

A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

MIDDLE EAST

**Special Studies,
1992–1994**

Supplement

UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The executive branch of the U.S. government requires a massive amount of information to make policy decisions. The many departments, agencies, and commissions of the government devote much of their energies to gathering and analyzing information. However, even the resources of the U.S. government are not adequate to gather all the information that is needed; therefore, the government contracts universities, colleges, corporations, think tanks, and individuals to provide data and analyses. Because the great majority of these studies are difficult to find and obtain, University Publications of America (UPA) publishes some of the most important ones in its Special Studies series. *Middle East, 1992–1994 Supplement* collection consists of studies on the Middle East that became available during the period 1992–1994.

EDITORIAL NOTE

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ACRONYMS/INITIALISMS

The following acronyms and initialisms are used frequently in this guide and are listed here for the convenience of the researcher.

ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
ACES	Arrow Continuation Experiments
AID	Agency for International Development
AIG	Afghan Interim Government
AMU	Arab Maghrib Union
ASCM	Antiship Cruise Missile
CBO	Congressional Budget Office
CDIE	Center for Development Information and Evaluation
CENTCOM	United States Central Command
CINCCENT	U.S. Commander in Chief, Central Command
CMP	Country Marketing Plans
DART	Disaster Assistance Response Team
D.C.	District of Columbia
DOD	Department of Defense
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
FIS	Islamic Salvation Front (Algeria)
FLN	National Liberation Front (Algeria)
FY	Fiscal Year
GAO	General Accounting Office

GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GOI	Government of Israel
IDF	Israeli Defense Force
IRGC	Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps
LIC	Low Intensity Conflict
NA	Not Available
NAC	National Advisory Council
NAME	North Africa and Middle East
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDRI	National Defense Research Institute
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NTDB	National Trade Data Base
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFDA	Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance
OOS	Operational Operating System
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
ORT	Oral Rehydration Therapy
PACT	Program for the Advancement of Commercial Technology
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PVO	Private Voluntary Organization
TRADOC	U.S. Training and Doctrine Command
UAE	United Arab Emirates

UN	United Nations
UNLU	United National Leadership for the Uprising
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees
USCINPAC	United States Commander in the Pacific
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

REEL INDEX

Reel 1

Frame

Middle East

1991

0001

Islamic Fundamentalism in the Northern Tier Countries: An Integrative View.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Graham E. Fuller. 1991. 57pp.

This report is the capstone to a series of reports analyzing Islamic fundamentalism in the Northern Tier countries—Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Four reports analyze each of the countries in turn, and this document, the integrative study, seeks to establish common patterns and characteristics in the experience of all those states with fundamentalism. The purpose of the studies is to examine the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism: its origin, its historical basis, and its relationship to the political, economic, and social institutions of each country. The studies attempt to answer a series of specific operational and policy questions regarding the likely character of fundamental policies in those countries—excluding Iran, which is already a fundamentalist regime—were Islamic radicals to come to power. The role of Iranian influence in each of the countries is also examined. Finally, the studies examine the implications for U.S. policy and the possible options the United States might exercise in its relations with those countries in the future. Although this study limits its scope to the Northern Tier countries, its conclusions are of relevance to other countries in the Muslim world.

- 0058 **Perspectives on the Islamic Middle East.**
Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Patrick Q. Adams. May 1991. 74pp.
United States experience in the Middle East has incorporated three considerations: security against Soviet expansionism, a fair and peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and free-market access to oil sources. United States attempts to insure influence in the Persian Gulf area, in particular, has been marked by haphazard successes and staggering failures. Successive American administrations have struggled with threats to U.S. vital interests in the region, resulting in the Truman, Eisenhower, Nixon, Carter, and Reagan foreign policy doctrines. Each policy pronouncement incorporated different approaches to similar and recurring problems. All failed to recognize the unique and pervasive religious and societal aspects of Islamic Middle East culture. The military defeat of Iraq's military by the U.S.-led coalition offers a signal opportunity to redress the unbalanced and uninformed American view of Islam, Arabism, and Middle East societal culture.
- 0132 **Jihad: Islamic Thought and Practice.**
Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Gordon R. Middleton. October 7, 1991. 21pp.
Jihad, commonly translated in Western publications as "holy war," has become a disturbingly familiar term. Saddam Hussein called for a jihad against the Western Coalition forces in late 1990, and at the same time, Saudia Arabia declared a jihad against Hussein's invading Iraqi forces. Understanding the historical development and use of the concept of jihad is important to comprehend current events within the Islamic spheres of influence and their relations with the West. This paper traces the origin and development of the Islamic concept of jihad. It emphasizes the historical roots of the doctrine of jihad and its manifestations and justification as a means to understand the role of jihad in current Islamic thought and practice.
- 0153 **Toward an American Political-Military Policy for the Middle East in the Twenty-First Century.**
Air University Center for Aerospace Doctrine, Research and Education, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Lewis B. Ware. December 1991. 31pp.
This study defines the Middle Eastern security environment into the next century and, by reexamining American national interests, establishes the scope of a future Middle Eastern political-military policy for the United States. Proceeding from an analysis of the recent war against Iraq, the study clarifies the nature of regional instability and concludes that conventional

war between states presents the least likely scenario for conflict when compared to the possibility for crisis represented by radical ideologies, such as militant Islamism. Islamism recognizes no borders. It cannot be defined in the usual term of state-to-state relationships. Islamism strikes at the heart of Middle Eastern society to effect radical social transformation by posing an internal threat to the Middle Eastern secular state system. Islamism also has ramifications externally for the global community. Therefore any containment of Islamism requires a reformulation of U.S. interests in the context of not only a broad Muslim policy but, at the same time, of a more narrow subregional definition of the Middle East that accentuates the need for socioeconomic cooperative institutions to defend Middle Eastern nations from Islamic revolution. This study argues that the U.S. should base its Middle Eastern political-military policy on the reality of such institutions, which will necessitate a restructuring of U.S. military forces for regional deployment to meet the new unconventional security environment that the Islamic threat presupposes.

0184

Natural Resources and the Environment: Strategic Approaches for the Near East Bureau.

Agency for International Development Bureau for the Near East, Washington, D.C., NA. 1992. 34pp.

The Near East Bureau's Environment and Natural Resources Strategy has been formulated in accordance with guidelines set forth by the Agency's Environmental Strategy Framework and reflects existing programs and the current environmental and natural resource issues facing the Near East region. The region has reached a critical crossroads in its history, and individual countries are beginning to recognize the strong relationship between sound environmental and natural resources management and economic development. This recognition of the importance of sound environmental management is beginning to surface in the form of a proliferation of individual country environmental strategies such as those evolving in Egypt, Jordan, and Mexico. This current situation provides an excellent opportunity for the Near East Bureau to respond to the challenge of developing and carrying out a comprehensive strategy for ensuring the economic growth of Near East countries. The opportunity is in promoting sustainable economic growth by sound economic management of natural resources and the environment through more efficient production and use of natural resources that reflect market forces. The treatment of transnational issues in the Near East may involve countries of different regional bureaus

and/or countries that do not receive AID assistance. This situation complicates the development of effective regional activities. For this reason, the Near East Bureau will explore opportunities to cooperate with other international donors and NGOs in order to broaden the opportunities for regional approaches and strengthen the effectiveness and credibility of such approaches.

- 0218 **Minerals Yearbook, Volume III: Mineral Industries of the Middle East.** *Department of the Interior Bureau of Mines, Washington, D.C., NA. 1992. 123pp.*

Volume III, Area Reports: International, contains the latest available mineral data on more than 150 foreign countries and discusses the importance of minerals to the economies of these nations. The 1989 review is presented as five area reports and one world overview: Mineral Industries of Africa, Mineral Industries of Asia and the Pacific, Mineral Industries of Latin America and Canada, Mineral Industries of Europe and USSR, Mineral Industries of the Middle East, and Minerals in the World Economy. The year's reports incorporate location maps, industry structure tables, and an outlook section previously incorporated in the Minerals Perspectives Series quinquennial regional books, which will be discontinued. Countries considered in the report include the following: Bahrain, Cyprus, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, and the Republic of Yemen.

- 0341 **OECD Trade with the Middle East.** *Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C., NA. February 1992. 180pp.* This publication provides the most recent detailed commodity statistics of OECD trade with the Middle East, trade of the five largest OECD countries with the region, and U.S. trade with several key Middle Eastern countries.

- 0521 **Mass Action and Islamic Fundamentalism: The Revolt of the Brooms.** *Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Stephen C. Pelletiere. March 20, 1992. 35pp.*

Just when we appear to be on the brink of a stable world order, the Middle East has erupted with violence. Muslims are calling out for the overthrow of corrupt regimes and the institution of the Sharia, the just rule of the Prophet Muhammad. This trend is tied to anger at the failure of ambitious modernization programs, which the lower classes had been led to believe would better their lives. In reaction, they have turned their backs, not only on

Marxism, but capitalism as well. This study argues that the failure of U.S. policymakers to recognize the economic basis of this revolt is jeopardizing our vital interests in the area, particularly in the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

0556 **American Firms List, Eastern Province, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Syria as of January 1993.**

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. April 1992. 117pp.

This document contains lists of American firms in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, and Syria. The lists include companies with offices in the foreign country or those participating in some form of joint venture or franchise relationship with a foreign firm. The information was current as of January 1993.

0673 **Peace in the Middle East: How It Will Impact the New World Order and the American Strategy.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Hany K. Hayati. April 1, 1992. 50pp.

The historical events of the last decade have shifted the world system from the traditional West-East competition to cooperation and exchange of interests between the East and the West. Security and stability of the world has emerged as a very important element of the new world order. Since anything happening in any part of the world affects and gets affected by what happens in the other parts of the world, achieving peace and stability in the Middle East is important for the peace and stability of the world. Since the U.S. is considered the leader of the new world system, the protection of international security and stability has become its responsibility. This paper begins with a description of threats and challenges to the peace of the Middle East, then discusses the bases of peace in the region, the impact of the regional peace on the new world order and the American strategy and ends with recommendations for achieving and keeping peace in the region.

0723 **The Arab Maghrib Union and Its Environment.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Ezzedine Karoui. April 15, 1992. 47pp.

The Arab Maghrib Union (AMU) was created in February 1989. The region includes the five North African states of Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia and has been the scene of many conflicts and changes during the three decades following their independence. While the people of these countries looked forward to unification, the leaders had other external concerns and did not devote fully their attention to the question of unity. With

the full integration of the European Community and with other regional powers threatening the survival of the Maghrib, the leaders of the five countries met in Marrakech and signed the treaty of the Arab Maghrib Union. This union plans to build up progressively so that full integration can be achieved by the year 2000 within the framework of a common market. This paper focuses on an analysis of the Maghrib and its environment at the dawn of the inter-Maghribi union, the regional and the international implications, and what should be done to achieve the objectives of providing health and prosperity for the AMU and its people. Finally this paper examines how the AMU will contribute in bringing stability, security, and prosperity to the countries in the Mediterranean basin.

0770

Radical Islam and Its Effect on Politics in the Middle East.

University of Texas, Austin, Texas, Donald E. Ritchie. May 1992. 74pp.

Islam plays a significant role in the political machinations in the Middle East. This paper seeks to explore the militant end of the political spectrum and its effect on politics in the Middle East and the concomitant effect on American foreign policy. This paper will analyze radical Islam by outlining its pre-modern underpinnings, primarily represented by the influence of the fourteenth century theoretician Ibn Taymiyyah, as well as the modern influences of Sayyid Abul ala Maulani Maududi of Pakistan and Sayyid Qutb of Egypt. The notion of radical Islam is defined and the precepts and goals of the movement is elucidated. In addition, the paper examines the present crisis environment concerning Islam in the Middle East and presents some basic characteristics common to individuals most likely to participate in activities that could be considered under the appellation radical Islam. Finally, the relationship of radical Islam and the foreign policy of the United States is discussed.

0844

An Investigation in Islamic Fundamentalism and an Assessment of Its Relationship to the Concept of Jihad.

Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Alastair Campbell. June 5, 1992. 132pp.

Islamic fundamentalism and Jihad are terms which have become prominent over the last two decades but are frequently misunderstood as concepts. Fundamentalism essentially means reviving Islam with its original pure principles as outlined by Mohammad and as demonstrated by his own example. Jihad means active struggle in the path of Allah, both against evil and against enemies who threaten Islam. Fundamentalism is a recurring theme in Islam, which is a religion of continual renewal. Frequent attempts

have been made to cleanse Islam of the potential impurities of mysticism and the secular influences of nationalism and modernization. Sunni and Shia fundamentalist movements present interesting contrasts, as exemplified by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Khomeini in Iran. The Sunnis have acted as a transnational "conscience" of Islam without gaining power. The Shia appeal to emotion, through reenactment of dramatic history, inspired fanatical martyrdom and produced a remarkable revolution. Jihad has been used by fundamentalists as a unifying and as an energizing force but with varying intensity. For the Brotherhood it meant obedience and loyalty; for Khomeini it meant struggle against the Great Satan, personified by America, and self-sacrifice at the command of the Imam.

Reel 2

Middle East cont.

1992 cont.

0001

Limiting Conventional Arms Exports to the Middle East.

Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C., NA. September 1992. 98pp.

This Congressional Budget Office (CBO) study, prepared in response to requests from the Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, examines the issue of arms sales to the Middle East. It sets forth and analyzes several options under which the major supplier countries could band together to limit their sales of conventional weaponry to that volatile and highly militarized region.

0099

Balance of Power in Central and Southwest Asia: Conference Papers.

Defense Intelligence College, Washington, D.C., Steven R. Dorr. September 1992. 118pp.

These papers were prepared for a conference entitled "Balance of Power in Central and Southwest Asia." Our objective was to bring together scholars and analysis to share ideas and perspectives on critical aspects of changing regional relationships in Central and Southwest Asia in the wake of both the end of the Gulf War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Particular attention was given to the implications of the collapse of the Soviet empire for policies of the newly emerging independent states of Central Asia. The first day was devoted to political, economic, military, and strategic issues confronting Iraq and Iran. The second day dealt with internal developments

in, and intra-regional relations between, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Turkey and the emerging Central Asian Republics. Reference was also made to the activities of Saudi Arabia in Central Asia.

0217

Deterrence During Hostilities: A New "Triad" for the Middle East.

Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, Michael J. Baumgartner. November 13, 1992. 41pp.

Due to the presence of weapons of mass destruction and the will to employ them in the Middle East, the operational commander of the next conflict must understand and employ a new deterrent triad. This triad is composed of the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of deterrence. Current Marine, Army, and Air Force doctrine naturally support it. However, to work, it must be intelligently orchestrated—it will not happen just because the doctrine supports it. As the warfighting professional, the operational commander must conduct future campaigns with an integral, multilevel deterrent focus. It will be his responsibility to maintain a viable force in-theater, and thus it will be his responsibility to execute the new triad for the Middle East, a deterrent concept which must be executed at the operational level to protect forces.

0258

A Military Assessment of the Middle East, 1991–1996.

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Edward B. Atkeson. December 7, 1992. 123pp.

The author attempts to assess the military balance of power in the Middle East after the Persian Gulf War and to explore techniques for incorporating dynamic factors in his analysis. His objective is to create an understanding of the military balance and trends in the Middle East that will influence security issues several years into the future, through inclusion of intangible factors not often considered in the analysis of regional military balances. This study of the region is based upon extensive interviews with Middle Eastern political and military leaders, defense intellectuals, and U.S. embassy personnel. In addition, the author uses a methodology for objective measurement and comparison of the air and ground combat force potential of the principal states, and projects their future power through quantification of expected arms acquisitions.

0381 **Middle East Chronology: A Record of High-Level Visits and Meetings (July–September 1992).**

Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. December 31, 1992. 46pp.

This chronology contains a listing of high-level meetings and visits in the Middle East at the international and regional levels during the third quarter of 1992 as reported in the media.

1993

0427 **The Persistence of External Interest in the Middle East.**

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Mary E. Morris. 1993. 111pp.

For more than two thousand years, the Middle East has been a focus for the ambitions and strategic objectives of external powers. The last two centuries, in particular, have seen the entwining of Middle East dynamics with Great Power politics. As the source of one of the world's most vital resources, the Middle East has been perceived as a geographical asset, a trophy in the nineteenth-century struggle for spheres of influence, an object of imperialism and colonialism, and an arena for superpower competition in the twentieth century. The continual interference by external powers and the effects of their interventions have left indelible marks upon the region, precipitating attempts at ethnic, linguistic, and cultural unity among Arab tribes in opposition to interlopers, while at the same time sowing seeds of nationalism that tend to drive these same groups apart.

0538 **Security in North Africa: Internal and External Challenges.**

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Ian O. Lesser. 1993. 85pp.

The emotional reaction across North Africa during the Gulf War and the deepening turmoil in Algeria as the country grapples with an assertive Islamic movement have awakened Western interest in the prospects for stability along the southern shore of the Mediterranean. The alarming demographic imbalance between north and south and the resulting flow of migrants to an increasingly inhospitable Europe is now a feature of the European security debate. To these concerns must be added the risk of nuclear and ballistic missile proliferation emanating from Libya and Algeria. Among foreign and security policy elites and publics in southern Europe, France, and to a growing degree in Europe as a whole, it has become fashionable to refer to a new arc of crisis in the south. Previous RAND reports have charted this new aspect of the European security environment and the significance for U.S. policy. The North African dimension of the evolving security situation in the Mediterranean was not systematically

explored in these reports, except as it was reflected in the views of southern Europeans. This report attempts to fill this gap, focusing on regional developments as seen from the south. The report discusses the prospects for stability in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, identifies regional flash points, and assesses the implications for U.S. policy.

0623

Atlas of the Middle East.

Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C., NA. January 1993. 78pp.

The issues in the Middle East that set peoples and nations against one another are numerous, complex, and diverse. Border and territorial issues of colonial origin have combined with historical, religious, and ethnic tensions to contribute to the region's heated polemics and costly wars. So too, the uneven distribution of resources, principally water and oil, in conjunction with limited arable land and increasing population pressures represent some of the challenges the nations of the Middle East now face. The Atlas incorporates a variety of physical and cultural geographic information to profile the region of the Middle East and its constituent states. The research presented within is intended to assist the user in understanding the problems and prospects besetting the region.

0701

The Effects of Conventional Arms Transfers in the Middle East on U.S. National Military Strategy.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Robert J. Fulcher. April 8, 1993. 32pp.

The United States acknowledges that unrestricted conventional arms transfers in the Middle East do not promote regional stability. The U.S. is concerned with Middle East regional stability and security for American personnel and U.S. allies. To this end, destabilizing conventional arms transfers in the Middle East are discouraged. This study will examine U.S. interests, policies, and strategy in the Middle East. Particular attention will be paid to the proliferation of conventional arms to the Middle East region and the effects of such proliferation on the U.S. National Military Strategy, and if the U.S. arms policy in the Middle East is consistent with our arms control and transfer practices.

