Index

Abdullah, King of Jordan, 42
Afghanistan, 2, 153, 233, 258
and Iran, 184, 188, 189, 193–4
and Iraq, 171, 172, 174
and Islam, 199, 200, 201, 205, 206, 207
and South Yemen, 235, 241
Soviet withdrawal from, 261, 287, 289
and Turkey, 255–6
Africa, see Horn of Africa
Algeria
and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 87, 90
Aliye, Geider, 199
Allen, George, 31
Amar, Nabil, 275
Andropov, Yuri, 136, 199, 242, 260
and Jewish emigration, 267
and the PLO, 122
and Soviet political interests, 24, 26, 27, 28, 102
Angola, 232, 235, 242, 258, 261
Arab Socialist Union, 54, 57, 224
Arab unity, ideas of
and the Syrian Communists, 222
United Arab Republic, 54–5, 142, 221, 223
Arab–Israeli conflict
and Egyptian–Soviet relations, 46–7
inter-war period (1967–73), 68–81
and Iraq, 161–2, 164–5, 166, 170
settlement of, 95–109, 269–74
Six-Day War (1967), 58–67, 68, 164, 221
Soviet attitudes to, 27, 95–8
Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 262–3, 269–74, 289
Soviet post-war policies, 41–2, 43
and the Syrian Communists, 222
War of Attrition, 72, 73, 75–6, 149, 166
and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 82–94
see also under individual countries,
e.g., Egypt

Arafat, Yassir, 110, 112, 113, 114, 116,
118, 119–21, 122, 123
and Gorbachev, 274, 276, 277
and the Lebanon War (1982), 130–1
talks with Jordan, 108, 109, 122, 123,
274, 275
Arens, Moshe, 265
Armenians
attacks on, in Azerbaijan, 283–4
emigration of Soviet, 267
in Turkey, 246, 257
arms supplies
and the Arab–Israeli conflict, 69,
262
to Egypt, 44, 45–6, 54, 56, 78–9, 83–4,
87, 96
to Iran, 179, 180, 181, 190, 194, 196,
282, 286, 287, 288
and Iraq, 156, 157, 163, 164, 165, 167,
168, 169–70, 172, 174, 175, 182, 195,
218, 281–2
to Israel, 37, 38
and the Kurds, 187, 192–3
to Kuwait, 241
and North Yemen, 237, 238
and the PLO, 110, 123, 126
and South Yemen, 230, 239
Soviet demands for payment, 18–19, 87
and Soviet Third world policies, 261
to Syria, 108, 137, 140, 144, 146–7, 148,
150, 152, 153, 154–5, 279, 281
to Turkey, 254
via Turkey, to Syria and Iraq, 251
Assad, H., 265
and the Communists, 222, 223
and Islam, 205
and the Lebanon War (1982), 126
Soviet relations with, 96–7, 145, 146,
148, 150, 151, 152, 153–4, 155, 156,
278, 279, 280, 281
and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 82, 84, 86, 89–90
Aswan Dam (Egypt), 54, 55, 147
Index

