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Politics and Government in the Middle East and North Africa

Thomas Seal

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industrial restraints, and Jehuda Wal-lach examines the use as a ruse of military plans for "Operation Sea Lion." Malcolm Murfett shows the restraints on a naval power employing force in the confined waters of a river, while William Duiker considers the American experience in Vietnam and demonstrates the need for policy makers to have a broad and lucid understanding of national security affairs.

In this collection of essays the editors and authors have worked together to produce a scholarly contribution that expresses the scholarly approach Norman Gibbs instilled in them, along with some suggestions for extending and elaborating on Clausewitz's understanding of the limits of war as an instrument of policy.

JEREMIAH O'BRIEN
Newport, Rhode Island

Ismael, Tariq Y. and Ismael, Jacqueline S. *Politics and Government in the Middle East and North Africa*. Miami: Florida International Univ. Press, 1991. 535pp. \$39.95

This study is a regional survey of how states were formed, how they are governed, and how they interact with each other and the rest of the world.

Written as an introductory text, it includes a general overview and fifteen case studies dealing with the subject states in their subregional contexts: the Northern Belt, Fertile Crescent, Arabian Peninsula, and North Africa.

As a reference these case studies can

stand alone, but it is recommended that the work be read as a whole. To read an analysis of a particular country without first understanding the larger historical, political, and social context is to chance an incomplete or erroneous picture of reality. Fortunately, the authors have devoted the first sixty pages to a framework placing all that follows in proper context.

The authors believe that to gain an understanding of the Middle East and North Africa, one should study patterns of activity over time rather than focus on specific events. For example, although the Gulf War looms large throughout the work, it is not the focus of attention but rather an important reflection of the past and a guidepost for future trends.

The bulk of the book focuses on twenty states stretching from Morocco to Iran, from Turkey to Sudan, and on the Arabian Peninsula. Each state is analyzed in terms of its modern historical development, nationalist credentials, the role of the religious, military, and other elites, as well as of its economy and foreign relations. The Palestinian question is discussed as both a separate area of study and as an all-pervasive problem, one that clouds virtually every regional issue.

The fallout of the bitter contest for leadership of the Arab nationalist movement is also evident throughout. Arab leaders are either reviled as Western toadies (Sadat and Mubarak), praised as bold and right thinkers (Nasser and King Hussein), or treated with mild, almost apologetic criticism for excesses in pursuit of laudable goals

(Saddam Hussein and Qadhafi). Tensions between the rich pro-American states and the poor Islamic states are also explored, often in the context of the late Gulf War.

Anticolonial passions born of European imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries still run strong in the region, and those feelings are reflected here. Great Britain is repeatedly castigated for its past imperial sins, and Israel for its present ones. Religious rivalries figure prominently in both the Arab-Israeli context and in terms of the internal social and political environment of the Islamic states.

There is a definite anti-American thread that runs throughout this study, and though most of the criticism is subtle, implied, or thinly veiled, to find fault with the United States while ignoring or downplaying its positive contributions is a convention in Middle Eastern political writing. So too is the concomitant "explaining" or covering-up for the antics of the likes of Saddam Hussein.

This bias is understandable and, to a degree, supportable, at least from the nationalist's point of view. Still, the work would have been both more palatable and effective had the authors been straightforward and direct in their criticism of the United States.

The authors, professors of political science and social welfare at the University of Calgary, have written widely on the Middle East. In this particular effort they were aided by ten area experts whose contributions account for nearly half the book. The

result is an authoritative, well organized, and readable academic survey. It is also a treatment that opens a window to understanding on the human level, with its display (probably unintended) of the passions and prejudices that are so much a part of that increasingly important region.

THOMAS SEAL
Major, U.S. Marine Corps
Stafford, Virginia

McGibbon, Ian. *The Path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand, 1840-1915*. Wellington, New Zealand: GP Books, 1991. 274pp. (No price given)

This work represents yet another excellent New Zealand defense policy study sponsored by the Historical Branch of the New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs. The author has employed a wealth of primary source material to describe the development of that distant country's early defense policy within the British imperial security system. Attention is focused on the dilemma faced by successive governments whether to spend their meager financial resources and manpower on imperial commitments ("out-of-region," in modern parlance) or to develop local defense capabilities. McGibbon explains that the ascendancy of the local-defense school in the 1880s was caused by the fear of rogue cruiser attacks (principally Russian) on New Zealand ports. The government responded by directing enormous attention and