US position, 19% agreed with the PLO's position, and only 12% agreed with Jordan's position.

699. Sayigh, Yezid. "The Gulf Crisis: Why the Arab Regional Order Failed." *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 67, No. 3 (July 1991), pp. 487-507. ●● A fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford, argues that "Iraq invaded Kuwait … because the rules linking the Arab states in a regional order had broken down into weakness and disarray." (p. 487) Arab leaders have sought to structure their foreign policies to uphold the status quo and bolster their own personal rule, thus failing to address the real challenge facing the Arab world.

700. Schiff, Ze'ev, and Walid Khalidi. *The Saladin Syndrome: Lessons from the Gulf War*. Cambridge, MA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, August 1991. International Security Studies Program, Occasional Paper No. 8.

701. Segal, Jerome M. "The Gulf War and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1991), pp. 351-362.

-and –

702. Stork, Joe. "The Gulf War and the Arab World." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1991), pp. 365-374. ●● A pair of matched articles on the Kuwait War's impact elsewhere in the Middle East. Segal, a research scholar at the University of Maryland, begins by noting that "The war in the Persian Gulf has put the Israeli-Palestinian conflict back on the U.S. foreign policy agenda…." (p. 351) He holds that a series of appropriate moves by the US, Arab states, and the Palestinians is necessary to bring about change - but feels that the Likud government in Israel is unlikely to play a constructive role. He also advises that "If the Palestinians can get a transitional autonomy period with a freeze on settlements, they should take it." Joe Stork, of the Middle East Research and Information Project, looks at the economic impact of the war on the region and concludes that "Economically, the main winners will be where capital is located: on Wall Street and in London's financial district." (p. 373)

703. Smith, Hedrick, ed. *The Media and the Gulf War: The Press and Democracy in Wartime*. Washington, DC: Seven Locks Press, 1992.

704. Stevenson, T.B. "Yemeni Migrants in the Wake of Desert Storm: A

Research Report." *SACC Notes: Teaching Anthropology* (Spring/Summer 1993), pp. 12-13.

705. Tamamoto, M. "Trial of an Ideal: Japan's Debate Over the Gulf Crisis." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1990-91), pp. 89-106.

706. Taylor, Paul, and A.J.R. Groom. *The United Nations and the Gulf War, 1990-91: Back to the Future?* London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1992. RIIA Discussion Paper, No. 38.

707. Taylor, Philip M. *War and the Media: Propaganda and Persuasion in the Gulf War*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992. 2nd ed.; Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998.

708. Tschirgi, Dan, and Bassam Tibi. *Perspectives on the Gulf Crisis*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1991. Cairo Papers in Social Science, Vol. 14, Monograph 1.

709. U.S. General Accounting Office. *Persian Gulf Crisis: Humanitarian Relief Provided to Evacuees from Kuwait and Iraq*; Report to the Chairman, Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 12 March 1991. Washington, GAO, 1991.

710. Van Hear, Nicholas. "The Socio-economic Impact of the Involuntary Mass Return to Yemen in 1990." *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1994), pp. 18-38. ●● A researcher at the University of Oxford's Refugee Studies Programme looks at the impact of the expulsion of some 800,000 Yemenis from Saudi Arabia after the Yemen government's failure to condemn the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. He pays attention to the regional impact within Yemen and examines the occupational opportunities to these refugees after two years. He observes that some returnees fared better than others, dependent on their length of stay abroad, and that the Yemeni economy, though sorely tested, did not collapse. While reintegration of many was mostly a matter of self-settlement, "for many returnee shanty dwellers a supplemental feeding programme, means of establishing security of tenure and provision of infrastructure were still needed more than two years after their arrival…." (p. 36) The author also has written about this subject in "Mass Flight in the Middle East: Involuntary Migration and the Gulf Conflict, 1990-91," in R. Black and V. Robinson, eds., *Geography and Refugees: Patterns and Processes of Change* (London: Belhaven, 1993); and in "Forced Migration and the Gulf Conflict, 1990-91," *Oxford International Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter 1991).

711. Vaux, Kenneth L. *Ethics and the Gulf War: Religion, Rhetoric, and Righteousness*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.

712. Vernon, Alex. "The Gulf War and Postmodern Memory." *Wilson Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 68-82.

713. Vidal, Gore. *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2002.

714. Walker, Martin. "Dateline Washington: Victory and Delusion." *Foreign Policy*, No. 83 (Summer 1991), pp. 160-172. ●● The Washington bureau chief of the *Guardian* (London) attacks the perception in the United States that it has won a great victory over Iraq and reckons that "The Gulf war … is beginning to look like Bush's excuse for avoiding America's problems at home…." (p. 172)

715. Welch, David A. "The Politics and Psychology of Restraint: Israeli Decision-Making in the Gulf War." *International Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (1992), pp. 328-369.

716. Yetiv, Steve A. "The Outcomes of Desert Shield and Desert Storm: Some Antecedent Causes." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 107, No. 2 (Summer 1992), pp. 195-212.

717. Yost, David S. "France and the Gulf War of 1990-1991: Political-Military Lessons Learned." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (September 1993), pp. 339-374.

Environmental Damage, and Economic and Humanitarian Aspects

718. Addleton, Jonathan S. "The Impact of the Gulf War on Migration and Remittances in Asia and the Middle East." *International Migration*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1991), pp. 509-526.

719. Akhtar, Shameem. "Spoils of the Gulf War." *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (July 1991), pp. 29-42. ●● A University of Karachi professor cites claims that the United States made a net profit on the Kuwait War of $10-$18 billion, that it made certain that American companies would get the lion's share of contracts for the reconstruction of Kuwait, and that American allies were also allowed to share "the spoils."

720. Barnaby, Frank. "The Environmental Impact of the Gulf War." *Ecologist*, Vol. 21 (July-August 1991), pp. 166-172.

721. Baz, Farouk El-, and R.M. Makharita, eds. *The Gulf War and the Environment*. Lausanne: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1994.

722. Bloom, Saul, John M. Miller, James Warner, and Philippa Winkler, eds. *Hidden Casualties: Environmental, Health and Political Consequences of the Persian Gulf War*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1994.

723. Brown, Neville. "The Blazing Oil Wells of Kuwait." *World Today*, Vol. 47, No. 6 (June 1991), pp. 93-95.

724. Canby, Thomas Y. "The Persian Gulf: After the Storm." *National Geographic*, Vol. 180, No. 2 (August 1991), pp. 2-35. ●● A National Geographic editor reports on the aftermath of Kuwait's liberation, with numerous illustrations and emphasis on the damage to the environment.

725. Cerutti, Herbert. "Fire's End in Kuwait." *Swiss Review of World Affairs*, Vol. 41, No. 9 (December 1991), pp. 9-10. ●● A short report dealing with the largest oil field catastrophe in history and the steps taken to bring the fires to an end. "The huge firefighting operation cost Kuwait something in the neighborhood of $2 billion, and the reconstruction of the oil industry will cost at least $5 billion more. It is thought that the fires consumed about 2% of Kuwait's suspected oil reserves of roughly 100 billion barrels." (p. 10)

726. Clark, Ramsey. *The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1992.

727. _____, et al. *War Crimes: A Report on United States War Crimes Against Iraq*. Washington, DC: Maisonneuve Press, 1992.

728. Connell, J. "Far Beyond the Gulf: The Implications of Warfare for Asian Labour Migration." *Australian Geographer*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1992), pp. 44-50.

729. Cutter, Susan L. "Ecocide in Babylonia." *Focus*, Vol. 41 (Summer 1991), pp. 26-31.

730. Duffy, Terence. "Environmental Cooperation in the Persian Gulf Region." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Winter 1997/98), pp. 568-586. ●● Discusses the impact of recent wars in the Gulf on environmental destruction and suggests ways in which environmental concerns can be protected.

731. Earle, Sylvia A. "Persian Gulf Pollution: Assessing the Damage One Year Later." *National Geographic*, Vol. 181, No. 2 (February 1992), pp. 122-134.

732. Edgerton, Laura. "Eco-terrorist Acts During the Persian Gulf War: Is International Law Sufficient to Hold Iraq Liable?" *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1992), pp. 151-174. ●● The author traces legal developments arising from the environmental destruction caused by the war through international environmental law and international warfare law. While she holds that UN Security Council Resolution 687 (which holds Iraq liable for any damage as a result of its invasion) "may ultimately provide a mechanism for recovery in this case, the other legal weapons which could be used against Iraq … are critically deficient." (p.173) Environmental law remedies are deficient because Iraq does not have the financial resources to pay compensation while the few provisions in international warfare law are "too broad to be enforceable or are limited to a particular form of environmental warfare activity." (p. 174) She calls for a new Geneva Convention to address the problem.

733. Frelon, J. "Le Koweit et les incidences financières de la crise du Golfe." *Le Trimestre du Monde*, No. 4 (1990), pp. 177-180.

734. Hawley, T. M. *Against the Fires of Hell: The Environmental Disaster of the Gulf War*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992.

735. Human Rights Watch. *Needless Deaths in the Gulf War: Civilian Casualties During the Air Campaign and Violations of the Laws of War*. New York, 1991. A Middle East Watch Report. ●● Subjects covered include the legal regime governing the conduct of air warfare, the air war against Iraq and its impact on the civilian population, Iraq's missile attacks against Israel and the Gulf states, including the civilian damages. The conclusion is that while the allies avoided systematic violations of the laws of war, hundreds of Iraqi civilians died as a result of several allied decisions to take less than the maximum feasible precautions to avoid civilian casualties, as required by the laws of war.

736. Human Rights Watch. *A Victory Turned Sour: Human Rights in Kuwait Since Liberation*. New York, 1991.

737. Kanovsky, Eliahu. *The Economic Consequences of the Persian Gulf War: Accelerating OPEC's Demise*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Policy Papers, No. 30.

738. Peterson, Scott. "The Gulf War Battlefield: Still 'Hot' with Depleted

Uranium." *Middle East Report*, No. 211 (Summer 1999), pp. 2-5. ●● A correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* reports on the lingering effects of American use of depleted uranium armor-piercing rounds during the Kuwait War. He cites one expert on the subject that depleted uranium A'is the Agent Orange of the 1990s."' (p. 3) He describes its effects on the Iraqi population and observes that clean-up is extremely difficult and expensive.

739. Plant, Glen. "Legal Aspects of Marine Pollution During the Gulf War." *International Journal of Estuarine and Coastal Law*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (August 1992), pp. 217-231.

740. Renner, Michael. "Military Victory, Ecological Defeat." *World Watch*, Vol. 4 (July-August 1991), pp. 27-33.

741. Roberts, John. "Oil, the Military and the Gulf War of 1991." *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 136 (Spring 1991), pp. 11-16.

742. Sabbagh, Nemeh. "Financial Systems in Kuwait: Rebuilding a War-Shattered Economy." *World of Banking*, Vol. 10 (July-August 1991), pp. 14-17.

743. Sadowski, Yahya. "Power, Poverty, and Petrodollars: Arab Economies After the Gulf War." *Middle East Report*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (1991), pp. 4-10.

744. Sharp, Walter G. "The Effective Deterrence of Environmental Damage During Armed Conflict: A Case Analysis of the Persian Gulf War." *Military Law Review*, Vol. 137 (Summer 1992), pp. 1-66.

745. Sullivan, Paul. "The Gulf War, Economic and Financial Linkages, and Arab Economic Development: Iraq - The Pivot?" In Tareq Y. Ismael, ed., *The International Relations of the Middle East in the 21st Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 72-142. ●● An economist at the American University in Cairo examines the pivotal role of Iraq in the Middle East, with emphasis on economics. He surveys trade, oil, the economic impact of the military, and economic stagnation. He also describes the impact of the war on both "remittance sensitive" and "oil sensitive" countries. He guesses that payments from the GCC to the international coalition may have totaled more than $100 billion, with some $65 billion from Saudi Arabia, $20 billion from Kuwait, and $6 billion from the UAE. (p. 111) He concludes that "the Gulf War related economic shocks that harmed many of these Arab states have mostly dissipated" (p. 130) even as the war "seems to have fuelled further domestic and international political turmoil between the rulers of the Arab states and their fundamentalist detractors." (p. 131)

746. Toukan, Abdullah. "The Gulf War and the Environment: The Need for a Treaty Prohibiting Destruction as a Weapon of War." *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol. 15, No.2 (Spring 1991), pp. 95-100. ●● The science adviser to King Husayn of Jordan argues that the environmental destruction wrought in Kuwait demands a treaty to prevent a similar occurrence in the future. He contends that "This planet and its inhabitants cannot tolerate the shocking waste of human and natural resources caused by the destructive violence of war. If a new world order is to arise in the aftermath of the Gulf conflict, the protection of the environment must be a central issue." (p. 100)

747. U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Committee on Small Business. *Rebuilding Kuwait: The First 8 Months; Hearing, 29 October 1991*. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. Serial No. 102-47. ●● The hearing focuses on developments in Kuwait during the first eight months after liberation and the business prospects of American firms in Kuwait's reconstruction. Testimony is provided by Shaykh Sa'ud al-Nasir (Kuwait's ambassador to the US), Ernest Alexander (American Business Council of the Gulf Countries), James E. De Wire (Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army), David P. Gump (Gulf Reconstruction Report), David A. Jensen (US Department of Commerce), Robert J. Moffitt (Small Business Administration), and Fred Rockwell (National United States-Arab Chamber of Commerce).

748. U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. *United States Gulf Environmental Technical Assistance*. Washington, 1991.

749. U.S. General Accounting Office. *International Environment: Kuwaiti Oil Fires - Chronic Health Risks Unknown but Assessments Are Under Way*; Brief Report to the Chairman, Legislation and National Security Subcommittee, Committee on Government Operations, House of Represenatives, 16 January 1992. Washington, DC: GAO, 1992.

750. U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *The Environmental Aftermath of the Gulf War*; A Report Prepared for the Committee on Environment and Public Works, Gulf Pollution Task Force by the Environment and Natural Resources Policy Division, American Law Division, and Science Policy Research Division of the Congressional Research Service. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1992.

751. Warner, Frederick. "The Environmental Consequences of the Gulf War." *Environment*, Vol. 33 (June 1991), pp. 7-9, 25-26.

752. Willett, Susan. *The Gulf Crisis: Economic Implications*. London: Brassey's, 1990. London Defence Studies, No. 1.

753. Zedalis, Rex J. "Burning of the Kuwaiti Oilfields and the Laws of War." *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1991), pp. 711-755.
●● A law professor at Tulsa University discusses the application of article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention (outlawing destruction by an occupying power of property belonging to the occupied state) to the destruction of state-owned oilfields as in Kuwait. He concludes that "this article does not apply beyond situations of destruction inflicted during uncontested occupation." (p. 711) He judges that Iraq might be unable to justify its actions under article 23(g) of the Hague Regulations, which codified international customary law regarding rules of land warfare. Although Iraq, unlike the Geneva Conventions, is not a party to these regulations, the Geneva Conventions preserve the relevant sections and the codification of customary law in the regulations is considered to be binding. He concludes that Iraq may find it difficult to justify its actions on the grounds of military necessity because of its objective of territorial aggrandizement. Finally, although Protocol I of 1977 contains several articles that would apply, it is yet to be universally acknowledged as part of the customary law of armed conflict.

Policy Toward Iraq and the Iraq War (1991-2003)

The International Sanctions Régime Against Iraq

754. Alnasrawi, Abbas. *Iraq's Burdens: Oil, Sanctions, and Underdevelopment*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

755. _____. "Iraq: Economic Consequences of the 1991 Gulf War and Future Outlook." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1992), pp. 335-352.

-and –

756. _____. "Iraq: Economic Sanctions and Consequences, 1990-2000." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2001), pp. 205-218. ●● An economist at the University of Vermont looks at Iraq's desperate economic situation in the 1980s, including the costs of the Iran-Iraq War, the loss of its oil-exporting facilities in the south, damage to its infrastructure, its foreign indebtedness, and its attempt to privatize the economy. He notes that "there is little doubt that the crisis which engulfed the Iraqi economy played a decisive if not the decisive determining factor in the decision to invade, occupy and annex Kuwait." (p. 343) The consequences of this action, he observes, were the loss of 50,000-120,000 Iraqi soldiers and 20,000-100,000 civilians (on top of the losses sustained in the Iran-Iraq War), as well replacement costs of some £200 billion. Remarking on the bleak economic output, he remarks that "it will be decades before the country can regain the economic initiative it once had." (p. 350)

In his follow-up article, Alnasrawi claims that, despite the ravages of the Iran-Iraq War, the militarization of Iraq's economy, and the invasion of Kuwait, the sanctions régime bears the major share of responsibility for Iraq's poor economic condition. According to the author, Iraq's GDP per capita in 1999 was estimated to be $883 in 1990 dollars compared to $6151 in 1980. He concludes that "There is a general agreement that the sanctions régime imposed on Iraq was unprecedented in its comprehensiveness, severity and length, and in the enormous human and economic cost which it inflicted on Iraq. Although the severity of the sanctions was made worse by the consequences of the Iraq-Iran war and the destruction of the infrastructure in 1991, the fact remains that the people of Iraq have been suffering for the past 11 years with no prospects on the horizon of an early end to the sanctions, which have transformed Iraq from a country of relative affluence to a country of massive poverty." (p. 217)

757. Arnove, Anthony, ed. *Iraq Under Siege: The Deadly Impact of Sanctions and War*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000. ●● A collection of essays demonstrating the negative impact of the sanctions régime upon the Iraqi people. Contributors include Naseer Aruri, Phyllis Bennis, Denis J. Halliday, Noam Chomsky, John Pilger, Ali Abunimah, Rania Masri, Robert Fisk, Howard Zinn, Kathy Kelly, Barbara Nimri Aziz, George Capaccio, Peter L. Pellett, Huda S. Ammash, Edward Herman, Edward Said, and Sharon Smith. The editor is an editor at South End Press.

758. Blix, Hans. *Disarming Iraq: The Search for Weapons of Mass Destruction*. New York: Pantheon; London: Bloomsbury, 2004. ●● The UN's chief weapons inspector in Iraq before the war argues that the inspectors should have had more time to finish their job instead of force being used against Saddam Husayn. But he adds that of course Saddam should have come clean about the state of his weapons program in order to avoid being invaded.

759. Brentjes, Richard. *Oil, Dollars and Politics*. N.p., Campbell, Rishi, 1999. ●● An archaeologist provides a long, historical view of Gulf conflicts and takes a critical position on American involvement in the region, arguing that sanctions against Iraq must be ended.

760. Browne, Marjorie Ann. *The United Nations Security Council - Its Role in the Iraq Crisis: A Brief Overview*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RS21323, 18 March 2003. ●● A CRS international affairs analyst provides background on the UN Security Council and summarizes the council's deliberations and resolutions on Iraq until just prior to the 2003 war.

761. Bruno, Alessandro. "The Roots of the Shi'a Opposition in Iraq and the American Occupation." *Acque & Terre*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (March-April 2004), pp. 69-72.

762. Byman, Daniel. "A Farewell to Arms Inspections." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1 (January-February 2000), pp. 119-132. ●● An analyst at the RAND Corporation argues that the return of UN arms inspectors to Iraq would do more harm than good and might actually help develop Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) programs over the long term. He suggests that "Surprising as it sounds, an impasse over inspections is actually the best realistic outcome for the United States. A continued standoff will better position the United States to hamper Saddam Hussein's quest for WMD - and avoid being party to the deliberate flouting of UN resolutions and arms control agreements." (p. 121) Reinserted inspectors, it is maintained, would not have access to sensitive sights and "If Baghdad defied the inspectors,

Washington would soon find itself in a nasty dilemma comparable to what it faced in December 1998 when it launched the Desert Fox bombing campaign: either ignore Iraq's noncompliance and deception and pave the way for declaring Iraq free of WMD, or use force to demand access." (p. 122)

763. Carapico, Sheila. "Legalism and Realism in the Gulf." *MERIP Middle East Report*, No. 206 (Spring 1998), pp. 3-6. ●● A professor of political science at the University of Richmond criticizes the sanction régime against Iraq and notes that the policy of containment is not sustainable indefinitely. She concludes that "The uncertain futures of all the Arab governments of the Gulf region, as well as the huge stockpile of weapons in the Gulf and the wider Middle East, should provide strong incentive for prudent policy makers to empower an autonomous weapons inspections apparatus." (p. 6)

764. Clawson, Patrick. *How Has Saddam Hussein Survived? Economic Sanctions 1990-93*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1993. ●● Clawson, a senior fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies, examines the impact of sanctions on Iraqi living standards and analyzes the country's means of financing imports. While noting that it is difficult to judge the effectiveness of sanctions because of the different objectives involved, he reasons that "it would be inappropriate to assume that sanctions will lead to Saddam Hussein's replacement in the near term." (p. 74)

765. Cordesman, Anthony H., and Ahmed S. Hashim. *Iraq: Sanctions and Beyond*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997. CSIS Middle East Dynamic Net Assessment. ●● The authors, both of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, examine internal Iraqi political developments since the Kuwait War, including the instruments of state power, opposition movements, human rights, the impact of sanctions, and Iraqi oil exports. They also consider the country's external relations, its military developments in the 1990s, and assess the threat from Iraqi conventional forces and from weapons of mass destruction. They see no alternative to continued military containment and assess various scenarios for a change in political power in Baghdad. They argue that economic sanctions "unquestionably weaken Saddam Hussein and Iraq's current ruling elite, but they have a high humanitarian cost, and it is far from clear that they can force a change in Iraq's government." (pp. 357-358) Recognizing that lifting all economic sanctions would be counterproductive, they suggest that "Trading Iraqi agreement on the Kuwait border issue and acceptance of Kurdish autonomy for an end to economic sanctions and end to the threat of war crimes trials, and more realistic proposals regarding reparations and debt repayments is one alternative." (p. 358)

766. Cordesman, Anthony H. *Iraq and 'Smart Sanctions': Reshaping US Policy in the Gulf*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 2001. ●● A short paper consisting of the author's testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (date not given). Cordesman that "smart sanctions" will work only if they are part of changes in US policy towards Iraq, including stronger pressure on Iraq's suppliers, coming to grips with the end of the UNSCOM inspection effort, recognizing the ineffectiveness of Iraqi opposition, focus on the continuing need for military containment, a propaganda campaign to counter Saddam Husayn's efforts, consideration of the future of Iraq's Kurds, and development of a "clear" energy policy vis-à-vis Iraq.

767. Cortright, David, George A. Lopez, and Alistair Millar. *Smart Sanctions: Restructuring UN Policy in Iraq; A Report of the Fourth Freedom Forum and The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies*. Goshen, Indiana: Fourth Freedom Forum, March 2001. ●● Officers of the Fourth Freedom Forum and the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame propose "a narrowly defined and tightly implemented set of smart sanctions focusing on weapons and military-related goods, as an alternative to the current faltering comprehensive sanctions régime." (p. 4) They favor embargoing arms and not trade, tightening financial controls including over Iraqi oil revenues and the personal assets of Saddam Husayn and his circle, and strengthening verification and monitoring.

768. Coughlin, Con. *Saddam: The Secret Life*. New York: HarperCollins; London: Macmillan, 2002.

769. Deaver, Michael V. *Disarming Iraq: Monitoring Power and Resistance*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001. ●● A visiting lecturer with the Civil Education Project in Russia looks at the problem of disarming Iraq as a case study in power relations and monitoring tactics.

770. Dowty, Alan. "Sanctioning Iraq: The Limits of the New World Order." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Summer 1994), pp. 179-198. ●● A professor of government and international studies at the University of Notre Dame examines the mandate and the success of the UN-administered sanctions policy. Although the policy has numerous deficiencies, the author feels that "The Iraqi case demonstrates that the road to effective international enforcement will be bumpy and is even uncharted in certain respects. But it also demonstrates the importance of attempting the journey." (p. 195)

771. Doxey, Margaret. "Sanctions in an Unstable International Environment: Lessons from the Gulf Conflict." *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 2, No. 3

(November 1991), pp. 208-225.

772. Drake, Laura. "Why the World Is Blaming the U.S. for Iraqi Suffering." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (June-July 2001), pp. 6-10. ●● The author, an adjunct professor at American University, believes that "Washington's argument - that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and not the United States is to blame for the Iraqi people's suffering - is losing its cohesion and with it, the rationale for the continuation of Iraqi sanctions." (p. 6) She contends that "The unspoken, but well-known, truth is that Washington's intention … is to keep the sanctions on for as long as it can…" (p. 10), regardless of what actions Iraq takes, and that is why the sanctions coalition is falling apart.

773. Graham-Brown, Sarah. *Sanctioning Saddam: The Politics of Intervention in Iraq*. London: I.B. Tauris, in association with the Middle East Research and Information Project, 1999. ●● A comprehensive study of the impact of sanctions on Iraq since 1991. The first part details the role of various governments and the United Nations in formulating policy towards Iraq and Baghdad's response, as well as how the economic sanctions worked in practice. The second part looks at the impact of sanctions inside Iraq, including a discussion of the situation in the protected Kurdish region of the country. The third part concentrates on humanitarian aid programs working in Iraq. The author concludes that "the main lesson of the international community's policies on Iraq are … that 'quick fixes' do not work. Economic sanctions, military force or humanitarian aid will not resolve the range of complex national and regional problems, of which the current Iraqi Government is one, if there is no clear and agreed sense of what longer-term outcomes are desirable." (p. 348)

774. Gresh, Alain. "Oil for Food: A Debt of Dishonour." *Le Monde diplomatique*, English edition (October 2000). ●● The editor-in-chief of Le Monde diplomatique points out that the "oil for food" program, under which the United Nations permits Iraq to sell its oil internationally, not only provides revenue for humanitarian purposes within Iraq. Since December 1996, a third of Iraq's $11 billion in export income has been used to compensate companies and individuals for their losses during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Gresh compares the UN's procedure to the Treaty of Versailles, noting that endless reparations led to Hitler's rise to power in Germany, and concludes that recent decisions by the UN Security Council meant that Iraq will continue to pay compensation to 2070.

775. Herring, Eric. "Between Iraq and a Hard Place: A Critique of the British Government's Case for the UN Economic Sanctions." *Review of International*

Studies, Vol. 28, No. 1 (January 2002), pp. 39-56. ●● A senior lecturer at the University of Bristol criticizes the sanctions régime against Iraq and terms the British government's involvement "a callous policy defended dishonestly." (p. 55) He concludes that "New Labour's talk of an ethical dimension to foreign policy, humanitarian intervention and 'smart' sanctions is all unpersuasive in the case of the sanctions on Iraq. " (p. 56)

776. "Iraq: A Decade of Devastation." *Middle East Report*, No. 215 (Summer 2000), special report, pp. 4-35. ●● Nine authors look at different angles of the effects of economic sanctions on Iraq. Phyllis Bennis assesses US policy towards the country, Sarah Graham-Brown writes on the sanctions, Elizabeth Warnock Fernea returns to the Iraqi village in which she lived 40 years previously, Scott Peterson discusses the effects of depleted uranium, Richard Garfield compares the public health impact of sanctions in Iraq to Cuba, Marc Lynch reviews domestic aspects of US policy, David Aquila Lawrence looks at Kurdistan, Faleh A. Jabar describes retribalization, and Joost Hiltermann assesses the obstacles to trying Saddam Husayn for war crimes.

777. "Iraq-Gulf/2000 Conference." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (October 2000), pp. 58-173. ●● Contributions from a July 2000 conference held in Cyprus and sponsored by the Gulf/2000 organization at Columbia University. Gulf/2000 director Gary Sick introduces the topic. Isam al-Khafaji (University of Amsterdam) looks at the impact of sanctions on Iraq and notes that while Iraq can still manufacture weapons of mass destruction, it no longer has any means of delivering them. In comments, Phebe Marr asks how much change in Iraq can be effected from outside. Ghanim al-Najjar (Kuwait University), while noting that all the GCC states are fully committed to the UN resolutions on Iraq, notes that "The U.S. failure to bring the Iraqi issue to a conclusive close is one major reason why some GCC members are taking a different path." (p. 99) Ahmad S. Moussalli (American University of Beirut) examines Syrian-Iraqi relations and warns that "Syria wishes to see a regime change in Baghdad, but not according to U.S. and Western desires…." (pp. 108-109) Henri J. Barkey (Lehigh University) points out that Turkey's approach to Iraq is "influenced entirely by the Kurdish question in northern Iraq and its ramifications for the Kurds in Turkey," (p. 110) and therefore has adopted a middle course vis-a-vis Baghdad. Alexei Vassiliev (Institute of African and Arab Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences) briefly summarizes Russia's diplomatic ties with Iraq while Andrew T. Parasiliti and Sinan Antoon (both of Harvard University) conclude that "the Baath party's relationship with the military has been troubled yet symbiotic." (p. 139) Francis J. Ricciardone, Jr. (US State Department) states that US policy holds that Saddam Husayn is irredeemable, that Iraq has a potentially bright future without Saddam, and that the US stands behind its support of the opposition

Iraqi National Congress, albeit alone. Ghassan Atiyyah (editor of Iraqi File) looks at Saddam's longevity in power and the options for his rehabilitation, noting that dealing with one of his sons would enable other countries to save face. H.C. von Sponeck (former U.N. Assistant Secretary-General and humanitarian coordinator for Iraq) reviews the effects of sanctions and makes a number of recommendations to break the stalemate. Walid Khadduri (editor of Middle East Economic Survey) believes that "The continuation of sanctions will further damage Iraq and could have an impact on the world oil situation." (p. 156) Fadhil J. Chalabi (Centre for Global Energy Studes, London) reviews Iraq's enormous oil potential and notes that "It seems that the Iraqi government is not in a hurry for investment in its oil, perhaps because it is under the illusion that the world will sooner or later need it." (p. 173)

778. Katzman, Kenneth. *Iraq: Oil-For-Food Program, International Sanctions, and Illicit Trade*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RL30472, 19 May 2003.

779. Khadduri, Walid. "U.N. Sanctions on Iraq: 10 Years Later." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (2000), pp. 156-163.

780. Lopez, George A., and David Cortright. "Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (July-August 2004), pp. 90-103. ●● The director and a research fellow at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame argue that, contrary to the opinion of many and the justification of the Bush administration for going to war in Iraq, the sanctions régime actually worked. "Sanctions compelled Iraq to accept inspections and monitoring and won concessions from Baghdad on political issues such as the border dispute with Kuwait. They also drastically reduced the revenue available to Saddam, prevented the rebuilding of Iraqi defenses after the Persian Gulf War, and blocked the import of vital materials and technologies for producing WMD." (p. 91)

781. Marashi, Ibrahim al-. "How Iraq Conceals and Obtains its Weapons of Mass Destruction." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 2003), distributed electronically. ●● An examination of the methods used by Saddam Husayn in the decade after the Kuwait War to hide his WMD capabilities from the inspectors of the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), written by a research associate at the Center for Non-Proliferation Studies in Monterey, California. Using captured documents from the Kuwait War, the author points out that a select committee headed by Saddam's presidential secretary made decisions regarding concealment but that Saddam assigned duties to other agencies in

order to produce more competition between them. The author cites the comments of UNMOVIC inspectors on the skill and increasing experience of Iraq's concealment apparatus throughout this period.

782. Mueller, John, and Karl Mueller. "Sanctions of Mass Destruction." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (May-June 1999), pp. 43-53. ●● The authors, who teach at the University of Rochester and Maxwell Air Force Base respectively, contend that economic sanctions against Iraq may "have been a necessary cause of the deaths of more people in Iraq than have been slain by all so-called weapons of mass destruction throughout history." (p. 51) After remarking on the small impression this has made on the American public to this, and after noting the ineffectiveness of sanctions to alter Saddam Husayn's policies, the authors suggest that "containment and deterrence have rather good track records as policies for dealing with menaces far more significant than that posed by contemporary Iraq, with its demoralized and potentially mutinous army. There is little reason to believe they would not work in this case as well." (p. 53)

783. Mylroie, Laurie. "Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction and the 1997 Gulf Crisis." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, No. 4 (December 1997), distributed electronically. ●● A research associate at the Foreign Policy Research Institute details Iraq's holdings of WMD and summarizes its efforts to end the sanctions against it. She argues that there can be no end to the problem with Iraq as long as Saddam Husayn remains in power and recommends a policy to overthrow him.

784. Niblock, Tim. "The Regional and Domestic Political Consequences of Sanctions Imposed on Iraq, Libya and Sudan." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Fall 2001), pp. 59-68. ●● A short article by a professor of Arab Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter, based on his book, *Sanctions and the 'Pariah States' in the Middle East: Iraq, Libya and Sudan* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000). He concludes that "the dynamics underlying the Iraqi polity have not been changed positively by sanctions, and that the potential for the Iraqi state to interact effectively with its neighbours has not been enhanced. The power of the régime as against civil society has been strengthened; the economic conditions facing the population (and the intellectual isolation) have engendered emotions and attitudes ill-suited to democratic transformation; there has been no significant improvement in the respect accorded to human rights; and Iraq has not found a stable role for itself in the wider setting of the Gulf and the eastern Arab world." (pp. 60-61)

785. Ritter, Scott. "The Case for Iraq's Qualitative Disarmament." *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 30, No. 5 (June 2000), pp. 8-14. ●● A former weapons inspector

for UNSCOM points out that Ano one knows for sure what has transpired in Iraq since the last inspectors were withdrawn. Conjecture aside, however, there is absolutely no reason to believe that Iraq could have meaningfully reconstituted any element of its WMD capabilities in the past 18 months." (p. 13) He recommends a new UN Security Council resolution that "redefines the disarmament obligations of Iraq to meet more realistic qualitative benchmarks." (p. 14)

786. Roubaie, Amer al-, and Wajeeh Elali. "The Financial Implications of Economic Sanctions Against Iraq." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Summer 1995), pp. 53-68. ●● The authors, professors at the University of Vermont and Concordia University respectively, conclude that "almost two-thirds of the country's income has been lost due to the recent sanctions." (pp. 65-66) They note that this is in addition to the destruction caused by the eight-year Iran-Iraq War.

787. Ruehsen, Moyara. "Fallacy of Sanctions." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (March-April 2002), pp. 31-34. ●● An assistant professor at the Monterey Institute of International Studies notes that US trade sanctions have become increasingly common but have never achieved their goals of effecting régime change at the top in the case of unilateral sanctions and rarely in multilateral sanctions.

788. Simons, Geoff. *The Scourging of Iraq: Sanctions, Law, and Natural Justice*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

789. _____. *Iraq: Primus Inter Pariahs: A Crisis Chronology, 1997-98*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

790. Sterner, Michael. "Is This Impasse Leading Anywhere? Debating the Effects of UN Sanctions." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (January-February 1995), pp. 54-57. ●● A former US ambassador to the UAE judges that the removal of sanctions may not necessarily lead to a bolstering of Saddam Husayn's internal position and it is unlikely to result in a massive diversion of resources into arms production or acquisition threatening his neighbors.

791. U.S. President (1989-1993: Bush). *Kuwaiti Assets Control Regulations: Final Rule*; Communication from the President of the United States Transmitting a Copy of the Department of the Treasury's Kuwaiti Assets Control and Iraqi Sanctions Regulations. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. House Document No. 102-41.

792. White, Paul K. *Crises After the Storm: An Appraisal of U.S. Air Operations in Iraq Since the Persian Gulf War*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1999. Military Research Papers, No. 2. ●● An American air force officer examines the efficacy of coalition air power vis-a-vis Iraq through four crises between January 1993 and December 1998. The author observes that Operation Desert Fox in 1998 had more effect on deterring Saddam Husayn than the other strikes because attacks were made on institutions that maintained his grip on power.

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793. Aaronovitch, David. *The Hutton Inquiry and Its Impact*. London: Politico's Guardian Books, 2004.

794. Ajami, Fouad. "Iraq and the Arabs' Future." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (January-February 2003), pp. 2-18. ●● The Majid Khadduri Professor of Middle East Studies at Johns Hopkins University SAIS warns that an American invasion of Iraq "would be seen by the vast majority of Arabs as an imperial reach into their world, a favor to Israel, or a way for the United States to secure control over Iraq's oil" but adds that "America ought to be able to live with this distrust and discount a good deal of this anti-Americanism as the 'road rage' of a thwarted Arab world." (p. 2) He argues that no apologies should be made for "unilateralism" and that the American goal should be modernization and secularization of the Arab world, as well as nation-building in Iraq.

795. "Appointment with War." *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (January 2003). A selection of three articles concerning the yet-to-come Iraq War. Charles Tripp compares US imprecision regarding "régime change" to the almost accidental" British invasion of Mesopotamia in 1914. Faleh A. Jabar speculates on how the Iraqi army will respond to the fighting and the impact on the Iraqi people. Isam al-Khafaji discusses alternative outcomes of the war for the future of Iraq.

796. Bahgat, Gawdat. "The Iraqi Quagmire: What is Next?" *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (August 2002), pp. 135-148. ●● The Director of the Center for Middle East Studies at the Indiana University of Pennsylvania argues that US military action to oust Saddam Husayn will have to deal with both the threat from weapons of mass destruction and the potential for regime change. He judges that "A palace coup will continue to be the most likely scenario for a regime change in Baghdad." (p. 147)

797. Baker, James A., III. "Iraq: Ten Years Later; Sanctions Weaken Saddam's Threat." *American Legion Magazine*, Vol. 149, No. 2 (August 2000); as reprinted in GulfWire Special Supplement, 31 August 2000. ●● The US Secretary of State at the time of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait discusses the difficulty in forcing Saddam Husayn to comply with sanctions. He judges that "Until someone comes up with a better alternative, we should support economic sanctions. They are not perfect, but they deprive Saddam of direct control over billions of dollars that he could otherwise use to strengthen his war machine." The author concludes that "Saddam is a formidable opponent, but he is also his own worst enemy. Faced with overwhelming military defeat, his best strategy before the Gulf War would have been to withdraw. Instead, he dug in. Faced with economic sanctions after the war, his best strategy would have been to play ball with the inspectors. He would have lost a generation of assets from weapons of mass destruction, but he could have replaced them quickly with the oil money. Instead, he resisted. … Still, it would be wrong to underestimate him. He is cunning, single-minded and brutal. He can and will do anything to retain power."

798. Baram, Amatzia. *Building Towards Crisis: Saddam's Strategy for Survival*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1998. ●● An examination of the sources of Saddam Husayn's power and his recovery from the loss of the Kuwait War. The author argues that containment may not work but it remains the best possible option.

799. Baran, David. "Iraq: The End and After." *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (February 2003).

800. Betts, Richard K. "Suicide From Fear of Death." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (January-February 2003), pp. 34-43. ●● The director of the Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University warns that the Bush administration's success in advancing its policy of invading Iraq ignores the possibility that Saddam Husayn might retaliate with weapons of mass destruction against American civilians and asks why Washington has turned its back on deterrence and containment which sustained US strategy during 40 years of the Cold War. The author makes the case that "If no catastrophic Iraqi counterattack occurs, these warnings will be seen as needless alarmism. But before deciding on waging a war, President Bush should consider that if that war results in consequences even a fraction of those of 1914, those results will thoroughly discredit his decision to start it." (p. 43)

801. Bowman, Steve. *Iraq: Potential U.S. Military Operations*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, 13 January 2003. Report for Congress, RL31701. ●● A national defense specialist at the

Congressional Research Service examines the contingencies for military requirements in case of a war against Iraq. He estimates that alternative plans will require between 100,000 and 250,000 troops, involve the use of regional military facilities in Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman - with continuing negotiations in Saudi Arabia and Turkey - and will cost between $50 billion and $1.2 trillion. This report was updated after the war under the title of "Iraq: U.S. Military Operations" (20 November 2004), in which he notes that the administration was forced to increase US forces in Iraq because of the insurgency to 141,000 and that Congress had approved three supplemental appropriations for Iraq and Afghanistan operations: $62.37 billion for FY2003; $87.4 billion for FY2004; and $25 billion for FY2005; with as much as $70 billion to come.

802. Braude, Joseph. *The New Iraq: Rebuilding the Country for Its People, the Middle East, and the World*. New York: Basic Books, 2003. ●● A research analyst uses pop references to explain his conceptions of the priorities and directions in rebuilding Iraq. After a section detailing the importance of Iraq's history, the author looks at the possible role of Saddam's supporters, the power of Islamic leadership, the need to "reengineer" the Iraqi Army, the potential for business and labor interests, the impact of globalization on Iraq, and the role of Iraqi journalism, culture, and education.

803. Butler, Richard. *The Greatest Threat: Iraq, Weapons of Mass Destruction, and the Growing Crisis of Global Security*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2000.

804. Byman, Daniel. "Let Iraq Collapse." *National Interest*, No. 45 (Fall 1996), pp. 48-60.

805. Byman, Daniel, Kenneth Pollack, and Gideon Rose. "The Rollback Fantasy." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 1 (January-February 1999), pp. 24-41. ●● A critique of the idea using the Iraqi opposition to depose Saddam Husayn, written by a policy analyst with the RAND Corporation, a senior research professor at the National Defense University, and the deputy director of National Security Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations respectively. The authors regard this as wishful thinking. An air power campaign would require massive US assistance but "would be incredibly risky and more likely to box in Washington than liberate Baghdad. (p. 29) Helping the Iraqi National Congress to create an enclave inside Iraq is militarily ludicrous and would almost certainly end in either direct American intervention or a massive bloodbath." (p. 29) A third strategy of helping the opposition to mount an insurgency along the lines of the Afghan mujahidin lacks a friendly neighboring country willing to provide a secure base for the insurgents and may result in civil war rather than a clean régime change. The result of any of

these would be an Iraqi Bay of Pigs.

806. Byman, Daniel, and Matthew Waxman. *Confronting Iraq: U.S. Policy and the Use of Force Since the Gulf War*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2000. MR-1146-OSD. ●● A report prepared for the Office of the US Secretary of Defense summarizes the confrontation between Iraq and the United States, analyzes the structure of Saddam Husayn's régime, outlines US objectives in the region, and discusses eight attempts to coerce Iraq since the end of the Kuwait War. With these factors in mind, the authors evaluate Iraq's vulnerabilities and Baghdad's strategy to minimize the efforts to coerce it into compliance with US objectives. The report notes that Saddam Husayn "is most vulnerable when his power base is threatened and most intransigent when concessions would decrease support among his power base. Saddam's primary concerns are domestic, not foreign. Maintaining the support and loyalty of key tribes, Baath party officials, military officers, and other elites is his overriding focus." (p. 78) It also concludes that legal agreements, strikes on Iraqi infrastructure, and tit-for-tat air campaigns have little effect on Saddam Husayn. "Saddam does not respond passively to U.S. attempts at coercion. Rather, he tries to tailor his response to exploit U.S. weaknesses whenever possible. … [his countermoves] include exploiting domestic suffering, complying incompletely with demands, trying to fracture coalitions, and repressing dissent." (pp. 81-82)

807. Byman, Daniel, Kenneth Pollack, and Matthew Waxman. "Coercing Saddam Hussein: Lessons from the Past." *Survival*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Autumn 1998), pp. 127-152. ●● A RAND analyst (Byman), a professor at the National Defense University (Pollack), and a consultant at RAND (Waxman), examine the success of attempts to pressure Iraq at various junctures between the 1975 Iran-Iraq border dispute and Iraq's defiance in 1997-1998. They suggest that successively solving seemingly intractable problems involves "targeting Saddam's relationship with his power base [including] aggressive containment, decisive military action, support for the Iraqi opposition and measures to neutralise Saddam's well-refined counter-measures…." (p. 148)

808. Copson, Raymond W., coordinator. *Iraq War: Background and Issues Overview*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Report RL31715, 22 April 2003. ●● A distillation of CRS analysts' reporting on issues and developments relating to the debate over and the build-up to the war.

809. Dalgaard-Nielsen, Anja. "Gulf War: The German Resistance." *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 99-116. ●● An explanation of Germany's 2002-2003 resistance to the Bush administration's determination to attack Iraq

by a professor at the University of Copenhagen. The author believes that "The political style of President George W. Bush has given new life to anti-American stereotypes and rekindled old fears in Germany. The image of an irresponsible, trigger-happy America has re-emerged and, with it, the old German war *Angst*…." (pp. 110-111)

810. Dodge, Toby. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. ●● A detailed examination, originally a Ph.D. thesis for the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, of British policy regarding its occupation of Iraq during the mandate period. The author's intention was to produce "an attempt to understand why the first attempt at regime change and state building in Iraq failed." (p. 249) A final chapter draws lessons for US policy in the country since its 2003 invasion. He warns that any serious attempt by the United States to reform Iraq will have to eliminate the "shadow state" of former Iraqi elites; otherwise "the shadow state will slowly come to dominate as international oversight diminishes." (p. 170)

811. _____. "Iraq: Who's Winning Now?" *World Today*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (March 2001), pp. 4-6.

-and –

812. _____. "Iraq and Smart Sanctions." *World Today*, Vol. 57, No. 7 (July 2001), pp. 7-9.

-and –

813. _____. "Iraq and the 'Bush Doctrine': Storming the Desert." *World Today*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (April 2002), pp. 5-6. ●● A fellow at Chatham House notes that Saddam Husayn has outlasted two American presidents and that the new Bush administration inherits the problem bequeathed to them by the elder Bush. In his first article, he warns that smuggling is steadily undermining sanctions and declares that "The hope of Secretary of State Powell that sanctions can somehow be 're-energised' is far fetched in the present climate. There is simply not the international will to reinforce a policy that has in the last ten years lost its original legitimacy." (p. 6)

The author assesses the intentions of so-called smart sanctions" in the following article and notes that the intense negotiations within the UN Security Council on the subject "can be seen as recognition that régime change in Baghdad is not going to happen soon." (p. 9

In his third article, Dodge looks at the failure of the US to achieve its stated goals of victory in Afghanistan and holds that "it is now not a question of whether military action is to be taken against Baghdad in the next stage of its 'war' against terrorism, but when and how." (p. 5)

814. Dreyfuss, Robert. "The Thirty-Year Itch." *Mother Jones* (March-April 2003), accessed online. ●● An assertion that a 30-year strategy to seize control of Middle Eastern oilfields "is finding its boldest expression yet in the Bush administration - which, with its plan to invade Iraq and install a regime beholden to Washington, has moved closer than any of its predecessors to transforming the Gulf into an American protectorate."

815. Dunn, David Hastings. "Myths, Motivations and 'Misunderestimations': The Bush Administration and Iraq." *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (March 2003), pp. 279-297. ●● The author takes on the critics of the Bush administration's policy vis-à-vis Iraq and points out that its approach to the world is concerned with traditional security threats such as great powers, rogue states, and proliferation and thus has more in common with the Reagan administration than the Clinton administration. "In the realist view, terrorists need states to operate from; hence the focus on 'rogue régimes.'" (p. 284) Furthermore, the administration is determined not to be accused of appeasement. He admits that the US has been inconsistent and poorly prepared to present its justification to the world but he also chides Europe for failing to understand US motivations.

816. Dunne, Michael. "The United States, The United Nations and Iraq: 'Multilateralism of a kind.'" *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (March 2003), pp. 257-277. ●● The author, from the University of Sussex, provides background to the US determination to attack Iraq, including brief surveys of the history of American involvement in the Gulf and the Kuwait War and its aftermath. In his opinion, "the administration of George W. Bush will pursue its agenda *within* or *without* the Security Council and the United Nations … *with* or *without* the sanction of international law unless such law is convenient to American purposes. The preceding pages have tried to show from the historical record the old and newer American practices which make that judgment a simple truism. The question why Her Majesty's Government should travel the same route so closely, shoulder to shoulder, must be answered elsewhere." (p. 277; emphasis in original)

817. Fallows, James. "The Fifty-First State?" *Atlantic Monthly* (November 2002), pp. 53-64. ●● A correspondent for the Atlantic Monthly interviews government officials, oil company employees, military personnel, and policy experts in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East in order to

determine what will be required by a US occupation of Iraq and how well-equipped Washington is to carry out this task. The author discovered that while members of the "war party" saw régime change in Iraq as an opportunity to establish stable democracy in the Arab world in an open-market system, most of those he interviewed were far more pessimistic about the outcome.

818. Garfinkle, Adam. "Anatomy of a Farce." *National Interest*, No. 52 (Summer 1998), pp. 123-126. ●● The executive editor of the *National Interest* looks at the 1998 US crisis with Iraq and judges that "With six years of supine behavior the Clinton administration disconnected itself from its own allies and emboldened the Iraqi leadership. Then this past autumn came the serial mishandling of the Iraqi portfolio." (p. 123)

819. Gause, F. Gregory, III. "Getting It Backward on Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (May-June 1999), pp. 54-65. ●● The failure of Operation Desert Fox (the intensive US air campaign against Iraq in December 1998) was followed by continued American insistence on economic sanctions on Iraq that "have neither weakened Saddam's hold on power nor prevented him from pursuing his WMD programs. They have, however, reduced the Iraqi people to penury." (p. 55) This article by an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Vermont suggests that the sanctions régime should be revised to lift limits on Iraq's ability to produce and sell oil, to suspend the country's obligation to contribute to the UN Kuwait War compensation fund, and to end UN supervision of purchase and distribution of food and medicine in Iraq - while leaving other elements in place in a tradeoff "essentially lifting general economic sanctions in exchange for restoring disarmament operations." (p. 56) Although the author concedes that such a plan would not remove Saddam Husayn, it "at least holds out the promise of slightly improving the day-to-day life of average Iraqis while recreating serious obstacles to Iraq's development of WMD." (p. 65)

820. Goldberg, Jeffrey. "The Unknown: The C.I.A. and the Pentagon Take Another Look at Al Qaeda and Iraq." *New Yorker* (10 February 2003), pp. 40ff. ●● A journalist interviews Bush administration officials who contend that there is a probable link between Saddam Husayn's Iraq and al-Qa'idah. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld is cited as believing that Middle East analysts are wrong in believing that doctrinal differences prevent Sunnis and Shi`is, and religious and secular Muslims, from pursuing common projects in anti-American terrorism.

821. Gordon, Philip H., and Michael O'Hanlon. "Should the War on Terrorism Target Iraq?" *Brookings Policy Brief*, No. 93 (January 2002). ●● Two senior

fellows at the Brookings Institution note that although the removal of Saddam from power would be highly desirable, there is no evidence of actual links between Iraq and terrorists and that the US would have to undertake any campaign by itself. They conclude that "The United States should not now mount a large ground operation to overthrow Saddam Hussein, given the prospect that it could entail significant casualties, increase the risk of terror attacks against the United States, and require a long and costly occupation even after Saddam was gone. Anything short of a ground invasion, however, would run a high risk of failure." (p. 7) Deterrence, they feel, is more effective.

822. Gordon, Philip H., Martin Indyk, and Michael O'Hanlon. "Getting Serious About Iraq." *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Autumn 2002), pp. 9-22. ●● Three senior fellows at the Brookings Institution review the American case against Saddam Husayn and argue the need for a "Desert Storm II," suggesting that much of the Iraqi army would probably desert and that consideration should be given to the idea of offering Saddam exile. After noting the difficulties of reconstructing Iraq after the war, the authors conclude that "The régime in Iraq can be changed, and Saddam deposed. But it is a much bigger, more complicated and more costly task than the Afghan model - or much of the discussion in Washington - would suggest." (p. 21)

823. Gunter, Michael M. "The Iraqi National Congress (INC) and the Future of the Iraqi Opposition." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Spring 1996), pp. 1-20. ●● The author, professor of political science at Tennessee Technological University, analyzes the INC's formation, goals and strategy, and relations with non-INC opposition. In his opinion, the "INC has failed to become a viable democratic option for the Iraqi people. The prospects for the remainder of the Iraqi opposition seem similarly bleak." (p. 20)

824. Haass, Richard N. *The United States and Iraq: A Strategy for the Long Haul*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1997. Brookings Policy Brief No. 7. ●● The director of foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution and a former adviser to President George Bush during the Kuwait War, sums up US policy towards Iraq as bent but not broken. He notes that "Saddam Hussein's Iraq is far weaker than it was at the start of the decade and is better understood as a dangerous nuisance than an actual strategic threat" but also that Saddam remains in office and has partly rebuilt his military. (p. 1) He advocates more intelligence, a more visible US military, effective policy toward Iran, encouragement of friendly nations in the region to reform, work toward resolving the Arab-Israeli impasse, and curb oil imports.

825. Haselkorn, Avigdor. *The Continuing Storm: Iraq, Poisonous Weapons, and*

Deterrence. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999. ●● A study of Iraq's capabilities in weapons of mass destruction, especially chemical and biological warfare. After outlining the threat posed before and during the Kuwait War, he discusses the potential of an Israeli nuclear response and the role of the Soviet Union. He believes that "the 'solution' of fighting a limited war to cope with the threat of a CB scenario has assured that a dangerous enemy be left to fight another day." (p. 224)

826. Hersh, Seymour M. "Saddam's Best Friend." *New Yorker* (5 April 1999), pp. 32ff. ●● The author alleges that the US bombing of Iraq in December 1998 was not as claimed the result of Saddam Husayn's threat to expel the UN weapons' inspectors. According to Hersh, the UN had been undermined already by US policies and the targets during the bombing were selected in an attempt to assassinate Saddam.

827. _____. "The Iraq Hawks: Can Their War Plan Work?" *New Yorker* (24 December 2001), pp. 58ff. ●● The author compares the Iraq policies of the Clinton and Bush administrations and describes the plans of the Iraqi National Congress led by Ahmad Chalabi.

828. _____. "Lunch with the Chairman." *New Yorker* (17 March 2003), pp. 76ff. ●● A journalist reports on a January 2003 meeting in France between Richard N. Perle, the strongly pro-invasion of Iraq chairman of the US Defense Policy Board and Saudi businessman Adnan Khashoggi. According to the author, Khashoggi believed that the meeting was to be an opportunity to discuss both Iraq policy and investment opportunities. But Hersh claims that Perle, however, set up the meeting to encourage Saudis to invest in his company, Trireme Partners, which is involved in selling goods and services for fighting terrorism and defense. This, Hersh avers, constitutes a clear conflict of interest.

829. _____. "Who Lied to Whom?" *New Yorker* (31 March 2003), pp. 41ff. ●● A journalist assesses US intelligence claims that Saddam Husayn possessed weapons of mass destruction as part of the Bush administration's rationale for going to war with Iraq. The author describes in detail the unraveling of the US and British claim that Iraq sought to purchase uranium from Niger - a claim based on forged documents.

830. _____. "Offense and Defense." *New Yorker* (7 April 2003), pp. 43ff. ●● A journalist reports on disarray in Pentagon over problems in the Iraq War plan and tensions between the top generals and civilian leadership in the Department of Defense. He also relays critics' opinions that the US is losing support in Iraq during its military campaign by its inappropriate tactics.

831. Hollis, Rosemary. "Getting Out of the Iraq Trap." *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1 (January 2003), pp. 23-35. ●● An argument that "Iraq, its government and future, has become an international as well as a regional and domestic affair. The only realistic way to approach the problem of Iraq is at all three levels simultaneously." (p. 23) The author holds that the hawks in the Bush administration are likely to fail in imposing their agenda on Iraq and the region and she calls for a multi-tiered, multilateralist approach to managing the fallout.

832. Ikenberry, G. John. "America's Imperial Ambition." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 5 (September-October 2002), pp. 44-60. ●● A professor of geopolitics at Georgetown University examines the George W. Bush administration's "neoimperial" grand strategy that advocates a more unilateral role for the US and the use of its military power to manage global order, of which Iraq is a prime example. He charges that "America's commanding unipolar power and the advent of frightening new terrorist threats feed this imperial temptation. But it is a grand strategic vision that, taken to the extreme, will leave the world more dangerous and divided - and the United States less secure." (p. 60)

833. "Iraq and American Intervention." *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Autumn 2002), pp. 50-82. ●● A section of three articles on the debate over whether the United States should wage war on Iraq, beginning with William S. Langenheim on "Give Peace a Chance: First, Try Coercive Diplomacy" (pp. 50-71), and followed by Robert F. Turner, "Military Action against Iraq Is Justified" (pp. 72-75), and Doug Bandow, "It Is Time to Temper Our Excessive Interventionism" (pp. 76-82).

834. Isherwood, Michael W. "U.S. Strategic Options for Iraq: Easier Said than Done." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 145-159. ●● An American air force lieutenant colonel outlines three options for the United States in dealing with Iraq: (1) a patient approach emphasizing US strengths and supporting the cessation of economic sanctions, the phasing out of no-fly zones, renewed access for UN weapons inspectors, and denial to Iraq of weapons of mass destruction (WMD); (2) a strategy of moderation to create a climate for change including support for alternatives to the present Iraqi government in safe havens in the north and south of the country with arms and airpower provided by the US; and (3) a bolder strategy compelling change in Baghdad through an aggressive public relations campaign stressing Saddam Husayn's threat to peace, use of military operations to remove Saddam and to secure WMD sites, and support for UN sponsorship of a transitional Iraqi government. The author notes that adoption of any of the options involves a balancing of political capital, risks, and benefits. He

concludes that option (2) would be as difficult to execute as option (3). On the other hand, option (1) provides the best match of resources to objectives for the Bush administration. It satisfies the U.S. core interest: regional stability." (p. 158)

835. Katzman, Kenneth. *Iraq: U.S. Regime Change Efforts and Post-War Governance*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RL31339, 18 November 2003. ●● A CRS Middle East specialist reviews the debate over régime change in Iraq and details the various Iraqi opposition groups. He also summarizes Bush administration policy and enumerates post-war issues for governing Iraq. An appendix lists US assistance to Iraqi opposition groups. The paper has been updated at intervals.

836. Kay, David. "Iraq Beyond the Crisis du Jour." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Summer 1998), pp. 10-14. ●● A vice-president of the Science Applications International Corporation and a former chief nuclear weapons inspector in Iraq claims that the assumptions behind UNSCOM's efforts to eliminate Saddam Husayn's weapons of mass destruction were false and charges that Iraq has become "like post-Versailles Germany in its ability to maintain a weapons capability in the teeth of international inspections." (p. 11) His conclusion is that régime change "holds the only hope of eliminating Iraq's capacity for producing WMD and reining in the equally dangerous arms race that is about to ignite across the Gulf." (p. 13)

837. Klare, Michael T. "For Oil and Empire? Rethinking War with Iraq." *Current History*, Vol. 102, No. 662 (March 2003), pp. 129-135. ●● A professor of peace and world security studies at Hampshire College rejects the Bush administrations stated motivations for waging war on Iraq of eliminating the country's WMD arsenals, diminishing the threat of international terrorism, and promoting democracy in Iraq and the Middle East. Instead, the author charges that "the pursuit of oil and the preservation of America's status as the paramount world power" (p. 132) are the dominant reasons. He contends that the United States can not allow a hostile state to threaten the American access to the Gulf and that Iraq is the only country that provides a viable alternative to dependence on Saudi oil reserves.

838. Laipson, Ellen, Rend Rahim Francke, Andrew Parasiliti, and Patrick L. Clawson. "After Saddam, What Then for Iraq?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (February 1999), pp. 1-26. ●● Edited transcript of a Middle East Policy symposium. Laipson (Vice-Chairman of the National Intelligence Council) defines "after Saddam" as neither Saddam's family nor the inner circle of Tikritis remaining in power and sees Iraq remaining united and relatively stable, almost certainly not democratic, and possibly with a stronger Islamist

aspect. Clawson (Washington Institute for Near East Policy) believes "a post-Saddam Iraq, where the opposition comes to power with significant U.S. military support, is going to be good for the United States." (p. 8) Parasiliti (Middle East Institute) points out that "political forces within Iraq, rather than those outside, will determine the direction of change after Saddam Hussein leaves power." (p. 12) Finally, Francke (Iraq Foundation) notes that any transition in Iraq will be messy and adds an emphatic no to the question of whether that should deter "us" from seeking change.

839. Marr, Phebe. "Iraq 'the Day After': Internal Dynamics in Post-Saddam Iraq." *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Winter 2003), pp. 13-29. ●● A long-time Iraq specialist observes that "Of all the unknowns facing policy makers in Iraq, the greatest is what kind of leadership is likely to come after Saddam Husayn. Much, of course, will depend on the means of unseating him. However, little hard thought has yet been spent on who might replace him, what orientation and policies alternative leaders might have, and the processes by which leadership can be selected and legitimated over the long term." (p. 13) She proceeds to outline possible leadership options in various parts of the country and in exile and concludes by noting that toppling the Saddam Husayn régime is the easiest part of the task: "The United States may be about to learn that 'empire' cannot be achieved on the cheap." (p. 28)

840. Mearsheimer, John J., and Stephen M. Walt. "An Unnecessary War." *Foreign Policy*, No. 134 (January-February 2003), pp. 50-59. ●● A professor of government at the University of Chicago and the academic dean at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, take issue with the Bush administration's contention that Saddam Husayn is irrational and cannot be deterred from using weapons of mass destruction. The authors believe that this conclusion "rests on distorted history and faulty logic" and "the historical record shows that the United States can contain Iraq effectively - even if Saddam has nuclear weapons - just as it contained the Soviet union during the Cold War." (p. 52)

841. Millen, Raymond A. *Defeating Saddam Hussein's Strategy*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, January 2003.

842. Mylroie, Laurie. *Bush vs. the Beltway: How the CIA and the State Department Tried to Stop the War on Terror*. New York: ReganBooks, 2003.

843. Moore, James W. "Après Saddam, le Déluge? Speculating on Post-Saddam Iraq." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (February 1999), pp. 27-43. ●● An analyst with the Canadian Department of National Defence looks at the ways

in which Saddam might be removed, judging a coup d'état to be the most plausible, and outlines the challenges posed by transition. He adds that "Many believe … that the world's problems with Iraq would be over if only Saddam would disappear from the scene. Unfortunately, this does not seem likely any time soon." (p. 39)

844. Mohamedi, Fareed, and Raad Alkadiri. "Washington Makes Its Case for War." *Middle East Report*, No. 224 (Fall 2002), pp. 2-5. ●● The chief economist and the manager of country risk analysis at the Petroleum Finance Corporation respectively review the arguments for and against a US attack on Iraq and observe that while US military action "seems increasingly likely, … the neo-conservative agenda is not completely secure. While the US military enjoys overwhelming superiority, securing the peace on the 'day after' in a manner that suits Washington's hawks is far from guaranteed. The administration appears to have given insufficient thought thus far to this issue." (p. 5)

845. Mylroie, Laurie. *Study of Revenge: Saddam Hussein's Unfinished War Against America*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Press, 2000. Rev. ed. published as *Study of Revenge: The First World Trade Center Attack and Saddam Hussein's War Against America*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Press, 2001. ●● The author decries the shift in belief that Middle East terrorism is no longer primarily state-sponsored but is carried out by individuals or loose networks, claiming instead that Saddam Husayn was responsible for the first World Trade Center bombing in 1993 and that perpetrator Ramzi Yousef was an Iraqi intelligence agent.

846. Perry, Glen E. "Attacking Iraq and International Law." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Summer 1998), pp. 1-14. ●● A professor of political science at Indiana State University looks at the legal implications of US policy towards Iraq and contends that the US government's "claim that it has the right under 'existing' Security Council resolutions to carry out an armed attack on Iraq to force it to stop violating commitments it has made is extremely weak." (p. 11)

847. Prados, Alfred B. *Iraq: Divergent Views on Military Action*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Report RS21325, 31 March 2003. ●● A specialist in Middle East affairs at the Congressional Research Service outlines the Bush administration's rationale for going to war on Iraq as including the credibility of UN pronouncements, the threat posed by lethal weapons, terrorist ties, régime change, internal support in Iraq, and growing international support for action. He also lists the objections of critics as including premature action, the effect on the anti-terrorism campaign and

alliance relations, operational and logistical difficulties, regional destabilization, adverse economic impact on the US, and uncertain outcomes.

848. Pollack, Kenneth M. *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*. New York: Random House, 2002. ●● A former US government official in the Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Council examines Iraq's domestic political situation and assesses various US options for dealing with Saddam Husayn, including the erosion of containment, the dangers of deterrence, the difficulty of covert action, the risks of the Afghan approach, and the case for invasion. "This book argues that war with Saddam's Iraq is well nigh inevitable and that it would be far, far better for the United States to face this challenge sooner rather than later." (p. xvi) He concludes with a look at the requirements for rebuilding Iraq, noting that "It is likely to be the most important and difficult part of the policy, and we would be living with the results or suffering from the consequences for many decades to come. … It would be a tragic mistake if we were to remove the threat of Saddam only to create some new, perhaps equally challenging, threat in Iraq following his demise." (p. 387)

849. _____. "Next Stop Baghdad?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (March-April 2002), pp. 32-47. ●● A former US National Security Council official examines the options for US policy *vis-à-vis* Iraq. After contending that containment is eroding in its effectiveness and that deterrence (*i.e.* that sanctions be scrapped and the US rely on threats of intervention) poses too many risks of failure, he concludes that "some form of régime change is steadily becoming the only answer to the Iraqi conundrum." (p. 37) Noting that a military campaign would be more difficult to carry off than in Afghanistan and would require considerable regional assistance, Pollack assesses that a full-scale invasion of Iraq would cost more lives and force considerable headaches from the aftermath and rebuilding of the country. Still, he judges that an invasion is "the least bad course of action available" (p. 46) and the sooner the better.

850. Ritter, Scott. *Frontier Justice: Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Bushwhacking of America*. New York: Context Books, 2003.

851. Rouleau, Eric. "The View From France: America's Unyielding Policy Toward Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (January-February 1995), pp. 59-72. ●● A French journalist and diplomat contends that the sanctions régime is a failure, that it punishes innocent civilians without hurting the Iraqi régime, that it includes militarily useless items, and that it demoralizes regional allies and costs them money. Instead, he argues, the Clinton administration should follow the same policy of diplomacy instead of

coercion as it does towards North Korea and China.

852. _____. "Gulf Scenario Frustrated." *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (March 1998). ●● The author charges that US attempts to carry out a war on Iraq were frustrated by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. Rouleau sees the agreement that Annan reached in Baghdad as marking a turning point "if it succeeds in restoring respect by the international community for UN resolutions. It will deserve to be called 'historic' if the climb-down by the world's only superpower proves durable. For the moment, however, there is no guarantee that the poker-cum-chess game that Washington and Baghdad have been playing for the last seven years will not lead to further trials of strength."

853. _____. "Iraq: The Propaganda War." *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (February 2003).

854. Sadowski, Yahya. "No War for Whose Oil?" *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (April 2003). ●● An associate professor at the American University of Beirut contends that the slogan "no war for oil" describes the truth about the Bush administration's motivations more than does its propaganda. He says that a number of the neo-conservative hawks within the administration advanced a plan in 2002 in which a "liberated Iraq" would flood the world with Iraqi oil, leading to an oil price crash and the destruction of OPEC. This was rebuffed by economists and the Bush family. In the end, Sadowski says, "Oil appears in Washington's calculations about Iraq as a strategic rather than an economic resource: the war against Saddam is about guaranteeing American hegemony rather than about increasing the profits of Exxon."

855. Shawcross, William. *Allies: The U.S., Britain, Europe, and the War in Iraq*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004. ●● A journalist who attacked US government policy in his earlier *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon, and the Destruction of Cambodia* defends the Bush administration's decision to invade Iraq and topple Saddam Husayn. Prominent among his villains is French President Jacques Chirac, whom he claims "has long been Saddam Hussein's closest foreign friend" (p. 91) and seems to suggest was being blackmailed by Saddam because of Shawcross' allegation that he agreed to rebuild the Osirak nuclear reactor destroyed by Israel in the 1980s. The author sees America's role in the world as being essential: "As in the twentieth century, so in the twenty-first, only America has both the power and the optimism to defend the international community against what really are forces of darkness." (p. 234)

856. Sifry, Micah L., and Christopher Cerf, eds. *The Iraq War Reader*. New York: Touchstone Books, 2003. ●● A hefty volume similar in coverage and content to the editors' earlier collection, *The Gulf War Reader*. Much of the book consists of short comment on US options regarding Saddam Husayn's régime by mainly American authors and commentators, as well as a sprinkling of activists and scholars, from all sides of the political spectrum. Documentation includes presidential speeches, other administration statements, US Congressional debates, and appendices with relevant UN resolutions and a short guide to the Iraqi opposition. Published as the Iraq War neared an end, the contributions do not cover the war itself.

857. Strauss, Mark. "Attacking Iraq." *Foreign Policy*, No. 129 (March-April 2002), pp. 14-19. ●● A senior editor at *Foreign Policy* summarizes the options facing the US regarding Iraq: the US should have gotten rid of Saddam Husayn during the Kuwait War (twenty-twenty hindsight), if Saddam is overthrown, Iraq will break apart (not likely), Saddam is undeterrable (no, but he's reckless), getting weapons inspectors back into Iraq should be a high priority (yes, but only for political reasons), the Iraqi régime was/was not involved in the 11 September attacks (we may never know), what worked in Afghanistan will work in Iraq (no), the "Arab street" will/will not rise up in response to a US attack (misses the point), now is the best time to attack Iraq (no).

858. Tarzi, Amin. "Contradictions in U.S. Policy on Iraq and its Consequences." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (March 2000), distributed electronically. ●● A research associate at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies points out that Saddam Husayn is winning the propaganda battle against the United States and recommends that "Until the United States decides to take firm action to remove Saddam Husayn from power - a very unlikely scenario given the upcoming American presidential election in 2000 - Washington ought to lead the charge in the UN Security Council to re-establish an inspection and monitoring system in Iraq."

859. Tripp, Charles. "After Saddam." *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Winter 2002-2003), pp. 23-37. ●● A reader in Middle East politics at the University of London SOAS reviews the options for a post-Saddam government. "If Saddam Hussein were overthrown by an internal coup, it seems likely that the patterns of politics characteristic of the recent past would be repeated." (p. 23) An American invasion undoubtedly would succeed in removing Saddam but it would present the US with considerable problems in "state reconstruction" from the "shadow state" (the networks of power and privilege where real power resides), communal politics, the security forces, and how to handle the country's oil revenues. This might cause Washington to settle for a

reconstruction of the Iraqi economy but to accept much of the status quo. The result might be "the reassertion of an old and impoverishing pattern of authoritarian rule under a new guise." (p. 35)

860. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Future of Iraq*; Hearing, February 11, 2003. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2003.

861. Wright, Robin. "America's Iraq Policy: How Did It Come to This?" *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Summer 1998), pp. 53-70. ●● A correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times* examines how the drama of Operation Desert Storm eventually turned to a morass in policy toward Iraq that allowed the Saddam Husayn régime to remain in place and splintered the coalition that fought the Kuwait War. While the author suggests that tightening sanctions slippage, aiding Iraqi opposition, improving relations with Iran, and pushing harder for an Arab-Israeli peace would all be helpful, she believes that "the hard truth is that the United States and its allies have few options to easily or swiftly deal with the question of 'what to do with Saddam' that has loomed on the horizon since the Gulf War." (p. 69)

862. Wurmser, David. *Tyranny's Ally: America's Failure to Defeat Saddam Hussein*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Press, 1999. ●● The director of the Middle East studies program at the American Enterprise Institute criticizes US policy towards Iraq, contending that "What has happened in Iraq is not an isolated policy failure; it reflects the failure of the reigning assumptions in Western (first British, then US) policy toward the region since the early 1920s. The policy is to pursue a coup rather than a broad-based insurgency and to prefer a diminished Ba'thist Iraq under Saddam over chaos, since such an entity would still serve as a bulwark against the Islamic Republic of Iran." (p. 131) He suggests that US policy should be directed towards helping the Iraqi National Congress seize control of Iraq, with support Jordan because of Hashimi ties between the present Jordanian and the pre-revolutionary Iraqi régimes. Wurmser reiterates his arguments in his article, "Saddam is the Problem," *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (May-June 1999), pp. 64-66, emphasizing that "The effort to remove Saddam therefore, is not an attack on Iraq, but a moral imperative to challenge human bondage." (p. 66)

863. Yaphe, Judith S. "Iraq: The Exception to the Rule." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 125-137. ●● A National Defense University researcher considers what to do with a recalcitrant Saddam Husayn. She notes that the US government is willing to pursue the policy options of sanctioning Saddam or seeking to eliminate him but it is not willing to countenance the other options of ignoring him or accepting him as

the ultimate survivor. Among her advice for a new US administration is not to declare impossible goals as an objective (i.e., claiming that military operations are intended to eliminate all WMD capability); not to arm an opposition that is neither a credible threat to Saddam; not to link an end to sanctions to a régime change; and to decide what kind of successor that the Washington is willing to accept (i.e., is one of Saddam's two sons acceptable?).

864. _____. "The Legacy of Iraq's Past and the Promise of Its Future." In Robert O. Freedman, ed., *The Middle East Enters the Twenty-First Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 11-34. ●● A senior research prof. at the US National Defense University looks at the historical factors that contribute to Iraqi politics and describes Saddam Husayn's policies for maintaining control. She notes the dilemmas for those looking for Iraqis inside the country to overthrow Saddam and observes that "If tribalism remains a factor defining Iraqi political and social behavior, then a successful challenger should bring with him, at minimum, the loyalties of the Sunni Arab center and possibly Shia elements as well." (p. 30)

865. Zunes, Stephen. "Confrontation with Iraq: A Bankrupt U.S. Policy." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (June 1998), pp. 87-108. ●● An indictment of US policy by an assistant professor at the University of San Francisco. The author cites weaknesses in the administration's arguments on international law, good US relations with the Iraqi regime before 1990, US actions in exaggerating the potential Iraqi threat, the lack of international support for American actions, the blow to US credibility in the Arab world because of US approval of Israel's possession of WMD, and domestic US opposition. He concludes by noting that the likelihood of war decreased and that perhaps the "lesson from the recent series of crises is one of profound hope: that international norms, common sense and moral imperatives can ultimately prevail - even when it comes to U.S. policy in the Middle East." (p.107)

866. _____. "Foreign Policy by Catharsis: The Failure of US Policy Toward Iraq." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Fall 2001), pp. 69-86. ●● A critique of American policy by an associate professor of politics at the University of San Francisco. In his opinion, "Ten years after the Gulf War, US policy toward Iraq continues to suffer from an over-reliance on military solutions, an abuse of the United Nations and international law, and a disregard for the human suffering resulting from the policy." (p. 69) After noting that the US justifies a higher military budget to control the "rogue states" of the Gulf and North Korea than it had during most of the Cold War, the author concludes that Iraq's real offense in the view of Washington is challenging American hegemony in the Middle East.

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867. Abrams, Irwin, and Wang Gungwu. *The Iraq War and Its Consequences: Thoughts of Nobel Peace Laureates and Eminent Scholars*. New Jersey: World Scientific, 2003.

868. Ali, Tariq. *Bush in Babylon: The Recolonisation of Iraq*. London: Verso, 2003.

869. Alterman, Jon B. "Not in My Backyard: Iraq's Neighbors' Interests." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Summer 2003), pp. 149-160. ●● A senior fellow and director of the Middle East Program at CSIS contends that the Bush administration's goals of promoting democracy in the Middle East, extinguishing radicalism, and resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict - all through the elimination of Saddam Husayn - not only are a "long shot" but are undermined by its own actions in talking about them too much. All of Iraq's neighbors - both friendly and unfriendly - he holds, "find the U.S. vision for the future of Iraq and the region deeply threatening. Even more troubling, they have the means to keep that vision from coming to pass." (p. 149) Furthermore, he warns that "The more U.S. officials strut and shout, the more they make the United States a target. Rather than inspiring democracy, they make it more likely that friends and adversaries in the region will move to protect their own interests, thereby frustrating those of the United States in the process." (p. 160)

870. Anderson, Jon Lee. *The Fall of Baghdad*. New York: Penguin Press, 2004.

871. Anderson, Liam, and Gareth Stansfield. *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy or Division?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. ●● Two British academics provide a short introduction to modern Iraqi history and focus in particular on the ethnic and sectarian divides in the country. One chapter discusses the American goal of toppling Saddam Husayn and bringing democracy to Iraq. The authors explicate various options and suggest that a "managed partition" may be the best choice.

872. Atkinson, Rick. *In the Company of Soldiers: A Chronicle of Combat*. New York: Henry Holt; London: Little, Brown, 2004. ●● An account of the American invasion of Iraq by a reporter for the *Washington Post*, who had been "embedded" with the US Army's 101st Airborne Division.

873. Ayoob, Mohammed. "The War Against Iraq: Normative and Strategic Implications." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 27-39. ●● A professor of international relations at Michigan State University notes

that in choosing to wage war against Iraq in 2003, "The United States has not merely demonstrated a lack of concern for the views of its closest allies, it has set itself up unilaterally as the arbiter of the criteria by which such high-sounding goals are to be served and those who violate them punished. … It undermines the normative consensus underpinning the post-Cold War international order, thereby beginning the process of its de-legitimization." (p. 29) He also sees the end result as increasing Arab and Muslim alienation from the US.

874. Baran, David. "Iraq: Filling the Vacuum." *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (June 2003). See also his *Vivre la tyrannie et lui survivre: L'Irak en transition* (Paris: Mille et Une Nuits, 2004).

875. Beck, Sara, and Malcolm Downing, eds. *The Battle for Iraq: BBC News Correspondents on the War Against Saddam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

876. Bellin, Eva. "The Iraqi Intervention and Democracy in Comparative Historical Perspective." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 119, No. 4 (Winter 2004-2005), pp. 595-608.

877. Biddle, Steven, James Embrey, Edward Filiberti, Stephen Kidder, Steven Metz, Ivan C. Oelrich, and Richard Shelton. *Toppling Saddam: Iraq and American Military Transformation*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2004. ●● The authors observe that "The war in Iraq is not yet over, and the critical aim of replacing Saddam with a stable democracy is still unmet. Yet a crucial step in meeting this larger aim has been accomplished: the Ba'athist regime is gone. And it was toppled at much lower cost than many had feared beforehand [because of] a powerful interaction effect between coalition strengths and Iraqi weaknesses. Our strengths were indeed essential for the outcome, but so were the Iraqis' shortcomings: both advanced technology and a major skill imbalance were required." (p. v)

878. Birdsall, Nancy, and Arvind Subramanian. "Saving Iraq From Its Oil." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (July-August 2004), pp. 77-89. ●● The President of the Center for Global Development and a division chief at the International Monetary Fund respectively advocate that, because oil-rich countries often end up poor, "the Iraqi people should embed in their new constitution an arrangement for the direct distribution of oil revenues to all Iraqi households - an arrangement that would be supervised by the international community." (p. 78)

879. Bluth, Christoph. "The British Road to War: Blair, Bush and the Decision to Invade Iraq." *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 80, No. 5 (October 2004), pp. 871-892. ●● The author declares that the British "decision to go to war against Iraq with the United States was and remains without doubt the most controversial foreign policy act of a British government in many decades. The controversy was not only about whether the war was justified and whether the reasons given for the decision to go to war were genuine, but about fundamentally different conceptions of international relations, the role of the United Nations and collective security." (p. 871) He argues that while the stated justifications for going to war may have been incorrect, they were peripheral. Instead, the central objective of Blair and Bush was the liberation of Iraq and that could only be accomplished through war.

880. Boyer, Peter J. "The Believer: Paul Wolfowitz Defends His War." *New Yorker* (1 November 2004), accessed online. ●● The author accompanies US Deputy Secretary of Defense Wolfowitz on a trip through Europe and relays the opinions of Wolfowitz, who, the author notes, was a primary architect of the Iraq War and the principal proponent of the idea of liberating the Middle East one country at a time.

881. Brookings Institution, Saban Center for Middle East Policy. *Iraq Memos*. Washington, DC: 2002-2003. ●● A continuing series of short papers dealing with Iraq from before and after the Iraq War. The papers are online at http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/iraqmemos.htm. The papers to date include: Michael O'Hanlon, "Overthrowing Saddam: Calculating the Costs and Casualties" (9 October 2002); Martin Indyk, "Don't Ignore the Sanctions" (15 October 2002); Philip Gordon, "Getting Paris on Board" (18 October 2002); Martin Indyk and Kenneth Pollack, "Lesson from a Future War with Iraq" (4 November 2002); Kenneth Pollack, "Escaping the Inspections Trap" (18 November 2002); Roberta Cohen and John Fawcett, "The Internally Displaced People of Iraq" (20 November 2002); Kenneth Pollack, "Sizing Up an Invasion of Iraq" (18 December 2002); P.W. Singer, "Facing Saddam's Child Soldiers" (14 January 2003); Amatzia Baram, "Would Saddam Husayn Abdicate?" (4 February 2003); Amatzia Baram, "Saddam's Strategy on the Brink of War" (20 February 2003); Philip Gordon, "The Crisis in the Alliance" (24 February 2003); Daniel Byman, "Terrorism and the War with Iraq" (3 March 2003); Amatzia Baram, "Who Will Fight for Saddam?" (19 March 2003); Kenneth Pollack, "Reassessing the Iraqi Adversary" (3 April 2003); Amatzia Baram, "Post-Saddam Iraq: The Shi'ite Factor" (30 April 2003); Gal Luft, "How Much Oil Does Iraq Have?" (12 May 2003); Michael O'Hanlon, "Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Future of the U.S. Military" (20 June 2003); and Amatzia Baram, "The Iraqi Tribes and the Post-Saddam System" (8 July 2003).

882. Brunnée, Jutta, and Stephen J. Toope. "The Use of Force: International Law After Iraq." *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (October 2004), pp. 785-806. ●● Law professors at the University of Toronto and McGill University respectively evaluate the question of whether the 2003 invasion of Iraq constitutes a turning point for international norms and institutions governing the use of force. The authors argue that the validity of the legal framework of self-defense should be reaffirmed, rather than permitting an expansive doctrine of pre-emptive military action. In addition, "the collective security regime of Chapter VII of the UN Charter is vital in addressing threats to international peace and security [and the Security] Council is the only plausible source of legitimation for the collective use of force." (p. 805)

883. Byman, Daniel L. "Building the New Iraq: The Role of Intervening Forces." *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 57-71. ●● An assistant professor of security studies at Georgetown University discusses the severe obstacles in the way of US and British military forces seeking to reconstruct and transform post-Saddam Iraq. He notes estimates of required troops for the first year of more than 100,000 (with an in-country presence lasting for a decade) and a final bill for rebuilding the country at over $100 billion. "Simply stated, the goals of intervening forces are to ensure order, to end Iraq's WMD programmes, to help Iraq build a power-sharing system, to reform its military and to transform the regional security environment." (p. 58) He concludes that "The burden of occupation is heavy, but failure to build a peaceful and democratic Iraq would be calamitous." (p. 68)

884. _____. "Constructing a Democratic Iraq: Challenges and Opportunities." *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Summer 2003), pp. 47-78. ●● The author begins by noting the near-consensus that Iraq must have a democratic and federal government but also points out that "if Iraq does not receive massive help from the United States and other powers, a range of problems will make democracy hard to establish. Challenges that may arise include a weak government that engenders security fears, a lack of a cohesive identity to unify Iraq's different communities, a risk of meddling from Iran and Turkey, bellicose elites who pursue adventurism abroad and whip up tension at home, a poorly organized political leadership, and a lack of a history of democracy." (p. 49) Steps that would help establish democracy include ensuring domestic security, deterring meddling neighbors, and promoting moderate elites and restricting access to troublesome ones.

885. Calloni, Stella, and Víctor Ego Ducrot. *La invasión a Iraq: Guerra Imperial y Resistencia*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Instituto Movilizador de Fondos Cooperativos, 2003.

886. Chomsky, Noam. "Iraq: Invasion that Will Live in Infamy." *Le Monde Diplomatique* (August 2003), accessed online.

887. Cirincione, Joseph, Jessica T. Mathews, and George Perkovich. *WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, January 2004. ●● Associates of the Carnegie Endowment and the Non-Proliferation Project assert that "Iraq's WMD programs represented a long-term threat that could not be ignored. They did not, however, pose an immediate threat to the United States, to the region, or to global security." (p. 47) Sifting through the available evidence, the authors demonstrate that: Iraq's nuclear program had been dismantled; sanctions had destroyed Iraq's large-scale chemical weapon production capabilities; the record is more ambiguous on biological weapons but capabilities may also have been converted to dual-use facilities; the missile program appears to have been still in active development in 2002; it is unlikely that Iraq could have destroyed, hidden, or sent out of the country the hundreds of tons of chemical and biological weapons, dozens of Scud missiles and facilities engaged in the ongoing production of chemical and biological weapons; the extent of loss of radioactive and biological material remains unknown; the dramatic shift in US intelligence assessments suggests that intelligence community began to be unduly influenced by policymakers' views sometime in 2002; there is no solid evidence of a cooperative relationship between Saddam's government and al-Qa'idah; Bush administration officials systematically misrepresented the threat from Iraq's WMD and ballistic missile programs; and the UN inspection process appears to have been much more successful than recognized before the war. They also argue that there were at least two options clearly preferable to a war undertaken without international support, viz., allowing the UNMOVIC/IAEA inspections to continue until obstructed or completed, or imposing a tougher program of "coercive inspections" backed by a specially designed international force. The authors also recommend that the National Security Strategy be revised to eliminate a U.S. doctrine of unilateral preemptive war in the absence of imminent threat (that is, preventative war). A true preemptive attack remains, as it has always been, a legitimate tactic to be used when necessary. However, … a doctrine of unilaterally asserted and executed preventive war does not serve U.S. national security interests."

888. Clark, Terence. "Post-War Iraq: An Assessment." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 35, No. 2 (July 2004), pp. 16-21. ●● A former British ambassador to Iraq provides a brief assessment of the situation in Iraq in June 2003 and then in November 2003. While he points out that the coalition has a daunting task, he believes that Iraq can be returned to peace and stability within a reasonable time-frame.

889. Clawson, Patrick, ed. *How to Build a New Iraq After Saddam*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2003.

890. Clawson, Patrick. "Iraq for the Iraqis: How and When." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 23-30. ●● An account of a trip through Iraq from Turkey to Kuwait by a team from the Washington Institute for Near Policy, as written up by the deputy director of the institute. He emphasizes the problems that Iraq faces. This includes the United States in Iraq as well, for example, "The problem of inadequate information is most acute regarding the Shi'ite community. The United States is placing all its bets on the cooperation of the Shi'ites, and yet U.S. officials have only a vague sense of the dynamics of Shi'ite politics." (p. 28)

891. Cole, Juan. "The United States and Shi'ite Religious Factions in Post-Ba'thist Iraq." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Autumn 2003), pp. 543-566. ●● A survey of the various Iraqi Shi'ah factions - including the Sadr Movement, the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq and its Badr Corps, al-Da'wah, and the followers of Grand Ayatollah Sistani - by a professor of history at the University of Michigan. He judges that the Sadr Movement, led by Muqtada al-Sadr since the assassination of his father, Ayatollah Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr in 1999, is the most important tendency among religious Shi'ah at present and opines that "It seems clear that the future of Iraq is intimately wrought up with the fortunes of the Sadr Movement." (p. 566)

892. _____. "Iraq: All Together Against the Occupation." *Le Monde Diplomatique* (May 2004), accessed online. ●● A short elucidation of how the April 2004 fighting in Fallujah and the US campaign against Muqtada al-Sadr roused Iraqi and Arab nationalism against an occupying force. According to the author, "These examples suggest that, despite being open to political and religious currents from neighbouring countries, the Iraqis have forged a profound national identity in the past century. Sectarian groupings in the country do not see their religious identities as superseding their national ones."

893. Conetta, Carl. *Disappearing the Dead: Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Idea of a "New Warfare"*. Cambridge, MA: Commonwealth Institute, 18 February 2004. Project on Defense Alternatives, Research Monograph No. 9.

894. Cordesman, Anthony H. *The Iraq War: Strategy, Tactics, and Military Lessons*. Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2003.

895. Crocker, Bathsheba. "Reconstructing Iraq's Economy." *Washington*

Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Autumn 2004), pp. 73-93. ●● A CSIS fellow surveys the problems involved in creating a free-market economy in Iraq and advocates that "the United States must let go of the reins on economic decisions and U.S. money and let Iraqis define their own priorities and make their own mistakes [which is] critical if Iraq is to have any hope of realizing a new economy that is diversified, attracts foreign investment, creates jobs, and ultimately brings prosperity for the Iraqi people." (p. 89)

896. Danner, Mark, ed. *Torture and Truth: America, Abu Ghraib, and the War on Terror*. New York: New York Review of Books, 2004. ●● A collection of documents on US interrogation techniques and procedures since 11 September 2001, combined with relevant articles originally published in the *New York Review of Books*.

897. Dawisha, Adeed, and Karen Dawisha. "How to Build a Democratic Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (May-June 2003), pp. 36-50. ●● The authors, professor of political science and of Russian studies respectively at Miami University of Ohio, contest that building democracy in Iraq will not be as difficult as critics of the war maintain. They point to the parliamentary system that existed under the monarchy (1921-1958) with political parties and a relatively free press. They argue for a federal system of government wherein Baghdad and the regions serve as equal guardians of the constitution. But rather than create only three federal units (a Kurdish north, a Shi'ite south, and a Sunni center), they advocate maintaining Iraq's present administrative structure with the country divided into 18 units. They also suggest creating a system with a weak president and a prime minister, as well as restoring a constitutional Hashimi monarchy. In their view, "A democratic federal system would turn Iraq into the standard against which other governments are judged, and make the country a natural ally of the West." (p. 50)

898. Day, Graham, and Christopher Freeman. "Policekeeping is the Key: Rebuilding the Internal Security Architecture of Postwar Iraq." *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (March 2003), pp. 299-313. ●● Using the Balkans experience as an example, the authors (Day is Deputy High Representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina) contend that "The greatest threat in the immediate aftermath of intervention is a political vacuum." (p. 300) Thus, they argue for establishment of an international civil administration in Iraq with a policekeeping force primarily composed of Muslims from surrounding countries. The authors suggest that "Nationalization of the oil for food programme can provide as much as $10 billion a year for reconstruction, policing and political reform. With wise planning and prudent spending, Iraq could be much closer to this reality in the same length of time that has been spent inconclusively in the Balkan missions." (p. 313)

899. Diamond, Larry. "What Went Wrong in Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 5 (September/October 2004), pp. 34-56. ●● A Stanford University fellow and former adviser to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad charges that the Bush administration was never willing to commit the resources necessary to secure Iraq and either misunderstood or never listened to Iraqis. He cites the commitment of far too few troops and not enough of the right kind, the adoption of a "bunker" mentality because of insecurity, early dissolution of the Iraqi army and "de-Ba'thification" of the government, and vacillation over policy regarding Shi'i militias. "As a result of a long chain of U.S. miscalculations, the coalition occupation has left Iraq in far worse shape than it need have and has diminished the long-term prospects of democracy there." (p. 34)

900. Dobbins, James, et al. *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2003.

901. Dodge, Toby, and Steven Simon, eds. *Iraq at the Crossroads: State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2003. Adelphi Papers, No. 354. ●● A collection of topical articles intended to serve the debate in the run up to the 2003 Iraq War and edited by a research fellow at the University of Warwick and the assistant director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies respectively. Judith Yaphe (US National Defense University) explores the myths advanced about invading Iraq and suggests some hard questions that need to be answered. David Ochmanek (RAND Corporation) briefly reviews some factors in campaign strategy. Toby Dodge looks at the composition of the Iraqi military and assesses its capabilities while Faleh A. Jabar (an Iraqi sociologist in London) considers how the Iraqi military will react politically to the war. Isam al-Khafaji (University of Amsterdam) speculates on what post-Saddam Iraq may look like and Amatzia Baram (University of Haifa) examines the role of Tikriti tribes and groups in Iraq. Gareth R.V. Stansfield (University of Exeter) conjectures on the impact of a possible war on Kurdish self-government while Michiel Leezenberg (University of Amsterdam) examines Kurdish economy and society.

902. Dodge, Toby. "US Intervention and Possible Iraqi Futures." *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Autumn 2003), pp. 103-122. ●● The author applies the question of whether military interventions in failed or rogue states can be successful in rebuilding states to Iraq by examining the earlier British experience in Iraq and summarizing the exercise of politics under Saddam Husayn. He suggests that "US policymakers and their allies will have to decide if they can commit the time (probably as much as ten years), resources and personnel to tackle the underlying structural problems dominating Iraqi politics or if instead they

will simply change the Iraqi personnel at the head of government, leaving them to govern in a very similar way to the old regime." (p. 115)

903. _____. "A Sovereign Iraq?" *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Autumn 2004), pp. 39-55. ●● A fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies argues that giving back legal sovereignty to Iraq after the war was the easy part and that the UN and Western forces will be involved in Iraq for a number of years to come. But, he warns, "if a truly multilateral approach to Iraq is not found, if the money, expertise and troop numbers are not delivered, then this very result, a violent, undemocratic and unstable Iraq, is the most likely outcome." (p. 55)

904. Doe, John. "Mismanaging Iraq." *National Interest*, No. 78 (Winter 2004-2005), pp. 108-113. ●● A former adviser in the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad, using a pseudonym, charges that mistakes in Washington's political and military activities in Iraq mirrored missteps in its economic policy. While the author notes the sensibility of various long-term economic goals, "To the extent that anyone had a plan for recovery itself, it was a combination of pouring on infrastructure contracts and cold-turkey privatization of state-owned enterprises." (p. 109)

905. Ekeus, Rolf. "Reassessment: The IISS Strategic Dossier on Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction." *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 73-88. ●● The International Institute for Strategic Studies engaged the former executive chairman of the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) in Iraq to assess the institute's dossier on Iraq's capabilities. Ekeus finds that the dossier was correct in its conclusions for the period up to December 1998, when inspectors were withdrawn from Iraq. "However, when the dossier enters the timeframe of December 19898 to September 2002, the technical expertise, though still relevant, had to be replaced by political judgements and evaluations of intentions, supported by a much weaker fact-base." (p. 74)

906. Eisenstadt, Michael, and Eric Mathewson, eds. *U.S. Policy in Post-Saddam Iraq: Lessons from the British Experience*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2003. ●● Contributors include Peter Sluglett, Abbas Kelidar, Ofra Bengio, Judith Yaphe, Eric Mathewson, and Michael Eisenstadt.

907. Eisenstadt, Michael. "Sitting on Bayonets: America's Postwar Challenges in Iraq." *National Interest*, No. 76 (Summer 2004), pp. 101-106. ●● A senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy encourages a policy of letting Iraqis finding their own solutions to problems and warns that "The Bush Administration must reconcile itself to its diminishing influence in Iraq

and its inability to control or master the forces unleashed by its war there. But if the Administration acts with a realistic grasp of what is possible and intervenes only when and where essential, it may yet succeed in helping to create a new Iraq that may be far from a model democracy but still worthy of America's support." (p. 106)

908. Emirates Center for Strategic Study and Research. *Iraq: Reconstruction and Future Role*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

909. Ewing, Humphry Crum. "Iraq March-April 2003: Outcomes, a Division of Views and Abuse of Intelligence?" *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring 2004), pp. 105-111. ●● The author is critical of the American decision to invade Iraq and charges that "the unilateral, pre-emptive, invasion of Iraq was a serious setback on the long and anxious search for generally accepted processes through which to resolve conflicts by negotiation and by the collective use of instruments of order that do not extend to engagement in high intensity warfare." (p. 106)

910. Eyal, Jonathan. *War in Iraq: Combat and Consequences*. London: Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, 2003. Whitehall Papers, No. 59.

911. Fallows, James. "Blind into Baghdad." *Atlantic Monthly* (January-February 2004), pp. 52ff. ●● A journalist delves into the role of the top officials in the US Department of Defense in planning military victory in Iraq but also details what the author charges was their disregard of warning signs about the postwar problems and of the extensive planning done elsewhere in the US government for management and reconstruction of Iraq.

912. Feldman, Noah. *What We Owe Iraq: War and the Ethics of Nation Building*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004. ●● A New York University law professor and formerly legal adviser to the CPA in Iraq argues that the US, by virtue of its destruction of the Saddam Husayn government, has an obligation to reconstruct a new and effective one, and one that is better than that installed in Britain nearly a century ago.

913. Feldman, Shai, ed. *After the War in Iraq: Defining the New Strategic Balance*. Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2003.

914. Fisher, Louis. "Deciding on War Against Iraq: Institutional Failures." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 118, No. 3 (Fall 2003), pp. 389-410. ●● A Congressional Research Service analyst examines the Bush administration's decision to go to war against Iraq and charges that "It is quite late to play the

innocent, to express shock at troubling new disclosures. For over a year, the administration supplied a steady stream of unreliable statements. At no time did it make a persuasive, credible, or consistent case for war. Much of its rationale was exploded on a regular basis by the press. The campaign for war was dominated more by fear than facts, more by assertions of what might be, or could be, or used to be, than by what actually existed." (p. 389) The author concludes that "U.S. political institutions failed in their constitutional duties when they authorized war against Iraq. The Bush administration never presented sufficient and credible information to justify statutory action in October 2002 and military operations in March 2003." (p. 410)

915. Franks, Tommy, with Malcom McConnell. *American Soldier*. New York: Regan Books, 2004.

916. Freedman, Lawrence. "War in Iraq: Selling the Threat." *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 7-50. ●● A professor of war studies at Kings College London criticizes the skewing of intelligence in Washington and London to posit a linkage between Iraq's presumed weapons of mass destruction and terrorism. He judges that "While there might be widespread agreement that in principle it is always better to act before a potential threat becomes real, in practice higher standards of proof will be demanded than were offered in the run up to the 2003 war. Intelligence agencies do themselves no favours when they appear to fall into line and they do governments no favours when they fail to draw their attention to real doubts and uncertainties in the evidence." (p. 39)

917. "From Victory to Success: Afterwar Policy in Iraq." *Foreign Policy*, No. 137 (July-August 2003), pp. 50-81. ●● An insert of short articles by associates of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace covering US nation-building efforts in Iraq, the impact of the Iraq War on Islam and the Middle East, and dealing with WMD proliferation.

918. Fukuyama, Francis. "Nation-Building 101." *Atlantic Monthly* (January-February 2004), accessed online. ●● A professor of international political economy at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies asks the question, "What long-term lessons can we draw from the American experience so far in the reconstruction of Iraq?" One answer, he avers, is that the collapse of the Iraqi government should have received better planning. But the Bush administration's "Its most serious planning mistakes were to set up its postwar-reconstruction organization at the last minute, to endow it with insufficient authority, and to put it under the overall control of the Pentagon, which did not have the capacity to do the job properly." He makes some suggestions for future situations and concludes that "A standing

U.S. government office to manage nation-building will be a hard sell politically, because we are still unreconciled to the idea that we are in the nation-building business for the long haul."

919. Garrels, Anne. *Naked in Baghdad: The Iraq War as Seen by NPR's Correspondent*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003.

920. Gormley, Dennis M. "The Limits of Intelligence: Iraq's Lessons." *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Autumn 2004), pp. 7-28. ●● A senior fellow at the Monterey Institute's Center for Nonproliferation Studies assesses the blame cast at the US intelligence community against the blame placed on the Bush administration's effort to oversell" its justifications for going to war. He finds fault on both sides and suggests that "For the intelligence community to play a more constructive role in ensuring international security, a closer integration between its products and services and the formulation of policy is required." (p. 21)

921. Gresh, Alain. "Crimes and Lies in 'Liberated' Iraq." *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (May 2003).

922. Halchin, L. Elaine. *The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA): Origin, Characteristics, and Institutional Authorities*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RL32370, 29 April 2004. ●● A CRS analyst reviews the short history of the CPA and notes that it is unclear that it is a federal agency. She concludes that "Without a clear, unambiguous statement that declares the CPA's organizational status and clarifies its relationship with DOD and other federal agencies, various questions may be left unanswered, including whether, and to what extent, CPA might be held accountable for its programs, activities, decisions, and expenditures." (p. 35)

923. Hashim, Ahmed S. "The Sunni Insurgency In Iraq." Washington, DC: Middle East Institute, 2003; Policy Brief. ●● A professor of strategic studies at the US Naval War College notes that "the insistent claim by US authorities that the [continuing post-war] attacks in Iraq are solely the work of remnants of the former regime is incorrect." He divides the myriad groups claiming responsibility into régime loyalists, nationalists, and Islamists who have emerged after decades of suppression. He also notes that little cooperation has emerged as yet between Sunni and Shi'i groups.