- 0733 **The European Market and Near East Agricultural Exports: Trends, Trade Barriers and Competition.**
Abt Associates, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts, Mark D. Newman, Christine Erbacher, and Annie Fung. March 1993. 93pp.
The newly created European Single Market holds potential opportunity for Near East agricultural export growth. This report presents a preliminary assessment of the potential for such exports in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the commodity composition and market destinations of agricultural exports from each of the four countries. AID priorities in agriculture and agribusiness support in each country are also reviewed. Chapter 3 addresses commodity and product-specific trade of vegetables, fruit, ocean products, olive products, and other specialty products.
- 0826 **Middle East Reaction to Secretary Christopher's Regional Tour.**
Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. March 9, 1993. 19pp.
While continuing to stress their own individual concerns, participants in the Middle East peace process visited by Secretary of State Warren Christopher during his February 18–25, 1993 tour of the region appear satisfied with its outcome. In particular, all parties to bilateral negotiations have welcomed Christopher's pledge of an active U.S. role in the process and appear hopeful that a solution can be found to the crisis over Palestinian deportees in Lebanon, which had threatened to block resumption of talks. Reactions are provided from the Palestinians and from Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.
- 0845 **Chemical Weapon Proliferation in the Middle East: Time for a U.S. Regional Chemical Disarmament Strategy.**
Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, William B. Horner II. April 1993. 25pp.
Our experience in the Gulf War demonstrated that we cannot be sure when or where the next conflict will arise; that the world must respond to straightforward aggression; that international coalitions can be forged, though they often will require American leadership; that the proliferation of advanced weaponry represents a clear, present, and widespread danger; and that the United States remains the nation whose strength and leadership are essential to a stable and democratic world order.

0870

Sources of Conflict in the Middle East: The Haves and Have Nots.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Robert J. Coughlin. April 1993. 20pp.

In the forty-five years since the formation of the state of Israel, six major wars have been fought in the Middle East. The first four of these wars were fought between the state of Israel and coalitions of Arab states. In the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, wars were fought between an Arab and a non-Arab state (Iran-Iraq) and between an Arab state and a coalition of regional and global powers (Persian Gulf War). The last conflict involved a precious resource, oil, not the traditional Israeli-Palestinian problem. Resources are likely to be the major source of conflict in the region in this and the next decade. This paper examines two of the resources critical to the economic future of the region—oil and foreign aid. Poverty, conquest, and conflict are old issues in the Middle East. Domination by and economic dependency upon outside powers likewise is an old story for the region. Centuries of rule by the Ottoman Empire were followed by decades under the control of European colonial powers. Following World War II, that cycle of conquest and dependency appeared to have been broken, as Arab nation states emerged from colonial rule. Unlike other former European colonies, the old/new nations of the region appeared to have the economic resources, skilled population base, and social coherence needed to successfully emerge from colonial dependency. This promise, despite the discovery and exploitation of enormous petrochemical resources, has not been fulfilled. Oil has contributed more to economic and social unrest in the region than to the creation of independent stable states.

0890

Arms Control in the Middle East.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Yusuf Yuksek Koken. April 14, 1993. 41pp.

The Gulf Crisis and War of 1990–91 showed us once again the importance of the need to have stability and security in the Middle East. Stability and security in the region can be achieved by eliminating the proliferation of mass-destruction weapons, preventing countries from exceeding the level of their legitimate security needs, and gaining an offensive capability. Also, we must guard against new hostile groupings that may threaten other countries. This can best be done by achieving and implementing a comprehensive arms control and disarmament agreement or a series of agreements. But, the efforts on arms control and disarmament alone is not enough. In order to be successful, the Middle East needs a lasting peace,

which can be achieved only by solving major political problems. However, in this paper, the unique one, the Arab-Israeli conflict has been taken as a major starting point in solving regional problems and enhancing the probability of achieving comprehensive arms control and disarmament agreements. This paper will address the complete complex problem of arms control by examining political, economic, social, and environmental aspects that can influence positively the arms control and disarmament process.

0931

Conventional Middle East Arms Control: Impact on the End of the Cold War.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Lonnie L. Johnson, Jr. March 31, 1993. 28pp.

The end of the Gulf War brought to the forefront concern for dangers posed by unrestrained militarization of the Middle East. In response, on 29 May 1991, President Bush unveiled a comprehensive Middle East arms control policy in a speech at the U.S. Air Force Academy. A key element of the policy banned the sale of the most dangerous conventional weapons to the region. Although the major arms suppliers (which also happen to be the five permanent members of the UN Security Council) have held a series of high-level meetings to discuss options for restricting sales to the region, all continue conventional arms transfers to the Middle East and are likely to continue to do so. This paper contends that the end of the cold war put additional economic pressure on the major suppliers to export arms to the Middle East; and their interests are so compelling that the suppliers are unlikely to support President Bush's proposal. This position is supported by analyzing the interests that influence major arms suppliers to sell arms abroad. The format for this analysis includes an assessment of each country's interest in selling arms during the cold war, the impact of the cold war's end on those interests, and whether the post-cold war interests conflict with President Bush's conventional arms control proposal. The paper concludes with recommendations for U.S. policy in the region.

Reel 3

Middle East cont.

1993 cont.

0001

Humanitarian Operations and the Middle East: The Hostility Factor.

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Stephen C. Pelletiere. May 3, 1993. 23pp.

America's military leaders increasingly are deeply involved in the study of operations other than war. The military expects to be participating in more and more such operations and is presently drafting doctrine to cover humanitarian support operations, domestic support, and peacekeeping operations. In the author's view, one aspect of humanitarian operations needs to be reexamined. While American diplomats and government officials may regard humanitarian relief operations as morally unassailable, others may not agree. In the Middle East, for example, increasing numbers of critics regard operations like PROVIDE COMFORT and RESTORE HOPE as power grabs, disguised as humanitarian ventures. This study explores current positions expressed by the Arabs and Iranian press and urges U.S. military and political leaders to become aware of these hostile perceptions. Unless effectively countered, violence against U.S. forces is quite likely. The study suggests ways in which the United States may successfully address the growing hostility and concludes with a warning—even the best intentioned humanitarian operations are potential quagmires, into which U.S. forces can be easily drawn.

0024

Islamic Terror and the West: A Question of Priorities.

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Stephen C. Pelletiere. June 1, 1993. 29pp.

President Mubarak of Egypt and Prime Minister Rabin of Israel have urged President Clinton to join with them in a "war on Islamic terror." Both men insist that Iran is fomenting a plot against the West; and that the World Trade Center bombing is an example of terrorist activities that are part of this plot. The author examines these claims and argues that they are not credible, that all of the evidence they cite is circumstantial, and that much of it is contradictory. He concludes that the conspiracy does not exist. He suggests that both men are confronting dangerous security situations at home and are having difficulty coping with these situations. They hope to enlist the aid of the United States to maintain themselves in power. The author suggests that

this call to mount a war on so-called Islamic terrorism is potentially damaging to U.S. security in the Middle East. Specifically, it could complicate the ability of the American military to guard vital U.S. interests in this part of the world.

0053

Prospects for Special Forces Operations in the Middle East.

Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Matthew P. McGuiness. June 4, 1993. 92pp.

This study assesses the prospects for special forces operations in the Middle East. It is intended to provide insight into how U.S. Army Special Forces units should be used in the Middle East until the year 2000. The study's research strategy is twofold. First, the study examines the historical use of U.S., British, and French special forces in the region. History indicates that special forces units have periodically developed new capabilities and roles in the face of evolving threats. Secondly, this study analyzes instability in the Middle East with an eye towards identifying future threat developments. Among the destabilizing factors examined are continued regional conflicts, arms races and weapons programs, evolving nature of terrorism, inherent potential for natural disasters from this analysis, an estimate is made of how future regional developments will impact on special forces operations. The study concludes by outlining three scenarios for future employment of special forces units: a major regional conflict, a corps contingency force, and operations other than war. Notable trends identified by the study are the emerging importance of coalition warfare support missions, the increasing importance of language proficiency and cross cultural communications, and the increasing lethality of the battlefield.

0145

Hydropolitics in the Middle East and U.S. Policy.

Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, Elizabeth A. Green. June 1993. 88pp.

This paper discusses hydropolitics in the Middle East, the most critical example today of the worldwide problem of diminishing fresh water resources relative to increasing demands stemming from growing populations and development. The paper concentrates information essential to understanding regional hydropolitics, including information about past and current U.S. attempts to influence Middle Eastern hydropolitics. Technical solutions which apply to the supply-side and demand-side of regional and national water balances are discussed. Supply-side solutions are confounded by inter-state conflicts, but gross inefficiencies on the demand-side are solvable on a country-by-country basis. This paper recommends that the U.S. government limit its efforts to assisting demand-side solutions within

individual friendly countries while striving for a positive outcome to the peace process. A successful Middle East peace process could culminate in effective agreements between all parties, positive momentum may be established toward regional cooperation. Cooperation in the Jordan River basin could be a model for agreements in the basins of the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile Rivers. If the peace process ends in failure, cooperation may continue to be stymied, and eventually face the U.S. with military decisions as a result of a Middle East regional conflict. Effective U.S. civil-military coordination is essential for U.S. effectiveness on this issue.

0233 **International Agriculture and Trade Reports: Africa and the Middle East.**

Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C., Michael E. Kurtzig and Linda Scott. July 1993. 137pp.

This report is one of six reports in the International Agriculture and Trade Report series. The 1993 report focuses on the agricultural situation and trade outlook for North Africa and the Middle Eastern countries. The twenty countries that comprise North Africa and the Middle East (NAME) have a limited agricultural resource base and are highly dependent on agricultural imports for their food needs. The region's 320 million inhabitants, with a population growth rate exceeding 3 percent per year, is one of the world's biggest growing markets for agricultural products.

0370 **Middle East Chronology: A Record of High-Level Visits and Meetings (Late December 1992–March 1993).**

Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. September 1, 1993. 44pp.

This chronology lists high level meetings and visits in the Middle East at international and regional levels during the first quarter of 1993 as reported in the media.

0414 **Middle East Chronology: A Record of High-Level Visits and Meetings (Late March–May 1993).**

Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. November 30, 1993. 31pp.

This chronology lists high-level meetings and visits in the Middle East at international and regional levels during April and May of 1993 as reported in the media.

1994

0445 Security Efforts in the Arab World: A Brief Examination of Four Regional Organizations.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Joseph A. Kechichian. 1994. 32pp.

To meet the sponsor's request for an assessment of past Arab security efforts, this note was originally written in 1991 as a quick-response policy-oriented paper, under the title *Improving Middle East Security: An Historical Perspective*. It was redrafted a year later to place the historical record in perspective, as well as to assess security proposals under discussion in the region. The war for Kuwait amply demonstrated the inherent instabilities of the Middle East in general and the Persian Gulf region in particular. In the aftermath of the war, conservative Arab Gulf monarchies embarked on yet another search for regional security, aimed to deter potential aggressors and defend over 50 percent of the world's known petroleum reserves. How this security objective was structured was one of the most complicated issued facing the Gulf states, as well as their regional and global allies. This note offers a brief examination of four regional organizations' security efforts in and around the Persian Gulf and evaluates their historical records to identify key weaknesses hampering efforts to improve security throughout the area. By examining such diverse groups as the Arab League, the Central Treaty Organization, the Gulf Cooperation Council, and the Arab Cooperation Council, an attempt is made to highlight their successes and shortcomings. Toward that end, security linkages between regional powers are evaluated to draw applicable conclusions, if possible. The record clearly indicates that past collective security arrangements failed largely because of their exclusionary features and, to remedy such shortcomings, new approaches may well be required.

0477 American Firms List for the Near East Region.

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. 1994. 246pp.

The report contains lists of American firms operating in the Near East. The packet represents the most up-to-date lists of American firms in the Near East available from the U.S. Government. The packet includes lists for the following countries: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Kuwait, Morocco, United Arab Emirates, Syria, Tunisia, Lebanon.

- 0723 **Middle East Chronology: A Record of High-Level Visits and Meetings (Late May–August 1993).**
Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. February 22, 1994. 31pp.
This chronology lists high-level meetings and visits in the Middle East at international and regional levels during late May through August of 1993 as reported in the media.
- 0754 **Middle East Chronology: A Record of High-Level Visits and Meetings (September–December 1993).**
Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. April 12, 1994. 39pp.
This chronology lists high-level meetings and visits in the Middle East at international and regional levels during the period from September to December of 1993 as reported in the media.
- 0793 **Taking the “Islam” Out of “Islamic Fundamentalism”: Some Thoughts for Senior Leaders.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Peter K. Christy. April 18, 1994. 27pp.
The intricacies of the Middle East challenge senior leaders and policy makers. Religious issues can complicate America’s already tenuous relationships with certain Arab nations. With the best intentions, leaders can inadvertently offend the religious sensitivities of those whose cooperation they seek. The expression “Islamic fundamentalism” often misrepresents the movements it seeks to describe. More seriously, it confuses the religion of Islam with radicals and fanatics who do not represent the majority of Muslims. This paper urges senior leaders to abandon the term “Islamic fundamentalism,” and it offers recommendations for dealing with the delicate matter of religion in the Arab world. Senior leaders are encouraged to make a sharp distinction between the religious fanatics and the Islamic faith.
- 0820 **Arab Maghreb Union: Achievement and Prospects.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Abderrahmen Messaoudi. June 1994. 94pp.
February 17, 1989, witnessed the signing of the Arab Maghreb Union [treaty]. This union has been a dream of many generations of the peoples of North Africa. This is natural, since history and the shared geographical location have shaped this region into a distinct entity. It is necessary, because only united can the Maghreb region better defend its interest and increase its bargaining power in dealing with other trading blocks. The

changing global world order and the emergence of many regional blocks motivated the North African countries to work on achieving the integration of the region in order to face the new internal and external challenges and contribute to promoting and safeguarding peace and stability throughout the region. Along with thoughts on the reality of the North African countries, this project analyses the achievement and the prospects of the Maghreb integration.

0914

Societal Structures and the Origins of Authoritarianism: A General Argument with Reference to the Arab World.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Mark A. Johnson. June 1994. 100pp.

This thesis attempts to explain the origins of and the reasons for the persistence of nondemocratic forms of rule in the Arab world. It seeks to define the minimum social prerequisites for the development of democratic institutions and then shows that in large measure these prerequisites are lacking in Arab societies. Moreover, this deficiency is not the result of Islam or the Arab mind but is primarily a consequence of the socioeconomic structures found in the Arab world. The thesis flows from the general to the specific in first providing an overview of socioeconomic structures by dividing them into three categories: hunter/gatherers, agrarian, and modern industrial. It makes the argument that the socioeconomic structures of modern industrial society generate social circumstances that are far more favorable to the development of democratic political institutions than either the agrarian or the hunter/gatherer. Following this, the thesis looks specifically at the socioeconomic structures of the Arab world, making the argument that, largely as a result of the character of cultural and economic interaction with the West, the societies of the Arab world have maintained their primarily agrarian structure, and they are therefore not predisposed toward democratic politics.

1014

Islamic Resurgence in the Middle East,

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Jon R. Ball. 1994. 27pp.

Islamic resurgence is a growing source of conflict throughout the Middle East. American response to this expanding phenomenon has been largely overshadowed by its ideological struggle against communism and the need to keep oil flowing to the major industrial nations around the world. With the end of the cold war and the overwhelming victory over Iraq in the second Gulf War, America has shifted its attention toward progress on the Arab-Israeli conflict and slowing the Middle East arms race. With Islam comes conflict,

not only in religious matters but in the attempt to use it as a political force. The threat to stability in the Middle East is increasingly from Islamic forces within individual states, rather than from traditional disputes between regional actors. This paper provides a regional assessment of Islamic resurgence as a source of conflict in the Middle East by exploring the following questions: (1) What exactly is Islamic resurgence and what are its origins? (2) What are some of the current Islamic movements in the Middle East? (3) Is Islamic resurgence inherently anti-American? (4) What are the implications for United States national security strategy in the region?

Reel 4

Afghanistan

1991

0001

Prospects for the Afghan Interim Government.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Zalmay Khalilzad. 1991. 52pp.

This report assesses the prospects for the Afghan Interim Government (AIG) formed by the Pakistan-based mujahedin leaders in February 1989 after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In particular, it seeks to focus on the following questions: Is the AIG an asset, a liability, or of no importance in the conflict between the mujahedin and the Kabul regime? What is the attitude of key commanders, the Afghan leaders based in Pakistan, and other important Afghan personalities living in exile toward the AIG? What are the prospects for broadening the AIG? What are the alternatives proposed by the important Afghans on how the AIG should be broadened or replaced? What are the implications if the AIG is not broadened? What are the alternatives to the current AIG?

0053

Operational and Strategic Lessons of the War in Afghanistan, 1979–1990.

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Stephen J. Blank. September 30, 1991. 154pp.

This analysis focuses on the purely operational and strategic lessons of the war in Afghanistan. It insists that lessons of these kinds were present and that they offer significant insights both for such wars in general and for the course of Soviet military development in the 1980s and 1990s. These lessons also offer important clues concerning the reforms required in order

to preserve democratic civilian control over the military. It should also alert analysts everywhere as to the nature of local wars in the Third World in the 1990s, a phenomenon that shows little sign of abating. Though in many ways like all wars, this war was unique; it was not merely a series of random tactical exercises that were ultimately futile. Rather, like all wars, it shows us something of the shape of our present and future, if we are only insightful enough to understand it correctly.

1992

0207

Mineral Resources in Afghanistan.

Nathan Associates, Inc./Berger International, Inc., Arlington, Virginia, NA. February 1992. 102pp.

Despite Afghanistan's wide variety of mineral resources and long history of small-scale mining of gems, gold, copper, and coal, it was not until the 1950s that the country's mineral resources were subject to systematic exploration. The report documents the past and present status of these resources and examines alternative strategies for their exploitation. Chapter 2 provides a brief history of minerals exploration, exploitation, and planning in Afghanistan, including the roles of Great Britain, France, Germany, the Soviet bloc, and the United States in Afghanistan's mineral sector; mineral policy in the five national plans during the years 1962–83; and sector assessments conducted by the World Bank (1978) and the U.S. Department of Energy (1989). Chapter 3 discusses three strategies for developing the country's mineral and hydrocarbon resources: (1) a national orientation focusing on domestic needs, (2) a regional strategy that would consider markets in countries close to Afghanistan, and (3) an international strategy that would place Afghan resources on the international market.

0309

A Case Study: Afghanistan—A Soviet Failure.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Dennis J. Eflein. April 1, 1992. 44pp.

Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, wrote nearly a century ago, "The friendship of Afghanistan is of no service to Russia whatsoever, beyond allowing her to pass through the country to India, which means placing Afghanistan under the foot of Russia." During Christmas 1979, the Soviet armed forces crossed the borders of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and seized control in Kabul. What were the reasons behind the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviets? This international crisis has puzzled many because of lack of basic information. This case study will analyze the Soviet strategic objectives or goals, as well as the factors which

contributed to their decision to invade and occupy Afghanistan. Additionally, the paper will review the Soviet failures in Afghanistan and propose some lessons learned for the U.S. from their failures. To accomplish this, the case study will first briefly examine Afghanistan's demography and history. The paper will then describe the economic and political developments which preceded the Soviet invasion.

0353

Afghanistan Water Constraints Overview Analysis.

Nathan Associates, Inc./Berger International, Inc., Arlington, Virginia, NA. May 1992. 121pp.

Afghanistan's already severe water supply problems are expected to intensify as Afghan refugees resettle in former conflictive zones. The report examines the technical, economic, cultural, and institutional facets of the country's water supply and suggests steps to mitigate existing and anticipated water supply problems. Chapter 2 presents information on Afghanistan's water resources, covering the country's climate, precipitation, glaciers/snow packs, and watersheds; the principal patterns of water flow and distribution; and comprehensive estimates. Chapter 3 examines water resource development in the country from 1945 to 1979, including projects involving irrigation and hydroelectric power and strategies for improving the drinking-water supply.

0474

Afghanistan Environmental Profile: Phase I.

Nathan Associates, Inc./Berger International, Inc., Arlington, Virginia, NA June 1992. 122pp.

Afghanistan's environment, already scarred by 12 years of conflict, is likely to undergo severe stress as external and internal refugees are resettled, according to this preliminary environmental profile. Following an introduction, Chapter 2 discusses the state of Afghanistan's environment in 1978 prior to the Soviet invasion, while Chapter 3 documents the environmental impacts of events since that time, including population relocation, deforestation, and locust and sunn-pest infestations. Chapter 4 examines major environmental areas (vegetation, wildlife, soil erosion, pesticides, public health, environmental infrastructure, energy, and air quality) with respect to both existing conditions and what is likely to occur when resettlement begins in earnest. Chapter 5 presents potential mitigation measures, including a set of environmental guidelines for the government of Afghanistan. Chapter 6 discusses the Geographic Information System being developed under USAID's Agricultural Services Support Program; it discusses the extent to which GIS data can contribute to environmental studies and vice versa.

0596

Special Middle East Program in Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: Afghanistan and Post-Soviet Central Asia: Prospects for Political Evolution and the Role of Islam.

United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C., NA. June 1992. 47pp.

This special report on the current, common problems of Afghanistan and post-Soviet Central Asian states is the cooperative work of scholars and policymakers taking part in the Study Group on the Prospects for Conflict and Opportunities for Peacemaking in the Southern Tier for Former Soviet Republics. During the initial meetings of the study group, which began late in 1991 and was ongoing as of June 1992, five major issues were selected for discussion, with the goal being to produce brief special reports for the use of policymakers concerned with the region. Three of the issues are more fundamental and are more likely to be long-running concern: the long term prospects for political change in the Soviet Union; the broad geopolitics of post-Soviet Central Asia, taking into account the possible ramifications of change in the region for the future of all states immediately adjacent to it; and the problems of Central Asian peoples in finding their identities after seventy years of communist domination and many centuries of dynamic change. The other two problems are more immediate and were identified for early attention: the conflict in Nagorno-Karabach and the implications of the outcome of the Afghan conflict for post-Soviet Central Asia. This special report comes from the study group deliberations on the latter topic.

1993

0643

Afghanistan and Beyond: Reflections on the Future of Warfare.

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Stephen J. Blank. June 28, 1993. 51pp.

The author provides an historical analysis of lessons from the war in Afghanistan so that policy makers and analysts alike will better understand the nature of operations other than war in multiethnic states. Many fear these wars will set the paradigm for future wars and will exert pressure on U.S. forces to conduct peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and humanitarian assistance operations in especially dangerous areas. Yugoslavia and Somalia bear out the ubiquity of these wars and the pressures upon the United States to act. Hopefully, mechanisms can be devised to forestall and avert future wars or to bring them to the speediest possible conclusion. Should those mechanisms fail and troops have to be committed, this

analysis should enable commanders to have a better grasp of the nature of the war they will fight. Understanding the war and the theater should facilitate a solution more in keeping with U.S. interests and values.

Algeria

1993

0694

1994 Country Marketing Plan for Algeria.

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. 1993. 58pp.

This report from the U.S. Foreign Commercial Service office in Algiers includes best prospects for U.S. exports to Algeria, economic statistics, an overview of the commercial, economic and political environments, trade barriers, and trade event plans.

0752

The Islamic Fundamental Movement in Algeria.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C., Clarence T. Hunter, Jr. April 1993. 36pp.

For the first time in the twentieth century, it has become possible that an Islamic fundamentalist party will be elected by popular vote to lead a sovereign nation. The nation is Algeria, and the party is the National Liberation Front (FIS). In the municipal elections held in June of 1990, the FIS gained control of more than half of the cities and towns. This was a shock to the National Liberation Front (FLN), which had and continues to dominate local and national politics since Algerian independence, which occurred in 1962. The ruling FLN party quickly stepped in after the elections and insured that the FIS would not assume control of the government. Still, given the state of the Algerian economy, it is not unrealistic to anticipate that it is only a matter of time before the FIS becomes the ruling party and heads the nation. In viewing the stated interests of the United States in Algeria and then comparing those to the stated and demonstrated intentions of the FIS, it is easy to see that they are not compatible. In fact, democracy, the vehicle through which they stand to come to power, is not an option under an Islamic fundamentalist government. Still, if it is the will of the populace to chose an Islamic government, then the United States must be prepared to accept that fact and welcome that government into the family of nations, no matter how unpalatable it may be. Then, it must be left up to the people of that nation to see whether that is the form of government that they chose to have over the long term. We will explore in detail how the situation in Algeria came to be as it is and what impact that will have on the strategic view of the United States in the future.

- 0788 **Islamic Resurgence in Algeria: The Rise of the Islamic Salvation Front.**
University of Texas, Austin, Texas, Norman Raymond Larson. May 1993. 101pp.

On June 29, 1992, Algerian President Mohammed Boudiaf was addressing a crowd in the coastal city of Annaba. As he raised his hand to emphasize his point and said, "We are all going to die," he was struck down by a militant Muslim assassin's bullet. This incident highlighted the ongoing struggle between the Islamic movement in Algeria and the country's relatively secular government. Throughout the Muslim world, a resurgence in Islamic political and religious movements has taken place over the past two decades. The 1979 Iranian Revolution and the establishment of an Islamic republic epitomized this trend and, perhaps, has fueled other Islamic movements. Across Muslim North Africa, the governments of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt have been struggling to deal with this Islamic resurgence.

- 0889 **Algeria in Transition: The Islamic Threat and Government Debt.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Janice M. Wynn. June 1994. 100pp.

Algeria's current political crisis serves as a reminder of the fragility of attempts to reform government in search of "democracy." Algeria experienced two rounds of multi-party elections in 1990 and 1991. Broad-based political participation may indicate "last-track" democracy, but questions about the feasibility of political Islam clashes with traditional notions of democracy. This thesis will argue that Algeria's decision for a political opening was due to social pressures and exacerbated by economic difficulties posed by falling oil prices, rather than motivated solely by political reform rationale. The events leading up to the riots and subsequent reforms will support this argument. Additionally, U.S. and regional policy implications will be examined.

Reel 5

Cyprus

1994

0001

Cyprus: The Road to Partition, 1950–1974.

University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, Paul A. Skvarka. 1994. 149pp.

This thesis covers the events leading up to the Turkish partition of Cyprus in 1974. It assigns responsibility for the partition to the United States, Greece, and Great Britain, as well as the conventionally accepted nation of Turkey. The background to this history includes Ottoman occupation and British colonialism.

Egypt

1992

0150

Egyptian Women and Microenterprise: The Invisible Entrepreneurs.

Development Alternatives, Inc., Bethesda, Maryland, C. Jean Weidemann and Zohra Merabet. March 1992. 108pp.

This report examines the nature and extent of women's participation in the Egyptian informal sector as owners and operators of small and microenterprises. Data were gathered on activity sectors, business sizes, ownership patterns, types and numbers of employees, profitability, failure rates, financing, assets, production levels, and markets. Data were also gathered on the constraints faced by women entrepreneurs in the informal sector, both those that they share with men and those that are special to women. A major finding is that 38 percent of households in the study depend on women's income for survival. Compared with men, the women were more likely to start their business from home and to work part-time. Guidelines for policy or institutional interventions to improve the opportunities for women entrepreneurs are presented in conclusion.

1993

0258

1994 Country Marketing Plan for Egypt.

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. 1993. 66pp.

The 1994 Country Marketing Plan (CMP) for Egypt was prepared by the U.S. Embassy's Foreign Commercial Service staff in Cairo, Egypt, and outlines the U.S. government's marketing and export promotion plans for Egypt in

fiscal year 1994. The CMP provides U.S. exporters with country-specific marketing information including information about Egypt's commercial and financial environments and identifies the industry sectors that offer the best export prospects for U.S. companies. The information in the 1994 CMP for Egypt is very useful for American companies that are evaluating the Egyptian market as a possible place to do business.

0324 **Assessment of the Legislative Sector in Egypt.**

Cairo University, Giza, Egypt, Ali E. Hillal Dessouki. April 1993. 40pp.

This report deals with the legislative sector in Egypt. The legislative sector is defined in this report as both the People's Assembly and the Shura Council. Its objective is threefold: first, to provide a profile of both Councils; second, to identify major problems and obstacles for improving their activities; and third, to suggest areas of reform. The report focuses on technical and institutional aspects of the legislative sector.

0364 **Egypt: Rays of Light Midst A Multitude of Problems.**

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Donna M. Taylor. April 19, 1993. 40pp.

Egypt, land of the Pharaohs, is a vibrant country who has been an ally of the U.S. for several years. Through the Suez Canal, it controls shipping access to Middle East oil fields. It is also the first Arab country to make a separate peace with Israel. As such, Egypt is a valuable partner in the peace process. However, Egypt has several problems. Most are not insurmountable. Some require commitment and dedication. First, Egypt's population is growing rapidly. The country cannot keep urban dwellers housed and fed. Next, although the Arab-Israeli conflict is currently peaceful, Egypt's extremists may threaten internal stability. Water is an increasingly important concern. Egypt cannot survive without Nile water, yet other countries control Nile headwaters.

0404 **Military Aid to Egypt: Tank Coproduction Raised Costs and May Not Meet Many Program Goals.**

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., NA. July 1993. 27pp.

This report was prepared in response to a request by the Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs. The GAO assessed the benefits and costs of the M1A1 tank coproduction program in Egypt. The specific objective of this report was to (1) identify the rationale behind the U.S. decision to coproduce the tanks

with Egypt, (2) compare the costs of coproduction with the costs of providing complete tanks, and (3) provide information on future plans for the Egyptian tank factory.

0431 **Agricultural Situation Report—Egypt.**

U.S. Embassy, Cairo, Egypt, Ron Verdonk. October 1, 1993. 51pp.

In terms of the differing components of the Egyptian economy, the agricultural sector is the most liberalized. Government control over agriculture has been diminished substantially. The public sector still dominates the marketing of cotton and sugar cane, but everything else is freely processed and traded. Egypt's 1992 agricultural production grew by about 5 percent compared to 1991's output. In particular, wheat, corn, rice, citrus, and cotton gains contributed to the growth in output.

1994

0482 **Egypt's Political Instability and Challenges Facing U.S. Central Command.**

Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, Mary S. Blankenship. February 8, 1994. 27pp.

Increasing political tensions in Egypt have brought criticism of President Mubarak's leadership as well as U.S. foreign policy and financial aid efforts. Recent terrorist attacks and threats by Islamic militants have put pressure on Egyptian leadership to improve the nation's social and economic problems. If tensions eventually affect the stability of Mubarak's government or lead to an attempted takeover, the U.S. could become involved in military intervention. Egypt has been considered a key link to foreign affairs in the Middle East for many years and is also critical to keeping peace between the Arab world and Israel. With Egypt and Israel receiving half of U.S. foreign financial aid, it is unlikely that the U.S. will look the other way if problems arise in Egypt. Following the guidelines in the Operations Department Syllabus, this paper addresses "a current operational or strategic issue in support of a military strategy." After discussing the current political situation in Egypt, this paper proposes a military strategy for Egypt, as well as analyzing the challenges to U.S. Central Command in preparing for a future crisis in the Middle East—whether an internal insurgency challenging President Mubarak's regime or working with Egypt in a coalition against an external threat.

0509

Egyptian Nuclear Nonproliferation: The Politics of a Weak State.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Jonathan P. Pugh. March 1994. 135pp.

This thesis uses the available literature regarding Egypt's nuclear development program from 1952 to 1981 to show that a weak state faces insurmountable structural restraints in developing nuclear weapons, even if motivation and capability are present. According to international security conditions and initial science development in 1952, Egypt should have acquired nuclear weapons by 1970. Presidents Nasir and Sadat undermined the very Egyptian agencies they created to develop nuclear weapons technology. A state's international security motives and technology development are necessary but not sufficient conditions for nuclear proliferation. The necessary and sufficient condition is that the state be a strong state, able to extract resources from society, and able to enact policies which require societal compliance. Weak state leaders cannot resolve the dilemma of opposing domestic security and international security priorities without obstructing their designated state agencies from developing nuclear weapons. United States nuclear nonproliferation policy must consider the political variable of state strength in order to determine the likelihood of proliferation.

0644

Capital Projects: U.S. Aid and Trade in Egypt.

Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. James W. Fox. March 1994. 49pp.

There is growing interest in some parts of Congress and the Executive Branch to use U.S. foreign assistance to advance U.S. commercial interests without jeopardizing the international development objectives of the foreign aid program. Congressional proposals have called for the establishment of a capital projects fund, a mixed credit program, and other trade-related programs. Many ideas have been put forth as a rationale or justification for capital projects. It is important to closely examine the empirical basis of the many ideas put forth in support of such projects. A first step is to analyze AID's past experience. As part of that effort, the Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE) has launched an assessment of AID's experience with capital projects—experience that spans more than four decades. The CDIE Capital Projects Assessment comprises two parts: first is an examination of the data on World Bank, other-donor, and AID capital

project experience. That analysis appears in a forthcoming AID technical report. The second part, contained in this report, examines Egypt, which is AID's largest capital projects program.

0693 **Capital Projects: Economic and Financial Analyses of Nine Capital Projects in Egypt.**

Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., Michael Hanrahan. March 1994. 95pp.

This paper examines nine AID-funded capital projects in Egypt over the 1977–1992 period. These projects helped create an infrastructure base that was essential to Egyptian economic development. The projects greatly increased electrical power generation, introduced a modern telephone system in Cairo and Alexandria, and rehabilitated a water and sewerage system that served more than twenty-three million Egyptians. The projects were designed and built to high technical standards, and they provided the basic infrastructure necessary for Egypt's continued economic growth.

0788 **Capital Projects: Egypt Case Study.**

Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., Joseph Lieberman. March 1994. 126pp.

This assessment is based on an October 1992 field evaluation that analyzed AID's experience with capital projects in Egypt. It examines the effectiveness of capital projects in promoting Egypt's economic development while also promoting U.S. commercial interests.

0914 **Shari'a Law, Cult Violence and System Change in Egypt: The Dilemma Facing President Mubarak.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Stephen C. Pelletiere. April 5, 1994. 48pp.

The author believes that the mounting unrest in Egypt is caused by the inequitable distribution of wealth. He argues that the system appears to be enriching a relatively tiny elite, and this has provided openings for radicals who wish to destabilize the president's rule. The author examines the unrest, identifies the forces behind it, and prescribes steps that can be taken to alleviate the situation. The study concludes that the key to Egypt's future may be determined by President Mubarak's treatment of the powerful, but enigmatic, Muslim Brotherhood.

Reel 6

India

1991

0001

The Relationship Between India's Geographic Element of Power and Its Military Element of Power.

Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Paida Vijay Reddy. June 7, 1991. 122pp.

The geographic element of a nation is the base upon which all other elements are built. Any analysis of a country's military element, therefore, must be done with a clear understanding of its geographic element. The author is of the opinion that many analysts have gone wrong in their analysis of India's military element due to a lack of proper understanding of its geographic element. Using the checklist and descriptive comparison methods, the author has examined India's geographic element to include its physical, economic, and human components, thus identifying various imperatives that ought to shape its military element. He then reviews India's military element and matches the imperatives identified to every relevant facet of its military element. The study shows that India's military element is indeed influenced largely by its geographic element, especially by the human component of its geography. Its organization, recruitment, training, employment, etc., vindicate the author's findings. There are also certain aspects that do not conform to geographic realities. The author feels that such nonconformity is a result of India's security perceptions and the country's national interests. In sum, the author has produced sufficient evidence to establish a link between India's geographic element and its military element.

0123

India and the Persian Gulf Crisis: From Global Idealism to Regional Realities.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Tito Prem Dua. June 1991. 98pp.

India has for decades professed a desire to participate in the international system as a global power. However, India's surprisingly equivocal reaction to the 1990 Gulf Crisis and subsequent military conflict did not reflect these aspirations. This thesis examines Indian foreign policy, focusing on (a) changing Indian regional concerns, (b) factors which have prevented India from achieving predominance in South Asia, and (c) India's reactions to the

Gulf War. This analysis indicates an apparent shift in Indian priorities from global aspirations to regional and domestic issues. The thesis suggests a careful review of a seeming U.S. tilt toward India—despite what appears to be a change in India's policies toward improving relations in South Asia and deteriorating U.S.-Pakistan relations—given India's past willingness to exercise both military and economic force in South Asia to achieve her goals.

1992

0221

India: Asia-Pacific Energy Series Country Report.

East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, M. Nasir Gazdar. March 1992. 144pp. As part of their continuing assessment of Asia-Pacific energy markets, the Resources Programs of the East-West Center issued a series of country studies that discuss in detail the structure of the energy sector. To date, their reports to the U.S. Department of Energy, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs and Energy Emergencies, have covered Australia, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. The country studies provide an overview of the economic and political situation in the various countries. They have highlighted petroleum and gas issues in the country studies and have attempted to show the foreign trade implications of oil and gas trade. To the greatest extent possible, they have provided the latest available statistics. Staff members have traveled extensively in—and at times have lived in—the countries under review and have held discussions with senior policymakers in government and industry. Thus, these reports provide not only information but also the latest thinking on energy issues in the various countries. Over the next few years, these country studies will be updated and will provide a continuous, long-term source of energy sector analysis for the Asia-Pacific region. This India Asia-Pacific Energy Series Country Report is the follow-on to a study by Victor Lobo, *Energy in India: The Oil Sector*, which was published by the East-West Center in December 1989. The study focused on the petroleum industry, particularly refining, infrastructure, marketing and distribution, specifications of products, demand structure and pricing. This current study must be seen as a supplement to our 1989 study and, as such, does not cover the petroleum sector in depth.

