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**THE MIDDLE EAST SINCE 2000 :
AN OVERVIEW
LE MOYEN-ORIENT DEPUIS 2000 : UN
APERÇU**

Bibliographies Thématiques
No. 3/2003

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PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

2003

323 /00774

Bad Moon Rising : A Chronicle of the Middle East Today - London : Saqi Books.

139 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 0863563031

Author(s):

1. Kepel, Gilles

Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001
3. WAR ON TERRORISM, 2001-
4. MIDDLE EAST--CIVILIZATION
5. NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS, ARAB

Notes:

Includes index.

'One of the world's foremost experts on Islam and Islamism, Kepel returned to the Middle East even as New York was still struggling with shock and dust. This book is a dispatch from history's most contentious region during a period of breaking news. While sensing the omens of a new war, Kepel's account reveals that the realities are more complex than commonly understood. Bin Laden is popular and religious fervour is on the rise, but many people have also found the path to moderation without blunting their critical instincts. Throughout, Kepel asks the critical question : Why is there so much resentment towards, but fascination for, the West ?'

ID number: 80018485

Year: 2003

323 /00776

Revolutionaries and Reformers : Contemporary Islamist Movements in the Middle East - Albany, NY : State University of New York Press.

xi, 231 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0791456188

Subject(s):

1. ISLAM AND POLITICS--MIDDLE EAST
2. MIDDLE EAST--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--MIDDLE EAST

Added entry(s):

1. Rubin, Barry M., ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'Islamist movements seeking power today are faced with difficult choices regarding strategy, ranging from armed struggle to electoral efforts. An emerging alternative consists of a rethinking of Islamist politics, where the goal of a 'totally Islamic' polity would be abandoned in favor of some form of Islamic-oriented society. In this reformulation, Islamist politics would function as a pressure group to make society more Islamic, reinforcing the walls of semi-separate internal communities and reinterpreting Islam in more liberal ways. The

* This list contains material received as of April 15th, 2003 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 15 avril 2003.

September 11, 2001 terror attack on the United States, however, demonstrates that the radical approach remains attractive to many islamists. Addressing these issues, the contributors look at the countries where Islamist movements have been most important. Case studies of revolutionary and reformist groups are followed by chapters discussing future alternatives for Islamist politics, presenting arguments both advocating and critical of a potential liberal, reformist, interest-group Islamism.'

ID number: 80018521

Year: 2003

341.2 /00299

Reconstructing Iraq : Insights, Challenges, and Missions for Military Forces in a Post-Conflict Scenario - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 78 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871121

Author(s):

1. Crane, Conrad C.
2. Terrill, W. Andrew

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--ARMED FORCES--OPERATIONS OTHER THAN WAR
3. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ
4. RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'In October 2002, the US Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute, in coordination with the Office of the Army Deputy Chief of Staff/G-3, initiated a study to analyze how American and coalition forces can best address the requirements that will necessarily follow operational victory in a war with Iraq. The final report of the project consists of three parts : a discussion of historical insights from 20th century postwar occupations and post-conflict operations; an analysis of the unique challenges Iraq will present for an occupying power; and a mission matrix that lists 135 specific tasks that must be performed to build and sustain a state. The matrix arrays those tasks across four phases of occupation and designates whether coalition military forces or civilian agencies should perform them. The study has much to offer planners and executors of operations to occupy and reconstruct Iraq, but also has many insights that will apply to achieving strategic objectives in any conflict after hostilities are concluded.'

ID number: 80018504

Year: 2003

327 /01123

Iraq at the Crossroads : State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

178 p.; 24 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 354)

ISBN: 019852837X

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. IRAQ--SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Dodge, Toby, ed.
2. Simon, Steven, ed.
3. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'A US-led assault on Iraq will have unpredictable and possibly profound effects on Iraqi society. Moreover, those effects will vary with the objectives and strategy adopted by the US and its allies as well as by the pace and scope of the collapse of Iraqi resistance. Further, the reach of Washington's post-war objectives has not yet been settled. Given these multiple sources of uncertainty, understanding the relationship between Iraqi society and the Iraqi state after three decades of Ba'ath rule is all the more crucial to the success of post-war efforts to reconstruct the country and reconstitute its political system. Yet that relationship is poorly understood in the West. The Iraq of today cannot easily be mapped on to a neat diagram of sect, tribe, or party. The rentier structure of the state economy, the regime's manipulation of group identity to control the population, the emergence of a shadow state that distributes public goods to advance regime interests, and pervasive violence have transformed Iraq's socio-political landscape into dangerous and unfamiliar ground for intervention. These essays delineate the options now being debated in Washington and provide up-to-date assessments of how Iraqi state and society will respond to the impact of war and the removal of a deeply-rooted authoritarian regime.'

ID number: 80018444

Year: 2003

341.2 /00296

Would an Invasion of Iraq Be a 'Just War' ? - Washington : US Institute of Peace.

16 p.; 30 cm.

(Special Report)

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. JUST WAR DOCTRINE

Added entry(s):

1. US Institute of Peace

Notes:

<<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr98.html>> accessed 07/02/03.

'To contribute to the public discussion of whether the United States and its allies should invade Iraq, the US Institute of Peace organized a symposium on December 17, 2002 to address the question 'Would and invasion of Iraq be a 'Just War' ?

ID number: 80018457

Year: 2003

2002

355.2 /00244

Armed Forces in the Middle East : Politics and Strategy - London : Frank Cass.

xii, 268 p.; 23 cm.

(BESA Studies in International Security, 1368-9541)

ISBN: 0714652555

Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--ARMED FORCES
2. MIDDLE EAST--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. Rubin, Barry M., ed.
2. Keaney, Thomas A., ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book examines the Middle East's leading armed forces and their role in both military and political affairs. It considers their missions, doctrine, training, equipment and effectiveness

as fighting forces. At the same time, the various expert contributors discuss the relations between the armed forces and their respective governments, with the issues raised ranging from internal repression to budgetary matters. On some issues, high-ranking officers force Arab regimes to meet their demands. In other ways, regimes impose restrictions on their armies in order to maintain their own political control. These mechanisms also reduce the soldiers' military quality, and hence their ability to wage war. Among the armed forces specifically examined in this volume are those of Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Syria and Turkey. Other chapters provide an overview of the Middle Eastern militaries' political role and strategic value; of why Arab armies have performed poorly in warfare; and of the part played by the United States and Russia in training, arms supplies, shaping the doctrine of local militaries, and engaging in direct intervention.'

ID number: 80017831

Year: 2002

327 /01121

Iraq : A European Point of View - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

30 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 40)

Author(s):

1. Ortega, Martin

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

5. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST

6. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'In the last few months, European governments have responded in different ways to the American desire to exercise 'pre-emptive action' against the Iraqi threat and to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime. However, the Europeans share a sceptical attitude towards the initiative, since they perceive that a military solution might have unexpected negative consequences. Therefore, most Europeans believe that coercive action should not be taken hastily and that diplomatic means, especially through UNSC-sponsored inspections and destruction of Iraqi WMD, should be exhausted first. This paper suggests that Europeans are sceptical because they think that the United States underestimates the difficulties of post-Saddam state-building in what is a delicate regional environment. Also, Europeans fear that occupation of Iraq might lead to an escalation of terrorist activities in the West. Some voices in the US have indicated that creating a democratic Iraq would be the first step in the establishment of a new regional order in the Middle East, while Europeans are unconvinced about the possibility of 'importing' democracy into the region overnight by the use of force. Any stable 'new' regional order, the Europeans contend, should include a lasting and equitable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Finally, most Europeans believe that the international administration of postwar Iraq would have to deal not only with state-building but also with resources management. It remains to be seen whether this aspect of foreign administration would be accepted by the Iraqi population. In addition, lower oil prices would foster increased global oil consumption in the long term and, consequently, a worsening of the global environment, which is

against the declared European policy of determined action
against global warming.'

ID number: 80018420

Year: 2002

327 /01119

Russia & the Middle East - Camberley, UK : Conflict Studies Research
Centre.

14 p.; 30 cm.

ISBN: 1904423078

Author(s):

1. Smith, Mark A.

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST

2. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Conflict Studies Research Centre (GB)

Notes:

'This paper outlines briefly Russia's policies and relationships
with most of the countries in the region, and concludes that
Russia can still play a significant role in the region, despite
the USA's leading role.'

ID number: 80018369

Year: 2002

355.4 /01322

Common Challenges to the Levant : Cooperative Security in the Middle East
after Peace - Rome : NATO Defense College.

92 p. : ill.; 21 cm.

(NATO Defense College Monograph Series ; 11)

ISBN: 8887967113

Author(s):

1. Mekheimer, Osama F.

Subject(s):

1. ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT--1993---PEACE

2. MIDDLE EAST--NATIONAL SECURITY

3. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. NATO Defence College (IT)

Notes:

'In going back over the history and contents of several of the
bilateral and multilateral initiatives in the field of
cooperative security, including the ones launched by the OSCE,
NATO, the European Union and the 1991 Madrid Framework, the
author tries to establish what prospects there are for
practical cooperation in the security field that could draw the
countries of the Levant closer together. To do so, he begins by
analysing the main economic, social and political indicators in
the six countries comprising the Levant - Egypt, Jordan,
Israel, Lebanon, Syria and the Palestinian Territories - so as
to identify possible areas of cooperation between them. In
going back over the history of the various peace agreements
that have been signed between Israel and its neighbours, he
concludes that two major challenges will await the signatories
immediately after peace : how to sustain peace, on the one
hand, and how to build lasting trust between the parties, on
the other. He ends his analysis by urging Arab scholars to
become more deeply involved in thinking about collective
security while calling upon Middle Eastern governments to
deepen their cooperation with Western countries and in
particular with NATO.'

ID number: 80017931

Year: 2002

341.3 /00107

U.S. Military Presence in the Gulf : Challenges and Prospects - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vii, 75 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584870850

Author(s):

1. Hajjar, Sami G.

Subject(s):

1. USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--PERSIAN GULF REGION
2. PERSIAN GULF REGION--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--ARMED FORCES--PERSIAN GULF REGION

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The Gulf region has been vital to the interests of the United States and the industrial world for many years. The Gulf War of 1991 and the forward presence of US military personnel and equipment in several of the Gulf countries demonstrate the Gulf's importance to US policymakers and their commitment to its security and stability. The war on terrorism and its aftermath have further enhanced the need for US engagement in a region that includes two of the 'axis of evil' countries identified by President George W. Bush in his State of the Union address. The author here considers the critical questions of US military presence in the Gulf, the challenges it faces, and the prospects that lay ahead. He relies, in his presentation and analysis, on a variety of regional sources including newspaper reports and personal interviews conducted in the United States and the Gulf region, as well as on government and academic sources. The result is a comprehensive study, including policy recommendations for US military and civilian decisionmakers, that makes intelligible the complex subject of US-Gulf relations.'

ID number: 80017901

Year: 2002

355.4 /01335

Saudi Arabia and the Illusion of Security - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

104 p. ; 24 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 348)

ISBN: 0198516770

Author(s):

1. Peterson, J. E.

Subject(s):

1. SAUDI ARABIA--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. PERSIAN GULF REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
3. SAUDI ARABIA--FOREIGN RELATIONS
4. SAUDI ARABIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'This paper examines Saudi Arabia's security from the Saudi point of view, concentrating on internal challenges to the country's security as well as external threats. It argues that Saudi Arabia should pursue a policy of inclusion vis-a-vis Iraq and Iran, rather than simply following the Western emphasis on the exclusion of these states. It also surveys US-Saudi relations in the aftermath of the terrorist strikes of 11 September 2001 and concludes that, while relations have been damaged, a continued cooperative relationship is in the interest of both parties.'

ID number: 80018142

Year: 2002

355.4 /01323

Whither Iran ? : Reform, Domestic Politics and National Security -
Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.
96 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.
(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 342)
ISBN: 0198516673

Author(s):

1. Chubin, Shahram

Subject(s):

1. IRAN--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. IRAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. IRAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'Revolutionary enthusiasm has waned and a reformist movement has appeared in Iran, but where are these profound changes leading ? Could domestic reform cause changes in foreign and security policies that would transform Iran from a challenger of the regional order into a contributor ? This paper examines the changes and assesses actual and potential effects on Iran's security policies, specifically those relating to weapons of mass destruction, missiles and terrorism. The reform movement concentrates on domestic issues, but its pressure has already changed Iran's policies - most clearly on terrorism and, potentially, on the acquisition of nuclear weapons capability and the Middle East issue. It is least likely to affect its reliance on missiles for defence. A reforming Iran sees policy debated and issues ventilated and made more transparent. Western policy should encourage this, viewing engagement and contact as instruments for deepening the trend towards debate and pluralism in Iran and making it irreversible. Iran would then pose fewer problems for the West.'

ID number: 80017925

Year: 2002

323 /00757

Iraq : 'The Day After' - Moscow : Carnegie Moscow Center.
5 p. ; 30 cm
(Briefing Papers ; vol. 4, issue 9, September 2002)

Author(s):

1. Malashenko, Alexei

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Moscow Center (SU)

Notes:

<<http://pubs.carnegie.ru/english/briefings/2002/issue02-09.asp>>
accessed 29/10/02.

'The Saddam Hussein regime is hanging by a thread. True, it has been in such a state for almost a year. This fall, President Bush told the world how he was going to cut the thread. Predictions about when and how Saddam will fall are the favorite subject of both political analysts and politicians. They give little thought, however, to what might happen to Iraq itself and how 'Desert Storm II' might affect Iraq's neighbors as well as some other nations that are not exactly its neighbors. Meanwhile, considering such possibilities could be quite exciting ...'.

ID number: 80018264

Year: 2002

355.4 /01357

War with Iraq : Canada's Strategy in the Persian Gulf, 1990-2002 -
Kingston, CAN : Centre for International Relations.
xiii, 78 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.
(Martello Papers ; 24)
ISBN: 0889118922

Author(s):

1. Maloney, Sean M.

Subject(s):

1. CANADA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CANADA
3. PERSIAN GULF WAR, 1991--CANADA
4. CANADA--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. Queen's University. Centre for International Relations (CA)

Notes:

'The author reminds us here that, in the absence of Iraq's full compliance with the arms control regime and other conditions of the 1991 ceasefire which ended Desert Storm, a de facto state of war has continued to the present, albeit in a sporadic and inconsistent way. To frame the conflict in the Gulf this way does not make the current strategic, political, and moral choices facing governments any easier, but it may serve to better inform a wider audience as to the background and the stakes. Maloney's second contribution is to highlight how Canada has always been a part of that campaign, now into its second decade. Whatever Canadians may wish to believe, this is not peacekeeping but a form of war - a continuation of the enforcement authorized by the UN under Chapter 7 of the Charter. Pushing his thesis further, Maloney argues that Canada's actions in the Gulf cannot be explained simply by the traditional reflex to 'be there' or to have a 'seat at the table'. There is, he says, evidence of a coherent regional strategy at work, driven by palpable economic and security interests. Canada's behaviour over the past decade, when it comes to putting its limited military assets at risk, shows the Gulf to be its prime strategic concern beyond the Euroatlantic region.'

ID number: 80018495

Year: 2002

327 /01116

Iraq : The Transatlantic Debate - Paris : European Union Institute for
Security Studies.
22 p. ; 30 cm.
(Occasional Papers ; 39)

Author(s):

1. Gordon, Philip H., 1962-

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. WMD--IRAQ
4. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
6. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

'Most Americans see the regime of Saddam Hussein as a major threat to regional and international security that must be thwarted, even if that means threatening or even using military force. Europeans do not deny that the Iraqi regime is a threat, but they question whether that threat is so pressing that the international community should run the risk of invading an Arab country in the heart of the Middle East. It will not be easy to overcome these differences in perspective - which result from a range of deeply rooted historical, cultural, strategic and

domestic political factors. But it should not be impossible either. This paper proposes a common US-European strategy : joining together to demand, under the threat of an invasion that would change the Baghdad regime, Iraq's full compliance with UN Security Council resolutions calling for an end of its weapons of mass destruction programmes. If Iraq failed to comply with a new UNSC resolution reiterating these demands and setting forth a new verification regime, the United States and Europe would together overthrow Saddam Hussein and undertake a major reconstruction and peacekeeping effort in Iraq. If, on the other hand, Saddam did give up his weapons of mass destruction under the credible threat of military force, the United States would forgo plans for invading Iraq so long as Baghdad complied with existing and new UNSC resolutions.'

ID number: 80018365

Year: 2002

321 /00649

Democratic Mirage in the Middle East - Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

7 p. ; 30 cm.

(Policy Brief ; 20)

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. DEMOCRACY--IRAQ
3. DEMOCRACY--MIDDLE EAST
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Policybrief20.pdf>> accessed 21/10/02.

'The increasingly popular idea in Washington that the United States, by toppling Saddam Hussein, can rapidly democratize Iraq and unleash a democratic tsunami in the Middle East is a dangerous fantasy. The US record of building democracy after invading other countries is mixed at best and the Bush administration's commitment to a massive reconstruction effort in Iraq is doubtful. The repercussions of an intervention in Iraq will be as likely to complicate the spread of democracy in the Middle East as promote it. The United States has an important role to play in fostering democracy in the region, but the task will be slow and difficult given the unpromising terrain and lack of US leverage over key governments.'

ID number: 80018240

Year: 2002

327 /01079

Iraq : Compliance, Sanctions, and U.S. Policy - [s.l.] : Congressional Research Service.

15 p. ; 30 cm.

(CRS Issue Brief for Congress)

Author(s):

1. Katzman, Kenneth

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS--IRAQ
4. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Congressional Research Service (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.uspolicybe/Issues/Foreignpolicy/IB92117.pdf>> accessed 11/03/02.

'In recent years, the United States has been unable to maintain an

international consensus for strict enforcement of all applicable UN Security Council resolutions on Iraq, but it has largely succeeded in preventing Iraq from reemerging as an immediate strategic threat to the region. There is US concern about the long-term threat posed by Iraq, and, in the wake of the September 11 attacks, the Bush Administration has said it will prevent Iraq from re-emerging as a significant threat to US security. The exact form of that Administration stance has not yet been announced, whether it be through international sanctions and diplomacy, military action, or covert action.'

URI: <http://www.uspolicybe/issues/foreignpolicy/ib92117.pdf>

Link Title: <http://www.uspolicybe/Issues/Foreignpolicy/IB92117.pdf>

ID number: 80017857

Year: 2002

327 /01118

Iraq : Consequences of a War - Oxford, UK : Oxford Research Group.

19 p.; 30 cm.

(Briefing Paper)

Author(s):

1. Rogers, Paul

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Oxford Research Group (GB)

Notes:

<<http://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/Iraqbriefing.pdf>> accessed 11/12/02.

'The commitment of the Bush administration to regime termination in Iraq is so strong that a war with Iraq early in 2003 is now highly likely. Regime termination is thought necessary, in part, because of Iraq's likely development of weapons of mass destruction, but the control of the region's oil resources is also a major factor. Although the regime is weaker than eleven years ago, it is probable that most of its elite forces will resist attack. The regime will seek to draw foreign forces into a war in the greater Baghdad region, US war plans are expected to focus on destroying Iraq's military and administrative infrastructures, denying the regime access to its energy supplies and drawing out the elite forces so that they can be subject to intensive air attack. Evidence from the 1991 war indicates that it is highly likely that the regime will use all available military means, including chemical and biological weapons, if its very survival is threatened. In such circumstances, and especially if high casualties result, there is a possibility of a nuclear response. The British Government, in particular, has been candid in conceding this as a potential response to CBW use by Iraq. The United States has sufficient forces to ensure regime destruction but the regime's replacement by occupying forces or by a client regime, even if the war is not greatly destructive, should be expected to increase regional opposition to the US presence. It is likely, in particular, to increase support for organisations such as al-Qaida and to prove counter-productive to peace and stability in the region. Given these major consequences of a war - high civilian casualties, risk of the use of weapons of mass destruction and post-war regional instability - alternatives to war should be sought as a matter of urgency.'

ID number: 80018367

Year: 2002

- 327 /01117
 War with Iraq : Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives - Cambridge, MA :
 American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
 vii, 87 p.; 30 cm.
 ISBN: 0877240361
 Subject(s):
 1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
 2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
 3. WAR--ECONOMIC ASPECTS
 Added entry(s):
 1. American Academy of Arts and Sciences (US)
 Notes:
 <http://www.amacad.org/publications/monographs/War_with_Iraq.pdf>
 accessed 11/12/02.
 'The papers in this collection are an attempt to provide insight
 into the potential costs and consequences, over the long term,
 of going to war with Iraq.'
 ID number: 80018366
 Year: 2002
- 956 /00019
 A History of Iraq - Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press.
 xviii, 324 p. : ill.; 24 cm.
 ISBN: 0521821487
 Author(s):
 1. Tripp, Charles
 Subject(s):
 1. IRAQ--HISTORY
 2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
 Notes:
 Bibliography: p. 307-316. Includes index.
 'This updated edition covers events since 1998, and looks at
 present-day developments right up to mid-2002. Since its
 establishment by the British in the 1920s Iraq has witnessed
 the rise and fall of successive regimes, culminating in the
 dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. The author traces Iraq's
 political history from its nineteenth-century roots in the
 Ottoman empire, to the development of the state, its
 transformation from monarchy to republic and the rise of the
 Ba'th party and the ascendancy of Saddam Hussein. This is a
 story of social conflict, of power struggles between rival
 clans, of hostility and wars with neighbouring states, as well
 as of their aftermath, and Iraq's deteriorating relations with
 the West. The book offers an incisive analysis of the making of
 a modern state and how it creates its own distinctive
 politics.'
 ID number: 80018285
 Edition: 2nd ed.
 Year: 2002
- 321 /00648
 Iraq Backgrounder : What Lies Beneath - Brussels : International Crisis
 Group.
 47 p. : ill.; 30 cm.
 (ICG Middle East Report ; 6)
 Subject(s):
 1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
 2. POLITICAL PARTIES--IRAQ
 Added entry(s):
 1. International Crisis Group (BE)
 Notes:
 <http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/middleeast/middleeast/reports/A400786_01102002.pdf>
 accessed 15/10/02.
 'This background report reviews the mechanisms of Saddam Hussein's
 rule, looks at the political dynamics that govern relations

between religious and ethnic entities, and describes the various opposition groups and their potential role. It does not seek to predict the course of events in Iraq or to argue for any particular course of action.'

ID number: 80018227

Year: 2002

321 /00638

Jordan in Transition, 1990-2000 - London : Hurst.

xxii, 378 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1850654883

Subject(s):

1. JORDAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. JORDAN--SOCIAL CONDITIONS
3. JORDAN--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Joffe, George, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'The purpose of this book is to investigate the way in which Jordan is handling the transition from the long reign of King Hussain, who died in 1999 after ruling his kingdom for forty-eight tumultuous years, to the new circumstances that face his son, King Abdullah. It is also designed to investigate how Jordan will confront the external realities of economic globalisation and its domestic realities of political and social change, in an environment rendered particularly sensitive by the difficulties of the Middle East peace process between the Arab world and Israel.'

ID number: 80017769

Year: 2002

327 /01100

Turkish-Israeli Alliance : Attitudes, Responses and Impact - Athens :

Defense Analyses Institute.

100 p. ; 24 cm.