Atassi, N., 143, 144, 145, 221 and the Six-Day War (1967), 60, 61, 64, 65, 67
Attaturk, Mustafa Kemal, 32
Azerbaijan attacks on Armenians in, 283–4 autonomous republics, 30, 31
Azerbaijanis in Iran, 191, 192, 193
Azziz, Tahriq, 287
Badran (Egyptian war minister), 59, 60 Baghdad Pact, 45, 178, 244, 246 Bakshish, Khalid, 54, 146, 220–1, 222, 223
Baker, James, 270, 271, 273
Bakr, Ahmad Hassan, 164, 167
Baluchis in Iran, 191, 193
Beliaev, Igor, 74–5, 136
Ben Gurion, David, 64
Bennigsen, Alexandre, 205, 206, 207
Bessmertnykh, Aleksandr, 279
Bialer, Uri, 42
Black Sea Soviet access to, 8–9, 244, 253–4
Bohlen, Chester, 51
border nations Soviet attitude to, 1 traditional Soviet relations with, 8, 9
Boumedienne, H., 87, 88, 131
Bovin, A., 135, 136, 205
and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 85, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93
Britain and the Arab states, 41, 42 and Egypt, 29, 36, 45 and post-war Palestine, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41–2 and Russian influence in Iran, 176, 177 and Soviet foreign policy, 9 Soviet post-war policy regarding, 29 and the Suez crisis, 47–8, 48–9, 50, 51, 52
Brutens, Karen, 8, 25, 26, 240, 260, 265, 269
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 105
Bulgaria and Israel, 266
Byrnes, J., 31–2
capitalism and Marxism, 210–13 Carter, Jimmy, 105, 113 Castro, Fidel, 26, 234 CENTO (Central Treaty Organisation), 244, 248
chemical warfare, 270, 279
Chernenko, K., 108
China, People’s Republic of, 262 arms supplies to Iran and Iraq, 283 arms supplies to Syria, 279 and the Dhofar rebellion, 229, 230 and Iran, 184, 191 and the PFLP, 119 and the PLO, 110 Sino–Soviet dispute, 20–1, 55, 164, 216, 218 and South Yemen, 228 and the Soviet attitude to, 1, 2
Chuvakin, D. (Soviet ambassador to Israel), 58
Communist parties, 210–27
Arab, 120, 215–27
Chinese, 213 creation of local vanguard, 23–4, 26, 27, 214–15
Egyptian, 56–7, 171, 223–5
Iranian (Tudeh), 30, 177, 179, 184, 185, 186–7, 188, 189–90, 192, 196, 282, 286, 287
Jordanian, 120, 227
Lebanese, 124, 217
Palestinian, 120, 123, 226–7, 274
South Yemen, 226
Soviet, 4–6, 7 and Soviet political interests, 20
312  Index

Communist parties cont.
Sudanese, 224, 226
Syrian, 54, 111, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 149, 153, 220–3, 224
Turkish, 246, 255, 257
Critchlow, James, 208
Cuba, 21
and South Yemen, 229, 230, 233, 235, 238
Cuban missile crisis, 12
Cyprus
and Soviet relations with Turkey, 249–50, 252–3, 256
Czechoslovakia, 147
arms deal with Egypt (1955), 44, 45–6
and Israel, 266
Demeril, S., 250
détente
and the Arab-Israeli peace settlement, 101, 102
divisibility of, 21, 24, 26, 27
and Soviet political interests, 21, 24–6, 27
and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 85, 86, 93, 94
DFLP (Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine), 119, 122, 123, 275
Dhofar rebellion in Oman, 18, 165, 184, 229–31, 240
Djibouti, 232
Dobrynin, A., 91–2
Doctors’ Plot, 43
Dulles, John Foster, 141, 178, 247

Eastern Europe, 1
arms supplies, 44, 45–6, 140
and Israel, 266
and oil supplies, 15, 16
relations with Israel, 42–3
Eban, Abba, 264
Ecevit, B., 254
economic interests
Soviet, in the Middle East, 8, 15–19
economic relations
with Egypt, 268
with Iran, 179–80, 191, 286
with South Yemen, 235, 236, 242
with Turkey, 250–1, 253, 257
economy, Islamic, 202–3, 204
Egypt
and Britain, 29, 36, 45
Communist party, 56–7, 171, 223–5
expulsion of Soviet advisers, 13, 23, 78, 79–80, 95, 146, 166, 171, 183, 214, 224, 229
in the inter-war period (1967–73), 69, 71–81
and Iran, 183–4, 188
and the Iran-Iraq War, 195, 283
and Iraq, 45, 54–5, 157, 163, 164, 166, 174
and Islam, 200, 205
Nagib regime, 43
and the PLO, 110, 111, 121
and resolution 242, 70
and Saudi Arabia, 229
and the Six-Day War (1967), 58–67
and South Yemen, 232
Soviet cooperation with, 11
and Soviet military-strategic interests, 13, 14
and Soviet oil interests, 16
Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 268–9
Soviet relations with, 44–57, 72, 82, 94, 96, 97, 142–3
and Syria, 61, 62, 146, 147–8, 223–4, 281
unification with Syria, 54–5, 142, 221, 223
War of Attrition with Israel, 72, 73, 75–6, 149, 166
and the Yemen civil war, 236
and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 82–94
see also Arab-Israeli conflict
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 52
Eisenhower Doctrine, 53, 141, 247
emigration, Soviet Jewish, 37–8, 43, 115, 264, 267–8
Engels, F., 4
Ericson, John, 51
Eritrea, 232
and Iraq, 170
and the PLO, 116
and Syria, 153
Erkin, K., 249–50
Eshkol, Levi, 60, 62
Ethiopia, 255, 258
and Iran, 184
and Iraq, 171
and the PLO, 116
and South Yemen, 232–3, 233, 241
and Syria, 153
Fawzi, Mohammed, 58
Fedoseev, Petr, 25
France
and Iraq, 165, 166, 170, 174
and the Suez crisis, 47–8, 48–9, 50, 51, 52
Freedman, Robert, 174
Fukuyama, Francis, 51
Index