924. _____. "Military Power and State Formation in Modern Iraq." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 29-47. ●● A professor of strategic studies at the US Naval War College contends that "As the dominant power in post-Saddam Iraq, the United States has to address [the] relationship

between state formation, security and military power as it begins the process of reconstructing that hapless country. For the United States to succeed, it needs also to avoid the mistakes made by the British, who created Iraq in 1921, and by successive independent rulers." (p. 29) After outlining the evolution of Iraqi military institutions during the independent era, Hashim describes developments under the American occupation. He warns that "If the United States does not succeed in restoring law and order and security in Iraq, it will not be able to move the country forward [and at] worst, Iraq could become a failed state." (p. 44)

925. Hersh, Seymour M. *Chain of Command: The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib*. New York: HarperCollins, 2004.

926. Hiro, Dilip. *Secrets and lies: Operation "Iraqi Freedom" and After*. New York: Nation Books, 2004.

927. Hitchens, Christopher. *A Long Short War: The Postponed Liberation of Iraq*. New York: A Plume Book, 2003.

928. Horowitz, Irving Louis. "The Cult of Dictatorship vs. the Culture of Modernity." *Society*, Vol. 40, No. 5 (July/August 2003), pp. 9-19. ●● A portrayal of the Iraq War as a struggle between civilizations and cultures by the Hannah Arendt distinguished professor emeritus at Rutgers. He observes that democracy was brought to Germany and Japan by coercive means and suggests that the same might happen in Iraq.

929. Hudson, Leila. "Lessons from Wal-Mart and the Wehrmacht: Team Wolfowitz on Administration in the Information Age." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 25-38. ●● An assistant professor of Near Eastern studies at the University of Arizona contends that "the Bush administration has introduced a panoply of new techniques of government in the areas of intelligence processing, public relations, data collection and government secrecy" (p. 25), emphasizing decentralization of management and based on concepts for military organization in the information age. She concludes that "Critics of the Bush administration can hope that the unfolding scandals resulting from poor information management, too much dispersed autonomy and freedom to fail in the White House, the vice president's office and the Pentagon will prevent the ultimate triumph of a homegrown American military corporatism." (p. 36)

930. Hutton, Lord. *The Report of the Inquiry into the Circumstances Surrounding the Death of Dr. David Kelly, CMG*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 2004.

931. International Crisis Group. *What Can the U.S. Do in Iraq?* Amman, Brussels, 22 December 2004. Middle East Report, No. 34. ●● This report charges that the transition process to a durable state can no longer succeed as envisioned by current US policy. Instead, it contends that "To preserve the possibility of a united, cohesive Iraq rallying around a credible central state, elections - together with their aftermath, the establishment of a sovereign constituent assembly - must be perceived by its people not as a continuation of what has occurred so far, but as a fundamental break from it." (p. i)

932. "Iraq at the Turn." *National Interest*, No. 76 (Summer 2004), special issue. ●● A collection of essays on the war and its inconclusive conclusion. David B. Rivkin, Geoffrey Kemp, and Daniel Byman, and Michael O'Hanlon and Adriana Lins de Albuquerque contribute discussions of the thrust and aftermath of the fighting and Alexis Debat comments on the growth of Islamist resistance. Martin Sieff covers US-Saudi relations after the war while Edward L. Morse evaluates the claim that the war was fought for oil. John Thomson and Hussain Hindawi, Amir Taheri, Adrian Karatnycky, and Joe Bob Briggs look at the political future of Iraq while Francis Fukuyama dissects the neoconservative movement.

933. "Iraq in Transition: Vortex or Catalyst?" London: Royal Institute for International Affairs, September 2004. Middle East Programme, Briefing Paper. ●● Three possible scenarios are posited for Iraq during the transitional period after the handover of power to an interim government in June 2004: the country could fragment; it could hold together as a government forms with a helpful US presence; or transnational or regional dynamics could overcome Iraq and make it the epicenter of broader destabilizing geopolitics. No conclusions are reached regarding them but their implications on neighboring countries receive careful treatment.

934. "Iraq Under Occupation." *Middle East Report*, No. 228 (Fall 2003). ●● This issue includes a number of articles dealing with Iraq in the aftermath of the Iraq War, including Sarah Graham-Brown, "Multiplier Effect: War, Occupation and Humanitarian Needs in Iraq"; "Iraq Is Not a Lost Battle: An Interview with Isam al-Khafaji"; Justin Alexander and Colin Rowat, "A Clean Slate in Iraq: From Debt to Development"; and Keith Watenpaugh, "Fragile Glasnost on the Tigris."

935. Israeli, Raphael. *The Iraq War: Hidden Agendas and Babylonian Intrigue; The Regional Impact on Shi'ites, Kurds, Sunnis and Arabs*. Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2004.

936. Jabar, Faleh A. *Postconflict Iraq: A Race for Stability, Reconstruction, and*

Legitimacy. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, 2004. Special report, No. 120.

937. Jervis, Robert. "Understanding the Bush Doctrine." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 118, No. 3 (Fall 2003), pp. 365-388. ●● The Adlai E. Stevenson Professor of International Politics at Columbia University, looks at the invasion of Iraq as a manifestation of the Bush doctrine. He sees the doctrine as comprising four elements: "a strong belief in the importance of a state's domestic regime in determining its foreign policy and the related judgment that this is an opportune time to transform international politics; the perception of great threats that can be defeated only by new and vigorous policies, most notably preventive war; a willingness to act unilaterally when necessary and as both a cause and a summary of these beliefs, an overriding sense that peace and stability require the United States to assert its primacy in world politics. It is, of course, possible that I am exaggerating and that what we are seeing is mostly an elaborate rationale for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein that will have little relevance beyond that." (p. 365) In his view, "The war against Saddam … already marks out the path on which the United States is embarked and illuminates the links between preventive war and hegemony, which was much of the reason for the opposition at home and abroad. Bush's goals are extraordinarily ambitious, involving remaking not only international politics but recalcitrant societies as well, which is seen as an end in itself and a means to American security. For better or (and?) worse, the United States has set itself tasks that prudent states would shun. As a result, it will be infringing on what adversaries, if not allies, see as their vital interests." (p. 386)

938. Katzman, Kenneth. *Iraq: Weapons Programs, U.N. Requirements, and U.S. Policy*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Issue Brief IB92117, 23 July 2003. ●● A CRS analyst reviews the history of UN weapons inspections in Iraq since 1991 and summarizes developments during and since the Iraq War. Among the latter have been dealing with such issues as the listing of Iraq as a sponsor of terrorism, Iraqi-Kuwaiti relations, reparations, and sanctions. The author also notes that the failure to find WMD after the war has provoked a debate in Congress and in the media Aover the quality and presentation of pre-war intelligence on Iraq's WMD and the justification for war." (p. 1)

939. Keegan, John. *The Iraq War*. London: Hutchinson; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004. ●● A campaign history written by a prominent military historian. The opening chapters recount Iraq's history and the rise and policies of Saddam Husayn before moving on to the debate over the war in 2002 and 2003. His principal chapters look at the "American War" and the "British

War," as well as the troubled aftermath of the war up to February 2004. Keegan concludes that "The reality of the Iraq campaign of March-April 2003 is … a better guide to what needs to be done to secure the safety of our world than any amount of law-making or treaty-writing can offer." (p. 219)

940. Knights, Michael, ed. *Operation Iraqi Freedom and the New Iraq: Insights and Forecasts*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2004. ●● A collection of 7 reprinted essays on the situation in Iraq during and after the war by WINEP analysts.

941. Kull, Steven, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis. "Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 118, No. 4 (Winter 2003-2004), pp. 569-598.

942. Kwiatkowski, Karen. "The New Pentagon Papers." *Salon* (10 March 2004), distributed electronically. ●● A retired US Air Force officer who worked in the Near East South Asia directorate during the run-up to the Iraq War describes how the small group of neoconservatives and their "Office of Special Plans" shaped the Pentagon's advocacy of war in Iraq. She believes that "War is generally crafted and pursued for political reasons, but the reasons given to the Congress and to the American people for this one were inaccurate and so misleading as to be false. Moreover, they were false by design. [The] more accurate reasons for invading and occupying could have been argued on their merits - an angry and aggressive U.S. population might indeed have supported the war and occupation for those reasons. But Americans didn't get the chance for an honest debate."

943. MacGinty, Roger. "The Pre-War Reconstruction of Post-War Iraq." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (August 2003), pp. 601-618.

944. Marashi, Ibrahim al-. "The Struggle for Iraq: Understanding the Defense Strategy of Saddam Hussein." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (June 2003), distributed electronically. ●● A research associate at the Center for Non-Proliferation Studies in Monterey, California, looks at Saddam's goals and defensive preparations in the Iraq War, which he referred to as the "Defining Battle." The author argues that "Saddam's choice of a defensive strategy to force a lengthy war of attrition was his best possible one, based on his hope that his enemies would lack the patience or courage to continue the war and also that domestic and international pressures would force his opponents to let his regime survive." This strategy would mean that using weapons of mass destruction would be counter-productive, since it would have damaged the image of Iraq as a victim.

945. _____. "Saddam's Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Iraq as a Case Study of a Middle Eastern Proliferant." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2004), distributed electronically. ●● A fellow at Sabanci University analyzes Iraq's rationale for developing WMD, using documents from the Iraqi leadership and intelligence services captured after the Iraq War. He contends that Iraq believed in 1990-1991 that chemical and biological weapons would not act as a deterrent to coalition forces but that only nuclear capability would. That raises the question of whether the coalition would have attacked had Iraq had nuclear weapons: "If Iraq had a nuclear deterrent capability, perhaps a diplomatic solution would have resolved the crisis as opposed to a military one. On the other hand, a nuclear capability may have convinced the regime that it had the upper hand in any negotiations and thus would have forced the international community to accept Iraq's annexation of Kuwait as its nineteenth province."

946. _____. "Iraq's Hostage Crisis: Kidnappings, Mass Media and the Iraqi Insurgency." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (December 2004), distributed electronically. ●● The author, a post-doctoral fellow at Sabanci University, concludes that kidnappings and killings will continue as long as it gets results for the perpetrators. He also argues that "While many Iraqis are disgusted by videos of beheadings of hostages, they argue that there is little difference between the insurgents and the Americans, who displayed the images of the mutilated corpses of Uday and Qusay Hussein after their deaths. The images of Iraqi inmates humiliated during their incarceration at the Abu Ghraib prison are given as another case in point."

947. Medani, Khalid Mustafa. "State Rebuilding in Reverse: The Neoliberal 'Reconstruction' of Iraq." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 28-31.

948. Metz, Steven. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Winter 2003-2004), pp. 25-36. ●● A director of research at the US Army War College contends that "Although U.S. strategists and political leaders may disagree about who is behind the violence in Iraq, the preconditions for a serious and sustained insurgency clearly exist." (p. 25) In his view, a US counterinsurgency strategy "is unlikely to eradicate the violent opposition to the coalition fully but should at least sufficiently weaken the insurgent opposition and ensure that the new Iraqi regime is not born - as the South Vietnamese government was - with a massive internal security threat on its hands." (p. 36)

949. Moore, Robin. *Hunting down Saddam: The Inside Story of the Search and*

Capture. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004.

950. Murray, Williamson, and Robert H. Scales Jr. *The Iraq War: A Military History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

951. Nakash, Yitzhak. "The Shi'ites and the Future of Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (July-August 2003), pp. 17-26. ●● An associate professor of history at Brandeis University looks at the political role of Iraq's Shi'ah and relations with the United States. He observes that "There is a big gap, in short, between the Bush administration's vision of anew Iraq and the expectations of Shi'ites for the post-Saddam era. Whereas some members of the administration have envisaged a Western-style democratic Iraq led by a secular pro-U.S. government, Shi'ites (and many other Iraqis) appear to prefer an independent Iraq with a system of government that reflects their own culture and traditions…." (pp. 24-25) He suggests that the US can improve its credibility by apologizing for not support the Shi'i uprising of 1991.

952. Nasr, Vali. "Regional Implications of Shi'a Revival in Iraq." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 7-24. ●● A professor of Middle East politics at the US Naval Postgraduate School contends that "Iraq's sectarian pains are all the more complex because reverberations of Shi'a empowerment will inevitably extend beyond Iraq's borders, involving the broader region from Lebanon to Pakistan. The change in the sectarian balance of power is likely to have a far more immediate and powerful impact on politics in the greater Middle East than any potential example of a moderate and progressive government in Baghdad." (p. 7)

953. _____. "The Struggle for Power in Iraq." *Dissent*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Summer 2003), pp. 47-51.

954. Negus, Steve. "The Insurgency Intensifies." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 22-27.

955. Omaar, Rageh. *Revolution Day: The Human Story of the Battle for Iraq*. London: Viking, 2004.

956. Open Society Institute and the United Nations Foundation. *Reconstructing Iraq: A Guide to the Issues*. New York: 30 May 2003. ●● An examination of the various external actors in Iraq - including the United States, United Nations, NGOs, international financial institutions, the Red Cross - and domestic forces - including ethnic groups, religious divisions, and political groups. The report looks at the requirements involved in building a new Iraqi

government and addressing its reconstruction needs, particularly in the context of past efforts in Kosovo and East Timor.

957. _____. *Iraq in Transition: Post-Conflict Challenges and Opportunities*. New York: 2004. ●● A follow-up report on Iraq's reconstruction. Its aim is to assess the legacy of the occupation and outline the challenges and opportunities that await the Iraqis and the international community. "OSI and UNF review the obligations of the primary actors during occupation and present facts that allow the reader to assess whether actors lived up to their responsibilities. The report explores the needs, expectations and concerns of the Iraqi people about their country's occupation and its future, and considers the enormous challenges involved in rebuilding a fractured society. Finally, the report provides benchmarks to measure Iraq's progress in reconstruction, recognizing the tremendous hurdles that the nation now faces." (p. 5)

958. Peña, Charles V. "After Saddam: Still No Good Options in a Wrong War." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 17-24. ●● The director of defense policy studies at the Cato Institute attacks the Bush administration for downplaying the fight against terror to invade Iraq and he observes that "with the euphoria of capturing Saddam (and the "bin Laden next" fever that accompanied it) fading after the new year, the reality in Iraq has set in again; the problems and future prospects after Hussein's capture are largely the same as they were after his removal from power in April." (p. 17)

959. Parenti, Christian. *The Freedom: Shadows and Hallucinations in Occupied Iraq*. New York: New Press, 2004.

960. Phuong, Catherine. "The Protection of Iraqi Cultural Property: Iraq." *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (October 2004), pp. 985-998. ●● An examination by a lecturer in law at the University of Newcastle of the extent to which the US can be held legally responsible for the looting from Iraqi museums and libraries and of the international legal framework for the return of stolen items. The author concludes that "Since the US bears some responsibility in failing to prevent the looting and is one of the main market nations where stolen Iraqi cultural property is likely to be sold, it is crucial that the US continues its efforts, both at home and in Iraq, to recover stolen Iraqi cultural items and return them to their rightful owners." (pp. 997-998)

961. Pickering, Thomas R., and James R. Schlesinger, co-chairs; Eric P. Schwartz, project consultant. *Iraq: One Year After; Report of an Independent Task Force on Post-Conflict Iraq*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2004. ●● A report co-chaired by a senior vice-president at Boeing and former

US ambassador and by a former US secretary of defense and energy respectively, and coordinated by a member of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. The report warns that although the transfer of sovereignty in Iraq in 2004 may lead Americans to believe that the US can phase out its involvement, the truth is the opposite with more sustained US engagement required in the future. Furthermore, "At a time when involvement in Iraq risks becoming a partisan political issue, it is incumbent upon President Bush and senior U.S. political leaders to reaffirm the willingness of the U.S. government to sustain its financial as well as military commitment, and to enhance the American performance on important security, political, and economic assistance issues." (p. 43)

962. Pollack, Kenneth M. "Securing the Gulf." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (July-August 2003), pp. 2-16. ●● The director of research for the Saban Center at the Brookings Institution and a former US National Security Council staffer on the Middle East argues that the removal of Saddam Husayn provides an opportunity for the US to reestablish a framework for Gulf security. The author sees the principal problems as a proper balance of Iraqi power, Iranian nuclear weapons program, and domestic unrest in the GCC states. A return to an offshore US military commitment is unlikely to result in the GCC states actively pursuing reforms and may permit regional powers to create new threats. A regional defense alliance with the GCC and Iraq to assure Iraq's security while deterring Iran may not wash with the GCC states and Iranian threats to the other side of the Gulf are more likely to be fomenting internal unrest than outright attack. The author leans toward a Gulf security condominium modeled on European arms-control experiences at the end of the Cold War, an advantage of which he feels may be Iranian willingness to participate. "Ultimately, if the security condominium succeeds, peace is maintained, and forces throughout the region are considerably reduced, the road may be clear for a truly over-the-horizon American presence in the Persian Gulf - a development that would be greatly welcomed by all concerned." (p. 16)

963. _____. *After Saddam: Assessing the Reconstruction of Iraq*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, January 2004.

964. _____. "Spies, Lies, and Weapons: What Went Wrong." *Atlantic Monthly* (January-February 2004), accessed online. ●● The director of research at the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy examines the question of why no WMD weapons were discovered in post-Saddam Iraq. The author judges that not only did the intelligence community overestimate Iraq's WMD capability but that the Bush administration

dismissed intelligence assessments it did not like on largely ideological grounds. He recommends better and more independent intelligence, as well as an admission to the world by the US government that it was wrong and is taking action to correct the problems that caused the error.

965. Purdum, Todd S., and the staff of the New York Times. *A Time of Our Choosing: America's War in Iraq*. New York: Times Books/Henry Holt, 2003.

966. Rahimi, Babak. "Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani and the Democratization of Post-Saddam Iraq." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (December 2004), distributed electronically. ●● A recent recipient of a Ph.D. from the European University Institute discusses the potential role of Sistani creating a moderate form of Shi'i civil society in southern Iraq. "But until … institutions take shape and attain legitimacy, an Iraqi Shi'i civil society will remain more theoretical than a reality. However, despite these problems, democracy's prospect has never been more favorable in Iraq."

967. Rai, Milan. *Regime Unchanged: Why the War on Iraq Changed Nothing*. London: Pluto, 2003.

968. Ramesh, Randeep, ed. *The War We Could Not Stop: The Real Story of the Battle for Iraq*. London: Faber and Faber, 2003. ●● An "instant book" on the war drawn from the reporting by journalists of *The Guardian* newspaper (UK).

969. Raphaeli, Nimrod. "Understanding Muqtada al-Sadr: The Iraqi Cleric Takes on the United States … and Iraq." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Fall 2004), pp. 33-42. ●● A senior analyst at the Middle East Media Research Institute examines the background and politics of Iraqi Shi'i firebrand Muqtada al-Sadr. The author contends that today al-Sadr "commands not a ragtag militia of dispossessed Shi'ite [sic] but, increasingly, a well-armed, well-trained force of insurgents. The transformation of the Jaysh al-Mahdi lies not in Iraq, but across the border in Iran." (p. 41) Furthermore, "While Muqtada's influence is growing among many poor and marginalized Shi'ite [sic], it is doubtful that he can continue his rebellion indefinitely." (p. 42)

970. Record, Jeffrey. *Bounding the Global War on Terrorism*. Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, December 2003. ●● A visiting research professor at the Strategic Studies Institute charges that most of the declared objects of the "Global War on Terror" (GWOT), including "the destruction of al-Qaeda and other transnational terrorist organizations, the

transformation of Iraq into a prosperous, stable democracy, the democratization of the rest of the autocratic Middle East, the eradication of terrorism as a means of irregular warfare, and the (forcible, if necessary) termination of WMD proliferation to real and potential enemies worldwide, are unrealistic and condemn the United States to a hopeless quest for absolute security. As such, the GWOT's goals are also politically, politically, fiscally, and militarily unsustainable." (p. 1) He contends that the policy is not realistic in recognizing the limits of American power and recommends that the policy should be refocused directly on al-Qa'idah and its allies, that credible deterrence should be substituted for preventive war as the primary vehicle for dealing with rogue states seeking WMD, and that the US should prepare to settle for stability in Iraq over democracy and for international responsibility for the country's future.

971. _____. *Dark Victory: America's Second War Against Iraq*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2004.

972. _____. "Threat Confusion and Its Penalties." *Survival,* Vol. 46, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 51-72. ●● An indictment of the American decision to go to war in Iraq by a former professional staff member of the US Senate Armed Services Committee. He observes that if "it was a mistake to conflate terrorist organisations with one another and rogue states with one another, it was a strategic error of the first order to conflate terrorist organisations and rogue states, especially al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein's regime." (p. 55) More broadly, he notes that "the unexpectedly onerous and open-ended military burden the United States has incurred in Iraq has significantly limited the very freedom of military action necessary to credibly threaten the overthrow of other rogue states seeking to acquire nuclear weapons." (p. 65)

973. Record, Jeffrey, and W. Andrew Terrill. *Iraq and Vietnam: Differences, Similarities and Insights*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2004. ●● The authors conclude that the military aspect of the two wars bear little comparison, particularly because the Vietnam War was far larger in terms of forces involved and casualties incurred. On the other hand, they advise that US policy in Iraq should take into account the failure of state-building in South Vietnam and the role of domestic US public opinion in supporting both wars.

974. Rehaief, Mohammed Odeh, with Jeff Coplon. *Because Each Life Is Precious: Why an Iraqi Man Risked Everything for Private Jessica Lynch*. New York: HarperCollins, 2003.

975. Ridha, Jennifer R. "The Trouble with the Tribunal: Saddam Hussein and

the Elusiveness of Justice." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 40-43.

976. Rieff, David. *At the Point of a Gun: Democratic Dreams and Armed Intervention*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005.

977. Roberts, Adam. "Law and the Use of Force After Iraq." *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 31-56. ●● A review of provisions in international law regarding intervention in states without their consent by a professor of international relations at Oxford University. The author notes that when it became likely that the UN Security Council was unlikely to authorize an attack on Iraq, the imminent US-led operation was criticized heavily. Instead, the US relied on an argument of continuing authority arising from previous UNSC resolutions and repeated Iraqi violation of them. He notes that "Paradoxically, even when attempts to obtain UN authorisation for force fail, the appeal to UN principles may have considerable value. In both the 1999 Kosovo crisis and the 2003 Iraq crisis, … these claims were more than the tribute that vice pays to virtue: they were recognition that even in the new circumstances and hard cases of the twenty-first century, force has an unavoidably close relationship to law." (p. 53)

978. Roberts, Les, Riyadh Lafta, Richard Garfield, Jamal Khudhairi, and Gilbert Burnham. "Mortality Before and After the 2003 Invasion of Iraq: Cluster Sample Survey." *Lancet*, published online 29 October 2004. ●● A controversial study, funded by Johns Hopkins University and Small Arms Survey of Geneva, compares mortality rates in Iraq for 14-16 months before the invasion of Iraq with the 17-18 months after it. A survey of 33 clusters of 30 households each (excluding Fallujah) led the authors to estimate that "Making conservative assumptions, we think that about 100,000 excess deaths, or more have happened since the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Violence accounted for most of the excess deaths and air strikes from coalition forces accounted for most violent deaths." (p. 1)

979. Roberts, Paul William. *A War Against Truth: Behind the Lines of the Invasion of Iraq*. Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2004.

980. Rosenberg, Elizabeth, Adam Horowitz, and Anthony Alessandrini. "Iraq Reconstruction Tracker." *Middle East Report*, No. 227 (Summer 2003), accessed online. ●● M.A. candidates in Near Eastern Studies at New York University provide details of contracts awarded by the United States government for reconstruction efforts in Iraq.

981. Rubin, Trudy. *Willful Blindness: The Bush Administration and Iraq*.

Philadelphia: Philadelphia Inquirer, 2004.

982. Russell, James A. "Strategic Implications of the Iraq Insurgency." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (June 2004), distributed electronically. ●● A senior lecturer at the US Naval Postgraduate School observes that it has become increasingly apparent that the US is dealing with an entrenched and well-organized insurgency that views the US as an occupying force. In addition to for a re-appraisal of US policy in Iraq and similar situations in the future, he warns that "By losing the strategic initiative, the United States also has less chance to bring regime change in Iraq to a successful conclusion as a positive force for regional political and economic reform. The insurgency also makes it harder to introduce programs like the Middle East Partnership Initiative or Greater Middle East Initiative."

983. Ryan, Mike. *Baghdad or Bust: The Inside Story of Gulf War 2*. Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Leo Cooper, 2003.

984. Salam Pax. *The Baghdad Blog*. London: Atlantic Books on behalf of Guardian Newspapers, 2003.

985. Salmoni, Barak A. "America's Iraq Strategy: Democratic Chimeras, Regional Realities." *Current History*, Vol. 103, No. 669 (January 2004), pp. 17-20. ●● An assistant professor at the US Naval Postgraduate School regards the goals of political liberalization and economic reform in Iraq, especially when considered as a springboard for regional change, as "incredibly overambitious." As an alternative better suited to permitting an American exit, he advocates more modest but achievable goals, including "Credible internal security forces, strong institutions, an expanding civil service and public sector, and long-term prepositioning of air and ground assets…." (p. 20)

986. _____. "Iraq's Unready Security Forces: An Interim Assessment." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2004), distributed electronically. ●● The author, who worked with the US Army in Iraq, surveys the existing security forces in Iraq and outlines the difficulties in making them effective.

987. Samary, Catherine. "States in Protective Custody." *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (May 2003), accessed online. ●● The author argues that the record of after-care" in nations that the United States has invaded or intervened has not been a success.

988. Shanahan, Rodger. "The Islamic Da'wa Party: Past Development and

Future Prospects." *MERIA (Middle East Review of International Affairs) Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (June 2004), distributed electronically. ●● A Visiting Fellow at the University of Sydney looks at Iraq's oldest Shi'ah political organization not headed by a religious figure. He judges that while the party has gained legitimacy because of its persecution under Saddam Husayn, it has become riven by splits, challenged by other Shi'ah parties that make it difficult to regain its former influence, and dogged by perceptions that it may not act democratically.

989. Sharp, Jeremy M. *Post-War Iraq: A Table and Chronology of Foreign Contributions*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RL32105, 5 November 2004. ●● A Middle East policy analyst at CRS notes that as of October 2004, over 28,000 foreign personnel from 29 countries provided military support in Iraq, although he also notes that as many as ten countries have withdrawn some or all personnel and some contingents had as little as 10 people in country. The author also estimates that nearly $21 billion in grants, loans, and credits has been pledged for Iraq's reconstruction.

990. Scheer, Christopher, Robert Scheer, and Lakshmi Chaudhry. *The Five Biggest Lies Bush Told Us About Iraq*. New York: Akashic Books and Seven Stories Press, 2003.

991. Sofsky, Wolfgang. *Operation Freiheit: der Krieg im Irak*. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2003.

992. Taylor, Scott. *Spinning on the Axis of Evil: America's War Against Iraq*. Ottawa, Canada: Esprit de Corps Books, 2003.

993. Telhami, Shibley. "After a War with Iraq: Democracy, Militancy, and Peacemaking?" *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 4 (May 2003), pp. 182-185. ●● A scholar at the University of Maryland charges that the three notions associated with the Iraq War - that Iraq will be turned into a beacon of democracy in the Middle East, that the war will defeat radicalism and empower moderates, and after the war the US will be able to focus its energys on solving the Arab-Israeli conflict - are wishful thinking.

994. Terrill, W. Andrew. *Nationalism, Sectarianism, and the Future of the U.S. presence in Post-Saddam Iraq*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2003.

995. _____. *The United States and Iraq's Shi'ite Clergy: Partners or Adversaries?* Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies

Institute, 2004. ●● A Middle East specialist at the Strategic Studies Institute observes that "While none of Iraq's leading Shi'ite clerics is friendly to the United States, some are more tolerant than others of the U.S. presence. None seem to trust the United States or assume that the United States has a benevolent agenda in the region. … The dangers of militant Shi'ites committing acts of terrorism against U.S. forces in the foreseeable future thus are real and pressing. The likelihood and potential scope of such attacks will probably increase so long as the U.S. military presence continues." (p. 6)

996. Tilgner, Ulrich. *Der inszenierte Krieg: Täuschung und Wahrheit beim Sturz Saddam Husseins*. Berlin: Rowohlt, 2003.

997. U.S. Army. "Article 15-6 Investigation of the 800th Military Police Brigade" (The Taguba Report on Abu Ghurayb). N.p., 2004. ●● The army's official report on the prisoner abuses at Abu Ghurayb prison in Iraq. The report concludes that "Several US Army Soldiers have committed egregious acts and grave breaches of international law at Abu Ghraib/BCCF and Camp Bucca, Iraq. Furthermore, key senior leaders in both the 800th MP Brigade and the 205th MI Brigade failed to comply with established regulations, policies, and command directives in preventing detainee abuses at Abu Ghraib (BCCF) and at Camp Bucca during the period August 2003 to February 2004." (p. 50) See also Steven Strasser, ed. *The 9/11 Investigations: Staff Reports of the 9/11 Commission; Excerpts from the House-Senate Joint Inquiry Report on 9/11* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004).

998. U.S. Army. Center for Army Lessons Learned. *On Point: The United States Army in Operation Iraqi Freedom*. Distributed electronically.

999. U.S. Congress. Congressional Budget Office. *Paying for Iraq's Reconstruction*. Washington, January 2004. ●● The study notes that estimates of the cost of Iraq's reconstruction to be between $50 and $100 billion. In elucidating means of paying for it, the authors assess Iraq's reconstruction needs, its potential oil revenues and debt burden, and the extent of additional resources available. The authors judge that "Iraq's need for foreign aid beyond the $36 billion already pledged by international donors will depend largely on its success in reinvigorating its oil industry and the willingness of creditors to reduce its foreign obligations (as well as the unknown potential of private capital)." (p. xii)

1000. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Government Reform. Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations. *Humanitarian Assistance Following Military Operations: Overcoming Barriers*; Hearing, July 18, 2003. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2004.

1001. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Government Reform. *Winning the Peace: Coalition Efforts to Restore Iraq*; Hearing, October 8, 2003. Washington: USGPO, 2004.

1002. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Rules. *Providing for Consideration of H. Res. 557, Relating to the Liberation of the Iraqi People and the Valiant Service of the United States Armed Forces and Coalition Forces*; Report. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2004.

1003. U.S. Congress. Joint Economic Committee. *Transforming Iraq's Economy*; Hearing, June 11, 2003. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2003.

1004. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Iraq: Reconstruction*; Hearing, March 11, 2003. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2003.

1005. _____. *Iraq Stabilization and Reconstruction: U.S. Policy and Plans*; Hearing, May 22, 2003. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2003.

1006. _____. *Beyond Iraq: Repercussions of Iraq Stabilization and Reconstruction Policies*; Hearing, June 12, 2003. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2003.

1007. _____. *Iraq: Meeting the Challenge, Sharing the Burden, Staying the Course*; Trip Report, July 2003. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2003.

1008. _____. *Iraq: Status and Prospects for Reconstruction, Next Steps*; Hearing, July 23, 2003. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2003.

1009. _____. *Iraq, Next Steps: How to Internationalize Iraq and Organize the U.S. Government to Administer Reconstruction Efforts*; Hearing; September 23, 2003. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2004.

1010. _____. *Iraq Transition: Civil War or Civil Society?*; Hearing, April 10, 2004. Washington, DC: USGPO, 2004. 2 vols.

1011. Vinjamuri, Leslie. "Order and Justice in Iraq." *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Winter 2003-2004), pp. 135-152. ●● An assistant professor of government at Georgetown University notes the negative effects of trials of Iraqi war criminals and suggests that "Without stability and order, justice will have little meaning for the average Iraqi, and no purchase in the long term." (p. 150)

1012. *War in Iraq: Combat and Consequence*. London: Royal United Services

Institution, 2003. Whitehall Papers. ●● Contributors include Jonathan Eyal, Daniel Neep, Neil Partrick (all associated with RUSI), and Gareth R.V. Stansfield (University of Exeter).

1013. Warde, Ibrahim. "Iraq: A Licence to Loot the Land." *Le Monde Diplomatique* (May 2004), accessed online. ●● A discussion of the insurgency in Iraq and its toll on the US occupation. The author points out that, nevertheless, US companies closely linked to the Bush administration continue to make big profits out of Iraq, only partly deterred by the deterioration in security.

1014. Wilcke, Christoph. "Castles Built of Sand: US Governance and Exit Strategies in Iraq." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 4-13.

1015. Wimmer, Andreas. "Democracy and Ethno-religious Conflict in Iraq." *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Winter 2003-2004), pp. 111-134. ●● A professor of sociology at UCLA advances suggestions for inculcating democracy in Iraq and warns that "It may well be that the US administration cannot simultaneously democratise and control Iraq, and will have to make up its mind about what it really wants." (p. 127)

1016. Woodward, Bob. *Plan of Attack*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004. ●● A *Washington Post* journalist gives a blow-by-blow account of the debate and planning leading to the war on Iraq. His reporting is based on 75 interviews with principal participants, including President George W. Bush and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. Woodward begins by observing that Bush laid the groundwork for the invasion only several months after the 11 September 2004 attacks and ends with Bush's observation that "he thought it would take about ten years to understand the impact and the true significance of the war." (p. 443)

1017. Yaphe, Judith S. "War and Occupation in Iraq: What Went Right? What Could Go Wrong?" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (Summer 2003), pp. 381-399. ●● Noting the parallels between the American occupation of Iraq in 2003 with the British occupation during the First World War, a senior research fellow at the US National Defense University provides a succinct synopsis of the situation and challenges that the British faced. She observes that now, as then, the campaign is not easy or the people liberated grateful, that achieving policy of goals may be frustrated by clashing policy objectives within the government of the occupying power, that reconstruction efforts face tricky problems in education, remaking the military, and paying off debt, and that it is exceedingly difficult to impose an acceptable system that will

endure and permit a harmonious exit. She ends by remarking that in addition to positive accomplishments in Iraq, the British "would also produce a disturbing pattern of military revolts, political repression, ethnic cleansing and civil unrest. Let us hope this pattern does not repeat itself." (p. 399)

1018. _____. "Reclaiming Iraq from the Baathists." *Current History*, Vol. 103, No. 669 (January 2004), pp. 11-16. ●● The author judges that "Key to the success of the transition will be the CPA's ability to balance the need to purge Iraq of Saddam's party, the Baathists, against Iraq's need for public servants and internal security." (p. 11) Similarly, she concludes that "Any US withdrawal before Iraqis have settled on a de-Baathification process and begun firmly to guide their political transition and economic transformation could leave Iraq in a more chaotic state than it was before Saddam fell." (p. 16)

1019. Yaphe, Judith, Kenneth Katzman, Omer Taspinar, and Martha Neff Kessler. "Aftershocks of the Iraq War: What Purposes Have Been Fulfilled?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Fall 2003), pp. 1-21. ●● An edited transcript of a symposium sponsored by the Middle East Policy Council on 20 June 2003. Yaphe, a senior research fellow at the National Defense University examines the theories behind the war and judges that what remains important in the aftermath of the war is not who was responsible for starting it but that the United States will "stay the course" in establishing law and order and a return to civil society. Katzman, a Middle East specialist at the Congressional Research Service, declares himself pessimistic about the future, feels that Shi'i Islamist factions will become the power in post-war Iraq, and suggests that if the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq becomes dominant, a future Iraq and Iran may become partners. Taspinar, a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution, examines the Turkish secularist model for Iraq and concludes that certain aspects such as the strong military role and forced assimilation of minorities will not work in Arab states. Kessler, a consultant and retired CIA analyst, notes that the US action in acting boldly against Saddam Husayn has impressed friends and foes alike in the region but argues that the US occupation of Iraq is likely to replace any gratitude for getting rid of Saddam and may stimulate greater Islamic extremism.

1020. Yordan, Carlos L. "Failing to Meet Expectations in Iraq: A Review of the Original U.S. Post-War Strategy." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March 2004), distributed electronically. ●● An assistant professor of government at Hamilton College criticizes American post-war policy in Iraq for promising more than it could deliver and assuring Americans the attainment of key goals at relatively low costs and

raising Iraqis' expectations for higher living standards and a more secure future."

1021. Zappala, Salvatore. "The Iraqi Special Tribunal's Draft Rules of Procedure and Evidence." *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (September 2004), pp. 855-865.

1022. Zinmeister, Karl. *Dawn Over Baghdad: How the U.S. Military Is Using Bullets and Ballots to Remake Iraq*. San Francisco, CA: Encounter Books, 2004.

1023. Zizek, Slavoj. *Iraq: The Borrowed Kettle*. London: Verso, 2004.

International Aspects of Gulf Security

General, European, Chinese, and Other Involvement

1024. Ahrari, M.E., ed. *The Gulf and International Security: The 1980s and Beyond*. London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. ●● A collection of papers at a conference sponsored by Mississippi State University. The editor (Mississippi State University) contributes an introduction and provides an analysis of Iranian threats to Gulf security. Shireen Hunter (Center for Strategic and International Studies) discusses Iran's perspectives of Gulf security, followed by Ahrari's examination of Saudi Arabian and Iranian interaction within OPEC. Gregory F. Rose (University of North Texas) critiques American policy vis-à-vis the Iran-Iraq War, J.E. Peterson analyzes security concerns in the Arabian Peninsula, James Noyes (Hoover Institution) looks at American perceptions of Iranian threats to Gulf security, and Mark N. Katz (George Mason University) reviews Soviet interests in the Gulf.

1025. Alford, Jonathan. "Les Occidentaux et la sécurité du Golfe." *Politique Étrangère*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (September 1981), pp. 667-690. ●● The author emphasizes the point that the protection of critically important oil supplies in the Gulf has become a central concern of Western security. In his view, Western military forces must provide for the security of the Gulf, deter Soviet aggression, and mitigate the risk of turbulence in the region. The American RDF is a first step, but Soviet advantages in location and lines of communication mean that Europe must also play an active role. Alford suggests that an Allied Deployment Force be created, primarily for use in the Gulf but also in other areas where intervention might be necessary, as in the Mediterranean Basin and Africa. Such an approach, in the author's opinion, would force European allies to acknowledge their responsibilities in an enlarged definition of Western security, and would provide greater military flexibility. ¤

1026. Amirie, Abbas. *The Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in International Politics*. Tehran: Institute for International Political and Economic Studies, 1975. ●● A collection of papers from a conference held in Tehran in May 1975, edited by the former director of IIPES. The role of the superpowers in the region is discussed by William Griffith, John C. Campbell, T.B. Miller, and Alvin G. Cottrell. Neville Brown reports on Western European interests and Makoto Momoi on Japanese concerns. The views and policies of regional states are covered by Bhabani Sen Gupta (India), Dieter Braun (Indian nuclear policy), R.M. Burrell (Arab Gulf states), and Amir Taheri

(Iran). In addition, John Duke Anthony dissects the rebellion in Oman's province of Dhufar, and Jahangir Amuzegar and Thomas Stauffer present their views on the importance of Gulf oil to the world economy. The remarks of other participants in the conference have been reprinted after each paper. ¤

1027. Behbehani, Hashim S.H. *China's Foreign Policy in the Arab World, 1955-75*. London: KPI, 1981. Paperback ed., 1985. ●● A political scientist at the University of Kuwait examines three case studies of China's involvement in the Arab world: relations with the Palestinian resistance movement; its involvement with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the insurrection in Oman's southern Dhufar region; and relations with the state of Kuwait.

1028. Calabrese, John. "China and the Persian Gulf: Energy and Security." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Summer 1998), pp. 351-366. ●● A scholar-in-residence at the Middle East Institute and adjunct professor at American University comments that energy is at the heart of relations between China and the Gulf and that China strengthened its political relations with the Gulf states in the 1990s while expanding its arms sales to the region. But he also notes that these relations have become more difficult to manage because the Kuwait War and American opposition to its commercial ties with Iran. "As the scope of China's involvement in the Gulf widens, China may encounter many more economic opportunities, but may also incur higher political risks." (p. 366)

1029. Chubin, Shahram. "La France et la Golfe: opportunisme ou continuité?" *Politique Étrangère*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (1983), pp. 879-887. ●● The author explains how France's search for close relations with the Gulf states following the 1973-1974 oil price revolution has led to Mitterand's recent support for Iraq in its war with Iran and his decision to provide important arms to that country. Chubin argues, however, that French policy transcends commercial considerations and, since it is determined by geopolitical interests, contributes to international security in the Gulf region. ¤

1030. Coker, Christopher, and Heinz Schulte. "A European Option in the Indian Ocean." *International Defense Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1982), pp. 27-34. ●● The authors, both at Oxford University, examine the kinds of equipment and units that American NATO allies can contribute to the RDF and the Western naval presence in the Indian Ocean. They note that problems exist in the uncertainty of French participation in NATO operations and NATO members' reluctance to consider contingencies outside the organization's formal boundaries. ¤

1031. Davis, Eric. "The Political Economy of the Arab Oil-Producing Nations: Convergence With Western Interests." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1979), pp. 75-94. ●● The author, an associate professor of political science at Rutgers University, takes issue with what he sees as a preoccupation with the potential for conflict between Arab oil producers and Western consumers. "Rather than solely emphasizing the potential for conflict between the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) and the West, greater attention should be given to the nature of the emerging alliance between its conservative members, especially Saudi Arabia, and the dominant Western power, the United States." ¤

1032. Fuertig, Henner. "GCC-EU Political Cooperation: Myth or Reality?" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (May 2004), pp. 25-62.

1033. Hartley, Keith. "Can the UK Afford a Rapid Deployment Force?" *RUSI Journal of the Royal United Service Institution for Defence Studies*, Vol. 127 (March 1982), pp. 18-21. ●● A reader in economics at the University of York examines the budgetary implications of the creation of a British RDF, a factor he asserts must be as integral a part of the question as the security needs. ¤

1034. Hurewitz, J.C. *The Persian Gulf. After Iran's Revolution*. New York: Foreign Policy Association, April 1979. Headline Series, No. 244. ●● A general survey of politics in the Gulf written by the director of Columbia University's Middle East Institute. The author provides brief background capsules for the eight states of the Gulf, discusses Soviet penetration of the region, explains the factors behind the revolution in Iran, and warns that the Arab-Israeli dispute will continue to hamper US relations with the Arab Gulf states. In the past, says Hurewitz, US policy has been one of improvisation and shift with a noticeable lack of clear and steady leadership. Apparently, the US has chosen to be a "visible balancer" in the Gulf but this role will be a busy one. This study is updated from the author's "The Persian Gulf: Prospects for Stability," published as No. 220 (April 1974) in the Headline Series. ¤

1035. Kelly, J.B. *Arabia, the Gulf and the West: A Critical View of the Arabs and Their Oil Policy*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson; New York: Basic Books, 1980. ●● A noted historian of British imperial policy in the Gulf launches a bitter attack on recent developments and actors in the region. Kelly states from the very beginning that he does not pretend to be impartial… and the chapter titles confirm this: "The Abandonment of

Aden," "The Retreat from the Gulf," "Sorcerers' Apprentices" (the Gulf emigrants), "Araby the Blest" (Saudi Arabia), and "The 'sting'" (OPEC pricing policy in 1973-1974). His multitudinous targets include the Labour Party (for the decisions to quit Aden and the Gulf), the Tories (for not reversing these decisions), the Foreign Office (for not handling the Arabs as firmly as had the Colonial and India Offices), the US government (for eroding Britain's role in the region), the State Department and American academia (for accepting ARAMCO's portrayal of a benevolent Saudi Arabia), the National Liberation Front of South Yemen (for being Marxist and opposing the British presence there), the shaykhdoms of the Gulf (for seeking a more grandiloquent station in life than their backwardness justified), and King Faysal and the "Shah of Persia" (for conniving to blackmail Britain into retreating from the Gulf). There is more than a whiff of nostalgia within these pages for the orderliness of times past when only a pax Britannica raised the people of these climes out of their "barbarism" back into which they are "fast lapsing…." ¤

1036. _____. "Great Game or Grand Illusion?" *Survey*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1980), pp. 109-127. ●● Kelly mounts a savage attack on the British withdrawal from the Gulf and the "pusillanimity" of the Western response to recent developments there. He speaks disparagingly of both the Shah and the régime which replaced him, and regards Saudi Arabia, "the second bulwark of the Gulf's defense," as a "dangerous source of instability in the region." The tenor of Kelly's attitude is illustrated by his opinion of Western arming of Saudi Arabia: "Through their foolish pretence … that Saudi Arabia could ever serve as a pillar of the Gulf's security, and through their flaccid accommodation of every one of the Saudi regime's arrogant demands and petulant whims, they have needlessly increased the dangers of instability in the Arabian Peninsula." ¤

1037. Kupchan, Charles. *The Persian Gulf and the West: The Dilemmas of Security*. Winchester, MA: Allen & Unwin, 1987. ●● An assistant professor of politics at Princeton University looks at the background to Gulf security and its impact on US efforts to enhance its military capability to defend its interests in the region. The author's primary focus, however, is on NATO and the Western alliance and he complains "That NATO - the central component of the Western security framework - is unable to address threats to Western interests in the Middle East is another aspect of the dilemma of security in the Persian Gulf." (p. 209) He also discusses the topic in "NATO and the Persian Gulf: Examining Intra-alliance Behavior," *International Organization*, Vol. 42 (Spring 1988), pp. 317-346.

1038. Luciani, Giacomo. "The EU and the Gulf Co-operation Council." *EUI*

Review (Spring 2001), pp. 46-48. ●● The author argues that the European Union has tended to ignore the GCC, paying more attention to a Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, the Arab-Israeli peace process, and, even within the Gulf, to Iran and Iraq. But he suggests a EU-GCC partnership based on such issues and interests as energy, Gulf private investors in Mediterranean development, European assistance in Gulf privatization, and European cooperation in information technology and the new economy.

1039. Nonneman, Gerd, with Anoushiravan Ehteshami, and Iris Glosemeyer. *Terrorism, Gulf Security and Palestine*. Florence: European University Institute, Robert Schuman Institute for Advanced Studies, January 2002. RSC Policy Paper, No. 02/2.

1040. Peterson, J.E., ed. *The Politics of Middle Eastern Oil*. Washington, DC: Middle East Institute, 1983. ●● A collection of over thirty articles, most originally published elsewhere, organized into three parts. The first deals with Middle Eastern oil and its place in the world economy, with chapters on the development of the Middle Eastern oil industry, OPEC and OAPEC, the oil price revolution and its ramifications, and growing interdependence between producers and consumers. The second part concentrates on the oil-induced transformation of the Middle Eastern producing countries, including economic development, social change, and political evolution. The focus of the third section is on the new international political relationships emerging from the oil price revolution. The articles there analyze the changing balance-of-power between the Middle Eastern producers and other actors in the Middle East, the Third World, and the West, and also discuss the emerging concern of both superpowers over control of the Gulf. The numerous appendices include a glossary, chronologies, tables on oil production and foreign aid, and capsule briefs to the Iran-Iraq war and the RDF. A bibliography containing over 400 items is also included. ¤

1041. Pridham, B.R., ed. *The Arab Gulf and the Arab World*. London: Croom Helm, for the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, 1988. ●● Another collection of papers from a University of Exeter symposium, held in July 1986. Early and Ottoman history are covered by Michael G. Morony (UCLA) dealing with the Arabization of the Gulf, Farouk Omar (Baghdad University) on the Islamization of the Gulf, and Robert G. Landen (University of Montevallo, Alabama) on relations between the Gulf and the Arab provinces of the Ottoman empire. Political aspects of the Arab world-Gulf relationship are handled by Riad N. El-Rayyes (journalist) on Arab nationalism and the Gulf, Fred Halliday (London School of Economics) looking at the Gulf in international affairs, and Levon Melikian (University

of Qatar) on the sociopolitical impact of the Arab world on Gulf lifestyles. Demographics and financial interchanges are discussed by J.S. Birks (World Bank consultant) on the demographic challenge in the Gulf, Ian J. Seccombe (Mountjoy Research Centre) on Arabization and localization in the Gulf labor market, R.S. Porter (British Ministry of Overseas Development) on Gulf aid to the Arab world, and C.A. Sinclair (Durham University) on migrant workers' remittances in the Arab world. A final section on Gulf security features contributions by Ghassan Salamé (American University, Beirut) on perceived threats and perceived loyalties, Ursula Braun (Scientific and Political Institute, Munich) on the security role of the GCC, and Manfred W. Wenner (University of Northern Illinois) on the 1986 civil war in South Yemen.

1042. Ramazani, Rouhollah K. "Security in the Persian Gulf." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (1979), pp. 821-835. ●● Many of the suggestions in this article written immediately after the revolution by a prominent scholar on Iranian politics and foreign policy have been overtaken by such events as the enunciation of the Carter Doctrine, the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, and the formation of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Nevertheless, the author's argument that a "comprehensive economic and security partnership between a group of Gulf and OECD countries" would better contribute to regional security than a sole "go-it-alone" American response still merits careful consideration. ¤

1043. Rashid, Ahmed. "Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Gulf." *MERIP Reports*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (September-October 1987), pp. 35-39.

1044. Rashid, Jamal. "Pakistan and the Central Command." *MERIP Reports*, No. 141 (July-August 1986), pp. 28-34. ●● An examination of US military links with Pakistan and speculation regarding American acquisition of a base in Pakistan's Baluchistan province. The author notes that "The massive infrastructural buildup in Makran [Baluchistan's coast on the Arabian Sea] does point to a possible future use of Makran's facilities by US or GCC forces if the occasion demands. US financial commitments to Makran's development demonstrate Washington's interest in the area." (p. 33)

1045. Rathmell, Andrew, Theodore Karasik, and David Gompert. *A New Persian Gulf Security System*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, April 2003. Issue Paper. ●● A short paper by RAND analysts looking at the issue of a post-Iraq-war system in the Gulf "to help break the cycle of instability and conflict that has plagued the region." (p. 1) The authors contend that the options of a unilateral US attempt to impose liberal democracy or a return to a balance-of-power approach are not viable. Instead, they recommend a

multilateral US-European effort to construct a more durable Gulf security system, underpinned by political reform in the Gulf.

1046. Rowe, Donald S. "Collective Security and the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force." *Joint Perspectives*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Winter 181), pp. 3-17. ●● An army officer evaluates the possibility of tying the RDF to NATO forces. He concludes that, despite various difficulties, such a policy would provide the advantage of affirming NATO as the centerpiece of US security arrangements and an opportunity to conduct exercises in the area and thereby test the RDF's effectiveness. ¤

1047. Said, Mohamed Kadry. "Potential Egyptian Contribution to a Security Framework in the Gulf." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 63-72. ●● A retired Egyptian general makes the case for an Egyptian contribution, stressing the history of its cooperation with the US in military exercises and in Operation Desert Storm. He suggests that "Egypt could have a multi-tier approach to strengthen the security of the Gulf. This might be done through contributing to GCC collective-security arrangements and supplying armaments produced in Egypt in addition to organizing training programs." (p. 70)

1048. Serfaty, Simon. "Bridging the Gulf Across the Atlantic: Europe and the United States in the Persian Gulf." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Summer 1998), pp. 337-350. ●● A professor of US foreign policy at Old Dominion University examines the disagreements between the US and the European Union over policies needed in the Gulf, especially the limitations of dual containment. He warns that "More transatlantic discord over the Gulf, whether caused by evidence of the failure of US policy or by a sense in Europe of being left out of the decision-making process, could be seriously disruptive of US-European relations and affect the vital interests of all the Western allies." (p. 349)

1049. Siebert, Michael. "European Perspectives on the Gulf: Similarities and Differences with the U.S." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (September 2002), pp. 94-97. ●● A German diplomat sees "similarities in the U.S. and EU analysis of the [Iraqi] threat. But I see differences in the political debate on how to deal with Saddam." (p. 95) He also notes that "the quest for legitimacy under international law in the case of an attack against Iraq…, ideally a U.N. mandate, is much stronger in Europe than in the United States." (p. 95) Unlike George W. Bush's characterization of Iran as part of the "axis of evil," Europe has chosen to intensify contacts with Iran after 11 September 2001, which is seen as doing more for "positive internal development in Iran and stability in the region than antagonizing the

country." (p. 96)

1050. Snyder, Jed C. *Defending the Fringe: NATO, the Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, 1987. SAIS Papers in International Affairs, No. 11. ●● Written while a guest scholar at the Johns Hopkins University Foreign Policy Institute, this volume looks at NATO's potential role in its southern flank, including the Gulf. The latter is analyzed in terms of developments in Afghanistan and the evolution of US doctrines towards the region. The work is most dated in its assessment of regional security issues and the superpower rivalry.

1051. Sokolsky, Richard, Stuart Johnson, and F. Stephen Larrabee. *Persian Gulf Security: Improving Allied Military Contributions*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2001. MR-1245-AF. ●● A study prepared for the US Air Force on the conditions under which the US would need substantial contributions from NATO allies for Gulf operations, the power projection capabilities of these allies, and the attitude of European countries towards missions beyond peacekeeping operations in Europe. The authors conclude that "For the foreseeable future, it is likely that the United States will for the most part have to deal on its own with key threats to common interests outside Europe" and that "European governments, with the notable exception of the U.K. and possibly France, will be reluctant to participate heavily in military operations in the Gulf." (p. xx) Steps recommended to enable Europe to shoulder a larger share of the burden include improvements in allied force planning, improvements in allied forces, increased allied pre-positioning and presence, increased military-to-military dialogue, changes in military exercises, and enhanced interoperability of air forces.

1052. Stanley, Bruce. "Drawing From the Well: Syria in the Persian Gulf." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1990), pp. 45-64. ●● The author (Rhodes College, Memphis) surveys Syria's relations with the Gulf since its independence with emphasis on Syrian support for Tehran during the Iran-Iraq War and post-war developments. He concludes that Syrian policy towards the Gulf rests on two central questions: what can Gulf actors off in Syria's attempt to balance off Israel, and how to balance off Iraq. The "Gulf is thus a well from which Asad and Syria draw in time of need. Syria would be wise to remind itself to ask the price of that precious water, and to avoid assuming that it will always be available." (p. 64)

1053. Tarzi, Amin. "The Role of WMD in Iranian Security Calculations:

Dangers to Europe." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2004), distributed electronically. ●● An analyst at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty charges that "In general, the EU has been more interested in keeping Iranian markets open to European products and oil from Iran flowing to its members than pursuing policies aimed at altering Iran's WMD, terrorist-sponsoring, or human rights policies." But this changed in recent years with the European dialogue with Iran over nuclear weaponry. He also observes that "The EU has a chance, if not a responsibility, to act decisively and, if necessary, forcefully when addressing Tehran's quest to acquire nuclear weapons. The EU has more political and economic clout with Iran than the United States, and it stands to lose more than Washington does if Iran joined the 'nuclear club.'"

1054. Wohlstetter, Albert. "Les États-Unis et la securité du Golfe." *Politique Étrangère*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (March 1981), pp. 75-88. ●● A critical view of American preparations for Gulf security, by the President of the European American Institute for Security Research. According to the author, the US has underestimated the importance of Soviet influence and domination in many regions, including the Gulf. The West, and especially American allies, must wake up to the grave perils threatening their interests and construct a serious plan of action. Wohlstetter suggests a continual presence of allied forces in addition to the RDF, which he contends would increase the risks for the Soviets and dissuade them from attacking. This would require task groups, fast deployment logistics, advanced technologies, local bases, and help from regional allies. Wohlstetter claims the Soviets have the advantage now because they repeatedly expend considerable military and political effort to ensure direct access to the Gulf and maintain their power there. If the West does not make similar efforts, its inability to defeat the Soviets will be due to a lack of political purpose and not to inherent weaknesses. ¤

1055. Yaffe, Michael D. "The Gulf and a New Middle East Security System." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 118-130. ●● The academic dean of the Near East-South Asia Center for Strategic Studies at the National Defense University in Washington, DC, examines the recent proposals for "comprehensive strategies" for economic and political reform and security for the Gulf and entire Middle East. The author advocates a "layered system" for Gulf security, with US-GCC relations as the base layer but also comprising enhanced GCC collective security capabilities, the inclusion of Iraq in the scheme, and the creation of a new forum made up of all Gulf littoral states and based on regional entities elsewhere.

1056. Yorke, Valerie. "Oil, the Middle East and Japan's Search for Security." *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 57, No. 3 (1981), pp. 428-448. ●● The

author, a research associate at the Royal Institute of International Affairs at the time of writing, asserts that Japan's extreme vulnerability to changes in the policies of oil producers led to the pursuit of "resource diplomacy" after 1973. Yorke maintains that this has resulted in an independent pro-Arab political posture; extensive offers of developmental assistance to OAPEC states; and closer Japanese cooperation with Washington's views on consumer strategies. ¤

1057. Zakheim, Dov S. "Of Allies and Access." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1981), pp. 87-96. ●● This article by a former Congressional Budget Office analyst maintains that assistance in protecting the Gulf by US allies in NATO and OECD would not only free US resources for military needs elsewhere, but would provide a graphic, while politically discreet, image of a West collectively determined to protect its interest in the Gulf. Zakheim suggests that allied contributions might take the form of: (1) peacetime contributions of naval forces and perhaps surveillance aircraft in the region; (2) providing the US with the use of airfield and port facilities to facilitate American deployment in the Gulf; and (3) financial support for military construction programs in the Gulf, such as British upgrading of their original facilities in Oman or West German refurbishment of airbases in western Turkey. ¤

Superpower and Great Power Rivalry in the Gulf

1058. Aliboni, Roberto. "The Strategic and Regional Balance in the Middle East and the Red Sea Region." Translated by Richard Walker. *Atlantic Community Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1981), pp. 37-49. ●● This rambling article by the director of the Instituto Affairi Internazionali covers three distinct subtopics. The first discusses relations and the strategic balance between the superpowers, noting that Western interests are centered on oil while the Soviet Union wants to guarantee its national security. But superpower interests in the region are expected to clash if it becomes necessary for the USSR to import oil in the future. The author contends that the strategic balance in the region has changed in Moscow's favor in recent years, alleging increased capabilities in Afghanistan and the Gulf. Meanwhile, as the second section notes, the regional balance has also shifted because of the Islamic revolution in Iran and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, leading to increased destabilization. Finally, Aliboni contends that a vacuum has appeared in the Red Sea due to a schism between Saudi Arabia and Egypt over Israel. It is up to the US, he says, to play its cards correctly in filling the vacuum and thereby redressing the unfavorable regional balance. ¤

1059. Amirsadeghi, Hossein, ed. *The Security of the Persian Gulf*. London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981. ●● A collection of essays on Gulf security in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution, edited by an Iranian emigre and opponent of Ayatollah Khomeini. The majority of contributions focus on the impact of external forces on the Gulf. John C. Campbell (a former Middle East Institute official and Council on Foreign Relations fellow) lays the scene by tracing the development of outside interests in the Gulf. Geoffrey Kemp (former associate professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and staff member of the National Security Council) outlines the importance of the Gulf in the strategic balance between the superpowers and suggests ways in which the West can maintain control of the Gulf.

Shahram Chubin (then at the International Institute for Strategic Studies) discusses Moscow's interests and position in the Gulf and claims that "The outlook for the USSR in the region is promising." C.D. Carr assesses the US-Iranian relationship between 1948 and 1978, and Lewis A. Dunn (on the senior professional staff at the Hudson Institute) discusses the prospects for the spread of nuclear weapons to the Gulf. Steven L. Canby (President of C & L Associates) discusses the requirements for the territorial defense of Iran against the Soviet Union and concludes that the Shah's armed forces Awere ill-suited for all but one of their intended tasks: political symbolism. A Stephanie G. Neuman (a senior research associate at Columbia University) looks at the relationship between arms transfers, indigenous defense production, and dependency in the case of Iran.

In papers focusing more directly on the politics of the region, Richard Haass (a research associate at IISS and later Department of Defense official) discusses the complementary roles played by Pahlavi Iran and Saudi Arabia as the "twin pillars" of the Gulf and contends that with the fall of the Shah, "the stress on the remaining pillar is much greater, and stability all the more difficult to maintain." John Duke Anthony (then associate professor at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies) outlines political interaction among the Arab states of the Gulf, the impact of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the Iranian drive for hegemony. Edmund Ghareeb, writing before the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, surveys recent politics in Iraq and its foreign policy in the Gulf, suggesting that "Iraq never has had, in its recent history, such a fortunate opportunity to play a leading role in Gulf and Arab affairs." L.P. Elwell-Sutton (professor of Persian at the University of Edinburgh) examines the contributions to the Iranian revolution made by the Shah's policies and charges that "The unpredictable collapse of the Shah's régime precipitated the religious leadership into a situation that they had never expected, and for which they were quite

unprepared." Finally, Fereidun Fesharaki (a research associate at the East-West Center in Honolulu) assesses the impact of the revolution on Iran's oil and gas policies. ¤

1060. Ayoob, Mohammed. "The Superpowers and Regional 'Stability': Parallel Responses to the Gulf and the Horn." *World Today*, Vol. 35, No. 5 (May 1979), pp. 197-205. ●● This short article, written while the author was still a senior research fellow at the Australian National University, maintains that the superpowers have developed similar policies toward Third World clients, as exemplified in Iran and Ethiopia. The US, utilizing Iran as a regional surrogate under the Nixon Doctrine, put its full weight behind the Shah in an unsuccessful attempt to preserve the status quo. Similarly, the Soviet Union has been trying to preserve an equally unpopular regime and surrogate in Ethiopia. Furthermore, Ayoob contends that both superpowers fear "native" change in the Third World and hope to retain a manageable equilibrium. This results in recognition of spheres of influence and tacit agreement not to interfere in each other's sphere. Thus, Moscow refrained from embarking on any action that might alienate the Shah and the US, while Washington has limited its response in the Horn of Africa to verbal condemnations. ¤

1061. Chubin, Shahram. *The Role of Outside Powers*. London: Gower, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1982. Security in the Persian Gulf, Vol. 4. ●● The fourth (and last) in a series of IISS monographs on Gulf security, Chubin's contribution is actually divided into two distinct halves. The first traces influence in arms relationships between a superpower and a Gulf state in three cases: the US and Iran, the US and Saudi Arabia, and the USSR and Iraq. The second part is concerned with conflict management in the Gulf. Chubin first discusses the superpowers' contribution to the problem and considers that their role in the Gulf will be more direct in the future as their interests there grow, their relationship becomes more hostile and competitive, and no obvious substitute in the region exists to handle conflict management chores. Next, he provides a short history of attempts at regional cooperation. Chubin's suggestions for US policy go beyond improved coordination and a greater US sensitivity: "A greater readiness to make quiet suggestions and to point out the manifold implications and interrelationships between the various strands of the development programmes underway is essential. A ¤

1062. Cottrell, Alvin J. "The Political-Military Balance in the Persian Gulf Region." In Joseph S. Szyliowicz and Bard E. O'Neill, eds., *The Energy Crisis and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1975), pp. 125-138. ●● The late Director of Research at Georgetown's Center for Strategic and

International Studies discusses the impact of British withdrawal from the Gulf, the intrusion of Soviet naval activities in the Indian Ocean, and prospects for the protection of US interests, particularly through the emerging role of Iran as a regional military power. The limits of Cottrell's powers of prognostication are suggested by his observation that the "absolute kingships" in the region-especially on the Arab littoral-are anachronisms and that the only one likely to survive is Pahlavi Iran. ¤

1063. "Defending the Gulf: A Survey." *The Economist*, 6 June 1981, survey pp. 1-38. ●● An overview of the strategic situation in the Gulf at the beginning of the 1980s, with emphasis on the interplay between the superpowers, this volume contains sections on the state of Afghani resistance, the possibility of Soviet intervention in either Iran or Iraq, Saudi Arabia's balancing act between self-policing of the Gulf and dependence on the US, Oman's role as custodian of the Strait of Hormuz, the United States' response in the RDF, and Egypt's potential as an American stepping-stone to the Gulf. ¤

1064. Farid, Abdel Majid, ed. *Oil and Security in the Arabian Gulf*. London: Croom Helm, for the Arab Research Centre, 1981. ●● The papers in this volume result from a symposium in October 1980 sponsored by the Arab Research Centre in London, and were edited by the center's director. The participants are a combination of writers and government officials; as a consequence, some contributions consist of full fledged papers while others are more in the nature of reproduced spoken remarks. The papers focus on the Iranian revolution in international affairs (by Fred Halliday, Transnational Institute), oil and US policy in the region (Robert J. Hanks, former commander of the US Navy's Middle East Force), oil and Soviet policy (Ruben N. Andreasyan, Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences), and an Arab view of oil and Gulf security (Mohammad El-Rumaihi, University of Kuwait).

Also contributing are Abdullah al-Tariki (former Saudi Minister of Oil and Mineral Resources), Robert Pranger (American Enterprise Institute), James Akins (former US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia), Ahmed Baha el-Din (then editor-in-chief of al-'Arabi magazine of Kuwait), Douglas Hurd (British Minister of State at the Foreign Office), Michael Field (British journalist), Michel Jobert (former French Minister of Foreign Affairs), Pierre Desprairies (Director of the French Petroleum Institute), Indu Prakash Singh (Deputy High Commissioner of India in London), and Tim Niblock (then Deputy Director of the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies). Also included is a summary of a roundtable on the Iran-Iraq war, held at the Arab Research Centre in December 1980. ¤

1065. _____, ed. *The Red Sea: Prospects for Stability*. London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984. ●● A collection of papers from a 1983 conference organized by the Arab Research Centre and edited by the centre's director. Zaki Mustafa (Saudi-Sudanese Red Sea Joint Commission) looks at Red Sea resources, J.M. Doviak and Gary Gimson (both of the Seatrade Academy, Cambridge) examine trade and shipping in the region, Prince Abdullah al-Faisal al-Turki al-Sa'ud (Royal Commission for Jubail and Yanbu) looks at Saudi development plans along the littoral, Geoffrey Marston (Cambridge University) outlines potential legal problems, and Hassan el-Badri (Al-Ahram Political and Strategic Center) assesses local conflicts. The papers by Gerald Blake (Durham University) and Hassan el-Bazzaz (Baghdad Research Centre) deal with the links between the Red Sea and the Gulf while Louis Fitzgibbon examines the straits. The perspectives of individual countries on the Red Sea's importance are discussed by Michael Sterner (former US ambassador to the UAE) on the US, Fred Halliday (Transnational Institute) on the USSR, Amin Hewidi (former Egyptian minister of defense) on Egypt, and Noah Lucas (Sheffield University) on Israel. ¤

1066. Jabber, Paul, Gary Sick, Hisahiko Okazaki, and Dominique Moisi. *Great Power Interests in the Persian Gulf*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1988. ●● The outcome of a Council on Foreign Relations study group, this slim volume features papers by Gary Sick (formerly of the Ford Foundation) on the United States, Hisahiko Okazaki (formerly Japanese ambassador to Saudi Arabia) on Japan, and Dominique Moïsi (French Institute of International Relations) on Europe. CFR fellow (at the time of writing) Paul Jabber provides the introduction.

1067. Peterson, J.E. *Conflict in the Yemens and Superpower Involvement*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, December 1981. Occasional Paper. ●● This monograph is concerned with politics in the two Yemens and the impact of their often-stormy relationship on relations with the United States and the Soviet Union. The background to politics in both North Yemen and South Yemen is discussed first, followed by analysis of the critical events of June 1978 (leading to the death of both countries' presidents) and the border war of early 1979. A final section traces both American and Soviet involvement with the two states. It is suggested that a more productive American policy towards this corner of Arabia involves "a more realistic recognition of the many constraints on Yemen Arab Republic leadership" and a renewed effort at dialogue with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. ¤

1068. Rubinstein, A.Z., ed. *The Great Game: Rivalry in the Persian Gulf and*

South Asia. New York: Praeger, for the Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1983. ●● The result of a Foreign Policy Research Institute conference at Bellagio, Italy, in 1982. Adeed Dawisha (Deputy Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs) begins the volume with a discussion of social and political change in the countries of the Gulf, and suggests that the states of the Arab littoral stand a good chance of surviving the challenge of the Islamic revival and Iranian revolution, just as they have the earlier radical nationalist one. Michael Sterner (a Washington consultant and former ambassador to the UAE) outlines the Gulf states' perceptions of Gulf security, and passes on their observation that the last 30 years in Middle East have seen Amore pro-Western governments destroyed through internal upheaval than as the result of external aggression." Gary Sick (a retired navy captain and National Security Council staffer, presently with the Ford Foundation) provides a thumbnail sketch of the evolution of US policy toward the region over the last several decades and concludes that "it has been neither farsighted nor particularly wise."

The editor, Alvin Z. Rubinstein (Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania), surveys the Soviet relationship with key actors in the region and notes that "what Washington does in the region may count for more than what Moscow wants." Shahram Chubin, of the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, discusses European relations with the Gulf and points out that European contribution to a Western security policy there is complicated "first by differences within Europe and second by strains between the two sides of the Atlantic." Shirin Tahir-Kheli (of the State Department Policy Planning Staff at the time of publication) discusses area transfers to Iran, India, and Pakistan, observing that reduction of arms transfers to the Third World depends on major suppliers offering regional solutions to security problems. Keith Dunn (a strategy analyst at the US Army War College) examines US military strategy for the region and stresses the desirability of collective rather than unilateral action, noting that Aan alliance approach has a better chance of being acceptable to an American public … more interested in domestic than in foreign affairs issues. A The volume also includes papers by Bhabani Sen Gupta, Aswini K. Ray, and Barry Buzan. ¤

1069. Smart, Ian. "Oil, the Super-powers and the Middle East." *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 53, No. 1 (January 1977), pp. 17-35. ●● The author, Deputy Director and Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, examines the question of "what effects have the events in the oil market since 1973 had on Middle East conflicts and the attitudes of the superpowers to those conflicts?" He argues that the impact has been more uneven and sometimes less powerful than at first thought and

concludes that the oil factor has not been a determinant of Middle East policy for either superpower: "It casts a shadow, but it does not draw lines." ¤

1070. Thompson, W. Scott. "The Persian Gulf and the Correlation of Forces." *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Summer 1982), pp. 157-180. ●● The author, at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy when this article was written, contends that recent developments have resulted in a shift in the correlation of forces in the Soviet Union's favor, thus weakening the West's position in the Gulf. There are two poles to the debate over Soviet intentions in the Gulf. While pointing out the "maximalist" position (Soviet moves are the result of a master plan), Thompson is more concerned with countering the arguments of the "minimalists" (conflicts in the Gulf result from local causes and Soviet actions are taken solely to prevent spillover into the Soviet Union). The author's working assumption is that basic Soviet strategy is to reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. He implies that the minimalists seek to downplay or "redefine" the Soviet threat to the Gulf to make it appear less dangerous and thus requiring a lesser response from the West. In contrast, Thompson argues that "If upon the Cannutelike [sic] commands of civilian strategists, the Soviet threat to the Persian Gulf fails to recede, then Western forces must be adjusted upward to the threat…." The RDF, while important, should be considered as only part of the American response to the Soviet threat: "most important is the restoration of American strategic threat, to which all such events at the theater level are related…." ¤

1071. Vassiliev, Alexei. "The Gulf Crisis: An Acid Test for the New Soviet-American Relations." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (July-August 1991), pp. 14-21. ●● A Middle East specialist at the USSR Academy of Sciences observes that the two countries still have major differences in spite of their cooperation over the Kuwait War but that the US "still needs partnership with [the Soviet Union] in the Third World, in European affairs, and in the Far East." (p. 21)

1072. Wall, Irvin M. "The French-American War Over Iraq." *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Winter/Spring 2004), pp. 123-139. ●● A visiting scholar at New York University points out that since 11 September 2001 and especially because of the Iraq War, many French have been saying "that the old United States is gone, replaced by a new unilateralist United States, willing to dispense with the United Nations and ignore NATO, trying to divide a Europe that it once did so much to unify, destroying the international order that it built after World War II." (p. 123) As a consequence, they conclude that the unity of Europe is more urgent than

ever in order to provide a counter-weight to the US.

1073. Yetiv, Steve A. "The Evolution of U.S.-Russian Rivalry and Cooperation in the Persian Gulf." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Spring 1998), pp. 13-31. ●● An assistant professor at Old Dominion University describes the US-Russian rivalry as a continuation of "the 'Great Game' in modern times" (p. 14) He judges that the Iran-Iraq War had a strong impact on the rivalry and "clearly disposed Moscow to cooperate with Washington, and to take a stronger line against its ally, Iraq." (pp. 29-30)

The United States and the Gulf

Strategic Interests and Goals

1074. Alterman, Jon B. "The Gulf States and the American Umbrella." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (December 2000), distributed electronically. ●● A program officer at the US Institute for Peace, describes changes in the Gulf over the past two decades and traces their impact on US foreign and security policy in the region, culminating since 1993 in the policy of "dual containment" for Iran and Iraq. He concludes that "the last two decades of U.S. policy in the Gulf have been driven by military threats. The next two decades, however, are more likely to be dominated by political challenges in the Gulf monarchies."

1075. Anthony, John Duke. "The Persian Gulf: Stability, Access to Oil, and Security." In Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger, eds., *Ideology and Power in the Middle East: Studies in Honor of George Lenczowski* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 413-432. ●● The president of the National Council on US-Arab Relations provides an overview of US and GCC military arrangements to bolster security in the Gulf. He charges that "The inclination of many in the Reagan administration to downplay local initiatives in international crisis areas, and to use armed intervention when U.S. interests have appeared indirectly or potentially threatened, does not bode well for what is at stake with regard to long-term American interests in the Gulf." (pp. 430-431)

1076. Atkeson, Edward B. "The Persian Gulf: Still a Vital US Interest?" *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 124 (April 1987), pp. 46, 48, 50, 54, 56.

-and –

1077. Cossa, Ralph A. "America's Interests in the Persian Gulf Are Growing,

Not Decreasing." *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 124 (June 1987), pp. 58, 62. ●● Atkeson, a retired US Army officer, notes that the Gulf is not comparable to Europe and Japan in strategic importance to the US and argues that Western dependence on Gulf oil is vastly overstated. The result, in his eyes, is a disharmony between national interests and the military strategy that grew out of the Carter Doctrine.

Cossa, a US Air Force officer, takes issue with this point of view and declares that Atkeson has understated "The importance of the region, the nature of the Soviet threat, and the ability of the forces of the US [CENTCOM] to respond to this threat…." (p. 58)

1078. Bradley, C. Paul. *Recent United States Policy in the Persian Gulf* (1971-82). Grantham, NH: Thompson and Rutter, 1982. Distributed by Shoe String Press (Hamden, CT). ●● A basic survey of US policy in the Gulf since 1971, which assumes that the reader has had no prior introduction to the subject. The author is generally critical of US policy on a number of grounds, including the overemphasis on military power, the doubtful effectiveness of the RDF, and the failure to come to grips with "Islamic fundamentalism," seen as the area's major threat. Bradley is concerned principally with American requirements and policy developments. He tends to downplay the importance of Gulf politics, describing the Arab Gulf states at one point as "obsolescent forces with uncertain political tenure." ¤

1079. Brown, Harold. *U.S. Security Policy in Southwest Asia: A Case Study in Complexity*. Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute, 1981. Occasional Paper. ●● The former Secretary of Defense during the Carter administration, currently a professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, outlines potential setbacks for US interests in the Gulf and discusses the problems of building an effective security structure in the region for those interests. He contends that the overall military balance in the area is not very favorable to the US and recommends substantial additional air and sea lift. In addition, Brown calls for American assistance in strengthening the political structure of the region and for movement toward a resolution of the Palestinian issue. He concludes that "It will be necessary to balance these overlapping, often conflicting factors to create the political and economic structures and military capabilities that, together, constitute a security framework, a security policy, and a security capability for the Persian Gulf region and Southwest Asia." ¤

1080. Brown, William R. "Middle East Policy and Gulf Defense." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (January-February 1983), pp. 39-44. ●● The Dean of

Arts and Sciences at Central Connecticut State University examines recent US policy in the Middle East and particularly in the Gulf. Brown contends that the US has serious problems in implementing its Gulf security policy, particularly as recent Israeli and Egyptian actions seem to frustrate US aims. ¤

1081. Byman, Daniel L., and John R. Wise. *The Persian Gulf in the Coming Decade: Trends, Threats, and Opportunities*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2002. ●● RAND Corporation analysts assess likely challenges to US interests in the Gulf over the coming decade, concentrating on the declining conventional threat from Iran and Iraq and internal threats to the GCC states. The authors suggest that the US should focus more on the risk of WMD than on conventional military threats, recognize the risk of instability in the GCC states, and understand that partners in the region may be less willing to cooperate openly with the US in the future.

1082. Chadda, Maya. *Paradox of Power: The United States in Southwest Asia, 1973-1984*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1986. ●● A well-organized and comprehensive chronological narrative of the evolution of US policy towards the region, which the author, a professor of political science at William Paterson College, defines as stretching from Israel to the Indian subcontinent. The author contends that although the American emphasis on military options may have gained temporary advantages, it failed to build structures of enduring influence. She concludes that, by President Reagan's second term, "The United States was learning, albeit after inflicting great cost on the nations of the region, that at best war was an extension of diplomacy; it could never be a substitute for it." (p. 252)

1083. Cheema, Zafar Iqbal. "U.S. Strategy in the Persian Gulf." *Pakistan Horizons*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (1987), pp. 23-45. ●● An assistant professor at Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad reviews the origin and development of American interest in the Gulf and concludes that "the US strategy in the Persian Gulf is hardly credible to safeguard its own interests and that of its Western and regional allies. It is based on a number of unrealistic presumptions." (p. 42)

1084. Chubin, Shahram. "U.S. Security Interests in the Persian Gulf in the 1980s." *Daedalus*, Vol. 109, No. 4 (1980), pp. 31-65. ●● The former Director of the Regional Studies Program at the International Institute for Strategic Studies discusses conflicting American and Soviet interests in the Gulf and points out how Western interests can be safeguarded. Since the Soviet Union thrives on disorder, it need only cultivate neutrality to gain influence and deny Western powers access. The West, on the other hand,

prefers order and the status quo, which makes for a far more difficult task of maintaining stability and protecting friendly regimes. The author maintains that military power is a necessary precondition for Western influence in the region, although he recognizes that it is not sufficient by itself. Consequently, the RDF is held to be indispensable in contributing to both the deterrence of aggression and the defense of local allies (and American military efforts should be joined by European and Turkish allies). Simultaneously, the West should pursue political strategies aimed at the amelioration, if not prevention, of sources of regional tension and conflict and then their containment and resolution. ¤

1085. Copson, Raymond W. *Persian Gulf Conflict: Post-War Issues for Congress*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, 1991. CRS Issue Brief.

1086. Cordesman, Anthony H. "The 'Oil Glut' and the Strategic Importance of the Gulf States." *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 121, No. 3 (October 1983), pp. 30-47. ●● Heavily sprinkled with oil statistics, this article emphasizes that the energy crisis has not gone away but has simply taken other forms. Cordesman points out that oil is still of major importance to the US and its allies, and Saudi Arabia remains the key state. He argues that the West must remain a strong counterbalance to Soviet intrusion in the Gulf, by assisting the Gulf states in acquiring defense capabilities and by acting as an over-the-horizon insurer of US interests. ¤

1087. _____. *The Gulf in Transition: US Policy Ten Years After the Gulf War*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 17 October 2000 (working draft). ●● Described as a "working draft," this massive study features a 59-page executive summary aimed at informing the next American administration. Cordesman outlines key issues that the new administration will need to address: an effective energy policy because of growing dependence on Gulf oil, redefinition of dual containment, restructuring US military capabilities in the Gulf, recognition of the impact of the Arab-Israeli arena on the Gulf. The author notes that "The US needs to recognize the demographic, economic and internal political problem sin the Southern Gulf, but the US cannot restructure the society and economies of its allies. The United States can only encourage its allies' own efforts towards internal reform." (p. 5)

1088. Cottrell, Alvin J., and Michael L. Moodie. *The United States and the Persian Gulf: Past Mistakes, Present Needs*. New York: National Strategy Information Center, 1984. Agenda Paper, No. 13. ●● A short overview of the US military role in the Gulf, proceeding from the assumption that US

interests there have suffered considerable setbacks in recent years, due to both regional turbulence and inappropriate policies pursued by previous administrations. The authors briefly examine Soviet-American naval competition in the Indian Ocean, Western interests in Saudi Arabia, the triangular relationship between the US, NATO, and the Gulf, and the RDF, before calling for enhanced maritime and RDF capabilities to defend US interests in the Gulf. Cottrell was Director of Maritime Policy at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) before his recent death and Moodie was associated with CSIS before his appointment as Special Assistant for Public Affairs at the US Mission to NATO. ¤

1089. Dickman, François M. "Economic Realities in the Gulf." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 7 (Winter 1983-1984), pp. 50-54. ●● The author, a former US ambassador to Kuwait, stresses the strong economic basis of the relationship between the US and the Arab states of the Gulf. The impact of the oil glut on these states is noted, and the point made that they have become increasingly concerned that their oil revenues be transformed into reproducible assets. At the same time, Dickman warns that the US should not be lulled by the oil glut into diminishing the importance of the Gulf. Instead, greater interdependence is emerging as the West continues to depend on Gulf oil and cooperation in international monetary affairs, while the Gulf states still need Western goods, services, and technology. ¤

1090. Djerejian, Edward P. "The Arc of Crisis: The Challenge to US Foreign Policy." *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring 1997), pp. 32-33, 65-66. ●● A former State Department official and director of the James A. Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice University examines the ties between US foreign policy and Islamic movements. He notes that the official US position towards "Islam" during the Clinton administration was that Islam was not considered the next "ism" confronting the West but that the US opposed those who resort to violence and violate international standards of human rights.

1091. Dunn, Michael Collins. "Five Years After Desert Storm: Security, Stability and the U.S. Presence." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March 1996), pp. 30-38. ●● A senior analyst of the International Estimate looks at the five years following the Kuwait War in terms of Gulf security and the US presence, the question of whether Iran and Iraq continue to pose a threat, and the impact of the war on the domestic stability and future of the GCC states. He concludes that "The changes in the Gulf have been real, but limited. The US presence appears to be long-term [and] the effect of the war seems to have been evolutionary rather than revolutionary." (p. 38)

1092. Eilts, Hermann Frederick. "Security Considerations in the Persian Gulf." *International Security*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1980), pp. 79-113. See the response of J.B. Kelly to this article, and Eilts' rejoinder in Vol. 5, No. 4 (1981), pp. 186-203. ●● The author, a former US ambassador to Saudi Arabia, analyzes the various threats to Gulf security and then offers some suggestions for the formulation of a suitable American policy for the Gulf in the 1980s. He divides security threats to the Gulf into external factors and factors endemic to the Gulf. Threats in the first category arise from either the Soviet Union or from the potential spillover of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Factors within the region are seen as either vertical in nature (which consist of the Arab-Iranian rivalry and the division between Sunnis and Shi'is) or horizontal (i.e. arising from within a littoral state). While the development of an American military response is natural, and may even help deter a Soviet thrust, "…the major challenges confronting the United States in the Gulf are regional and political in nature, not external and military." ¤

1093. Everest, Larry. *Oil, Power and Empire: Iraq and the U.S. Global Agenda*. Monroe, ME.: Common Courage Press, 2004.

1094. Friedland, Edward, Paul Seabury, and Aaron Wildavsky. *The Great Detente Disaster: Oil and the Decline of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Basic Books, 1974. ●● A hysterical cry that "America has allowed the intolerable to become tolerable." According to the authors, first came Vietnam, then recognition of China, the surrender at SALT I, the American-imposed defeat of Israel, and finally OPEC's discovery that crime pays. "What can be done?" The US should cut its imports of oil at a rate of one-third per year, build up reserves and invade the Arab oil producers if necessary (and preferably under the cover of an Arab-Israeli war) to "save civilization from disaster." Do the authors have an explanation of how civilization has managed to survive the ensuing decade since publication of this book without American "intervention" in the Gulf? ¤

1095. Frum, David, and Richard Perle. *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror*. New York: Random House, 2003. ●● An extremely aggressive view of what the determinants of American foreign policy should be. The arch-conservative authors, a former presidential speechwriter and a former assistant secretary of defense respectively, attack the American intelligence system for being ineffective and the State Department diplomats for being too cozy with their counterparts. The authors are hostile to the United Nations and call for France and Saudi Arabia to be treated as adversaries, rather than allies, in the war on terror.

1096. Fuller, Graham E., and Ian O. Lessor. "Persian Gulf Myths." *Foreign*

Affairs, Vol. 76, No. 3 (May-June 1997), pp. 42-52. ●● The authors, senior political analysts at the RAND Corporation and formerly officials in the CIA and State Department respectively, examine the increasing difficulties for US foreign policy in the Gulf, noting that the greatest challenges to Gulf stability will come from within and criticizing Washington's "dual containment" policy for its "parallel treatment of two disparate régimes that present sharply different problems calling for different solutions." (p. 47) They warn that "the United States can judge opposition groups and successor régimes - especially Islamists - by their behavior, and it can avoid policies that make hostility toward Washington a self-fulfilling prophecy." (p. 52)

1097. *The Future of US Persian Gulf Strategy*. Muscatine, Iowa: Stanley Foundation, 1995.

1098. Haendel, Dan. "The Persian Gulf: Geopolitics Revisited." *International Security Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 1981), pp. 79-92. ●● A Washington lawyer provides a conservative view of US policy toward the Gulf, concentrating on the Carter Doctrine and the role of the RDF. ¤

1099. Indyk, Martin. "Back to the Bazaar." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 1 (January-February 2002), pp. 75-88. ●● A senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and former ambassador to Israel justifies American priorities in the Middle East over the 1990s . He holds that "the Clinton administration fashioned a bargain with America's Arab allies that held, more or less, until September 11, 2001. Moderate Arab states would provide the US military with access to bases and facilities to help continue the 'rogues' and would support Washington's efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict; in return, Washington would not exert significant pressure for domestic change." (p. 77) The September attacks, he contends, demonstrated the weakness of the Saudi Arabian and Egyptian governments in confronting radical Islam, thus compromising US national security. His short-term solution is to press Saudi Arabia to persuade all the state sponsors of terrorism in its neighborhood … to end [their] support for terrorism and subversion…." (p. 84) and dry up sources of funding for al-Qa'idah while the US acts to "calm" the situation in the West Bank and Gaza. Longer-term strategy involves confronting the dilemma of political change in the Arab world. In the author's view, "In the Egyptian and Saudi cases the dilemma has now been exacerbated. The United States backed their régimes and they begat al Qaeda. But insisting on political reform in Cairo and Riyadh could help bin Laden achieve his ultimate objective: toppling these régimes even after he has gone." (p. 86) Indyk suggests that the US work with Egypt and Saudi Arabia "to promote political and economic reform - even if doing so

requires them to loosen some controls and take some risks. They have to be persuaded that opening political space for the encouragement of civil society in their countries can help to legitimize their régimes rather than destabilize them." (p. 86)

1100. Jabber, Paul. "U.S. Interests and Regional Security in the Middle East." *Daedalus*, Vol. 109, No. 4 (Fall 1980), pp. 67-80. ●● An overview of US policy in the Middle East at the outset of the 1980s, written while the author was in the Department of Political Science at UCLA. Jabber contends that this decade began with an enunciation of new US policy providing for a major expansion of its political and military presence in the area. US interests are seen to consist of securing access to oil, assuring the survival and prosperity of Israel, promoting friendly relations and economic ties with the Arab states, and avoidance of a major regional war. Critical challenges to these interests include nationalism, Soviet expansionism, and the Palestinian issue. In addition, the author asserts that the US itself has made the fulfillment of these interests more difficult by its constant policy shifts, incorrect assessments of the nature of threats, and lack of attention to the priorities and perceptions of regional partners. Consequently, Soviet victories have been achieved, not in spite of Western regional defensive efforts but because of them. Jabber concludes that the protection of American interests in the 1980s will require mutually cooperative relations between the U. S. and the Arab countries. A necessary prerequisite for this, however, is solution of the Palestinian problem and the inclusion of the strongest and most effective Middle Eastern power, Israel, into security arrangements. ¤

1101. Johar, Hasan, and Gawdat Bahgat. "The American Dilemma in the Gulf Region." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Fall 1995), pp. 57-71. ●● The authors, professors at Kuwait University and Indiana University of Pennsylvania respectively, offer a survey of oil and its impact on the Gulf states, as well as a brief overview of US policy in the region.

1102. Jones, Clive. *Sailing Without an Anchor? Contemporary Determinants of US Policy in the Gulf*. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2001. Emirates Lecture Series, No. 33. ●● A senior lecturer on the Middle East at the University of Leeds reviews US policy towards Iran and Iraq through the early days of the George W. Bush administration and judges that dual containment "can no longer be justified by reference to the collective will of the 'international community'" and that "Washington's ability to redefine the means by which it seeks to ensure the security of the Gulf remains constrained by powerful domestic considerations." (p. 23)

1103. Katzman, Kenneth. *The Persian Gulf: Issues for U.S. Policy, 2003*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RL30728, February 2003. ●● A Middle East specialist at the Library of Congress' CRS discusses US policy towards Iraq, Iran, and the GCC states, as well as the latters' domestic stability. On the eve of a new US administration, Katzman notes that there is some prospect of Iraq breaking out of some of its international isolation, some signs that Iran may be more willing to engage in political dialogue with the United States, that succession in some of the GCC states might affect relations, and that Israel-Palestine conflict might force them to downgrade ties with the US. ●● The paper was refashioned after the Iraq War and titled "The Persian Gulf States: Post-War Issues for U.S. Policy, 2003," CRS Report RL31533, 14 July 2003. The author estimates that "Over the longer term, with Iraq no longer a major power and the United States likely to sharply reduce its Gulf presence once Iraq is stabilized, the Gulf states might try to fashion a new security architecture for the Gulf that is based more on regional states and less on the United States. On the other hand, a reduction of the U.S. military presence in the Gulf might benefit the Gulf states by easing internal opposition to close cooperation with the United States." (Summary)

1104. _____. "US Options in the Gulf: Considerations for the Next Administration." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January-February 2000), pp. 49-52. ●● A senior analyst at the US Congressional Research Service looks at the security situation in the Gulf and its impact on the US. He opines that "U.S. security concerns in the Gulf defy instant 'magic bullet' solutions, but patient and careful calculation on the part of the United States can improve the security picture over time." (p.52)

1105. Kemp, Geoffrey. "Strategic Problems in the Persian Gulf Region." In George S. Wise and Charles Issawi, eds., *Middle East Perspectives: The Next Twenty Years* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1981), pp. 71-79. ●● Formerly an associate professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (Tufts University) and a staff member on the National Security Council, Kemp reviews the strategic importance of the Gulf and con tends that "The Carter Doctrine does not go nearly far enough toward dealing with the overall global problem the United States faces in confronting Soviet military power." He calls for an increase in defense spending and an expansion of US military capabilities in the Gulf region. In addition, he maintains that a viable American counter to potential Soviet intrusion requires "an infrastructure of bases extending far beyond the immediate area of the Indian Ocean and the Middle East itself," as well as greater assistance from American allies, particularly Japan and Turkey. ¤

1106. Khalilzad, Zalmay. "The United States and the Persian Gulf: Preventing Regional Hegemony." *Survival*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Summer 1995), p. 95-120. ●● A RAND analyst sees the driving force behind US policy in the Gulf as being prevention of regional hegemony. He suggests as measures to promote this objectives encouraging a balance of power between Iran and Iraq, aligning strategy and objectives in Iraq, focusing on stabilizing the GCC states, promoting an Arab-Israeli peace, pressuring the G-7 to contribute its fair share, improving regional cooperation, and sustaining US power.

1107. Klare, Michael. *Beyond the "Vietnam Syndrome": U.S. Interventionism in the 1980s*. Washington, DC: Institute for Policy Studies, 1981. ●● This series of articles originally appeared in the *The Nation*, *The Progressive*, and *Harper's*. Klare, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies and Director of its Militarism and Disarmament Project, ties recent American policy in the Gulf to what he sees as a broader trend of US interventionism." In this regard, he takes issue with the "Brown Doctrine" (elevating the threat of Third World turbulence to near parity with the Soviet threat), the "Carter Doctrine" (creating the military capability to intervene in the Gulf), and the "Haig Doctrine" (using military force to insure access to scarce minerals). He regards the RDF as an army in search of a war and likely to find one-with disastrous results. Klare concludes that Washington is resurrecting an emphasis on "counter-insurgency," in mothballs since Vietnam, through its activities in the Middle East and El Salvador. ¤

1108. Koury, Enver M., and Emile A. Nakhleh, eds., with Thomas W. Mullen. *The Arabian Peninsula, Red Sea and Gulf: Strategic Considerations*. Hyattsville, MD: Institute of Middle Eastern and North African Affairs, 1979. ●● A collection of five articles published on the eve of the Iranian revolution. Robert J. Pranger (Director of Foreign and Defense Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute) notes that American interests in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula are set against the forces of local nationalism and Islamic traditionalism. Enver Koury (Associate Professor of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland until his death) examines geopolitical linkages between four zones: the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea/Indian Ocean, and the Gulf. Thomas A. Pianka (then a senior fellow at the National Defense University) examines US naval policy in the Gulf and Indian Ocean, and recommends a modest US presence with a surge capability as being appropriate for the area, together with limited forward support facilities. Dale R. Tahtinen (then Assistant Director of Foreign and Defense Policy Studies at AEI) looks at US arms transfers to the area and contends that most security implications for the US in the region spring from its massive arming of Iran and the supplying of

arms to Israel. Finally, Emile Nakhleh (Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Mount St. Mary's College) examines the direction of US policy in the Gulf through four periods: 1968-1972, 1972-October 1973, October 1973-March 1975, and March 1975-1978. ¤

1109. Kuniholm, Bruce R. "The Carter Doctrine, the Reagan Corollary, and Prospects for United States Policy in Southwest Asia." *International Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Spring 1986), pp. 342-361. ●● An associate professor of history at Duke University analyzes US security policy in the Gulf and examines the divergence between the US and friendly states in the region over perception of which are the key strategic issues. He believes that relations between the United States and Saudi Arabia will probably deteriorate over the next ten years" (p. 359) and that "The GCC … will be effective provided that it is able to dissociate itself from the United States and gain legitimacy as a regional organization." (p. 360)

1110. Lang, W. Patrick. "Drinking the Kool-Aid." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 39-60. ●● The president of Global Resources and a former US Defense Intelligence Agency officer attacks the small group of people who think they are the 'bearers' of a uniquely correct view of the world, [and who] sought to dominate the foreign policy of the United States in the Bush 43 administration, and succeeded in doing so through a practice of excluding all who disagreed with them." (p. 39) He also criticizes those individuals in the military and intelligence services who went along with Aa highly corrupted system of intelligence and policymaking" - i.e., drank the Kool-Aid.

1111. Lawson, Fred H. "Political Economy, Geopolitics and the Expanding US Military Presence in the Persian Gulf and Central Asia." *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 2004), pp. 7-32. ●● A professor of government at Mills College outlines two opposing theories explaining US policy in the Gulf and Central Asia. The first posits a special role for the United States in a unipolar world that involves the obligation to change régimes that it finds intolerable - including Iraq and Iran. The second envisions a type of global empire that seeks to dominate the world economically, in pursuit of which access to raw materials - particularly the Gulf's oil - is a key requirement. The author criticizes both theories on the grounds that their assumption that the US is acting from a position of overwhelming strength is flawed. Lawson argues instead that "Washington is attempting to prop up its increasingly precarious position in the face of a variety of severe and accelerating strategic challenges." (p. 9)

1112. Lefebvre, Jeffrey A. "US Military Hegemony in the Arabian/Persian Gulf:

How Long Can It Last?" *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 4 (May 2003), pp. 186B190. ●● An academic at the University of Connecticut briefly reviews changing US strategic policy with regard to the Gulf and wonders how long the most recent "three tiers of defense" strategy will last. He sees Arab mistrust as comprising perhaps the biggest threat to the strategy and declares that "American bullying will breed even greater distrust of the United States and will ultimately push the U.S. military back over the horizon." (p. 190)

1113. Leffler, Melvyn P. "From the Truman Doctrine to the Carter Doctrine: Lessons and Dilemmas of the Cold War." *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Fall 1983), pp. 245-266. ●● The author, an assistant professor of history at Vanderbilt University, criticizes the Carter administration for overdrawing parallels to the Truman era in order to justify the Carter Doctrine. "As the Truman Doctrine foreshadowed hazy concepts of national security and locked the US into indiscriminate and costly efforts to limit Soviet influence, the Carter Doctrine threatens to do likewise." Leffler charges that the Carter administration overemphasized the threat of Soviet military power in the Gulf, instead of focusing on Soviet intentions, and magnified and distorted the Gulf's importance in the panoply of vital American interests. ¤

1114. Lessor, Ian O. *Oil, the Persian Gulf, and Grand Strategy: Contemporary Issues in Historical Perspective*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, for the Commander-in-Chief, US Central Command Joint Staff, 1991. ●● The author, a RAND analyst, gives the purpose of the report to "assess the role of oil and the Persian Gulf region in grand strategy, and the manner in which this role has evolved in the twentieth century." (p. 1) To this end, he has written brief chapters explaining the grand strategic approach and its relevance to the Middle East and tracing the change in strategic perceptions from coal to oil. He concludes that "The coalition approach to oil supply security in the Gulf, which has characterized U.S. strategy from the Carter Doctrine through Operation Desert Storm, is solidly within the liberal-maritime tradition of safeguarding critical overseas sources of supply." (p. 30) In addition, "The recent rise of potent regional actors represents a departure from the traditional strategic environment in the Gulf." (p. 31)

1115. Malik, Hafeez. "Struggle for Power and Oil in the Persian Gulf." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Spring 1980), pp. 3-14. ●● A professor of political science at Villanova University looks at Soviet objectives in the Gulf in the light of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the American response. He suggests that the Carter Doctrine may have been an overreaction in view of the relatively limited

ability of the US to protect the Gulf militarily. Malik regards the Soviet move into Afghanistan as the first step toward the Strait of Hormuz and argues that the US should organize an effective counterforce to meet this threat. ¤

1116. Marty, Joseph, Ivan Eland, Shibley Telhami, and Dov Zakheim. "U.S. Gulf Policy: How Can It Be Fixed?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1998), pp. 1-24. ●● An edited transcript of a symposium sponsored by the Middle East Policy Council on 22 April 1998, featuring the US National Security Council director for Near East and South Asia (Marty), the director of Defense Policy Studies at the Cato Institute (Eland), who defend and criticize American policy respectively. Telhami (University of Maryland) considers that US policy towards Iraq almost inevitably will result in crisis and Zakheim (SPC International Corporation) calls for the burial of what he sees as the "dead" policy of dual containment.