(Policy & Defense ; 15)

ISBN: 9608124220

Author(s):

1. Dimou, Antonia L.

Subject(s):

1. TURKEY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--ISRAEL
2. ISRAEL--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TURKEY

Added entry(s):

1. Defense Analyses Institute (GR)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 50-52.

'The central topic of this paper is the Turkish-Israeli partnership initiated under the US guidance during the 1950s and which has been transformed into a strategic one on account of significant developments in the mid-1990s. The Turkish-Israeli security relationship is the most important politico-strategic development in the Middle East since the Guld War. A significant part of this paper attempts to evaluate the strategic character of the Turkish-Israeli partnership. It poses the question how this stark deviation from Turkey's traditional policy of non-involvement in Middle Eastern affairs can be explained. What are the dynamics and interests behind the Turkish-Israeli alignment ? How does it affect the regional balance of power regarding the roles of Jordan, Iran, Greece and Cyprus toward the Turkish-Israeli alliance ? Is this alignment another part of a Western strategic grand scheme to control the economically vital Persian Gulf region ?'

ID number: 80018199

Year: 2002

327 /01083

Bound to Cooperate : Europe and the Middle East - Gutersloh : Bertelsmann
Foundation Publishers.

387 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 389204502X

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST
2. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
3. EU--MIDDLE EAST

Added entry(s):

1. Behrendt, Sven, ed.
2. Hanelt, Christian-Peter, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'Regional integration and the organisation of cross-regional relations have been some of the most prominent features of international relations. By further strengthening the institutions of the European Union, Europe is taking steps to become a capable international actor. Only in a few world regions, such as the Middle East, integration has not been a driving force moving political and economic relations. Given these structural imbalances between Europe and the Middle East, but also geographical proximity, economic interdependencies, and shared historical experiences, what interests does Europe pursue in the Middle East ? And, if the goal of European policies is to establish stable political, economic and social relations with its neighbouring region, how could inter-regional relations best be organised ?'

ID number: 80017897

Edition: 2nd ed.

Year: 2001

355.4 /01321

La securite dans l'espace de l'est mediterraneen et du Proche-Orient = De
veiligheid in het oostelijke Middellandse Zeegebied en het Nabije
Oosten - [s.l.] : [s.n.].

80 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. EMP
3. EU--MIDDLE EAST

Added entry(s):

1. Universite Catholique de Louvain (BE)

Notes:

Proceedings, 28/11/2001.

ID number: 80017907

Year: 2001

323 /00719

Post-Revolutionary Politics in Iran : Religion, Society, and Power -
London : Frank Cass.

xii, 356 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0714681210

Author(s):

1. Menashri, David

Subject(s):

1. IRAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. IRAN--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 337-343. Includes index.

'The Islamic Revolution of 1979 was s significant turning point in

the modern history of Iran and a momentous development in the contemporary Middle East. Carried forward on a wave of popular support, it represented a new political system and leadership, with a new ideology and a world vision. The revolution embodied a promise, and raised expectations, of a brighter future for both the state and the people. The first part of this book examines the domestic developments and their influence on Iran's policy and posture, mainly since the passing away of the founding father of the revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini, in 1989. The second part explores Iran's regional ambitions and international politics. In this way, the book also attempts to decipher the complexities that characterize the relationship between Iran's domestic dynamics and foreign policies. The extended epilogue examines the events until after the Majlis elections in 2000.'

ID number: 80017724

Year: 2001

323 /00734

Reinventing Khomeini : The Struggle for Reform in Iran - Chicago : University of Chicago Press.

xi, 306 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0226077586

Author(s):

1. Brumberg, Daniel

Subject(s):

1. IRAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

2. ISLAM AND STATE--IRAN

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book offers a new interpretation of the political battles for reform in Iran. The author argues that these conflicts did not result from a sudden ideological shift; nor did the election of President Mohammed Khatami in 1997 defy the core principles of the Islamic Revolution. To the contrary, the struggle for a more democratic Iran can be traced to the revolution itself, and to the contradictory agendas of the revolution's founding father, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.'

ID number: 80017870

Year: 2001

956 /00018

Iraq since 1958 : From Revolution to Dictatorship - London : Tauris.

xxi, 390 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 1860646220

Author(s):

1. Farouk-Sluglett, Marion

2. Sluglett, Peter

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--HISTORY

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 361-379. Includes index.

'Saddam Husayn's capacity to survive despite the punishing military defeat in 1991, assassination attempts and harsh western-sponsored economic sanctions has been greeted in the West with bewilderment and incomprehension. The nature of politics in Iraq and the context which has facilitated the perpetuation of Saddam's violent regime have been insufficiently understood. This book is the first to explore the emergence of modern Iraq from its foundation in 1920 into the 21st century. Its emphasis is on the period since the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958, with particular concentration on Saddam's rise to power and his consolidation as leader. It is the only political history of modern Iraq now available to provide a critical analysis of the Ba'thist regime

which has ruled since 1968.'

ID number: 80017953

Edition: Rev. ed.

Year: 2001

327.5 /00398

Israel, Palestine : verites sur un conflit - Paris : Fayard.

203 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 2213609373

Author(s):

1. Gresh, Alain

Subject(s):

1. ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

2. ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT--1993---PEACE

Notes:

Bibliography: 199-201.

'Ce livre est ne d'une indignation, mais aussi d'une volonte de comprendre, de faire comprendre. En quelques mois, tous les espoirs de paix au Proche-Orient, nes de la poignee de main historique entre Yasser Arafat et Itzhak Rabin en 1993, se sont effondres. La seconde Intifada a exprime les limites des accords signes. En France, cette revolte a suscite des solidarites souvent communautaires, de la part des juifs comme des Arabes. Faut-il se resigner a ces derives ? N'existe-t-il pas un discours laique susceptible de transcender ces divisions ? L'affrontement israelo-palestinien a une longue histoire : de la naissance du sionisme a la guerre de 1948 et a la creation d'Israel, de la resistance des Palestiniens a leur transformation en refugies et a la creation de l'OLP, de la guerre de 1967 a la paix d'Oslo, mille episodes dont il est necessaire de saisir l'enchainement. Mais ces indispensables rappels ne peuvent suffire. Il convient de les replacer dans un cadre d'analyse qui leur donne un sens universel. Car pourquoi ce qui vaut pour l'ex-Yougoslavie ou l'Afrique de Sud ne vaut-il pas en Palestine-Israel ? La Terre sainte nous ferait-elle perdre le nord ? Acceptons d'utiliser, pour comprendre cet Orient complique, la boussole de la raison humaine.'

ID number: 80017892

Year: 2001

327.3 /00598

The Middle East = Le Moyen-Orient - Geneva : UNIDIR.

99 + 109 p.; 30 cm.

(Disarmament Forum ; 2/01 = Forum du Desarmement ; 2/01)

Subject(s):

1. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--MIDDLE EAST

2. ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT--1993---PEACE

3. WEAPONS PROLIFERATION--MIDDLE EAST

Added entry(s):

1. Vignard, Kerstin, ed.

2. Compagnion, Valerie, ed.

3. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

Notes:

'The stalemate in the Middle East Peace Process has taken a drastic turn for the worse in the past months. With violence exploding, hopes for positive steps towards a Palestinian-Israeli accord in the near future are all but extinguished. How will this deteriorating situation effect the rest of the Middle East ? What are the near to mid-term prospects for the region ? What's happening with ACRS and what, if anything, are its possibilities ? Topics such as the international community's wavering equivocations on how to deal with Iraq, recent elections throughout the region and their implications, and the indisputable strategic importance of the

Middle East demand a new examination through a regional security and disarmament lens. This issue offers a deeper exploration of how and why the Middle East constitutes such an important challenge to arms control and disarmament.'

ID number: 80017357

Year: 2001

2000

321 /00035 REF

The Middle East and North Africa : 2001 - London : Europa.

xviii, 1279 p.; 29 cm.

ISBN: 1857430794

Subject(s):

1. AFRICA, NORTH

2. MIDDLE EAST

ID number: 80017062

Edition: 47th ed.

Year: 2000

33 /00032BREF

Middle East Review : The Economic and Business Report : 2000 - Saffron

Walden, UK : Walden Publishing.

viii, 256 p. : ill.; 27 cm.

ISBN: 1862170215

Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

2. AFRICA, NORTH--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

3. MIDDLE EAST--COMMERCE

4. AFRICA, NORTH--COMMERCE

ID number: 80017402

Edition: 25th ed.

Year: 2000

628 /00071

Water Politics in the Middle East : A Context for Conflict or

Co-operation? - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

xiv, 255 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333745035

Author(s):

1. Dolatyar, Mostafa

2. Gray, Tim S., 1942-

Subject(s):

1. WATER-SUPPLY--MIDDLE EAST

2. MIDDLE EAST--STRATEGIC ASPECTS

3. WATER RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT--MIDDLE EAST

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 220-243. Includes index.

'It is common-place among commentators on the Middle East that the next war in that region will be fought over water, not oil. However, the evidence does not support this prediction; although water scarcity has occasionally provoked dispute in the Middle East, it has more often promoted co-existence between adversaries. Accordingly the authors put forward a new interpretation of water politics in which water is seen as a critical factor in moving countries towards cooperation rather than conflict with their neighbours. The basic reasoning behind this hypothesis is that water is too precious to be risked in warfare. The authors develop this hypothesis by detailed case-studies of the three major international water basins in the region : the River Jordan, the Euphrates-Tigris basin, and the Arabian Peninsula. In each case the same conclusion is reached - water scarcity should be seen as a platform for regional cooperation,

thereby reinforcing peace, not provoking war.'

ID number: 80016076

Year: 2000

355.4 /01275

Gulf Security : Opportunities and Challenges for the New Generation -
London : Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies.

xv, 142 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

(Whitehall Paper Series ; 51)

ISBN: 00855161310

Subject(s):

1. PERSIAN GULF REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. MacKnight, Sean, ed.
2. Partrick, Neil, ed.
3. Toase, Francis, ed.
4. Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (GB)
5. Royal Military Academy Sandhurst (GB)

ID number: 80016817

Year: 2000

321 /00636

Iran, Islam and Democracy : The Politics of Managing Change - London :
Royal Institute of International Affairs.

xv, 240 p. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1862031177

Author(s):

1. Ansari, Ali M.

Subject(s):

1. IRAN--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. ISLAM AND POLITICS--IRAN
3. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--IRAN
4. DEMOCRACY--IRAN

Added entry(s):

1. Royal Institute of International Affairs (GB)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 224-233. Includes index.

'The author has tackled two of the most important and vexing questions affecting the Islamic Republic of Iran : is genuine democratization possible in an Islamic context ? And if so, is the trajectory of developments in contemporary Iran pointed in that direction ? He answers yes to both of these questions. He begins with a brief examination of the Western or Orientalist critique of the Iranian revolution as a religious phenomenon. The bulk of Ansari's analysis is devoted to a careful reconstruction of the first four years of Khatami's presidency. He describes and documents the successes and tribulations of the reformist experience. Contrary to the Western image of a beleaguered Iranian reform movement thwarted and defeated at every turn, Ansari sees this continuing struggle as a process of growing maturity of political consciousness, with the conservative forces increasingly discredited and offering nothing but violence and repression. In his judgement, 'a social revolution is taking place which will lead to the institution in Iran of Islamic democracy'.'

ID number: 80017722

Year: 2000

623 /00917

Saddam's Bombmaker : The Terrifying Inside Story of the Iraqi Nuclear and Biological Weapons Agenda - New York : Scribner.

352 p.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0684873869

Author(s):

1. Hamza, Khidhir
2. Stein, Jeff

Subject(s):

1. NUCLEAR WEAPONS--IRAQ
2. BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--MILITARY POLICY

Notes:

Includes index.

'The authors have provided here a personal account of the Iraqi nuclear weapons program. The book contains descriptions of key parts of the nuclear and, to a lesser extent, the biological and chemical weapons programs. Second, this account describes the methods and individuals charged with carrying out the grandiose objectives of Saddam Hussein. Third, Dr. Hamza discusses the pressures and dilemmas faced by Iraq's most talented individuals. He reveals the role of certain key personalities (most of whom are still active in Iraq) and procedures (e.g., clandestine overseas procurement). Dr. Hamza's focus on the human element of the regime's weapons programs demonstrates one of the major weaknesses of those programs. Many of the highly educated individuals who, like Dr. Hamza, are capable of building these weapons, would rather be somewhere else and doing something else. A surprising number do escape Iraq and offer a source of information often ignored by the world community.'

ID number: 80017709

Year: 2000

355.4 /01267

Continuity and Change in Israeli Security Policy - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

84 p.; 24 cm.

(Adelphi Papers, 0567-932X ; 335)

ISBN: 0199224838

Author(s):

1. Heller, Mark A.

Subject(s):

1. ISRAEL--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'This paper examines the foundations of Israeli security policy and analyses the impact of changes in the external threat environment and in domestic politics and society. It argues that the traditional policy of deterrence based on 'offensive defensive', elaborated under David Ben-Gurion and his successors, is no longer adequate in the face of the new challenges posed by low-intensity warfare and weapons of mass destruction. Israel's ability to meet these challenges depends to a large extent on the fate of the peace process. This in turn hinges, at least in part, on the outcome of the domestic contest over the future character of Israeli politics and society. This contest is essentially between two positions : one inward-looking or 'backlash', the other outward-looking or 'internationalist'. Its outcome will have long-term implications for Israel's security policy, both in terms of the kinds of threats that the country will face, and how well it will be able to deal with them.'

ID number: 80016695

Year: 2000

628 /00072

Turning Water into Politics : The Water Issue in the Palestinian-Israeli
Conflict - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

xx, 297 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333699645

Author(s):

1. Rouyer, Alwyn R.

Subject(s):

1. WATER-SUPPLY--POLITICAL ASPECTS--ISRAEL

2. WATER RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT--POLITICAL ASPECTS--ISRAEL

3. ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Notes:

Includes index.

'The author presents a comprehensive and objective examination of the water issue in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The book examines the historical, environmental, economic and legal dimensions of the water issue between Israel and the Palestinians but demonstrates that the dispute is essentially political in nature and can be solved only through political accommodations. The book examines the Palestinian-Israeli water conflict and water negotiations in the peace process from a variety of disciplines and includes informations gathered from over 60 interviews with leading and knowledgeable Israeli and Palestinian authority government officials. The water dispute between the Israeli and the Palestinians seldom grabs newspaper headlines like the issues of Jerusalem or Jewish settlements, but no permanent peace accord can be achieved between these two people without agreement over the allocation of shared water resources.'

ID number: 80016253

Year: 2000

PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

2003

- Aristegui, Gustavo de
Tercera guerra del Golfo ?
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 92, marzo - abril 2003, p. 99-111.
La amenaza iraquí requiere una firme respuesta de la comunidad internacional. La violación reiterada de las resoluciones de las Naciones Unidas no puede tolerarse por mas tiempo.

- Athanassopoulou, Ekavi
Responding to a Challenge : Greece's New Policy Towards Israel.
JOURNAL OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN AND BLACK SEA STUDIES, vol. 3, no. 1, January 2003, p. 108-125.
In response to the Israeli-Turkish strategic partnership of the 1990s Greece was driven closer than ever before to Israel. By the end of the 1990s it was clear that Athens had reached a turning point in its policy towards Israel. The PASOK government wished to maintain Greece's traditionally good relations with the Arabs. Nevertheless, it was ready to risk upsetting them in the pursuit of a good relationship with Israel. The promotion of relations with Jerusalem (underdeveloped for over 40 years), was understood to serve national policy goals. It was viewed as part of Greece's strategy towards Turkey (Greece's perennial adversary), as well as of its policy of full alignment with the US and its EU partners. Developments in the regional environment and the ability of the Greek government to respond to opportunities will determine whether Greek-Israeli relations could grow in substance.

- Auge, Jean-Christophe
Pro-occidentalisme des gouvernements et opinions publiques au Moyen-Orient : une fracture consommée ?
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 49, printemps 2003, p. 79-90.
Au regard du contexte regional et international, c'est bien l'image d'une fracture, si ce n'est celle d'un divorce, qui semble plus que jamais caracteriser les rapports entre gouvernements et opinions publiques au Moyen-Orient. Si le pro-occidentalisme de nombreux gouvernements arabes semble difficile a nier, il releve cependant parfois plus d'une orientation strategique relevant de choix plus ou moins contraints, que d'une preference revendiquée. Quant aux opinions publiques, il est evident que, avec la 'question irakienne', le drame palestinien constitue l'autre grand moteur de l'amertume des opinions arabes et moyen-orientales a l'encontre des Etats-Unis. Neanmoins, elles semblent frappees d'une certaine 'schizophrenie', qui resonance bien souvent comme un amour decu.

- Bahgat, Gawdat
The United States, Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction.
DEFENSE & SECURITY ANALYSIS, vol. 19, no. 1, March 2003, p. 5-14.
<http://www.ingentaselect.com>
This study examines the international efforts, led by the United States, to rid Iraq of WMD since the end of the Gulf War in 1991. The following section discusses Washington's assessment of Baghdad's chemical, biological and nuclear capabilities in the early 2000s. Finally, the article analyzes the impediments that should be taken into consideration in deciding any US military action against Iraq. The main argument is

** This list contains material received as of April 15th, 2003 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 15 avril 2003.

that despite continuing and mounting distrust in Hussein's regime, the United States has not developed a clear strategy to oust the Iraqi leader and replace him with a friendlier regime. More than a decade after the Gulf War, the Iraqi quagmire seems as messy as it has always been.

- Bakhtiari, Bahman
Vaziri, Haleh
Iran : Doubting Reform.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 660, January 2003, p. 36-39.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
September 11 and subsequent developments have put to rest any idea that reforms will occur quickly in Iran or that relations will be restored with the United States.

- Benchenane, Mustapha
Etats Unis et Irak.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59eme annee, no. 3, mars 2003, p. 15-23.
Après avoir démontré les 'preuves' américaines et britanniques, rien ne saurait justifier une intervention militaire contre l'Irak. Rappelant que l'abstention d'un seul des cinq membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité, et non un veto, suffit à empêcher l'adoption d'une résolution du recours à la force, la légitimation de l'ONU apparaît difficile. C'est donc bien au mépris du droit international que se met en place la politique de puissance américaine, en fonction de ses propres intérêts.

- Cable, Vincent
Sting in the Tail.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 2, February 2003, p. 12-14.
President Saddam Hussein of Iraq may have another weapon of mass destruction in his armoury - the economic effects of war. Changes in oil prices and the cost of conflict might just produce regime change in Saudi Arabia and recession for us all.

- Celso, Anthony N.
The Death of the Oslo Accords : Israeli Security Options in the Post-Arafat Era.
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 14, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 67-84.
The hope generated by the Oslo Accords and the political capital spent to preserve its ideological and political trajectory have been replaced by cynicism, suicide bombings, and despair. How did Oslo collapse so rapidly and what are the security implications for Israel of this event ? This essay addresses these issues in three parts. First, it examines the Oslo Accord and the events that have led to its rapid demise. Second, it argues that the Bush administration policy vis-a-vis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be best explained within the context of the 'war against terror' and that this antiterror campaign has contributed to delinking the peace process from the PLA leadership. Third, it examines Israel's internal and external security dilemmas and what strategic options it might pursue in a post-Arafat environment. The essay concludes by endorsing a unilateral Israeli evacuation from the West Bank and Gaza after the construction of a border security fence. Such a policy represents the least bad alternative in a security environment increasingly dominated by Islamic extremism and suicide bombings.

- Clarke, Michael
D-Day or Delay ?
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 2, February 2003, p. 4-7.
There are two main strategies for how to run a war against Iraq. But political problems may make it difficult to give either an early go ahead. There is a third way, and a decision not to decide for now could achieve everyone's objectives. February 15 is much talked about as the day for military action to begin. If so, some fancy political footwork will be necessary.

- Clement, Rolf
Amerikas Ziele im Nahen Osten.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 4, April 2003, S. 50-51.

- Cooper, Mary H.
Future of NATO : Is the Alliance Still Viable ?
CQ RESEARCHER, vol. 13, no. 8, 28 February 2003, p. 177-200.
President Bush's Iraq policy has exacerbated longstanding tensions between the United States and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), established after World War II to counter the Soviet Union. The administration's go-it-alone stance in foreign policy has prompted France and Germany to lead efforts to thwart Bush's plans to attack Iraq. Some experts say the rift is proof that the alliance has outlived its mandate, while NATO supporters say it remains a vital bulwark against terrorism and other threats to democracy. Meanwhile, some critics are asking whether America's allies should speed up weapons modernization to better collaborate with the Pentagon's technologically sophisticated equipment. Others say NATO is fast evolving into little more than a political forum.

- Ehteshami, Anoushiravan
Reform from Above : The Politics of Participation in the Oil Monarchies.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 1, January 2003, p. 53-75.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The oil monarchies of the Middle East have usually been portrayed as patriarchal autocracies dominated by traditional tribal families who have come to encompass the modern states, its institutions and economy. The focus of much discussion about these states since the oil boom of the 1970s has been that oil income has provided their tribal elites with an economic boom and an ability to use 'rent' as their primary tool for the pacification of their citizens and for resisting demands for reform. In the light of significant political changes and reforms introduced in the oil monarchies since the late 1990s, it is time to re-evaluate our assessment of the oil monarchies' ability to change, to adapt. Empirical data not only supports the view that the oil monarchies are introducing reforms, albeit at a varied speed, but that it is the elite themselves who are emerging as the greatest agents for change.

- Eshel, David
Der irakische Geheimdienst : Saddam Husseins Ruckhalt.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 1, Januar 2003, S. 13-15.

- Eyal, Jonathan
Battle of the Atlantic.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 3, March 2003, p. 6-8.
Regardless of how the Iraq episode ultimately concludes, one thing is certain : both Europe and the United States will try to paper over their bitter dispute. The US needs Europe, especially in its quest to maintain a new Middle East stability, while Europeans have little to gain from prolonging the spat. France has accomplished what it always wanted - raising serious questions about the very survival of NATO. And the

Germans, who have achieved a similar result by accident rather than design, will do their best to restore their link with Washington.

- Falk, Richard
Why International Law Matters.
NATION, vol. 276, no. 9, 2003, p. 19-22.
<http://www.uspolicy.be/aa/aamar203.htm>
The author discusses how pre-emptive war flagrantly contradicts the UN's legal framework. The UN General Assembly could by resolution convene an emergency session to oppose recourse to war against Iraq.

- Glain, Stephen
Jordan : The Consequences of Peace.
SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 167-182.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Time and shifting geopolitics may be catching up with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Born from twentieth-century imperial ambition, Jordan has been a redoubt of stability and restraint in the last half-century of Middle East turbulence and now stands firmly alongside the West in the war on terrorism. Hawks in the White House say the road to peace in the Middle East begins in Baghdad and ends in Jerusalem, implying that the destruction of Saddam Hussein will uncork a surge of liberal reform throughout the region. If so, Jordan is likely to be overshadowed by its neighbours in a region that may be stable and possibly robust, but less inclined than the Hashemites to follow Washington's lead - particularly regarding relations with Israel.

- Gordon, Philip H.
Bush's Middle East Vision.
SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 155-166.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
At the heart of the Bush administration's approach to the Middle East is the determination to use America's friends in the region, opposing its enemies and seeking to promote democracy and freedom. This means using force to overthrow the dictatorship in Iraq, promoting gradual political reform among the moderate Arab regimes and standing by Israel until the Palestinians understand that they will get nowhere with violence. Whether or not one thinks that it makes any sense - and there are plenty of reasons to believe that Bush's assumptions are misguided and that the approach will fail - it is important to understand and take seriously the new thinking in Washington.