Gaza raid (1955), 46
Geneva Peace Conference (1973), 92, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 148–9, 152, 170, 264, 272, 276
Ghana, 23
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 27, 199, 258–90
  new thinking in Soviet foreign policy, 3, 258–62
  and Soviet military doctrine, 15
Gorshkov, S., 7, 27, 56, 181, 234
Grekho, A., 7, 27, 165
  and the Six-Day War (1967), 59, 60, 61
  visit to Egypt, 79
  and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 85, 93
Greece
  and the 1974 Cyprus crisis, 252
Gromyko, Andrei, 7, 172–3, 189, 190, 264
  and the Geneva Peace Conference, 99
  and the Lebanon War (1982), 129, 131, 134
  and post-war Palestine, 35, 36
  and the Six-Day War (1967), 60
  and Turkey, 250
  visit to Egypt (1968), 71
Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), 240–1, 195, 284
Gulf states
  Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 284–8
  see also individual countries, e.g., Saudi Arabia
Habash, George, 112, 116, 117–18, 119, 123, 274, 275
Halliday, Fred, 198, 199
Hawatmeh, Nayif, 112, 114, 116, 119, 123, 130, 274
Heikal, Mohammed, 48, 52, 60, 73, 75, 100
Helsinki Conference (1975), 98
Horn of Africa
  and Iraq, 170, 171
  Soviet interests in, 20, 69, 97, 101, 232
Hungary
  crisis in (1956), 50, 52
  and Israel, 266
Hussein, King of Jordan, 112, 144, 145
  and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 271, 272
  and Arafat, 109, 121, 123, 134–5, 138, 274, 275
Hussein, Saddam, 97, 182
  crackdown on Communists, 170–2, 219–20, 226
  and the Iran–Iraq war, 195, 205
  and the Kurdish movement, 160–1
  Soviet relations with, 167, 168, 169, 281
  and Syria, 173
ID (International Department of the
  Central Committee), 6–8, 28, 261
ideoLogical interests
  Soviet, in the Middle East, 23–4
IMEMO (Institute for World Economy
  and International Affairs), 7, 8, 260
imperialism
  and Islam, 202
  and Marxism, 211–13
India
  and Iran, 184
  and the Suez crisis, 49
Indian Ocean, 80, 228
Soviet interests, 166
  and Soviet military-strategic interests, 13, 14, 15
Indonesia, 23
  and the Suez crisis, 49
INF agreement (1987), 261
interdependency, concept of, 258–9
Iran
  and Iraq, 164, 165, 168–9, 178
  and Islam, 201, 204, 205, 206–7
  and Egypt, 183–4, 188
  and the Kurdish movement, 160–1, 191–3
  and Lebanon, 131, 188
  and Soviet oil exports, 16
  Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 282, 286–8, 289
  Soviet post-war policies, 29–32, 34
  Soviet relations with, 168, 176–96
Iran–Iraq War, 156, 174, 194–6, 220
  Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 281–4, 286–7, 288, 289
Iraq
  and the Dhofar rebellion, 230
  and Egypt, 45, 54–5, 157, 163, 164, 166, 174
  and Iran, 164, 165, 168–9, 178
  and Islam, 205
  and Kuwait, 241
  and the oil boycott (1973), 17
  revolution (1958), 54
  Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 287
  Soviet relations with, 80, 97, 137–75, 181–2
  and Syria, 148, 150–1, 154, 281
  and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 87, 90
Islam
  and communism, 215
  in Iran, 188–9, 190, 192, 201, 204, 205, 206–7
  and the Iran–Iraq war, 283–4
  and South Yemen, 242
  Soviet attitude to, 197–209, 288
314  Index

