

Security Exchange Theory:
How Great Powers Trade Security with Small States

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submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
2014

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ABSTRACT

Security Exchange Theory: How Great Powers Trade Power with Small States

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Security Exchange Theory is a novel approach to alliance behaviors in which a great power gives scarce security goods to a small state. This behavior is a puzzle for two reasons. First, it seems unlikely that a rational state would give away valuable resources without getting something in return, yet small states seem to have nothing to offer. Second, small states sometimes refuse great power offers, which would seem to indicate that “free” security goods impose some sort of cost. This theory addresses both of these puzzles. First, it argues that great powers evaluate small states on their ability to contribute to the great power’s security agenda. The extent to which a small state can do so is its Perceived Strategic Value (PSV) in the eyes of the great power. *Ceteris paribus*, small states with higher PSV receive larger security exchanges. Second, it argues that small states face a wider array of threats than do great powers and array their forces to meet the greatest threat facing the regime. To the extent that the small state’s security perspective mirrors the great power’s, the level of security exchanges will be higher. However, because security exchanges impose costs on both parties, there are many cases in which either low PSV or an incompatible small state strategic agenda makes a security exchange unlikely. I test the theory using great power – small state interactions in the Middle East between 1952 and 1961 using qualitative methods and from 1952 to 1979 using statistical analysis. I find Security Exchange Theory is a powerful and parsimonious solution to the puzzle of great power – small state exchange behavior.

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Acknowledgements

To be frank, I have no idea how to write a non-pretentious opening sentence to an acknowledgements section, so I'll just begin at the beginning and go from there.

My journey to this project was long and winding, and would not have even begun without the intellectual inspirations of my early scholarly life – Cindy Burgett, who introduced me to the Heyerdahl method and the joys of graduate education; Tara Welch, who was extraordinarily patient with my 19-year old student-self; Mary Klayder, who taught me to think comprehensively and across disciplines in the pursuit of truth and knowledge; Chico Herbison, whose model of fearless and open inquiry inspired students of all abilities; and Don Haider-Markel, who guided me through my first efforts to contribute to the great conversation of academic political science.

The path to Columbia would not have been open without the advice and assistance of the intellectual leaders in the Army who guided me forward: COL Kevin Felix, who showed me that being a great warfighter and a great thinker were complementary skills; GEN David Petraeus, who took the time to talk to a young LT on his way to Oxford; BG Mike Meese, who sat me down and explained the Sosh pathway in Mosul and then offered invaluable assistance while I was in Oxford; LTC John Nagl, who met with me before I commissioned, suggested writing opportunities while I was at Oxford, helped me out repeatedly as a company-grade officer, and then finally advised me to pursue the Ph.D. because my comparative advantage in the Army was that “I was a giant nerd.”

I came to Columbia because I believed it was the best place to study the politics of violence and better understand the Middle East. And it's in New York City. I was not disappointed. I had the extraordinary good fortune to stand on the shoulders of giants – this project is a direct outgrowth of the lessons about American foreign policy I learned from Richard Betts, the history of the region I learned from Rashid Khalidi, and the debates about US Gulf policy that I studied with Gary Sick and that are echoed in this manuscript. The project also benefited enormously from the timely advice of Robert Jervis, who suggested both theoretical and archival sources for additional insight.

I think most students hope they will find a great supervisor, and I was lucky enough to find two. Tonya Putnam's exhaustive and careful notes, frank advice, and intellectual rigor constantly pushed this project forward, even in the face of my intense stubbornness. She also has an amazing ability to situate academic work in the broader context of life's adventures, and is always ready to sit down for a good conversation, introduce a visiting lecturer to New York, or help a student navigate the challenges of Columbia departmental life. Jack Snyder's friendly, dispassionate, and incredibly blunt advice was a constant spur whenever I wanted to get lazy and cut corners. When “good enough” is unacceptable, it pushes students to their potential; without Jack, this project would be nowhere as good as it is. Moreover, he was an invaluable supporter of cross-disciplinary coursework and thinking, and a living exemplar of the fact that rigor and kindness can go hand-in-hand.

None of this research would have been possible without the support of the West Point Department of Social Sciences. COL Cindy Jebb and COL Suzanne Nielsen have been instrumental in providing the material support, time, and motivation to continue writing amidst the frenzy of Academy life. COL Ike Wilson has been a guide and

mentor, and a model for the integration of scholarship and policy, moving the Army in new directions, building organizations, and developing subordinates. LTC(P) Tania Chacho has been an incomparable help and source of both advice and discipline since she was a Major and I was an aspiring member of the Sosh family. It's one thing to say that you support officers in their scholarly pursuits; it's another to take the time to ask how the project is going, include it in periodic performance reviews, and to underwrite the trips away to the library that actually getting things done requires. Without the support, investment, and personal care of the leadership of the Department of Social Sciences, this project simply would not have been possible.

One of the things I cherish most about Columbia is the sense of teamwork and intellectual community that I found amongst the graduate students. I won't name the entire roster of all the people who challenged my assumptions, pushed my work, helped me with my game theory homework, reviewed my Comps prep, talked with me about my essays, spent late nights in Haakon's Hall, 1020, and the Ding-Dong Lounge, but you all know who you are. I will however, highlight my six groomsmen: Joe Da Silva, Daniel Clemens, David Szakonyi, Sean McEwen, Pete Van Agtmael, and Joey Comley. Whenever the insanity of life and work built up to ridiculous levels, you were all there for great conversation, random adventures, and unforgettable shenanigans. The goings-on probably didn't make too much of a contribution to my higher-order mental processes or overall health, but they were absolutely necessary to survive the Ph.D. with my sanity more-or-less intact.

I suppose I didn't actually begin all the way at the beginning, because I wanted to save my penultimate thanks for my family, Mike, Judy, and Lisa. I've said it before, but don't think I can say it enough: I was truly blessed to grow up in our loving and supportive home, surrounded by books, taught not to overvalue the intellect at the expense of everything else, imbued with an ethical sensibility, and exposed to a real cross-section of America. I'm so happy we get to celebrate this moment together.

Finally, to my wife, Dianne. I still remember driving back to Croton-Harmon two years ago when you told me, "It sounds like your problem is that you're trying to write three dissertations at once. Just pick one." This advice, like most that you give, has proven to be absolutely correct. Intellectually, your ability to work through a white board session, see to the heart of the problem, propose theoretically elegant solutions, and access your expansive knowledge of the canon has been a continuous source of insight and inspiration. As for the rest: the Sunday brunches, walks along a river, TV marathons, adventures abroad, the tiny, daily triumphs and tribulations, and the great, wonderful celebrations – these are the things that make life worth living, and I'm so glad that it's a life we get to live together.

I always thought it was strange that writers would take responsibility for the errors and shortcomings in their books while attributing the good qualities of the text to others. Now that I've written one, I get it. I have you all, my family, friends, colleagues, teachers, and mentors, to thank for imbuing this project with whatever quality it possesses. Thank you.

For Dianne

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On May 3rd, 1956, the American National Security Council met for the 283rd time. During this particular the discussion of American grand strategy, the topic turned to the costs of America's military posture abroad. The Secretary of the Treasury was a business magnate named George M. Humphreys, and he "expressed the view that all this money being spent on bases throughout the world would be better spent on producing B-52 aircraft in the United States."¹ He urged his fellow council members to "[t]hink of all the money that the United States had poured into Formosa. Think of what it would have bought us in terms of B-52 aircraft. In the last analysis," he said, "the United States will stand or fall on how strong we are."² As a result, he argued that America would need "to be selective in our assistance to our allies, in a way we have never even approached before."³

President Eisenhower had a different view. He told his advisors that "the matter of bases was nowhere near as simple as Secretary Humphrey indicated."⁴ In fact, in a general war with the Soviet Union, it was his opinion that America "could do a lot more damage to the enemy with a small or medium bomber from the ring of nearby bases than we could inflict with much larger bombers based in the continental United States."⁵ Thus, in the view of the President, it "was unthinkable that we should abandon our bases around the periphery of the Soviet Union."⁶ Nonetheless, it was true that the U.S. had finite resources at its disposal and it had to be judicious in its pursuit of security.

¹ "Memorandum of discussion," Eisenhower Library, Whitman File, NSC Records, as reproduced in "Memorandum of Discussion at the 285th Meeting of the National Security Council," May 17, 1956. in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1955-1957, Vol XIX: National Security Policy*, ed. John P. Glennon, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1990), 308, note 1.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

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Therefore, “[t]he President said that the heart of the foreign assistance problem was the question of eventual cost to the United States of a given ally, and how much that ally was worth to us. This was something which we ought to be able to calculate and thus reach a conclusion on how many allies we can afford to have.”⁷

Many theories of international relations and alliance behavior share Secretary Humphrey’s views of military power and, therefore, his puzzlement at the large sums that great powers dedicate to developing and maintaining alliances with small states. If a great power goes to the trouble of building the tools of modern warfare, presumably in the belief that those tools contribute to their national power and security, the fact that it would subsequently give them away to others seems bizarre. The great power must believe some value is gained in the exchange, but it is difficult to understand what precisely that value is using the rough aggregate measures employed by both Sec. Humphrey and contemporary political science.

The reality of great power behavior over the past 70 years, however, indicates that President Eisenhower’s approach dominates modern security policy-making. While great powers sign formal security agreements with a wide variety of states, there is substantial variation in the level of assistance offered to allies. It would seem that there is some underlying logic that determines how important a state is, and thus, how large a share of the finite pool of available security resources it should receive. The purpose of this project is to create and test a general theory of great power–small state security exchanges that explains this consistent, widespread, and currently inexplicable phenomenon.

⁷ Ibid.

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The transfer of security goods from a great power to a small state is best understood as a bargain struck between two self-maximizing, security-seeking parties. Great powers are the dominant military and economic actors in the global system and can only be defeated by a group of states that contains at least one other great power. Small states are unable to meaningfully shift the global balance of power on the basis of their resources alone and are therefore only of contingent importance to global politics. The great power believes that the small state offers some value to its security posture in the world that outweighs the cost of the goods being transferred – I call this valuation the small state’s Perceived Strategic Value. The small state believes that the value of the transferred goods to what I call its Small State Strategy offset the logistical, doctrinal, organizational, and strategic costs that accepting great power security transfers imposes. I call the encounter between these two distinct strategic logics Security Exchange Theory.

Security Exchange Theory is rooted in a more nuanced and subjective understanding of military capability than is commonly employed in the political science literature. In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical antecedents to the model of capability and strategic value that I employ here, as well as some of the competing views on the topic. With my argument for an expanded notion of capability in place, I then turn to competing theories of alliance behavior, with a particular focus on existing models of security exchanges. I show that because they rely on a limited conceptualization of capability they are unable to offer a satisfactory explanation for the puzzle of great power security transfers to small states. Next, I briefly discuss two of the significant approaches to bargaining and alliance formation. Finally, I conclude by outlining the remainder of the project.

Capability and Offense-Defense Theory

Inherent in any realist approach to international relations is the notion that states' differential capacity for acting in the material world is a central determinant of political outcomes. Even in the very brief introduction above, when I have used the terms "great power" and "small state," I have implicitly been speaking of capabilities (and not, for example, geographic size). Capability and power are notoriously slippery concepts in the IR canon; nonetheless, there is a sense that for many applications a rough-and-ready estimate of relative power is all that's needed to understand the structure of a system and the relative capabilities of the actors.⁸

Yet while such measures can be adequate for assessing the structural characteristics of an international system, they do not scale down particularly well. In particular, states are anxious to determine the precise configuration of power and capabilities that will create security and positive international outcome and would be foolish to rely on an either hefty amount of aggregate power or a local relative advantage to ensure victory. History has consistently demonstrated that simply having a lot of power in the sense commonly used by international relations theory does not guarantee success in international competition. For example, sprawling kingdoms with immense wealth, large populations, and sizable military establishments were brought low by a relatively small number of conquistadors in Central and South America. A numerically

⁸ For examples of the debate about power and capabilities, see Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power," *Behavioral Science* 2 (July 1957): 201-215; Robert J. Art, "American Foreign Policy and the Fungibility of Force," *Security Studies* 5 (Summer 1996): 7-42; Stephen Baldwin, "Force, Fungibility, and Influence," *Security Studies* 8 (Summer 1999): 173-182; Robert J. Art, "Force and Fungibility Reconsidered," *Security Studies* 8 (Summer 1999): 183-189. For examples of rough estimates used for the calculation of power, see the argument about the identification of great powers in Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Menlo Park: Addison-Wesley, 1979), 131; or the discussion of aggregate power in Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 275.

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superior Iraqi force was unable to prevent a US armored brigade from driving through Baghdad and parking at the airport, thus triggering a collapse in the Iraqi Army's resistance and the demise of the Ba'athist regime. A non-motorized Vietnamese Army was able to inflict a catastrophic defeat on the French at Dien Bien Phu, which soon ended France's control of the country. Obviously, a simple comparison of national wealth, population, total military personnel, or industrialization can fail to predict important international outcomes. To understand the "capability" of a state, it is insufficient to simply know the size of its population, economy, or military. One must have an idea of what technologies its military has at its disposal, their advantages and limitations, and how a state intends to leverage its military capacity into strategic outcomes. This relationship between the technologies of warfare, the doctrine guiding their use, and the security behavior of states has been a fruitful avenue of scholarly inquiry and has created the more precise approach to capability that I leverage in Security Exchange Theory.

Offense-Defense Theory (hereinafter ODT) is a theoretical tradition which ties political outcomes to variation in both the amount and the nature of a state's military capability. The modern taproot of this approach is Jervis' "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," which uses a simple game theoretic model to illuminate conditions under which states might feel more or less compelled to initiate hostilities.⁹ One way to think about the subsequent development of ODT is to analyze the literature in terms of a split between the objective and subjective elements of Jervis' original formulation. The

⁹ See also George H. Quester, *Offense and Defense in the International System* (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Books, 1977). Quester discusses a similar logic at book length, albeit with a heavier emphasis on technology than perception. Levy delves into the earlier antecedents of the contemporary debate. See Jack Levy, "The Offensive-Defensive Balance of Military Technology: A Theoretical and Historical Analysis," *International Studies Quarterly* 28 (June 1984): 219-238.

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former emphasizes the importance of specific physical objects or tactical innovations, the latter focuses on what leaders believe to be possible. I will examine each in turn.

Objective ODT

Security Exchange Theory is based, in part, on the Perceived Strategic Value that a great power assigns to a small state. This implies that perception is an important basis for strategic calculation – or, put differently, not every actor confronted with a strategic problem and a given set of capabilities will understand the problem in the same way and apply the capabilities identically. The complications implied by this approach could be avoided, however, by simply adopting a purely objective method for the evaluation of security problems as exemplified by objective ODT.

The allure of a completely objective basis for ODT is immense. If war becomes more likely in offense-dominant systems, and such systems are determined by the possession of discrete, corporeal objects by state actors, then an elegant, operationalizable, and exogenous variable will have been discovered that explains a major question in the field: what makes wars more likely? It would also, for present purposes, provide a neat definition of precisely what is meant by capability and a clear direction on how to measure it. Within the objective ODT tradition, there are two approaches to capability – (1) capabilities are strictly technological and (2) capabilities are technology mediated by doctrine and other things. Both of these are easily observable -- machines are easy enough to discover when mass-produced and conventional doctrine must be widely disseminated to be useful. The foregoing theories

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argue that these observable truths translate readily into political behaviors; in essence, the material military world causes a political logic to emerge

The first approach to capability, which asserts that it is purely technological, finds its historical roots in interwar efforts to classify “offensive” and “defensive” technologies for the purposes of arms control. The contemporary variant of this idea seeks to apply the sophisticated methodologies of combat simulations to determine the ratio of offensive forces required to overwhelm the defense, when optimal employment on both sides is assumed¹⁰ or utilizes a reading of the elements of combat power to determine the ascendancy of the offense in any given period and then subjects that historical assessment to quantitative analysis.¹¹ This is an exceedingly narrow basis for the determination of the offense/defense balance, but is certainly tractable.

Numerous scholars in the objective vein find the narrow approach inadequate, due to the difficulty in determining what precisely constitutes an offensive weapon,¹² what characteristics of a system are inherently “offensive”,¹³ and, of course, the nature of the war in which these systems are to be utilized.¹⁴ Thus, these authors employ broader definitions of offense-defense that include not only technology, but also geography, strategy, tactics, opponent, etc. Proponents of this broader view assert that offense

¹⁰ Chaim Kaufmann and Charles Glaser, “What Is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?” *International Security* 22 (Spring 1998): 44-82.

¹¹ Karen Ruth Adams, “Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance,” *International Security* 28 (Winter 2003/04): 45-83.

¹² Levy, “The Offensive-Defensive Balance of Military Technology.”

¹³ Keir A. Lieber, “Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security,” *International Security* 25 (Summer 2000): 71-104.

¹⁴ See, for example, Jonathan Shimshoni, “Technology, Military Advantage, and World War I: A Case of Military Entrepreneurship,” *International Security* 15 (Winter 1990/91): 187-215; or John Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 24-27.

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dominance is properly understood as ease of conquest,¹⁵ force employment,¹⁶ or the use blitzkrieg strategies instead of attrition,¹⁷ any of which can be evaluated objectively by an external observer.

In many respects, the broader approach is preferable, since the employment of a given technology is inextricably linked to its battlefield effectiveness, and the same weapons can seem to favor the offense or the defense, depending on who employs them and how.¹⁸ Optimal employment of a given set of weapons is a heroic assumption that runs directly counter to the entire concept of military endeavor -- it assumes that there is some “optimal” employment, known to both sides, against which there can only be set its “optimal” counterpart. Of course, the goal of military strategy is to employ one’s forces in such a way as to avoid the “optimum” strategy of one’s opponent while simultaneously optimizing one’s own forces to their anticipated reaction. There is, in short, no optimum, only a continuous competition to out-innovate one’s competitors,¹⁹ thus making the narrow approach to objective ODT untenable.

However, the broader approach is not without its own significant issues. The simpler variant, which either favors an extremely broad interpretation of “offense dominance” or a combination of offensive technologies and a corresponding doctrinal

¹⁵ Stephen Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 118, note 2.

¹⁶ Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 17, 21.

¹⁷ Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence*, 29.

¹⁸ See, for example, Stacie E. Goddard’s remarks in James W. Davis, Jr., Bernard I. Finel, Stacie E. Goddard, Stephen Van Evera, Charles L. Glaser, and Chaim Kaufmann, “Correspondence: Taking Offense at Offense-Defense Theory,” *International Security* 23 (Winter 1998/99): 179-206; Shimshoni, “Technology, Military Advantage, and World War I;” Biddle, *Military Power*.

¹⁹ As exemplified in Shimshoni, “Technology, Military Advantage, and World War I.”

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innovation has significant problems.²⁰ First, as Betts points out, with the addition of only a few additional variables, one can simply return to referring to “offense-defense balance” as “relative power” and be done with it.²¹ Second, the division of all possible strategies into “blitzkrieg, attrition, and deterrence,” which correlate roughly to offensive, defensive, and deterrent political dynamics requires a controversial reading of both military strategy and history.²² Third, the valorization of “blitzkrieg” leads to an overweighting of the importance of armored forces and, in some ways, to a reversion to a narrower sort of accounting (tanks * blitzkrieg = victory). This is incorrect.²³

The more sophisticated reading of doctrine, which acknowledges more complexity than a simple offense-defense dichotomy, has its own issues. Specifically, implementation of a modern approach to force employment underweights the importance of technological factors – Biddle writes explicitly that “[t]echnology does not, however, determine who will win and who will lose, which is normally determined by force employment.”²⁴ This overstates the case – it was clear in the 2003 invasion of Iraq that the Iraqi Army had learned from its previous defeat and established a defense in depth, with concentric rings around Baghdad. However, it still possessed no weapons capable

²⁰ For in-depth discussions of the impact of this kind of doctrine / technology interaction, see Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence*, or Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

²¹ Richard K. Betts, “Must War Find A Way?” *International Security* 24 (Fall 1999): 166-198.

²² For example, Desert Storm was an example of an attrition-based strategy that was highly favorable to the offense and was concluded quite rapidly.

²³ See p. 31 in Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine* for a discussion of the adverse effects of tank fetishism on the IDF in 1973. See p. 387 in Lieber, “Grasping the Technological Peace” for a discussion of the defensive utility of tanks in a retrograde war of attrition. See Stephen Biddle, “Rebuilding the Foundations of Offense Defense Theory,” *The Journal of Politics* 63 (August 2001): 753 for a discussion of Operation GOODWOOD, in which “the British amassed one of the highest tank densities in history ... though they outnumbered the Germans more than 5:1 in tanks, a reserve-oriented German defense in depth took a tremendous toll on the exposed British attackers, destroying more than one-third of all the British armor on the continent in under three days and halting the offensive after an advance of only 10 kilometers.”

²⁴ Biddle, “Rebuilding the Foundations,” 750.

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of reliably penetrating the armor of American tanks, so a single armored brigade was able to simply drive through the defenses, killing everything in its path, and park itself in Baghdad International Airport with a minimum of casualties.²⁵ What Biddle predicts as a “very defense-favorable balance” that should have resulted in a “contained offensive” with “very high attacker losses” and a “very large numerical preponderance required to prevail” resulted in the exact opposite, due to technological overmatch.²⁶

In either the narrow or broad approach to objective ODT, the argument that capability determines the politics of security in an obvious and mechanical fashion has serious problems. It is clear that states would be ill-advised to pursue security based on the narrow view of objective ODT, since doing so would cause them to misperceive the likelihood of battlefield victory due to its neglect of doctrine, strategy, and other key factors. However, the broader approach is still insufficient, as it continues to assume that capabilities, however defined, have a single optimum employment, obvious to all experts, that determines outcomes. Moreover, in order to make the theories tractable, capabilities themselves (and thus expert opinion) are forced into quite limited categories, which then fail to make useful predictions in several key cases, as noted above. If the theories cannot reliably predict who will win an armed conflict, it seems impossible that they would usefully predict the strategies states would pursue to prepare themselves for that conflict, which means that objective ODT is an insufficient foundation for Security Exchange Theory.

Subjective ODT

²⁵ For an account of the battle, see David Zucchino, *Thunder Run: The Armored Strike to Capture Baghdad* (New York: Grove, 2004).

²⁶ Biddle, “Rebuilding the Foundations,” 750.

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Subjective ODT offers an alternative – rather than a purely objective consideration of technology as such, the important thing in security behavior is what policy-makers *believe* about the efficacy of their technology and doctrine. These beliefs about warfare structure both international aggressiveness and alliance politics and thus, despite whatever the truth may be about who will actually win in a war and how well it is captured in theories above, it is what leaders think will happen and how much it will cost that is important in determining security exchanges.

The most famous work in this subjective branch of the ODT tradition is Snyder's *Ideology of the Offensive*.²⁷ In it he argues that rational calculation of the efficacy of the offensive (the “optimum employment” discussed earlier) is mediated by organizational and political biases,²⁸ causing military leaders to value the offense for its own sake, even in the face of abundant contrary evidence, in order to maintain their organizational clout within the government, the culture of the professional military, and the illusion that victory is possible. The belief that the offensive was the dominant form of warfare was the primary cause of the First World War – each country believed that it had to mobilize quickly in order to take the offensive and win what was assumed to be a short, sharp war. Van Evera usefully names this “the cult of the offensive” in an article that employs a similar logic.²⁹

The shift here is subtle, but remarkably important. It is no longer necessary to undertake complex modeling of the initial clash of two great armies, calculate force

²⁷ Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and the Disasters of 1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁹ Stephen Van Evera, “The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War,” *International Security* 9 (Summer 1984): 58-107. This argument has, naturally, inspired criticism. The main thrust is that the cult of the offensive is overstated and that the doctrinal beliefs of 1914 were reasonable given the geopolitical circumstances in which the actors found themselves.

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ratios, evaluate the efficacy of force-employment, make final claims about which factors do and do not facilitate the offense, or even derive a meaningful definition of what the offense actually is.³⁰ It is sufficient merely to know what a state leadership believes to be the case. That these opinions might be ludicrous from our viewpoint is no matter, for “we are all capable of believing things which we *know* to be untrue, and then, when we are finally proved wrong, impudently twisting the facts so as to show that we were right. Intellectually, it is possible to carry on this process for an indefinite time: the only check on it is that sooner or later a false belief bumps up against solid reality, usually on a battlefield.”³¹ This theory is, of course, useless for identifying the likely outcome of conflicts – it would need the addition of the objective sorts of assessments described above about technology, doctrine, geography, and the like – but it is invaluable in assessing the link between military capability and political outcomes prior to the initiation of hostilities.

Defining Capability

Security Exchange Theory understands the transfer of security resources from a great power to a small state as a bargain between two security-seeking entities. The agreement to exchange goods is meant to achieve some future security outcome; in the world described by objective ODT, the bargain would be rather straightforward. The

³⁰ This is harder than it seems. For example, Posen fails badly, defining the offense as activities which serve to disarm the enemy (a means) and the defense as activities which prevent the enemy from doing that which he wishes to do (an end). See *The Sources of Military Doctrine*, 14. Activities in which one disarms the enemy in order to prevent him from doing what he wishes to do seem to be impossible to define under Posen’s conception, yet are hardly unthinkable. Other definitions include territorially-based approaches, which suggest offense seizes territory and defense defends it, but this excludes raiding, pre-emptive strikes, and other sorts of non-terrain seizing offensive activities. See Bernard I. Finel’s remarks in, “Correspondence: Taking Offense at Offense-Defense Theory.”

³¹ George Orwell, “In Front of Your Nose,” *London Tribune*, March 22, 1946.

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value of any small state to a great power, the value of the goods being transferred, and the optimum allocation of security resources for any given state would be public information, devoid of political calculation. In fact, the bargains are much more interesting because leaders and national security establishments are able to hold differing opinions about the security environment, the value of capabilities, and their optimum employment. What states perceive to be the case regarding their security determines their behavior and the type of capabilities they seek. Thus, in this project, I argue that perception is a key determinant of Security Exchanges, both in terms of the great power's valuation of the small state and the small state's valuation of the resources being offered.

That said, military capabilities do not exist solely in the realm of the imaginary. In order to create an analytical structure for the things about which states form their perceptions, I draw on the categories created by objective ODT. Specifically, I divide capability into four components and define capability as the self-perceived effectiveness with which a state can generate military power in order to do violence to others and deny them the ability to do the same, as measured by the perceived impact of force size, technology, doctrine, and geography. By force size, I mean the raw number of military personnel and weapons available (for example, a million soldiers or a thousand tanks); by technology, I mean the type of weapons (for example, T-54s or T-72s); by doctrine, I mean the organizational and bureaucratic mechanisms used to combine people and systems into military power (this covers everything from blitzkrieg doctrine to officer training to logistics procedures); by geography, I mean the physical space in which military force is to be created, staged, or employed. These components are interrelated and their policy impact is mediated in a significant way by the subjective beliefs of

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policymakers. Put simply, a state will seek develop a force that mixes size, technology, and doctrine, and deploy that force in physical space based on its subjective understanding of its security environment and available alternatives. To the extent it can develop such a force internally at acceptable cost it will do so. However, states sometimes lack some element of capability that they believe would enhance their security and that could be provided by a potential ally. If the need is reciprocated, there exists the potential for a mutually beneficial security exchange.