- Haas, Harald
Plaschke, Andrea
Palastina : Konflikt und Psyche : der Versuch einer psycho-politischen Analyse des Nahostkonfliktes.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 1, Jannar - Februar 2003, S. 31-40.
The authors suggest a psycho-political approach to the Middle East conflict, focusing on the traumatic defeats that the Palestinians and the Israelis experienced. Both people are suffering from their respective national traumata which, by being continuously re-staged, contribute to a cycle of violence that is handed down from generation to generation. A way out of this dilemma can only be achieved by pertinent mediation, as the 'Harvard Negotiation Projects' suggests it. Instead of fighting over positions, which are often just a cover-up for underlying problems, points of dispute should be decided on the basis of their importance and relevant content. The mediator, a neutral third party with equidistance to the conflict parties, should guide the process like a manager or film producer and lay down the rules for interacting. However, such a person is nowhere in sight in the Middle East, at the moment. Only under the protection of international peace troops could Israelis and Palestinians start the laborious process of coming to terms with their traumatic

pasts. And after that, a mediator could be sought, who might then substantially contribute to a solution by mediating a settlement.

- Hashim, Ahmed

Saddam Husayn and Civil-Military Relations in Iraq.

MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 57, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 9-41.

This article addresses civil-military relations in Iraq under Saddam Husayn over the past thirty years. Historically, the Iraqi armed forces have intervened regularly in the political process of the country. This has been to the detriment of political stability, the ability of Iraq to play a role in regional politics and to emerge as a major military power. Saddam recognized this early on and implemented a series of stringent controls to bring the military to heel under civilian rule. But the military has continued to threaten his rule. At the present time, Iraq has come under immense pressure from the United States, which has threatened it with war to remove the regime. Is there any possibility that the military might intervene and remove Saddam itself and under what circumstances ? How would a civilian government in a post-Saddam Iraq establish civilian control over the military ?

- Hawthorne, Amy

Can the United States Promote Democracy in the Middle East ?

CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 660, January 2003, p. 21-26.

<http://www.currenthistory.com>

In the aftermath of September 11, the United States has no alternative other than to begin to shift its role in the Arab world from an enabler of authoritarian rule to a supporter of gradual, but genuine, democratic change.

- Hollis, Rosemary

Getting Out of the Iraq Trap.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 1, January 2003, p. 23-35.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

The Iraq crisis has been variously defined as a problem of local leadership, regional security, culture clash, arms control, neo-imperialism, transatlantic relations and international legitimacy. The competing definitions reflect the worldviews of different actors with a stake in the outcome of the crisis. Each perspective has validity for its proponent and none of them can be expected to triumph to the exclusion of the others. Consequently, it is argued here, whatever the goals of UN and/or military intervention in Iraq, at the receiving end, the experience will be at odds with what is meant or sought by such intervention. A way to understand the problem and thence to address it is ventured which combines local, regional and international perspectives and calls for a multitiered, multilateral approach to rethinking Iraq and the region. The intention is to take on 'the hawks' who claim that the United States can deliver democracy to client states, challenge their logic and propose an alternative vision that would require all parties, international and local, to take shared responsibility not only for Iraq but for Palestine too.

- Hollis, Rosemary

Opening Options.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 3, March 2003, p. 9-11.

Among the various arguments for and against war on Iraq, four require reconciliation if the UN and international legitimacy are to be preserved and a better future delivered for Iraqis. These arguments are represented by the French and British governments and two schools of thought within the US administration : the traditional 'realists' including Secretary of State Colin Powell, and the ideologues, or neo-conservatives, championed by Richard Pearle, head of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board.

- Jabar, Faleh A.
Four-headed Dragon.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 3, March 2003, p. 11-12.
The imprudent, casual spirit that permeates official American papers on the future of Iraq after conflict sends shock waves through those less complacent about reality there. Four 'isms' will overshadow the day after war. Each is a monster in its own right, but little attention is paid to them.

- Klare, Michael T.
For Oil and Empire ? Rethinking War with Iraq.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 662, March 2003, p. 129-135.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
The author examines the motives behind America's decision to make Iraq a central objective in the war on terrorism. If concerns about weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and the export of democracy do not explain the administration's determination to oust Saddam Hussein, what does ? The answer can be found in the pursuit of oil and the preservation of America's status as the paramount world power.

- Knights, Michael
Sparing Civilians.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 4, April 2003, p. 4-6.
Hundreds of western volunteers have entered Iraq intending to serve as human shields to prevent the targeting of power stations, water purification facilities, hospitals and other non-military facilities. One group camped in the conference room of the South Baghdad Power Plant, some fifty yards from the main generator hall - a prime target for air attack if ever there was one, some might think. This says a lot about this group of people. Firstly, it underlines their commitment to displaying the courage of their convictions. But it also shows how out of touch they are with the realities of modern western military thinking. The power station, like the vast majority of such Iraqi infrastructure, will not be bombed, because American military planners - following an evolving decade-long policy - struck it off the target list long ago.

- Krech, Hans
Die irakische Opposition im Kampf gegen Saddam Hussein.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 4, April 2003, S. 53-55.

- Loescher, Gil
Be Prepared.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 2, February 2003, p. 7-9.
The pitiful sight of many thousands of Iraqi refugees moving into the mountains of the Turkish border after the 1991 Gulf war touched prime ministers and presidents worldwide. The policy of safe havens was born. But planning for any new refugee crisis is woefully inadequate.

- Marchat, Philippe
De l' Irak ...
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 1, janvier 2003, p. 98-112.
Les laborieuses negociations menees depuis plusieurs mois sur l'Irak, l'un des pays de 'l'axe du mal' pour le president Bush, ont abouti, fin novembre 2002, a l'acceptation par Saddam Hussein de la resolution 1441 du Conseil de securite qui permet le retour des inspecteurs de l'ONU. Ce qui ne signifie pas forcement que 'la guerre de l'Irak n'aura pas lieu'. Apres avoir engage et perdu deux guerres, contre l'Iran, puis le Koweit, Saddam Hussein entretient depuis deux decennies des relations tendues avec l'occident et l'ONU qui le soupconnent, depuis le terme qu'il a mis en 1988 aux controles effectues, de continuer a s'equiper en armes non conventionnelles. Leur elimination, comme celle de l'equipe dirigeante, ainsi que l'eventuelle substitution de l'Irak a l'Arabie Saoudite comme

leur premier fournisseur de petrole, sont pour les Etats-Unis autant de raisons d'une intervention, dont certains experts estiment pouvoir definir le schema general. Tel n'est pas le cas, en revanche, pour ce que sera 'l'apres-Saddam', en raison des multiples inconnues qui decoulent d'une situation politique interieure tres complexe, et de la diversite des eventuelles reactions de plusieurs Etats arabes et musulmans.

- Marr, Phebe
Iraq 'the Day After' : Internal Dynamics in Post-Saddam Iraq.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 56, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 13-29.
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>
The major problem with exile groups lies in the fact that they would have to be put in power by the United States and probably maintained there by American forces if they are to survive until a new constitutional regime can be established. With the exception of the Kurds, who cannot take over Baghdad on their own, the opposition's leadership and organization is outside Iraq.
- Mearsheimer, John J.
Walt, Stephen M.
An Unnecessary War.
FOREIGN POLICY, no. 134, January - February 2003, p. 50-59.
In the full-court press for war with Iraq, the Bush administration deems Saddam Hussein reckless, ruthless, and not fully rational. Such a man, when mixed with nuclear weapons, is too unpredictable to be prevented from threatening the United States, the hawks say. But scrutiny of his past dealings with the world shows that Saddam, though cruel and calculating, is eminently deterrable.
- Moreau Defarges, Philippe
La UE frente a la crisis iraquí.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 92, marzo - abril 2003, p. 77-84.
La debilidad de la UE como actor político internacional se manifiesta cada vez que se produce una nueva crisis. Iraq es el último ejemplo. Sabrán reaccionar los líderes del continente ?
- Nordhaus, William D.
Consecuencias económicas de la guerra contra Irak.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 91, enero - febrero 2003, p. 67-81.
EE UU centra su política exterior en Irak. La obsesión de Bush distrae a la opinión pública de otros asuntos como Oriente Próximo o Corea del Norte. La ralentización del crecimiento, la crisis de las empresas y los crecientes problemas de la sanidad ponen en peligro la economía del país.
- Norton, Augustus Richard
America in the Middle East : Statesmanship versus Politics.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 660, January 2003, p. 3-6.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
No matter who rules in Baghdad, George Bush will have to decide between the role of statesman and politician in Arab-Israeli peacemaking.
- O'Hanlon, Michael
Estimating Casualties in a War to Overthrow Saddam.
ORBIS, vol. 47, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 21-40.
The author contributes a significant piece on estimating, with existing methodologies, the casualty rates to expect in the kind of conflict likely to ensue in Iraq and elsewhere. The casualty costs are invariably going to be weighed against the benefits when entertaining the idea of a 'regime change'. Questions about casualties have become a permanent factor in strategy making. While precision is not possible, even defining a range of possible outcomes highlights the tactical and strategic

choices Americans face. Among the important implications of O'Hanlon's conclusions is the question what will happen if US forces meet a severe tactical reversal. Will the draft be reinstituted ?

- Pond, Elizabeth
The Greek Tragedy of NATO.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 1-10.
The present NATO crisis has loomed ever since the first act, when the Bush administration shocked its partners by saying it will now pick and choose ad hoc coalitions and not be swayed by permanent allies. But the present transatlantic row over an Iraq war has accelerated the denouement. So has the tragic flaw of hubris - the arrogance of power and the arrogance of impotence. In the end, only the hegemon that created NATO can kill the alliance - if it decides it is strong enough to manage a globalized world on its own.
- Schell, Jonathan
The Case Against the War.
NATION, vol. 276, no. 9, 2003, p. 11-23.
<http://www.uspolicy.be/aa/aamar203.htm>
The days of the double standard are over. We cannot preserve it and we should not want to. The struggle to maintain it by force, anachronistically represented by Bush's proposed war on Iraq, in which the United States threatens pre-emptive use of nuclear weapons to stop another country merely from getting them, can only worsen the global problem it seeks to solve. One way or another, the world is on its way to a single standard. Only two in the long run are available : universal permission to possess weapons of mass destruction or their universal prohibition.
- Schmitt, Michael N.
International Law and the Use of Force : Attacking Iraq.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 148, no. 1, February 2003, p. 12-15.
As the sabre rattling quickens following allegations of Iraqi deception in its December 2002 report to the United Nations on the status of its WMD capabilities, there has been strikingly little discourse outside the narrow international law community on the precise legal basis for military action against Iraq. Instead, discussion has centred on whether force should be used against Iraq, rather than whether it may be used. Professor Michael Schmitt warns of serious and far-reaching consequences for international stability should international law be ignored in decisions over Iraq.
- Seifzadeh, Hossein
The Landscape of Factional Politics in Iran.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 57, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 57-75.
This article offers a schematic overview of factional politics in the Islamic Republic of Iran. In addition to the divisions between those who oppose the Islamic Republic and those who support it, there has come to be a lively debate and competition among the major factions of those supporting the system, defined here as 'reformists, pragmatists and fundamentalists'. These factions have been evolving towards traditional political parties in which substantive issues, rather than ideological stances, dominate. The article analyzes each of these factional groupings in turn, as well as their political discourse on domestic and international issues. It then offers an analysis of this evolution.

- Stansfield, Gareth
Farce or Future ?
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 4, April 2003, p. 7-9.
Washington's ultimate prize of changing the leadership of Iraq may be tantalisingly close. But the only policies which are coordinated and focused are those of its present President Saddam Hussein. The international community is fragmented and the Iraqi opposition in disarray. Indeed, the tensions between those ranged against Saddam are mounting in a manner perhaps more appropriate to a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta than a conflict which will arguably influence the political future of the Middle East. So what forces will be unleashed on the 'day after' ?

- Stemann, Juan Jose Escobar
Oriente Proximo : el espejismo de la democratizacion.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 92, marzo - abril 2003, p. 123-135.
Aunque Estados Unidos asegura que Irak es el primer paso para la democratizacion de la region, hay razones para el escepticismo : son numerosos los obstaculos para su implantacion.

- Takeyh, Ray
Iran at a Crossroads.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 57, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 42-56.
Iran today is a society immersed in a dynamic debate regarding the essence and direction of the Islamic Republic. Six years after the election of the moderate President Muhammad Khatami, his attempt gradually to liberalize the theocracy has been stymied by a determined conservative backlash. However, as with most democratic transitions, Iran's reform movement is beginning to acquire new leaders and bold strategies for altering the demarcations of the state. This aggressive reform movement is beginning to provoke defections from a segment of the conservative bloc that is beginning to appreciate the disutility of ruling through terror. The Islamic Republic of Iran may yet witness another momentous realignment of its political order.

- Tamimi, Azzam
Forbidden Fruit.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 1, January 2003, p.4-6.
Israelis will choose a new government later this month. Palestinians had also planned to go to the polls, but their election has been shelved. Under occupation and expected to stop the violence as well as reform, their situation has done little to bolster faith in democracy. This personal assessment of the power of the polls indicates that free and fair elections have not made much headway in the Middle East.

- Tellier, Frederic
La Republique islamique dans l' impasse.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 49, printemps 2003, p. 44-55.
Reformes improbables et statu quo impossible, tels sont les termes de l'equation iranienne. Aussi, rendre compte de la situation de l'Iran contemporain a trois ans de l'echec du second mandat du president Mohammad Khatami revient, a bien des egards, a rediger une chronique de l'exasperation des tensions. Ce constat intervient au moment ou la mise en oeuvre de reformes radicales devient urgente. A l'heure ou les forces conservatrices font peser la menace du declenchement de l'etat d'urgence, en d'autres termes d'un coup d'Etat, le but de ce texte est d'offrir des reperes de maniere a saisir quelques-unes des lignes de fracture qui parcourent l'Iran contemporain et dont les déplacements - proches et certainement brusques - s'appretent a façonner l'Iran de demain.

- Yaphe, Judith S.
Iraq Before and After Saddam.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 660, January 2003, p. 7-12.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
Iraq had a violent and unstable political culture before Saddam, and a stability bolstered by repression, fear, and wealth under Saddam. Could history repeat itself in Iraq ? Could the country produce another Saddam-like figure by replicating the conditions and circumstances that propelled him to power ? What historical factors shaped Saddam's thinking - and could shape his successor's as well ?
- Zaldivar, Carlos Alonso
Invasion de Irak, escenarios negros.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 92, marzo - abril 2003, p. 41-60.
La incertidumbre que rodea un ataque armado contra Irak obliga a elaborar el mayor numero de escenarios posibles a fin de estimar las consecuencias de unas y otras variables.
- Zelnick, Bob
The Unnecessary Intifada.
ORBIS, vol. 47, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 11-20.
The author reports on key developments in Israel, where the second intifada is steadily being brought under control - an important preliminary to US-Israeli common strategy in the effort against Iraq. The Israeli moves into the West Bank have dealt a crippling blow to the Palestinian Authority, and America's dismissal of Arafat as a negotiating partner lays the basis for intimate cooperation with Israel or a policy of democratic enlargement in the area.

2002

- Disarming Iraq : The Case Against Saddam Hussein.
CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST, December 2002, p. 289-320.
The Bush Administration and its supporters argue that a campaign to oust Saddam Hussein may be the only way to compel Iraq's compliance with UN resolutions, eliminate its weapons of mass destruction, and prevent its support of international terrorism. They point out that Saddam has defied at least 16 Security Council resolutions since 1990, making it clear that he will never accept weapons inspections. Not to use force, they contend, would pose the greater risk, by allowing Saddam to acquire nuclear weapons that will give him control over much of the region and make it even more dangerous for America to protect our interests there. Those opposed to the resolution maintain that the President has not made a convincing case for military action, and that an unprovoked US invasion of Iraq could precipitate serious turmoil in the Middle East and hinder the broader war on terrorism and diplomatic efforts needed to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They warn that war with Iraq could also lead to numerous US casualties and a long-term presence in that country.
- Iraq : A Chronology of UN Inspections and an Assessment of Their Accomplishments.
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 32, no. 8, October 2002, p. 13-23, 29.
<http://www.armscontrol.org>
This is a year-by-year summary of major events in Iraq and an assessment of what arms inspectors accomplished and what remains undone in Iraq.

- Making Inspections Work in Iraq.
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 32, no. 9, November 2002, p. 12-18.
<http://www.armscontrol.org>
On October 7, the Arms Control Association held a press conference to discuss the capability of United Nations inspections to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. Panelists spoke on the successes and difficulties of previous inspections, which ended in 1998, and offered suggestions for strengthening future inspections. The briefing came amid debate in the UN Security Council and the United States regarding potential US-led military action against Iraq.

- Al-Rekaby, Abdulamir
Radiographie de l'opposition irakienne.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 96, ete 2002, p. 113-120.
While American airstrikes in Iraq seem an increasingly likely prospect, it should be noted that an 'Afghan-style' scenario is unlikely to ever materialize in that country. Unlike in Afghanistan, the United States will not be able to count on strong local support on the ground. The Iraqi opposition is riddled with divisions and has no credible contacts in the country. Neither the Kurdish parties, nor the communists nor the London-based National Iraqi Council has sufficient legitimacy to take control after Saddam Hussein is toppled. Unless the American decide to occupy Iraq for a number of years, themselves who take control of their own destiny. The 1991 uprising that followed the Gulf War demonstrated that they are capable of it.

- Andoni, Lamis
Deeds Speak Louder than Words.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 85-100.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Employing Madison Avenue spin doctors cannot ease resentment toward US policies and actions. US policy in the Arab and Muslim world has been an utter failure. Public diplomacy cannot change this perception; only changing policies can.

- Aras, Bulent
The Caspian Region and Middle East Security.
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 86-108.
The political and cognitive geography of the Middle East, together with its constituent subregional zones like the Persian Gulf, are now much wider than its real and physical geography. This is the critical feature of the Middle Eastern security framework. In this essay the author aims to analyze the impact of the Caspian region on Middle East security within the framework of the emergence of the New Middle East. He deals with the imput of Caspian republics to a new security structure, the impact of potential Caspian resource wealth, and the changing nature of Russian security as well as WMD and Islamic fundamentalism, all of which are related to the Caspian region's emergence as a subregion within the new enlarged Middle East.

- Bahgat, Gawdat
The Iraqi Quagmire : What is Next ?
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 23, no. 2, August 2002, p. 135-148.
Since the 11 September terrorist attacks President Bush has repeatedly and strongly confirmed his determination to 'deal with' the Iraqi threat. Specifically, any US military action to topple Saddam Hussein will have to address two significant challenges - the threats of Baghdad's weapons of mass destruction and the potential for regime change. This study examines these two issues. It argues that more than a decade after the Gulf War, the United States has yet to articulate a cohesive strategy to neutralise the Iraqi threat.

- Bailey, Kathleen
Iraq's Asymmetric Threat to the United States and US Allies.
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 21, no. 3, 2002, p. 161-177.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Iraq poses an extremely serious threat to the United States and to US allies not only because of its continued possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), but also the increased likelihood that it will use such weapons in any future military conflict. This study examines Iraqi WMD capabilities as well as the Iraqi leadership's values and perceptions that will influence potential use of those weapons. Additionally, the possible impact of Iraq's WMD capabilities on US behavior is addressed.

- Baktiari, Bahman
Vaziri, Haleh
Iran's Liberal Revolution ?
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 651, January 2002, p. 17-21.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
If Mohammed Khatami does not seize the moment and conservatives continue to resist change, Iranian citizens will become increasingly impatient: their questions already are no longer 'Why reform?' or 'What kind of reform?' They now urgently ask 'How?' and 'Why?'

- Benn, Aluf
The Last of the Patriarchs.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 3, May - June 2002, p. 64-78.
Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon faces disaster on two fronts : ongoing unrest from the Palestinians on one side and a disintegrating domestic coalition on the other. Seemingly paralyzed, Sharon has not responded well to either. So far, Israelis have remained mostly loyal to the former general, and Washington has stayed largely supportive. Both those situations could change, however, unless Sharon comes up with a plan. He may already have one in mind, but not one anyone else is hoping for.

- Bill, James A.
Chavez, Rebecca Bill
The Politics of Incoherence : The United States and the Middle East.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 56, no. 4, Autumn 2002, p. 562-575.
The world today is caught in the midst of fundamental incoherence. Old systems tear and unravel while new systems have not yet formed to take their places. The challenge of incoherence is especially acute in the Middle East where gaps, divisions, and inequities prevail. United States foreign policy has not yet succeeded in addressing the issue of revolutionary change. This article lists seven specific policy recommendations that are designed to assist American policy makers meet this challenge.

- Billion, Didier
L' Iran : un partenaire essentiel.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 46, ete 2002, p. 73-79.
La revolution islamique de 1979 a forge de l'Iran une image peu nuancee : pays destabilisateur, menacant les interets occidentaux, inassimilable par la communaute internationale. Or la reorientation actuelle de la politique exterieure iranienne rend cette representation obsolete. S'articulant autour de deux priorites, internationale et regionale, la politique etrangere de Teheran s'attache, d'une part, a mettre un terme a l'isolement de l'Iran sur la scene internationale, et, d'autre part, a conforter son influence regionale, en utilisant des atouts propres a lui assurer le titre de pole de stabilite et de puissance. Face a cette double volonte, l'Iran doit faire face a l'opposition americaine, qui constitue le principal obstacle a l'extension de son role aux niveaux regional et international. Dans ce jeu complexe, l'Union europeenne doit renforcer ses relations avec l'Iran afin de conforter la tendance dans

laquelle la Republique islamique est engagee.

- Bleier, Ronald
Invading Iraq : The Road to Perpetual War.
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 35-42.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
- Bremer, L. Paul
Por que Irak ? Por que ahora ?
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 67-75.
La amenaza terrorista y el nuevo entorno geopolitico demandan una estrategia que se anticipe a los posibles riesgos. Esa es la razon por la que hay que reaccionar al peligro que representa Irak. Un cambio de regimen facilitara la estabilidad politica de la region.
- Bronson, Rachel
More Than Targets or Markets : Recasting America's Relationships with its Arab Partners.
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 52-60.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
- Brooks, Risa A.
Liberalization and Militancy in the Arab World.
ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 611-621.
Risa Brooks weighs the question of liberalization of the Muslim states as a long-range solution to the problem of stability in the Muslim world. The alternative policy choice would be to back a policy of extreme repression against Islamic radicals carried on by the 'moderate' secular regimes in the area. The problem with the latter approach, she argues, is that the 'moderate' regimes in the area are in effect failed states and the source of the very radicalism that long range policy must aim to prevent.
Brooks recommends a policy of promoting gradual liberalization of Muslim states in the area, even at the risk of Islamic parties gaining control of many of the governments.
- Brotons, Antonio Remiro
Bush y los Estados hampones.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 91-98.
La estrategia de seguridad nacional de Bush amplia la nocion de legitima defensa, reconocida por la Carta de las Naciones Unidas, hasta los limites de un ataque preventivo. EE UU no puede estar por encima de la ley internacional, mientras esta exista.
- Brumberg, Daniel
Dilemmas of Western Policies toward Iran.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 69-81.
The author focuses on US policy towards Iran and its impact on the struggle between hardliners and reformists in Tehran. The fact that this struggle involves not only domestic matters but also foreign policy considerably complicates the definition of an effective common Western approach. In fact, while the US seems to move from the assumption that any form of cooperative relations with the Iranian regime is precluded as long as the current leadership remains in power, Europe's greatest concern is to avoid initiatives that can weaken the reformists internally. Brumberg notes, however, that the US's tough policy has not actually reinforced the hardliners, as shown by the dynamics of the internal political debate after Bush' 'axis of evil' speech. In any case,

according to Brumberg, the key elements of Iran's policy towards the US and Israel are unlikely to change in the near future since they enjoy a very large consensus both within the establishment and in the population.