0365 **Stepping Into the Twenty-First Century: An Agenda for Indo-U.S. Relations.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Pankaj S. Joshi. March 20, 1992. 70pp.

Although India and the United States are respectively the largest and the oldest democratic republics of the world, the relations between them have not been uniformly cordial and smooth. The paper proposes that the end of the cold war and dissolution of the Soviet Union have substantially changed the frame of reference in which their relations were viewed in the past and that, therefore, they should now reexamine the same. The paper attempts to examine the various areas in which the United States and India can cooperate and, specifically, the measures that both can take in the political/diplomatic, trade and economic, and military/security-related areas. In so doing, it examines the areas of convergence of interests as also the irritants which have soured the relationships between the two countries in the past, and suggests how these irritants can be removed—or at least played down—while emphasizing the positive aspects of the relations between them. It does so with particular reference to the possible developments in India's immediate neighborhood. It ends on an optimistic note and suggests that given the will, patience, and mature leadership on both sides, the two countries can initiate steps now that will allow them to enter the twenty-first century as partners in a mutually beneficial and fruitful relationship.

0435 **Strategic Estimate: India.**

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Eric N. Johnson. April 16, 1992. 27pp.

This report provides a strategic estimate of the military resources of India and gives suggestions for a U.S. national military strategy. Among other factors covered are India's climate, geography, political situation, and suggested U.S. courses of action to meet various contingencies in the region.

0462 **Indo-Pakistani Nuclear Issue: A U.S. Policy Perspective.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, John L. Wolf. June 1992. 99pp.

This thesis examines U.S. nonproliferation policy and the problem of nuclear proliferation in India and Pakistan. Its central hypothesis is that the end of the cold war has created an opportunity to advance U.S. nonproliferation interests and work with both India and Pakistan to reduce the threat of a nuclear confrontation on the Indian subcontinent. The thesis assesses

both the motives for and the current status of the nuclear weapons programs in India and Pakistan. It also presents some plausible scenarios concerning future courses those programs could take. Finally, it presents a set of policy recommendations directed toward reducing Indo-Pakistani nuclear tensions and laying the foundations to make a future South Asian nuclear nonproliferation regime possible. Ultimately, this approach would create safer, more stable security arrangements for India and Pakistan and further reduce the threat from nuclear weapons in the post-cold war world.

1993

0561 **The United States and India in the Post-Soviet World: Proceedings of the Third Indo-U.S. Strategic Symposium.**

National Defense University, Washington, D.C., NA. April 23, 1993. 199pp.
Contents: Opportunities and Prospects for Cooperation on Central and West Asian Security Issues; Forging a Global Concert of Democratic States for the Post-cold war Era; India's Role in the New Global Order: An American Perspective; Opportunities and Prospects for Indo-U.S. Cooperation on Asian Security Issues: China and South East Asia; Proliferation on the Subcontinent: Possibilities for U.S.-Indian Cooperation; The Emerging Global Environment: An Indian View of the American Role; Whither China: Beijing's Domestic, Foreign, and National Security Policies in the 1990s; Opportunities and Prospects for Cooperation on Asian Security Issues—Central and West Asia; Opportunities and Prospects for Indo-U.S. Cooperation in Defense Technologies; India in the Emerging Global Environment; Opportunities for Indo-U.S. Cooperation on Arms Control and Non-Proliferation; and Indo-U.S. Security Cooperation: USCINPAC's First Steps U.S. and India in the Bipolar Contract.

0760 **The Sino-Indian Border Dispute: India's Current Options.**

Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, NA. June 4, 1993. 89pp.

The Sino-Indian border dispute is the result of the failure of India and China to agree upon the exact delimitation of their boundary within the complexities of the Himalayas. India maintains that there were treaties between India and Tibet delimiting certain sections, while the rest of the boundary was well known and established through custom and tradition. The Chinese question Tibet's past authority to conclude treaties and insist that the Sino-Indian boundary still requires delimitation. At present in the west, China occupies the Aksai Chin plateau, which India disputes; in the east, China claims territory in the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. This study traces the origin

and genesis of this vexing issue, which remains a major hurdle in attempts to improve bilateral relations. It analyzes the conflicting claims in context of their historical perspective and, more importantly, in light of emerging geopolitical realities and changing imperatives. The growing U.S. strategic convergence with India has also been taken into account. The study critically examines India's options to resolve the dispute. The option recommended takes into account the strategic compulsions of both sides and reflects the spirit of "mutual understanding and accommodation."

0849

India: Agricultural Situation and Outlook, 1993.

U.S. Embassy, New Delhi, India, Leanne Hogue. September 30, 1993. 31pp. India has continued the economic reforms it began in 1991 and, during 1992, experienced good economic growth, a lower inflation rate, and an improved foreign exchange position. A good monsoon and improved agricultural production provided a big boost to the economy during 1992–1993. While the 1992 monsoon was late in arriving, a better distribution of rains over the course of the season resulted in record output of oilseeds, coarse grains, and a number of minor crops. The record oilseed crop not only boosted Indian exports of oilseed meals, but allowed the country to virtually eliminate edible oil imports this year. Late season monsoon also boosted cotton production, allowing India to export significant quantities of raw cotton again this year. Among major crops, only sugar recorded a decrease in output this past year, which may actually benefit the sugar industry, which has been faced with both low output prices and excessive stocks.

0880

Export Promotion and Investment in India.

Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., James Fox, Carlos Pelay, and Hans-Peter Brunner. November 1993. 48pp. India's policy regime is highly antiexport, making it difficult for firms to compete in world markets. Even so, as this case study shows, Indian entrepreneurs are ready to take advantage of any slight opening the Indian government provides. Although not intended to promote exports, U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID's) Program for the Advancement of Commercial Technology (PACT) project in India was highly successful in linking Indian firms with U.S. partners for commercially viable projects. PACT helped to promote the creation of a venture capital industry in India and reinforced the competence of Indian entrepreneurs. USAID/India should focus on the key problem of the massive waste of the country's scarce investment resources. India's capacity to save would allow annual

growth of 9–10 percent per year. The challenge for USAID is to identify paths of economic liberalization, particularly in trade, that will help improve efficiency.

Reel 7

Iraq

1991

0001

Global Arms Export to Iraq.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Rachel Schmidt. 1991. 81pp. Many countries, including new arms producers, turned to Iraq during the 1980s as a major market for their equipment. According to data from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the combined purchases of Iran and Iraq during their eight-year war constituted, on average, about one sixth of the world's annual arms exports. Iraq alone imported an average of nearly 12 percent of the world total. Many foreign defense firms relied heavily on these two countries for their export sales. Some of these producers have questionable chances of economic survival if Iraq and other nations in the Middle East reduce their expenditures on weapons. Rather than investing in original research and development by its own scientists and engineers, Iraq imported weapons components illicitly, reverse-engineered and modified foreign equipment, and hired foreign specialists to conduct its research and development. Other developing countries have followed this strategy as well, and therefore the Iraqi case is an important one to review.

0082

Tactical Evolution on the Iraqi Army: The Abadan Island and Fish Lake Campaigns of the Iran-Iraq War.

Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Michael E. Hoffpauir. June 7, 1991. 167pp.

Much has been written regarding Iraqi wartime activities at the strategic and operational levels during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), but few of these works address tactical operations. This thesis fills a small portion of that void by examining the evolution of selected combat tactics used by Iraq's ground forces in the battles of Abadan Island (1980) and Fish Lake (1987). From its limited pre-war combat experiences, the Iraqi army developed tactics, techniques, and procedures to fight in desert and mountainous environments. When the Iraqi army moved across the Iranian frontier in 1980, significant shortcomings surfaced in many aspects of its combat opera-

tions—command and control were poor, and commanders did not appear to understand the relationships between tactics, terrain, and mission. After its dismal showing, the army executed a static defense strategy for the next several years. Then in early 1987, the army rebuffed Iran's most determined offensive of the war, showcasing an increasing flexibility to handle more complex tactical situations and setting the stage for the remarkable successes enjoyed in 1988 that brought the conflict to a close.

0249

The Kurds and Their AGAS: An Assessment of the Situation in Northern Iraq.

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Stephen C. Pelletiere. September 16, 1991. 42pp.

In the bloody aftermath of Operation Desert Storm, hundreds of thousands of Kurds left their homes in northern Iraq seeking refuge in Turkey and Iran. It fell to the U.S. military to coax them back and protect those who feared for their safety. Operation Provide Comfort has now been succeeded by Provide Comfort II, with the U.S. military still heavily involved. This report documents the recent history of the Kurds and gives a rundown on the power relations among the various groups in Kurdish society. At the same time, it warns our officers of possible dangers growing out of their mission and suggests that the overall problem of the Kurds is much more explosive than the benign accounts appearing in the media would lead one to believe.

0291

Water and Sanitation Efforts Among Displaced Kurdish Citizens.

Water and Sanitation for Health Project, Arlington, Virginia, Robert H. Swenson and Terance M. Rahe. October 1991. 72pp.

In 1991, AID cooperated with the U.S. military to provide emergency assistance to displaced Kurds in the mountains of eastern Turkey and Iran. AID assistance was channeled through the Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART). The military provided security and also transported food, water, supplies, and people. Because the eastern Turkey mountains are very remote, with few roads, helicopters were often the only means of transport, and flight coordination was difficult due to limited landing areas. U.S. policy makers thus determined that mountain settlements having insufficient water supplies would have to be relocated to an area near Zaku, Iraq, where basic water and sanitation services could be provided. The first part of the report covers Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance/DART activities during the early unsettled period of Kurdish displacement. The second part focuses on the design, construction, and utility of facilities

within the Zakhu camp. The second part also discusses the process of transferring management responsibility to the Private Voluntary Organization community.

1992

0363 **The Iraqi Oil "Weapon" in the 1991 Gulf War: An International Law Analysis.**

George Washington University National Law Center, Washington, D.C., Jonathan P. Edwards. February 16, 1992. 158pp.

Iraq invaded Kuwait, setting off a chain of international events culminating in the United Nations-sanctioned attack upon Iraq by a number of nations, led by the United States. The purpose of this paper is to consider one aspect of that armed conflict—the Iraqi release of oil at the Sea Island Terminal and the igniting of the Kuwaiti oil wells—under both international environmental law and the international law of armed conflict. The basic thesis of this paper is that the Iraqi oil weapon did violate certain portions of both fields of international law, although not in the expansive manner that some international lawyers have asserted. Specifically, the oil weapon violated Iraq's duties as a party to the Kuwait Regional Convention and the general international law principle of non-interference. Iraq also violated customary international law as evidenced by the Hague IV Regulations. It also failed to carry out its duties as a party to the 1949 Geneva Conventions. Options for enforcing the applicable law are then reviewed, including a discussion of the historic reparations mechanism developed by the United Nations Security Council. This paper concludes with an appraisal of the limitations for further developing environmental protections during armed conflicts.

0521 **Ethnic Conflict: The Case of the Kurds.**

Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C., Jeffrey Q. Wagner. April 1992. 37pp.

The purpose of this paper is to explore this people, their history, customs, political solidarity, and their frequently frustrated quest for autonomy. Can there be an independent or autonomous Kurdistan in Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Syria, [or] Armenia? As a united Kurdistan or as a state or states within the existing political boundaries? What would Kurdish independence mean to the future stability of the Middle East? What are the United States' policy interests with regards to the Kurds? Are they vital or important policy interests? Should we attempt to influence, either overtly or covertly, events as they unfold in Kurdistan? What are U.S. policy options?

1993

0558

Iraq in the Next Decade: Will Iraq Survive Until 2002?

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Graham E. Fuller. 1993. 98pp.

This note on Iraq is part of a series of country papers in a project that looks at long-term trends in the greater Middle East. This study examines the outlook for Iraq over the next ten years. Given the immense turmoil and uncertainty in Iraq today, the events of the near term are almost impossible to predict. Nonetheless, over the longer run, certain forces, geopolitical facts, trends, demographic, historical events, and international aspirations will all have a direct impact on Iraq, regardless of who is then in power in Baghdad. The research reported here analyzes those factors the author believes are most important over the longer run, based on historical readings, economic trends, and the general direction of politics in the Middle East in the past few decades. A work of this kind directed at the future cannot cite extensive supporting material since the bulk of the literature on Iraq over the past decade is historical, with few direct clues for the future. For this reason, direct analysis by the author and a reflection of his views must play a major part in the study. Apart from his reading, the author has also spent many hours in the United States and overseas interviewing Iraqis in exile, including Shia, Sunnis, and Kurds, secularists and fundamentalists. Their names are not cited because of political sensitivities. There is no unanimity of views among them, but taken together, a more comprehensive view begins to emerge about what these exiles think about the past and future of Iraq.

0656

Stopping the Emergence of Nuclear Weapon States in the Third World: An Examination of the Iraq Weapons Inspection Program.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Douglas A. Block. January 31, 1993. 43pp.

The end of the Gulf War and the implementation of United Nation (UN) resolutions uncovered an Iraqi multi-billion dollar nuclear weapons program. Iraq's ability to pursue this clandestine program for more than a decade, despite periodic inspections, suggests that the myriad of treaties and agreements designed to curb proliferation may be inadequate. Clearly more must be done to deter and counter the spread of these deadly weapons. The UN weapons inspections in Iraq provide insight into possible solutions to the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology in the developing world. This study examines the policy and operational aspects associ-

ated with an intrusive United Nations inspection program. In its final analysis, this paper suggests that an effective challenge inspection program is a necessary element in countering the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Further, it suggests that the UN, as the only internationally accepted enforcement organization, be fully engaged in nonproliferation issues and support the challenge inspection program.

0699

Kurdish Problem: Federalism in an Emerging State.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Clarence J. Moran. April 15, 1993. 44pp.

Whether the Kurds will successfully achieve democracy for Iraq and autonomy for Kurdistan is more a decision in the hands of U.S. policy makers than [those of] the Kurds. Before that question can be addressed the larger issue of "autonomy today, but a separate state tomorrow" has to be considered. No one wants to support a separate state which would mean dissolution of the territorial integrity of Iraq and upsetting the regional balance of power. That would also run counter to respecting the concept of a nation's sovereignty, which is so vital to maintaining order in the world. When the national interests of the U.S. are considered, especially in the strategic sense or in terms of natural resources, it is difficult to make a case for supporting the Kurds beyond humanitarian assistance. The Persian Gulf War, however, presented the U.S. a new scenario, highlighted by President Bush's call for the Kurds in northern Iraq and the Shia in southern Iraq to rise against Saddam Hussein. The resulting crushing of both revolts by Saddam and ensuing flight and agony suffered by the Kurds brought them on center stage for the world to view. The U.S., along with coalition governments, in response to media pressure and the humanitarian needs of the fleeing Kurds, established a security zone in northern Iraq for the Kurds and later in southern Iraq for the Shia. This has effectively split Iraq into three parts. The Kurds, by holding elections, establishing a government, and providing political and civil administration in their area, Iraqi Kurdistan, now in essence have *de facto* autonomy.

0743

Republic of Iraq: A Country Study.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Patricia A. Flannery. April 16, 1993. 27pp.

The pattern of diplomatic relations between Iraq and the United States is riddled with inconsistencies and mistrust. The recent flurry of UN violations, bombings, denials, retribution, and exaggerated rhetoric is merely the latest chapter in what may be the most frustrating and misguided U.S. national

security strategy in the Southwest Asia Gulf region. In order to understand the current contentious issues, it is necessary to review a little of Iraq's history, demography, geography, and religions.

0770 **How Has Saddam Hussein Survived?: Economic Sanctions 1990–1993.**

National Defense University, Washington, D.C., Patrick Clawson. August 1993. 87pp.

Sanctions have lately become a mechanism of choice for addressing international disputes—but do they work? In its first forty-five years, the Security Council of the United Nations had imposed sanctions only twice—on Rhodesia in 1966 and on South Africa in 1977. Then, in August 1991, the Security Council put comprehensive sanctions on Iraq (Resolution 661). These were followed in 1991–92 by arms embargoes on the republics of the former Yugoslavia (Resolution 713, September 1991) and Somalia (Resolution 733, January 1992). That spring, Libya was put under an arms embargo, a ban on aircraft flights, and a requirement to reduce diplomatic staff (Resolution 748, March 1992). The sanctions against Yugoslavia (consisting then only of Serbia and Montenegro) were widened to include many economic and financial transactions (Resolution 757, May 1992, and Resolution 787, November 1992). Even the Organization of American States, for the first time in its history, imposed sanctions—on Haiti in October 1991.

0857 **Agricultural Loan Guarantees: National Advisory Council's Critical Views on Loans to Iraq Withheld.**

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., NA. October 1993. 34pp.

As requested by the Chairmen of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry and the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs and the House Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice, the GAO examined how the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies (NAC) advised the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) on its agricultural export credit guarantee programs to Iraq, particularly regarding the issue of country risk. The case of USDA credit guarantee proposals for Iraq reveals that misconceptions exist among NAC member and participating agencies about the role and responsibilities of the NAC. In this report, the GAO discusses both the history and process that enabled NAC members to approve over \$6 billion in USDA loan and credit guarantee proposals for Iraq, despite Iraq's poor creditworthiness.

1994

0891

Iraq: U.S. Military Items Exported or Transferred to Iraq in the 1980s.
General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., NA. February 1994. 22pp.
In response to a request by the Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the GAO made this review because of concerns that certain Middle East countries may have served as transshipment points for U.S. arms ultimately bound for Iraq, and [due to] the GAO's 1989 classified report findings that three other countries made unauthorized sales of coproduced equipment to Iran and Iraq. The objective was to determine (1) what the U.S. policy and practices were regarding sales of U.S. military and related equipment to Iraq during the 1980s and what sales were approved, (2) whether there were patterns of diversion of U.S. arms from the Middle East and three additional countries to Iraq during the 1980s, and (3) whether a shipment of U.S.-origin mortar bomb fuses was diverted from the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to Iraq.

0913

Operation Provide Comfort: A Strategic Analysis.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, David E. Clary. April 1994. 36pp.

The sight of seven hundred thousand refugees fleeing the wrath of Saddam Hussein's army into the rugged mountains of northern Iraq brought world attention to the plight of the Kurds in the aftermath of the Gulf War in April 1991. In conjunction with [other] world leaders, President Bush established a policy to assist those refugees and return them to their homes. President Bush's policy was fulfilled through a successful operational military strategy that evolved from that policy. An important key to the success of the strategy was translation of policy into a clear and concise mission statement and mission objectives. These objectives then utilized coalition military, international relief organization, and private voluntary organization resources to successfully execute the mission tasks that flowed from the mission objectives.

Reel 8

Iran

1988

0001

The Role of Airpower in the Iran-Iraq War.

Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Ronald E. Bergquist. December 1988. 96pp.

