This is the first comprehensive study of Soviet policies in the Middle East. Concentrating on policy developments, Professor Golan analyzes the major Soviet decisions and objectives since the end of World War II until the Gorbachev era. She pays particular attention to the wars and crises of recent years and the often problematic development of political relationships in the region.

Professor Golan begins by demonstrating how, until the end of the Brezhnev period, Soviet policies towards the Middle East were principally influenced by the demands of superpower competition with the USA. This is followed by a series of broadly chronological case studies of the main Soviet alliances such as Syria and South Yemen; and of Sadat's Egypt and Khomeini's Iran. Other issues given specific attention include Soviet attitudes to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the role of communism, the importance of Islam in Soviet-Middle East relations, and the emergence, particularly in the Brezhnev era, of differing Soviet elite opinions on Soviet objectives and policies in this region. This original and important book culminates in a study of Gorbachev's interests, initiatives and 'new thinking' in relation to over all Soviet foreign policy objectives and the role of the Soviet Union in the region.

Galia Golan is Jay and Leoni Darwin Professor of Soviet and East European Studies and Chairperson of the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She is one of the world's leading experts on the Soviet Union in the Middle East and has published widely including The Soviet Union and the Palestine Liberation Movement: An uneasy alliance; Yom Kippur and after The Soviet Union and the Middle East crisis: the Soviet Union and national liberation movements in the Third World and Gorbachev's new thinking on terrorism.
Soviet policies in the Middle East

Cambridge Soviet Union Paperbacks: 2

Editorial Board

Mary McAuley (General editor) Timothy Colton
Karen Dawisha David Dyker Diane Koenker Gail Lapidus
Robert Legvold Alex Pravda Gertrude Schroeder

Cambridge Soviet Paperbacks is a completely new initiative in publishing on the
Soviet Union. The series will focus on the economics, international relations,
politics, sociology and history of the Soviet and Revolutionary periods.

The idea behind the series is the identification of gaps for upper-level surveys
or studies falling between the traditional university press monograph and
most student textbooks. The main readership will be students and specialists,
but some ‘overview’ studies in the series will have broader appeal.

Publication will in every case be simultaneously in hardcover and paperback.
Also published in this series

**Soviet relations with Latin America 1959–1987**

Nicola Miller

The Soviet presence and purposes in Latin America are a matter of great controversy, yet no serious study has hitherto combined a regional perspective (concentrating on the nature and regional impact of Soviet activity on the ground) with diplomatic analysis, examining the strategic and ideological factors that influence Soviet foreign policy. Nicola Miller’s lucid and accessible survey of Soviet–Latin American relations over the past quarter-century demonstrates clearly that existing, heavily ‘geo-political’ accounts distort the real nature of Soviet activity in the area, closely constrained by local political, social and geographical factors.

In a broadly chronological series of case-studies Dr Miller argues that, American counter-influence apart, enormous physical and communicational barriers obstruct Soviet–Latin American relations, and that the lack of economic complementarity imposes a natural obstacle to trading growth: even Cuba, often cited as ‘proof’ of Soviet designs upon the area, is only an apparent exception.

**Gorbachev in power**

Stephen White

President Gorbachev has captured the imagination of the world. Yet there has been little sustained examination of either his proposals for reform or the experience of perestroika. In this book Stephen White provides for the first time a comprehensive and up-to-date account of the initial five years of Gorbachev’s leadership.

In an opening chapter, Dr White outlines the historical and political context to Gorbachev’s administration and the significant changes that have occurred over the last five years in party leadership. Subsequent chapters cover Gorbachev’s political reforms and the process of democratisation; his commitment to glasnost, embracing all areas of the media and creative arts; and the extent to which Gorbachev’s economic reforms have been put into practice. Stephen White also explores how Gorbachev has dealt with nationality questions and ethnic communalism as well as the changing role of the Soviet Union in international affairs. A final chapter places Gorbachev’s administration within the wider context of the politics of perestroika and assesses the problems facing the President as the Soviet Union enters the 1990s.
Soviet policies in the Middle East
from World War Two to Gorbachev

GALIA GOLAN
Jay and Leoni Darwin Professor
of Soviet and East European Studies
Chairperson, Department of Political Science,
Hebrew University of Jerusalem
## Contents

### Acknowledgements

Map

Introduction

1. Soviet policy-making in the Middle East: from Stalin to Brezhnev

2. The immediate post-war period: Iran–Turkey–Palestine

3. The Soviet-Egyptian relationship

4. The Six-Day War, 1967

5. The inter-war period, 1967–1973

6. The Yom Kippur War, 1973

7. Settlement of the Arab–Israeli conflict

8. The Palestinians and the PLO

9. The Lebanon War, 1982

10. The Soviet Union and Syria

11. The Soviet Union and Iraq

12. The Soviet Union and Iran

13. The Soviet attitude to Islam

14. Arab Communism in the Middle East

15. Marxist South Yemen and the Arabian Peninsula

16. The Soviet Union and Turkey

17. Gorbachev’s Middle East policy

Guide to further reading

Bibliography

Index
Acknowledgments

I should like to thank my research assistants, Brenda Sheffer and Mark Assaraf, whose dedication and diligence have been invaluable to me. The staff and resources of the Hebrew University’s Department of Political Science and Mayrock Centre for Soviet and East European Research of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, as well as the Rand Corporation where I spent part of the time writing this book, were most helpful. The Van Leer Institute of Jerusalem provided most congenial surroundings for the completion of the book.

I should like to dedicate this book to Yuval Hayo and Sagi Tirosh in deep appreciation.
The Middle East

BOUNDARY STATUS IN 1984

- - - - Not allocated
- - - - Allocated and delimited
- - - - Allocated, delimited and demarcated
- - - - Disputed boundary

Armistice lines
Disputed territory
Disputed islands
Boundary lengths shown in miles

0 500 1000 km
0 500 1000 miles

The Middle East