- Cannistraro, Vincent M.
Iraq, Terrorism and the New Pax Americana.
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 1-8.
- Carpentier, Chantal
Conflit israélo-palestinien : l' ONU se discredite-t-elle ?
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58eme annee, no. 8 - 9, aout - septembre 2002, p. 77-88.
Au printemps 2002, alors que la deuxieme Intifada fait de nombreuses victimes dans la population civile parce qu'aux attentats palestiniens repondent des operations militaires israeliennes, les Etats-Unis autorisent le Conseil de securite de l'ONU a s'ingerer dans une affaire echappant jusque-la a sa competence, en raison de la constance du veto americain. En fait, l'ingerence du Conseil de securite est en trompe-l'oeil parce que les autorites de Washington ont propose un troc aux autres membres du Conseil de securite : elles acceptent la competence du Conseil sur la seule base du chapitre VI et en contrepartie, certaines regles de droit international trop favorables au peuple palestinien sont substantiellement revisees.
- Chartouni-Dubarry, May
L' apres-Oslo : paix avortee ou guerre annoncee ?
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 573-585.
Les aleas du processus de paix israélo-palestinien ont maintenant fait place a une guerre non conventionnelle bien reelle : ce revirement s'explique par une radicalisation politique d'Israel (nationalisme de Sharon et lutte contre le terrorisme encore legitimee par le 11 septembre) et par la perte de credit international d'Arafat (attentats-suicides et delitement de l'Autorite palestinienne). Celui-ci doit encore, pour repondre aux nouvelles exigences americaines, se couper d'une opinion publique convaincue que la guerre d'usure est le seul recours contre l'occupation, et engager une democratisation du regime palestinien, condition posee comme prealable sine qua non a la reprise des negociations de paix. Au-dela de cet enlisement meurtrier du conflit, l'impasse actuelle menace en fait la stabilite a venir de toute la region et ne laisse pour l'instant entrevoir aucune amelioration.
- Chartouni-Dubarry, May
The Middle East Debacle : A Prospective Analysis.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 1, January - March 2002, p. 23-34.
The author explores the most plausible medium-term scenarios of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Moving from the observation that we have already entered a post-Arafat era, she argues that, with the failure of the Oslo accord, the escalation of the armed confrontation and the abyss that has opened between the two parties, there is a growing risk of Lebanonisation not only of Palestine, but of the entire conflict area which could have wider regional implications.

- Chesnot, Christian
 La Jordanie entre deux crises.
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 96, etc 2002, p. 120-143.
 Caught between the Palestinian-Israel crisis on one side and the increasingly dangerous situation in Iraq on the other, Jordan seems to be more than ever at the heart of regional turbulence - even if it remains, for the moment, relatively untouched. In this difficult political climate, exacerbated by an economic crisis, King Abdullah II has made his choice : he will not tolerate any attempt to destabilize the kingdom, from within or without. Jordan is placing domestic security above democratic freedoms. Although in solidarity with the Palestinians and the Iraqi people, the Hashemite regime does not intend to undermine its status as a privileged ally of the United States in the Middle East or walk away from the treaty it signed with Israel in 1994. This political and strategic line is hard to implement but is based on the conviction that Jordan's moderating influence is crucial to regional stability.

- Codner, Michael
 High Noon for British Grand Strategy.
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 5, October 2002, p. 10-14.
 The author provides a compelling round-up of UK military options and the implications of Britain's likely military contribution in what might be a lonely coalition with the United States in a war on Iraq.

- Cordesman, Anthony H.
 Arab-US Strategic Cooperation : A Net Assessment.
 MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 43-51.
<http://www.swetswise.com>

- Cordesman, Anthony H.
 The US Military and the Evolving Challenges in the Middle East.
 NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 55, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 72-112.
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>
 The 11 September 2001 attacks and the Afghan war that followed did not change fundamental American interests in the Middle East or the basic strategic rationale behind the American military presence in the region. They did, however, add new dimensions, underscore the depth of the stakes involved, and reveal vulnerabilities and shortcomings that the US military must address as it comes to grips with the security problems of the Middle East.

- Cortright, David
 Lopex, George A.
 Disarming Iraq : Nonmilitary Strategies and Options.
 ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 32, no. 7, September 2002, p. 3-7.
<http://www.armscontrol.org>
 The uncertainty regarding Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction, which has increased since United Nations weapons inspectors left Iraq almost four years ago, appears to be approaching a crisis point. Concerned that Baghdad is rebuilding its programs to produce nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, the Bush administration has strengthened its call for regime change in Iraq and spurred an increasingly vocal debate about the possibility of forcibly overthrowing the Iraqi dictator.

- Dodge, Toby
Iraq and the 'Bush Doctrine' : Storming the Desert.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 4, April 2002, p. 4-6.
Despite the increase in United States casualties in the renewed campaign against Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, Washington appears determined to tackle the problem of Iraq and its possession of weapons of mass destruction. It is now not a question of whether military action is to be taken against Baghdad in the next stage of its 'war' against terrorism, but when and how.

- Dodge, Toby
Iraq's Defence Forces In the Service of Saddam.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 11, November 2002, p. 4-7.
A US led invasion of Iraq looks almost certain. President George Bush and his advisors have committed themselves to regime change in Baghdad too often and too publicly to risk the political humiliation of last minute diplomatic compromise. By early next year American and British troops, with or without a UN mandate, will be advancing on Iraq's capital from their bases in Kuwait and Turkey. But the forces ranged against them should not be underestimated. This is unlikely to be quick, easy or without pain.

- Duval, Marcel
Faut-il avoir peur de l' Iran ?
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 5, mai 2002, p. 116-135.
L'Iran est un des trois pays qui, avec l'Irak et la Coree du Nord, sont denoncés depuis longtemps par les Etats-Unis comme ayant été des 'Etats voyous', et appartenant maintenant à l'axe du mal'. La principale raison évoquée est qu'ils ont en développement des armes dites 'de destruction massive'. Dans la conjoncture actuelle, il paraît intéressant d'essayer de faire le point des programmes de l'Iran en la matière. On constate alors que, si celui-ci a bien en développement un programme nucléaire, il ne peut être pour le moment qu'à finalité civile, et ne pourrait devenir militaire, dans moins de dix ans, qu'avec une aide active de la Russie. On constate aussi que l'Iran a en développement un programme de missiles balistiques à finalité militaire, mais seulement à moyenne portée, et cela avec l'aide de la Coree du Nord et de la Chine. L'interrogation qui surgit alors est : pour quoi faire ? La réponse paraît être que l'Iran, se rappelant qu'il a été autrefois la Perse, a encore des ambitions de puissance régionale, lesquelles peuvent s'appuyer actuellement sur une population laborieuse et patriote, ainsi que sur les moyens financiers que lui garantissent sa richesse en pétrole et en gaz naturel; mais l'orientation future de ses décisions stratégiques reste douteuse par suite de l'ambiguïté de sa situation politique intérieure. Il paraît clair cependant, qu'à horizon prospectif, les armements de l'Iran ne peuvent pas constituer une menace directe pour les Etats-Unis; et l'évocation qu'ils en font souligne alors l'amalgame que permet l'emploi du vocable 'armes de destruction massive'. Pour nous, le cas de l'Iran est cependant intéressant pour deux raisons : il nous donne l'occasion de réfléchir aux conséquences possibles de la situation hautement conflictuelle qui existe actuellement en Asie centrale et au Proche-Orient, et aussi à celle qui se dessine à plus long terme dans le reste de l'Asie; plus précisément, l'occasion de réfléchir simultanément à l'avenir des deux concepts stratégiques qu'ont été pendant la guerre froide, la 'maîtrise des armements' et la 'dissuasion nucléaire'.

- Einhorn, Robert J.
Samore, Gary
Ending Russian Assistance to Iran's Nuclear Bomb.
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 2, Summer 2002, p. 51-70.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Both the United States and Russia want to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear-armed ballistic missiles. Yet the transfer of sensitive Russian assistance to Iran continues, leading many in Washington to conclude that Moscow is tolerating a certain amount of leakage to protect its broader strategic and economic relations with Tehran. The time may be ripe to resolve this protracted and frustrating dispute. Washington should be prepared to relax its objections to Russian nuclear-power sales to Iran if Tehran accepts (and complies with) additional limits and restrictions on its nuclear activities. Tehran's willingness to accept these arrangements will test its true nuclear intentions. US-Russian agreement on an approach to solving this problem would not only make a major contribution to heading off a destabilising Iranian nuclear capability, but could also restore genuine cooperation between the two countries in pursuing their common nonproliferation interests.

- Everts, Philip
Wat vinden de mensen nu echt van een oorlog tegen Irak ?
VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 31, nr. 3, 2002, p. 273-292.
Dit artikel geeft een overzicht van de resultaten van het recente Amerikaanse en Europese publieke-opinieonderzoek inzake de kwestie-Irak. Het gaat vooral in op een in juni 2002 in de Verenigde Staten en zes Europese landen verricht onderzoek door de Chicago Council on Foreign Relations en het German Marshall Fund of the United States. Uit de resultaten van dit en ander onderzoek blijkt dat de publieke opinie zeer gevoelig is voor de wijze waarop de kwestie-Irak in onderzoeksvragen wordt voorgelegd en voor de omstandigheden waaronder geweld zou worden gebruikt. Ook blijkt de kloof tussen de opvattingen in de Verenigde Staten en Europa in vele opzichten minder diep dan vaak wordt betoogd. Met betrekking tot een oorlog tegen Irak bestaan echter wel grote verschillen, die neerkomen op een 'ja, mits' in de Verenigde Staten en een 'nee, tenzij' in Europa. Voor de publieke opinie aan weerszijden van de Atlantische Oceaan geldt echter dat een expliciet VN-mandaat en steun van de belangrijkste bondgenoten beslissende voorwaarden voor instemming met militaire actie zijn. De regering-Bush is niet alleen geïsoleerd van de publieke opinie in Europa, maar ook van die in de Verenigde Staten.

- Freedman, Robert
Putin and the Middle East.
DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 10, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 509-527.

- Gause, F. Gregory
Iraq's Decisions to Go to War, 1980 and 1990.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 56, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 47-70.
The driving force behind Saddam Hussein's decisions to go to war in 1980 and 1990 was his belief that foreign forces were working to destabilize the Ba'th Party regime in Iraq. Saddam believed that Iraq had a good chance of winning those wars. However, the circumstances that encouraged that belief were not new or unique to the time in which those decisions were made. What changed in the period before those war decisions was Saddam's perception of foreign regimes meddling against him in Iraq itself.

- Goguenheim, Francois
L' an prochain a Jerusalem.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58eme annee, no. 8 - 9, aout - septembre 2002, p. 64-76.
Prix Nobel de la paix, Yasser Arafat cultive l'image du guide charismatique du peuple palestinien dans sa quete historique, mais n'a pas renonce aux oripeaux du revolutionnaire. Ainsi, l'echec des negociations de Taba et de declenchement de la deuxieme Intifada ont sonne le glas des espoirs suscites a Oslo. La politique de Y. Arafat s'apparente a une fuite en avant, mais le chaos engendre par ses choix strategiques obeissent a une rationalite coherente, visant a legitimer par le feu la creation du futur Etat palestinien. Enrayer la dynamique de l'affrontement passe par la comprehension des reelles intentions du leader palestinien. La question de son avenir politique est alors posee.

- Gordon, Philip
O'Hanlon, Michael
Les defis de l' apres-Saddam.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 96, ete 2002, p. 89-100.
Over the past few months, a possible U.S military intervention in Iraq to overthrow Saddam has taken shape. In Washington, the question is no longer whether the U.S should act, but when and how. Before committing itself, however, the United States must realize that this exercise will be anything but easy. Apart from the logistical and strategic problems, the Americans will have to prepare the diplomatic terrain very carefully. If the U.S wishes to count on the goodwill of Arab countries, il will have to ensure that the intervention will not cause a public outcry that would threaten the stability of these nations. To do this, it will have to prove its goodwill to the Arab world by bringing peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The second priority is to convince its European allies and countries neighbouring Iraq that military action is necessary. Once Saddam is out of the equation, the toughest job is still to come : ensure that Iraq is never again allowed to destabilize the Middle East.

- Green, Jerrold D.
La politique americaine et le conflit israelo-palestinien.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 617-628.
Les efforts de Bill Clinton pour trouver une solution au conflit israelo-palestinien se soldent finalement par l'echec de la reunion de Camp David, en juillet 2000, Israeliens et Palestiniens n'arrivant pas a s'entendre, notamment sur Jerusalem. L'Intifada Al-Aqsa, qui suit la visite d'Ariel Sharon sur les lieux saints musulmans et juifs (esplanade des Mosques / mont du Temple), et la repression qui s'ensuit suscitent de nombreux appels a l'engagement americain de la part de la communaute internationale. Mais George W. Bush, echaude par les deboires de ses predecesseurs, reste prudent a l'egard du conflit. Et il faut attendre le 11 septembre pour que l'Administration reaffirme sa presence dans la region. Depuis lors, la politique americaine reste difficile a suivre. Entre le soutien a l'option repressive de Sharon, qui domine malgre tout la periode, et l'appui aux regimes arabes 'moderes', dont Bush a besoin pour diverses raisons, les Etats-Unis semblent quelque peu naviguer a vue. Et seule la volonte des Israeliens et des Palestiniens de trouver une issue au conflit permettra a la region de sortir de l'impasse.

- Hadas, Samuel
Cuando dos guerras se superponen.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 87, mayo - junio 2002, p. 113-122.
La critica situacion en que se encuentra Oriente Proximo lleva a la necesidad de un compromiso impuesto desde fuera. El primer ministro israeli, Ariel Sharon, y el presidente de la ANP, Yassir Arafat, ilustran la imposibilidad de un acuerdo entre israelis y palestinos.

- Halliday, Fred
Peril and Opportunity.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 3, March 2002, p. 11-13.
President George Bush's address on the dangers of an 'axis of evil' included North Korea, Iraq and Iran. Iran's position is more complex than this implies, but there are certainly very real risks ahead, as well as substantial opportunities.

- Hartley, Keith
The Costs of War.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 5, October 2002, p. 16-19.
Wars are costly. Yet the government has marginalized discussions about the costs of a possible war on Iraq. Such a war will invariably involve substantial 'hidden' costs and use of scarce resources which have alternative uses, especially for social welfare programmes (e.g., schools, hospitals, and care for the elderly). Professor Keith Hartley examines the possible economic costs, both during and post-conflict, of UK involvement in a war on Iraq.

- Henderson, George
Iran after 9/11.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 2, 2002, p. 65-70.
The impact of September 11 and its aftermath on Iran's fluid politics was complex. But the main result of Washington's rebuff of the sympathy offered by moderates in the name of Iran has been to strengthen the hardliners ranged against President Khatami. Yet in the end, Tehran will have to come to terms with the powerful US.

- Hermann, Tamar
Yuchtman-Yaar, Ephraim
Divided yet United : Israeli-Jewish Attitudes Toward the Oslo Process.
JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 39, no. 5, September 2002, P. 597-613.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
This article examines Israel-Jewish attitudes toward the Oslo process, as it has been unfolding in the years 1994-2001. The authors found that despite the turbulence and frequent crises associated with it, the aggregated attitudes toward the Oslo process have been remarkably stable during most of this period. The authors explain this stability by the persistent division of Israeli society into two entrenched publics - pro Oslo and anti Oslo - each of which displays distinct sociopolitical and demographic attributes. However, the authors have also found that, along with its bifurcated structure, Israeli-Jewish public opinion consists of yet another, unifying layer. The latter was manifested in the largely consensual reactions to critical threat posed by the Palestinians to Israel's security and its continuation as a Jewish state. The authors discuss these results in the context of recent debate about the relevance of public opinion to foreign policymaking in general, and consider their bearing on Israeli policies regarding the Oslo process in particular.'

- Hoffman, David
Beyond Public Diplomacy.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 83-95.
The United States has put legions of spokespersons on the airwaves at home and abroad in a campaign to 'win the hearts and minds' of the Muslim world. So far, however, the world's superpower is losing the propaganda war to a terrorist in hiding. This is not surprising, given the virulent anti-Western messages that repressive Middle Eastern regimes spread through state-run media. Washington should focus instead on bringing freedom of the press to those countries where oppression breeds terrorism.

- Hollis, Rosemary
Iraq : Regime Change, Regional Change.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 10, October 2002, p. 4-6.
'Despite Iraq's sudden invitation to renew UN weapons inspections, American hardliners will keep up the pressure for war. Regime change might be achieved under cover of disarming Baghdad. But without a serious debate on the objective of force, there will be no opportunity to consider what could go wrong or how to handle the competing interests.'

- Inbar, Efraim
Israel's Strategic Environment in the 1990s.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 25, no. 1, March 2002, p. 21-38.
<http://www.ingenta.com>
The 1990s were of particular importance in Israel's history as they were characterized by drastic changes in the international system and by significant regional developments, which were beneficial for Israeli national security. Israel has remained a good ally of the US in an American dominated world. This helped Israel becoming a respected international actor and allowed much progress in the peace process, i.e. Israel's acceptance in the region. While the chances for a large-scale conventional war were lower than in the past, Israel still faced existential threats, stemming particularly from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the Middle East. In addition, it continued to face low-intensity conflict challenges.

- Indyk, Martin
Back to the Bazaar.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 1, January - February 2002, p. 75-88.
The United States has an opportunity to set new terms for its alliances in the Middle East. The bargain struck with Egypt and Saudi Arabia after the Gulf War seemed successful for a decade, but now the United States is facing the consequences : Washington backed Cairo's and Riyadh's authoritarian regimes, and they begat al Qaeda. The Bush administration should heed the lesson.

- Isherwood, Michael W.
US Strategic Options for Iraq : Easier Said than Done.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 145-159.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
A US Air Force lieutenant colonel examines the tools and means required to fulfill the objectives of three options for US policy toward Iraq. The conclusion ? The US lacks the means to confront Iraq more forcibly and simultaneously battle terrorism worldwide.

- Katz, Mark N.
Russian-Iranian Relations in the Putin Era.
DEMOKRATIZATSIYA, vol. 10, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 69-81.
In this article the author explores the rise and fall of the Russian-Iranian 'partnership' that has taken place since Vladimir Putin became president. He argues that the convergence of Russian and Iranian interests, culminating in the state visit that Iranian president Mohammed Khatami paid to Russia in March 2001, was revealed to be more illusory than real in the aftermath of the events that took place first on 23 July and then on 11 September 2001. He then discusses the future prospects of Russian-Iranian relations.

- Kemp, Geoffrey
U.S. Relations in the Greater Middle East.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 55, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 61-71.
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>
The terrorist attacks on New York and the Pentagon have produced dramatic changes in American relationships with many of the nations of the 'Greater Middle East', often for the better. However, threats and uncertainties have been intensified, and the US need for regional support as it pursues its war against terrorism has become more compelling than ever.

- Kinkel, Klaus
An 'OSCE' for the Mideast.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 3, 2002, p. 81-84.
The Europeans should dare to be proactive in the Mideast as well. Even if this looks like the worst possible time, shouldn't Europe try to broker confidence-building there in economic and other areas ? After all, it was this kind of softening up by OSCE contacts that over two decades broke down the iron curtain in Europe.

- Kneissl, Karin
Das Öl-Dilemma der US-Allianzen im Golf : Die Interdependenz von Öl und Sicherheit.
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITÄRISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 40. Jg., Heft 2, März - April 2002, S. 163-170.

- Kozhikhov, Adil
Middle East and the Caspian in the US Energy Strategy.
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 6, 2002, p. 69-78.

- Langenheim, William S.
Give Peace a Chance : First, Try Coercive Diplomacy.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 55, no. 4, Autumn 2002, p. 49-71.
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>
'Coercive diplomacy' - a range of nonmilitary options for increasing the pressure on a recalcitrant state, with credible force in the wings - is at this juncture a better option for the United States than a focus on unilateral intervention to topple the Iraqi regime. It may achieve the same ends, and even if it does not, the substantial attempt should elicit allied and regional support for whatever steps then become necessary.

- Larrabee, F. Stephen
US Middle East Policy after 9/11 : Implications for Transatlantic Relations.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 43-56.
The article discusses the impact that the events of 11 September has had on US policy in the Middle East, changing its attitude towards a number of important areas : the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey. The author critically notes that the war on terrorism has become the organising principle of US foreign policy and, in particular, that the US administration tends to see the various problems of the Middle East through the prism of terrorism, a view that obscures their deeper roots. This attitude, the author underlines, represents a relevant source of divergence from the Europeans who instead consider the Palestinian issue a high priority. He also gives a critical evaluation of the US declared objective of regime change in Iraq, emphasizing the formidable difficulties of any plan aimed at its democratic reconstruction after a major conflict. However, the author argues that, as a result of the recent evolution of the Middle East area, its problems are likely to intrude on the NATO agenda and that greater efforts will be required to reach a common transatlantic stance. Hence he

concludes with a set of suggestions on how to achieve this goal, notably by reinforcing the NATO's Mediterranean Initiative which can, in his view, provide the basis for a comprehensive Western policy of security cooperation in the area.

- Laurenti, Jeffrey
Iraqi Threats : What Common Cause Across the Atlantic ?
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 57-67.
The case of Iraq is analysed against the background of European criticism of the US doctrine of preventive war. The author notes that there is a fundamental divergence in this regard since conflict prevention is still thought of in Europe in terms of preventive diplomacy rather than preventive military action. The author also examines the three major schools of thought in Washington concerning the action to be taken towards Baghdad and the policy options that the Europeans should consider in responding to US insistence on the need for military action. He underlines that the military option against Iraq emerged in the US as a result of the international community's waning determination to compel Iraq to disarm and the prospect that fraying UN sanctions would soon collapse altogether. This implies that if Europe insists on multilateralism it must then ensure that this approach is effective rather than just lamenting US unilateralism. European cohesiveness and unity of purpose is essential, according to Laurenti, for achieving a commonly shared Western approach towards an issue that is of central strategic importance.
- Leibstone, Marvin
America Takes on Iraq.
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 26, no. 9, 2002, p. 8-14.
The US President and Secretary of State have, in the months since 9/11 2001 until late August 2002, used up nearly all of their diplomatic coinage hoping to prevent the need of US 'unilateral' military power being applied to unseat Iraq's tyrannical, unstable and nuclear weapon-seeking boss.
- Lister, John
'Middle' Politics : Looking Again at the Peace Process.
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 3, September 2002, p. 22-33.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
- Maarouf, Nabil
Guerra en Palestina.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 87, mayo - junio 2002, p. 123-130.
La evolucion de Oriente durante el ultimo ano y medio ha supuesto una marcha atras respecto a los principios acordados en la conferencia de Madrid en 1991. Para los Palestinos es necesario un mayor activismo de la comunidad internacional.
- Mack, David L.
Avoiding Grave Harm.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 1, January 2002, p. 13-15.
At issue now is the likely development of US policy toward Iraq. Will we take reckless measures? Or by failure to act forcefully as well as prudently, will we be reckless by omission? The Middle East can greatly benefit from the re-entry of Iraq into the international community under a new leadership. The United States should take the lead in making this happen.

- Marcel, Valerie
Middle East Oil : Oily Business.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 11, November 2002, p. 8-9.
There is much speculation that a campaign against Saddam Hussein is really about oil. But years of effort and investment would be needed to make the oil flow. Iraq's traditional trading partners are there for the long haul and that may bring their military support too.

- Mason, Whit
Iran's Simmering Discontent.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 19, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 71-80.

- Mesamed, Vladimir
Iran: Ten Years in Post-Soviet Central Asia.
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 1, 2002, p. 27-35.