This report is an outgrowth of questions raised in the fall of 1980 and spring of 1981 about the conduct of air operations in the war between Iran and Iraq. Unlike previous Middle Eastern wars, this one had continued over a protracted period while we in the United States and in the U.S. Air Force had been able to observe it only from a distance. As the war haltingly progressed, we began to have a fair picture of what was going on in the air war, though our information was far from complete or detailed. The sketchy picture that emerged, however, seemed to indicate the combatants were using their airpower assets in ways contrary to our expectations. Most notably, it seemed that both sides seemed content not to use their airpower and relied instead on ground forces for most combat operations. This report examines the air war between Iran and Iraq, but rather than attempt simply to lay out what happened in the war, it attempts to discern why Iran and Iraq used their airpower as they did. The results of this study do not call into question any basic U.S. Air Force airpower approaches, but they do highlight significant considerations that affect the use of airpower by Third World nations.

1990

0097

Iran: Soviet Interests, U.S. Concerns.

National Defense University, Washington, D.C., Ralph A. Cossa. July 1990. 108pp.

From the time the Mongol yoke was loosened from Moscow's neck in the sixteenth century to the Bolshevik Revolution four hundred years later, the Russian Empire grew from a fifteen thousand square mile duchy to the largest nation on earth, encompassing over 8.5 million square miles. During this period, and especially since the beginning of the nineteenth century, large segments of what was once the Persian Empire have fallen under Moscow's control—sometimes temporarily, other times permanently. A comprehensive history of Russian and Soviet expansionism is beyond the scope of this report. But a generalized sketch of Russia's growth to its

current borders, along with an analysis of past Russian and Soviet penetrations into the territory of modern-day Iran, is most instructive. The emphasis here will be on Moscow's motives and on the identification of those factors that may have prompted both the entry into and the subsequent withdrawal from Iran.

1992

0205 **Iranian Operational Warfighting Ability: An Historical Assessment and View to the Future.**

Army Command and General Staff College School of Advanced Military Studies, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Mark J. Davis. May 18, 1992. 49pp.

This monograph provides an assessment of Iranian warfighting abilities at the operational level during the eight years of the Iran-Iraq War. It also looks at post-war Iranian arms purchases and training exercises to predict future Iranian operational warfighting abilities. The assessment of Iranian warfighting abilities is framed within the structure established by United States Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) *Pamphlet 11-9, Blueprint of the Battlefield*. The pamphlet details six Operational Operating Systems (OOSs): operational movement and maneuver, operational fires, operational protection, operational command and control, operational intelligence, and operational support. This monograph concludes that future Iranian warfighting abilities at the operational level will be anchored on a formidable missile capability and a growing, maturing Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) equipped and trained to conduct both conventional and unconventional warfare.

0254 **Directory of Iranian Officials.**

Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C., NA. September 1992. 140pp.

The Directory of Iranian Officials identifies individuals who hold positions in selected party or other public organizations in the Islamic Republic of Iran. It also provides a guide to the internal structure of some of these organizations and an explanation of their functions where necessary. An index of major organizations and an index of personalities follow the directory listing.

1993

0394

Emerging Iran: Implications for United States Foreign Policy.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, David A. Schantz. February 15, 1993. 36pp.

The revolution in Iran during 1979 represented a major challenge for the United States. Through its sponsored hostage-taking and international terrorism, the new leadership in Tehran became a hated symbol to the American public. Washington, as the remaining economic and military superpower, cannot ignore Iran, as it occupies a central position in the Southern Asian land mass. With the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Iran borders seven countries of key concern: Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkey, and Iraq. In addition, five other strategically important countries lie in close proximity in the Gulf, to include: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates. Maintaining peace in the Middle East is an evolving process whereby the United States continues to struggle to keep regional order and balance. Critical toward regional balance is the importance each Middle Eastern country plays and how they vie for dominance. The future role of Iran is important for long-term stability in the Middle East. This paper will examine Iran emerging as a major force in the Middle East and implications toward United States foreign policy decisions. The paper describes the buildup of military and nuclear forces as examples of Iran reemerging as a regional power. Considerations will highlight the effectiveness of the Iranian government as it influences foreign policy decisions and, finally, implications and recommendations for United States foreign policy toward Iran.

0430

Iran's Growing Nuclear Weapons Program: A Catalyst for Regional Instability in the Middle East.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, John J. Deyermund. March 10, 1993. 52pp.

Following the end of the cold war, the United States as well as other nations around the world now find themselves in a state of political, economic, and military transition. While the U.S. and other nations, such as the Islamic Republic of Iran, are undergoing significant increases in military spending. This increase has been primarily in the area of conventional forces; however, there is growing evidence that Iran is also attempting to develop a nuclear weapons capability as well. This study examines Iran's nuclear weapons program in detail and Tehran's increasing ability to emerge as a regional power in the Middle East.

0482

Iran: A Study in Strategic Importance.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Charles E. Orck. April 1993. 38pp.

Iran is a country that played a significant role in the strategy of the United States in the Persian Gulf during the cold war. As a result of the 1979 Iranian revolution, the taking of American hostages, and state-sponsored terrorism by Iran, the United States has shunned all relations with Iran. Indeed, the United States supported Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war. But after the 1991 Gulf War, which destroyed the offensive military power of Iraq, the long-term strategic balance of power has shifted to Iran. This country, which guards access to the Persian Gulf and has one of the largest populations in the region, is arming itself with unconventional weapons and probably developing a nuclear capability, to the alarm of its neighbors. Iran is also developing, attempting to spread its influence into the new Central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union. Consequently, an Iran that is friendly, or at least not unfriendly, is vital to the stability of a region that the United States has declared is in its strategic interest.

0520

Foreign Policies and National Interests of Iran: A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Trudy H. Clark. April 19, 1993. 29pp.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the resultant Gulf War of 1991 focused world attention on the Middle East. What has been little noticed until recently is the potential real beneficiary of the Gulf War: Iran. Since the death of the Ayatollah Khomeini, founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in June 1989, Iran has been a nation in search of itself. Watching with renewed interest are the United States and the Persian Gulf nations. The signals from Iran are confusing. A description of Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani as "a pragmatic militant," reflects what has been called Iran's "two track policy to expand both its political influence and its military power." Evidence of a pragmatic track includes such positive developments as supporting the coalition forces in the Gulf war against Iraq, helping to free the Western hostages in Lebanon, seeking rapprochement with Saudi Arabia and other Muslim nations, and cultivation [of] foreign investments. The revolutionary track, meanwhile, still embraces radical terrorists, seeks programs for nuclear/chemical/biological weapons, opposes Arab-Israeli peace talks, and is funding an expensive military buildup. The Defense Department official implies that Iran will be either revolutionary or pragmatic. A second

view, as implied in the “two track policy” explanation, is that Iran is a wolf in sheep’s clothing—adopting pragmatic measures to gain the means to pursue its real revolutionary goal of dominating the Persian Gulf. This paper explores Iran’s current foreign policies and will attempt to show that the pragmatic moderation of President Rafsanjani is the shrewd means to buy the time Iran needs before it once again seeks preeminence in the Gulf region.

0549

War with Iran: Considerations for the Next Coalition Campaign.

Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, Joseph B. Hoeing, Jr. June 18, 1993. 28pp.

Western nations and moderate Arab states view Iran’s resurgent military strength with concern. Allied forces may be called upon in the future to form a coalition and conduct operations to deter Iran from interfering with the affairs of other nations. Such a coalition would face many problems similar to, and many different from, those which faced the nations participating in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Barring Iranian use of weapons of mass destruction, the coalition would likely implement a campaign plan which included political, diplomatic, economic, and military measures with the limited goal of neutralizing Iran’s capability to interfere in neighboring countries and adjacent air and sea space. The military sequence of events that would help achieve this end state might consist of the neutralization of key Iranian command and control nodes; the infrastructure supporting weapons of mass destruction; and offensive air, naval, and missile forces. Yet the coalition would be confronting an enemy with both the capability and will to vigorously resist. It is therefore likely that the application of limited military force, together with the questionable effectiveness of diplomatic, political, and economic measures, would result in little, if any, long-term change in Iranian foreign policy.

1994

0577

Iran and the Postwar Security in the Persian Gulf.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Nikola B. Schahgaldian. 1994. 42pp.

This report examines key elements of Iran’s present foreign policy attitudes and its likely future direction over the next few years under the impact of recent domestic Iranian political changes and the emerging postwar security environment in the Persian Gulf region. As such, it identifies prevailing trends and tendencies in Iran’s regional and international behavior and highlights Iran’s attempts to define a new regional role for itself. The report

includes an assessment of the significance and likely impact of the Soviet Union's disappearance on short-term Iranian policy calculations and discusses the implications of these developments for U.S. policy in Iran and the Persian Gulf region. The research findings of this report should be of interest to policy planners and analysts concerned with political developments in Iran and Southwest Asia.

0619 **The Iranian Revolution: A Case Study on Coercive Power Consolidation.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Mark J. Roberts. March 1994. 224pp.

The author examines the Khomeini regime's process of power consolidation before, during, and after the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Using this event as a case study in coercive power consolidation, the author determines the Khomeini regime's co-optation and incorporation (through coercion and persuasion) of the Iranian military was the first and crucial step in this process. He further examines the Islamic Republic of Iran's use of the military to then consolidate its power by suppressing ethnic minorities, political opposition groups, and religious minorities. Throughout the thesis, the Khomeini regime's practice of demonizing its enemies will be examined as a principal component of the power consolidation process. The major conclusion of this study is that the essence of regime legitimization was grounded in the incorporation of the army as a necessary element of power. The regime then used the army to suppress those elements of society that it deemed threatening or unnecessary.

0843 **Limits in the Seas: Iran's Maritime Claims.**

U.S. Department of State Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, Washington, D.C., NA. March 16, 1994. 37pp.

This paper is one of a series issued by the Office of Ocean Affairs, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs in the Department of State. The aim of the series is to set forth the basis of national arrangements for the measurement of marine areas by coastal states. On May 2, 1993, the government of Iran completed legislative action on an "Act on the Marine Areas of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Persian Gulf and the Oman Sea." On July 6, 1993, Iran notified the Secretary General of the UN of the legislation. The legislation provides a reasonably comprehensive set of maritime claims to a territorial sea, contiguous zone, exclusive economic zone (EEZ), and continental shelf and Iran's jurisdictional claims

within those areas. Many of these claims do not comport with the requirements of international law as reflected in the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. The act replaces earlier Iranian legislation.

0880

Iran's Strategic Intentions and Capabilities.

National Defense University, Washington, D.C., Patrick Clawson. April 1994. 223pp.

Iran appears to be pursuing an assertive foreign policy that confronts the United States on a variety of points: the Middle East peace process, the stability of moderate Muslim states, terrorism (such as the death threat to [author Salmon] Rushdie), security in the Persian Gulf, and nuclear proliferation.

Reel 9

Iran cont.

1994 cont.

0001

The Question of Iranian Occupation of the Islands, Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb and Abu Musa Belonging to the United Arab Emirates.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Mohamad Hilal Al-Kaabi. May 17, 1994. 115pp.

Over the years, there have been approximately 330 articles written about the Greater and Lesser Tunb Islands. The question of rightful ownership of the islands since their illegal invasion and occupation by the Iranian Government remains. This monograph reviews the historical documentation which demonstrates, without a shadow of a doubt, that Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb and Abu Musa originally belonged to the United Arab Emirates, who remain firm in their claim to original legal ownership.

0116

The Iran-Iraq War: Failing to Address the Center of Gravity.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Hugh F.T. Hoffman III. May 31, 1994. 77pp.

This monograph argues that a strategic center of gravity analysis is the primary task a nation must accomplish before prosecuting a war. The author, Lieutenant Colonel Hoffman, uses the Iran-Iraq War as a vehicle to illustrate how such a strategic analysis might be done and what happens when nations fail to make their enemy's strategic center of gravity the object of decisive action in war. In doing so, Lieutenant Colonel Hoffman presents

a holistic model for a strategic center of gravity that can be used as both an analytic and a heuristic tool. Using this model to analyze the two belligerents in this long and fruitless war, he demonstrates the thought process involved in the employment of his five necessary conditions of a center of gravity. He concludes that strategic centers of gravity are almost invariably composite systems that comprise critical subcomponents of the four elements of national power: the government, the military, the polity, and the economy.

0193 **Determinants of Iranian Foreign Policy: The Impact of Systemic, Domestic and Ideologic Factors.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, James H. Kruse. June 1994. 122pp.

This thesis attempts to explain the origin of state behavior in international politics. It compares the arguments of state-level theorists (who emphasize the decisive role that internal attributes, including domestic politics, political elite, and regime ideology), to that of structuralists, (who focus on the decisive impact of the structure of the international system). The difference is crucial; do we examine domestic politics in order to predict state behavior in international affairs or do we assume that any state, given its place in the international system, will act similarly without regard to these internal factors? The case study examined is Iran, from the early 1960s to 1989. During this period, the international system remained bipolar, dominated by the U.S.-USSR rivalry. The internal attributes of Iran changed radically, however, as a result of its 1979 revolution. With such a fundamental shift, state-level theorists would expect a radical change in Iranian foreign policy. With the continuity of the international system, structuralists would expect essential continuity in Iran's external behavior. This thesis shows that despite rhetorical changes, Iranian foreign policy remained fundamentally the same under the Shah and the Ayatollah. The structural approach is a more useful guide to understanding state behavior.

0315 **Iran's Security Dilemma.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Dale R. Davis. June 1994. 126pp.

Since the fall of Mohammed Reza Shah in 1979, the Islamic Republic of Iran has remained politically isolated from the United States and the West. After eight years of brutal war with Iraq, Iran has embarked on a major effort to rebuild its devastated military. A major element of its military reconstruction has been the acquisition of advanced weapons systems with strategic applications, such as long-range bombers, submarines, advanced under-

water mines, and ballistic missiles. Iran is also suspected of pursuing the development and acquisition of weapons of mass destruction. Given Iran's latent hostility towards the United States and its past willingness to engage in terrorism, these activities are a most serious concern. This thesis will examine Iran's strategic motivations, beliefs, intentions, and capabilities, as well as the impact of these capabilities on U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf. It will also examine a range of U.S. policy options in response to Iran's pursuit of strategic military capabilities.

- 0441 **Iranian Considerations for Wargaming from the Iranian Perspective.**
Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, Edward C. Cardon and James A. Phelps. June 17, 1994. 148pp.

This paper provides Iranian considerations for war gaming from the Iranian perspective. The purpose of this paper is to provide the player representing Iran with a national security strategy. To do this, the paper begins with an analysis of Iran's political aims and military capabilities for the next ten years. This analysis leads to a strategy that can be used to fight Iranian assets at the national level to achieve its goals. Regional dynamics present both opportunities and challenges as Iran fights to regain its position as a dominant regional power.

Israel

1990

- 0589 **The Impact of the Intifada on Palestinian Leadership Development.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Jeanne Marie Nazimek. December 1990. 103pp.

This thesis focuses on the leadership, both internal and external, of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories of Israel, in an effort to determine if any internal political groups exist that are capable of challenging the authority of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Background information includes the rise of Palestinian nationalism and the history of politics in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the 1967 War. The primary factor influencing the current leadership transformations is the Palestinian uprising, or intifada, that began in December of 1987 and continues today. The internal leadership of the uprising, including the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising, the Islamic fundamentalist groups, and the traditional notables are all considered as possible chal-

lenges to the PLO's leadership. The external PLO leadership, its primary left-wing components, and their relationship to the intifada are also presented.

1992

0692

Water and Security in the Jordan Basin.

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Peter Francis Skrmetti. 1992. 122pp.

What is the relationship between scarce international water resources and security in the Jordan River basin and what are its implications for conflict? The importance of the water problem in the Middle East is that, in a region already divided by religious, nationalistic, and ethnic strife and already burdened by rapid population growth and limited resources, demand has exceeded supply of the critical resource of water. This could result first in destabilization of specific regimes and then in regional warfare for the control of available water resources. The objective of this report is to use the case study of water related conflict in the Jordan basin to construct a model for examining water-related conflicts which can then be applied throughout the Middle East.

0814

Economy of Force: A Total Army, the Israel Defense Force Model.

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Charles E. Heller. March 15, 1992. 54pp.

The author of this report uses the IDF [Israeli Defense Force] as a model in much the same way the U.S. Army has traditionally examined foreign armies. He describes the force and homes in on the significant aspects such as its force structure and mix, officer corps and equipment. Having examined the model, he rejects what may not be transferrable and then lists what his examination has revealed as relevant to today's post-cold war U.S. Army. For each of the diverse yet relevant aspects, the author shows how one might superimpose them on U.S. ground forces and even touches on the significance of the joint lessons the IDF offers.

0868

Country Marketing Plan for Israel, FY 1993.

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. July 1992. 36pp.

The report describes the Israeli commercial and financial environment as well as information on trade and investment issues for the fiscal year 1993. Profiles for twenty individual industry sectors include information on investment opportunities in Israel.

0904

Yitzhaq [Yitzhak] Rabin: A Political Profile.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. July 29, 1992. 16pp.

The record of public statements by Prime Minister Rabin reflects a strong, lifelong commitment to fundamental nationalist ideals combined with flexibility in his approach to resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This collection of selected statements—spanning his previous tenure as prime minister (1974–1977) and defense minister (1984–1990), as well as the period immediately prior to and since the June 23, 1992 election—show the high degree of consistency in this commitment. Rabin's views on issues such as U.S.-Israeli relations, the peace process, the Palestinian question and territorial compromise fall within the mainstream of Israeli political thought. Rabin endorses territorial compromise and flexibility on the Arab-Israeli conflict but categorically rejects a return to the 1967 Israeli borders. Similarly, he favors autonomy for the Palestinians within the territories but is adamant that a separate Palestinian state should never be created between Israel and Jordan. In addition, Rabin maintained a hard line on Israeli security, insisting that violence and terrorism will not force Israel's hand.

0920

Palestinians Warily Anticipate Next Phase of Negotiations.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. August 20, 1992. 13pp.

Conflicting statements by mainstream Palestinian leaders from both the PLO and the occupied territories suggest that, while Palestinians believe that the recent change of government in Israel improves the chances for real progress in Middle East peace talks, they are finding it difficult to formulate a clear negotiating strategy in response to the new Israeli government's more flexible stance and in light of potential divisions within the Palestinian movement over terms for an agreement. In addition, Palestinians evidently remain uneasy at the prospect of engaging in hard bargaining with Israel and continue to look to the U.S. to pressure Israel into accommodating Palestinian concerns.

Reel 10

Israel cont.

1992 cont.