1117. Meo, Leila, ed. *U.S. Strategy in the Gulf. Intervention Against Liberation*. Belmont, MA: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, October 1981. AAUG Monograph Series, No. 14. ●● A collection of leftist essays attacking US policy in the Gulf, in the Middle East, and in general. Michael Parenti (a visiting fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies at the time of publication) excoriates the "interventionist" mentality of the "capitalist ruling class" in the US without discussing the Gulf. Thomas M. Ricks (a historian then at Georgetown University) discusses US military relations with Iran, with emphasis on the period of the 1940s and early 1950s, and charges that US military missions to that country effectively constituted a different kind of intervention. James F. Petras and Robert Korzeniewicz (sociologist and doctoral candidate respectively at SUNY Binghamton) contend that American policy in the Middle East is determined by its economic interests there. Michael T. Klare (a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies) concludes the volume with two short essays, one, a comparison of the planning for the RDF with similar efforts during the Kennedy administration, and the other warning of the dire consequences that could arise from the belief that the US might find it necessary to go to war to defend oil supplies from the Gulf. ¤

1118. Montgomery, Robin N. "The Questionable U.S. Strategy for the Middle East." *National Defense*, No. 65 (May-June 1981), pp. 64-68, 196; No. 66 (July-August 1981), pp. 34-38. ●● The author, an associate professor at Southwestern Oklahoma State University, contends that the Carter Doctrine lacks a preventive aspect, a socio-political element that would neutralize adverse trends before military force was required. "Hailed as wedded to a pre-emptive strategy, the [RDF] is actually tied to a reactive strategy. It can

only wait for a propitious set of events, largely beyond its control, to beckon it ashore." In order to establish a preventive policy, Montgomery suggests US emphasis on the modernization of Gulf states, leading to more effective security cooperation. ¤

1119. Nakhleh, Emile A. *The Persian Gulf and American Policy*. New York: Praeger, 1982. ●● An American scholar looks at Gulf security and US policy in the region with emphasis on the view from the Arab states of the Gulf. It is Nakhleh's thesis that US policy must be guided by the realization that it cannot control the destiny of the region, and that "it would be the height of naiveté to believe that US interests in the Gulf would ever be secure without a Palestinian homeland." Among the integral elements of Gulf security explored by the author are the issue of political participation (with emphasis on Bahrain's parliamentary experiment as a case study); the promise of the GCC and the attitudes toward it held by the rulers and elites of the GCC countries; the triangular relationship between the US, Israel, and the Arab world (particularly the role played by Saudi Arabia in reconciling its position regarding the Palestinians and its "special relationship" with the US; and the evolution of the relationship between the US and the GCC states over the past several decades. ¤

1120. Nardulli, Bruce R., Marcy Agmon, Theodore William Karasik, Joseph A. Kechichian, Mary E. Morris, Nikola Schahgaldian, and Lory A. Arghavan. *Future Gulf Dynamics and U.S. Security*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1994. DB-106-AF/A. ●● A multi-author study examining the post-Kuwait-War strategic environment and evaluating alternative approaches for US strategy in the region. The authors' outlook is that no matter which of the broad alternative security approaches that the United States might pursue, "all involve substantial trade-offs. No 'optimal' alternative will emerge." (p. vii) In part, this is because the "Regional trend is toward increasingly independent security agendas pursued to shield against/escape deeper regional problems." (p. 74)

1121. Newsom, David D. "American EnGulfed." *Foreign Policy*, No. 43 (Summer 1981), pp. 17-32. ●● The author, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs during 1978-1981 and presently at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, criticizes the policy background to the Carter Doctrine, charging that the doctrine itself "grew out of last minute pressures for a presidential speech." He downplays the imminence of a Soviet invasion, outlines the logic of regional states' aversion to foreign forces, points out the severe constraints on US ability to move forces rapidly into the area, and judges that, relative to Soviet combat advantages in the Gulf, the US presence amounts to a tripwire. Newsom

concludes by arguing that "a strategy that places US ground forces in the Persian Gulf should not be undertaken without a thorough national and congressional debate. That debate has yet to begin." ¤

1122. Noyes, James H. *The Clouded Lens: Persian Gulf Security and U.S. Policy*. 2nd ed. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1982. Hoover International Studies. ●● The author, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern, African, and South Asian Affairs from 1970 to 1976, begins with a historical overview of the British role in the Gulf and recent disputes and problems in that area. He attributes the inaccuracy of the dire predictions for the future of the Gulf following British withdrawal in 1971 to a misreading of past events and false analogies. Noyes then turns his attention to emerging US security interests in the Gulf and analyzes a number of debates over US policies in the region. A final chapter, written for the second edition, examines the collapse of Pahlavi Iran and its impact on the security picture. Noyes concludes that "Only a sustained and consistent US commitment will provide the Gulf states with a real alternative to Soviet hegemony." ¤

1123. Olson, William J., ed. *US Strategic Interests in the Gulf Region*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987. ●● Papers from a March 1985 conference at the Strategic Studies Institute of the US Army War College and edited by an analyst at the institute. The first of three parts concentrates on sources of instability, with contributions from Lenore G. Martin (Emmanuel College, Boston) on patterns of regional conflict, August Richard Norton (US Military Academy) on the impact of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Robert O. Freedman (Hebrew College, Baltimore) on Soviet policy toward the Gulf. The second part regards types of instability, with papers by Richard B. Remnek (University of California, Berkeley) on the Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean, Jerrold D. Green (University of Arizona) on ideological challenges to American involvement in the Gulf, and Riad Ajami (Ohio State University and University of Pennsylvania) on the problems in the Saudi economy. Views on the US political-military response form the final section. Maxwell Orme Johnson (US Marine Corps) discusses the Rapid Deployment Force (the forerunner of the US Central Command), Michael W.S. Ryan (US Defense Security Assistance Agency) looks at US military assistance to the region, Thomas L. McNaugher (Brookings Institution) examines the problem of projecting US forces into the region with limited access, Michael Vlahos (Johns Hopkins University SAIS) suggests relying on projecting force from the sea, and the editor sums up alternative strategies for the US.

1124. Palmer, Michael A. *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's*

Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833-1992. New York: Free Press, 1992. ●● A largely descriptive survey of the United States and the Gulf by an assistant professor of history at East Carolina University. The author adopts a chronological approach, beginning in the early 19th century and continuing into the oil era. Several chapters cover the involvement of the Nixon, Carter, and Reagan administrations, and the final chapters review the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and subsequent war from the viewpoint of American foreign policy. The author advises readers that the future undoubtedly will hold "more of what Americans have witnessed and dealt with successfully over the past few decades. There will be problems and crises aplenty, but they should be manageable." (p. 249)

1125. Patrizia, Charles A. "U.S. Policy in the Arabian Gulf - A Long-Term View." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 22 (Fall 1987), pp. 45-55. ●● A lawyer and former legal adviser to the US Special Negotiator for Middle East Peace suggests directions for long-term US policy in the Gulf. With regard to Iran, he suggests accepting the legitimacy of the current régime while resisting its right to overthrow neighboring governments, making American opposition to terrorism clear, and seeking a ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq War. On the other side of the Gulf, he recommends encouraging the GCC states to form an American-armed combined armed force.

1126. Ramazani, Rouhollah K. "The Genesis of the Carter Doctrine." In George S. Wise and Charles Issawi, eds., *Middle East Perspectives: The Next Twenty Years* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1981), pp. 165-180. ●● The Iranian revolution, the hostage crisis, and, to a lesser extent, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan provided the principal stimuli for the Carter Doctrine, according to the author. Ramazani argues that US policy toward the region conceptually changed in 1979 to embrace a willingness to defend a Third World region and to use force to ensure the flow of oil. He points out that "…even before the hostage crisis the American position had begun to change. The United States had started to flex its military muscle, whereas it had been reluctant to do so previously." ¤

1127. _____. "Gulf Peace and Security: Rethinking U.S. Policy." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Fall 1988), pp. 3-8. ●● The author suggests that "Paradoxically, the postwar Persian Gulf could conceivably pose a greater threat to American interests in the region than prewar Gulf, while simultaneously providing greater opportunity to protect and promote those interests." (p. 3) He advocates a rethinking of US policy in the Gulf to include: supporting a UN role, reassessing the Soviet threat, desatanizing Iran, recognizing GCC desires for a return to the old "over-the-horizon" presence, and limiting the arms race.

1128. _____. "Future Security in the Persian Gulf: America's Role." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (July-August 1991), pp. 25-30. ●● A University of Virginia professor charges that US policy has become part of the problem "mainly because of the administration's obsession with balance of power, its wanting to keep Iraq sufficiently strong as a counterweight against revolutionary Iran" which led to the war and resulted in a Amoral failure that sullied our nation's military victory in an avoidable war." (p. 30)

1129. Reich, Bernard, and Stephen H. Gotowicki. "The United States and the Persian Gulf in the Bush Administration." In *Royal United Services Institute and Brassey's Defence Yearbook 1991* (London: Brassey's UK, 1991), pp. 249-266. ●● A political scientist at George Washington University and a US Army officer respectively review the background to US policy vis-à-vis the Gulf and discuss recent developments. They note that "The future of the United States' approach to the Persian Gulf as well as other policy areas will depend to a significant degree on its assessment of the Soviet Union and its intentions [and] Domestic considerations will also serve to limit America's strategy in the Persian Gulf." (p. 262) Their article was updated as "The United States and the Persian Gulf in the Bush Administration After the Gulf War," in *Royal United Services Institute and Brassey's Defence Yearbook 1992* (London: Brassey's UK, 1992), pp. 145-164. They observe in the latter that "Facing major cash flow problems, a horizon free from threat, and historical timidity in foreign relations, the Saudis may have decided to follow a course that would cost them the least and allowed them to rely on American security guarantees rather than on guarantees from other Arab states." (p. 161)

1130. Rubin, Barry. *Cauldron of Turmoil: America in the Middle East*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992. ●● An overview of US policy in the Gulf in the context of the dilemmas raised by Iranian revolution, the Iran-Iraq War, and the invasion of Kuwait and subsequent war. The author relies heavily on personal observations and anecdotes.

1131. _____. "Drowning in the Gulf." *Foreign Policy*, No. 69 (Winter 1987-1988), pp. 120-134. ●● Contending that the United States has managed avoided a nightmare in the Gulf, a fellow at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies reviews the history of US interests in the region and seeks a re-evaluation of US policy. In his view, "U.S. policymakers will need to show a good understanding of Iranian and Arab politics to locate opportunities for positive change and avert potential disaster. Above all, Washington must not drive Iran into Soviet arms, while at the same time it must avoid all-out war in the region." (p. 134)

1132. Rubinstein, Alvin Z. "New World Order or Hollow Victory." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Fall 1991), pp. 53-65. ●● A professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania judges that "President Bush's triumph in the Gulf War is in danger of becoming a footnote in contemporary history, not the turning point it should be." (p. 53) Pax Americana, he argues, is not the answer to the problem of the international system hurtling out of control. The goal of security in the Gulf is dependent, he says, on the realization that only nation-states with armies are capable of disrupting regional security (not the Palestinians or the Kurds), on the United States remaining focused on the Gulf and not Arab-Israeli questions, the United Nations Security Council must not be marginalized again, and the flow of arms to the region must be slowed.

1133. Rugh, William A. "Time to Modify Our Gulf Policy." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (January 1997), pp. 46-57. ●● A former US ambassador to the United Arab Emirates and subsequently president of AMIDEAST charges that the American policy of containment of Iran and Iraq is not achieving its objectives and makes four suggestions to improve it: offer amnesty to the Iraqis around Saddam Husayn to encourage his overthrow; ease off on economic confrontation with Iran; focus on the foreign policies of Iran and Iraq, rather than internal politics; and intensify diplomatic campaign to generation more cooperation from US friends and allies.

1134. Russell, James A. "Searching for a Post-Saddam Regional Security Architecture." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 2003), distributed electronically. ●● A visiting fellow at the US Naval Postgraduate School looks at the impact of post-war Iraq on Gulf security but concentrates on implications for US policy. In his view, the major concerns for the US should be assessing US interests in the Gulf, judging how much Iraq can provide a balance to Iran, determining the optimal role and configuration of the US military presence in the region, and devising the role of the region's countries in providing for their own self-defense.

1135. Simon, Steven. "US Strategy in the Persian Gulf." *Survival*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Autumn 1993), pp. 81-97.

1136. Singer, S. Fred. "Limits to Arab Oil Power." *Foreign Policy*, No. 30 (Spring 1978), pp. 53-67. ●● The author, affiliated with the University of Texas at the time of publication, contends that there are numerous misconceptions about what the Arabs can do in terms of their "oil power." He notes that the effect of the 1973 embargo was exaggerated, although the psychological impact was considerable, and suggests that a future embargo

is less likely than attacks on oil supplies by terrorists or saboteurs. Singer concludes by stressing the importance for US policymakers to realize the truly limited nature of Saudi Arabia's ability to influence the international oil market. ¤

1137. Sokolsky, Richard D., ed. *The United States and the Persian Gulf: Reshaping Security Strategy for the Post-Containment Era*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2003. ●● A multi-author study of the options and trade-offs facing US defense planners in the Gulf after the Iraq War, warning that significant adjustments in the United States' military posture toward the region are required. All contributors are research fellows at the US National Defense University. Joseph McMillan provides an overview of US interests and objectives in the Gulf and Judith S. Yaphe examines the factors determining the threat perceptions, security doctrines, and military policies of regional actors. Kenneth M. Pollack looks at long-term trends in the regional military balance while Richard L. Kugler places US military requirements and force planning for the Gulf in the context of US global defense strategy. Richard D. Sokolsky and Eugene B. Rumer examine the role of outside powers and how they affect US policy. Finally, Sokolsky and McMillan advance policy recommendations, among them a more comprehensive approach to regional problems and diversification of reliance on local security policies (specifically, they charge that the US remains too dependent on Saudi Arabia). They argue that "The best course of action for protecting American interests in the Persian Gulf is to encourage evolutionary adaptation." (p. 158)

1138. Schloesser, Jeffrey. "The Limits of Power: America's 20 Years in the Gulf." *Military Review*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (January 1992), pp. 17-29.

1139. Szaz, Z. Michael, ed. *The Impact of the Iranian Events Upon Persian Gulf and United States Security*. Washington, DC: American Foreign Policy Institute, 1979. Studies on Middle East Problems. ●● A collection of articles focusing on the way in which the revolution in Iran affected the security of the other states of the Gulf. Most of the contributions concentrate on individual countries, although Robert J. Hanks (former commander of the US Navy's Middle East Force) provides a geopolitical survey of the region and Jesse A. Helms (Senator from North Carolina) criticizes the Carter Administration's Middle East policy. The countries are covered by: R.K. Ramazani (University of Virginia), the Iranian revolution; Edmund Ghareeb (journalist and press advisor for the UAE Embassy), Iraq; J.E. Peterson, Kuwait and Oman; James E. Akins (former US ambassador to Saudi Arabia), Saudi Arabia; Emile Nakhleh (Mount St. Mary's College), Bahrain; Robert G. Neumann (former US ambassador to Afghanistan and

Morocco), Afghanistan; and Enver M. Koury (then at the University of Maryland), the UAE. ¤

1140. Teicher, Howard, and Gayle Radley Teicher. *Twin Pillars to Desert Storm*. New York: Morrow, 1993. ●● A personal account of the unfolding of US foreign policy towards the Middle East and the Gulf in the years between the author's entry to the State Department in 1977 to his departure from the National Security Council in 1987. The account, written with the official's wife, includes a defense of the author's involvement in the Iran-contra affair and a brief postscript on the Kuwait War.

1141. Tucker, Robert W. *The Purposes of American Power: An Essay on National Security*. New York: Praeger, 1981. A Lehrman Institute Book. ●● The author, a professor of international relations at Johns Hopkins University, sees two "momentous developments" affecting American security in the last decade: a military balance increasingly favorable to the Soviet Union and a steady erosion of Western power and position in the Gulf. Because of the global rivalry of the superpowers, he argues that the Soviet Union naturally can be expected to challenge the US in the Gulf and has already done so in Afghanistan. But the American decline in the region has not been due to Soviet probing but the result of a mystifying willful abandonment. The consequence has been the emergence of a power vacuum, which cannot be filled by local states. Tucker draws a parallel between Europe of 1945 and the Gulf today: if the US will not step in to defend its vital interests, then the Soviet Union will take over.

What the US needs in the Gulf, Tucker contends, is both a conventional defense (to deal with all contingencies short of a determined Soviet assault, which the US cannot prevent conventionally) and a tripwire policy (to deter a Soviet attack by threatening to respond with nuclear weapons). He brands the Carter Doctrine's failure to address other than external threats as appeasement of Gulf states "that have managed to outmaneuver and to intimidate Western powers for over a decade." In the author's opinion, the only way to secure access to Gulf oil is to restore American status and credibility in the Gulf, which can be accomplished only by "a visible demonstration of [American] power and the more impressive the demonstration the better." This requires bases and if the US cannot secure them in the Gulf itself, then it should turn to Egypt and Israel on the periphery. The acquisition of bases in the northern Sinai would have no repercussions in the region, Tucker seems to feel, since the Palestinian issue has been "mistakenly" connected to Gulf security.

This essay draws on the author's articles, "The Purposes of American

Power," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (1980-1981), pp. 241-274; and "American Power and the Persian Gulf," *Commentary*, Vol. 70, No. 5 (November 1980), pp. 25-41. 74 ¤

1142. _____. "Oil: The Issue of American Intervention." *Commentary*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (January 1975), pp. 21-31. ●● Professor Tucker claims that the 1973-1974 oil crisis can be distinguished from past international crises by the absence of the meaningful threat of the use of force. He proclaims himself pessimistic about the chances of success for the recycling of oil revenues and the reduction of oil consumption - both of which have subsequently come to pass. Instead, he advocates military intervention, which he claims would be technically possible with only slight risk of Soviet counter-intervention, although the American public would have to be persuaded of the differences from Vietnam. Similar articles by Tucker include "Oil and American Power-Three Years Later," *Commentary*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (January 1977), pp. 29-36, and "Oil and American Power-Six Years Later," *Commentary*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (September 1979), pp. 35-42. ¤

1143. Twinam, Joseph Wright. *The United States and the Gulf: Half a Century and Beyond*. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1997. Emirates Occasional Papers.

1144. _____. "U.S. Interests in the Arabian Gulf." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 21 (Summer 1987), pp. 1-14. ●● A visiting professor at The Citadel and former State Department official reviews American regional interests in terms of commerce, finance, military, politics, and especially oil, and assesses them in light of the Iran-Iraq War. He suggests that "If the United States and the Soviet Union could merely find some areas for working constructively together to help end the Gulf war, all concerned would benefit." (p. 14)

1145. _____. "America and the Gulf Arabs." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 25 (Summer 1988), pp. 126-156; No. 26 (Fall 1988), pp. 107-124. ●● A visiting professor at The Citadel and the first American resident ambassador to Bahrain reflects on a quarter-century of involvement with the Gulf. He surveys the history of American diplomatic, commercial, and economic relations with the region and then traces the progress of the Gulf states through seven fat years and seven lean years. He observes that "In the late 1980s America and the Gulf Arab states are involved in one another's welfare to a degree that would have been inconceivable half a century earlier when American oil men began to follow American missionaries into this 'far-off land.'" (p. 123)

1146. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Defense Burdensharing Panel. *Common Security Interests in the Middle East*; Hearing, 20 April 1989. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1989.

1147. _____. Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs. Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization. *U.S. Economic and Energy Security Interests in the Persian Gulf*; Hearing, 7 August 1990. ●● The subcommittee considers the testimony of Gary Sick (Columbia University), Ed Krapels (Energy Security Analysis), John Lichtblau (Petroleum Industrial Research Foundation), Ronald O'Rourke (Congressional Research Service), and Eugene Carroll (Center for Defense Information) in considering the impact of Iraqi and Iranian attacks on Gulf shipping on global energy supplies and the growing US presence in the Gulf.

1148. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Review of Persian Gulf Burden Sharing*; Hearing, 14 May 1991. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1992.

1149. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *Developments in the Middle East, October 1986*; Hearing. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1986.

1150. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *Developments in the Middle East*; Hearing, 1 October 1992. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1993.

1151. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *Developments in the Middle East, July 1993*; Hearing, 27 July 1993. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1993. 103rd Congress, 1st Session.

1152. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *Developments in the Middle East, October 1993*; Hearing, 21 October 1993. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1993.

1153. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on the Near East. *U.S. Interests in and Policy Toward the Persian Gulf*; Hearings, 2 February, 7 June, 8 and 15 August, 1972. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1972. ●● These hearings, the first in a long line of Congressional considerations of events in the Gulf, were held in the first few months following British withdrawal at the end of 1971. They are focused on US military, economic, and diplomatic ties with the states of the region, and energy issues, particularly the relationship between international oil companies and the Arab members of OPEC. Witnesses include James H. Noyes (Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern, African, and South Asian

Affairs), Herbert Hansen (Vice-President of Gulf Oil), Joseph J. Sisco (Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs), and Lee F. Dinsmore (former US Consul General in Dhahran). ¤

1154. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on the Near East. *The United States and the Persian Gulf*; Report of 29 September 1972. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1972. ●● The first of a long list of committee prints on the Gulf, this report surveys trends in the world petroleum market, with emphasis on future US consumption, and briefly outlines recent developments in the Gulf and the state of US Gulf relations. It recommends that US relations with the Gulf states should continue to be low-key and practical, that the US should not try to fill the "vacuum" left in the region by British withdrawal in 1971, and that the function and value of the US Navy's Middle East Force (MIDEASTFOR) should be reviewed at the highest levels of government. ¤

1155. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on the Near East and South Asia. *New Perspectives on the Persian Gulf*; Hearings, 6 June, 17, 23 and 24 July, and 28 November 1973. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1973. ●● One of the earliest published expressions of Congressional concern about the Gulf, this set of hearings concentrates on considerations over the sale of US military equipment to Kuwait, Iran, and Saudi Arabia; non-oil trade relationships between the US and the Gulf states; and the relationship between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Witnesses include Joseph J. Sisco (State Department), James H. Noyes (Department of Defense), Robert E. Hunter (Overseas Development Council), Marvin Zonis (University of Chicago), Alvin J. Cottrell (Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies), and Richard W. Cottam (University of Pittsburgh). The final session of hearings took place in the aftermath of the Arab-Israeli war of October 1973 and consequently the publication concludes with a discussion of possible measures to bring the oil embargo to an end. ¤

1156. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *U.S. Interests in, and, Policies Toward, the Persian Gulf, 1980*; Hearings, 24 March, 2 April, 5 May, 1 and 28 July, and 3 September 1980. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1980. ●● A lengthy series of hearings on developments in the Gulf in late 1979 and early 1980, and particularly on the meaning and ramifications of the Carter Doctrine (first enunciated in President Carter's state of the union address of 23 January 1980 and reprinted here). The witnesses include: Harold H. Saunders (Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs), Robert Komer (Under Secretary of Defense for Policy), James M. Montgomery (counselor, US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency), John J. Ruszkiewicz (retired

army officer and former US military attaché in North Yemen), Marvin Zonis (University of Chicago), William B. Quandt (Brookings Institution), James S. Moose (Deputy Assistant Secretary of Energy for International Energy Analysis), Joseph W. Twinam (Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs), Gerald A. Rosen (Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Energy for International Energy Policy), and Hermann F. Eilts (Boston University, and former US ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Egypt). Appendices include additional questions submitted to the Department of Defense, together with responses, correspondence relating to Ruszkiewicz's testimony on US policy during the 1979 border war between the Yemens, and questions submitted to the Department of State, along with the responses. ¤

1157. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. And U.S. Congress. Joint Economic Committee. *U.S. Policy Toward the Persian Gulf*; Hearing, 10 May 1982. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1983. ●● The joint committee hearing was called to follow up on extensive correspondence between the Joint Economic Committee with the Departments of State and Defense on various elements of US economic, military, and political policies toward the Gulf. Testimony is provided by Nicholas A. Veliotes (Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs) and Robert H. Knickmeyer (Deputy Director, Office of Energy Producer Country Affairs, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, Department of State). The correspondence noted above, along with comments by the Congressional Research Service, is reprinted in an appendix, as are additional written questions submitted by the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East to the State Department, along with the latter's responses. ¤

1158. _____. Committee on International Relations. Special Subcommittee on Investigations. *The Persian Gulf 1975. The Continuing Debate on Arms Sales*; Hearings, 10, 18 and 24 June, and 29 July 1975. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1976. ●● As indicated in the title, these hearings focused on the growing US military supply relationship with various Gulf states, the necessity of providing those countries with sophisticated arms, and the dangers of generating a regional arms race. Included are country-by-country tables detailing the extent of US military supplies and training programs. Testimony was given by Joseph J. Sisco (Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs), Amos A. Jordan (Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs), Lee H. Hamilton (Chairman of the House Special Subcommittee on Investigations), Philip J. Farley (Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution), and James E. Akins (US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia). ¤

1159. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations. Subcommittee on Defense. *U.S. Presence in the Persian Gulf: Cost and Policy Implications*. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1988.

1160. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Persian Gulf Situation*; Hearing, 17 September 1981. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● Secretary of State Alexander Haig, in a prepared statement before the committee, outlines his conception of a "strategic consensus" in the Middle East among the US and its friends against gathering Soviet encroachment: "the United States regards the peace process and the effort to counter Soviet and regional threats as mutually reinforcing. If our friends are more secure, they will be more able to take risks for peace. If there is progress in the peace process, security cooperation will be facilitated-cooperation that is essential to deter intervention by the Soviets and their proxies." The majority of the subsequent questioning focused on the then-proposed sale of US AWACS to Saudi Arabia, although Haig was also asked to comment on other non-Middle Eastern issues. ¤

1161. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. *U.S. Security Interests and Policies in Southwest Asia*; Hearings, 6, 7, 20, and 27 February, and 4 and 18 March, 1980. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1980. ●● The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, often overshadowed by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in consideration of events and policy in the Middle East and Gulf, here took the initiative in holding an extensive series of hearings on the 1979-1980 developments in and around the Gulf and the potential impact of the Carter Doctrine. Testimony relating to American foreign policy in the region was given by Clark Clifford (former Secretary of Defense), Joseph J. Sisco (Chancellor, American University, and former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs), John P. Richardson (National Association of Arab Americans), Ray Cline (Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies), and David D. Newsom (Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs). Witnesses on regional aspects of US-Soviet relations were George F. Kennan (former US ambassador to the Soviet Union) and Helmut Sonnenfeldt (former counselor in the Department of State), and John C. Sawhill (Deputy Secretary of Energy) spoke on US energy interests. US regional military requirements and policy were addressed by Richard B. Foster (Stanford Research Institute-International), John M. Collins (Congressional Research Service), Isaac Kidd (former NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, and US Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic), Robert W. Komer (Under Secretary of Defense for Policy), Lt. Gen. Richard L. Lawson (Director of Plans and Policy Organization for the Joint Chiefs of Staff), Walter Slocombe (Deputy Under Secretary of

Defense for Policy Planning), and Lt. Gen. P.X. Kelley (Commander, RDJTF). ¤

1162. U.S. General Accounting Office. *Southwest Asia: Cost of Protecting U.S. Interests*. Washington, 14 August 1991. NSIAD-91-250.

1163. Van Hollen, Christopher. "Don't Engulf the Gulf." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 5 (1981), pp. 1064-1078. ●● A former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State (who is presently Director of the American Institute for Islamic Affairs) assesses the policies of the then five-month-old Reagan administration and suggests that the logic behind them remains obscure. Even more, Van Hollen claims that "the policies themselves are contradictory and self-defeating; unless modified, they won't work. A Instead, he urges less preoccupation with the Soviets and the projection of military power coupled with a more flexible and pragmatic approach based on regional needs. In short, "a 'laid-back' rather than a forward military posture will better serve the interests of the United States." ¤

1164. Vernant, Jacques. "L'Occident et la sécurité du Golfe." *Défense Nationale*, Vol. 37 (May 1981), pp. 135-141. ●● A historical overview of the problem of Gulf security and unsuccessful Western attempts to create defense policies for the region. Vernant maintains that these schemes failed because they ignored the sensitivities of and the domestic and regional constraints on the rulers of the Gulf states. He also contends that the US continues to firmly believe that bases are needed to counter Soviet expansionism and maintain peace, despite the hostility of Arab states to a permanent US presence. ¤

1165. Walker, Martin. "The U.S. and the Persian Gulf Crisis." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Fall 1990), pp. 791-799. ●● A correspondent for the *Guardian* (London) comments on the American search for a new role in the post-Cold War (but pre-Kuwait War) era. He notes that Saddam Husayn "has chosen the precise moment - after the Soviet retreat but before the Pentagon budget cuts - when the US military machine was at the peak of its ability to impose its strategic will upon an uncertain future. The United States is using this last chance to establish strategic bridgeheads, secure the Gulf, and ensure that it retains a virtual monopoly on global violence." (p. 796)

1166. Washington Institute for Near East Policy. *After the Storm-Challenges for American Policy in the Middle East; Report of the Washington Institute's Strategic Study Group*. Washington, 1991. ●● A report by a panel of US-foreign-policy politicians and analysts on US efforts to establish a more

stable regional order, focusing on the American and other powers' roles in regional security, arms control in the region, and American assistance in fostering economic development. The group concludes that "An American policy which more actively promotes political change in Kuwait or Iraq might well cause unease in neighboring states…" but "it is extremely difficult to restore the status quo ante; and … the attempt to do so may well be fraught with greater risks than a policy of accommodating … the new political forces unleashed by the Gulf crisis." (p. 52)

1167. Wilson, Desmond P. *The Persian Gulf and the National Interest*. Alexandria, VA: Center for Naval Analyses, 1982. ●● A short, superficial paper arguing that the importance of Gulf oil has not been diminished because of the oil glut. Consequently, the Carter Doctrine was justified in declaring the Gulf to be a region of vital interest to the US. ¤

1168. Wolfe, Ronald G., ed. *The United States, Arabia, and the Gulf*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1980. CCAS Studies in Arab-American Relations. ●● A collection of papers from the Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies (CCAS) fifth annual symposium, held in April 1980. The first section looks at social and political conditions in the region, with contributions by Ahmad Baha el-Din (then editor of Kuwait's al-ʻArabi) on political dynamics, Yousuf al-Shirawi (Bahrain's Minister of Development and Industry) on the impact of development, and Asad Abdul-Rahman (Kuwait University) on the Palestinians in Kuwait. Then Ibrahim M. Oweiss (Georgetown University) examines economic integration in the Gulf and Thomas Stauffer (Harvard University) assesses the political uses of Arab oil. The late Charles W. Yost (who had a distinguished career in the US State Department) introduces the last part on international political and strategic dimensions, focusing on the superpower rivalry on the Gulf. Hussein Sirriyeh (a doctoral candidate at Oxford University) discusses the background to US policy in the Gulf and Marmaduke G. Bayne (a former commander of US Naval Forces in the Middle East) outlines US strategic planning there. In addition, David D. Newsom (Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs at the time of publication) and William J. Porter (former US ambassador to several Arab states) critique current US policy in the region. ¤

1169. Yetiv, Steve A. *America and the Persian Gulf: The Third Party Dimension in World Politics*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995. ●● A political scientist at Old Dominion University seeks to show "how regional conflict, through its impact on the Middle East and on world politics, affected U.S. security and power in the Persian Gulf region." (p. 3) He concludes that

Iraq, Iran, and the Soviet Union, by using force, "closed off certain paths in the historical process that if chartered might have benefited their welfare significantly," "missed opportunities to undermine U.S. regional security and to strengthen their own position," and figured prominently "in the rise of U.S. power and standing." (p. 138)

1170. _____. "U.S. Security in the Persian Gulf: Planning for the Future." *Strategic Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Fall 1990), pp. 30-38. ●● A fellow at Harvard University's Center for Middle Eastern Studies argues that the US must develop a long-term strategy in the Gulf no matter what happens with Iraq. He advances a three-tiered strategy based on a UN peacekeeping force, an Arab-Islamic force (including the GCC, Egypt, and Pakistan), and a back-up role played by the US to ensure against major attack.

1171. Zartman, I. William. "The Power of American Purposes." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Spring 1981), pp. 163-177. ●● The author, a professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, responds to the assertion that US power in the Middle East has declined dramatically. Zartman argues that military means need political back ing, and that the US objective should be working towards cooperation in the region rather than towards military bases and intervention. He points out that a greater military presence in the area would not have prevented such recent developments as the Soviet-Syrian friendship treaty, the Soviet Union's entry into Afghanistan, or the Iran-Iraq war. Thus, he asserts that security concerns are best served by reducing the threat of conflict, rather than preparing for a military response to it. ¤

1172. Zunes, Stephen. *Tinderbox: US Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press; London: Zed Books, 2003. ●● An associate professor of politics at the University of San Francisco examines the role of US Middle East policy in contributing to terrorism, including the rise of al-Qa'idah. He charges that elements in the George W. Bush administration are using recent events to advance their right-wing ideological agenda and he calls instead for more effort to address the root causes of terrorism. The US, he avers, should do more to coordinate its policy with Europe, and work harder to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Much of his material is drawn from previously published articles.

The Attacks of 11 September 2001, al-Qa‘idah, and the Gulf

1173. Abrahamian, Ervand. “The US Media, Huntington and September 11.” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (June 2003), pp. 529B544. ●● An examination of the reasons for the popularity of Samuel Huntington's “clash of civilizations” theory after the 11 September attacks. The author contends that “the main attraction of the Huntington paradigm is its attempt to analyse international relations without discussing actual politics - especially the issue of Palestine in particular and of Arab nationalism in general.” (p. 529)

1174. AbuKhalil, As‘ad. *Bin Laden, Islam, and America's New “War on Terrorism*. New York, Seven Stories Press, 2002. ●● A short book by an associate professor of political science at California State University at Stanislaus dealing with the aftermath of 11 September 2001. The author discusses Western prejudice against Islam, the deterioration of US policy in the Middle East and Islamic world prior to 11 September, a background to Afghanistan's politics, background to Saudi Arabia and Wahhabism, an explanation of the rise of Usamah bin Ladin, and a critical view of America's war against terrorism. He asks whether “there could have been a wiser and more prudent response to the September 11 attacks. It may find that its military war cannot eradicate the desperate conditions which spawn terrorism; very likely, its war will only serve to produce more violence, on all sides.” (p. 97)

1175. Ahmed, Samina. “The United States and Terrorism in Southwest Asia: September 11 and Beyond.” *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Winter 2001-2002), pp. 79-93. ●● An analyst for the International Crisis Group traces the background of Usamah bin Ladin and the evolution of al-Qa‘idah before discussing the United States' enlistment of Pakistani assistance in its war in Aghanistan.

1176. Alexander, Yonah, and Michael S. Swetnam. *Usama bin Laden's al-Qaida: Profile of a Terrorist Network: A Comprehensive Book Exposing the World's Most Notorious Terrorist Group*. Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers, for the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2001. ●● A fellow and the president of the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies purport to provide a reference guide to Bin Ladin's al-Qa‘idah group, with sections on ideology, membership, financial resources, affiliated groups, areas of operation, tactics and capabilities, and targets and attacks.

1177. Andréoni, Gilles. “The ‘War on Terror': Good Cause, Wrong Concept.” *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Winter 2004), pp. 31-50. ●● A French Foreign

Ministry official takes issue with the Bush administration's use of the concept of "war" in its struggle against terrorism on six different grounds, including the exaggeration of the role of military operations in the struggle, the unhelpful linkage of Iraq with terrorism, and because it has detracted attention from urgent problems in the Middle East.

1178. Anonymous. *Imperial Hubris : Why the West Is Losing the War on Terror*. Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2004. ●● A CIA analyst, subsequently revealed to be Michael Scheuer, with long experience tracking terrorism, militant Islam, and South Asia, contends that copious intelligence existed to warn about the 9/11 attacks but that "senior leaders delayed action, downplayed intelligence, ignored repeated warnings, and generally behaved as what they so manifestly are, America's greatest generation - of moral cowards." (p. ix) He goes on to charge that the following campaign in Afghanistan was based on ignorance and bumbling, that the fight to defeat al-Qa'idah is far from over, and that Usamah bin Ladin is the most popular anti-American figure in the world. Scheuer concludes that unless US policies toward the Muslim world change, "the United States has no option but an increasingly fierce military response to the forces marshaled by bin Laden, an option that will prolong America's survival but at as yet undreamed of costs in blood, money, and civil liberties." (p. 263)

1179. Azzam, Maha. *Al-Qaeda: The Misunderstood Wahhabi Connection and the Ideology of Violence*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Middle East Programme, February 2003. Briefing Paper, No. 1.

1180. Bamford, James. *A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq, and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies*. New York: Doubleday, 2004.

1181. Bergen, Peter L. *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden*. New York: Free Press, 2001. ●● A journalist uses a wide range of sources to trace the life and activities of Usamah bin Ladin, including his recruitment of many "Afghan Arabs" into al-Qa'idah, his connection to Afghanistan's Taliban régime, and al-Qa'idah's role in a number of terrorist attacks. Bergen compares al-Qa'idah's organization, operation, and management to that of a large multinational corporation.

1182. Blanchard, Christopher M. *Al Qaeda: Statements and Evolving Ideology*. Washington: U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RL21973, 16 November 2004. ●● A Middle East analyst at CRS examines various public statements made by Usamah bin Ladin from 1994 to late 2004 and concludes that these statements "indicate that he continues to see himself and his followers as the vanguard of an

international Islamic movement primarily committed to ending U.S. ‘interference' in the affairs of Islamic countries and supportive of efforts to overturn and recast Islamic societies according to narrow Salafist interpretations of Islam and Islamic law.” (p. 6)

1183. Burke, Jason. *Al Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003. See also his “Al Qaeda,” *Foreign Policy*, No. 142 (May-June 2004), pp. 18-26, in which he provides answers to likely questions about al-Qa‘idah's organization and operations.

1184. Byman, Daniel L. “Phase Three in the War on Terror?” Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, 28 August 2003. Middle East Memo, No. 2. ●● After the campaigns against al-Qa‘idah and the Taliban and against Saddam's Iraq, there is speculation about the Bush administration's intentions of a third front in its “war against terror.” The author speculates that this could involve seeking régime change in Iran or Syria, or significant changes within the régimes in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. But he points out that such a strategy will prove far more difficult and that the régimes in Riyadh and Islamabad “are far more pro-American and hostile to radicals than any likely alternative. Their cooperation has proven vital to the many successes against al-Qa‘ida so far.” He reminds the reader that that the US is overstretched militarily and politically after its Iraq campaign and the operations against al-Qa‘idah remain far from finished.

1185. Century Foundation. *Defeating the Jihadists: A Blueprint for Action*. New York: Century Foundation Press, 2004.

1186. Chipman, Don D. “Osama bin Laden and Guerrilla War.” *Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (2003), pp. 163-170.

1187. Chomsky, Noam. *9-11*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002.

1188. Chossudovsky, Michel. “Who Is Osama Bin Laden?” *Global Dialogue*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Autumn 2001), downloaded from http://globalresearch.ca/articles/CHO109C.html. ●● A quick-reaction article from the day after the 11 September attacks by a professor of economics at Ottawa University. The article says little about Usamah bin Ladin, focusing instead on the relationship between the United States government and Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), alleging that US support for Islamic opposition to the Soviets in Afghanistan - and later the Taliban government - was funded by the CIA and ISI.

1189. Coll, Steve. *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden; From the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*. New York: Penguin Press, 2004. ●● A *Washington Post* journalist attempts to explain the origins and background of Usamah bin Ladin and al-Qa'idah's ideology, concentrating on events in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Saudi Arabia's government, senior leadership, and prevailing Wahhabi interpretation of Islam figure intermittently in the narrative.

1190. Cronin, Audrey Kurth. *Al Qaeda after the Iraq Conflict*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RS21529, 23 May 2003. ●● A terrorism specialist at CRS summarizes reports on the status of al-Qa'idah after the 12 May 2003 terrorist attack in Riyadh. She concludes that "While the long term trajectory is very difficult to assess, for the time being it seems that Al Qaeda (or its successors) has emerged from a period of inactivity and remains a very serious threat, requiring concentrated attention and vigorous countermeasures on the part of its prospective targets." (p. 6)

1191. Doran, Michael. "The Pragmatic Fanaticism of Al Qaida: An Anatomy of Extremism in Middle Eastern Politics." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 117, No. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 177-190. ●● An assistant professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University examines the pragmatism of Usamah bin Ladin's strategy and concludes that al-Qa'idah's defeat Aappears as but one in a series of Middle Eastern military miscalculations that includes, among others, the Egyptian remilitarization of the Sinai in June 1967 and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. … [T]his kind of military disaster occurs with relative frequency in the Middle East as a consequence of the complex balance of power in the region. Fanaticism, therefore, played no role in al Qaeda's miscalculation." (p. 177)

1192. Dunn, Michael Collins. "Usama Bin Laden: The Nature of the Challenge." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (October 1998), pp. 23-28. ●● The editor of the Estimate analyzes the fallout of the US attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan in retaliation for the bombings of the two US embassies in East Africa. He concludes that "The desire to strike at Bin Laden is an understandable one, but the response delivered seems to have alienated some US friends without doing any permanent damage to Bin Laden. Whether that is the best means to preventing future terrorist attacks is debatable." (p. 27)

1193. Ehrenfeld, Rachel. *Funding Evil: How Terrorism is Financed - and How to Stop It*. Chicago: Bonus Books, 2003.

1194. Eickelman, Dale F. “Bin Laden, the Arab ‘street,' and the Middle East's Democracy Deficit.” *Current History*, Vol. 101, No. 651 (January 2002), pp. 36-39. ●● A professor of anthropology and human relations at Dartmouth College reworks a short article published earlier in the *Daily Telegraph* (London) to illuminate the propaganda skills shown by al-Qa‘idah in appealing to the Arab masses. The author advises that “We must recognize that the best way to mitigate the continuing threat of terrorism is to encourage Middle Eastern states to be more responsive to participatory demands, and to aid local nongovernmental organizations working toward this goal.” (p. 39) Another version of this article appeared as “The Arab ‘Street' and the Middle East's Democracy Deficit” in the *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Autumn 2002), pp. 39-48.

1195. Feldman, Noah. *After Jihad: America and the Struggle for Islamic Democracy*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2003.

1196. Financial Action Task Force. *The Financial War on Terrorism: A Guide*. Paris, 2004. FATF-GAFI.

1197. Friedman, Norman. *Terrorism, Afghanistan, and America's New Way of War*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2003.

1198. Furnish, Timothy R. “Bin Ladin: The Man Who Would Be Mahdi.” *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 53-59. ●● A historian at Georgia Perimeter College speculates on the possibility that Usamah bin Ladin might declare himself either caliph or Mahdi, thus acting upon the “apparent yearning among many contemporary Muslims for a divinely guided leader to direct the present Islamic revival.” (p. 53)

1199. Giragosian, Richard. “The Al Qaeda Franchise.” *Acque & Terre*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (March-April 2004), pp. 73-74.

1200. Gunaratna, Rohan. *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. ●● A detailed compendium of facts on al-Qa‘idah, Usamah bin Ladin, and other key personnel, as well as the group's ideology and operations.

1201. _____. “The Post-Madrid Face of Al Qaeda.” *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 91-100.

1202. Hashim, Ahmed S. “The World According to Usama Bin Laden.” *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 54, No. 4 (Autumn 2001), pp. 11-35. ●● An associate professor of strategic studies at the US Naval War College seeks

to explain the political, social, and cultural context behind Usamah bin Ladin, as well as his personal background and radicalization. He cautions that "It is not, however, in the interest of the West to view this as a clash of Western and Muslim civilizations…" (p. 29), since this would only strengthen bin Ladin's hand and it would have negative impact on Western societies due to the presence of large numbers of Muslims.

1203. Hayden, Patrick, Tom Lansford, and Robert P. Watson, eds. *America's War on Terror*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2003.

1204. Hiro, Dilip. *War Without End: The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and Global Response*. London: Routledge, 2002.

1205. Hoffman, Bruce. *The Ultimate Fifth Column: Saddam Hussein, International Terrorism, and the Crisis in the Gulf*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1990. P-7668.

1206. _____. *Al Qaeda, Trends in Terrorism and Future Potentialities: An Assessment*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2003.

1207. _____. "Al Qaeda and the War on Terrorism: An Update." *Current History*, Vol. 103, No. 677 (December 2004), pp. 423-427.

1208. Howard, Michael. "What's In a Name? How to Fight Terrorism." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 1 (January-February 2002), pp. 8-13.

1209. Kepel, Gilles. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2002.

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1210. _____. "The Origins and Development of the Jihadist Movement: From Anti-Communism to Terrorism." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 34, No. 2 (July 2003), pp. 91-108.

1211. Lewis, Bernard. "License to Kill: Usama bin Ladin's Declaration of Jihad." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 6 (November/December 1998), pp. 14-19. ●● A professor emeritus of Near Eastern studies at Princeton University examines a statement of *jihad* signed by Usamah bin Ladin and published in London in early 1998. The statement attacks the American military presence in Saudi Arabia and declares a *fatwa* to kill Americans everywhere. The author points out that the declaration is seen as a travesty of Islam by most Muslims as well as most Americans.

1212. Mayer, Jane. "The House of Bin Ladin." *New Yorker*, 12 November 2001, pp. 54ff. ●● A quick look at the wealthy Bin Ladin family of Saudi Arabia and the impact of Usamah bin Ladin's attack on the US on the family and the kingdom.

1213. Napoleoni, Loretta. *Modern Jihad: Tracing the Dollars Behind the Terror Networks*. London: Pluto Press, 2003.

1214. Pape, Robert A. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3 (August 2003), pp. 343-361. ●● An associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago examines 187 acts of suicide terrorism since 1980 and 2001. He argues that, contrary to conventional wisdom, "suicide terrorism follows a strategic logic … to coerce a target government to change policy, to mobilize additional recruits and financial support, or both." (p. 344) He believes that all attacks were carried out against modern liberal democracies and counsels that "States that face persistent suicide terrorism should recognize that neither offensive military action nor concessions alone are likely to do much good and should invest significant resources in border defenses and other means of homeland security." (p. 344)

1215. Pillar, Paul R. "Counterterrorism after Al Qaeda." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 101-113. ●● The former deputy chief of the US Central Intelligence Agency's Counterterrorist Center assesses the campaign against al-Qa'idah and its spin-offs during the three years after 11 September 2004, noting that the organization has been splintered. "Al Qaeda still has the capacity to inflict lethal damage, but the key challenges for current counterterrorism efforts are not as much Al Qaeda as what will follow Al Qaeda." (p. 101)

1216. Posen, Barry R. "The Struggle against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics." *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Winter 2001-2002), pp. 39-55. ●● A professor of political science at MIT examines in general terms possible strategies for combating terrorism and, in particular, al-Qa'idah. He argues that the US must find a strategy that sets priorities because of scarce resources and the expense of war. "Significant changes in the US national security establishment, including intelligence collection and analysis, military organization and equipment, and emergency preparedness, will prove essential." (p. 55)

1217. Prados, Alfred B., and Christopher M. Blanchard. *Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues*. Washington: U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RL32499, updated 8 December 2004. ●●

Analysts at the Congressional Research Service evaluate allegations that Saudi Arabia has supported terrorist organizations, including al-Qa'idah and Hamas. They also examine Saudi funding for schools abroad and post-11 September counter-terrorism steps taken by the Saudi government. In conclusion, the authors note that the wave of internal violence since 2003 has forced Saudi leadership to pay heightened attention to the problem and observe that "Both U.S. officials and independent observers have welcomed the mechanisms that Saudi authorities have put in place with the aim of stemming the flow of funds destined for terrorist groups. They point out, however, that the effectiveness of these measures will be tested by the degree to which Saudi authorities succeed in implementing the various institutions and regulations that have been established in recent years." (p. 24)

1218. Roy, Olivier. "Al-Qaida Brand Name Ready for Franchise." *Le Monde diplomatique* (September 2004), accessed online.

1219. Rubin, Barry, and Judith Colp Rubin. *Anti-American Terrorism and the Middle East: A Documentary Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. ●● A collection of a wide-range of documentary materials, together with an extensive chronology, on terrorist groups and activities with emphasis on al-Qa'idah and Usamah bin Ladin.

1220. Rudner, Martin. "Hunters and Gatherers: The Intelligence Coalition Against Islamic Terrorism." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 193-230.

1221. Schweitzer, Yoram, and Shaul Shay. *The Globalization of Terror: The Challenge of Al-Qaida and the Response of the International Community*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003.

1222. Senior, Jennifer. "Intruders in the House of Saud, Part II: A Nation Unto Himself." *New York Times Magazine* (14 March 2004), accessed online. ●● A profile, by a contributing writer to the magazine, of trial lawyer Ronald L. Motley who has instituted a suit on behalf of the 11 September 2001 victims against Saudi Arabian charities, banks, and prominent individuals, including members of the royal family.

1223. Spyer, Jonathan. "The Al-Qaeda Network and WMD." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2004), distributed electronically.

1224. U.S. Congress. House. Select Committee on Intelligence. And US.

Congress. Senate. Select Committee on Intelligence. *Report of the Joint Inquiry into the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001*. Washington: USGPO, December 2002. ●● An exhaustive compilation of information regarding to the organization and execution of al-Qa'idah's hijacking of the four airliners on 11 September and their use in attacking the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington. The report examines the shortcomings in US security arrangements that allowed the attacks to be carried out successfully. It concludes that "While the Intelligence Community had amassed a great deal of valuable intelligence regarding Usama Bin Ladin and his terrorist activities, none of it identified the time, place, and specific nature of the attacks that were planned for September 11, 2001. [Furthermore,] the Community too often failed to focus on that information and consider and appreciate its collective significance in terms of a probable terrorist attack. Neither did the Intelligence Community demonstrate sufficient initiative in coming to grips with the new transnational threats. Some significant pieces of information in the vast stream of data being collected were overlooked, some were not recognized as potentially significant at the time and therefore not disseminated, and some required additional action on the part of foreign governments before a direct connection to the hijackers could have been established." (p. xi) The report was declassified from "Top Secret" but there are many security deletions and the committees note the refusal of the executive branch to release many documents.

1225. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs. *The Financial War on Terrorism and the Administration's Implementation of Title III of the USA Patriot Act*: Hearing Before the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, United States Senate, January 29, 2002. Washington: USGPO, 2003.

1226. _____. Committee on Finance. *Financial War on Terrorism: New Money Trails Present Fresh Challenges*; Hearing, October 9, 2002. Washington: USGPO, 2002.

1227. U.S. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report*. Washington: USGPO, 2004. ●● An extremely detailed analysis of the emergence of al-Qa'idah, its planning for the 9/11 attacks on the US, the execution of the attacks, and suggestions on how to prevent future attacks. Among the commission's findings is that "Saudi Arabia has been a problematic ally in combating Islamic extremism." (p. 371) Although the study notes that al-Qa'idah has raised considerable funds in the kingdom, "we have found no evidence that the Saudi government as an institution or senior Saudi officials individually

funded the organization." (p. 171) But it goes on to declare that "The United States and Saudi Arabia must determine if they can build a relationship that [includes] a shared commitment to political and economic reform, as Saudis make common cause with the outside world. It should include a shared interest in greater tolerance and cultural respect, translating into a commitment to fight the violent extremists who foment hatred." (p. 391)

1228. Woodward, Bob. *Bush at War*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002. ●● An account of President George W. Bush's actions during the first one hundred days following the 11 September 2001 attacks, written by a journalist from the *Washington Post* and based mainly on interviews with people involved. The focal point is the planning for and then the invasion of Afghanistan, the destruction of the Taliban régime, and the forced flight of Usamah bin Ladin into hiding.

Bilateral Relations with Gulf States

Dual Containment Policy

1229. Ben-Meir, Alon. "The Dual Containment Policy Is No Longer Viable." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March 1996), pp. 58-71. ●● "The US policy of dual containment of Iran and Iraq has run its course," judges a professor at the New School for Social Research. (p. 58) His advice to the Clinton Administration is to adopt new measures in addition to the UN sanctions against Iraq and to switch to a policy of engagement with Iran. The new measures he advocates include organizing the leadership of Iraqi exile groups, creating a government-in-exile, and pursue improved opportunities for covert action to overthrow Saddam Husayn, in conjunction with European and Arab allies.

1230. Bronson, Rachel. "Beyond Containment in the Persian Gulf." *Orbis*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 193-209. ●● An assessment on US policy in the Gulf by a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations points out that Gulf states' exasperation with the Clinton administration's containment policy had led to the rebuilding of relations with Iraq before the Bush administration appeared on the scene. She places the blame for this with the Clinton administration's almost exclusive reliance on military-to-military relations. Bronson points out that the "force posture of the United States heavily depends on these countries, and their location makes them crucial to all future plans in the region. But at the same time, their deep structural problems, burgeoning populations, unpredictable economic growth rates, an unstable oil market, domestic debt, outdated education practices, and immense expatriate labor populations are becoming impossible to ignore

and could undermine close security relations" (p. 194) The consequences of not addressing these concerns, she concludes, could be revolutionary change or continued fracturing of the Desert Storm coalition with increasing constraints on US action.

1231. Brzezinski, Zbigniew, Brent Scowcroft, and Richard Murphy. "Differentiated Containment." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (May-June 1997), pp. 20-30. ●● The authors, two former Assistants to the President for National Security Affairs and a former ambassador (Murphy), report on a Council on Foreign Relations task force on security in the Gulf. They assert that the Clinton administration's strategy of "dual containment" for Iraq and Iran was Amore a slogan than a strategy … and the policy may not be sustainable for much longer [because it] lacks strategic viability and carries a high financial and diplomatic cost." (p. 20) They advocate a more nuanced approach and "creative tradeoffs, such as the relaxation of opposition to the Iranian nuclear program in exchange for rigid and comprehensive inspection and control procedures." (p. 29)

1232. Clawson, Patrick. "The Continuing Logic of Dual Containment." *Survival*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 33-47. ●● The Director of Research at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy contends that the dual containment policy "offers an excellent way for the West to deter external aggression until rogue regimes no longer pose a threat…." (p. 33) He argues that the policy is better than the alternatives, that it provides effective pressure against fragile "rogue" régimes, and that it deters Iran and Iraq from external aggression, and that the obstacles of either country in arming itself has saved them money. He dismisses the impact of sanctions on the humanitarian crisis in Iraq and ascribes allied disagreement over the sanctions régime to the failure of the US government to explain the security rationale behind the sanctions well. He concludes that weakened containment of Iran would work to Saddam Husayn's advantage and suggests that the US government should carry out its policy without regard to any coalition if necessary.

1233. Deutsch, Robert S., Anthony H. Cordesman, Hervé Magro, and William A. Rugh. "The Challenge in the Gulf: Building a Bridge from Containment to Security." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (May 1997), pp. 1-21. ●● The edited text of a Middle East Policy Council conference. The US policy on Iran and Iraq is explained by Deutsch (State Department), Cordesman (Center for Strategic and International Studies) argues why containment cannot fully succeed in containing, Magro (French Embassy) presents French thinking on the region, and Rugh (AMIDEAST) provides some suggestions for improving achievement of US goals in the region.

1234. Gause, F. Gregory, III. "The Illogic of Dual Containment." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (March-April 1994), pp. 56-66. ●● A highly critical assessment of the Clinton administration policy towards Iraq and Iran. The author charges that "The dual containment policy is shot through with logical flaws and practical inconsistencies and is based on faulty geopolitical premises. It is hard to see how either Iraq or Iran could be contained … without the cooperation of its hostile counterpart. American allies in the region and elsewhere have shown no enthusiasm for dual containment, making its implementation highly problematic. Dual containment offers no guidelines for dealing with change in the Gulf, and it ties American policy to an inherently unstable regional status quo." (pp. 56-57) This article is a response to the preceding article in the same issue by Anthony Lake, "Confronting Backlash States," pp. 45-55.

1235. Katzman, Kenneth. "Beyond Dual Containment: Toward a Persian Gulf Peace Process." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (November-December 1995), pp. 24-29. ●● A Gulf specialist at the Congressional Research Service suggests that Gulf security depends on curbing the hegemonic ambitions of Iran and Iraq and that the best way to achieve this might be a comprehensive peace process similar to that of the Arab-Israeli dispute. He adds that this should be a priority for the United States since "The current security structure, even with dual containment and the US presence, is likely to remain inherently threatening to US interests." (p. 29) The author expands on this subject in his *Beyond Dual Containment* (Abu Dhabi: Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research, 1996. The Emirates Occasional Papers, No. 6).

1236. Katzman, Kenneth, Richard Murphy, Fraser Cameron, Robert Litwak, Gary Sick, and Thomas Stauffer. "The End of Containment: Iraq, Iran, and Smart Sanctions." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2001), pp. 71-88. ●● Edited transcript of a Middle East Policy symposium. Katzman (Library of Congress) contends that "what is needed are creative ways to persuade Iran to enter into dialogue rather than creative thinking about smart sanctions." (p. 74) Murphy (Council on Foreign Relations) notes that "Iran's own mismanagement may well have done as much or more damage to its economy than our actions, but we've succeeded in hurting the Iranian economy." (p. 76) Cameron (Delegation of the European Commission) reiterates Europe's emphasis on dialogue with Iran, rather than ILSA (the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act). Litwak (Woodrow Wilson Center) cautions that "It will be difficult to break out of dual containment and to pursue differentiated approaches towards these countries as long as the rogue-state policy remains part of the U.S. foreign-policy lexicon." (p. 82) Sick (Columbia University) notes that the traditional view of the Gulf as a

triangle (Iran, Iraq, and the Gulf states) must now include the US as a permanent major player. Stauffer (international energy consultant) points out that containment is inconsistently applied (Iraq and Pakistan have been sanctioned but Israel and India have been indulged) and discusses the policy's economic costs to the US.

1237. Lake, Anthony. "Confronting Backlash States." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (March-April 1994), pp. 45-55.

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1238. Gause, F. Gregory, III. "The Illogic of Dual Containment." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (March-April 1994), pp. 56-66. ●● These two articles present opposing opinions on the value of the Clinton administration's announced policy vis-à-vis Iraq and Iran. The author, an Assistant to the (US) President for National Security Affairs, argues that US policy "must face the reality of recalcitrant and outlaw states that not only choose to remain outside the family but also assault its basic values." (p. 45) These outlaws are comprised of Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Iraq, and Libya. Lake alludes to George Kennan's classic enunciation in 1947 of an American policy of "containment" of the Communist world in claiming a logic of "dual containment" whereby the US, rather than building up one to counter the other, would establish a balance of power in the Gulf without depending on either Iraq or Iran,

On the other hand, Gause is highly critical, charging that "The dual containment policy is shot through with logical flaws and practical inconsistencies and is based on faulty geopolitical premises. It is hard to see how either Iraq or Iran could be contained … without the cooperation of its hostile counterpart. American allies in the region and elsewhere have shown no enthusiasm for dual containment, making its implementation highly problematic. Dual containment offers no guidelines for dealing with change in the Gulf, and it ties American policy to an inherently unstable regional status quo." (pp. 56-57)

1239. Lichtblau, John H. "Dual Containment." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (May-June 1999), pp. 57-58. ●● The chairman of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation argues that "Over the long term, there is a compelling interest in normalizing relations with both Iran and Iraq [particularly because of their oil reserves but] In the short term, there will probably be a continuation of the ongoing military and political confrontation…." (p. 58) The same issue provides opposing viewpoints on the effectiveness of US sanctions against Iran: California congressman Howard L. Berman claims

they are working while the CEO of Conoco, Archie W. Dunham believes they are hurting American interests.

1240. Noyes, James H. "Fallacies, Smoke and Pipe Dreams: Forcing Change in Iran and Iraq." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (June 2000), pp. 28-50. ●● A former US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern, African, and South Asian Affairs notes the Clinton Administration's goals of preventing Iran's acquisition or development of WMD, support for terrorism, and opposition to the Arab-Israeli peace process, and its goal of engineering regime change in Iraq. He observes that "current U.S. policy has created an illusory option suggesting our ability to solve the problem by helping Iraq's exiled opposition oust Saddam" and that "It is time to begin lowering the profile of Iranian-U.S. alienation." (p. 47)

1241. Pelletière, Stephen C. *Landpower and Dual Containment: Rethinking America's Policy in the Gulf*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, November 1999. ●● A Middle East specialist at the Strategic Studies Institute points out that the US policy of dual containment of Iraq and Iran "is over 5 years old. This is too long for America to be focused on two states that really should not be of such great importance to it." (p. 1) Furthermore, contends that it has failed because it has not respected the principle of power-balancing, as George Kennan applied the concept of containment to the Cold War. He advocates removing the sanctions on Iraq and Iran, scrapping the no-fly zones over Iraq, and allowing the balance of power to come into play. Since oil is so important to the US, it should devote its efforts to safeguarding sources in the Gulf by establishing bases or - if that is impossible, it should undertake a robust program of military exercises and other contacts in friendly Gulf states. In the end, protecting American interests in the Gulf will require the insertion of American land forces.

1242. Sajjadpour, Seyed Mohammad Kazem. "The Policy of Dual Containment in Theory and Practice." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 104-118. ●● A look at the political, academic, and bureaucratic origins of the American dual-containment policy which concludes by stating that "If the intention is the same as the containment practiced against the Soviets during the Cold War, then the policy of dual containment is blatantly in contradiction to the interests of our country. Hence, a more detailed understanding of this policy is a strategic necessity." (pp. 115-116)

1243. Sick, Gary G. "Rethinking Dual Containment." *Survival*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 5-32. ●● An adjunct professor at Columbia University

contends that "The US dual-containment policy has failed to produce its intended result in either Iran or Iraq. … With regard to Iran, the policy eventually lost sight of its objectives and became an end in itself. In Iraq, the policy has thus far failed to produce the overthrow of Saddam Hussein." (p. 25) He concludes that "The comfortable status quo of 1993 is not sustainable, and US efforts to institutionalise it with the dual-containment policy have created a looming crisis with many of its closest allies." (p. 26)

1244. Weitz, Richard. "After Dual Containment: U.S. Policy in a Changing Gulf." *Strategic Review*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Fall 1999), pp. 30-38. ●● A research analyst at the Center for Naval Analyses poses the question of what the security situation would look like should Iraq and Iran both moderate their policies, thus ending the need for dual containment. Noting that the US would still face serious security challenges in the Gulf, Weitz suggests that the curtailment of WMD proliferation should hold priority over promoting democratization and that the US should try to minimize its military presence in the Gulf.

1245. Wurmser, David, Ted Galen Carpenter, Edward Peck, and Graham Fuller. "The Peace beyond the Peace: What Role for Iran and Iraq?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (June 2000), pp. 1-27. ●● An edited transcript of a symposium sponsored by the Middle East Policy Council on 4 May 2000. Wurmser (American Enterprise Institute) poses the question of the future of Iraq and Iran after Arab-Israeli peace in the context of requirements for a change of perspectives in Arab-Muslim relations. Carpenter (Cato Institute) holds that dual containment is "in my view, one of the most impractical, illogical policies ever adopted by a great power." (p. 7) Peck (former US diplomat in Iraq) poses the question of "how the concept of dual containment will advance our interests in an area we consider to be strategically significant if we have absolutely nothing to do with two of the most important countries there." (p. 10) Fuller (RAND Corporation) attacks the use of the term "rogue states" and suggests that the emotional support that Saddam Husayn enjoys in many parts of the world may derive from a failure of American policy.

Iran

1246. Alikhani, Hossein. *Sanctioning Iran: Anatomy of a Failed Policy*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2000. ●● The head of the Centre for World Dialogue in Cyprus notes that "In the decades since the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the United States has tried to isolate Iran diplomatically, militarily and economically, relying on wide-ranging unilateral sanctions and export controls. … Following the release of the hostages [in the US Embassy in Tehran], the United States' objectives in using sanction tools were to alter what it regarded as the unacceptable political and military behaviour of Iran." (p. 23) A final chapter listing the 19 US statutes which form the legal basis of American sanctions is subtitled "a policy defying logic" and the author concludes that "nearly all existing sanctions against Iran have been motivated by domestic political considerations - the accommodation of the interests of the pro-Israeli lobby in the United States." (p. 402)

1247. Amuzegar, Jahangir. "Adjusting to Sanctions." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (May-June 1997), pp. 31-41. ●● An examination of the US sanctions imposed against the Islamic Republic of Iran. "Supporters of the policy claim that the cost to Iran has been immense, even greater than expected; critics dismiss the policy as self-defeating and divisive. What is certain, however, is that the economic, psychological, and political impact of the American sanctions has not produced the anticipated results or transformed the régime." (p. 31) The author suggests that, "Assuming that Iran's territorial integrity and political independence are in the United States' own long-term national interests, a change in the containment policy may be a reasonable insurance premium." (p. 41) This might consist of reactivation of a dialogue along the lines of reciprocal response, with offenses dealt with on a *quid pro quo* basis without jeopardizing the overall dialogue.

1248. Askari, Hossein. "It's Time to Make Peace with Iran." *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 72 (January-February 1994), pp. 50-52ff. ●● A professor of international finance at George Washington University looks at recent political and economic developments in Iran and argues that "By continuing to insist on Iran's isolation, we indulge in a pointless vengefulness, endanger our geopolitical interests, and waste business opportunities as great as any in the developing world." (p. 63)

1249. Berman, Ilan. "How To Tame Tehran." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 45-54. ●● The author, a vice president at the American Foreign Policy Council, contends that the US has been sending mixed signals to Iran in recent years. In his view, "the United States needs a comprehensive strategy to block Iran's nuclear progress, check Iran's

adventurism in the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus, and give encouragement to the Islamic Republic's nascent domestic opposition [and thereby] blunt the threat now posed by Tehran…." (p. 54)

1250. Bernstein, Alvin H. "Iran's Low-Intensity War Against the United States." *Orbis*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 149-167. ●● The chairman of the Strategy Department at the US Naval War College charges that "Waging a successful war against the United States, Iran has all but driven an American presence from Lebanon." (p. 149) He claims it is not state-sponsored terrorism but low-intensity war and calls for an aggressive American strategy to counter it.

1251. Bill, James A. *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988. ●● A professor of government at the College of William and Mary surveys the history of US-Iranian relations over the course of the 20th century until the Islamic revolution in 1979, the taking of the US hostages, and the Iran-contra affair. A second part of the book analyzes shortcomings in the US foreign-policy-making process, using Iran as a case study, and provides a dozen recommendations for improving the process in the future. He concludes that "The American eagle needs to do more than strengthen its wings and sharpen its talons. It must also improve its qualities of perception, its communication skills, and its moral credibility. Its painful experience with the Iranian lion in the Persian Gulf can prove to be a valuable learning experience." (p. 448) Parts of this book were excerpted in the author's *The Shah, the Ayatollah and the U.S.* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1988; Headline Series, No. 285).

1252. _____. "The United States and Iran: Mutual Mythologies." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1993), pp. 98-106. ●● A professor of government at the College of William and Mary discusses eight myths in perceptions of Iran, each with countervailing perspectives of the country's critics and its supporters, and concludes with an argument for the improvement of US-Iranian relations through better trade.

1253. _____. "Iran and the United States: A Clash of Hegemonies." *Middle East Report*, No. 212 (Fall 1999), pp. 44-46. ●● A professor of government at the College of William and Mary traces the continuing antagonism between the US and Iran to the conflict in interests between a global hegemon and a regional hegemon. He sees US-Iran détente as inevitable but "it will require the global hegemon to communicate diplomatically with the regional hegemon as a sovereign, independent member of the community of nations and not as a client state. For its part, the regional hegemon, Iran,

will have to rein in its revolutionary rhetoric and its extremist activities at home and abroad." (p. 46)

1254. Brzezinski, Zbigniew, and Robert M. Gates, co-chairs, Suzanne Maloney, project director. *Iran: Time for a New Approach; Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2004. ●● The report looks at Iran's domestic situation, its external relations, its nuclear programs, its involvement in regional conflicts, and US-Iranian relations. It recommends that the US target objectionable policies of Iran's government and not its people. Furthermore, Iran should be included in the Middle East Partnership Initiative. The report holds that US policy would be better served by seeking incremental growth in economic relations rather than imposing sanctions. In particular, "Permitting Iran to begin accession talks with the World Trade Organization will only intensify pressure on Tehran for accountability and transparency, and may help facilitate Iran's evolution into a state that respects its citizens and its neighbors." (p. 48) Brzezinski was National Security Adviser to President Carter (1977-1981); Gates is President of Texas A&M University and was Director of Central Intelligence (1991-1993); and Maloney was an oil company adviser and Brookings Institution fellow.

1255. Carswell, Robert. "Economic Sanctions and the Iran Experience." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (1981-1982), pp. 247-265. ●● A New York lawyer observes that the economic sanctions imposed by the US apparently succeeded in forcing a resolution of the hostage crisis. Carswell examines the ramifications of blocking Iran's $12 billion in US-held assets and describes how American allies, under US pressure, took part in the sanctions. He also reviews the negotiations which led to the release of the frozen assets. Carswell affirms that these sanctions were notable because they were effective and short-lived, in contrast to earlier efforts. However, he believes that unilateral economic sanctions should be considered as a last resort and imposed only after other forms of multilateral cooperation have proven unsuccessful in resolving a crisis. ¤

1256. Chubin, Shahram, and Jerrold D. Green. "Engaging Iran: A U.S. Strategy." *Survival*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Autumn 1998), pp. 153-169. ●● Chubin (Geneva Center for Security Policy) and Green (Rand Corporation) lay out a strategy for the US to engage, rather than confront, Iran. They conclude that after Khatami's election, "The US has every reason to encourage the new and more civil atmosphere characterising exchanges between the two countries. On the other side, the US has to ensure that atmospherics do not substitute for substance, that concessions are reciprocated and not

pocketed." (p. 167)

1257. Clawson, Patrick. *U.S. Sanctions on Iran*. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1997. The Emirates Occasional Papers, No. 8. ●● A research professor at the National Defense University examines the background to and impact of Washington's US sanctions policy. He notes that many outside the US government have harshly criticized the sanctions, instead favoring dialogue to bring Iran back into the international community. The author believes "that not only will sanctions be maintained for the indefinite future, but Iran as well will not change any of its policies." (p. 7)

1258. Clawson, Patrick. "The Paradox of Anti-Americanism in Iran." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March 2004), distributed electronically. ●● The deputy director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy examines the causes of anti-American sentiment and expressions of it in recent years, despite the growth in popular feelings towards the US. He regards "anti-Americanism" as deriving from Islamism, nationalism, Third Worldism, and nativism.

1259. Cottam, Richard W. *Khomeini, the Future, and US Options*. Muscatine, Iowa: Stanley Foundation, 1987. Policy Paper No. 38. ●● A professor of political science at the University of Pittsburgh concludes that "US policy not only can have a significant impact on political succession in Iran but probably will have such an impact even if the present ambivalence prevails. The Iranian government sees the United States as initiating conspiracies against it … and its most dangerous opponent. But it has demonstrated as well a willingness to enter into a relationship…." (p. 38)

1260. Cottam, Richard, David Schoenbaum, Shahram Chubin, Theodore H. Moran, and Richard A. Falk. "The United States and Iran's Revolution." *Foreign Policy*, No. 34 (1979), pp. 3-34. ●● An early discussion of the impact of the Iranian revolution on the US. Cottam (the University of Pittsburgh) traces the historical background of the revolution, with emphasis on the growth of anti-Americanism. Schoenbaum (the University of Iowa) notes the failure of the Carter Administration, Congress, and the press to anticipate the revolution, emphasizing that flawed perceptions were grounded in dubious policy. Chubin (then at the International Institute for Strategic Studies) discusses the personal role of the Shah in the development of modern Iran and explains why Iran's close relationship with foreign powers alienated most of the population. Moran (Georgetown University) looks at the revolution's effect on oil flows and the consequences for the Iranian economy. Falk (Princeton University)

criticizes the American role in Iran and its reaction to the revolution: "Washington has managed always to stay several steps behind events on the ground, thus appearing as clumsy and ham-handed as it has Machiavellian." ¤

1261. Cottrell, Alvin J., and Robert J. Hanks. "The Strategic Tremors of Upheaval in Iran." *Strategic Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Spring 1979), pp. 50-56. ●● A look at the strategic implications of the Iranian revolution, published immediately after the fall of the Shah. The authors contend that the collapse of the Pahlavi dynasty seriously undermined US policy and interests in the area and suggest three options for the future: total reliance on Saudi Arabia to safeguard US interests in the Gulf; promotion of a regional security alliance among pro-Western Gulf states; and a "go-it-alone" strategy assigning the U.S. primary responsibility for protecting Western security interests in the Gulf. ¤

1262. Earl, Robert L. "A Matter of Principle." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 109, No. 2 (February 1983), pp. 29-36. ●● A Marine Corps officer criticizes the aborted Iranian hostage rescue mission by comparing planning for the mission with "the ten generally accepted principles of war." He contends that a number of weaknesses in the plan may have contributed to its failure: inadequate and ineffective command and control; a lack of drive and determination in the leadership during the execution phase; excessive emphasis on operational security; concentration on a short-term emergency rescue to the detriment of a possible long-term, deliberate rescue; underestimation of the benefits of organizing and training the units involved as a team; and approval of a minimalist rescue plan rather than a bolder hostage situation-resolving plan, thus reducing the chances for a successful raid. ¤

1263. Hajjar, Sami G. "Framing a Rogue: U.S.-Iran relations in the Gulf." *Strategic Review*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Fall 1997), pp. 19-28. ●● A professor at the US Army War College cautions the Clinton administration that it should act to reduce the probability of military confrontation between the US and Iran as a result of the Khubar Towers bombing of 1996. He suggests that Washington's hard-line policy should be replaced by an incremental process of accommodation.

1264. Hersh, Seymour M. "The Iran Game: How Will Tehran's Nuclear Ambitions Affect Our Budding Partnership?" *New Yorker* (3 December 2001), pp. 42ff. ●● An examination of Iran's role in assisting the United States in its fight against al-Qa'idah, but with emphasis on Israel's opposition because of allegations of Iranian efforts to produce nuclear

weaponry.

1265. Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. “The International Politics of Secularism: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Islamic Republic of Iran.” *Alternatives*, No. 29 (2004), pp. 115-138. ●● An exploration by an author from Northwestern University of the opposing ideologies of secular nationalism and religion through the prism of US-Iranian relations. She notes that “In challenging the automatic linkage between secularism, democracy, and freedom, the revolution threatened U.S. nationalism, in which these ideals are tightly interwoven.” (p. 116)

1266. Katzman, Kenneth. *Iran: Current Developments and U.S. Policy*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Issue Brief IB93033, 26 June 2003. ●● A CRS foreign affairs analyst looks at Iran's WMD capabilities, strategic capabilities (including WMD), the country's foreign policy and involvement in terrorism, human rights concerns, and issues in US-Iranian relations, particularly with regard to economic sanctions. The author notes that “Iran was also quietly helpful in the US effort to oust Iraq's Saddam Hussein in 2003, although Iran reportedly is supporting Shiite Islamic factions there that could greatly boost Iran's influence in post-war Iraq. Some Al Qaeda activists are reportedly in Iran as well, although their relationship with the regime, if any, is unclear. The Bush Administration has warned Iran not to meddle in Iraq, to expel any Al Qaeda in Iran, and to curb its nuclear program, but the Administration has sought to dampen speculation that the United States might take major military action against Iran to change its regime.” (Summary)

1267. Kemp, Geoffrey. *Forever Enemies? American Policy and the Islamic Republic of Iran*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1994. ●● A view of US-Iranian relations following the Kuwait War by a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment. Much of the short volume is taken up by domestic developments in Iran and Tehran's relations with its neighbors, other regional states in South and Central Asia, and a review of Iran's military capabilities, including weapons of mass destruction, and support of terrorism. A note on the Salman Rushdie *fatwa* is also included, along with a number of recommendations for US policy. The author suggests that, Awhile the United States should support some sort of constructive engagement with Iran, the prospects for an early dialogue are slim [and thus] a dialogue should be regarded as the beginning of a long process to restore normalcy to relations between two countries too important to ignore each other.” (p. 78)

1268. _____. *America and Iran: Road Maps and Realism*. Washington,

D.C.: The Nixon Center, 2000. ●● A senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace examines the history of US-Iranian relations, Iran's domestic problems and relations with its neighbors, and assesses the security danger it poses. Following his recommendations for US policy, the author concludes that Awhile the United States should support some sort of constructive engagement with Iran, the prospects for an early dialogue are slim. Indeed, to change Iranian behavior to the point where its leaders will see that such a dialogue is in their interests will require the close cooperation of allies and may mean intensified economic and political pressures on the Teheran régime." (p. 79)

1269. _____. "Iran: Can the United States Do a Deal?" *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 109-124. ●● The director of regional strategic programs at the Nixon Center points out that Iran is the only country in the world that refuses to have formal contact with US officials and, until this obstacle is overcome, "it is difficult to see how several 'red button' issues that bedevil the US-Iranian relationship can be addressed, let alone resolved." (p. 109) He identifies these "red button" issues as: historic grievances, terrorism, the US military presence in the Gulf, Iran's weapons programs, Iran's opposition to Israel and the peace process, and US energy sanctions on Iran.

1270. Khalilzad, Zalmay. "The United States and Iran: Beyond Containment." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 6, No. 6 (November-December 1989), pp. 3-10. ●● A RAND Corporation political scientist and former US government official contends that "For much of the past ten years, Iran's relations with the West - especially the United States - have been abnormal and hostile. Both the scope and the extent of the hostility have been surprising because Iran and the West have many common interests." (p. 3) He argues that steps should be taken on both sides to normalize relations. For Iran, this would mean forcing Hizbullah to release American hostages in Lebanon while the US should end all sanctions against Iran directly related to the Iran-Iraq War.

1271. Kurzman, Charles. "Soft on Satan: Challenges for Iranian-US Relations." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1998), pp. 63-72. ●● An assistant professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill) argues that the improvement of US relations with Iran is undermined by continuing hostile rhetoric, regarding negotiations as a way to alter Iranian policy or overthrow the regime, and refusing to negotiate with Iranian hardliners. "Unless Khatami or the U.S. administration is able to involve the Iranian isolationists in the currently proposed negotiations, we may well witness another [American-Iranian] crisis." (p. 63)

1272. Laipson, Ellen, Gary Sick, and Richard Cottam. "US Policy Towards Iran: From Containment to Relentless Pursuit?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, Nos. 1 and 2 (September 1995), pp. 1-21. ●● Edited transcript of a Middle East Policy Council meeting in May 1995 on the impact of the Clinton Administration's tightening of trade relations with Iran, with contributions by the director of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council (Laipson), a former NSC member and adjunct professor at Columbia University (Sick), and a professor emeritus at the University of Pittsburgh (Cottam).

1273. Ledeen, Michael, and William Lewis. *Debacle: The American Failure in Iran*. New York: Knopf, 1981. ●● A detailed account of the unravelling of American policy in Iran along with the Pahlavi regime. There is more than a hint that the emergence of this "foreign policy failure" at the time of the Carter Administration was not entirely coincidental: "The wandering Shah was symbolic of the lack of clear direction from Washington that characterized the entire American debacle in Iran." This book is expanded from the authors' "Carter and the Fall of the Shah: The Inside Story," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1980), pp. 3-40. ¤

1274. Lissakers, Karin. "Money and Manipulation." *Foreign Policy*, No. 44 (Fall 1981), pp. 107-126. ●● A former Deputy Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff contends that the freezing of Iranian assets by the US in 1980 amounted to a recognition that oil money could be used as a weapon. The author maintains that the major reason for the freeze was to prevent Iranian disruption of financial markets, not to retaliate for the seizure of the hostages. ¤

1275. Ostrich, Ralph. "U.S. Policy Initiatives in Post-Khomeini Iran: Toward a New Course in U.S.-Iranian Relations." *Global Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Fall 1987), pp. 119-134. ●● A staff member at the BDM Corporation speculates on how the imminent departure of Ayatollah Khomeini will affect US relations with any successor regime. He maintains that, although the US cannot influence future events in Iran, it can provide essential and military assistance. He divides possible policy into political-diplomatic, military, economic, and "quiet" initiatives, and he defends his activist approach by declaring that "American public opinion will readily accept the cost of easing tensions in the Gulf and ensuring a more moderate and democratic Iran." (p. 134)

1276. Pollack, Kenneth M. *The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict Between Iran and America*. New York: Random House, 2004.

1277. Pranger, Robert J., and Dale R. Tahtinen. "American Policy Options in Iran and the Persian Gulf." *AEI Foreign Policy and Defense Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1979), pp. 1-29. ●● Written as Iran was engulfed in revolution, this study looks at the history of US policy in Iran, weighs the possible impact on that country of various conflicts around the Gulf, assesses the state of Iran's defense organization, reviews US defense commitments and involvement in Iran, and suggests a series of options for future US policy. The authors, both at the American Enterprise Institute at the time of publication, recommended compensating for the shift in Iran by drawing closer to Saudi Arabia through a defense alliance and/or a direct military presence. They also foresee a possible Iranian move toward an extreme position on the Arab-Israeli conflict and counsel the US to develop an initiative encompassing the shared interests of Egypt, Israel, and Saudi Arabia, as well as avoid direct military intervention and alliance with Israel for access to the Gulf. ¤

1278. Rafizadeh, Mansur. *Witness: From the Shah to the Secret Arms Deal: An Insider's Account of U.S. Involvement in Iran*. New York: William Morrow, 1987. ●● The memoirs of the head of SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, in the United States for nearly 20 years and, at the same time, a CIA agent. It is a critical account of the Shah's rule, with much gossip which the author says he relayed regularly to the CIA.

1279. Ramazani, R.K. *The United States and Iran: The Patterns of Influence*. New York: Praeger, 1982. Studies of Influence in International Relations. ●● US-Iranian relations between 1941 and 1979 provide a case study for examination of the role of influence in relationships between superpowers and Third World states. The author, a professor of government at the University of Virginia, considers characterization of the relationship in terms of US domination of Iran as simplistic, insisting that "the flow of influence between the two states was more reciprocal than unilateral, although not necessarily equal." ¤

1280. _____. "Who Lost America? The Case of Iran." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Winter 1982), pp. 5-21. ●● The author attacks the conceptual fallacy that raw power can be equated with influence, and points out that many Americans (as well as Iranians) mistakenly assumed that the US had the capability to exercise unlimited influence over Iran prior to the 1979 revolution. Ramazani notes that just as US support for the Pahlavi régime was built up slowly, so it gradually diminished. He concludes that the US could not have saved the Shah from the shortsightedness of his own policies and that "The Shah wooed, won, but also lost America." ¤

1281. Rubin, Barry. *Paved With Good Intentions: The American Experience and Iran*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. 2nd ed.; New York: Penguin, 1981. ●● A fellow at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies describes how the US was "transformed in Iranian eyes from their nation's savior, in the 1940s, to the world-devouring satan of the Khomeinist era." In so doing, Rubin outlines the US campaign to remove Soviet forces from Iran after World War II; American intervention to undermine prime Minister Mossadegh in the early 1950s and restore the Shah to power; Washington's appreciation of the advantages of a US-Iranian alliance, stemming largely from Iran's location on the borders of the Soviet Union; the US strategy to utilize Iran as its regional surrogate in the 1970s; and finally, unsuccessful American efforts in 1978-1979 to avert the impending revolution. Rubin also examines the flight of the Shah, the establishment of the Islamic republic, and the hostage crisis which led to the abortive rescue attempt. Appendices include an essay on the role of the media during the deterioration in US-Iranian relations, and a detailed chronology. ¤

1282. _____. "Iran, the Ayatollah, and U.S. Options." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Summer 1983), pp. 142-168. ●● The author sees contradictions in US goals in Iran: "The U.S. interest in an Iran strong enough to oppose … the expansion of Soviet power southwards conflicts with U.S. efforts to prevent the strengthening of Iran's regional position." Rubin feels that prospects for an improvement in US-Iranian relations are poor and advises against further US involvement in Iranian internal affairs. Instead, the American role should consist of countering the Soviet threat, maintaining a low profile in the Iran-Iraq war, and bolstering the security of the Arab states. ¤

1283. Sick, Gary. *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter With Iran*. New York: Random House, 1985. Reprinted New York: Universe, 2001. ●● An adjunct professor at Columbia University and the principal White House aide for Iran during the Iranian revolution and hostage crisis draws upon his personal experience to write a comprehensive history of the Iranian revolution and the impact on the United States government. As the author notes, "Whatever the excesses of the revolutionary authorities in Tehran, and whatever judgment history may reserve for this unique social experiment, it seems indisputable that Iran has been permanently, irrevocably changed. Curiously enough, so has the United States of America…. Not since the fall of Saigon had a series of foreign policy events so shaken the United States." (p. vii)

1284. Sobhani, S. Rob. "U.S. Iran Policy at a Crossroads." *Middle East Insight*,

Vol. 16, No. 3 (June-July 2001), pp. 15-16. ●● An adjunct professor at Georgetown University briefly reviews US-Iran relations before concluding that "the United States must engage those forces inside Iran that want to work with Washington, in order to enhance the geopolitical and economic interests of both countries." (p. 16)

1285. Takeyh, Ray. "Re-imagining US-Iranian Relations." *Survival*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Autumn 2002), pp. 23-36. ●● A fellow in international security affairs at Yale University looks at recent developments in Iran's domestic politics and at American policy towards the Islamic Republic, focusing on Washington's opposition to the Iranian nuclear program and its disappointment in Iran's opposition to the Arab-Israeli peace process and its attitude to post-Taliban Afghanistan. Noting that "for the foreseeable future, the United States will face not a single global challenge, but a series of local contenders for power. Iran is such a contender: a medium-size power…." (pp. 34-35) He argues that "Through a multifaceted approach, the United States can best deter Iran's provocative policies in the short-run and cultivate a democratic transition in the long run." (p. 27)

1286. Tahir-Kheli, Shirin. "Proxies and Allies: The Case of Iran and Pakistan." *Orbis*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Summer 1980), pp. 339-352. ●● The author, a political scientist at Temple University at the time of writing, points out that Iran and Pakistan in the 1950s were allies of the US and not its proxies. With the application of the Nixon Doctrine, Iran became a US proxy, but "The fall of the Shah closed an era when proxies would act to preserve U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf." Tahir-Kheli asserts that the US still needs regional allies but contends that few can be counted upon to protect US interests. She suggests that Pakistan seems to be the best candidate in this regard. ¤

1287. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Iran's Seizure of the United States Embassy*; Hearings. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. The stated purpose of these hearings was to draw lessons from the Iran experience for protecting US diplomats abroad, for dealing with terrorism, and for responding to and handling similar crises in the future. A summary of the hostage crisis is included, as are the Algiers documents leading to its solution. Testimony is given by Harold Saunders, Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, Warren Christopher, Walter Stoessel, Anthony Quainton, Peter D. Constable, Mark Feldman, and several of the former hostages. ¤

1288. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Task Force to Investigate Certain Allegations Concerning the Holding of American Hostages by Iran in 1980. *Joint Report of the Task Force to Investigate Certain Allegations*

Concerning the Holding of American Hostages by Iran in 1980 ("October Surprise Task Force"). Washington, DC: USGPO, 1993.

1289. _____. Committee on International Relations. *H.R. 3107, A Bill to Impose Sanctions on Persons Exporting Certain Goods or Technology That Would Enhance Iran's Ability to Explore for, Extract, Refine or Transport by Pipeline Petroleum Resources and for Other Purposes*. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1996. 104th Congress, 2nd Session, 21 March 1996.

1290. _____. Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran. *Iran-Contra Investigation*; Joint Hearings in Executive Session as Declassified Before the House Select Committee and Senate Select Committee…. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1988.

1291. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Situation in Iran*; Top Secret Hearing on 8 May 1980, Sanitized and Printed on 18 February 1981. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● An explanatory statement by Acting Secretary of State Warren Christopher on the attempted rescue of the American hostages in Iran formed the basis for this hearing. Christopher describes the timing of the attempted rescue of the American hostages in Iran, argues that the need for surprise and secrecy precluded consultation with Congress under the War Powers Act, and gives an evaluation of the situation in Iran at that time. ¤

1292. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Iran Agreements*; Hearings. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● Various former State Department officials testify about the intent and ramifications of the Iran agreements, as do representatives from the Treasury and Justice departments. Other testimony is heard from corporate executives and lawyers representing American concerns with claims against Iran. A lengthy appendix reprints legal materials and press reports on the agreements. ¤

1293. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. *The "October Surprise" Allegations and the Circumstances Surrounding the Release of the American Hostages Held in Iran*; Report of the Special Counsel to Senator Terry Sanford and Senator James M. Jeffords of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1993.

1294. _____. Select Committee on Intelligence. *Preliminary Inquiry into the Sale of Arms to Iran and Possible Diversion of Funds to the Nicaraguan Resistance*; Report. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987. Report No. 100-7.

1295. _____. Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition. *Refusal of Richard V. Secord to Testify*; Report. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987. Report No. 100-16.

1296. Wright, Robin, and Shaul Bakhash. "The U.S. and Iran: An Offer They Can't Refuse?" *Foreign Policy*, No. 108 (Fall 1997), pp. 124-137. ●● A plea for the United States and Iran to attempt to improve their relations in light of the upset election of Mohammed Khatami as Iranian President, written by a correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times* and a professor of history at George Mason University respectively. The authors advocate that the two sides actively take difficult steps through four phases, involving an opening round of mutual moves, a second round of agreeing to remove more difficult hurdles, a third round of direct engagement, and an "end game" of restoring full commercial ties and diplomatic relations - which the authors concede Awill probably have to wait until Khatami's second term, pending his reelection, and a new U.S. administration." (p. 136)

Iraq

1297. Axelgard, Frederick W. *A New Iraq? The Gulf War and Implications for US Policy*. New York: Praeger; Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1988. Washington Papers, No. 133. ●● A research fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies looks at policy developments in Iraq before and during the Iran-Iraq War and assesses the consequences for US relations with Baghdad. He argues that US policymakers should become aware that "Iraq's leaders are shoring up the country domestically at the same time that they are locking it into a web of accommodating, responsible regional relationships." (p. 89) Furthermore, he advocates a short-term US policy to help Iraq avoid defeat in the Iran-Iraq War and a long-term policy "to encourage Iraq to maintain its moderate, nonconfrontational stand in regional affairs [by developing] a broader foundation of political understanding … between Washington and Baghdad." (p. 102) Expansion of commercial relations would facilitate American entry into the last major unpenetrated market in the Middle East.

1298. _____. "U.S.-Iraqi Relations: A Status Report." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 13 (Summer 1985), pp. 1-9. ●● A fellow in Middle East studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies observes that "The most pleasant surprise in the recent history of U.S.-Arab relations is the accelerating improvement in U.S. relations with Iraq." (p. 1) He traces the background and progress of this development and observes that its success is still complicated by the issue of export financing because of Iraq's involvement in the Iran-Iraq War.

1299. Byman, Daniel. "After the Storm: U.S. Policy Toward Iraq Since 1991." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 115, No. 4 (Winter 2000-2001), pp. 493-516. ●● An analyst at the RAND Corporation traces the evolution of US policy toward Iraq since the Kuwait War, evaluating US objectives and constraints. The author argues that much of the criticism of US policy is "overstated and fails to appreciate many of the accomplishments of the Bush and Clinton administrations and their allies." (p. 494) His overall assessment is that US policy has been a qualified success since, most obviously, Iraq has been contained. But he also sees as potential future problems four weaknesses in the US stance: being able to maintain sanctions and allied military strikes only as long as Saddam continues to make mistakes, committing itself to UN inspections that could lead to an end to sanctions and thus assist Iraq's WMD programs, neglecting regional allies especially if American backing of the Iraqi opposition is not handled well, and over-reliance on a short-term strategy of getting rid of Saddam without devising a blueprint for the long-term integration of Iraq into a regional security structure.

1300. Cordesman, Anthony H. *The Iraq-Iran War and U.S.-Iraq Relations: An Iraqi Perspective; An Interview with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz*. Washington, DC: National Council on US-Arab Relations, August 1984. National Council Reports, No. 2.

1301. Dawisha, Adeed. "Iraq: The West's Opportunity." *Foreign Policy*, No. 41 (1980-1981), pp. 134-153. ●● The Iran-Iraq war may offer an opportunity for the West to encourage Iraq to strengthen its ties to moderate Middle Eastern forces, says the author. He notes that Baghdad had reoriented its foreign policy away from the USSR and moderated its attacks on the Arabian Peninsula states before the outbreak of the war. The war may hasten a rapprochement between Iraq and the West since many of Iraq's interests run parallel to those of the West. At the same time, Dawisha notes, Baghdad and Washington remain as far apart as ever on the Arab-Israeli dispute. Nevertheless, he counsels that "Iraq's massive oil reserves, its strategic location, its growing influence with the Gulf states, and its potential for Arab leadership make it imperative that policy makers in the West encourage Iraq's drift away from the Soviet Union." ¤

1302. Hersh, Seymour M. "A Case Not Closed." *New Yorker* (1 November 1993), pp. 80ff. ●● An examination of the Clinton administration's decision to bomb Baghdad in June 1993 as a result of an Iraqi plot to assassinate former President George Bush while on a visit to Kuwait. The author claims that his "own investigations have uncovered circumstantial evidence, at least as compelling as the Administration's that suggests that the American

government's case against Iraq … is seriously flawed." (p. 80)

1303. Pelletière, Stephen C. "Regional State Competitors: The Case of Iraq." In Lloyd J. Matthews, ed., *Challenging the United States Symmetrically and Asymmetrically: Can America Be Defeated?* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 1998), pp. 289-301.

1304. _____, Douglas V. Johnson, II, and Leif R. Rosenberger. *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, 1990.

1305. Russell, Richard L. "CIA's Strategic Intelligence in Iraq." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 117, No. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 191-207. ●● A professor at the National Defense University and a former CIA analyst argues that while the Iraqis lacked accurate strategic intelligence, "the American intelligence community provided its consumers one of the broadest and clearest pictures of an adversary that any American president and high command has ever had in the nation's history … which is hard to reconcile with the disparaging postwar assessments of CIA's performance made by Schwartzkopf and other CENTCOM commanders." (p. 204) Russell asserts that "postwar analysis showed CIA analysis to be superior." (p. 203) On the other hand, he assesses that "The greatest weakness of CIA's performance was its lack of human assets inside the Iraqi regime able to report on Saddam's plans and intentions." (p. 205)

1306. Sweet, Catherine. "Mixed Signals: U.S.-Iraqi Relations and Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait." *Jusur*, Vol. 11 (1995), pp. 33-53. ●● The author discusses theories on whether the US could have prevented the invasion before outlining US relations with Iraq in the 1980s, including the "downward spiral" in relations in 1989-1990, and concludes that the US sent ineffective signals which were interpreted by Saddam Husayn as "the Americans would simply make threats, not deliver."

1307. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Europe and the Near East, and on International Economic Policy and Trade. *Export of Frigate Engines to Iraq*; Hearing, 14 May 1980. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● The administration's decision, without informing Congress, to permit the export to Italy of eight gas turbine engines for use in frigates being built for the Iraqi government, prompted the scheduling of this hearing. Deane R. Hinton, the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs, testified that the export license had been granted because of the availability of the engines from other sources and the need to maintain good relations with Italy. ¤

Saudi Arabia

1308. Armitage, St. John. "The Keystone of the Partnership, Saudi-American Relations: An Englishman's View." *Middle East Insight*, "Special Edition" (1995), pp. 57-59. ●● A retired British diplomat outlines the history of the Saudi-American relationship and judges that "The American contribution to, and involvement in, the life of the Kingdom, now in its seventh decade, has established America as Saudi Arabia's major, perhaps, natural, partner in safeguarding the world's largest oil reserves." (p. 59) Still, he says, "perhaps the greatest threat to the present relationship is the fact that oil is of greater importance than all other considerations." (p. 59)

1309. Armstrong, Scott. "Eye of the Storm: The $200 Billion Reason We Had to Go to War in the Middle East." *Mother Jones* (November-December 1991), pp. 30-35, 75-76. ●● A former *Washington Post* reporter and founder of the National Security Archives alleges that the United States and Saudi Arabia have developed a web of secret oral understandings, which include a "super-base" network and a permanent US presence in Saudi Arabia. They obligate the US military to protect the Saudi royal family from all internal and external threats and therefore make US involvement in future Middle East conflicts unavoidable. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, President Bush was insistent, Armstrong says, in pushing American assistance on Saudi Arabia because he "saw the need both to breathe life into the partially dormant network and to ensure that Saddam would not be able to seize it." (p. 75)

1310. Aufhauser, David, Frank Anderson, David E. Long, Nathaniel Kern, and Hussein Shobokshi. "Saudi Arabia: Enemy or Friend?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2004), pp. 1-25. ●● An edited transcript of a symposium sponsored by the Middle East Policy Council on 23 January 2004. Aufhauser, a former general counsel at the US Department of the Treasury, observes that the issue of terrorist financing "is a very sore wound between the countries, but still is quite open to resolution." (p. 3) Anderson, a former chief of the Near East and South Asia Division at the CIA, provides a brief summary of US-Saudi relations. Long, a retired US foreign service officer, notes that it may be as possible to stop terrorist financing as it has been to stop the laundering of drug money. Kern, president of Foreign Reports, Inc., reviews the role of oil in US-Saudi relations and concludes that "The historical record shows that Saudi Arabia's actions and interests in the oil market have been aligned with the United States [and] Saudi Arabia's stated intentions are to maintain that alignment of interest in the future." (p. 12) Shobokshi, a Saudi businessman and manager of Okaz Printing and Publishing, declares that "Saudi Arabia is not a foe; Saudi Arabia is a friend. There are some Saudis who dislike America and its policies, of

course. But I think the same number of Americans hate Saudi Arabia and its policies and are very confused about it." (p. 13)

1311. Awaji, Ibrahim Mohamed Al-. "U.S.-Saudi Economic and Political Relations." *American Arab Affairs*, No. 7 (Winter 1983-1984), pp. 55-59. ●● The Saudi Arabian Deputy Minister of the Interior notes that the US and Saudi Arabia have enjoyed a close economic relationship for over fifty years. While oil provides the foundation, there are other important facets as well: Saudi Arabia is the United States' sixth largest trading partner; over 1,000 American companies operate in the kingdom; and Saudi Arabia has invested over $70 billion in sectors of the American economy. In addition, while the two countries agree on many international questions, they differ over what Al-Awaji describes as the Saudi commitment to Palestinian self-determination and the US blind commitment to Israel. ¤

1312. Bahgat, Gawdat. "Managing Dependence: American-Saudi Oil Relations." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 1-14. ●● The director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Indiana University of Pennsylvania argues that "Instead of energy independence, the United States should consolidate a strategy to manage its growing dependence on foreign oil suppliers, particularly from Saudi Arabia - the world's largest oil producer and exporter." (p. 1) He advances this idea in particularly by demonstrating the mutual benefits of stabilizing oil prices and by advocating the successful return of US oil companies to the upstream oil and gas sectors in Saudi Arabia.

1313. _____. "Oil and Militant Islam: Strains on U.S.-Saudi Relations." *World Politics*, Vol. 165, No. 3 (Winter 2003), pp. 115-122. ●● The author argues "that militant Islam is as much of a threat to the Saudi government as it is to the United States [and therefore] Riyadh has strong incentives to remain committed to the war on terror." (p. 115) Furthermore, he regards the kingdom as a reliable ally in this endeavor and sees its apparent reluctance to cooperate as the result of the Saudi government's "attempt to reconcile the two contradictory pillars of its survival: a military alliance with Washington and the conservative Islam that dominates its society." (p. 122)

1314. _____. "Saudi Arabia and the War on Terrorism." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter 2004), pp. 51-63. ●● The director of Middle East studies at Indiana University of Pennsylvania discusses Saudi-US relations after 9/11, with particular emphasis on the question of Saudi private money being channeled to terrorist groups. The author assesses that "asking the Saudis to adopt a strong stand on donation to Islamic charities

and auditing their accounts would carry enormous political costs for the Saudi government" even though "the consensus in Washington is that the Saudis can, and should, do more." (p. 57)

1315. Bremmer, Ian. "The Saudi Paradox." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 221, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 223-230. ●● The president of Eurasia Group of consultants provides a basic survey of the importance of Saudi Arabia's oil, the chances of the regime's implosion, and its need for educational reform. The author argues that "Washington could play a catalytic role in encouraging - and pressuring - the Saudi regime to undertake substantial economic, political, and educational reforms. As with so many initiatives meant to increase America's influence abroad, effective public diplomacy is critical - but it has to be public diplomacy focused on the right issues." (p. 27)

1316. Calabrese, John. "US Challenges and Choices in the Gulf: Saudi Arabia." N.p.: Atlantic Council of the United States, Middle East Institute, Middle East Policy Council, and Stanley Foundation, 2001. Policy Brief, No. 1. ●● A summary of a joint US congressional staff briefing by four organizations and prepared by John Calabrese of the Middle East Institute. The summary notes that the 11 September 2001 attacks have not altered Saudi Arabia's fundamental importance even as they have severely strained US-Saudi relations. An updated briefing was issued in 2002 as Policy Brief No. 8 under the modified title, "US Challenges and Choices; Saudi Arabia: A View From the Inside."