Theories of Alliance Formation: Capability Aggregation and Its Competitors

This project is situated within the contemporary trend in alliance scholarship that focuses on particular subsets of alliance behavior in order to illuminate important variations in state behavior that are lost in more general theories.³² As useful as a more precise approach is in its own right, it is nonetheless important to situate it within the larger alliance literature, both to contribute to the general accumulation of scholarly knowledge and to test whether the alliance behavior being explained is already well-accounted for within a broader approach.

Contemporary political science has coalesced around several sets of explanations for alliance behavior: security-autonomy trade-offs, ideological affinity, symbolic competition / signaling, and the tradition that informs Security Exchange Theory, capability aggregation. I will not review the larger debates that have occurred among the

³² For example, Christopher Layne, “The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States’ Unipolar Moment,” *International Security* 31 (Fall 2006): 7-41; Timothy Crawford, “Preventing Enemy Coalitions: How Wedge Alliances Shape Power Politics,” *International Security* 34 (Spring 2011): 155-189; Thomas J. Christensen, *Worse Than a Monolith: Alliance Politics and Problems of Coercive Diplomacy in Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Kristen P. Williams, Stephen Lobell and Neal Jesse, eds., *Beyond Great Powers and Hegemons: Why Secondary States Support, Follow, or Challenge* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

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proponents of these various traditions.³³ Instead, I show that great power alliances with small states, and particularly those which require the transfer of goods from the great power, present special analytical difficulties to these four larger-scale theoretical traditions.

The security-autonomy literature is built upon Altfeld's 1984 article in which he argues that states either produce military armament internally at their own cost or contract with other states to obtain security through alliances, and thereby preserve their wealth for other purposes.³⁴ The cost extracted by the party that offers to "sell" their security guarantee is some limit imposed on the autonomy of policy-makers in the "buyer" state. Morrow extends this approach to a range of cases that includes the bipolar era and expands the logic to argue that the most stable form of alliance are those in which the gains are asymmetric – that is, one party gains security and the other party gains autonomy.³⁵ This logic is further refined by Palmer and David, who argue that the nature of the security guarantee (nuclear v. non-nuclear) creates different spaces for autonomy by weaker members.³⁶ Referencing earlier work,³⁷ they make an important observation – at some level, a great power might become so "security rich" that it can export security through alliances at no additional cost to itself. Thus, great powers might ally with small states because doing so ensures the support of the small state for the status quo (the small

³³ This task has been ably undertaken by others. See D. Scott Bennett, "Testing Alternative Models of Alliance Duration, 1816-1984," *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (July 1997): 846-878; Glenn Palmer and J. Sky David, "Multiple Goals or Deterrence: A Test of Two Models in Nuclear and Nonnuclear Alliances," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (December 1999): 748-770; Christopher Sprecher, "Alliances, Armed Conflict, and Cooperation: Theoretical Approaches and Empirical Evidence," *Journal of Peace Research* 43 (July 2006, Special Issue on Alliances): 363-369.

³⁴ Michael F. Atfield, "The Decision to Ally: A Theory and Test," *The Western Political Science Quarterly* 37 (December 1984): 523-544.

³⁵ James D. Morrow, "Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances," *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (November 1991): 904-933.

³⁶ Palmer and David, "Multiple Goals or Deterrence."

³⁷ Glenn Palmer and Andrew Souchet, "Security, Autonomy and Defense Burdens: The Effects of Alliance Memberships in the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Defence and Peace Economics* 5 (1994): 189-204.

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state gives up any revisionist autonomy) at acceptable cost, or they might do so simply because it is costless and so any possible benefit is pure profit (in the sense that it induces support for the status quo).

At the level of major regional powers or in multipolar systems, perhaps this is true – for present purposes I need not take a position on whether or not great powers trade foreign policy autonomy for security guarantees in this fashion. But the answer this approach offers regarding great power security exchanges with small states is unsatisfying. Unless a security guarantee is costless, why would a great power extend one to states that have no capacity, through their autonomy, to upset the status quo? And, of course, if a security guarantee is costless because the forces have already been created and allocated (as, for example, extending naval protection to a country whose coastline you already intend to protect from rival great powers), one wonders why a small state would trade autonomy rather than simply free-ride (which is what Palmer suggests happens in these cases). Trading a security surplus to enlist the support of minor states for the status quo seems to be a poor bargain for great powers and a weak explanation of the behavior. In addition to these theoretical challenges, contemporary attempts to operationalize security-autonomy models as they apply to US foreign and military aid have yielded generally erratic results.³⁸

³⁸ T. Y. Wang, “U.S. Foreign Aid and UN Voting: An Analysis of Important Issues,” *International Studies Quarterly* 43 (March 1999): 199-210. Wang employs two different measures of UN voting, the official State Department measure and an alternative that counts abstentions as “no” votes, and his results are robust under both specifications. The use of UN votes as a measure is not without complications, as the inclusion of all votes leads to erratic results. Bruce Moon finds “that the explanatory power of the bargaining model is limited and that the dependency model is a more appropriate conception” based on a broad sample of UN votes. See, “The Foreign Policy of the Dependent State,” *International Studies Quarterly* 27 (September 1983): 315-340. Lai and Morey, “examine the similarity of UN voting between all states in the UN and the United States on an annual basis” using a score that describes the difference in voting patterns as a continuous index (391-2). They find that foreign aid does influence voting patterns, but only in non-democratic states. See Brian Lai and Daniel Morey, “Impact of Regime Type on the Influence

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In contrast to the security-autonomy argument, theories of ideological solidarity assert that states make security decisions as a function of ideological similarity. Thus, while from a material standpoint, great power transfers of security goods to small states might seem irrational, they can be comfortably explained by the ideological and normative commitments of the state to a particular version of the world. In some cases, this takes the logic of the Democratic Peace Theory (which holds that democracies will not go to war with one another) and seeks to extend it to positive commitments (e.g. democracies will form alliances with each other).³⁹ Others simply make the claim that alliances are more likely between ideologically similar states.⁴⁰ Neither approach does well empirically. As it happens, it appears that democratic (and autocratic) states only get along in the presence of a threatening “other”⁴¹ and ideology is a poor predictor of alliance behavior in some non-European regions.⁴² If anything, the pattern is that autocratic states enhance their security through alliances, then reduce their level of militarization, and only then democratize.⁴³ As I show in later chapters, ideological commitments seem to do poorly in predicting observed variation in security exchange behavior as well as larger patterns of alliance behavior—great powers seem willing to tolerate deviations from their overall ideology, although they become impatient with challenges to their subjective understandings of optimal security behaviors.

of U.S. Foreign Aid,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2 (October 2006): 385-404. For a discussion of UN voting as a measure of aid effectiveness, see Patricia L. Sullivan, Brock F. Tessman, and Xiaojun Li, “US Military Aid and Recipient State Cooperation,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7 (July 2011): 278.

³⁹ Randolph M. Siverson and Juliann Emmons, “Birds of a Feather: Democratic Political Systems and Alliance Choices in the Twentieth Century,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35 (June 1991): 285-306.

⁴⁰ For an excellent summary of this position, see Walt, *Origins of Alliances*, 33.

⁴¹ Erik Gartzke and Alex Weisiger, “Permanent Friends? Dynamic Difference and the Democratic Peace,” *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (March 2013): 171-185.

⁴² Walt, *Origins of Alliances*, 5.

⁴³ Douglas Gibler and Scott Wolford, “Alliance, Then Democracy: An Examination of the Relationship between Regime Type and Alliance Formation,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (February 2006): 129-153.

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The third tradition argues that great power alliances with (and, by extension, security transfers to) small states are a function of signaling and symbolic competition. While of little objective importance, taking sides in minor security competitions enables great powers to demonstrate the strength of their resolve to allies and adversaries. The entire globe can become a stage for great power competition; as Waltz notes, “[i]n a bipolar world there are no peripheries. With only two powers capable of acting on a world scale, anything that happens anywhere is potentially a concern to both of them.”⁴⁴ Yet these concerns are of variable levels of significance and, as Schelling points out, it can be of critical importance to contain competition (and even war itself) within limited theaters in order to avoid mutual destruction in the nuclear age.⁴⁵ Put simply, by maintaining commitments in areas where there is some general sort of interest but not a pressing national security imperative, a great power is able to wage a conflict with its rival at an intensity that signals even greater commitments elsewhere without the risk of accidentally stumbling over anyone’s nuclear tripwire. This fits well with contemporary thinking about the unpredictability of conflict and escalation⁴⁶ in that each great power aggressively seeks confrontation as far from either metropole as possible in order to prevent accidents while simultaneously signaling strength and resolve in order to maintain credibility. It is, after all, very difficult to have proxy wars without proxies, and small states can supply ideal pressure-valves for bipolar conflict.

As I argue in the next chapter, one can imagine places in the world where this is an entirely reasonable explanation for great power behavior – the stakes are low, the state capacities of local actors are consistently weak, and the resources required to demonstrate

⁴⁴ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 171.

⁴⁵ Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

⁴⁶ Erik Gartzke, “War Is In the Error Term,” *International Organization* 53 (Summer 1999): 567-587.

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seriousness of purpose are not particularly significant. However, in regions of the world that the great powers believe are of practical, and not just symbolic, significance, the application of this theory to security exchanges becomes difficult. The same logic that underlies the theory of symbolic competition (that great powers wish to survive, that they are threatened by other great powers, and that they must demonstrate both capability and resolve) would seem to direct resources towards security-maximizing behaviors that prioritize the development of a suite of capabilities. That is to say, the symbolic significance of competition gives way to practical considerations when it comes to the allocation of scarce resources if there is a trade-off between capability and symbolism.

The capability-aggregation tradition asserts that states combine their power through alliances when doing so allows them meet a threat more effectively than either could independently. Rooted in basic struggle of states to maintain their survival and autonomy in an anarchical international system, capability-aggregation suggests a logic by which great powers discriminate between states that are important and states that are not. It also impels them to allocate security goods in such a way that their security (as opposed to ideological comfort) is maximized. So long as a small state can offer a marginal increase in capability above the cost of the security goods being provided, theories of capability-aggregation predict that the great power will be willing to pay the cost.

The key question is whether or not a small state could conceivably possess such capabilities. In *Theory of International Politics*, Waltz argues at one point that they do not. He claims that while the use of alliances to achieve balance is critical in multipolar systems, in bipolar systems the bipoles rely on “their own capabilities rather than on the

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capabilities of allies” which Waltz refers to as “internal” rather than “external” balancing.⁴⁷ However, just pages later he writes, “[t]he contributions [of allies to great powers] are useful even in a bipolar world, but they are not indispensable” yet somehow “[o]nly Japan, Western Europe, and the Middle East are prizes that if won by the Soviet Union would alter the balance of GNPs and the distribution of resources enough to be a danger.”⁴⁸ Thus, even in its most austere form, structural realism argues that great powers will engage in capability aggregation. While internal balancing is an important part of bipolar systems, it is not the only relevant consideration.⁴⁹ The key questions for realist capability-aggregation models, therefore, are “what are capabilities and how do they aggregate?”

Because many realist theories want to make general claims about systemic stability or patterns of alliance formation understood quite broadly, they tend to employ conceptualizations of capability aggregation that are generally additive – that is, when two states create an alliance, they “add” their capabilities together to face a threat.⁵⁰ For many purposes, this model is entirely satisfactory, but in the case of security exchanges it poses significant problems. Firstly, it fails to explain how transferring relative power to another state will result in an increase of relative power available to the alliance. Second, because it is unable to differentiate between small states on the basis of anything but power, it struggles to understand how small increments of power can alter the overall

⁴⁷ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 168.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 169, 172.

⁴⁹ This is the critique leveled in Robert Jervis, *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 118-119.

⁵⁰ This is true for broad theories of alliance that rely on Offense-Defense Theory, such as Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, “Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity,” *International Organization* 44 (Spring 1990): 137-168; defensive realist theories, such as Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*; and offensive realist theories, such as John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (London: Norton, 2001).

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balance between superpowers. Thus, even if, as Walt claims, “the superpowers tend to balance primarily against aggregate power alone (i.e., forming alliances to contain the other superpower),” the mechanism by which a small state changes aggregate power is left unspecified.⁵¹ However, I will show in the next chapter that by adopting the definition of capability I discuss above, one can gain significant insight into the capabilities that are aggregated in security exchanges. Thus, my theory not only draws upon the capability aggregation literature, it extends it in useful new directions.

Bargaining Dynamics in Security Exchange Theory

So far I have defined capability as the self-perceived effectiveness with which a state can generate military power in order to do violence to others and deny them the ability to do the same, as measured by the perceived impact of force size, technology, doctrine, and geography. I have further argued that states have the ability to aggregate their capabilities in such a fashion that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, and that states engage in capability aggregation as part of a larger drive to seek security in an anarchical world system. Great powers understand the value of the capabilities that a small state could potentially provide as that small state’s Perceived Strategic Value. Small states consider the utility of great power contributions to their security in light of their chosen Small State Strategy. When these mutual needs meet, an opportunity for bargaining emerges.

The idea of alliances as bargains is not new; however, modern political science has leveraged the insights of game theory to create mathematical models that replicate the

⁵¹ Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, 153.

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logical structure of alliance decision-making.⁵² One such model that is especially important for thinking about security exchange behaviors is advanced by Snyder.⁵³ Snyder, without adopting a theory of capability, nonetheless argues that payoffs will differ to strong and weak powers depending on the nature of the local security threat.⁵⁴ Snyder's key insight is that available alternatives and exit options structure the payoff structures within alliances. This is critically important to Security Exchange Theory, because it is entirely reasonable that great powers and small states might have very different views of their security environment and feel differently about the urgency of forming an alliance. Thus, simply because a great power has more aggregate power or more of a particular sort of capability does not necessarily entail that a small state will simply have to accept whatever terms the great power offers or exchange its (perhaps unique) capabilities on terms approaching parity.

Once in an alliance, each state's underlying payoff structure shifts with the changing circumstances in which they find themselves.⁵⁵ As a result, participants renegotiate the terms of the alliance (not necessarily through a formal rewriting of the agreement) and thereby find "a new Nash solution, where the combined payoffs will theoretically settle after a period of jockeying. It is exactly at the midpoint of the adjusted bargaining range, where the product of the payoffs to the parties is

⁵² For a broad review of game theoretic approaches to international cooperation, see Michael J. Gilligan and Leslie Johns, "Formal Models of International Institutions," *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (2012): 221-243.

⁵³ Glenn Snyder, *Alliance Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). For his basic hypotheses, see p. 60, and for his general hypotheses, see p. 74.

⁵⁴ Snyder, *Alliance Politics*. For his basic hypotheses, see p. 60, and for his general hypotheses, see pp. 55-60.

⁵⁵ In his terms, their "Interests, Dependence, and Commitment," which jointly define a state's "alliance bargaining power" shift. Snyder, *Alliance Politics*, 175.

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maximized.”⁵⁶ Similarly, as the threat environment changes, Security Exchange Theory anticipates changing demands by both parties and, thus, a dynamic system of negotiation and settlement to emerge.

While Snyder’s model argues that alliance formation happens in two stages – an initial bargain, followed by subsequent updates – the two are independent of one another. Fearon offers an alternative model in “Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation.”⁵⁷ While the game he creates still has two stages, their strategic logics are intimately connected. In Fearon’s model, states play a War of Attrition bargaining game to determine the structure and incentives of an international organization, followed by a repeated 2x2 type game that they devise during the initial bargaining, which he models as a Prisoners’ Dilemma.⁵⁸ In a War of Attrition, each player has a preferred outcome and both prefer some agreement to no agreement. In each period of time, they are given the opportunity to accept their opponent’s offer or not. The game ends when one player accepts an offer.

The key in War of Attrition is that each player suffers some cost for continuing to hold out and is unsure when her opponent will give in. Thus, driving a hard bargain must be weighed against the likely costs of doing so.⁵⁹ In Fearon’s formulation, this cost is partly a function of how long the agreement is expected to be in effect and how credible

⁵⁶ Snyder, *Alliance Politics*, 191.

⁵⁷ James D. Fearon, “Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation,” *International Organization* 52 (Spring 1998): 269-305.

⁵⁸ “War of Attrition” bargaining was developed by Maynard Smith in 1974 and further refined in Ken Hendricks, Andrew Weiss, and Charles Wilson, “The War of Attrition in Continuous Time with Complete Information,” *International Economic Review* 29 (November 1988): 663-680; and Jeremy Bulow and Paul Klemperer, “The Generalized War of Attrition,” *The American Economic Review* 89 (March 1999): 175-190.

⁵⁹ It should be noted that experimental data on humans making strategic decisions consistently fails to conform to game theoretic predictions; War of Attrition models are no exception. See Hannah Hoerisch and Oliver Kirchkamp, “Less Fighting than Expected: Experiments with Wars of Attrition and All-Pay Auctions,” *Public Choice* 144 (July 2010): 347-367.

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the mutual commitments to it are; this is referred to as the shadow of the future. Fearon finds that agreements both parties take seriously may be the hardest to achieve because “as the shadow of the future lengthens, both states choose tougher and tougher bargaining strategies on average, implying longer and longer delay until cooperation begins.”⁶⁰

Security Exchange Theory treats bargaining like Snyder does – an initial bargain based on the relative strength of each actor’s negotiating position, followed by continuous updating at the strength of those positions shifts. That is to say, the shadow of the future is very short. By contrast, if actors expected to be in the alliance for a very long time and expected to be constrained significantly by the initial agreement, the initial terms would be quite important because the shadow of the future would be quite long. Since alliances do appear to be both relatively stable and future-oriented, it might seem better to use Fearon’s model. The choice between the two is not simply a matter of taste; however, as an empirical matter, the mechanics of security exchanges favor Snyder’s approach. Modern warfare and modern military technologies consume fuel, ammunition, and repair parts at a voracious rate. Security exchanges generally involve both advisors on the ground to assist with fielding new equipment and agreements regarding the provision of the requisite supplies to make the systems work. Parties have the ability to observe each other closely and modify the “terms” in a practical sense very quickly. While Fearon’s War of Attrition model may be an excellent tool for understanding many international agreements, it is unnecessarily complex (and therefore not parsimonious) when it comes to Security Exchange Theory.

Plan of the Text

⁶⁰ Fearon, “Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation,” 282.

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In this chapter I have advanced the proposition that Security Exchange Theory offers a novel approach to unexplained variation in state behavior. I have argued that by leveraging the insights of Offense-Defense Theory to create a robust definition of capability, extending the capability-aggregation tradition, and following Snyder's model of alliance bargaining, Security Exchange Theory will be able to explain the transfer of security goods from great powers to small states. In the remainder of this text I fully explicate Security Exchange Theory and test it against great power behavior in the Middle East. To do so, I adopt the organization described below.

In Chapter 2, I present Security Exchange Theory. I argue that the world contains regions in which great powers cannot induce bandwagoning, but that are nonetheless critical for great power security ambitions. Great powers develop a general security plan for the region based on their own capabilities and then seek out small state allies to facilitate the great power's security goals. The more important the small state is in this restrictive sense, the greater its Perceived Strategic Value. For their part, small states face a variety of threats, and I develop a typology based on the source and location of the greatest threat to the small state regime's survival. I argue that the small state regime will optimize their forces to face that threat and thus adopt one of four distinct Small State Strategies. The capabilities that a small state seeks to facilitate these strategies may or may not be congruent with the capabilities the great power is offering. The process by which these competing demands are resolved is Security Exchange Theory.

In Chapter 3, I conduct an initial assessment of Security Exchange Theory using an original dataset of great power arms transfers to the Middle East between 1952 and 1979. I show that arms transfers are concentrated in certain key states and that

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membership in an alliance with a great power does not necessarily entail receipt of any security goods for a small state. This finding is critically important, because it demonstrates that Security Exchange Theory cannot simply be subsumed in a large theory of alliance behavior. I then perform a large-n test of Security Exchange Theory. However, while some measures of Perceived Strategic Value perform well when applied to American arms transfers, the findings for the Soviet Union are quite sensitive to the exclusion of key cases. Following the discussion of objective and subjective ODT above, I argue that purely objective, durable measures of strategic intent that are suitable for large-n analysis are an impossibility. Thus, understanding the subjective perceptions of strategic actors becomes of paramount importance – the critical factor in security exchanges is what the actors believe about one another and the state of the world at a given moment.

In Chapter 4, I test Security Exchange Theory against American arms transfers to the Middle East between 1952 and 1961, using contemporaneous American evaluations of the Perceived Strategic Value of small states. I leverage recently declassified archival material to explore the impact of changing American nuclear capabilities and war plans on the Perceived Strategic Value of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Israel to US security. These countries represent a majority of arms transfers from the US during the period and cover the full range of strategic valuation. I find that PSV is a strong explanation for variation in security exchanges.

In Chapter 5, I test Security Exchange Theory against Soviet arms transfers and diplomatic initiatives in the Middle East between 1952 and 1961. I examine Soviet diplomacy in Iran and Turkey immediately after WWII and argue that they were of very

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high strategic value to the USSR. So high, in fact, that Stalin attempted to induce bandwagoning by thinly veiled threats and unwanted assistance. However, these plans backfired, and so the Soviet Union was forced to pursue less relevant options – Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. These three countries also account for most of the Soviet arms transfers to the region, and I find that PSV performs well.

In Chapter 6, I test the impact of Small State Strategy on great power security exchange decision-making. I discuss the security imperatives and negotiating positions of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt from 1952 to 1961, which I assess using secondary sources and American diplomatic records. I find that, while PSV is a dominant consideration determining great power security exchange decisions, Small State Strategy has an important and noticeable marginal effect. This is demonstrated empirically by the direct, contemporaneous statements of senior decision-makers drawn from primary sources.

In Chapter 7, I conclude the project by assessing the importance of Security Exchange Theory to present day security studies. I argue that Security Exchange Theory has three important insights. First, great power security decision-making tends to strategic myopia. This is an excellent explanation for American military aid policy in the post-9/11 era, which prioritized counter-terrorism above virtually any other concerns and has resulted in active US involvement in some of the most desolate, marginal regions of the world. Second, by observing great power security transfers, one can not only assess what the great power deems important, but how the great power understands the world and intends to provide security for itself. Because the objective components of Security Exchange Theory are all based on publicly-available, observable information, to the

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extent one believes the theory, one can make judgments about the content of private, subjective security assessments. Third, Security Exchange Theory may enable analysts to predict great power – small state behavior in regions that take on bipolar attributes, such as East Asia.

Security Exchange Theory

Security Exchange Theory posits that security-seeking regimes engage in the transfer of security goods in order to increase the likelihood of their survival. Using only a single distinguishing characteristic, power, I will show that very powerful regimes (which I call great powers) establish hierarchy domestically in order to deal with the anarchy of the international system. By contrast, regimes with very low power (which I call small states) operate in semi-anarchy both domestically and internationally as a consequence of their relative weakness. I refer to both strong and weak regimes as “states” for clarity’s sake, since it is the state apparatus that is used to generate both internal and external security and that creates alliances with other states.

Both great powers and small states identify threats to their survival and marshal resources against those threats. While by definition a great power can only be defeated by a set of states that includes another great power, in a non-autarkic, geographically-connected world, meaningful security advantages against other great powers can be gained through capability aggregation with other states in critical regions. Thus, it seeks great powers engage in security exchanges that integrate and develop the capabilities of instrumentally useful small states, which it identifies using a process of Perceived Strategic Value (PSV,) which I discuss below in Part I.

In the PSV causal chain, the great power considers its strategic environment and determines how it can best position itself to wage war against its rivals. Having understood the nature of the strategic imperatives facing it, the great power seeks to compensate for the resource limitations it faces by recruiting particular small states to join its struggle. This takes the form not only of commitments about future behavior in

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the form of alliances but, for some particularly important small states, the transfer of security goods that will augment their ability to play the role the great power intends for them. My theory of Perceived Strategic Value is intended to capture the process by which great powers make such a determination in the creation of security exchanges.

Small states, by contrast, have a much more complex security environment. Faced with internal and external threats from both great power and non-great power actors, they are forced to allocate limited security resources to mutually exclusive security approaches, which I call their Small State Strategy and discuss in detail in Part II. In order to procure additional security goods, a small state may seek a security exchange with a great power. However, such an exchange imposes costs on the small state by requiring adjustments to absorb the security inputs and limiting future security acquisitions.

In the first two parts of this chapter, I theorize great power and small state alliance strategies independently, seeking to understand both the costs and benefits of security exchanges. The costs to great powers of transferring security assets from their control to the control of another state and the benefits to small states of receiving that control are obvious. However, by explicating the security benefits gained by great powers and the security costs borne by small states as a result of security exchanges, it becomes possible to put these two strategic calculations in dialogue. This is the project of Part III. Because the two cost-benefit analyses are not simply mirror-images of one another, nor are small states rent-takers in security exchanges, I am able to create a new theoretical approach to great power – small state security exchanges.

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To preview, I find that small states with a high Perceived Strategic Value are able to gain greater access to great power security resources and maintain greater autonomy in their security policy than are small states with a low Perceived Strategic Value. I also find that great powers endeavor to align small states with their perception of the global threat environment, and will modify the level of support they are willing to offer through security exchanges to achieve this end. Importantly, this theoretical approach employs a narrow conception of “power” and “value” that is limited solely to security and survival. The value of small state to a great power (in terms of security exchange behavior) inheres in its usefulness in possible conflicts with other great power, and the utility of a great power ally to a small state is its ability to contribute to regime security (rather than its ideological orientation, for example.) Relative power and the search for security drive security exchange behavior.

Part I: Perceived Strategic Value Theory

Great powers engage in security exchanges with small states in for a variety of reasons. In Part I, I develop my theory of great power security exchange behavior in two stages. First, I describe the scope conditions under which the theory is most useful, justify those conditions, and describe excluded cases. Second, I develop my capability-based theory. To preview, I argue, given the enumerated scope conditions, that bipoles create security arrangements with small states in order to maximize their capability to militarily defeat the other bipole through capability aggregation, access to resources, and war plan relevance. I call the extent to which a small state is believed by a great power to contribute to its military competition with other great powers the small state’s Perceived

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Strategic Value (PSV). Small states with high PSV elicit greater resource allocations from great powers.

Scope Conditions

The difficulty in creating a theory that establishes a single rationale for great power security exchange behavior is that such a rationale does not exist. Great powers, especially in the bipolar era of the mid- to late-20th century, created security arrangements with dozens of small states for a wide variety of reasons, some ideological, some symbolic, and some for the purpose of capability aggregation. The key, then, is not to argue that any one of these is the dominant rationale at all times; rather, it is to understand that different rationales are more likely to become operative given particular constraints. The elucidation of those constraints is the purpose of this section.