0001

The Arab Boycott of Israel: Economic Political Warfare Against Israel. *Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Eliyau Zeev Gilat. December 1992. 119pp.*

This thesis examines the effectiveness of the Arab boycott of Israel from an economic and a political perspective. This study covers the Arab boycott from 1946 until 1990. It demonstrates that, economically and politically, the Arab boycott had three distinct phases. The first of these was the period from the declaration of the Arab boycott in 1946 until the 1973 War. The second phase took place between the 1973 War and the 1979 peace agreement between Israel and Egypt. The third phase began with the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement and ends in 1990. This study suggests that the boycott was most effective when supported by the threat of an oil embargo in effect between 1973 and 1979. U.S. actions against the Arab boycott were also effective. Finally, this thesis contends that the 1979 peace agreement between Israel and Egypt brought frustration to those who expected that Israel's trade with such a close and large country as Egypt would open a huge trade market. In sum, the Arab boycott did not succeed in destroying Israel's economy, as was its declared intention.

1993

0120

Evaluation of West Bank/Gaza Program of Save the Children Foundation.

Chemonics International, Washington, D.C., James M. Pines, Janet W. Lowenthal, and George Odeh. January 1993. 85pp.

This evaluation of the seven-and-a-half-year cooperative agreement between AID and Save the Children in the West Bank and Gaza Strip began with preparatory work in Washington, D.C., in late October 1992. From October 31 through November 24, the team then undertook field studies in the West Bank and Gaza. The Save the Children Foundation performed effectively in accomplishing the planned objectives of the grant, which included outcomes useful for strengthening the capacity of local groups to coordinate development activities within their own communities. Activities under the grant included agriculture, water and sewerage systems, health, education, and training. The grant also emphasized women's activities and

enhancing women's role in decision making and implementation. During the life of the project, the grantee implemented, funded, or provided training for 142 of the 180 originally planned activities. Failure to complete all planned activities stemmed primarily from difficulties in obtaining project clearances from Israeli authorities and other difficulties associated with the political context in the Occupied Territories.

0205

The Economic Impact of the Immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C., James Vanderhoff. April 1992. 32pp.

The immigration of a million Soviet Jews to Israel over the next three to five years is likely to have disastrous short-term effects on the Israeli economy. The long-term effects could prove to be a great blessing to the country or an unmitigated disaster. A favorable outcome will depend on how the Israeli government handles the absorption of the Soviet Jews, on making major changes to the nation's socialist economic policies, and on changing its hard-line stand regarding the occupied territories. The issues concerning the immigration and resettlement of perhaps a million Jews from the former Soviet Union are numerous and affect every aspect of Israeli life. The issues, and the controversies surrounding them, have implications of economic, social, and political natures.

0237

Israeli Sources of Conflict and Change Affecting the Middle East.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Patricia J. Harrington. April 1993. 41pp.

The stateless Palestinian, the occupied territories of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights, and water are all sources of conflict and change within the Middle East, especially with Israel. Each issue has long been a subject of disputes. Israeli views have changed over time, and the United States has usually supported Israel. Only during the Bush administration did the United States begin to take a tougher stance with Israel. Negotiations are ongoing with the Israelis, Arabs, and Palestinians. These issues will have to be resolved before peace is possible.

0278

The Effect of the Immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel on Israel's Economy and Human Resources.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Israel Shafir. June 1993. 121pp.

This thesis investigates the expected effects of the 1990s immigration wave of Jews from the former USSR to Israel in terms of the economic and social aspects. The influx of some five hundred thousand immigrants has

incremented Israel's population by some 10 percent in three years. The immigrants' human capital is considered exceptionally high in educational and occupational terms. It can give Israel a labor force of unparalleled quality, assuming it will not be wasted. The Israeli economic structure is heavily regulated and lacks incentives for entrepreneurialism. The challenge facing Israel is to transform its economic political and social structure so it is geared toward harnessing the special opportunity accorded by the immigrants. In the fast changing global market, capitalizing on the immigrants characteristics is a key for Israel's success. The immigrants pose a burden as well, in the form of public debt to be incurred by the veteran population in the near future for their successful assimilation. Israel's ability to find the right approach to their absorption depends on its ability to forge a strategic vision for the future and follow it to implementation.

0399 **Military Sales to Israel and Egypt: DOD Needs Stronger Controls over U.S.-Financed Procurements.**

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., NA. July 1993. 51pp.

In response to a request from the Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs, the GAO reviewed the Foreign Military Financing programs for Israel and Egypt. GAO's objectives were to (1) determine why Israel and Egypt often purchase U.S.-funded goods and services directly from contractors rather than through the U.S. government and (2) identify any weaknesses in the program. GAO also examined the procurement procedures of each country. The DOD [Department of Defense] announced that effective January 1, 1994 they will discontinue U.S. financing of direct commercial sales under this program.

0450 **U.S.-Israel Arrow/ACES Program: Cost, Technical Proliferation and Management Concerns.**

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., NA. August 1993. 24pp.

In response to a request by Robert Byrd, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, the GAO reviewed the U.S.-Israel Arrow/Arrow Continuation Experiments (ACES) missile program. Specifically, they examined (1) the program's cost, schedule, and technical risks in an effort to determine whether the Arrow/ACES program will provide the most cost-effective alternative for meeting Israel's ballistic missile defense needs; (2) the question of Israel's record on making unauthorized sales of U.S.-origin defense articles and technologies, whether Israel engaged in missile proliferation activities, and to what extent these factors were considered in

the decision to extend the Arrow program into the ACES phase; and (3) the extent to which the U.S. is monitoring the use of Arrow technologies and funds.

0474 **Entrenchment of the Status Quo in the Arab-Israeli Conflict.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Lili D. Mann. August 1993. 170pp.

This study examines those endemic factors which contribute to the entrenchment of the status quo in the Arab-Israeli conflict. By removing the dynamics of the cold war, the particular circumstances of the main actors—Israel, the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Syria, the United States, and the United Nations—become apparent. It is the thesis of this paper that the underlying causes in the creation and perpetuation of the Arab-Israeli conflict include (1) the importance of ideology and security to Israel, (2) a lack of political will among the players to alter the status quo, (3) a plethora of systemic organizational constraints, and (4) limitations faced by the UN that inhibit its usefulness as an intermediary. While compelling arguments should move the actors toward a resolution of the conflict, particularly when a window of opportunity now exists in the aftermath of Desert Storm, the factors cited above comprise powerful counterforces which both serve to sustain Israel's de facto borders and provide a pretext for Arab hostility.

0644 **Recent Developments in the Middle East Peace Process.**

Department of State Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., NA. September 1993. 28pp.

This report contains materials relating to the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles and the initialing of the Israeli-Jordanian common agenda. Included are such items as Secretary of State Warren Christopher's address at Columbia University, a statement at the White House by President Clinton, letters between Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and PLO Executive Committee Chairman Arafat, the letter of invitation to the Madrid Middle East Peace Conference, and a list of UN Security Council resolutions on the Middle East.

0672 **The Future of Palestine.**

National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies, Washington, D.C., Eugene V. Rostow. November 1993. 23pp.

The friends of Israel throughout the world were startled when the news of the agreement between Israel and the PLO became public during the last days of August 1993. Some were fearful, others euphoric. Voices of equal experience and authority proclaimed both the doom of Israel and the

fulfillment of the Zionist dream. Some saw the dawning of peace; others, nearly inevitable war. Whatever they said, however, all who spoke, and millions who remained silent, were in fact equally troubled, concerned, confused, and uncertain; the event itself is one of great complexity, which can be understood only as a function of many variables. All recognized in it both risks and opportunities for Israel. No one could be positive about the balance between risks and opportunities. This article attempts a preliminary assessment of the Israel-PLO agreement in its context of law, history, strategy, and politics. Nothing less can be useful as the basis for policy opinions and recommendations.

1994

0695

The Gaza Strip and West Bank: A Map Folio.

Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C., NA. January 1994. 27pp.
Contents: Regional Perspective and Area Comparison; The Gaza Strip and West Bank; Israel's Origins and Evolution; Economic Activity and Land Use in the Gaza Strip and West Bank; Selected Water Resources in the Gaza Strip and West Bank; Selected Natural Resources in the Gaza Strip and West Bank; Israeli Settlements in the Gaza Strip, December 1993; Israeli Settlements in East Jerusalem and Vicinity, December 1993; Israeli Settlements in the West Bank, December 1993; Israeli-Controlled Land in the Gaza Strip and West Bank; Restrictions on Land Use in the West Bank; Closures and Requisitioned Land in the Gaza Strip and West Bank; Jewish Land Use on Israeli-Controlled Land in the Gaza Strip and West Bank; Official UNRWA Palestinian Refugee Camps, November 1993; Jericho and Vicinity; Transportation Routes in the Gaza Strip and Southern West Bank; Text on Geographic, Political, and Economic Facts of the Gaza Strip and West Bank.

0722

Report on Economic Conditions in Israel, 1992–1993.

U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., NA. January 5, 1994. 17pp.

Israel, with a population of 5.4 million and a GNP of \$69.5 billion in 1993, has a per capita income of nearly \$13,000. The government of Israel (GOI) has been relatively successful in stabilizing the economy in the face of a massive inflow of immigrants which has increased the population by around 10 percent since the end of 1989. Real GDP growth has averaged around 6 percent per year over the last three years; employment has risen at an annual rate of 4 percent; the market-based exchange system has improved export competitiveness; and inflation has been reduced to around 11

percent. However, unemployment increased from 8.9 percent in 1989 to 11.2 percent in 1992 before declining to 10.5 percent in 1993. While GDP growth has slowed to around 4 percent in 1993, expanding business investment and governmental infrastructure investment coupled with sustained export growth provide the basis for a resumption of 6 percent average annual GDP growth in 1994 and 1995.

0739

Terrorism as a Psychological Operation: A Comparative Analysis of the Zionist and Palestinian Terror Campaigns.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Curtis D. Boyd. March 24, 1994. 279pp.

Terrorism is a quintessential psychological operation involving the use of violence to convey a message to multiple audiences. As a psychological operation, terrorism produces two effects, one propaganda and the other psychological warfare. The propaganda effects are informative, persuasive, or compelling among neutral, friendly, or potentially friendly target audiences. The psychological warfare effects are provocative, disruptive, and coercive among enemy or hostile target audiences. By comparing the Zionist and the Palestinian terrorist campaigns, this thesis demonstrates how terrorism produces psychological warfare and propaganda effects on multiple audiences and the consequences of each. The success of the Jewish resistance resulted from a strategy of terrorism that identified the psychological vulnerabilities of certain audiences, controlled for the psychological warfare and propaganda effects on those audiences, and anticipated audience response. By comparison, the Palestinian resistance did not control for the psychological warfare and propaganda effects on multiple audiences. Palestinian terrorism was exclusively psychological warfare, which failed to propagandize the cause beyond their national constituency. In either case, the success or failure of terrorism should be understood in part by viewing their campaigns of terror through the prism of psychological operations.

Reel 11

Jordan

1993

0001

Annual Agricultural Situation—Jordan, 1992.

U.S. Attaché, Ankara, Turkey, NA. August 13, 1993. 18pp.

Jordan remains a large importer of foodstuffs. Government policy, however, continues to focus on increasing domestic agricultural production, particularly strategic commodities such as wheat, feedstuffs, and red meat in an effort to reduce growing dependence on imported commodities. Jordanian imports of grains include wheat, barley, corn, and rice, which were mainly imported from the U.S. In addition to grains, Jordan imports meat and live animals, sugar, dairy products, and oilseed products. The U.S. has been a leading supplier of agricultural as well as nonagricultural commodities. Jordan's agricultural exports consist mainly of horticultural crops. In 1991, exports of fruits and vegetables to the Gulf countries were stopped completely, which resulted in severe financial losses for Jordan. However, early in 1992, Jordan resumed exports of fruits and vegetables to the Gulf countries. Additionally, it exports its fruits and vegetables to Central and Western Europe.

Kuwait

1991

0019

The Weinberger Doctrine and the Liberation of Kuwait.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Thomas R. Du Bois. May 1991. 27pp.

The August 1990 invasion of Kuwait by the armed forces of Iraq presents a unique opportunity to analyze United States national security decision making and military strategy development. The opportunity is unique, in that the analysis was real-time as the drama was played daily in capitals and media centers around the world. As U.S. policy and strategy were developed in response to the Iraqi invasion, the elements of the response were fiercely debated on the national and international stages. Adding to the uniqueness of the situation is its place in history as the first major military challenge in the post-cold war era. Indeed, it has been argued that the post-cold war era will be indelibly shaped by the actions of the international community in coming to grips with the aggression of Saddam Hussein

against sovereign Kuwait. This paper will analyze and assess the national security decision making progress employed by the Bush Administration in dealing with the Persian Gulf situation.

1992

0046 1992 Oil Survey—Kuwait.

U.S. Embassy, Kuwait City, Kuwait, NA. June 1992. 37pp.

Kuwait is a major actor in world oil markets. Its proven oil reserves, estimated at over 94 billion barrels, are exceeded only by those of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and the UAE. Internally, oil is the mainspring of the Kuwaiti economy, annually accounting for 45 percent of the GDP, 90 percent of export proceeds, and the majority of government revenues. Until the Iraqi invasion, there was little reason to believe that any of this would change significantly. This report provides an overview of the oil supply situation in Kuwait in the aftermath of the Iraqi invasion and of the destruction and reorganization of that country's oil industry.

0083 Persian Gulf: U.S. Business Participation in the Reconstruction of Kuwait.

General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., NA. November 1992. 16pp.

In response to a request by Senator John Glenn and Congressmen Douglas Applegate and Nick J. Rahall II, the GAO examined how the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Department of Commerce implemented their responsibilities under the Persian Gulf Conflict Supplemental Authorization and Personnel Benefits Act of 1991. Specifically, the GAO (1) analyzed Commerce's delay in meeting the reporting date for the U.S. government report on the extent of contracts awarded U.S. companies, (2) assessed the reliability of information used by Commerce in compiling its two reports, dated April 28 and October 5, 1992, and (3) analyzed the degree of competition used by the Corps of Engineers to award contracts and Corps efforts to encourage contracting for U.S. small and small disadvantaged businesses.

1993

0099 Directory of Business Contacts in Kuwait.

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. 1993. 63pp.

The Directory of Business Contacts in Kuwait contains lists of Kuwaiti firms that are importers of goods, agents/representatives of foreign firms, and potential customers. The lists are divided by industry sectors including: oil and gas field equipment, power generation, auto parts, pumps, valves and

compressors, telecommunications, air conditioning and refrigeration, computer hardware and software, avionics and ground support, building materials and construction, safety and security, medical, home and office furniture, trucking and transportation, cosmetics and toiletries, chemicals, boats and marine, marble, and textiles and apparel. The directory is useful for American firms interested in doing business in Kuwait, because it can be used to find Kuwaiti contacts and customers. The directory is not exclusive. Updates of several of the Kuwaiti business contacts lists can be found on the National Trade Data Bank (NTDB).

0162

The State of Kuwait.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Salem M. Al-Sorour. April 14, 1993. 37pp.

Kuwait's history has passed through a dramatic period in modern history. Its people, regardless of tribe or nationality, were enjoying the fruit of the peace and the prosperity created by careful management of the country's resources associated with its traditions, natural environment, and its remarkable program since the discovery of oil. The Kuwaitis were proud to talk of their growth in education, modern health care facilities, scientific progress, their work in support of the arts, promotion of the peace, and international understanding. Its peace was shattered by Iraq, which almost destroyed this country that the rest of the world knew and loved. There are few people who really know what took place inside the country. The ordinary citizens who remained during this period will never ever forget the bitter experience, which has changed both Kuwait and its people. As a result, today they are more determined to create a peaceful future based upon justice and deterrence. Kuwait's culture was heavily targeted by the Iraqi forces, which tried to destroy all symbols of its nationhood. Its oil wells were set on fire by the hundreds. The Iraqis even looted the national museum and burnt down every thing inside, including Boom Al-Muhalab, which was built in 1937 and was one of the finest rail trading vessels to work out of Kuwait in this century. The Iraqis also denied health care to Kuwaiti people including immature babies, old people, and handicapped. What remained signified a grim reminder of Iraq's violent efforts to erase Kuwait from the whole map. However, the people always maintained faith in justice, which eventually came carried to them by free and honest nations. Kuwait will forever remain grateful to them.

- 0199 **1994 Country Marketing Plan for Kuwait.**
International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. October 1, 1993. 66pp.
The 1994 Country Marketing Plan (CMP) for Kuwait was prepared by the U.S. Embassy's Foreign Commercial Service staff in Kuwait and outlines the U.S. government's marketing and export promotion plans for Kuwait in FY 1994. The CMP provides U.S. exporters with country-specific marketing information including information about Kuwait's commercial and financial environments and identifies the industry sectors that offer the best export prospects for U.S. companies. The information in the 1994 CMP for Kuwait is very useful for American companies that are evaluating the Kuwaiti market as a possible place to do business.

Lebanon

1992

- 0265 **The Employment of U.S. Marines in Lebanon, 1982–1984.**
Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Jeffrey R. Willis. June 5, 1992. 134pp.
This study examines the employment of U.S. Marines in Lebanon from 1982–1984, to determine if their use supported stated national objectives, national policy, and political objectives. The movement away from traditional concepts of employment of military forces creates difficulties for policy makers and military decision makers. Military missions and objectives may lose clarity as the U.S. attempts to achieve its objectives in operations short of war. The area of interest is reviewed, to include a general overview of the history of Lebanon. U.S. objectives in Lebanon and the region are examined, along with factors leading to the decision to employ military forces in Lebanon. The marine presence in Lebanon is addressed for the entire eighteen-month period they were deployed. Particular emphasis is placed on assigned missions and general operations. U.S. objectives are compared to military missions and objectives in an attempt to bring into focus the proper relationship between political objectives and military ends and means.

1993

0399

The Middle East: Lebanon.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Thomas F. Folkes. April 1993. 25pp.

The Middle East has long been a volatile region. Over the past fifty years, it has forcefully demonstrated this time and again in the spotlight of world attention. It currently ranks high on America's list of problem areas in the world, and its instability is viewed by many as a potentially serious threat to vital U.S. interests. American foreign policy efforts to create and maintain a lasting peace in the region have been unsuccessful, largely because we failed to adequately grasp and deal with the vast differences between our respective cultures, concerns, and perspectives. Lebanon represents a microcosm of this troubled area and these differences. U.S. military and civilian policy makers need to better understand the deep-seated nature of regional disagreements, particularly as regards their impact on international relationships.

0424

The IDF, The PLO and Urban Warfare: Lebanon, 1982.

University of Chicago Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Chicago, Illinois, Eric F. McMillin. May 21, 1993. 82pp.