1317. Chanin, Clifford, and F. Gregory Gause, III. "U.S.-Saudi Relations: Bump in the Road or End of the Road?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 116-125. ●● A report on a Saudi-American dialogue held at Bellagio, Italy, convened by the Rockefeller Foundation and written by the president of the Legacy Project and an associate professor at the University of Vermont, respectively. The participants from Saudi Arabia and the United States agreed that the bilateral relationship had become much more public and more troubled. Instead of the elite-based, closed nature of the relationship in the past, the participants suggested that a new dimension was necessary: "Track Two contacts, conducted unofficially by leading elements of both societies. This will involve civil society exchanges engaging diverse leaders from the religious, social, educational and business sectors in discussing where the two countries can make common cause and where they can not." (p. 124)

1318. Citino, Nathan J. *From Arab Nationalism to OPEC: Eisenhower, King Sa'ud, and the Making of U.S.-Saudi Relations*. Bloomington: Indiana

University Press, 2002.

1319. "Commemorating 50 Years of US-Saudi Partnership." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (May-June 1995), pp. 43-62. ●● Remarks from a Middle East Insight conference in Washington, including Anthony Cordesman on security, Ellen Laipson on the view from the White House, Robert Hopkins on his memories of the 1945 meeting between President Roosevelt and King 'Abd al-'Aziz, Nathaniel Kern on changes in the kingdom, Michael MacMurray on security, and a keynote address by Adel al-Jubeir.

1320. Cordesman, Anthony H. *Western Strategic Interests in Saudi Arabia*. London: Croom Helm, 1987. ●● A study that provides background to the West's relationships with the kingdom before turning to the nature of regional threats and the military build-up in the region. The author surveys the development of Saudi military forces and devotes a chapter to explaining the pivotal role of the Saudi air force. Another chapter focuses on the failed US arms sale of a new package of F-15 combat aircraft to Saudi Arabia in 1985-1986, forcing Riyadh to turn to Britain for Tornado aircraft. Cordesman also puts forth a substantial list of key issues affecting Western-Saudi relations, among them the problem of Saudi stability, the impact of Saudi arms needs on Israel's security, the long-term impact of the 1985-1986 experience on US arms sales to the kingdom, and improvements to the Saudi army and National Guard. In conclusion, he notes that "In many areas of the world, the West can only improve its security through dramatic changes in policy. In the case of Saudi Arabia, the Gulf, and Southwest Asia, the challenge to the West is to enforce its existing policy consistently." (p. 261)

1321. _____. "The U.S. and Saudi Arabia: A Strategic Partnership." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (May-June 2002), pp. 14-18. ●● The holder of the Arleigh Burke chair in strategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies reviews the essential elements in US-Saudi relations and suggests that "Americans need to be educated both in the reasons for the US alliance with Saudi Arabia and as to the character of Saudi Arabia and the Saudi state. The Saudi people need an equally frank effort by the Saudi government to explain the kingdom's security problems and economic needs and the reasons for an alliance with the United States and a limited U.S. military presence." (p. 18)

1322. Eilts, Hermann Frederick. "US-Saudi Relations After the September 11 Débâcle." *American Diplomacy*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (December 2001).

1323. Farsy, Fouad A. Al-. "Saudi-American Relations in a Changing World." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 19 (Winter 1986-87), pp. 23-27. ●● Saudi Arabia's deputy minister of information provides a Saudi perspective on relations with the United States in an address to a conference sponsored by the American-Arab Affairs Council. After tracing difficulties in the relationship, he offers a number of suggestions for an improved US policy in the Middle East.

1324. _____. "Contemporary Realities in Saudi-American Relations." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 26 (Fall 1988), pp. 82-91. ●● Another speech by the Saudi deputy minister of information reiterating the common ground between Saudi Arabia and the US and noting that "Because the Palestinian-Israeli problem is central to politics in the Middle East and because America plays a pivotal role in her support of Israel, it is necessary for us to consider Saudi-American relations in the context of America's policy towards Israel." (p. 86) He remarks that Saudi Arabia has been tireless in its efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the problem and suggests that it is in both countries' interests to do so.

1325. Gause, F. Gregory, III. "From 'Over the Horizon' to 'Into the Backyard': The U.S.-Saudi Relationship and the Gulf War." In David W. Lesch, ed., *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 299-311. ●● An examination of impact of the Kuwait War on US-Saudi relations, building on the author's previous publications on the subject. He summarizes that "the Saudi leadership continues to feel at least somewhat constrained by important elements of domestic public opinion in codifying that relationship in an open military alliance or in formally and publicly permitting U.S. military bases in the kingdom." (p. 310) He notes that this tension predated the war and is a permanent facet of the relationship.

1326. _____. "Be Careful What you Wish For: The Future of U.S.-Saudi Relations." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring 2002), pp. 37-50. ●● An associate professor of political science at the University of Vermont asserts that "No country has more vexed Americans in the crisis that began on September 11 than Saudi Arabia." (p.37) He asks the question of why Saudi cooperation with the US has appeared grudging and deduces that "Rather than running the risk of alienating [domestic public opinion] through unstinting support for the United States, the Al Saud have chosen to hedge." (p. 37) The author reviews factors in the kingdom's security and the charges against it by American media in the post-11 September period. As for the future of Saudi-American relations, Gause suggests that it would be in the interest of both sides to seek a return to the kind of relationship the

kingdom had with the United States before 1990 - close, but 'over the horizon.'

1327. Grayson, Benson Lee. *Saudi-American Relations*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982. ●● A historical survey, basically descriptive in nature, of American interests in and relations with Saudi Arabia since the 1930s. Based on secondary sources, this book was written by a longtime Foreign Service Officer. Despite Saudi Arabia's importance to the US, the author suggests that there will be no significant improvement in relations even though both countries will remain close. He also argues that the US cannot exclude consideration of direct military intervention to prevent the overthrow of the current régimes in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf by anti-Western forces. ¤

1328. Hoagland, Jim, and J.P. Smith. "Saudi Arabia and the United States: Security and Interdependence." *Survival*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (March-April 1978), pp. 80-83. ●● A short look by two journalists at the increasingly interdependent relationship between the US and Saudi Arabia, reprinted from articles in the Washington Post on 22 and 27 December 1977. The authors point out that Saudi Arabia has come to play an important role in world politics and contend that this significantly influenced the Carter administration. An unnamed US diplomat is quoted as worrying that "We are reaching the point where we are more dependent on them than they are on us." ¤

1329. Jordan, Robert W. "U.S.-Saudi Relations: MEI Policy Forum." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (March-April 2002), pp. 13-18.

1330. Lacey, Robert. "Saudi Arabia: A More Visible Role in the Middle East." *World Today*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (January 1982), pp. 412. ●● A popular writer sees the successful conclusion of the AWACS aircraft sale as representing a number of important developments: an Arab victory over the pro-Israel lobby, a reassertion of presidential authority in the conduct of US foreign policy, and the enhancement of Prince (now King) Fahd's position in domestic Saudi politics. ¤

1331. Laham, Nicholas. *Selling AWACS to Saudi Arabia: The Reagan Administration and the Balancing of America's Competing Interests in the Middle East*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002. ●● An independent scholar specializing in the Reagan presidency uses presidential records from the Reagan administration to analyze the divisive foreign-policy issue of the sale of radar aircraft to Saudi Arabia in the face of opposition from the strong pro-Israel lobby. He contends that success in "the AWACS debate

suggests that claims concerning Reagan's greatness cannot be lightly dismissed." (p. 229) He also concludes that perhaps the "most enduring political lesson from the AWACS debate is that the United States does not need to sacrifice its special relationship with Israel in order to forge stronger ties with Saudi Arabia." (p. 230)

1332. Lippman, Thomas W. *Inside The Mirage: America's Fragile Partnership With Saudi Arabia*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2004. ●● A former *Washington Post* correspondent covers aspects of the US-Saudi relationship, including the American role in the foundation of the Saudi oil and aviation industries, cultural ties and differences, and political and strategic aspects of the relationship.

1333. Long, David E. *The United States and Saudi Arabia: Ambivalent Allies*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985. MERI Special Studies, No. 3. ●● A survey of bilateral relations by a member of the US State Department's Policy Planning Staff but written while the author was a senior fellow at the Middle East Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania. The author discusses these relations in terms of oil, military cooperation, economic and commercial ties, politics and diplomacy, and regional security. He emphasizes the continuity of linkages between the two countries but also remarks on the ambivalence in the relationship. He believes that mutual interests demand that policy goals should be achieved through cooperation rather than confrontation and stresses the importance of personal diplomacy. He sees a weakness in US policy by visits of American officials Awho have focused on substantive issues during what the Saudis consider ceremonial visits for the purpose of instilling personal mutual trust." (p. 145)

1334. _____. "U.S.-Saudi Relations: A Foundation of Mutual Needs." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 4 (Spring 1983), pp. 12-22. ●● A State Department official points out that bilateral relations between the US and Saudi Arabia have developed on the basis of oil, politics, security, and economics. The US has come to view Saudi Arabia as a stabilizing and moderating force in the region and an integral part of any Arab-Israeli peace settlement. On the other side, Islam and geographic isolation are the two dominant factors influencing Saudi perceptions of international relations. Long concludes that ambivalence, cooperation, and security are recurring themes in US-Saudi relations. ¤

1335. _____. "US-Saudi Relations: Evolution, Current Conditions, and Future Prospects." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 24-37. ●● The former executive director of the Georgetown

University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies and a former deputy director of the State Department's Office of Counterterrorism surveys the deterioration in US-Saudi relations since 11 September 2001 and discusses the perceptions that Americans and Saudis have of each other. He points out that the recognition by both countries that international terrorism is their greatest security threat has fostered better cooperation, especially since the Riyadh attacks of May 2003. He also sees oil policy as being a source of potential irritation and warns that "the record of political reform enforced from the top down succeeding is virtually nil. … It would behoove the United States to encourage Saudi political reform that is both compatible with Saudi Arabia's Islamic social values and that proceeds at a pace that best encourages evolutionary progress, not what best meets American ideas of what is best for them." (p. 36)

1336. McLaurin, Ronald D. "Foundations of the Saudi-American Security Relationship." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (March-April 1992), pp. 36-42. ●● The president of Abbot Associates reviews the bilateral ties and notes that keeping advanced equipment in Saudi Arabia may involve major risks for the US in case of internal insurrection.

1337. McMillan, Joseph, Anthony H. Cordesman, Mamoun Fandy, and Fareed Mohamedi. "Symposium: The United States and Saudi Arabia: American Interests and Challenges to the Kingdom in 2002." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 2002), pp. 1-28. ●● Edited transcript of a Middle East Policy symposium. Joseph McMillan (National Defense University) briefly reviews the reasons behind the strain in US-Saudi ties, including different attitudes towards social values, different communications styles, the lack of a shared strategic vision, and the erosion of grass-roots contact. Anthony Cordesman (Center for Strategic and International Studies) notes that "we've had these crises before and … they tend to be two-sided and involve mistakes on both sides." (p. 5) Mamoun Fandy (National Defense University) observes that "the more criticism of Saudi Arabia from the United States, the more consolidation and circling of the wagons." (p. 9) Fareed Mohamedi (Petroleum Finance Company) believes that "While the kingdom has serious problems, we believe that the Saudis are still likely to be the dominant oil player and manager of global oil prices over the medium to long term…." (p. 12)

1338. Mednicoff, David M. "The Maturing of the Saudi-American Relationship." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Winter 1984-1985), pp. 33-41. ●● A doctoral candidate at Harvard University contends that "The United States and Saudi Arabia have entered a phase where each takes the other for granted [because] each country feels more confident of getting

what it wants from the other [security for oil], a number of developments in the region have put limits on open Saudi-American political disputes [and] the two countries no longer believe that the closeness of their cooperation requires either general agreement mutual repudiation." (p. 33)

1339. Muttam, John. "U.S. Attempts to Resurrect the Surrogate Model in the Persian Gulf." *Asian Profile*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (February 1982), pp. 1-13. ●● The author, a political scientist at the University of Kerala, makes a number of questionable assumptions in this look at American reliance on surrogates in the Gulf. He opines that oil constitutes the sole reason for US interest in the Gulf and that since the British withdrawal from the Gulf in 1971, successive US administrations have refrained from establishing a direct presence for fear of an adverse reaction from an American public wary of another Vietnam quagmire. The US originally chose Iran over Saudi Arabia as its Gulf surrogate because it was stable, pro-Western, politically conservative, and had been the predominant power in the region. Since the fall of the Shah, the US has tried unsuccessfully to make the Kingdom its chief bulwark in defense of American interests in the Gulf, as a result of the Saudi royal family's reluctance to align itself too closely with the US The author further posits that should the royal family agree to act in this capacity, it will likely suffer the same fate as the Pahlavis of Iran. ¤

1340. Pollack, Josh. "Anti-Americanism in Contemporary Saudi Arabia." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 2003), distributed electronically. ●● A Washington consultant declares that Aanti-American sentiments and actions have played an important but episodic role in Saudi politics and foreign relations" in the past but in recent years Aanti-Americanism in word and deed has become one of the central features of the Saudi political landscape."

1341. Pipes, Daniel. "The Scandal of U.S.-Saudi Relations." *National Interest*, No. 70 (Winter 2002-2003), pp. 66-78. ●● A conservative complaint that "For decades, U.S. government agencies have engaged in a consistent pattern of deference to Saudi wishes, making so many unwonted and unnecessary concessions that one gets the impression that a switch has taken place, with both sides forgetting which of them is the great power and which the minor one." (p. 67)

1342. Pounds, Bonnie. "The U.S.-Saudi Arabian Joint Commission: A Model for Bilateral Economic Cooperation." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 7 (Winter 1983-1984), pp. 60-68. ●● The director of programs for the joint commission outlines its purpose, organization, and accomplishments. The commission's mandate is to promote programs of cooperation in the fields

of industrialization, trade, manpower training, agriculture, and science and technology. ¤

1343. Prados, Alfred. *Saudi Arabia: Current Issues and U.S. Relations*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Issue Brief IB93113, 4 August 2003. ●● This frequently updated study by a Library of Congress CRS analyst provides a brief background to US-Saudi relations and discusses current issues in the relationship, including Gulf security concerns, the Arab-Israeli conflict, arms transfers to the kingdom, trade and investment, and concerns relating to human rights and democracy. The author also discusses matters of US Congressional interest in Saudi Arabia. Among these are Congress's interest in the resolution of the al-Khubar bombing investigation, challenges to major arms sales to the Saudis, actions opposing Saudi participation in the Arab boycott of Israel, and procedures for reporting on US-Saudi commercial disputes. This study was formerly titled "Saudi Arabia: Post-War Issues and U.S. Relations."

1344. Rawls, Lucia W. "Saudi Arabia, ARAMCO and the American Political Process: Cause for Concern?" *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 18 (Fall 1986), pp. 92-105. ●● A Ph.D. candidate at the University of South Carolina looks at ARAMCO as a case study in the role that multinational corporations play in the influencing of US foreign policy. The author's guiding question is "whether the conviction of American businessmen (who have financial interests in Saudi Arabia) that U.S. policy in the Middle East should be changed is invalid because it coincides with the interests of Saudi Arabia." (p. 104) In her opinion, the answer seems to be no.

1345. Twinam, Joseph. "Controversial Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia: An American Tragedy in Possibly Four Acts." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 29 (Summer 1989), pp. 47-55. ●● A retired American Foreign Service Officer looks at the ramifications of an expected major arms sale to the kingdom and notes that Israel's supporters marshaled considerable Congressional opposition to the 1978 F-15 sale, the 1981 AWACS sale, and the 1986 missile package. After assessing the probable scenarios regarding a new sale, Twinam states that "if Act IV is played out there will be no winners, whatever the outcome" and suggests that since American interests in the Middle East require strong relations with both Israel and Saudi Arabia, the "trick is to assure that proposed arms sales to Saudi Arabia do not come to be targeted as 'controversial.'" (p. 55)

1346. Unger, Craig. *House of Bush, House of Saud*. New York: Scribner, 2004. ●● A journalist contends that an alliance between the Bush and Al Sa'ud families "helped to trigger the Age of Terror and give rise to the tragedy of

9/11." (p. 17) He also repeats his article contention that prominent Saudis were permitted to fly out of the US after the 11 September attacks when American air space was closed and the allegation that Prince Ahmad bin Salman worked with al-Qa'idah to carry out the 9/11 attacks. Unger claims "that more than $1.4 billion has made its way from the House of Saud to individuals and entities tied to the House of Bush." (p. 273) Relying mostly on journalist sources and some interviews, the author concludes that "Never before has an American president been so closely tied to a foreign power that harbors and supports our country's mortal enemies." (p. 281) Excerpts from the book were published as "The Great Escape," *Salon* (11 March 2004), distributed electronically.

1347. _____. "Saving the Saudis." *Vanity Fair* (October 2003), pp. 162ff. ●● A journalistic article asserting that four flights carrying about 140 Saudis, primarily from the Al Sa'ud royal family and the Bin Ladin family, were allowed to leave the US for Saudi Arabia a few days after the 11 September attacks, when US airspace was still restricted. The author claims that the planes were allowed to leave because of the special ties of President Bush to the Al Sa'ud and that the passengers were not interrogated by the FBI, or perhaps not even fully identified, although he acknowledges that White House has denied that the flights ever took place.

1348. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Appropriations. *Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations for 1982*; Hearings. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● Part 2 contains testimony regarding the proposed sale of AWACS aircraft, F-15 enhancement equipment, and Sidewinder AIM-9L missiles to Saudi Arabia. Among the witnesses supporting the sale were Alvin Cottrell (then of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies), and two former US ambassadors to Saudi Arabia, Robert G. Neumann and John West. General George Keegan (former chief of Air Force intelligence) voiced his opposition, contending that the Saudi régime was likely to be overthrown in two to three years. The committee members tended to oppose the sale on the grounds that it would jeopardize Israel's security. ¤

1349. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommitte on Europe and the Middle East. *Saudi Arabia and the United States: The New Context in an Evolving "Special Relationship"*; Report prepared by the Congressional Research Service. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● The study analyzes US -Saudi relations in light of developments in the region since 1978 and provides an assessment of the importance of Saudi Arabia to the US and of changes that might affect those interests, along with policy options available to the US It notes that the two countries have common interests in stable oil

prices, finding a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and promoting extensive bilateral trade, as well as general security and stability in the region. At the same time, areas of conflict include the Saudi desire for a more restrictive oil policy and disagreement over the Palestinian question. The downturn in US-Saudi relations following the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty is mentioned, but the fact that the US remains Saudi Arabia's principal military supplier is also noted. Finally, the question of an increased US presence in or near the Gulf remains a sensitive issue between the two countries, with Saudi Arabia continuing to press for an "over-the-horizon" presence. ¤

1350. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on International Security and Scientific Affairs, and on Europe and the Middle East. *Proposed U.S. Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia*; Hearing, 12 December 1979. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1980. ●● The hearing was convened to consider the proposed sale of $120 million in armaments for Saudi Arabia's F-15 aircraft, including Sidewinder missiles, cluster bombs, Maverick missiles, and laser-guided bombs, as the second installment of arms promised in 1976. Testimony was given by Lucy Wilson Benson (Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology), Lt. Gen. Ernest Graves (Director of the Defense Security Assistance Agency), and James Montgomery (Deputy Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's Weapons Evaluation and Control Bureau). These witnesses assured the committee that the full quantity of arms promised was necessary for Saudi defense requirements, that it would have no impact on the Arab-Israeli military balance, and that it would not pose a serious threat to arms control. ¤

1351. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. *Military and Technical Implications of the Proposed Sale to Saudi Arabia of Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) and F-15 Enhancements*; Hearings, 28 and 30 September 1981. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● These hearings are concerned with four questions: (1) the legitimate defense requirements of Saudi Arabia; (2) the threat posed by the package to Israel's security; (3) the risk of compromise of US military technology if the sale is approved; and (4) the benefits of the sale for improving the US military forces' potential to protect American interests in the Gulf. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and General James Jones, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, provide the administration's justification for the sale. ¤

1352. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Arms Sales Package to Saudi Arabia, Part 1*; Hearings, 1, 5, 6, 14, and 15 October 1981. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● The hearings revolve around several issues

concerning the sale of AWACS aircraft and F-15 enhancements to Saudi Arabia: (1) the sale's relation to US national security interests in the Gulf; (2) the impact of the sale on Saudi Arabian-Israeli relations; (3) the effect of the sale on US power and prestige in the Middle East; (4) the threat the sale might pose to Israel by altering the Arab-Israeli military balance in any significant way; and (5) the possibilities of the sophisticated equipment falling into unfriendly hands. Among those giving testimony are Robert Tucker, Harold Saunders, Robert Drinan, Thomas Dines, Alexander Haig, and Anthony Cordesman. ¤

1353. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Arms Sales Package to Saudi Arabia, Part 2*; Hearings, 1, 5, 6, 14, and 15 October 1981. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● The continuation of hearings on the sale of AWACS aircraft and F-15 enhancements to Saudi Arabia. Those presenting testimony in this part are James L. Buckley (State Department), Congressman Floyd Fithian (Indiana), Congressman William Green (New York), and Senator Daniel Moynihan (New York). Also included is a summary of the major findings of the Senate Armed Forces Committee and administration responses to additional questions submitted for the record. ¤

1354. _____. Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Proposed AWACS/F-15 Enhancement Sale to Saudi Arabia*; Staff Report. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● This report asserts that the AWACS aircraft sale is an essential element in achieving a "strategic consensus" in the region. It also analyzes four scenarios in which the AWACS could be used in a confrontation with Israel, noting that there are technical and political problems associated with each scenario. The report also notes that the Saudi AWACS will contain several items of sensitive equipment which would prove valuable to the Soviets if compromised. Furthermore, the authors point out that the AWACS will strain the manpower capabilities of the Royal Saudi Air Force and increase the number of Americans resident in Saudi Arabia. Finally, the sale is not seen as entailing a draw-down or diversion of US systems, although it is liable to entice badly needed American military personnel to the private sector. ¤

1355. "U.S.-Saudi Relations." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (March-April 2002), pp. 13-18. ●● Excerpts from discussion at a lunch sponsored by *Middle East Insight* with guests Robert W. Jordan (US ambassador to Saudi Arabia) and a dozen members of a Saudi Arabian delegation.

1356. Walker, Edward S., Jr. "The Media, Terrorism, and Saudi Perceptions." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (March-April 2002), pp. 93-96. ●● The president of the Middle East Institute discusses the antipathy to Saudi

Arabia that permeated US media after 11 September 2001 and notes that "the sheer volume and negativity of the op-eds, commentaries, and articles in the U.S. press would leave an outsider wondering if we were not at war with Saudi Arabia itself." (pp. 89-90)

1357. Walsh, Elsa. "Louis Freeh's Last Case." *New Yorker Magazine* (14 May 2001), pp. 68ff. ●● An analysis of the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)'s investigation of the 1996 truck bombing of a US air base at al-Khubar in Saudi Arabia. The account is sympathetic to Louis Freeh, the FBI director until 2001, focusing on his alienation from President Clinton and his efforts to get the Saudi government to co-operate with FBI requests.

1358. _____. "The Prince." *New Yorker Magazine* (24 March 2003), pp. 48ff. ●● A profile of Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the United States, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, with lots of personal details and based on interviews with various people who have dealt with him politically. Particular focus on Prince Bandar's role in Arab-Israeli negotiations and his relations with the Bush administration following the 11 September 2001 attacks.

1359. West, John C. "US-Saudi Arabian Relations: Toward a New Parity." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 7, Nos. 2 & 3 (1990), pp. 41-43.

GCC, Other Gulf States and the Yemens

1360. Aburdene, Odeh. "U.S. Economic and Financial Relations with Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 7 (Winter 1983-1984), pp. 76-84. ●● The author, a vice-president of Occidental Corporation, points out that the US and the Arab oil exporters are locked into an interdependent relationship from which neither side can escape. Aburdene also points out that a major feature of this relationship is the inflow of funds to the US via (1) the repatriation of profits and dividends by American oil companies; (2) the Arab states' purchase of non-military and military goods and services; and (3) the investment of Arab financial assets in the US capital market.¤

1361. Alnasrawi, Abbas. "The Oil Dimension in Arab-American Economic Relations." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 7 (Winter 1983-1984), pp. 120-129. ●● A descriptive account of the structural changes resulting from the oil price revolution, subsequent trends in trade and financial flows between the US, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). ¤

1362. Almadhagi, Ahmed Noman Kassim. *Yemen and the United States: A Study of a Small Power and Super-State Relationship, 1962-1994*. London:

I.B. Tauris, 1996. Tauris Academic Studies. ●● Derived from a doctoral thesis at the London School of Economics, this study traces US-Yemeni relations from the time of the Yemeni Imamate through unification in the early 1990s. The author notes that US-North Yemen relations after the 1962 revolution were dominated by the Cold War (especially since South Yemen was a client of the Communist bloc), the relations of both countries to Saudi Arabia, and by regional developments. The promise of better ties following Yemeni unification was tempered by Yemen's refusal to condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait but, the author notes, "the Saudi-mediated US antipathy towards Yemen was mitigated, at least in part, by US companies' involvement in Yemeni oil and by unified Yemen's progress towards pluralism and parliamentarism." (p. 9)

1363. Anthony, John Duke. *Goals in the Gulf: America's Interests and the Gulf Cooperation Council*. Washington, DC: National Council on US-Arab Relations, March 1985. National Council Reports, No. 3.

1364. _____. "The U.S.-GCC Relationship: A Glass Half-Empty or Half-Full." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (May 1997), pp. 22-41. Also published in David W. Lesch ed., *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996). ●● The author summarizes both the negative and the positive assessments of this relationship (in terms of US strategic, economic, political, commercial, and defense interests) and concludes that "From the practical perspective of the US national interest, the GCC glass is more half-full and filling than half-empty and leaking. The strategic and economic strengths are simply undeniable." (p. 40)

1365. _____. "Saudi Arabian-Yemeni Relations: Implications for U.S. Policy." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (June 2000), pp. 78-98. ●● A survey of Saudi-Yemeni relations by the president of the National Council for US-Arab Relations. The author rejects the assertion that Saudi Arabia is against Yemen's government and discusses Saudi aid and the Saudi position vis-à-vis the two sides in Yemen's 1994 civil war. He also discusses the situation of Yemeni workers expelled from Saudi Arabia in 1990.

1366. Anzi, Abdullah M. al-. "Kuwaitis' Attitudes Towards the Desert Fox Operation (A Field Study)." *DOMES: Digest of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2002), pp. 1-19. ●● The author, of Kuwait University, analyzes public opinion in Kuwait regarding "Operation Desert Fox," the 1998 US air strike on Iraq, based on a sample of 647. Although he does not report overall scores, he concludes that "the majority of the Kuwaiti society stands by the United States against Iraq and that they endorse the policy of

the Kuwaiti government in dealing with these crises. The results also show that the Kuwaiti society believes that Iraq still poses a major threat to Kuwait." (p. 18)

1367. DeKock, Laura. "Free Markets and Democracy Conference in Qatar." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (June-July 2001), pp. 21-22. ●● The managing editor of *Middle East Insight* summarizes the Qatari-American Conference for Free Markets and Democracy, held in Doha in April 2001.

1368. Dunford, David. "The US and Oman: An Enduring Partnership." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (November-December 1995), pp. 62-64. ●● A former US ambassador to Oman describes the nature of relations between the two countries, particularly in the military sphere and regarding regional issues. Although, "Given our common interests in Gulf security and Middle East peace, and our common abhorrence of Islamic or any other kind of extremism, there is a strong basis for continued US-Omani cooperation" but "there is a tendency for busy Washington policy-makers to take Oman for granted." (p. 64) The Sultan's escape from an automobile accident in 1995 is a reminder of how closely tied Oman's stability and prosperity is tied to one man.

1369. Gause, F. Gregory, III. "The Approaching Turning Point: The Future of U.S. Relations with the Gulf States." Brookings Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World, Analysis Paper No. 2 (May 2003). ●● An associate professor of political science at the University of Vermont argues that US policy towards the Gulf is in the midst of an important change from dependence on Saudi Arabia to increased reliance on the smaller GCC states to provide US with military facilities. He warns that reform in Saudi Arabia needs to come from Saudi leaders and not Washington to be credible and acceptable. In the smaller states, "The United States role needs to be minimally acceptable in local public opinion. This will depend enormously on how overall American policy is viewed there on larger issues in the Arab and Muslim worlds, particularly the Arab-Israeli conflict." (p. 3)

1370. Greig, Ian. "The Security of Persian Gulf Oil." *Atlantic Community Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1981), pp. 193-200. ●● A plea for greater Western attention to the key position Oman occupies at the entrance to the Gulf, made by the Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Research Institute in London. Greig places heavy emphasis on the threat that South Yemen and the Soviet Union pose for Oman, and on the sultanate's requirements for extensive military assistance to help it meet this threat. He also stresses Oman's need for minesweepers for defense of the Strait of Hormuz, and for Western resolve to stand behind its friends in the region. He concludes by

stating that "The West will only have itself to blame for any disasters that befall it, if it refuses to support the guardian of the vital Strait of Hormuz." ¤

1371. Henderson, Simon. *Reluctant Allies: U.S. Policy toward the Conservative Arab States of the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2001.

1372. _____. *The New Pillar: Conservative Arab Gulf States and U.S. Strategy*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 2003. Policy Paper no. 58. ●● A journalist and associate of WINEP surveys the GCC states and indicates major issues that affect them, averring that their disapproval of Iraq and Iran led to their cooperation with the United States in the overthrow of Saddam Husayn. He recommends that Washington should encourage the development of contacts between the GCC states and Israel, but also that Washington should weaken both OPEC and the GCC, as well as undermine French and Russian policy in the region.

1373. Hersh, Seymour M. "The Spoils of the Gulf War." *New Yorker* (6 September 1993), pp. 70ff. ●● An account of how two of former US President George Bush's sons and several former staffers attempted to negotiate business contracts with the Kuwaitis while accompanying the former president on his April 1993 Kuwait trip.

1374. Kahwaji, Riad. "U.S.-Arab Cooperation in the Gulf: Are Both Sides Working from the Same Script?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 52-62. ●● The head of the Institute for Near East and Gulf Military Analyses (INEGMA) in Dubai argues that "As the United States has become more important to the region, the region has become more suspicious of U.S. goals and critical of U.S. influence." (p. 52) As a consequence, Aunless the United States returns to a more traditional conception of (inter)national security - in which the regulating relations between states is the primary target of U.S. policies, rather than changing the very character of regional regimes - current disagreements are only likely to grow and fester over time, possibly undermining the new-found U.S. role as sole guarantor of Gulf security." (pp. 52-53)

1375. Kostiner, Joseph. "The United States and the Gulf States: Alliance in Need." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (December 1998), distributed electronically. ●● An associate professor of history at Tel Aviv University reviews the history of US military relations with the GCC States. While taking note of increasing tensions in these ties, he notes that the relationship strengthened in the 1990s because of the

precedent of large-scale US intervention in the region with the approval and cooperation of the GCC states, and what had been "a potential alliance was now implemented as a very real and strategically important one for both sides."

1376. Nakhleh, Emile A. *Arab-American Relations in the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, March 1975. Foreign Affairs Studies, No. 17. ●● *plus* ●● Nakheh, Emile A. *The United States and Saudi Arabia: A Policy Analysis*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1975. ●● Two short monographs examining the nature of the political systems and ideologies along the Arab littoral, the international relations of the region and comparative military strengths, and the role of oil in international trade and in regional development. Nakhleh, a professor of political science at Mount St. Mary's College, advises that the key element of any future American policy in the Gulf should the partnership and that partnership "must be multidimensional, functioning simultaneously on at least two levels: political and economic." ¤

1377. Panaspornprasit, Chookiat. *US-Kuwaiti Relations, 1961-1992*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.

1378. Peterson, J.E. "American Policy in the Gulf and the Sultanate of Oman." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 8 (Spring 1984), pp. 117-130. ●● The article discusses US and Omani security interests in the Gulf and outlines the emerging ties between the two countries over the past decade. The author warns of the "dangers of a suffocating embrace." "Military cooperation can be only one small part of a productive US-Omani relationship. Recognition of this is the key to an enduring and mutually satisfying friendship between peoples as well as governments." ¤

1379. Rouleau, Eric. "Gulf States: Ambivalent Allies." *Le Monde diplomatique*, English edition (December 2001). ●● A prominent French journalist notes that the Taliban régime was thoroughly disliked throughout the Gulf but both leaders and their populations roundly condemned the American campaign in Afghanistan. He repeats the assertions of Gulf politicians that ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would go a long way towards undermining political terrorism in the region. US foreign policy, Rouleau contends, is creating an abyss between the Gulf people and the US government.

1380. Rumaihi, Mohammed al-. "Kuwaiti-American Relations: A Case of Mismanagement." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 9 (Summer 1984), pp. 77-80. ●● The editor-in-chief of Kuwait's al-'Arabi magazine addresses the

reasons for recent Kuwaiti-American disagreements (culminating in the US refusal to sell Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Kuwait as well as Saudi Arabia) and defends Kuwaiti policies. In his view, "the American position simply means that US policies toward the Middle East in general and the Gulf in particular are still marked by reaction to events and missing opportunities when they arise. This position does not reflect a real understanding of current developments in the Gulf region." ¤

1381. Shayeji, Abdullah al-. "Dangerous Perceptions: Gulf Views of the U.S. Role in the Region." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (September 1997), pp. 1-13. ●● An assistant professor at Kuwait University points out that the American policy of dual containment contains two contradictions "that could come back to haunt American policy makers as they deal with the Gulf in the future." (p. 1) The first contradiction is between GCC governments and their own populations whose sympathy for the US after the Kuwait War is dissipating. The second derives from policy debate within the US, whereby people in the Gulf feel that a dual containment policy that generates criticism in the US and fails to change either Iraqi or Iranian behavior must have a hidden rationale. Many Gulf observers, al-Shayeji says, regard American interest in the Gulf states as based on money and pressure to normalize relations with Israel.

1382. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *Proposed Arms Transfers to the Yemen Arab Republic*; Hearing, 12 March 1979. ●● One US reaction to the outbreak of fighting between North and South Yemen in early 1979 was the administration's decision to provide North Yemen with fighters, tanks, and other military equipment. In order to expedite delivery of these arms, the administration chose to invoke waiver provisions of the Arms Export Control Act, thereby bypassing Congressional approval. As a consequence, the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East called this hearing since "some members do not … fully understand … why a national security waiver was needed." The administration's position was argued by William R. Crawford (Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs), Alan A. Platt (Chief of the Arms Transfer Division of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency), David M. Ransom (Deputy Director for the Near East and South Asia Region of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs), and James H. Michel (Deputy Legal Adviser in the Department of State). ¤

1383. Zunes, Stephen. "The US-GCC Relationship: Its Rise and Potential Fall." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1993), pp. 103-112. ●● A brief look at the economic and political implications of the continuing US military

presence in GCC states. The author contends that the US has successfully put pan-Arabism to rest in "a long-sought triumph for U.S. policymakers who wanted to divide the oil-rich monarchies and their allies from the potentially radical nationalists of the poorer countries." (p. 111)

The Development of US Rapid Deployment Forces for the Gulf

1384. Bates, E. Asa. "The Rapid Deployment Force-Fact or Fiction?" *RUSI Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies*, Vol. 126, No. 2 (June 1981), pp. 23-33. ●● The author, a retired Royal Air Force colonel and freelance journalist, provides some background on the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), its organization, the problems it faces in prepositioning supplies and strategic lift advance facilities in the region, and recent exercises involving RDF. He also notes some of the arguments advanced against the RDF by its critics, including problems in command structure. ¤

1385. Bell, Raymond E., Jr. "The Rapid Deployment Force: How Much, How Soon?" *Army*, Vol. 30 (July 1980), pp. 18-24. ●● The author, an army officer, points out that the Rapid Deployment Force faces a major gap in capabilities between its light forces, which can be moved to a crisis area quickly but are unable to confront large enemy armored forces, and its heavy components, which take time to move and thus require the holding of beachheads for the time it takes them to arrive. Bell's solution is to add wheeled armored fighting vehicles, which are more easily transportable than tanks and better suited to movement in Middle Eastern terrain. Their addition would "'heavy up' a medium force package or 'lighten up' a heavy force package." ¤

1386. Brown, Harold. "Rapid Deployment Forces." *Asia-Pacific Defense Forum*, Vol. 5 (Summer 1980), pp. 45-48. ●● A short article consisting of excerpts from various public statements on the purpose and composition of the RDF by Brown, Secretary of Defense at the time. ¤

1387. Cordier, Sherwood S. *U.S. Military Power and Rapid Deployment Requirements in the 1980s*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983. Westview Replica Edition. ●● A short, descriptive assessment of shortcomings in US rapid deployment capabilities. There is little analysis and the book largely consists of "nuts-and-bolts" descriptions of the types of aircraft, ships, and other equipment that the US either has or needs. The main thesis of the author, a historian at Western Michigan University, is that a strong and well-equipped US Navy is the key to having the rapidly deployable forces necessary to protect increasingly vital sea lanes. ¤

1388. Cover, Martin L. "FMF [Fleet Marine Force] for the RDF." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 108, No. 6 (June 1982), pp. 51-55. ●● The author, a naval officer, discusses some of the difficulties associated with the Rapid Deployment Force and offers suggestions for improving its capabilities: (1) providing it with assigned troops (rather than designating forces that are also earmarked for other contingencies); (2) restructuring the Marine Corps so that it has no role other than in the RDF; (3) disbanding the 82nd Airborne Division (since the helicopter has replaced the parachute as the means of putting men behind enemy lines); (4) designing strategic airlift solely on the basis of moving troops and not equipment (the RDF's tanks should be prepositioned in the region and resupply carried out by the fast SL-7 ships); (5) providing a Marine Amphibious Unit for availability in the Indian Ocean on a full-time basis (to protect overemphasis on landing in a benign environment); and (6) upgrading mining countermeasures (to stop Soviets from closing off the Strait of Hormuz). ¤

1389. Day, Bonner. "A Force in Being?" *Sea Power*, Vol. 23 (November 1980), pp. 34-40. ●● An early look at the progress of the Rapid Deployment Force, with particular attention paid to logistical and budgetary problems, command relationships within the RDF, and getting the CX transport plane approved. ¤

1390. Edgin, Gordon R. "The War Powers Act and the Rapid Deployment Force: A Game Plan for the President." *Joint Perspectives*, Vol. 2 (Fall 1981), pp. 94-105. ●● An air force major points out that situations requiring the deployment of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force may require rapid decisions and action unencumbered by the lengthy process of Congressional review. ¤

1391. Gordon, Michael R. "The Rapid Deployment Force-Too Large, Too Small or Just Right for Its Task?" *National Journal*, 13 March 1982, pp. 451-455. ●● Essentially summarizes views on US military options in the Gulf and the role of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) as presented by a number of observers, most of whom are represented elsewhere in this bibliography. Gordon's discussion includes the composition of the RDF, its ability to withstand a Soviet thrust into the Gulf, and the even more problematical question of the RDF's effectiveness in dealing with internal political disruptions. ¤

1392. Haffa, Robert P., Jr. *The Half War: Planning U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces to Meet a Limited Contingency, 1960-1983*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984. Westview Replica Edition. ●● This book takes a somewhat novel approach to a popular subject in recent years, US rapid deployment

forces and planning for American intervention in the Persian Gulf. Essentially, the author attempts to answer why it took until the 1980s for the US government to get serious about creating effective limited contingency forces by looking at the way preparations for "limited contingencies" and "half wars" were handled between 1960 and 1980. Discussion of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force and the new US Central Command is, however, minimal presumably because the book seems to be based on a Ph.D. dissertation for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The author, an associate professor of political science at the US Air Force Academy, first examines the role of force planning for a limited contingency within the evolution of US strategic concepts over these two decades, then analyzes the shortcomings of the two principal resultant organizations, STRIKE Command and Readiness Command. His third area of focus is on strategic mobility, pointing out that the US never had the capability of supporting rapid deployment for a limited contingency simultaneously with a major force movement to Europe. Based on this three-pronged historical examination, Haffa concludes that construction of a coherent limited-contingency force requires it to be: (1) made contingency-specific; (2) designated a unified command with multi-service components; (3) sized against the major threat; (4) adequately supported with strategic lift, prepositioning, and access to regional facilities; and (5) based on a revised strategic concept. The US must be prepared to deal with multiple crises simultaneously in areas deemed vital to US interests. ¤

1393. Halloran, Richard. "Poised for the Persian Gulf." *New York Times Magazine*, 1 April 1984, pp. 38-40, 61. ●● A New York Times reporter looks at the problems facing the new US Central Command in carrying out its mission in the Gulf. The necessity of first having an invitation from a state in the region is pointed out and then, the author asserts, "Once the order had been given, the Central Command's problems would begin." It is expected that a fighter squadron, 800 Army paratroopers and B-52 bombers could be in action in the area within 48 hours, with another 3000 troops to follow by the end of a week. Further reinforcements would be slowed down in insufficient existing air and sea lift, and major problems would then arise in sustaining a formidable force in the region with a steady flow of reinforcements, fuel, ammunition, and supplies. Halloran goes on to discuss the facilities acquired by the US in Morocco, Egypt, Oman, Kenya, Somalia, and Diego Garcia, as well as the joint training exercises held in these countries. He ends by noting continuing deficiencies in intelligence and communications, in addition to the lift problems, but notes the progress made since the creation of the Rapid Deployment Force four years ago. ¤

1394. Holzbauer, Joseph R. "RDF-Valid and Necessary, But Some Negative Implications." *Marine Corps Gazette*, Vol. 64 (August 1980), pp. 33-38. ●● A Marine Corps officer provides an early assessment of Rapid Deployment Force planning and charges that "In its present form, however, this concept is detrimental to the Marine Corps and does not capitalize upon the full advantages of amphibious warfare." ¤

1395. Johnson, Maxwell Orme. *The Military as an Instrument of U.S. Policy in Southwest Asia: The Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force, 1979-1982*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983. A Westview Replica Edition. ●● There are three main areas of focus to this short but detailed study by a Marine Corps officer. The first is concerned with the evolution of US policy regarding the possible use of force in the Gulf in the period following the revolution in Iran and the Soviet move into Afghanistan. The author traces the origins of the RDF concept through the Carter and early Reagan administrations and discerns a significant shift in emphasis. The Carter Doctrine declared that a Soviet attack on the Gulf would be met with military force in the Gulf. The Reagan administration, however, tended to view Soviet actions in any regional arena as part of a drive for global hegemony and therefore American response in the Gulf should not be limited to a "go-it-alone" capability but should include the enhancement of regional states' defense postures. Second, the author briefly looks at the military aspects of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and urges NATO and Japanese participation in Gulf defense. Finally, the development of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF) is examined step-by-step and its capabilities in relation to projected goals are assessed component-by-component. It is the author's relatively optimistic contention that the RDJTF gradually has overcome many of its logistical obstacles and although problems continue to exist in a number of areas such as inadequate sea and airlift, lack of hospital ships, and limited supplies of water and fuel, they too will be worked through. Johnson concludes by affirming that the RDJTF is a "valuable instrument of American foreign policy and a capable military force because it can make a positive contribution to regional security as an 'over the horizon' deterrent against Soviet adventurism." He also urges that cooperation be pursued with the states of the region and the GCC and cautions that "any temptation to use the RDJTF unilaterally … to seize oil fields … should be resisted at all costs." See also Johnson's "U.S. Strategic Options in the Persian Gulf," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 107 (February 1981), pp. 24-26. ¤

1396. _____. "Force Projection in Southwest Asia: The Role of Maritime Based Strategy." *Marine Corps Gazette*, Vol. 68 (February 1984), pp. 64-68. ●● The author points out the benefits of reliance on maritime forces in

the Gulf region. He argues that they not only can protect US interests at sea but are also able to project forces ashore, and reinforce and sustain them as well. In addition, he states that "Unlike forces stationed ashore, maritime forces can provide a credible, over-the-horizon presence as an expression of U.S. interest without impinging upon the cultural or political sensitivities of the region." ¤

1397. Johnson, Thomas M., and Raymond T. Barrett. "The Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 106, No. 11 (November 1980), pp. 95-98. ●● An army officer and a naval officer assigned to the Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff justify the creation of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF) on the grounds of "discord within the Middle East" which provides the Soviets with opportunities, as demonstrated in Afghanistan. (The lesson of Afghanistan, the authors assert, is not so much that the Soviets acted but that they were able to do so with so little effort, raising the question of where they will hit next). After "briefly summarizing the development of the RDJTF, its requirements and accomplishments, Johnson and Barrett note that rapid deployment demands "mobility assets" and/or prepositioned equipment and forces in the immediate area, not easy to obtain in the Indian Ocean region. But "Until these nations fully grasp the Soviet threat and the value of their help to the United States' capability to deny that threat…," the authors contend that "We must be clever and find ways to get around…" these obstacles. ¤

1398. Kelley, P.X. "A Discussion of the Rapid Deployment Force With Lieutenant General P. X. Kelley." *AEI Special Analysis*, No. 80-4. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1980. ●● The first commander of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF) assesses the state of the Marine Corps and discusses the mission and capabilities of the RDJTF. His bullish statement is followed by a question-and-answer session with fellows at the American Enterprise Institute.¤

1399. _____. "Progress in the RDJTF." *Marine Corps Gazette*, Vol. 65 (June 1981), pp. 38-44. ●● A reprint of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF) commander's statement before the Subcommittee on Seapower and Force Projection of the Senate Armed Forces Committee on 9 March 1981. Kelley summarizes the role of the RDJTF, its components, and efforts to enhance its capabilities. ¤

1400. Kingston, Robert C. "C^3I and the U.S. Central Command." *Signal*, (November 1983), pp. 23-25. ●● The commander-in-chief of US Central Command (USCENTCOM) points out that USCENTCOM faces several C^3I

(command, control, communications, and intelligence) challenges that do not apply to other unified commands. One problem is distance, since the command is over 7000 air miles or 12,000 sea miles from its area of responsibility. In addition, USCENTCOM's headquarters, component commands, communications and support facilities, and equipment are not even located in the region of responsibility. According to Kingston, "The mission success of this over-the-horizon projection concept will depend directly on our capability to quickly deploy a sizeable force; to promptly receive, process and use intelligence from national, strategic and tactical sources, to exercise effective command and control over forces deployed across a large geographical area, and to sustain that force logistically." ¤

1401. _____. "From RDF to CENTCOM: New Challenges?" *RUSI Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies*, Vol. 129 (March 1984). ●● In a lecture delivered at the Royal United Services Institute, the commander of the US Central Command (USCENTCOM) briefly summarizes the history behind his one-year-old command, and stresses that the purpose of USCENTCOM is not intervention but deterrence. Kingston ends by declaring that "We need assistance from our allies for over-flight and landing rights; for refuelling and bunkering facilities; for the use of staging bases and under certain threats for allied air and naval assistance." ¤

1402. Krulak, Victor H. "The Rapid Deployment Force: Criteria and Imperatives." *Strategic Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1980), pp. 39-43. ●● A retired Marine Corps general emphasizes that the successful operation of any rapid mobile force must overcome the obstacles of space and time posed by geography. Specifically, he stresses five criteria which the Rapid Deployment Force must fulfill: (1) a genuine readiness achieved through joint training and rehearsing; (2) tactical and logistical viability created by bringing together all the necessary operational units and their logistic support under a single operational command; (3) forward positioning of equipment and supplies, together with tactical air and sea bases, in proximity to the anticipated area of crisis; (4) the follow-on increments of tactical and logistic power necessary to sustain the initial momentum; and (5) most importantly, a hard and fast" decision-making process. He concludes by remarking that this last criterion was unfortunately lacking in both the Afghanistan and Iranian crises. ¤

1403. McNaugher, Thomas L. "Balancing Soviet Power in the Persian Gulf." *Brookings Review*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1983), pp. 20-25. ●● A military analyst at the Brookings Institution takes a short, critical, and incisive look at what the U. S. has done so far in meeting the "worst case" scenario for Soviet intentions in the Gulf. The creation of the US Central Command

(USCENTCOM), the prepositioning of supplies outside the Gulf, and the acquisition of contingency access to some regional facilities have all contributed toward developing deterrence seen as "the only feasible U.S. military strategy." In order to balance Soviet power in the Gulf, McNaugher contends that the U.S. must continue to improve military airlift capabilities and be more tactful and consistent in its diplomatic dealings with Gulf states. McNaugher analyzes this problem in greater detail in "Rapid Deployment Forces and the Persian Gulf," *Strategic Survey 1982-83* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1983), pp. 133-138. ¤

1404. Manning, Robert A. "America's Newest Tripwire." *Inquiry* (San Francisco), Vol. 6 (January 1983), pp. 22-25. ●● A journalist criticizes Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) planning following observation of the AGallant Eagle 82" exercises. He charges that the RDF is riddled with bureaucratic infighting and interservice rivalry. Furthermore, he feels that there are cheaper ways to meet contingencies and that die RDF could be a dangerous tripwire leading to a nuclear showdown. ¤

1405. Noll, E.P. "RDF and the RDJTF." *Marine Corps Gazette*, Vol. 64 (August 1980), pp. 30-32. ●● A Marine Corps officer argues that "The RDF concept may well be the first step in a return to die maritime strategy this nation needs," pointing out the necessary emphasis on amphibious assault, maritime prepositioning, fast sealift, and the central role occupied by the Marine Corps. ¤

1406. O'Ballance, Edgar. "The Rapid Deployment Force-Another Look." *National Defense*, Vol. 66 (February 1982), pp. 34-36, 62. ●● A military writer argues that the early pessimism about the abilities of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) and the reluctance to embrace this defense concept by American friends in the Gulf was reversed by the success of the Bright Star exercises in late 1981. He comments that the RDF has survived, against heavy odds, as a completely American project. Moreover, "facilities," "stockpiling," and "joint exercises" are becoming accepted in the region. Finally, the initial idea that the RDF should have a "pre-emptive" role has been discarded in favor of a "reactive" strategy, dependent on an invitation from a regional state. ¤

1407. Quinlan, David A. "Naval Forces are Rapid Deployment Forces." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 107 (November 1981), pp. 32-35. ●● The author, a Marine Corps officer, contends that "Naval forces, including the Marine Corps, provide unique capabilities that suit them best for the role of rapid deployment." Among these are forcible-entry capabilities, especially through amphibious assault, and an existing capacity for rapid

reinforcement. He also suggests that if the Rapid Deployment Force mission were turned over to the Marine Corps, a Marine expeditionary headquarters might be formed. ¤

1408. _____. *The Role of the Marine Corps in Rapid Deployment Forces*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1983. National Security Essay Series 83-3. ●● A Marine Corps colonel provides a brief overview of the development of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), discusses some political and logistical constraints on its use, and concludes that the Marine Corps is uniquely qualified for RDF missions: "The Marine Corps has all of the characteristics of an intervention force, particularly in terms of balance and flexibility, expeditionary nature, strategic mobility, sustainability, and controllability." The author previously argued some of these points in "The Marine Corps as a Rapid Deployment Force," *Marine Corps Gazette*, Vol. 64 (March 1980), pp. 32-40. ¤

1409. "The Rapid Deployment Force." In *U.S. Defense Policy*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1983), pp. 179-200. ●● A basic, neutral survey of the background to the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), problems in acquiring access to regional facilities, available existing arms and equipment, and arguments of the RDF's critics. ¤

1410. Record, Jeffrey. *The Rapid Deployment Force and U.S. Military Intervention in the Persian Gulf*. Cambridge, MA, and Washington, DC: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, February 1981. Special Report. ●● The author, a senior fellow at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, considers the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) a "fatally flawed military instrument" and a "standing invitation to military disaster." He singles out such problems as the RDF's dependence on forces already committed to other contingencies (notably for NATO use), inadequate strategic ("getting U.S. forces to the Gulf in time") and tactical mobility (ability of US forces to hold their own on the battlefield against a heavier, fully mechanized enemy), command problems arising from "vicious interservice rivalry," and an unrealistic reliance on the cooperation of friendly régimes in the Gulf for bases and airfields.

Record argues that the present RDF should be replaced by a small, agile, tactically capable intervention force, based at and supplied from sea. His specific recommendations include the following: (1) transferring RDF responsibility to the Marine Corps ("the only service suitable for the mission"); (2) establishing a 5th Fleet for the Indian Ocean and Gulf (to reduce existing confusion in the command structure); (3) increasing reliance on maritime prepositioning of equipment and supplies (to circumvent

existing lack of adequate airlift capabilities); (4) acquiring lightweight armored fighting vehicles and adopting a "maneuver warfare" doctrine (to enhance tactical mobility); (5) developing sea-based capabilities to supply and maintain RDF forces (also for reasons of tactical mobility as well as to prevent the emergence of an "ugly American" presence); and (6) improving amphibious shipping and naval gunfire support capabilities (for help in the forcible seizure of beachheads).

Although a few of the author's objections have been superseded by events in the three years since publication (for example, the evolution of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF) in the US Central Command), most still stand. Record appears to be concerned principally with perceived drawbacks in the planning process for military intervention (and perhaps as well with overall problems or deficiencies in US defense planning). While one section briefly outlines the range of potential threats, the requirements for coping with each of these threats are never really discussed. Furthermore, the Gulf states remain cyphers: their attitudes, policies and constraints are mentioned only in passing. The points raised in this study are summarized in the author's "The RDF: Is the Pentagon Kidding?" *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1981), pp. 41-51; and "The Rapid Deployment Force: Problems, Constraints, and Needs," in "National Security Policy for the 1980s," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 457 (September 1981), pp. 109-120. ¤

1411. _____. "Effective Intervention in Southwest Asia." *Policy Review*, No. 25 (Summer 1983), pp. 69-71. ●● The author reaffirms his earlier published criticism of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) charging that it is "incompatible with the political, logistical, and operational requirements of armed US intervention outside Europe and northeast Asia." ¤

1412. Schoch, Bruce. "Sea Lift for the RDF." *National Defense*, No. 65 (May-June 1981), pp. 71-74. ●● An army reserve officer notes that with the advent of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) the Department of Defense seems to have discovered the "roll-on, roll-off" vessel; it also discovered that it had too few for RDF needs. Schoch explores options in building new vessels, taking over existing private ones and purchasing foreign ships, and concludes that a successful sealift program will require "a blend of different types of ships, both military and civilian, domestic and foreign, old and new." ¤

1413. Stewart, Richard A. "Tactical Mobility for Rapid Deployment Forces: The Solution is at Hand." *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 117 (March 1980), pp. 70-72, 83. ●● The author, a Marine Corps officer, argues

the merits of lightweight, wheeled, armored vehicles for meeting the tactical mobility requirements of the RDF. He points out that if, for example, Saudi Arabia were attacked near its borders with the Yemens, US reinforcements would have to travel hundreds of miles from the nearest Saudi airfields and ports to reach the combat zone. The above vehicles, he suggests, best meet the requirements for the immediate future, if not the long term as well, since they possess adequate firepower, are easily transportable by strategic airlift, can quickly travel long distances under their own power, are relatively inexpensive and easy to maintain (especially important if prepositioned aboard ships), and are already being produced in various countries. ¤

1414. Stocker, John Joseph. *Rapid Deployment Forces*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, 1980. Issue Brief No. IB80027. ●● This issue brief begins with a short historical survey (1977-1980) of the development of the idea of a Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) and goes on to list the forces allocated to the RDF in 1980 and the Carter administration's proposals for enhancing air and sea-lift capabilities. The author indicates some of the alternatives to the RDF that have been suggested and discusses some issues that might be raised in congressional debate. In part, the issue of the RDF reflects a wider, political concern over the implications for an American interventionist policy, in which some critics oppose the RDF because they feel that acquisition of the capability to intervene might in fact create a proclivity to do so. The author also points out that the conceptual basis for the use of the RDF has not been adequately delineated and introduces a number of pertinent questions on the role, requirements, and circumstances for use. This issue brief was reprinted in: U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Near East and South Asian Affairs, *U.S. Security Interests and Policies in Southwest Asia*; Hearings (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1980), pp. 327-336. ¤

1415. Toch, Thomas. "Rapid Deployment: A Questionable Trump." *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (September 1980), pp. 89-91. ●● This article, which originally appeared in the Baltimore Sun, contends that the RDF would not be capable of protecting Gulf oil from terrorist attacks, supporting regional régimes against internal insurrection, and supporting allies from belligerent neighbors. The RDF commander at the time, Lt. General P. X. Kelley, rebutted Toch's charges in his "Rapid Deployment: A Vital Trump," *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 1981), pp. 50-53. ¤

1416. U.S. Congress. Congressional Budget Office. *U.S. Projection Forces: Requirements, Scenarios and Options*. Washington, DC: Congressional

Budget Office, 1978. ●● An evaluation of US planning needs for projection forces to meet various "half-war" contingencies in non-NATO areas, prepared by former Congressional Budget Office analyst Dov S. Zakheim. Emphasis is on Gulf and Eastern Mediterranean crises, specifically US support of Iran against a Soviet-supported Iraqi attack, and US intervention in an Arab-Israeli war. For each contingency, alternative requirements are outlined, based on the anticipated size and purpose of US projection forces, the extent of Soviet capabilities, and the degree of assistance and/or opposition that can be expected from local forces. The study is dated due to recent developments in US and Soviet military capabilities and because of changing circumstances in the region, especially the Iranian revolution and the nature of the Iran-Iraq war. ¤

1417. _____. *The Marine Corps in the 1980s: Prestocking Proposals, the Rapid Deployment Force, and Other Issues*. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1980. ●● This study contemplates changes in the Marine Corps function away from its traditional amphibious role, due to its inclusion in Rapid Deployment Force planning and its proposed use as a reinforcement force in Norway and Denmark. It is noted that either one of these options, or both, is likely to require the prestocking of equipment and extensive construction in the Indian Ocean and/or northern Europe. ¤

1418. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Appropriations. Subcommittee on the Department of Defense. *Department of Defense Appropriations for 1983; Hearings. Part 6: Readiness Command and Rapid Deployment Force*. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1982. ●● General Donn A. Starry (Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Readiness Command) and Lt. General Robert C. Kingston (Commander of the Rapid Development Joint Task Force) provide statements regarding the command structure and function of the RDJTF and the relationship between the Readiness Command and the RDJTF. Discussion centers on arrangements for air and sea lift, the prepositioning of equipment and troops, and possible Soviet moves in the Gulf and appropriate American responses. The second session of the hearing went into closed session. ¤

1419. _____. Committee on the Budget. *Military Readiness and the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF)*; Hearings, 30 September and 1 October 1980. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1980. ●● The committee's intention in calling these hearings was to prepare for the struggle over national defense funding in the Fiscal Year 1981 budget, but testimony was also solicited on the question of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF) readiness. The witnesses included Lt. Gen. P.X. Kelley (Commander of the RDJTF), Robert Pirie, Jr. (Assistant Secretary of

Defense for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Logistics), and John R. Quetsch (Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense [Comptroller]). ¤

1420. West, F.J., Jr. "Limited U.S.-Soviet Conflict and the RDF." *Marine Corps Gazette*, Vol. 64, No. 8 (August 1980), pp. 39-46. An early assessment of strategy regarding the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), written by the Naval War College's Director of Strategic Research. The author points out that the RDF may serve to: (1) deter enemies and reassure allies; (2) contain regional crises; (3) act as a tripwire to escalate confrontation beyond the immediate region; or (4) act as a local defense force. But he suggests that, in all of these scenarios, the RDF may not be adequate for its task. Instead, West contends that it is necessary to shore up US power on a global level rather than relying on a local, quick-strike force. ¤

US Military Options and Strategies

1421. Acharya, Amitav. *US Military Strategy in the Gulf*. London: Routledge, 1989. ●● An overview of US policy in the Gulf, apparently based on a doctoral dissertation at Murdoch University, Perth, Australia. The author discusses the evolution of US interests, its reliance on the Shah and the Nixon Doctrine, the disappearance of its Pahlavi ally and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the development of the US Central Command and establishment of military facilities in the region, and threats and contingency planning. He concludes that "The crises in Iran and Afghanistan were a turning point in the U.S. global strategic posture in general and its Persian Gulf policy in particular. They marked the erosion, both in a political and a strategic sense, of the so-called Vietnam syndrome and ushered in a mood of geopolitical assertiveness." (p. 169) See also the same author's "NATO and 'Out-of-Area' Contingencies: The Gulf Experience," *International Defense Review*, Vol. 20, No. 5 (1987), pp. 569-580.

1422. Agmon, Marcy. *Post-Cold War U.S. Security Strategies for the Persian Gulf*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1993. Project Air Force & Arroyo Center, R-4268-AF/A. ●● The author examines four different security approaches that the US could adopt for the Gulf and Saudi Arabia. The first would be to create a unilateral Saudi capability to defend the Arabian Peninsula employing intensive assistance. The second alternative would be to ensure that Saudi Arabia would be capable of holding an aggressor for 10 to 30 days until US forces could deploy to the region. In the third alternative, the United States would rely on regional security arrangements involving the formal participation of only Middle Eastern and South Asian actors (such as Egypt and Syria). In the fourth, the US would

disengage from internal affairs of the Gulf states and maintain a stable military balance in the region by regulating arms transfers and/or intervening militarily to deter or defeat potential hegemons. Agmon concludes that the first and third policies would pose high military risks and are highly sensitive to political instability (and of course the Damascus Eight [i.e., the six GCC states plus Egypt and Syria] experiment has long disappeared). She suggests that the US-Saudi security condominium posed by the second alternative would maximize military effectiveness but, on the other hand, an American role as a "disengaged balancer" (the fourth choice) would minimize provocativeness and vulnerability to political instability. The study suggests that regional arms control would provide the least costly and most beneficial course of action but recognizes that a conventional arms control agreement is unlikely to be negotiated in the near-term, even with the disappearance of American-Soviet rivalry.

1423. Amos, John W., and Ralph H. Magnus. "Regional Perceptions of the American Central Command (CENTCOM)." *Conflict*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1985), pp. 337-353.

1424. Ayoob, Mohammed. "Blueprint for a Catastrophe: Conducting Oil Diplomacy by 'Other Means' in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf." *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (December 1979), pp. 265-273. ●● A research fellow at Australian National University when this article was published, Ayoob charges that "no other decision, except one which irrevocably committed the US in Vietnam, has had as much potential for catastrophe as a decision regarding the [RDF] and its possible deployment would have." He goes on to suggest ways in which Australia could play a constructive role in the matter and maximize its influence over the US (as in restricting American use of Australian listening posts). ¤

1425. Carnegie Panel on U.S. Security and the Future of Arms Control. *Challenges for U.S. National Security-Assessing the Balance: Defense Spending and Conventional Forces*. A Preliminary Report, Part II: "The Military Balance in the Persian Gulf," pp. 149-194. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981. ●● This study looks at US and Soviet political objectives and military capabilities in the Gulf with the goal of providing a framework for devising an American strategy in and around the Gulf. US goals are identified as deterring Soviet military moves, preventing regional instability, and maintaining Western influence in order to guarantee a steady flow of oil. Soviet objectives include securing its borders, limiting Chinese influence, increasing access to Gulf oil, and expanding its influence at the expense of the West. Threats to American interests are seen coming from the subversion of key pro-Western régimes,

aggression by a Soviet client state, Soviet military action, and increasing Soviet influence.

The report also discusses the politics of the region and the impact of its geography on the superpowers' ability to project force into the Gulf. The military forces of the two adversaries are examined and relative capabilities in a number of scenarios assessed. In a direct confrontation of Soviet-American forces, Soviet military strength is judged stronger than that of the US on the condition that the action takes place close to Soviet borders and the conflict remains conventional.

In conclusion, challenges to American interests are seen to be more political than military, with military threats more likely to come from within the region than from Moscow. In developing a strategy to meet potential threats, five key issues must be addressed: (1) whether to establish a military presence in the area through bases, the RDF, or temporary deployments; (2) whether to emphasize the Soviet threat or threats emanating from within the region; (3) whether to use a large conventional force or a small force combined with nuclear threats in the case of war; (4) how to balance the costs and benefits of relying on friends in the region; and (5) whether to enunciate or blur public statements regarding American commitment to the Gulf. However, after having raised these issues, the study does not attempt to solve them, nor does it consider the possibility of no intervention. ¤

1426. Collins, John M. *U.S.-Soviet Military Balance: Concepts and Capabilities, 1960-1980*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980. ●● Part III of Book V (pp. 367-395) discusses “The Middle East Balance.” The author, senior specialist in national defense at the Congressional Research Service, provides a succinct checklist of the major issues affecting US policy in this region: the role of oil in US foreign policy, various policy declarations over the years, Soviet motives and capabilities, steps taken to strengthen US military capabilities, and potential scenarios involving the use of US military force. ¤

1427. Cordesman, Anthony H. *Saudi Arabia, AWACS, and America's Search for Strategic Stability in the Near East*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1981. Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars. ●● This study by a military analyst and Woodrow Wilson Fellow at the time of publication appeared during the controversy over the Reagan administration's plans to sell AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia. Cordesman sees Saudi Arabia as the key pillar in the search for stability in the Gulf. At the same time, it is a country faced by serious military threats, as shown by the Iran-Iraq war. He reaches the singularly unambiguous conclusion that

"There can be little doubt, given the overall balance of advantages and risks, that the sale of the AWACS package to Saudi Arabia would serve the most important single objective the U.S. has in attempting to improve the strategic stability in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East." A similar article on this topic is Cordesman's "The Search for Strategic Stability in the Persian Gulf," *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 119, No. 1 (September 1981), pp. 61, 64, 68, 72, 76, 78-80, 84. ¤

1428. _____. *U.S. Forces in the Middle East: Resources and Capabilities*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997. CSIS Middle East Dynamic Net Assessment. ●● The author, co-director of the Middle East program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, examines US military capabilities in the Gulf from 1997 to 2001 and the strategic relationships that emerged between the US and the GCC states after the Kuwait War. He also details US planning for a major contingency in the region and ability to counter WMD proliferation. He notes that "there is no simple solution to the problem of maintaining US capabilities in the region, and there is now way to make further major savings in US forces or in related US defense spending." (p. 130)

1429. _____. "The Persian-Arabian Gulf and the Revolution in Military Affairs." *National Security Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Summer 2000), pp. 81-89. ●● A senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies notes that observers in the Gulf do not look at the US as being in the middle of a revolution in military affairs. Instead, military power is part of a larger game that is "driven by largely by the threat posed by Iranian and Iraqi strategic ambitions, Saudi Arabia's need for status and security, and the desire of the smaller southern gulf states to find a balance between the larger powers in the Gulf that provides them the most security, status, and freedom of action." (p. 81)

1430. Dart, Jim. "USMTM: Point Guard on the Arabian Peninsula." *DISAM Journal* (Winter 1991-92), pp. 1-12. ●● A US military officer reviews the history, operations, and programs of the US Military Training Mission in Saudi Arabia, as well as its role in the Kuwait War.

1431. DeForth, Peter W. "U.S. Naval Presence in the Persian Gulf: The Mideast Force Since World War II." *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1975), pp. 28-38. ●● A naval reserve officer provides basic information on the background, purpose, and continuing role of the US Navy's Middle East Force, based in the Gulf since 1949. ¤

1432. Dempsey, Thomas A. "Desert Guerrillas: Combat Multipliers for US

Central Command." *Defense Analysis*, Vol. 5 (December 1989), pp. 341-352. ●● A US Army officer argues the benefits of including irregular forces to assist US CENTCOM in its regional deployment and assesses the possibility of utilizing Arab bedouin in this regard.

1433. Ederington, L. Benjamin, and Michael J. Mazarr, eds. *Turning Point: The Gulf War and U.S. Military Strategy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995. ●● The editors, of the Center for Strategic and International Studies and legislative assistant for an Oklahoma congressman respectively, have assembled a collection of papers that focus on US defense policy, globally as well as in the Gulf, and the future determinants of its military strategy. Thus, only three contributions focus directly on the Kuwait War: Eliot A. Cohen (Johns Hopkins University SAIS) looks at the air war, John Keegan (Daily Telegraph, London) at the ground war, and John H. Cushman (US Army, retired) on implications of the war for future military strategy. Edward Atkeson (CSIS and US Army, retired) also discusses US military strategy in the Middle East.

1434. Eisenstadt, Michael. "U.S. Military Capabilities in The Post Cold-war Era: Implications for Middle East Allies." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (December 1998), distributed electronically. ●● A senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy discusses the impact of the end of the Cold War on the US military, as well as the aftermath of Operation Desert Storm, and speculates on the role of the Middle East and especially Gulf in US military and security strategy. He speculates that "the eventual transformation of the Persian Gulf as a primary supplier of petroleum for Europe and the United States toward East Asia; the military strain of maintaining a significant forward military presence in the Gulf; and the growing risk associated with maintaining a large forward presence in a proliferated world, could eventually force a rethinking of U.S. strategy toward the Gulf." But he cautions that "the United States and its allies will need to integrate political, economic, and military policy instruments in order to achieve their objectives in the Middle East."

1435. Epstein, Joshua M. *Strategy and Force Planning: The Case of the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1987. ●● A research associate at the Brookings Institution outlines three basic strategies for the United States to deter Soviet conventional aggression on the Gulf. These are vertical escalation, in which the US responds to violation of a tripwire by threatening to escalate to the use of nuclear weaponry. A second strategy involves horizontal escalation, in which a Soviet threat is met by geographical counterthreats to the Soviet Union outside the Gulf. A third

strategy involves conventional defense, requiring an American military build-up to delay a Soviet overland advance through Iran and envisioning a direct confrontation in Khuzestan. The author discounts the viability of the first two strategies and asserts that their attraction rests on the false assumption that conventional defense is unfeasible and he further suggests that establishing the capability to fight a Soviet advance on the Gulf will persuade Moscow not to try it. Several chapters were earlier published as the articles cited below.

1436. _____. "Soviet Vulnerabilities in Iran and the RDF Deterrent." *International Security*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1981), pp. 126-159. ●● The author of this impressively detailed article takes issue with the "general consensus that without using nuclear weapons the United States would stand little chance of handling an all-out [Soviet] invasion of Iran…." Presumed Soviet ad vantages in having greater force available and a shorter distance to cover are discounted by Epstein. He argues that the rough terrain and extreme vulnerability of a few transport routes allows the US to delay a Soviet overland drive long enough to put four RDF divisions into Khuzistan. These should prove adequate to meet a probable maximum Soviet force of seven divisions, given US advantages in technology, training, mobility, logistics, coordination and probably even morale. An airlifted assault, Epstein contends, would be just as vulnerable since the Soviet Union does not possess sufficient fighter escort capability and it would be operating outside its normal range of ground control. In addition, even a massed bomber attack on US carriers in the region, in support of a combined overland and airlifted assault, would provide no real assurance of success. Furthermore, the diversion of resources necessary to pursue such a strategy would undermine Soviet defense elsewhere. The author concludes that "The Soviets face the grave threat that the military cost of a move on Iran would vastly outweigh its potential benefits-indeed, the risk that all such benefits would be decisively denied." ¤

1437. _____. "Horizontal Escalation: Sour Notes of a Recurrent Theme." *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Winter 1983-1984), pp. 19-31. ●● The author notes that President Carter first committed the US to deterrence of Soviet aggression in the Gulf. While this deterrent commitment was affirmed intact by the Reagan administration, the symmetrical thrust of the Carter Doc trine (responding to a Soviet threat to the Gulf by promising military action in the Gulf) was replaced by attraction to an asymmetrical conventional strategy for the Gulf, or horizontal escalation (shifting US reaction to terrain better suited to American strengths, as in matching a Soviet attack on the Gulf for an American one on Cuba). Epstein contends that this policy raises a number of questions that have not been answered, or

are perhaps unanswerable. He argues that horizontal escalation is not credible because it is not clear what the targets would be, how they would be determined in wartime, or what military action would be employed against them. Furthermore, it is not clear that such asymmetrical operations would achieve US wartime goals and they run the risk of provoking nuclear escalation. ¤

1438. Fabyanic, Thomas A. "Conceptual Planning and the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force." *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1981), pp. 343-365. ●● It is the contention of the author, an Air Force officer at the Air War College, that the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF) represents a watershed in US strategic planning but that "current conceptual planning [for the RDJTF's use] is leading to some serious oversimplifications about a very complex equation. A The first priority is to define the essential purpose of the RDJTF. Fabyanic believes that the formulation of this priority may well lead to a force that is neither well suited to ensuring access to oil supplies nor to promoting stability in the region but, rather, to deterring Soviet expansion. The accomplishment of this objective depends on several "strategic assumptions" which may be unwarranted: (1) that the US can and will possess a force of adequate size (the likelihood of several simultaneous contingencies may limit the number of units actually available to the RDJTF in time of crisis); (2) that the US will receive adequate support from major allies during a Gulf crisis (but these allies may not perceive a crisis in the same way as the US); (3) the US will be able to maintain access to the region (but the difficulties of the states in the region in maintaining political and socioeconomic stability may prevent access); and (4) the possibility of containing any Gulf conflict at a certain level of hostilities, however, may extend beyond the region, and superpower supporting roles may escalate into direct confrontation and even general war. ¤

1439. Hanks, Robert J. *The U.S. Military Presence in the Middle East. Problems and Prospects*. Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, December 1982. Foreign Policy Report. ●● The author, a senior analyst with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, examines the evolution of the military role of the US in the Middle East since World War II, surveys present US forces in the region, assesses the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force, and looks at the attitudes of other outside powers. Hanks concludes that the US is at a severe military disadvantage in the Middle East vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. He notes with approval the efforts of the Carter administration to create a viable Rapid Deployment Force, and regards the Reagan administration's emphasis on restoring American military power as a major step toward "an improved future capability for this nation to

safeguard its interests in the Middle East." NATO allies are castigated for their unwillingness to take collective action outside the formal boundaries of the alliance, and American policy regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict is seen as the principal reason why the Arabian Peninsula states have not already turned to the US for military cooperation. See also his "Rapid Deployment in Perspective," *Strategic Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1981), pp. 17-23. ¤

1440. Hickman, William F. "Did It Really Matter?" *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (March-April 1983), pp. 17-30. ●● Hickman asks the question of whether the presence of two carrier battle groups in the Arabian Sea during the Iranian hostage crisis really mattered as a way of examining the use of naval forces as an instrument of US foreign policy. The author, a naval officer, concludes that the American naval deployment during this crisis served no useful purpose, largely because the Carter administration did not intend to use military force to influence a political situation. Hickman sees two implications for the future of this experience. First, if the use of battle groups to influence a political situation is unsuccessful, their continued presence may produce negative results. Second, deployment of battle groups may make a better signal to the Soviet Union than to local states, since it is likely that both actors in such a case would perceive the signal in the same manner. ¤

1441. Ignotus, Miles (pseud.). "Seizing Arab Oil." *Harper's*, Vol. 250, No. 1498 (March 1975), pp. 45-62. ●● A diatribe against "the depredations of OPEC," asserting that the "only feasible countervailing power to OPEC's control of oil is … military power." The author's incitement for invasion is justified on the specious grounds that the OPEC states are "extortionists" and the Arabs "blackmailers," and that "behind the Arabs stand the Russians." His solution calls for the US to strike quickly, utilizing Israeli bases and assistance, seize Saudi oilfields and turn them over permanently to compliant (presumably American) oil companies. ¤

1442. Isenberg, David. "Desert Storm Redux?" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 429-443. ●● An analyst at the Center for Defense Information looks at the security situation in the Gulf since the Kuwait War and US military planning for the region. He notes that preparations include combined exercises, security assistance, access agreements, and prepositioning. He concludes that "The Pentagon sees future war in the Persian Gulf as its primary raison d'être in terms of overseas conflicts" and sees "remarkable continuity between the Bush and Clinton administrations." (p. 442)

1443. Karaosmanoglu, Ali L. "Turkey's Security and the Middle East." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (1983), pp. 156-175. ●● In recent years, Gulf security has become an increasingly important strategic concern to Turkey, ranking alongside relations with the superpowers and Greece. Turkish policy regarding this "vital interest," however, has tended to be cautious, according to Karaosmanoglu. While Turkey is willing to cooperate fully with NATO on Gulf matters, NATO's European members have been notably reluctant to act and Turkey is unwilling to make any formal commitment outside NATO. As part of its NATO obligations, it recently agreed to increased American use of airfields in eastern Turkey which would be particularly useful in interdicting lines of communication in a Soviet strike through Iran. Nevertheless, Turkey retains reservations about American policy in the region, including its handling of Arab-Israeli matters and the possible use of the Rapid Deployment Force for purposes other than prevention of a direct Soviet assault on the Gulf. ¤

1444. MacDonald, Charles G. "The United States and Gulf Conflict Scenarios." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1983), pp. 23-27. ●● An assistant professor of international relations at Florida International University envisages three possible scenarios leading to American use of force in the Gulf: (1) response to the actions of an outside power (the Soviet Union); (2) response to actions of a state within the region; and (3) response to actions of groups within one of the region's states. Of these, MacDonald sees a Soviet move into Iran as being the most likely scenario with a second possibility being Soviet intervention in South Yemen should the latter decide to move against Saudi Arabia. ¤

1445. McNaugher, Thomas L. *Arms and Oil: U.S. Military Strategy and the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1985. ●● A research associate at the Brookings Institution examines the Soviet military threat to the Gulf and assesses American requirements to counter it. He also looks at the components of Arabian Peninsula states' security, including their military capabilities and prospects for cooperative defense. The author believes that US security policy in the region should rest on both "a cooperative understated support of the GCC's traditional security mechanisms, and the possibility of the offensive use of force." (p. 161) With this in mind, he outlines the requirements for both concerns and concludes that "A massive reorganization of U.S. forces or a reorientation of the U.S. position on the Arabian Peninsula is less crucial than a refinement of relationships among the United States, the GCC states, and those regional and Western powers intimately involved in peninsular security. Cooperation must be improved on margins where the payoffs are likely to be the highest." (p. 198) An earlier article adapted from this book

was published as "Arms and Allies on the Arabian Peninsula." *Orbis*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Fall 1984), pp. 489-526.

1446. _____. "Deterring Soviet Forces in Southwest Asia." In Stephen J. Cimbala, ed., *National Security Strategy: Choices and Limits* (New York; Praeger, 1984; Foreign Policy Research Institute Series), pp. 125-154. ●● The author suggests that the only feasible US response to the new strategic situation in the Gulf is one of deterrence. In his view, a Soviet drive into northwestern Iran must be met by US forces at that point. This requires an effective air interdiction campaign, the insertion of US ground forces by air into northwestern Iran, and adequate air and sea strategic lift to provide the necessary support. To be successful, improvements must be made in strategic lift capabilities and in acquiring access to regional facilities, a process which requires more diplomacy and tact in dealing with Gulf states than hitherto shown by the US. "Against the backdrop of pessimism that so often surrounds the comparison of U.S. and Soviet military power in the Gulf, this stands as a relatively sanguine assessment of the problem. Especially at the level of force posture, it suggests that in general the problem of balancing Soviet power in the Gulf is not an overwhelming one, and in particular that current planning for … CENTCOM … is not fundamentally wrongheaded." ¤

1447. O'Neill, Bard E. *Petroleum and Security: The Limitations of Military Power in the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: National Defense University, October 1977. Research Directorate Monograph 77-4. ●● The author, a faculty member at the National War College, examines the threat of a Soviet seizure of Gulf oil sources, and possible interference with the flow of oil to the West by revolutionary groups supported by the USSR. He notes a number of factors affecting the use of force as a weapon of statecraft, including public opinion, military capabilities, the international structure of power, international values, and institutional restraints or bureaucratic factors. O'Neill contends that these factors do not rule out the use of military force but may act as restraints on intervention. As an alternative to full-scale military involvement, the author advocates arms sales. ¤

1448. Palmer, Michael A. *On Course to Desert Storm: the United States Navy and the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, Department of the Navy, 1992. ●● An assistant professor of history at East Carolina University (previously at the Naval Historical Center) provides a narrative history of the US Navy's involvement in the Gulf. The chapters are chronologically divided into 1800-1945 (including the Gulf's role in the Second World War), 1946-1950 (including the establishment of the Middle East Force in the Gulf), 1950-1981 (from the Mossadegh era through the

Carter Doctrine, and 1981-1988 (concentrating on the "tanker war" aspect of the Iran-Iraq War and the reflagging of the Kuwaiti tankers). Appendices consist of "Operation Praying Mantis" (US retaliation in 1988 for the Iranian mining of a US frigate, written by Hans S. Pawlisch), schematics of the Middle East Force's chain of command, and a list of Middle East Force commanders. The text is studded with historic photographs from the Naval Historical Center, National Archives, and the Department of Defense.

1449. Roche, James G. "Projection of Military Power to Southwest Asia: An Asymmetrical Problem." In Uri Ra'anan, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Geoffrey Kemp, eds., *Projection of Power: Perspectives, Perceptions and Problems* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982), pp. 218-225. ●● The author contends that there are two kinds of asymmetries in power projection to Southwest Asia that favor the Soviet Union over the US The first is in infrastructure, by which he means Soviet military preparations along the southern border and in the Gulf of Aden, as well as involvement with opposition groups in various countries of the region. The second kind, which Roche asserts is more fundamental, involves differences in purpose and style. "Power projection" means not only invasion and counter-invasion but also the provision of military aid and advisers, sabotage, and insertion of small military units. This kind of power projection favors the Soviet Union in the Gulf, since the US, its allies and friends, trying to hold on to things they have, are on the defensive. As a consequence, Roche contends that the US must not only deter the Soviets from invasion but also be capable of other means of "counter-power projection" as well. ¤

1450. Russell, Richard L. "Persian Gulf Proving Grounds: Testing Offence-Defence." *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (December 2002), pp. 192-213.

1451. Shlapak, David A., and Paul K. Davis. *Possible Postwar Force Requirements for the Persian Gulf: How Little is Enough?* Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1991.

1452. Stork, Joe, and Martha Wenger. "The US in the Persian Gulf: From Rapid Deployment to Massive Deployment." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (January-February 1991), pp. 22-26. ●● The authors offer a short primer to the US military build-up in the Gulf from the Carter Doctrine through the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

1453. Terasawa, Katsuaki L., and William R. Gates. "Burden-Sharing in the Persian Gulf: Lessons Learned and Implications for the Future." *Defense Analysis*, Vol. 9 (August 1993), pp. 171-195. ●● Proceeding from the

assumption that Operation Desert Storm may be the most likely form of future US deployment, the authors, professors of economics at the Naval Postgraduate School in California, examine burden-sharing in future contingencies. Noting the impossibility of accurately measuring the comparative costs and benefits to coalition members during the Kuwait War, the authors conclude that the debate should be reoriented from "outcomes" to "processes." They suggest that contributions to common causes might be increased through bargaining between long-run considerations and short-run concessions or by the alternatives of matching grants or extensive networks of formal alliances which set out each member's obligations.

1454. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations. *United States Arms Policies in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea Areas: Past, Present, and Future*; Report of a Staff Survey Mission to Ethiopia, Iran and the Arabian Peninsula. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1977. ●● The report examines eight countries in the Gulf and Red Sea region (Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, North Yemen, Kuwait, Bahrain, Iran, and Ethiopia), and analyses the security environment of each country, its military capabilities, and its military relationship with the US, and indications for future US policy. In its conclusions, the report notes that the region's governments tend to regard Department of Defense surveys of their military requirements as indications of US willingness to sell arms. Limited trained manpower is seen as the major obstacle to the effective integration of new weapons. On the US end, problems are noted in the frequent lack of familiarity of Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) personnel with either the countries to which they are assigned or the Foreign Military Sales and MAAG programs in which they take part. ¤

1455. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *U.S. Security Interests in the Persian Gulf*; Report of a Staff Study Mission to the Persian Gulf, Middle East, and Horn of Africa, 21 October-13 November 1980. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● An assessment of US policy requirements and constraints in the Gulf in the Carter Doctrine era, based on the visit of the report's authors to nine states in the Gulf region (Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, North Yemen, Kenya, Somalia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Israel). The report notes the importance of regional military cooperation in implementing the Carter Doctrine and the problems that this involves. Questions arise over the capability of these states to absorb US arms and military equipment, and the necessity of granting assistance to some of these countries is stressed. The report also points out that the Soviet Union is not the only significant threat, and outlines some of the more serious factors threatening the internal stability of the Gulf states.

As regards US military power, the report notes the present inadequacies of the RDF and the limited nature of negotiated facilities agreements. The authors make the following additional recommendations as part of an overall strategy to protect U.S interest in the region: the assumption of greater Gulf responsibilities by American allies in Western Europe and Japan; the improvement of the abilities of the Gulf states to withstand attacks by hostile neighbors and to delay a Soviet assault; the incorporation of Egyptian, Israeli, Sudanese, and Turkish assistance in a US Gulf deterrent strategy; increased prepositioning of US equipment in or near the Gulf; and institution of a high-level review to "determine whether U.S. security needs in the Gulf can be accomplished adequately short of a permanent American military presence in the area." ¤

1456. U.S. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *United States Foreign Policy Objectives and Overseas Military Installations*; Prepared by the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Washington, DC: GSGPO, 1979. ●● Foreign policy and defense objectives, major US military facilities and installations, and US policy alternatives for the Indian Ocean, Arabian Peninsula, and Gulf are discussed on pp. 84-121. The authors conclude that "Essentially, the United States would seem to have two broad alternatives for pursuing its political, economic and military objectives in the region: (1) reliance on regional systems to secure U.S. objectives and, (2) a resources-oriented forward naval strategy." Present policy is seen as constituting one variation of the first alternative. ¤

1457. Waltz, Kenneth N. "A Strategy for the Rapid Deployment Force." *International Security*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1981), pp. 49-73. ●● The author, a political scientist at the University of California, Berkeley, contends that while much has been written about the design of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), not enough has been said about the problem of devising a strategy for its use. He argues that the proper strategy should be the creation of an "asset-seizing, deterrent force [as] an alternative to a war-fighting defensive force. The RDF should be designed to defend against countries of the Middle East and to deter the Soviet Union." Keeping the RDF force structure lean and solely directed at securing oilfields would not only obviate the need for a military base in the Gulf but would make the Soviet Union less likely to test U.S. defenses there and would also help Washington resist the temptation to use force, if available, to intervene in various crises. Waltz does not indicate how his conception of a deterrent force differs from present planning, arguing instead that "This essay is about the strategy of the RDF, and not about its design."¤

1458. Wasielewski, Philip G. "Sea Power and Counterinsurgency." *U.S. Naval*

Institute Proceedings, Vol. 112 (December 1986), pp. 62-66. ●● A US Marine Corps officer observes that "Most of the Arabian Peninsula's population and oil works are within 100 miles of the sea" and suggests that "a military strategy of low-key counterinsurgency characterized by the projection of sea power ashore is feasible for Southwest Asia." (p. 62)

1459. Weeks, Albert L. "The Risks of Far-Flung Deployment." *Military Science Technology*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1982), pp. 50-59. ●● The author begins by recalling Thucydides' account of "how not to deploy forces at too great distances." Similarly, it is pointed out that although the US is committed to using the Rapid Deployment Force in certain eventualities, it faces considerable difficulties in doing so. This problem is compounded by relative Soviet advantages in projecting force into the Gulf, and in particular by their emphasis on upgrading their equivalent of the RDF. Weeks asserts that the Soviets first chose to build up their strategic clout and conventional forces and only lately have developed a full-fledged "forward-reach" capability, the timing of which the author links to the gradual retreat of the US from overseas commitments and the "Vietnam syndrome." ¤

1460. Wohlstetter, Albert. "Meeting the Threat in the Persian Gulf." *Survey*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring 1980), pp. 128-188. ●● A long, rambling discourse on how threats to the Gulf posed by the Soviet Union and by "radical" states in the region have been taken far less seriously than they should be, especially by American allies who have far more to lose. The author suggests that there are four alternative strategies to reducing the danger to American and Western interests in the Gulf and dismisses as unfeasible the first three: "(1) the futile hope that alliance dependence on the Persian Gulf can be eliminated; (2) the wan and discredited hope that regional powers will be willing and able to protect the persistent, critical alliance interests there; and (3) the reliance on desperate and unconvincing threats of escalation, possibly to nuclear war."

Instead, Wohlstetter contends that the West is left with no alternative but to meet a conventional threat on its own terms. This requires a continuous and substantial allied combat presence in the region and not merely a force rapidly deployed from the US. Wohlstetter suggests that the least obtrusive presence would be a naval one and he proposes several steps for creating a viable combat presence: (1) increasing the force structure of the US Navy; (2) improving the way in which naval forces are constructed; (3) building up forward floating depots; (4) building faster logistic and other ships; (5) improving basing on Diego Garcia for use by B-52s (to strike against Soviet targets); (6) securing many alternative base facilities in the region (since the states there tend to be undependable); and (7) increasing the contribution by

extraregional allies within NATO. In particular, Wohlstetter details the advantages of increased military assistance to Turkey, not only in defending the Gulf against a Soviet attack but also in protecting the eastern Mediterranean and Sixth Fleet. Virtually the same article was published as "Half-Wars and Half-Policies in the Persian Gulf," in W. Scott Thompson, ed., *National Security in the 1980s: From Weakness to Strength* (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1980), pp. 123-171. ¤

The Soviet Union/Russia and the Gulf

Strategic Interests and Goals

1461. Berner, Wolfgang. "Cuban Intervention in Africa and Arabia." *Aussenpolitik*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (1976), pp. 328-335. ●● An essentially chronological account of Cuban involvement in various African and Middle Eastern countries (including South Yemen and Dhufar) during the 1960s and early 1970s, written by the director of the National Institute of Eastern and International Studies in Cologne. ¤

1462. Blank, Stephen. "Russia, the Gulf and Central Asia in a New Middle East." *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1994), pp. 267-281. ●● Russia's preoccupation with the security of the Central Asian republics, principal reason for the Middle East as a key area of its foreign policy, is spelled out in this article. While Moscow seeks to maintain Iraq and seeks to keep on good terms with the Arab world generally, its primary goal is a mutually reinforcing relationship with Iran. Iran is of key importance to Russia because of the possibility of its influence in Central Asia, Russia's desire to see Iran play a constraining role in Afghanistan, and because the linkage facilitates Russian penetration of the Middle East. But the ties with Iran strain the viability of Russia's overall design for the Middle East because of Arab suspicions of Iran and may force Moscow to choose between them, despite Iran's importance for Russia's borderlands' security. Blank concludes that "The idea that Russia will renounce its historic interests in a vital area to obtain increasingly doubtful Western benefits is not a basis for viable policies." (p. 278) See also the same author's "Russia and the Gulf," *Perceptions*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1996-1997), pp. 30-55.

1463. Chubin, Shahram. "Gains for Soviet Policy in the Middle East." *International Security*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1982), pp. 122-152. ●● The author claims that the Soviet Union's influence in the Middle East is largely a function of the West's handling of the Arab-Israeli dispute: "Soviet attractiveness is only relative, but it may meet short-term security needs." The Soviets, he says, are optimistic that the disruptive process of

modernization will benefit them, since it is here that the West is most vulnerable. Chubin points out that Soviet policy has both offensive and defensive aspects: to establish military dominance and to protect the homeland. At a minimum, Moscow seeks recognition as co-manager of the region. He also points out that some progress has been made toward better relations with Saudi Arabia and contends that Iran's international isolation virtually provides the Soviet Union with a free hand to establish its influence there. ¤

1464. Cigar, Norman. "The Soviet Navy in the Persian Gulf: Naval Diplomacy in a Combat Zone." *Naval War College Review*, Vol . 42, No. 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 56-88. ●● A Middle East desk officer on the US Army staff examines the deployment of Soviet warships to the Gulf during the Iran-Iraq War in the context of Soviet relations with littoral states and the consequent reaction of the United States. He regards the entrance of Soviet vessels as setting a precedent for their legitimate use there and says that "the success and low political and military cost of the Soviet deployment to the Gulf is likely to reinforce Moscow's willingness to consider using its naval forces in similar situations elsewhere in the future." (p. 81)

1465. Dawisha, Adeed, and Karen Dawisha, eds. *The Soviet Union in the Middle East: Policies and Perspectives*. New York: Holmes & Meier, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1982. ●● Based on papers delivered at Chatham House during 1980-1981, this collection does not directly address Soviet policy or intentions in the Gulf but most of the contributors do touch upon the subject. Authors include Jonathan Alford (International Institute for Strategic Studies), Shahram Chubin (Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva), Adeed Dawisha (Royal Institute of International Affairs), Karen Dawisha (then at the Centre for International Studies, London School of Economics), Edwina Moreton (The Economist), Robert Patman (University of Southampton), Alan H. Smith (School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London), Anthony Stacpoole (British Petroleum), and Malcolm Yapp (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London). ¤

1466. Dawisha, Karen. "Moscow's Moves in the Direction of the Gulf-So Near and Yet So Far." *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1980-1981), pp. 219-234. ●● The author notes the limits on Soviet policy options at the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war: "The presence of troops in Afghanistan may have put the Soviets so near to the Gulf in geographic terms, yet not for many years had Moscow been so far from influencing events in that region." An almost identical version of this article was published as "Moscow and the Gulf," *World Today*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (January

1981), pp. 8-14. ¤

1467. _____. "Soviet Decision-Making and the Middle East: The 1973 October War and the 1980 Gulf War." *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 57, No. 1 (1980-1981), pp. 43-59. ●● The author contrasts the Soviet experience in these two Middle Eastern wars by pointing out the institutional differences in Soviet decision-making between the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras. Differences between the two cases were due as well to the short duration of the 1973 war and Moscow's preoccupation with Poland in 1980. In neither case, Dawisha points out, was the USSR able to significantly influence or control its clients. ¤

1468. Dunn, Keith A. "Constraints on the USSR in Southwest Asia: A Military Analysis." *Orbis*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Fall 1981), pp. 607-629. ●● The author, an analyst at the Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, points out that constraints on US military capabilities in Southwest Asia have received considerable attention but that there have been few systematic attempts to discuss Soviet constraints in the region. In the author's view, noteworthy constraints include: (1) Soviet ground forces (most of the 25 divisions along the border are unprepared, undermanned and lack adequate logistical support for a sustained campaign); (2) Soviet tactical air support (many of the aircraft the Soviets could put into action in Southwest Asia would be less than front-line quality and are limited in their ability to perform close air-support functions); (3) Soviet naval forces (the USSR has only recently moved from a coastal defense force to a globally deployed navy, with only limited deployment in the Indian Ocean); (4) geography (the mountainous and desert terrain of Iran does not favor Soviet tank and mechanized divisions with limited logistical support); (5) distance (it may be only a short hop from Soviet territory to Azerbaijan but it is nearly 1200 miles to Hormuz and 2000 to Aden; furthermore, not all Soviet tactical planes can reach Hormuz even from Afghanistan, while Soviet naval reinforcements have nearly as far to travel as the US); (6) risk (the USSR faces the same problem as the US in depending upon regional clients). Dunn concludes by contending that the main constraint is political: "It involves a lack of friends and allies; a lack of guaranteed access to facilities; and a general dislike and distrust for not only the Soviet Union but also the communist system. Therefore, the primary U.S. response to the Soviet threat must continue to be essentially political, bolstered by military capabilities-and not the reverse." ¤

1469. Dunn, Michael Collins. "Soviet Interests in the Arabian Peninsula: The Aden Pact and the Other Paper Tigers." *American Arab Affairs*, No. 8 (Spring 1984), pp. 92-98. ●● The managing editor of *Defense and Foreign*

Affairs Weekly describes the background to the August 1981 Aden Pact between South Yemen, Ethiopia, and Libya, and outlines the subsequent developments that have worked to make the pact a "paper tiger." In Dunn's view, the "key military and strategic positions of Soviet forces in the region have been neither enhanced nor harmed by the Aden Pact" and it "has been far less destabilizing than events elsewhere…." "If there is a threat to the security of the Gulf at the moment, it appears to be from Tehran, not directly from Moscow." ¤

1470. Freedman, Robert O. "Russia and the Middle East: the Primakov Era." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (May 1998), distributed electronically. ●● The president of Baltimore Hebrew University looks at the influence of Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov (appointed January 1996) on Moscow's policy in the Middle East, including Iraq and Iran. The author sees that "His policy … has closely resembled that of his predecessor, with the exception of Russian policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict which has acquired a special flavor under Primakov," i.e. a chilling of relations.

1471. Fukuyama, Francis. *The Soviet Threat to the Persian Gulf*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, March 1981. Rand Paper, No. P-6596. ●● The author, a Rand analyst, asserts that the threats to Western access to Gulf oil posed by the Soviet Union are military intrusion, subversion, and Moscow's ability to exploit purely internal developments for its own purposes. After a brief summary of Soviet policy toward each of the major Gulf states, Fukuyama discusses the record of Soviet threats to intervene in the Middle East and concludes that until Afghanistan they were bluffs, with Soviet restraint due largely to fear of an American response. But he warns that this may not hold true in the future and contends that the US and its allies must increase their capabilities to project power into the Gulf. ¤

1472. Gawad, Atef A. "Moscow's Arms-for-Oil Diplomacy." *Foreign Policy*, No. 63 (Summer 1986), pp. 147-168. ●● A journalist contends that the Iran-Iraq war has provided an opportunity for the Soviet Union to swap arms for oil that is then exported to the West for much needed hard currency. By doing this, "the Soviet Union seems to be delicately balancing its strategic advantages against the economic and Islamic factors. The Iran-Iraq war demonstrates how these interests can conflict." (p. 148)

1473. _____. "How the Gulf Was Won: Oil and Islam in Soviet Foreign Policy." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 22 (Fall 1987), pp. 56-62. ●● A journalist working on his Ph.D. from the London School of Economics charges that the Soviet Union has redoubled its efforts to seek influence in

the Gulf because of its dwindling oil production and desperate need for hard-currency earnings. The Iran-Iraq War has been a bonanza for Moscow since it is able to sell arms to both sides. He concludes that "After years of political eclipse, the Soviets are returning to the Middle East, not through their traditional allies among the radical Arabs but through the conservative anticommunist régimes of the Gulf." (p. 62)

1474. Halliday, Fred. *Soviet Policy in the Arc of Crisis*. Washington, DC: Institute for Policy Studies, 1981. Revised and republished as *Threat From the East? Soviet Policy from Afghanistan and Iran to the Horn of Africa*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1982. ●● The author, a fellow at the Transnational Institute and a prolific writer on the Middle East and leftist movements in the Third World, takes issue with conventional Western assumptions which view Soviet-inspired political upheavals in the so-called "arc of crisis" as part of a grand design. Instead, he contends that the principal sources of political change in these countries have resulted from internal causes, exacerbated by the actions of both the US and the Soviet Union. He supports his argument by first tracing the emergence of a "new cold war" in the late 1970s which resulted in a reemphasis on a Soviet threat, this time directed at Southwest Asia rather than Western Europe or the Far East. Halliday points out that Moscow has cause for concern over the vulnerability of its southern frontiers (the only place where the USSR adjoins the non-communist world). For the Soviet Union, Southwest Asia represents a permanent geopolitical problem while American interests there derive from a two- or three-decade concern with oil.