Islam cont.
  Soviet Muslims, 197, 198, 199–200, 205–9, 283–4
  Wafd movement, 223
Ismail, Abd al-Fattah, 231, 233, 234, 235, 240, 242
Ismail, Ahmad, 83, 84
Ismail, Hafiz, 83
Israel
  and Egyptian–Soviet relations, 46
  and Iran, 184, 188
  and Jordan, 144
  and the Lebanon War (1982), 126–8, 131, 132, 133–4, 135, 136, 137, 139
  and nuclear weapons, 98
  and resolution 242, 70
  and the Six-Day War (1967), 58–67
  and Soviet military–strategic interests, 14
  Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 263–8, 276, 277
  Soviet post-war policies, 37–43
  Soviet relations with, 44
  and the Suez crisis, 50
  and Syria, 143, 148, 151, 280
  War of Attrition with Egypt, 72, 73, 75–6, 149, 166
  see also Arab–Israeli conflict
Iyyad, Abu, 116, 130

Japan, 262
  and Iran, 191
  and Soviet oil exports, 16, 17
Jarring, Gunnar, 71
Jedid, S., 143, 145, 221–2
Jerusalem
  and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 273
  and the PLO, 109, 114, 115
  Soviet policies on, 42
Jewish emigration, 37–8, 43, 115, 264, 267–8
Johnson, Lyndon B., 59, 64, 70
Jordan
  annexation of West Bank, 41–2
  and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 271–2
  civil war (1970), 144–5
  and the Iran–Iraq war, 195
  and Iraq, 161, 163, 165
  and the PLO, 76, 108, 109, 121, 122, 123, 134–5, 138
  and resolution 242, 70
  and the Six-Day War (1967), 64

and Syria, 154, 281
  Syrian invasion of, 111
  Jumblatt, Kamal, 124, 217
Kaddumi, Faruk, 129, 131
Kaplan, Karel, 40
Kaplan, Stephen, 61
Kassem, Abd-al-Karim, 162–3, 164, 217
KGB (Soviet Committee of State Security), 6, 65, 246, 261
Khaddem, A., 149–50, 278
Khartoum Arab summit, 70
Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruholla
  and Iraq, 172, 173–4
  and the Islamic revival, 201, 204, 205, 208
  meeting with Shevardnadze, 287
  Soviet attitude to, 185, 186, 188–9, 190, 191, 192, 194, 196
Khushchev, Nikita, 6, 7, 9, 12, 44, 179, 260
  and Cyprus, 249
  and Egypt, 54, 55, 56, 224
  and Soviet economic interests, 18
  and the Suez crisis, 47, 48
  and the Turkish–Syrian crisis, 142, 247
Khuzeistan, Arabs of
  in Iran, 191, 192
Kirilenko, A., 84, 147
Kissinger, Henry, 71, 100
  and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 103–4
  and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 89, 90, 91–2
Korean War, 39, 236
Kosygin, Alexei, 7, 151
  and Egypt, 74, 76
  meeting with Johnson, 70
  and the Six-Day War (1967), 59–60, 61, 63, 64
  and Soviet economic interests, 18
  and Soviet political interests, 24, 26, 27, 102
  and Turkey, 250, 251, 254, 256
  and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 89, 93
Kurdish movement
  and the Communists, 218, 219, 220
  in Iran, 191–3
  in Turkey, 246, 257
Kutakhov, Marshal, 147, 7
Kuwait, 168, 181, 183, 285
  and the Iran–Iraq war, 284
  and South Yemen, 241
  and Soviet oil exports, 16
  Soviet relations with, 284, 285
Index

and Syria, 150
and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 90
Kuwaiti, S., 49

Laptev, Viktor, 74
Lebanon
  civil war, 97, 104, 108, 124, 241, 242
  and Iran, 131, 188
  and Iraq, 161, 163, 170
  and Islamic terrorism, 205
  and the PLO, 114, 116, 264
Soviet attitude to, 46
Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 278–9
and Syria, 96, 104, 121, 124–39, 151–3, 155–6, 170, 278–9
war (1982), 116, 120, 124–39
Lenin, V. I., 9
  on Communism, 210, 211–13
  and the Communist Party, 4, 5
and Islam, 197
  on nationalism, 200, 201, 212–13, 214
Libya
  and the Dhofar rebellion, 230
  and Egypt, 83
  and the Iran–Iraq war, 195, 196
  and Islam, 200
and the Lebanon War (1982), 127
and the oil boycott (1973), 17
  and South Yemen, 241
  and Syria, 153, 154–5
  and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 87, 90
Ligachev, Yegor, 260