This report deals with the urban guerrilla warfare that occurred between the PLO and IDF in Lebanon in 1982. These battles may point the way non-state nationalisms, or even small states, will opt to engage the modern forces of powerful opponents when the situation deteriorates into armed conflict. In the cities and refugee camps along Lebanon's southern coast, circumstances combined to dull the IDF's qualitative and even quantitative edge. Fighting in an urban landscape against a newly resolute and determined Palestinian militia, the Israelis found themselves facing a dilemma. The armed inhabitants of the camps, bolstered by remnants of PLO semi-regulars that escaped the debacle in the south, refused to quit their dwellings and persuaded or coerced many of the noncombatants of these areas to remain also. Unlike true guerrillas, they chose not to melt away in the face of unfavorable odds. The force structure of the IDF did not provide the capability to deal with this eventuality without either significant casualties or political or moral costs. A new "middle way" of warfare emerged, through no design of the antagonists. It was not guerrilla warfare with an elusive foe refusing decisive engagement with a superior conventional foe. Neither was it a contest between the armies of two states on the open battlefield as, ironically, both the PLO and the Israelis would have preferred.

Rather a low-technology, relatively untrained and unseasoned, largely militia force was able to preclude a powerful state army, stripped of its technological edge and limited in the freedom to use its overwhelming firepower, from achieving its war aims.

Libya

1992

0506

Conflict with Libya: Operational Art in the War on Terrorism.

Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, David R. Arnold. February 22, 1992. 41pp.

The relevance of operational art in the low-intensity conflict (LIC) environment must not be overlooked. A study of the series of U.S. military operations against Libya in 1986 and the events leading up to them provides insights into how operational-level thinking drove the military element of the long-term campaign against Qaddafi. This case-study approach to the conflict examines how operational art was used in planning the operations and the degree to which it supported achievement of strategic and operational objectives. It also addresses unique challenges faced by cognizant operational commanders in politically dominated LIC scenarios. The paper is not a critique of actions at the tactical level, nor does it suggest alternatives to original operational plans. Rather, it asserts the overall validity of operational-level thinking in the LIC environment and concludes that the applicability of operational art in LIC should be formally recognized in relevant joint warfare publications.

1994

0547

Conflict with Libya: Use of Military Force Against Terrorism.

Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, Bruce H. Curry. February 8, 1994. 30pp.

The United States attack on Libya on April 15, 1986 was the culmination of a series of developments in U.S. foreign policy and military strategy intended to combat international terrorism. It was the culmination of the U.S. attempt to use both nonmilitary and military methods to combat terrorism. This paper examines the use of military force as an appropriate means to combat terrorism. In particular, the 1986 conflict with Libya is examined, concentrating on the following aspects: whether operational-level objectives contributed to achievement of strategic goals and the use of military force as an effective instrument in the war against terrorism. This paper

concludes that the use of military force (along with the European nonmilitary responses) was an effective instrument in the war against terrorism, as measured by the decrease in Libyan-sponsored attacks from 1986 to 1991. However, the U.S. attack on Libya is still an isolated event and does not provide a sufficient basis for a doctrine of military retaliation against terrorism.

Morocco

1991

0577

Integration of Women into Morocco Training for Development Project. *Futures Group, Washington, D.C., Gretchen Bloom and Aicha Lemtouni. January 1991. 90pp.*

Since 1983, some one thousand Moroccan public sector employees have received short- or long-term U.S. training under AID's Sector Support Training Project. Women's participation remains constrained by three factors. (1) The pool of women candidates is very small, since women make up only 12 percent of professional public servants and only 35 percent of university graduate students. (2) The marketing of the training programs by a single Moroccan agency has not ensured women's access to program information. (3) Cultural and social obstacles impede women from participating equally. The report recommends strategies and related interventions to counteract these obstacles. A major recommendation is to expand training to include private-sector employees, particularly administrative workers, 97.8 percent of which are women. Other recommendations include lessening the social barriers to women's training by providing women in-country training opportunities; marketing the training program through the mass media and through traditional groups and women's organizations; and targeting women for entrepreneur training. Procedures for implementing the recommended strategies and interventions are presented in conclusion.

0667

United States-Moroccan Relations.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Mohamed Sellak. May 1991. 49pp.

U.S.-Moroccan relations date from the American independence in 1776. Following that time, Moroccan leadership has been continuously seeking to develop those relations to a higher degree so that both nations may benefit. U.S. interests in other areas of the world have overshadowed those of Morocco. Despite efforts by the kingdom's leadership to pull itself out of that shadow and to gain the status this writer feels it deserves, those efforts have

been in vain. This unfortunate outcome finds Morocco a forgotten ally and the United States lacking understanding and friendship toward Morocco. The purpose of this paper is to awaken the conscience of U.S. leadership toward its old and persevering friend, in order to place the Kingdom of Morocco in its rightful position among the developed countries.

1992

0716 **Government Intervention in Moroccan Agriculture: Evolution of Subsidy Equivalents and Possible Trade Reform Effects.**

Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C., Mark D. Wenner. March 1992. 42pp.

Morocco's agricultural policies are surveyed, and aggregate measures of support are calculated for eight commodities (wheat, barley, corn, cotton lint, raw sugar, wheat flour, edible vegetable oil, and refined sugar) for the years 1982–89. During the period of economic adjustment, producer support peaked, then declined, while consumer subsidies fluctuated. In the event of a GATT agreement liberalizing global agricultural trade and pricing policies, Morocco, as a net food importer, would be vulnerable to increased import prices. The combined effects of internal and possible external reforms underscore the importance of designing a more cost-efficient food security system.

1993

0758 **Morocco Business Guide.**

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. 1993. 43pp.

This report provides in-depth information on doing business in Morocco. Topics featured include agriculture, industrial sectors, tourism, banking and financing, infrastructure development, trade practices, trade agreements, distribution and sales channels, import documentation, transportation, advertising, investment, guide to traveling, and a host of other information.

0801 **1994 Country Marketing Plan for Morocco.**

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. August 1, 1993. 56pp.

This report from the U.S. Foreign Commercial Service office in Casablanca includes the best prospects for U.S. exports to Morocco, economic statistics, an overview of the commercial, economic and political environments, trade barriers, and trade event plans.

Pakistan

1990

0857

Program Strategy for Democratic Pluralism Initiative in Pakistan.

Ernst and Young, Arlington, Virginia, Williams S. Cole, William L. Richter, Allen K. Jones, Raymond D. Gastil, and Uzma Chughtai. September 1990. 61pp.

This paper examines the challenges of developing democratic pluralism in Pakistan and explores possibilities for expanding and sharpening the focus of mission activities in this area. It begins with a broad examination of Pakistan's recent political history and identifies major strengths and weaknesses of the country's political system. It then outlines the major components of USAID/Pakistan's democratic pluralism initiative: (1) strengthening the responsiveness of political parties to their constituencies; (2) strengthening constraints on political corruption; (3) enlarging the public-policy environment; (4) improving the technical capacities of national and provincial assemblies; (5) improving public information flows and responsible journalism; and (6) improving human rights performance. The mission is already involved in some of the suggested activities, but several new initiatives are recommended. The final section of the paper addresses implementation issues to be considered as the proposed program moves forward.

1991

0918

Islamic Fundamentalism in Pakistan: Its Characters and Prospects.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Graham E. Fuller. 1991. 58pp.

This report is one of a series of four analyzing Islamic fundamentalism in the Northern Tier countries—Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. These will be followed by an integrative study seeking to establish common patterns and characteristics in the experience of all those states with fundamentalism. The purpose of the studies is to examine the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism: its origins, historical basis, and its relationship to the political, economic, and social institutions of each country. The studies attempt to answer a series of specific operational and policy questions regarding the likely character of fundamentalist policies in those countries—excluding Iran, which is already a fundamentalist regime—if Islamic radicals were to come to power. The role of Iranian influence is also

examined in each of the countries. The studies lastly examine the implications for U.S. policy and the possible options the United States has in shaping its relations with those countries in the future.

Reel 12

Pakistan cont.

1992

0001

Pakistan: Asia-Pacific Energy Series Country Report.

East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, M. Nasir Gazdar. March 1992. 143pp. As part of its continuing assessment of Asia-Pacific energy markets, the energy program has embarked on a series of country studies that discuss in detail the structure of the energy sector in each major country in the region. The country studies also provide the reader with an overview of the economic and political situation in the various countries. They have particularly highlighted petroleum and gas issues in the country studies and have attempted to show the foreign trade implications of oil and gas trade. Finally, to the greatest extent possible, they have provided the latest available statistics—often from unpublished and disparate sources that are unavailable to most readers. Staff members have traveled extensively in—and at times have lived in—the countries under review and have held discussions with senior policymakers in government and industry. Thus, these reports provide not only information but also the latest thinking on energy issues in the various countries. This report summarizes the energy and economic situation in Pakistan.

0144

Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 1990–1991.

National Institute of Population Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan, and IRD/Macro International, Inc., Columbia, Maryland, NA. July 1992. 289pp. Interviews with 6,611 women and 1,354 men provided data for the 1990–1991 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey. The results and major findings are included on fertility, contraception use, mortality among children, infant/child health, immunization, oral rehydration therapy (ORT), and child nutritional status.

0433 **Nuclear Pakistan and Nuclear India: Stable Deterrent or Proliferation Challenge?**

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, George H. Quester. November 25, 1992. 28pp.

Nuclear proliferation, a security issue which has transcended the cold war, has been and is, particularly troublesome in South Asia. There, India and Pakistan, neighbors with unresolved disputes since they were granted independence at the end of World War II, are believed to have nuclear weapons (although the leaders of both nations deny it) and are intermittently engaged in conflict with each other. This report examines this unique nuclear relationship, analyzing the attitudes and behavior of both nations. It concludes with a paradox: both have "bombs in the basement," if not in their respective military inventories, and these weapons present serious dangers to the world simply because of their destructive potential, even if their leaders have the best intentions. On the other hand, Indian and Pakistani leaders appear to have low levels of concern about each others' nuclear (not conventional military) developments. It is possible to be optimistic and conclude that the relationship is actually stable and, like the U.S.-Soviet nuclear relationship of the cold war, helps prevent war on the subcontinent or to be cynical and conclude that each regime cares more about the prestige of membership in the nuclear club than the ominous threat posed thereby against their populations.

0461 **Pakistan: Prospects for Democracy.**

Hudson Institute, Inc., Indianapolis, Indiana, S. John Tsagronis. December 1992. 92pp.

Forty-five years after acquiring independence from Britain, Pakistan's identity remains uncertain. The case study examines whether Pakistan can achieve a stable, modern democracy by exploring three related issues: (1) whether the government in Islamabad can maintain political stability among diverse and often competitive ethnic groups; (2) whether the government, if it achieves political stability, could develop a modern democracy with existing institutions; and (3) the reasons why Pakistan might not want to establish a democratic policy and the ways in which that preference might complicate U.S. policy.

1993

- 0553 **Selected Pakistani and Indian Statements on the Nuclear Issue.**
Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. March 3, 1993. 24pp.
This special memorandum incorporates selected Pakistani and Indian authoritative public statements on several subjects related to the nuclear issue since the Pressler Amendment was implemented against Pakistan. These subjects include the Pressler Amendment itself, the two countries' nuclear capabilities, nuclear proliferation and the NPT and international safeguards and inspections.
- 0577 **Agricultural Situation Report—Pakistan.**
U.S. Embassy, Islamabad, Pakistan, Asif M. Farrukh. August 16, 1993. 66pp.
The Pakistani government's agricultural policies strive to achieve the goals of production enhancing through price supports and various incentives aimed at controlling costs and encouraging investment; during the 1991–1992 fiscal year agricultural production expanded at a rate of 9.7 percent. Growth in Pakistan's economy is in large measure determined by the performance of the agriculture sector. Pakistan's agriculture is slowly passing through a difficult transitional phase from subsistence to a commercial structure with a proclaimed goal of self-reliance. Changes needed for growth and development in Pakistan's agricultural sector are slowly being implemented through a package of production-related incentives. During 1991–1992, the agriculture sector employed 51 percent of the labor force and contributed to about 26.2 percent of the GDP, an increase from 25 percent in 1990–1991. The agricultural sector share in GDP has declined to 24.4 percent in 1992–1993. Excessive rains, devastating floods, and leaf curl virus disease on cotton caused a major decline in the output of cotton, sugarcane and rice.
- 0643 **From Containment to Stability: Pakistan–United States Relations in the Post–Cold War Era—Proceedings of the First Pakistan–United States Joint Symposium.**
National Defense University, Washington, D.C., David O. Smith. November 1993. 217pp.
The First Pakistan-U.S. Joint Symposium met at the National Defense University, Washington, D.C., on June 15–16, 1993. The symposium provided an unofficial forum for Pakistani and U.S. officials and scholars to exchange views and share perceptions on subjects of mutual interest and

concern. The goal was to promote better understanding between the two nations through dialogue at a time when bilateral relations are strained. The agenda focused on a series of issues that, in the wake of the end of the cold war, present new and demanding challenges to both countries. Four major issues were discussed over two days. These four issues were: Stabilizing South Asia, Part I—Kashmir, Threat Perceptions, and Arms Imbalance; Stabilizing South Asia, Part II—Religion, Security, and Economy; Toward a Nuclear Safe South Asia; and Central Asia, the Gulf, and the Middle East—The Renewal of the Great Game.

Reel 13

Persian Gulf

1991

- 0001 **Oil, the Persian Gulf, and Grand Strategy: Contemporary Issues in Historical Perspectives.**

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Ian O. Lesser. 1991. 39pp. This report is part of a larger RAND project on U.S. interests in and strategies for Southwest Asia that is being sponsored by the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) and the Joint Staff. Other parts of the project address political-military issues in the Persian Gulf and assess military capabilities and strategies for Persian Gulf contingencies (an exploration of methods and concepts for political-military contingency planning is included). The purpose of this report is to place contemporary issues of oil supply security in historical perspective, with particular emphasis on the concept of grand strategy. Given that recent events in the Persian Gulf have thrust such issues to the forefront, it is hoped that this report will provide a useful background for policy makers, observers of international and strategic affairs, and others interested in the role of Persian Gulf oil in U.S. and allied strategy.

- 0040 **Possible Postwar Force Requirements for the Persian Gulf: How Little Is Enough?**

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, David A. Shlapak and Paul K. Davis. 1991. 37pp.

This note presents a methodology developed in 1990 for estimating the forces that would be needed to defend Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in the aftermath of the crisis in the Persian Gulf. RAND created a simple, new

requirements model for this work, and the note describes the results of a preliminary analysis. Although the work was concluded in the second half of 1990, before the beginning of Operation Desert Storm, the analysis nevertheless retains much of its relevance. The research was sponsored by the Commander in Chief, United States Central Command, and the Joint Staff. It was conducted in RAND's National Defense Research Institute (NDRI), a federally funded research and development center sponsored by the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff.

1992

0077 On Course to Desert Storm: The United States Navy and the Persian Gulf.

Naval Historical Center, Washington, D.C., Michael A. Palmer. 1992. 213pp.

It is most appropriate that this study is appearing at a time when the Persian Gulf is of special concern to the United States. Michael Palmer's purpose is to go behind the recent headlines associated with the crisis that began when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990. The author explains the military and political factors that affected American policy in the region and led to the establishment of the U.S. Navy's Middle East Force in 1949. He then traces the evolution of this small force over the ensuing decades. Dr. Palmer shows that the navy periodically sent major reinforcements to the region during the era of tension and war that followed the abdication of the Shah of Iran in 1979. Starting in the late 1970s, these reinforcements included American carrier battle forces, which thereafter became a familiar sight in the North Arabian Sea approaches to the Persian Gulf.

0290 American Persian Gulf Policy after the Gulf War.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Daniel F. Redmond. December 1992. 125pp.

American policy in the Persian Gulf since the end of the Gulf War has dangerously overemphasized military instruments to protect United States interests in the region. This military focus suggests that threats to American interests are external and visible. At the same time, it neglects the challenges posed to U.S. interests by internal political upheaval in the pro-American regimes of the Gulf Cooperation Council and ignores the societal disruptions associated with modernizing societies. Despite their considerable oil wealth, these polities will be increasingly vulnerable to instability if the regimes in power continue their monopoly on political power. Moreover, the highly visible and active presence of American armed forces in the Gulf

today intensifies the perception of the U.S. as an imperial super power and unknowingly threatens to undermine the stability of the GCC states by providing opposition groups with a powerful symbol with which to challenge the political status quo.

0415

Oil and the New World System: CENTCOM Rethinks Its Mission.

Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Stephen C. Pelletiere and Douglas V. Johnson II. December 8, 1992. 38pp.

The authors attempt to define the role of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) in the 1990s, now that the United States remains as the single superpower. The authors argue that the loss of the Soviet Union as a foe of the United States has not diminished CENTCOM's role as the guardian of the Persian Gulf. The new international system that has replaced bipolarity cannot survive without oil from Saudi Arabia. The industrialized West not only must be assured of dependable supplies but also of acceptable prices. As long as Iran and Iraq remain recalcitrant enemies of the Gulf monarchs and the West, a constant threat is posed to U.S. interests. The argument is rejected that Saudi Arabia and the other GCC states can defend themselves; only CENTCOM can do that. However, at a time of shrinking financial resources, economies must be made. The solution is to focus all of CENTCOM's efforts on the Gulf, abandoning practically all other responsibilities, which now are relics of the cold war.

0453

The Roots of Regional Ambitions.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Hesham H. Islam. December 1992. 145pp.

The Persian Gulf area is vital to United States national interest, because oil is essential to America's economy. Sixty percent of the world's oil production comes from the Persian Gulf, and the U.S. consumes 10 percent of this oil. A series of potential threats in the region can draw the world into confrontation. Inter-Arab politics and the Arab-Israeli conflict are two major threats that jeopardize U.S. national objectives and continue to reduce the possibility of regional stability. These threats are core issues in the Baathi ideology, which is essential to the Iraqi regime. The Iraqi Arab Baath Socialist Party programs and ideology provide a source of energy to inter-Arab politics and the Arab-Israeli conflict in the region. Although the United States with its regional allies may be capable of ousting Saddam Hussein,

- 0814 **New Political Realities and the Gulf: Egypt, Syria and Jordan.**
RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Mary E. Morris. 1993. 65pp.
This report assesses the relationships between three key Middle Eastern states—Egypt, Syria, and Jordan—and the Gulf following the 1991 war with Iraq. The report examines the current status of these countries and highlights points of vulnerability in each state that could lead to future internal and regional instability affecting the Gulf. Other regional reports developed in this project assess the Arab Gulf states themselves (including Iraq) and Azerbaijan and the Central Asian countries. The overall project objective is to provide a political-military assessment of security prospects in the Gulf over the next several years, challenges the U.S. military is likely to encounter as it supports U.S. national objectives in the region, and the implications for future U.S. security planning.
- 0879 **Political Dynamics and Security in the Arabian Peninsula Through the 1990s.**
RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Joseph A. Kechichian. 1993. 138pp.
This report identifies and analyzes the political dynamics of the Arabian Peninsula in the 1990s in the aftermath of the 1991 war with Iraq. It examines the current status of Iraq and the six conservative Arab Gulf monarchies (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) and highlights points of vulnerability in each state that could lead to future instability affecting the Gulf region. Other regional papers developed in this project will assess Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and the new, predominantly Muslim countries of Azerbaijan and Central Asia. The overall project objective is to provide a political-military assessment of security prospects in the Gulf region over the next several years, the challenges the U.S. military is likely to encounter as it supports U.S. national objectives in the region, and the implications for future U.S. security planning.

