

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### SOME RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST

Parker T. Hart, Special Editor, AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST (*The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 401 May 1972 , 142 pp.

George Lenczowski, SOVIET ADVANCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST (Washington, D. C., American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1971), 176 pp.

Ferenc A. Vali, THE TURKISH STRAITS AND NATO (Stanford, California, The Hoover Institution, 1972), 348 pp.

Ambassador Hart's symposium on AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST strikes one as the best, many-faceted, and responsible publication of its kind to appear. It is appropriately designed for the educated layman and discusses the many aspects of American policy in a very troubled and uncertain part of the world. A number of contributions should appeal especially to readers of BALKAN STUDIES. James A. Field, author of a distinguished work on AMERICA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD, 1776-1882 (1969), presents an excellent historical introduction, essential to an understanding of current American policy. The late Bayard Dodge, former President of the American University of Beirut (as were his grandfather — and father - in - law) discusses the American missionary-educational-philanthropic enterprise in the area. Ambassador Raymond A. Hare writes authoritatively on World War II as marking "the great divide" in the development of American policy and the assumption of enduring political commitments in the area. Ambassador Joseph C. Satterthwaite writes on the Truman Doctrine. T. W. Adams discusses American policy and interest concerning the island of Cyprus. There are, of course, a number of excellent articles of general interest dealing with the Arab world. The volume closes with John C. Campbell's analysis of Soviet-American rivalry and Ambassador Hart indicates "Where We Stand" in the Eastern Mediterranean.

George Lenczowski has prepared a fitting addition to the series of the American Enterprise Institute on: U. S. Interests in the Middle East. The aim

of **SOVIET ADVANCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST** is to describe and analyze the substantial advances which the USSR has made in the Middle East in recent years, and especially since the 1967 *blitzkrieg*. While the author is well aware of the long-range Russian historical interest in the area, and of the continuity of history, he believes that recent Soviet penetration in the Middle East, south of the Northern Tier, has been so broad and intensive as to call for systematic examination of its nature. The author covers the ideological or doctrinal foundations of Soviet policy and, having examined these foundations, on a case-by-case, country-by-country basis, he treats of the development of Soviet policy in Turkey, Iran, the Arab World, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Of special interest, no doubt, to readers of **BALKAN STUDIES**, is the chapter dealing with Turkey (pp. 37-54). Professor Lenczowski's treatment begins with a brief delineation of Soviet policy during and immediately after the Second World War, with the Soviet demands for control of the Turkish Straits, the cession of the Kars-Ardahan area, and a reorientation of Turkish policy which would have converted that country into a satellite. With the failure of that policy came a change of tactics and attempts to woo Turkey into loosening its ties with NATO and into neutralism. Readers will also be interested in discussions of the Straits problem and the tables dealing with merchant shipping and the transit of Soviet warships. This is a thoughtful volume which should serve a useful purpose.

Professor Vali has written a very useful work on **THE TURKISH STRAITS AND NATO**, although his title is something of a misnomer, since he begins at the beginning — somewhere around the Trojan Wars (1194-1184 B.C.) and goes a full eighty - one pages before he comes, substantially, to the importance of the problem to the NATO powers. He starts his work with the geopolitical setting of the Straits, proceeds with a delineation of the "ancient rule of the Sultan's empire" as to closure of the Straits to foreign warships, examines the Montreux Regime of the Straits (1936), and treats of Soviet and Turkish policy during World War II, albeit briefly, before he comes to NATO. Brief treatment is given to consideration of the Straits and Potsdam (1945). The last two chapters deal with the USSR in the Middle East and the Straits—the expansion of the Soviet Navy and its deployment, especially in the Mediterranean, the problems of confrontation and coexistence in the Mediterranean, and the Turkish Dilemma. In his concluding chapter, the author discusses current issues and options relative to the Straits. He holds to the view that the USSR is likely to demand revision of the Montreux Convention to achieve greater freedom for movement of its fleet, which seems rather doubtful to this reviewer, even though the move is conceivable. The author does well to stress the enduring

American interest in the Straits, although he does not expatiate on the point. His volume contains a selection of some 33 documents in his appendix, beginning with the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) and concluding with the Johnson-Inönü exchange in June 1964. Students of the problem of the Turkish Straits will welcome this monograph on the subject. There is a useful bibliography.

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George S. Harris, *Troubled Alliance: Turkish-American Problems in Historical Perspective, 1945-1971*. AEI-Hoover Policy Studies. Stanford, California, Hoover Institution; Washington, D. C., American Enterprise Institute, 1972. Pp. 263.

Like the path of true love, the path of alliance seldom runs smoothly. This is a masterly treatment of the problems involved in the Turco-American alliance, in which the author, thoroughly acquainted with his subject, based on American and Turkish sources, puts the issues in clear, historical perspective. Part I deals with the search for security—with the impact of World War II, the Soviet threat to Turkey in the immediate postwar period, the genesis of the Truman Doctrine, and the efforts of Turkey—and Greece—to become a member of NATO, ultimately achieved of February 18, 1952. Part II is devoted to the Cold War partners and provides an analysis of the military alliance, diplomatic, cooperation, economic ties, domestic political politics, and the aftermath of the 1960 coup, which overthrew the Menderes government.

Part III treats of the loosening of the bonds of the alliance. As Dr. Harris points out, a number of factors have entered into this picture, one of which has to do with the changing context of world politics, with a possible Soviet-American détente, with all its implications for Turco-Soviet relations and its reflections on the necessity of NATO, to say nothing of CENTO. A second factor has to do with the development of new weaponry and missiles, with the question of whether they have rendered