Makarios, M., 249, 250, 251, 252
Malenkov, G., 9, 43, 246
Marx, Karl, 4
McCgwire, Michael, 15
Mediterranean Sea
  Soviet presence in, 8–9, 68–9, 244, 279–80
Meguid, Esmat Abdel, 269
Meier, Golda, 40
Mengistu, Haile Mariam, 170, 171, 232
military facilities
  and non-alignment, 10
  and Soviet military-strategic interests, 14
  in Turkey, 33–4
US, in the Indian Ocean area, 228
US, in Turkey, 244–5, 246
military-strategic interests
  Soviet, in the Middle East, 8, 11–15, 19–20, 22
  in Turkey, 244–5
Molotov, V., 7, 29
Mossadeq, M., 177, 185, 186
Mozambique, 235, 242, 258
Mubarak, Hosni, 269
Murphy, Richard, 270
  mutual balance, concept of, 258–9
Nasser, Gamal Abdel
  crackdown on Communists, 223–4
  death, 76
  decline of influence, 56
  and Iraq, 163, 164
and the PLO, 110
Soviet relations with, 45, 46, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 96, 166
  and the Suez crisis, 47, 48, 49, 52
  and Syria, 54–5, 142, 163
  national democracies, 213–14
  national liberation movements
  Soviet attitude to, 110, 117–18, 275
  nationalism and Islam, 202
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation)
  and Cyprus, 253
  and Turkey, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 252, 254, 255
naval facilities
  Iraqi, 165
  in the Turkish Straits, 33
naval power
  in the Mediterranean, 68–9
  and the Six-Day War (1967), 60–1
US and Soviet, 12–13
NDF (National Democratic Front)
  in North Yemen, 239, 240
Nehru, J., 45, 56
Nixon, Richard, 71, 74, 79, 149
  and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 90, 91, 92
Nkrumah, K., 56
  non-alignment, policy of, 10, 11
North Yemen, 233, 234, 236–40, 284
nuclear weapons
  and Israel, 98
  and Soviet foreign policy, 10, 12
Numeri, J., 226

Ogadan War, 232, 235, 238, 255
Ogarkov, N., 27, 128–9, 253
oil interests
  in Iran, 30, 31
  in Iraq, 87, 165, 167, 170, 175
  and the Lebanon War (1982), 131–2
Soviet, in the Middle East, 15–18
  in Turkey, 236
Olcott, Martha, 208
Oman

Dhofar rebellion, 168, 183, 184, 229–31, 240
and South Yemen, 240, 241, 242
Soviet relations with, 284, 285
Ozal, T., 256–7

Page, Stephen, 228

Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza, Shah of Iran,
177, 178–9, 180, 181, 183–4, 185, 186, 187

Pakistan

and Afghanistan, 194
and Iran, 184, 191
and Islam, 200, 201
Palestine

conflicting Jewish and Arab demands, 34–7
Soviet post-war policies, 29, 34–43
Palestine Guidance Committee, 120
Palestine National Council (PNC), 123
Palestinians

and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 100
Soviet attitude to, 110–23
Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 274–8
see also PLO

PDRY (People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen), see South Yemen
peaceful coexistence, policy of, 9–10, 21, 44, 46, 178
Peres, Shimon, 265, 271–2
perestroika

and Soviet foreign policy, 258, 261, 263

Persian Gulf

Gulf Cooperation Council, 195, 240–1
and Iran, 182–3
Iraqi naval facilities, 165
Soviet interests, 166
and Soviet military–strategic interests, 14, 15
see also Gulf states

PFLOAG (Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf), 230

PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), 112, 119, 122, 123, 275

PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation)

and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 104–5, 106, 108, 109, 273
and the Communists, 227
Fatah, 110, 114, 116, 119–20, 121, 123, 135, 274
and Iran, 188
and Iraq, 170
and Jordan, 76; see also Arafat, Yassir and the Khartoum summit, 70
Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 263, 265, 274–8
Soviet relations with, 80, 110–23
and Syria, 151, 152, 153, 156, 278, 281
and the United States, 149
and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 90
Podgorny, N. V., 7, 28, 58, 61, 69, 77, 78
and Turkey, 250, 251–2
Poland, 242
and Israel, 266
Poliakov, Vladimir, 8, 270
Poliburo, 5, 6, 7, 24, 199
political interests

Soviet, in the Middle East, 8, 19–28
political system, Soviet, 4–8
Ponomarev, Boris, 6, 7, 28, 76, 102
Potsdam Conference, 32–3
Primakov, Evgenii, 8, 75, 95, 102, 136, 260
on Islam, 201–2, 201–3
Qavam, A., 30, 31