Halliday rejects the idea that gradual implementation of a Soviet master plan for domination of the region is behind developments in Iran, Afghanistan, South Yemen, and Ethiopia over the past decade. Current arguments for a Western counter-offensive, he contends, are based on the mistaken assumptions that the Soviets instigated these events as part of a grand design, that US influence in these areas has been benign and that the US has lacked the will to contest Soviet aggression. Instead, Halliday argues that a "balanced analysis" must be based on recognition that the primary causes of political unrest in the region have been internal. However, he charges the US with primary responsibility for most of the external causes (as in its long support for the repressive régimes of the Shah and Haile Selassie), and views the Soviet role as essentially one of reacting to advantageous developments. Furthermore, he points out that the Soviets do not control the policies of these countries, just as they were unable to control their clients in the Arab world during the past thirty years. In conclusion, Halliday writes that "the West's alarmism turns out, on closer examination, to be at least as much a product of its own purposes as of the

visible actions or probable intentions of the Soviet leadership." ¤

1475. _____. "The Middle East, Afghanistan and the Gulf in Soviet Perception." *RUSI - Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies*, Vol. 129 (December 1984), pp. 13-18.

1476. _____. "Moscow's Growing Concern." *MERIP Reports*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (September-October 1987), pp. 10-11.

1477. Hassan, S. "Soviet Role in the Persian Gulf." *Regional Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1990), pp. 72-80.

1478. Katz, Mark N. "The Soviet Challenge in the Gulf." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (November-December 1987), pp. 24-27. ●● An international affairs consultant contrasts divergent US and Soviet success in the Gulf by 1987: unlike the US, the USSR "remained the primary supporter of Iraq, had improved its ties to the GCC marginally, and had somewhat better relations with Iran." (p. 24)

1479. Lenczowski, George. "The Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf. An Encircling Strategy." *International Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (1982), pp. 307-327. ●● A well-known, conservative scholar on the Middle East, now retired from the University of California at Berkeley, suggests that while the Soviet Union ultimately would like to expand to the Gulf, it will settle for weakening and removing the Western presence. He identifies four major thrusts of Soviet policy towards the Gulf: (1) to discredit the role of the US through propaganda and diplomacy; (2) to expand its own influence through a chain of pro-Soviet strongholds (in South Yemen, Ethiopia, Iraq, and Afghanistan); (3) to support revolutionary and subversive movements in the region (as in the Dhufar rebellion and Iran's revolution); and (4) to exploit the Islamic revolution in Iran for its own purposes. Lenczowski concludes that Soviet penetration of the immediate Gulf region has thus far been averted, but Moscow will increasingly attempt to encircle the region. ¤

1480. Luttwak, Edward. "Cubans in Arabia? Or, the Meaning of Strategy." *Commentary*, Vol. 68, No. 6 (December 1979), pp. 62-66. ●● The author, a senior fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, discusses the presence of a Soviet brigade in Cuba and the Carter administration's reaction to this set of circumstances. Luttwak charges that the brigade fits into a strategy to upgrade Cuban intervention capabilities and contends that there is only one possible theater of operations for Cuban armored forces: the Arabian Peninsula (anywhere else, the Cuban force would be too small or armor would not be necessary).

Luttwak alleges that the Cuban brigade is bound for South Yemen, with the eventual target being Oman. ¤

1481. Nosenko, Tatiana V. "Soviet Policy in the Persian Gulf." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Winter 1991), pp. 71-77. ●● This look at Soviet policy by a research fellow in Moscow points out that "the Soviet Union's response to Iraq's aggression against Kuwait constitutes one of the most spectacular demonstrations of a sweeping turn in Soviet foreign policy." Instead of articles in the Soviet press a few years ago denouncing the antipopulist régime in Kuwait and praising the forces of progress in Iraq, "Moscow has condemned the Iraqi aggression … and joined the international community in imposing sanctions against the aggressor." (p. 74) Instead of generating antagonism between the Soviet Union and the West, Iraq has prompted the establishment of high-level dialogue between the two leaderships.

1482. Page, Stephen. *The USSR and Arabia: The Development of Soviet Policies and Attitudes Towards the Countries of the Arabian Peninsula*. London: Central Asian Research Centre; New York: International Publications Service, 1971. ●● This early study examines Soviet involvement with the states of the Arabian Peninsula Afrom its beginnings in the 1920s, through its flowering in the mid-1950s, until the death of President Nasser in September 1970." Page concludes that the USSR has always acted with great caution in the area, and that Moscow's policies in the region generally have been reactive. Although dated, this volume provides a solid background to the events of the last decade. ¤

1483. _____. "Soviet Policy Toward the Arabian Peninsula." In Philip H. Stoddard, ed., *The Middle East in the 1980s: Problems and Prospects* (Washington, DC: Middle East Institute, 1983), pp. 88-98. ●● Page notes that despite growing Soviet interests in the Arabian Peninsula over the 1970s, Moscow was able to take advantage of only one opportunity to expand its influence-that of South Yemen. In looking at Soviet prospects for the 1980s, Page notes such obstacles to an expanding Soviet influence as Moscow's occupation forces in Afghanistan, its identification with national liberation movements which prevents the establishment of normal relations with the conservative oil states (except for Kuwait), and the relative unattractiveness of its technology and culture for these states. He sees the Soviet course in the future as embracing a cautious policy aimed at establishing normal relations with as many governments as possible. "Their aim, as in the past, will be to reduce Western influence in the region, and particularly to prevent the expansion of the United States' military presence." ¤

1484. _____. "Moscow and the Arabian Peninsula." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 8 (Spring 1984), pp. 83-91. ●● The author, professor of international relations at Sheridan College in Ontario, surveys Soviet relations with various states of the Arabian Peninsula and analyzes Moscow's reactions to developments in recent years. With the demise of detente, he sees the Soviet Union exhibiting more rapid and forceful responses to opportunities, although it has "still reacted cautiously when no opportunities presented themselves or when confronted by firmness." ¤

1485. _____. "Patterns of Soviet Activity in Southwest Asia." *International Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Spring 1986), pp. 300-323. ●● An international relations specialist at Sheridan College in Ontario summarizes Soviet policy vis-à-vis Iran, Iraq, the two Yemens, and Afghanistan. He observes that "The Soviet Union clearly considers Southwest Asia important and is willing to devote significant military and political resources to attain its objectives there, whether defensive, imperialist, or influence-building. Its approach might be characterized as patient incrementalism…." (pp. 321-322)

1486. Petkovic, R. "Together in the Gulf." *Review of International Affairs*, No. 971 (1990), pp. 8-9.

1487. Phillips, James A. *Moscow Stalks the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, 1984. Backgrounder No. 333. ●● A senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation paints an alarmist picture of Soviet designs on the Gulf: "The Soviet Union has encircled the Gulf with military strongholds and is biding its time for an opening in the center. Given the prevailing trends, the Soviets have little reason to rely on brute military force to kick open Gulf doors - these doors may be opened for them from the inside." ¤

1488. Price, David Lynn. "Moscow and the Persian Gulf." *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (March-April 1979), pp. 1-13. ●● The author, editor of *Arab Oil* (Kuwait), claims that Moscow improved its position in the Gulf spectacularly as a result of recent events there. Nevertheless, he believes that Moscow still tends to follow rather than direct events in the Gulf, and only if radical régimes stay in power for some time will the USSR prepare a long-term political strategy for the region. Those Gulf states worried about Soviet advances may try to play the "China card," but Price suggests that China is unable to provide much military assistance and therefore is of little help. The US will probably be preferred as a bulwark against the Soviet threat. "The regional states will look for signs of a determined American policy in the area as they decide what course to

follow in their search for security." ¤

1489. Ross, Dennis. "Considering Soviet Threats to the Persian Gulf." *International Security*, Vol. 6, No 2 (1981), pp. 159-180. ●● Written while the author was an assistant to the Director of Net Assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, this solid article points out that Soviet interests in the Persian Gulf derive from the proximity of the Gulf to the Soviet Union's periphery, its geopolitical importance as a bridge to Africa and the Indian Ocean basin, Western dependency on the region's oil, and also by increasing Soviet bloc oil needs. Given Soviet cautiousness and a low propensity to take risks, along with a wide range of options for indirectly advancing its goals in the Gulf, Ross feels Moscow is unlikely to use military force to achieve those goals. In addition, a preferred Soviet strategy of using airborne divisions to create a fait accompli in the Gulf faces the difficulties posed by the considerable distances involved and the extreme vulnerability of Soviet air cover. The author suggests that the US needs significant air presence in the lower Gulf and Turkey to threaten this vulnerability, as well as greater ability to defend critical points in the region.

Furthermore, American efforts in this direction would also demonstrate US seriousness to defend its interests, an important consideration in dealing with more likely but less direct Soviet options. If the "United States is to bolster its local friends and also give the Soviets incentives to exercise restraint, it needs a strategy that permits it to do more than only react to threats; the United States needs a strategy that is designed to position it to cope with threats but also take advantage of (and even create) opportunities…." ¤

1490. Rubenstein, A. Z. "Soviet Persian Gulf Policy." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Winter 1977-1978), pp. 47-55. ●● The author judges that Soviet policy toward the Gulf has not shown impressive results. "Soviet achievements have not come close to matching their ambitions, and their prospects are not promising." Rubinstein asserts that there has been negligible spillover from the Arab-Israeli conflict into the Gulf, thus preventing Moscow from exploiting that issue, and the Soviets also were unable to capitalize on the oil embargo because of Saudi opposition. He sees some Soviet ability to make inroads in the Gulf through arms sales, but notes that this cannot necessarily be equated with increased political influence. ¤

1491. _____. "The Soviet Union and the Arabian Peninsula." *World Today*, Vol. 35, No. 11 (November 1979), pp. 442-452. ●● A brief survey of the course of Moscow's relations with the Arabian Peninsula leads the author to

conclude that Soviet influence there is presently limited and is likely to remain so. Although Moscow seeks influence and not instability, it will not be above exploiting and aggravating the latter in the quest for the former. "Opportunism, not ideology, impels Soviet policy, which has taken advantage of, but not determined, the setbacks to Western interests." ¤

1492. Saivetz, Carol R. *The Soviet Union and the Gulf in the 1980s*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989. ●● A visiting fellow at Harvard University provides an overview of Soviet interest and policy in the Gulf during the Iran-Iraq War, including an assessment of Gorbachev's leadership. She concludes that "If one were to sum up Soviet policy toward the Gulf since Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to power, it would be opportunism plus polish. The Soviet tilt toward Iran has been a function not only of the fortunes of war, but also of Moscow's clear desire to regain what was a beneficial political and primarily economic relationship." (p. 110)

1493. Sherbiny, Naiem A., and Mark A. Tessler, eds. *Arab Oil: Impact on the Arab Countries and Global Implications*. New York: Praeger, 1976. ●● Two contributions are of particular relevance here. Robert O. Freedman of Baltimore Hebrew College examines "The Soviet Union and the Politics of Middle Eastern Oil" (pp. 305-327), focusing on the extent to which Soviet oil policies form part of their overall policy of undermining Western influence in the Gulf. He concludes that the Soviets have been successful in reducing the influence of Western oil companies but they failed to capitalize on this success. He also notes that they gained from the oil price rises. Freedman suggests that the Arabs' preference for Western arms and technology may reduce Soviet influence in the future. However, the West, in taking any military action in the Gulf to safeguard the oil fields, may undermine its own position there vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Elsewhere, John P. Entelis of Fordham University discusses "Oil Wealth and Prospects for Democratization in the Arabian Peninsula: The Case of Saudi Arabia" (pp. 77-111), using Saudi Arabia as a test case for the hypothesis of whether the democratization process is proportionately linked to the level of socio-economic development within a country. ¤

1494. Smolansky, Oles M. "Moscow and the Persian Gulf: An Analysis of Soviet Ambitions and Potential." *Orbis*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring 1970), pp. 92-108. ●● An early look at Soviet policy in the Gulf, assessed in terms of costs and benefits and risks and gains. Smolansky concludes that any drastic Soviet move in this sensitive area is highly unlikely. Rather, he suggests that a sustained effort at chipping away at Western influence is more probable. A "cold war" in the Gulf region, he feels, would best serve Soviet interests, and the Soviets need a new strategy that will promote stability,

particularly in those areas where they have achieved a measure of influence. ¤

1495. Stern, Jonathan P. "Gulf Oil Strategy." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Spring 1980), pp. 67-72. ●● A consultant and analyst for Conant and Associates deems unrealistic the view that the Soviets intend to take over Gulf oilfields. Instead, he argues that while the US was even more vulnerable to oil cutoffs in 1979 than it had been in 1973, the Soviets had increased their production, resolving their energy needs as well as those of Eastern Europe. Stern concludes that the likelihood of Soviet intervention in the Gulf had decreased with events in Afghanistan. The element of surprise has been lost and NATO resolve has been galvanized. ¤

1496. Yodfat, Aryeh Y. *The Soviet Union and the Arabian Peninsula: Soviet Policy Towards the Persian Gulf and Arabia*. London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983. ●● Essentially a descriptive survey, organized chronologically, by an Israeli writer who has published a number of previous works on the subject. Yodfat divides his subject into four distinct periods of time: 1917-1975, when the Soviets made a few early approaches but only gained significant inroads during the 1950s and 1960s with obvious Soviet-Arab differences subsequently leading to a decline in Soviet interests in the mid-1970s; 1975-1978, when the Soviets lost ground in the Middle East but gained in the periphery, including Afghanistan, Ethiopia, and Libya; January 1979-September 1980, when Soviet positions around the Gulf created the impression that they were trying to encircle it but without much success; and September 1980-early 1982, when the Iran-Iraq war helped to weaken the Soviet position since Moscow was rebuffed by Iran, relations with Iraq cooled, and no gains were made elsewhere in the region. The author concludes that the Soviet Union has "a constantly growing interest in the Gulf" for a number of reasons and that it sees Iran and Saudi Arabia as its main targets, hoping to influence events in Iran after Khomeini and to establish diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia and build a presence there. ¤

1497. _____. "The USSR and the Persian Gulf Area." *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (April 1979), pp. 60-72. ●● The author surveys Soviet policy toward each of the Gulf states and concludes that the Soviet position in the area is not very strong and that it would be difficult for Moscow to improve the situation. In addition, Yodfat perceives four basic Soviet aims in the Gulf: (1) increased conflict between local regions and the West; (2) the undermining of traditional pro-Western regimes; (3) the complete removal of Chinese influence from the area; and (4) expansion of the region's ties to the USSR. ¤

1498. _____, and Mordechai Abir. *In the Direction of the Persian Gulf: The Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf*. London: Frank Cass, 1977. ●● A short, chronological survey of the evolution of Soviet involvement and concern with the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf, written by two Israeli analysts. Following a short recapitulation of Tsarist interests, the authors discuss the first stages of Soviet involvement (from 1917 to the late 1940s), the "breakthrough" of the 1950s and 1960s, and then redoubled efforts in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A chapter on Soviet relations with South Yemen is included, as is one on emerging superpower rivalry in the Indian Ocean. Yodfat and Abir suggest that there is some correlation between the interests of the area's oil producing states and the Soviet Union, particularly in regard to oil, and that Soviet policy suffered reverses in the early and mid-1970s. Writing before the chain of events in the last half-dozen years, they assert that Moscow has decided at least temporarily to diminish its efforts to gain footholds in the Gulf, partly because "they continue to consider the area outside their sphere of influence and essential to the West." ¤

Bilateral Relations with Gulf States

Iran

1499. Beeman, William O. "Iran and the United States: Postmodern Culture Conflict in Action." *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Fall 2003), pp. 671-692. ●● An anthropologist at Brown University observes that the American engagement with Iran is one of the longest stand-offs the US has had with any other nation and argues that it "constituted the opening volleys in what promises to be an extended conflict with oppositional forces throughout the Islamic world." (p. 672) He argues that the bases of foreign-policy formulation in the United States ignore the essential factor of cultural differences and he suggests that "As world politics becomes more multi-centered in the next decades, it will be increasingly necessary for American politicians to deal with the nations of the world on a one-to-one basis, taking their cultural sensibilities into account. Labeling nations and their leaders 'criminal,' 'outlaw' or 'crazy' because the cultural underpinnings for their actions are difficult to understand does nothing to promote real solutions to political differences creating problems in the world today." (p. 689)

1500. Chubin, Shahram. "The Soviet Union and Iran." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (Spring 1983), pp. 921-949. ●● The author, Director of Research for the Program for Strategic and International Security Studies at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, charges that there is a tendency in the US to regard Soviet policy toward Iran (or Turkey) in the same light

as Soviet policy toward the Arab states. Instead, Chubin points out that Soviet interests in the adjacent states are paramount and longstanding and its policy there is motivated "both by calculations of profit and damage limitation, of opportunism and conservatism. A After a brief discussion of Iran's recent political evolution, Chubin looks at Soviet policy there and analyzes prospects for Soviet influence. Iran's revolutionary government, while not pro-Soviet, is not as staunchly anti-Soviet as it is anti-American. Chubin sees a willingness on the part of the Tehran régime "to defer to the USSR when necessary and to exploit it when profitable." Moscow, for its part, has sought to radicalize Iran and pose as its protector, but has received very little permanent benefit from this approach (as illustrated by Tehran's crackdown on the Tudeh Party). Nevertheless, it remains keenly concerned about developments in that country and military action against Iran cannot be discounted. See also Chubin's *Soviet Policy Towards Iran and the Gulf*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1980. Adelphi Papers, No. 157. ¤

1501. Hunter, Shireen T. "Iran and the Soviets: The Chill Is Gone." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (January-February 1990), pp. 17-23.

1502. Khalilzad, Zalmay. "Islamic Iran: Soviet Dilemma." *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January-February 1984), pp. 1-20. ●● An assistant professor of political science at Columbia University points out that Washington's losses in Iran since 1979 have not been Moscow's gains. Instead, Khalilzad argues that the Soviet Union has lost, rather than gained, influence in Iran in the last few years. This has been due to Iran's ideological hostility toward the USSR; its fear of Soviet intervention (especially through the Tudeh Party); heavy-handed Soviet tactics; Iran's desire not to become too economically dependent on its northern neighbor; and conflict over the two states' regional policies. While the author sees a Soviet invasion of Iran as possible due to developments in Iran or Soviet setbacks in superpower competition, he expects Moscow to maintain its present course of supporting clandestine pro-Soviet groups within Iran. ¤

1503. Shaffer, Brenda. *Partners In Need: The Strategic Relationship of Russia and Iran*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, May 2001. ●● A study of Russian-Iranian relations that also highlights the reasons for Russia's differences with the US in policy toward Iran.

1504. Smolansky, Oles M. "Soviet Policy in Iran and Afghanistan." *Current History*, Vol. 80, No. 468 (October 1981), pp. 321-324, 339. ●● The author, a professor of international relations at Lehigh University, analyzes the impact of recent developments in Iran and Afghanistan on the Soviet Union.

He points out that the overthrow of the Shah does not fit into the zero-sum theory of international relations. While the US lost influence, Moscow did not gain significantly and Soviet-Iranian relations deteriorated further as a result of the Afghanistan invasion. Then, the Iran-Iraq war presented Moscow with a no-win situation, even though it did serve to refocus world attention away from Soviet activities in Afghanistan. Occupation of the latter country was an admission of the Soviets' failure to control events in Kabul by less drastic means. As a consequence, the Soviets have sustained large numbers of casualties, been shouldered with the burden of the Afghani economy, and have suffered an enormous loss of goodwill throughout the world. ¤

1505. Yodfat, Aryeh Y. *The Soviet Union and Revolutionary Iran*. London: Croom Helm: New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984. ●● The author, an analyst at the Lavon Research Institute of the Israel General Federation of Labor, provides a carefully documented survey of Soviet relations with Iran over the course of the twentieth century. As with his companion volume on The Soviet Union and the Arabian Peninsula, the emphasis is on a recitation of events, agreements, and public statements and Yodfat does not really delve into broader policy concerns or the underlying motivations of either side. ¤

Iraq

1506. Freedman, Robert O. "Russia, Iraq, and the Oil Conundrum." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January-February 2000), pp. 57-58, 64. ●● An author on the Middle East observes that "Iraq's decision to withhold oil from the international market, following reports that Russia was willing to be 'flexible' in its policy on the question of Iraqi sanctions, underlines the deterioration of Russian-Iraqi relations that occurred in 1999."

1507. Fukuyama, Francis. *The Soviet Union and Iraq Since 1968*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1980. Note N-1524-AF. ●● A Rand analyst suggests that Iraq, at first glance, looks like an ideal location for the expansion of Soviet influence: it is a major regional power; it occupies an important geographic position; the régime is based on a radical, anti-Western ideology; and it needs Soviet weaponry. Nevertheless, close Soviet-Iraqi collaboration is seen existing only between 1972 and 1975 (because of the nationalization of the oil industry, the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, difficulties with the Kurds, and the Shah's increasing militarization). Fukuyama examines the nature of the Iraqi Ba'thist party and traces Soviet-Iraqi relations from 1968 to 1980, then suggests some future prospects. The study is dated, as it was written before the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, and

focuses primarily on the Iraqi side of the relationship. ¤

1508. Smolansky, Oles M., with Bettie M. Smolansky. *The USSR and Iraq: The Soviet Quest for Influence*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991. ●● Professors at Lehigh University and Moravian College respectively look at Soviet-Iraqi relations over the period of 1958 to 1988. The first part concentrates on domestic issues, including nationalization of the oil industry, the Kurdish question, and the Iraqi Communist Party, while the second part focuses on security issues in the Gulf and the Iran-Iraq War. The prism of the authors' analysis is the Soviet interest in exerting influence over Iraq, a quest that the Smolanskys view as having mixed results due to the "inherent instability of such relations…." (p. 289) As a consequence, the two countries frequently displayed conflicting interests in the Gulf and "the Kremlin consistently refused to endorse Baghdad's claim to leadership in the Gulf region." (p. 228)

1509. Vassiliev, Alexei. "Russia and Iraq." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (2000), pp. 127-129.

1510. Zlobin, Nikolai. "Iraq in the Context of Post-Soviet Foreign Policy." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 84-102. ●● The director of Russian and Asian studies at the Center for Defense Information avers that "Russian policy since the collapse of communism … toward Iraq is the result of a combination of many different factors, domestic as well as foreign. These include the Kremlin's periodic attempts to formulate a new foreign policy doctrine, its desire to play an international role for which it has neither the economic nor the political capacity, its dislike of America's unilateral policies, its desire to maintain its influence in the Persian Gulf region while simultaneously integrating with the West, its need to retain former Soviet republics under its control, and its geopolitical nostalgia." (p. 84) Post-Soviet internal and external developments mean that in the future Russia will pay less attention to the Middle East and more to countries of the former USSR.

The GCC States

1511. Abir, Mordechai. "Saudi-Soviet Relations and the Iran-Iraq War." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Fall 1989), pp. 10-16. ●● After a brief historical background to Saudi Arabia and its relations with Moscow earlier in the 20th century, a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem discusses the warming of relations as a result of both countries' support for Iraq during its war with Iran. The author notes significant obstacles to closer ties, such as the kingdom's opposition to the Soviet Union's atheism, Moscow's inability to match Riyadh's needs from Washington, and Moscow's perceptions of Iran as the greater prize. As a consequence, the author asserts that "Riyadh is also aware that Soviet oil production may peak in the 1990s, and that unless Moscow is able to economically develop its Arctic circle oil reserves, it may be sorely tempted to turn to the Persian Gulf." (p. 16)

1512. Goldberg, Jacob. "Saudi Arabia's Attitude Toward the USSR, 1977-80: Between Saudi Pragmatism and Islamic Conservatism." In Yaacov Ro'i, ed., *The USSR and the Muslim World: Issues in Domestic and Foreign Policy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), pp. 261-271. ●● An Israeli researcher examines Saudi Arabia's view of the Soviet Union and its perceptions of a Soviet pincer movement endangering the kingdom. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan put an end to a burgeoning Riyadh-Moscow rapprochement and, in the process, temporarily buried Saudi pragmatism in relation to what was regarded as a state "wicked and hostile to religion." (p. 269) [The rapprochement was resumed in the mid-1980s although diplomatic relations with Moscow were not established until 1990.]

1513. Kreutz, Andrej. "Russia and the Arabian Peninsula." *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Winter 2004), pp. 1-58. ●● The author describes the main elements of Russian interests in the Peninsula as being security from Islamic fundamentalism, control over its own Muslim subjects, cultivating a positive image among Muslim nations, gaining access to the Indian Ocean, and enhancing cooperation in the production and marketing of energy resources. He sees a more active Russian policy in the region even though "Being as weak as it is now, Russia cannot play a heavyweight role there, and cannot compete directly with the U.S. or even the E.U., and leading Western European nations." (p. 58)

1514. Twinam, Joseph Wright. "Soviet Policy for the Gulf Arab States." In Hafeez Malik, ed., *Domestic Determinants of Soviet Foreign Policy Towards South Asia and the Middle East* (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 242-259. ●● A former State Department official and professor at The

Citadel at the time of publication reviews various interpretations of Soviet foreign policy towards the Gulf. A defensive school holds that "the primary Soviet objective [is to prevent] the region from becoming a source of military or political threat to the Soviet Union" (p. 244) while the offensive school "believes that the Soviets seek some degree of domination of the Gulf…." (p. 245) A middle school views Soviet policy as being more pragmatic and reactive. In addition to ideology, the author sees Soviet policy as being driven by military and Arab-Israeli aspects. Finally, Twinam posits that Tehran's acceptance of a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq War may signal a new opportunity for superpower relations vis-à-vis the Gulf.

The Yemens

1515. Cigar, Norman. "Soviet-South Yemeni Relations: The Gorbachev Years." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1989), pp. 3-38. ●● A desk officer on the US Army staff looks at the Soviet reaction to the 1986 South Yemeni civil war and its decision to support the opponents of President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. He sees that "Despite its frustration with the Aden government and desire to reduce its financial commitment, the USSR nevertheless is likely to view the retention of its position in the PDRY as of continuing interest." (p. 35)

1516. Hensel, Howard M. "Soviet Policy Towards the Rebellion in Dhofar." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 13 (O.S. 69), Part 2 (June 1982), pp. 183-207. The author, associate professor at the Monterey Institute, looks at the evolution of Soviet attitudes towards Oman's Dhufar rebellion. He concludes that "throughout the course of the rebellion, Moscow reluctantly provided only minimum support for the rebels" and opines that the Soviet Union probably was relieved at its escape from "this potentially explosive episode with a minimum of damage to the Soviet position in the Gulf area." ¤

1517. Katz, Mark N. "Sanaa and the Soviets." *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January-February 1984), pp. 21-34. ●● While the strong relationship between the Soviet Union and South Yemen is well known, the longstanding ties between Moscow and Sanaa (the capital of North Yemen, or the Yemen Arab Republic) have been often overlooked. Katz, a Rockefeller Foundation international relations fellow and guest scholar at the Brookings Institution, outlines the history of Soviet interest in North Yemen, which stretches beyond the establishment of the republic in 1962. He also discusses the stormy relationship between the Yemens and the dilemma it has posed for the Soviets. He concludes that, for the Yemenis, "building and maintaining friendly relations with the USSR is an important

means of assuring North Yemen's survival." On Moscow's part, aid to North Yemen helps to reduce Saudi and American influence and it may restrain Sanaa from attacking South Yemen. ¤

1518. Page, Stephen. *The Soviet Union and the Yemens: Influence in Asymmetrical Relationships*. New York: Praeger, 1985. Studies of Influence in International Relations. ●● An international relations specialist at Sheridan College in Ontario divides his study of Soviet influence in the Yemens in two parts. The first examines Moscow's relations with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY or South Yemen), focusing on the Soviet Union's hesitation to back the newly independent state because of its ideological weakness and personality clashes. Relations improved as the left-wing emerged triumphant in the PDRY's leadership but the failure of the revolutionary movement in southern Oman led to South Yemen's eventual establishment of diplomatic relations with Oman. He concludes that "In the PDRY, Soviet actions and presence have been important in the creation and preservation of a ruling group whose goals are essentially similar to the Kremlin's; thus on most issues the Soviets have hardly needed to exert influence." (p. 213) The second part deals with Soviet ties to the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR or North Yemen), and the author notes that while the Soviets played a role in ensuring the survival of the YAR in the low days of the 1962-1967 civil war, "they were never able to make an impact on the political, economic, or social fabric of the country." (p. 206) Furthermore, Moscow's relations with the north were inevitably limited because of Moscow's close relations with the south.

1519. Pollock, David. "Moscow and Aden: Coping With a Coup." *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (May-June 1986), pp. 50-70.

1520. Schneider, C. *Der südliche Jemen und die Sowjetunion: Grossmachtengagement und politische Radikalisierung in der Driten Welt*. Hamburg, 1989.

1521. Vassiliev, Alexei. "State Interests of the USSR in the Red Sea Basin and the Horn of Africa in Connection with the Gulf Zone." *Arab Affairs*, No. 12 (Autumn 1990), pp. 34-42. ●● The author, deputy director of the Institute of African Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, notes that the interests of Moscow and the Western countries could hardly be expected to coincide. On the other hand, "it is difficult to find even one aspect in which state interests of the USSR and countries of the region would contradict each other." (p. 42)

Regional Aspects of Gulf Security

Regional Bilateral Relations

1522. Ali, M. "Saudi-Iranian Relations: The Struggle for Religious or Political Leadership." *JIME Review*, No. 9 (1990), pp. 72-82.

1523. Bahgat, Gawdat. "Iranian-Saudi Rapprochement: Prospects and Implications." *World Affairs*, Vol. 162, No. 3 (Winter 2000), pp. 108-115. ●● A professor at Indiana University of Pennsylvania looks at the "stunning" rapprochement and deduces that falling oil prices was a major spark. He also covers Iranian-UAE relations and the Gulf role of Israel and Turkey. Finally, he concludes that "the rapprochement between Riyadh and Tehran cannot be understood without reference to the relations each has with Washington." (p. 113)

1524. Baradei, Mohamed El, and Robert Gallucci. "Irak, Iran et proliferation au Moyen-Orient." *Maghreb-Machrek*, No. 180 (Summer 2004), pp. 105-110.

1525. Chubin, Shahram, and Charles Tripp. *Iran-Saudi Arabia Relations and Regional Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute of Strategic Studies, November 1996. Adelphi Papers, No. 304. ●● The authors, executive director for research at the Geneva Center for Security Policy and a lecturer at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies respectively, see Iran and Saudi Arabia as being the key actors in regional security and contend that "regional order in the Persian Gulf is a function of domestic political developments in Iran and Saudi Arabia." (p. 8) Furthermore, "For Iran to cooperate with Saudi Arabia on matters of regional security it would need to accept the role of the US in the Gulf, which is improbable under present circumstances." (p. 8) In the end, the authors say, regional security in the Gulf depends on the state of US-Iranian relations.

1526. Ehteshami, Anoushiravan. "Iran-Iraq Relations After Saddam." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Autumn 2003), pp. 115-129. ●● A professor of international relations at the University of Durham argues that the overthrow of Saddam Husayn will transform the foreign-policy framework and political system of Iran. In particular, It will allow Iran and Iraq to strengthen the trend in bilateral cooperation that the two countries have pursued since the end of the Iran-Iraq War. But the author also notes that, "although the United States has finally delivered on the most important

of Iran's goals in its eight-year war with Iraq - the removal of the Ba'thist régime - the tensions between Washington and Tehran have presented the removal of the Iraqi regime as a new 'poisoned chalice' with which Tehran must contend." (p. 121)

1527. Faksh, Mahmud A. "Saudi Arabia and Iran: The Challenge of an Insurgent Islam." *Journal of Arab Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1988), pp. 121-144. ●● The author explains the Iranian Revolution as a challenge to Saudi Arabia in terms of the struggle between Sunni and Shi'i Islam, intensified by the outlook of Ayatollah Khomeini and his view that the Arab Gulf regimes were illegitimate. But there are also tensions within Saudi Arabia between its reliance on the Wahhabi expression of Islam and the influx of rapid wealth and development. Among other things, change affected the Shi'ah of the Eastern Province less than elsewhere and exploitation of this by the Iranian republic led to clashes during the annual hajj (Islamic pilgrimage to Makkah). The author concludes that "Iran's reliance on confrontational tactics and violence in its bid to export its ideology was counterproductive." (p. 138)

1528. Fuller, Graham E. "Iran and Iraq: The Battleground of Cultures." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (May-June 1991), pp. 16-22. ●● A RAND Corporation political scientist views Iranian-Iraqi relations in the context of cultural confrontation over racial identity and religion, and Kurdish relations. He notes the potential common interests in the Kurdish question, the threat from Russia, cooperation against external intervention in the Gulf, and cooperation against Israel.

1529. Katz, Mark. "Yemeni Unity and Saudi Security." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1992), pp. 117-135. ●● An assistant professor at George Mason University reviews the history of Saudi-Yemeni relations through the Kuwait War and suggests ways in which to improve them. He contends that Riyadh's existing policy undermines Saudi security and recommends for the US that "Constructively engaging Yemen so that it will not cooperate with others in threatening or weakening the kingdom is a more promising method of ensuring Saudi security than isolating Yemen." (p. 135)

Regional Disputes and Conflicts

General

1530. Akbar, M. "Regional Integration under the Arab Cooperation Council." *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1989), pp. 78-86.

1531. Albaharna, Husain M. *The Arabian Gulf States: Their Legal and Political Status and Their International Problems*. 2nd rev. ed. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1975. ●● In addition to a discussion of the Gulf states' treaty relations with Britain and other states, Albaharna details various territorial claims and boundary disputes. The author is Bahrain's Minister of State for Legal Affairs. ¤

1532. Bill, James A. "The Challenge of the Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War to Stability in the Gulf." In Philip H. Stoddard, ed., *The Middle East in the 1980s: Problems and Prospects* (Washington, DC: Middle East Institute, 1983), pp. 122-129. ●● The author, professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin, outlines the growing challenges to stability in the Gulf. He judges "the general resurgence of Islam and … the existence of a revolutionary message in neighboring Iran" to be the most serious of the external threats. Others he points out include the modernization syndrome, Israeli policies and US support for that country, and the potentially destabilizing roles of both superpowers. He concludes with the observation that "The 1980s is a decade in which the traditional political systems in the Persian Gulf will face unrelenting pressure." ¤

1533. Dawisha, Adeed. "Iran's Mullahs and the Arab Masses." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1983), pp. 162-168. ●● The article begins with an explanation of how the alternative to pan-Arab nationalism, following the debacle of 1967, gradually evolved into a radicalized version of political Islam. The prospect of a grassroots revolution overthrowing a secularized and Westernized tyrant had immense appeal to the Muslim masses of the Arab world, but the initial intoxicating effect of the "mullahs" on the masses has begun to wear off as the frailties of the new Iranian regime appear and as the war between Iran and Iraq grinds on. Even in Iran, the "state" has gained ascendancy over "revolution." ¤

1534. Halliday, Fred. "Arabs and Persians: Beyond the Geopolitics of the Gulf." *Cemoti*, No. 22 (July-December 1996), pp. 251-274. ●● A professor at the London School of Economics reviews Arab-Iranian relations, hostility, and misunderstanding in the Gulf from the early 20th century through the Iran-Iraq War and into the 1990s.

1535. Helms, Christine Moss. "The Arab Cooperation Council: Redefining Strategic Depth." *Defense & Diplomacy*, Vol. 7, No. 10 (October 1989), pp. 51-55. ●● A writer and consultant on the Middle East examines the reasons for the establishment of the Arab Cooperation Council, formed by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and North Yemen in early 1989. She notes that AACC members went out of their way to forswear publicly any political rationale.

The avowed *raison d'être* for union was economic, yet there is remarkably little evidence that anything more than a wish list, if that, ever existed." (p. 55)

1536. Hurewitz, J.C. "The Middle East: A Year of Turmoil." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (1981), pp. 540-577. ●● The author, director of the Middle East Institute at Columbia University, reviews events in the Middle East during 1980, concluding that it was a grim year for American policy there. Among the developments he touches upon are the hostage crisis, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war. ¤

1537. Litwak, Robert. *Sources of Inter-State Conflict*. London: Gower, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981. Security in the Persian Gulf, Vol. 2. ●● A short monograph providing a descriptive overview of the various territorial disputes and other sources of inter-state tension in the Gulf region, written by a research associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies at the time of publication. The author divides his survey into four parts: (1) the "northern tier" (by which he means Iraq-Iran disputes); (2) northern Arabia and the upper Gulf; (3) the lower Gulf states; and (4) southern Arabia. ¤

1538. Price, David Lynn. *Stability in the Gulf: The Oil Revolution*. London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1976. Conflict Studies, No. 71. ●● A survey of internal and international developments in the Gulf in the mid-1970s, written by a British journalist. Price lists the continuation of oil supplies, commercial and financial interests, and the containment of Soviet influence as being among the West's interests in the Gulf. Several observations have been overtaken by events. For example, although the author saw Iranian domination of the Gulf as being a source of conflict, he predicted that Arab-Iranian cooperation was likely to continue. In addition, Price believed that Moscow had directed its interest away from the Gulf to the Indian Ocean, because the Gulf offered little hope of naval facilities. Finally, Price points out that limitations to oil as a political weapon have become apparent and notes that British withdrawal has forced coordination among states. In his view, cooperation is likely to be the key to a future regional policy. ¤

1539. Quandt, William. "The Middle East Crises." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (1980), pp. 540-562. ●● A senior fellow at the Brookings Institution discusses the various points of conflict in the Middle East, and explains how each affects the others and the West. Included are the Iranian revolution, the challenge of Soviet power, the stalemate in Arab-Israeli relations, the insecurity of moderate Arab states, and the problem of continued access to

oil.¤

1540. Rubin, Barry. "The Gulf Arab States and Iran." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (January-February 1983), pp. 36-38. ●● The author, a senior fellow at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, points out that the Iranian regime views its foreign policy posture as essentially defensive in nature, but that its radical rhetoric has alarmed neighboring states in the Gulf, where its fundamentalism has a certain appeal. Rubin concludes that Iran has too many domestic preoccupations for it to attempt to export its revolution. ¤

The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Gulf

1541. Abadi, Jacob. "Israel's Relations with Oman and the Persian Gulf States." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Fall 1996), pp. 46-73. ●● A history professor at the US Air Force Academy begins by stating that Oman and Israel began to cooperate in the early 1970s, particularly in water desalination and irrigation, long before the establishment of an Israeli government office in Muscat and the visit to Oman of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1994. In addition to Oman, Abadi chronicles the history of Israel's relations with the UAE, Qatar, Bahrain, and Kuwait. He reasons that "the normalization process will depend … on what the Gulf states regard as a fair solution to the Palestinian problem, and that could be nothing less than the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and an agreement with Syria. Meanwhile, however, Israel's commercial relations and unofficial contacts will continue with all states of the Gulf region, no matter how hostile their official policy remains." (p. 73)

1542. Bishara, Ghassan. "The Political Repercussions of the Israeli Raid on the Iraqi Nuclear Reactor." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1982), pp. 58-76. ●● The author, Washington correspondent for the Jerusalem newspaper al-Fajr, maintains that Washington's failure to reprimand Israel more strongly for its attack on the Iraqi reactor, in violation of arms supply agreements with the US, emboldened Israel and thereby made the US a party to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon one year later. ¤

1543. Bligh, Alexander. "Toward Israeli-Saudi Coexistence?" *Jerusalem Quarterly*, No. 35 (Spring 1985), pp. 24-35. ●● A researcher at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem reviews the history of Saudi Arabia's policy towards Israel and Israeli objections to its arms purchases. He proposes that it is in both countries' interest for "mutual recognition: by Israel of Saudi Arabia's legitimate security needs; and by Riyadh of Jerusalem's

apprehensions. Israel can help set in motion such a dynamic if it is prepared to consider a policy other than outright opposition, and if it will give due consideration to the political and economic advantages that it can derive from Saudi Arabia as a country close to the US." (p. 35)

1544. Davis, M. Thomas. "The Politics to Begin's Baghdad Raid." *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (March-April 1982), pp. 33-40. ●● An army captain, at West Point at time of publication, assesses the motives behind the Israeli attack on the nuclear reactor at Osirak. Drawing on testimony provided in Congressional hearings, Davis questions the raid's timing, purpose, and justifications. ¤

1545. Dawisha, Adeed. "Saudi Arabia and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Ups and Downs of Pragmatic Moderation." *International Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Autumn 1983), pp. 674-689. ●● Saudi Arabia was freed from Egypt's psychological and ideological blockade by the 1967 defeat. At the same time, however, Riyadh's commitment to provide financial assistance to the confrontation states entangled the kingdom in Arab-Israeli politics, and its decision to employ the "oil weapon" in 1973 brought it to center stage in the drama. But in this new role, Saudi maneuverability was severely restricted and Riyadh found it necessary to act in unison with the Arab majority, hence its condemnation of the Camp David accords. Saudi Arabia's own initiative in the Arab-Israeli arena was the "Fahd Plan," which was waylaid by radical Arab opposition, US disclaimer of the Palestinian provisions, and Israeli actions. Dawisha contends that these factors have combined to expose "the limitations of Saudi Arabia's capacity to imprint its own brand of pragmatic moderation on both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict." ¤

1546. Dekmejian, R. Hrair. "Conflict and Cooperation in the Gulf: Problems and Prospects." *Middle East Annual, Vol. 4 - 1984* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985), pp. 83-106. ●● A professor of political science at the State University of New York at Binghamton identifies the major problems in the Gulf as being the Iran-Iraq War, the decline of oil income, security problems, Islamic fundamentalism and the Iranian threat, communal conflict, and the quest for political participation. His assessment is that "For the time being, the GCC countries have managed to contain Iran's subversive and propagandistic efforts to destabilize the ruling monarchies. In [the] GCC's view, the first priority is to settle the Iran-Iraq war - a task that remains beyond the capabilities of the United States." (p. 104)

1547. Doran, Michael Scott. "Palestine, Iraq, and American Strategy." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (January-February 2003), pp. 19-33. ●● An assistant professor of Near Eastern studies at Princeton argues that while Palestine

provides a central symbol for Arab politics, the Bush administration seems to understand better than its critics that its influence in Arab-Israeli matters derives from its status as the dominant power in the region. “If an American road to a calmer situation in Palestine does in fact exist, it runs through Baghdad.” (p. 22) This, he contends, is because extremist Islamists will not be satisfied by any change in US policy toward Palestine. He describes an “intifadah” in al-Jawf region of Saudi Arabia as an example of how the Palestinian plight is used to attack internal politics and will continue to do so until larger issues are resolved. His answer is to establish a Pax Americana by “demonstrating forcefully that challenges to its authority in the region will be defeated. Its near enemies can be met in no other way, since their opposition to the present order is deep-rooted and total.” (p. 32)

1548. Farhang, Mansour. “The Iran-Israel Connection.” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 85-98.

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1549. Tessler, Mark. “Israel, Arms Exports, and Iran: Some Aspects of Israeli Strategic Thinking.” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 99-126. ●● Farhang, a professor of politics at Bennington College and revolutionary Iran's first ambassador to the UN, argues that under the paradoxical surface there are a number of reasons for common interests between Iran and Israel, such as collaboration during the Iran-Iraq War and mutual involvement via the Reagan Administration in the Iran-Contra affair. He notes that “the silent complicity between Israel and Iran is based on exploitation and opportunism. Each sees the other as an instrument of its policy in the region.” (p. 93) Tessler, of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, analyzes Israel's involvement in the Iran-Contra affair by examining its policy of arms exports and its continuing interest in Iran, both before and well after the revolution.

1550. Feldman, Shai. “The Bombing of Osiraq-Revisited.” *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1982), pp. 114-142. ●● A post-doctoral fellow at the Stanford University Arms Control and Disarmament Program examines the raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor from an Israeli point of view. He suggests that the raid can be justified if it delayed nuclear proliferation in the Middle East until after solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Feldman also maintains that the attack, by underlining Israel's military superiority, may have contributed to the peace process if it helped to convince the Arabs that they cannot win militarily. He ends by speculating on the possibility of future Israeli attacks on other Arab nuclear installations. ¤

1551. Fuller, Graham E. "The Saudi Peace Plan: How Serious?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (June 2002), pp. 27-30. ●● A RAND consultant evaluates Prince 'Abdullah's peace plan and observes that the plan "offers something fresh when the world craves something fresh, bold in its simplicity. More stunningly, however, the entire Arab world signed onto the plan, including even Iraq and Libya. … Yet the stark reality is that the plan is totally unacceptable to the Likud government of Israel." (p. 28)

1552. Giannou, C. "The Real Stakes in the Gulf." *Israel & Palestine*, Nos. 159-160 (1990), pp. 25-26.

1553. Gold, Dore. *America, the Gulf, and Israel: CENTCOM (Central Command) and Emerging US Regional Security Policies in the Middle East.* Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post; Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988. Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Study No. 11. ●● The author, at the Jaffee Center, looks at the development of the US Central Command and discusses the implications of the decision to exclude Israel from inclusion in its area of responsibility. He observes that "the Arab world has come to accept US-Israeli strategic cooperation" and that "the link between the Arab-Israeli conflict and Gulf security has hurt the GCC states by serving to block US arms sales to countries failing to support the peace process." (p. 104)

1554. Khalilzad, Zalmay M., David A. Shlapak, and Daniel L. Byman. *The Implications of the Possible End of the Arab-Israeli Conflict for Gulf Security*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1997. MR-822-AF. ●● Three RAND analysts examine such topics as Israel's influence on the US presence in the Gulf, the value of Israeli participation to the US Air Force in a crisis in the region, and regional scenarios involving a US military response. They note that "A comprehensive peace should help gain access to the region if a crisis occurs, ease frictions arising from arms transfers, and permit streamlining of the US military command structure. Peace will also decrease the pressures on Gulf leaders and their sensitivities to a U.S. presence in the region." (p. 81) They suggest that the US should encourage cooperation between the GCC and Israel on Gulf security and extend the US Central Command's area of responsibility to include Israel, Syria, and Lebanon.

1555. Mallison, W. Thomas, and Sally V. Mallison. "The Israeli Aerial Attack on June 7, 1981, Upon the Iraqi Nuclear Reactor: Aggression or Self-Defense?" *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Summer 1982), pp. 417-448. ●● After reviewing the arguments on both sides, the authors contend that Israel's attack was not legally justifiable. In addition, they assert that the attack has convinced the Arab states of the

importance of developing a nuclear weapons capability as a deterrent to Israel's nuclear threat. In their opinion, this escalation can be stopped only by the pressure of the world community on Israel to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The text of the Security Council's resolution on the matter is included. ¤

1556. Nydell, Matt S. "Tensions Between International Law and Strategic Security: Implications of Israel's Preemptive Raid on Iraq's Nuclear Reactor." *Virginia Journal of International Law*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Winter 1984), pp. 459-492. ●● The author, a member of the editorial board of the Virginia Journal of International Law, asserts that the raid on Osirak casts doubt on the efficacy of the international legal regime to constrain states from using force following unilateral determination that they are threatened. In determining the legality of Israel's actions, Nydell examines the context of the raid, including Iraqi-Israeli hostility, the capacity of Osirak to produce nuclear bombs, and the adequacy of international non-proliferation safeguards. He concludes that as Israel acted before an imminent threat was posed, it could not justify the raid by self-defense. ¤

1557. O'Brien, William, John Norton Moore, and W. Thomas Mallison, "Israel's Attack on Osirak." *Freedom at Issue*, No. 63 (November-December 1981), pp. 3-11. ●● The authors present different assessments of the Israeli action. O'Brien, a government professor at Georgetown University, concludes that Israel was justified in its attack and adds that the international community "must take measures to remove the continuing threats to Israel's existence." Moore, Director of the Center for Law and National Security at the University of Virginia, feels that there is not sufficient public evidence available to adequately judge Israel but gives substantial weight to the Security Council condemnation. In addition, he charges France and Iraq with irresponsibility in the building of the reactor and assails the lack of adequate international safeguards. Mallison, Director of International and Comparative Law Programs at George Washington University, concludes that the "Israeli claim of actual necessity has not met the demanding criteria of international law and has been explicitly rejected by the community of states." ¤

1558. Perlmutter, Amos, Michael I. Handel, and Uri Bar-Joseph. *Two Minutes Over Baghdad: How Israel Destroyed Iraq's Nuclear Capability*. London: Frank Cass, 1982; 2nd ed. updated by Uri Bar-Joseph, 2003.

1559. Rosman-Stollman, Elisheva. "Balancing Acts: The Gulf States and Israel." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (July 2004), pp. 185-208. ●● The author's thesis is that, when pushed, the "weak states" of the Gulf "tend

to choose a balancing strategy in foreign relations, turning to the United States as a hegemonic yet unthreatening power and using Israel as a way of currying favour with the hegemony." (p. 185) The article provides a narrative of Israel's relations with individual Gulf states as concludes that these relations are based not on ideology but on practical interests, and that Israel is not a central focus of their foreign policy but merely one of many elements in their balancing acts.

1560. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on International Security and Scientific Affairs, and on Europe and the Middle East. *Israeli Attack on Iraqi Nuclear Facilities*; Hearings, 17 and 25 June 1981. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● The hearings raised conflicting opinions on whether Iraq had undertaken a nuclear weapons program, and examined the implications of the Israeli action, both in terms of the violation of agreements on the use of US-supplied equipment and on US policy in the Middle East. Testimony was provided by Walter J. Stoessel (Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs), Albert J. Carnesdale (of Harvard University), and Roger Richter (a former inspector for the International Atomic Energy Agency).¤

1561. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Israeli Air Strike*; Hearings, 18, 19 and 25 June 1981. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1981. ●● These hearings, held in the aftermath of Israel's raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Osirak, attempted to review several related questions: (1) did Israel act in self-defense or was its action a violation of US laws governing the use of American arms; (2) did Iraq have the capability and/or the intention of building a nuclear weapon for use against Israel; (3) what are the implications of the raid for international law concerning preemptive strikes; and (4) what are the implications of the raid for worldwide efforts to control nuclear proliferation? Testimony ranged from claims that Israel had no choice but to act, to accusations that the raid was blatant aggression. Others focused on the requirements for building a nuclear bomb, or on the difficulties of preventing nuclear proliferation. ¤

1562. Wilson, Richard. "A Visit to the Bombed Nuclear Reactor at Tuwaitha, Iraq." *Nature*, Vol. 302 (31 March 1983), pp. 373-376. ●● The head of Harvard's physics department describes his visit to the reactor bombed by Israeli jets in June 1981. Although the author states he does not have the expertise necessary to know whether the facilities could have been used for making a nuclear bomb, he points out that if the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty were abrogated by Iraq, then the substantial changes to existing facilities required to build a bomb would make starting from scratch easier. ¤

The Kuwait-Iraq Crisis (1961)

1563. Alani, Mustafa M. *Operation Vantage: British Military Intervention in Kuwait 1961*. London: Laam, 1990. ●● A London-based writer-researcher of Iraqi origin provides a comprehensive treatment of the Iraqi threat to Kuwait in 1961 and the British military response, utilizing British documents and interviews with participants as well as published sources. The book originated in a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Exeter. The author concludes that "the claim that the British action in Kuwait was motivated by the desire to protect Kuwait against an Iraqi military attack is a poor and unsubstantiated argument." (p. 248) Instead, he sees the operation as a deliberate attempt to restore British credibility in the region after the 1956 Suez débâcle and to maintain the dependence of the Kuwaiti ruler on Britain. "Britain not only created the Iraqi military threat, she has also been credited for deterring that threat. It could, of course, be a case of 'mistaken assessment' - or an intentional, deliberate and artful deception." (p. 254)

1564. Ashton, Nigel. "A Microcosm of Decline: British Loss of Nerve and Military Intervention in Jordan and Kuwait, 1957 and 1961." *Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (1997), pp. 1069-1083.

1565. _____. "Britain and the Kuwaiti Crisis, 1961." *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 1998), pp. 163-181. ●● The author, from the University of Liverpool, provides a narrative account of Britain's largest mobilization in the post-Suez era. He discusses both the political and the military aspects of the crisis and charges that "the extraordinary economic importance of Kuwait to Britain at this point seemed ample justification for a politically perilous intervention. Subsequent official attempts to put flesh on the bones of the Iraqi threat, however, seem rather unconvincing in hindsight." (p. 179)

1566. Blackwell, Stephen. "A Desert Squall: Anglo-American Planning for Military Intervention in Iraq, July 1958-August 1959." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (July 1999), pp. 1-18. ●● A comparison of Operation Desert Storm (1991) with an antecedent of Anglo-American readiness to engage in hostilities against Iraq in 1958-1959. The author notes that "In contrast to the crises over Suez in 1956 and Syria in 1957, however, the leaders of the Anglo-American alliance sought to roll with the Arab nationalist punches and utilise the rivalries between the major Middle Eastern states." (p. 15)

1567. Fain, W. Taylor. "John F. Kennedy and Harold Macmillan: Managing the 'Special Relationship' in the Persian Gulf Region, 1961-63." *Middle*

Eastern Studies, Vol. 38, No. 4 (October 2002), pp. 95-122.

1568. Joyce, Miriam. "Preserving the Sheikhdom: London, Washington, Iraq and Kuwait, 1958-61." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (1995), pp. 281-292.

The Dhufar Rebellion

1569. Akehurst, John. *We Won a War. The Campaign in Oman, 1965-1975*. London: Michael Russell, 1983. ●● The reminiscences of a British army officer who commanded Oman's Dhufar Brigade during the final 18 months of the long Dhufar rebellion. As reasons for the Sultanate's success in this conflict, Akehurst singles out four enemy mistakes: the attempt to replace an Islamic outlook and way of life with a Marxist-inspired one, attacks on tribalism, a cumbersome command and communications structure, and reliance on a single supply line. He also outlines "six things that [the Sultan] and his Armed Forces got right": the coup of 1970 and subsequent reforms, efforts at winning the support of the Dhufari population, joint civil/military control, interruption of the enemy's supply line, air power (especially helicopters), and intelligence. ¤

1570. Arkless, David C. *The Secret War: Dhofar 1971/1972*. London: William Kimber, 1988.

1571. Fiennes, Ranulph. *Where Soldiers Fear to Tread*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975. ●● The British explorer provides a vivid first-person account of the years he spent fighting with Omani forces against Dhufari rebels. Also included is a dramatized account of the experience of several rebels with whom Fiennes later spoke. ¤

1572. Halliday, Fred. *Mercenaries: "Counter-Insurgency" in the Gulf*. Nottingham: Spokesman, 1977. ●● First published by the Gulf Committee, London, in May 1976, this essay begins with an overview of British military assistance, including both materiel and personnel, to various countries of the Middle East, and then concentrates on the British role in the Sultanate of Oman, particularly in regard to the Dhufar rebellion. Halliday's opposition to these British activities and his sympathy for the Dhufari rebels is clearly stated. ¤

1573. Jeapes, Tony. *SAS: Operation Oman*. London: William Kimber, 1980. ●● Another in a long tradition of British military officers' accounts of campaigns in the service of the sultans of Oman. This book relates the contribution of the 22nd Special Air Service (SAS) Regiment to the

Sultanate's victory in the Dhufar rebellion, and was written by the regiment's commander from 1974 to the end of the war (he also commanded an SAS squadron in Dhufar in 1971). Jeapes ends with the observation that "Winning a counter-revolutionary war is like clearing a garden of weeds: it is what you plant afterwards that matters." He poses the question of whether socioeconomic and political development in Oman will proceed fast enough to satisfy the aspirations of an increasingly better educated population. ¤

1574. Perkins, K. "Oman 1975: The Year of Decision." *Journal of the Royal United Services Institution*, Vol. 124, No. 1 (March 1979), pp. 38-45. ●● A detailed account of the last ten months of the Dhufar rebellion in 1975, written by the British commander of the Sultan of Oman's armed forces at the time. Perkins points out that "The Dhofar War combined conventional war with counter-revolutionary operations so that the lessons are both military and political." One of the suggested lessons is that "a counter-revolutionary war cannot be won by military means only." In Dhufar, this meant a concerted effort by the government to develop the hitherto neglected province even as the army regained control. 277 ¤

1575. Peterson, J.E. "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula: The Rebellion in Dhufar." *World Affairs*, Vol. 139, No. 4 (Spring 1977), pp. 278-295. ●● This article sketches the social and historical background to the province of Dhufar before tracing the origins of the rebellion there, the changes in government policy following the 1970 coup d'état, and the ultimately successful efforts of the Sultanate's armed forces, aided by British, Iranian, and Jordanian troops, to put down the nationalist and Marxist rebels, who were assisted by South Yemen, China, and the Soviet Union. In conclusion, the article argues that true success in Dhufar will depend on more than military superiority: "By the time of the virtual cessation of military action in late 1975, the Sultanate's leadership had shown its willingness and determination to attack the social and economic problems of Dhufar." ¤

1576. Price, David Lynn. *Oman: Insurgency and Development*. London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, January 1975. Conflict Studies, No. 53. ●● A British writer's look at Oman's Dhufar rebellion, based in part on information gained through his visit to Dhufar province. Price outlines the history of the rebellion from the early 1960s to late 1974, discusses the membership and organization of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, examines the Sultanate's military and civil responses to the rebellion, and assesses prospects for the future. ¤

Yemen Civil War (1994)

1577. Dunn, Michael Collins. "The Wrong Place, The Wrong Time: Why Yemeni Unity Failed." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1994), pp. 148-156. ●● The editor of *The Estimate* newsletter looks at the reasons behind the Yemen civil war of 1994 and notes that "The restored unity of Yemen is a unity of conquest, not the negotiated merger of 1990." (p. 148) He sees as reasons why Yemeni unity failed the following: differences between the existing states were underestimated, the idea of a federal system was rejected, there was a precipitate rush to unity, the old leadership was retained, the coalition between all three leading parties was unworkable, there was a failure to unite the former two states' armies, the leaders were inadequate, Saudi Arabia was opposed to unity and Yemen ran afoul of Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait, and inability to agree on how to share oil between the north and the south.

1578. Hudson, Michael C. "Bipolarity, Rational Calculation and War in Yemen." In Jamal S. al-Suwaidi, ed., *The Yemeni War of 1994: Causes and Consequences* (London: Saqi Books, 1995), pp. 19-32. Also published under the same title in *Arab Studies Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1995), pp. 9-19. ●● The Seif Ghobash professor of Arab studies at Georgetown University examines the causes behind the civil war. He points out that when Yemen unified in 1990, there was widespread optimism for its success but by the spring of 1994 "the democratic order was breaking down and the new found national unity threatened. What was going wrong?" (p. 20) After detailing the opposing views in the north and the south, the author notes that "the 'logic of the situation,' as the two main antagonists perceived it, made it only 'rational' for them to behave in mutually threatening ways" (p. 31) and the institutional matrix constructed to nurture unity was unable to override this logic.

1579. Schmitz, Chuck. "Civil War in Yemen: The Price of Unity?" *Current History*, Vol. 94 (January 1995), pp. 33-36. ●● A doctoral candidate at the University of California at Berkeley believes that "It is not clear which side started the war. Both were preparing for one, though the south was not ready for a full-scale conflict." (p. 36) The south's efforts to enlist international support were countered by the north's diplomacy, having learned from its mistake of alienating the international community in 1990. "It remains to be seen whether Ali Abdulla Saleh can forge a political alliance that will gain legitimacy among Yemen's varied regions and ideological strands, particularly in the southern and eastern provinces where the [Yemeni Socialist Party] ruled." (p. 36)

1580. Suwaidi, Jamal S. al-, ed. *The Yemeni War of 1994: Causes and Consequences*. London: Saqi Books, 1995. Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. ●● Papers from a conference held in Abu Dhabi a few months after the 1994 civil war, edited by the director of the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. Michael Hudson (Georgetown University) discusses the role of bipolarity in the leadership of the unified Yemen and the conflicting views of southern and northern leaders. Paul K. Dresch (Oxford University) rejects the idea of a tribal factor in the crisis but outlines the place of tribes and tribalism in Yemen's recent history. Charles F. Dunbar (former US ambassador to Yemen) postulates five possible scenarios for Yemen's future development (status quo, tribal resurgence, Islamic radicalism, southern separatism, or increased democracy). Robert D. Burrowes (University of Washington) considers the impact of the war on the Arab Gulf states and Mark Katz (George Mason University) looks at the role of external powers, those that sided with the north and those that sided with the south.

1581. Warburton, David. "The Conventional War in Yemen." *Arab Studies Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1995), pp. 20-44. ●● A detailed account of the 1994 Yemeni civil war by the resident director of the American Institute for Yemeni Studies in Sanaa. The author points out that "The primary goal of the Southern military defense was to win international political support. Northern political stalling tactics parried this threat, while their strategically well-placed forces gained ground and proved capable of adapting to an unexpected war of attrition." (pp. 42-43)

1582. Wyllie, James. "The Conflict in Yemen-Strategic Implications." *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 6, No. 8 (August 1994), pp. 366-373. ●● A senior lecturer in international relations at the University of Aberdeen reviews the role of regional involvement in the 1994 Yemeni civil war, in particular that of Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Abu Musa and the Tunb Islands Dispute between Iran and the United Arab Emirates

1583. Amirahmadi, Hooshang, ed. *Small Islands, Big Politics: The Tonbs and Abu Musa in Iranian Foreign Policy*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996. ●● A treatment of the dispute between Iran and the United Arab Emirates over ownership of three Gulf islands from an Iranian perspective. The editor (Rutgers University) places the dispute in the context of Gulf security, Iranian-Arab relations, and the United States' dual-containment" policy. Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh (University of London) reviews the history of the dispute over the last two centuries, Davoud H. Bavand (Imam Sadegh

University, Tehran) provides the legal basis of Iran's claim to Abu Musa Island, and Guive Mirfendereski (Tufts University) contributes a similar analysis of the Iranian claim to the two Tunb Islands.

1584. Caldwell, Dan. "Flashpoints in the Gulf: Abu Musa and the Tunb Islands." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March 1996), pp. 50-57. ●● A political scientist at Pepperdine University surveys the secondary sources touching on the islands dispute between Iran and the United Arab Emirates and contends that these islands "have served as indicators of Iranian policy and motivation for much of the twentieth century." (p. 57)

1585. Howeidy, F. "The Arab-Iranian Crisis Over the Three Gulf Islands." *JIME Review*, No. 19 (1992-1993), pp. 29-35.

1586. Mehr, Farhang. *A Colonial Legacy: The Dispute Over the Islands of Abu Musa and the Greater and Lesser Tumbs*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997. ●● A lengthy historical overview of Iran, the nomenclature of the Gulf, the origins of the Qawasim family of Sharjah and Ra's al-Khaymah, and the role of the British constitutes the first half of this book. The author then examines the record of published materials and British archives to assess the validity of conflicting Iranian and UAE claims to these islands, ending with the Iranian occupation of the islands in 1971.

1587. Mobley, Richard A. "The Tunbs and Abu Musa Islands: Britain's Perspective." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Autumn 2003), pp. 627-645. ●● A re-examination of Britain's attempts to reconcile Arab and Iranian claims to the islands in the period before British withdrawal from the Gulf in late 1971. The author, a former US naval officer and now an intelligence analyst with the US government, draws upon British archival materials to conclude that London strove energetically for a settlement but failed because of the issue of sovereignty. As a result of the Ruler of Ra's al-Khaymah's refusal to give up his claims to the two Tunbs, London "simply wrote them off." (p. 644) A temporary resolution regarding Abu Musa was more successful but only lasted until 1992 when Tehran forcibly asserted its control.

1588. Mojtahed-Zadeh, Pirouz. "The Issue of the UAE Claims to Tumbs and Abu Musa vis-à-vis Arab-Iranian Relationships in the Persian Gulf." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall 1996), pp. 601-626. ●● The author provides a historical review of events leading to the agreements over the three islands in 1971 and Iran's strengthening of control over Abu Musa in 1992 and concludes that (1) Iran holds sovereignty and that the UAE's claims in recent years are politically motivated.

1589. Roken, Mohamed Abdullah Al. "Historical and Legal Dimensions of the United Arab Emirates-Iran Dispute Over Three Islands." In Edmund Ghareeb and Ibrahim Al Abed, eds., *Perspectives on the United Arab Emirates* (London: Trident Press, 1997), pp. 139-159. ●● A lecturer in law at the University of the UAE outlines the history of the dispute over the islands of Abu Musa and the Greater and Lesser Tunbs and then provides a legal analysis of the conflicting claims to ownership and attempts at mediation. Since Iran has rejected referral to the International Court of Justice, he suggests that the only remaining avenue "is to submit the issue to the UN Security Council, which would pass a recommendation referring the dispute to the International Court of Justice, this being the appropriate channel for resolving it peacefully." (p. 155)

Boundaries and Other Disputes

1590. Badeeb, Saeed M. *The Saudi-Egyptian Conflict Over North Yemen, 1962-1970*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Washington, DC: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1986. ●● A deputy minister in the government of Saudi Arabia examines the triangular relationship between Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Yemen during the 1950s and 1960s and the Egyptian role in Yemen's 1962 revolution. He then turns his attention to the Saudi-Egyptian war by proxy in the subsequent Yemeni civil war and the eventually successful agreement between Riyadh and Cairo that led to their disengagement and an end to the war. A final chapter reviews Saudi-Yemeni relations following the war. He emphasizes that "the Yemeni dilemma could have been prevented if Egyptian military intervention had not materialized and Saudi assistance to the royalists had not taken place." (p. 110) But Egypt felt justified in acting because of its revolutionary image in the Arab world and Saudi Arabia found it necessary to become involved because of Yemen's importance to the security of the kingdom and the Arabian Peninsula as a whole.

1591. Hassan, Omar al-, et al. *The GCC Border Disputes Seminar: With Special Reference to Iraq and Kuwait*. London: Gulf Centre for Strategic Studies, 1992.

1592. Lefebvre, Jeffrey A. "Red Sea Security and the Geopolitical-Economy of the Hanish Islands Dispute." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Summer 1998), pp. 367-385. ●● An associate professor of political science at the University of Connecticut analyzes the dispute between Eritrea and Yemen over ownership of the Hanish Islands and external involvement, including French mediation in the dispute. The author maintains that "In order to avoid entanglement in the Saudi-Yemen dispute, and in order to remain

focused on more important US security commitments in the Persian Gulf, … Washington has looked to France to act as the primary guardian of the southern Red Sea and the Bab al-Mandab." (p. 385)

1593. Martin, Lenore G. "Policy Implications of Boundary Disputes in the Persian Gulf." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 15, Nos. 1-2 (1982-1983), pp. 25-32. A basic survey of the major border problems between the states of the Gulf, by a political scientist at Emmanuel College (Boston). She concludes that the US has five options for Gulf security: (1) an international peacekeeping force (which could protect the oil routes but would not decrease conflict on land); (2) the RDF (which is not yet up to strength and would take time to move in an emergency); (3) bilateral agreements (which are not stable and could be labeled imperialist); (4) regional alliances (but the states of the region are weak and short of manpower); and (5) a NATO-type alliance involving the conservative Gulf states, the US and other Western allies. Martin holds that the last option would require a long term commitment to building trust and coordination, but would increase Arab political stability, insure Western oil supplies, and stop Soviet aggression. See also her *The Unstable Gulf. Threats From Within* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath/Lexington Books, 1984). ¤

1594. Mojtahed-Zadeh, Pirouz. *Security and Territoriality in the Persian Gulf: A Maritime Political Geography* Richmond, UK: Curzon Press, 1999). ●● An examination of boundary disputes between the Arab states of the Gulf and between these states and Iran, including the issue of maritime boundaries. Several chapters discuss boundary relations between Qatar and Bahrain (although this book was published before the dispute was settled). But the main focus of the book is to justify Iranian claims to islands in the Strait of Hormuz and especially the islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs, hotly contested between Iran and the United Arab Emirates.

1595. Muir, Richard. "The Iraq-Kuwait Border Dispute." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 35, No. 2 (July 2004), pp. 147-161. ●● A retired British ambassador to Kuwait traces Iraqi-Kuwaiti relations back to the time of Ottoman-British rivalry in the area, including the border dispute and the development of Umm Qasr port on the Iraqi side of the border. He concludes that "a new port in Kuwaiti territory serving a potentially rich economic hinterland could be the key to permanent resolution of this old quarrel." (p. 160)

1596. Plaut, Martin. "A Clash for Control in the Shipping Lanes." *World Today*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (February 1996), pp. 46-47. ●● A BBC journalist examines the brief conflict between Eritrea and Yemen over the Hanish Islands in the

Red Sea and deduces that settlement of sovereignty over the islands will be no easy task.

1597. Schofield, Richard N. *Evolution of the Shatt al-'Arab Boundary Dispute*. Wisbech, England: Middle East & North African Studies Press, 1986. Menas Studies in Continuity & Change in the Middle East and North Africa. ●● A study of the dispute between Iran and Iraq over the Shatt al-'Arab as a case study in Middle Eastern international boundaries and international river boundaries. The author examines both the history of the dispute over the 19th and 20th centuries and the economic importance and utilization of the waterway. He observes that "It was ironic, however, that even before 1975 Iranian utilisation of her ports in the Shatt al-'Arab had started to decline, a migrations of port functions to the Gulf which was in the process of being echoed by Iraq, when hostilities started." (p. 86)

1598. _____, ed. *Territorial Foundations of the Gulf States*. London: University College of London Press, 1994. SOAS/GRC Geopolitics Series, No. 1. ●● Papers from a May 1991 conference and edited by the deputy director of Geopolitics and International Boundaries Research Centre at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. The opening contributions set the stage as George Joffé (School of Oriental and African Studies) examines concepts of sovereignty in the Gulf while John C. Wilkinson (Oxford University) summarizes Britain's role in drawing boundaries in the Arabian Peninsula. Julian Walker (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) looks at practical aspects of boundary delimitation in the United Arab Emirates, Maurice Mendelson and Susan Hulton (University College London) analyze Iraq's claim to sovereignty over Kuwait, and Schofield discusses the question of ownership of the Kuwaiti islands of Warbah and Bubiyan and Iraqi access to the Gulf. Rodman R. Bundy (Frere Cholmeley law firm) contributes a chapter on maritime delimitation in the Gulf while David Pike (Petroleum Argus newsletter) examines cross-border hydrocarbon reserves. Gerald Blake (University of Durham) looks at shared zones as a solution to problems of territorial sovereignty, Paul Stevens (University of Dundee) details oil exploration and development policies in the region, and Keith McLachlan (director of the Geopolitics and International Boundaries Research Centre) dissects the role of hydrocarbons in Iranian policies over island and continental shelf affairs.

1599. _____. "Mending Gulf Fences." *Middle East Insight* (March-April 1996), pp. 36-41. ●● The deputy director of the Geopolitics and International Boundaries Research Center at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies remarks on the great progress made in settling border disputes between the GCC states, filling the glass from

half-full to 9/10 full. However, he warns that the remaining problems - such as the Shatt al-'Arab, the Abu Musa and Tunb Islands, the Iraq-Kuwait boundary, and the Hawar Islands - "are those which have long threatened [the region's] stability." (p. 41)

1600. Steinbach, Udo. "Arab Policy Around the Horn of Africa." *Aussenpolitik*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1977), pp. 302-314. ●● The director of the Deutsches Orient-Institut looks at the increased importance of the Horn/Red Sea area following the Ethiopian revolution in 1974 and the reopening of the Suez Canal in 1975. He details the increased assistance that the Arab states have given to the Eritrean rebels, but asserts that the Arabs would not like to see an Eritrean victory. "For the Arabs, Ethiopia and that country's cooperation with Israel, as well as its future political orientation, are more important than Eritrea." ¤

1601. Tripp, Charles, and Shahram Chubin. "Domestic Politics and Territorial Disputes in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula." *Survival*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Winter 1993-1994), pp. 3-27. ●● Tripp, a senior lecturer at the University of London SOAS, and Chubin, a Geneva-based consultant on Middle Eastern affairs, chronicle the territory disputes in the region and note that "focusing on territorial issues may be the consequence of other concerns, but once territory has become a focus for dispute in the framework of the nation-state, it can create a dynamic of its own." (p. 24)

1602. Vox Militaris. "Armed Clash in the Red Sea - Yemen and Eritrea Fight Over Strategic Islands." *Army & Defence Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 126, No. 1 (January 1996), pp. 18-19.

Regional Responses to Security Issues

General

1603. Allen, Robert C. "Regional Security in the Persian Gulf." *Military Review*, (December 1983), pp. 2-11. ●● An army officer provides a superficial overview of the security questions leading to the creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council and the military capabilities of its members. Allen subscribes to the school of thought contending that "The Persian Gulf has historically been the scene of bloody conflicts and political upheaval, and the past four years have been no exception." ¤

1604. Amnesty International. *The Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula: Human Rights Fall Victim to the "War on Terror"*. New York, 2004, accessed online. ●● A report charging that the war on terror "has resulted in mass

arbitrary arrest, incommunicado detention, indefinite detention without charge or trial and without access to the judiciary to challenge the legality of detention. It has also facilitated the implementation with total disregard for international standards of bilateral and multilateral security agreements resulting in the *refoulement* and forcible return of people to countries where they faced great risk of being subjected to serious human rights violations. There have also been cases of people whose fate and whereabouts are unknown and apparent extra-judicial killings." (p. 25)

1605. Askari, Hossein. "Management of External Surplus in the Gulf Countries." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 7 (Winter 1983-1984), pp. 100-105. ●● The economies of the Gulf states are characterized by two overriding features: dependence on oil and the exhaustible nature of that resource. Therefore, the author asserts, economic management policies should strive to diversify sources of in come and save part of current revenues to develop a sustainable income. One avenue that these states have taken has been the accumulation of foreign assets. However, Askari notes that these largely have been short-term financial assets, and argues that more long-term, diversified assets should be acquired and that there should be greater cooperation among the Gulf states in this regard. ¤

1606. Danziger, Raphael. "The Naval Race in the Persian Gulf." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 108, No. 3 (March 1982), pp. 92-98. ●● A survey of Iran and Iraq's naval expansion in recent years, with some additional coverage of Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf states. The author, a former professor, regards Western "reliance on local allies in the Gulf region [as] nothing more than a stopgap policy" and suggests that long-term oil security can be assured only if the US can respond rapidly and effectively to any threat in the Gulf. ¤

1607. Jabber, Paul. "Oil, Arms, and Regional Diplomacy: Strategic Dimensions of the Saudi-Egyptian Relationship." In Malcolm H. Kerr and El Sayed Yassin, eds., *Rich and Poor States in the Middle East: Egypt and the New Arab Order* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1982), pp. 415-447. ●● A former professor of political science at UCLA looks at the origins and evolution of the "special relationship" between Cairo and Riyadh, particularly in the political and military spheres, and its interruption by Sadat's pursuit of peace with Israel. Jabber concludes that "The special Saudi-Egyptian relationship forged in the 1970s was supported by strong common interests of enduring substance. Because of its strategic centrality to how ruling groups in both countries perceive the threats and opportunities that lie ahead, the Cairo-Riyadh axis will … probably reemerge in the 1980s as a balance wheel of the inter-Arab

regional system." ¤

1608. Mani, Saleh al-. "Gulf Security and Relations with Our Neighbors." *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 1996), pp. 295-301.

1609. Mustafa, Zubeida. "Pakistan and the Middle East." *Pacific Community* (Tokyo), Vol. 7, No. 4 (July 1976), pp. 608-620. ●● A Pakistani writer notes that Pakistan's relationship with the Middle East has never been so important as it is today, and that its foreign policy toward the Middle East remains largely independent of its relations with the superpowers. After a discussion of Pakistan's relations with Iran and the Arab world, Mustafa concludes that after 1972 Pakistan changed its orientation to the Middle East and virtually ceased to be a South Asian country. Now, he contends, preservation of Pakistan's national integrity is of crucial importance to countries of the Middle East. ¤

1610. Nye, Roger P. "Political and Economic Integration in the Arab States of the Gulf." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Fall 1978), pp. 3-21. ●● The author, director of political research at Atlantic Richfield, assesses the efforts of the Arab Gulf states toward political and economic cooperation. He points out some steps that have taken place already, such as discussions on a common currency, the Gulf International Bank, Gulf Air, and the Arab Investment Company. Among the factors supporting future efforts, Nye sees the attitude of the Saudi leadership, the commitment of Gulf elites to integration, the continued viability of OPEC, and a sense of Arab destiny. At the same time, he notes several hindering factors, such as nationalism, manpower problems, the fragility of traditional régimes, and tribalism. On balance, though, Nye expects political and economic integration to proceed in the Gulf. ¤

1611. Peterson, J.E. "The Arab Response to the Iranian Challenge in the Gulf." In Philip H. Stoddard, ed., *The Middle East in the 1980s: Problems and Prospects* (Washington, DC: Middle East Institute, 1983), pp. 153-164. ●● This article notes at the beginning that "One principal effect of the sequence of the Iranian revolution, the emergence of an aggressive and combative Islamic Republic of Iran, and the continuing hostilities of the Iran-Iraq war has been a growing Arab fear of entrapment between the twin dangers of Israel on the west and Iran on the east." The response of the Arab Gulf monarchies to this new threat on the east has been to remain out of the direct line of fire as much as possible. The impact of the Iran-Iraq war on the Arab world is assessed, and the creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council as a response to it is analyzed. ¤

1612. Tahir-Kheli, Shirin, and William O. Staudenmaier. "The Saudi-Pakistani Military Relationship: Implications for U.S. Policy." *Orbis*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 155-171. ●● Tahir-Kheli and Staudenmaier, associated with Temple University and the US Army War College, respectively, at the time of writing, speculate on the nature of military collaboration between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. They point out that Pakistan benefits from Saudi patronage and may gain access to US military technology. In addition, notice is served on India and the USSR that Pakistan has a powerful friend. As far as the US is concerned, the authors feel that stationing Pakistani troops in Saudi Arabia could be less provocative than deploying US forces there. "The combination of Saudi wealth, Pakistani military power and U. S. military technology can serve the national interests of all three nations…."¤

1613. Whetten, Lawrence. "Security and South-West Asia: Security Implications of Recent Political Changes." *The Round Table*, No. 273 (January 1979), pp. 31-40. ●● The author, Director of the German Graduate Program in International Relations of the University of Southern California, notes that simultaneous domestic difficulties may weaken an emerging collaboration between India, Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan. Whetten notes that if the influence of the superpowers is to be frozen in the area, regional cooperation must be reactivated and he urges the reinstatement of nonalignment. The Iranian revolution in early 1979 and the Soviet entry into Afghanistan in late 1980 have played havoc with the article's suggestions. ¤

1614. Yorke, Valerie. "Growing Insecurity in the Gulf." *Middle East Annual Review 1982*, pp. 15-23. ●● A researcher at the International Institute for Strategic Studies examines events in the Gulf during the period 1979-1981 and finds that "A growing sense of insecurity combined with sharp disagreements with the West both on the Palestinian question and on a range of economic issues have compelled Gulf rulers to adopt less blatantly pro-Western policies." ¤

Foreign Policies of the GCC States and the Yemens

1615. Ahrari, M.E. "Rational Foreign Policy Behaviour of a Weak State: The Case of Kuwait." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 47, No 1 (May 1993), pp. 131-148. ●● A professor at the US Air War College surveys the history of Kuwaiti foreign policy from 1756 through the 1980s and observes that Kuwait has always been a foreign-policy maverick in the Gulf because it is a "weak" state. He argues Kuwait has succeeded in its strategy because "most decisions (especially involving foreign policy) are made on the basis of discrete - and almost secret - discourse within the ruling elite. When the decision-making apparatus is so close and decisional

process is so exclusive, it is considerably easier to bring about swift (or even abrupt) policy changes than in a democratic society…." (p. 147)

1616. Al Bu Said, Badr Bin Hamad. "Small States' Diplomacy in the Age of Globalization: An Omani Perspective." *Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December 2003), pp. 352-357. ●● Based on a speech to the Royal Institute for International Affairs (Brussels) by an under-secretary in the Omani Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who discusses the potential contributions of small states to international relations using the example of Oman.

1617. Alkim, Hassan Hamdan al-. *The Foreign Policy of the United Arab Emirates*. London: Al Saqi, 1989. ●● An analysis of the UAE's foreign policy and its roots by a professor of political science at the UAE University. After an explanation of the country's historical background, the author devotes attention to the key elements of foreign policy-making, including political and social structures, political aggregation, the external milieu, and the decision-making apparatus. The heart of the book lies in the three case studies it examines in detail over the same period of 1971 to 1983: UAE-Saudi Arabian relations, UAE-Iranian relations, and the UAE's commitment to the Palestinian question. He finds that "political fragmentation inherited from the past, coupled with military weaknesses and economic dependence and the fact that there is a large immigrant population, make the UAE subject to regional and superpower pressures." (p. 209)

1618. _____. *GCC States in an Unstable World: Foreign-Policy Dilemmas of Small States*. London: Al Saqi, 1994. ●● A professor of political science at the UAE University analyzes the foreign policy of the GCC members through two prisms. The first is concerned with how Islam and historical experience, domestic political and social dynamics, geographical and economic factors, and GCC harmony and conflict have shaped foreign policy. Subsequent chapters focus on the regional context and the GCC and Gulf security in "the new world order." The author's final chapter looks at who makes foreign-policy decisions, including political élites, the technocrats, the bureaucracy, the news media, and the rising middle class. He notes that "These countries are faced with three compelling issues: coordination of foreign policies, regional security and domestic political unrest. However, their options seem to be limited." (p. 161) He recommends that GCC states take more steps to coordinate their collective foreign policy; that they adopt a regional security arrangement based on the three concentric Gulf, Arab, and international circles; and that the GCC members engage in greater political participation.

1619. Assiri, Abdul-Reda. *Kuwait's Foreign Policy: City-State in World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990. Westview Special Studies on the Middle East. ●● A professor of political science at Kuwait University divides the state's foreign policy into four periods. Self-defense and survival marked the first years of independence (1961-1963), a time of the Kuwait-Iraq crisis and the foundations of "dinar diplomacy" foreign aid. The second period was one of pragmatism and balance (1963-1979), marked by themes of foreign aid, mediation, support for the Palestinian cause, and more tensions with Iraq. Next came a phase of ambivalence and tilting (1979-1986) provoked by the Iranian Revolution and Kuwait support for Iraq during the subsequent Iran-Iraq War. The final period was one of anxiety and uncertainty (1987-1989), involving the reflagging of Kuwaiti oil tankers and the eventual termination of the Iran-Iraq War. The author ends with the observation that "Kuwait's external behavior is linked to its financial power and internal stability [but] Currently, its oil revenue is decreasing, its budget is in deficit, and it faces some complicated regional and domestic problems. … One would hope that Kuwait moves toward a more rational spending pattern, works diligently toward national consensus and participation, avoids regional entanglements, and assumes a role proportional to its size and power matrices…." (p. 138)

1620. _____. "Kuwait's Dinar Diplomacy: The Role of Donor-Mediator." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1991), pp. 24-32. ●● A study of the financial dimension of Kuwaiti foreign policy by a Kuwaiti serving as a faculty member at the University of the UAE at the time of publication. The author surveys the history of Kuwaiti aid-giving and notes Kuwaiti successes in the arena of political mediation. He concludes that "Kuwait employed its dinar diplomacy to achieve its foreign policy goals. Kuwaiti support for regional economic development also reflected a moral aspect." (p. 32)

1621. Bashir, Abdulaziz, and Stephen Wright. "Saudi Arabia: Foreign Policy After the Gulf War." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1992), pp. 107-116. ●● The authors examine the traditional objectives of Saudi foreign policy (security, Islamic solidarity, and pan-Arabism) in light of such developments as the Kuwait War, the demise of the Soviet Union, and changes in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

1622. Bilveer, S. "Kuwait and the Vulnerabilities of Small States." *Asian Defence Journal*, February 1991, pp. 4-7. ●● Building from the assumption that small states have limited capability in looking after their own security, the author looks at Kuwait's vulnerability vis-à-vis its larger neighbor of Iraq and avows that while Kuwait "enjoyed economic security in terms of

wealth, it failed, however, to undertake policies which could have protected the country physically and, hence, safeguard its wealth." (p. 7)

1623. Dietl, Gulshan. "Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia: Internal and External Contexts." *India Quarterly*, Vol. 41, Nos. 3-4 (July-December 1985), pp. 363-375. ●● A survey of the kingdom's foreign relations by an associate professor of Gulf studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University. She concludes that Riyadh's special relationship with the US "leaves much to be desired as far as the Saudi regime's survival is concerned." (p. 374)

1624. Eilts, Hermann Frederick. "Saudi Arabian Foreign Policy Toward the Gulf States and Southwest Asia." In Hafeez Malik, ed., *International Security in Southwest Asia* (New York: Praeger, 1984), pp. 77-106. ●● A comprehensive survey of Saudi attitudes with regard to its smaller Gulf neighbors - Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, the UAE - as well as the GCC, Pakistan and India. The author sees Saudi problems with the GCC but feels it is important to the kingdom and "Saudi participation will be a major factor in its success or otherwise." (p. 100) Saudi relations with the Pakistan are probably the closest of all non-Arab governments in the region and "Saudi-Indian relations are today best described as correct, but hardly cordial. They are likely to remain that way." (p. 106)

1625. Fraser, C. "In Defense of Allah's Realm: Religion and Statecraft in Saudi Foreign Policy Strategy." In S. Rudolf and J. Piscatori, eds., *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).

1626. Ghori, Karamatullah Khan. "Kuwait and the Geopolitical Realities in the Gulf." *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 46, Nos. 3-4 (July-October 1993), pp. 27-35. ●● The Pakistani ambassador to Kuwait review the international relations of the Gulf, past and present, and sees that "until the day a new dispensation is worked out for Iraq and the Iranian revolution is consolidated, the geopolitical equilibrium will continue to defy the area." (p. 35)

1627. Guazzone, Laura. "Kuwait's National Security Policy and Its Influence on the Gulf Region." *International Spectator*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April-June 1989), pp. 63-71. ●● A researcher with the Instituto Affari Internazionali in Rome provides a historical sketch of Kuwait before describing its situation during the Iran-Iraq War and concluding that diplomacy is the small state's best defense. She contends that "Kuwait's national security policy, based on qualified non-alignment, regional cooperation, foreign policy ingenuity and relative domestic democracy, has successfully passed its most serious test…." (p. 71)

1628. Halliday, Fred. *Revolution and Foreign Policy: The Case of South Yemen 1967-1987*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Cambridge Middle East Library, No. 21. ●● A thorough study of the intertwining of South Yemen's revolutionary ideology and its activist foreign policy by a professor of international relations at the London School of Economics, based in part on the author's interviews with leading South Yemeni politicians. He focuses on foreign policy during the turbulence of the country's first decade of independence and then through the internecine fighting in Aden in January 1986. Principal goals of South Yemeni foreign policy have been Yemeni unity, "solidarity" with revolutionary movements in Oman, Saudi Arabia, the smaller Gulf states, and elsewhere in the region, and a search for accommodating allies in the Marxist world, particularly the Soviet Union and China. He concludes that "the PDRY was able to offset its failure to back successful revolution against recognition and acceptance by the other states in the region…" but also remarks that "survival was not itself, however, a necessarily enduring achievement, since internal pressures and conflicts, enhanced by external factors, led to a series of bloody intra-régime crises." (p. 232)

1629. Harrop, William Scott. "New Frontiers in Oman's Foreign Policy." *Silk Road: A Journal of West Asian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1997), pp. 26-35.

1630. Kechichian, Joseph A. *Oman and the World: The Emergence of an Independent Foreign Policy*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1995. ●● A comprehensive look at Oman's foreign policy, with chapters on the neighboring Arabian Peninsula and Gulf countries, the West, Russia and Central Asia, the Far East, South Asia, and Africa. The author, a political scientist at the RAND Corporation, judges that "Oman has become a key country in Middle Eastern and global diplomacy [because of] its geography, the strategic considerations of Western powers, and more important, its government's unrelenting pursuit of an independent foreign policy." (p. 257) Extensive appendices reproduce a number of treaties and other documents. An earlier and shorter version of the subject was published as "Oman and the World," *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 35 (Winter 1990-1991), pp. 135-150.

1631. Nonneman, Gerd. *Iran, the Gulf States & the War: A Changing Relationship, 1980-1986 and Beyond*. London: Ithaca Press, 1986. Exeter Middle East Politics Series, No. 1. ●● Derived from the author's MA thesis at Exeter University, the study outlines the foreign policy of Iraq and the GCC states before embarking on a detailed chronological narrative of their relationship during the course of the Iran-Iraq War. Emphasis is on political

relations but the author also discusses GCC financial aid to Iraq, oil swaps, and other relations. He believes that "The Gulf states, then, intent on preserving their domestic security, will try to maintain friendly relations with both Iraq and Iran, while at the same time remaining aloof from too strong an involvement with either." (p. 136) This will not prevent structural links between Iraq and the GCC from developing but Iraq will not be admitted to the GCC.

1632. Okruhlik, Gwenn. "Saudi Arabian-Iranian Relations: External Rapprochement and Internal Consolidation." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 113-125. ●● A visiting scholar at the University of Texas at Austin and a Fulbright research scholar at the King Faisal Foundation in Riyadh examines the reasons behind the steadily improving relations between Riyadh and Tehran since 1991. She holds that factors for this included common interests in oil and Islam, domestic circumstances, regional conflicts, and disillusionment with the United States. As a consequence, she advises that "For too long, U.S. policy has focused on the military dimension. A more creative and innovative approach would recognize societies as well as states in the region. … Indeed, the United States needs to encourage and reward reformists in both Iran and Saudi Arabia." (p. 124)

1633. "Oman: A Unique Foreign Policy Produces a Key Player in Middle Eastern and Global Diplomacy." Santa Monica, Calif: RAND Corporation, 1995. 3pp. Rand Research Brief, RB-2501.

1634. Rugh, William A. *Diplomacy and Defense Policy of the United Arab Emirates*. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2002. Emirates Lecture Series, No. 38.

1635. _____. "The Foreign Policy of the United Arab Emirates." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Winter 1996), pp. 57-70. ●● The president of America-Mideast Education and Training Services (AMIDEAST) looks at the security threat that Iran poses to the UAE and the problem of the three disputed Gulf islands (he sees Iran as being the UAE's major problem for many years), at the UAE's relations with Iraq after the Kuwait War (no change in relations with Iraq is foreseen until the demise of Saddam Husayn's régime), at the impact of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and at the Emirates' relations with the GCC, the Arab world, and the US. He believes that "the UAE will seek to reinforce cooperative security arrangements with Western countries as insurance against future crises, but it will not allow foreign bases on its territory or otherwise allow its sovereignty to be compromised." (p. 70) See also his "UAE Foreign Policy" in Edmund

Ghareeb and Ibrahim Al Abed, eds., *Perspectives on the United Arab Emirates* (London: Trident Press, 1997), pp. 159-175.

1636. Sajedi, Amir. "Iran's Relations with Saudi Arabia." *India Quarterly*, Vol. 49, Nos. 1-2 (January-June 1993), pp. 75-96. ●● An international relations scholar outlines relations between the two countries throughout the 20th century, including the post-Kuwait-War period.

1637. Sayegh, Fatma al-. "The UAE and Oman: Opportunities and Challenges in the Twenty-first Century." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (September 2002), pp. 124-137. ●● An associate professor of history at the University of the United Arab Emirates traces relations between Oman and the UAE (known as the Trucial States before 1971), concentrating first on the three-way dispute at al-Buraymi in the 1950s between Oman, Abu Dhabi, and Saudi Arabia. She continues by dealing with the Oman-UAE border flare-up in the late 1970s and finishes with the border treaty of 1999. In the end, the author concludes, "both Oman and the UAE placed their mutual welfare ahead of political rivalry." (p. 136)

1638. Teitelbaum, Joshua. "The Gulf States and the End of Dual Containment." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (September 1998), distributed electronically. ●● A research fellow at Tel Aviv University traces the improvement in Saudi-Iranian relations along with some remarks concerning the softening policy of other GCC states toward the Islamic Republic and Iraq. He concludes that "While during the cold war the U.S. was able to count on fear of Soviet aggression to force the Gulf states to follow much of Washington's regional agenda, it appears that in a unipolar system the leverage of the U.S. has weakened."

The Impact of British Withdrawal

1639. Abadi, Jacob. "Britain's Abandonment of South Arabia: A Reassessment." *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1995), pp. 152-180.

1640. Balfour-Paul, Glen. *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in Her Last Three Arab Dependencies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. ●● An examination of Britain's withdrawal from its last three dependencies in the Middle East: Sudan (1955), Aden (1967), and the Gulf states (1971), written by a retired British diplomat experienced in the countries he chronicles. He sums up the subject by commenting that "Withdrawal from the Sudan was dictated initially buy the private requirements of Britain's policy towards Egypt.

Withdrawal from South West Arabia was forced upon Britain by a crescendo of much more public pressures. Withdrawal from the Gulf was determined less by political hustling … than by Treasury calculations and a fading of the imperial will in Westminster." (p. 6)

1641. Burrell, R.M. *The Persian Gulf*. New York: Library Press, for the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1972. Washington Papers, No. 1. ●● An early look at the Gulf in the aftermath of British withdrawal, written by a historian at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. Iran's predominant role in the Gulf is discussed in one chapter. The United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, and Oman are covered, as well as the three Arab states of the northern Gulf, Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. Burrell writes that "In many ways the British military withdrawal has opened a new era in the history of the Persian Gulf-one in which local instabilities will take on a new importance as oil wealth continues to increase and external powers become more involved in the area." ¤

1642. *The Gulf: Implications for British Withdrawal*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University, Center for Strategic and International Studies, February 1969. Special Report Series, No. 8. ●● The report of a panel sponsored by Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, published one year after the announcement of Britain's intent to withdraw from the Gulf. Members of the panel included: Bernard Lewis (chairman), Albert Hourani, J.C. Hurewitz, Charles P. Issawi, Walter Laqueur, William Luce, Ian Michie, James Moulton, Hisham Sharabi, J.F. Standish, Thomas R. Stauffer, W.F.K. Thompson, P.J. Vatikiotis, David M. Abshire, and Alvin J. Cottrell. The panel found that "The change of British policy from one of flexible withdrawal in the 1970s to a public declaration of withdrawal and termination of responsibilities in 1971 has increased the danger of instability in the Gulf region…." It also recommended that Britain should maintain staging rights in the region and provide Aall possible assistance" in the equipping and training of local military forces. Furthermore, to dissuade Soviet interpretation of British withdrawal as a sign of disinterest, British and American naval visits to Gulf ports should be encouraged. ¤

1643. Holden, David. "The Persian Gulf: After the British Raj." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (July 1971), pp. 721-735. ●● Writing a few months before the British withdrawal from the Gulf, the author notes that "the purpose of the British withdrawal is clear: to disengage, as far as possible, from the military and political commitments which have become increasingly untenable." Holden contends that Britain left the Gulf on the brink of a

period of great upheaval, yet it left at the insistence of all the major powers of the Gulf. Although no power readily filled the resultant vacuum and local security arrangements were ineffective, Holden points out that the best safeguard against disorder is oil and the need to maintain good relations with oil purchasers. ¤

1644. Monroe, Elizabeth, rapporteuse. *The Changing Balance of Power in the Persian Gulf: The Report of an International Seminar at the International Center for Mediterranean Studies*. Rome, June 26th to July 1st, 1972. Sir Denis Wright, Chairman. New York: American Universities Field Staff, 1972. ●● This seminar sets as its task a search for ways in which the commonality of interests between oil producers and oil consumers could be recognized. In part, this involved examination of the points of contention between the Gulf states following British withdrawal and an assessment of whether these states would withstand the strains of the 1970s. The report also details the process of oil-induced modernization in the Gulf, and surveys Soviet and Chinese relations with the Gulf states, as well as Western ties. The findings of the seminar were summarized by a prominent historian of the Middle East then at Oxford University. ¤

1645. Saud, Faisal bin Salman al-. *Iran, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf: Power Politics in Transition 1968-1971*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004. ●● Originally a Ph.D. thesis, this work by a member of the Saudi Arabian ruling family looks at the emergence of "local politics" in the Gulf as Britain prepared to withdraw from the Gulf and the United States was too preoccupied elsewhere to take an active role. He sees Iran as seeking to adopt Britain's *realpolitik* approach to the Gulf with a single state maintaining regional order. "In the final analysis, the Pax Britannica gave way to a Pax Iranica." (p. 129)

1646. Sullivan, Robert R. "The Architecture of Western Security in the Persian Gulf." *Orbis*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring 1970), pp. 71-91. ●● The author, Associate Professor of Political Science at the City University of New York at the time of publication, argues that the British decision to withdraw from the Gulf should be rectified by the US. Following the British announcement, Sullivan asserts that the Gulf states began jockeying to assure their security interests, thus allowing the Soviets to intensify their diplomatic efforts in the region. "Stability of sorts has returned, temporarily at least, but it now depends upon a continued balancing of regional power rather than on the firm policing of the British." Sullivan concludes that if Anglo-American cooperation to police the Gulf is not possible, then the US should step into the vacuum left by the British. ¤

The Gulf Cooperation Council

1647. Abdulla, Abdul Khaleq. "The Gulf Cooperation Council: Nature, Origin, and Process." In Michael C. Hudson, ed. *Middle East Dilemma: The Politics and Economics of Arab Integration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 150-170. ●● An associate professor of political science at the University of the United Arab Emirates reviews the background to the GCC and evaluates its progress over its two decades of existence. He notes that "the GCC is entering a critical stage of uncertainty. … It is desperately searching for a common denominator beyond the external threat that gave birth toe the GCC…." (p. 151) Although the organization has produced accomplishments and still stands united, the author points out the diversities and differences and says "They have existed all along but are now becoming more potent as disintegrative factors. They explain why integration has not been forthcoming and why cooperation has been and probably will remain bumpy." (p. 168)

1648. Anthony, John Duke. "The Gulf Cooperation Council." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Summer 1982), pp. 3-18. The author, a fellow at the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute at the time of publication, provides a succinct background to the impetus for the creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and its organization. He then discusses the central concerns and themes of the GCC in terms of security, economic and social functionalism, Islam, Arabism and regionalism. He notes that the six members exhibit long-established patterns of cooperation and discusses the validity of questions of their stability, as well as American policies toward the GCC states. ¤

1649. _____. "The Gulf Co-operation Council." *International Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Spring 1986), pp. 383-401. ●● Another examination of the GCC by the president of the National Council on US-Arab Relations. The author assesses the accomplishments of the organization and sees a favorable outlook for the GCC and its member states in maintaining local security. "A wider Western recognition of this reality, and appropriate responses of support would greatly enhance its chances of success…." (p. 401)

1650. _____. "The GCC, Iran, and Iraq: Gulf States Deal with Twin Threats to Security." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (January-February 1996), pp. 34-36.

1651. _____. "Report from the Sixteenth GCC Heads-of-State Summit." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1996). ●● The summit was notable for the absence of King Fahd for health reasons and Qatar's decision

not to participate. The author notes the importance of border settlements, developments regarding defense and security, the GCC's views on Iraq, Iran, and the Arab-Israeli peace process, and the pressing need to deal with the problems of employment and youth.

1652. _____. "Consultation and Consensus in Kuwait: The 18th GCC Summit." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1998), pp. 137-156. ●● The president of the National Council on US-Arab Relations reports that the December 1997 summit highlighted economic issues more than previous ones. In addition to discussion of security issues, the leaders agreed to establish a Consultative Council for the entire GCC.

1653. _____. "Iran in GCC Dynamics." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1993), pp. 107-120. ●● The president of the National Council on US-Arab Relations addresses the GCC's perspective on relations with Iran. He notes that interest on oil issues is mixed, many in the GCC consider Iran as the most pervasive threat to the GCC, that the two sides differ on the basis for Gulf security, that Iran feels that the GCC states control too much of the oil wealth of the Gulf, that Iran resents GCC support for Baghdad during the Iran-Iraq War, that the two sides differ in their views on resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and that they have opposing objectives towards Lebanon.