- Minoui, Delphine
L' Iran des reformes : la societe face au pouvoir.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 1, janvier - mars 2002, p. 103-114.
Avec la reelection de Mohammad Khatami a la tete de l'Etat, en juin 2001, la Republique islamique d'Iran semble de plus en plus tiraillee entre deux camps : celui des reformateurs et celui des conservateurs. Les premiers beneficent du soutien d'une majorite de la population : ils ont remporte les elections presidentielles de 1997, les elections municipales de 1999, les legislatives de 2000 et les presidentielles de 2001. Leur chef de file, le president Khatami, a cherche a donner un ton nouveau au regime et prone l'ouverture sur le plan interieur autant qu'exterieur. Mais les conservateurs, rassembles autour de l'ayatollah Ali Khamenei, qui reste le numero un du regime, controlent toujours la police, la justice et l'armee, ainsi que la plupart des medias. Ils disposent du soutien d'institutions aussi influentes que le Conseil des gardiens, charge de veiller a la conformite des lois avec l'islam. Les blocages qu'ils imposent au quotidien remettent regulierement en cause le processus de democratisation timidement amorce. Au-dela de la lutte qui les oppose, reformateurs et conservateurs devront cependant tenir compte d'une troisieme force : celle d'une societe civile de plus en plus active et dont l'impatience croissante menace d'ebrouler un regime en pleine crise de credibilite.

- Monshipouri, Mahmood
The Paradoxes of US Policy in the Middle East.
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 3, September 2002, p. 65-84.
<http://www.swetswise.com>

- Nazarov, Islam
Relations between Iran and Azerbaijan Today and in the Nearest Future.
CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS, no. 5, 2002, p. 80-86.

- Norton, Augustus Richard
America's Approach to the Middle East : Legacies, Questions, and Possibilities.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 651, January 2002, p. 3-7.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
Will America now define national security as it did half a century ago to see the betterment of others' conditions as key to ensuring its own safety and well-being? Or will it be satisfied merely to aggressively police the frontiers of hostility at home and abroad to reduce the likelihood of a new terrorist-inflicted disaster?

- Ojeda, Jaime
 La doctrina Bush : guerra preventiva, dominacion mundial.
 POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 7-16.
 A mediados de septiembre, Estados Unidos adopto su nueva estrategia de seguridad nacional, que rompe con los principios de contencion y disuasion establecidos hace mas de cincuenta anos.

- Olson, Robert
 Turkey-Iran Relations, 2000-2001 : The Caspian, Azerbaijan and the Kurds.
 MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 2, June 2002, p. 111-129.
<http://www.swetswise.com>

- Ottolenghi, Emanuele
 Dangerous Instability.
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 5, May 2002, p. 6-8.
 The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians has escalated to unprecedented proportions, leaving a trail of death and destruction, and fueling wider tensions. The fighting may become just one front of a much broader regional conflagration. This at a time when regime stability in the area is in question, Iranian and Iraqi interference is gearing up and Washington is pushing hard for its plan to topple Saddam Hussein.

- Ounaies, Abderraouf
 Le monde islamique et les Etats-Unis.
 DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 1, janvier 2002, p. 9-18.
 La polarisation dramatique entre le monde islamique et les Etats-Unis au lendemain de l'attaque du 11 septembre constitue desormais un axe de la scene internationale. La these des Etats-Unis qui reduit l'attaque au seul phenomene du terrorisme et qui fait croire que l'Amerique est visee pour sa liberte, sa democratie et sa civilisation n'est pas satisfaisante. Les rapports des Etats-Unis avec le monde islamique sont mines par une crise interne de la classe politique americaine centree sur la question palestinienne et qui la met en contradiction avec sa propre culture et avec le consensus mondial.

- Park, Bill
 Turkey and Iraq : Bridgehead or Bridge ?
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 10, October 2002, p. 7-9.
 'The prospect of a US led attack on Iraq comes at a bad time for Turkey, which is reeling from an economic crisis and facing imminent elections. The future of Cyprus and its own European Union membership prospects are also on the line. Turkey's geostrategic location makes it central to Washington's deliberations, but it fears that an unravelling of the Kurdish issue, regional isolation and sever economic consequences might follow. Its response could be the seek greater control through active participation. But Ankara must once again be ruling the country's prime strategic location, which it has so often tried to turn to its advantage.'

- Pedde, Nicola
 The Making of a New World Energy Order.
 INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 4, October - December 2002, p. 27-33.
 The author assesses the oil production potential of a hypothetical post-Saddam Hussein Iraq and the role that the country and the Middle East as a whole can play in the future world energy market. According to Pedde, the United States' efforts to re-establish a higher degree of strategic control over the Middle East by bringing Iraq back into its sphere of influence is motivated by, among other things, the desire to create a second - politically stable - regional fulcrum of oil production

which would allow it to reduce its strong dependence on the increasingly problematic Saudi Arabia. Expanding his analysis to the wider international context, Pedde also maintains that, while available global energy resources have grown, the divergence of interests between different groups of oil-producing countries remains a factor of instability, further highlighting Iraq's strategic importance.

- Perthes, Volker

Postwar Scenarios in Iraq and Regional Re-ordering.

INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 4, October - December 2002, p. 21-26.

The author examines the war scenarios in Iraq and their possible short- and long-term implications for the regional context. He argues that, while the US-led military action will probably meet with weak Iraqi resistance, it is likely to become an additional factor of regional instability and, in particular, cause a further intensification of the already intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The author notes that following the occupation of Iraqi territory, the US will face formidable challenges such as humanitarian assistance, management of refugees flows and internal policing, for which it seems ill-prepared. Recalling the past record of conflict in the Middle East, he underlines that the US's ability to influence the main regional actors and enforce a postwar regional order has serious limits. Hence, the Bush administration's expectation that an Iraqi defeat will generate a positive 'domino effect' in the region seems to be overly optimistic.

- Pollack, Kenneth M.

Next Stop Baghdad ?

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 2, March - April 2002, p. 32-47.

What should the United States do about Iraq ? Hawks are wrong to think the problem is desperately urgent or connected to terrorism, but right to see the prospect of a nuclear-armed Saddam Hussein as so worrisome that it requires drastic action. Doves are right about Iraq's not being a good candidate for an Afghan-style war, but wrong to think that inspections and deterrence alone can contain Saddam. The United States has no choice left but to invade Iraq itself and eliminate the current regime.

- Reich, Bernard

Israel's Quest for Peace.

MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 2, Spring 2002, p. 67-95.

Since its independence in May 1948, Israel has focused on a quest for peace in the region in which it is located. At various times that effort has been seen as successful, but more often it has resulted in failure. What is clear is that, at the outset of the twenty-first century, Israel is not at peace with all of its neighbors, having signed and implemented but two peace treaties (with Egypt in 1979 and with Jordan in 1994). Despite the initial promise of the Oslo process, Israel remains the target of unremitting hostility, terrorism, and violence, and is shunned by most of the Arab states. Where does Israel's quest stand today, and what are its perspectives on the peace process ?

- Rifkind, Malcolm

Where is the Axis of Freedom ?

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 3, June 2002, p. 15-19.

- Rogan, Eugene
 Levelling the Playing Field.
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 5, May 2002, p. 4-6.
 Israel is a nation that needs to be saved from itself. Its war against the Palestinians has brought not only unspeakable horrors to Palestinian civilians but death and destruction to Israeli citizens as well. The damage to the institutions of the Palestinian Authority and the isolation of its president, Yasser Arafat, have strengthened militancy and radicalised Palestinian public opinion. Israel has never been more isolated, with even reliable American support beginning to wear thin. And still the leadership resorts to military force when force offers no solutions. The international community urgently needs to level the playing field in the cause of peace.

- Roshandel, Jalil
 Is Iran the Next Nuclear State ?
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 5, October 2002, p.52-59.
 Iranian academic Jalil Roshandel examines why Iran may be seeking weapons of mass destruction (especially nuclear weapons), why nuclear proliferation is increasingly viewed as a viable option in Tehran, and what may accelerate this trend.

- Ross, Dennis B.
 Yasir Arafat.
 FOREIGN POLICY, no. 131, July - August 2002, p. 18-26.
 As the Israeli-Palestinian conflict enters a tenuous new phase of negotiations, understanding Arafat's true motives will be essential to reaching a lasting peace agreement. Who better to decipher them than the man who negotiated with him for the last decade ?

- Roy, Sara
 Why Peace Failed : An Oslo Autopsy.
 CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 101, no. 651, January 2002, p. 8-16.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
 The ongoing crisis among Israelis and Palestinians is not primarily the result of a failed summit, poor implementation, or Netanyahu's intransigence: it is instead the result of a 'peace' process that by design altered the political, economic, and physical landscape of the Palestinian territories in a manner that intensified rather than mitigated Palestinian dispossession, deprivation, and oppression, and so precluded a fair and workable settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

- Rubin, Barry
 The Real Roots of Arab Anti-Americanism.
 FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 6, November - December 2002, p. 58-72.
 Despite what many argue, Arab and Muslim rage at the United States has had very little to do with actual US policies - policies that have been remarkably pro-Arab over the past 50 years. Promoting anti-Americanism is simply the best way Muslim leaders have found to distract their publics from the real problem : internal mismanagement. New US policies or a PR campaign will not change matters.

- Russell, Richard L.
 Swords and Shields : Ballistic Missiles and Defenses.
 ORBIS, vol. 46, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 483-498.
 What are the trends in ballistic missile capabilities in the Middle East and South Asia ? How do regional states view BMD ? What are the implications of these trends for American national security policy ? To answer these questions, one needs to look at the history of ballistic missile proliferation in the region, particularly the use of ballistic missiles during the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf War, and the

modernization efforts that have taken place in the region since the Gulf War that shape the views of regional partners on the pros and cons of BMD and the anticipated impact of American BMD on their relationships with the United States.

- Russell, Richard L.
War and the Iraq Dilemma : Facing Harsh Realities.
PARAMETERS, vol. 32, no. 3, Autumn 2002, p. 46-61.
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>
The author warns that the events of 11 September 2001 should serve as a wake-up call for America with regard to others who would follow al Qaeda's lead. His investigation into those who could (or would) harm America with weapons of mass destruction leads to President Bush's 'axis of evil', and specifically to Iraq. Russell advocates waging a war against Iraq 'on its own merits', however, not simply as part of a war against terror. He sees such a war as a continuation of business unfinished in the Gulf War. The author presents the reader with a campaign plan to destroy Saddam's regime while still maintaining a balance of power in the region. Russell concludes by asserting Machiavelli's dictum - a nation is safer if it is more feared than loved - in determining that now is the time for war against Iraq, regardless of world opinion.
- Safty, Adel
The New Storm and Democracy in the Middle East.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 7, no. 2, June - August 2002, p. 118-160.
<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/default.htm>
Ten years after the Desert Storm operation against Iraq blew devastatingly through the Middle East, the war against Afghanistan is bringing to the region a new storm - one that has challenged Arabs and Muslims to take a clear stand for or against terrorism. In the ensuing debate, Arabs and Muslims have also been challenged to respond to criticisms and charges that their culture was incompatible with democracy and freedom. The general response of the Arab countries has been to condemn terrorism and reaffirm their support for freedom and democracy. This is not enough. The author argues that while progress has been made in democratisation, the real challenge, and the only truly lasting response to the campaign of vilification of Arabic and Islamic culture, is to consolidate the institutions of democracy. Failure to do that perpetuates the lopsided relationship between the West and the Middle East.
- Samih Khalidi, Ahmad
Le conflit israélo-palestinien : retour vers le futur.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 601-615.
A l'ete 2000, de grands espoirs avaient ete fondees pour le reglement du conflit israelo-palestinien sur les declarations d'ouverture d'Ehud Barak et sur l'orchestration des pourparlers par les Etats-Unis : Camp David representait la possibilite d'un compromis dans la continuite des accords precedents (Oslo). Mais le refus par Yasser Arafat des offres ambigues de la partie israelienne eut pour effet de le delegitimer en tant que partenaire pour la paix, tandis qu'une ultime provocation (la visite d'Ariel Sharon sur l'esplanade des Mosques/mont du Temple) exacerbait la dimension religieuse du conflit et declenchait la deuxieme intifada, encore plus meurtriere que la premiere. Depuis, la poursuite de la colonisation des Territoires occupes et la radicalisation des deux camps font que le processus de paix est aujourd'hui pris en otage : si Israel et les Etats-Unis semblent considerer que la reconnaissance d'un Etat palestinien passe par le depart d'Arafat et la democratisation de l'Autorite palestinienne, la politique de Sharon pourrait avoir ramene le conflit a ce qu'il etait en 1948 : une guerre existentielle pour la terre de Palestine.

- Sayigh, Yezid
The Palestinian Strategic Impasse.
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 4, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 7-21.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The Palestinians face bleak strategic prospects. There is a substantial price to pay for the political misjudgements of the past two years by their leadership. Palestinian statehood has been placed in serious doubt, raising the spectre of new, and increasingly violent and disintegrative, trajectories in the Palestinian-Israeli relationship. This narrows the range of future prospects down to two. Firstly, the conflict will continue until the international community ultimately confronts Sharon (or any like-minded successor) over the nature of the territorial dispensation in the West Bank and East Jerusalem that must be reached if durable Palestinian-Israeli peace is to be attained. Secondly, the conflict will continue until the levels of pain and fatigue in both societies bring about a shift in domestic political balances and force national leaderships to agree to the sort of peace deal for which there already is majority support. The cruel irony is that this was attainable in 2000. If the opportunity is missed once more, then the essence of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict will change over the coming decade, from a struggle over the terms of partition to one over the national identity and political nature of Israel.

- Schattner, Marius
De la paix manquee d' Oslo a la marche vers l' abime.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 587-600.
Au lieu d'une paix promise, Israeliens et Palestiniens sont aujourd'hui prisonniers d'un engrenage de violences, alimente par la haine, le desespoir et, dans une certaine mesure, le fanatisme religieux. La regression est totale. Faute de perspective, le sentiment dominant est que le processus de paix est mort en juillet 2000 a Camp David, quand les deux parties se sont confrontees pour la premiere fois aux problemes de fond. On peut argumenter sur les causes de cet echec, sur ce qui s'est vraiment passe a Camp David : la paix etait-elle vraiment 'a portee de main' ? Mais, par-dela ces interrogations, se pose la question de l'interpretation, c'est-a-dire des lecons tirees pour les deux camps de cet echec, et particulierement pour Israel ou la perception la plus radicale s'est imposee.

- Shehadi, Nadim
Talking about Talks.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 58, no. 7, July 2002, p. 25-27.
After coming so close to a solution, Palestinians and Israelis seem only capable of blaming each other for the collapse of the peace process while the violence spirals out of control. The Arabs have stepped in with a Saudi proposal, giving reassurance to Israel that normal relations will begin once peace is achieved. The Americans are keen to organise an international conference. Despair is mixed with deja vu, not least among thousands of Palestinian refugees, as all of this has been tried before. What chance is there for it to work this time ? Could it be just a question of mechanisms ?

- Shikaki, Khalil
Palestinians Divided.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 1, January - February 2002, p. 89-105.
Yasir Arafat has been neither an orchestrator nor a spectator of the second intifada; he has been its target. A young guard of Palestinian nationalists, angry at both Israel and the corrupt Palestinian Authority, lies behind the violence. Arafat must reform his government and secure a credible peace process - before it's too late.

- Siebert, Michael
European Perspectives on the Gulf : Similarities and Differences with the US.
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 3, September 2002, p. 85-93.
<http://www.swetswise.com>

- Slater, Jerome
Lost Opportunities for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict : Israel and Syria, 1948-2001.
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 27, no. 1, Summer 2002, p. 79-106.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
In a challenge to much of the conventional wisdom, the author writes that observers in the United States and Israel have unduly laid blame for the decades-old Israeli-Syrian conflict on the leadership in Damascus. Although both Israel and Syria have been 'inflexible, ideological, and prone to maximal demands', Slater says, Israel bears greater responsibility for the lack of a comprehensive Israeli-Syrian settlement. Slater begins with an overview of the conventional wisdom and then assesses challenges to it by Israel's 'new history movement'. He then traces the 'lost opportunities for peace' between the Israelis and the Syrians since 1948. Slater concludes that the key stumbling block remains Israel's unwillingness to withdraw to its pre-June 1967 borders.

- Stein, Kenneth W.
La doctrine Bush au Moyen-Orient : continuité politique et engagement sélectif.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e année, no. 1, janvier - mars 2002, p. 149-171.
A son arrivée au pouvoir, l'Administration Bush ne se situait pas dans la continuité des efforts menés par Bill Clinton en matière de règlement des conflits au Moyen-Orient : la priorité accordée à la politique intérieure laissait ainsi percevoir un certain attentisme sur ce point. A la veille du 11 septembre 2001, la doctrine de politique étrangère dite de l' 'engagement sélectif', reposant principalement sur la seule défense de l'intérêt national, des intérêts économiques et des libertés démocratiques, semblait perdurer malgré la valse des Administrations, question israélo-palestinienne mise à part. Mais les facettes de l'histoire et la nécessité, soudainement apparue comme une priorité nationale, d'éradiquer le terrorisme ont propulsé les Etats-Unis sur le devant de la scène internationale, impliquant leur intervention militaire en Afghanistan et mobilisant l'ensemble de la communauté internationale en une coalition qui donne à leur politique un air de 'multilatéralisme à la carte'. Au-delà de ce premier objectif, cette intervention semble remettre au goût du jour la question du rétablissement de la paix au Moyen-Orient et rouvrir d'anciennes perspectives quant au rôle décisif que les Etats-Unis pourraient y tenir, seuls ou de façon multilatérale.

- Taheri, Amir
Demain l' Irak ...
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 98, hiver 2002 - 2003, p. 291-299.
What exactly will happen after the fall of Saddam Hussein ? Since US military intervention in Iraq appears ineluctable, the question of succession following the removal of the dictator in Baghdad figures at the heart of every conversation in Washington. The Pentagon does not exclude an interim administration directly controlled by a US military governor, as was the case in Japan following the Second World War. The Pentagon is also considering a coalition government headed by Ahmad Chalabi, a veteran Shiite leader. The State Department and the CIA would prefer another candidate, general Majib al-Salhi, who heads the Iraqi 'Free Officers Movement'. All these solutions ignore the lessons of history, however. To mark a definitive break with a military regime, the first step is to ban uniforms. And to put an end to a dictatorship, it is essential to create conditions propitious to a true democracy as rapidly as possible.

- Takeyh, Ray
Iran's Emerging National Compact.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 19, no. 3, Fall 2002, p. 43-50.
Although overshadowed by the reform movement's setbacks and overlooked by jaded observers, incremental enhancements of Iran's republican infrastructure have established the foundation for more progress toward a genuinely democratic polity. Despite the repressive tactics of the militant right, the reform movement has succeeded in empowering the average Iranian and making the citizenry an important arbiter of the regime's legitimacy. Iran's restive youth and hard-pressed middle class have refused to be relegated to the margins of society, to passively obey the dictates of the clerical estate. It is this reality that has realigned Iran's politics, causing important shifts in both the reform and conservative blocs. As a result, important elements among the country's theocratic rulers are moving, however uneasily and haltingly, toward a new national governing compact.

- Tellier, Frederic
L' Iran a l' heure du reformisme.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 733-748.
La modernisation de la Republique islamique connait aujourd'hui un essoufflement. Les reformes du president Khatami (reelu en 2001) ont en effet ete entravees par l'eclatement des centres de pouvoir qui profite au Guide supreme et institue, de fait, un regime bicephale plein d'inertie. Face a la crise economique (dependance exterieure et pauperisation) et sociale (rupture Etat-societe civile), la volonte d'une vraie reforme vers un Etat laic se fait jour dans la societe, soutenue par une nouvelle et singuliere exegese religieuse qui critique l'actuel pouvoir theocratique issu de la Revolution au nom de la souverainete populaire. Mais, meme representee democratiquement au Parlement, cette troisieme force pronant l'Etat de droit n'aura d'influence sur la vie politique iranienne que si elle est reconnue par la communaute internationale, a commencer par les Etats-Unis.

- Tregan, Francois-Xavier
La deuxieme Intifada.
PROBLEMES POLITIQUES ET SOCIAUX, no. 879, 23 aout 2002, whole issue.
Le deuxieme soulèvement palestinien, qui a commence le 29 septembre 2000, vient a la suite de l'echec des negociations israelo-palestiniennes de Camp David et au lendemain de la visite d'Ariel Sharon a l'esplanade des mosques, lieu dont la souverainete est contestee entre les deux parties. Les deux camps se rejettent mutuellement la responsabilite du declenchement et de la poursuite des violences. Rispostes militaires massives de la part d'Israel, actions de tireurs isoless et attentats-suicides du cote palestinien : les consequences sont desastreuses (plus de 2.400 morts, destruction de l'economie des territoires palestiniens, exacerbation des opinions publiques des deux cotes). Une sortie de crise ne pourrait intervenir sans une implication forte de la communaute internationale, en particulier des Etats-Unis. Des plans de paix sont bien proposes de part et d'autre, mais la restauration de la confiance ne pourra sans doute etre que longue et ardue.

- Tripp, Charles
After Saddam.
SURVIVAL, vol. 44, no. 4, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 23-37.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
If Saddam Hussein is overthrown by an internal coup, his regime could be succeeded by something similar, albeit with softer edges. A US-led invasion, however, could cause the United States to embark on an ambitious plan for 'state reconstruction'. In doing so, the stamina of the United States will be severely tested by the resistance of the 'shadow state', the lure of communal politics, the indispensability of the security forces and the temptations of massive oil revenues. Faced by

regional states determined to play a 'spoiler' role, the United States may reduce its exposure and accept much of the status quo in Iraq. Saddam would have gone, but the Iraqis would be left a government little more representative than they have at present.

- Unger, David C.
Maps of War, Maps of Peace : Finding a Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Question.
WORLD POLICY JOURNAL, vol. 19, no. 2, Summer 2002, p. 1-12.
President Bush has already recognized the path that must eventually be followed. His vision of two states, one Israeli and one Palestinian, living side by side, despite all the obvious problems, provides the only workable framework for peace. Movement down that path can begin today, looking beyond Mr. Arafat, but not waiting for his actual departure.
- Veliotis, Nicholas A.
The Bush 'Vision' for Palestine : Realistic or Apocalyptic ?
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 4, Fall 2002, p. 11-20.
- Yaphe, Judith
Reinventing Iraq : The Regional Impact of US Military Action.
MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2002, p. 25-34.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
As the United States prepares for a military confrontation with Iraq, several key questions emerge regarding how we build support for that effort and sustain it through the difficult period after Saddam and his regime are 'changed'.
- Zaldivar, Carlos Alonso
Irak, cronica de una guerra anunciada.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 90, noviembre - diciembre 2002, p. 77-88.
No todo lo que hoy sucede en el mundo comenzo el-11-S. Cuando Bush llego a la Casa Blanca ya estaba convencido de que la influencia de su pais se habia debilitado. Su discurso en la ONU mostro las verdaderas intenciones del posible ataque a Irak.

2001

- Israel's National Security Towards the 21st Century.
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 24, no. 2, June 2001, Special Issue.
- Abdo, Geneive
Iran's Generation of Outsiders.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 163-171.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Iran's ruling establishment is unprepared to share power with anyone from the 'outside', including would-be leaders from the ranks of a new, postrevolutionary generation. This generational divide presents one of the greatest obstacles to fundamental change.
- Ahrari, M. Ehsan
Iran, China, and Russia : the Emerging Anti-US Nexus ?
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 4, December 2001, p. 453-466.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The post-Cold War world has been in existence for more than a decade; however, Iran, the People's Republic of China (PRC), and Russia still find the situation unsettling. Some of the reasons underlying their dissatisfaction are region-specific. But the most significant and unifying variable is that all three of them resent the dominant status of

the United States in the realms of politics, economics, and military power at the global level. They perceive US dominance in their respective regions as constraining and even deleterious to their own strategic ambitions. In contrast to the Cold War years, the current balance-of-power-related tug-and-pull among nations is neither based on ideology nor led by two superpowers. But, as in the Cold War years, the international struggle of this century will be driven by a desire to seek military and economic dominance within and across various regions. In this on-going struggle, Iran, China, and Russia are striving to improve their status by using the nexus that is evolving between them.