Rafsanjani, Ali Akbar, 287–8
Reagan, Ronald, 127, 270

and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 108
and the Lebanon War (1982), 127, 130, 132, 133, 138
refugees, Arab, 109
and the PLO, 114, 115
Soviet policies on, 42
research institutes, Soviet, 6–7, 261
revolutionary democracies

in the Third World, 214–15, 220, 235
Ro’i, Yaacov, 34, 37, 40, 207
Rogers, William, 72, 75, 77
Rogers Plan, 72–3
Roy, M., 212, 213
Rubinstein, Alvin, 250
Sabry, Ali, 72

Sadat, Anwar

crackdown on Communists, 224–5
and Iran, 183
and the Six-Day War (1967), 58
Soviet relations with, 73, 77, 78–9, 80, 93, 96, 97, 124, 166, 268, 269, 281
and the Suez crisis, 52
and Syria, 146, 147–8
visit to Jerusalem, 150, 153, 170, 184, 234
and the War of Attrition, 75–6
Index

and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 82–3, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93
Sadek, M., 82
Sartawi, Issam, 121
Saudi Arabia, 195
    and the Iran–Iraq War, 195, 283
    and Iraq, 173
    and Lebanon, 124, 152
    and North Yemen, 236, 237–8
    and the oil boycott (1973), 17
    and South Yemen, 229, 231–3, 234, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242
    Soviet relations with, 46, 242, 270, 284, 285
    and Syria, 153, 154
    and the Turkish–Syrian crisis, 247–8
Second World War
    Soviet occupation of Iran, 29–30
Semichastny, Vladimir, 65
Sha’ir, Muhammed ash-, 125
Shamir, Y., 266
Shamir Plan, 273, 278
Sharanasky, Anatoli, 267
Shelepin, A., 28, 65
Shepliov, D., 7
Shevardnadze, Edward, 259, 260, 261, 277
    and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274
    and Egypt, 269
    and Israel, 265
    meeting with Khomeini, 287
    and Syria, 280
Shishlin, N., 135
Shukeiry, A., 70
Shultz, George, 271, 272–3
Sidki, A., 79, 82
Sisco, Joseph, 77
Six-Day War (1967), 58–67, 68, 164, 221
Soldatov, Aleksandr, 125
Somalia, 228, 232
    and Iran, 184
    and Iraq, 170
    loss of Soviet naval rights, 232, 234
South Africa
    and Iran, 188
South Yemen (PDRY), 150, 153, 156, 183, 228–43, 258
    and Iran, 184
    and Iraq, 171, 173
    and Islam, 200, 205
    and the Lebanon War (1982), 131, 134
    Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 285
    Soviet Union-first approach, 24–6, 27, 289
    Stalin, Joseph, 7, 12
    and the Communist Party, 4
    and Iran, 29, 30, 31, 32
    and Israel, 43
    and the Soviet attitude to Islam, 197–8
    Soviet foreign policy under, 9
    and Turkey, 32, 33, 34, 244, 245
    state, Islamic, 203–4
    strategic interests, see military-strategic interests
    Sudan, 69
    and Iran, 184
    and Iraq, 166
    Suez Canal, 42
    Israeli use of, 44
    Suez crisis, 47–54
    sufficient defence, concept of, 259
    Sukarno, A., 56
    Suslov, Mikhail, 6, 7, 136
    and Soviet political interests, 25, 28
Syria
    and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 103, 106, 107
    and Egypt, 61, 62, 146, 147–8, 223–4, 281
    invasion of Jordan, 111
    and the Iran–Iraq war, 195, 196
    and Iraq, 165, 170, 172–3, 281
    and Islam, 200, 205
    and Israel, 58
    and Lebanon, 96, 104, 121, 124–39,
    151–3, 155–6, 170, 278–9
    and the PLO, 121–2, 123, 275
    and resolution 242, 70
    and the Six-Day War (1967), 58, 60,
    61–2, 64–5, 67
    and Soviet military-strategic interests, 13, 14
    and Soviet oil interests, 16, 18
    Soviet policies under Gorbachev, 278–81
    Soviet relations with, 46, 80, 96–7, 104,
    125, 129, 140–56, 173
    Turkish–Syrian crisis, 140–2
    unification with Egypt, 54–5, 142
    and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 82,
    83, 84, 85, 86–7, 88–90, 93
    Tatu, Michel, 65
Third World
    national and revolutionary democracies, 213–15
    Soviet entry into, 9–11
    Soviet policies, 26–7, 80–1, 260–2
    Tikonov, N., 256
    Tirane, Strats of
    and the Six-Day War (1967), 60, 63, 66
    Tito, Marshal, 40, 56, 64
    Tlas, Mustafa, 145, 279, 280
318  Index

