

# THE U.S.S.R. AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Edited by  
Michael Confino and Shimon Shamir

**TRANSACTION BOOKS**  
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Copyright © 1973 by Tel Aviv University, Israel



## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION ( <i>Shimon Shamir</i> )	ix
PART ONE: THE SOVIET THRUST	
1. THE MAKING OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY	
<i>Richard Pipes</i>	
Some Operational Principles of Soviet Foreign Policy	5
<i>Alexander Dallin</i>	
Domestic Factors Influencing Soviet Foreign Policy	31
2. THE SOVIET POSTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: POLICY, STRATEGY, AND IDEOLOGY	
<i>Ben-Cion Pinchuk</i>	
Soviet Penetration into the Middle East in Historical Perspective	61
<i>Hans Morgenthau</i>	
The Ideological and Political Dynamics of the Middle Eastern Policy of the Soviet Union	71
<i>Roman Kolkowicz</i>	
The Soviet Policy in the Middle East	77
<i>Walter Z. Laqueur</i>	
Soviet Dilemmas in the Middle East and Second Thoughts on the Third World	89
<i>Oded Eran</i>	
Soviet Perception of Arab Communism and Its Political Role	109
3. THE SOVIET UNION, ISRAEL AND THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT	
<i>Yaacov Ro'i</i>	
Soviet-Israeli Relations, 1947-1954	123



<i>Yigal Allon</i>	
The Soviet Involvement in the Arab-Israel Conflict	147
<i>J.C. Hurewitz</i>	
Superpower Rivalry and the Arab-Israel Dispute: Involvement or Commitment?	155
4. ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS	
<i>Abraham S. Becker</i>	
Oil and the Persian Gulf in Soviet Policy in the 1970s	173
<i>Gur Ofer</i>	
The Economic Burden of Soviet Involvement in the Middle East	215
PART TWO: MIDDLE EASTERN REPERCUSSIONS	
5. TRENDS IN MIDDLE EASTERN POLITICS	
<i>Leonard Binder</i>	
Transformation in the Middle Eastern Subordinate System after 1967	251
<i>P.J. Vatikiotis</i>	
Notes for an Assessment of the Soviet Impact on Egypt	273
6. COMMUNISM IN EGYPT AND SUDAN	
<i>Shimon Shamir</i>	
The Marxists in Egypt: The "Licensed Infiltration" Doctrine in Practice	293
<i>Elie Kedourie</i>	
Anti-Marxism in Egypt	321
<i>Haim Shaked, Esther Souery, and Gabriel Warburg</i>	
The Communist Party in Sudan, 1946-1971	335
7. COMMUNISM IN THE FERTILE CRESCENT	
<i>Uriel Dann</i>	
The Communist Movement in Iraq since 1963	377

<i>Avigdor Levy</i>	
The Syrian Communists and the Ba'th Power Struggle, 1966-1970	395
<i>Amnon Cohen</i>	
The Jordanian Communist Party in the West Bank, 1950-1960	419
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS	439





TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

The Russian and East European Research Center  
and

The Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern  
and African Studies

## ABOUT THIS BOOK

What used to be called, in the mid-fifties, the Soviet penetration into the Middle East has become, by the early seventies, a strong presence in the region and a deep involvement in its affairs. Yet the boundaries of the extension of Soviet influence in this area have not yet crystallized and the Soviet posture still fluctuates between new gains and sudden setbacks. An international conference, convened at Tel Aviv University in December 1971, attempted to evaluate the extent of the Soviet deployment in the Middle East, the interests which motivate it, the dilemmas it is facing, and its impact on local countries. This volume presents most of the papers read at that conference, as revised in the light of the conference's deliberations and later developments.

The historians and social scientists who contributed to this volume are well known authorities on the Soviet Union and/or the Middle East: Dr. A.S. Becker (RAND), Prof. L. Binder (Chicago), Dr. A. Cohen (Hebrew University), Prof. A. Dallin (Stanford), Prof. U. Dann (Tel Aviv), Dr. O. Eran (Tel Aviv), Prof. J.C. Hurewitz (Columbia), Prof. E. Kedourie (LSE), Prof. R. Kolkowicz (UCLA), Prof. W.Z. Laqueur (London & Tel Aviv), Dr. A. Levy (Tel Aviv), Prof. H. Morgenthau (Chicago), Dr. G. Ofer (Hebrew University), Dr. B. C. Pinchuk (Tel Aviv), Prof. R. Pipes (Harvard), Mr. Y. Ro'i (Tel Aviv), Dr. H. Shaked (Tel Aviv), Prof. S. Shamir (Tel Aviv), Miss E. Souery (Tel Aviv), Prof. P.J. Vatikiotis (London) and Dr. G. Warburg (Haifa). Israeli strategic and political thought is reflected in a paper written by Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon.



**The Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies  
Tel Aviv University**

*Other Publications*

**IRAQ UNDER QASSEM**

Uriel Dann 420 pages

**THE AFRO-ASIAN MOVEMENT**

David Kimche 304 pages

**SYRIA UNDER THE BATH**

Itamar Rabinovich 296 pages

**ARAB POLITICS IN THE SOVIET MIRROR**

Aryeh Yodfat 344 pages

**MIDDLE EAST RECORD**

Volume one 1960 616 pages

Volume two 1961 828 pages

Volume three 1967 670 pages

Volume four 1968 approx. 780 pages

Apart from admiration for the successful production of a large-scale, ambitious and unquestionably valuable reference book, which cannot but be helpful to present-day commentators, journalists, etc., as well as to future historians, most readers who consult it—including the present reviewer, a life-long non-Zionist—are bound to admire the patent impartiality with which both sides of all questions, however bitterly controversial, are treated. Although it is wholly an Israeli production the Arab side, whether of events or claims or opinions, is given as fully and unemotionally as that of Israel, and in the *ipsissima verba* of the spokesmen of Cairo, Baghdad, Amman or elsewhere. Relevant proceedings, speeches and motions at the United Nations are reported in full.

*International Affairs*, London

Nothing like it exists in any language. The organization of its materials, the scrupulously objective presentation, and lucidity of style deserve much credit.

A primary reference tool which will be extensively used—and with deep appreciation—by faculty, researchers, and students alike.

*Choice*, U.S.A.