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Powder Keg in the Middle East: The Struggle for Gulf Security

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perspectives with a full empirical study of the Persian Gulf. The first chapter outlines the concepts guiding the analysis—essentially the ideas of realism and the balance of power. But those less interested in theory and more in actual strategic behavior and its resultant security implications will find this a highly user-friendly book. The theoretical discussion at the outset is brief, allowing some readers to charge on to the case studies. (For those more interested in the theoretical or methodological implications of this excellent study, the author has provided a detailed discussion in an appendix.) In the studies themselves, Yativ does a good job of clearly tying the events together, noting how each affected those that followed and stressing the implications for U.S. national security policy. The author's research is well documented and includes extensive use of official government documents, as well as secondary source material.

Among his major conclusions, the author argues that the detached and distanced relationship of a third party to regional politics has actually reinforced the U.S. security position and that therefore it is imperative that the United States not relinquish this role. Furthermore, Yativ argues, the current American policy of "dual containment" of Iran and Iraq, with an overt commitment to topple both regimes, carries with it the great dangers of a far too direct, engaged, and confrontational policy. Standing by the ideas of balance-of-power theory, Yativ calls instead for a more nuanced approach in which the United States would remain vigorous against both Iran and Iraq in thwarting the development of weapons of mass destruction but would take a step back in conventional

terms, allowing Baghdad and Tehran themselves to bear the high costs of balancing against one another. In short, he suggests that both political history and theory demonstrate the value of third-party status and that the United States would be well advised to recall these lessons. Readers will find this book a valuable contribution to the literatures on U.S. foreign policy, strategic interaction in the Persian Gulf, and international relations theory.

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Kemp, Geoffrey, and Janice Gross Stein, eds. *Powder Keg in the Middle East: The Struggle for Gulf Security*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995. 306pp. \$42.50

If you are a little fuzzy on what U.S. interests are in the Persian Gulf and why it has forces committed to the area, then this book is for you. Geoffrey Kemp and Janice Gross Stein have assembled a series of essays from three workshops sponsored by the Program on Science and International Security of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, essays that address ethnic conflict and state-building in the Arab world; weapons of mass destruction in the region; the future of Iraq and regional security; alternative futures for Iran; security concerns of the Gulf Cooperation Council states, Turkey, and the Middle East; the Kurdish issue; the water factor; and U.S. policy in the Gulf.

We are treated to well reasoned analytic insights from such U.S. foreign policy experts as William B. Quandt, Shaul Bakhash, Richard K. Herrmann, and Thomas L. McNaugher, as well as Geoffrey Kemp

himself. A senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the director of the Middle East Arms Control Project, Kemp served in the Reagan White House as special assistant for national security affairs, and also on the National Security Council. A real plus is the addition of several essays from some of the region's own experts.

The primary reason for the U.S. focus on the Gulf is that, as the editors point out in their introductory essay, "for the foreseeable future the industrial powers will remain dependent upon access to Persian Gulf energy and will therefore remain deeply involved in the efforts to assure its security. While the major oil producers of the Gulf already control a large share of the oil market, the distribution of existing oil reserves suggests that they will play an even larger role in the years to come." This is reason enough for U.S. policy makers to pay attention to what these experts have to say about the problems facing the Persian Gulf and the impact of these issues on present and future U.S. policies. The editors' introduction lays out those problems, examining and analyzing not only the traditional military and political issues but also demographic trends and what they portend; potential social problems brought on by the unequal distribution of oil wealth; poor educational systems and standards; and the shortage of fresh water. Kemp and Stein do a very good job of illustrating how these factors are interrelated and how important it is to pay attention to them all. Neglecting any one factor could ignite the region. In this respect the book's title is well chosen: the Persian Gulf is indeed a powder keg, and any issue explored in this book could be the "match" that explodes it.

One of the more thought-provoking essays, by Professor Thomas Naff of the University of Pennsylvania, explores the multiplicity of problems caused by the lack and misuse of fresh water supplies. The difficulty is highlighted by the fact that non-Arabs (i.e., Turks, Iranians, and Israelis) control more than half the fresh water resources used by the region's Arab population. Naff does an excellent job of outlining the situation and offers several viable solutions. However, they require a multinational approach, and Naff acknowledges that the Gulf's many historical and ethnic enmities probably inhibit a workable, long-term solution. After reading this essay, one can understand why the region's next conflict may well be fought over access to water and not oil.

Kemp, Stein, and the contributing authors have done a fine job, offering a balanced look at the Persian Gulf from differing perspectives. This book ought to raise red flags for everyone interested in the Middle East, especially those involved with developing or implementing U.S. policies there.

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Miller, Judith. *God Has Ninety-Nine Names: Reporting From a Militant Middle East*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996. 574pp. \$30

Judith Miller, a *New York Times* reporter on Middle East affairs for two decades, brings her experience to a book that chronicles the development of Islamic fundamentalism in the region. Miller takes the reader on a journey to ten Middle Eastern nations that are either battling religious militancy