Bipolarity and Great Powers

The implications of this theory and the differentiation between it and other theories of security exchange behavior are clearest in a bipolar system. Bipolarity, in its Waltzian formulation, challenges theories of great power behavior to explain why, if no state or group of states other than one of the two bipoles can dramatically alter either the balance of power or the status quo, either bipole should bother with transferring resources to other states rather than allocating resources to internal balancing.⁶¹ It merits stating explicitly that internal balancing, in this sense, is focused on developing and maintaining power that can be deployed against the other great power in a global competition for

⁶¹ See the earlier discussion of Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Menlo Park: Addison-Wesley, 1979). On p. 163, Waltz identifies the primacy of internal balancing as “a crucial difference” between bipolar and multipolar systems.

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survival. Extending this logic, one would also anticipate that external behaviors, and especially security arrangements, would be based on their potential usefulness against the only real security threat – the other bipole.

The assumption of bipolarity also creates an easier analytical task in evaluating the relative impact of small state alignment and capability. Since the global security competition operates between two behemoths, one has great powers (the bipoles, which internally balance) and small states (which are unable to shift the balance of power using any of the metrics traditionally associated with power). Thus, if small state alignment is important, it must be for some reason other than simply altering the balance of power, since, by definition, a small state is unable to do so. In a multipolar system, one must imagine worlds in which every possible combination of great power alliance and capability is tested against the alignment of a small state to determine if, despite its relatively diminutive size, a small state's indigenous capability nonetheless alters the balance of power meaningfully.⁶²

In this project, I am specifically concerned about the security exchange behavior of the two bipoles of a bipolar system, which I refer to as great powers. I do so advisedly. First, by definition, a bipolar system has two great powers, which are the bipoles, so the terms are interchangeable given the scope condition of bipolarity. Second, as I argue later, it may be possible to loosen the assumption of bipolarity without losing the analytic power of the theory -- thus, for example, a unipole and a regional great power might exhibit the same characteristics in their alliance behaviors with small states as the great powers did during the Cold War.

⁶² See Ronald P. Barston, "The External Relations of Small States," in *Small States in International Relations*, eds. August Schou and Arne Olav Brundtland, 39-56, (Upsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1971), 46.

*Small states*⁶³

Defining a small state precisely is an elusive goal that depends almost entirely on the sort of analysis one is undertaking. One could use the same sort of criteria Waltz employs in identifying great powers, and set some arbitrary cut-off value in absolute or relative terms (for example population of x-million or military strength ranked in the bottom quartile). This has the disadvantage of excluding populous states which one might want to classify as “small” or militarily powerful states with small populations. It also presumes that power and influence in the international system can be readily inferred from these measures in a mathematical fashion; one can, perhaps, make reliable determinations about whether a system is bi- or multi-polar using these measures of power, but it is less clear that one could say something meaningful about the difference between the 50th and the 100th most powerful state.

Perhaps one can adopt a policy characteristic instead – Handel suggests that “[t]he main characteristic of weak states is, indeed, their *lack* of power or strength, and hence they are continuously preoccupied with the question of survival.”⁶⁴ The issues with this approach are numerous. First, a central tenet of realism holds that in an anarchic system all states are, to an extent, concerned about their survival, so the discriminating factor here is not just concerns about survival in some general way, but a preoccupation

⁶³ These are also called “weak” states in the literature on the topic, for example in Michael Handel, *Weak States in the International System* (London: Frank Cass, 1981). I eschew that usage here because it is now more strongly associated with Migdal’s *Strong Societies and Weak States*, which is an argument about relative domestic, rather than international, strength. See Joel Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). “Weak” was originally coined to ensure that people did not conflate geographical size with strength. This is less of a concern now, and since there are many internationally weak states that are nonetheless are stable and powerful domestically, I use “small.”

⁶⁴ Handel, *Weak States*, 10.

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therewith. But, of course, large, powerful states have significant defense establishments that do nothing but worry about military threats and potential doomsday scenarios and small states manage to do things other than obsessing about being conquered, so “preoccupation” becomes an even more nebulous and unhelpful concept than “small.” Second, it assumes that states exist outside of their surroundings and, thus, one can say useful things about a state’s survival prospects by simply knowing its absolute strength rather than its susceptibility to credible threats from proximate regional actors. This would lead one to such erroneous conclusions as: because West Germany was more powerful than Costa Rica throughout the Cold War, it was much less concerned about the question of its survival.

If neither some concrete numerical index of power ranking nor a policy orientation seems satisfactory, perhaps its political place in the international order of things is a better criteria – as Vital suggests:

To sum up, the small (or minor) power is that state which, in the long term, can constitute no more than a dispensable and non-decisive increment to a primary state’s total array of political and military resources regardless of whatever short term, contingent weight as an auxiliary (or obstacle) to the primary power it may have in certain circumstances.⁶⁵

Certain aspects of this definition are extremely desirable, yet its limitations must be observed. First, to say something is or is not relevant in the long term is to recall Keynes famous adage regarding time horizons.⁶⁶ Second, the second half of the definition, which regards the “short term, contingent weight” that a small state might give to a “primary power” in undefined “certain circumstances,” is unnecessarily dismissive. This is

⁶⁵ David Vital, “Small Power Politics,” in *Small States in International Relations*, eds. August Schou and Arne Olav Brundtland, (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1971), 19.

⁶⁶ In the long term, we’re all dead.

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because it insinuates that the weight to which it refers can never be decisive in any circumstance, but will at most be an auxiliary help. As I will demonstrate, small states can form a critical component of great power war plans and their efforts are regarded as neither dispensable nor non-decisive in the short-term during which a war would be conducted.

Nonetheless, those caveats aside, this definition is a powerful one. The defining characteristic of a small state, for my purposes, is that it plays a contingent role in a bipolar system. If it is relevant, it is only relevant insofar as it augments the capacity or resources of a great power to a meaningful degree. Once its capabilities or resources are no longer necessary, it fades into relative obscurity.

Geographic Constraints

Having determined that this theory is designed to operate in a world with two great powers and some contingently important small states, it remains to be shown which of these small states might be the object the sort of great power alliance behavior imagined here, and which might be governed by some other dynamic.

Assume, for simplicity's sake, that military power declines in a linear fashion with distance, that all non-great power states are of a uniform size, and that the two great powers are located on precisely opposite sides of a flat world. In this world, I will define a great power as a power which is able to defeat militarily any state or group of states which does not include the other great power. In this world, one can imagine the emergence of a perfect balance -- the great powers dominate the states closest to them, who would gain minimal assistance from the declining power projection of the opposite

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great power if they were to oppose their giant neighbor and therefore choose to bandwagon to ensure their own survival. As one approaches the mid-point between the great powers, the bargaining power of smaller states increases -- they are able to choose one great power or the other as the relative (geographically-constrained) power of the two behemoths equalizes. Nonetheless, if too many small states support one great power, the overall power of the bloc would increase to the point that a single great power could roll up the entire system and dominate the remaining small states. Thus, small states closer to the center have an incentive to balance, thereby ensuring their own autonomy. So, *ceteris paribus*, we would expect large homogenous blocs near the great powers and a mix of alliances in the center, with an overall equilibrium reached where no state has an incentive to defect from their alliance and thereby jeopardize their survival. In terms of alliance dynamics, the world can be divided into “bandwagoning” and “balancing” areas.⁶⁷

Extending this model, imagine that the great power had essential interests in only some states, meaning that a change in alignment of those states would somehow significantly impact the capabilities of the great powers vis a vis one another. One then might divide the world into three sorts of regions: bandwagoning regions near great powers, a balancing region where the great powers had no essential interest, and a balancing region where the great powers had essential interests.

In the bandwagoning region, it seems likely that the alliance policy of the local bipole is overdetermined. We might imagine a non-voluntary security/autonomy exchange dynamic occurring. The great power prevents encroachment by its rival by

⁶⁷ Karsh employs a similar sort of logic, which he uses to distinguish between “buffer states” and “rimstates,” in Efraim Karsh, “Geographical Determinism: Finnish Neutrality Revisited,” *Cooperation and Conflict* 21 (March 1986): 43-57.

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enforcing bandwagoning behavior on the part of nearby states and aggressively intervening to thwart potential deviations from the status quo. While the nearby small states lose the autonomy to choose to ally with the other great power, they receive the protection of their own great power from its predations. As mentioned earlier, this may be nearly costless to the great power, as it is forced to keep the requisite forces in place to thwart the rival bipole in any event (such as the American blue water navy protecting the Western hemisphere or the Soviet Army protecting Eastern Europe.)⁶⁸ On the other hand, we could equally well believe that the symbolic importance of protecting a sphere of influence and asserting power in its “own backyard” might be a strong motivation for bipoles to enforce bandwagoning. Or, in some cases, the capability aggregation argument might operate in favor of building and defending a buffer area, lest an overwhelming security threat emerge.

In the second sort of region, all the states are peripheral, regardless of their relative power (i.e., the most powerful state in an unimportant region is still unimportant). Thus, great power involvement in these areas makes sense from a symbolic or ideological perspective, but not a capability aggregation or security/autonomy one. From a signaling standpoint, it is an excellent venue for playing out symbolic conflicts without accidentally stumbling over worrisome tripwires. Great powers can show resolve to one another, can test the relative strength of their military hardware, and can demonstrate the robustness of their commitments to other allies without accidentally triggering a general war. This is because even if one’s proxies lose the consequences are not so catastrophic as to merit intentionally triggering a global conflict.

⁶⁸ For an expansion of this logic, see Glenn Palmer and J. Sky David, “Multiple Goals or Deterrence: A Test of Two Models in Nuclear and Nonnuclear Alliances,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (December 1999): 748-770.

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During the Cold War, an ideological logic motivated conflict in non-essential central regions on the part of both the US and USSR. The Soviet Union tended to support left-wing insurgencies throughout the world, even in strategically unimportant regions; the United States, for its part, was more than willing to expend resources to combat Communism in an almost reflexive manner at times. It is difficult to argue on non-ideological grounds how the alignment of poor African states had anything to do with the security posture of either superpower; nonetheless, both superpowers had factions of varying influence within their national security apparatus arguing a moral and historical imperative to ensure that the forces of “good” prevailed.

Finally, in the third sort of region, where there is an essential interest and the possibility of small states aligning with either great power, one would expect to see realist considerations in ascendance in the determination of alliance patterns.⁶⁹ There are a number of reasons for this. First, the cost of ideological purity is much higher -- rejecting a distasteful ally could mean accepting a major strategic disadvantage in the event of a war with the rival great power. Second, the stakes, and thus the cost of miscalculation, are also higher. The likelihood of triggering a general war in response to aggressive moves is significantly greater, given that either great power could decide that their strategic position had become untenable and could only be reversed by decisive action. Third, because the small states have the ability to balance, the cost of their “autonomy” is higher than in bandwagoning regions, and thus probably outweighs their individual ability to alter the status quo, thereby eliminating the cost-benefit rationale of the security/autonomy literature. Realist considerations ought to be consistently stronger

⁶⁹ For a summary and extension of the realist case in support of this approach, see Stephen Walt, “The Case for Finite Containment: Analyzing US Grand Strategy,” *International Security* 14 (Summer 1989): 5-49.

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predictors of great power alliance policy in essential balancing regions than in the other two types. Thus, this theory focuses explicitly on this type of region to the exclusion of the two others.

Before moving on, it is important to note that splitting the world into “essential” and “non-essential” areas requires a calculation of power and politics that is not without controversy. While it has a distinguished pedigree, including Morgenthau, Kennan, and Waltz, among others, it has also inspired a number of criticisms. First, it may be a distinction that simply does not exist. In the initial formulation of structural realism, although Waltz identified Europe, Japan, and the Middle East as critical regions, the control of which could alter the global balance of power,⁷⁰ he nonetheless argues the page before that “[i]n a bipolar world there are no peripheries. With only two powers capable of acting on a world scale, anything that happens anywhere is potentially of concern to both of them.”⁷¹ Second, it may be that states that could decisively impact a great power war are distributed all around the globe, so that a discussion of an essential region is misguided.⁷² Third, it could be that great powers determine which regions are “essential”

⁷⁰ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 172.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 171. As mentioned earlier, this tension between whether or not states other than the bipoles matter is addressed in Robert Jervis, *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 118-119.

⁷² Stephen David, “Why the Third World Matters,” *International Security* 14 (Summer 1989): 50-85. On p. 65, David notes: “Preparing for a protracted conventional war dramatically increases the importance of some Third World states by heightening the relevance of traditional concepts of strategy. The likelihood of a major conventional war (at least compared to that of a nuclear war) means that the United States must be concerned about choke points, strategic waterways, land bridges and sea lines of communication (SLOCs). Consequently, Third World states such as Morocco, Panama, Oman, and the Philippines acquire special importance. Of particular significance is the U.S. ability to secure access to military facilities in time of war while denying them to the Soviet Union. According to one analyst, the threat to sea lines of communication posed by Cuba, and potentially by Nicaragua, could cause the United States to lose a war in Europe. Preparing to neutralize these threats and forestalling additional Soviet footholds consequently become a pressing American concern. Moreover, it is critical that the United States be able to project forces into Third World areas that the Soviet Union deems critical for the successful prosecution of a conventional war. In a conventional war, the Soviet Union would probably attempt to maintain a defense perimeter that included Europe, southwest Asia and northern Africa. By making it clear to the Soviet

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to their interests based on historical memory,⁷³ socially intersubjective meanings,⁷⁴ or a variety of domestic institutional or cultural dynamics.⁷⁵ Thus, there would be no consistent and universally understood logic of strategic threat and capability that would render a longitudinal analysis of a region feasible. Fourth, the nature of “essential” might contain a symbolic component, so that a materially unimportant region might become critical because both great powers believed it so. Fifth, the very notion of “essential” may assume what it is supposed to prove – namely, that great power alliance policy is a function of a variety of factors, one of which is a subjective understanding of how a small state contributes to aggregate capability. If a region can be objectively understood as “essential” by an analyst, then including subjective factors in the analysis would seem superfluous. On the other hand, if the degree to which a region is important is a function of how it is understood to be important for great power conflict, then one might be accused of selecting on the dependent – i.e. looking for the power of perceived importance only in areas that are perceived as important.

These critiques hold important insight, but are not fatal to my theoretical approach. First, the belief that Western Europe, Japan, and the Middle East were critical areas that held special significance in US/USSR security competition is widely accepted by practitioners (e.g. Kennan), academics (e.g. Waltz), and politicians (e.g. Carter) alike. Even insofar as other states around the globe might be important in the defense of these areas, it is the security of these areas and not those other states that was the *sine qua non*

Union that these objectives would be denied them in the event of war (by, for example, maintaining U.S. access to military facilities in the relevant regions), American deterrence is enhanced.”

⁷³ Dan Reiter, *Crucible of Beliefs: Learning, Alliances, and World Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

⁷⁴ Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁷⁵ See Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

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of American and Soviet Cold War security postures. Thus, it seems justified to describe a region as “essential” while simultaneously acknowledging that bipoles can and do have interests elsewhere. Second, the meaning of “essential” from a security standpoint has a distinctly material basis that differentiates it from “generally important,” and it is this material basis that informs the present theory. Third, while constructivist and subjective approaches are both valid and integrated into this theoretical approach, even Katzenstein⁷⁶ and Wendt⁷⁷ acknowledge that there is a material basis for power differentiation in the world. The approach to geography used here does not require itself to be hegemonic or final; rather, it restricts itself to establishing scope conditions for the analysis of security alliances and arrangements. Because material resources are widely acknowledged to be extremely critical to physical security, and these regions contain those resources in abundance, then it seem reasonable to say they are essential for security purposes in the limited sense, even if they are not especially important in other (symbolic, ideational, etc) ways. Additionally, one cannot help but note a fairly stable ideation over time, as I will demonstrate empirically, about what does and does not constitute an essential region and which are more essential. While various thinkers have argued the limits of America’s Cold War commitment to Europe, I am unaware of any who have argued that that commitment was less significant than US involvement in Central Africa. Third, while the importance of a given region might be more or less stable over time, I seek to understand variation in the relative importance of states within

⁷⁶ “This does not mean that power, conventionally understood as material capabilities, is unimportant for an analysis of national security. States and other political actors undoubtedly seek material power to defend their security. But what other kinds of power and security do states seek and for which purposes?” Peter Katzenstein, “Introduction,” in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter Katzenstein, 1-32 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 2.

⁷⁷ See Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 331: “But where there is an imbalance of relevant material capability social acts will tend to evolve in the direction favored by the more powerful.”

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that region. Analyzing a balancing-type region where there are essential interests at stake prevents over-determined outcomes, has better portability, and speaks directly to extant literatures which have dealt with the politics in question.

Lack of active armed conflict

This theory pertains to great power rationales for engaging in security exchanges with small states. Much like Offense-Defense Theory seeks to explain the probability and onset of war, not its prosecution or final conclusion, the theories to be tested below are not meant to apply to political and alliance dynamics that emerge during armed conflict. In such situations, new signaling logics may operate, local factors germane to winning the conflict may overwhelm international considerations, and great powers may seize the opportunity to bedevil each other simply to attrit the resources available for potential global conflicts (e.g. the US strategy in Afghanistan). If a great power is involved in combat in a region, it is unlikely the political dynamics described below will obtain.

Conclusion

Given the diversity of great power motivations for alliance behaviors, clear scope conditions are necessary to create and test Perceived Strategic Value theory. In this section, I have defined “great power” in the conventional realist fashion and argued that a “small state” is one which is only contingently important to great power security competition. I restrict the theory to bipolarity for the time being, although I will relax this assumption later. I also argue that the world can be divided into three ideal-type

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regions and restrict this theory to regions in which the great powers have essential interests and the small states have the ability to balance.

Perceived Strategic Value (PSV) Theory

Premises

Perceived Strategic Value (PSV) Theory is an addition to contemporary structural realism that is a key component of Security Exchange Theory, and is key to understanding why great powers transfer security goods to small states in a bipolar system. As such, it adopts the standard premises of structural realism. The international system is anarchic and states are its constitutive unit. States wish to survive, and preserve their security by, among other things, amassing means by which they can defend themselves and do harm to others. In a bipolar system, this means that the two great powers are concerned primarily with one another, as each represents the only real security threat to the other. They both seek to allocate their resources in such a way as to maximize security for themselves.

For simplicity's sake, I treat the relationships in Security Exchange Theory as bilateral. The theoretical reasons for doing so are simple. If the PSV for one small state is causally related to the PSV's for every other small state, the determination of the causal antecedents of security exchanges would be impossible to calculate. Even if one could simultaneously determine the PSV for every small state in the world, the recursive dynamics of security exchanges would be such that as soon the system became dynamic (i.e., had more than a single time period) would become analytically intractable.

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This is not to suggest that, empirically, there are not significant military gains to be had by an interwoven alliance structure. In fact, in the American cases discussed in Chapter 4, aid allocated to security exchanges in the Middle East was allocated by Congress as a single pool for the region. It was subsequently divided by the relevant executive agencies, who were constrained to a zero-sum calculation when considering their security exchange strategies. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the available aid was limited, that the regional defense strategy stretched across multiple small states, and that improvements in the capabilities of one regional actor would have implications for potential threats faced by the others, the disbursement of aid and the evaluations of the small states proceeded on a bilateral basis. Apparently, the analytical complexities imposed by treating security exchanges multilaterally are daunting empirically as well as theoretically.

Perceived Strategic Value Theory

$$PSV = \text{Perception of } (Capability + Resources + Relevance)$$

In its most basic form, PSV asserts that the value a great power places on a small state, given the stated premises and conditions, is a function of the capability the small state possesses, the resources it can provide in wartime, and the utility it presents in terms of the great power's war plans. The strategic value of a small state then causes a great power transfer security goods in order to develop an ally that provides a security gain vis a vis its great power rival.

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H1: Ceteris paribus, the size of a security exchange between a small state and a great power will increase when the small state's capabilities, resources, or wartime relevance increases.

Dependent Variable: Security Exchanges

Security exchanges, in this theory, are the transfer of security resources from one state to another. This includes the transfer of personnel and equipment, the assignment of trainers, financing for military procurement, or the attachment of units. The key is that the transfer is meant to somehow contribute to the security of the great power even though it diminishes the pool of security resources controlled by the great power directly. As discussed previously, such transfers and their associated arrangements are quite puzzling theoretically, despite being quite common empirically.

Intermediate Variable: PSV

As discussed earlier, Waltz' structural realism predicts that great powers in a bipolar system will internally balance, given their overwhelming superiority in the production of military goods, industrial outputs, population, etc. Were these bipoles autarkies and neighbors, it is likely that this would be the case; since such a situation would seem to be unlikely in the contemporary world, we must consider the impact of external resource requirements and geographical separation.

As discussed in the previous chapter, geographical constraints can impose radical limits on a great power's ability to defend or alter the status quo. Thus, it is not sufficient to have a powerful military in absolute numerical terms -- that military must be able to

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project its power to defend its core interests against threats. This may require positioning of forces abroad in accordance with the dictates of military necessity. For example, while the US may have contributed the lion's share of NATO's overall power, had it not been able to plan on fighting Warsaw Pact forces on the European continent, it would have been hard-pressed to mount an invasion across the Atlantic.⁷⁸ Thus, NATO, among its other purposes, was designed to facilitate the rapid introduction of American conventional power into Europe⁷⁹ without the necessity of forced entry operations.⁸⁰

Modern militaries have enormous and diverse resource requirements, including strategic minerals, metals, and, of course, oil. While in previous eras it may have been highly likely that a great power could source its own defense needs from indigenous supply, this is rarely, if ever, still the case. Resource shortages stalled the German offensive in the Ardennes known as the Battle of the Bulge, resource concerns were a motivating factor in Japanese expansionism in the 1930s and 40s, and, of course, oil resources in the Middle East have been a focus of Western defense planning for the last 50 years.⁸¹

Thus, a great power pursuing security in a bipolar system requires a foreign policy that creates favorable military conditions for a potential conflict with its rival. Given finite resources, it must build security arrangements such that it maximizes its aggregate

⁷⁸ This is what Mearsheimer means by "the stopping power of water" and why America is said to be protected by its oceans. John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (London: Norton, 2001), 114-125. However, it is important to remember that, speaking in conventional terms, the obstacle presented by such a formidable barrier works both ways.

⁷⁹ Which was rehearsed biennially during the Cold War in massive REFORGER (Return of Forces to Germany) exercises.

⁸⁰ A term that includes a panoply of operations beyond just amphibious assaults.

⁸¹ See Martin Van Creveld, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Copeland argues for the importance of strategic minerals in determining state propensity towards war. See Dale Copeland, "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations," *International Security* 20 (Spring 1996): 5-11.

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capabilities, its resources, and the efficiency with which they both are employed. This triumvirate – capability, resources, and relevance – is the basis upon which a great power determines the extent to which a security exchange with a small state is warranted. It is the source of the small state’s Perceived Strategic Value to the great power.

This is closely related to, but is not the same as, the subjective component of capability aggregation discussed in the previous chapter. The differences are subtle, but extremely important, for without them the argument is entirely circular (i.e. great powers think particular small states are important because they think they are important for a number of reasons). The PSV is the value of a small state to a great power as a participant in security relationship or alliance, which causes the great power to offer security exchanges as inducements to secure such an agreement and investments in the development of future capability. PSV is an intermediate variable that introduces a unifying subjectivity into great power security calculations – it is not simply the subjective evaluation of capability, resources, and relevance taken separately. Rather it is the internal strategic logic employed by the great power to combine these individual components into a coherent whole around which policy can form.

Nonetheless, there are a wide variety of reasons a great power might perceive a small state as important under bipolarity in keeping with the theories discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, the key question is not simply “does a great power find a particular small state important?” but “why?” and, most importantly for this project, “which is the more powerful explanation among these hypotheses?”

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Capability

As discussed in the previous chapter, capability aggregation is a rationale for alliance behavior based on the subjective belief about the utility of combining force size, technology, doctrine, and geography. When applied to the present scope conditions and theoretical question, it becomes possible to derive observable implications about great power security exchange behavior under bipolarity in balancing-type regions. These follow the pattern: because an increase in X results in an improvement of perceived relative capability, there is an increase in perceived strategic value, which causes an increase in the magnitude of security exchanges. Great powers believe that the aggregated capabilities thus created increase their relative power against their rivals.

This is most obvious in terms of force size – a large military could have a useful marginal impact on a great power's war plans, if nothing else because it would allow it to allocate its own forces generated through internal balancing elsewhere. Thus, one would expect to see more security assistance and arms transfers allocated to small states with large armies in order to induce them to cooperate with great power strategies and to enhance the per soldier lethality of their forces.

Technology is a more difficult subcomponent of capability to discuss than force size, because, in non-obvious ways, more is not always better. That is to say, if a high-technology great power is partnering with a lower technology small state, it will get more utility out of the man-power the small state has dedicated to high-payoff, low-technology tasks (e.g. anti-tank teams) than it will from a small state's ill-equipped and poorly trained higher-technology arms that essentially duplicate functions better performed by the great power (e.g. its air force). However, this is a U-shaped relationship -- at some

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point, the small state's military may become proficient enough to field the full range of great power technologies, at which point it will aggregate force size in a linear fashion. Moreover, a great power has the ability to invest in a small state's ability to absorb its technology (through military trainers, technical experts, etc). Thus, one would expect to see higher levels of security assistance and arms transfers to very low technology or very high technology small states OR to small states with medium technology that rank highly on other subcomponents of capability (force size, geography, or doctrine).

That geography is in some way relevant to international security is a nearly ubiquitous claim. It is among the "two main factors that determine whether the offense or the defense has the advantage" (the other being technology).⁸² It "insulates states from invasion or strangulation."⁸³ It means that "any weapon that relates to peculiarities of terrain will be supportive of the defense."⁸⁴ It is a "critical factor" the "implications" of which "are perhaps the least controversial of all the factors that affect the offense-defense balance."⁸⁵ It determines "the relative weight" of the benefits of offense versus defense.⁸⁶ "Geography and technology can affect the intensity and character of balancing behavior."⁸⁷ It can limit doctrinal options because "a blitzkrieg can only operate in

⁸² Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," in *Offense, Defense, and War*, ed. Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004), 29.

⁸³ Stephen Van Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 163.

⁸⁴ George H. Quester, "Offense and Defense in the International System," in *Offense, Defense, and War*, ed. Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004), 53.

⁸⁵ Charles Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann, "What Is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?" in *Offense, Defense, and War*, ed. Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004), 286.

⁸⁶ Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and the Disasters of 1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 21.

⁸⁷ Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 65.

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terrain that is conducive to mobile armored warfare.”⁸⁸ It transmits power by land but not by sea⁸⁹ or threat by sheer physical proximity.⁹⁰ It shelters insurgents and alters rates of mechanization.⁹¹ It undeniably matters, the question is: how?

