

may regard themselves as stateless. The question of diasporas complicates the issue of East-West relations, precisely because some Soviet peoples have large diasporas and many have none.

Interestingly, the prognosis dimension of the papers, especially by Suny and Azrael, have been proven sound by subsequent events. Most of the measures recommended by Motyl as the basis of Western policies, in "an ideal world," are reasonable (if somewhat overtaken by events), but the suggestion that a second Nuremberg be established is not. Who would decide whom to try? Who would do the arresting in the USSR? Are Gorbachev and Yeltsin now cleansed of all iniquities perpetrated by the party of which they were active members for more than 20 years? Furthermore, to attribute some special "moral authority" to the "West" in connection with such a task strikes me as preposterous.

At any rate, American policymakers could still benefit by this quick and generally good read.

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Golan, Galia. *Soviet Policies in the Middle East From World War Two to Gorbachev*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

A Pax Americana is now being established in the Middle East in the wake of the US victory in the Gulf War and American primacy as an intermediary in Arab-Israeli diplomacy. This component of the "new world order" has aroused fear of regional American hegemony on the part of Iraq, Iran and more peripheral states such as Libya and Algeria as they yearn for the time when Soviet power was available as a counterbalance. With the Soviet Union moribund, and its influence in the Middle East largely dissipated, an era of tense superpower rivalry has come to an end; Galia Golan's book on the evolution of strategic competition since World War Two therefore provides a most timely epitaph.

Dr. Golan is a noted Israeli Sovietologist who has published numerous cogent volumes in her main field of expertise, Soviet policy toward the Middle East. In the past, her focus was primarily on the Soviet role in the Arab-Israeli conflict and on Soviet interaction with the Palestine Liberation Organization but, in this work, she broadens her coverage considerably to deal with all aspects of Soviet behavior in the region over almost half a century. The result is the best book available on the subject, emphasizing careful analysis of events rather than mere description and providing copious evidence rather

than accumulated detail. Most notably, Golan succeeds well in introducing new areas of scholarly concern (Iran, South Yemen, Turkey, etc.) not included in her previous publications and her clear and well-written account should serve as the definitive study in this area of scholarship.

Galia Golan is not alarmist in perceiving the Middle East as a Soviet target and she does not present balance sheets of Soviet strategic gains and losses. Ideological factors are downplayed and Soviet behavior is seen as that of a superpower acting in a neighboring area that is of secondary political importance -- perhaps like American policy toward Central America. Pragmatism is the keynote as flexibility overrides any pervasive Marxist-Leninist notions and changing coalitions of internal Soviet interest groups produce policies that must be viewed as multifaceted and non-monolithic. The result of this approach is sober analysis which recognizes change and nuance, not missionary zeal and doctrinal rigidity.

Golan's study seems to be based on the assumption that the reader has some background in the field of Soviet foreign policy and appears to be an effort to introduce advanced students to Soviet policy toward the Middle East. Scholars with such a specialization are not the evident audience as there are no notes and all bibliographic sources are in English. Those Soviet sources cited are also in English, a far cry from Golan's other books which make extensive use of Russian language materials.

Although Golan's presentation is most persuasive and thorough, the Soviet-American rivalry is somewhat overemphasized to the detriment of fuller coverage of the Sino-Soviet competition. Golan effectively includes this perspective in her analysis of events in South Yemen, but it is largely absent from her sections on Syria and Iran. Differences between the Soviet Union and Arab states are accentuated, but coordination in diplomacy or military affairs is somewhat underplayed. Gorbachev's "new thinking" is discussed, but more on Soviet economic difficulties as a policy determinant is needed. In addition, some references require a fuller explanation such as the Eisenhower Doctrine (p. 53) and the INF agreement (p. 270). In terms of word usage, the Arab withholding of oil in 1973-74 should properly be called an "embargo" rather than a "boycott," and Third World foreign policies evolving during the fifties and sixties were really based on "neutralism" rather than "neutrality."

Golan's coverage of the subject matter is both geographical and functional. Useful chapters are included on the Soviet view of Islam and the role of Middle Eastern communist parties, although one on military and economic aid would have been a welcome addition. So, too, would be a chapter on Jordan, which is dealt with only tangentially in connection with the Arab-Israeli conflict.

A study of such breadth must be commended for its accuracy. Very few factual errors are included, such as the reference (p. 9) to the founding of the Comintern in 1947 when it should have been the Cominform, and to the fall of the Shah in late 1978 rather than the actual early 1979. Also, the

assertion (p. 16) that Iran under the Shah supplied oil to "southern Russia" is questionable. One perplexing aspect of this fine volume is the strange spelling of place and personal names. Differentiating between typos and intentionality is quite difficult as many seemingly unusual spellings are repeated. Among those that are particularly vexing are the Strait of Hamouz (Hormus) on p. 168, Ogadan (Ogaden) on p. 232 and 255, Sea of Mamora (Marmara) on p. 33, Golda Meier (Meir) on p. 40, Suleyman Demeril (Demirel) on p. 250 and Nikolai Tikonov (Tikhonov) on p. 256.

Despite some minor flaws, this book is analytically superb and comprehensive in its treatment of the subject. It should serve as an excellent source for students and Dr. Golan must be complimented highly for synthesizing her earlier studies and adding numerous new perspectives which help provide as complete a treatise on Soviet policy toward the Middle East as we are likely to encounter.

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Bickerton, Ian J., and Carla L. Klausner. *A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1991.

In recent years, there have been a few textbooks on the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict written and designed for college students as well as the general public. These include Ritchie Owendale's *The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Wars* (London: Longman, 1984), Michael J. Cohen's *The Origins and Evolution of the Arab-Zionist Conflict* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987) and Charles D. Smith's *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988). Bickerton and Klausner's book is quite similar in organization and scope to the latter work and interestingly both these authors and Smith had their respective manuscripts read and critiqued by Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr. prior to publication.

Bickerton, of the University of New South Wales, and Klausner, of the University of Missouri-Kansas City, conceived the idea for their book while team-teaching a history colloquium at the latter's institution: they, like Smith, could not find a textbook suitable for their students. While Smith's work is rich in endnotes, Bickerton and Klausner have preferred to include brief lists of suggested readings at the end of each chapter. Moreover, they provide numerous maps and documents throughout the text that are, for the most part, reprinted from a wide array of previously published sources as well as chronologies for each chapter and historical photographs; none of these features are found in Smith's text.

A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict begins with a brief introduction that provides the fundamentals of Judaism and Islam, defines the