- Alterman, Jon B.

Iran : Came the Revolution.

CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 642, January 2001, p. 27-32.

<http://www.currenthistory.com>

Two decades of Islamic governance in Iran have created a circumscribed polity in which every political action - whether by conservatives or liberals, the press or the clergy - must be decoded to understand its true meaning within the game of Iranian politics.

- Ansari, Ali M.

Victims of Their Success.

WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 3, March 2001, p. 11-12.

The reform movement in Iran had been gathering momentum for a decade, in a bid to institutionalise democracy. Reformists argue that this would fulfil the promise of the Islamic Revolution. The movement was catapulted to political prominence and international recognition in 1997 with the surprise landslide election victory of President Mohammad Khatami. Despite considerable opposition, under the President's effective leadership it was able to consolidate the foundations of civil society, largely by establishing of a vigorous press. In last year's elections reformists seized control of the parliament. This dramatic success triggered the latest and most repressive reaction by conservatives, determined to stop reform.

- Awwad, Emad

La paix au Proche-Orient : agonie d' un processus.

DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 3, mars 2001, p. 97-105.

Au cours des dernieres annees, les termes 'impasse', 'blocage' ou 'crise' etaient regulierement employes lorsqu'on évoquait le 'processus' de paix au Proche-Orient. Or, les evenements survenus recemment dans les territoires palestiniens allaient introduire un element nouveau. Des voix s'elevaient évoquant la fin d'un 'processus' maintenu jusqu'alors tant bien que mal, tandis que d'autres soulignaient le besoin de trouver de nouveaux mecanismes plus adequats. Des conditions avaient ete emises de part et d'autre pour la reprise des negociations gelees tandis que la violence faisait rage en Terre sainte. Comment peut-on expliquer les hesitations a voir les choses comme elles se presentaient ? Le 'processus' tel qu'il etait concu au depart pouvait-il conduire a une paix juste et durable entre Israéliens et palestiniens ? Comment les choses en etaient-elles arrivees jusque la ? Quelles sont les perspectives avec la demission du Premier ministre israelien, Ehoud Barak, et l'organisation d'elections legislatives anticipees en Israel ?

- Bacevich, Andrew J.

A Less Than Splendid Little War.

WILSON QUARTERLY, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 83, 12 p.

The legacy of the Gulf War consists of at least four distinct elements. First, the war transformed Americans' views about armed conflict; about the nature of war, the determinants of success, and the expectations of when and how US forces should intervene.

- Bahgat, Gawdat
Erdgasreserven in der Golf-Region : zur geopolitischen Bedeutung neuer Akteure.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 1, Januar 2001, S. 49-54.
Die Erdgasvorkommen in der Golf-Region machen nahezu ein Drittel der weltweiten Erdgasreserven. Durch zunehmende Erdgasexporte in die Nachbarländer Japan, China, Indien und die Türkei mit ihrem wachsenden Energiebedarf ist ein politischer und wirtschaftlicher Machtzuwachs der Golf-Staaten zu erwarten, der regionale Stabilität zur Folge haben dürfte.

- Bahgat, Gawdat
US-Iranian Relations : Sanctions and the Caspian Sea.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 2, June 2001, p. 231-243.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The US has maintained various sanctions against Iran since the seizure of its embassy in Tehran in 1979, and important steps to consolidate these sanctions were taken in the second half of the 1990s. The underlying reason for the sanctions is to deprive Iran of the necessary financial resources it allegedly needs to sponsor international terrorism and to acquire and develop weapons of mass destruction. From the US perspective, any financial gains for Iran - either from foreign investment in its energy sector or from allowing oil and gas pipelines from the Caspian region - would go towards these two goals. At the beginning of the Bush administration, it seems that the parameters of US-Iranian relations will take a positive turn, which may lead to a win-win situation. At least six factors will shape the dynamics between Washington and Tehran in the near future : the growing military cooperation between Moscow and Tehran; the escalation of violence between Palestinians and Israelis; the forthcoming presidential elections in Iran; the situation around Iraq; the lobbying by US oil companies to lift the sanctions against Iran; and the increasing cooperation between Europe and Iran. US national interests and business interests are not mutually exclusive, so a rapprochement between Washington and Tehran could serve both.

- Bali, Asli
Washington-Bagdad : le dessous des cartes.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 91, printemps 2001, p. 161-174.
One of the first challenges the new American administration faces is establishing an Iraq policy. Based on the first few months of Bush Jr.'s presidency, the new White House program seems to call on three strategies : retightened sanctions, the maintenance of aerial exclusion zones (including possible changes to these zones), and an enhanced support of Iraqi opposition groups. The primary goal of the new Iraqi policy is still to be decided : whether to contain Baghdad's chances of causing harm (preferred by Secretary of State Colin Powell), or to work on overturning Saddam Hussein (the hard line embodied by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld). What is certain is that President Bush should, above all, seek to establish a consensus regarding his policy. Because the flaws in the current system of sanctions show that the US is becoming increasingly isolated in its crusade against Iraq.

- Bellaigue, Christopher de
Iran's Last Chance for Reform ?
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 71-80.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
It is imperative for President Mohammad Khatami to use his second term to shift Iran substantially toward reform. When his term ends in 2005, it is difficult to imagine his already fragmented followers will be able to unite around a single replacement.

- Bronson, Rachel
Beyond Containment in the Persian Gulf.
ORBIS, vol. 45, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 193-209.

- Byman, Daniel
Iraq after Saddam.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 151-162.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The removal of Saddam Hussein from power is, correctly, one of the U.S. government's primary regional goals. Yet removing Saddam is not a panacea for Iraq's woes. The greatest benefits would come from a change in Iraq's elites, not just Saddam's fall.

- Calabrese, John
The United States, Great Britain, and the Middle East : How Special the Relationship ?
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 57-84.

- Chistiakov, Aleksei
Iakushev, Mikhail
Middle East : Is Peace a Dream ?
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 47, no. 3, 2001, p. 45-54.
<http://home.eastview.com/epubs.shtml>

- Del Sarto, Raffaella
Tovias, Alfred
Caught Between Europe and the Orient : Israel and the EMP.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 4, October - December 2001, p. 61-75.
'The purpose of this article is to analyse Israel's attitude towards and experience with the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), launched at the Barcelona Conference in November 1995. Israel has a long history of bilateral relations with the EU and initially reacted with scepticism to the EMP, particularly regarding the economic rationale. In view of the potential political benefits, however, it adopted a more positive attitude towards the initiative. Yet it is the framework of the Barcelona process that remains problematic for Israel. While participating as a southern Mediterranean country, Israel differs from other MNMCs in terms of its socio-economic features, which are more similar to those of EU countries. Israel's perception of being caught between Europe and the Orient is also reflected in terms of culture and identity in view of EUs attempts to promote a "Mediterranean identity".'

- Delacampagne, Christian
A un ami palestinien.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 24, no. 95, automne 2001, p. 561-571.

- Dieckhoff, Alain
Israel : une identite nationale en crise.
PROBLEMES POLITIQUES ET SOCIAUX, no. 855, 6 avril 2001, numero entier.
L'election triomphale d'Ariel Sharon au poste de Premier ministre le 6 fevrier 2001, est la troisieme consultation nationale en l'espace de cinq ans : elle souligne que le systeme politique israelien est en etat de crise endemique, le nombre des petits partis representes a la Knesset accentuant l'instabilite. Cette fragmentation politique reflète une heterogeneite sociale croissante, sensible depuis les vingt dernieres annees, avec la multiplication des mobilisations communautaires (Sefarades, 'Russes', Arabes israeliens...). Le conflit entre courants religieux et laics pose le probleme de la double nature d'Israel comme Etat juif (identitaire) et democratique (Etat de tous ses citoyens). Cette dualite est au coeur d'un debat entre les neo-sionistes, qui

entendent affirmer plus fortement le judaïsme, et les post-sionistes qui privilégient le caractère démocratique et pluraliste de l'Etat. Ce clivage est apparu particulièrement lors des récentes controverses d'historiens sur la responsabilité d'Israël dans l'exode des Palestiniens en 1948. En tout état de cause, les contours de l'identité nationale ne pourront être redéfinis que si Israël parvient à un règlement définitif du conflit qui l'oppose à ses voisins, au premier chef les Palestiniens.

- Dodge, Toby
Dangerous Dead Ends.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 7, July 2001, p. 7-9.
At the beginning of June the oil markets began to fluctuate nervously, the business of the United Nations Security Council ground to a halt and newspapers around the world turned their attention back to the on-going struggle between the world's remaining superpower and its foremost rogue state. After over a decade of war, regional instability and human suffering, the problem of Iraq is once more dominating international diplomacy.
- Dodge, Toby
Who's Winning Now ?
WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 3, March 2001, p. 4-6.
How is it that two American Presidents have left the White House while President Saddam Hussain is still in power ? The recent bombing of Baghdad has done little but focus attention on the lack of international consensus and the failure of sanctions. Baghdad has outmanoeuvred Washington and left it with few options.
- Donaher, William F.
DeBlois, Ross B.
Is the Current UN and US Policy toward Iraq Effective ?
PARAMETERS, vol. 31, no. 4, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 112-125.
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>
This article reviews the current sanctions and Oil-for-Food policy in Iraq from both national security and humanitarian intervention perspectives. The article is organized into three main sections - a review of the background, an analysis of the current policy in terms of national security and humanitarian criteria, and a recommendation for future policy.
- Downes, Alexander B.
The Holy Land Divided : Defending Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Wars.
SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 10, no. 4, Summer 2001, p. 58-116.
This article contends that partition does not deserve the bad reputation it has developed, and should be considered a plausible solution to some ethnic civil wars. The author illustrates his argument by examining the war between Arabs and Jews that occurred after the United Nations voted in 1947 to partition Palestine.
- Efegil, Ertan
Stone, Leonard A.
Iran's interests in Central Asia : A Contemporary Assessment.
CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY, vol. 20, no. 3, September 2001, p. 353-365.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
- Eisenstadt, Michael
Curtains for the Ba'ath.
NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 66, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 59-68.

- Eisenstadt, Michael
 Russian Arms and Technology Transfers to Iran : Policy Challenges for the United States.
 ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 31, no. 2, March 2001, p. 15-22.
<http://www.armscontrol.org>

- Foltz, Richard
 Environmental Initiatives in Contemporary Iran.
 CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY, vol. 20, no. 2, June 2001, p. 155-165.
<http://www.swetswise.com>

- Freedman, Robert O.
 Russian Policy Toward the Middle East : The Yeltsin Legacy and the Putin Challenge.
 MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 58-90.
 Given its greatly weakened geopolitical position after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Moscow has had to reorient its foreign policy. Displaying increasing concern about the newly independent states of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, which many Russians see as the 'soft underbelly' of the Russian Federation, Russian policy has had a special focus on Iran and Turkey. Russia developed a close tactical alliance with Iran which not only was a major purchaser of Russian nuclear reactors and military equipment, but also shared with Moscow a common policy approach toward developments in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and Azerbaijan. Russia has had a more mixed relationship with Turkey, although by the time Vladimir Putin took over as Russia's president, the relationship had moved toward greater cooperation, especially in the area of energy.

- Ghadbian, Najib
 The New Asad : Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Syria.
 MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 624-641.
 The death of Syrian President Hafez al-Asad and the passing of power to his son Bashar ushered in a new phase not only for Syria but also for the Middle East. Although Asad meant to assure the continuity and legacy of his rule by bequeathing the presidency to his son, we have witnessed both continuity and change under Bashar: continuity in foreign policy, new dynamics in domestic politics. In foreign policy, Bashar has both the benefit and the burden of following a parent considered to have been highly skilled in foreign relations strategy. The domestic scene is another matter, and almost any change there will make good marks for Bashar. The economy and the political system are riddled with problems, and Bashar came in sounding like a reformer. However, there are contending forces complicating the initiative for liberalizing political change within Syria, and even Bashar may be ambivalent toward such change. His turnaround on political liberalization in the middle of his first year shows that while economic reform may be forthcoming in Syria, the new regime is reluctant to take a path of political reform. The question Syria will face is, can the two be separated?

- Hadar, Leon T.
 Orienting Jerusalem toward Ankara or Cairo ? : Israel's New Geostrategic Debate.
 MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 8-30.

- Halliday, Fred
 Resolving Middle East Conflicts.
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 2, April 2001, p. 15-21.

- Harkavy, Robert
Strategic Geography and the Greater Middle East.
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 54, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 37-53.
<http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/frontpage/products.htm>
Daily events in the Middle East, North Africa, the African Horn, South Asia, and ex-Soviet Central Asia offer little encouragement that this region is at the 'end of history' - the end of major warfare and security rivalries. Two Gulf wars have been fought in recent memory, as well as Arab-Israeli and Indian-Pakistani wars. In that obvious sense, geopolitics is alive and well in the Greater Middle East.

- Hedges, Chris
The new Palestinian Revolt.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 1, January - February 2001, p. 124-138.
Last autumn's fresh outbreak of violence between Palestinians and Israelis has shaken an assumption that has reigned since the 1993 Oslo peace accords : that negotiations and interim agreements can lay the roadwork for a lasting peace. Now Oslo's delegitimization has swayed public opinion in Israel and the occupied territories away from compromise and toward more radical solutions.

- Hertzberg, Arthur
A Small Peace for the Middle East.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 1, January - February 2001, p. 139-147.
At the heart of the conflict in the Middle East stand two irreconcilable ideologies : Zionism and the Palestinian dream of a homeland. Adherents on either side cannot accept the demands of the other, so perfect peace remains a fantasy. But another solution exists : to abandon grand plans and muddle forward. Piecemeal solutions can succeed where ambitious strategies have failed. Indeed they are now the only option.

- Hubel, Helmut
Kaim, Markus
Wenig neue Akzente : die zuruckhaltende Nahost-Politik von Bush Jr.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 8, August 2001, S. 39-46.
Die jetzige amerikanische Regierung pflegt in der Nahost-Frage einen eher zuruckhaltenden Stil. Neben dem Nahost-Konflikt verfolgt sie Themen wie Energieversorgung, Verbreitung von Massenvernichtungswaffen und internationaler Terrorismus in der Region mit grosser Besorgnis.

- Ishow, Habib
La Constitution provisoire irakienne de 1990 et la pratique politique.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 12, decembre 2001, p. 72-85.
Apres une presentation des principes generaux et des institutions politiques enonces dans la constitution de l'Irak, l'auteur examine la repartition des competences entre les differents pouvoirs. Ensuite, une analyse critique de cette constitution permet de l'apprecier au regard des droits de l'homme, de l'Etat de droit et de la pratique politique.

- Israeli, Raphael
The Turkish-Israeli Odd Couple.
ORBIS, vol. 45, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 65-79.

- Jalili, Ali A.
The Strategic Partnership of Russia and Iran.
PARAMETERS, vol. 31, no. 4, Winter 2001 - 2002, p. 98-111.
<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/parameters>
The author of this article presents a detailed and timely analysis of the strategic needs of both Russia and Iran. The author's research indicates that this developing relationship entails much more than just a new arms deal. He adroitly points out that this partnership is based on mutual

political and security issues, a fear of US penetration into the region, and the proliferation of religious extremism. The author concludes that regardless of the motivations for the parties involved, it is in the best interests of the United States to discourage any collaboration between Russia and Iran.

- Kavli, Ozlem Tur
Islamic Movements in the Middle East : Egypt as a Case Study.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 6, no. 4, December 2001 - February 2002, p. 19-35.
<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/sam/percept/default.htm>
The first part of this paper looks briefly at nineteenth century Islamic reformers who had an impact on the development of modern Islamic movements. In the second part, the focus is on the formation of the Islamic movements and their cadres and main ideologies. The third part looks at contemporary movements and their position in Egyptian society.
- Kemp, Geoffrey
Iran : Can the US Do a Deal ?
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 109-124.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
A rapprochement is in the long-term interests of Washington and Tehran, but reestablishing diplomatic relations in the coming months is unthinkable, at least in Iran. The new US administration is also unlikely to change its policy until two conditions are met.
- Kurth, James
Religion and Ethnic Conflict : In Theory.
ORBIS, vol. 45, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 281-294.
- Lapidoth, Ruth
Der Status von Jerusalem : ein Kompromiss ist vielleicht möglich.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 8, August 2001, S. 14-18.
Widerspruchliche Interessen, tiefe Gefühle und die hohle Symbolik Jerusalems stehen einer Einigung zwischen Israelis und Palästinensern über den Status der Stadt im Wege. Trotz der scheinbar unüberwindlichen Interessengegensätze ist nach Ansicht der Autorin ein Kompromiss möglich, wenn alle Beteiligten ihn wirklich wollen.
- Leveau, Remy
Moisi, Dominique
Les violences de la paix.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e année, no. 1, janvier - mars 2001, p. 2-12.
Depuis la reprise des violences, en octobre 2000, le processus de paix entre Israéliens et Palestiniens va d'échec en échec. Malgré les efforts de Clinton et l'énergie déployée à Camp David en juillet dernier, pour formuler un compromis acceptable par les deux parties, les pressions de la rue et des opinions publiques ont finalement eu raison des efforts de compréhension et de négociation produits courageusement par les élites israéliennes et palestiniennes. Et alors qu'à l'automne 2000, on n'avait jamais semblé si près d'un règlement pacifique du conflit, la seule perspective à court terme est aujourd'hui celle d'un ralentissement de l'escalade des violences.
- Logan, Charles J.
Options for Enlarging Iran.
STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 29, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 33-40.
The Bush administration has an historic opportunity to pursue a policy of engagement with the government of Iran. The dual containment policy of the Clinton administration may have been appropriate in the aftermath of the Gulf War, but moderating forces in Iran have gained a tenuous foothold on power which needs to be promoted. Engagement offers no easy

answers, but will enhance the ability of the US to promote moderation in Iran and shape the developing landscape of Gulf relations.

- Makovsky, David
Middle East Peace Through Partition.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 2, March - April 2001, p. 28-45.
After all the recent bloodshed in the Middle East, many have pronounced the Oslo peace process dead. But Oslo's core principle - that peace requires an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza - remains as sound as ever. Friendly cooperation between the two sides appears a long way off; even final-status talks may be premature. But in the interim, there is one step Israel can and must take : withdrawal from the territories, whether the Palestinians are ready or not.
- Norton, Augustus Richard
America's Middle East Peace Crisis.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 642, January 2001, p. 3-9.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
The administration taking office this month will face its first foreign policy crisis in the Middle East. As a second intifada takes root and as Israelis decide whether to elect a new, anti-Oslo government, what is left of the nearly decade-long peace process for the Bush administration to build on ?
- Partrick, Neil
Weapons of Mass Destruction : The Threat to the Gulf.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 5, October 2001, p. 50-55.
- Peck, Edward
Doing It All Wrong in the Middle East : Iraq.
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 4, Fall 2001, p. 13-26.
- Peled, Alisa Rubin
Towards Autonomy ? : The Islamist Movement's Quest for Control of Islamic Institutions in Israel.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 378-398.
From origins as a small clandestine association, the Islamist movement in Israel grew into a major grassroots organization with political representation at the municipal and national levels by the late 1990s. The movement has been particularly successful in mobilizing Israel's Muslim population to challenge the state-controlled Islamic institutions. The current literature tends to downplay the impact of this escalating campaign either to gain control over Islamic institutions (such as waqf, charitable endowments, and shari'a courts) or to establish autonomous alternatives wherever possible. The article focuses on this quest in order to assess the movement's development and its prospects for future communal autonomy.
- Perthes, Volker
Dynamiques regionales au Proche et au Moyen-Orient et limites des influences exterieures.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2001, p. 659-672.
Au-dela de l'actualite tumultueuse des relations israelo-palestiniennes depuis l'echec du processus de paix et la reprise de l'intifada en octobre 2000, les changements politiques intervenus recemment au Proche et au Moyen-Orient sont d'une importance majeure pour l'avenir de cette region. Qu'il s'agisse de la creation de l'Autorite palestinienne, du renouvellement des elites politiques arabes, de la guerre du Golfe ou des accords d'Oslo, les annees 1990 ont vu l'emergence d'un veritable systeme regional d'Etats, lies davantage par les questions de securite et la

perception des risques que par la seule proximité géographique. Dans ce cadre, l'influence des puissances extérieures, en particulier les États-Unis et l'Europe, trouve rapidement ses limites, des lors qu'elle ne tient pas compte des intérêts jugés vitaux par les acteurs régionaux.

- Pinto, Maria do Ceu
Sanctioning Iran : US-European Disputes over Policy towards Iran.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 2, April - June 2001, p. 101-110.
The aim of this article is to review the record of European-Iranian relations since the 1979 revolution in light of US pressures to isolate the Iranian regime. After a first part retracing European-Iranian relations during the troubled Khomeini era, analysis turns to Europe's response to American policies towards Iran, with Europe resisting American pressure to sever economic ties with the country. The next two sections highlight the evolution of European policy towards Iran in the face of Teheran's involvement in terrorist actions in Europe (the 'Mykonos affair') and the death sentence (fatwa) against British writer Salman Rushdie, followed by an analysis of the boost in European-Iranian relations produced by the 1997 election of the moderate candidate, President Khatami. The article concludes with an assessment of the effectiveness of US sanctions against Iran and, namely, of the efforts employed by American policymakers to enlist European cooperation in the isolation of the Iranian regime.

- Pothof, Willem
De bescherming van de Amerikaanse mondiale machtpositie : het geval van de Golfoorlog.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 1, januari 2001, p. 35-39.
The author goes back to the Gulf Crisis of 1990-1991 and explains why the military solution of this conflict was driven by global power aspirations of the US. Top issues in international relations are nowadays more and more defined by power structures on the world political level. The author sketches the American position of power in the context of the basic security and economic transitions in the international environment at the end of the Cold War. Some of those fundamental changes posed a threat to the US as a superpower and resulted in a declining global position of the US. Economic competitors and regional expanding powers had become the new threats in the period after the Cold War. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was indeed a sign to the one and only remaining superpower that a war was needed to protect its global interests. The war against Iraq had more than one useful outcome, but - at least in the perception of American policymakers - it was unavoidable because of the danger of damage to the American global position of power. Even the protection of oil supplies was not the mainspring of American policy during the Gulf Crisis. The article concludes that global power relations rule the world.

- Press, Daryl G.
The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare.
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 26, no. 2, Fall 2001, p. 5-44.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The coalition victory over Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War was a historic rout. According to the conventional wisdom, the use of air power - primarily by the United States - assured the coalition's unparalleled success. The author of this article takes a different view. Using detailed evidence from the four-day ground campaign, the author concludes that air power was 'neither sufficient nor necessary' in defeating Iraq and that 'its role has been exaggerated and misunderstood'. The author argues that other factors, including the overwhelming superiority of U.S. and British ground troops in both training and equipment and Iraq's poor timing of the invasion of Kuwait, better explain the lopsided outcome.

- Pundak, Ron
 From Oslo to Taba : What Went Wrong ?
 SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 3, Autumn 2001, p. 31-46.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 There are three possible explanations for the collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process that started in Oslo in 1993. One could argue that peace between Israelis and Palestinians is simply impossible, or that the two sides were simply not ready to make the necessary painful concessions. But the evidence points to a third explanation. There was, in fact, an opportunity for peace, but it was squandered through miscalculations and mismanagement of the entire process. The Palestinian leadership shares considerable blame for the crisis. Yet the story of the August 2000 Camp David summit that is often told in Israel and the US - of a near-perfect Israeli offer which Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat lacked the courage to grasp - is too simple. Above all, it is a story that tends to obscure the excruciating difficulties and frustrations of the Palestinian side, which were too often the unnecessary products of flawed Israeli policies.