Terrain has differential impacts on different sorts of militaries, and may give one force a decisive maneuver advantage over another in places where “maneuver” is not the first word that springs to mind. This differential impact is what Glaser and Kaufman mean by, “the impact of geography is often asymmetric,” meaning “the effect of geography is to shift one directional balance of the dyad toward defense, while the other is unaffected or even shifted toward offense.” No geography is essentially defensive or offensive by its very nature. The key element in the relationship between geography and political outcomes is its perceived importance to the great power and not something inherent to a particular fact about the earth’s surface. Thus, to the extent that a great power believes a particular geographic trait of a small state would be useful or necessary to winning a war against its counterpart, it will increase the level of security assistance and arms transfers in order to maintain access to that geographical feature.

Doctrine, as a component of capability, should not be confused with war plan relevance, which will be discussed later. As a matter of course, military establishments (great power or otherwise) have beliefs about the efficacy of various methods of force employment given a certain terrain and opposing force. A small state that insisted on employing its forces in an ill-advised fashion (in the eyes of a great power) would be worth less than an identical small state that employed their forces to maximum effect.

⁸⁸ John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 43.

⁸⁹ Mearsheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*.

⁹⁰ Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

⁹¹ Todd S. Sechser and Elizabeth N. Saunders, “The Army You Have: The Determinants of Military Mechanization, 1979-2001,” *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (June 2010): 481-511.

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One could object that this is a fairly obvious thing to say, given that militaries do not intentionally employ their forces ineffectively. However, the key element here is that the small state might have numerous security concerns, such as other small states⁹² or internal threats,⁹³ while a great power in a bipolar system is focused on the other bipole. Thus, the great power would prefer that a small state configure its armed forces to assist in the military defeat of the other great power. To the extent that there is a perceived doctrinal congruence between the great power and the small state, one should see an increase in great power willingness to engage in security exchanges.

Resources

The claim that a great power might value a small state to the extent that it can extract resources from that state is deeply unspectacular. I make a much narrower claim: under the scope conditions described above, a great power's valuation of small states in terms of security exchanges is based in part on the extent to which those states are believed to be able to supply the necessary resources for a war with the other great power. There's quite a bit going on in this claim, so I will discuss its critical elements separately.

First, this is a theory about security exchanges, and the relationship of those political acts to great power beliefs. It adopts a security-focused paradigm that understands "security" in the limited sense of physical security and not broader conceptions of economic or human security. This means that while a small state might

⁹² For discussions of the difference between great power and small state security considerations and their tactical responses thereto, see Walt, *Origins of Alliances*, or L. Carl Brown, *International Politics and the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

⁹³ Stephen R. David, "Explaining Third World Alignment," *World Politics* 43 (January 1991): 233-256.

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have resources that are quite useful to economic growth or valuable culturally or instrumental in addressing a collective issue like global warming, I am interested in those resources if and only if they are believed to contribute materially to the ability of one great power to make war on the other. If they do so, this will impact the incentives made available for such small states to join security arrangements.

Second, because this is an argument not just about the presence of resources but the purposes to which they are to be put (war), it is able to be specific about the sort of resources which will be the object of strategic value. A great power needs sufficient resources to put a military in the field and desires to deny its opponent the ability to do the same. If both the great powers have a surplus of a given resource, in terms of their planned wartime consumption, then even though it may be nice to have for other reasons that resource will not be an object of strategic imperatives. This also generates variation in resources over time, as war plans change and demands shift, which can cause some resource pools to become more valuable and others to become less so (for example, prior to the creation of petroleum-based synthetic rubber, rubber trees were an important strategic resource; afterwards, they were not.)

Third, it places resource requirements within a broader strategic concept and dictates the logic under which a resource-rich state might become more or less valuable. There are states with large oil reserves that neither the US nor the USSR took great pains to bring into security arrangements (as will be discussed in the following chapters), which would be quite odd if resources, as a variable, were a reliable predictor of great power behavior. It is not sufficient that a small state merely have the resources, it must supply them in wartime, which means that the great power must be able to transport them from

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their point of origin, through whatever processing and logistics channels are required, to the place on the battlefield where they are needed. Resources nominally under one's control that cannot be extracted or processed when needed are not worth much. Because the war in which they are envisioned as necessary must include at least the possibility of being a global conflict, and one that is necessarily with a high-technology great power, the possibility of efforts to interdict these resources by the other great power is extremely high.

The operationalization of this variable is straightforward. To the extent that a great power articulates a belief that a given resource in a given small state is important for security reasons, that state should receive higher levels of security exchanges.

Relevance

Two aspects of strategic value of been discussed thus far: capability aggregation and resources. The former addresses how a small state might be of aid to a great power's overall combat effectiveness, the latter how a small state's resources might contribute to a great power's wartime logistic requirements. Neither addresses directly how one great power intends to fight the other. This is the purpose of relevance – it exists in conversation with the other two elements by determining how military resources will be allocated, how small states can contribute, what the essential areas in a particular region are, and what can feasibly be conquered or defended.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ The contingent nature of small state value is discussed in Michael Desch, *When the Third World Matters: Latin American and United States Grand Strategy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). Desch distinguishes between “intrinsically valuable areas,” which are useful in and of themselves, and “extrinsically valuable areas,” which are useful insofar as they preserve access to an intrinsically valuable area. While a useful contribution, the systematic identification of variables that determine a states status as one type or another is underspecified. PSV provides a more rigorous platform from which to undertake the analysis of great power strategy vis-à-vis small states.

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As discussed in the previous chapter, creating broad categories of force employment such as “offensive” and “defense” or “blitzkrieg” and “attrition” leaves much to be desired. On the other hand, delving into the nitty-gritty of military planning quickly ventures onto the terrain of historians rather than political scientists. The key is to relate the technical aspects of war plans to the political behavior under scrutiny. I do so by analyzing the following questions: what is the nature of the force presently available to the great power? What are the tasks it must accomplish? How does the great power plan to accomplish those tasks given those forces? How can a small state assist in near-term? How can a small state assist in the long-term? I shall discuss each in turn.

The nature of the force available to the great power speaks to both its size and composition. For example, a large combined arms force under control of the great power in the most critical region of a global conflict would presumably be allocated to the central front, where its high technology, cohesive training, and organizational efficiency would allow it to generate maximum combat power on land and air. By contrast, a large air force with only a small supporting ground element would have, by necessity, a much different scope of responsibility and area of operation.

The tasks that a force is meant to accomplish are based on the global war plan and where the essential terrain and resources lie. A force could be required to hold a piece of terrain for its value to other fronts, or be required to prevent the interdiction of an essential resource, thus forcing it to defend a front as far forward as possible in order to prevent air attack. It could also be tasked to seize a key logistics hub, fix a large enemy force in place, ensure the interdiction of a vital conduit, or simply act as a feint for the main effort.

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The combination of available forces and essential tasks then determines a baseline great power war plan. War plans establish what forces are to be allocated to which tasks, where they are to be located at the commencement of hostilities, and where they are to be moved subsequently. This, in turn, will determine which geographic features facilitate those tasks and where shortfalls exist that must be made up elsewhere.

The logistic requirements to move great power forces into place in terms of both geography and resources, along with the capability aggregation possibilities presented by a small state's capabilities and a great power's plans then determine the assistance a small state can offer to the great power. Returning to the examples listed previously, if the great power had a large combined arms force that was to be reinforced via transatlantic flights linking up with pre-positioned equipment in order to fight on a central front, then a high technology small state could contribute positioning for weapons stockpiles, logistic assistance, and a supporting effort elsewhere in theater to allow the concentration of the great power's forces. Alternatively, if a great power intended to interdict a choke point along a key line of communication with a large air wing and a small ground contingent, then a low technology small state could offer air basing and some minimal local security. We would expect the former small state to be more important than the latter, and thus the recipient of a larger security assistance and military aid package.

However, great powers are also able to anticipate future defense needs by examining current trends. Thus, in addition to aligning with small states that fill a useful security function in the near term, great powers are also able to invest in developing small state capabilities such that they can contribute to future war plans. There are two reasons for this. First, the war plan that exists today might be optimal given present resource

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constraints, but could be improved upon substantially if new resources were developed. For example, a training program invested in a small state could increase its capacity to integrate high-technology arms transfers and contribute forces to support an improved strategic concept. Alternatively, a great power could invest heavily in infrastructural improvements to facilitate force throughput of its own. Second, while some military changes are unexpected and revolutionary, others can be foreseen well in advance. As a great power's rival changes its force structure, the great power must perforce alter its plans and structures to meet the new challenges. This constant updating of force size, doctrine, and technology changes the perceived relevance of various geographies and the usefulness of some small states. To the extent these changes can be anticipated, great powers prefer to be proactive rather than reactive.

Falsifiability and Causality

The integration of perception into security behavior runs a significant risk of veering into the tautological – because states believe their security is important, a particular security policy must be a function of a belief in its importance; were it not important, it would not have happened. This makes falsification difficult, since objective factors “count” only in so far as they are subjectively perceived and the internal cognitive processes of the actor can be discerned only vis a vis their actions given a set of objective factors. Anything can be predicted and explained, nothing can be conclusively dismissed.

Happily, while this may be a significant issue for the assessing the cognition of individual human beings, crawling into the thought process of a state is within the realm

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of the possible. In order to direct the state apparatus, it is necessary to communicate assessments, purposes, and desired outcomes. Thus, one ought to be able to observe PSV at work in archival data. This theory can be falsified in number of ways. PSV would fail as a theory under the following conditions: if security assistance is distributed on an ideological or symbolic basis in essential regions; if evaluations of capability, resources, and relevance are not tied to security exchanges; if the basis of security exchanges is mostly a mechanical assessment designed to optimize total capability; if great powers judge capability on some other set of metrics (fighting spirit, racial stereotypes) than those enumerated here; if resource procurement is considered outside the purview of the security establishment; or if war plans are built to be reactive rather than proactive (or don't involve allies at all).

In addition to concerns about falsifiability, one might also wonder about the extent to which the allocation of aid informs the emergence of war plans and capabilities, rather than vice versa. I argue that the causal arrow is clear – capabilities, resources, and relevance interact with perception and small state procurement strategies to form PSV, which induces security exchanges to gain cooperation and develop in future capabilities. However, this causal chain is susceptible to disproof – if great powers are highly susceptible to sunk cost arguments, if the budget process drives strategy, or if military sales have their own independent logic, then planners may be responding to aid, rather than vice versa.

Finally, it is important to note two things about military planning. First, states have “a right to be wrong.” That is to say, their beliefs about warfare and the optimal path to security might, in retrospect, turn out to be deeply flawed. These flaws, however,

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are only a problem for PSV if they are wildly erratic and lead to unstable plans and behaviors; if a great power produces doctrine, which it publishes internally and informs its beliefs about the world, we should be able to observe and test the extent to which beliefs about security, great power competition, and the military utility of small states drive security exchanges. Second, there is more than one way to be right. PSV is an important corrective to mechanistic and strictly objective approaches to security because it accounts for the reality that there may be multiple paths to security that seem reasonable to the great powers. This theory doesn't preselect an approach (e.g. blitzkrieg is always better than attrition); rather, it creates space for the great power defense establishment to debate the utility of various warfighting doctrines, make a choice, and then try to optimize its capabilities based on the strategy it has chosen.

Section Summary

In this section, I create a theory that explains why a great power would offer a security exchange to a small state. To do so, I first establish the necessary scope conditions under which my theory most clearly operates: bipolarity, a world composed of great powers and small states, a balancing-type region with essential resources, and a lack of great power armed conflict. I then create the dependent variable, security exchanges. Security exchanges, in which a great power transfers resources to a small state, are caused by the small state's Perceived Strategic Value (PSV). PSV is an intermediate variable that is a function of a strategic logic that combines capability aggregation (the perceived impact of combining force size, technology, geography, and doctrine),

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resources, and relevance (available forces, necessary tasks or objectives, near-term plans, and long-term plans.)

Part II: Omnibalancing

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

I fear the Greeks, even when they bring gifts.

-Aeneid, Book 2⁹⁵

This project seeks to understand security exchanges in two ways. First, it asks why great powers choose to transfer security resources from their own control to a small state. It then develops and tests the proposition that they do so on the basis of those states' anticipated utility in a future conflict with another great power, or, in terms of the theory, their Perceived Strategic Value. However, small states are not simply the stage upon which great power security competition is played out. Nor, importantly, do they have the same sets of concerns and constraints as great powers. Thus, small state security behaviors are not simply a mirror-image of great power strategies. There is an independent logic at work for small states, and it is that logic that I address here.

Before discussing how small states approach security exchanges, I will establish why they do so at all. The argument will proceed in the following fashion: first, I will explain why security exchanges impose costs on the small states that receive them and not just the great powers that give them. Second, I will argue deductively that small states face internal challenges that differ in both degree and kind from those faced by great powers. These internal challenges place demands and constraints on small state alliance

⁹⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Stanley Lombardo (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2005), 28.

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behaviors. Third, I will theorize how external threats differ for great powers and small states, and why this difference complicates security exchanges. Fourth, I will argue that addressing internal and external threats draws on the same limited pool of security resources but deploys them according to different logics. Determining the optimum mix of internal/external and regional/global strategies develops the small state's ideal omnibalancing strategy. It is this ideal strategy that forms the initial bargaining position of the small state.

Why security exchanges are costly

It is not a puzzle to explain why rational actors would engage in rent-taking behaviors. If the costs of security exchanges are all borne by the great power patron, then every small state ought to pursue the identical strategy – maximize aid in the present and determine whether to defect if and when the opportunity to do so arises in the future. If PSV is solely a function of great power strategies for war with the other great power and all small states are equally likely to defect, then there is no reason at all to develop a theory of small state decision-making. However, the empirical variation in small state strategies, in combination with the strength of PSV as theory of great power behavior, indicates that either small states are only intermittently rational (an unsatisfying conclusion) or that there are multiple strategies employed by rational actors, some of which include the rejection of security exchanges. Since it is logically incoherent to assert that a rational actor would decline costless goods, there must be some cost borne by the small states. Empirically, these costs take three broad forms: costs from aid conditionality, costs from operational expenses, and costs from exposure to risk.

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Aid conditionality is the most obvious type of cost, and is most prevalent in the literature. With this type of cost, a great power transfers some security good destined to be used in support of the great power's objectives, often in the future. However, in order to obtain the aid the small state must send some costly signal of its commitment in the present. Alternatively, the great power objective might exist in the present and the aid could be contingent upon the small state's facilitation of that objective. For example, the United States exacted a cost in terms of access to geography and sold the Saudi government military equipment conditional on that access, which I discuss in detail in Chapter 4. Conditionality can also operate more broadly, from protection of civil liberties⁹⁶ to UN votes to support of the great power's vision regarding the international status quo (the "autonomy" in the security-autonomy literature). In any event, the unifying characteristic of costs imposed by conditionality is that they do not inhere in the nature of security goods themselves, but rather in the stipulations of the transfer. Thus, security goods could be costly to great powers and costless to small states in and of themselves and carry conditionality costs. Of course, if the aid is costless to the small states, then a strategy of aid maximization would continue to dominate, subject to the additional consideration that a small state would consider overall cost (aid minus conditions) and not just the value of the aid. This is the strategy often employed by the literature, and, as discussed in Chapter 1, is fairly unsatisfactory.

Security exchanges also impose operational costs. In order to utilize the security aid at all, it must be stored, maintained, repaired, and manned. The creation of the requisite logistical apparatus and the necessary human capital may not be funded as part

⁹⁶ Robert Chamberlain, "With Friends Like These: Grievance, Governance, and Capacity-Building in COIN," *Parameters—US Army War College Quarterly* XXXVIII (Summer 2008): 79-90.

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of the initial aid package and is almost never funded in perpetuity. Moreover, optimizing the logistical support chain, both doctrinally and technologically, for a particular type of platform limits the aid recipient's ability to procure arms of a different type.

For example: suppose a state is offered a large quantity of AK-47s (an assault rifle) and an initial allotment of ammunition (7.62 mm). The AK-47 has a maximum effective range of 500 meters and a fully-automatic setting that can fire an entire 30-round magazine in a single burst. It is incredibly durable, has relatively few parts, and requires only intermittent cleaning. Now suppose this state wishes to shift from the AK-47 to the M-16 (another kind of assault rifle.) The M-16 fires a smaller bullet (5.56 mm) so the ammunition is not interchangeable. This requires tracking and supplying two different calibers of small arms ammunition. The M-16 has a maximum effective range of 400 meters and no fully automatic setting, and so will require retraining for soldiers who carry it (and will require two different training plans if a unit has a mixture of the two.) The M-16 has a more complicated mechanism and requires frequent cleaning, which will require more replacement parts, the distribution of cleaning kits, and further retraining. During the entire period of transition, units will be at lower readiness, training time will be spent on basic tasks rather than higher-order exercises, and the logistics system will have an outsize burden in updating the requirements for ammunition and spare parts. Each additional weapon type poses a cost on a state, and the transition costs from one to the other are high. Thus, even if this state would prefer to use the M-16 *ceteris paribus*, after it fields the AK-47 it will stick with it as long as the margin of difference between the two rifles does not exceed the transition costs. The costs

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identified in this example only become more acute as the technologies become more complex.

Finally, the incorporation of security exchanges of all but the most basic varieties creates vulnerabilities of its own. Modern warfare consumes ammunition, fuel, and spare parts at a tremendous rate. Absent an indigenous capability to produce and stockpile those items, the recipient of the transfer is at the mercy of the giver for its future utilization. However, it is important to understand that this cost goes beyond simply the set of technologies transferred and extends to the recipient's armed forces as a whole. This is because modern warfare achieves maximum effect through the synchronous action of multiple technologies or, put more simply, through "combined arms." Militaries plan for, and spend a great deal of time training for, operations in which the branches work together because when capabilities are employed one at a time they are much less effective. Thus, if all the tanks start running out of spare parts or the artillery runs out of ammunition or the air force runs out of jet fuel the entire force is put in jeopardy and there is not likely to be an immediate substitute for the missing capability that is readily available, since maintaining multiple suppliers of major end items is costly for the reasons enumerated above. While these examples have concentrated on physical resources, the same can also be said for headquartering arrangements, command and control systems, or whole units. Ultimately, security exchanges often come with strings attached, require both initial and on-going expenditure to maintain, and create a unique set of risks in future combat. These are the costs of a security exchange to a small state.

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Internal threats

This project differentiates great powers and small states on the basis of power, and specifically the ability to generate physical security. Great powers cannot be defeated militarily by any coalition that does not include at least one other great power; however, small states possess rather minimal military capabilities and thus have a much more fraught security environment. Until this point, threats have been discussed from the perspective of the great power and in the language of a unitary state; thus, threats are necessarily all external to the state in question, as it has no interiority. This mode of analysis is less useful in understanding the security environment of small states, and in this section I will open the black box of the small state and address the internal threats that inform small state alliance behavior.

While perhaps empirically useful, it would be theoretically unsatisfying to simply assert an ad hoc distinction between great powers and small states that posits that great powers have only external threats while small states must address both external and internal threats. Instead, I will show that all states face both types of threat. I will then demonstrate that by using only the distinguishing characteristic already employed thus far in the project (“power,” as defined above,) I am able to justify excluding great power internal threats from my theory of security exchanges while including those of small states. I will then go on to argue that, unlike great powers, small state security exchange strategies consider internal as well as external threats.

There are two categories of internal threats faced by a state: threats from within the state apparatus (such as military coups) and threats from society as a whole (such as revolutions.) Both are a constant reality for all states, big and small. The reasons for this

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are straightforward and fairly unavoidable. It is not controversial to claim that the creation of a Weberian state is a resource-intensive affair and that the establishment of a monopoly on legitimate violence requires considerable overmatch in security capabilities. States have invested in these capabilities because if they did not violent entrepreneurs from within their own societies would seize resources for their own benefit. These resources can range from valuable commodities to be traded abroad, the control of people to provide exploitable labor, or social and political authority to be leveraged into desired outcomes -- the goal of the dissident entrepreneur is not particularly relevant to the discussion at hand. What is important is that non-state actors have a constant incentive to seize some or all of the resources controlled by the state to be put towards their own ends -- these are the threats from society. However, in dealing with this threat power is concentrated in the security apparatus, and a new pool of dissident entrepreneurs may be created with the ability to maximize their perceived utility through seizure of the state apparatus. This is the threat from within the state.

Neither of those threats is unique to small states. Even in America's unipolar era, it is faced with armed separatist movements that attack state officials, refuse to pay taxes, and assert their sovereignty over (admittedly quite small) tracts of land. The U.S. maintains an internal security apparatus designed to address these threats in the form of myriad overlapping local, state, and federal agencies with a vast array of surveillance and paramilitary capabilities. The U.S. also retains the ability to deploy military formations from its National Guard to quell widespread civil disturbances and has done so in the past. Other great powers have additional capabilities such as domestic spy agencies, large-scale political prison complexes, and vast informant networks. The threat from

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within the state is also a concern for great powers, regardless of regime type, and active steps are taken to circulate officers, build organizational redundancy, and avoid the concentration of coercive power in the office a single individual or a small clique.

Given that all states face these threats, the first important distinction to be made between great powers and small states is their capacity to address internal threats and impose order. Many (though certainly not all) small states face challenges of low per capita GDP, expansive and rugged territory, and rapid population growth. These factors stress the ability of the state to obtain the Weberian ideal of monopolization of legitimate violence, as state presence may be quite transient for many members of society. Further, there is a trade-off between expanding efficient state capacities to address the challenges and creating redundant organizations to address within-state threats. Great powers have enormous resources at the disposal of the state and are able to pay the costs necessary to both impose hierarchy on society and police the state security apparatus. By contrast, small states often have fewer resources and exist in an internal state of semi-anarchy.

Thus far I have discussed security capacity in terms of a state/society ratio – great powers have more state capacity relative to their societies than small states do. However, this is, in many ways, an empirical rather than a theoretical claim. There certainly exist small states in Europe that have high GDPs, a relatively strong state, and no imminent threat from within the state. Nonetheless, there is an additional vulnerability faced by small states; namely, great powers have the ability to generate significant internal threats in small states by introducing resources that overwhelm that state's ability to effectively control either society or threats from within. Therefore, it is necessary to consider not

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only the ratio of state/society security capabilities, but also differential between great power and small state security capabilities.

Great powers are able to “internally balance” against domestic threats not simply because of their advantages over their societies, but because of their overwhelming capabilities relative to other states. While it is true that great powers have made a habit of attempting to interfere in one another’s domestic politics in order to foment coups and rebellions, those efforts have seldom, if ever, yielded results. This is certainly not the case in small states. From Hungary to Guatemala to Belgium, great powers have demonstrated an ability to crush civil disturbances, change regimes, and even create states in order to suit their purposes. Thus, the internal semi-anarchy that distinguishes small states from great powers is a function of both internal and external realities. The internal stability of a small state is contingent, to a degree, on the policies of great powers.

It is here that the connection between small state internal threats and security exchanges becomes clear. While great powers “internally balance” in order to create domestic hierarchy, the ineluctable semi-anarchy faced by small states drives them to seek resources to support their internal security. An agreement with a great power that generates a security exchange can both enhance the ability of the state to control society and placate threats from within the state through pay-offs. While great powers make offers based on Perceived Strategic Value, small states may elect to bear the costs associated with security exchanges in part due to internal threats.

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External threats

Small states face a litany of external threats to their security. Great powers can, and do, use violence directly to obtain political outcomes in small states. Small states can find themselves drawn into conflicts between great powers, voluntarily or involuntarily. Small states also face threats from states that are of no significant threat to a great power. Obviously, small states face external threats to a greater degree than great powers do. However, small states also face threats that differ in kind. Specifically, unlike great powers, small states exist in semi-anarchy externally as well as internally (assuming a world of great power security competition.) Thus, small states differentiate between regime and state preservation, small states act as though military results are temporary and reversible, and small states are willing to tolerate risk in the global great power security competition in order to address more immediate regional threats.⁹⁷ In this section, I will address each of these points in turn.

The conflation of state and regime in many third-image theories is a reasonable and useful analytical tool for understanding great power politics. In security terms, the destruction of the regime by an external power historically required the destruction of the state apparatus that generated the military resources that regime controlled.⁹⁸ Even a successful “decapitation strike” that killed the titular head of the regime would preserve a state apparatus that would spontaneously generate a replacement. By contrast, there are numerous examples of a small state regime being violently replaced through external intervention during which the bureaucratic and economic apparatus of the state continued

⁹⁷ David, “Explaining Third World Alignment,” 235: “... leaders of states will appease – that is, align with – secondary adversaries so that they can focus resources on prime adversaries.”

⁹⁸ In Schelling’s terms, victory was a necessary prerequisite for punishment. See Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 13.

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to function smoothly. Therefore, small state security policy, which is controlled by a regime atop a state, must focus itself on the preservation of the regime and not simply the state because the regime may face dire threats that have only a tangential involvement with the state as such. This point is important, because is the analytical fulcrum that connects the internal and external threats discussed in this chapter. Following omnibalancing approaches, it is the regime, not the state, whose logic is the object of analysis in Security Exchange Theory.

Earlier, I argued that small states face a unique internal threat environment in part because great powers have the ability to create serious internal threats at relatively low cost to themselves. Thus, small states are caught in what I call semi-anarchy.⁹⁹ This analysis extends to their external affairs as well. Brown refers to a semi-anarchical system as a “penetrated political system,” that is, “a system that is neither effectively absorbed by the outside challenger nor later released from the outsider’s smothering embrace;” thus, “the politics of a thoroughly penetrated society is not adequately explained – even at the local level – without reference to the influence of the outside system.”¹⁰⁰ Systems of small states are inherently penetrated, such that neither their domestic politics nor their intra-regional security competition can be understood outside of great power rivalry. Great powers maintain an ability to reverse the gains of small

⁹⁹ This differentiates my approach from David’s, which “rests on the assumptions that leaders are weak and illegitimate and that the stakes for domestic politics are very high – conditions that are much more common in the Third World than elsewhere.” See, “Explaining Third World Alignment,” 236. By contrast, my theory does not require an assumption that the regime is relatively weak domestically or that it lacks legitimacy, only that it is much less powerful than a great power.

¹⁰⁰ Brown, *International Politics and the Middle East*, 4-5.

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state regimes both internally and externally. Thus, victories are forever temporary and major intraregional conflicts are subject to “management” by the great powers.¹⁰¹

Because some greater power has the ability to avert a small state regime’s destruction even in the aftermath of military defeat, it is imprecise to assert that these regimes operate in anarchy in the same fashion as great powers. Great powers are internally hierarchical and face the real prospect of complete destruction if they are decisively defeated militarily by their great power rival(s). Small states are unable to create an internal hierarchy, but are also able to rely on other self-interested patrons to intervene to prevent a total defeat. Thus, following Brown, the external security behavior of small states should be more risk-tolerant than great powers, be relatively focused on short-term, limited victories, and be solicitous of great power participation in order to check the ambitions of rivals. Thus, while a great power might prefer that all states focus their energies on the maintenance of a global alliance strategy to aid in its pursuit of survival in an anarchic world, its clients will be willing to upset that strategy in order to deal with more immediate (in both the geographic and temporal sense of the word) threats and opportunities in the semi-anarchy that great power competition creates for small states.