Reel 14

Persian Gulf cont.

1993 cont.

0001

Conflict and Change in the Persian Gulf: The Smaller GCC States, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Charles D. Ethredge. April 1993. 26pp.

Conflict and change in the Persian Gulf region has been a way of life since the ending of "Pax Britannica" in 1971. This momentous change in the regional power base began a new era in which the local powers have attempted to create a regional balance which would secure their future peace and prosperity. The Gulf states' hopes for stability have been severely challenged in recent years, first by Khomeini in Iran and then by Hussein in Iraq. Resulting from these and other threats during this period has been the formation of closer, more involved relationships between the Gulf states and the United States. The Gulf states see this as a source of encouragement yet are still concerned about the long-term impact of a western presence. Sources of conflict and change in the Gulf region are many. Most often discussed have been the external threats posed by Iran and Iraq, but each state also has existing or potential conflicts with its neighbors and fellow GCC members. Potential for internal conflict is also present. Pressures for more representative forms of government are increasing and may become serious, as monarchs' abilities to satisfy the needs and desires of their subjects are reduced. Other internal pressures created by population makeup and economic difficulties are posing interesting challenges.

0027

Anti-Ship Cruise Missile Proliferation in the Persian Gulf and the Impact on U.S. Maritime Operations.

Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, Karl L. Gillette. June 18, 1993. 32pp.

This paper deals with the proliferation of antiship cruise missiles (ASCM) in the Persian Gulf region and the resultant impact on U.S. maritime operations throughout the area. Despite the growing ASCM threat, Commander-in-Chief, Central Command (CINCCENT) does have numerous options available to counter this deadly menace. This analysis combines the current and future ASCM inventory, Persian Gulf geopolitical situation, and potential for

U.S. involvement in future regional crises as background information. Military options are discussed in detail within the framework of the background provided and the Joint Force Sequencing model, (Stability, Crisis Response Forcible Entry, and Sustained Operations). Actions available to CINCCENT include presence, combined/joint exercises, military-to-military exchanges intelligence collection, rules of engagement and use of military force.

1994

0059 Controlling Conventional Arms Transfers: A New Approach with Application to the Persian Gulf.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Kenneth Watman, Marcy Agmon, and Charles Wolf, Jr. 1994. 35pp.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait renewed attention to the potentially destabilizing impact of the accumulation of conventional weapons systems in regions such as the Middle East. At the same time, the end of the cold war and the reduction in domestic procurement of sophisticated military hardware have highlighted to the major arms suppliers the importance of the continued growth of their arms exports. Reporting on Phase 1 of the research, this report offers an approach for controlling transfers of conventional weapons systems to the Persian Gulf with an appreciation of these competing interests. Subsequent phases will broaden the focus to other regions. This report should be of interest to policy makers concerned with arms export policies, Persian Gulf security arrangements, and the U.S. industrial base.

Saudi Arabia

1992

0094 A Survey of the Saudi Arabian Oil Industry, 1992.

U.S. Embassy, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, NA. July 1992. 101pp.

Saudi Arabia defines the world oil market as much as the world oil market defines it. The kingdom holds at least a quarter of the world's oil reserves. It is the world's largest crude oil producer and the third largest producer of natural gas. It currently accounts for over a third of OPEC oil production. In turn, petroleum receipts directly account for more than 40 percent of Saudi GDP. Over 80 percent of government revenues derive from oil sales. More than 90 percent of the country's export earnings are oil related. This report provides an overview the Saudi oil industry and the country's petroleum policies.

- 0195 **Understanding the Economic Power of Oil.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Jon C. Belanger. December 1992. 80pp.
Oil has become a single global market in which oil price fluctuations now have the ability to rock the world economy. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the changing nature of this threat and, by doing so, show that Saudi Arabia, which has acted as the primary stabilizing tool by American foreign policy makers, will no longer suffice in this capacity. Rather, Saudi Arabia, which has for the most part cooperated with the United States in helping to stabilize oil price and supply disruptions, will become increasingly less cooperative in a much shorter time frame than might be anticipated with regard to oil supplies. This thesis proposes possible avenues for U.S. national security policy by exploring pathways that might further ensure economic security and stability of the Middle East region in light of the new nature of the oil threat. The goal of economic security and stability can only be realized through an understanding of the oil-producing nations and their relationships with the international community and world economy.
- 1993
- 0275 **Saudi Governmental Structure and Foreign Policy.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Al-Mutairi Naif. January 21, 1993. 34pp.
The future of Saudi Arabia, which occupies the greatest part of the Arabian peninsula, is rooted in its history and culture since the emergence of Islam in the seventh century. The leadership authority in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia follows Islamic law, the Shar'ia, which is based in the teachings of the Quran [Koran], the holy Moslem book. The executive and legislative branches of the government are represented by the king and the council of ministers. Twenty ministries and several government agencies help in the smooth functioning of the government. The reunification of the Arabian Peninsula under the Saudi government has brought hope that the peninsula will regain its position among the world's nations and resume a pivotal role in the international community.
- 0309 **Saudi Arabia and Regional Issues.**
Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, William T. Smith. April 1993. 35pp.
The overall purpose of this paper is to familiarize the reader with the unique political, social, religious, and economic climate in Saudi Arabia. The priorities and accepted norms that exist in that country are considerably

different from those in the United States (and other western cultures) and thus dictate an educational process to assist in producing an understanding of that area. After presenting a brief treatment of the geography and history of Saudi Arabia, selected items that are key to understanding the general situation that exists in the country today follow. Background information is provided on political, religious, and economic topics. This brief synopsis is provided to cover areas essential to the understanding of this complex society. The second portion of this report lays out the Saudi Arabian perspective on key regional issues. This discussion is provided for two reasons: it will familiarize readers with key regional issues, and it will provide additional insight to promote further understanding of the country.

0344

1994 Country Marketing Plan for Saudi Arabia.

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. August 1, 1993. 70pp.

U.S. Foreign Commercial Service offices in Saudi Arabia—the report includes best prospects for U.S. exports to Saudi Arabia, economic statistics, an overview of the commercial, economic, and political environments, trade barriers, and trade event plans.

0414

The United States, Saudi Arabia and Arms: Prospects for Future Instability in the Alliance.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Bonita Anne Goodwin. December 1993. 79pp.

The primary purpose of this research is to examine Saudi Arabia's relationship with the United States as it pertains to arms. In examining this bilateral relationship, the research will attempt to answer two questions: first, what is the United States government's view on arms sales to its allies and how does it effect Saudi Arabia? Secondly, since the Reagan administration, the Persian Gulf War, and the demise of the USSR, what factors of instability within Saudi Arabia may be indicators that the U.S. should reevaluate its arms policy? The methodology used will be a historical and economic assessment of the U.S. and Saudi Arabian arms relationship, with particular focus on the economic and political weaknesses within Saudi Arabia and implications they may have for instability in the region.

Syria

1992

0493 **Syria's Negotiations with Israel.**

Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C., John T. Wigington. April 1992. 48pp.

This draft estimate is the form of an intelligence community assessment of the Syrian negotiating positions in the ongoing Middle East peace talks, which the United States is sponsoring and participating in as a facilitator. It covers the period through April 1993 and considers the recent trends in Syrian policy and the domestic and external elements which influence the stance Syria takes on key negotiating issues. The estimate identifies key issues for Syria in negotiations with Israel and anticipates the positions the Syrians may accept on particular issues. However, the estimate does not review the specific approach which the Syrian delegation may take when negotiating each issue.

0541 **Legitimacy and Hafez Al-As[s]ad.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Mark M. Huber. June 1992. 126pp.

It has been taken for granted that Hafez al-Assad relies exclusively upon an iron fist to perpetuate the survival of his regime. Close scrutiny of Assad's presidency, however, betrays the inadequacy of this explanation. In fact, Syria's conflict with Israel is the primary legitimizing agent for Assad's minority Alawi[te] regime, and it is because of this conflict that Assad's regime has endured. Consequently, the absence of a militant confrontation with Israel poses risks which the present Syrian leadership has been unwilling to assume. Furthermore, this condition acts as a restraint upon certain types of foreign policy activities and initiatives which Assad might otherwise elect to pursue. The reality of Israel's legitimizing function has specific relevance to U.S. foreign policy vis-a-vis both Syria and Israel, particularly regarding the peace process.

1993

0667 **Annual Agricultural Situation Report—Syria, 1992.**

U.S. Embassy, Damascus, Syria, NA. February 22, 1993. 35pp.

Agriculture, along with crude oil production, remains the Syrian government's top economic development priority. The government's goals are to achieve as much self-sufficiency as possible in food requirements and to free limited foreign exchange reserves for other uses. In 1992, despite scarce rainfall

since the middle of March, agricultural performance improved over 1991. Government incentives had a positive effect on both production and delivery of grains to official procurement agencies. In addition, agricultural exports were further encouraged by special concessions extended to exporters to use export proceeds to purchase agricultural trucks.

0702

Selected Syrian Statements on the Peace Process.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C., NA. April 9, 1993. 44pp.

This special memorandum includes selected statements by Syrian officials on the peace process—carried by Syrian, as well as other Arab and international media—since just prior to the convening of the Madrid Conference. It contains sections on such issues as the U.S. role in negotiations, Syrian commitment to the peace process, the conclusion of a separate peace, the idea of a phased settlement or interim measures, and security arrangements for the Golan Heights.

Tunisia

1991

0746

The Democratic Pluralism Initiative in Tunisia: An Independent Assessment.

Ernst and Young, Arlington, Virginia, I. Harik, B. Zmerli, and M. Gasiorowski. February 1991. 48pp.

Since the November 1987 change of government, Tunisia has taken steps toward developing a pluralistic political regime. However, rapid progress in the first year of the new regime has not been matched in the subsequent period. AID has implemented several activities to support democratic pluralism within this context. The primary focus has been to strengthen the private sector's role in the economy through the Democratic Pluralism Initiative and the Private Sector Revitalization program. The mission has also provided a modest amount of support to Tunisian human rights organizations, women's groups, and the labor federation. In addition, the mission is planning to assist the government in its decentralization efforts.

1992

0794

Tunisia: Islam as a Political Force.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Jayne E. Garland. June 1992. 103pp.

In the wake of the Iranian revolution, a number of Middle Eastern countries are experiencing a populist Islam. Described as fundamentalist, these movements appear to be the most serious threat to the governments of these countries. In Tunisia, the government has virtually halted its promised democratic reforms, claiming that the Islamists will use the political process to gain control of the government and that they are violent radicals attempting to overthrow the government. This thesis argues that the Islamic movement in Tunisia is neither revolutionary, radical, nor fundamentalist. Islam has played an important role historically in the creation of Tunisian nationalism, and the current movement is a political movement attempting to reform a repressive, unresponsive regime.

1994

0897

Democracy and Tunisia: A Case Study.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Jane E. Hoffman. June 1994. 101pp.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the demise of the former Soviet Union, the promotion of global democracy and free markets, along with the principles of human rights, have become paramount to U.S. interests and foreign policy. The significance of attaining global democracy has been fueled by the proposal that liberal states do not go to war with other liberal states which, in the post-cold war environment, suggests a correlation between democracy and world peace. This thesis will support the hypothesis, using Tunisia as an example, that U.S. foreign policy for global democratization will elicit the use of democracy as a window dressing in order for a country to foster and enhance foreign investment rather than to move toward democratic reform.

Reel 15

Turkey

1991

0001

Urbanization and Insurgency: The Turkish Case.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Sabri Sayari and Bruce Hoffman. 1991. 29pp.

One of the likely changes that will affect future low-intensity conflict is the vast urbanization process that is occurring in many Third World countries. This note analyzes the relationship between explosive population growth in and around cities and armed extremism through a case study of the urban terrorism campaign that erupted in Turkey between 1976 and 1980. It focuses on two key questions: Why were the cities the main arenas of organized political violence in Turkey during this period, and what role did rapid urbanization play in the creation of a favorable environment for terrorists?

0030

Options and Opportunities: U.S. Strategy toward Turkey in the 1990s.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Paul R. Schaffenberg. April 1991. 40pp.

The rapidly changing landscape of Europe and the changes in the Middle East in the aftermath of the Gulf War combine to shape a critical role for Turkey in the 1990s. Turkey's strategic location, her increased importance to NATO vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, her economic potential and economic needs, her potential to control critical water resources in the Middle East, and the significance of her military resources all have enormous strategy implications for the United States. Complicating these significant issues are many political sensitivities and uncertainties in dealing with the European Community, the nations of the Middle East, and neighboring states. Therefore, a cogent and consistent U.S. strategy is needed to delineate Turkey's future role as an ally of the West and a link to the Middle East.

1992

0070

The Role of Turkey for Establishing Peace and Stability in the Middle East.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Himmet Cobanoglu. March 26, 1992. 48pp.

Recent developments and the military, economic, and political realities within the Middle East, the former Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe have caused Turkey to reevaluate her future. While the importance of Turkey for

NATO has appeared to be lessened upon the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, the Gulf crisis has shown that Turkey is still an important country in the region. Immediately after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the five Central Asian Turkic republics and Azerbaijan gave Turkey a chance to be a leader of the region. All these events and the oil-rich Gulf area have been drawing the United States' and the other powerful countries' attention to the region. Because of its highly important strategic location and historical integration with her neighbors, Turkey has an opportunity to be a leader country of the region. At the same time, Turkey faces significant challenges and threats to the stability and peace in the region. This study will evaluate Turkey's strategic importance and her role for establishing peace and stability in the region.

0118

Problems and Prospects of Turkey in the 1990s.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, H. Tayyip Bora. April 1992. 41pp.

The demise of the Warsaw Pact has refocused Turkey's role from being the protector of NATO's southern flank to being a powerful and stable country in the Middle East and Europe. The Gulf crisis has provided an illuminating example of Turkey's geostrategic position as a bridge between Europe and the Middle East and between the Middle East and the U.S. Turkey's expanding military and economic power might serve to strengthen its linchpin role. The confluence of all these factors shapes a critical post-bellum role for Turkey. While the skeptic would point to the many economic, cultural, and social problems that Turkey faces in the next decade, the realistic recognizes the increasing significance of the strategic dimensions of this geographically and culturally unique nation.

0159

Pan-Turkism, Turkey and the Muslim Peoples of the Former Soviet Union: A Modern Problem in Historical Context.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Ralph W. Feneis. April 24, 1992. 68pp.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union resulted in the creation of six new Muslim nations in Central Asia and the Caucasus, as well as increased activism of Muslim peoples within the Russian Federation. In all, there are more than fifty-four million Muslims in the former Soviet Union, more than 90 percent of whom are Turkish, with the remainder being Iranian (Tajik) and a small number of Caucasians. Little is known about these peoples in the West, but many tout Turkey as a role model for the new Muslim nations to follow. This paper looks at the origins and historical development of the Muslim peoples

of the former Soviet Union. It traces the formation of the great Turk and Mongol/Turkish empires of pre-Russian times, conflict and assimilation by the Russians, the spread of Islam, and the influences of the Soviet era. The paper also reviews the formation and impact of the pan-Islamic, Islamic modernization (Jadid), and pan-Turkish movements in Russia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and discusses their relevance to the events occurring in the former Soviet Union today. While many have forecast the formation of a new Turkish empire from the remnants of the Soviet empire, the paper discusses the impracticality of such a vision and the impact history will have on the direction the Muslim peoples of the former Soviet Union will take in the future.

0227

Soviet Muslim Emigres in the Republic of Turkey.

Department of State Office of External Research, Washington, D.C., Lowell Bezanis. May 1992. 150pp.

The experience of Turko-Tatar and North Caucasian Muslim refugees from the USSR in the Republic of Turkey is the subject of the following report. This work and the bibliographies appended to it were prepared prior to the disintegration of the USSR. When it was initiated, the project aimed to shed light on a very poorly understood and then-inaccessible region, the former Soviet Muslim East. Although events have rendered this approach unnecessary, the findings and raw data which have been generated remain useful. In particular, a wealth of information on the leading personalities, organizations, and publications of these groups emerged from the research undertaken. This provides analysis with previously untapped sources on the history, culture, and early political objectives of peoples which today are in the process of being integrated into the international community. Such information is of interest to analysts concerned with the larger Muslim East and Commonwealth affairs. Increasingly, these sources are also becoming available to former Soviet Muslims who will find it useful in restoring their lost history and defining their identity.

0377

Turkey's Security Policy and NATO.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, Cahit Armagan Dilek. June 1992. 139pp.

This research provides a study about the changing interaction of a Treaty organization with one of its members. It describes how a member (Turkey) of the organization (NATO) rethinks its relationship with the security alliance so as to adapt to its new environment and make the necessary adjustments in its strategy. It discusses a current issue in the context of strategic

policy makers on the effect of Turkish policies in Europe, the Middle East, and the former Soviet republics. The final chapters summarize their conclusions with respect to all three regions and provide policy options for continuing U.S.-Turkish relations that are so important in the search for peace and security in these regions.

1994

0794

Annual Agricultural Situation Report—Turkey.

U.S. Embassy, Ankara, Turkey, A. Unal Sarigedik. July 13, 1994. 23pp.

Turkish agriculture realized a fourth consecutive generally good year in 1993. Generally favorable weather conditions prevailed. Normal or better than normal levels of production were realized for all crops except olives and olive oil, hazelnuts, and sunflower seed. These declines resulted in a negative growth rate for agriculture in 1993.

United Arab Emirates (UAE)

1993

0817

The Gulf War: UAE Participation in That War.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, Ibrahim M. Al-Nakhi. April 2, 1993. 41pp.

This paper deals with the events leading up to the Gulf War and the war itself. It begins with a history of the Gulf region and the creation of the Gulf states after the British colonial period. The study discusses the history and the events leading up to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The international reaction is reviewed and also the impact of the embargo. The United Arab Emirates played an extremely important role in the events in the Gulf and from the conflict the Gulf states became closer. The United States role in the Gulf War has led to increased ties with the Gulf states, and the relation is one with benefits for both.

0858

1994 Country Marketing Plan for the United Arab Emirates.

International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C., NA. August 1, 1993. 48pp.

This report includes best prospects for U.S. exports to the UAE, economic statistics, an overview of the commercial, economic, and political environments, trade barriers, and trade event plans.

SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major subjects of this collection. The first arabic number refers to the reel, and the arabic number after the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular file containing the subject begins. Therefore, 3: 0370 directs the researcher to the document that begins at Frame 0370 of Reel 3. By referring to the Reel Index located in the initial part of this guide, the researcher can find the main entry for the subject.

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