- Rabil, Robert
 The Ineffective Role of the US-Israeli-Syrian Relationship.
 MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 415-438.
 Using as its starting point the Gulf War (1990-91), this article examines the US-Israeli-Syrian triangular relationship to see what pattern or patterns emerge and what changes these patterns have produced in American foreign policy towards the Middle East.

- Robinson, Glenn E.
 Israel and the Palestinians : the Bitter Fruits of Hegemonic Peace.
 CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 642, January 2001, p. 15-20.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
 Is Yasir Arafat the master puppeteer overseeing the Palestinians revolt that erupted in September ? Or is a more complex interplay of forces at work that could result in a realignment of political power within the Palestinian community - a realignment Arafat can neither orchestrate nor dictate ?

- Rubin, Barry
 What Is Right Is in US Interests.
 WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 127-134.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 From an Israeli perspective, the United States should properly pursue its own interests. The basic problem is not some US mistaken policy; it has done quite well. Regional extremism and ambitions mean no perfect options or easy solutions exist.

- Sariolghalam, Mahmood
 Justice for All.
 WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2001, p. 113-125.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 Iranians, like most Middle Easterners, have an obsession with justice. Realpolitik is a much weaker political ideology than egalitarianism. A psychologically and culturally tailored approach will prove to be fundamental to the future role of the United States in the region.

- Sayigh, Yezid
 Arafat and the Anatomy of a Revolt.
 SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 3, Autumn 2001, p. 47-60.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 In October 2000, at the onset of the latest intifada, key political and security officials on both Palestinians and the Israeli side still considered an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal to be politically realisable. Some of the substance of a mutually acceptable deal finally emerged at the bilateral talks held in the Red Sea resort of Taba in late January 2001, but by then it was too late to alter the course of events. The present situation of low-intensity conflict will almost certainly persist for the rest of 2001, and in all likelihood for at least another year beyond that. Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat bears much of the responsibility for this precarious state of affairs, though not for the reasons cited by official Israeli sources. Contrary to the Israeli account, his behaviour since the start of the intifada has reflected not the existence of a prior strategy based on the use of force, but the absence of any strategy. His political management has been marked by a high degree of improvisation and short-termism, confirming the absence of an original strategy and of a clear purpose.

- Schilling, Walter
 Israels Sicherheitspolitik und Strategie im Wandel.
 EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 50. Jg., Nr. 1, Januar 2001, S. 18-21.
 The failure of the Camp David summit talks of July 2000 which were organized by the US President Bill Clinton, the nonsuccess of the peace efforts made within the framework of the Millenium summit of the UN, and the 'Al Aqsa Intifada' of the Palestinians passing off with extreme violence since 28 September have underlined in an emphatic way that the expectations of achieving quickly a decisive breakthrough to peace in the Middle East were premature. However, not just these recent discords and clashes are forcing Israel to change its security policy and strategy. It is rather the effect of the political and strategic changes visible not only worldwide, but also in the region of the Middle East since the beginning of the 1990s already which require great adjustments on the side of Israel. In the search for security and stability traditional balance-of-power considerations are therefore gaining more and more priority. With regard to Israel's present political and strategic situation it is of consequence that governmental and non-governmental actors in Israel's geographic environment have won new and more freedom of action with the end of the Cold War and the bipolar international system which is not easy to deal with.

- Schmidt, Christian
 Friedensstifter zweiter Wahl ? : die Rolle der Europaer im Nahen Osten.
 INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 8, August 2001, S. 47-52.
 Europa hat, so der CSU-Bundestagsabgeordnete, ein handfestes Interesse daran, den Konflikt im Nahen Osten zu befrieden. Dazu muss Europa als starke Zivil- aber auch künftig als handlungsfähige Militärmacht Verhandlungen zwischen den Parteien moderieren und implementieren.

- Sela, Avraham
 Kumaraswamy, P. R.
 The Perils of Israeli-Syrian Diplomatic Stalemate.
 SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 1, March 2001, p. 11-25.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 Despite nearly a decade of negotiations over the Golan Heights, Israel and Syria failed to reach even a basic set of principles that would govern an agreement. A deep mistrust and misperception about each other's intentions, extreme domestic constraints and a shared drive to minimize the costs rather than to maximize benefits explain this deadlock. The conclusion of this article is that neither Israel nor Syria has been willing to sacrifice longcherished values for the seemingly limited benefits suggested by the adversary. Israel's interest in trading the

Golan for peace with Syria further diminished after its unilateral withdrawal from south Lebanon. While it is essential for Israel to expedite a settlement with the Palestinian Authority, it can afford to live with the status quo on the Syrian front. However, while a comprehensive peace in the Middle East clearly depends on the progress made in the Palestinian track, Israel should be attentive to Syria's legitimate concerns and constraints. It should move from its ambivalence to positive and specific terms, especially on the territorial issue. Being the last entrant to the peace process, as well as a reluctant and weak one, Syria must shift its goal from a dictated to a negotiated agreement.

- Shikaki, Khalil

Der Friedensprozess aus palastinensischer Sicht : Hoffnungslosigkeit ist nicht das Gebot der Stunde.

INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 8, August 2001, S. 23-28.

Der Osloer Friedensprozess ist am Ende. Um dennoch auf den Weg zum Frieden zurückzukehren, müssen beide Seiten ein Stabilitätspaket schnüren, das das Bedrohungsgefühl reduziert, das Vertrauen in den Prozess wiederherstellt und die Überwachung der Vereinbarungen sicherstellt.

- Simon, Steven

Washington et le monde arabe.

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 94, hiver 2001 - 2002, p. 175-198.

Despite the incomprehension it has provoked among Arab countries, the United States' policy in the Middle East is a strongly consistent one. Washington's interest in the region only began to develop in the 1940s, and is dominated by two issues : ensuring the security of oil supplies from the Gulf in general and Saudi Arabia in particular; and the protection of Israel. American priorities are rational and its support for Israel in no way hinders the U.S. from working towards a settlement of the Israel-Palestinian conflict today just as it has done in the past. Arab leaders find Israel and America useful scapegoats, channeling the anger of a people deprived of democracy and prosperity. And yet whatever the Arab media and public opinion might think, the U.S.'s support for Israel is not unconditional. Washington has no anti-Arab policy. The combination of rapid population growth and sluggish economies in the Arab world hardly inspires optimism, however. Huge efforts will be required to ensure that the U.S. and the Arab world do not drift even further apart, triggering a period of serious instability in the region. The Arab states must implement deep political and economic reforms, while the U.S. will have to agree to provide massive support for the development of these countries. Both the task and the stakes are huge.

- Slater, Jerome

What Went Wrong ? The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process.

POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, vol. 116, no. 2, 2001, p. 171-199.

With the election of Ariel Sharon and the Palestinian turn from revolution to terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian 'peace process', which managed to go on for over ten years without producing peace, has degenerated into major violence. It is critically important that the reasons for this catastrophe be properly analyzed, for sooner or later there will be a resumption of negotiations, and the lessons of this failure must be understood. Contrary to the prevailing view, Israel rather than the Palestinians bears the greater share of the responsibility, not only for the latest breakdown of the peace process but for the entire course of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since 1948. And US economic and military assistance, along with America's nearly unconditional political and diplomatic support of Israel, has enabled Israel to disregard the legitimate interests and demands for moral justice of the Palestinians, as well as the potential constraints of regional power and international opinion. Well-intentioned but unwise US

support of Israel in its conflict with the Palestinians has also enabled Israel to disregard its own best interests.

- Soetendorp, Ben

Is het Israelisch-Palestijnse conflict onoplosbaar ?

INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 11, november 2001, p. 541-545.

The author of this article deals with the stalemate in the efforts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The failure to reach a final settlement of this conflict in Camp David a year ago, which was followed by the Palestinian revolt against Israel and Israeli attempts to suppress this second Intifada offer little prospect for a way out of the current deadlock. The chances are great that because of the war in Afghanistan, President Bush will feel obliged to impose some kind of settlement on the Israelis and the Palestinians to appease the Arab members of the American coalition against Bin Laden. However, the lesson of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process so far has been that any attempt of the international community to interfere in the bilateral negotiations is fruitless. Success simply depends on the readiness of the two parties to distance themselves from fixed positions, on the Israeli side, from the dreams about a Greater Israel, and on the Palestinian side from the dreams about refugees returning to their homes in former Palestine. Only then will both parties be able to walk the extra mile to complete the Oslo peace process.

- Taheri, Amir

Avis de tempete sur le Golfe.

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 93, automne 2001, p. 257-271.

It is now ten years since the Gulf War and the subsequent establishment of a shaky 'Pax Americana' in the region. And yet in the wake of the attacks of September 11, the fate of the six states in the Gulf Cooperation Council appears more fragile than ever. The United States has not succeeded in kick-starting the political reform and economic modernization process, which is the only hope the region has of ever being able to ensure its own defense. Despite some progress towards democracy, especially in Qatar and Bahrain, the most obvious danger lies in the inability of the ruling families to broaden their base and introduce a system allowing widespread participation. All of the region's leaders are now old and there is a serious risk of succession problems in the very near future. The lack of any real opposition to counter the establishment does not make things easier. Coupled with the presence of the American 'bogeyman', this can only exacerbate the rise in Islamic fundamentalism and reduce the chances of a moderate center movement emerging.

- Taheri, Amir

L' enigme Khatami.

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 92, ete 2001, p. 55-70.

Muhammad Khatami has just been elected to the presidency of the Islamic Republic of Iran for a second four-year term. So what happens now ? One would have to be very prescient indeed to have an answer to that question. Khatami has managed to impose and preserve his image as a reformer, both within the country and internationally, a feat which gave him a surprise victory four years ago against the Establishment candidate. But this image belies his political record. Too many people are unaware of the role played by this 'smiling mullah' during the darkest hours of the Shiite revolution, as the man in charge of the notorious Ministry of Culture and Islamic Orientation. Following the relative failure of his first term of office, an impartial observer might well wonder whether Khatami will keep his promise to shepherd Iran back into the community of nations.

- Taheri, Amir
Saddam ou comment s' en debarrasser.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 91, printemps 2001, p. 113-127.
The UN embargo against Iraq has gradually lost steam over the years, so that today it only concerns the importation of weapons of mass destruction. For everything else, and especially for oil, Baghdad is free to export as much as it likes. The only limitations come from OPEC quotas. But to the great annoyance of Iraqi leaders, the UN still reserves the right to investigate the use of oil revenues. This explains the existence of the clandestine export circuits which allow Saddam Hussein to feed his secret coffers. As for the military sanctions, without observers on site no one can say if Saddam is reconstructing his war machine. So what good is it to maintain these relatively ineffective sanctions ? Should Saddam Hussein's liberty be restored, at the risk of destabilizing the region ? Or should a way be sought to eliminate Hussein ? Neither. The most reasonable solution is to maintain the status quo, even if it means a more effective application of the sanctions.

- Talal, El Hassan bin
Der Nahe Osten in der Krise : eine Zukunftsperspektive für neue Partnerschaften.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 8, August 2001, S. 1-6.
Während die Superhighways beim E-Commerce knistern, versinkt der Nahe Osten in rücksichtsloser Gewalt. Nur durch bindende Vereinbarungen zwischen den Parteien über die Schaffung wirtschaftlicher Geflechte kann, so der Autor, das Risiko von Konflikten reduziert und Wohlstand in der Region geschaffen werden.

- Talwar, Puneet
Iran in the Balance.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 4, July - August 2001, p. 58-71.
Anxious to turn back a string of recent victories by President Mohammad Khatami and his reformist allies, Iran's conservatives have embarked on a campaign of bloody repression. As the two camps battle for control of the Islamic Republic, the proper moves from Washington just might tip the balance. Modest engagement can help Iran's moderates help themselves.

- Telhami, Shibley
Camp David II : Assumptions and Consequences.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 642, January 2001, p. 10-14.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
Camp David II, intended to be Clinton's triumphal addition to President Jimmy Carter's Camp David peace achievement, now appears to be headed for a historical reckoning similar to Carter's ill-fated attempt to rescue American embassy hostages in Tehran. It may also have sparked a new phase in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one driven by ethnoreligious rather than nationalist passions.

- Toussaint, Benedikt
Wasser als Konfliktstoff : am Beispiel Jordan-Becken.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 50. Jg., Nr. 5, Mai 2001, S. 7-13.
Water deficiency is the most pressing environmental problem world-wide; primarily with regard to the quantity, since 450 million people in about 30 countries are presently not possible to be sufficiently supplied with water, but more and more also in respect to the quality. Approximately 80% of the cases of illness in the developing countries are directly the result of poor water quality; and five million people die each year because of that. Rapid population growth from now six billion to round about 8,5 billion in 2025, increasing demands on comfort and hygiene, degeneration of the soil, and a looming change of climate will aggravate the need. Experts believe that probably 25 to 30% of the world's population will have no access to pure and unpolluted drinking-water; many people will starve and set out for the north as refugees. Quarrels

and disputes over water are threatening at primarily those locations where several countries share the catchment area of waters.

- Yaphe, Judith S.
Iraq : The Exception to the Rule.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 24, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 125-137.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Iraq may be a unique case. No president can afford to advocate a major change in Iraq policy. Washington needs policies now for the time when change comes to Iraq, for it will come unannounced and undeterred by outside events.

2000

- The Middle East.
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 99, no. 633, January 2000, Whole Issue.
<http://www.currenthistory.com>
- Abdo, Geneive
The Fragility of Khatami's Revolution.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 4, Autumn 2000, p. 55-62.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Scant evidence exists that Iran is ready for Western-style democracy. In fact, the recent closure of some liberal newspapers and journals suggest that political development has shifted into reverse.
- Abdo, Geneive
Letter from Tehran.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 55-64.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
A new generation of intellectuals is redefining Iran in a way the conservative clerical establishment might not be able to stop. If Khatami can establish a flexible, modern Islamic state, Iran will set a potent example for Muslim society everywhere. Can this new generation succeed ?
- Achwan, Diaa
Redefinition du role strategique de l' Egypte.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 40, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 149-159.
Le discours sur la redefinition du role strategique de l'Egypte a commence a s'imposer avec le debut des negociations concernant le processus de paix israelo-arabe, entame lors de la conference de Madrid en 1991. On a ainsi pu constater qu'il existait une relation directe entre le lancement de la procedure de reglement du conflit israelo-arabe et le nouveau role strategique de l'Egypte. Toutefois, si ce lien est evident, il importe de ne pas negliger la dimension historique de ce role strategique egyptien dans la region. C'est avec plus ou moins de reussite, d'efficacite et d'influence que ce role s'est exprime par le passe. Neanmoins, a l'heure actuelle, sur un plan tant politique, economique que culturel, ce role tend a etre remis en cause par d'autres acteurs. Cette tendance risque d'ailleurs de s'accentuer une fois le conflit israelo-arabe definitivement regle.
- Allan, Tony
La question de l' eau au Moyen-Orient : mythe ou realite ?
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 40, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 129-142.
Les 3000 millions d'habitants du Moyen-Orient ont ete les premiers a manquer d'eau aux alentours de l'annee 1970. Les pays du Golfe, la Jordanie et Israel avaient eux aussi epuise leurs reserves quelques

decennies auparavant, mais c'est dans les années 70 que l'ensemble de la région n'a plus eu assez d'eau pour répondre aux besoins de la population du Moyen-Orient et de l'Afrique du Nord. Au cours des trois dernières décennies du XXe siècle, les journalistes n'ont cessé de rappeler que l'épuisement des ressources pouvait conduire à des conflits et peut-être même à des conflits armés. À l'occasion, certains politiciens ont, eux aussi, déclaré que la question de l'eau pouvait provoquer un tel conflit. Mais la présomption selon laquelle la prise de conscience du problème de l'eau serait probablement suivie par des conflits s'est révélée non fondée. La région a réussi à satisfaire ses besoins en eau en ayant recours aux ressources d'eau mondiales. Elle a ainsi pallié son manque d'eau en important 'de l'eau virtuelle'.

- Ansari, Ali

La révolution iranienne : vingt ans après.

POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE, 65e année, no. 1, printemps 2000, p. 81-93.

L'auteur nous livre ici sa réflexion sur ce qu'est devenue la révolution iranienne vingt ans après. Il s'interroge sur les conditions de réussite du processus de réforme actuel mené par le président Khatami en se tournant vers le passé politique de l'Iran, notamment la révolution constitutionnelle du début de ce siècle. Il considère ainsi que le courant réformateur incarné par Mohamed Khatami a pris durablement le dessus sur les conservateurs parce qu'il s'appuie sur une volonté réformatrice de la société iranienne. Cela ne signifie pas pour autant que les changements se feront sans soubresauts, ainsi que l'ont démontré les manifestations étudiantes de 1999. En tout cas, pour lui, ce changement semble inévitable et reconnu comme tel par de nombreux conservateurs.

- Awwad, Emad

Camp David II.

DÉFENSE NATIONALE, 56e année, no. 10, octobre 2000, p. 121-132.

- Ayad, Christophe

Égypte : de la stabilité à l'immobilisme ?

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 89, automne 2000, p. 337-368.

When he took power in 1981, Hosni Mubarak inherited a country on the brink of an explosive religious conflict, in disastrous economic shape, and ostracized by the rest of the Arab world. Against all expectations, Mubarak has managed to avert the various crises that threatened to engulf Egypt. He laid the foundations of economic recovery, placing the nation among the ranks of emerging countries. Thanks to Mubarak, Egypt is once more a key player in the region, where it enjoys the role of moderator : Cairo is very closely involved in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. But the political stability which supported these achievements has given way to stagnation, characterized by heavy-handed bureaucracy, rural poverty, autocratic and archaic power structures and the precarious situation of the vast majority of Egyptians, as well as high social and religious tension. Against this backdrop, any attempt at change runs heavy risks, since it can only disturb the fragile equilibrium of a society that has long suffered from arrested development.

- Baram, Amatzia

The Effects of Iraqi Sanctions : Statistical Pitfalls and Responsibility.

MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 54, no. 2, Winter 2000, p. 194-223.

- Barzilai, Amnon
Israel's Response to the Ballistic Missile Threat.
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 24, no. 3, 2000, p. 30-35.
On 14 March 2000, the Israeli MoD officially declared that a first battery of the ARROW anti-ballistic missile defence system is now operationally deployed at an air force base near Palmachim in central Israel, about 20 km south to Tel Aviv. The event marks the beginning of a new era in Israel's national security policy, and at the same time it has profound implications for the global debate about defence against ballistic missiles.

- Ben Ami, Schlomo
Israel's Foreign Policy Agenda.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 145, no. 3, June 2000, p. 31-36.

- Bengio, Ofra
How Does Saddam Hold On ?
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 4, July - August 2000, p. 90-103.
For decades, Saddam Hussein's fall has been called imminent. But Saddam has held on because of his ruthless personality, clumsy foes, and mastery of Iraq's military, ruling Baath Party, security apparatus, and powerful clans. His most likely successors are his sons, both apt to be as thuggish as their father. The West should nudge Iraq's battered elites to replace Saddam with a less megalomaniacal autocrat from inside his regime and outside his immediate family. But it should not hold its breath.

- Bengio, Ofra
Ozcan, Gencer
Changing Relations : Turkish-Israeli-Arab Triangle.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 1, March - May 2000, p. 134-146.

- Billion, Didier
Mufti, Karim El
L'axe israélo-turc : une modification de la donne stratégique régionale.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 40, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 103-114.
Depuis la signature des accords israélo-palestiniens en 1993, Israël et la Turquie ont entamé un rapprochement notoire : de relations diplomatiques fort ténues, on est passé à une entente stratégique et à une importante coopération militaire et économique. Les accords de coopération signés entre les deux états en 1996 ont des conséquences géopolitiques sur l'ensemble moyen-oriental et engendrent, il est vrai, des incertitudes nouvelles dans un monde arabe toujours à la recherche de son unité. Cette nouvelle alliance pourrait conduire à un nouveau système de sécurité collectif autour du bloc Israël-Turquie. Les États-Unis confieraient ainsi à l'axe israélo-turc la sécurité et la stabilité du Moyen-Orient. Deux conditions indispensables pour s'assurer que la route du pétrole reste sans encombre.

- Blanche, Ed
Shifting Sands, Changing Prospects.
INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW, vol. 33, no. 11, November 2000, p. 28-36.
Defense spendings by Middle Eastern countries is being maintained despite growing unrest.

- Bronson, Rachel
 Syria : Hanging Together or Hanging Separately ?
 WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 4, Autumn 2000, p. 91-105.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
 Bashar Asad's ascent to power continues a generational shift throughout the Middle East. Unlike other countries, Syria is not a monarchy and legitimacy is not automatically transferred to the ruler's son. Is fear of instability enough to keep the elite united ?

- Byman, Daniel
 After the Storm : U.S. Policy Toward Iraq since 1991.
 POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, vol. 115, no. 4, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 493, 24 p.
 This article seeks to provide a comprehensive evaluation of US policy toward Iraq since the end of Desert Storm. What are US objectives ? What constraints inhibit US policy ? How effective are the means used to achieve these goals ? What obstacles may hinder success in the years to come ?

- Byman, Daniel
 A Farewell to Arms Inspections.
 FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 1, January - February 2000, p. 119-132.
 The return of UN arms inspectors to Iraq would do more harm than good - making a mockery of arms control and actually helping Saddam Hussein develop his doomsday arsenal over the long term. With support for threats of force flagging, a renewed, enfeebled inspection mission will find only what Saddam wants it to. He will then push to have Iraq certified as free of nonconventional arms, which would end the sanctions that keep Saddam in his box. Better an impasse than a sham.

- Chesnot, Christian
 La guerre de l' eau.
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 90, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 427-441.
 In the Middle East more than elsewhere, water promises to be a major challenge for the 21st century. In these arid lands, those with abundant supplies of this precious natural resource, or able to control its sources, have a strategic asset of primary importance. Without going so far as to speak of water as a weapon, one can consider it as a major means for asserting regional political pressure. Israel has seized the point, opening and closing the tap in South Lebanon, the Golan Heights and the Palestinian Territories to shore up its political interests. In this it is not alone : Turkey has launched a far reaching program of water resource management which will within a few years make it the de facto water tower of the region. In this game there are losers as well as winners : Jordan especially must be prepared to suffer serious shortages. Technical solutions do exist, such as the desalination of sea water or recycling of waste water. The financial constraints, however, remain.

- Chubin, Shahram
 Iran's Strategic Predicament.
 MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 54, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 10-24.
 Iran is fortunate in its strategic situation. It has no historical enemies, no irredenta, no source of permanent tensions on its frontiers. It is well endowed with resources, material and human and well-situated. Iran has a distinct identity and culture and a unity denied many of its neighbors. It has failed to capitalize on these assets due to an excessive cultivation of past grievances and an ideological view of current challenges. It has thus squandered the country's potential. A more pragmatic approach to the greatest challenge of the day - globalization - would be Iran's interest. The problems accumulating in the Islamic republic are not solved by invocation of slogans and the attribution of blame to past or current scapegoats. Whether Iran can make the adjustment that this implies and whether some elements in the

leadership are prepared to be judged by their performance and be accountable to the public remains uncertain though central to the chances of the Islamic Republic being able to assume its rightful place in the family of nations.