The limited fungibility of security resources

Thus far I have argued that small state regimes face a litany of threats: internal threats from both state and society, internal threats generated by great powers, external threats from regional competitors, and external threats from great powers. Like any

¹⁰¹ This is one explanation for Fazal’s finding that states deaths have declined precipitously in the post-1945 period. See Tanisha M. Fazal, “State Death in the International System,” *International Organization* 58 (Spring 2004): 339.

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scheme of classification, the merits of this approach are to be judged by whether or not it provides useful analytical leverage on a question of interest. Therefore, in this section I demonstrate that there are natural incompatibilities between the ideal-type security arrangements that meet each of these four types of threats.

Threats and Security Postures of Small States		
	Regional	Global
Internal	Distributed	Client
External	Independent	Integrated

The external-global threat, or threats generated against small states by great powers, are best met through an integrated security plan that aggregates the capabilities of the small state with some great power that will come to its aid in the event of conflict. The small state, by definition, has no hope of mounting an independent defense of its territory against the predations of a great power. Since a great power can only be defeated by some coalition that includes another great power, the small state must not only enter such a coalition, it must actively seek to ensure its success by maximizing the effectiveness of coalition forces and by inducing great power participation in the event of conflict. Both these goals can be met through the introduction of great power forces, headquarters, or trainers onto the national territory of the small state, developing forces within the small state that complement the forces provided by the great power, and by ceding wartime control of small state forces to a great power commander. For all these reasons, I will refer to this as an “Integrated” security posture.

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External-regional threats, by contrast, require space for autonomous action on the part of a small state to rapidly seize and exploit opportunities or to mount a successful independent defense until great powers step in to mediate the conflict. This force is built for rapid, conventional, combined-arms conflicts – therefore, it must maintain operational independence, be logistically self-sufficient, and have the full suite of military capabilities at its disposal. It must also maintain control of its rear areas, which means keeping the units of other regional actors out of its territory. In stark contrast to the Integrated force, it cannot afford to invest in niche capabilities, nor to cede key command and control nodes to outside organizations, nor to allow basing rights to possible competitors. Thus, I will refer to this as an Independent security arrangement, which exists in clear tension with the integrative logic demanded by global-external threats.

Both the Integrative and Independent security arrangements are driven by a military logic that optimally positions forces to meet external threats. However, internal threats are governed by a domestic political logic. First, I will discuss internal-regional threats, which are those that are neither generated by great power resources nor governed by great power ideological conflict. These threats refer to the constellation of challenges generated by dissident entrepreneurs in both state and society.¹⁰² Because they do not involve a great power, it is possible that the small state has the capability to deal with these threats using indigenous resources. The allocation of these resources must simultaneously police society and prevent regime change from within the state.

¹⁰² Mark Lichbach, *The Rebel's Dilemma* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 25. This model of threats from both state and society is expressed quite well by Lichbach, who writes "... the government recognizes the potential threat represented by its own military establishment. To prevent coups, dictators typically try to create a division of labor, a balance of power, and competing factions within their armed forces. The dictator, in short, organizes his or her military apparatus so as to increase its CA [collective action] problem." Of course, this operates at cross-purposes with optimal military efficiency, in which successful collective action against a regime opponent is the purpose of the military endeavor.

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Generally speaking, this takes the form of lightly armed units near population and resource concentrations, more heavily-armed formations held in reserve in remote locations, and ammunition stockpiles maintained separately from both of them. This allows the allocation of coercive capacity against rebellious areas or populations, but limits the autonomous capabilities of any individual commander to just a few days of operations. I call this the Distributed approach, and it has obvious disadvantages against external threats: first, establishing a defensive front will be made difficult by the need to concentrate and supply forces at the onset of hostilities; second, offensive external operations will have a longer lead-time; third, ammunition stockpiles are vulnerable to interdiction or destruction. Therefore, a Distributed approach is incompatible with either an Integrated or Independent security arrangement.

When a small state faces an internal threat that is generated by a great power, which I place in the internal-global quadrant, it posed unique challenges. Like external-global threats, they require the assistance of a great power to effectively thwart; like internal-regional threats, they demand a political, rather than a purely military, approach to security. Thus, this threat requires that a small state regime find a great power patron that will support its internal stability measures. Therefore, I call this the Client approach to security. In this approach, the regime maintains a positive relationship with its patron such that it is able to receive security exchanges that placate patronage networks within the state and simultaneously facilitate control of society. Unlike the Distributed approach, though, the small state is subject to the demands of its patrons concerning its security policies and its ideological alignment. This could mean restrictions on human

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rights violations, special protection for certain elements within state and society, special access or basing rights, or a modification of international political behaviors.

Summary

In this section, I have demonstrated that small states operate in a unique security environment. Unlike great powers, they are unable to neatly bifurcate the world into hierarchy at home and anarchy abroad. In fact I show that due to their limited power they face internal and external threats that can be created and mediated by great powers. Thus, they live in a state of semi-anarchy, unable to reliably establish enduring hierarchy domestically and able to appeal to higher powers internationally. This, in turn, results in an ontological shift – the regime becomes the object of analysis, since survival of the state and survival of the regime are delinked. Broadly speaking, these regimes omnibalance. That is, as survival-seeking entities, they prioritize the most significant threats to their longevity.

Due to semi-anarchy, these omnibalancing strategies differ from the security strategies pursued by great powers. While great powers ensure their survival in anarchy by focusing on potential conflicts with other great powers that may result in a decisive victory or defeat, small state regimes employ a variety of security approaches based on the predominant threat they face. If they face a significant external threat from a great power, they pursue Integrative strategies to facilitate assistance from a great power ally. If they face an internal threat from a great power, they pursue a Client strategy, and adjust their internal security policy in accordance with the wishes of their great power patron. However, if they face an internal threat from a non-great power source, the small state

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regime will adopt a Distributed defensive posture, which addresses threats from the state and society but is poorly suited for external threats. And if a small state faces an external threat than it adopts an Independent posture, which positions its forces for warfare in semi-anarchy, characterized as it is by short, sharp, conventional fighting that is eventually mediated by a great power.

Part III: Bargaining

Security exchanges impose costs on both parties to the exchange. The sender gives up direct control of security resources, and the receiver accepts the risks and burdens discussed above. That such transfers occur at all indicates that both parties believe that the costs of the security exchange are outweighed by an anticipated benefit, which implies both an underlying rationality and a bargaining process. In the previous two parts of this chapter, I have conducted a detailed analysis of the strategic logic of great powers (PSV) and small states (Small State Strategies) when it comes to their preferred allocation of security resources. In this section, I place these logics in dialogue and derive predictions about the bargaining behaviors of great powers and small states in the creation of security exchanges. To preview, given the conditions enumerated at the outset of the chapter, great powers prefer that small states adopt Integrative or Client approaches, but their leverage over a small state is constrained by the nature of that small state's Perceived Strategic Value.

Great power survival is contingent upon their success in security competitions with other great powers. At the outset of the chapter, I limited the scope of the theory to essential regions (the domination of which would decisively alter the survival prospects

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of great powers), to regions in which balancing is a viable strategy for small states, and to bipolarity. For the reasons enumerated in Part 1, great powers identify small states that contribute to their security requirements vis-à-vis their great power rival and then endeavor to aggregate capabilities to maximum effect. This goal is best served by either an Integrative or Client approach, and I will examine each in turn.

The great power preference for the Integrative over the Independent approach to security on the part of the small state clients is easy to explain. An integrated force structure has desirable military effects, in that it reduces planning requirements and execution times, which enables the allocation of forces with maximum efficiency. It also changes the process of force generation – the small state military is designed to maximally contribute to the strategic vision of the great power. By contrast, the Independent approach requires the wartime establishment of headquarters and command relationships, which is inherently time-consuming and has historically been rather fraught. In addition, it is not improbable that Independent forces would not be arrayed optimally to support integration into the great power strategy, nor is it necessary that the combined arms force generated in support of regional ambitions will be as effective in supporting one great power in a war with the other as it is in supporting the security goals of the small state.

In a Client approach, the small state articulates its internal challenges in the language of great power conflict and develops security forces in accordance with great power templates and constraints. In a Distributed approach, the language of conflict is regional, not global, and security forces are created and deployed at the discretion of the small state. The great power preference for Client vice Distributed approaches to

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internal-regional security challenges is a function of the heuristics great powers employ to evaluate threats in the world and the beliefs great powers tend to hold about the efficacy of their policy recommendations. I will address each in turn.

In third-image theories (such as this one,) ideological conflict is caused by security conflict, not vice versa. The very fact of a threat to survival causes a bipole to impute all manner of malevolence, impurity, and ideological “otherness” to its rival.¹⁰³ However, simply because ideological conflict has a non-ideological underlying cause does not then mean that it has no significance to the great power rivals. In fact, this conflict comes to structure the worldview of its participants such that a small state’s refusal to articulate internal security challenges in global terms is more than simply a difference in context – it becomes an inability to comprehend the threat represented or to participate adequately in the defense of “right” (which is coextensive with the great power’s security interests.) Thus, the ideological congruence represented by the global orientation of Client strategies represents to the great power that the small state shares an understanding of the world’s security challenges. This could be a precursor to an Integrated approach in the future, but at the very least, it supports the internal elements most closely aligned with the great power at the expense of those that are most hostile.

In addition to a strong belief in the universalizability of their worldview, great powers also have a deep commitment to the efficacy of their security strategies. This commitment sustains itself even in the face of countervailing information,¹⁰⁴ and the

¹⁰³ For a discussion of this phenomenon in ethnic groups, see Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 1998 [1969]). For a discussion of this dynamic in bipolar systems, see Kenneth Waltz, “The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (Spring 1988): 615-628.

¹⁰⁴ See Snyder’s discussion of “needful thinking” in *Ideology of the Offensive*: “People see the defense of core values as unconditionally necessary; therefore, the strategies needed to protect those values will be seen as feasible, whether they are or not. Strategists are biased toward seeing the necessary as possible.”

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belief in the efficacy of great power security approaches informs the advice passed from great powers to small state clients.¹⁰⁵ Thus, great powers prefer not simply that small states mirror their description of a conflict (presenting in global, vice regional, terms) but they prefer that the small state adapt the security approach the great power has determined is optimally suited for the situation.

Small State Threats and Security Postures, Great Power Preferences		
	Regional	Global
Internal	<i>Distributed</i>	<i>Client</i>
	Great Power Preferences	→
External	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Integrated</i>
	Great Power Preferences	→

The table above illustrates the possible tensions between small state and great power preferences. Assuming that the threats are exogenously given, some small state preferences will naturally align with the great power with which they seek to engage in a security exchange. However, small states which understand their threat environment in regional and not global terms and wish to enter into a security exchange with a great power will, *ceteris paribus*, pressure small states to move from Distributed or Independent security postures to Client or Integrated ones. This pressure from a great power to move from left to right is attenuated by the small state's Perceived Strategic Value (PSV). Small states with higher PSV have more autonomy in the design of their security strategies than states with lower PSV. I will explicate each of these claims further.

Snyder, *Ideology of the Offensive*, 200. See also the discussion on theories and updating in Part II of Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

¹⁰⁵ Robert Chamberlain, "Let's Do This! Leeroy Jenkins and the American Way of Advising," *Armed Forces Journal* (June 2009): 32.

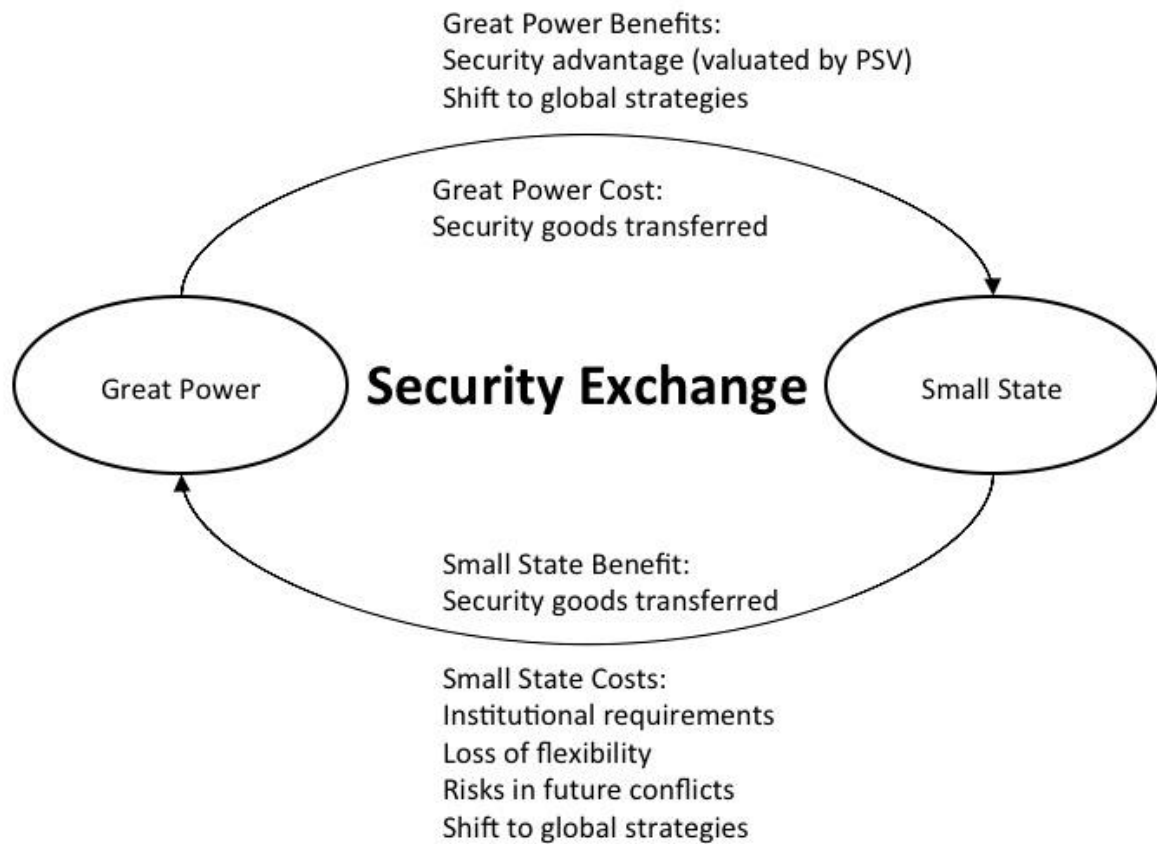
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At its most basic, PSV is form of benefit (in terms of additional security) for which Great Powers will tolerate costs (in the form of security exchanges.) By definition, a rational actor will tolerate higher costs to receive a greater benefit. As discussed above, small states that focus on regional threats rather than global ones are of less use to great power war plans than they would be otherwise, since their security posture is less effective for wartime integration, does not comport to great power understandings of the world, and/or does not adhere to great power best practices. A regional focus therefore reduces the available benefit to the great power because the small state develops suboptimal capabilities or is less able to aggregate efficiently; it does not, however, eliminate capability entirely, nor does it make aggregation impossible. Thus, as long as the residual security benefit to the great power exceeds the cost of the security transfer, the great power should be willing to enter a security exchange.

This creates an opportunity for the small state that intends to pursue a Distributed or Independent approach to security and wishes to enter into obtain a security exchange from a great power. Such a small state can continue to pursue its chosen security posture in the face of great power pressure to the extent that it is so valuable that it retains a benefit outweighing the costs to the great power that its proposed security exchange entail. Alternatively, it can adjust its security posture away from its ideal and towards a more Integrated or Client-based approach until it calculates that the marginal security benefit of an additional dollar of great power security goods does not outweigh the marginal security cost of reorienting another dollar of security from regional to global concerns. Obviously, the more attractive the small state is to the great power, the less it

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will find itself compelled to move. However, the more desperately the small state wants the security exchange, the more it will be willing to concede.



The chart above illustrates the essential dynamics of the bargaining process that occurs in Security Exchange Theory. Security goods are transferred from great powers to selected small states, for which the great powers seek some strategic value in their security competition with their great power rivals. They may also seek to focus small states on global, rather than regional threats. Small states, for their part, benefit from the transfer of security goods, but give up institutional costs for the integration of these security goods, lose flexibility should they wish to transfer their loyalties to another great power in the future, and may be forced to shift their security strategies.

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H2: Ceteris paribus, small states with Integrated or Client security approaches receive more aid relative to their Perceived Strategic Value than equivalent states with Independent or Distributed approaches.

H3: Assuming a regionally-focused small state and ceteris paribus, the more external security goods a small state requires, the more it will shift from a regionally-focused to a globally-focused strategy.

Endogeneity and the Causal Process

A possible objection to my approach is that the theory has problems with unaddressed endogeneity – that is, security exchanges generate security threats which require further security exchanges. These threats also inform strategy, which adjusts costs and strategic valuation, and thus a bargain can never be reached because there is never a rational endpoint to the spiral induced by bi-directional causality. While there may be some merit to this critique, I believe the theoretical claim that great power and small state preferences are at to a large degree exogenously given is sustainable.

First, the scope conditions for this theory deliberately restrict the geographic area under discussion to those which contain some feature essential to victory in the event of great power conflict. It is entirely conceivable that a great power might make a practice of disbursing nominal sums of aid simply to bedevil their rival and raise the cost of aligning against them (this was the story of American policy in Africa during much of the late Cold War) or, alternatively, might simply intervene directly in the affairs of any

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nearby small state that chose the wrong ally (e.g., the Monroe Doctrine.) However, doing reflexive things in important regions where states have the ability to balance creates weakness and gives over the initiative in ways that a rational policy apparatus cannot afford. Thus, while peripheral regions tend to be playgrounds for ideologues of all stripes, the more cautious and deliberate state security apparatus of the great powers tends to be disciplined and focused in their allocation of resources designed to preserve survival. This would seem to make the security exchange behaviors the servant of great power security concepts and not their masters.

Second, while it is possible that a small state security exchange decision could change the threats they face, it is by no means necessarily the case. Setting aside regional politics, if great powers value small states for their strategic utility they will seek to gain their cooperation through alliance, to control or replace the regime internally, or to occupy the strategically important regions of the country. The threat of domination exists separately, and is likely prior to, the decision to ally. In terms of regional threats, while there is no a priori reason to assume great power alignment is germane to bilateral relationships that are not already articulated in those terms, the reality can obviously be somewhat more complicated. However, empirical work by Walt, Barnett, and others suggests that regional political considerations do function outside the boundaries of great power rivalry even when they are expressed in a “global” language.¹⁰⁶

There are strong reasons to believe that great power and small state threat perceptions and the strategies they believe will best address those threats are both exogenous and prior to the commencement of security exchanges. But even if there is a

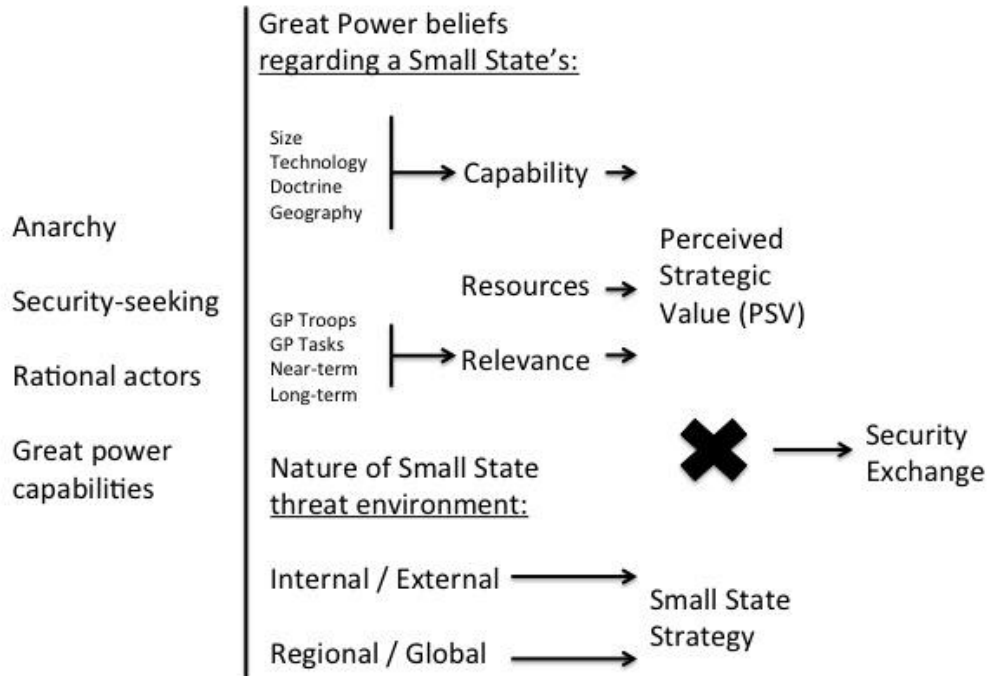
¹⁰⁶ Walt, *Origins of Alliances*; Michael Barnett, *Dialogues in Arab Politics* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1993).

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bi-directional causality, the consequences of making no decision at all (vulnerability for the great power, growing threats for the small state) militate against an infinite sort of spiral. Thus, the basic theoretical structure stands, although it only captures the causal arrow in a single direction – states pursue security exchanges to preserve themselves against threats, even if it is true that the threats may be a function of the security exchange to some extent. However, even if there is partial endogeneity, modeling security exchanges as though they are completely exogenous facilitates a clearer analysis of heretofore unexplored causal mechanisms.

Finally, the causal processes implied by the theory and the criticism presented here ought to be empirically observable. If states conclude security exchanges first, and then develop new perceptions of threat as a result, this would provide support for the assertion that the theory is endogenous. On the other hand, if threat perceptions precede security exchanges and appear to be stable afterwards, this would indicate that the theory has the causal arrow pointing the right way. As will be shown in the chapters to follow, the dominant trend is for threat perceptions to remain stable. However, there are notable examples to the contrary – when Egypt bought Czech arms in 1955, it immediately tried to reassure the United States that had no intention of aligning itself with the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, the United States reacted with surprise and hostility, and it looked for ways to check Egyptian regional ambitions. However, even in the midst of this diplomatic tumult, American security exchange policies remained steady and were focused almost entirely on the Soviet Union. In my estimation, the weight of the empirical evidence supports my decision to model threats as exogenously given and the causal process as unidirectional, despite the presence of partial endogeneity.

Security Exchange Theory



Statistical Analysis of Middle East Security Exchanges, 1952-1979

In the preceding chapters, I presented Security Exchange Theory and argued that the Perceived Strategic Value a great power assigns to a small state is an important determinant of the scale of security exchanges between the two. In this chapter, I test the plausibility of my claims on a dataset I have assembled for Middle Eastern countries between 1952 and 1979. Perceived Strategic Value theory asserts that great powers engage in security exchanges with small states because of the strategic value those states represent in a potential conflict with other great powers. Strategic value is itself a function of objective factors, which are generally appreciated by contemporary theories of alliance behavior, and subjective assessments and beliefs about the future, which are not. In this chapter, I test a modified version of strategic value that is based entirely on the observable, objective facts that are presumed to drive great power strategic valuation. Because I argue that strategic value is contingent and perceptual, I predict that a model using solely objective factors will not be exceptionally powerful. Nonetheless, in accordance with the predictions of PSV, there should be a positive relationship between the objective bases of strategic assessment and the willingness of great powers to transfer security resources to small states. Specifically, the model of strategic valuation I create tests the proposition that capability, resources, and war plan relevance are sources of strategic value. While the results are mixed, they do demonstrate the plausibility of Perceived Strategic Value theory and support the qualitative approach I take in the following chapters.

This chapter is organized in the following fashion: first, it ensures that the data employed in the analysis meet the scope conditions defined for the theory; second, it discusses the dependent variable and justifies the distinction between security exchanges and the more commonly used indices of formal alliance behavior; third, it derives proxies for the independent

variables contained in the theory; fourth, it discusses statistical procedure and results; finally, it concludes with a discussion of the findings and implications for the remainder of the project.

Scope Conditions

The Middle East meets the criteria for an essential region in which balancing strategies are viable alternatives for small states. Throughout the period in question, its oil exports fueled Europe and the United States and it offered the possibility of a warm water port for the Soviet fleet. States within the region changed their great power alignments with greater frequency than in other essential regions (such as Europe), thus creating helpful variation in the data. Temporally, my sample is bounded by two historical watersheds that fundamentally reconfigured the strategic landscape of the Middle East – the Egyptian revolution of 1952 that ended British rule over the country and the Iranian revolution of 1979 that heralded the replacement of Arab Nationalism with a politicized Islam.

Dependent Variable

The puzzle that motivates this project is the recurring decision by great powers in bipolarity to give security goods to small states. In this chapter, I operationalize the dependent variable, “security exchange,” using the value of arms transfers from either NATO or the Warsaw Pact to the Middle East.

Arms transfers are an excellent proxy for security exchanges (although are not precisely co-extensive with the variable, which can include other forms of military support), in that they involved the allocation of a scarce asset on the part of a great power. While there were extraordinary numbers of weapons produced in the Cold War, the archival data that follows

indicates that demand consistently outstripped supply. Moreover, American arms exports were seen primarily as a “tool of foreign policy” and not as a profit center throughout the era in question.¹⁰⁷ That is to say, they were controlled by the State Department and Department of Defense, rather than led by the Commerce Department (as would be the case after the end of the Cold War). Finally, using the total value of arms transfers effectively captures the wide variety of bureaucratic methods used to transfer military resources to small states, including reduced-cost sales, loan forgiveness, direct transfers, and brokered foreign military sales. It also captures more of the complexity of great power strategy, in that the great powers would occasionally support the arms sales of allies or client states worldwide. For example, if a small state had British equipment remaining from the colonial era, the United States might support that state’s purchase of further British equipment in order to bolster their defense capabilities. This would not be captured by simple bilateral great power – small state transfers, but is captured by the broader measure that I use here.

The data for global arms transfers is collected and made publicly available by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).¹⁰⁸ SIPRI was established, and is still largely funded by, the Swedish government. The measure SIPRI uses to evaluate arms transfers is its Trend Indicator Value (TIV), which creates a common metric for the valuation of hardware transfers in a given year that is designed to be employed in longitudinal analyses. It “is based on the known unit production costs of a core set of weapons and is intended to represent the transfer

¹⁰⁷ See Isaiah Wilson, III, “Unintended Consequences: Implications of a Commercially-Cominated United States Arms Exports Policy Reform on National and Regional Security for the 21st Century” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2003), 12. Even the more restricted argument that foreign military sales reduce per unit costs gains relatively little traction in the period, since such sales represented a relatively small portion of American defense production (see p. 7).