trade
with Iran, 179, 190, 191
with Turkey, 256
traditional Soviet interests
in the Middle East, 8–11
Treaties of Friendship and Cooperation
with Egypt, 77–9, 167
with Iraq, 167
with North Yemen, 236
with South Yemen, 235, 239, 240
with Syria, 96–7, 125, 129, 145, 153–5, 173
Turk, Riad, 223
Turkey, 244–57
and Iran, 191
and the Lebanon War (1982), 128
and the Six-Day War (1967), 59
Soviet oil exports to, 16
Soviet post-war policies, 29, 32–4
Turkish–Syrian crisis, 140–2, 247–8
Turkish Straits, 8–9, 32–3, 244, 253–4, 254–5
turkmens, Ili, 256
two-camp theory
and Soviet foreign policy, 9, 11
Ulfianovskii, Rostislav, 7–8, 190, 204
UNEF (United Nations Emergency
Force) and the Six-Day War (1967), 59, 62–3, 66
United Arab Emirates, 284
and the South Yemen–Oman
agreement, 241–2
and Soviet oil exports, 16
United Arab Republic (UAR), 54–5, 142, 221, 223
United Nations
and Egyptian–Soviet relations, 46
and the partition of Palestine, 36, 37
United States
and the Arab–Israeli conflict, 45, 68, 70–4, 75, 77, 79, 97–100, 102, 103, 104–7, 108
and the Arab–Israeli peace settlement, 262–3, 271, 273
and détente, 21
and Egypt, 47, 83
Eisenhower Doctrine, 53, 141, 247
and the Gulf States, 285, 288–9
and Iran, 31–2, 178–9, 180, 181, 182, 184–5, 187–8, 190–1, 284
and the Iran–Iraq War, 195, 196
and Iraq, 161–2, 170, 174

and Israel, 38, 39, 264
and the Lebanon War (1982), 127, 128, 132–3, 135–6, 137, 138–9
Middle East regional pacts, 45
naval power, 12–13
and North Yemen, 237, 238–9, 239–40
and Oman, 231, 241
and the PLO, 110, 113, 277
and post-war Palestine, 35–6
and the Six-Day War (1967), 59, 60–1, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67
and South Yemen, 228, 234
and Soviet military–strategic interests, 14–15
and Soviet oil interests, 18
and Soviet policy under Gorbachev, 258
and Soviet political interests, 22
and the Suez crisis, 50–1, 52, 53
and Syria, 149–50, 152, 153
Truman Doctrine, 32, 33
and Turkey, 244–5, 246, 247, 248, 249, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257
and the Turkish Straits, 33–4
and the Turkish–Syrian crisis (1957), 140–2
and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 86, 88, 89, 90, 91–2, 94
UNSCOP (United Nations’ Special
Committee on Palestine), 34, 36
UPONF (United Political
Organization-National Front), 231
Urguplu, S., 280
Ustinov, D., 7, 27
Uzbekistan, 283
Velayati, Ali Akbar, 286
Vietnam, 261–2
Vietnam War, 62, 72
Vinogradov, V., 82, 85, 86
Vorontsov, Yuri, 284, 286
Wafd Islamic movement, 223
weapons, see arms supplies
Workers Party of Kurdistan (PPK), 257
Wylie, J. C., 60–1
Yakovlev, Aleksandr, 260, 261
Yapp, Malcolm, 194, 208
Yazov, D., 279, 280
Yegorychev, Nikolai, 65
Yemen
civil war, 56, 236–40
and Egypt, 56, 57
and the Six-Day War (1967), 62, 67
Soviet oil exports to, 16
see also North Yemen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yemen Arab Republic (YAR), see North Yemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yom Kippur War (1973), 27, 82–94, 146–8, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia and the Yom Kippur War (1973), 87, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yurasov, Evgenii, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaire, 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhdanov, Y., 7, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two-camp theory, 9, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhdanovism and Soviet relations with Israel, 38, 40, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhukov, Marshal, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhurkin, V., 95, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet policy under Gorbachev, 266–7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>