- Dieckhoff, Alain
Israel-Palestine : la déchirure.
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 90, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 391-406.
On Friday, September 29, 2000 as they were leaving the Al-Aqsa Mosque, a few dozen Palestinians violently demonstrated their anger after the visit the previous day of Likud leader Ariel Sharon to the Temple Mount and the Al-Aqsa. The brutal response of the Israeli police - resulting in several deaths and more than two hundred wounded - provoked riots in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and even in Arab areas within Israel. This marked the beginning of the second Intifada. After several weeks of conflict, it became clear that Ariel Sharon's visit was merely the spark which ignited the conflict. Two months previously, the failure of Camp David served only to emphasize the serious differences dividing Israeli and Palestinian negotiators. And the fact that the highly sensitive subjects under discussion included the status of Jerusalem doesn't explain everything - far from it ! This crisis of confidence which has degenerated into a show of force is primarily due to the gradual breakdown of the peace process since the assassination of Yitzak Rabin.

- Djalili, Mohammad-Reza
Kellner, Thierry
Moyen-Orient, Caucase et Asie centrale : des concepts géopolitiques à construire et à reconstruire ?
CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY, vol. 19, no. 1, March 2000, p. 117-140.
<http://www.swetswise.com>

- Dodge, Toby
Iraq : Fragile Future.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 56, no. 1, January 2000, p. 7-9.
January 16th is the 9th anniversary of the start of the allied air campaign that ultimately led to Iraqi forces being ejected from Kuwait. Since then, the government of Saddam Hussein has remained the object of the most comprehensive sanctions regime of the post Cold War era. Unfortunately, the results of this extended coercive diplomacy have not been as intended. The Iraqi people, told their suffering is the fault of the West, could easily turn violently against the state, or the international community. Regional states have financed different parts of the opposition, itself divided along religious and ethnic lines.

- Dokos, Thanos P.
The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Mediterranean : The Threat to Western Security.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 5, no. 3, Autumn 2000, p. 95-116.
The study of military forces in southern Mediterranean countries leads to the conclusion that for the present and the immediate future NATO is not confronted with a real 'threat from the South'. States around the Mediterranean have neither the capability nor the intention to threaten military the territory and populations of the alliance. Therefore, the proliferation threat against NATO countries should be conceived of as a mid- to long-term threat that - under certain circumstances - might be avoided altogether by political means. The question, however, is whether one can rely solely on political-diplomatic means or whether these should be complemented by military preparations. NATO's emphasis should continue to be on political-diplomatic means and on non-proliferation, but these should be complemented by military preparations, mainly of a defensive nature.

- Dolatyar, Mostafa
Gray, Tim S.
The Politics of Water Security in the Middle East.
ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS, vol. 9, no. 3, Autumn 2000, p. 65-88.
In the current debate over the politics of water in the Middle East, there are three main questions at issue. First, has water scarcity caused war in the past ? On this question, most, but not all, writers answer 'yes' : the authors argue 'no'. Second, will water scarcity cause war in the future ? On this question, opinion is more evenly divided. Many writers, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, have answered 'yes'. But many others, especially in more recent years, have answered 'no' for three main reasons : 'virtual' water, desalinization and water pricing. The authors' answer is 'no', but for a deeper reason than the above three explanations. In their views, the reason why water scarcity will not cause war in the future is because water is too precious to risk by going to war. Third, will water diplomacy assist peace negotiations ? Most writers answer 'no'; the authors' answer is 'quite possible, yes'. In the discussion of these three questions, they adopt the theoretical framework provided by the environmental security debate, and they consider three cases; water politics in the Jordan River basin, the Euphrates-Tigris basin, and the Arabian Peninsula. The overall conclusion of the authors is that water scarcity has served more to reinforce peace than to provoke war, and that it is likely to continue to do so in the future.

- Gerges, Fawaz A.
The End of the Islamist Insurgency in Egypt ? : Costs and Prospects.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 54, no. 4, Autumn 2000, p. 592-612.
The Egyptian state appears to have weathered the storm of violent Islamist opposition from al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya and Jihad which lasted from 1990 until the Luxor attack of 1997. Its successes stem in part from the internal divisions of the Islamist movements. This article examines both the means by which the government overcame the Islamist challenge and the implications of continuing government exclusion of mainstream Islamist movements from political life. It also examines implications for US policy.

- Hadi, Mahdi Abdul
A Palestinian Perspective on the Peace Process.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 1, March - May 2000, p. 123-133.

- Hajjar, Sami G.
Regional Perspectives on the Causes of Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East.
COMPARATIVE STRATEGY, vol. 19, no. 1, January - March 2000, p. 35-56.
The focus of this article is the causes of proliferation of nuclear, biologic, and chemical weapons, and their means of delivery - collectively referred to simply as weapons of mass destruction - in the Middle East. It seeks to explain the quest to proliferate in terms of the motivations of the major regional powers, the interconnectivity of the regions, and local perceptions as to the nature of security threats. Finally, the article comments briefly on what the US should do to control the proliferation incentive in the region.

- Halevi, Ran
Les fruits amers de Camp David.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 23, no. 92, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 807-812.

- Heller, Mark A.
Israel's Dilemmas.
SURVIVAL, vol. 42, no. 4, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 21-34.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The paroxysm of violence that erupted in Israel and the West Bank and Gaza at the end of September came less than three months after Prime Minister Ehud Barak had reduced the gap in Israeli and Palestinian negotiating positions to the narrowest point ever - and lost his governing majority. This chain of events illustrates the policy dilemma that has plagued Barak since his first day in office. Reduced to its bare essence, the dilemma stems from the simultaneous fragmentation of the Israeli political system along multiple axes, making it extremely difficult to assemble a majority coalition for decisive action along any single one of them. The rationalisation of Israeli politics is necessary to move the peace process forward, but a domestically marketable peace agreement may be necessary to rationalise Israeli politics. An Israeli prime minister's ability to break this vicious circle will determine not only his own political fate but perhaps the very viability of Israeli democracy in its present form.

- Hollis, Rosemary
Arab-Israeli Conflict : Frightening Fall-Out.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 56, no. 11, November 2000, p. 7-8.
The violent collapse of Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations revealed how exclusive and narrowly focused the US-brokered process had become. The fall-out across the Middle East shows how much America's standing and leverage in the region has come to depend on its ability to deliver on this core issue. In short, the whole multi-faceted crisis provides food for thought on the extent and limits of US influence in the region.

- Inbar, Efraim
The Arab-Israeli Peace Process : A Realistic Assessment.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 1, March - May 2000, p. 55-65.
This article reviews, first, the main reasons for the entrenchment of Israel in the Middle East and for the shift towards its greater acceptance as a regular international player in regional politics. The second part of this essay argues that the peace process is quite resilient and that it has realised most of its potential. The third part clarifies the peace process's often forgotten limitations, which the strategic and cultural realities of the Middle East impose on Arab states' relations with Israel. The last section offers advice against impatience and diplomatic hyperactivity.

- Jaber, Kamel S. Abu
The Arab-Israeli Peace Process : a Critical Evaluation.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 1, March - May 2000, p. 109-122.

- Jung, Dietrich
Piccoli, Wolfango
The Turkish-Israeli Alignment : Paranoia or Pragmatism ?
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 1, March 2000, p. 91-104.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Turkey's relations with its Middle Eastern neighbours have been awkward and distant since it became a republic in 1923. They have been subordinated to its relationship with the West, through NATO and European organizations. The speed and scale of the development of military, intelligence, economic and civilian ties with Israel in the 1990s represents a decisive departure in its foreign policy. The confluence of bilateral interests has resulted in 'pragmatic escapism' from Turkey's paranoid encirclement syndrome. This syndrome was derived from Europe's critical hostility and Turkey's exclusion from the EU over such issues as democracy and its human rights record. In addition, Turkey felt that its national interest and sovereign unity was threatened by Islamist groups

and the potential separatism inherent to the Kurdish question. These factors were instrumental in the decision to forge a powerful axis with Israel.

- Khashan, Hilal
Arab Attitudes Toward Israel on the Eve of the New Millennium.
JOURNAL OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES, vol. 25, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 131-229.
The author reports on a study of Arab attitudes towards Israel, Israelis and the Middle East peace negotiations, based on an opinion survey of Syrians, Lebanese, Jordanians and Palestinians representing diverse socio-economic levels and different degrees of Islamic religious conviction. The results are analyzed on a multivariate basis and presented together with the author's comments.
- Kurpershoek, Marcel
Een vierkante kilometer geconcentreerde heiligheid : Jeruzalem als kern van het Midden-Oostenprobleem.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 11, november 2000, p. 526-530.
The author observes the peace process in the Middle East. Or rather what is left of it. The hardest nut to crack will be a solution on the sovereignty of the Holy Places in Jerusalem. Stability in the region may rest on a square kilometer of concentrated holiness in the Old City. The key to a solution may be found in the world status quo. In a sense, the division of Jerusalem is already a fact, the author argues. Sovereignty may be 'given' to God; supervision of upholding His rules in the Old City may be delegated to a High Clerical College. In that way the question of sovereignty may be solved, without the internationalization the Israelis oppose.
- Liel, Alon
Israel und die Türkei : eine besondere Beziehung.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 11, November 2000, S. 31-35.
Die Beziehungen zwischen Israel und der Türkei, so die Einschätzung des Autor, waren niemals besser als gegenwärtig. Auch die militärische Zusammenarbeit zwischen beiden Ländern ist recht intensiv; sie reicht von gemeinsamen strategischen Studiengruppen über den Austausch von Geheimdienstinformationen bis zur Kooperation im Bereich der Rüstungsindustrie.
- Manceron, Victor
Juifs et Arabes entre guerre et paix.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 40, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 95-101.
Dix ans après l'effondrement de l'URSS, le renouvellement des générations et l'arrivée de nouveaux leaders politiques dans certains états arabes contribuent, semble-t-il, à accélérer les mutations inévitables liées au phénomène de mondialisation. Dans ce contexte, le processus de paix israélo-arabe semble porter en germe les éléments d'un véritable changement des systèmes et des représentations. En effet, il apparaît désormais nécessaire de dépasser une culture de guerre, qui détermine encore de nombreux comportements, pour une véritable culture de paix. À ce sujet, le processus de paix est d'une importance capitale dans la mesure où il permet de releguer le conflit israélo-arabe à l'arrière-plan des préoccupations au profit de l'émergence de nouveaux centres d'intérêts et de nouveaux acteurs.
- Marchat, Philippe
Aperçu sur l' Iran.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 56ème année, no. 11, novembre 2000, p. 60-83.
L'auteur nous présente une étude sur l'Iran qui pourrait rompre son isolement et retrouver son poids géopolitique.

- Naoumkine, Vitali
 La Russie et le Proche-Orient.
 REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 38, ete 2000, p. 199-206.
 La politique etrangere de la Russie au Proche-Orient a connu de profondes evolutions au cours des dix dernieres annees. La disparition de l'Union sovietique a eu pour consequence une reorientation des priorites diplomatiques de Moscou dans cette region : tandis que les liens avec les etats clients de l'URSS au temps de la guerre froide (Syrie, Irak) se distendaient, de nouveaux partenariats se sont progressivement mis en place. Moscou a notamment accorde une importance particuliere au developpement de relations de cooperation avec la Turquie et l'Iran, puissances regionales traditionnellement rivales de la Russie en Transcaucasie et en Asie centrale. Les relations avec Israel ont egalement connu un nouvel essor du fait de la presence dans ce pays d'une tres importante communaute russophone. Alors que l'interet porte par la Russie au Proche-Orient avait semble-t-il baisse depuis 1991, on assiste actuellement a un retour de la diplomatie russe dans cette region, desireuse de faire entendre sa voix et de se reinserer dans un processus de paix largement domine par les Etats-Unis.

- Negri, Alberto
 Iran in the Balance.
 INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 3, July - September 2000, p. 19-24.

- Nilsen, Fritz
 Norway in the Middle East Peace Process : A Journalist's Viewpoint.
 PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 1, March - May 2000, p. 92-108.

- Patrick, Neil
 The United States, Europe and the Security of the Gulf.
 RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 145, no. 2, April 2000, p. 44-48.

- Perrin, Jean-Pierre
 Liban : la menace de la paix.
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 88, ete 2000, p. 57-68.
 Since 1978, all Lebanese governments without exception have demanded that Israel comply with United Nations Resolution 425 and withdraw from South Lebanon. By late May 2000, harried by the Hezbollah militia, Tsahal had abandoned all its remaining positions in South Lebanon, a month before the date initially announced by prime minister Ehud Barak. The rout of the South Lebanon Army, bereft of Israel's direct support, was celebrated in all Arab countries as a major victory over Israel. And yet embarrassment and anxiety seems to reign over Beirut and Damascus. Why ? Because while Syria must deal with the death of its longtime leader Hafez el-Assad, the unilateral withdrawal of Israeli troops deprives the Syrian regime of a key lever in its negotiations with Israel, the main objective of which is obtaining the return of Golan Heights.

- Perthes, Volker
 The Advantages of Complementarity : US and European Policies toward the Middle East Peace process.
 INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 2, April - June 2000, p. 41-56.
 This article deals first with the argument that has developed since the start of the Madrid peace process about Europe's role in the peace process. Second, it examines the interests and diverging priorities of Europe and the US in the region. A look is then taken at the structural factors that account for different US and European approaches. This is followed by a brief discussion of the specific relationship between the 'Madrid' and the 'Barcelona' processes. Finally the possibilities of translating the comparative advantages of US and European Middle East policies into practical cooperation are explored.

- Perthes, Volker
 Syrie : le plus gros pari d' Assad.
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 87, printemps 2000, p. 177-192.
 Peace with Israel is now high on Syria's agenda. A peace treaty will necessarily change Syria's strategic environment. Most probably, Syria will maintain its cautious and strongly security-focused foreign policy course, viewing Israel as its main rival in a regional environment likely to be built on peaceful inter-state competition rather than war. To prepare for a post-peace environment in the Middle East, Syria has made some efforts to improve its international standing, not least by settling most of its debt problems. Relations with Europe are of central importance. In its regional environment, Syria will probably maintain its special relations with Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Iran. Syria's ability to engage in an active regional policy is strongly linked to domestic stability. At the same time, peace with Israel is likely to lead to domestic changes, particularly in economic policy. The Syrian leadership has realized that ending the conflict with Israel is indeed in the country's best interests. The European Union, and individual states, are better prepared than others in helping Syria confront the challenges that arise from the prospects of a new regional division of labor, as well as engaging in serious dialogue regarding matters of politics and governance.

- Quandt, William B.
 Clinton le facilitateur.
 REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 40, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 115-124.
 Aucun president americain n'a jamais pris ses fonctions dans un contexte aussi favorable pour faire avancer la paix entre Israel et ses voisins arabes que Bill Clinton. Neanmoins, au moment ou il prenait ses fonctions, le president americain paraissait relativement inexperience en matiere de politique etrangere et son approche sur le Moyen-Orient demeurait un mystere. Au terme de sa presidence, quel bilan peut-on tirer de la politique de Bill Clinton au Moyen-Orient ? Celui-ci reste mitige; en effet, si Clinton et son equipe ont consacre un temps et une energie considerable pour faire avancer la paix, on ne peut s'empecher de penser, eu egard aux conditions initiales fort prometteuses, qu'ils auraient pu faire davantage, notamment lors du premier mandat...

- Rachid, Loulouwa T. Al
 L' humanitaire dans la logique des sanctions contre l' Irak : la formule 'petrole contre nourriture'.
 POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 65e annee, no. 1, printemps 2000, p. 109-121.
 L'auteur analyse dans cet article le regime des sanctions internationales a l'egard de l'Irak, et plus precisement la resolution 986 dite 'petrole contre nourriture' et son application concrete. Ce regime a evolue en decembre 1999 avec l'adoption par le Conseil de securite des Nations Unies de la resolution 1284. Celle-ci prevoit une suspension de l'embargo decrete en 1990 a condition que l'Irak coopere avec la nouvelle commission de desarmement qui remplace l'UNSCOM, la Commission de controle, de verification et d'inspection des Nations Unies (Cocovinu), et l'AIEA. L'auteur considere que la resolution 986 reste utile en l'absence de solution politique au dossier irakien du fait de la situation 'd'extreme vulnerabilite' de la population irakienne. Elle pense cependant que sa reconduction systematique constitue une derive de l'action humanitaire au nom des interets des grandes puissances faisant de la faim une veritable arme politique.

- Rajaee, Bahram
The Politics of Refugee Policy in Post-Revolutionary Iran.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 54, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 44-63.
Since the 1979 revolution, the Islamic Republic of Iran has hosted the largest refugee population in the world. The Iranian experience with hosting, maintaining, and repatriating this large refugee population represents an important, yet underexamined, dimension of contemporary Middle Eastern affairs. This article provides an overview of post-revolutionary Iranian refugee policy and highlights some comparative lessons that can be drawn from Iran's experience with its refugee population.

- Reich, Bernard
The United States and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East.
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 53, no. 6, 2000, p. 133-151.

- Ritter, Scott
The Case for Iraq's Qualitative Disarmament.
ARMS CONTROL TODAY, vol. 30, no. 5, June 2000, p. 8-14.

- Roshandel, Jalil
Iran's Foreign and Security Policies : How the Decisionmaking Process Evolved.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 31, no. 1, March 2000, p. 105-117.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Two decades after the 1979 revolution, Iran's internal and external policies are evolving into post-revolutionary attitudes. Strains between religious conservatives and reformists persist, but under Mohammed Khatami, president since 1997, the reformists are gaining ground. There have been changes in both foreign policy itself and in its formulation. The constitution gives some guidance on formal structure, but under Khatami there has been a marked and more pragmatic move away from Ayatollah Khomeini's rigid Islamic attitudes and models. Iran now seeks closer integration in the Gulf region and in global and regional economic and political organizations. 'Critical dialogue' with Europe has brought about improvements, and there is animated public debate about relations with the USA. These developments reflect changes in a broader decisionmaking process and wider public discussion affecting perceptions of Iran's image, global role and interests.

- Satloff, Robert
Arab-Israeli Diplomacy in 2000 : An Uphill Battle for Peace.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 1, March - May 2000, p. 82-91.

- Sayigh, Yezid
Palestine's Prospects.
SURVIVAL, vol. 42, no. 4, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 5-17.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Dramatic as it was, the bloodshed of autumn 2000 could not obscure the fact that little had changed in the basic political parameters of the Palestinian-Israeli relationship. On one side, any Israeli government, no matter what its ideological persuasion, still has to deal with the Palestinians as a separate national reality and political entity. On the other side, whether or not the Palestinian Authority issues a unilateral declaration of independence, it will still remain unable to reach key national objectives except through a negotiated settlement with Israel. But a Palestinian state will emerge, and may pose an unsettling and potentially destabilising political reality for the two neighbours, Israel and Jordan, with whom it shares intricate ties of geography and demography. Governments in both Israel and Jordan do have policy instruments and resources that should enable them - given a reasonable level of political foresight - to head off worst-case scenarios of

inter-communal conflict.

- Schippers, Hans
Rusland en het Midden-Oosten : continuïteit en verandering.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 6, juni 2000, p. 311-316.
The author analyses continuity and change in Russian policy towards the Middle East. The interest in this region has long roots, going back to the 19th century. After the breakdown of Communism, Russian policy was a sort of mirror reflecting general tendencies in new political thinking. At first Moscow tried to establish a coalition with the West, distancing itself from its former allies Iraq and Syria; diplomatic ties with Israel were restored. After some years disillusion with the Western attitude to the country led to a new foreign policy, in which Russia defines itself as a competitor but not as an enemy of the West. In the Middle East this meant that Moscow tried to establish itself as counter balance to American influence. Mostly for economic reasons the sale of weapons and technology played an important role in this policy. However, because of the instable political situation in the region Moscow took care not to export sensitive weapons systems. With the ideological barriers of communism gone, Moscow was able to broaden its regional influence in the Middle East. However, its weak economic position means that this influence is still limited.
- Selim, Mohammad El-Sayed
Confidence-Building Measures in Middle Eastern Conflicts : An Egyptian Perspective.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 2, June - August 2000, p. 77-92.
- Simon, Steven
Après Hafez El-Assad...
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 88, etc 2000, p. 39-56.
With the recent Israeli withdrawal from South Lebanon and the death of President Assad of Syria, the peace process finds itself once more at the crossroads. Israeli-Syrian negotiations, which have largely focused on the delicate question of Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, are currently making no progress. Attended by Bill Clinton in person, the summit in Geneva in late March 2000 proved to be yet another failure, with the late President Assad categorically refusing to withdraw Syrian sovereignty claims over the northeast bank of the Sea of Galilee. Everything will depend on the situation in South Lebanon in the months to come. If the Hezbollah, encouraged by Damascus, renews its bloody raids on the other side of the border, Israel may try to persuade Syria through air strikes against key Lebanese targets, along the lines of the NATO strikes against Serbia.
- Smith, Patrick
The Indigenous and the Imported : Khatami's Iran.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 2, Spring 2000, p. 35-53.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
The most fundamental challenge in Iran is to prove in practise that Islam is not inimical to democracy. For its part, America is behind the curve in recognizing the arriving future and engaging Iran in a constructive relationship.

- Terracini, Giulio Mario
Security in the Middle East : A Changing Environment.
COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 2000, 13 p.
(491.6/24).
<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>
The rapporteur analyses here security in the Middle East taking into account some significant developments in the last few months in conjunction with some security concerns in the Persian Gulf, such as energy security and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and missile technology. He then tries to draw some indications for the future of the various dialogue and cooperation initiatives across the Mediterranean, with particular attention to the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue Initiative.

- Viorst, Milton
Middle East Peace : Mirage on the Horizon ?
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 23, no. 1, Winter 2000, p. 41-54.
<http://www.swetswise.com>
Optimism abounded when Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak was elected. As the clock ticks down, those who believe that the Middle East peace process is irreversible must admit that true peace will not come soon.

- Zaagman, Rob
De permanente leden van de VN-Veiligheidsraad en Irak : symbool van verzet tegen hypermogenheid.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 11, november 2000, p. 531-535.
The author surveys the US Security Council's approach in the case of sanctions against Iraq. Ten years after the Security Council authorized the use of military force to expel Iraq from Kuwait, the five permanent members of the Council (P5) are completely at loggerheads over UN policy towards Baghdad. The author sketches the main lines of their respective positions while providing brief historical flashbacks. He argues that for political reasons the current state of affairs is rather more 'normal' than the alliance of 1990-1991 and that this stalemate may be expected to last for the foreseeable future.

- Zaagman, Rob
De Veiligheidsraad en Irak : tien jaar na de Golfoorlog.
VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 29, nr. 1, 2000, p. 8-28.
Met de Amerikaans-Britse luchtaanvallen op Irak van december 1998 viel definitief de politiek alliantie uiteen, die de instelling en handhaving van het sanctie- en ontwapeningsregimes jegens dat land mogelijk had gemaakt. Rusland, Frankrijk en China eisten fundamentele veranderingen in het Irak-beleid van de Veiligheidsraad. Na een jaar van zeer moeizame onderhandelingen aanvaardde de Raad op 17 december 1999 resolutie 1284, die echter op cruciale punten ambigu is en besluitvorming op enkele wezenlijke onderdelen wegens gebrek aan overeenstemming tussen de vijf permanente leden van de Veiligheidsraad heeft uitgesteld. Bovendien hebben zich 3 van de permanente leden uiteindelijk op de resolutie onthouden. De pogingen om een nieuw fundament te leggen voor een Irak-beleid van de Veiligheidsraad en de vraag of resolutie 1284 daarvoor wel voldoende stevig is, vormen het onderwerp van dit artikel. De nadruk ligt daarbij vooral op de thema's wapenbeheersing en opschorting van de sancties, omdat deze de politiek moeilijke kern van de Irak-problematiek uitmaakten.

- Zisser, Eyal
Waging Peace in the Middle East : An Israeli Viewpoint.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 1, March - May 2000, p. 66-81.

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