¹⁰⁸ SIPRI data is in constant dollars and can be accessed at “SIPRI Arms Transfers Programme,” *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*, www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers (accessed February 18, 2014).

of military resources.”¹⁰⁹ Where production costs are not available, SIPRI estimates the value of the weapon based on its set of capabilities. Since this theory is specifically meant to address the puzzle of great powers transfers of security goods to small powers, TIV is ideally suited to the purposes at hand.

Before moving to the model itself, it is important to observe that arms transfer data also highlight the importance of the differentiating security exchanges from broader theories of alliance behavior. If formal alliances were reliable predictors of strategic alignment and the willingness of great powers to pay costs to small states, then existing measures of alliances would be sufficient for present purposes.¹¹⁰ However, as the tables below demonstrate, many states receive arms transfers that have not joined a formal alliance with the great power who is transferring the arms.

	Alliance with any NATO Power		
Arms Transfers from	By Country-Year	Yes	No
any US or Western	Yes	71	188
European State	No	3	46

Table 3-1. Arms transfers to Middle East states 1952-79, sorted by alliances with NATO states

¹⁰⁹ “Explanation of the TIV Tables,” *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*,

http://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/background/explanations2_default (accessed February 18, 2014).

¹¹⁰ The two most widely used datasets for formal alliances are the “Correlates of War Dyadic Alliance Data,” Scott Bennt, *Correlates of War 2 project*, V. 3.03, 2003 and the Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions (ATOP) data set: Brett Ashley Leeds, Jeffrey M. Ritter, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Andrew G. Long, “Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions, 1815-1944,” *International Interactions* 28 (2002): 237-260. The data may also be accessed at: <http://atop.rice.edu/home>.

In this chapter, when I refer to formal alliances, I use the widest definition and code any alliance in a given year between a state and either a Warsaw Pact or NATO power that appears in the ATOP dataset as a “1”.

	Alliance with any Warsaw Pact Power		
Arms Transfers from any Warsaw Pact State	By Country-Year	Yes	No
	Yes	14	64
	No	1	229

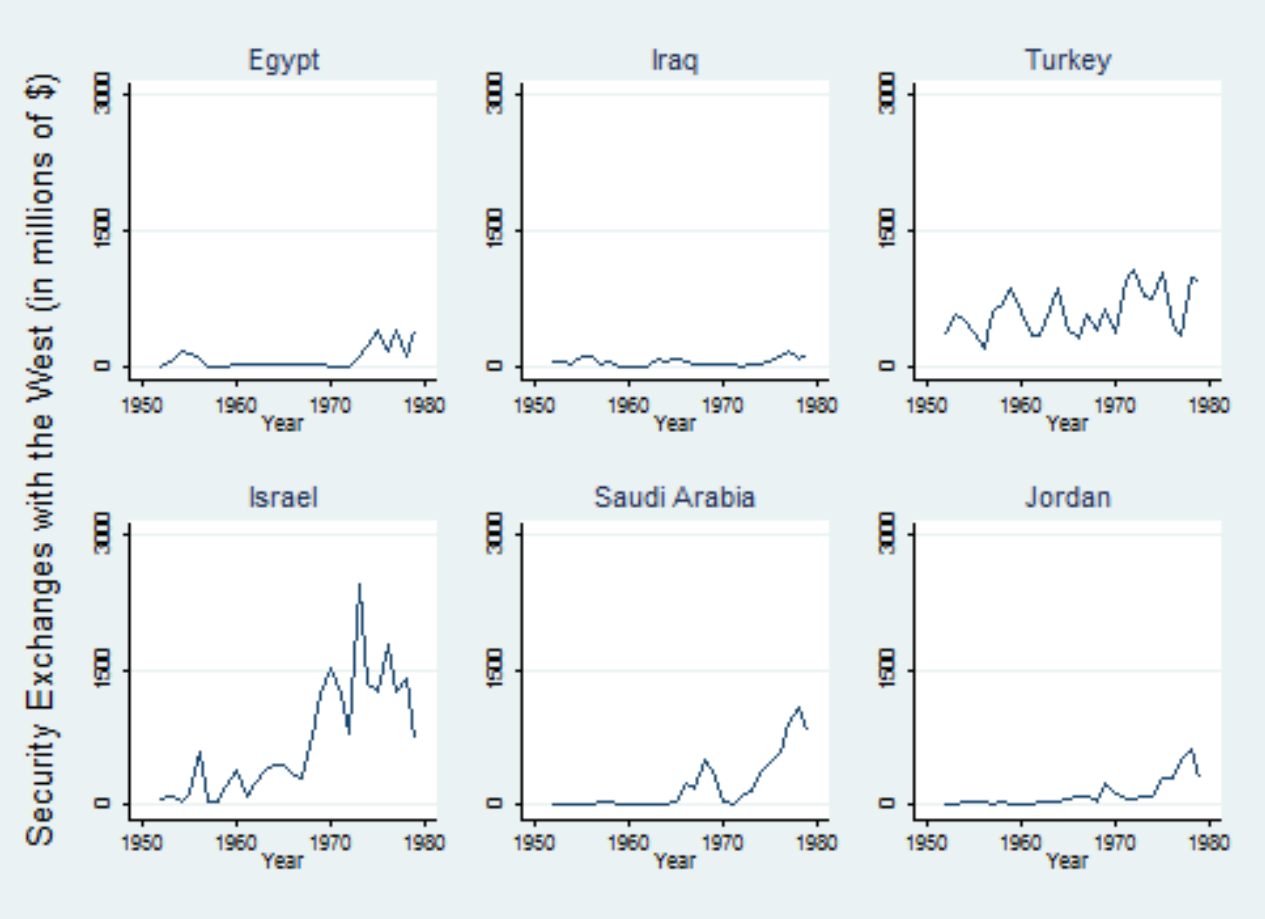
Table 3-2. Arms transfers to Middle East states 1952-79, sorted by alliances with Warsaw Pact states

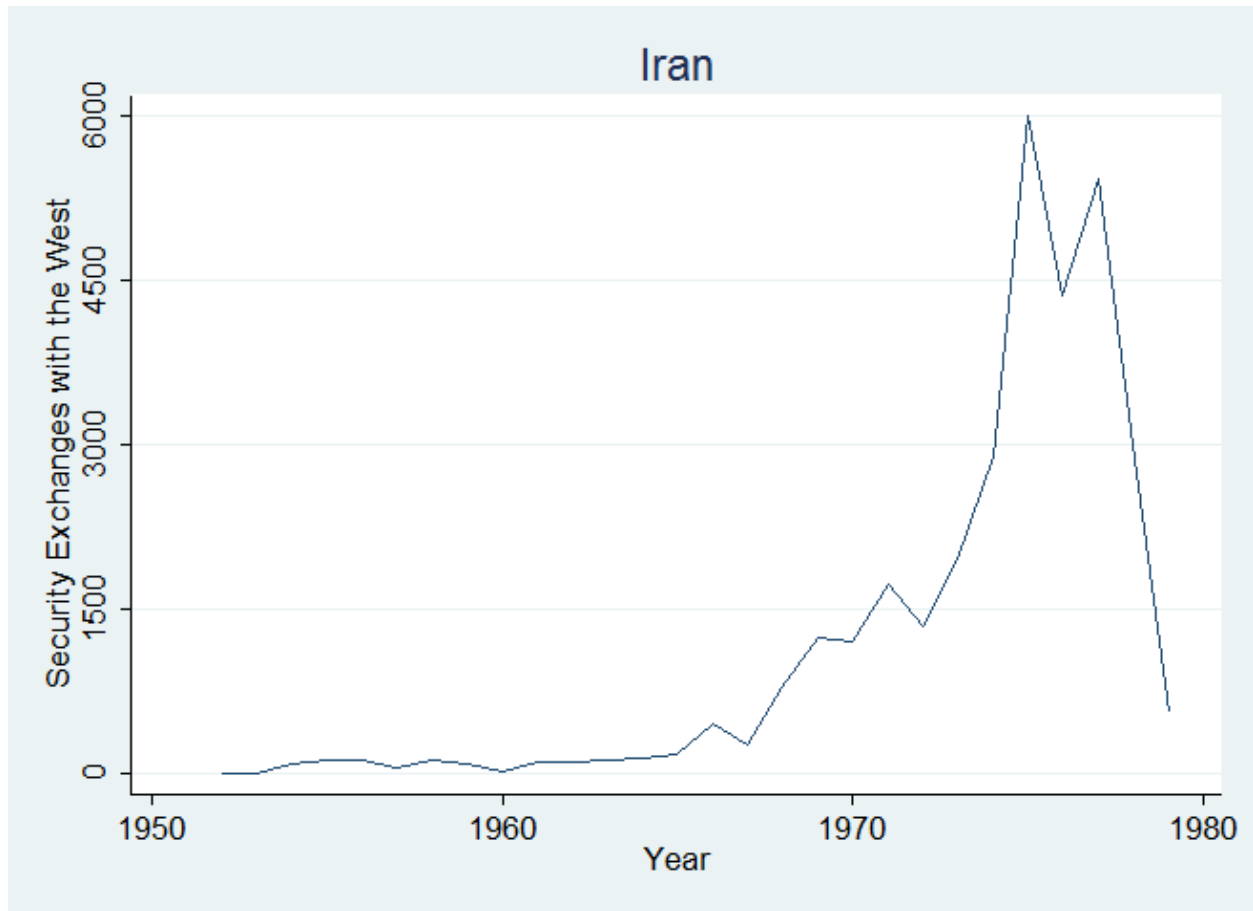
As the data indicate, if one is in a formal alliance with a great power or its close allies, one is likely to obtain arms transfers from that bloc – of the 89 country-years in which such an alliance existed, there were arms transfers in 85. However, the converse is not true. Simply because a small state obtains arms transfers from a given bloc is not a reliable indicator that it also participates in a formal treaty structure that codifies its security alignment. In the 337 country-years in which arms were transferred, there was no existing formal alliance in 252 of them. Moreover, a comparison of Tables 1 and 2 reveals that the USSR was quite willing to engage in security exchanges outside the auspices of a formal alliance commitment, largely to do with their limited options (which I discuss in Chapter 5) and the small state strategy of their largest client (which I discuss in Chapter 6). Even in the American case, security exchange partners often pursued strategies that did not require the institutionalization facilitated by a codified alliance structure, and thus bilateral security exchanges were conducted without one. Finally, when formal alliance status was included in the model below, formal alliances between a great power and a small state were found to have no statistical significance in determining arms transfer levels between those states.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Given that it is not statistically significant but does introduce potentially significant endogeneity in the sense that a great power might be assumed to be more likely to make an alliance with a small state with which it had substantial security exchanges, formal alliances are excluded from the model that is reported.

Chapter 3: Statistical Analysis of Middle East Security Exchanges, 1952-1979

Further, there is substantial variation in the arms transfer data. Even if one believes that formal alliances capture important aspects of a great power / small state relationship, the presence of such an agreement does not indicate any difference in their value to a great power. As the graphs below demonstrate, the great powers both dedicated increasingly large amounts of arms to the Middle East over time, and shifted the proportion of those arms between small states in a non-random fashion. Again, assuming that there is a control premium placed on weapons (i.e., weapons are more likely to be effective when kept under one's own direction) and that great powers would not allocate these scarce resources thoughtlessly, it seems that there is an additional strategic logic beyond that which can be captured by binary coding of alliance provisions. The following graphs show variation over the time period in question in the value of arms transferred by both the West and the Warsaw Pact.



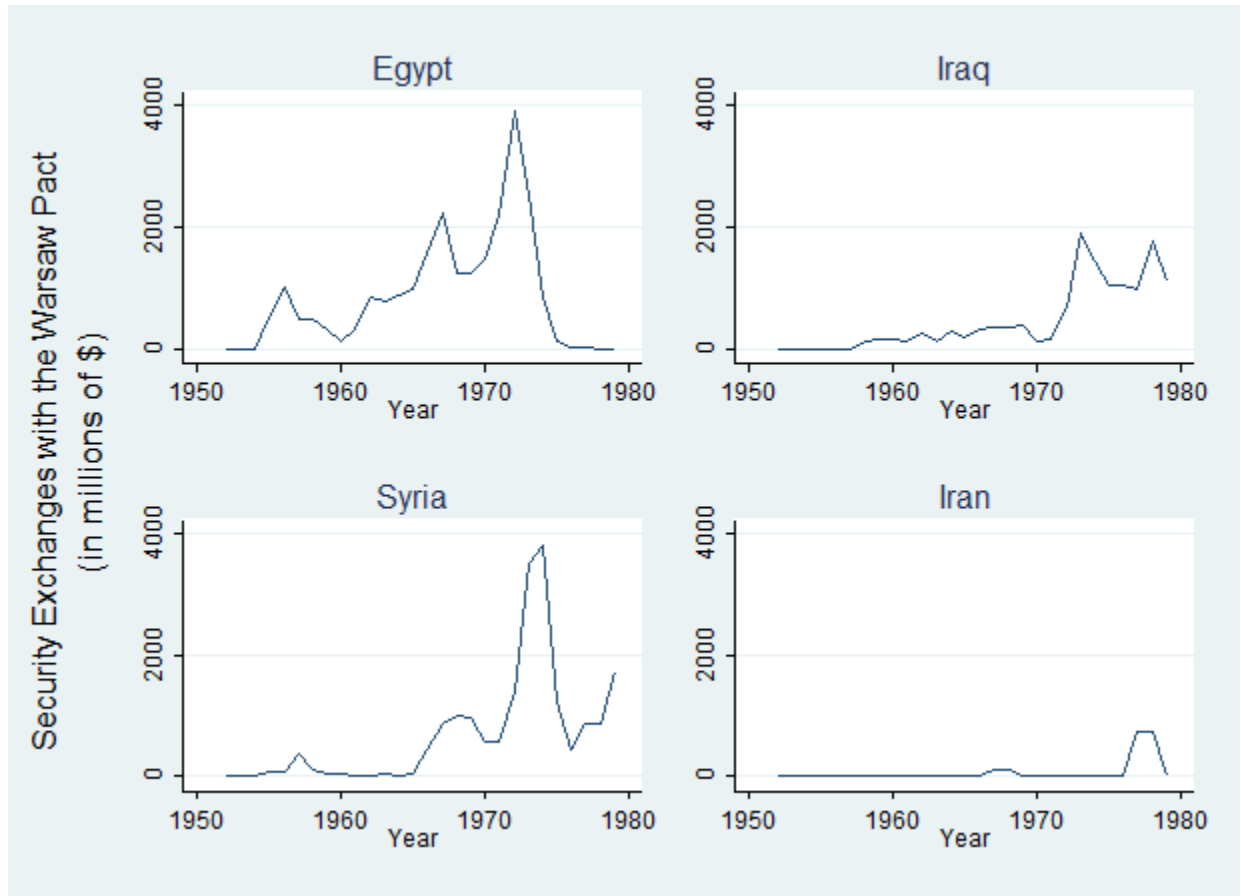


As the graphs illustrate, there is considerable between case and within case variation in American security exchanges. One pattern that is immediately apparent in the distribution of Western security exchanges is that Egypt, Iraq, Turkey and Jordan have stable security exchanges over time, while Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Israel have significant spikes in the 1970s.¹¹² In Iran's case, the increase is so massive that it requires its own scale (with a maximum of \$6 billion rather than \$3 billion). As I discuss in Chapter 6, this represents the emergence of Nixon's Twin Pillars policy.¹¹³ This policy explicitly relied on American partnerships with Saudi Arabia and Iran to ensure the security of the Persian Gulf, and was itself embedded in a larger pattern of Vietnamization, wherein the US sought out regional clients to serve as proxies

¹¹² For the sake of clarity, I omitted the cases that would appear as a virtually flat line – these 7 countries represent 93.4% of total arms exports from the West to the Middle East between 1952 and 1979.

¹¹³ Michael Palmer, *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833-1992* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 88.

in its global security competition with the USSR.¹¹⁴ This policy also accounts for the rising security exchanges with Israel, which was to act as an autonomous regional proxy. By contrast, Turkey remained enmeshed in NATO, pursuing an integrated strategy and developing capabilities that complemented US forces but was not intended by the US to operate autonomously in the region.



In contrast to the wide variety of strategies and clients available to the US, the data on the USSR reveals a story of limited options. The four states above represent 96.5% of Warsaw Pact arms exports to the region between 1952 and 1979. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, inept postwar diplomacy left the Soviets with few avenues available to disrupt American operations in the Mediterranean or the Middle East. Although relations became tense in the late

¹¹⁴ Rashid Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2009), 153.

1950s between Egypt and the USSR, Iraq and Syria only replace Egypt in the aftermath of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the early movements towards the realignment of Egypt into the American camp. While this shift might account for between case variation, in Chapter 5 I show that emerging Soviet naval doctrine can account for within case variation. The need for the Soviet Union to challenge the American fleet in the waters around the Middle East, combined with their dependence on land-based aircraft for a significant portion of this period, made states with airfields and ports near major sea lines of communication critically important.

Independent Variables

Security Exchange Theory asserts that a great power engages in security exchanges on the basis of its Perceived Strategic Valuation of a small state. This value is a function of the small state's capabilities, resources, and relevance. In this section, I develop proxy measures for the objective criteria upon which great powers base their subjective assessments of small state value.

Capability

I measure capability with two broad proxies. The first is intended to capture capability in its most basic sense – the size of force that an ally could potentially contribute to an alliance. I measure this using the Correlate of War's count of military personnel, and hypothesize that the larger a small state's military is, the more valuable a great power will perceive it to be and, thus, the more of the limited pool of arms transfers that state will receive.¹¹⁵ The second is intended to capture the small state's capacity to absorb high-technology systems. I measure this using a

¹¹⁵ I use data from the COW National Material Capabilities dataset v.3.02. David J. Singer, "Reconstructing the Correlates of War Dataset on Material Capabilities of States, 1816-1985," *International Interactions* 14 (1987): 115-32.

count of students in post-secondary education per 1,000 in the population.¹¹⁶ This measure captures the other meanings of capability that I describe in earlier chapters. The implementation of what Biddle calls “the modern system of war,” the employment of high-technology systems on the battlefield, and the maintenance of those systems during peacetime all require a population sufficiently literate and educated to make use of the arms they receive.¹¹⁷ Thus, I predict that a state with a more educated population will be perceived as more important and will thus receive more arms transfers.

Resources

While there are many resources that are essential for the creation of a modern mechanized Army, in the Middle East the most relevant such resource is oil. Thus, I employ oil production statistics for each Middle Eastern state as a proxy for resources.¹¹⁸ I hypothesize that states with greater oil production are more likely to receive greater quantities of arms transfers. I do not include known reserves in this measure, because the variable it is intended to capture argues that resources are important insofar as they will be available for wartime use. Given the time horizons inherent in oil exploration, the more relevant consideration seems to be the extant production capacity and not the potential for further resource extraction in the future.

¹¹⁶ Charles Lewis Taylor and David A. Jodice, “World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators III: 1948-1982,” ICPSR07761-v2 (Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 1986), available at <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/7761>. The data was listed for intervals of 5 years. I interpolated the missing data assuming a linear progression between listed periods and missing values before low initial enrollments as 0.

¹¹⁷ Stephen Biddle, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). See Chapter 3: “The Modern System.”

¹¹⁸ Taylor and Jodice, “World Handbook III.” I interpolated the missing data assuming a linear progression between listed periods and missing values before low initial production as 0.

Relevance

Trying to capture the evolution of American and Soviet war plans across the 27 years in question quantitatively is a daunting task. The defense of the Middle East, while critical to American interests, was critical for different reasons at different times. Moreover, the plan for this defense underwent frequent updating and revision. However, rather than attempt to apply a coding rule to the content of American warplans, some of which are classified, some of which are discussed only in secondary sources, and some of which are open to the public, I will take a consistent measure that is a much broader cut at the strategic reality of the defense of the region.

As I show in the following chapters, early US war plans relied heavily on the use of nuclear weapons against Soviet conventional forces in the Middle East. Yet planners were aware that the emerging Soviet arsenal would soon render their strategy problematic, in that it would require risking the destruction of cities on the continental United States in order to turn back a conventional attack on allies in the Middle East. The evolution of American nuclear doctrine more broadly is a fascinating and well-researched topic that I will revisit in subsequent chapters. For present purposes, it is enough to say that in the Middle East the solution that emerged relied on the conventional capacities of regional allies, thus necessitating the transfer of arms and expertise to small states. Thus, I hypothesize that as the Soviet missile arsenal grew larger, there would be an increasing “conventionalization” of the region and a concomitant transfer of arms.¹¹⁹

Since the Soviet Union had rather different strategic concerns, I create an alternate measure of relevance using specifically geographic and political considerations. The Soviet Union faced challenges to its maritime security; despite being a land-power, its strategy in the

¹¹⁹ Oleg Bukharin, Timur Kadyshev, Eugene Miasnikov, Pavel Podvig, Igor Sutyagin, Maxim Tarasenko, and Boris Zhelezov, *Russian Strategic Nuclear Forces* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001). I create this index using the Soviet rocket forces by number of warheads listed in Table 4.1 on pp 138-9.

event of war with the West would be served by the interdiction of American reinforcements to Europe and the elimination of American nuclear submarines in the Mediterranean. Because the Soviet fleet could be interdicted as it travelled through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, it was essential to develop some facility for the repair and resupply of vessels operating in the Mediterranean that did not require the navigation of restricted waters controlled by hostile states. Therefore, because the Soviet Union needed a warm water port in the Mediterranean, I create a dummy variable for all countries that border the Mediterranean and have not signed a formal treaty with the West. I predict that the strategic imperative faced by the Soviet Union to meet the American security threat in the Mediterranean makes it more likely that these states would receive large transfers of arms from the Warsaw Pact.

Additional Variables

Although formal alliances do not capture everything about the security relationship between a great power and a small state, I nonetheless hypothesize that great powers are unlikely to transfer arms to small states that have ratified formal security agreements with the opposing great power. Employing the alliance data used above, I create dummy variables for an alliance with a NATO country or an alliance with a Warsaw Pact country. These account for the variation in arms transfers that is predicted by an alliance with the opposite power, as opposed to the independent variables discussed above.

In the Middle East, the colonial era was of a significantly shorter duration than in many other parts of the world. Nonetheless, there is good reason to believe that colonial history might influence security value, especially in terms of equipment and tactics. Thus, I include two dummy variables that are coded “1” for a country if it was ever a British or French protectorate,

respectively. Thus, if there is some special causal weight associated with being a former colony, it can be accounted for in the model.

Estimation Procedure

I created a unique panel dataset for 14 Middle Eastern countries over 28 years. For countries that did not obtain independence until later in the time period, I drop the observations until the Correlates of War project begins recording them in order to maintain the comparability of this project with others in the field. The resulting dataset has 305 country-years and the panel has good balance and variation both within and between countries.

The data is left-censored, in that the dependent variable cannot take on a negative value. That is to say, countries of varying degrees of unimportance all receive no military transfers, but neither great power is capable of imposing a negative arms transfer on a country it is displeased with or that it believes has grown unimportant. Thus, the dependent variable will always be either zero or positive, even if a country is deeply strategically irrelevant. Because the data is left-censored, but the process that determines the level of arms transfers is the same for all country-years, I use a Tobit regression.¹²⁰ Because the model tests characteristics of each country that are invariant in the dataset (such as whether or not it is a former colony), the Tobit I use is a type of Random Effects model, which in turn makes an assumption that the errors for each observation are individually and independently distributed. This would be an unwarranted assumption for the data employed here, so I use robust standard errors estimated by STATA's Observed Information Matrix procedure.

¹²⁰ For a further discussion of Tobit models in general terms, to include their interpretation, see Lee Sigelman and Langche Zeng, "Analyzing Censored and Sample-Selected Data with Tobit and Heckit Models," *Political Analysis* 8 (Spring 2000): 167-182; and Dennis Roncek, "Learning More From Tobit Coefficients: Extending a Comparative Analysis of Political Protest," *Sociological Review* 57 (August 1992): 503-507.

I then conducted a series of robustness checks, dropping countries and years. The results of these checks were mixed and will be discussed below.

Results

Variable	All Transfers	All Transfers (with colonies)	Western Transfers	Western Transfers (w/ colonies)	Warsaw Transfers	Warsaw Transfers (w/o Iraq)
Capability (skill)	2.457* (1.083)	2.146* (1.057)	2.140* (.870)	2.348* (.880)	7.392* (3.446)	5.716 (3.827)
Capability (size)	2.867* (.512)	3.420* (.509)	2.358* (.450)	2.535* (.497)	-.0171 (1.390)	-.107 (1.670)
Resources	4.462* (.704)	4.883* (.701)	4.432* (.558)	4.547* (.566)	5.658* (2.431)	4.841* (2.933)
Relevance	-.021 (.056)	-.050 (.055)	-.036 (.046)	-.054 (.046)	-	-
Relevance (Soviet)	-	-	-	-	251.915 (654.299)	2533.075* (1437.765)
Western Ally	-	-	-	-	-180.243 (429.214)	2055.489 (1449.752)
Warsaw Ally	-	-	-544.581* (166.045)	-584.196* (168.434)	-	-
French colony	-	703.252* (299.971)	-	-66.853 (288.658)	-	-
British colony	-	591.044* (233.133)	-	262.960 (225.803)	-	-
n	305	305	305	305	305	305
Rho	.206 (.079)	.145 (.0613)	.245 (.089)	.217 (.082)	.837 (.088)	.721 (.149)

The results presented in this table demonstrate the plausibility of Perceived Strategic Value theory, but do not decisively confirm the causal impact of strategic military considerations on great power willingness to form costly alliances in bipolarity. These coefficients provided should not be interpreted in the same fashion as those produced by Ordinary Least Squares regressions, because of the particularities of the Tobit method used here.¹²¹ Happily, these results do not require further mathematical manipulation to reveal their import. For present

¹²¹ The Tobit method estimates an underlying, unobservable function that includes both the probability that a case will have a non-censored value on the dependent variable and the correlation between the independent variables and the dependent variable.

purposes, it is sufficient to note the sign and significance of the coefficients and the overall variation explained by the independent variables (Rho). As predicted, for both total arms transfers and Western arms transfers, Capability and Resources are significant predictors of the willingness of great powers to engage in security exchanges with small states. The greater a small state's capability, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and the more resources it has, the more arms it receives from the great power blocs. However, for both the total and Western arms transfer results, the overall variation explained is fairly limited (ranging from 14 to 25 percent.) This indicates that either there is a great deal of randomness in great power decision-making about security exchanges or that some very important elements of strategic valuation are unaccounted for by relying solely on these objective measures. By contrast, the model seems to explain much (84%) of Soviet alliance behavior in the Middle East. However, further robustness checks show that the results are unreliable, for reasons I discuss below.