1654. _____. "AGCC Heads of State Summits: Context and Perspective," "The Gulf Cooperation Council: Constraints," "The Gulf Cooperation Council: Strengths [Parts I and II]," *GulfWire Perspectives* (January and February 2004), distributed electronically.

1655. Baabood, Abdulla. "Dynamics and Determinants of the GCC States' Foreign Policy, with Special Reference to the EU." *Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December 2003), pp. 254-282. ●● The author notes that "Since the emergence of the US as the main superpower, the Gulf states - both before and since the formation of the GCC - appear to have continued with [a strategy of seeking protection from a powerful external ally while cultivating relations with other powers], including in particular the cultivation of political, security, and economic relations with European states." (p. 277)

1656. Beseisu, Fouad Hamdi. "Sub-regional Economic Cooperation in the Arab Gulf." *Arab Gulf Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1981), pp. 45-54. The author, a researcher at the University of Durham, contends that the economic planning of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) builds on recent Arab thought regarding movement toward Arab economic integration. In

addition, he lists a number of instances in which economic cooperation between the six states of the GCC has been present since 1970. These include bilateral and some multilateral agreements on the transit of goods and joint economic cooperation, as well as ministerial meetings on regional trade, industrial cooperation and development planning. ¤

1657. Bishara, Abdulla Yacoub. "The GCC: Achievements and Challenges." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 7 (Winter 1983-1984), pp. 40-44. ●● Based on a conference address, the Secretary-General of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) outlines the reasons for the establishment of the GCC and its goals. He acknowledges that problems exist in trying to coordinate the national interests of all six members and that the Council's priorities are often difficult to define. It will take time for the GCC to become a success, he notes, but a beginning has been made. With an eye to his American audience, Bishara affirms that self-reliance is most important and that the GCC seeks to ensure that the Gulf is free from superpower rivalry. At the same time, he contends that it is impossible to separate the security of the Gulf from the question of Palestine and he urges the US to help solve this problem. ¤

1658. _____. *The Gulf Cooperation Council: Its Nature and Outlook*. Washington, DC: National Council on US-Arab Relations, 1986. Gulf Cooperation Council Reports Series, No. 1.

1659. Dietl, Gulshan. *Through Two Wars and Beyond: A Study of the Gulf Cooperation Council*. New Delhi: Lancers Books, 1991.

1660. Guazzone, Laura. "Gulf Co-operation Council: The Security Policies." *Survival*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (March-April 1988), pp. 134-148. ●● A SSRC-MacArthur Foundation fellow surveys the formation of the GCC and the security threats it faces, both internal and external. She concludes that "while the GCC represents only one component of a security scheme able to guarantee stability in the Gulf region, it is the only one in place. Therefore, the international community and particularly the West have a clear interest in its survival and development." (p. 147)

1661. Hamad, Turki al-. "Imperfect Alliances: Will the Gulf Monarchies Work Together?" *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (March 1997), pp. 47-54. Reprinted electronically in *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, No. 2 (1997), distributed electronically. ●● A former professor at King Saud University looks at the background to the formation of the GCC, the continuing differences between its member states, and their differing viewpoints on external threat perceptions. He argues that "The most

important step toward solving the GCC's internal troubles - and also toward deterring its external threats - lies in transforming it into a politically unified federal state." (p. 54) He also advocates membership for Yemen and a collective GCC agreement that accepts current boundaries.

1662. Ispahani, Mahnaz Zebra. "Alone Together: Regional Security Arrangements in Southern Africa and the Arabian Gulf." *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Spring 1984), pp. 152-175. ●● A doctoral candidate at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy compares the security arrangements of the Gulf Corporation Council to those of Africa's Organization of Front Line States. Points of comparison include sources of threats, similarities and differences between cooperating régimes, the effects of dependence on regional cooperation, and the inescapable role of outside powers in either contributing to or lessening threats to these arrangements. In her opinion, such regional security arrangements remain "halfway houses on the road to security cooperation, dependent on the interest and support of outside powers, and absorbed, first and foremost, by their own political and economic instabilities." ¤

1663. Haj, Abdullah Juma Al-. "A Gulf Citizen's Viewpoint of the Gulf Cooperation Council: A Critique." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Summer 1999), pp. 49-72. ●● The author, associate professor of political science at the UAE University, provides an overview to the formation of the GCC and analyzes its security dilemmas, including internal instability and external threats. He sees as two of the GCC's most formidable problems "the confusion within its constituents between national and regional interests" (p. 71) and its security role.

1664. Joffé, George. "The GCC Comes of Age." *Arab Affairs*, No. 9 (1989), pp. 28-40.

1665. Kechichian, Joseph A. "The Gulf Cooperation Council: Search for Security." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (October 1985), pp. 853-881. ●● A faculty member at the College of William and Mary outlines the GCC's regional security aspects, joint defense preparations, and the prospects for political and economic integration and further expansion. He concludes that continued success depends first on its member states' capacity to meet the challenges posed by Iran and Iraq and second on the ability to integrate military capabilities and reduce reliance on foreign military technicians and advisers.

1666. _____. "The GCC and the West." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 29 (Summer 1989), pp. 20-31. ●● A study of the differences between GCC and

Western policies with regard to four principal issues: oil, the regional role of the Soviet Union, relations with revolutionary Iran, and regional security issues. Kechichian maintains that "GCC states cannot accomplish all of their objectives unless they maintain their political and strategic independence from the West" (p. 29) and calls for the GCC-Western relationship to move beyond military alliances to the establishment of political relations with the regional body.

1667. _____. "The Gulf Cooperation Council: Containing the Iranian Revolution." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1-2 (Fall/Winter 1989), pp. 146-163. ●● Kechichian notes that throughout the 1980s, the GCC states regarded Iran as a destabilizing force in the Gulf because of its attempts to export its revolution. The article, written while the author was a fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution, details Iran's politics towards Bahrain, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. In his view, the GCC countered these activities by demonstrating their determination to resist any armed attack, by dealing with legitimate domestic grievances and acting against saboteurs, and by close military cooperation with the West.

1668. Koury, Enver M. "The Impact of the Geopolitical Situation of Iraq Upon the Gulf Cooperation Council." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (January-February 1983), pp. 28-35. ●● The author, a recently deceased professor at the University of Maryland, argues that Iraqi membership is a necessity for the future existence of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Such a move would produce bipolar hegemony within the Council (between Saudi Arabia and Iraq) and help to balance Iran's regional strength. ¤

1669. Kuwaiz, Abdullah El-. "The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Concept of Economic Integration." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 7 (Winter 1983-1984), pp. 45-49. ●● The Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Affairs of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) discusses prospects for economic integration among the GCC members. He points out that integration will produce economies of scale and allow diversification of sources of income, which in turn will increase the absorptive capacity of the GCC states. He contends that the similarity of these six countries and the rapid development of their infrastructures will facilitate the integration process. ¤

1670. Lawrence, Robert G. "Arab Perceptions of U.S. Security Policy in Southwest Asia." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 5 (1983), pp. 27-38. ●● The author, a senior research fellow at the National Defense University, points out that "strategic consensus" never had a chance of acceptance in the Arab world where alliance with one of the superpowers is viewed as a step sure to

initiate superpower competition in the region. The Arab states, according to Lawrence, view themselves as beleaguered countries surrounded by hostile forces and lacking sufficient guarantees of protection from their Western friends. Lawrence points out that the US needs Arab cooperation as much as the Arabs need American cooperation. The Arabs privately realize they are dependent on the US as the ultimate guarantor of their security, but believe existing military preparations are adequate to respond to the internal and regional threats perceived as most dangerous. They are keen to cooperate with the US in the modernization of regional armed forces but are reluctant to face the political and media barrage questioning their worthiness. On the US part, the author counsels cultivation of a "silent partnership" with the Gulf Cooperation Council in an advisory role and the pursuit of a foreign policy approach based on common interests. ¤

1671. Lawson, Fred. "Theories of Integration in a New Context: The Gulf Cooperation Council." In Kenneth P. Thomas and Mary Ann Tétreault, eds., *Racing to Regionalize: Democracy, Capitalism, and Regional Political Economy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999).

1672. Legrenzi, Matteo. "The Long Road Ahead: Economic Integration in the Gulf States." *Cooperation South* (2003), pp. 33-45. ●● A Ph.D. candidate at St. Antony's College, Oxford, forecasts considerable difficulty ahead in further economic integration, although he acknowledges accomplishments in civic organization outside governments and a trend towards increased specialization in trade.

1673. Magnus, Ralph H. "The GCC and Security: The Enemy Without and the Enemy Within." *Journal of Middle Eastern and South Asian Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1997), pp. 72-94. ●● A review of the background to the GCC and the characteristics of its member states by a faculty member at the US Naval Postgraduate School. He also discusses the "twin pillar" policy and the impact of the Iranian revolution and Iran-Iraq War in the GCC. In the aftermath of the Kuwait War, Magnus notes that "the security of the GCC states confronts both greater political and a potentially greater military threats than before…. Even more fundamental to the security of the GCC states is their ability to respond to growing demands for internal political change." (p. 93)

1674. Mainuddin, Rolin G., Joseph R. Aicher, Jr., and Jeffrey M. Elliot. "From Alliance to Collective Security: Rethinking the GCC." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March 1996), pp. 39-49. ●● The authors (all at North Carolina Central University) argue that to be a viable collective-security organization, it must extend its membership to other key regional actors,

including Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Israel.

1675. Nakhleh, Emile A. *The Gulf Cooperation Council: Policies, Problems and Prospects*. New York: Praeger, 1986. ●● A professor of political science at Mt. Saint Mary's College in Maryland looks at the formation of the GCC and perceptions of the organization's utility from around the Gulf. In particular, he draws a distinction between official views of the GCC and "reformist" views as expressed by a "Development Panel" of Gulf intellectuals. The author articulates four challenges for the organization's future: structure, leadership, objectives, and political ideology.

1676. Perna, Tiziana di. "Il Consiglio di Cooperazione dei Paesi arabi del Golfo: sue finalità ed organizzazione." *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. 67, Nos. 4-6 (1987), pp. 101-130. ●● An Italian translation of the founding agreements of the GCC (Riyadh, 25 May 1981), together with a brief introduction to the document and its background.

1677. Peterson, Erik R. *The Gulf Cooperation Council: Search for Unity in a Dynamic Region*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988. ●● A Washington-based consultant examines the political, economic, and defense background to the GCC and its formation and evolution. He looks at its roles in political and economic integration and endeavors in defense and security cooperation. A final chapter looks ahead to the GCC in the 1990s and sees an optimistic forecast, noting that "The commonality of interests that brought about the GCC not only continues to exist but has intensified substantially." (p. 233) The work also contains nearly 100 pages of appendices, including the organization's charter, the unified economic agreement, and final declarations of the annual summits.

1678. Priess, David. "Balance-of-Threat Theory and the Genesis of the Gulf Cooperation Council: An Interpretative Case Study." *Security Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1996), pp. 143-171.

1679. _____. "The Gulf Cooperation Council: Prospects for Expansion." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (January 1998), pp. 17-26. ●● A doctoral student at Duke University examines the possibility of GCC expansion to include Jordan (prospects are weak), Yemen (a type of "associate membership" may be possible well in the future), and/or Iraq (quite likely when a new régime emerges in Baghdad).

1680. Rabi, Uzi. "The Dynamics of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC): The Ceaseless Quest for Regional Security in a Changing Region." *Orient*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (June 2004), pp. 281-296. ●● A look at the GCC's responses to

external threats and internal disputes. The author advises that it is time for the GCC states to search for a common denominator beyond external threats and notes that the GCC "has displayed a certain institutional perseverance underpinned by quite distinctive sociocultural integration." (pp. 293-294) Future cooperation, he argues, is possible in areas where it is not difficult to reach a consensus, such as economy.

1681. Ramazani, R.K., with the assistance of Joseph A. Kechichian. *The Gulf Cooperation Council: Record and Analysis*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988. ●● A study of the GCC's origins and attitudes towards subversion and terrorism, deterrence, economic integration, and diplomatic activities, concluding with a projection of the organization's future prospects for confederation. Each chapter is accompanied by copious documentation while appendices include economic and demographic tables, an extensive chronology, and an annotated bibliography. The authors, both of the University of Virginia, conclude that "It remains to be seen whether in the first five years of their cooperation, the GCC states have relinquished enough of their individual freedom of action through the creation of lasting joint institutions to enable them to withstand the challenge of incohesion in the second five years." (p. 196)

1682. Rizvi, S.N. Asad. "The Gulf Cooperation Council: United Thoughts and Equal Hopes." *India Quarterly*, Vol. 53, Nos. 3-4 (July-December 1997), pp. 125-146. ●● A survey of the background to the GCC by a lecturer at the Academy of Third World Studies, New Delhi. Emphasis is on the Unified Economic Agreement and other economic linkages between the member states and the author includes a number of statistical tables.

1683. Salem, Faisal al-. "The U.S. and the Gulf: What Do the Arabs Want?" *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1982), pp. 8-32. ●● An associate professor of political science at Kuwait University looks at foreign policy factors that constrain Arab-American linkages. He contends that the Arabs wish to pursue the following objectives in their relationship with the US: greater American understanding of the Palestinian problem, economic cooperation and not domination, support for Arab investment in the US in return for having backed the US dollar, and facilitation of Arab students' education in the US. ¤

1684. Sandwick, John A., ed. *The Gulf Cooperation Council: Moderation and Stability in an Interdependent World*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Washington, DC: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1987. ●● A collection of essays on the GCC, some of which were also published in the council's journal, *American-Arab Affairs*. John Christie (Middle East Newsletters)

begins the volume with a brief overview of the background and organization of the GCC. Then Joseph Wright Twinam (The Citadel) examines the Bahraini, Qatari, and Omani roles within the GCC and Bruce F. Henderson (UBAF Arab American Bank) details the economic and financial relations between the US and the GCC countries. Abdullah Ibrahim El-Kuwaiz (Gulf Cooperation Council) assesses the GCC's potential for economic integration while Hossein Askari (George Washington University) and Babak Dastmaltschi (consultant to the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Finance) look at the role of GCC states in OPEC. Nicholas Angell (Chadbourne & Parke) reviews the legal systems of the GCC states and the GCC itself and Stephen Page (Queen's University) traces the Soviet Union's relations with the GCC states. J.E. Peterson examines the role of the GCC and its member states in regional security while Ralph Braibanti (Duke University) compares the GCC to other organizations in the Islamic world and Asia. Appendices include the charter and unified economic agreement of the GCC and economic data on the member states.

1685. Sullivan, Denis J. "The Gulf Cooperation Council: Regional Security or Collective Defense?" *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Summer 1989), pp. 39-56. ●● An assistant professor at Northeastern University looks at the dominance of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia in the GCC and asks whether the end of the Iran-Iraq War will cause Iran and/or Iraq to seek admission into the GCC.

1686. Troxler, Nancy C. "The Gulf Co-operation Council: The Emergence of an Institution." *Millennium*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 1987), pp. 1-19. ●● A London School of Economics graduate surveys the background to the establishment of the GCC and places organization's formation in the context of regional events.

1687. Twinam, Joseph Wright. *The Gulf, Cooperation and the Council: An American Perspective*. Washington, DC: Middle East Policy Council, 1992. ●● A view of the Gulf Cooperation Council, its background, and its relations with the United States, both before and after the Kuwait War, written by a professor at The Citadel and former State Department official. He notes that there is "no sound reason to hope that Kuwaitis would wave American flags forever or that the US-Saudi linkage would stay at the highly charged level of Desert Storm." (p. 260) He sees many "rocks and shoals" ahead for the US-GCC relationship but feels that it is likely to be stronger in the future than in the past.

1688. _____. "The Gulf Cooperation Council Since the Gulf War: The State

of the States." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1992), pp. 96-115. ●● A retired US Foreign Service officer and visiting professor at The Citadel discusses the economic, social, and political implications of the Kuwait War on the GCC states. In his view, "The social and political rumblings in Kuwait [about the reinstitution of the National Assembly] would inevitably reverberate down the Gulf whether or not the six monarchies were bound in union. But the existence and aspirations of the Gulf Council to some degree make it a condit for spreading the impulse for change." (p. 113)

1689. Wizarat, T. "The Role of the Gulf Cooperation Council in Regional Security." *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1987), pp. 69-78.

1690. Yorke, Valerie. "Bid for Gulf Unity." *World Today*, Vol. 37, Nos. 7-8 (July-August 1981), pp. 246-249. ●● A short article providing the immediate background to the Abu Dhabi summit of May 1981 that marked the creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Yorke points out that previous attempts at a Gulf security pact (as at the 1979 Gulf summit in Muscat) failed principally because of differences between the two most powerful states of the Gulf, Iran and Iraq. Since then, the Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq war have not only increased the apprehension of the remaining six states, but temporarily removed the two fractious states from Gulf councils. Yorke also notes that, despite the GCC members' many common interests, enough significant points of disagreement exist to thwart cooperation plans. ¤

1691. _____. "Security in the Gulf: A Strategy of Pre-emption." *World Today*, Vol. 36, No. 7 (July 1980), pp. 239-250. ●● A research assistant at the Royal Institute of International Affairs at the time of writing points out that the failed rescue attempt of the American hostages in Iran heightened the Gulf States' concerns over their security and called into question US ability and resolve to counter the Soviet threat. Yorke discusses a number of "preemptive policies" undertaken by these states to distance themselves militarily from the US to control the destabilizing effects of modernization, and possibly to institute more nationalistic stances regarding oil policy. She concludes that these policies, however antagonistic they may appear to the West, may nevertheless be preferable to alternative régimes in the region. ¤

Internal Aspects of Gulf Security

General, Political, and Other Considerations

1692. Abdelkarim, Abbas, ed. *Change and Development in the Gulf*. London: Macmillan, 1999. ●● A wide-ranging collection of papers on the Gulf, some by Gulf authors, edited by a senior lecturer at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. Subjects include industrialization, population, gender relations, and social change. Among those contributions directly relevant to this bibliography, Eleanor Doumato (University of Rhode Island) discusses the impact of the Kuwait War and of the rise of the religious right in Saudi Arabia on women in the kingdom and notes that "The rise in Islamic militancy suggests that the Gulf War alignment with the United states is, in effect, contributing to the unravelling of the cohesion of Saudi Arabia." (p. 207) Paul Aarts offers a "revised and updated version" of his "Les limites du 'tribalisme politique': le Koweit d'après-guerre et le processus de démocratisation" (*Monde arabe/Maghreb-Machrek*, No. 142 [October-December 1993], pp. 61-79) and holds that "the ruling family will not willingly give up anything of importance, but its high-handed behaviour of the past cannot easily be repeated." (p. 232) Serge Herzog (Swiss Ministry of Defense) reviews the role of arms transfers and international involvement in Gulf security, warning that "bilateral security agreements are fraught with drawbacks that ultimately compromise the stability of the region." (p. 256)

1693. Abir, Mordechai. *Oil, Power and Politics: Conflict in Arabia, the Red Sea and the Gulf*. London: Frank Cass, 1974. ●● A collection of four separate essays by an Israeli academic. The first consists of a survey of political developments on the Arab littoral of the Gulf since 1971. The author's conclusion that stability in these countries, particularly the smaller ones, declined after British withdrawal has not been borne out by events. It is followed by an analysis of the National Liberation Front's rise to power in South Yemen and the independent PDRY's relations with China and the Soviet Union, as well as ties to the revolutionaries in Dhufar and the government in North Yemen. Also included is an essay on international relations in the Red Sea, focusing on the role of external powers, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and disputes in the Horn of Africa. The final essay concentrates on Ethiopia and the Eritrean struggle. The tenor of Abir's approach is indicated by his concluding remarks that the Red Sea and Gulf are like a volcano that occasionally erupts. In the past, "tensions and conflicts" were "easily contained by the Great Powers. Nowadays, however, the ability of the Great Powers to control these conflicts has greatly diminished…." ¤

1694. Abou Taleb, H. "The Iraqi Invasion and Political Reform in the Gulf States." *JIME Review*, No. 14 (1991), pp. 17-25.

1695. Alkim, Hassan Hamdan al-. "The Prospect of Democracy in the GCC Countries." *Critique*, No. 9 (Fall 1996), pp. 29-41. ●● The chairman of the department of political science at the UAE University analyzes the background to political participation in the Gulf states and observes that because the regimes became more dependent on the US for their security after the Kuwait War, "the ruling families became more reluctant to give concessions and introduce democratic measures." (p. 40) Still he predicts that "although democracy may not be realized within the coming decade, it is acquiring a significant importance in the GCC states' political life. Thus, its realization becomes a matter of time." (p. 41)

1696. Amuzegar, Jahangir. *Managing the Oil Wealth: OPEC's Windfalls and Pitfalls*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1999. ●● A former World Bank official and lecturer at Johns Hopkins University examines the background to and formation of OPEC, paying particular attention to the domestic impact on the organization's members. He notes how the members reacted to the windfall income after the oil price revolution, assesses the economic performance of each country, and compares their performance. He finds that "a majority of OPEC members did, albeit in different degrees, fail to translate their high gross domestic products into corresponding improvements in their peoples' welfare." (p. 187) He demonstrates that as the members began facing economic difficulties after the 1980s oil boom, OPEC's influence and power began to fade and "was substantially reduced by the mid-1990s. Not only did OPEC become an increasingly residual oil supplier, it could not even maintain its initial residual share." (p. 205) The author concludes by observing that oil nationalization did not produce all the benefits expected, that raising oil prices to their short-term limit encouraged the development of non-OPEC sources, and that OPEC fell prey to internal cheating and loss of membership.

1697. _____. "OPEC as Omen." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 6 (November-December 1998), pp. 95-111. ●● An economic consultant, and former Minister of Finance in Iran under the Shah, warns the emerging oil states of the Caspian basin of the dangers of the inevitable economic boom: "OPEC's journey from riches to rags is powerful proof of the perils of a tempting but temporary energy boom." (p. 95) Rather than seeing a single cause of OPEC's poor performance, he cites the impact of the state's increasingly dominant role in the economy, the spending of most wealth rapidly at home rather than sending it abroad to be returned later, the lack of rational consideration of competing investment projects, the mistake of allocating the windfall to

modern, capital intensive and high-cost industrialization, the emphasis on military spending, and the rise of a "petromania" culture.

1698. Bahgat, Gawdat. *The Future of the Gulf*. Washington, DC: Scott-Townsend Publishers, 1997. ●● An examination of future prospects for the Gulf monarchies, Iraq, and Iran. The author concludes that oil will remain the backbone of the economies of the Gulf monarchies and they will continue to rely on Western powers to protect them from Iran and Iraq. He posits four possible scenarios for Iraq. He regards the first two, democratic transition and a long period of turmoil and civil war, as unlikely but gives greater chances to either a continuation of Saddam Husayn's rule or a change of leadership within the Iraqi ruling clique. Iran, in his view, adopted a more pragmatic policy under President Rafsanjani and the country has begun to act increasingly like a state and less like a revolution. Still, he does not see it becoming pro-Western or abandoning its Islamic doctrine.

1699. _____. *The Persian Gulf at the Dawn of a New Millennium*. Commack, NY: Nova Science, 1997. ●● A basic overview of recent developments in the Gulf, concentrating on the pivotal role of oil, water scarcity, the situation of the Shi'ah in various Gulf states, the problems of education, unemployment, and the gender gap, the question of succession, political change in Iraq and Iran, a look at Gulf security, and a summary of the role of the US, Europe, Russia, and China in the Gulf.

1700. _____. "Military Security and Political Stability in the Gulf." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Fall 1995), pp. 55-70. ●● An assistant professor at Indiana University of Pennsylvania examine challenges facing the "rentier" states of the Gulf, in particular stagnating oil prices and high military expenditures. The responses of these states, he says, have been limited political liberalization.

1701. _____. "The Changing Economic and Political Environment in the Gulf Monarchies." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Fall 1995), pp. 271-288. ●● The author, from Indiana University of Pennsylvania, reviews recent developments in the GCC states, including oil, economic change, and political succession.

1702. _____. "Gulf Security and Western Policy." *International Spectator*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (July-September 1996), pp. 39-49. ●● A survey of Western policy to forge political and security arrangements in the Gulf to secure the uninterrupted flow of oil from the region by an assistant professor of political science at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. Since the Kuwait War, the author avers, peace in the Gulf "has been imposed mainly as a result of a

balance of power between Iran and Iraq on one side, and Western military existence on the other. Since 1991, this balance has prevented the outbreak of another conventional war, but these security arrangements are fragile and do not guarantee a solid basis for a long-term peace." (p. 49)

1703. _____. "The Gulf Monarchies: Economic and Political Challenges at the End of the Century." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Summer 1998), pp. 147-175. ●● The author, from Indiana University of Pennsylvania, reviews economic and political change in the GCC states and judges that they do not face serious crisis. "These governments will continue to rely on the Western powers to protect them from Iran and Iraq. This dependence on foreign troops has a political cost." (p. 175) He covers the same subject in his *The Gulf Monarchies: New Economic and Political Realities* (London: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, Conflict Studies No. 296, February 1997).

1704. Bill, James A. "Islam, Politics, and Shi'ism in the Gulf." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (January-February 1984), pp. 3-12. ●● The author sees a gathering storm in the Gulf that is best understood "in terms of the resurgence of Islam - a powerful resurgence of the major ideological force that activates these systems and permeates every aspect of the lives of their citizens." Bill points to the growth in the number of mosques along the Arab side of the Gulf and the emergence of at least five movements espousing "Popular Islam" (*al-Islam al-sha'bi*, as opposed to "Establishment Islam," *al-Islam al-rasmi*). In addition to the challenge of "Popular Islam," Bill sees the Shi'ah of the Arab littoral posing a potential threat to the ruling elites - a threat produced not by the revolutionary government of Iran but from the Arab Gulf states' treatment of their Shi'i minorities. He warns that repression of the Shi'ah can lead to their alienation and desperation. Even more, "the preoccupation of certain Gulf officials with the Shi'ah communities deflects them from addressing the much broader and more serious challenge posed by the growing reassertion of Popular Islam in general." ¤

1705. Bonnenfant, Paul, ed. *La Péninsule arabique d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, for the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur l'Orient arabe contemporain, 1982. 2 vols. ●● A massive collection of more than 40 contributions on nearly all aspects of life in the Arabian Peninsula, including history, demography, economics, Islam, culture, development planning, urbanization, architecture, anthropology, and politics. Articles most directly relevant for this bibliography include the geopolitics of the peninsula (Pierre Marthelot), ideology and power in Saudi Arabia (Olivier Carré), attitudes towards modernization (Yves Schemeil), the strategic role of the Arabian Peninsula in the Indian Ocean (Henri Labrousse), the formation

of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (Michel Tuchscherer), and overview articles and separate chronologies on each of the peninsula's states. ¤

1706. Chubin, Shahram, ed. *Domestic Political Factors*. London: Gower, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1982. Security in the Persian Gulf, Vol. 1. ●● The four papers in this volume were first presented at a conference in November 1979. Two deal with problems of political change: Arnold Hottinger (a Swiss journalist) briefly discusses Bahrain, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia, while John Duke Anthony (of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies at the time) evaluates the prospects for the future of the United Arab Emirates' federation (presently at 13 years of age, the Arab world's longest experiment in integration). The third paper, by freelance journalist Michael Field, is concerned with the economic future of the Gulf's Arab oil states: how long can the governments' policies of enrichment of their citizenry last? Finally, Allan G. Hill, of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, looks at immigration in the Arab oil states of the Gulf and how the experience of the past several decades has changed the demographic and urban setting, and possibly the political balance at some time in the future. He also points out the wide panoply of legal and unwritten means by which the immigrants are denied all but the barest civil rights and welfare benefits and concludes that these states must encourage their nationals to participate more fully in all levels of their economies. ¤

1707. Erb, Richard D., guest editor. "The Arab Oil-Producing States of the Gulf. Political and Economic Developments." *AEI Foreign Policy and Defense Review*, Vol. 2, Nos. 3-4 (1980), entire issue. ●● A systematic collection of articles covering sociopolitical and economic developments in each Arab country of the Gulf (except for Oman). Bayly Winder (New York University) and Richard D. Erb (American Enterprise Institute) discuss Saudi Arabia, Phebe Marr (University of Tennessee) and Basil al-Bustany (then at the World Bank) cover Iraq, and Naseer H. Aruri (Southeastern Massachusetts University) and Carl Bazarian (East-West Group) write on Kuwait. John Duke Anthony (then at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies) and Bazarian outline the UAE, and Emile A. Nakhleh (Mount St. Mary's College) and Bazarian cover Bahrain and Qatar. In addition, Erb and Nebil N. al-Shawaf (doctoral candidate at Johns Hopkins SAIS) discuss nascent linkages toward economic integration, Nakhleh surveys political relations among the Arab Gulf states, and Les Janka (then at DGA International) highlights security risks and reactions. ¤

1708. Halliday, Fred. *Arabia Without Sultans*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974; New York: Vintage Press, 1975. ●● A broad study of "imperialism" and

"revolutionary movements" in the Arabian Peninsula, based on a thorough sifting of available sources and first-hand research. The author, a leftist journalist and writer, focuses his principal attention on three countries and case studies. North Yemen, the first, is regarded as significant because of its revolution and protracted civil war in the 1960s, which eventually resulted in one of the world's most conservative republics. South Yemen is of particular interest to the author because of the liberation movement against British colonialism and the establishment of a Marxist state there. Halliday's third case study is Oman, where the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG) was waging war against the régime in the southern province of Dhufar at the time of publication. Other chapters discuss class struggle and imperialist influences in Saudi Arabia, the Gulf emirates, and Iran, with less effect. ¤

1709. Niblock, Tim, ed. *Social and Economic Development in the Arab Gulf*. London: Croom Helm, for the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, 1980. ●● This collection of twelve papers from the inaugural Exeter symposium on the Gulf focuses on the impact of oil wealth on social, economic, and political change. The late Joseph J. Malone sketches the creation of the modern state of Saudi Arabia and how the American-Saudi relationship was forged. Mohamed G. Rumaihi (associate professor of sociology at the University of Kuwait) looks at the traditional economy and the social relationships of the Gulf before the discovery of oil. A third historical article, by Rosemarie Said Zahlan, examines the socioeconomic impact of British supremacy in the Gulf and the repercussions of early oil agreements on politics there.

Four papers concentrate on economic issues: Keith McLachlan (senior lecturer in geography at London's School of Oriental and African Studies) on the relationship between natural resources and economic development, John Townsend (an economist with long experience in the Gulf) on the manifold obstructions to the Gulf's heavy industrialization, J.S. Birks and C.A. Sinclair (fellows in economics at the University of Durham) on labor requirements and the increasing importation of labor from Southeast Asia, and Tim Niblock (deputy director of the Centre for Arab Gulf Studies) on prospects for integration in the Gulf.

Another two papers deal with the phenomenon of extensive social change as a result of oil income: Donald P. Cole (associate professor of anthropology at the American University in Cairo) writes on nomadism in Saudi Arabia, and J.C. Wilkinson (lecturer in the School of Geography, Oxford) on changes in village life in Oman. In addition, Emile Nakhleh (professor of political science at Mount St. Mary's College) examines political participation in

Bahrain and Qatar, Naomi Sakr (economics editor of The Middle East magazine) explores the progress of federalism in the United Arab Emirates, and Fred Halliday (associate director of the Transnational Institute) draws parallels between the Iraqi revolution of 1958 and the Iranian revolution of 1979. ¤

1710. Peterson, J.E. "Legitimacy and Political Change in Yemen and Oman." *Orbis*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Winter 1984), pp. 971-998. ●● Focusing on the nature of political legitimacy in these two countries, this study points out the basic similarity of Yemen and Oman in geography, economy, society, religious expression, and historical experience-and in their political systems until the last several decades. "Since then, the two countries have proceeded along divergent paths of political change." The reasons advanced for this divergence include underlying differences between the countries, Oman's advantage in having oil, the opposite impact of direct external involvement, and the contrast between the seemingly successful adaptation of the sultanate in Oman to changing circumstances and the difficulty of the new republic in Yemen to achieve legitimacy. ¤

1711. Plascov, Avi. *Modernization, Political Development and Stability*. London: Gower, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1982. Security in the Persian Gulf, Vol. 3. ●● The author, a research associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies before his death in January 1982, surveys the effects and strains of rapid modernization on the Gulf states, including brief glances at the role of tribalism, the challenge to traditionalism and Islam, sectarian and ethnic divisions, the impact of immigrant workers, and the dangers of militarization. He sees little success for industrialization policies and downplays the extent of political change. Plascov appears to view these states in a static sense, intimating that basically the same anachronisms exist as did a half-century ago. Rather superficially, he contends that no real adjustments to changing circumstances have been made and therefore these "inherently unstable" states with "authoritarian" regimes are "ill-equipped to withstand" coming challenges. ¤

1712. Rumaihi, Muhammed. *Beyond Oil: Unity and Development in the Gulf*. London: Al Saqi Books, 1986. Tr. by James Dickins and originally published as *al-Khalij laysa naftan* (Kuwait: Sharikat Kazimah lil-Nashr wal-Tarjimah wal-Tawzi`, 1983). ●● A professor of sociology at Kuwait University points out that "The Gulf is not oil. The Gulf is its people and its land … Oil is no more than a historical phase in this part of the Arab world…." (p. 11) He proceeds to describe the history of the Gulf, its progress in development, the efforts at unity in the 1970s, the role of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the region's culture, the role of women, and the inter-dependence of citizens and

immigrant workers. He observes that Gulf societies "are held together by a tripartite alliance of the conservative authorities (the ruling clan), the owners of commercial capital, and the top layers of the educated elite." (p. 140)

1713. _____. "Arabian Gulf Security." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 23 (Winter 1987-1988), pp. 47-56. ●● The editor of Kuwait's *al-'Arabi* links Gulf security to wider Arab security and examines the Israeli threat to Arab security, the Iranian threat to Gulf security, and the role of the GCC, the superpowers, and the arms market. He believes that "the security of the Gulf will continue to be unstable in both the short and medium-terms [and] The political development inside the various countries of the Gulf will … also determine the extent of such instability…." (p. 56)

1714. _____. "The Gulf Monarchies: Testing Time." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (December 1996), pp. 45-51.

1715. Salameh, Ghassan. "Hangover Time in the Gulf." *MERIP Reports*, No. 139 (March-April 1986), pp. 40-43.

1716. Tétreault, Mary Ann. "Gulf Winds: Inclement Political Weather in the Arabian Peninsula." *Current History*, Vol. 95, no. 597 (January 1996), pp. 23-27. ●● A brief examination of recent internal developments - including the unrest in Bahrain, the 1995 coup d'état in Qatar, and continuing problems in Kuwait - that concludes with the observation that "Political barometers in the Gulf caution us to watch for continued unsettled weather, but give few hints about the most likely target of the next big storm." (p. 27)

1717. Yorke, Valerie. *The Gulf in the 1980's*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1980. Chatham House Papers, No. 6. ●● A short but comprehensive monograph giving a basic outline of six Arab Gulf states (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) and the problems they face. Then a research associate at Chatham House, Yorke discusses various sources of instability, the effects of modernization, the impact of Arab policies on Israel and oil, and policy choices for the West. Also included is an appendix on trade prospects. ¤

Resurgent Islamist Movements

1718. Aboul-Enein, Youssef H., and Sherifa Zuhur. *Islamic Rulings on Warfare*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, October 2004. ●● A monograph, by a US Navy lieutenant-commander in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and a visiting research professor at the US Army War College, providing background on Islamic scripture regarding rules of war, an explanation of terms and concepts, and recommendations for US policy. The authors encourage "moderate Muslims to mount a major ideological campaign to counter those who have hijacked Islam with their destructive interpretation of Islamic scripture. Comprehending this endeavor will be vital to any strategy that seeks to dissuade young Muslims from the nihilism of Islamic militancy." (p. vii)

1719. Armanios, Febe. *Islamic Religious Schools, Madrasas: Background*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RS21654, 29 October 2003. ●● A CRS analyst in Middle Eastern religions and cultures provides an overview of Islamic religious schools, known as *madrasah*s, their history and curriculum, and briefly touches upon their alleged financing by Saudi Arabia (without drawing any conclusions). He also notes the September 2002 commitment by US AID to provide $100 million over five years for general education reform in Pakistan.

1720. _____. *The Islamic Traditions of Wahhabism and Salafiyya*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RS21695, 22 December 2003. ●● A CRS analyst provides background on the Wahhabi movement in Islam that prevails in Saudi Arabia and its relationship to militant extremist Islamic groups.

1721. Benjamin, Daniel, and Steven Simon. *The Age of Sacred Terror*. New York: Random House, 2002. ●● The first part of this book by two former National Security Council staffers in the Clinton administration sketches an overview of the roots of Islamic extremism ("jihadism") from Ibn Taymiyah to Sayyid Qutb, followed by capsules of prominent groups that eventually led to al-Qa'idah. Much of the remainder of the book is devoted to attacking those parts of the US government that neglected or opposed counter-terrorism efforts during the Clinton era and much editorializing about the threats to come and the need to combat them effectively.

1722. Bill, James A. "Resurgent Islam in the Persian Gulf." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Fall 1984), pp. 108-127. ●● A professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin holds that "The fundamental impulse for

resurgent Islam comes from the grassroots of society" (p. 108) and coins the term "Populist Islam" to distinguish this phenomenon from the "Establishment Islam" represented by the ruling elites. He proceeds to outline the various Sunni and Shi'i manifestations of Populist Islam and observes that the ruling families of the six traditional Gulf states are deeply concerned about its challenge. In addition, he views the US as on a collision course with the forces of Populist Islam because of its uncritical support for régimes that promote Establishment Islam and because of the American-Israeli connection.

1723. Bizri, Dalal. El-. "Mouvement islamiste et guerre du Golfe." *Peuples Méditerranéens*, Nos. 58-59 (January-June 1992), pp. 23-38. ●● A look at the effect that the Kuwait War had on Islamic movements throughout the Middle East, demonstrating that movements were divided between following popular, Arab nationalist, opinion cheering Iraq and condemnation of the Iraqi action because of its lack of political and civil rights.

1724. Carapico, Sheila. "Yemen and the Aden-Abyan Islamic Army." *MERIP Press Information Notes*, No. 35 (18 October 2002), distributed electronically. ●● A political scientist at the University of Richmond provides background on dissident politics in Yemen and the possible involvement of the underground "Aden-Abyan Islamic Army" in the attack on the USS Cole in Aden. She notes that the organization probably consists of a loose-knit network of only a few dozen Yemenis and non-Yemenis and warns that "Hasty action to round up suspects in the Cole attack may well serve as a pretext to crack down on peaceful campaigners for democracy in Yemen."

1725. Cigar, Norman. "Islam and the State in South Yemen: The Uneasy Coexistence." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (1990), pp. 185-203. ●● The author outlines the continuing importance of Islam in the officially Marxist South Yemen state, paying attention both to elements of "official" and "popular" Islam. He discusses the phenomenon of revivalist Islam in the country and notes that South Yemen is one of the few countries in the Middle East where the US is not a target of hostility - rather that hostility is directed at the USSR because of its conspicuous presence and influence. He concludes that "there is likely to be a steady incremental expansion of the Islamic revival." (p. 200)

1726. Dekmejian, R. Hrair. "The Rise of Political Islamism in Saudi Arabia." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (Autumn 1994), pp. 627-643. ●● A political scientist at the University of Southern California looks at the growing Islamist movement that appeared in the kingdom after the Kuwait War, providing information on prominent new Islamists and detailing the government's response to this challenge. In his view, "The Islamist protest

movement and its antithetical liberal constituency, which took concrete form during and after the war, are likely to persist in articulating their conflicting demands for change." (p. 643)

1727. Esposito, John L. "The Persian Gulf War, Islamic Movements and the New World Order." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1993), pp. 340-365. ●● In tying together the threads of Islamic resurgence and the Kuwait War, the Director of the Center for International Studies at the College of Holy Cross concludes that the political costs to all those concerned in the conflict remain incalculable. However, he notes the growing anti-Western and especially anti-American sentiment in the Muslim world and characterizes this as a "legitimate, rational reaction to American hostility and policies." (p. 361)

1728. Fandy, Mamoun. *Saudi Arabia and the Politics of Dissent*. New York: St. Martin's Press; Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1999. ●● A research professor of politics at Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at the time of writing, Fandy discusses Saudi Islamist dissidents and their thinking, focusing on Sunni clerics Safar al-Hawali and Salman al-'Awdah, Shi'i cleric Hasan al-Saffar, London Islamic opposition figures Muhammad al-Mas'ari and Sa'd al-Faqih, and Usamah bin Ladin. The author contends that "Central to the Saudi oppositions' vision is the idea that 'Islam' and its values are under attack both globally and locally and that the Saudi government has failed to protect Islam and Muslims." (p. 3) He also stresses that much of the success of these movements in getting their message heard can be attributed to their use of new technologies, such as the cassette tape and fax machine. More detail on Hawali and his thinking is provided in Fandy's "Safar al-Hawali: Saudi Islamist or Saudi Nationalist?" *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 1998), pp. 5-23, while an investigation of Hasan al-Saffar is contained in Fandy's "From Confrontation to Creative Resistance: The Shi'a Oppositional Discourse in Saudi Arabia," *Critique*, No. 9 (Fall 1996), pp. 1-27.

1729. Ghabra, Shafeeq N. "The Islamic Movement in Kuwait." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (May 1997), pp. 58-72. ●● An associate professor of political science at Kuwait University analyzes the background to the Islamic revival in Kuwait, both before and after the Kuwait War and the role of the Islamist politicians elected to the National Assembly in 1996. He argues for government appointments to be based on "merit and an ability to halt corruption and favoritism. In the past, these qualities contributed to the ability of the Islamists to attract followers and plant roots, in particular among the less fortunate and alienated segments of the population, primarily Kuwaitis of Bedouin origin." (p. 71)

1730. Hunter, Shireen T. "Iran and the Spread of Revolutionary Islam." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (April 1988), pp. 730-749. ●● The author urges caution in ascribing the spread of revolutionary Islamic movements to Iranian influence, which she terms significant but exaggerated. After discussing Iran's relationship with various groups and countries, as well as the means by which Iran develops that its influence, Hunter note that "Iran faces a number of serious barriers in its efforts to reach beyond the Shia groups, and some marginal extremist Sunni groups, and to appeal to the broader Islamic movement which is overwhelmingly Sunni…." (p. 749) She concludes that "it is unlikely that an Iranian defeat in its war with Iraq, or even a change of regime in Iran, would mean the end of Islamic movements in the rest of the Muslim world, although an Iranian success will no doubt strengthen the Islamic wave." (p. 749)

1731. "Islam in the 21st Century." *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter 2002), entire issue. ●● Several dozen short articles on Islam, radical developments within Islam, and Western relations with Islam after 11 September. Among them, Samuel P. Huntington (Harvard University) charges that "Osama bin Laden has declared war on Western civilization, and in particular the United States. If the Muslim community to which Bin Laden is appealing rallies to him, then it will become a clash of civilizations. So far, they appear deeply divided." (p. 5) Shaykh Saud Nasir Al Sabah (former Kuwaiti minister of oil and ambassador to the US) criticizes Kuwait as "hesitant and reserved" and declares that political Islamists have hijacked the Arab world. Egyptian writer Gaber Asfour sees a clash between "the tolerant peoples of the 'Islam of the rivers,' such as flourished in the Nile delta, and the intolerance of the 'Islam of the desert,' practiced by Osama bin Laden." (p. 41)

1732. Knysh, Alexander. "A Clear and Present Danger: 'Wahhabism' as a Rhetorical Foil." *Saudi-American Forum*, Essay No. 24 (14 November 2003), published online. ●● A professor of Islamic studies at the University of Michigan examines the characterization of Muslim resurgence in the former Soviet Union as a struggle between "Sufi" (i.e. "traditional") Islam and "Wahhabi" (i.e. "fundamentalist") Islam. He observes that the activities of disgruntled Muslims in Russia and its "near abroad" who couch their activity in a religious rhetoric, "whether consciously 'Wahhabi' or otherwise, [are] then perceived by hostile outside observers as yet another manifestation of the worldwide 'Wahhabi conspiracy.' … Once implemented in practice, the narrative construct named 'Wahhabism' acquires a life of its own…." A longer version of the article was scheduled to appear in *Die Welt des Islams*.

1733. Kostiner, Joseph. "Shi'i Unrest in the Gulf." In Martin Kramer, ed.,

Shi'ism, Resistance and Revolution (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987; Collected Papers, Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies), pp. 173-188. ●● A historian at Tel Aviv University charts the impact of the Iranian Revolution on Shi'i activism on the Arab side of the Gulf and the resultant Sunni backlash. He concludes that "Most Shi'is seem to have concluded that the liberation preferred by the radicals can only be had at the price of war which might just as readily bring destruction. Their choice - for now - is to watch and wait." (p. 185)

1734. _____. "State, Islam, and Opposition in Saudi Arabia: The Post-Desert Storm Phase." In Bruce Maddy-Weitzmann and Ephraim Inbar, eds., *Religious Radicalism in the Greater Middle East* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), pp. 75-89. ●● A senior lecturer at Tel Aviv University reviews the activities of opposition groups in Saud Arabia since 1991. He explains the reasons for their emergence as "problems of economic recession, declining leadership and security and the rise of new elites that typified this period." (p. 88)

1735. Obaid, Nawaf. "The Power of Saudi Arabia's Islamic Leaders." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (September 1999), pp. 51-58. ●● A Harvard University graduate looks at the role of the Saudi 'ulama' (religious leaders) in the decision-making process regarding the 1973 oil embargo, allowing US troops to be stationed in the kingdom in 1990, the decision to permit them to remain, and Saudi support for the Taliban since 1994. He suggests that the Taliban government in Afghanistan offers "a possible glimpse of Saudi Arabia if the traditional balance of power is disrupted in favor of the religious establishment." (p. 58)

1736. Okruhlik, Gwenn. "Networks of Dissent: Islamism and Reform in Saudi Arabia." *Current History*, Vol. 101, No. 651 (January 2002), pp. 22-28. ●● An assistant professor of political science at the University of Arkansas looks at the impact of Islamic dissent on Saudi Arabia and warns that "if serious structural reforms are not implemented, the call from the most radical flank will almost certainly find an audience among the population." (p. 22) In the last few years, she contends, "Islamists have successfully captured the discourse in Saudi Arabia" (p. 27) and have forced the ruling Al Sa'ud into compromise on a number of issues. She also advises that "the maintenance of Untied States military bases in Saudi Arabia must be reconsidered. The bases are there to protect a stable and cheap supply of oil to the United States and its allies. Yet the presence of the bases fosters opposition to the régime they are there to protect." (p. 28)

1737. Rasheed, Madawi Al-. "Saudi Arabia's Islamic Opposition." *Current History*, Vol. 95, No. 597 (January 1996), pp. 16-22. ●● A lecturer in social

anthropology at King's College of the University of London examines the Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights and Usamah bin Ladin's Committee for Advice and Reform, as well Islamist figures inside the kingdom. She judges that the rise of Islamic opposition in an Islamic state is related to the impact of the Kuwait War, the country's economic deterioration, and the expansion of the educational system, especially the growth in students and graduates of the Islamic universities who find themselves unemployed. She notes that "The Saudi Islamic opposition is also breaking new ground with its indigenous Islamist discourse by forcibly arguing for a change in past practices in the country" (p. 21) and she notes that the Islamists are largely drawn from the Najd and especially its al-Qasim region.

1738. Teitelbaum, Joshua. *Holier Than Thou: Saudi Arabia's Islamic Opposition*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2000. ●● A research fellow at Tel Aviv University looks at the emergence of Islamic opposition in Saudi Arabia after the Kuwait War, the founding of the CDLR and the Shi'i opposition and the bombing of the barracks at al-Khubar. He regards Heir Apparent 'Abdullah as possibly returning to King Faysal's more orderly approach and notes the régime's increasing awareness of social discontent.

1739. Weir, Shelagh. "A Clash of Fundamentalisms: Wahhabism in Yemen." *Middle East Report*, No. 204 (July-September 1997), pp. 23-24, 26. ●● A former Middle East curator for the British Museum examines the inroads of an Islamist movement, popularly called "Wahhabism," in northern Yemen. She observes that the struggle between Zaydis (the traditional Shi'i subsect of Yemen) and Wahhabis subsided because of economic interests and social linkages between the parties involved.

Gulf Military Capabilities and Arms Transfers

1740. Albright, David, and Mark Hibbs. "Iraq and the Bomb: Were They Even Close?" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (March 1991), pp. 16-25.

-and –

1741. _____. "Hyping the Iraqi Bomb." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (March 1991), pp. 26-28.

-and –

1742. _____. "Iraq's Nuclear Hide and Seek." *Bulletin of the Atomic*

Scientists, Vol. 47, No. 7 (September 1991), pp. 14-23.

-and –

1743. _____. "Iraq's Bomb: Blueprints and Artifacts." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (January-February 1992), pp. 30-40. ●● A series of attack on the United States for deliberately seeking backing for military action against Iraq by exaggerating its nuclear threat. Although the authors initially claimed that Iraq was at least a decade away from producing a bomb in 1990, they later admit Baghdad was much closer to producing a weapon.

1744. Barnaby, Frank. "Military Moves in the Middle East." *Middle East Review 1982*, pp. 33-39. ●● A brief survey of the Middle East's armed forces, their external sources of military hardware, and local production. The article also includes a short discussion of the Rapid Deployment Force. ¤

1745. Bundy, McGeorge. "Nuclear Weapons and the Gulf." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Fall 1991), pp. 83-94.

1746. Carus, W. Seth. "Iran's Weapons of Mass Destruction: Implications and Responses." *Middle East Review of International Affairs, MERIA Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (March 1998), distributed electronically. ●● An examination of Iran's holdings of chemical and biological weapons, as well as its reported efforts to attain nuclear capability. The author notes that "Given the enmity that exists between the United States and Iran, and the possibility that military hostilities could erupt between the two countries, these Iranian weapons programs are a source of serious concern to policy-makers in Washington."

1747. Childs, Nick. "The Royal Saudi Navy." *Navy International*, Vol. 92 (November 1987), pp. 575-577. ●● A writer for the Arabic Service of the BBC provides a brief survey of Saudi Arabia's naval capabilities, remarking that "the Saudi Navy does not yet approach the proficiency of a major Western navy, but they plainly intend that their fleet should become the major regional naval force, and, with ocean going warships and auxiliaries, also be able to range further afield." (p. 577)

1748. Clayton, Peter. *Two Alpha Lima: The First Ten Years of the Trucial Oman Levies and Trucial Oman Scouts (1950 to 1960)*. London: Janus Publishing, 1994.

-and –

1749. Mann, Michael. *The Trucial Oman Scouts: The Story of a Bedouin Force*.

Wilby, Norwich, UK: Michael Russell, 1994. ●● Two histories concentrating on the Trucial Oman Scouts, the British-established and officered armed force that policed what was known as the Trucial Coast before its independence in 1971 as the United Arab Emirates. The Scouts thereupon formed the nucleus of the UAE Armed Forces.

1750. Cordesman, Anthony H. *The Gulf and the Search for Strategic Stability: Saudi Arabia, The Military Balance in the Gulf, and Trends in the Arab-Israeli Military Balance*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984. ●● An encyclopedic survey of the strategic importance of Saudi Arabia and its neighbors to the United States. Cordesman, then an editor at the *Armed Forces Journal International*, casts his net widely to cover military modernization in Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern states, the controversy over US arms sales to Riyadh, threats to Western interests from the Yemens and countries in the Horn of Africa, the interrelationship between Gulf security and the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iran-Iraq war, and the superpower rivalry in the Gulf. See also Cordesman's "The Changing Military Balance in the Gulf and Middle East," *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 119, No. 1 (September 1981), pp. 52ff.

1751. _____ *The Gulf and the West: Strategic Relations and Military Realities*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1988.

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1752. _____. *After the Storm: The Changing Military Balance in the Middle East*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; London: Mansell, 1993. ●● A pair of comprehensive treatments of the military capabilities of the regional states, their relations with the United States, and American military and strategic issues dealing with the region. The first volume, published as the Iran-Iraq War was ending, also covers the problems involved in US arms sales to Saudi Arabia during the 1980s. The second, published after the Kuwait War, casts its net wider over the entire Middle East and also discusses the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

1753. _____. *Iran and Iraq: The Threat from the Northern Gulf*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994. ●● A senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies details the military capabilities of Iraq and Iran and analyzes the threats that both countries pose, including conventional, WMD, and terrorism and subversion. He concludes that "it is clear that the West and the southern Gulf must take every possible action to limit Iran and Iraq's present and future war fighting options. This involves … arms control, limits on the transfer of technology and equipment, strengthening the deterrent and

defensive capabilities of southern Gulf forces, and building up Western power projection capabilities." (p. 288)

1754. _____. *Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE: Challenges of Security*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997. CSIS Middle East Dynamic Net Assessment. ●● A senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies surveys the background, economy, security requirements, and security forces of each of the four countries of the title. He emphasizes that, despite grouping the countries together, that they exhibit as many differences as they do similarities.

1755. _____. *Kuwait: Recovery and Security After the Gulf War*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997. CSIS Middle East Dynamic Net Assessment. ●● This slim volume is part of a six-volume study on the individual countries of the GCC. The author examines first the external security problems that Kuwait faces, i.e. Iran and Iraq, before turning to internal security questions, along with an assessment of the emirate's political and economic stability. The subsequent eight chapters focus on the Kuwaiti military, including assessments of each service and the rebuilding of the armed forces after the Kuwait War. According to the author, "Kuwait faces serious strategic challenges. It must develop as effective a self-defense capability as is possible; it must reinforce its strategic ties to the US as the ultimate guarantor of its security; it must do as much as possible to reinforce its ties to other Southern Gulf states; and it must move towards political, social, and economic reform." (p. 123)

1756. _____. *Saudi Arabia: Guarding the Desert Kingdom*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997. CSIS Middle East Dynamic Net Assessment. ●● A senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies looks at internal and external security issues confronting Saudi Arabia and documents the kingdom's order of battle in each of its services. A final chapter discusses the matter of reform and military cooperation with the West. He warns that "The West must be careful in pressing for military sales, or aid, in ways which do not meet vital Saudi security needs and which do not take into account Saudi Arabia's domestic economic situation and social needs." (p. 195)

1757. _____. *Iran's Military Forces in Transition: Conventional Threats and Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999. ●● An exhaustive survey of Iran's military capability, include arms transfers, military manpower, each service, war doctrine, delivery systems, and status of WMD capabilities. In much the same vein as his views on Iraq, Cordesman suggests that the best policy for the West is to continue military containment to hinder

and delay Iran's "creeping" proliferation efforts, even though it is unrealistic to expect to prevent it. The author suggests that it may take a decade or more for the Iranian "moderates" to wrest control of the country's security establishment from the "conservatives" and counsels patience in the meantime.

1758. _____. *Iraq and the War of Sanctions: Conventional Threats and Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999. ●● A detailed depiction and analysis of Iraq's conventional warfare and WMD capabilities, as well as its delivery capabilities, directed to an audience concerned with understanding Saddam Husayn's strategy and intentions. Cordesman recommends that military sanctions, as opposed to economic sanctions, should be continued but warns that their effect is likely to be containment of a weakened Iraq, not a solution to the problem. He also contends that any successor régime will seek to rebuild military capability and that a worst-case scenario involves a large-scale Iraqi combined operations attack on Kuwait and/or eastern Saudi Arabia.

1759. _____. "U.S. Military Assistance to the Middle East: National Security or Election-Year Politics?" *Armed Forces Journal* (January 1984), pp. 26, 28, 30, 32-33. ●● Consists of an overview of the current military situation in the various subregions of the Middle East, along with a detailed criticism of US military policy towards the states of the area. In the Gulf, the author sees the main problem as being the American refusal to sell advanced or "force structure" aircraft (such as the F-15, F-16, and F-18) to the smaller Gulf states, thus "blocking any further air defense and maritime cooperation among the Gulf Cooperation Countries." Since they have been forced to turn to France for fighters, the Reagan administration (like the previous one) has been forced to break its own rules regarding arms sales. ¤

1760. _____. "Arms to Iran: The Impact of U.S. and Other Arms Sales on the Iran-Iraq War." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 20 (Spring 1987), pp. 13-29. ●● An adjunct professor at Georgetown University notes that arms are the only area of Iraqi superiority in its war with Iran and thus the covert US arms sales to Iran were important but still were only part of the story. The author outlines the pattern in arms sales to the combatants over the course of the war and suggests that the challenge for US policy is to "help force a halt to the fighting without risking the defeat of Iraq or alienating any future Iranian leadership that may have a serious interest in … diplomatic and economic ties to the United States." (p. 26)

1761. _____. "The Changing Military Balance in the Gulf: Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait and Its Aftermath." In *Royal United Services Institute and Brassey's*

Defence Yearbook 1991 (London: Brassey's UK, 1991), pp. 217-247. ●● An adjunct professor at Georgetown University and US Congressional aide surveys the military and strategic impact of the Iraqi invasion on regional security and the role of outside powers (the article was published on the eve of the Kuwait War). The author notes pessimistically that "The sad fact is that the ability to use force is still the only way to achieve security and stability in the region, and that states will only be secure to the extent that they and friendly states have sufficient military force to halt any challenge." (p. 245)

1762. _____. "No End of a Lesson? Iraq and the Issue of Arms Transfers." *RUSI Journal*, Vol. 136 (Spring 1991), pp. 3-10.

1763. _____. "The Changing Military Balance in the Gulf." *Middle East Policy*. Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1998), pp. 25-44.

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1764. _____. "The New Balance of Gulf Arms." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (June 1999), pp. 80-103. ●● The author reviews the changes in the military arena since the Kuwait War and outlines current threat scenarios, including potential WMD capabilities and the use of terrorism. The second article includes a number of charts.

1765. _____. "Saudi Military Forces and the Gulf." Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 4 February 1999. ●● A collection of charts and graphs on Saudi Arabia's military capabilities in hardware and personnel, arms deliveries to the country, and its comparative strengths vis-à-vis its neighbors in the Gulf.

1766. _____. "The Military Balance in the Gulf." Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 2001. ●● A paper by the holder of the Arleigh A. Burke Chair for Strategy at CSIS covering Gulf military expenditures, arms transfers, military manpower and demographics, land, air, and sea services, and weapons of mass destruction. The 73-page paper consisting mostly of exhaustive charts and graphs.

1767. _____, and Ahmed S. Hashim. *Iran: Dilemmas of Dual Containment*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997. ●● Two fellows at the Center for Strategic and International Studies collaborate on a study of Iran's domestic developments, military capabilities, regional security ambitions, support for terrorism and extremism, and WMD programs. The authors argue that there is a continuing need for military containment of Iran but that the US policy of "dual containment" should be replaced by "constructive engagement."

1768. Cottrell, Alvin J., and Frank Bray. *Military Forces in the Persian Gulf*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, for the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1978. Washington Papers, No. 60. ●● The authors, formerly Executive Director of the International Research Council at Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) (Cottrell) and a CSIS research associate (Bray), provide a descriptive, country by-country survey of the defense establishments of each of the Gulf states. A conclusion notes that "The increase in the size and sophistication of Persian Gulf military forces has been taking place at a time when many of the traditional rulers of the area, having witnessed Britain's withdrawal, see little hope that their security will be provided for by any other large power." A number of factors have combined to date this study and reduce its usefulness: the revolution in Iran, six years of subsequent arms transfers and military improvements in the Arab states, the Iran-Iraq war, and enunciation of the Carter Doctrine (much of the conclusion focuses on applications of the Nixon Doctrine in light of the then-current Ogaden war). See also Alvin J. Cottrell, Robert J. Hanks, and Frank T. Bray, "Military Affairs in the Persian Gulf," in Cottrell, gen. ed., *The Persian Gulf States: A General Survey* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 140-171. ¤

1769. Cummings, John Thomas, Hussein G. Askari, and Michael Skinner. "Military Expenditures and Manpower Requirements in the Arabian Peninsula." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1980), pp. 38-49. ●● The authors explore the danger that vastly increased military spending could frustrate economic development plans in the lightly populated oil-exporting countries by diverting manpower from civilian to military applications. They estimate that Saudi arms purchases may require another 75,000 to 100,000 skilled personnel and that the situation in Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates are proportionately similar. They note that a program of military integration could alleviate some of these problems and they also recommend investigation of the military's potential as an educational force. Cummings and Askari teach international business at the University of Texas at Austin, and Skinner is a business consultant in Austin. ¤

1770. Ehteshami, Anoushiravan. "Oil, Arms Procurement and Security in the Persian Gulf." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 34, No. 3 (November 2003), pp. 260-270. ●● A professor of international relations at the University of Durham explores the linkage between oil income and arms procurement in the Gulf. The author notes that the region continues to be one of the world's biggest importers of weaponry, despite falling incomes. While the oil boom is a thing of the past, he says, the arms race is not. He suggests that while oil income was a factor in arms procurement policies in the past, continued high

outlays during a period of flat oil prices in the 1990s were more the result of security perceptions and calculations than the price of oil.

1771. Eisenstadt, Michael. *"The Sword of the Arabs:" Iraq's Strategic Weapons*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1990. Policy Papers, No. 21.

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1772. _____. *Like a Phoenix from the Ashes?: The Future of Iraqi Military Power*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1993. Policy Papers, No. 36. ●● Two studies of the Iraqi military by a fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. The first, completed just prior to Baghdad's invasion of Kuwait, outlines Iraq's capabilities in unconventional weapons, long-range strike systems, strategic reconnaissance systems, and also looks at the "deterrent relationship" between Iraq and Israel. The second reviews the control over the state exercised by Saddam Husayn in the post-Kuwait-War era and details the country's conventional as well as unconventional forces. Eisenstadt summarizes Saddam's military options and concludes that "Although currently weak and isolated, the regime of President Saddam Hussein remains committed to making Iraq a regional power and rebuilding its military capabilities, and therefore it will continue to pose a threat to regional peace and stability." (p. 77)

1773. _____. *Iranian Military Power: Capabilities and Intentions*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1996. Policy Papers, No. 42. ●● A senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy summarizes Iran's conventional and unconventional forces, as well as its role in terrorism and subversion, and makes recommendations for US policy towards Iran. He observes that only nuclear weapons "can transform it into the preeminent military power in the Gulf and address the long-term threat Tehran perceives from Iraq and the United States…." (p.79) Although a nuclear program will cost billions of dollars, rebuilding its conventional forces will cost tens of billions of dollars. He suggests that the US should continue to focus on containing Iran to prevent it acting like Iraq. He discounts the possibility that Iraq can be built up as a counterweight to Iran or that the two countries may form a strategic alliance against the US.

1774. _____. "The Iraqi Armed Forces Two Years On." *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (March 1993), pp. 121-127.

1775. _____. "Living With a Nuclear Iran?" *Survival*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Autumn 1999), pp. 124-148. ●● A senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near

East Policy suggests that Iran is indeed pursuing a nuclear option (why else would it emphasize its missile capabilities?). He contends that "The bottom line for the US is that an Iranian nuclear break-out would probably deepen American involvement in the security of the [region and it] would complicate US power projection in the Persian Gulf, and raise the potential risks of a long-term US presence there. And it would challenge Washington to find ways to strengthen its deterrent capability and to reassure allies, without contributing to regional tensions." (p. 134)

1776. _____. "The Armed Forces Of The Islamic Republic Of Iran: An Assessment." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (December 2000), distributed electronically. ●● The author, a senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near Easter Policy, notes that "Iran's defense policies have shown remarkable constancy in the decade following the end of the Iran-Iraq War - and even after the 1997 election of reformist President Muhammad Khatami. Iran has continued its plodding efforts to expand and modernize its conventional military forces - increasingly through domestic procurement - though the main emphasis has been on the development of missiles and non-conventional weapons."

1777. Gause, F. Gregory, III. "Arms Supplies and Military Spending in the Gulf." *Middle East Report*, No. 204 (July-September 1997), pp. 12-14. ●● An associate professor of political science at the University of Vermont examines the very large role of defense spending in the Gulf states over the late 1980s and 1990s. He notes that all of the Gulf states, except Kuwait, experienced a fall in per capita military expenditure from 1985 to 1995 but cautions that this was from one of the highest levels in the world. In 1995, the military expenditure of every Gulf state except Iran exceeded the world average of 4.2%. The only non-Gulf states above 10% of GDP in military spending were North Korea, Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia. US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency figures for 1992-1994 gave the Middle East as whole a total of $34 billion in arms imports (or 43% of world total); the eight Gulf states accounted for more than 70% of all Middle East imports.

1778. Goldberg, Jacob. "The Saudi Military Build-up: Strategy and Risks." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Spring 1989), pp. 3-13. ●● A research fellow at Tel Aviv University assesses the impact Saudi Arabia's financial difficulties in the late 1980s had in slowing down its arms procurement programs. He concludes that these arms purchases were intended to convince their adversaries that the Saudis had become militarily powerful and since the kingdom did not have the manpower to build a large army, "the Saudis decided that the only way to project power and deter opponents was to procure - and display - large quantities of arms." (p. 12) This policy,

Goldberg argues, is a departure from the pattern set by King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and is short-sighted and counter-productive.

1779. Grimmett, Richard F. *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RL32084, 22 September 2003. ●● Although this study, updated at frequent intervals by a national defense specialist at the Library's CRS, does not deal specifically with the Gulf, it provides a wealth of details on global arms transfers to the Gulf and rankings of Gulf states among the world's importers of arms.

1780. Hadar, Leon. “The Saudi Armed Forces.” *Journal of Defense and Diplomacy*, Vol. 5, No. 10 (1987), pp. 42-45. ●● A journalist briefly describes Saudi Arabia's security requirements and its military capabilities. He avers that “the general agreement among most analysts is that the Saudi armed forces, at least in the coming years, are too small, too weak and too widely scattered to defend their country against the major military powers in the Middle East.

1781. Hamdoon, Nizar. “The U.S.-Iran Arms Deal: An Iraqi Critique.” *Middle East Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Summer 1987), pp. 35-40. ●● Iraq's ambassador to the United States disputes the idea that Iran should be courted because it is strategically important and alleges that “If Iran is again to be touted as a major regional power … and supplied with weapons to pursue its violent ends, especially its war against Iraq, then little would stand between the region and chaos.” (p. 37)

1782. Huxley, Christian. “‘A Central American Situation in the Gulf.'” *MERIP Reports*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (September-October 1987), pp. 33-34.

1783. Johnson, Thomas M., and Raymond T. Barrett. “Omani Navy: Operating in Troubled Waters.” *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 108, No. 3 (March 1982), pp. 99-103. ●● Two members of the US Defense Requirements Survey Team sent to Oman in 1979 provide an overview of the problems faced by the Sultanate of Oman Navy and survey of the naval equipment that Oman has and expects in the future. ¤

1784. Kennedy, Edward M. “The Persian Gulf: Arms Race or Arms Control?” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (October 1975), pp. 14-35. ●● The Massachusetts Senator charges that there cannot be a coherent U. S. arms sales policy for the Gulf without a clear Gulf policy-which the US lacks. In his view, the political and military aspects of Gulf security often have been over looked in favor of economic aspects, even though increasing arms sales

involve the US in Gulf politics and military issues. Kennedy contends that conditions do not exist in the Gulf for a stable balance of military power and therefore arms transfers increase political tensions and the chances of conflict. He recommends the decoupling of arms sales from oil supplies and the coordination of military transfers to the region with other supplies. ¤

1785. Kostiner, Joseph. "Counterproductive Mediation: Saudi Arabia and the Iran Arms Deal." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Summer 1987), pp. 41-46. ●● A scholar at Tel Aviv University, visiting in the United States, criticizes Saudi Arabia's contradictory policies of participating in the US-Israeli-Iranian arms deal of 1985-1986 while continuing to support Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War. As a result, the author claims that "the Saudis found themselves forced to accept the military strengthening of their main foe [which] has not only contradicted the established Saudi policy of supporting Iraq, but has actually rendered Riyadh's own search for security counterproductive." (p. 46)

1786. Levi, Michael. "Will the Saudis Go Nuclear?" *New Republic* (2 June 2003), accessed online. ●● A fellow at the Brookings Institution suggests that if the US-Saudi alliance disintegrates, Saudi Arabia might well develop a nuclear arsenal based on its purchase of Chinese missiles and a close Pakistani connection. He also argues that Riyadh's leadership may prefer a nuclear option rather than a conventional build-up because the latter could pose a coup-making threat to the régime. He suggests that the US might extend an explicit security guarantee to Saudi Arabia, just as it did to Europe during the Cold War to keep it non-nuclear.

1787. Mansur, Abdul Kasim (pseud.). "The Military Balance in the Persian Gulf: Who Will Guard the Gulf States from Their Guardians?" *Armed Forces Journal International*, Vol. 118, No. 3 (November 1980), pp. 44-86. ●● A pessimistic survey of the military capabilities of the Gulf states and their political stability, written by an unidentified "former State Department official with intimate experience in the Persian Gulf. A The author points out that the Gulf area has been the world's largest importer of military goods and services since 1974, but argues that these purchases have not really provided the Gulf states with security. The totals of military personnel and equipment in these states are misleading because of the hodgepodge of purchases, the lack of trained and committed personnel, and reliance on foreign contract personnel and mercenaries. Even more important is the lack of internal stability in all the states, according to the author: "Many, if not most, Gulf nations are likely to become 'radical' and potentially hostile states by 1990, and probably earlier." One table includes a "Stability Index" which ranks, for example, the UAE regime's survivability through 1985 at 20% and through 1990 at 5%. Much of the article is taken up by individual assessments of the

military capability of each state and the author concludes with the warning that "While the West can scarcely abandon the Gulf, it cannot afford to count on it." ¤

1788. Rathmell, Andrew. *The Changing Military Balance in the Gulf*. London: Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, 1996. RUSI Whitehall Papers, No. 38. ●● After first surveying the military capabilities of each of the GCC states, the author, a member of the Department of War Studies at King's College, London, seeks to use quantitative methods to measure the strategic balance in the Gulf. He concludes that the conventional military balance in the Gulf is not static, especially between Iran and Iraq and, to a lesser extent, between Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, "Over the next five to ten years the combined GCC forces will outstrip Iraq's combat potential. The differential becomes more striking if the GCC forces are given credit for higher readiness rates." (p. 105) He notes several caveats but, nevertheless, "the changing military balance should reassure the GCC states and their Western allies that their current force-building efforts are not in vain." (p. 107)

1789. _____. "Saudi Arabia's Military Build-Up-An Extravagant Error?" *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 6, No. 11 (November 1994), pp. 500-505. ●● The author charges that "it is debatable whether the Saudi build-up will serve its avowed function of deterring threats from Iran, Iraq or Yemen [and at] the same time , the build-up has served to accelerate the regional arms race." (p. 500) Rather than buying security, he avers that the kingdom may be merely exacerbating its political problems.

1790. Russell, Richard L. "A Saudi Nuclear Option?" *Survival*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 69-79. ●● A research associate at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy speculates on the possibility that Saudi Arabia might seek nuclear weapons capability without providing any evidence or clues that the kingdom actually has considered such a policy.

1791. Shichor, Yitzhak. *East Wind Over Arabia: Origins and Implications of the Sino-Saudi Missile Deal*. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, Center for Chinese Studies, 1989. China Research Monograph, No. 35. ●● A political scientist at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem utilizes the Saudi purchase of Chinese DF-3 Dongfeng ("East Wind") missiles in 1988 as a springboard to examine China's relationship with Riyadh since 1949. He notes that China used Islam, trade, investments, arms sales, and quiet diplomacy to gain Saudi recognition, which coincided eventually with Riyadh's own desire to play a more independent role in the world.

1792. Tahtinen, Dale R. *Arms in the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1974. Foreign Affairs Studies, No. 10. ●● An early assessment of the comparative military power of the Gulf states, written while the author was a research associate at the American Enterprise Institute. Tahtinen also takes a look at US military policy options. Despite being heavily outdated, the author's calls for a reversal of the superpowers' arms sales to Gulf states and for a solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict still remain relevant. ¤

1793. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. *Report on the Department of Defense Role in the Sale of Military Equipment to the Islamic Republic of Iran: Operation Snowball and Operation Crocus*. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1987.

1794. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. *The Foreign Policy Implications of Arms Sales to Iran and the Contra Connection*; Hearings. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1986.

1795. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *Proposed Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia*; Hearing and Markup, 22-23 April 1986, 99th Congress, 2nd Session on H. Res. 589. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1986. ●● This committee print contains testimony regarding the sale of several thousand Sidewinder air-to-air, Harpoon air-to-sea, and Stinger ground-to-air missiles to Saudi Arabia. Congressman Mel Levine of California, a member of the subcommittee and the primary sponsor of House Resolution 589 to prohibit the sale of missiles, explains his opposition "because of the antipathy Saudi Arabia has shown for fundamental American national security interests in the Middle East." (p. 2) Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, argues that "Strengthening Saudi air defense capabilities will help ensure that Saudi Arabia, and other moderate Arab Gulf States, are not caught up in an expansion of the [Iran-Iraq] war and the spread of Khomeini-type radicalism. It will complement our own regional security objectives, and reduce the probability of future direct U.S. military involvement." (p. 14) This view is supported by Robert H. Pelletreau, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, who in his prepared statement notes that "The simple fact is that Saudi Arabia needs these weapons, which are purely defensive in nature, to meet the threats they - and we - perceive they will face in the early nineties." (p. 36)

1796. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *Presidential Certification on the Delivery of AWACS to Saudi Arabia*; Hearing, 15 July 1986. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1986. ●●

Examines the degree to which the certification meets the terms and conditions of the sale as presented to congress in 1981. Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, states that "The AWACS aircraft are an integral part of the ambitious and effective Saudi defensive system that we have helped plan and build. Implementing the Saudi AWACS program serves the interest of both our nations." (p. 4) Richard L. Armitage, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, continues by stating that US requirements regarding the security of technology, US access to AWACS information, access by third-country nationals, restrictions of AWACS fights to within Saudi air space, and satisfactory Saudi command structure. He also stresses that the transfer of AWACS presents no threat to Israel.

1797. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security and Science, and Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *Proposed Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia*; Hearing, 10 May 1988. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1988. ●● The subcommittees consider the proposed sale of maintenance and training packages for AWACS and refueling aircraft and of 200 Bradley M02 infantry fighting vehicles and accompanying TOW II missiles in light of the recent revelation of Saudi Arabia's acquisition of Chinese CSS-2 ballistic missiles. The two State Department witnesses, Richard Murphy and Edward Gnehm maintain that the missiles do not improve Saudi security and were obtained principally as a deterrent in the face of Iranian gains in its war with Iraq and its use of Scud missiles against Iraqi targets. There is additional questioning on the appearance of Stinger missiles in Qatar, apparently from stocks provided to the Afghanistan mujahidin (resistance).

1798. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security, and Science. *Proposed Arms Sales to Kuwait*; Hearing, 7 July 1988. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1988. ●● A hearing regarding the proposed $1.9 billion sale of 40 F-18 aircraft, weapons systems, and support services to Kuwait, with testimony from Peter Burleigh (Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs) and Edward W. Gnehm, Jr. (Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs).

1799. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Arms Control, International Security and Science, and on Europe and the Middle East. *Proposed Tank Sale to Saudi Arabia*; Hearing, 7 November 1989. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1990. ●● Richard A. Clarke, Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs, informs the subcommittee of the Administration's intention to sell Saudi Arabia 315 M-1A2 Abrams tanks (for

a total of $3.1 billion including other equipment) to replace an aging AMX-30 tank inventory. He is accompanied by Edward W. Gnehm, Jr. (Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs), and Arthur H. Hughes (Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs).

1800. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Arms Control, International Security and Science, and on Europe and the Middle East. *Proposed Sales and Upgrades of Major Defense Equipment to Saudi Arabia*; Hearing, 19 June 1990. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1991. ●● The hearing is concerned with the proposed sale of modifications to AWACS and tanker aircraft, modernization of the Saudi Arabian National Guard, and the sale of recovery vehicles. Witnesses include William F. Rope (Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Politico-Military Affairs), Jock P. Covey (Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs), and Frederick S. Smith (Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, International Security Affairs).

1801. _____. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security and Science; and Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. *Proposed Sale of F-15 Aircraft to Saudi Arabia and U.S.-Saudi Commercial Disputes*; Joint Hearings and Mark-Up, 23 September 1992. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1993. ●● Part of the hearing concerns the proposed sale to Saud Arabia of 72 F-15XP aircraft with $9 billion. Frank G. Wisner (Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs) and Carl W. Ford, Jr. (Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs) defend the Administration's request.

1802. Yousif, Yousif Khalifa Al-. "Defence Spending and Economic Growth: Some Empirical Evidence from the Arab Gulf Region." *Defence and Peace Economics*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (June 2002), pp. 187-198.

1803. Venter, Al J. "How Saddam Almost Built His Bomb." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (February 1999), pp. 45-61.

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1804. _____. "New-Era Threat: Iraq's Biological Weapons." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (June 1999), pp. 104-117. ●● A correspondent for some of Jane's publications observes that "it is clear that an embattled Iraq was able to demonstrate an astonishing level of enterprise in getting as far as it did" in developing a nuclear device. (p. 56) Much of its near-success, he avers, came

through Western help. In his other article, Venter traces Iraq's development of biological weapons in his second article, noting the importance of the Al Hakam [sic] site near Baghdad and tracing the history of Iraq's efforts, including the Soviet Union's role.

1805. Zimmerman, Peter D. *Iraq's Nuclear Achievements: Components, Sources and Statures*. U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, 1993.

1806. Zabih, Sepehr. *The Iranian Military in Revolution and War*. London: Routledge, 1988. ●● A study of the development of the Iranian armed forces since the revolution and especially the impact of the Iran-Iraq War. Although the book essentially ends before the resolution of the war, the author judges that "U.S. policy toward the Gulf played a critical part in precluding Iraq's defeat and forcing Iran to accept truce. Again the critics of the policy … proved shortsighted and partisan." (p. 263)

Iran - The Revolution and the Islamic Republic and Their Impact on Gulf Security

1807. Afrasiabi, K.L. *After Khomeini: New Directions in Iran's Foreign Policy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994. ●● The author, at Boston University, examines Iranian foreign policy during the republic, beginning with a case study of Iran's strategy during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and consequent war. Other chapters concentrate on Iran's Gulf strategy, its Central Asia-Caucasus policy, and its place in the post-Cold War environment. He notes first that "On the surface, Iran's behavior during the Kuwait crisis … appears as straightforward and relatively easy to comprehend: the Islamic Republic wisely insulated itself from the neighboring crisis, adopted a neutral stance, cooperated with the United Nations' resolutions aimed at reversing Iraq's conquest of Kuwait, and sought to take advantage of this crisis's 'windfalls.'" (p. 57) He reiterates the invasion's demonstration of the inability of the GCC to defend itself and discusses the merits of a "GCC seven" to include Iran.

1808. Ahrari, Mohammed E. "Iran and the Superpowers in the Gulf." *SAIS Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Winter-Spring 1987), pp. 157-168. ●● A look at revolutionary Iran's relations with the superpowers by an associate professor of political science at Mississippi State University. He asserts that confrontation arises because of Iran's belief that it is rightfully the preeminent power in the Gulf and because of its desire to export the Iranian revolution. This has led the Arab states of the Gulf to create the GCC and to increase their reliance on the United States, although simultaneously de-emphasizing it

by insisting on an "over-the-horizon" presence.

1809. Akhavi, Shahrough. "Post-Khomeini Iran: Global and Regional Implications." *SAIS Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Winter-Spring 1990), pp. 149-162. ●● A professor of government at the University of South Carolina expects that "As it is likely to do with Saudi Arabia, it is probable that the Islamic Republic will adopt less confrontational attitudes and conduct toward Kuwait in the post-Khomeini era. Iran will modify its policy towards Kuwait if only to prevent a strongly pro-Iraqi attitude by the latter." (p. 159)

1810. Albright, David. "An Iranian Bomb?" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 51 (July-August 1995), pp. 20-26. ●● The president of the Institute for Science and International Security examines the evidence regarding Iran's nuclear intentions and concludes that Iran has no nuclear bomb as yet. But he advises that "Stopping Iranian nuclear weapon capabilities, even if the evidence is not irrefutable, must remain a high priority. If Russia and China lend assistance, they have a responsibility to insure that Iran does not misuse it. If not, they will need to stop." (p. 26)

1811. Amirahmadi, Hooshang, and Nader Entessar, eds. *Reconstruction and Regional Diplomacy in the Persian Gulf*. London: Routledge, 1992. ●● A collection of papers that focuses on Iran, its domestic changes, its economic reconstruction after the Iran-Iraq War, and its relations with the United States. Nikki R. Keddie (UCLA) starts off the collection by posing the question "why has Iran been revolutionary?" George Linabury (Western Connecticut State University) discusses Khomeini's Islamic legacy and Augustus Richard Norton (US Military Academy, West Point) looks at the politicization of Lebanon's Shi'ah community. Iran's reconstruction is discussed by Hooshang Amirahmadi (Rutgers University) in two chapters. Iran's relations with the Arab world are covered by Anoushiravan Ehteshami (University of Exeter) while relations with the GCC are reviewed by M.E. Ahrari (US Air War College) and Nader Entessar (Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama) examines alternatives to arms build-up in the Gulf. Mohsen M. Milani (University of South Florida) analyzes US relations with the Islamic Republic while Mohiaddin Mesbahi (Florida International University) does the same for Soviet relations.

1812. _____. "Iran and the Persian Gulf: Strategic Issues and Outlook." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1993), pp. 366-407. ●● The author, Director of the Middle East Studies Program at Rutgers University, analyzes the future of Iranian Gulf policy in the context of such strategic factors as Great Power rivalry, Iranian relations with the Arab World, a regional arms race, oil policy, Islamic movements, and collective

security. The author concludes that his analyses "point to a conflictual and near-bleak future for the Persian Gulf." (p. 404)

1813. Amuzegar, Jahangir. "Islamic Fundamentalism in Action: the Case of Iran." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, Nos. 1 and 2 (September 1995), pp. 22-33. ●● A study by an international economic consultant and former minister in the Shah's government assessing the impact of the Islamic Republic on Iranian democracy (civil society and individual liberties are absent) society (no pervasive change), on the economy (less economic independence than before the revolution), perceptions of a threat to the non-Islamic world (highly exaggerated). "History shows systems that ignore human proclivities will not work, and systems that are unworkable tend to implode. Islamic fundamentalist regimes are no exception." (p. 33)

1814. _____. "Iran's Crumbling Revolution." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (January-February 2003), pp. 44-57. ●● An international economic consultant and former Minister of Finance in the pre-1979 Iranian government contends that the future of Iran will be determined less by the struggle between reformists and conservatives and more by a "Third Force," the generation born after 1979 who are discontented by the economic failure and bankrupt ideology of the Islamic Republic. The best policy for the US, he advises, is to wait and see. "Washington would be best served by letting the currently accelerating process of democratization run its course. The theocracy's days are numbered…." (p. 57)

1815. Ansari, Ali M. "Continuous Regime Change from Within." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Autumn 2003), pp. 53-67. ●● A lecturer in Middle East history at the University of Durham contends that "Far from the monolithic, totalitarian police state described by some commentators, Iran's politics reflect an intensely complex, highly plural, dynamic characteristic of a state in transition that incorporates the contradictions and instabilities inherent in such a process." (p. 53) He traces the process of political change in Iran from the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 through the new reformers after Khatami. Noting that many Iranians are sympathetic to the US, he advises that "the United States should recognize that change will be indigenous and thus not align itself with overseas opposition groups whose understanding of politics on the ground in Iran is limited." (p. 66)

1816. Bill, James A. "The Resurrection of Iran in the Persian Gulf." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (March-April 1992), pp. 28-35. ●● A professor at the College of William and Mary notes that "After the massive American-led destruction of Iraq in the Persian Gulf War of 1991, Iran today looms larger than ever as a major power in the Middle East." (p. 28) He adds that Iran has

moved beyond the extreme stages of its revolution and stands as the "superpower of the Gulf," which means that "U.S. cooperation with Iran is essential to future stability in the Middle East…." (p. 35)

1817. Byman, Daniel L., Shahram Chubin, Anoushiravan Ehteshami, and Jerrold Green. *Iran's Security Policy in the Post-Revolutionary Era*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2001.

1818. Chubin, Shahram. *Iran's National Security Policy: Capabilities, Intentions and Impact*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1994. ●● An independent scholar based in Geneva examines Iran's security perspectives in the aftermath of the Iran-Iraq War and the Kuwait War. He focuses on the questions of professionalization and technology in the armed forces, arms policies and procurement, security concerns vis-à-vis Gulf neighbors, the United States, and Israel, and on the process of decision-making in security policy. The author contends that "There is no clear relationship between Iran's threat perception, force structure, missions, doctrine, and procurement policy on the one hand and what it can afford on the other. Iran's scramble to buy whatever arms are available today is a response to a decade of near-total embargo and a sense that it might be reimposed again at any time." (p. 76) One consequence, according to Chubin, is that "Iran's national security has been threatened as much by its overweening ambitions and excesses as by aggressive neighbors." (p. 78)

1819. _____. "Leftist Forces in Iran." *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (July-August 1980), pp. 1-25. ●● Written a little more than a year after the Iranian revolution took place, this article traces the background of the three major leftist groups in Iran at the time: the Tudeh Party (which embraced Khomeini during the revolution, encouraged the anti-Western attitude of the new regime, and maintained close ties to the Soviet Union); the Feda'iyin-e Khalq (an offshoot coalition from the Tudeh but with no ties to Moscow; a guerrilla organization under the Shah, it went undercover again in the summer of 1979); and the Mojahedin-e Khalq (also a coalition with antiShah guerrilla roots; unlike the other two groups, it is avowedly Islamic and may be perceived as a more serious competitor to Khomeini). Chubin's conclusion that the left has political potential in the Iranian republic on the death of Khomeini must be considered in light of the debilitating effects of several years of bloody purges against all three groups. ¤

1820. _____. "The Islamic Republic's Foreign Policy in the Gulf." In Martin Kramer, ed., *Shi'ism, Resistance and Revolution* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987; Collected Papers, Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies), pp. 159-171. ●● A director of research at the Graduate Institute of

International Studies in Geneva examines the first years of the Iranian republic's attitude towards its Gulf neighbors and sees that "Iran's foreign policy in the Gulf is principally driven by the exigencies of its war with Iraq. For the foreseeable future, the Gulf will remain a prime area of concern. If the war continues, attempts will be made to weaken the pro-Iraqi tilt of the Gulf states, stop or at least reduce their financial contributions to Iraq's war effort, and more generally to encourage whatever fissiparous tendencies exist within the GCC." (p. 169)

1821. _____. "Iran and Regional Security in the Persian Gulf." *Survival*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Autumn 1992), pp. 62-80.

1822. _____, and Robert S. Litwak. "Debating Iran's Nuclear Aspirations." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Autumn 2003), pp. 99-114. ●● The director of research at the Geneva Centre for Security Studies and the director of international studies at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars assess the evidence for claims that Iran is engaged in building a nuclear weapons program and they lay out the possibility of inculcating a public debate in Iran over the country's nuclear politics. The authors argue that "The United States should lead the attempt to energize such a debate in Iran by providing the data and encouraging forums required for such discussions, which, after all, are largely technical and specialized. … U.S. policy choices are delicate, as Washington cannot appear to dictate terms or to bully, nor should it interfere in an internal debate. Rather, it needs to help foster that debate." (p. 111)

1823. Clawson, Patrick, ed. *Iran's Strategic Intentions and Capabilities*. Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1994. McNair Paper No. 29. ●● Iran's domestic politics and strategic intentions are presented by Laurent Lamote, Patrick Clawson, and Farhad Kazemi. John Hannah and Stuart E. Johnson cover the Russian-Iranian relationship. Aspects of Iran's military are the focus of contributions by Shahram Chubin, Michael Eisenstadt, and Ahmed Hashim. The editor is a senior fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies.

1824. Cottam, Richard W. "Revolutionary Iran and the War with Iraq." *Current History*, Vol. 80, No. 462 (January 1981), pp. 5-9, 38-42. ●● A short survey of trends in Iran after the first year or so of the revolution. A former US Foreign Service Officer in Tehran, now at the University of Pittsburgh, concludes that secular, rationalist, and liberal influences, as well as minority ethnic groups, have all lost ground in the post-revolutionary state. Cottam is of the opinion that the war with Iraq will change the nature of the Iranian revolution, reviving the need for reliance on secularist technical competence

and possibly creating war heroes to rival Khomeini's popularity. ¤

1825. de La Gorce, Paul-Marie. "Iran: The Nuclear Quest." *Le Monde Diplomatique* (October 2003), accessed online.

1826. Ehteshami, Anoushiravan. "Iran's International Posture in the Wake of the Iraq War." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 179-204. ●● A professor of international relational relations at the University of Durham emphasizes the inter-relationship between the domestic context and the republic's situation in a volatile region, not least of which is the turmoil in neighboring countries and the US presence there. In Ehteshami's opinion, "In the absence of any significant progress on the American front, and in the context of new facts being created on the ground in the Levant, and in both Afghanistan and Iraq, it is hard to resist the conclusion that Iran's inability to grasp the nettled and take advantage of historic opportunities to reform (and also negotiate) its way out of trouble may inevitably make it a prime target of 'regime change' engineers in Washington." (p. 194)

1827. Einhorn, Robert J. "A Transatlantic Strategy on Iran's Nuclear Program." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Autumn 2004), pp. 21-32. ●● A senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and former US assistant secretary of state for nonproliferation assesses Iran's actions and asks how Europe and the United States can agree on a combined approach to Tehran. He opines that "They will have to present Iran with a united front and force Tehran to choose between international cooperation and nuclear weapons. Only when Iran recognizes that it can neither divide the international community nor have its cake and eat it too will it make the right choice: to give up its nuclear weapons program." (p. 32)

1828. Ekovich, Steven. "Iran and New Threats in the Persian Gulf and Middle East." *Orbis*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Winter 2004), pp. 71-87. ●● A professor of international relations at the American University of Paris discusses Iran's conventional military capabilities, its drive for nuclear capability, and its support for terrorism, and the difficulties for the US in successfully engaging Iran. The article is based on a chapter in Hall Gardner, ed., *NATO and the European Union: New World, New Europe, New Threats* (Ashgate, 2003).

1829. Entessar, Nader. "Israel and Iran's Security." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Summer 2004), pp. 1-19. ●● A professor at Spring Hill College (Alabama) notes that although Iran's drive for nuclear capability alarms Israel, "it is also true that there are no significant strategic conflicts between Iran and Israel that would force the two countries to go to war against each other." (pp. 18-19)

1830. Esposito, John L., ed. *The Iranian Revolution: Its Global Impact*. Miami: Florida International University Press, 1990. ●● A number of contributions to this volume deal with the domestic side of the revolution and its impact on areas other than the Gulf. R.K. Ramazani (University of Virginia) and Farhang Rajaee (Iranian Academy of Philosophy) provide discussions of the political and ideological underpinnings of Iran's desire to export its revolution. Philip Robins (Royal Institute of International Affairs) looks at the impact on Iraq and notes that "From the beginning the perception of the Iranian revolution in Iraq was one of narrow sectarianism." (p. 97) David E. Long (Coast Guard Academy) examines the impact on the Gulf States, concluding that 10 years of the revolution produced little disaffection amongst citizens on the other Gulf littoral but that it has resulted in increased Arab-Persian antipathy, largely as a result of the Iran-Iraq War. (R.K. Ramazani's contribution was also published as "Iran's Export of the Revolution: Its Politics, Ends and Means," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall-Winter 1989), pp. 69-93.)

1831. Farber, David. *Taken Hostage: The Iran Hostage Crisis and America's First Encounter with Radical Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

1832. Feste, Karen. *The Iranian Revolution and Political Change in the Arab World*. Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1996. The Emirates Occasional Papers, No. 4. ●● An associate dean at the University of Denver looks at the impact of the Iranian revolution on political protest in the Arab world and observes that "Although protests have increased and economic conditions have worsened in countries of the Middle East, most of the governments have neither collapsed nor become completely closed and repressive. The pro-Islamic ideology wave across the region has achieved some success in affecting government policies." (p. 30) She does not discuss the impact on the Gulf states.

1833. Fuller, Graham E. *The Center of the Universe: The Geopolitics of Iran*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991. A Rand Corporation Research Study. ●● A survey of Iran's views and relations with its neighbors, other regional actors, and the great powers by a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation. The author provides historical background for each relationship, the ties and/or conflicts, and determinants of Iran's foreign policy toward each country. He ends with a more reflective chapter on the anatomy of Tehran's foreign policy, present and future, and observes that "The national interest of the country will eventually, of course, push any Iranian régime to benefit from close economic ties with the West. But the national political heritage will likely prevent any government from identifying itself too closely with the

West, and especially the United States, in the way that the shah did." (pp. 270-271)

1834. Green, Jerrold D. "Iran's Foreign Policy: Between Enmity and Conciliation." *Current History*, Vol. 92 (January 1993), pp. 12-16. ●● The director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Arizona sees a "distinct dualism in Iran's regional foreign policy, which combines aggressive policies toward some of the region's actors with a more conciliatory stance toward others. It is largely because of its regional policies that Iran has earned reprobation from so many in the international community, and approval from so few." (p. 12)

1835. Halliday, Fred. *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979. 2nd ed., 1979. ●● A study of the political and economic nature of the Shah's regime during the 1960s and 1970s. The author admits that "the stance of this book is antagonistic to that of the present Iranian government [i.e. that of the Shah] and its international allies, and is written in solidarity with those opposed to it." The book was completed in September 1978, with the second edition including an afterword to cover developments through March 1979. After a brief survey of the events of early 1979, Halliday expresses the opinion that "A hated system of political dictatorship, armed and supported by the west, has been destroyed by a heroic and protracted popular movement. For the first time in their history, the Iranian people now have the possibility of deciding their political destiny." ¤

1836. _____. "The Iranian Revolution in International Affairs: Programme and Practice." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1981), pp. 108-121. ●● The author feels that "international factors played a significant part in determining the context in which the revolution occurred … yet outside powers played rather a small part in the revolution itself." Two major external impacts of the revolution have been the dissociation of Iran from the pro-West alliance system and the provision of ideological encouragement to radical Islamic movements. Halliday sees the revolution reinforcing American fears, rooted in the Vietnam experience, of another foreign military entanglement and creating an overriding concern in Moscow over direct US military intervention in Iran. ¤

1837. Hashim, Ahmed. *The Crisis of the Iranian State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Adelphi Paper, No. 296. ●● A senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies looks at the "grim" crises that Iran faced in the 1990s and its international security situation. He analyzes the Islamic Republic's challenges in rebuilding conventional armed power and its position on weapons of mass destruction. In conclusion, "The Islamic Republic no

longer has the ability to draw up or implement domestic or foreign polices that would lead to the emergence of a flourishing and vibrant society and an economy worthy of emulation by the rest of the Muslim world." (p. 73)

1838. Hickman, William F. "How the Iranian Military Expelled the Iraqis." *Brookings Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Spring 1983), pp. 19-23. ●● The author, a naval officer and a federal executive fellow at Brookings in 1981-1982, examines the rebuilding of the Iranian military establishment in three phases after the outbreak of the war with Iraq. Tight control and the "Islamizing" of the war has produced a new Iranian military, according to Hickman. See also the author's *Ravaged and Reborn: The Iranian Army, 1982* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1983). ¤

1839. Hough, Harold. "Iran Targets the Arabian Peninsula." *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 8, No. 10 (October 1996), pp. 458-461. ●● A freelance journalist examines Iran's basing options for its Scud missiles and for the longer-range Nodong missile that Iran was attempting to purchase from North Korea. In particular, he uses Russian satellite photography to discuss the possibility of using Qeshm Island for these missiles. He concludes that "Iran has managed to pose a serious threat to the Gulf region. Although the anti-ship missiles and 'scuds' can be countered, they can cause the nations of the area to hesitate when decisive action is in their best interests." (p. 461)

1840. Hoveyda, Fereydoun. "The West and Iran's Paradox." *Global Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Spring 1988), pp. 119-133. ●● A former Iranian ambassador to the United Nations chronicles Iran's political predicament under the republic and exhorts his readers that "It is imperative that democratic countries help the Islamic modernizers to win their battle against fundamentalists and refrain from strengthening the latter." (p. 133)

1841. Howard, Roger. *Iran in Crisis? Nuclear Ambitions and the American Response*. London: Zed Books, 2004. ●● A British free-lance journalist examines the allegations that Iran is pursuing nuclear-weapons capability and that it is connected to Middle Eastern terror groups, as well as discusses possible outcomes if the régime should disintegrate. The author views the European Union's policy of "critical engagement" with approval and suggests that "'critical dialogue' can be strongly defended as the best approach to generate Iranian co-operation on the nuclear issue, the Middle East peace process and the rebuilding of Iraq and Afghanistan." (p. 217) While he sees the utility of a hardline approach at times, he advocates that Washington pursue such policy initiatives as detailing how sanctions could be lifted and WTO membership achieved, and by reducing the level of mistrust by scaling down its military presence in the region.

1842. Hunter, Shireen T. *Iran and the World: Continuity in a Revolutionary Decade*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990. ●● A comprehensive survey of Iranian foreign policy, including both a historical survey and thematic analysis of Iranian policy by geographical region: the United States and the Soviet Union, the Arab World and Israel, Pakistan, India, and Turkey, Europe, East Asia and the Pacific, and the Third World and international organizations. A final chapter deals with the impact of terrorism and subversion on foreign policy. The author determines that four basic points have shaped Iran's foreign policy: "complex and multiple factors have determined Iran's behavior since the Islamic revolution; there has not been a complete breach with the Iranian past in its external behavior; Iran's world view has neither been purely Islamic nor entirely novel, especially when viewed in terms of Third World intellectual trends; and its behavior has not been radically different from that of 'normal' states, especially Third World states at a revolutionary stage of development." (p. 184)

1843. _____. *Iran After Khomeini*. New York: Praeger, with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1992. Washington Papers, No. 156. ●● Although primarily concerned with Iran's domestic political, military, economic, and cultural/social issues, the author has written a chapter on the various stages in Iran's foreign relations since the revolution, including the impact on Iran of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. She notes that, although Iran benefitted from Iraq's acceptance of Tehran's peace terms for ending the Iran-Iraq War as a result of the invasion, Saddam Husayn's championing of the Palestinian cause and invocation of Islamic rhetoric also posed him as a potential rival to Iran. "Thus, Iran adopted a two-pronged and fairly balanced policy on the Kuwait problem. It condemned categorically Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and voted for the UN resolution calling for Iraqi withdrawal and … It pursued peace and the normalization of relations with Iraq." (p. 129)

1844. _____. "After the Ayatollah." *Foreign Policy*, No. 66 (Spring 1987), pp. 77-97. ●● The deputy director of the Middle East Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies examines the geopolitical importance of Iran, American and Soviet interest in the country, and potential developments after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini. She believes that "A successor régime in Iran is likely to be more radical, left-leaning, and Soviet-influenced than the Khomeini régime" (p. 93) but advocates changes in US policies that undermine the moderates.