Taken as a whole, these results provide support for the following three points. First, bipoles do not utilize precisely symmetrical, objective criteria for the allocation of military transfers or the determination of perceived strategic value. Second, the creation of proxy variables for strategic logics is a deeply fraught enterprise that necessarily requires a multi-method approach such as the one utilized in this project. Third, for bipoles that require local allies to facilitate their war plans vis a vis the other great power, both capability and resources are significant considerations. I will explore each of these points in turn.

Discussion

Asymmetric, subjective logics

If it were the case that the model employed in this chapter absolutely captured the distribution of scarce security resources in the Middle East from 1952-1979, Perceived Strategic Value theory would be unnecessary. If a large army, an educated population, and natural resources are what make a small state valuable, then understanding great power behavior can be reduced to simply measuring these objective values and observing the subsequent bidding between bipoles as they each seek to achieve the optimal distribution of payments for a given set of resources. However, the results above indicate that while objective criteria are certainly important considerations in the determination of strategic value, the inclusion of subjective assessments and beliefs is nonetheless extremely relevant.

The importance of subjective factors is only multiplied by the reality that strategic imperatives differ between bipoles. The world would be a much simpler place if territorial acquisition during wartime readily translated into increased combat power, as in the old board game “Risk.” As it happens, however, a given portion of the earth can have quite distinct value depending on the larger strategic purpose to which it is to be put.

As I will demonstrate in the case studies that follow, the United States’ overwhelming concern in the Middle East during this period was the defense of the Suez canal, of Europe’s flank, and, later, of Persian Gulf oil supplies. Moreover, this defense would have had to be performed by a combination of Western nuclear strikes and indigenous forces, as global wartime requirements would not permit the positioning of sufficient Western forces to mount an effective conventional defense on their own. Thus, American strategic judgments in the region were driven by the need to obtain the land and develop the capacities that would address those

strategic imperatives. By contrast, the Soviet Union did not need to obtain Gulf oil to meet its wartime needs, nor did it require overseas staging areas or partners to mount a conventional attack. It did, however, need the ability to challenge American naval forces in the Mediterranean Sea and to interdict the movement of Western forces across the globe. Thus, it had a naval strategy in the Middle East that gave pride of place to those states that served a purpose quite distinct from those considered by American planners. And, naturally, while it may have preferred to deny American planners their chosen objectives, we are unable to observe the value of Soviet security exchanges with American allies (hence the inclusion of a control variable for precisely that effect.) However, it is not the case that American and Soviet planners had identical beliefs about the optimum methods of war fighting; thus, it is quite reasonable to conclude that they would have valued different strategic opportunities differently.

The implication of the reality that bipoles make strategic determinations based on asymmetric and subjective logics is that there is simply no such thing as an objectively and ahistorically “important” small state. Importance is inevitably a function of context and evaluation, and factors that are important to one bipole may be irrelevant to another. Thus, where the US might prioritize the development of indigenous conventional capability, and therefore prefer alliance partners with a capacity to maintain and employ the full suite of modern weaponry, the USSR might be much less concerned with such criteria. This is predicted by Perceived Strategic Value theory and supported by the empirical data. It also explains the seemingly odd results of the robust checks I conducted on each of the models presented in the table.

The strategic valuation model that I use here is robust and parsimonious, and explains about 25% of the overall variation in Western arms transfers to states in the Middle East.

Dropping either countries or years does not change the significance or sign of any variable. By contrast, the model is extremely sensitive when applied to Warsaw Pact transfers. I have illustrated this sensitivity in the table presented earlier. When Iraq is dropped from the sample, the value of the “Relevance” proxy increases by an order of magnitude and becomes statistically significant. When all arms transfers are analyzed, the model is robust against dropping any country, but the Capability(Skill) proxy is not significant if period 28 is dropped. Additionally, while the colonial heritage variables are significant when all transfers are analyzed, they are not significant indicators of the levels of Western transfers.

Both the sensitivity of the Warsaw Pact model and the odd results from the colonial variable are a function of the Soviet Union’s strategic imperative to seek warm water ports in the Mediterranean for their maritime needs and its inability to recruit Turkey or Iran for their land strategy. Thus, the Soviet Union seems to highly value only three states: Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. These three states account for 93.6% of the Warsaw Pact transfers during the period in question, and in 229 (out of 305) country years, the value of the dependent variable was 0. Thus, any attribute that at least two of the three share (bordering the Mediterranean and not being Western allies, or being former British colonies, or having growing oil production, for example) will have a lot of statistical power; this is why the strategic valuation model above “explains” 84% of the variation in Warsaw Pact arms transfers. Thus, the model above, which seems to work well for capturing capability and resources but does a poor job of capturing relevance, does not effectively illustrate the Soviet strategic moves in the area during the time in question.

Problems with proxies

An objective indicator that acts as a reliable proxy for strategic intentions is the Philosopher’s Stone of both political scientists and intelligence analysts everywhere. And, just

like that mythical transmogrifying rock, it doesn't exist. Because states gain strategic advantage from maintaining private information about their capabilities and intentions, and especially about the precise means by which they intend to prevail in a conflict with a rival, any objective, observable measure by which a state revealed that information would be subject either to camouflage or manipulation.

Given this reality, there are several options open to researchers. One, which is employed in the quantitative model here, is to trade precision for availability. By using a very rough proxy, one can explore the implications of a broader strategic trend that is widely known and is more or less public information. Unfortunately, this can paint with so broad a brush that all meaningful differentiation is obscured, as is the case with the "relevance" proxy I employ. As I will show in the follow chapters, while the Soviet nuclear arsenal had an impact on American alliance strategy in the Middle East, this impact had wildly differential impacts across the small states.

Alternatively, one could restrict the scope of one's research to matters about which private information has been made publically available. This is not a bad idea from a research design perspective, but is unhelpful in the creation of scholarship about matters that states prefer to keep secret. For example, while many of the US conventional war plans have been made publicly available, many nuclear plans and discussions remain classified. Further, the US declassification scheme, while glacial at times, is quite rapid compared to those of other global powers. Thus, the restriction of data sets to only that information which is available in archives is a prescription for an impoverished and overly limited academic discipline.

Finally, one could hand-code a combined pool of archival and secondary-source data to form a new proxy that captures a scholarly best-guess a great power's strategic intentions. While a laudable approach for qualitative research (and one that I will pursue in the chapters that

follow), the translation of these assessments into a numerical index is quite dangerous. This is because the reliability of the assessment might vary substantially and systematically without the researcher's knowledge. When this new index is introduced into a statistical model, it will produce biased and unreliable estimates that are transparent to the researcher who creates them and other scholars who review them. It seems preferable to simply stick to the scholarly judgment of qualitative sources rather than try and shoe-horn limited data into a quantitative approach. Thus, while this chapter explores the plausibility of the Perceived Strategic Value model, it will be the following chapters that seek to demonstrate its full analytic power.

When are Capabilities relevant?

Despite the limitations on data and the reality that strategic logics are incredibly difficult to measure directly, this model does demonstrate that capability is relevant in the allocation of scarce resources to small state allies. Specifically, it indicates that great powers that intend the arms they transfer to contribute to their success in a war with their rival are much more concerned with the small state's ability to absorb technology than are great powers that are simply purchasing geography to be utilized by their own forces.

The differences between the US and the USSR have already been considered, but it is also important to note the temporal distinctions in aid allocation. As will be shown in detail in Chapter 4, initial US war plans for the Middle East relied heavily on Western nuclear weapons to attrit invading Soviet forces and consigned indigenous forces to guerrilla attacks and holding operations. US planners believed that the small states in the region had neither the personnel nor the technical capacity to effectively engage invading Soviet forces. Thus, Perceived Strategic Value was low and arms transfers proceeded at a fairly modest level. By contrast, as local allies

developed both their military establishments in numerical terms and their ability to field modern weapons in technical terms, the US transferred arms in great quantities. This coincided with a shift toward reliance on proxy forces as a centerpiece of US strategy, and thus the greatest US arms transfers go to an Iranian army that was one of the two pillars of US security in the Gulf.¹²² In terms of the theory, both capability and relevance were increasing. The data indicates that when Perceived Strategic Value is high, there are substantial arms transfers, despite the absence of a formal alliance.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the plausibility of Perceived Strategic Value theory by showing the empirical connection between capability, resources, and arms transfers. It further highlights the importance of integrating subjective assessment and idiosyncratic strategic calculations into theoretical approaches to great power behavior. Finally, it calls for a qualitative approach that employs archival data to test the usefulness of Perceived Strategic Value theory in understanding great power strategic decision-making and small state logics.

¹²² See the discussion earlier this chapter about the Twin Pillars policy and the impact of Vietnamization on American security exchange policy. The specific impact of these changes on Iran will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

American Security Exchanges in the Middle East, 1952-1961

In this chapter, I analyze the development of American strategy in the Middle East during the early Cold War period. As discussed previously, the story of Soviet and American competition through the use of military aid, arms transfers, and advisors in the Middle East is really a competition over a handful of strategically vital states. Yet quantitative analysis is insufficient to demonstrate the power of Perceived Strategic Value theory and its contributions to Security Exchange Theory, which is based on both on objective factors (like force size and resource pools) and on subjective assessments made by policy-makers. Thus, it is necessary to engage in process-tracing to determine if perception relates to fact and determines policy in the manner described by my theory. I do so in two stages. First I analyze US plans for the defense of the region as a whole (which informs the relevance of individual states) and internal American debates over the usefulness of Gulf oil in wartime (resources). With this context in place, I then engage in a country-specific analysis of US security assistance, based on contemporaneous US perceptions of those countries' capabilities, resources, and wartime utility.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Perceived Strategic Value theory suggests not only a relationship between the strategic utility of a small state in a potential war with a rival great power and the security goods that a great power is willing to relinquish to that small state, it also posits a causal pathway wherein the great power *perceives* this value in subjective terms and acts on those perceptions (and not some other logic.) Thus, the theory can be falsified in at least two ways. First, it could be shown that having a higher Perceived Strategic Value (in the specific sense that I use the term) does not translate into a greater absolute or relative allocation of security assistance to a small state. Second, even if such a relationship did exist, it could be shown that the assistance was allocated on the basis of some other non-PSV rationale. That is to

Chapter 4: American Security Exchanges in the Middle East, 1952-1961

say, Security Exchange Theory, which relies on PSV, does not work if perception and strategic calculation focused on the other bipole are not the causal pathway informing great power security exchange behavior. Therefore, the test in this chapter is to demonstrate both that the variables relate in the way I say they do and for the reasons I say that they do.

US War Plans

The demise of the Egyptian monarchy at the hands of the Free Officers movement was a watershed event in both the politics of the Arab world, and, more importantly for present purposes, in the Western defensive concept for the region. In this section, I discuss the response of the West to the shock of losing their Suez bases, the alternative defensive strategies they devised, and the evolution of those strategies over time. I divide the early Nasser era into three phases: 1952-56, 1956-58, and 1958-61, which correspond to major shifts in US force availability, tasks, logistics, and near- and long-term planning.

1952-1956

In the early stages of the Cold War, the US was keenly aware of the numerical challenges it would face in a conventional war with the Soviet Army. In the Middle East, it had two imperatives: limit the Soviet advance as much as possible in order to facilitate a counter-attack and launch a nuclear attack against targets in the southern USSR that were only accessible to bombers launched from bases in Middle East. The growing, but still limited, US nuclear arsenal meant that some weapons could be spared for attacks against Soviet ground forces but that conventional forces would also need prepare for significant combat. This period, from 1952-1956, is characterized by initial US and allied skepticism about the defense of the region. Given

their limited forces, the Americans and NATO were prepared to cede almost the entire Middle East to the Soviets and trade geographical “space” for additional time to attrit Soviet forces through nuclear attack. Thus, the American defensive concept centered on Egypt and Turkey (which would retain control of the Suez and the Turkish Straits) and did not include Iran, Iraq, the Gulf States, Jordan, or Israel in any meaningful way.

Declassified archival materials support this narrative. While the US and its allies had been successful in inducing a Soviet withdrawal from northern Iran after the end of World War Two, Western planners were nonetheless extremely skeptical of their ability to thwart a Soviet offensive towards the Persian Gulf. In fact, in 1949 the National Security Council received an alarming report to the effect that there was “no airfield in Egypt suitable for bomber operations” and which requested US funds to expand existing facilities.¹²³ It was assessed that “the USSR possesse[d] the capability of virtually completing the conquest of Turkey, and unless substantial Allied forces [were] deployed to the Middle East, of occupying the Suez Canal Area” in roughly 4 months; concurrently, it would take the Soviets a mere 30 to 60 days to capture “the Middle East oil lands.”¹²⁴ Thus, the war plan HALFMOON was created, which envisioned three immediate objectives for Western forces: “secure the Cairo-Suez base area, deploy and operate units of the Strategic Air Command from the Cairo-Suez-Khartoum area and deploy a Marine reinforced battalion from the Mediterranean to the Bahrain area to assist in evacuation of United States nationals and for possible neutralization of oil installations.”¹²⁵ Only as the war developed

¹²³ National Security Council. “A Report to the National Security Council by The Secretary of Defense on Airfield Construction” March 17, 1949: 1. RG 273 Records of the National Security Council (NSC), Policy Papers 41-47 Entry 1, Box 5. See also: National Security Council “National Security Council Progress Report by The Department of State on the Implementation of Airfield Construction in the United Kingdom and the Cairo-Suez Area (NSC 45/1)” Oct. 31, 1950. RG 273, Entry 1, Box 5.

¹²⁴ Joint Staff. JSC 1887/1 “Military Viewpoint Regarding The Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East Area” July 28, 1948. Enclosure B Para 3a/b in RG 218 Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Geographic File 1948-50, 381 Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East Area (11-9-47) Sec. 1 to 331.1 Far East (1-13-50), Box No. 21

¹²⁵ Ibid.

Chapter 4: American Security Exchanges in the Middle East, 1952-1961

would it become possible to “envisage the recapture of the Middle East oil resources by major operation following their probable seizure by the USSR.”¹²⁶ In this plan, “no major U.S. ground forces or any U.S. air [sic] Force units, excepting those involved in strategic air offensive operations, will be deployed to the Middle East.”¹²⁷

HALFMOON was regarded by US planners as a purely interim solution, since it “provide[d] only for the defense of Cairo-Suez-Levant area” but “neither retain[ed] the oil areas nor assist[ed] Turkey.”¹²⁸ In its place, the US preferred “a final defensive position along the line South-eastern Turkey Iranian Mountain passes - Persian Gulf” to be “the basis of Anglo-American medium term strategy in the Middle East.”¹²⁹ This new plan, named REAPER, was envisioned for a war beginning no earlier than July, 1954.¹³⁰ However, debate continued about the REAPER concept, as the US was unable to furnish additional forces and the Commonwealth countries had not yet agreed to augment British ground forces in the region.¹³¹ Faced with these limitations, and a growing recognition of the need to secure access to Persian Gulf oil, the British accepted “Plan ‘CINDERELLA’ ... for the period 1 July 1951 to 1 July 1952 [which] include[d] as a task the holding of the Southwest Persian Gulf oil resources in isolation and provide[d]

¹²⁶ Ibid. Para 4.

¹²⁷ Joint Staff. JCS 1714/2 Report by the Joint Strategic Plans Committee to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. “Review of Policy and Strategy in the Middle East” Nov 1950: 62 in RG 218, Geographic File 381, Box 21.

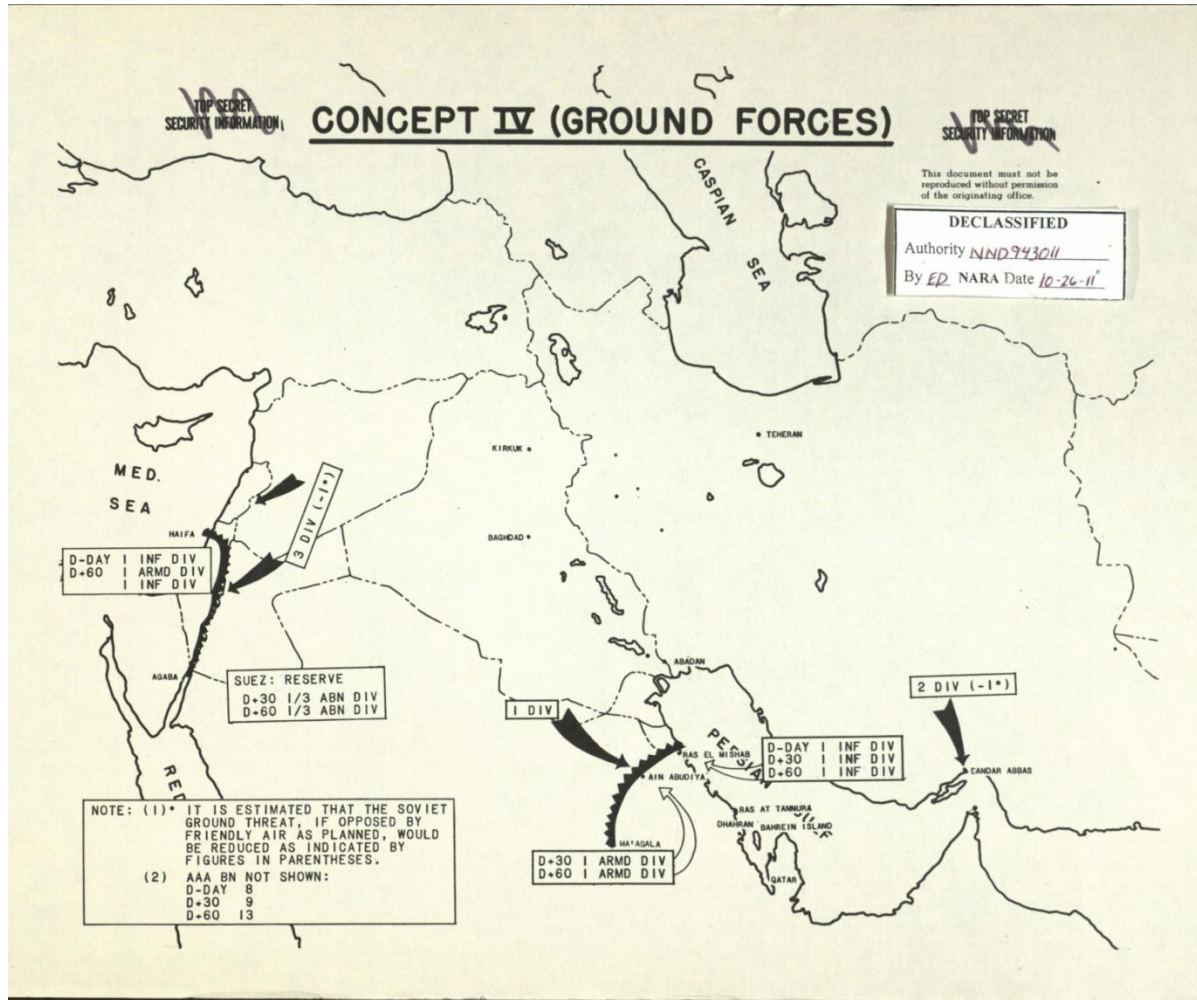
¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid. Para 8.

¹³⁰ Ibid. 86.

¹³¹ Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense from Gen. Omar Bradley, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. “Examination of What Additional Steps, Political and Military, Might be Taken to Secure or Deny Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain” Dec 5, 1951 para 4 in RG 218, Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 11: “Military conversations were held at Malta early in 1951 among the Commander in Chief, U.S. Naval Forces Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, and the British Middle East Commanders in Chief, to discuss certain military aspects of the defense of the area of the Middle East. The conversations indicated that the establishment of an effective defense of areas of strategic importance against Soviet aggression would require the provision of forces from outside sources, in addition to such indigenous forces as might join the defense effort. It was indicated at that time that forces were not available for commitment from United Kingdom sources, and additionally, that such forces were not then at the disposal of the United Kingdom from British Commonwealth of Nations sources.”

limited forces for this task.”¹³²



1: CINDERELLA. This map illustrates an early concept for the defense of the Middle East, as envisioned in a review of strategic alternatives undertaken by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The black arrows represent Soviet forces. The D+30 and D+60 identifiers represent US or allied forces that would be available 30 and 60 days after the commencement of hostilities.¹³³

Thus, at the beginning of the period examined in this study, the US had identified a strategy that made it “operationally and logistically feasible to defend [the Middle East] for a limited period of time to permit continued supply of some portion of the oil until such time as

¹³² Joint Staff. JCS 1887/36 “Report by the Joint Strategic Plans Committee to the Joint Chiefs of Staff: Feasibility of Holding the Bahrain-Qatar-Saudi Arabia Area” Jan 21, 1952. Encl C “The Navy View” para 5 in RG 218, Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 11.

¹³³ Joint Staff. “Report By the Joint Strategic Plans Committee on Defense of the Middle East” Oct 13, 1953. RG 218 Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 13 Folder Sec 13.

[the USSR] employ[ed] major forces against the area.”¹³⁴ However, supplying adequate forces for that mission “would require reductions in other areas which could not be made without creating unacceptable risks” and, therefore, American planners settled for a more limited concept that provided for “defense of the Southwest Persian Gulf in isolation.”¹³⁵ Given this state of vulnerability, the US policy apparatus began searching for means to strengthen the defense of the area without the allocation of American ground forces. This included diplomatic initiatives to convince Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to contribute ground forces, diplomatic initiatives with Turkey “coupled with supply assistance as practicable to increase Turkey’s capability of contributing to the defense of the area outside of Turkey,” similar initiatives with Pakistan, efforts to “increase the effectiveness of Egyptian forces for the maintenance and defense of the Suez bases, in the event of an Anglo-Egyptian settlement,” improvements in “the effectiveness of the Israeli forces,” an effort to duplicate the Jordanian Arab Legion elsewhere, and a commitment to “continue military assistance to Iran.”¹³⁶ As illustrated in the foregoing map, the US did not anticipate being able to hold much of the Middle East without additional forces, yet the deployment of these forces was to be made on the basis of a military and not a political logic. Thus, some mechanism needed to be created that could unify the defense of the region against the Soviet threat.

These disparate initiatives were to be tied together under the aegis of a Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO), which would have facilitated combined planning and a coherent

¹³⁴ Joint Staff. Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense from Adm. W. M. Fechteler, Chief of Naval Operations, on behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. “Feasibility of Holding the Bahrein-Qatar-Saudi Arabia Area” Feb 8, 1952. para 2a in RG 218 Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 11 Folder Sec 8.

¹³⁵ Ibid. Para 4.

¹³⁶ Nitze, Paul Memorandum entitled “Defense Security in the Middle East.” Department of State, Policy Planning Staff. May 26, 1952. RG 218, Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 11, Folder Sec 10. This view was endorsed by the Joint Chiefs in Bradley, Omar Memorandum entitled “Increased Aid for the Middle East Area.” November 5, 1952. RG 218 Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 11, Folder Sec 12.

defense of the Middle East as a region. Egypt was to act as the lynchpin of MEDO, and was an obvious choice, given its geographic relevance to the European theater and its centrality to extant Western war plans that envisioned the Suez as the taproot of the region's defense. However, this quickly became unworkable due to the "stalemate in the U.K.-Egypt negotiations concerning the Suez base issue."¹³⁷ As the details of the various alliance structures are of central importance to my theory, I shall discuss the diplomatic history in more detail below.

Even as the US struggled to convince Egypt and the other Arab states of the necessity of MEDO, it further expanded its national security objectives in the region from a defense of the Suez and eventual counter-offensive to a broader defense of "a. The NATO right flank; b. Air base sites; c. The Turkish Straits; d. The Eastern Mediterranean; e. The Cairo-Suez-Aden area; and f. A source of oil."¹³⁸ The precise plans designed to achieve these objectives remain classified. Nonetheless, it is possible to infer their contents from the earlier discussions illustrated above and from unclassified documents that refer to the nature of the classified war plans. From these sources one is able to determine that "[t]he concept of operations is based on an allied strategic air offensive and the effect of tactical atomic attacks on the fighting value and speed of advance of the Russian forces."¹³⁹ This atomic attack was to support "allied forces deployed along the line of the Zagros Mountains."¹⁴⁰ The study also indicates that Iranian forces would not be included in defensive plans prior to late 1955.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Joint Staff. JCS 1887/68 "Defense Arrangements for the Middle East" Draft Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Summer 1953: 512. RG 218, Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 11, Folder Sec 16.

¹³⁸ Joint Staff. JCS 1887/75 "Military Objectives and Critical Areas In The Middle East" Approved by JCS April 6, 1954: 1. RG 218, Geographic File, 1954-56, 092 China (4-19-50) Sec. 1 to 381 E.M.M.E.A. (11-19-47) Sec. 24, Box 12.

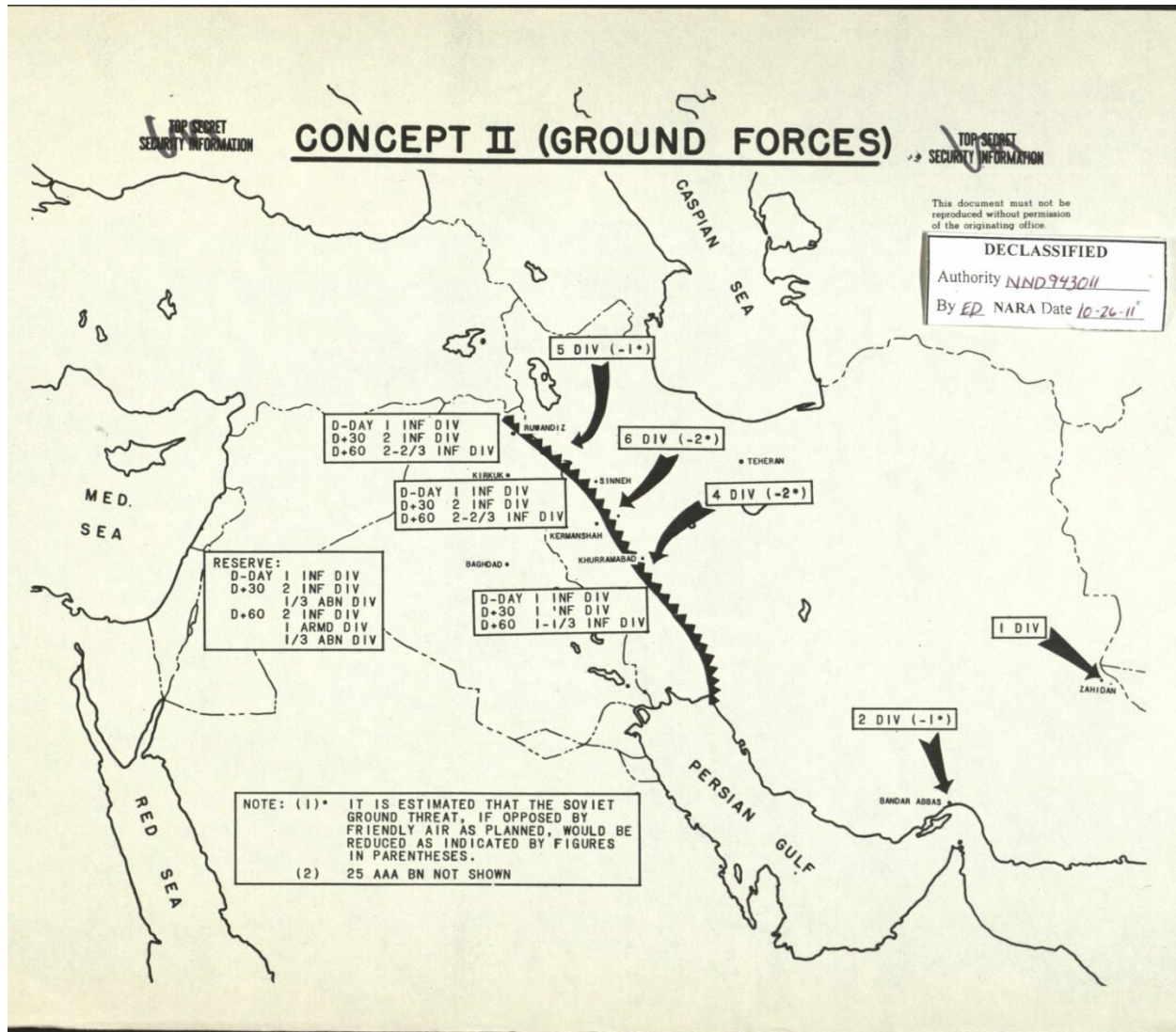
¹³⁹ Joint Staff. JSPC 883/78 "Report By the Joint Strategic Plans Committee to the JCS on UK Views Regarding the Middle East." August 11, 1955: 5. RG 218, Geographic File, 1954-56, 092 China (4-19-50) Sec. 1 to 381 E.M.M.E.A. (11-19-47) Sec. 24, Box 12, Folder Sec 22.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 7.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. 6.