1845. _____. "Islamic Iran and the Arab World." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (August-September 1987), pp. 17-25. ●● As the author, of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, remarks, "for the first time in recent history, Iran has become a factor to be considered on the Arab political scene,

not just at the level of inter-state relations, but also that of Arab populations." (p. 17)

1846. _____. "Iran: Renewed Threat in the Persian Gulf." *World & I*, Vol. 8 (April 1993), pp. 80-87. ●● The deputy director of the Middle East program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies looks at developments in Iran two years after the Kuwait War and observes that "Until Iran has abandoned certain aspects of its behavior, a Western policy of containment toward it is inevitable. For the West, the challenge is to mix this containment policy with measured and appropriate rewards, in order not to play into the hands of the Iranian hard-liners." (p. 87)

1847. _____. "Iran's Pragmatic Regional Policy." *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 133-148. ●● The director of the Islam program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies examines the competition between Iran and Turkey for influence in the newly independent ex-Soviet states of Central Asia. She notes that the US campaign in Afghanistan in 2001 removed the Taliban as a security threat to Tehran but also led to an enhanced US presence in Afghanistan and Central Asia. Attainment of Iranian goals in Central Asia require a modus vivendi with the US but it is unclear whether Washington is willing to reach an understanding with Tehran under current leadership.

1848. Kemp, Geoffrey. "How to Stop the Iranian Bomb." *National Interest* (Summer 2003).

1849. Kemp, Geoffrey, Michael Eisenstadt, Farideh Farhi, and Nasser Hadian. *Iran's Bomb: American and Iranian Perspectives*. Washington: Nixon Center, March 2004. ●● A group of papers from Nixon Center workshops on Iran's nuclear program. Kemp, Director of Regional Strategic Programs at the Nixon Center, takes a pessimistic view of the situation, noting that Iran remains on the "axis of evil" list because it "continues to sponsor terrorists who murder Americans and it is building a very sophisticated, independent nuclear-technology infrastructure." (p. 1) He argues that the use of force against Iranian facilities should be the last resort, however. Eisenstadt, a senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, points out that Iranian nuclear capability is not inevitable although likely and advises that the US should end the disarray in its policy and press Iran for a voluntary abandonment of its nuclear policy, particularly through "shaping" a favorable regional environment for this. Farhi, an independent scholar at the University of Hawaii, examines the agreement reached between Iran and the European foreign ministers in 2003 over Iran's peaceful pursuit of nuclear energy and warns that the success of such an approach depends on the path of Iranian

internal dynamics. Hadian, a professor at Tehran University and visiting professor at Columbia University, summarizes Iran's security environment and the factors in the decision-making concerning its nuclear program. He argues that Iran's access to nuclear technology and materials should be recognized by the international community and Iran's impulse to develop nuclear weaponry could be muted by establishment of a nuclear-free zone or a collective security agreement including countries from outside the region.

1850. Kramer, Martin. "Tragedy in Mecca." *Orbis*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring 1988), pp. 231-247. ●● An account of the violent clashes during the 1987 *hajj* (pilgrimage) between Iranian pilgrims and Saudi security forces by the associate director of the Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University. The author places the clashes in the context of Shi'i activism and the disintegration of Saudi-Iranian relations. He concludes that there is no evidence that either side acted deliberately and judges that "a group of undisciplined Iranian pilgrims … wished to enter the Great Mosque as demonstrators [and] Saudi security authorities … employed excessive force to thwart the Iranian crowd." (p. 245)

1851. Lenczowski, George. "The Are of Crisis: Its Central Sector." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (1979), pp. 796-820. ●● A political scientist at the University of California, Berkeley, looks at the origins of the Iranian revolution. Writing in March 1979, Lenczowski notes signs of collapse in Khomeini's government, and sees no reason why a normal relationship between the US and Iran cannot be forged. ¤

1852. Marschall, Christin. *Iran's Persian Gulf Policy: From Khomeini to Khatami*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. ●● In an adaption of a Harvard Ph.D. dissertation, the author examines the impact of the Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq War in developing Iran's policy in the Gulf during the Khomeini years. Other chapters look at the Khatami period and Iran's perception of the Kuwait War, the dispute over the islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs, Iran's ideas for regional security cooperation, and the effect of US and European activities in the Gulf in the 1980s and 1990s. The author discerns the appearance of a more deliberately pragmatic Iranian foreign policy from 1984-1985 that accelerated after the election of Rafsanjani as president in 1989. This moderation, she contends, was only partly accepted by the states of the Arab littoral. Marschall concludes that "The Islamic Republic of Iran will continue to try to improve its relationship with its neighbours, if only to ensure a stable environment and an OPEC policy conducive to Iran's ailing economy." (p. 206)

1853. Massie, Meg. *The End of the Gulf War and the Future Role of Iran in the*

New Regional Order: February 1991-May 1991 and Beyond. London: Gulf Centre for Strategic Studies, 1991.

1854. Milhollin, Gary, and Valerie Lincy. "Iran's Nuclear Card." *Commentary* (February 2004), pp. 33-36. ●● The authors, associated with the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control, outline three possibilities for future Iranian action: continuing its policy of deception and concealment; bring itself back into compliance with Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and give up nuclear ambitions; or comply with the NPT but use loopholes in the treaty to try to develop nuclear weapons. If it choose the latter course, the authors believe, it may follow the example of North Korea.

1855. Mojtahed-Zadeh, Pirouz. "The Changing World Order and Iran's Geopolitical Regions." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1993), pp. 318-339. ●● The author discusses Iran's geopolitical setting in the context of two regions: the Caspian Sea/Central Asia region to the north and the Gulf to the south. He argues that "the ideal arrangement for security in the [Gulf] region would be a system that includes all littoral states and excludes all extra-regional countries." (p. 339)

1856. _____. "A Geopolitical Triangle in the Persian Gulf: Actions and Reactions Among Iran, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1994), pp. 47-59. ●● A research fellow at the International Boundaries Research Centre of London University's School of Oriental and African Studies uses the alleged reappearance of Iran's claim to Bahrain to outline the issue's history. The author concludes that "Bahrain is undoubtedly on its way to becoming a dependency of Saudi Arabia, and the use of scare tactics by exaggerating the threat of Iran's 'territorial and revolutionary' ambitions, eases this geopolitical transition for the Saudis." (pp. 57-58)

1857. Nonneman, Gerd. "The GCC and the Islamic Republic: Towards a Restoration of the Pattern." In Anoushiravan Ehteshami and Manshour Varasteh, eds., *Iran and the International Community* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 102-123. ●● A researcher at the University of Exeter examines the views of the GCC states towards Iran, arguing that the Iran-Iraq War steered them away from a policy of accommodation but that "the end of the war, and growing evidence of Iranian goodwill towards these states, will eventually lead to a restoration of the 'natural' pattern. (p. 102)

1858. Pipes, Daniel, and Patrick Clawson. "Ambitious Iran, Troubled Neighbors." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (1992-1993), pp. 124-141. ●● The director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute and an affiliate of the institute regard

Iran as the principal threat to US interests in the Gulf, caution Washington "to view Saudi Arabia as a temporary ally with whom numerous and profound differences remain…" (p. 134), trumpet Turkey as a dependable ally, urge the US to encourage Central Asia's ties to Turkey or Russia to prevent closer relations with Iran, and deem Turkey and the Gulf as more important in economic and security terms than the Arab-Israeli theater.

1859. Ramazani, R.K. *Revolutionary Iran: Challenge and Response in the Middle East*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. ●● The Harry Flood Byrd Jr. Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia examines Iranian foreign policy and the continuing impact of the Islamic republic around the Middle East. An opening section looks at the geostrategic balance, the ideological crusade, and the sociopolitical explosion. The following section concentrates on the Gulf itself, with an analysis of the cause and continuation of the Iran-Iraq War, Iran's relations with Saudi Arabia, and Iran's role in stimulating the creation of the GCC. The next section looks farther west with studies of the relationships of Israel, Egypt, and Lebanon. The author then turns his attention to the impact on and the impact of oil before finally analyzing the United States' role in the region. He suggests that the US temper its containment of Iran, adopts an active peace strategy in the Gulf, prepare for the possibility of an Iranian victory in its war with Iraq, emphasize diplomacy as much as military deterrence, encourage the strengthening of the GCC, and prevent Islamization of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the end, he contends, referring to the United States, Awe often find ourselves talking about encouraging 'peaceful change,' whereas in practice we are trying to maintain the status quo. To this extent we have in fact, become part of the Middle Eastern problem." (p. 252)

1860. _____. "Iran's Islamic Revolution and the Persian Gulf." *Current History*, Vol. 84, No. 498 (January 1985), pp. 5-8, 40-41. ●● The Harry F. Byrd professor of government at the University of Virginia analyzes Iran's efforts to export its revolution, particularly in light of the Iran-Iraq War. He believes that "As long as Khomeini rules, Iran will try to export its revolution [but] it is possible that in post-Khomeini Iran the present overemphasis on dogma and doctrine will give way to more pragmatic considerations." (p. 41)

1861. _____. "Iran's Foreign Policy: Contending Orientations." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 202-217. ●● The author explains that "Tehran's foreign policy has been shaped largely by an acute interplay between its domestic situation, not merely factional politics, and its external environment, not merely superpower behavior." (p. 202) He notes that control of policy is contended between revolutionary idealists and revolutionary realists and recommends that the new Bush administration adopt a more

conciliatory tone to enable both countries to stop "their mutual and destructive smear campaigns as a first step in the direction of a constructive and open dialogue." (p. 217)

1862. _____. "Iran's Foreign Policy: Both North and South." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Summer 1992), pp. 393-412. ●● The author updates his analysis of Iran's foreign policy after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, the end of the Iran-Iraq War, and the Kuwait War. The north and south of the title refer to Iran's emerging interests in Transcaucasia and Central Asia to the north and the Gulf to the south. In addition, Ramazani observes that the disintegration of the Soviet Union has taken wind out of the "neither East nor West" policy but "Iran still has to deal with the reality … of the preeminence of the West, that is, the European Community and the United States." (p. 412)

1863. _____. "The Shifting Premise of Iran's Foreign Policy: Towards a Democratic Peace?" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 177-188. ●● The Edward R. Stettinius Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia argues that President Khatami appeals to young Iranians because of his view of the interdependence of reforms at home and peace abroad. The author advises that "as part of a new conception of vital US interests in Iran, we should also realize that an ancient autocracy now has a popularly elected leader who is … firmly committed to engineering an open society…." (p. 187)

1864. _____. "The Emerging Arab-Iranian Rapprochement: Towards an Integrated U.S. Policy in the Middle East?" *Middle East Policy*. Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1998), pp. 45-62. ●● A professor at the University of Virginia observes that Iran's hosting of the 1997 Organization of Islamic Conference "provided a fortuitous platform for the leaders of both Iran and member states of the [GCC] to tell the world about their emerging rapprochement." (p. 45) He goes on to suggest that "the opportunity for devising an integrated policy for the entire Middle East region may have finally arrived." (p. 56)

1865. _____. "Khumayni's Islam in Iran's Foreign Policy." In Adeed Dawisha, ed., *Islam in Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1983), pp. 9-32. ●● The Edward R. Stettinius Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia links revolutionary Iran's foreign policy to instability in domestic politics and notes that Khumayni's interpretation of Islam prevails on both the domestic and international levels. Ramazani points out that Khumayni's worldview rejects the contemporary international system as it exists: "Khumayni's ideology is neither pan-Shi'i nor pan-Islamic; it aims at the establishment of what could be termed 'Islamic world order.'" Iran's foreign

policy is also destabilized by the official-unofficial division in the foreign-policy-making process (as exemplified in the taking of the American hostages by Tehran street crowds), and the decimation of both the skilled diplomats and the organizational structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ramazani argues that the future of the Iranian revolution and its foreign policy is unpredictable beyond Khumayni. "It could nevertheless be argued that there is one major aspect of the political culture that the 'Islamic Republic of Iran' has not so far been able to escape; namely the ancient habit of Iranian leaders to set unrealizable goals and to use inappropriate means in both domestic politics and foreign policy." ¤

1866. _____. "Ideology and Pragmatism in Iran's Foreign Policy." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Autumn 2004), pp. 549-559. ●● The Edward R. Stettinius Professor Emeritus of Politics at the University of Virginia contends that Iranian history has always displayed a tension between religious ideology and pragmatism but the Islamic Revolution emphasized it. He sees a shift in the balance from religious ideology toward pragmatism in perceptions of national interest and foreign-policy making. As evidence, he notes that President "Khatami's indisputable commitment to democracy in the pursuit of Iran's national interest has been unprecedented. Foreign Minister Kharrazi's strategies and tactics have gone a long way to advancing Iran's national interest in the world community." (pp. 558-559)

1867. Ricks, Thomas M. *The Iranian People's Revolution: Its Nature and Implications for the Gulf States*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, April 1979. CCAS Reports. ●● The author, assistant professor of history at Georgetown University at the time of writing, outlines the long process leading to revolution in Iran and briefly attempts in its immediate aftermath to assess its implications for the rest of the Middle East. "Overall, Iran's revolution has served notice upon all Middle Eastern leaders and heads of state that no amount of arms, economic development, or political alliance can save one from the demands of the people as a whole." This paper was first presented to the United Arab Emirates' Ministry of Foreign Affairs in March 1979. ¤

1868. Saghafi-Ameri, Nasser. "The Persian Gulf, Iran and the West." *India Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (October-December 1993), pp. 67-76. ●● The former head of the Strategic Studies Group at IPIS, Tehran, provides a brief look at Iran's role in Gulf security and emphasizes the emergence of Iran's concerns with the Central Asian republics.

1869. Sariolghalam, Mahmood. "Understanding Iran: Getting Past Stereotypes and Mythology." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Autumn 2003), pp.

69B82. ●● An associate professor at the Shahid Beheshti (National) University of Iran outlines the differences in bilateral perceptions between the US and Iran, resulting in a deterioration of mutual understanding since the 11 September 2001 attacks. He contends that Iran possesses a relatively stable polity but with policies that are subject to change because of internal pressures. He calls on the US to recognize that the Islamic republic is here to stay but will continue to evolve. This, he believes, could lead Washington to Afocus on trying to persuade [Iran's] leaders to change policies rather than attempt to alter its structure, just as President Richard Nixon accomplished with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China during the Cold War." (p. 70)

1870. Savory, Roger. "The Geo-Political Impact of the Islamic Revolution in Iran on the Persian Gulf Region." *Middle East Focus*, Vol. 8 (January 1986), pp. 15-23.

1871. Schahgaldian, Nikola. *Iran and the Postwar Security in the Persian Gulf*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1994. MR-148-USDP. ●● A RAND analyst looks at Iranian policy following the Kuwait War in terms of internal developments, the Iranian attitude towards the US presence in the Gulf, Gulf security arrangements, the impact of the collapse of the Soviet Union, and postwar relations with Iraq. He reasons that "Iran can tolerate bilateral security arrangements between local Arab states and the United States and can live with the corresponding American presence in the Gulf region. However, Iran should be expected to actively contest and oppose any arrangement that may, in the future, become a means of beefing up Saudi Arabia's offensive military capability and/or elevating that desert kingdom to a new status of regional hegemony." (p. viii)

1872. Shahabi, Sohrab, and Farideh Farhi. "Security Considerations and Iranian Foreign Policy." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 89-103. ●● The authors survey security factors in Iranian foreign policy, including regional instability, military build-up, and the economic dimension. In their opinion, the end of the Cold War has enhanced potential for regional decision-making even as the active physical presence of outside forces inhibits a regional dynamic for handling problems. In addition, the intense militarization of the region is worrying.

1873. Sick, Gary. "Iran's Quest for Superpower Status." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (Spring 1987), pp. 697-715. ●● An international affairs program officer at the Ford Foundation notes that Iran has long desired to be the superpower of the Gulf and the prospect is less improbable now than in the past. He traces the domestic developments that have had an impact as well as Iran's relations

with the Soviet Union and the Gulf monarchies. He warns that a decisive Iranian victory in its war with Iraq would lead to a shift in the Middle East's center of gravity. “The Middle East could become polarized between two hostile regional superpowers - Israel in the west and Iran in the east - with dangerous and unpredictable consequences.” (p. 715)

1874. _____. “Iran: Confronting Terrorism.” *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Autumn 2003), pp. 83-98. ●● The director of Columbia University's Middle East Institute examines the complexity in assessing charges of terrorism against Iran. He notes the split personality between the accountable parts of government and those, such as the Supreme Leader, the Guardian Council, the Expediency Council, and the security services, that are dominated by conservative clergy and not accountable. The consequence has been two often contradictory sets of foreign policies, one aimed at reconciliation and better international relations and the other composed of Aa very different agenda of destabilization, revolutionary vengeance, and violent intimidation, including terrorist acts.” (p. 84) After observing that Iranian hardliners have moved from direct involvement in terrorism in recent years to support for proxy groups, Sick argues that Iranian credibility depends on cleaning its house of all known terrorists.

1875. Sokolski, Henry, and Patrick Clawson, eds. *Checking Iran's Nuclear Ambitions*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2004. ●● A study commissioned as part of a Nonproliferation Policy Education Center project on Iran supported by the Smith Richardson Foundation and the Office of Net Assessment within the Department of Defense; the project's interim conclusions and policy recommendations comprise the initial chapter. They include the assertion that “Iran must understand that if it persists in developing its nuclear weapons option, it will face security costs and risks that would outweigh the possible value of acquiring nuclear weapons.” (p. 21) Subsequent chapters feature Victor Gilinsky (energy consultant) discussing Iran's claim that it is pursuing nuclear capability only for civilian purposes; Geneive Abdo (journalist) surveying Iran's internal struggles; and S. Rob Sobhani (Caspian Energy Consulting) assessing the prospects for régime change in Iran. The impact of the Iranian nuclear program on the US is covered by Abbas William Samii (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty) on the possibility of changing Iranian public opinion on the subject; Geoffrey Kemp (Nixon Center) on US-Iranian strategic cooperation since 1979; and Michael Eisenstadt (Washington Institute for Near East Policy) on problems with US preventive military action. The editors are affiliated with the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center and the Washington Institute for Near East Policy respectively.

1876. Suwaidi, Jamal S. al-, ed. *Iran and the Gulf: A Search for Stability*. London: I.B. Tauris for the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1996. ●● This volume begins with a number of articles on Iranian politics and institutions before turning to the Islamic Republic's foreign policy. Mohsen M. Milani (University of South Florida) traces the evolution of Iran's Gulf policy from idealism and confrontation to pragmatism and moderation. James A. Bill (College of William and Mary) analyzes the Gulf in terms of a "rectangle of tension" and declares that "The alternative to future violence and conflict in this explosive rectangle … is for a lower US profile in the region and some kind of rapprochement between the global hegemon and the Islamic Republic." (p. 116) Geoffrey Kemp (Carnegie Endowment) surveys the impact of Iranian foreign policy on regional security and notes that two competing trends exist in the Middle East: "the pro-West, pro-peace movements … and the more theocratic, conservative movements that stress separateness from the West." (p. 134) Anwar Gargash (UAE University) discusses relations between Iran and the GCC, especially the UAE, noting that Iranian-UAE relations started off on a rocky note and have been exacerbated by the dispute over the islands of Abu Musa and the Tunbs. Saleh al-Mani' (King Saud University) examines the ideological dimension of Iranian-Saudi relations and argues that the rift between the two countries should be healed through a Sunni-Shi'i dialogue.

Kenneth Katzman (US Congressional Research Service) and Anthony H. Cordesman (Georgetown University) both look at the nature of Iranian threats, with Katzman concentrating on Iran's military build-up and Cordesman detailing Iran's military expenditures, arms transfers, WMD capabilities, and military capabilities. The editor, Jamal al-Suwaidi (Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research), provides a final essay that summarizes the Iranian impact on Gulf security, US and GCC policies regarding Iran. His conclusions note that Gulf stability hinges on the triangular relationship between Iran, Iraq, and the GCC states, that the Gulf states must work towards regional solutions for security, and that the Iranian revolution has run its course, forcing Tehran's leadership to address economic problems.

1877. _____. "Gulf Security and the Iranian Challenge." *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 1996), pp. 277-294. ●● The director of the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research holds that the "Arab nations of the Gulf are threatened by Iranian-encouraged activists who attempt to aggravate domestic tensions that might otherwise have been successfully addressed by these states." (p. 277) He also cites Iran's continued occupation of Abu Musa and the Tunbs Islands, Iranian programs to develop a conventional military arsenal and to acquire weapons of mass destruction,

its sponsorship of extremist groups and covert operations, its attempts to destabilize Arab Gulf governments, its opposition to the Arab-Israeli peace process, and its nationalist quest to expand Persian influence and hegemony in the Gulf. The security policy of the Gulf States toward Iran, he says, must emphasize reducing the revolutionary rhetoric of the Iranian leadership, assisting Iranian economic development, reducing its military capability, and working towards a reduction of military assets in the Gulf - first Iraq and Iran and then the Western powers.

1878. Takeyh, Ray. "Iran Builds the Bomb." *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Winter 2004), pp. 51-64. ●● A senior fellow at the Council of Foreign Relations in New York assesses Iran's motivation in pursuing nuclear weapons and argues that "Given the centrality of the United States in Iran's strategic calculus, for the Islamic polity to accept nuclear restraint it has to be provided with incentives directly by Washington." (p. 61) Such a strategy would not only end a proliferation crisis but perhaps improve US-Iranian relations.

1879. Taremi, Kamiran. "Iranian Perspectives on Security in the Persian Gulf." *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (September 2003), pp. 381-392. ●● Noting that Iran is the most important regional player in the Gulf, a member of the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Tehran contends that Iran's perspectives on the Gulf are rooted partly in ideology (the Islamic worldview of Iranian leaders) and partly in myth (an overestimation of Iran's capabilities by its leaders). "In combination these factors have made Iranian perspectives and policies highly dogmatic and divorced from reality, leading to the exclusion of Iran from the existing security arrangements sponsored by the United States." (p. 381)

1880. Tarock, Adam. "Iran's Foreign Policy Since the Gulf War." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (November 1994), pp. 267-280. ●● A Ph.D. candidate at the University of Melbourne assesses Iran's foreign policy after 1990 as "a mixture of setbacks and relative successes. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was a blessing in disguise for Iran, as it forced Saddam Hussein to accept Teheran's terms for a peace treaty. It also improved Iran's image abroad, especially among its Arab Gulf neighbours. However, Iran failed to persuade the Gulf states to form some kind of regional security arrangement comprising regional states, without the participation of foreign powers, i.e., the United States." (p. 280)

1881. Valdani, Asghar Ja'fari. "Iran and the Persian Gulf Countries: Prospects for Cooperation." *Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall 1996), pp. 573-600. ●● A professor at Islamic Azad University in Tehran notes that wars and arms races makes cooperation imperative between Iran

and its Arab neighbors across the Gulf and suggests that such cooperation might work best in such areas as agriculture, water and soil resources, fisheries and environment, and oil and gas exploitation and transport. He also advocates the improvement of trade relations.

1882. Von Dornoch, Alex (pseud.). "Iran's Violent Diplomacy." *Survival*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (May-June 1988), pp. 252-266. ●● The author discusses Iran's use of terrorism against regional and Western targets "to impose its will on other states both to achieve specific short-term goals and, more generally, to achieve a reputation for strength and invulnerability after centuries of what it sees as foreign interference and domination." (p. 265)

Iraq - Domestic Politics and the Impact on Gulf Security

1883. Ahsani, S.A.H. "Pakistan's Persian Gulf Policy." *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (April 1992), pp. 113-115. ●● A former Pakistani ambassador and adjunct professor at the University of Texas at Austin contributes a short note criticizing Iraq's policies.

1884. Bahgat, Gawdat. "Iraq After Saddam - What Lies Ahead?" *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 39-52. ●● The author, from Indiana University of Pennsylvania, surveys the geopolitical fundamentals of Iraq and concludes "Regardless of who is in charge in Baghdad, the country's demographic structure and its vulnerability to the goodwill of its neighbors will shape the political orientation of the leadership. Saddam's successor, when he comes, is likely to be less ruthless, but not a Thomas Jefferson." (p. 52)

1885. Bengio, Ofra, ed. *Iraq 1976-1999*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 2001. ●● A compact disk of selections from the annual *Middle East Contemporary Survey* regarding Iraqi domestic politics, foreign policy, the Iran-Iraq and Kuwait Wars, and the UN sanctions régime. In PDF format.

1886. _____. *Saddam Speaks on the Gulf Crisis: A Collection of Documents*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1992. ●● A compilation of 22 speeches, interviews, broadcasts, and other sources involving Saddam Husayn and his policies, mostly consisting of documents translated by the US Foreign Broadcast Information Service. The author includes an introductory essay reprinted from the 1990 *Middle East Contemporary Survey*.

1887. _____. "How Does Saddam Hold On?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 4

(July-August 2000), pp. 90-103. ●● The author, a researcher at Tel Aviv University, answers the question by pointing out that Saddam Husayn may be a terrible strategist but is a brilliant tactician. He also displays an astonishing ability to take advantage of his foes' mistakes. Iraq's social and political weakness has enabled him to built a strong security apparatus and promote his sons Uday and Qusay as potential heirs. How to replace Saddam? "The wisest approach would be to combine containment with a concerted attempt to create the conditions necessary for a successful coup - a putsch from inside Iraq's government but outside Saddam's immediately family." (p. 102) A successor from the Iraqi security establishment is less than ideal, the author concedes, "but more realistic than an opposition uprising and less bleak than Uday or Qusay." (p. 103)

1888. Byman, Daniel. "Iraq After Saddam." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Autumn 2001), pp. 151-162. ●● The author, Research Director of the RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy, notes that "The removal of Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq is, correctly, one of the primary goals of the U.S. government for the Persian Gulf region" and "This focus on Saddam drives many aspects of U.S. policy toward Iraq, including sanctions, arms inspections, and support for the Iraqi opposition." (p. 151) After discussing the impact and consequences of Saddam's possible removal, Byman suggests that "Saddam's removal is desirable but … considerable risks will remain after his fall" and concludes that "The greatest benefits for the region and for the United States would come from a change in Iraq's elites, not just Saddam's fall." (p. 160)

1889. _____, and Kenneth M. Pollack. "Democracy in Iraq?" *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Summer 2003), pp. 119-136. ●● An assistant professor of security studies at Georgetown University and the director of research at the Saban Center at the Brookings Institution respectively disagree with the skeptics of the feasibility of creating democracy in Iraq. Instead, the authors argue, "Iraq is hardly ideal soil for growing democracy, but it is not as infertile as other places where democracy has taken root. … A properly designed federal system stabilized by U.S. and other intervening powers' military forces could both satisfy Iraq's myriad communities and ensure order and security. Creating democracy in Iraq would require a long-term U.S. commitment, but the United States has made similar commitments ot far less strategic parts of the world." (p. 120) The key lies in active leadership by the United States while the authors see a failure to establish democracy in Iraq as being disastrous both for the country and for US policy.

1890. Calabrese, John, ed. *The Future of Iraq*. Washington, DC: Middle East Institute, 1997. ●● Papers from a 1997 conference concentrate on various

aspects of Iraq's current and future situation. Contributors are Adeed Dawisha (George Mason University) on the historical background, Isam al-Khafaji (University of Amsterdam) on domestic politics, Sarah Graham-Brown (Middle East Report [MERIP]) on the sanctions, Issam A.R. al-Chalabi (consultant based in Amman) on Iraq's oil industry, Sinan al-Shabibi (UNCTAD) on the economy, Giandomenico Picco (GDP Associates) on Iraq's strategic options, Ahmad S. Hashim (Center for Naval Analysis) on Iraqi policies in the region, Paul Wolfowitz (Johns Hopkins University SAIS) on US policy toward Iraq, and Abbas S. Mehdi (St. Cloud State University) on suggestions for a new policy framework.

1891. Freij, Hanna Y. "Self-Image and Role Definition as a Cause of War: Saddam Hussein, 1988-90." *Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 101-121.

1892. Fuller, Graham E. *Iraq in the Next Decade: Will Iraq Survive Until 2002?* Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1993. RAND Note, N-3591-DAG. Defense Advisory Group to the National Defense Research Institute. ●● The author contends that "The continued existence of Iraq as a unitary state is deeply threatened; it may not survive intact into the next decade." (p. v) He considers the problems of the Kurds, the Shi'ah, the repressiveness of Saddam Husayn's regime, the narrow base of the Ba'th Party and the military for control of the country, and examines the implications of changes in Iraq for the Gulf and the United States. Iraq is not just another major problem in the Middle East, he contends, because (1) it is one of the world's most dangerous proliferators, (2) it is the first nation in the post-Cold-War era to have been disciplined by the "new world order" and thus has revivified the "clout" of the UN, and (3) it is a significant non-Communist multi-ethnic state whose continuity is now in question.

1893. Gause, F. Gregory, III. "Iraq's Decisions to Go to War, 1980 and 1990." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (Winter 2002), pp. 47-70. ●● An associate professor at the University of Vermont judges that Saddam Husayn's decisions to go to war were based on his belief that foreign forces were working to destabilize his régime and he chose to go to war on both occasions to change his regional and domestic situations. The author also reasons that Saddam did not withdraw in 1991 because "a withdrawal from Kuwait would not end the international pressure on the régime, and might weaken the régime domestically." (p. 49) In his view, "Régime security considerations provide a better explanation for the Iraqi decisions to go to war in 1990 and 1980 than any suggested alternative." (p. 70)

1894. Ghabra, Shafeeq N. "Iraq's Culture of Violence." *Middle East Quarterly*,

Vol. 8, No. 3 (Summer 2001), pp. 39-49. ●● A professor of political science at Kuwait University and director of the Kuwait Information Office in Washington contends that many of Iraq's troubles since the 1958 revolution derive from Baghdad's mismanagement of the Sunni Arab, Kurdish, and Shi‘i Arab communities. Furthermore, he sees that “Iraq's failure to achieve internal harmony has contributed directly to its failure to establish peaceable relations with the outside world.” (p. 44) He ends with a look at possible post-Saddam Iraq and models from around the world for the new government.

1895. Hashim, Ahmed. “Saddam Husayn and Civil-Military Relations in Iraq: The Quest for Legitimacy and Power.” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Winter 2003), pp. 9-41. ●● An associate professor of strategic studies at the US Naval War College explains the historical background to the intervention of the Iraqi military in politics and the steps taken by Saddam Husayn to prevent this. But the author notes that Saddam has not succeeded in making the armed forces accept civilian supremacy, largely because of “the pathology of the régime, the military's perception of itself as the undeniable savior of the Iraqi nation, a view it has held since the founding of the state, and structural pressures.” (p. 39) He also points out that “a US decision to go to war to bring about régime change would ultimately bring to the fore the issue of civil-military relations in a defeated post-Saddam Iraq.” (p. 40)

1896. Hazelton, Fran, ed. *Iraq Since the Gulf War: Prospects for Democracy*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books, 1994. ●● This book produced for the Committee Against Repression and for Democratic Rights in Iraq, consists of articles, mostly by Iraqis, on Saddam Husayn and his politics, the negative impact of his rule on women, Kurds, Shi‘ah, Marsh Arabs, and the political opposition. Other subjects include the economic devastation of the country, the lack of human rights, attitudes to non-Iraqis, and possible blueprints for the future.

1897. Helms, Christine Moss. *Iraq: Eastern Flank of the Arab World*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1984. ●● A research associate at Brookings surveys the background to Iraqi politics and policy. The first part of her book looks at the creation of the modern Iraqi state and the foundations of its political system. In the second, Helms analyzes the present nature of Iraqi politics, with emphasis on the Ba‘th Party and President Saddam Husayn, while the third part concentrates on the Iran-Iraq war and Baghdad's policy options in this regard. ¤

1898. Henderson, Simon. *Instant Empire: Saddam Hussein's Ambition for Iraq*. San Francisco: Mercury House, 1991. ●● A British journalist's investigation of the rise of Saddam Husayn, how he created and strengthened his hold over

Iraq, and his armament program and ties to Western suppliers. As the manuscript was completed in January 1991, the book touches only briefly on Saddam's invasion of Kuwait.

1899. Hopwood, Derek, Habib Ishow, and Thomas Koszinowki, eds. *Iraq: Power and Society*. Reading: Ithaca Press, 1995. St. Antony's Middle East Monographs Series, No. 29. ●● Most of the contributions to this comprehensive examination of Iraq concentrate on formation of the new state, politics, economics, and society. But several articles deal with Iraq's foreign relations with the Gulf. Charles Tripp (London University SOAS), in looking at Iraq and the Iran-Iraq War, concludes that "The impressive edifice of power which Saddam Hussein constructed in Iraq depends ultimately upon his own capacity to service it and to kee it subject to his will. As developments during the years following the end of the war with Iran showed, this is an undertaking fraught with risks…." (p. 115) In his view of Iraq's role as a regional power, Thomas Koszinowski (Deutsches Orient-Institut, Hamburg) believes that "The economic and military weakness of Iraq [after the Kuwait War] will not continue over long periods of time. Its oil wealth will help Iraq to reconstruct the economy and [to allow it] to bring its political influence to bear on the countries in the area." (p. 300) Habib Ishow (IREMAM, Aix-en-Provence) reviews Kuwait's historical relations with the Ottoman and British Empires as a preliminary to Iraqi-Kuwait relations. He foresees that relations between the two countries "cannot but remain ambiguous and conflict-laden, even if in the near future the two countries settle their differences on the border by means of the accords duly concluded under the aegis of the United Nations…." (p. 317) Andreas Rieck (Deutsches Orient-Institut, Hamburg) provides an overview of Iraq's tense relations with Saudi Arabia and judges that "Iraqi 'revenge' - even if it comes only after decades - and a repetition of the Iraqi-Saudi confrontation under other circumstances is, however, quite conceivable." (p. 339) Paul Balta (Université de Paris III) emphasizes the pivotal importance of geography in his examination of Iranian-Iraqi relations and especially Iraq's need for access to the sea as a driving force in its relations with its neighbors. In addition, Elizabeth Picard (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politique, Paris) covers Iraq and Turkey while Eberhard Kienle (London University SOAS) covers Iraq and Syria, and Michel Chatelus (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Grenoble) chronicles Iraqi oil policy over 65 years.

1900. Karsh, Efraim, and Inari Rautsi. *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography*. London: Brassey's; New York: Free Press, 1991.

1901. Kashkett, Steven "Iraq and the Pursuit of Nonalignment." *Orbis*, Vol. 26 (1982), pp. 477-494. ●● The author, a graduate student at Harvard University,

contends that "Iraq's shift toward nonalignment can be explained in terms of ideological, economic, domestic political and foreign policy considerations." Kashkett suggests that to some extent Iraq's nonaligned posture is a short-term measure to achieve political and economic benefits. It is also likely, he feels, that Iraq will be friendlier with the European half of the Western alliance than the American half. ¤

1902. Kechichian, Joseph A. "Iraq and the Arab World." *Conflict*, Vol. 11 (January-March 1991), pp. 1-15.

1903. Kelidar, Abbas. *Iraq: The Search for Stability*. London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1974. Conflict Studies, No. 59. ●● A lecturer in politics at London's School of Oriental and African Studies provides a somewhat dated but still largely valid portrait of the problem in maintaining power in Baghdad. Among the subjects discussed are the weakness of Iraqi nationalism, politics within the Ba'th Party, the role of the armed forces, and problems in economic development. ¤

1904. Mackey, Sandra. *The Reckoning: Iraq and the Legacy of Saddam Hussein*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2002. ●● A biography of the Iraqi leader in the context of history of relations between Iraq and the United States.

1905. Malik, Shahin P. "Saddam Hussein: Survivalist or Opportunist?" *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 16 (Summer 1994), pp. 59-83.

1906. Marr, Phebe. *The Modern History of Iraq*. 2nd ed.; Boulder, CO: Westview, 2004. ●● A comprehensive survey of Iraq's recent history by a noted authority on the country. The author covers the period of the British mandate and erosion of influence, the 1958 revolution and Qasim régime, the ascendancy of the Ba'th Party and the emergence of Saddam Husayn's leadership. The story is carried through to the Kuwait War of 1991 and the subsequent life of Saddam's régime under international sanctions. An epilogue notes the US invasion of 2003 and the uncertainty of Iraq's future. The author observes that "The United States … has assumed the classic role of an imperialist power. It now faces the same dilemma as Britain in 1920." (p. 308) The US must balance its desire to produce an Iraqi leadership that will assure US interests with its stated intention to create a democratic government.

1907. Mohamedou, Mohammad-Mahmoud. *Iraq and the Second Gulf War: State Building and Regime Security*. Lanham, MD: Austin & Winfield, 1997.

1908. Najjar, Ghanim, al-. "The GCC and Iraq." *Middle East Policy*. Vol. 7, No. 4

(October 2000), pp. 92-99. ●● A professor at Kuwait University looks at the contradictory ways in which the individual GCC states have dealt with Iraq in the 1990s. He concludes that "they are all committed to the UNSC resolutions. The different positions of the GCC members are the result of various factors, none of which seem to be directly connected with a new understanding of the Iraqi position. The U.S. failure to bring the Iraqi issue to a conclusive close is one major reason why some GCC members are taking a different path." (p. 99)

1909. Niblock, Tim, ed. *Iraq: The Contemporary State*. London: Croom Helm, for the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982. ●● A collection of papers from the University of Exeter's annual symposium, edited by the deputy director of the Centre for Arab Gulf Studies. Papers on the economy and development planning are best represented, with Paul Stevens on Iraqi oil policy, Robin Theobald and Sa'd Jawad on problems of rural development, Rodney Wilson on Western, Soviet, and Egyptian influences on Iraqi development planning, J.S. Birks and C.A. Sinclair on human resources development, and John Townsend on industrial development. H.G. Balfour-Paul examines the attempts earlier in this century at political union in the Fertile Crescent, and Joe Stork analyzes the development of the present political system through a Marxist view of class. Sa'd Jawad covers Kurdish-government relations and Peter Mansfield compares Saddam Husayn's ideology with that of Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir. Amal al-Sharqi and Amal Rassam look at the role of women and Alya Sousa examines the efforts of the régime to eliminate illiteracy. Barry Rubin contributes an essay on US-Iraqi relations over the past quarter-century, and Niblock surveys Iraq's political policies towards its Arab neighbors in the Gulf while Naomi Sakr looks at the economic side of these relations. ¤

1910. Ramati, Yohanan. "Iraq and Arab Security." *Global Affairs*, Vol. 5, No.1 (Winter 1990), pp. 116-129. ●● The director of the Jerusalem Institute for Western Defense argues that, in the months before its invasion of Kuwait, Iraq sought to use the Arab Cooperation Council (also including Jordan and North Yemen) as part of its strategic goal of undermining Western influence in the Third World. "Strengthening the ACC is a risky policy for Washington. Even strengthening it economically will harm U.S. interests if the result is to accelerate the achievement of Iraqi hegemony in the Persian Gulf." (p. 128)

1911. Roberts, Paul William. *The Demonic Comedy: Some Detours in the Baghdad of Saddam Hussein*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997.

1912. Sciolino, Elaine. *The Outlaw State: Saddam Hussein's Quest for Power and the Gulf Crisis*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1991. ●● A journalist's

account of Iraq's politics, how Saddam Husayn came to rule, how he became enmired in the Iran-Iraq War, and why he chose to invade Kuwait. An appendix contains the transcripts of conversations before the Kuwait invasion between Saddam Husayn and American Ambassador to Baghdad April Glaspie and the American chargé d'affaires Joseph C. Wilson, as edited and released by the Iraqi government. She concludes that "the vision of the new Iraq [after Saddam] was to be found in the old. Not one nation favored the dismemberment of Iraq or the alteration of its borders. There were increasing fears among the coalition members that Iraq would be thrust back into a climate of political instability similar to the 1930s…." (p. 269)

1913. Simons, Geoff. *Iraq: From Sumer to Saddam*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

1914. Snyder, Jed C. "The Road to Osiraq: Baghdad's Quest for the Bomb." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1983), pp. 565-593. ●● The author, a research associate at the Smithsonian's Woodrow Wilson Center, traces the development of Iraq's nuclear facilities. Snyder contends that the Iraqis were covertly seeking to establish the capability for nuclear weapons and charges that the Italians and the French acted irresponsibly in supplying the necessary technology. ¤

1915. Tripp, Charles. "The Gulf States and Iraq." *Survival*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Autumn 1992), pp. 43-61.

1916. Viorst, Milton. "The View from the Mustansiriyah-I." *New Yorker* (12 October 1987), pp. 92ff. "The View from the Mustansiriyah-II." *New Yorker* (19 October 1987), pp. 76-96. ●● The author describes the mood and daily life in Baghdad during the final stages of the Iran-Iraq War, paying particular attention to the small Jewish community and the Shi'ah communities in the south of Iraq.

1917. Wright, Claudia. "Iraq-New Power in the Middle East." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Winter 1979-1980), pp. 257-277. ●● An analysis of Iraq and its leadership, written shortly before the Iran-Iraq war. Wright charges that "Washington has seriously misjudged (Saddam Husayn) and underestimated the capabilities of his government." She notes that Iraqi oil reserves have steadily increased since the mid-1970s, and points out that Iraq has been well-supplied militarily by the Soviet Union and was able to resolve many of its local disputes in the mid-1970s. In terms of the internal security of the régime, especially considering the 1978 purges, Wright asserts that Husayn has emerged in firm control of the country, helped by a buoyant economy. ¤

Gulf States

1918. Anthony, John Duke. *Arab States of the Lower Gulf: People, Politics, Petroleum*. Washington, DC: Middle East Institute, 1975. ●● One of the earliest and most comprehensive studies of the independent states of Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates (including treatment of each of the seven constituent emirates), based on extensive research in the Gulf. Anthony analyzes these countries in terms of four principal themes: the clash between traditional and modernizing forces, the changing social and demographic structure of the indigenous and immigrant populations, the shifting alliances between the nine rulers, and the relationships between the shaykhdoms and states outside the area. In analyzing favorable prospects for the future, Anthony notes the minimally disruptive nature of territorial disputes, the support these newly independent states received from their larger neighbors, the clearly perceived common interests and identity of the rulers, the continued informal British presence, and the absence of major internal security problems. At the same time, he points out that the precariousness of Iranian-Arab relations and the potential of Arab radicalism could undercut these moderating elements. ¤

1919. Byman, Daniel, and Jerrold D. Green. *Political Violence and Stability in the States of the Northern Persian Gulf*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1999. MR-1021-OSD. ●● A report by two RAND Corporation researchers assessing the threat of political violence in the states of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates They see that such violence arises from general sources of discontent, anti-régime opposition, and the influence of foreign powers. The authors suggest measures that could reduce violence, such as political and economic reforms, reducing US presence in the region, encouraging a greater European role in Gulf security, coercing foreign powers that contribute to violence, strengthening the US-Gulf partnership, and improving military-to-military ties. In the end, the authors hold, "When trying to anticipate the future of violence in the Gulf, Washington must recognize that neither reform nor the status quo offers a perfect way out." (p. 113)

1920. _____. "The Enigma of Political Stability in the Persian Gulf Monarchies." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (September 1999), distributed electronically. ●● The authors, both at the RAND Corporation, argue that "social peace in the Gulf, and perhaps more generally, is maintained by the clever, and consistent, use of a variety of government strategies to promote social order." These strategies include strong security forces, co-optation of potential dissidents, divide-and-rule measures, ideological flexibility, token participation, and accommodative

diplomacy. The authors conclude that "These monarchies may seem bastions of a traditional order, but they are also tremendously innovative, with leaders who know how to foster, as well as accommodate, political change."

1921. Crystal, Jill. *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. ●● A study by an assistant professor of politics at the University of Michigan of the impact of oil on political formation in Kuwait and Qatar, comparing the pre-oil period in both states to the oil era that brought rapid economic change but also maintained political stability. The author answers this paradox by concluding that "these régimes survived precisely because of transformations [caused by oil]. Beneath the apparent political stability and continuity lie sea changes. … The key transformations re the emergence of new coalitions and new institutional structures, the transformation of the régime and the transformation of the state." (p. 171) See also her "Coalitions in Oil Monarchies: Kuwait and Qatar" *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 21 (July 1989), pp. 427-443.

1922. Davis, Eric, and Nicolas Gavrielides, eds. *Statecraft in the Middle East: Oil, Historical Memory, and Popular Culture*. Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991. ●● Contributions relevant to this bibliography include Assem Dessouki (Asyut University, Egypt) on Gulf historiography, the editors (Rutgers University and State University of New York at Cortland respectively) on statecraft, historical memory, and popular culture in Iraq and Kuwait, and Noura al-Falah (Kuwait University) on social change, gender relations and education of women in Kuwait.

1923. Dazi-Héni, Fatiha. "Des processus électoraux engagés dans les monarchies du Golfe: les cas du Koweït et du Qatar." *Monde arabe - Maghreb-Machrek*, No. 168 (April-June 2000), pp. 76-88. ●● A study observing that Kuwait is the most advanced Gulf monarchy in terms of transition to democracy while the Gulf's youngest ruler, Shaykh Hamad of Qatar, has sought to create a political identity clearly distinct from powerful neighbor Saudi Arabia. The author, of the Institut d'études politiques (Paris), proceeds to analyze the 1999 parliamentary election in Kuwait, paying particular attention to the showing of the liberals and the "tribalization" of Kuwaiti politics. She also examines Shaykh Hamad's efforts to introduce new liberal policies in Qatar and the municipal election of 1999.

1924. Ebraheem, Hassan Ali Al-. *Kuwait and the Gulf: Small States and the International System*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies; London: Croom Helm, 1984. ●● The author, a political scientist at Kuwait University, looks at the role of small states in

international relations, with particular reference to Kuwait and its neighbors. He concludes that small states are here to stay and contends that the uproar about their increase is nothing but a manifestation of the West's concern over losing its monopoly in the U.N. and other international organizations. Al-Ebraheem notes that Kuwait abandoned 250 years of local neutrality when it joined the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) but argues that this action reflects the recognition of Kuwait and the other members that they cannot survive on an individual basis. But he also asks the question of whether they can survive even within the GCC. For the GCC to work, Al-Ebraheem contends that GCC foreign policy must be based on neutrality, that its goal of social and economic integration must be viewed as the first step in the integration of all the Arab countries, and that it should strive to reduce the gap between rich and poor Arabs (through adoption of a plan similar to the Marshall Plan). ¤

1925. Ehteshami, Anoushirvan. "Reform from Above: The Politics of Participation in the Oil Monarchies." *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1 (January 2003), pp. 53-75. ●● A call for a re-evaluation of perceptions of the oil monarchies' abilities to adapt and change. The author argues that not only are reforms being introduced, albeit at different speeds, but that the elites are emerging as the greatest agents for change. He concludes that "We should perhaps recall that Rome was not built in a day, and note in the context of the GCC states that reform from above is still a far preferable route to change than revolution from below." (p. 75)

1926. Falk, Richard. "La démocratie est morte dans le Golfe." *Revue d'études Palestiniennes*, No. 41 (1991), pp. 33-49.

1927. Foley, Sean. "The Gulf Arabs and the New Iraq: The Most to Gain and the Most to Lose?" *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (June 2003), distributed electronically. ●● A Ph.D. candidate at Georgetown University argues that "the governments of the GCC states and their peoples have an enormous amount at stake in the development process in Iraq and … that Gulf Arabs must begin to reform their societies and develop new collective, integrated institutions with their allies to guarantee a secure and prosperous future." He believes that a "functioning, democratic Iraq under U.S. guidance" could, in combination with the Gulf states' development of consultative institutions and expanding privatization, create more incentive for better governance.

1928. Fuller, Graham E., and Rend Rahim Francke. *The Arab Shi'a: the Forgotten Muslims*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. ●● The authors state that this book arose out of the West's increasing interest in the Arab Shi'ah,

largely because of the involvement of the community's adherents in violent activities. They look first at what it means to be Shi'ah and then at the position of Arab Shi'ah in the Sunni state. Subsequent chapters deal with the politicization of the Shi'ah and the connection to revolutionary Iran. Treatment of the Shi'ah in Iraq, Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and policy implications for the West all receive separate chapters. They conclude by noting that "A key problem is how to keep politics in the region from becoming 'zero-sum' in nature between Sunnis and Shi'a. One means is to accept some form of proportional representation or political sectarianism such as in Lebanon." (p. 259) They also observer that "Shi'ism is in no way intrinsically hostile to the West [and that] Sunni Islamist radicalism is probably more of a threat to regional régimes than is Shi'ite Islamist radicalism." (p. 257)

1929. Gause, F. Gregory, III. *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994. ●● Building on seminars presented at the Council on Foreign Relations, a fellow at the council and associate professor at Columbia University examines political and security developments in the GCC states. He focuses on "traditional" bases of politics, oil politics, the issues of representation and participation, foreign and defense policies, and the role of American policy. In the latter regard, he advises that "American policy in the Gulf should … be directed at helping to avoid political outcomes that could interfere with market considerations in the production and pricing of Gulf oil." (p. 195) He also sees the outlook for the régimes in these states as being good and advocates that "The best safeguard of long-term stability, through evolutionary change, in the Gulf monarchies is the expansion of autonomous civil society institutions." (p. 198)

1930. _____. "The Gulf Conundrum: Economic Change, Population Growth, and Political Stability in the GCC States." *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter 1997), pp. 143-165. ●● An assistant professor of political science at the University of Vermont looks at the rise of Islamic opposition in Saudi Arabia and the unrest in Bahrain, as well as declining prospects for Gulf economies to argue that "Things have changed in the kingdom, and in the Gulf as a whole, creating a new set of political challenges for the six monarchical rulers upon whom the United States has based its regional policy." (p. 143) He sees the impact of a younger generation (including rulers) as probably being mixed and notes that while these states face no immediate threats to régime stability, the emerging trends will produce challenges unlike those of the past. He suggests that the US should deal with the Gulf states by avoiding the "democracy" question and instead stressing "civil society."

1931. _____. "The Arabian Peninsula Monarchies from Camp David I to Camp David II." In Robert O. Freedman, ed., *The Middle East Enters the Twenty-First Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 62-77. ●● An associate professor of political science at the University of Vermont observes that the political agenda of the GCC states has shifted markedly from preoccupation with foreign and security challenges during the 1970s through 1991 to domestic political and economic issues since then. He sees that "The American connection is not just a foreign policy issue for the Gulf states; it is also on the domestic agenda. Maintaining that connection at a time when public sentiment in the Gulf is turning against the United States affects the Gulf leaders' willingness to pursue other controversial and difficult policy courses domestically." (p. 77)

1932. Green, Jerrold D. "Political Reform and Regime Stability in the Gulf." *Terrorism*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January-March 1993), pp. 9-23.

1933. Hardy, Roger. *Arabia After the Storm: Internal Stability of the Gulf Arab States*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1992. A Middle East Programme Report. ●● The author, from the BBC World Service, examines the impact of the Kuwait War on the GCC states, looking at the need for change within the ruling families, emerging trends within Islam, the role of indigenous Shi'ah, the problems of migrant workers, dissent, and economic stringencies. He concludes by warning that the Kuwait War "was a war which undermined the status quo it was designed to preserve. If the Gulf rulers and their Western allies cling to the illusion of present stability, the warning of the Gulf war will go unheeded." (p. 36)

1934. Herb, Michael. "Emirs and Parliaments in the Gulf." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (October 2002), pp. 41-47. ●● An assistant professor of political science at Georgia State University believes that ruling families in the Gulf are too deeply ensconced to be thrown out by Islamists in any moves towards democracy. The author judges that "Full parliamentary democracy in Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain will not be achieved any time soon. But the parliamentary life that is underway in Kuwait, and on the way in Bahrain and Qatar, should not be dismissed lightly. Nor will partial democratization lead to an Islamist takeover." (p. 47)

1935. Kapiszewski, Andrzej. "Democratizing the Arab States: The Case of Monarchies of the Gulf, 1991-2004." *Krakow International Studies*, Vol. 3 (2004), pp. 69-129. ●● A Polish academic addresses the "democracy deficit" in the Gulf and observes that the recent emergence of debate in the Gulf over the subject at least "have provided an opportunity for the West, and the United States in particular, to obtain new forums and identify individuals who

could become real and important partners in their democratization attempts." (p. 129)

1936. Kechichian, Joseph A. *Political Dynamics and Security in the Arabian Peninsula Through the 1990s*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1993. Project Air Force & Arroyo Center, MR-167-AF/A. ●● The author, an analyst at the RAND Corporation at the time of publication, looks at Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the smaller states of the Gulf in time, examining their internal security situations and their national security perspectives. A short chapter summarizes key future Gulf security issues, including regional security, political stability, regional disarmament, economic development, and preservation of the existing nation-state system. The author concludes that most likely "the political-military rapprochement between the GCC states and the United States will continue for the foreseeable future. There are few alternatives for the conservative Arab Gulf monarchies. On the other hand, it would be unwise to assume that the relationship will be free of tensions." (p. 112)

1937. _____, ed. *Iran, Iraq, and the Arab Gulf States*. New York: Palgrave, 2001. ●● A collection of papers from a 2000 conference at UCLA covering all eight states of the Gulf littoral. Iran is covered by Olivier Roy (CNRS, France) who focuses on activities within the Iranian clerical establishment, Shaul Bakhash (George Mason University) discussing Iran's 2000 parliamentary elections, and Ahmed S. Hashim (Center for Naval Analyses) examines civil-military relations. Joyce N. Wiley (University of South Carolina, Spartanburg) provides background on the Iraqi clergy, Laith Kubba (National Endowment for Democracy) expounds on domestic politics in a post-Saddam Iraq, and Andrew Parasiliti (Harvard University) analyzes the Iraqi military in politics. For Saudi Arabia, Mark N. Katz (George Mason University) assesses the possibility of revolution, Gwen Okruhlik (University of Arkansas) discusses the political economy of tourism, and Robert E. Looney (Naval Postgraduate School) measures the transition from a rentier state. Fatma al-Sayegh (United Arab Emirates University) outlines social and economic policies in the UAE while May Seikaly (Wayne State University) looks at the impact of globalization in Kuwait and Bahrain and Dale F. Eickelman (Dartmouth College) analyzes the role of media in Oman and Qatar. The problem of border disputes is presented by Richard Schofield (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) while Hussein Hassouna (Arab League) concentrates on the Kuwait-Iraq border and Mohammed A. Zabarah (University of Yemen, Sanaa) discusses Yemeni-Saudi relations. Joseph A. Kechichian (Kechichian Associates and UCLA) reviews unity efforts in the Arabian Peninsula and R. Hrair Dekmejian (University of Southern California) assesses institution-building in the GCC states while

Muhammed Salih al-Musfir (Qatar Foreign Ministry) discusses their internal dynamics and foreign policies. Gerd Nonneman (University of Lancaster) examines Gulf-British relations and Rosemarie Said Zahlan (London) takes a historical look at US policy and the Gulf states. Theodore Karasik (RAND Corporation) outlines the Gulf States' links with Central Asia. Shaykh Sultan bin Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan (Deputy Prime Minister of the UAE) sketches the UAE vision for Gulf security and Shaykh Saif bin Hashil al-Maskery (Oman Consultancy Group) posits future trends in the GCC. Hassan Hamdan al-Alkim (UAE University) analyzes security challenges in the Gulf while Shireen T. Hunter (Center for Strategic and International Studies) assesses the future outlook for Iranian-Gulf relations and J.E. Peterson reflects on what makes the Gulf states endure.

1938. _____. "Political Reforms in Kuwait and the GCC States." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (September-October 1991), pp. 40-43. ●● A RAND Corporation consultant examines attitudes of Kuwaitis and other GCC peoples toward the Arab world after the Kuwait War and asks how far the GCC states will go toward genuine political and social reforms. He suggests that the debate over reforms begun after the war will be difficult to stop and remarks that "Knowingly or not, Saddam Hussein may in fact have forced the end of feudalism on the Arabian Peninsula…." (p. 43)

1939. Kostiner, Joseph, ed. *Middle East Monarchies: The Challenge of Modernity*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000. ●● A comprehensive set of contributions on the subject of monarchies in the Middle East, their origins, their construction, and their persistence, edited by an associate professor and research fellow at Tel Aviv University. The first of three parts look at the monarchical tradition, post-Ottoman Arab monarchies, and why some monarchies failed and others survived. The contributions most relevant here consist of case studies, including Joseph Kostiner and Joshua Teitelbaum (Tel Aviv University) on state-formation and the Saudi monarchy, Uzi Rabi (Tel Aviv University) on the Kuwaiti ruling family in the post-liberation period, F. Gregory Gause III (University of Vermont) on the persistence of monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula, and Joseph A. Kechichian (Kechichian and Associates) on Oman. In addition, Onn Winckler (University of Haifa) discusses labor nationalization policies in the Gulf and Gudrun Krämer (Free University in Berlin) looks at the Islamist opposition in Saudi Arabia and other monarchies. As Fred Halliday (London School of Economics) observes in his concluding chapter, "The twentieth century has both created and destroyed monarchies, for reasons that historical and political analyses seek to explain. It is questionable how far the twenty-first century will create any new ones or restore those that have gone." (p. 302)

1940. Lawson, Fred H. "Postwar Demands for Political Participation in the Arab Gulf States." *International Journal*, Vol. 49 (Spring 1994), pp. 378-407. ●● A political scientist at Mills College notes that nearly all the Gulf States experienced demands for greater public participation in policy-making and he proceeds to describe the different paths of these demands in each state, as well as discuss the appearance of radical opposition. He concludes that "Only in Bahrain and Kuwait have domestic conditions left open the possibility that radical opposition movements might revive in the foreseeable future" (p. 407) although he suggests that Arab nationalist opposition is equally likely in Bahrain.

1941. Najem, Tom Pierre, and Martin Hetherington. *Good Governance in Arabia and the Gulf*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

1942. Nonneman, Gerd. *Governance, Human Rights and the Case for Political Adaptation in the Gulf*. Florence: European University Institute, Robert Schuman Institute for Advanced Studies, January 2002. RSC Policy Paper, No. 01/3 (December 2001).

1943. Noreng, Øystein. *Oil and Islam: Social and Economic Issues*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley, 1997. Research Council of Norway, PETRO Research Series in Petroleum Economics and Politics. ●● A professor at the Norwegian School of Management explores the possible links between the Middle East's oil experience and the surge of politically radical Islamic movements and suggests that the region's "oil exporters … evidently are not managing the transition into more diversified economies … [and] seem to be running into into ever more serious economic difficulties, with steadily more severe social strains and potentially ominous political repercussions." (p. 1)

1944. O'Reilly, Marc J. "Oil Monarchies Without Oil: Omani and Bahraini Security in a Post-Oil Era." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (February 1999), pp. 78-92. ●● A lecturer at the University of Connecticut looks at the impact that the decline in oil revenues will pose for the political future of these two countries and opines that Oman's Sultan Qabus has responded to the challenge with positive measures while the style of Bahrain's Prime Minister, Shaykh Khalifah (the country's effective ruler) has undermined his credibility.

1945. Owen, Roger. "The Arab States Under Stress: The Impact of Falling Oil Prices." *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Fall 1986), pp. 643-665.

1946. Parsons, Anthony. "The Gulf States in the Eighties." *Arab Gulf Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (April 1986), pp. 9-15. ●● A former British ambassador to Iran and the United Nations reflects on events around the Gulf and their impact on

the GCC states. When peace finally comes in the Iran-Iraq War, he opines, "the GCC must hope that both combatants will be too exhausted to conduct aggressive foreign policies and that they will concentrate their efforts on domestic rehabilitation…." (p. 15)

1947. Parvine, S. "Le Golfe persique: la recherche de l'équilibre perdu." *Le Trimestre du Monde*, No. 4 (1990), pp. 163-170.

1948. Peterson, J.E. *The Arab Gulf States: Steps Toward Political Participation*. New York: Praeger, 1988. Published with the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Washington Papers, No. 131. ●● A study of the relationship between legitimacy and political participation in the six countries now forming the GCC. Particular attention is paid to the historical demands for participation in Kuwait and Bahrain and the functioning of those two countries' elected national assemblies. Additional chapters concentrate on the appointed consultative councils in Qatar, the UAE, and Oman, and on the background to consultative councils in Saudi Arabia. The work argues that "The continued suspension of national assemblies and the reluctance to take the step from consultative council to national assembly (or even to create a consultative council) makes taking the step toward true democratic institutions even more difficult." (p. 121)

1949. _____. "The GCC States After the Iran-Iraq War." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 26 (Fall 1988), pp. 96-106. ●● A view of what might be expected in the Gulf after the war, noting that disarray within OPEC is likely to continue, GCC relations with Iraq will improve at least somewhat, strains with Iran may not prove permanent, there will be more cooperation within the GCC on economic issues if not military, relations with the West will remain strong even if occasionally troubled. In conclusion, "it is clear that the GCC countries have dodged a bullet. Now, they must turn their attention back to dealing with the other major crisis of this decade - the impact of the oil doldrums…." (p. 106)

1950. _____. "The Future of Gulf Security After the Kuwait War." In *Royal United Services Institute and Brassey's Defence Yearbook 1992* (London: Brassey's UK, 1992), pp. 131-143. ●● A review of the political impact of the Kuwait War on the other Gulf states and an assessment of the viability of a "new Arab order" in response. In conclusion, "It took only a few months after the dénouement of the war for the forces of conservatism to regain control. Once again, emphasis returned to preservation of the status quo, a tried-and-true strategy that has served well the traditionalist monarchs of the Gulf through a multitude of threatening crises…." (pp. 142-143)

1951. Robins, Philip. "Can Gulf Monarchies Survive the Oil Bust?" *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (December 1994), pp. 13-22. ●● The head of the Middle East program at the Royal Institute of International Affairs chronicles the fall in the Gulf states' oil incomes and suggests that the "move from abundant wealth to scarce resources will affect both the style and substance of politics … particularly in Saudi Arabia." (p. 13) He says the kingdom can manage the tensions either through "greater consultation or through greater repression, or a mixture of the two" and it appears to be "moving in the first direction without foregoing the second." (p. 13)

1952. Said Zahlan, Rosemarie. *The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989. Rev. ed.; Reading: Ithaca Press, 1998. ●● A London-based historian traces the emergence of the Gulf states, giving particular attention to the development of representative government in Kuwait, the history of political tensions in Bahrain throughout much the 20th century, the role of the ruling families in each of the states, the significance of Saudi Arabia as a much more powerful neighbor, and the Gulf states in the broader international setting. The author notes the continued role of the old political order even as the infrastructure has expanded and social structures have been altered. She concludes that "The disruption of the pre-oil relationship between the ruler and his people has yet to be fully redressed. Until this occurs, external events will continue to pose a challenge to the well-being of the Gulf states." (p. 93)

1953. Stookey, Robert W., ed. *The Arabian Peninsula: Zone of Ferment*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1984. ●● A diverse collection of essays, all but one first presented at a panel of the 1981 Middle East Studies Association conference. Perhaps the most interesting contribution, by Monte Palmer, Ibrahim Alghofaily and Saud Alnimir, looks at behavioral patterns in Saudi Arabia and their impact on the country's attempts to break away from "rentier" status. The authors conclude that Saudi development efforts face serious constraints due to the citizenry's disdain for manual labor, its unwillingness to relocate geographically to meet the country's occupational needs, and the premium that Saudi society places on contentment over achievement and risk-taking in career values. Calvin H. Allen, Jr., and Robert W. Stookey contribute interesting and well-written surveys of the US relationship with Oman and the political development of two states in Yemen, respectively. Nazih N.M. Ayubi's article on Arab aid, in the context of OPEC-Third World relations, is comprehensive and thought-provoking, while Robert E. Looney's examination of the impact of the petroleum industry on Saudi economic development covers the ground thoroughly, if rather perfunctorily. The one weak link is Alexander Bligh's labored attempt to relate rumors and unsubstantiated accounts of "instability" and coup attempts in Saudi Arabia to

prevailing ideological and political patterns in the Middle East. ¤

Saudi Arabia

1954. Aarts, Paul. "Saudi Arabia: From Fiscal Crisis to Political Crisis?" *JIME Review*, No. 29 (1995), pp. 23-34. ●● A lecturer in international relations at the University of Amsterdam charges that Saudi Arabia is in the midst of a "gradual process of moral and political decline, disillusionment and dissent, which began in the mid-1970s, after the assassination of King Faisal. Since then the Kingdom has been on the downgrade." (p. 23) He then traces the kingdom's financial troubles and political "upheaval."

1955. _____. "The Internal and the External: The House of Saud's Resilience Explained." Florence, Italy: European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2004. Mediterranean Programme Series, EUI Working Paper, RSCAS 2004/33. ●● A political scientist at the University of Amsterdam decries the emphasis on internal factors in Saudi Arabia's "regime durability" and instead advocates that more attention be paid to external factors, particularly the relationship with the United States. He foresees that the US-Saudi Arabia relationship may take a more "normal" character (with reduced emphasis on the military component) and concludes that "Talk of divorce is premature. Recent events have changed perceptions and stirred up strong feelings - both in Saudi Arabia and the US - but without fundamentally changing the underlying realities." (p. 16)

1956. Abir, Mordechai. *Saudi Arabia: Government, Society and the Gulf Crises*. London: Routledge, 1993. ●● A professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem uses Saudi Arabian and other Ph.D. dissertations, secondary sources, and a thorough sifting of newspapers and magazines to paint a picture of changes in the kingdom's domestic politics and economy from the 1950s to the early 1990s. Opening chapters focus on "the consolidation of the ruling class" (i.e. the 'ulama' and the Al Sa'ud) and the effect of modern education before chronologically tracing power struggles and the process of modernization through the reigns of Kings Sa'ud, Faysal, Khalid, and Fahd. The final part discusses the impact of regional crises on changes in Saudi Arabia: the Iran-Iraq War, the Kuwait War, and the post-war demands for reform. He concludes that "For the time being, the Saudi regime's stability seems secure. The new Consultative Assembly will serve as a steam valve for the new elites' frustration, and the fundamentalist threat to the Sauds has already peaked and is less serious than it may seem." (p. 225) This book is a revision and updating of the author's *Saudi Arabia in the Oil Era: Regimes and Elites - Conflict and Collaboration* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press,

1988). See also his "The Consolidation of the Ruling Class and the New Elites in Saudi Arabia," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (April 1987), pp. 150-171.

1957. _____. *Saudi Arabia in the 1990s: Stability and Foreign Policy*. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 1 September 1997. Jerusalem Letters, No. 365. Distributed electronically. ●● A professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem looks at the role of the Saudi economy and relations with the US in provoking opposition both inside and outside the kingdom, as well as Heir Apparent 'Abdullah's response. In his view, "once Abdallah succeeds Fahd, Riyadh is likely to endeavor to further reduce the profile of the American presence in the kingdom and distance itself from U.S. Mideast policy." In addition, "Militant fundamentalism in Saudi Arabia is bound to remain a secondary problem … but is unlikely to win support among the majority of the population despite pervasive anti-U.S. sentiments."

1958. Ahrari, M. Ehsan. "The Future of Political Stability in Saudi Arabia." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 100-114. ●● A professor of national security and strategy at the Armed Forces Staff College in Virginia adopts a rather pessmistic view of Saudi Arabia's future: "The Saudi political system seems to be edging toward internal disorder. It is too early to draw similarities with Iran, but the course of political change that brought about the end of the monarchy in that country does come to mind." (p. 100) In support of this view, he cites such factors as the shrinking economic pie, continued heavy defense expenditures, "rising opposition," and uncertainty over succession to King Fahd.

1959. Alexiev, Alex. "Oelmilliarden für den Dschihad. Saudi-Arabien finanziert den globalen Islamismus." *Internationale Politik*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (February 2004), pp. 21-28.

1960. Algar, Hamid. *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay*. Oneonta, NY: Islamic Publications International, 2002. ●● An Islamic studies specialist at the University of California at Berkeley gives an extremely critical assessment disparaging Wahhabism and Saudi Arabia. Dismissing the Wahhabi preference for description as Muwahhidun (i.e. unitarians), the author claims that Wahhabism was intellectually marginal and had the good luck to emerge in the Arabian Peninsula, the location of Islam's holiest sites and the source of enormous oil wealth; otherwise it "might well have passed into history as a marginal and short-lived sectarian movement." (p. 2) He also dismisses the ideas that Wahhabism is part of Sunni Islam and that it shares the same principles as Salafiyah and other Islamic "renewal" movements. While mentioning that Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhab was born in Najd, Algar

notes Najd's "topographical barrenness seems always to have been reflected in its intellectual history." (p. 5) Algar charges that "the Wahhabis have seriously distorted fundamental teachings of Islam; functioned for many decades as the ideological mainstay of a regime that has squandered the wealth of the Arabian Peninsula; vilified Muslims, both Sunni and Shi'i, as non-Muslim and shed their blood; introduced or exacerbated division and strife wherever they have gone; destroyed a significant part of the cultural patrimony of all Muslims, first in the Hijaz and then in places such as Chechnya, Bosnia, and Kosova; and signally failed to contribute anything to either the intellectual elaboration of Islam or the advancement of its political and civilizational agenda in the present age." (pp. 69-70)

1961. Anthony, John Duke, and Kristin Alexander. "Has Saudi Arabia Been a Positive Influence in the Middle East? - Two Viewpoints." *Saudi-US Relations Information Service* (19 February 2004), distributed electronically. ●● A debate, originally published in David W. Lesch, ed., *History in Dispute, Volume 14, The Middle East Since 1945*, between the President of the National Council on US-Arab Relations and a member of the University of Utah. Anthony argues that Saudi Arabia has been positive in extending its development and in playing a moderating role in regional politics. He notes that it has been the United States' longest Arab ally for more than 70 years and cites King Fahd's Arab-Israeli peace plan as additional evidence. Alexander argues that the kingdom has been a negative influence by squandering its oil wealth, failing to solve serious domestic problems, and promoting an intolerant Wahhabi view of Islam throughout the world.

1962. "L'Arabie Saoudite et la péninsule après le 11 Septembre: défis et enjeux d'une région en crise." *Monde Arabe - Maghreb Machrek*, No. 174 (October-December 2001), entire issue. ●● A number of short articles on developments in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in the Arabian Peninsula since 11 September 2001. Olivier Da Lage (Radio-France internationale) describes the Saudi "malaise" as a struggle between the Al Sa'ud and the religious establishment. Fatiha Dazi-Héni (Institut d'études politiques, Paris) discusses the impact of urbanization on Saudi society. Youssef Courbage (Institut national d'études démographiques, Paris) looks at the impact of the kingdom's rapidly growing population. Jean-François Seznec (Columbia University) describes the Saudi armed forces. Agnès Levallois (Nord-Sud Export) argues that new developments such as tourism and a GCC customs union may mark an end to Saudi Arabia as a "rentier" state. Michel Chatelus (Centre nationale de recherche scientifique, Paris) looks at recent developments regarding oil in the region. François Burgat (Centre nationale de recherche scientifique, Paris and Sanaa) examines the impact of events on Yemen. Bernard El Ghoul (Institut d'études politiques, Paris) traces the economic transformation of

Dubai.

1963. Article 19. *Silent Kingdom: Freedom of Expression in Saudi Arabia*. London, October 1991.

1964. Baer, Robert. "The Fall of the House of Saud." *Atlantic Monthly* (May 2003), pp. 53-62. ●● A gossipy diatribe against the Al Sa'ud royal family of Saudi Arabia by a former CIA field agent. The author offers snippets of unfavorable scuttlebutt against various members of the family, especially King Fahd's youngest son, 'Abd al-'Aziz, who is accused of funding Usamah bin Ladin in an attempt to secure his succession to the Saudi throne. The author charges that signs of impending disaster are everywhere in the kingdom and declares that "sometime soon, one way or another, the House of Saud is coming down." (p. 62) His charges were subsequently expanded and published as *Sleeping With the Devil: How Washington Sold Our Soul for Saudi Crude* (New York: Crown, 2003).

1965. Bahout, Joseph. "Si l'Arabie doit rester séoudite…" *Les Cahiers de l'Orient*, Nos. 25-26 (1992), pp. 71-106. ●● A Lebanese journalist looks at the bases of legitimacy in Saudi Arabia and warns that the country's rulers must recognize that power, like wealth, is amongst the most difficult things in the world to share.

1966. Basbous, Antoine. *L'Arabie Saoudite en question: du wahhabisme à Bin Laden, aux origines de la tourmente*. Paris: Perrin, 2002.

1967. Beling, Willard A., ed. *King Faisal and the Modernisation of Saudi Arabia*. London: Croom Helm; Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980. ●● Originally presented at a 1978 conference in Santa Barbara, California, the thirteen papers in this volume focus on modernization in Saudi Arabia during the era of the late King Faysal. Former ARAMCO researcher George Rentz leads off the collection with a discussion of the evolution of the Al Sa'ud monarchy, Duke University professor Ralph Braibanti analyzes the impact of Islam and petroleum on Saudi political development, and Saudi Deputy Minister of Information Fouad Abdul-Salam Al-Farsy outlines King Faysal's conception of the first five-year development plan. Three papers discuss specific factors in the modernization process: the development of the Saudi bureaucracy (Abdulrahman M. Al-Sadhan, Secretary-General of the Civil Service Board in Riyadh), a case study of socioeconomic development in al-Hasa Oasis (Frederico S. Vidal, an anthropologist at the University of Texas at Arlington), and the US-Saudi Arabian Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation (John Duke Anthony, then at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies).

In addition, George M. Baroody (Executive Vice-President of Texas Eastern Arabian Ltd.), discusses the practice of law in Saudi Arabia, William A. Rugh (a US Foreign Service Officer) looks at Saudi mass media, and Catherine Parssinen (formerly with the Saudi Arabian Bechtel Company) assesses the changing role of women. Four final papers take up different aspects of Saudi foreign policy: David E. Long (a State Department analyst) examines King Faysal's world view, Abdullah M. Sindi (of King Abdulaziz University in Jidda) presents King Faysal's emphasis on Pan-Islamism, Abdulaziz H. Al-Sowayyegh (then at the University of Riyadh) looks at oil policy, and Malcolm C. Peck (then Director of Programs at the Middle East Institute) outlines Saudi-American relations. The editor (Director of the Middle East Center at the University of Southern California) provides a brief biographical sketch of King Faysal in his introduction. ¤

1968. Bradley, John R. "Are the Saudis Sunk?" *Prospect*, No. 90 (September 2003). ●● The managing editor of the Arab News newspaper in Jiddah sketches the kingdom's ills, which he sees as Najdi domination of al-Hijaz and 'Asir, conservative opposition to political reforms, social and economic inequality, and the burgeoning Islamist opposition within the country. He concludes that "Significant change is inevitable. The question is whether it will come quickly enough, and whether the economic changes it brings will be sufficient to address the needs of the kingdom's youth, who may otherwise side with the radical Islamists."

1969. Champion, Daryl. *The Paradoxical Kingdom: Saudi Arabia and the Momentum of Reform*. Abingdon, UK: Hurst; New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

1970. _____. "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Elements of Instability Within Stability." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (December 1999), distributed electronically. ●● A review of social and economic change and their potential to destabilize Saudi Arabia by a research scholar at the Australian National University. He concludes that "Saudi Arabia is indeed entering a period of turbulence which will, nevertheless, see the Saudi dynasty come through intact" but adds that "The dual problems of reform and development in the socioeconomic sphere should not be underestimated."

1971. Cordesman, Anthony H. *Saudi Arabia Enters the Twenty-First Century*. 2 vols. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003. Vol. I: The Political, Foreign Policy, Economic, and Energy Dimensions. Vol. II: The Military and International Security Dimensions.

1972. Crew, Bob. *The Beheading and Other True Stories: The Shocking Investigation into the Barbarism of Modern-Day Saudi Arabia*. London: Metro Publishing, 2003.

1973. Da Lage, Olivier. *Géopolitique de l'Arabie saoudite*. Paris: Complexe, 1996.

1974. Dawisha, Adeed. *Saudi Arabia's Search for Security*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1979-1980. Adelphi Papers, No. 158. ●● There are three purposes to this detailed study: to chart the rapid rise of Saudi Arabia as a regional power; to explain Saudi involvement in Middle Eastern and international politics; and to identify the various paths Saudi policy may follow in the 1980s. Dawisha concludes with a short section on "prospects," which looks at Saudi Arabia's stability in the context of such events as the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, the Iranian revolution, and the takeover of the Great Mosque in Mecca. See also Dawisha's "Internal Values and External Threats: The Making of Saudi Foreign Policy," *Orbis*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spring 1979), pp. 129-143. ¤

1975. Dekmejian, R. Hrair. "Saudi Arabia's Consultative Council." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 204-218. ●● A political scientist at the University of Southern California describes the formation of the Majlis al-Shura and profiles the membership of the second majlis (appointed in 1997) in terms of age, occupation, education, religious conservatives vs. modernist liberals, Shi'i members, regional representation, and tribal and class background. He sees the majlis as fulfilling honorific, symbolic, representational, and cooptative functions. He concludes that "It is too early to assess the evolving role of the Majlis within the Saudi polity. There can be no doubt, however, that the Saudi political system has undergone considerable change in the last five years, with the Majlis assuming a key role in the evolutionary process." (p. 218)

1976. _____. "The Liberal Impulse in Saudi Arabia." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (Summer 2003), pp. 400-413. ●● Pointing out that the kingdom has been the target of numerous detractors since 11 September 2001 who have focused their criticism on the country's Wahhabi identity to the near-exclusion of all other aspects of Saudi society and politics, the author seeks to redress the imbalance by examining the "rebirth" of Saudi liberalism in the last decade or so. He centers his inquiry on the "Strategic Vision" document sent in January 2003 to Heir Apparent 'Abdullah. He profiles the 104 liberals who signed the document, whom he calls "the Kingdom's 'Best and the Brightest," in terms of their ideologies, occupations, and regional backgrounds and reasons that "In the dynamics of Saudi politics viewed from

the regime's perspective, the Liberals have had considerable utility as a counter to excessive Islamist pressures, as a highly visible expression of modernity to the outside world, and possibly as a valuable resource to forge a strong and progressive Saudi future." (p. 413)

1977. Delong-Bas, Natana J. *Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004. ●● A research fellow at Georgetown University reworks her doctoral dissertation in an attempt to separate the doctrine of Wahhabism's founder Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab from that of Islamic extremist Usamah b. Ladin. She concludes that "There is a serious disconnect between the writings of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and bin Laden, a fact that is attributable not only to the different contexts in which they have lived and written but also to their approaches to scripture. … Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's quest was for a broad social order in which Muslims could live peacefully and respectfully with both Muslims and non-Muslims. Bin Laden's vision leaves no space for non-Muslims or those who claim to be Muslims but do not act the part. Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's writings have inspired a variety of contemporary reforms, from a context- and value-oriented reading of the Quran to legislation expanding women's rights and access to public space. Bin Laden's social vision is limited to jihad, suggesting a future of violence and destruction rather than peaceful construction." (p. 290)

1978. Doran, Michael Scott. "The Saudi Paradox." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (January-February 2004), pp. 35-51. ●● An assistant professor of Near Eastern studies at Princeton University alleges that while Saudi Heir Apparent Prince 'Abdullah champions liberal reformers in the kingdom, his half-brother Prince Nayif, the Minister of the Interior, has sided with the "anti-American Wahhabi establishment" and has encouraged al-Qa'idah. He advocates that the Saudi state be changed radically but notes that "Getting Riyadh to divorce itself from radical Wahhabism will be as great a task as getting the Soviet Union to renounce communism." (p. 51)

1979. Doumato, Eleanor Abdella. "Women and the Stability of Saudi Arabia." *MERIP Middle East Report*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1991), pp. 34-37. ●● A visiting scholar at Brown University uses the 1990 women's driving demonstration in Riyadh to examine the relationship between women's rights and political stability. She observes that "In the absence of open institutions to express political dissent, women will remain a reliable barometer of stability in the kingdom: the first sign that the Saudi rulers are in trouble will continue to be fresh enunciations from the monarchy about the ideal Muslim woman, and a renewal of restrictions on things that women do." (p. 37)

1980. _____. "Manning the Barricades: Islam According to Saudi Arabia's

School Texts." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 230-247. ●● A visiting fellow at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University thoroughly examines Saudi secondary-school textbooks to determine whether American criticism is justified that the curriculum is anti-Western. She finds that much of the criticism results from selective reading and argues that the principal problem is that the curriculum is too narrow and fails to provide students with an appreciation of the varieties of Islamic interpretation. In addition, the educational system does not encourage critical thinking skills. See also the author's "Education in Saudi Arabia: Gender, Jobs, and the Price of Religion," in Eleanor Abdella Doumato and Marsha Pripstein Posusney, eds., *Women and Globalization in the Arab Middle East: Gender, Economy, and Society* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp. 239-257.

1981. Dunn, Michael Collins. "Is the Sky Falling? Saudi Arabia's Economic Problems and Political Stability." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (1995), pp. 29-39. ●● The editor of *The Estimate* newsletter assesses Saudi Arabia's "rough year" and "bad press" in 1994 and believes that "while the kingdom faces real economic problems, they are not insurmountable, and that while the kingdom may have long been 'in denial' and moved too slowly to respond to those problems, it is now doing so." (pp. 30-31) While the economic problems are not likely to go away quickly, despite belt-tightening, "The whole history of the House of Saud suggests that if a leader or group of leaders proves unable to cope with a challenge to the family enterprise, the family will find someone else. … And in the past, the family has shown its skill in reviving old tribal links, co-opting opponents and bringing them inside the tent, and responding to popular discontent." (p. 38)

1982. Eilts, Hermann Frederick. "Saudi Arabia: Traditionalism versus Modernism - A Royal Dilemma?" In Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger, eds., *Ideology and Power in the Middle East: Studies in Honor of George Lenczowski* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 56-88. ●● A professor of international relations at Boston University and former US ambassador to Saudi Arabia details royal family politics in the kingdom and assesses the kingdom's capacity for modernization, as well as outlining the stimuli for and constraints against sociopolitical change. He suggests that "The winds of change do not yet gust in Saudi Arabia, but waft they already do. … The test of Saudi leadership in the years ahead will be furthering constructive sociopolitical reform, including wider public participation in the affairs of government and enabling women to use their talents more broadly…." (p. 87)

1983. Faksh, Mahmud A., and Ramzi F. Faris. "The Saudi Conundrum: Squaring

the Security-Stability Circle." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1993), pp. 277-293. ●● A political scientist at the University of Southern Maine and a consultant on Middle Eastern affairs assess the impact of the Kuwait War on Saudi security, paying particular attention to the evolution of Saudi dependence on the US, the restructuring of Riyadh's regional relations as a result of the war, and the challenge posed by a growing wave of Islamism within and around the kingdom.

1984. Farsy, Fouad al-. *Modernity and Tradition: The Saudi Equation*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1991. ●● Saudi Arabia's Deputy Minister of Information provides a comprehensive introduction to the kingdom with chapters ranging from geography, history, Islam, and the judicial and political system to foreign relations and foreign aid. The greatest emphasis is on socioeconomic development, with individual chapters covering oil, the economy, planning, industrial development, agriculture, population and manpower, social development, education, and health. The strength of the book lies in the many tables and charts of statistics, factual material, organizational outlines, and summaries of official objectives. The volume is an updating of the author's *Saudi Arabia: A Case Study in Development*, published in various editions between 1978 and 1986.

1985. Field, Michael. "Why the Saudi Royal Family Is More Stable Than the Shah." *Euromoney*, October 1981, pp. 300, 303, 306, 309, 312. ●● A British journalist observes that "The community structure and politics of Arabian society is what makes Saudi Arabia, and for that matter, the Gulf States more stable than they appear at first glance." He adds that as long as the bonds between the Al Sa'ud, the tribes, and the Wahhabi ulema hold, the Najdi alliance will continue to dominate the society. ¤

1986. Foulquier, Jean-Michel. *Arabie Séoudite: La dictature protégée*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1995.

1987. Gause, F. Gregory, III. "Saudi Arabia Over a Barrel." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (May-June 2000), pp. 80-94. ●● The options open to Saudi Arabia, the world's largest petroleum exporter, in the face of rising oil prices are examined by an American political scientist. From a high point of being $100 billion in surplus in 1981, the kingdom faced chronic budget deficits until the oil price rise of 1999-2000. Although one of the few OPEC countries with excess production capability, Saudi Arabia no longer has the desire nor the easy ability to serve as OPEC's swing producer, raising and lowering production at will in response to shifts in the international oil market. The author argues that American pressure on Riyadh to produce more oil may be misplaced or even counter-productive. Noting that "Neither the United States

nor Saudi Arabia wants oil prices to be 'too low' or 'too high,'" (p. 81), Gause concludes that Washington's best strategy will be "Helping the Saudis detach their oil policies from their immediate revenue needs…." (p. 91), assisting Saudi Arabia's entry into the World Trade Organization, and encouraging Riyadh to limit its defense spending.

1988. _____. "How to Reform Saudi Arabia Without Handing It to Extremists." *Foreign Policy*, No. 144 (September-October 2004), pp. 66-70. ●● An associate professor at the University of Vermont writes a memo to Crown Prince 'Abdullah on how to save the kingdom. Among his recommendations are: careful liberalization, crack down on incendiary clerics and expand religious tolerance, resist full-scale democratization, give the Consultative Council a higher profile, cut birth rates and reduce the foreign workforce, keep the US on Riyadh's side but recall Prince Bandar b. Sultan as ambassador to Washington, and pump up oil production.

1989. _____. "Saudi Arabia Challenged." *Current History*, Vol. 103, No. 669 (January 2004), pp. 21-24. ●● A review of the impact of the May and November 2003 terrorist bombings in Saudi Arabia on that country's political stability. Gause notes that the Saudi leadership has weathered all previous challenges to their rule but warns that "The current threats they face could be the most serious, because they question the religious legitimacy that has underpinned the monarchy since its founding. It would be unwise to bet against the Saudi monarchy, based on its track record of staying in power. But the odds are getting shorter." (p. 24)

1990. Geiger, Theodore, and Robert D. Kramer. "Stability and Instability in Saudi Arabia." *New International Realities*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (April 1979), pp. 9-17. Two officials of the National Planning Association assert that one reason why American policymakers were unprepared for events in Iran was their failure to understand the ramifications of change and modernization in Iranian society. In this article, the authors seek to explain the consequences of these factors for Saudi Arabia. They point out the problems of "transitional societies," outline the sources of stability in traditional society and warn of new sources of instability, both internal and external. They conclude that "in the years ahead, there is a substantially greater probability than at any time in the past that the production and/or export of petroleum from Saudi Arabia would be drastically reduced or halted by political disruptions or disorders for a long enough period to generate severe shortages in the United States, Western Europe and Japan." ¤

1991. Gold, Dore. *Hatred's Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2003.

1992. Goldberg, Jacob. "The Shi'i Minority in Saudi Arabia." In Juan R.I. Cole and Nikki R. Keddie, eds., *Shi'ism and Social Protest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 230-246. ●● A historian at Tel Aviv University provides an overview of the Shi'ah community of the kingdom's Eastern Province and its troubled relations with the state during the course of much of the 20th century. He gives special attention to the unrest generated by the Iranian revolution of 1979 and the harsh Saudi response, noting that by 1981 both sides seemed to desire a mending of the fences and that the government's attention to the Shi'is' issues of social and economic concern ended any attempt to confront the régime.

1993. Gottesman, Lois. "Saudi Arabia: OPEC Giant With Feet of Clay." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 15, Nos. 3-4 (1983), pp. 68-72. ●● A rather shallow assessment of how Saudi Arabia has handled its oil revenues and how the years of abundance have produced a society unwilling to tighten its belt. ¤

1994. Gresh, Alain. "The Unsolved Mystery of a Saudi Bomb Attack." *Le Monde diplomatique*, English edition (September 1997).

1995. _____. "Saudi Arabia: Breaking the Silence." *Le Monde diplomatique*, English edition (May 2002).

1996. _____. "Saudi Arabia: Radical Islam or Reform?" *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (June 2003). ●● A recapitulation of the troubles facing the kingdom, with emphasis on the deterioration in American-Saudi relations. In the quoted view of a Saudi intellectual, "This is a race against the clock…. We are facing acute social, economic and political problems generated by poverty and mounting unemployment. Our young people are confused and disoriented. And we are under enormous pressure from the US. We can respond either by cuddling up to the Americans, making fine speeches, and avoiding the real issues, or by deciding for ourselves to fight corruption and carry through reforms that will ensure more freedom and human rights."

1997. Gulf Research Center. *Reform in Saudi Arabia: Current Challenges and Feasible Solutions*. Dubai, July 2003. ●● This report takes as its starting point the speech to the Saudi Consultative Council by King Fahd on 17 May 2003, in which he emphasized the need for extensive reform in the kingdom. It goes on to note the challenges to Saudi Arabia of population growth, the status of women, human rights, and the need for various economic and educational reforms, as well as the threat of internal terrorism. The report suggests the creation of a Higher Committee for Coordination to articulate the mechanisms required and develop plans to carry them out. Among the reforms advocated

are encouraging economic growth based on the employment of nationals, providing more scope for political participation, delegating more authority to the regions, upgrading the quality of graduates, and modernizing security through the creation of a National Security Ministry.

1998. Hanson, Victor Davis. "Our Enemies, the Saudis." *Commentary*, Vol. 114, No. 1 (July-August 2002), pp. 23-28. ●● An unremittingly hostile attack on Saudi Arabia by a professor of classics at California State University at Fresno. The author views Saudi Arabia as a "bizarre place" and charges that the kingdom's "accidental boom" in oil was spent only on the royal family and not on development and that Saudi Arabia would be on the State Department's list of rogue states if it did not have oil.

1999. Henderson, Simon. *After King Fahd: Succession in Saudi Arabia*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1994. Washington Institute Policy Papers, No. 37. ●● A British journalist discusses past patterns of succession in the kingdom prior to analyzing prospects of succession among the sons of King 'Abd al-'Aziz and then the grandsons. Many of his recommendations are dated but he notes that "Succession … could greatly affect the closeness of ties with the United States…" and "U.S. policymakers should take steps to prepare for any number of possible eventualities in a succession process whose outcome is not assured." (p. xiv)

2000. Hersh, Seymour M. "King's Ransom." *New Yorker* (22 October 2001), pp. 35-39. ●● A hostile article by a veteran journalist claiming that Saudi Arabia is "increasingly corrupt, alienated from the country's religious rank and file, and so weakened and frightened that it has brokered its future by channelling hundreds of millions of dollars in … protection money to fundamentalist groups that wish to overthrow it." (p. 35) His evidence for this extreme conclusion is electronic intercepts of conversations between members of the Al Sa'ud, collected by the National Security Agency and leaked to the author by US intelligence officials and unnamed politicians. The intercepts cited are mostly gossipy rather than revealing, but the author also repeats a number of critical comments from unnamed Americans who call the kingdom "the most immediate threat to American economic and political interests in the Middle East." (p. 35)

2001. Holden, David, and Richard Johns. *The House of Saud: The Rise and Rule of the Most Powerful Dynasty in the Arab World*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982.

-and –

2002. Lacey, Robert. *The Kingdom: Arabia and the House of Saud*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982. ●● These two massive tomes on Saudi Arabia appeared in print almost simultaneously. Both take as their subject the creation of the modern state by the Al Saud, the beginnings and expansion of the Saudi oil industry, the emergence of the close Saudi-American relationship, the inevitable changes in Saudi society and economy, and the role of the kingdom in foreign affairs. Both books were written with a general audience in mind, are replete with anecdotes, and speculate on the future of the world's richest kingdom. David Holden, the chief foreign correspondent of *The Sunday Times*, had written about a third of *The House of Saud* when he was mysteriously murdered in Cairo in December 1977. Richard Johns, Middle East editor of the *Financial Times*, subsequently completed the book with the assistance of James Buchan, who contributed a chapter on the 1979 Great Mosque takeover. Robert Lacey, author of *The Kingdom*, is a general non-fiction writer who spent some time in Saudi Arabia in research for his book. ¤

2003. Huyette, Summer Scott. *Political Adaptation in Sa'udi Arabia: A Study of the Council of Ministers*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985. Westview Special Studies on the Middle East. ●● A short study based on a Columbia University Ph.D. dissertation that concentrates on the antecedents to the present council of ministers, the institution's development during the decades from its establishment in 1953 through the 1970s, an examination of its contemporary role, and studies of the evolution of the civil service and of political elites and culture. She observes that "The growth of the Council of Ministers and the development of the Sa'udi bureaucracy have provided prestigious employment for Sa'udi professionals, establishing a new source of elite status for those with training and ability, but it has not satisfied the needs of professionals outside the government who also seek a voice in political choices." (p. 136) The appendices include relevant royal decrees and other lists and documents concerning the council.

2004. International Crisis Group. *Can Saudi Arabia Reform Itself?* Cairo, Brussels, 14 July 2004. Middle East Report, No. 28. ●● An advocacy group believes that the kingdom's leadership is playing a difficult balancing act between an Islamist insurgency and more moderate "popular independent preachers." The authors judge that "Some reforms - curbs on the power of Wahhabi clerics, major changes in the status of women - most urgently desired by the West are least likely to be carried out soon. This is largely a problem of the regime's own making, the product of decades of accommodation to ultra-conservative views in the educational and social spheres. But to insist that it rapidly unmake it would underestimate how extensively a puritanical brand of Islam has permeated society. The broader

question is whether the Saudi regime and an ageing leadership facing the issue of succession are capable of the necessary vision, let alone implementing it."

2005. _____. *Saudi Arabia Backgrounder: Who Are the Islamists?* Amman, Riyadh, Brussels, 21 September 2004. Middle East Report, No. 31. ●● A summary of the role of Wahhabism in the kingdom and the origins of different types of Saudi Arabian Islamism. Particular attention is paid to the recent group, al-Qa'idah in the Arabian Peninsula, and its assault on the state beginning in 2003. The report concludes that while the outcome of the struggle between the violent Islamists and the government is unclear, "there are strong indications the government has gained the upper hand; despite highly visible attacks in May and June 2004, the militants appear to have suffered significant setbacks that leave them both operationally weaker and politically marginalised. Their remaining core of fighters may well retain the ability to exploit weaknesses in Saudi security and counterterrorism capability, but they have not come close to triggering a broader Islamist insurrection or threatening regime stability." (p. ii)

2006. Jones, Toby. "Seeking a Social Contract for Saudi Arabia." *Middle East Report*, No. 228 (Fall 2003). ●● A doctoral candidate in history at Stanford University examines the recent reform petitions and the status of the Shi'ah community in the kingdom.

2007. _____. "Violence and the Illusion of Reform in Saudi Arabia." *Middle East Report Online*, 13 November 2003. ●● The author examines recent attempts to push for reform in the kingdom, particularly the petitions by "liberal reformers" and demonstrations organized by the exile group Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA), and concludes that Auntil the regime rejects its hard-line approach and engages honestly in reform, one thing is certain: state and extremist violence will continue to intensify."

2008. Jordan, Amos A., Jr. "Saudi Arabia: The Next Iran?" *Parameters: Journal of the U.S. Army War College*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 1979), pp. 2-8. ●● The author, Executive Director of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, looks at the question of whether the speed of modernization in Saudi Arabia might not produce the same results as in Iran. He analyzes the major reasons behind the Shah's fall and points out essential differences between the two countries. Jordan notes that Saudi Arabia's authoritarianism is more muted than that of Iran and its inflation and corruption less. His conclusion is that Saudi Arabia is highly unlikely to follow Iran's path. ¤

2009. Kanovsky, Eliahu. *Oil Prices and the Saudi Arabian Economy*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2002.

2010. Kechichian, Joseph A. *Succession in Saudi Arabia*. New York: Palgrave, April 2001. ●● The chief executive officer of Kechichian and Associates and a fellow at UCLA divides the Al Sa'ud, the royal family of Saudi Arabia, into two broad categories: the current generation of leaders and the next generation. He then proceeds to analyze principal figures from both generations and describes the differences between them. He also describes the family's relationship with the religious establishment, the military, and recent opposition figures. He plays down the chances of a full-blown succession struggle after 'Abdullah, presently Heir Apparent, but notes that 'Abdullah's succession and the elevation of his half-brother Sultan to Heir Apparent will cause tension. In this case, Kechichian believes that "senior Al Saud family members - with the explicit support of several younger princes - would probably move to nominate Prince Salman bin Abdul Aziz precisely to avoid a drawn-out dispute that, left to its own course, would threaten internal stability." (pp. 150-151) There are 17 appendices consisting of chronology, genealogical charts, the cabinet in 1999, recent petitions for reform, and the Basic Law of 1992.

2011. _____. "Saudi Arabia's Will to Power." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (February 2000), pp. 47-60. ●● The author, CEO of Kechichian and Associates, points out that the ruling family of Saudi Arabia has developed a "will to power that benefited from the family's strict adherence to Islamic values and, with oil wealth, transformed the desert into a modern country" (p. 47) and that this "will to power" continues to evolve and adapt to changing circumstances.

2012. _____. "Testing the Saudi 'Will to Power': Challenges Confronting Prince Abdallah." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 100-115. ●● A leading Gulf analyst looks at the crises that have hit Saudi Arabia recently, including fallout from the 11 September 2001 attacks and the 12 May 2003 terrorist bombings in Riyadh, and examines some of the responses, including the promise of municipal elections, the creation of an independent human rights committee, and institution of a "National Dialogue" to discuss reforms. The author remarks that "epoch-making changes" have occurred on the watch of Heir Apparent 'Abdullah and judges that, like King Faysal before him, "How he responds to accusations that Saudi Arabia supported terrorist activities throughout the Muslim world and how successfully he introduces sorely needed sociopolitical reforms, will surely shape the kingdom's immediate future." (p. 100)

2013. Kelidar, A. R. "The Problems of Succession in Saudi Arabia." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 65 (N.S. 9), Pt. 1 (February 1978), pp. 23-30. ●● The author, lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), notes that politics in Saudi Arabia "remain traditional, autocratic, highly personal and extremely centralized, and rather unaffected by the economic transformation which the country is undergoing." With this in mind, Kelidar examines the process of succession in a régime where the four kings since 1953 have all been sons of 'Abd al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud, who ruled the country for the first half of this century. Kelidar points out that at least the next several kings are likely to be sons of 'Abd al-'Aziz as well, and discusses the implications of an emerging Ageneration gap" between these men and younger, Western-educated princes. ¤

2014. Koury, Enver M. *The Saudi Decision-Making Body: The House of Al-Saud*. Hyattsville, MD: Institute of Middle Eastern and North African Affairs, 1978. ●● An examination of the functioning of and prospects for the Saudi Arabian political system, heavily couched in political science jargon. One of the author's conclusions reads that "The Saudi government has been able to mitigate mass discontent by correlating the equation of time-volume-content to maximize its political capital through mass support." ¤

2015. Kuniholm, Bruce R. "What the Saudis Really Want: A Primer for the Reagan Administration." *Orbis*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Spring 1981), pp. 107-121. ●● The author, assistant professor of policy sciences and history at Duke University, points out that Saudi priorities lie on five descending planes: preservation of the royal family, preservation of the nearly indistinguishable interests of the kingdom, the strong identity with the Arab world, concern with the Islamic world, and shoring up the anticommunist bloc. Kuniholm counsels the Reagan administration, in its formulation of Gulf policy, to be sensitive to Saudi considerations and priorities: "Any attempt to push the Saudis beyond what their instinct for survival tells them is acceptable … can only result in failure and in damage to our common interests." ¤

2016. Lackner, Helen. *A House Built on Sand: A Political Economy of Saudi Arabia*. London: Ithaca Press, 1978. ●● A broad survey of Saudi Arabia's recent history, oil industry, politics, foreign policy, economic transformation, and changing society, written from a leftist point of view. The author, an anthropologist who studied at London's School of Oriental and African Studies, concludes that the state is "an anachronism in political terms…" and asserts that the "situation cannot last and the immediate prospects for Saudi Arabia are bleak." ¤

2017. Lacroix, Stephane. "Neither Islamist, Nor Liberal: Saudi Arabia's Emerging

'Centrist' Trend." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 345-366. ●● A PhD candidate at Sciences-Po Paris examines the emerging phenomenon of a common cause embracing former Islamists and liberals, Sunnis and Shi'ah, seeking to advance democratic change in Saudi Arabia through an Islamic framework. He argues that the success of this "Islamo-liberal" trend depends on their evolution of a coherent and unified program, as well as the continued support of Heir Apparent 'Abdullah and his commitment to founding a "new Saudi Arabia."

2018. Long, David E. *Saudi Arabia*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, for the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1976. Washington Papers, No. 39. ●● A State Department official and academic provides a concise overview to modern Saudi Arabia, with concentration on its recent history, political structure, and economy. Long concludes by noting the range of challenges faced by the country and suggests that the Saudi leadership stands a good chance of coping with them. He adds that "Saudi Arabia's efforts to use its oil wealth to develop a modern society with age-old Islamic values makes it one of the most exciting places to watch in the Middle East." ¤

2019. _____. *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997. ●● A retired US Foreign Service Officer produces a portrait of Saudi Arabia through its history, political system, oil, economic development and modernization, the administration of the *hajj* (Islamic pilgrimage to Makkah), and foreign policy and national security. Looking into the future, he observes that "the current régime has a greater mutuality of interests [with the West] than any likely successor…" but that the advent of a militant régime is unlikely. "Far more probable than a change of régime, or even a change of basic foreign and domestic policies, is a change of style as a new generation of Al Sauds replaces the older generation." (p. 131)

2020. McHale, T.R. "A Prospect of Saudi Arabia." *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 56, No. 4 (Autumn 1980), pp. 622-647. ●● An American economist with seven years experience in Saudi Arabia reviews the historical development of the country and the impact of oil on its society. McHale identifies a number of areas of stress within Saudi Arabia, including the Sunni Shi'i relationship, tribal divisions, tensions within the royal family, the gap between literates and illiterates, urban-rural conflicts, and divisions between men and women. ¤

2021. Mani, Saleh al-. "Of Security and Threat: Saudi Arabia's Perception." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Fall 1996), pp. 74-87. ●● An associate professor at King Saud University in

Riyadh states that while Saudi Arabia's geography, Islam, and oil are a source of Saudi strength, they also "create limitations that require specific strategies within its security paradigm to address the country's long borders, rising Islamic radicalism and needed military and economic alliances with Western (and non-Islamic) nations." (p. 74) Noting the kingdom's limited military capabilities, the author discusses both internal and external threats and advocates a reserve system for the Saudi armed forces and full utilization of human resources, both men and women.

2022. Marchand, Stéphane. *Arabie Saoudite: La Menace*. Paris: Fayard, 2003.

2023. Ménoret, Pascal. "Pouvoirs et oppositions en Arabie saoudite: de la contestation armée à l'institutionnalisation de l'islamisme?" *Maghreb-Machrek*, No. 177 (Autumn 2003), pp. 21-36. ●● A study that outlines the many manifestations of Islamism in Saudi Arabia, ranging from the armed groups that have carried out recent terrorist attacks to the participation of Islamist intellectuals in the "national dialogue." The author suggests that future developments will depend heavily on the ability of the régime to manage and advance political reform.

2024. Nehme, Michel G. "Saudi Arabia 1950-80: Between Nationalism and Religion." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (October 1994), pp. 931-943. ●● An examination of the political pressures in the kingdom and the response of the royal family to them as background to the establishment of the Majlis al-Shura in 1992 and the continuing differences between "nationalists" and "traditionalists." To handle the contention between the two groups, the author contends that "the government has been trying to use Saudi nationalism to supplement religion as the unifying force in Saudi Arabia." (p. 942) In his view, it is either working or at least buying time.

2025. _____. "The Shifting Sands of Political Participation in Saudi Arabia." *Orient*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1995), pp. 45-60. ●● The author analyzes the impact of the Kuwait War and the establishment of the Majlis al-Shura in Saudi Arabia as a result of promulgation of its Basic Law in 1992, and also discusses the appearance of opposition groups. He asserts that "The Saudi political system, as it stands, cannot satisfy the expectations of the new socio-religious bands, the educated groups, and the Modernizers who strive for a share in the making of policy." (p. 60)

2026. _____. "Political Development in Saudi Arabia: Empty Reforms from Above." *International Sociology*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (June 1995), pp. 155-171. ●● An assistant professor at the American University of Beirut describes the impact of rapid economic change on political evolution in Saudi Arabia. He

asserts that the Saudi elite are not receptive to progressive demands for a more democratic form of political organization and thus the introduction of the Basic Law in 1992 and other measures are "nothing but empty reforms coming from above." (p. 155)

2027. Niblock, Tim, ed. *State, Society and Economy in Saudi Arabia*. London: Croom Helm, for the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, 1982. ●● This, the second volume resulting from the Centre for Arab Gulf Studies' annual symposia, concentrates, as the title indicates, on Saudi Arabia while exploring a wide range of topics within that kingdom's boundaries. Saudi history is covered by Derek Hopwood (Middle East bibliographer, University of Oxford and St. Anthony's College), who looks at the Islamic revivalism of Ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhab; Peter Sluglett (lecturer in Middle Eastern History at the University of Durham) and Marion Farouk-Sluglett discuss Britain and the creation of the 20thcentury Saudi state; and Rosemarie Said Zahlan (author of several books on Gulf history) examines King ʻAbd al-ʻAziz's relations with the Gulf states in the 1930s.

The following contributors examine Saudi Arabia's politics and foreign policy: Tim Niblock (Deputy Director of the Centre for Arab Gulf Studies), who focusses on the interaction between the social structure, economic change, and political development; James Buchan (a correspondent for the *Financial Times*) on secular and religious opposition; Fred Halliday (associate director of the Transnational Institute) on US-Saudi relations; and John Duke Anthony (then of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies) on contemporary Saudi relations with other Gulf states. British author Shirley Kay also adds a paper on the effects and consequences of social change, while Ugo Fabietti (a social anthropologist from Milan) examines the Saudi policy of sedentarization as a means of detribalization.

The enormous degree and rapid pace of economic change receives attention in four papers: J.S. Birks and C.A. Sinclair (research fellows at the University of Durham) concentrate on the domestic political economy of development; Paul Stevens (lecturer in economics, University of Surrey) on Saudi Arabia's oil policy in the 1970s; H.G. Hambleton (then professor of economics at the University Laval, Quebec) on the Saudi petrochemical industry; and Rodney Wilson (lecturer in economics, University of Durham) on the evolution of the Saudi banking system and its relationship with Bahrain. The volume also reproduces the remarks of Abdullah Al Saud, Deputy Secretary-General of the Royal Commission for Jubayl and Yanbuʻ, at the opening of the symposium. ¤

2028. Obaid, Nawaf E. *The Oil Kingdom at 100: Petroleum Policymaking in Saudi Arabia*. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2000. ●● The author, a Saudi citizen who wrote this study while a visiting research fellow at WINEP, examines the formation and exercise of Saudi oil policy by examining the formal structures and key personalities involved (ruling family members, senior government officials, and oil industry executives). He discusses such fundamental factors in the kingdom's oil strategy as the need to remain competitive in the global petroleum industry, the volatility of the international market, and the need to reduce dependence on oil income (including the privatization of state corporations). Separate chapters summarize Saudi relations with oil exporters and oil consumers. Obaid concludes that "The crown prince and the senior Saudi leadership have adopted an increasingly professional approach to policymaking and implementation. They are open to a larger role for foreign investment and towards structural economic reform. They are also taking a more assertive stand in regional and international politics. In short, Saudi policy is becoming more professional and more assertive." (p. xx)

2029. _____. "In Al-Saud We Trust." *Foreign Policy*, No. 128 (January-February 2002), pp. 72-74. ●● In a short opinion piece, a former fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy compares the legitimacy of the Al Sa'ud to the late Shah of Iran and concludes that the parallels drawn between the 1979 revolution in Iran and Saudi Arabia's present difficulties Agloss over a wealth of critical differences." (p. 72)

2030. Ochsenwald, William. "Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Revival." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (August 1981), pp. 271-286. A historian at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University assesses the role of Islam in the Saudi Arabian state and the prospects for Islamic revival there. Ochsenwald points out that "A revival of militant Wahhabism does not yet seem to have taken place," despite the tremendous extent of economic and social change taking place in the country. In addition, he considers that "The 1979 attack on the Haram has so far been an isolated incident when seen in the context of the centuries-long Saudi synthesis of religion and politics." ¤

2031. Oxenstierna, Rosario. *Saudi Arabia in the Post-Gulf War: The Search for Stability and Security in the Gulf*. London: Gulf Centre for Strategic Studies, 1992.

2032. Paul, Jim. "Insurrection at Mecca." *MERIP Reports*, No. 91 (October 1980), pp. 3-4. ●● A recap of the incident at the Great Mosque of Mecca in November 1979, when the mosque was seized by the followers of a self-

proclaimed *mahdi*. While Saudi Arabia's religious leaders sanctioned government intervention to regain control of the mosque, expelling the dissidents took several weeks to accomplish. Paul points out that the incident demonstrated how ill-prepared the government was to deal with crises of this sort and suggests that the ruling family has less and less room for maneuvering between disaffected traditional elements and emerging modernist forces. ¤

2033. Perlmutter, Amos. "The Challenge to Mecca." *World & I*, Vol. 3 (January 1988), pp. 126-129.

2034. Peterson, J.E. *Saudi Arabia and the Illusion of Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2002. Adelphi Papers, No. 348. ●● Published in the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 attacks, this study examines Saudi conceptions of national security, internal dimensions of Saudi security, and the impact of 11 September on the kingdom. The study concludes that "In the short to medium term, it is in the interests of both sides to repair and maintain a mutually beneficial relationship, even if it should mean significant loosening of the bonds and at least some Saudi acquiescence in an American policy of containment. Over the long-term, however, Saudi interests may be best served by nurturing a more indigenous conception and practice of Gulf security, one which rests on inclusion and not exclusion." (p. 83)

2035. _____. "Saudi Arabia at the Threshold." In David Partington, ed., *The Middle East Annual: Issues and Events, Vol. 4 - 1984* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985), pp. 53-82. ●● A survey of the domestic determinants of Saudi policy-making and an overview of the nature of the Saudi-American relationship. The article also examines the impact of development and external factors in Saudi foreign-policy perspectives. As for the future of US-Saudi relations, "It seems extremely unlikely that the fundamental nature of the relationship between the two countries will be altered in the near future, although minor differences and even adjustments toward a lesser degree of intimacy may be forthcoming." (p. 77)

2036. _____. "Saudi-American Relations After 11 September 2001." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 33, Part 1 (February 2002), pp. 102-114. ●● An examination of extremism in Saudi Arabia and "Saudi-bashing" in the West following the 11 September attacks. Saudi Arabia "has found itself the target of American hostility on a scale never seen before, leading to the real possibility that the 60-year American-Saudi alliance (the kingdom's closest bond outside the Arab world) will be jeopardised." (p. 112)

2037. Piscatori, James P. "The Roles of Islam in Saudi Arabia's Political Development." In John L. Esposito, ed., *Islam and Development: Religion and Sociopolitical Change* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980), pp. 123-138. ●● The author, a senior fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs at the time of writing, explains the role of Islam in molding the institutions of the Saudi state. He also notes that Islam affects policymaking both as a determinant and a constraint. The government has also been able to utilize Islam as a framework for facilitating change and to lend legitimacy to the régime. Piscatori indicates that the Saudi leadership will continue to adhere to a cautious modernization policy and will likely be reluctant to pursue development objectives at the expense of traditional Islamic values. See also Piscatori's articles, "Ideological Politics in Saudi Arabia," in Piscatori, ed., *Islam in the Political Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1983), pp. 56-72; and "Islamic Values and National Interest: The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia," in Adeed Dawisha, ed., *Islam in Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 33-53. ¤

2038. Prokop, Michaela. "Education in Saudi Arabia: The Challenge of Reforming the System and Adapting the Message." *Orient*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (December 2002), pp. 559-582.

2039. _____. "Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Education." *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1 (January 2003), pp. 77-89. ●● The author, with the Asian Development Bank, looks at the charges that Saudi Arabia's educational system propagates anti-Western bias and encourages Islamic extremism. She notes that resistance to reforming the system is likely to be strong but observes that "resistance to curriculum change should not be regarded as necessarily negative. It may provide a starting point for a dialogue among various stakeholders that will be important not only in respect of curriculum development but also for the emergence and involvement of a more active civil society." (p. 89)

2040. Quandt, William *Saudi Arabia in the 1980s: Foreign Policy, Security, and Oil*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1981. ●● A senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and former National Security Council staff member looks at significant factors in the formulation of Saudi foreign policy with an emphasis on implications for US policy. Among the external factors he considers are the Arab world and the Palestinians, the Islamic world, and the superpower rivalry. He also describes the Saudi structure of authority, assesses the impact of pressures for change, analyzes recent key foreign policy situations, and explains Saudi oil policy. Quandt ends by suggesting some guidelines for US policy such as the development of a more realistic

understanding of the scope of Saudi regional influence and maintaining a modest US military presence in the area. As he points out, "The future of Saudi Arabia depends in large measure on its relationship with the United States…. Few foreign policy matters deserve higher priority in Washington…." ¤

2041. _____. "Riyadh Between the Superpowers." *Foreign Policy*, No. 44 (1981), pp. 37-56. ●● A senior fellow at the Brookings Institution surveys the logic of and problems involved in the US-Saudi relationship. He notes that American hesitation over the sale of AWACS aircraft and the lack of progress on the Arab-Israeli front in creases the temptation for the Saudis to open a dialogue with the Soviet Union. Riyadh is said to be worried by what it sees as Washington's inability to transform its military might into political influence, yet for many reasons Riyadh is loathe to sever the security link with the US. Quandt warns that the US should not view Saudi Arabia as Iran's replacement as a regional power, and suggests that the US military presence there should be kept modest and arms sales policies should be better thought out. ¤

2042. Quilliam, Neil, and Maggie Kamel. "Modernising Legitimacy: Saudi Strategies." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 26-65. ●● According to the authors, the state in Saudi Arabia has suffered from a deficit of legitimacy since the attacks of 11 September 2001. They contend that the state's strategy of "Islamicization" of society has produced a generation of radicalized Islamists committed to overthrowing the state and when these radicals return to Saudi Arabia, the state will need to deploy new strategies to counter their challenges.

2043. Raphaeli, Nimrod. "Saudi Arabia: A Brief Guide to its Politics and Problems." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September 2003), distributed electronically. ●● A former World Bank employee and present analyst for the Middle East Media Research Institute uses published statistical reports and translations of Saudi newspapers to summarize the kingdom's economic difficulties problems and to outline the role of the royal family in government and commerce. The article includes genealogical charts.

2044. Rasheed, Madawi Al-. *A History of Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. ●● A senior lecturer in social anthropology at King's College of the University of London discusses the modern history of Saudi Arabia. She begins with chapters on the 18th- and 19th- century periods of Al Sa'ud expansion from the central Najd region to other areas of the Arabian Peninsula, but the greatest part of the book is devoted to the 20th century,

tracing the impact of oil income through the reigns of four kings. The penultimate chapter focuses on the Kuwait War and the reform petitions and opposition that the war and its aftermath posed to the Al Sa'ud and the country. A final chapter is concerned with the official historiography of the state and narratives of history. The author concludes that reforms made after the war failed to silence the Islamist opposition. Instead, "Political unrest in the 1990s proved that an organised Islamist opposition was capable of threatening stability. Although today the Islamist opposItion seems to be diffused, the conditions that contributed to its rise and intensification remain embedded in Sa'udi society." (p. 222)

2045. _____. "God, the King and the Nation: Political Rhetoric in Saudi Arabia in the 1990s." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 360-371. ●● A lecturer in social anthropology at King's College of the University of London provides an ethnographic reading of the speech by King Fahd in 1992 introducing basic reforms, and notes that "While the reforms are considered major innovations, political rhetoric confirms that they are in line with the established tradition of the country." (p. 359) She points out that King Fahd not only introduced the reforms but placed them in an ideological context focusing on "how God establishes and governs the political process, how the king enacts his holy mission, and how the nation is required to accept and follow the guidance of God and the king." (p. 365)

2046. _____. "The Shi'a of Saudi Arabia: A Minority in Search of Cultural Authenticity." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (May 1998), pp. 121-138. ●● The author traces the transformation of Shi'ah resistance to Saudi authority from military confrontation in the 1980s to a search for cultural authenticity in the 1990s. The author observes that "The exiled Shi'a leadership moved from total rejection of the régime during the time when the movement was 'revolutionary' (i.e. immediately after the events of the early 1980s) - to a call for dialogue with the state. In the 1990s, the leadership has called for gradual change and reform rather than revolution." (p. 136) The state's response has been to engage in dialogue, which has enabled it to turn full attention to the rising Wahhabi opposition.

2047. _____, and Loulouwa al-Rasheed. "The Politics of Encapsulation: Saudi Policy Towards Tribal and Religious Opposition." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 1996), pp. 96-119. ●● An examination of how the Saudi state's strategies toward Shammar tribal opposition in the early part of the 20th century and toward Shi'ah opposition over the last several decades differed. In the first instance, "the state used a combination of overt confrontation and covert economic dependency in encapsulating Shammar opposition" (p. 115) while the state justifies its treatment of the Shi'ah on

religious grounds. According to the authors, "In the absence of modern means for political participation and the expression of political opposition, the Saudi state is constrained by its political culture [which] defines the parameters of state actions." (p. 116)

2048. Rathmell, Andrew, and Mustafa Alani. "Saudi Arabia: The Threat from Within." *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Special Report No. 12 (1996). ●● The deputy director of and a consultant to the International Centre for Security Analysis at King's College, University of London, analyze the impact of the Western presence in the kingdom, the need for reform, and the emergence of Islamic opposition. The authors conclude that "The lack of dynamic Royal leadership means that [the reformulation of the political and economic compact underpinning the Saudi system is] unlikely to be addressed in an imaginative and far-sighted manner anytime soon." (p. 22)

2049. Rawaf, Othman Y. al-. "The Structure of the Saudi Government." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1983), pp. 28-32. ●● A political scientist at King Saud University briefly describes the structure and functions of the government of Saudi Arabia. He points out that the administrative system consists of five major organizations (the king and the royal bureaus; the council of ministers; the ministries and independent agencies; the judiciary; and local administration) and briefly discusses each. Al-Rawaf concludes by asserting that Saudi Arabia has reached a stage in which new methods of communication and participation are necessary for development and progress but, apart from a brief mention of official decrees in this regard, he does not explain what changes are necessary. ¤

2050. Rouleau, Eric. "Trouble in the Kingdom." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (July-August 2002), pp. 75-89. ●● The former French ambassador to Tunisia and Turkey discusses domestic developments in Saudi Arabia and comments on such growing problems as a soaring population growth rate, rising unemployment and falling per capita incomes, as well as a perceived struggle between the royal family and an Islamic opposition, with reformists in disarray. "The fundamental truth … remains that radical change would spell the end of the Al Saud family's absolute power and the privileges…. This is the real source of the government's conservatism…." (p. 89)

2051. Rubin, Elizabeth. "Intruders in the House of Saud, Part I: The Jihadi Who Kept Asking Why." *New York Times Magazine* (7 March 2004), accessed online. ●● A contributing writer for the magazine attempts to describe the struggle in Saudi Arabia between reformers and Islamic radicals, using as a focus Mansur al-Nuqaydan, a Saudi newspaper columnist and strong critic of the Islamists to whose ranks he once belonged.

2052. Rustow, Dankwart A. "U.S.-Saudi Relations and the Oil Crises of the 1980s." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (April 1977), pp. 494-516. ●● The author, a professor of political science at the City University of New York, examines the economic interests of OPEC countries, with emphasis on Saudi Arabia. He argues that the determinants of Saudi oil policy are price moderation, prevention of a price break within OPEC, and prevention of excessive price rises. He also views Saudi oil policy as a function of regional political conditions and the Saudi leadership's desire to bring political pressure to bear on the formulation of US foreign policy in Middle East. "In sum, Saudi Arabia's dominant position in global oil trade and vast financial surpluses have given it unprecedented economic leverage over other OPEC members and in inter-Arab councils-as well as the hope of corresponding political leverage on the United States and Israel." In conclusion, Rustow argues that US policy should give priority to reducing dependence on Arab oil and developing domestic resources, rather than making massive arms deals and ill-considered military threats. ¤

2053. Safran, Nadav. *Saudi Arabia: The Ceaseless Quest for Security*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985. ●● A survey of 20th-century Saudi history and security concerns by a professor of Middle Eastern studies at Harvard University. Themes that run through the book are the kingdom's efforts to improve its defensive capabilities and its security concerns regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Yemens, and the Gulf. The author concludes that "America's long-term aim should be to disengage its vital interests from the policy and fate of the Kingdom. Its short-term policy should be designed with an eye to achieving that goal while cooperating with the Kingdom in dealing with problems on a case-by-case basis and advancing shared interests on the basis of reciprocity." (p. 460)

2054. Salameh, Ghassane. "Political Power and the Saudi State." Tr. from the French by Vivian Steir. *MERIP Reports*, No. 91 (October 1980), pp. 5-22. ●● An associate professor of political science at the Université St. Joseph (Beirut) looks at the development of the modern Saudi state, with emphasis on the position of the royal family, the role of the armed forces, and the conduct of foreign affairs. ¤ Revised as "Political Power and the Saudi State." In Berch Berberoglu, *Power and Stability in the Middle East* (London: Zed Books, 1989), pp. 70-89.

2055. *Saudi Arabia: One Hundred Years Later; Revised and Updated Proceedings of a Conference at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 28 April 1999*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1999. ●● Contributors include Joseph A. Kechichian (Kechichian and Associates) on the role of the Al Sa'ud in state-

building, Sdaka Y. Fadil (King Abd al-Aziz University) on the impact of unification on regional stability, James Placke (Cambridge Energy Research Associates) on the Saudi oil industry, Waheed Hamza Hashim (King Abd al-Aziz University) on economic decision-making, Abdul Aziz al-Fayez (Majlis al-Shura) and Gregory Gause III (University of Vermont) on Saudi foreign policy, Shibley Telhami (University of Maryland) on US-Saudi relations, and the text of a luncheon address by Adel A. Al-Jubeir (Special Assistant to the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia in Washington).

2056. Seznec, Jean-François. "Stirrings in Saudi Arabia." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (October 2002), pp. 33-40. ●● A partner of the Lafayette Group investment company discerns "protodemocratic stirrings" in Saudi Arabia. He discusses the traditional elements of power within the royal family and the limited reforms enacted in the 1990s. Further liberalization, he holds, can only occur with the encouragement or the approval of King Fahd and thus much depends on when and whether Prince 'Abdullah officially becomes king. Until the royal family is placed on the same footing as the rest of the population and an independent judiciary takes root, "the state will remain imperious. And this will not happen through any pressure from below: Equality under the law can be imposed on the family and the judiciary only by a strong and well-respected king. Paradoxically, an authoritarian ruler of stature will be needed to establish the institutional structures that can push Saudi Arabia further away from 'closed hegemony.'" (p. 40)

2057. Schwartz, Stephen. *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*. New York: Doubleday, 2002. ●● A hostile treatise on Saudi Arabia's Wahhabi interpretation of Islam by a convert to Sufism, who presents Sufism as the mainstream of Islam and Wahhabism as the opposite (and only) extremist pole.

2058. Shaked, Haim. "The Islamic Revolution - Is Saudi Arabia Next?" In George S. Wise and Charles Issawi, eds., *Middle East Perspectives: The Next Twenty Years* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1981), pp. 141-146. ●● The director of the Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Tel Aviv University maintains that the predictions of Saudi Arabia's collapse at the time of the Iranian revolution seemed highly exaggerated. Then he contends that the takeover of the Great Mosque in Mecca "exposed the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Saudi Arabian regime…." As a consequence, Shaked concludes that "In the beginning of the 1980s, Saudi Arabian stability begins to look not merely like a problem, but a highly explosive one." ¤

2059. Shaw, John A., and David E. Long. *Saudi Arabian Modernization: The Impact of Change on Stability*. New York: Praeger, for the Georgetown

University Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1982. The Washington Papers, No. 89. ●● This study by a senior fellow at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies (Shaw) and a State Department official with considerable experience in Saudi Arabia (Long) is based on a 1979 CSIS project on Saudi Arabian modernization. The first half deals with the impact of economic change on stability and looks at the oil sector, industrialization efforts, infrastructure development, manpower problems, and business practices. The second half is concerned with the impact of a changing society on Saudi stability, focusing on the royal family, the military, technocrats, merchant families, students, "the Saudi common man," the religious leadership, women, the Shi'ah minority, and Saudi dissident activity. The authors' assessment of Saudi modernization and the issues of stability is summed up in one sentence: "Although there may be cause for concern in the long term, there is little cause for despair in the short." ¤

2060. Siddiq, Mohammed H. *Why the Boom Went Bust: An Analysis of the Saudi Government*. Lincoln, NE: privately printed, 1995. ●● A critical look at the Saudi Arabian ruling family - accusing it of have a destructive effect on the country - by a self-described Saudi citizen living in the United States.

2061. Simons, Geoff. *Saudi Arabia: The Shape of a Client Feudalism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

2062. Tahtinen, Dale R. *National Security Challenges to Saudi Arabia*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1978. ●● A tantalizingly short introduction to Saudi Arabia's security environment, written by the assistant director of foreign and defense policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute at the time of publication. Tahtinen begins with a brief over view of possible conflicts in and around the Arabian Peninsula, followed by a sketch of Saudi military capabilities. He then assesses the probable performance of the kingdom's forces against threats from Iraq, Iran, other states in the peninsula and Africa, and Israel. Tahtinen concludes that although "Saudi Arabia faces a number of potential national security challenges, none is of an immediate nature." He suggests that Riyadh has had ample reason to place emphasis on military modernization over the last decade and approves of the direction these efforts have taken. He also stresses that Saudi Arabia's importance to the US means that Washington must be closely concerned with Saudi defense requirements. ¤

2063. Tarazi, A. Michael. "Saudi Arabia's New Basic Laws: The Struggle for Participatory Islamic Government." *Harvard International Law Journal*, Vol.

34 (1993), pp. 258-275. ●● An examination of the pressures and petitions leading to the 1992 promulgation of the Basic Law and the Consultative Council Law, followed by an analysis of the laws themselves. The author judges that "A textual analysis of Saudi Arabia's Basic Law and Consultative Council Law casts doubt on their efficacy in producing a meaningful participatory government [but] a strictly textual analysis … vastly underestimates the significance of the laws being issued at all." (p. 274)

2064. Teitelbaum, Joshua. "Dueling for Da'wa: State vs. Society on the Saudi Internet." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 222-239. ●● A senior research fellow at Tel Aviv University examines the introduction of the Internet by the Saudi Arabian government, as well as its use by Saudi dissidents in exile. He sees that the kingdom "wants to be part of the 'new economy,' but it also wants to keep its unique heritage insulated from what it sees will be the untoward effects of the Internet. The Internet is thus both an opportunity and a challenge." (p. 237)

2065. Turner, Louis, and James Bedore. "Saudi Arabia: The Power of the Purse Strings." *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 54, No. 3 (July 1978), pp. 405-420. ●● The authors begin by noting that some commentators see a diffusion of power from the superpowers to "threshold" powers, i.e. regional powers which are near the threshold of full development-potentially rich and also potentially powerful. This article sets out to examine the limits on the kind of world role which Saudi Arabia can play, based on its economic advantages. Turner and Bedore, research fellow and research assistant, respectively, at the Royal Institute of International Affairs at the time of publication, conclude that in economic terms Saudi Arabia is a world power but that in strategic terms it is still struggling to find an adequate regional role. ¤

2066. U.S. General Accounting Office. *Critical Factors Affecting Saudi Arabia's Oil Decisions*; Report by the Comptroller General of the U.S. Washington, DC: GAO, 12 May 1978. ●● This study notes that Saudi Arabia's "capability and willingness to increase [oil] production is dependent on many complex and interrelated technical, political, security and economic factors." While money and technical assistance should be able to solve the technical problems, difficulties remain in a shortage of skilled manpower and the importation of foreign labor. Both the US and Saudi Arabia share a concern for the internal security of the kingdom and for the containment of communist and radical ideologies in the region; however, they differ over approaches to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The report concludes that, while Saudi Arabia is of utmost importance to the US, the US must reduce its dependency on insecure oil imports. The essence of this study remains relevant today, despite the downward trend in American consumption of foreign oil and the "oil glut" of

the 1980s. ¤

2067. Viorst, Milton. “The Storm and the Citadel.” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (January-February 1996), pp. 93-107. ●● A writer reports on his visit to Saudi Arabia, concentrating on the dissent that arose in the kingdom following the Kuwait War. He declares that “No Saudi I encountered expressed a belief that the dissidents … had any immediate prospect of triumphing over the royal family; the Sauds' [sic] roots are too deep in the society. Some Saudis, however, expressed resentment that the United States had put no pressure on the royal family to be more attentive to human rights.” (p. 107)

2068. Wilson, Peter W., and Douglas F. Graham. *Saudi Arabia: The Coming Storm*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharp, 1994. ●● Two journalists who worked in Saudi Arabia provide a basic overview of Saudi Arabia's politics, foreign policy, security forces, economy, and social issues. They end with a critical view of the Al Sa‘ud and feel that “Today, Saudi Arabia is increasingly resembling the shah's Iran. The parallels are many: the ruling family is perceived as being corrupt and tied to the United States; foreign policy is pegged to a strong American presence in the Gulf, with indirect ties to Israel; and oil policies are not based on national considerations.” (p. 268) The authors have also written separately on the kingdom: Peter W. Wilson, *A Question of Interest: The Paralysis of Saudi Banking* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), and Douglas Graham, *Saudi Arabia Unveiled* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1991).

2069. Wright, Lawrence. “The Kingdom of Silence.” *New Yorker* (5 January 2004), accessed online. ●● A personal account of life in Saudi Arabia by a journalist hired for three months to train young reporters for the *Saudi Gazette*. The author relates his experiences on the newspaper and his impressions of Saudi life through numerous interviews and conversations.

2070. Yamani, Mai. “Children of Oil.” *World Today*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (March 2000), pp. 22-23. ●● The author, a Research Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, argues that “We cannot know what [globalization] means for the internal and external security of [Saudi Arabia] unless we understand the thinking of those who will be the decision-makers in the 21st century” (p. 22) in this preview of her longer Chatham House study, *Changed Identities*. She then creates three composite profiles of young Saudis' views on what they expect of their future.

2071. _____. “Middle East Prospects - Saudi Arabia: Awakening.” *World Today*, Vol. 56, No. 12 (December 2000), pp. 21-22. ●● The Palestinian

uprising in late 2000 has had great impact in the Gulf where "the youth … is beginning to share anti-American sentiments, expressed dramatically in the burning of the US flag alongside that of Israel" (p. 21). Spontaneous demonstrations erupted across Saudi Arabia's expanse and social strata, including one by women in Jiddah. Their underlying message, Dr. Yamani says, is that the government must take account of popular feeling and act accordingly.

2072. _____. "Saudi Arabia: Balance of Fear." *World Today*, Vol. 58, No. 11 (November 2002), pp. 13-14. ●● A brief assessment of the danger of domestic opposition in Saudi Arabia because of the American drive for war on Iraq. The author points out the alienation present in the southern province of 'Asir and the western province of al-Hijaz and notes that "The government's ability to control and regulate public opinion has diminished with the advent of new Arab satellite television channels and the Internet." (p. 14)

2073. _____. "Saudi Arabia: The 'Arab Street,' the Media and Popular Agitation Since September 11." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 34, No. 2 (July 2003), pp. 143-147. ●● A Research Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs explains the formation of popular attitudes in the kingdom and the role of the media in their formulation. She remarks that "Outside observers have become aware of [the internal Saudi] stresses and potentially dangerous popular disillusionment and dissent, provoking a wave of speculation about Saudi society. Nevertheless, the Saudi state is still struggling to sustain its preferred version of the national story." (p. 147)

Kuwait

2074. Alshayeji, Abdullah K. "Kuwait at the Crossroads: The Quest for Democratization." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 8, No. 5 (May-June 1992), pp. 41-46. ●● A political scientist at Kuwait University stresses the importance of the 1992 National Assembly elections and discusses the major opposition blocs.

2075. Assiri, Abdul-Reda. "Kuwait's Political Survival in the 1980s and Beyond: Small-Nation Response to Regional Pressure." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 30 (Fall 1989), pp. 27-35. ●● A professor at Kuwait University looks at Kuwait's responses to the threats posed to its security by the Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq War. He contends that these events "functioned as catalysts for radical and revolutionary changes in the domestic and foreign policies of Kuwait." (p. 34) Assiri recommends that "A combination of

internal power, regional support, and external help could contribute to Kuwait's domestic well-being, political stability, and military security." (p. 35)

2076. Crystal, Jill. *Kuwait: The Transformation of an Oil State*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992. Westview Profiles/Nations of the Contemporary Middle East. ●● An assistant professor of political science at the University of Michigan provides an introduction to Kuwait, beginning with its history, oil economy, and social composition. Other chapters explain political institutions and processes, the country's foreign policy, and the Iraqi occupation, liberation, and reconstruction. She observes that "The immediate impact of the occupation and war was to sharpen both the democratic and authoritarian impulses in Kuwait. … The long-term effect will either be the introduction of an authoritarian system unlike any Kuwait has seen before, as the opposition fears, or a real broadening of political power, as the opposition hopes." (p. 177)

2077. Ebraheem, Yousef H. al-. "Kuwait's Economic Travails." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (September 1996), pp. 17-23. ●● An economist at Kuwait University summarizes the major development constraints in the GCC before analyzing Kuwait's budget problems. He argues that "Kuwait needs structural reforms that emphasize long-term development, not short-term welfare" (p. 23) and advocates a vigorous privatization strategy.

2078. Ghabra, Shafeeq. "Democratization in a Middle Eastern State: Kuwait, 1993." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1994), pp. 102-119. ●● A political scientist at Kuwait University examines the issues in the 1992 elections to Kuwait's National Assembly (the first since the suspension of the body in 1986 and the war in 1991), the election campaign, and the results. "The new government's formation and the existence of a strong parliament dominated by the Islamists, shifted the balance of power in Kuwait to the hands of the parliament. For the first time in the history of Kuwait, government ministers can vote in parliament against a government-backed policy should they feel the need to do so." (p. 115) Still, he remains cautious in judging whether "the Kuwaiti experiment in democratization will be an on-going process or an isolated temporary experience with freedom…." (p. 119)

2079. _____. "Kuwait and the Dynamics of Socio-Economic Change." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 359-372.

2080. _____. "10 Years After: Embracing Reform in Kuwait." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (June-July 2001), pp. 23-26. ●● The Director of the Kuwait Information Office in Washington discusses the process of an "evolving democratic process" in Kuwait and the country's National

Assembly. He concludes that the Kuwait War "created the conditions for a more dynamic application of democratic principles … and a momentum for reform has developed." (p. 26)

2081. Ismael, Jacqueline S. *Kuwait: Social Change in Historical Perspective*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982. ●● An associate professor of social welfare at the University of Calgary examines the process of social and economic change in Kuwait through the framework of dependency theory. The first part is concerned with pre-oil Kuwait, looking at the tribal origins of the present state, the emerging British predominance over Kuwait, and the underdevelopment of the country in the twentieth century. The elements of post-oil Kuwait examined by the author include the continued dependency of Kuwait within the international system, the internal economic and demographic transformation of the country, and Asocial change and social control in the welfare state." ¤ A new edition, *Kuwait: Dependency and Class in a Rentier State* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), was updated to include a chapter on the war and developments through the Kuwaiti elections of 1992.

2082. Hacker, Jacob. "The Tortuous Trek: Constitutional Democracy in Kuwait." *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Summer 1992), pp. 36-37, 54-55. ●● A staff writer for the review briefly surveys Kuwaiti politics after the Kuwait War and sees two possible scenarios in Kuwait: "one offers peaceful and rational change en route to a new social and political contract; the other threatens political instability and violence. Unfortunately, no one can be certain which path will be chosen." (p. 55)

2083. Hicks, Neil, and Ghanim al-Najjar. "The Utility of Tradition: Civil Society in Kuwait." In Augustus Richard Norton, ed., *Civil Society in the Middle East*, Vol. I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), pp. 186-213. ●● The authors observe that "Civil and personal liberties [in Kuwait] have waxed and waned, partly as a function of the government's perception of its need to garner support from different elements within Kuwaiti society." (p. 188) They also observe that "The immediate [Kuwait] post-war period saw the emergence of a number of completely autonomous voluntary organizations with their roots in the network of self-help and resistance movements that had emerged under occupation." (p. 188) But as the government restored its control, this provoked confrontation. "Attempts by the government to stifle the urge for participation in government have not succeeded for sustained periods of time, and have often resulted in conflict." (p. 213) Still, institutions such as the *diwaniyah* (semi-public meeting in a private home) have provided Kuwaitis with a remarkably stable government over time.

2084. Human Rights Watch / Middle East. *The Bedoons of Kuwait: "Citizens without Citizenship"*. New York, August 1995. ●● A report on the origins, status of citizenship, and treatment before and after the Kuwait War of Kuwait's stateless *bidun* population (*bidun*: without). The report charges that "Kuwait is under a clear obligation to end its arbitrary policies towards the Bedoons. Bedoons must be immediately granted the right to lawful residence and be permitted to travel and seek education and employment without discrimination." (p. 4)

2085. Joyce, Miriam. *Kuwait, 1945-1996: An Anglo-American Perspective*. London: Frank Cass, 1998. ●● A survey of internal developments in Kuwait and its foreign policy using British diplomatic records.

2086. Katzman, Kenneth. "How Stable Are Saudi Arabia and Kuwait?" *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (September 1994), pp. 21-29.

-and –

2087. Rumaihi, Mohammad Al. "Kuwait: Oasis of Liberalism?" *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (September 1994), pp. 31-35. ●● Katzman, a US Congressional Research Service analyst discusses the elected National Assembly and Municipal Council in Kuwait and notes US pressure for democratization in the amirate. In the end, however, he judges that "further reform seems inevitable in Kuwait, with or without U.S. pressure. U.S. democratization efforts are probably most needed in Saudi Arabia, where reform is slowest." (p. 29)

Rumaihi, the Kuwaiti editor of al-'Arabi, continues the discussion of Kuwaiti democracy, with emphasis on the 1992 National Assembly elections, and says that "It's critical that democracy not fragment Kuwaiti society along tribal, sectarian, and religious lines." (p. 34)

2088. Najjar, Ghanim al-. "Human Rights in a Crisis Situation." *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (February 2001), pp. 188-209. ●● A professor of political science at Kuwait University examines human rights problems before the invasion (particularly those concerning the *bidun*, stateless residents of Kuwait), during the occupation, and after liberation. He determines that after the eviction of Iraq from Kuwait "many golden opportunities to make structural improvements in human rights practices were missed because of the indifference of both the Kuwaiti and the US governments." (p. 189)

2089. Nakhjavani, Mehran. "Resources, Wealth and Security: The Case of

Kuwait." In Bahgat Korany, Paul Noble, and Rex Brynen, eds., *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab World* (London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press; Markham, Ontario: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), pp. 185-204. ●● A look at oil's role in driving Kuwait's political economy, concentrating on oil policy and OPEC politics and the country's foreign investment strategy. He concludes that Kuwait's economic policy was generally sound but, in view of the Iraqi invasion, that "Kuwait's Achilles heel proved not to be its size, but its governance." (p. 201)

2090. Pasha, A.K. "Kuwait's Quest for Security." *India Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (October-December 1993), pp. 1-16. ●● An assistant professor at Jawarhalal Nehru University sketches Kuwait's relations with Iraq and changes in its foreign-policy outlook as a result of the invasion. The resultant Kuwaiti alignment with the West, the author claims, "has neutralized the Iraqi threat in the near future, even though it has been sharply attacked as irrational, unwise, suicidal and fraught with dangerous implications for the very existence of Kuwait." (p. 14)

2091. Rabi, Uzi. "Kuwait's Changing Strategic Posture: Historical Patterns." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Summer 2004), pp. 52-65. ●● A historian at Tel Aviv University examines the history of Kuwait's interaction with the outside world and concludes that Kuwait seems to have made a choice to depend primarily on the US. Thus, "it is likely that [Kuwait's leaders] will choose to remain true to their current strategy even if it means running the risk of appearing to be a peon for Washington. Given these factors, it is not unlikely that Kuwait may well find itself entangled in a new, fierce debate with Arab countries in the future." (p. 65)

2092. Sabah, Saud Nasir Al-. "Developments in the Arabian Gulf: A View from Kuwait." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 26 (Fall 1988), pp. 92-95. ●● The Kuwaiti ambassador to the United States remarks in the text of a speech on the opportunities afforded in the Gulf by the end of the Iran-Iraq War and the remaining problem of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

2093. Sadowski, James Yahya. "Prospects for Democracy in the Middle East: The Case of Kuwait." *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Winter-Spring 1997), pp. 57-71. ●● In the transcript of a speech given at MIT, a fellow at the Brookings Institution contrasts the two approaches to democracy in the Middle East - that cultural values and institutions make it impossible and that democratization is inevitable - and concludes that "If there is a potential for democracy in the Middle East …, it will come about through these sorts of strange deals that are being struck by people the West has never

heard of, working with structural reform issues of the type that defeat the U.S. government's pictures of how reform is supposed to happen. It will come out of small countries like Kuwait or Yemen that aren't making it onto the U.S. evening news." (pp. 70-71)

2094. Sadowski, Yahya. "The End of the Counterrevolution?: The Politics of Economic Adjustment in Kuwait." *Middle East Report*, No. 204 (July-September 1997), pp. 7-11, 26. ●● A fellow at the Brookings Institution describes Kuwait's financial crisis after the Iraqi invasion and costs of paying its liberation, as well as rebuilding its armed forces. He charges that none of the three dominant political blocs in Kuwait (the Al Sabah, the Islamists, and Kuwait's leftists) "has yet to show any real leadership in dealing with this economic adjustment crisis." (p. 8)

2095. Sfeir, Antoine. "La contestation au Koweit." *Les Cahiers de l'Orient*, Nos. 25-26 (1992), pp. 107-127. ●● An examination of political expression and opposition in Kuwait and the impact of the Iraqi invasion, together with an evaluation of how the pre-war system was put back together after liberation. The author states that "six months after its liberation, no problem in Kuwait is solved; on the contrary, they have been accentuated." (p. 107) The article discusses political trends, including the role of the diwaniyahs, the media, and associations, as well as both secular and Islamic opposition groups.

2096. Smith, Kristin. "Divided Government in Kuwait: The Politics of Since the Gulf War." *DOMES: Digest of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 1-18.

2097. Tétreault, Mary Ann. *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. ●● Most of this work deals with the internal political structure of Kuwait and analysis of the National Assembly elections of 1992, 1996, and 1999. However, one chapter deals with the Iraqi occupation and how various groups of Kuwaitis dealt with it. It is the author's contention that Aliberation did not reveal a 'new Kuwait.' The preinvasion struggle between Kuwaitis and their government over whether, how much, and in what direction to revise the social contract governing state-society relations simply resumed, but with an additional vocabulary and a new set of contending myths for each side to bring to bear on the other. (p. 10)

2098. _____. "Kuwait's Democratic Reform Movement." *Middle East Executive Report*, Vol. 13, No. 10 (October 1990), pp. 9, 16-19. ●● The author describes the principal issues in Kuwaiti politics and the role of the opposition and use of diwaniyahs to oppose the government. She contends

that Saddam Husayn was mistaken in his belief "that some Kuwaitis, particularly the Arab nationalists, would welcome or at least tolerate Iraq's intervention." (p. 9) Instead, nationalist feeling has been intensified by the occupation.

2099. _____. "Kuwait: The Morning After." *Current History*, Vol. 91, No. 561 (1992), pp. 6-10. ●● A professor of political science at Old Dominion University observes that the expulsion of Iraqi forces left Kuwaitis with the destruction of the best of their old lives - the beauty of the desert, the seafront developments, and the oil industry which fueled the country - while leaving the worst - the insecurity and the autocracy of the régime - intact. She judges that "The future shape of Kuwaiti society will depend on a strong commitment to democratization and human rights…." (p. 10)

2100. _____. "Designer Democracy in Kuwait." *Current History*, Vol. 96, No. 606 (January 1997), pp. 36-39. ●● The author assesses the impact of the 1992-1996 National Assembly. She gauges that its vilification "as a do-nothing parliament is unfair: it investigated, it legislated - and it fulminated - with vigor. However, its legislative record was certainly mixed, and its behavior aggravated the nation's rulers and most of the Kuwaiti people more than once during its four-year tenure. It is not clear that the body replacing it will be all that different." (p. 36)

2101. _____. "Kuwait's Unhappy Anniversary." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (June 2000), pp. 67-77. ●● A professor of government at Trinity University looks at developments in Kuwait during the decade after Iraq's invasion, including national security issues, reconstruction, domestic politics, and oil policy. She reports that "Domestically, tensions among social groups and between the government and the opposition interfere with the building of consensus on policies to increase Kuwait's security. Policy drifts in a kind of limbo while decisions remain unmade." (p. 77)

2102. _____. "Pleasant Dreams: The WTO as Kuwait's Holy Grail." *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 75-93. ●● A professor of international relations at Trinity University (San Antonio, Texas) explains privatization in Kuwait as a struggle by pro-democracy proponents to open the régime and neo-liberals to open the economy in the face of opposition from the régime, the Islamists, and the tribalists. The author believes that these two movements have adopted the World Trade Organization as their "holy grail" because "The WTO is seen as the most readily available vehicle for imposing standards of accountability on the state." (p. 91)

2103. _____. "Advice and Dissent in Kuwait." *Middle East Report*, No. 226 (Spring 2003), pp. 36-39.

2104. Tétreault, Mary Ann. "Kuwait's Parliament Considers Women's Political Rights, Again." *Middle East Report Online*, 2 September 2004, distributed electronically. ●● The author explains that most Kuwaiti women's suffrage activists are not directing their efforts for the vote at the National Assembly because, "Like their fellow citizens, they believe that what a majority of Parliament thinks about important issues does not really matter. What matters is what the government thinks." The government, however, is paralyzed by inaction. She argues that "Even though a majority of women are thought to be heavily influenced by religion and tradition, adding women to voter rolls and candidate lists would be another prop for responsible politics, especially when Islamist extremism presents a direct threat to the safety and well-being of Kuwaitis and their families. Doing nothing promises far less: deadlock, rancor, rising resentment and perhaps continuing violence."

2105. Timmerman, Kenneth R. "The Gulf Monarchies: Kuwait's Real Elections." *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (December 1996), pp. 53-58. ●● The director of Middle East Data Project, a consulting firm, looks at the 1996 National Assembly elections in Kuwait. He believes that "Both the ruling family and prominent members of the new parliament are eager to work with the United States to understand better the changes taking place in side the region and to craft a joint strategy that contains the threats posed by Iran and Iraq…." (p. 58)

2106. Viorst, Milton. "Out of the Desert." *New Yorker* (16 May 1988), pp. 65ff. ●● A view of Kuwait after its government called upon the US to escort its oil tankers through the Gulf to protect them from Iranian attacks. The author relates his interviews with a cross-section of Kuwaitis that concentrate on social and political problems emerging during the country's evolution in the oil era.

2107. Yahya, Mohammed Abdulrahman al-. *Kuwait: Fall and Rebirth*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1993. ●● An examination of the two major shocks to Kuwait's economy in the past two decades: the collapse of the unofficial Suq al-Manakh stock market in 1982 and the Iraqi invasion and war in 1990-1991, compounded by falling oil prices and the impact of the Iran-Iraq War. In discussing the economic impact and costs of reconstruction, the author notes that rebuilding the country and clearing bad debts might reduce the $100 billion in the country's foreign assets to less than $40 billion. "Many economists are now arguing that the country is spending an inordinate amount on bad debts, weapons and costly contracts without first establishing a set of

priorities, and is giving excessive grants to people, putting an added strain on the country's exchequer." (p. 127)

2108. Yetiv, Steve A. "Kuwait: In Iraq's Shadow." *Current History*, Vol. 98, No. 625 (February 1999), pp. 69-71. ●● A professor of political science at Old Dominion University takes another look at the situation in Kuwait since 1990 and observes that Kuwaitis "still face the unresolved problem of the 'gangster' to the north. No one can predict Saddam Hussein's future. And until that future is known, the Iraqi dictator will cast a shadow over Kuwait's search for a new identity." (p. 71)

2109. _____. "Kuwait's Democratic Experiment in Its Broader International Context." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 257-271. ●● An associate professor of political science at Old Dominion University contends that Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait "increased the importance of assuring US military support [for Kuwait], engaging in nation-building, and enhancing domestic stability" and "democratic practices were viewed as useful in meeting those three objectives. In this sense, the crisis produced an attitudinal change and an increased commitment toward democratic practices." (p. 258)

Bahrain

2110. Algosaibi, Ghazi. "Bahrain, the GCC and the United States: The Importance of Mutual Cooperation." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 23 (Winter 1987-1988), pp. 57-59. ●● A transcript of a speech in which the Bahraini ambassador to the United States affirms economic development in Bahrain and calls for even warmer relations between the two countries.

2111. Article 19. *Bahrain: Time for Change*. London, December 1991.

2112. Bahry, Louay. "The Opposition in Bahrain: A Bellwether for the Gulf?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (May 1997), pp. 42-57. ●● An adjunct professor of political science at the University of Tennesee-Knoxville places the 1990s political unrest in Bahrain in historical context and the emergence of the Shi'ah opposition movement. He notes that the government response has not stopped the unrest and points to the importance of what happens in Bahrain for its neighbors and the United States. In conclusion, "While the Bahrain government assures the outside world that it is confronting a group of 'saboteurs' and 'terrorists,' the facts indicate that it is facing a large-scale popular movement with a high degree of organization." (p. 56)

2113. _____. "The Socioeconomic Foundations of the Shiite Opposition in

Bahrain." *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer 2000), pp. 129-143. ●● An adjunct professor of political science at the University of Tennessee examines the background to the 1994-1999 dissident movement in Bahrain, explaining how the focus of opposition shifted over the years from secular groups to Shi'ah activism. He looks at Shi'ah community organization and the grievances that spurred the dissidence. He notes that the tense situation may change with accession of the new ruler. Some of his suggestions on how to improve the situation, such as scrapping the State Security Law and Court and strengthening the move towards democratic institutions, have subsequently taken place.

2114. Dazi-Héni, Fatiha. "Vers un modèle rénové de la monarchie arabe du golfe Persique: Etude de cas à Bahreïn." *Monde Arabe - Maghreb Machrek*, No. 173 (July-September 2001), pp. 52-59. ●● The author, of the Institut d'études politiques (Paris), suggests that Bahrain's new politics may serve as a model for its neighboring monarchies to follow and that the conciliatory attitude of Saudi Arabia towards the changes is a positive sign.

2115. Human Rights Watch / Middle East. *Routine Abuse, Routine Denial: Civil Rights and the Political Crisis in Bahrain*. Washington, June 1997. ●● A survey of the 1990s civil unrest in Bahrain with a detailed accounting of human rights violations, as well as policy recommendations for the governments of Bahrain, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The report notes that "The government of Bahrain's dismissal of the country's political unrest as Iranian-sponsored 'terrorism' has enjoyed the public support of Arab states in the region, especially Saudi Arabia." (p.4)

2116. Khalaf, Abd al-Hadi. "The New Amir of Bahrain: Marching Side-Ways." *Civil Society*, Vol. 9, No. 100 (April 2000), pp. 6-13.

2117. Khalaf, Abd al-Hadi. "Political Reform in Bahrain: End of a Road?" *Middle East International* (19 February 2004), accessed online. ●● A sociologist at the University of Lund (Sweden) views the 2002 declaration of Shaykh Hamad as king of Bahrain as a watershed in Bahraini reforms and contends that there has been little progress since then. He warns that, although Bahrain's experience may be different from other Gulf monarchies, "Processes of political reform require real concessions and can generate new problems that need to be dealt with consensually. It is true that even minor concessions by the ruling families may embolden local elites to demand more substantive political changes. On the other hand, procrastination is likely to prove more dangerous."

2118. Khuri, Fuad I. *Tribe and State in Bahrain: The Transformation of Social*

and Political Authority in an Arab State. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980. Publications of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, No. 14. ●● A study of rapid social change and the bases of political authority in one of the smaller states of the Gulf. The author, professor of social anthropology at the American University of Beirut, focuses on two general themes: "the changing authority system vis-à-vis colonial rule and socioeconomic transformations, and the impact of these forces on the processes of interaction between tribe, peasantry, and urban society." Khuri first looks at the role of two older institutions, the tribal councils and the religious courts, before analyzing the impact of first the British presence and then oil on bureaucracy and socioeconomic transformation of the country. Two more recent "parapolitical" institutions he examines are the Shi'i "funeral house" and the club. The study is rounded out by chapters on organized protests and rebellions and on the short-lived national assembly. ¤

2119. Lawson, Fred H. *Bahrain: The Modernization of Autocracy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989. Westview Profiles/Nations of the Contemporary Middle East. ●● An assistant professor of government at Mills College surveys contemporary Bahrain, focusing on geography and society, the country's role in the British imperial order, the nationalist movements of the 1950s, politics, economics, and foreign affairs. He sees that because of the Iran-Iraq War "Manama has increasingly been pulled into the orbit of Riyad when it comes to defense and security matters," (p. 134) a trend reinforced by the organization of the GCC with Saudi responsibility for military affairs.

2120. _____. "Labor Politics, Economic Change, and the Modernization of Autocracy in Contemporary Bahrain." In Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger, eds., *Ideology and Power in the Middle East: Studies in Honor of George Lenczowski* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1988), pp. 115-133. ●● An assistant professor of government at Mills College judges that three fundamental dynamics drive Bahraini politics - administrative expansion, the country's industrial and economic development, and labor movement activity - and proceeds to describe each before analyzing Bahrain's political economy. The author contends that "Bahrain's shift from industry- to finance-based development … was a consequence of several simultaneous conflicts within Bahraini society during the mid-1970s" (p. 132) and that "an adequate explanation for political change in Bahrain will have to concern itself with other forces besides government officials, captains of industry and finance, and industrial workers." (p. 133)

2121. Louër, Laurence. "Les aléas du compromis des élites au Bahrein." *Maghreb-Machrek*, No. 177 (Autumn 2003), pp. 59-78. ●● A researcher at CERI-Sciences Po in Paris examines political developments in Bahrain since

1999 and ascertains the forging of a compromise between the régime and the "effendis" or leading opposition figures, most of whom were previously in exile, for a process of democratization. Although the largest opposition groups, dominated by the Shi'ah, boycotted the October 2002 parliamentary elections, the "effendis" continue to hold a tight grip over their constituencies despite the restlessness of the youth who were in the forefront of the 1994-1998 "intifadah."

2122. Mdaires, Falah al-. "Shi'ism and Political Protest in Bahrain." *DOMES: Digest of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2002), pp. 20-44. ●● The author, of Kuwait University, contends that "Since the beginning of this century [sic], Shi'a suffered from the policy adopted by the ruling family in Bahrain with the help of the British who believed in the 'divide and rule' policy. The ruling family inflamed sectarianism among the citizens by putting itself in the position of defending Sunni, while the British put themselves in the position of defending Shi'a." (p. 37) He notes that revolution in Iran and the collapse of the Soviet Union reduced the influence of Marxist and nationalist opposition in Bahrain and strengthened the role of Shi'a religious groups. Although the Shi'a were prominent in the unrest of the 1990s, "all political forces were behind raising common slogans such as restoring democracy, abandoning the state security law, improving the social and economical status, and respecting human rights in Bahrain." (p. 38)

2123. Nakhleh, Emile A. *Bahrain: Political Development in a Modernizing Society*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books/D.C. Heath, 1976. ●● A political scientist at Mount St. Mary's College examines political development in Bahrain, developing his model of urban tribalism. Nakhleh focuses on a number of factors bearing on Bahrain's development, including education, the role of the clubs and the press, labor, and foreign policy. The final two chapters detail the origins of the constitutional assembly and the first national election to this assembly. An epilogue notes that the assembly, suspended less than two years later, has still not be reconstituted. ¤

2124. Peterson, J.E. "Bahrain's First Steps Towards Reform Under Amir Hamad." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 33, Part 2 (June 2002), pp. 216-227. ●● An examination of the diffusion of the 1990s unrest in Bahrain by the accession of the new amir in 1999 and his release of political prisoners, welcoming of the return of exiles, promulgation of a National Charter, and the promise of elections. "It could be argued that Shaykh Hamad needs time to exert his full authority over his state. … The first phase of Shaykh Hamad's strategy necessarily has to be defusing the conditions of the unrest and gaining the trust of his people, thus creating personal legitimacy. Only once this has been secured can he enjoy the requisite strength to take over the full reins of

government." (p. 225)

2125. Ransom, David M. "Bahrain: New Emir, New Vision." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (June-July 2001), pp. 35-36, 71. ●● A former US ambassador to Bahrain assesses the "remarkable political turnaround" after the accession of Shaykh Hamad bin 'Isa Al Khalifah as Amir in 1999. While noting the possibility of a backfire, Ransom notes that "something remarkable is happening" in Bahrain and concludes that "In the grim politics of the region, Bahrain is suddenly a bright spot of hope." (p. 71)

2126. Sakr, Naomi. "Reflections on the Manama Spring: Research Questions Arising from the Promise of Political Liberalization in Bahrain." *British Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (November 2001), pp. 229-231. ●● A brief review of recent events that suggests that past experience, combined with reform experience elsewhere in the region, will "shed light on the relative levels of stability and instability likely to result from the push for greater political freedom in Bahrain." (p. 231)

2127. Stork, Joe. "Bahrain's Crisis Worsens." *Middle East Report*, No. 204 (July-September 1997), pp. 33-35. ●● The advocacy director at Human Rights Watch / Middle East Watch provides a brief summary of the course of the 1990s civil unrest in Bahrain. He charges that "Opposition spokespersons abroad, up to now, have failed to speak out clearly against attacks on foreign workers" and "The ruling family, with its hold on power and purse still intact, is all to content with this situation, as it purchases its survival with policies of exclusion and discrimination that are poisoning Bahraini society." (p. 35)

Qatar

2128. Abadi, Jacob. "Qatar's Foreign Policy: The Quest for National Security and Territorial Integrity." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Winter 2004), pp. 14-37. ●● A professor of history at the US Air Force Academy surveys Qatar's relations with other Gulf states during the 1950s and 1960s and then shifts his attention to the emirate's relations with Egypt and its opening of ties with Israel.

2129. Bahry, Louay. "Elections in Qatar: A Window of Democracy Opens in the Gulf." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (June 1999), pp. 118-127. ●● An adjunct professor of political science at the University of Tennesee-Knoxville observes that "The emir's decision to establish a parliament elected by all Qataris, men and women on an equal basis without any restrictions, is probably the single most important event in the history of the country since its

independence in 1971." (p. 119) He pays particular attention to the rights of Qatari women and the amir's announcement of the abolition of censorship, and compares Qatar's impact on Saudi Arabia and Bahrain.

2130. _____. "The New Arab Media Phenomenon: Qatar's Al-Jazeera." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (June 2001), pp. 88-99. ●● An adjunct professor at the University of Tennessee discusses the emergence of Qatar's controversial satellite television channel "Jazeera" (al-Jazirah) as a popular medium for criticism of Arab governments, society, and much else. He briefly summarizes its background, programming, and finances. Bahry notes the impact the station has had on opening Arab politics and freedom of the media, but also cautions that its reach is limited by being a satellite station and that its independence does not extend to criticism of the Qatari government.

2131. Rathmell, Andrew, and Kirsten Schulze. "Political Reform in the Gulf: The Case of Qatar." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (October 2000), pp. 47-62. ●● The authors submit that "the emergence of a variety of pseudo-democratic structure sin the [GCC states] suggests that a causal link can be made between socio-economic change and a gradual transition from authoritarian rule towards broader political participation." (p. 46) But they add that the causal link is much more indirect than assumed and they proceed to use Qatar as a case study "to demonstrate how a policy of political reform may be adopted for reasons that have little to do with economic necessity." (p. 46) The Qatari reforms are held to have occurred for reasons of foreign policy and ruling family politics and the authors suggest they will have little effect unless combined with reform of state finances.

2132. Saffuri, Khaled. "The Qatari Experience." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (June-July 2001), pp. 19-20. ●● A contributing editor of *Middle East Insight* offers a brief review of recent developments in Qatar.

2133. Sharp, Jeremy M. *The Al-Jazeera News Network: Opportunity or Challenge for U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East?* U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RL31889, 23 July 2003. ●● A Middle East analyst at CRS examines the background and programming of Qatar's satellite television channel, al-Jazirah, beginning with its origins and programming. The study's principal focus, however, is on questions about the station's objectivity, particularly American complaints that it is biased in its coverage of American actions in Afghanistan and Iraq and US policy vis-à-vis Israel and the Palestinians. The author judges that 'In postwar Iraq, Al-Jazeera has continued to slant its coverage against the United States, labeling Iraqi attacks against U.S. forces as 'resistance' to the 'occupation.' Although many of Al-Jazeera's reports from Iraq are factual accounts of the latest

events, reports are often followed by critical statements of local Iraqis without providing the perspective of coalition forces." (p. 8)

2134. Weaver, Mary Anne. "Democracy by Decree." *New Yorker* (20 November 2000), p. 54ff. ●● A brief survey of the background to political changes in Qatar, including interviews with the Amir, Shaykh Hamad bin Khalifah, and several prominent women activists, academics, and other Qataris, as well as a trip to television station al-Jazirah.

United Arab Emirates

2135. Foley, Sean. "The UAE: Political Issues And Security Dilemmas." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March 1998), distributed electronically. ●● A graduate student at Georgetown University surveys domestic developments in the federation and the UAE's foreign policy, especially its border disputes and relations with the United States, as well as its security policy.

2136. Heard-Bey, Frauke. "The United Arab Emirates: A Quarter Century of Federation." In Michael C. Hudson, ed. *Middle East Dilemma: The Politics and Economics of Arab Integration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 128-149. ●● A senior researcher at the Center for Research and Documentation in Abu Dhabi assesses the UAE's experience in federation and observes that "When the UAE was set up, it was essentially a creation of the rulers, and could not have been built without them. Now the national society, by dint of being in a position quite 'apart from' the rest of the population, preserves and confirms those very features which make the country continue to adhere to the conditions under which the federation was created and thereby continues to legitimize its rulers' role within the federation." (p. 148)

2137. Kechichian, Joseph A., ed. *A Century in Thirty Years: Shaykh Zayed and the United Arab Emirates*. Washington, DC: Middle East Policy Council, 2000. ●● A collection of papers from a 1999 conference, edited by the head of Kechichian Associates. An introductory chapter by Fahim bin Sultan Al Qasimi (UAE Minister of Economy and Commerce and former Secretary-General of the Gulf Cooperation Council), taken from the conference's keynote address, focuses on Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan, the ruler of Abu Dhabi and President of the UAE. A section on sociopolitical issues features contributions by Hassan M. Al-Naboodah (UAE University) on social change, Fatma Al-Sayegh (UAE University) on political institutions and civil society, and the editor on sociopolitical origins of Emirati leaders. A second section concentrates on the economy, with papers by Fatima Al-Shamsi (UAE

University) on economic growth, Mary Ann Tétreault (Iowa State University) on the economics of national autonomy, and Alan Richards (University of California, Santa Cruz) on the UAE's banking system. The following section focuses on foreign relations and defense, with papers by Hassan H. Al-Alkim (UAE University) on the UAE and subregional powers, Khalil E. Jahshan (National Association of Arab Americans) on the UAE and Palestine, and F. Gregory Gause III (University of Vermont) on the UAE's evolving relationship from Britain to the US. William A. Rugh (AMIDEAST and former US ambassador to the UAE) adds a chapter on leadership in the UAE and Sultan bin Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan (Deputy Prime Minister of the UAE) discusses Abu Dhabi's perception of Gulf security. The last author avers that the US-UAE relationship means Afull cooperation based on mutual respect. … The UAE respects its commercial and defense agreements but must assess them within the framework of its overall Arab and regional obligations. Emiratis respect the American people, cooperate with their government, and seek their support to ensure stability in the Arab world in general and the Gulf region in particular." (pp. 279-280)

2138. Khalifa, Ali Mohammed. *The United Arab Emirates: Unity in Fragmentation*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; London: Croom Helm, 1979. ●● A study of the process of integration in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) written by an official in Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Defense and Aviation. Khalifa begins with a look at the long British role in the region and the arduous path to federation in 1971, turning then to a functional examination of the legal and institutional ramifications of the federal structure. Khalifa analyzes a number of disintegrative factors in the union-including tribalism, territorial disputes, paternalism, and immigration-as well as more positive factors: pressures for survival, a sense of mission, improved standards of living, gradualism, geographical continuity and cultural commonality. He also places the UAE in its international context. ¤

2139. Peck, Malcolm C. *The United Arab Emirates: A Venture in Unity*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; London: Croom Helm, 1986. Westview Profiles/Nations of the Contemporary Middle East. ●● A programs officer at Meridian House International briefly examines the UAE's history, society, economy, politics, and foreign policy and security concerns. He notes that the UAE's careful stance vis-à-vis Iran and membership in the GCC has helped to protect the country against regional dangers but that uncertainties remain, especially the outcome of the Iran-Iraq War. "How long and effectively the moderate Arab alignment engendered by the Iran-Iraq war to guard against the Iranian threat will last is also another source of uncertainty whose implications are far from positive." (p. 155)

2140. Peterson, J.E. "The United Arab Emirates: Economic Vibrancy and US Interests." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 34, No. 2 (July 2003), pp. 137-142. ●● The article explains that the UAE's economy is driven by Abu Dhabi's massive oil revenues and by Dubai's emergence and growth as a regional entrepôt before summarizing UAE-US relations. Although relations are good, they are troubled by several gnawing concerns, especially regarding the Palestinians and after 11 September 2001. "While the prospects are good for a continued fruitful relationship, the future warmth of the partnership is more open to question." (p. 142)

2141. Rugh, William A. "The United Arab Emirates: What are the Sources of Its Stability?" *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (September 1997), pp. 14-24. ●● The president of AMIDEAST and a former US ambassador to the UAE argues that "The UAE political system is … not as fragile as it might appear." (p. 15) He notes as, advantages, that the country enjoys immense petroleum reserves and that the president, Shaykh Zayid, is universally respected and admired. Furthermore, there are no signs of internal tension and the UAE federal system functions well. "If [the UAE's] leaders handle their challenges well, it could survive with only modest change for some time to come." (p. 23)

2142. Sayegh, Fatma Al. "Post-9/11 Changes in the Gulf: The Case of the UAE." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 107-124. ●● A professor of history at the UAE University in al-'Ayn examines the impact of Western pressure on the UAE for change, the role of Islamist groups in the country, and the balancing act required by such sociopolitical changes as education, the emergence of civil society, and shifts in family values. She concludes that, although "In the last 30 years, the UAE has succeeded in becoming the model of a prosperous, stable and politically viable society … the impact of 9/11 threatened to destabilize the entire society [and t]he campaign against terrorism means that Gulf states are being forced to make strategic calculations based on which way the American winds are blowing." (p. 123)

2143. Swibel, Matthew. "Arabian Knight." *Forbes* (15 March 2004), accessed online. ●● A short sketch of Shaykh Muhammad b. Rashid Al Maktum, the Heir Apparent and de facto ruler of Dubai.

Oman

2144. Allen, Calvin H., and W. Lynn Rigsbee, II. *Oman Under Qaboos: From Coup to Constitution,1970-1996*. London: Frank Cass, 2000. ●● An

examination of Omani development and politics during the reign of Sultan Qabus bin Sa'id, focusing on the historical background, the Dhufar War and military expansion, industrial and human resource development, and foreign policy. In a final chapter assessing the impact of Sultan Qabus, the authors express reservations that the sultanate can continue on the same path, observing that "Omani oil revenues have steadily decreased through the late 1990s and that trend promises to continue into the new millennium. The sultanate simply does not have the resources to go the rentier route." (p. 226)

2145. Bahgat, Gawdat. "Security in the Gulf: The View From Oman." *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (December 1999), pp. 445-458. ●● A political scientist at the Indiana University of Pennsylvania looks at Oman's security issues over the twentieth century and describes the sultanate's relations with Iraq and Iran. He ends with an assessment of the role played by Sultan Qabus in his country's development and the unanswered question of succession: "Although the Sultanate has already taken significant steps toward the institutionalization of the political process, there remains a long way to go." (p. 456)

2146. Beasant, John. *Oman: The True-Life Drama and Intrigue of an Arab State*. Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2002. ●● A journalist claiming to reveal all about skullduggery in the Sultanate of Oman ends up rehashing the broad outline of the country's recent history and repeating old and unsubstantiated rumors.

2147. Callies de Salies, Bruno. "Oman Slowly Opens Up." *Le Monde Diplomatique* (March 2004), accessed online.

2148. Dunn, Michael Collins. "Oman: Defending the Strait." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (November-December 1992), pp. 48-53.

2149. Eickelman, Dale F. "Intelligence in an Arab Gulf State." In Roy Godson, ed., *Comparing Foreign Intelligence: The U.S., the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and the Third World* (London: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1988), pp. 89-114.

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2150. _____, and M.G. Dennison. "Arabizing the Omani Intelligence Services: Clash of Cultures?" *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 1-28. ●● A pair of articles by a professor of anthropology and a former head of Omani intelligence discuss the development of the intelligence service in Oman, beginning in the late 1950s, and the process by which British officers were replaced by Omanis.

2151. Eickelman, Dale F. "National Identity and Religious Discourse in Contemporary Oman." *International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1989), pp. 1-20. ●● A professor of anthropology at Dartmouth College discusses the changes in how Omanis practice and discuss religion, noting in particular the shift in the post of *mufti* from a traditional Ibadi scholar to a more "modernist" figure, the politicization of elements of the Shi'ah community, and the impact of Islamic publications and videotapes on perceptions of religion. He concludes that "religious expression [is] contoured, but not fully controlled, by the state and the opportunities created by the state." (p. 17)

2152. Haj, Abdullah Juma al-. "The Politics of Participation in the Gulf Cooperation Council States: The Omani Consultative Council." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Autumn 1996), pp. 559-571. ●● An associate professor of political science at the United Arab Emirates University examines the establishment of Oman's Majlis al-Shura and how it differs from its predecessor, the State Consultative Council. The author sees that it has proven to be a stabilizing institution.

2153. Katz, Mark N. "Assessing Oman's Political Stability." *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA)*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 2004), distributed electronically. ●● A professor of politics at George Mason University declares that "It would be a mistake … to conclude from Oman's glowing press coverage that all is well there. Oman, in fact, is experiencing some very difficult problems that are likely to get worse in coming years." This, combined with a possible succession crisis, "could affect the stability and even the viability of the sultanate," according to the author.

2154. Klass, Daniel P. "Oman's Democratization." *Middle East Insight*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (June-July 2001), pp. 27-29, 71. ●● The author lauds Sultan Qabus for introducing Oman's "gentle beginnings toward a more democratic system" and concludes that "there is every reason to believe that" the process will continue throughout the Sultan's reign. (p. 71)

2155. O'Reilly, Marc J. "Omanibalancing: Oman Confronts an Uncertain Future." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Winter 1998), pp. 70-84. ●● A superficial survey of Oman's foreign policy and internal conditions by a lecturer at the University of Connecticut, culled from secondary sources and websites.

2156. Pelletreau, Robert H., Jr., John Page, Jr., Michael Collins Dunn, Joseph A. Kechichian, Georgie Anne Geyer, and Christine Eickelman. "Contemporary Oman and U.S.-Oman Relations." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March

1996), pp. 1-29. ●● Edited transcript from a symposium on the 25th anniversary of the accession of Sultan Qabus of Oman. The speakers discuss US policy towards Oman (Pelletreau), Oman's foreign policy (Kechichian), Oman's role in Gulf security (Dunn), the personal impressions of a journalist (Geyer), the social transformation evident in a new generation (Eickelman), and the Omani economy (Page).

2157. Peterson, J.E. *Oman in the Twentieth Century: Political Foundations of an Emerging State*. London: Croom Helm; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1978. ●● This study of political change in the Sultanate of Oman over the course of the twentieth century is divided into two parts. The first examines central themes in Omani politics, including the role of the sultans and the ruling family, the development of the administration, tribal politics, and external (principally British) influences on Omani politics. The second part looks at challenges to the continued survival of the Sultanate, including the revival of the Ibadi imamate of the interior and its denouement during the 1950s rebellion, and the rebellion in Dhufar. The final chapter discusses the coup d'état of 1970 which brought Sultan Qabus to power and marked the new beginning in the socioeconomic transformation of the century. ¤

2158. _____. "Oman: Three and a Half Decades of Change and Development." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 125-137. ●● A review of political and economic changes in the sultanate since 1970. The conclusion reads that "Although formidable challenges await Oman after oil and after Qabus, it cannot be said that the prognosis is dire … The Oman of a decade or two hence might be a less prosperous place, but it would be unfair to underestimate the Omanis' capacity for resilience and adaptability." (p. 136)

2159. _____. *The Emergence of Post-Traditional Oman*. Durham, UK: University of Durham, Institute of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 2004. Durham Middle East Papers No. 78, Sir William Luce Fellowship Paper No. 5. ●● An examination of political development in Oman since 1970, focusing on the changed emphasis from a "neotraditional" state and leader (who sought to create new means of control in order to preserve his conception of the "traditional" order of things, thereby altering the system) to a "post-traditional" state and leader (who seeks modernization as a goal but continues to insist on many "traditional" values and structures). A final assessment holds that "It can be argued as well that the regime under Qabus b. Sa'id has been, on balance, benevolent and concerned for the welfare of the Omani people. Nevertheless, the existing constraints and limitations … mean that the country cannot realize its full potential until it escapes its post-traditional predicament." (p. 16)

2160. Plekhanov, Sergey. *A Reformer on the Throne: Sultan Qaboos bin Said Al Said*. London: Trident Press, 2004.

2161. Pridham, B.R., ed. *Oman: Economic, Social and Strategic Developments*. London: Croom Helm, for the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, 1987. ●● Papers from a University of Exeter symposium, held in July 1985. Contributions include J.E. Peterson on Oman's transformation from an imamate to a sultanate, Fredrik Barth (University of Oslo) on geography and tribalism, Dale F. Eickelman (New York University) on Ibadism, Miranda Morris (University of St. Andrews) on the uniqueness of the southern region of Dhufar, Jenny Balfour-Paul (Exeter) on indigo use, R.W. Dutton (Durham University) on agriculture and rural enterprises, H. Bowen-Jones (Durham University) on geography, John Whelan (Middle East Economic Digest) on development strategy, J.S. Birks (University of Exeter) and C.A. Sinclair (World Bank consultant) on education and human resource development, Francis Hughes (formerly with Petroleum Development Oman) on the development of oil, John Duke Anthony (National Council on US-Arab Relations) on Oman's relations with the Gulf and the United States, Riad N. El-Rayyes (journalist) on Oman's foreign policy in the region and the GCC, and Anthony H. Cordesman (Analytical Assessment) on regional security options in the Gulf for the West and the GCC.

2162. Rabi, Uzi. "Majlis al-Shura and Majlis al-Dawla: Weaving Old Practices and New Realities in the Process of State Formation in Oman." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (October 2002), pp. 41-50. ●● The author assesses recent developments in Oman's political institutionalization in the context of questioning whether Oman is a rentier state.

2163. Skeet, Ian. *Oman: Politics and Development*. London: Macmillan, 1992. ●● A consultant and former Shell International official in Oman divides his account of recent change in Oman into two parts. In the first, he provides snapshots of the country in 1990, a bookend and contrast to his earlier book describing life in Muscat in the 1960s - *Muscat and Oman: The End of an Era* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974). The second part constitutes a detailed survey of developments in the accession of Sultan Qabus, the war in Dhufar, the sultanate's external affairs especially with the United States and the GCC, its economy and infrastructure, and society. An examination of the challenges facing the country as it heads toward the 21st century follows. He ends on an optimistic note, observing that "Oman has been lucky in many respects - geography, oil prices, expatriates, external political developments - but all this could have been thrown away if different people had been managing the country and if there had been a managing director in charge other than Sultan Qaboos." (p. 163)

2164. Stewart, Richard A. "Oman: The Next Crisis?" *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 106, No. 4 (April 1980) pp. 97-102. ●● A Marine Corps officer sounds the alarm of Soviet expansionism (employing the instrument of South Yemen) against the Sultanate of Oman. Geographical and historical inaccuracies abound. ¤

2165. Townsend, John. *Oman: The Making of a Modern State*. London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977. ●● The former economic advisor to the Sultan of Oman provides a penetrating look at the advances and problems that the Omani government faced half-a-decade after abandoning its almost total isolation. The first part of the book looks at the economic geography of the country, its history, and the reign of Sa'id ibn Taymur, the paternalistic predecessor and father of the current Sultan Qabus. In the main body of the book, Townsend assesses the personality of Sultan Qabus, the creation of modern political institutions, and the threat to the Sultanate from the rebellion in Dhufar and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman. Townsend also provides an assessment of the Sultanate's durability and its international environment. An appendix reprints the only policy statement former Sultan Said made during his nearly forty years in power. ¤

2166. Valeri, Marc. "Réveil laborieux pour l'État-Qabous: Identité nationale et légitimité politique dans l'Oman d'aujourd'hui." *Maghreb-Machrek*, No. 177 (Autumn 2003), pp. 37-58. ●● A doctoral student at the Institut d'études politiques in Paris asserts that national unity in Oman has been organized around the person of Sultan Qabus. In the last few years, however, economic strains have brought frustration and a crack in the model, particularly among Omani youth who have become polarized.

2167. Winckler, Onn. "Demographic Developments and Politics in the Arabian Gulf: The Case of Oman Under Sultan Qabus." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Spring 2001), pp. 34-60.

The Yemens

2168. Bidwell, Robin. *The Two Yemens*. London: Longman; Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983. ●● A political history of the Yemens from the period of the pre-Islamic kingdoms to the beginning of the 1980s. The author is Secretary Librarian of the Middle East Centre at the University of Cambridge and a former Political Officer in the Western Aden Protectorate. Bidwell suggests that the Yemens will not be reunited without a dramatic change in circumstances, such as a revolt in South Yemen. "Unless there is such a revolt, I feel that the Yemeni problem, like all others in the Middle East will never be solved as long as superpower rivalry endures, for neither Moscow nor Washington could afford to permit a united Yemen to join a hostile bloc." ¤

2169. Burgat, François. "Yemen: On Which Side?" *Le Monde Diplomatique*, English edition (April 2003).

2170. Burrowes, Robert D. *The Yemen Arab Republic: The Politics of Development, 1962-1986*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; London: Croom Helm, 1987. Westview Special Studies on the Middle East. ●● An examination of political developments in North Yemen since the virtual end of the civil war in 1967. The book is organized chronologically, looking at the presidencies of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Iryani, Ibrahim al-Hamdi, Ahmad al-Ghashmi, and 'Ali 'Abdullah Salih, with final chapters on relations with South Yemen and the prospects for oil. The author judges that "Even if oil does give the YAR much greater power to determine its future, it does not follow that the YAR is about to embark on radically new paths in domestic and external policies." (p. 152)

2171. _____. "State-Building and Political Construction in the Yemen Arab Republic." In Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger, eds., *Ideology and Power in the Middle East: Studies in Honor of George Lenczowski* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 210-238. ●● A scholar at New York University reviews the process of state-building in North Yemen during the presidencies of Abdullah al-Sallal, Abd al-Rahman al-Iryani, and Ibrahim al-Hamdi. He concludes that "During his short tenure, the dynamic and charismatic al-Hamdi fostered a political environment - an ethos and set of power relationships that sustained and accelerated the prosperity and development activity begun during the al-Iryani era. … However, like his two predecessors, al-Hamdi left to the future the task of political construction in the YAR." (pp. 237-238)

2172. _____. "Oil Strike and Leadership Struggle in South Yemen: 1986 and Beyond." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Summer 1989), pp. 437-454. ●● A visiting scholar at the University of Washington looks at the impact in 1986 of the discovery of oil in South Yemen and the near-simultaneous internecine power struggle within the régime, as well as the emerging possibility of Yemeni unification. Subsequently he notes, "the two Yemens in May 1988 used the rhetoric of, and modest steps toward, Yemeni unification to camouflage an exercise in crisis management and problem solving." (p. 453)

2173. _____. "Prelude to Unification: The Yemen Arab Republic, 1962-1990." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (November 1991), pp. 483-506. ●● A political scientist at the University of Washington reviews political developments in the YAR (or North Yemen) from the revolution of 1962 until the culmination of long efforts to unify with South Yemen. In his view, "The foundations and some of the framing of a viable, self-standing YAR were finally and surprisingly in place in 19879 when the leaders in San'a' even more surprisingly chose to design and construct a larger, differently configured political edifice [and] it is likely that the past work done will help more than it will hinder" the building of the new Republic of Yemen. (p. 503)

2174. _____. "The Republic of Yemen: The Politics of Unification and Civil War, 1989-1995." In Michael C. Hudson, ed. *Middle East Dilemmas: The Politics and Economics of Arab Integration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 187-213. ●● A political scientist provides background to the unification of North and South Yemen and discusses the problems in the process (although he does not discuss the civil war). He believes that Yemeni unity will prevail but "the question is how much of the new, fragile, and not yet internalized democracy might they have to sacrifice in order to restore and maintain that unity." (p. 210)

2175. Carapico, Sheila. *Civil Society in Yemen: The Political Economy of Activism in Modern Arabia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Cambridge Middle East Studies, No. 9. ●● An associate professor of political science at the University of Richmond looks at political development, focusing particularly on the development of civil society, in Yemen - north, south, and unified - over the previous half century. She discerns a substantial "animated civic activism" during this period, in terms of both "primordial" and modern activism. States have adopted "civic projects" such as independent development efforts and expressions of intellectual and judicial freedom as part of their legitimizing endeavors while régimes that have suppressed civil society have not fared well. Thus, "Yemeni states, lacking

major outside benefactors or domestic wealth, may be unique in the region in their need for civil society." (p. 17)

2176. _____. "Autonomy and Secondhand Oil Dependency of the Yemen Arab Republic." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 1988), pp. 193-213. ●● An assistant professor of political science at the University of Richmond applies dependency theory to Yemen, noting that "paradigmatic assumptions about national and state autonomy, whether the mainstream assertion that nation-states are by definition autonomous or the dependency inference that all Third World governments lack autonomy, cannot be made." (p. 211)

2177. _____. "Elections and Mass Politics in Yemen." *Middle East Report*, Vol. 23, No. 6 (November-December 1993), pp. 2-6. ●● The author looks at the Yemeni parliamentary elections of April 1993, observing that mass conferences, strikes, demonstrations, political organizations, press commentaries, academic symposia and "salons" all played a part in forcing Yemen's leaders to follow through with free elections. But she also warns that internal political differences, profound economic crisis, and Saudi hostility puts the achievement at risk.

2178. _____. "From Ballot Box to Battlefield: The War of the Two 'Alis." *Middle East Report*, No. 190 (September-October 1994), pp. 24-27. ●● An editor of *Middle East Report* supplies background to the 1994 Yemeni civil war. She reports that "On a popular level, the Yemenis saw the 'war between the two 'Alis' … as recklessly squandering lives, resources, infrastructure and standards of living on crass and seemingly unwinnable power plays. Outsiders, too, saw both sides as taking unequivocal, rash positions." (p. 26) The two 'Ali's refer to Yemen President 'Ali 'Abdullah Salih and to Vice-President, and leader of the separatist southerners, 'Ali Salim al-Bayd. She interprets Saudi backing for the southerners as the result of "Riyadh's abhorrence of unity - not to speak of democratization - and its readiness to support whomever might break it up." (p. 27)

2179. Detalle, Renaud. "Les partis politiques au Yemen: paysage après la Bataille." *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, No. 81-82 (1996), pp. 331-348. ●● A researcher at the Centre français d'Études Yéménites in Sanaa examines the role and background of the two principal parties in unified Yemen - the General People's Congress (formerly the predominant party of former North Yemen and now the predominant party in the Republic of Yemen) and the Yemeni Socialist Party (formerly the ruling party of South Yemen) - as well as the numerous smaller opposition parties in existence today. He sees the smaller parties as being more the instrument of

rivalries between the two prominent government parties than authentic alternatives to the government parties.

2180. Dunbar, Charles. "The Unification of Yemen: Process, Politics, and Prospects." *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Summer 1992), pp. 456-476. ●● A former US ambassador to Yemen discusses the background to unity, contending that the northern and southern leaders were able finally to unify Yemen because of the demise of the Soviet Union and the growing confidence of northern President 'Ali 'Abdullah Salih. His evaluation of future prospects notes the serious economic dislocations caused by Saudi Arabia's expulsion of Yemeni workers after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the country's loss of foreign aid but he judges that these problems will be overcome: "it is hard to conceive of any set of circumstances that would produce significant pressure for north and south to separate. Even if the country's present crisis were to destabilize the régime in Sanaa, pressures for redividing the country would be absent from the ensuing political struggle." (p. 476)

2181. Gueyras, Jean. "The Last Days of 'Ali Nasir." *MERIP Reports*, No. 141 (July-August 1986), pp. 37-40. ●● A reprint of the author's reporting for *Le Monde* (Paris) on bloody events of January 1986 in Aden when South Yemeni President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad failed to oust his principal rivals and was forced to flee the country.

2182. Hudson, Michael C., ed. *Focus on Yemen; Proceedings of a Conference at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1 October 1998*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1999. ●● A short monograph consisting of three papers presented at a one-day conference and updated for publication. Commentaries on the paper presentations are also included. The first paper by Sheila Carapico (University of Richmond) discusses the state of civil society in Yemen, noting that "the régime has many incentives to yield space and even resources to civil society, and can only benefit from doing so." (p. 2) Mohammed al-Maitami (Yemeni Center for Research and Studies and Sanaa University) examines the challenge of structural adjustment and describes Yemen's situation as a country at war as incomes fall and more Yemenis fall into poverty. "The sharp contradiction between the fast pace of structural adjustment and the slow pace of judicial, administrative and bureaucratic reforms limits the fruits of real reforms." (p. 13) David G. Newton (a former US ambassador to Yemen) looks at Yemen's foreign policy and sees three regional priorities: avoiding involvement and regional conflicts and settling its borders; searching for allies as a counterweight to Saudi Arabia; seeking a Palestinian-Israeli peace settlement.

2183. Ismael, Tareq Y., and Jacqueline S. Ismael. *The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen: Politics, Economics and Society, The Politics of Socialist Transformation*. London: Frances Pinter; Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1986. Marxist Régimes Series. ●● A survey of South Yemen by a pair of professors at the University of Calgary, based on government documents, secondary Arabic sources, and materials produced by international organizations. The authors give attention to the ruling National Front, the organization of the government, political dynamics, the economic system, social policy, and the country's foreign policy. The authors observe that "While the leadership transitions have been violent, the institutions of the socialist state have none the less survived and been strengthened" but the state remains hostage to "the precarious balance between domestic and foreign policy that results from the potential tensions of revolutionary commitment versus internal development…." (p. 164)

2184. Jenness, Doug. "South Yemen: What Was Behind the Bloodbath?" *Intercontinental Press* (24 February 1986), pp. 96-98. ●● A journalist describes the January 1986 fighting in Aden between factions of the ruling Yemeni Socialist Party. While he contends that the outcome will not reverse the social and economic policies of the régime, "the bloodbath will further undermine the confidence of the workers and peasants in the YSP…." (p. 98)

2185. Katz, Mark N. "North Yemen Between East and West." *American-Arab Affairs*, No. 8 (Spring 1984), pp. 99-107. ●● The author, a Rockefeller Foundation international relations fellow based at the Brookings Institution, provides a short survey of North Yemen's foreign relations and details the impact of South Yemeni, Soviet, Saudi, and US policy on the Yemen Arab Republic's internal security. ¤

2186. _____. "Civil Conflict in South Yemen." *Middle East Review*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Fall 1986), pp. 7-13. ●● A research associate at the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson Center describes the background and events of January 1986, with emphasis on the Soviet role. He believes that if "the Soviets really sought the ouster of [President ʻAli Nasir Muhammad], they probably could have brought about a quick, quiet change of régime at any time … Instead, it appears that the Soviets were basically satisfied with [ʻAli Nasir] but that they were worried about some of his internal policies." (p. 12) Thus, they returned his rival ʻAbd al-Fattah Ismaʻil to Aden as a warning.

2187. _____. "Breaking the Yemen-Al Qaeda Connection." *Current History*, Vol. 102, No. 662 (January 2003), pp. 40-43. ●● A professor of politics at George Mason University examines the inter-relationship of Yemeni tribes and al-Qaʻidah. He suggests that the US could work to punish tribal leaders

who support al-Qa‘idah in various ways: “One response to a shaykh who continues to cooperate with Al Qaeda, then, could be to provide support to his rivals. These rivals might even be recruited (and rewarded) for capturing those tribal leaders who collaborate with Al Qaeda.” (p. 43)

2188. Kostiner, Joseph. *South Yemen's Revolutionary Strategy, 1970-1985: From Insurgency to Bloc Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post, 1990. ●● A researcher at Tel Aviv University examines the efforts of the National Liberation Front, once in power in independent South Yemen, to export their “revolution” to Oman and the Gulf, and to North Yemen. He notes the similarity of the NLF's “revolutionary strategy” to other proponents around the world and declares that it was successful in neutralizing immediate dangers to South Yemen from North Yemen and in generating “a regional leftist-revolutionary wave that has survived ever since in the southern Peninsula and the Gulf.” (p. 107) At the same time, South Yemen failed to topple a single régime and its efforts were crippled by economic problems at home. Finally, improving Soviete relations with the Gulf states led Moscow to abandon the use of South Yemen as an insurgent.

2189. Lawson, Fred H. “South Yemen's Troubles.” *Orient*, Vol. 27 , No. 3 (1986), pp. 441-449. ●● An assistant professor of government at Mills College attempts to untangle the domestic conflicts in Aden that determined the country's foreign relations and eventually led to the January 1986 fighting. A principal factor leading to the upheaval was the Soviet Union's decision to send ideologue ‘Abd al-Fattah Isma‘il back to Aden and the author concludes that “this action demonstrated the Soviet Union's basic fragility of its position in Gulf and peninsular affairs.” (p. 449)

2190. Naumkin, Vitaly V. *Red Wolves of Yemen: The Struggle for Independence*. Cambridge, UK: Oleander Press, 2004. ●● A study of the National Liberation Front of South Yemen, its struggle for independence from the British, and the factors behind the seizure of power by the party's leftist core in 1969, written by a Russian scholar with considerable experience in South Yemen. The author sees that “a core gravitating towards Marxism had existed in the National Front from the very outset. In the process of radicalisation of that organisation, which was in progress in the course of the armed struggle, that core entered into tactical alliances and blocs, expelled fellow-travellers and absorbed new adepts, slowing gaining momentum for victory.” (p. ix)

2191. Paxton, Julian. “Middle East Prospects - Yemen: Bitter Memories.” *World Today*, Vol. 56, No. 12 (December 2000), pp. 23-24. ●● A former British Political Officer in the Western Aden Protectorate before independence in 1967 begins this short article with his impressions of visiting Yemen at the

time of the bombing of the USS Cole in Aden and the British Embassy in Sanaa and concludes with a brief survey of Yemen's relations with the United States and Iraq and the present political situation.

2192. Pelletière, Stephen C. *Yemen and Stability in the Persian Gulf: Confronting the Threat From Within*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 1996.

2193. Peterson, J.E. *Yemen: The Search for a Modern State*. London: Croom Helm; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982. ●● A study of change and continuity in the politics of North Yemen. The composition and functioning of the pre-1962 imamate are examined first, followed by an analysis of the process of political change through the transformation of attitudes and the experience of civil war. Separate chapters outline the exercise of politics in the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) of the 1970s and the struggle to build a viable state and develop the country. The book concludes with observations on the many difficulties the government faces in achieving legitimacy and fostering national cohesion and points out some of the YAR's responses to these problems. ¤

2194. _____. "The Yemen Arab Republic and the Politics of Balance." *Asian Affairs* (London), Vol. 68, Pt. 3 (October 1981), pp. 254-266. ●● This article outlines the balancing act that must be followed by any North Yemeni leader. Internally, a fragile balance must be kept among a wide range of competing political factions. Externally, the Yemen Arab Republic's leadership must contend with conservative Saudi Arabia to the north and Marxist South Yemen to the south, and beyond these neighbors, the superpowers. It ends with an assessment of the surprisingly long presidency of 'Ali 'Abd Allah Salih and the observation is made that "it seems clear that any potential, viable successor will find it necessary to adopt many of Salih's policies, both domestically and externally." ¤

2195. Pridham, B.R., ed. *Contemporary Yemen: Politics and Historical Background*. London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, for the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, 1984. ●● A collection of papers presented at the University of Exeter's annual symposium in July 1983. These include D. Thomas Gochenour (Fulbright Fellow) on the Islamization of Yemen, Jon Mandaville (Portland State University) on Ottoman officials in Yemen, Leigh Douglas (American University of Beirut) on the Free Yemeni Movement, Helen Lackner (author) on the origins of South Yemen's National Liberation Front, and Salem Omar Bukair (Aden University) on the early years of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). Mohammed A. Zabarah (University of Sanaa) looks as the Yemeni revolution of 1962 and

J.E. Peterson examines nation-building and political development in the two Yemens while Saeed Abdul Khair al-Noban (Aden University) explains political development in the south. Manfred Wenner (Northern Illinois University) provides an overview of South Yemeni politics since independence, Ahmed al-Abiadh (National Institute for Public Administration, Sanaa) looks at North Yemen's political institutions, and Paul Dresch (St. John's College, Oxford) analyzes tribal relations in northern North Yemen. Naguib A.R. Shamiry (President of the Supreme Court, Aden) dissects the judicial system in the south, M.S. El Azhary (University of Exeter) covers North Yemen's relations with Saudi Arabia, and Fred Halliday (London School of Economics) looks at South Yemen's relations with the Soviet Union. John Duke Anthony (National Council on US-Arab Relations) discusses the Communist Party of South Yemen, Sultan Nagi (Aden University) explains the genesis of the call for Yemeni unity, and Ursula Braun (Scientific and Political Institute, Munich) views the prospects for unity.

A companion volume of other papers presented at the same conference was published as B.R. Pridham, ed., *Economy, Society & Culture in Contemporary Yemen* (London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, for the University of Exeter Centre for Arab Gulf Studies, 1985).

2196. Schanzer, Jonathan. "Yemen's War on Terror." *Orbis*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 517-531. ●● A fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy provides a brief summary of Yemen's efforts to exercise control over its territory, including the threats presented by the Aden-Abyan Islamic Army and al-Qa'idah in Yemen. In his opinion, "Because cooperation with the United States is not always supported, Sanaa will likely keep its involvement and its behind-the-scenes investment in counterterrorism squads quiet. 'Remote control' attacks, such as with Predator drones, will likely remain the U.S. strategy of choice. For now, the United States must expand its military cooperation with Yemen to include economic and other assistance while identifying specific counter terrorism measures Sanaa must take." (pp. 530-531)

2197. Schwedler, Jillian. "Yemen's Aborted Opening." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (October 2002), pp. 48-55. ●● A review of political developments and elections in Yemen since unification in 1990 by an assistant professor of government at the University of Maryland. The author contends that "we cannot pronounce categorically on whether Islamists would help or hinder democratization in Yemen. Most Islamists within the Islah party are reformers, and many have been outspoken within local and transnational Islamist debates about the compatibility of Islam and

democracy." (p. 53) She notes that Yemen has numerous capable individuals committed to democracy but adds that "The strongest obstacle to political liberalization comes neither from extreme Islamists nor tribal leaders, but rather from the régime itself, from the bureaucrats who flourish in the existing patronage networks, and from local notables who fear losing control of regional trade and resources." (p. 54)

2198. Stookey, Robert W. *Yemen: The Politics of the Yemen Arab Republic*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978. Westview Special Studies on the Middle East. ●● A broad survey of the sweep of Yemeni history, from the ancient pre-Islamic states up to the present. The last several chapters deal with the contemporary period, one on the civil war of the 1960s and the other on national reconciliation and rebuilding during the 1970s. A short epilogue discusses political developments after the military coup d'état of 1974. ¤

2199. _____. *South Yemen: A Marxist Republic in Arabia*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982. ●● A former Foreign Service Officer, and more recently research associate at the University of Texas at Austin, provides a short introduction to perhaps the least-known state in the Middle East. Brief descriptions of the land, people, social structure, and arts and crafts provide the substance of the first chapter, and the long scope of Yemeni history up to 1839 is outlined in the second. Stookey next chronicles the century-and-a-quarter of the British presence there, while succeeding chapters deal with the independent state's politics, economy, and international affairs, respectively. ¤

2200. Wenner, Manfred W. *The Yemen Arab Republic: Development and Change in an Ancient Land*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991. Westview Profiles/Nations of the Contemporary Middle East. ●● A brief but wide-ranging survey of North Yemen's people and culture, economy, history, and politics, by a professor of political science at Northern Illinois University. The author observes that the civil war that followed the overthrow of the monarchical Imamate was ended by a compromise in 1970 that "created a secular state that has no explicit or even implicit functions in the realm of religious affairs…" (p. 171) yet two decades later the republic was still searching for legitimacy. The book was written before the two Yemeni states unified in 1990.

2201. _____. "Ideology versus Pragmatism in South Yemen, 1968-1986." In Peter J. Chelkowski and Robert J. Pranger, eds., *Ideology and Power in the Middle East: Studies in Honor of George Lenczowski* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 259-273. ●● An associate professor of political science at Northern Illinois University observes that politics in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) is a combination of such elements as

personal origins, tribal affiliations, ideological orientations, personality politics, opportunism, relations with North Yemen, and the influence of outside actors. In his view, the PDRY is "a country whose political and economic past has clearly influenced its perceptions of the exterior world, but whose political elite has also shown a pragmatic approach to ameliorating the considerable array of problems with which it must cope." (p. 273)

2202. _____. "National Integration and National Security: The Case of Yemen." In Bahgat Korany, Paul Noble, and Rex Brynen, eds., *The Many Faces of National Security in the Arab World* (London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press; Markham, Ont., Canada: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), pp. 169-184. ●● An examination of the national security perceptions of the two Yemens before unification, noting that the principal security threat to each was the other. He also outlines the threat posed by and to Saudi Arabia. In his opinion, unification will not necessarily improve the Yemeni security situation because unification processes are complex, "the simple addition of more people and land does not necessarily improve the political and economic power of a state" (p. 181), and Yemen's primary export is labor and the experience of the expulsions from Saudi Arabia in 1990 show its vulnerability.

2203. Zabarah, Mohammed Ahmad. *Yemen: Traditionalism vs. Modernity*. New York: Praeger, 1982. ●● A study of Yemen's continuing tug-of-war between the forces of traditionalism and those of modernism, written by the chairman of the political science department at Sanaa University. Zabarah divides his subject into four parts. The first examines factors that influenced isolationism in Yemen and those that served to eventually weaken the grip of traditionalism. The second looks at the growing economic, political, and ideological impact of the outside Arab world on a not entirely isolated Yemen. In the third part, Zabarah outlines the impact of the Yemeni civil war on the country and the effect of eventual national reconciliation. A last chapter discusses subsequent socioeconomic and political developments.¤

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Bibliographies

2204. Goodman, A. Sue. *Persian Gulf War, 1990-91 (Desert Shield/Desert Storm)*. Maxwell Air Force Base, AB: Air University Library, 1991.

2205. McLachlan, Keith, and Richard Schofield. *A Bibliography of the Iran-Iraq Borderland*. Wisbech, Cambridgeshire: Middle East and North African Studies Press, 1987. ●● A comprehensive bibliography of the conflict and its background, unfortunately published prior to the end of the war. In addition to standard bibliographic coverage of publications on geography, history and politics, the book also includes bibliographies of geological studies, maps, treaties and government reports, and records held in the principal British archives.

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