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It is in this context that the Baghdad Pact emerged. Frustrated with the lack of progress with Egypt and eager to defend the Persian Gulf along with the Suez, the American security plan for the Middle East moved north. Supported by an expanding atomic arsenal, the US believed that it could attrit invading Soviet forces sufficiently to facilitate a defense of the Zagros mountains near the Iran/Iraq border by indigenous and commonwealth forces. Such a defense, however, would be substantially improved if these forces could coordinate their efforts in advance under the auspices of a regional defense organization. It is the emergence and impact of this organization that I discuss next.



2: Defense of the Zagros. This map illustrates the American plan for the defense of the Middle East along the Zagros mountains, which are just east of the Iran/Iraq border. Soviet forces are to be degraded by between 20 and 50% by American air attacks by the time they reach the mountains. Not illustrated, but of relevance to the discussion at hand, is the fact that this line must be supplied through Iraq, making Iraq's capabilities and commitment a key element of this strategic concept. Note as well that virtually all of Iran will be occupied by the Soviets under this plan.¹⁴²

The Baghdad Pact 1956-58

The Baghdad Pact was a Middle East defense organization established by the UK, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan in 1955. As a political project intended to unite the Arab world

¹⁴² Joint Staff. "Report By the Joint Strategic Plans Committee on Defense of the Middle East" Oct 13, 1953. RG 218 Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 13 Folder Sec 13.

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against the spread of Communism, it was a debacle. However, insofar as it created a planning body joined by the countries most strategically relevant to the US defensive concept for the region, it was quite successful. In terms of which of the small states in the region were relevant to the US plan for the defense of the Middle East, this period is also a time of transition. The US felt confident that Turkey and the Persian Gulf could be defended, but nonetheless required space to be made for successive air and atomic attacks against the Soviet armies to take effect. Thus, the strategy in this period called for the defense of the Zagros mountains, which meant that Iraq assumed a prominence in the American strategic vision that it had not had thus far in the Cold War and would not have again until the 1980s. Additionally, the further development of Iranian capacity was now a worthwhile endeavor, since the country wasn't to be wholly abandoned.

Politically, the US was aware of the controversy surrounding the Pact and the assertion that it was merely the new face of Western colonial ambition, and they decided not to join. But this is not to say that the institution did not perform an important coordinating function for US military and strategic planning purposes. In fact, instructions were sent to the military attaché in Baghdad that he should engage in “a more active but informal type of liaison” that included the right to “express informal views on Middle East defense” and to “point out that the atomic capability and massive retaliatory striking power of the United States are major contributors to the over-all security of our Allies and the free world.”¹⁴³ However, lest the Pact participants get the wrong idea, the attaché was also to observe that “our Allies and friends themselves must

¹⁴³ Joint Staff. JCS 1887/148 “Report by the Joint Strategic Plans Committee to the JCS on Baghdad Pact.” Feb. 16, 1956: 1141. RG 218, Geographic File, 1954-56, 381 E.M.M.E.A. (11-19-47) Sec. 25-33, Box No 13, Folder Sec 26.

provide the major share of ground forces for their own defense, recognizing the reduction in the magnitude of the Soviet threat which our strategic atomic offensive will achieve.”¹⁴⁴

At the time of the signing, the “currently approved [American] Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan” stated that “[r]etention under allied control of Turkey, the Zagros Mountain line, and the Middle East areas to the west and south thereof would provide for the attainment of the U.S. military objectives in the Middle East.”¹⁴⁵ This became the basis of Baghdad Pact military planning, which raised Iranian concerns, given that the majority of their country is east and north of Zagros and would be left largely undefended. Thus, the American observer to the Baghdad Pact cabled that “Iranians raised objections use Zagros mtns in concept ... In order help Iranian concept revised to read: The def of the Middle East, comprising the pact countries, should be based on holding the line of mtns in Eastern Turkey, Azerbaijan, Elburz and Hindukush.”¹⁴⁶ In this approach, the line in the Zagros would be relegating to “supporting positions” behind the main line of defense further north.¹⁴⁷

This development, along with the reluctance among countries in the Pact to allow their allies’ armies to be stationed on their own soil, caused a degree of consternation on the American side. The American planners remained wholly focused on the Soviet Union, against which strategic logic dictated “that the defense of the area must be as far forward as it is militarily practicable. Thus, every effort should be made to permit the stationing of forces of one Pact country in any other country, so as to be in position on D-Day.”¹⁴⁸ Absent this level of

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. 1141-2.

¹⁴⁵ Joint Staff. JCS 1887/145 “Report by the Joint Strategic Plans Committee to the JCS on Status of Middle East Military Planning.” Feb. 9, 1956: 1072. RG 218, Geographic File, 1954-56, 381 E.M.M.E.A. (11-19-47) Sec. 25-33, Box 13, Folder Sec 26.

¹⁴⁶ Memo from USARMA BAGHDAD IRAQ to DEPTAR WASH DC. Jan 25, 1956. RG 218, Geographic File, 1954-56, 381 E.M.M.E.A. (11-19-47) Sec. 25-33, Box 13, Folder Sec 26.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Joint Staff. JCS 1887/183 Enclosure A: “Message for the U.S. Military Observer to the Bagdad Pact.” April 27, 1956: 1495. RG 218, Geographic File, 1954-56, 381 E.M.M.E.A. (11-19-47) Sec. 25-33, Box 13, Folder Sec 32.

coordination, “a defense on the Elburz would not be effective for any operation in the near future.” Nonetheless, defending farther north would obviously be more desirable, provided it was feasible to do so and thus, while the near-term American plans remained centered on the Zagros, the Joint Chiefs expressed the desire that “planning be based ultimately on a defense of the Elburz as forces and resources bec[a]me available.”¹⁴⁹

By late 1956, the US and UK developed the view that even absent an overwhelming ground capability within the Baghdad Pact, “the planned weight of nuclear effort in the USSR area contiguous to the Middle East” was such that “the size of enemy forces ultimately available to assault our defensive positions are unlikely to exceed more than 50% of those forces originally advancing.”¹⁵⁰ However, in a challenge to my theory, this nuclear effort was a function of UK “plans to allot several squadrons of Canberras with nuclear capability to the theater” and, while these nuclear plans were presumably conceived of in conjunction with the US, they are not US strategic forces per se.¹⁵¹ In any event, “[o]n 11 July 1956, the Joint Chiefs of Staff concluded [in Decision On JCS 1887/220] considering the effects of allied atomic operations, the concept for defense along the Elburz Line is the most desirable for the Baghdad Pact area.”¹⁵² Nonetheless, US planners remained deeply concerned about the feasibility of that plan in 1957.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Joint Staff. JCS 1887/286 “Report by the Joint Middle East Planning Committee to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Baghdad Pact Planning Paper on Impact of Nuclear Weapons on the Form of Global War in the Middle East.” Oct 18, 1956: 2220. RG 218, Geographic File, 1954-56, 381 E.M.M.E.A. (11-19-47) Sec. 43-51, Box No 15, Folder Sec 46.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. 2219

¹⁵² Joint Staff. JCS 1887/309 “Report by the Joint Middle East Planning Committee to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Baghdad Pact Planning Staff’s Interim Capabilities Plan.” Nov 13, 1956. Enclosure B: “Facts Bearing on the Problem” 2330. RG 218 Records, Geographic File, 1954-56, 381 E.M.M.E.A. (11-19-47) Sec. 43-51, Box 15, Folder Sec 48.

¹⁵³ Ibid. 2332

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This shift is remarkably important for this study because it establishes an exogenous source of variation in the Perceived Strategic Value of Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. The US, based on purely geographical considerations, would have preferred to defend the region as far north as possible, along the Elburz line. However, this concept only became feasible after the growth of the western nuclear arsenal, due to the requirement to significantly reduce the strength of Soviet forces through nuclear attack. When the arsenal was small and delivery was quite difficult, only Turkey had any real importance among these three countries. When the arsenal grew, but was insufficient to inflict enough casualties on the Soviets to blunt their attack at the Soviet border, the line of defense moved north and both Iraq and Iran became important. Finally, by 1957 Iraq was no longer particularly necessary, because the combination of American nuclear weapons and indigenous capabilities was sufficient to defend the Elburz line, which could be resupplied from Turkish or Iranian ports.

The Iraqi Exit 1958-1961

In July 1958, a unit of the Iraqi Army commanded by members of a dissident organization called the Free Officers entered Baghdad, gained control of the government, killed the entire royal family, and installed General Karim Qasim as the new head of the Iraqi state. An ardent nationalist, Qasim ended Iraq's participation in the Baghdad Pact, thus inducing a new name for the organization (CENTO) and a relocation of the organization's headquarters (to Ankara). However, by this point the US strategy for the defense of the region had already shifted so far north that the loss of Iraq did not seriously impinge upon American war plans.

Even before the Iraqi withdrawal from the Pact, the other countries in the organization determined that "the capability of the remaining nations to provide an effective defense of the

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Pact Area would not be seriously diminished by the withdrawal of Iraq.”¹⁵⁴ Sadly, there is not a similarly candid discussion in the declassified American archives, as explicit descriptions of Western defensive plans in the Middle East recede into official secrecy by the 1960s. This study infers the war plans from three complementary sources. First, as has been shown, the Elburz line was preferred by planners for the defense of the region throughout the 1950s, but was believed to be within the range of practicability only in 1957. Subsequently, the capacity of the Turkish, Iranian, and Pakistani militaries only continued to grow. Thus, it is reasonable to assume, absent contrary evidence, as long as it was feasible to defend along the Elburz, the American defensive concept did not return to either the Zagros or the Cairo-Suez lines, which were less suitable for the preservation of American interests. Second, after the July revolution in Iraq, President Eisenhower requested an urgent study on “what the United States could do to strengthen the military position of Turkey and Iran.”¹⁵⁵ In reply, the Joint Chiefs discussed a variety of options to introduce forces into the region, including logistical equipment, atomic demolitions teams, and, in the event of “a general war situation” even U.S. forces.¹⁵⁶ Further, while the specific plans remain classified, the JCS reported to the President that there were specific plans and earmarked forces “for defense of the Turkish Straits, Erzurum and Lake Van area.”¹⁵⁷ The defensive line from the Lake Van area extends naturally along the Elburz and would be dangerously exposed by a defense further south, at the Zagros. Third, as will be discussed below, the country-specific discussions of Turkey and Iran, especially as compared to other

¹⁵⁴ Joint Staff. Appendix B “Report from the Baghdad Pact Military Committee to the Ministerial Council of the Baghdad Pact.” 5-7 November 1958: 14. RG 218., Central Decimal File 1958. 381 (8-23-57) Sec. 10 to 381 (8-14-57) Sec. 10, Box 65, Folder Sec. 17.

¹⁵⁵ J.F. Whisenand. Memorandum for General Twining. “Subject: Presidential Request.” July 16, 1958. Para 2. File 381 (8-23-57) Sec. 6 Red Band. RG 218 Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Central Decimal File 1958. 381 (8-21-58) to 381 (8-23-57) Sec. 9, Box 64.

¹⁵⁶ Joint Staff. “Note by the Secretaries to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Possible Action by the United States to Strengthen Immediately the Military Position of Turkey and Iran (S).” File 381 (8-23-57) Sec. 6 Red Band. RG 218, Central Decimal File 1958 381 (8-21-58) to 381 (8-23-57) Sec. 9, Box 64.

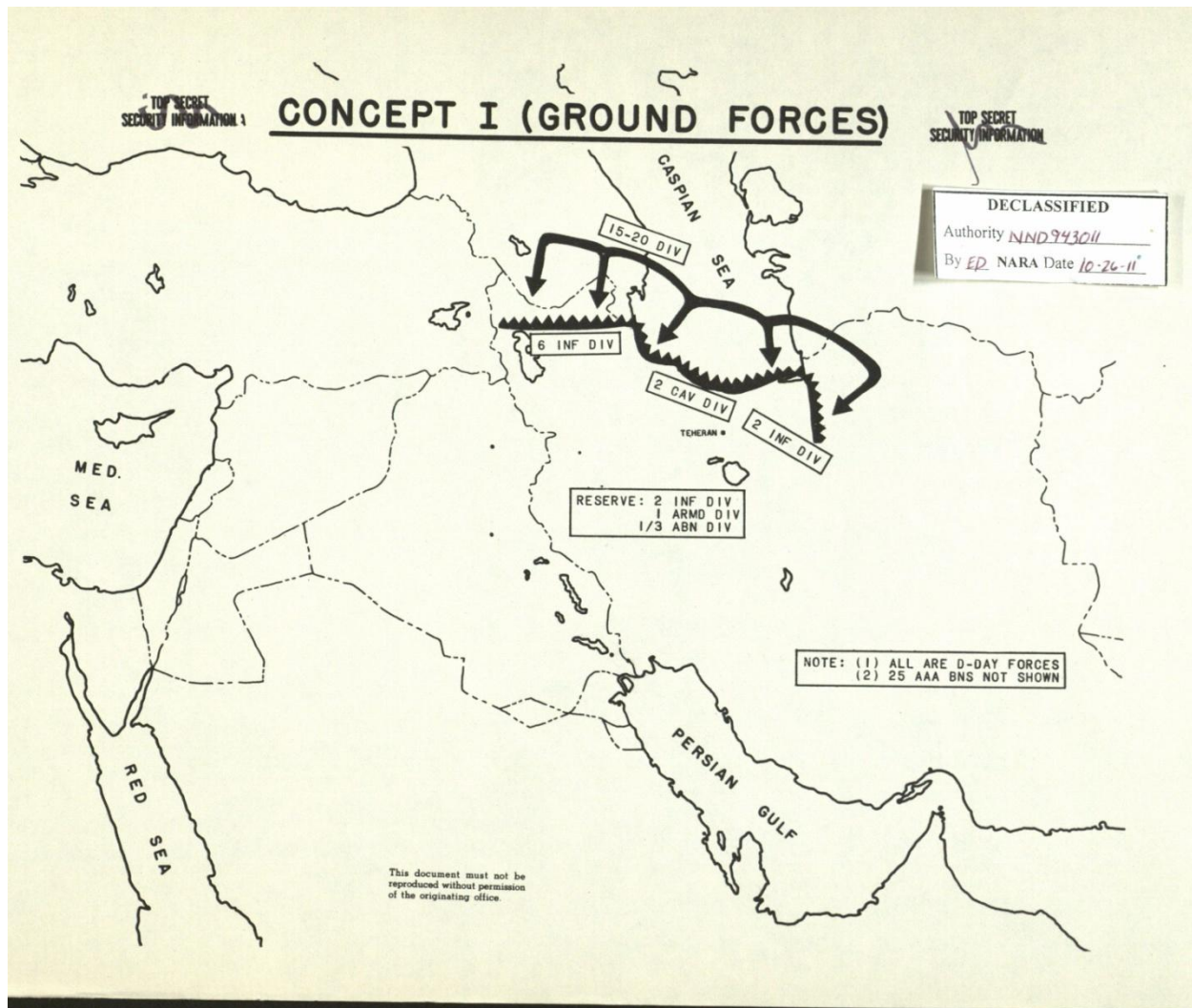
¹⁵⁷ Ibid. para 1.

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states in the region, seem to indicate a special military importance without explicitly laying out the specifics of the war plan. In combination with the foregoing discussion of the evolution of American plans, it is possible to surmise that the larger strategic context of this special importance is the Elburz line.

Summary

In the foregoing discussion, I presented evidence concerning the US strategic conception of the Middle East. PSV is rooted in a great power's beliefs about not only small state capabilities and resources, but also its own capabilities and the limits to what it could feasibly attain in a war. This creates variation in whether or not a geographic feature is "important," as I show in the discussion of the Zagros and Elburz mountain chains. Similarly, the nature and quantity of the forces the great power can allocate to a given theater, given its global commitments, also informs PSV as sub-components of "wartime relevance." In this case, I show that the US nuclear arsenal and the allocation of weapons to the Middle East changed the scope of the feasible for American war planners. Thus, the terrain upon which the battle for the Middle East was going to be fought shifted for reasons dictated by a military-strategic logic, which alliance and security exchange behaviors then followed. Thus, in this period it seems that the US doesn't intend to reflexively fight to defend its all of its allies; instead, forms alliances and allocates security goods based on where it intends to fight.



3 Defense of the Elburz. This map illustrates the final strategic concept the US developed for the defense of the Middle East. It requires a significant conventional capability (illustrated by the 10 divisions in contact and 3 in reserve) or a massive nuclear capability to reduce the anticipated 15-20 divisions that would participate in the Soviet attack. Note that this concept ties into the Lake Van region of Turkey, which is directly to the west of the line depicted above.¹⁵⁸

Oil and Middle East Security 1952-61

From the perspective of the 21st century, it can be difficult to remember a time when Persian Gulf oil was not considered essential to Western security interests. Yet throughout the period discussed in this chapter, the importance and accessibility of Gulf oil was a subject of

¹⁵⁸ Joint Staff. "Report By the Joint Strategic Plans Committee on Defense of the Middle East" Oct 13, 1953. RG 218 Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 13 Folder Sec 13.

open debate in the US political and security apparatus. I divide this section into three subsections based on the importance and accessibility of Gulf oil: the emergence of Gulf oil as a critical resource; the debate over accessibility; and the additional military measures taken to defend the resource.

The emergence of Gulf oil

At the end of the Second World War, the United States produced a larger percentage of the world's oil than Saudi Arabia. While oil from the Middle East was of significant importance to the industrialized world, planners in 1950 assumed that "[i]n the event of a major war in the future, there would be imminent danger that the Middle East sources of petroleum would be lost to the United States and its Allies."¹⁵⁹ Nonetheless, by 1953 it was apparent that "[t]he emergence of the Middle East as a major petroleum producing area [was] the outstanding development in the pattern of world oil supply since the end of World War II."¹⁶⁰ This oil fueled Western Europe's postwar recovery such that the NSC noted:

Rapidly increasing amounts of Middle East oil in recent years have been moved to Europe's expanding refineries to meet growing requirements and as replacement for Western Hemisphere supplies. Europe's reliance upon Middle East crude has correspondingly increased. In 1946, the Middle East supplied 44 per cent of the 130,000 barrels daily of crude oil runs to the refineries of free Europe. In 1952 crude runs had increased to 1,400,000 B/D, of which the Middle East supplied 90 per cent.¹⁶¹

Moreover, Western planners were also able to forecast the future centrality of Middle East oil to the American economy. A 1952 report estimated that "in 1975 the U.S. may require 2.5 B/D of

¹⁵⁹ National Security Council. NSC 97 "A Report to the National Security Council by The Executive Secretary on A National Petroleum Program." Dec 28, 1950: 1. RG 273, Policy Papers 90-99 Entry 1, Box 13.

¹⁶⁰ National Security Council. NSC 97/3 A Report to the National Security Council by The NSC Planning Board on A National Petroleum Program." May 20, 1953: 26. RG 273, Policy Papers 90-99 Entry 1, Box 13.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. 27. Emphasis in the original.

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crude while Western Hemisphere production may be available only to the extent of 1.3 million B/D for import into the United States, thus requiring imports of 1.2 million B/D of Middle East crude to make up that deficit.”¹⁶²

To address the military implications of this pattern of oil consumption, the US adopted a plan for wartime rationing, tanker construction, and the expansion of capacity in the Western Hemisphere.¹⁶³ However, within that policy, the US explicitly notes that:

To the extent that the assumed D-Day is postponed beyond July 1, 1953, the difficulty of achieving a wartime balance in crude petroleum, under that assumption of loss of the Middle East, will steadily increase. Retention of Middle East sources of supply will accordingly grow in importance, as will the need for developing and expanding all other possible sources. Therefore, in the formulation of policy with respect to the Middle East countries and the determination of proper future level and disposition of our military strength, the increasing importance of the Middle East as the greatest known source of petroleum must be recognized.¹⁶⁴

By 1958, the importance of Middle East oil had increased to such an extent that US policy made explicit its willingness to “use force, but only as a last resort ... to insure that the quantity of oil available from the Near East on reasonable terms is sufficient ... to meet Western Europe’s requirements.”¹⁶⁵ Thus, over the period from 1952-61, Middle Eastern sources of oil in general (the specific policy impact on each country will be discussed below) went from a potentially

¹⁶² Ibid. 17 referring to NSC 138, directed by President Eisenhower Dec 8, 1952.

¹⁶³ The development of this policy is the purpose of the NSC 97 series. See also National Security Council. NSC 138/1 “A Report to the National Security Council by (1) The Departments of State, Defense and The Interior (Petroleum Administration for Defense); (2) The Departments of State and Defense; and (3) The Department of Justice on National Security Prosle’s [sic] Concerning Free World Petroleum Demands and Potential Supplies.” Jan 6, 1953: 3: “Venezuela alone is able to supply most of the foreign oil essential to the United States in time of war.” RG 273, Policy Papers 126-139 Entry 1, Box 18

¹⁶⁴ National Security Council. NSC 97/5 “A Report to the National Security Council by the Executive Secretary on A National Petroleum Program.” July 30, 1953: 2. Emphasis in the original. RG 273, Policy Papers 90-99 Entry 1, Box 13.

¹⁶⁵ National Security Council. NSC 5820/1 “National Security Council, U.S. Policy Toward the Near East.” Nov 4, 1958: 7. RG 273, Policy Papers 5813-5820 Entry 1, Box 48.

useful resource to a cornerstone of the European economy, and, eventually, to a national security requirement so essential as to provide a *causus belli* in and of itself.

Accessibility

As important as Middle Eastern sources of oil became to the West after the Second World War, it was not at all clear that the resource could be put to any use in the context of a general war with the Soviet Union. In the words of the NSC: “Any consideration of Middle East oil, however, must not confuse the importance of that oil with its availability.”¹⁶⁶ In fact, just as oil from the Persian Gulf became progressively more important over time, so too did plans for its preservation become progressively more ambitious.

The military records I recount above demonstrate that in the late 1940s and early 1950s, there were no Western plans for a defense of the Persian Gulf. However, as the oil therein became more important, concepts such as the UK’s CINDERELLA plan were developed for the retention of some Gulf oil fields. Nonetheless, problems remained: “For as long as the three Middle East countries, Bahrein, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar, are retained, there would be available from them about 1 million B/D of crude oil. However, present military estimates of tanker losses in this area from enemy action range from 17-20 per cent per month, making it extremely doubtful whether this oil could be utilized.”¹⁶⁷ It is in the context that a schism emerged within the American military. The Chief of Staff of the Army, in September 1952, expressed the opinion that a combination of Soviet airpower and naval interdiction would be sufficient to close the Straits of Hormuz, destroy refineries in the Gulf, and prevent the export of Middle Eastern oil

¹⁶⁶ NSC 97/3: 29.

¹⁶⁷ NSC 97/3: 30.

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in the first 18 months to two years of war.¹⁶⁸ The study in which he voiced this opinion was written in response to both NSC 97, cited above, and an internal discussion of the Joint Chiefs in which the Chief of Naval Operations expressed the opinion that it was “feasible to defend [the Bahrain-Qatar-Saudi Arabia] area sufficiently to permit continued supply of a major portion of the oil.”¹⁶⁹ In the view of the CNO, this could be accomplished by a local infantry security force, a significant anti-aircraft capability, and a naval presence in the Gulf. The Army and Air Force view was that retention of Gulf oil would require an effective defense of the Zagros mountains.¹⁷⁰

This internal debate highlights the bi-directional relationship between resource accessibility and war plans. In the beginning of the period this chapter discusses, Middle East oil was presumed to be indefensible and was not accounted for in Western war plans. By the mid-1950s, the oil was possibly defensible, although debate existed about the subject. However, even skeptics of the defensibility of the oil under the limited CINDERELLA concept asserted that a successful defense of the Zagros could facilitate access to the oil. Once such a concept became the basis for Western planning in late-1955, it is reasonable to assume that Western access to Gulf oil was considered feasible across the government.

¹⁶⁸ Joint Staff. JSC 1741/67 “Note By the Secretaries to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Availability of the Middle East Oil in Time of War.” September 6, 1952. see Enclosure “Memorandum by the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army for the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Availability of the Middle East Oil in Time of War” dated September 4, 1952. RG 218, Geographic File 1951-53 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 11, Folder Sec. 11.

¹⁶⁹ Joint Staff. JCS 1887/36 “Report by the Joint Strategic Plans Committee to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Feasibility of Holding the Bahrain-Qatar-Saudi Arabia Area.” Jan 21, 1952: 281. RG 218, Geographic File 1951-53 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box No. 11, Folder Sec. 7.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

PSV by Country

U.S. military equipment available to strengthen the area should be channeled primarily to the “northern tier” states, and when appropriate to Egypt, which offer the best prospect of creating real strength. A large flaccid grouping, each member of which receives a nominal amount of military aid, will provide neither military strength nor political attraction.

-NSC 5428: United States Objectives and Policies with Respect to the Near East¹⁷¹

Thus far, this chapter has taken a regional perspective on American perceptions of the strategic value of Middle Eastern states. It has shown that the region was considered critical to Western interests, illustrated the evolution of the Western concept for the defense of the Middle East against Soviet invasion, and discussed the value of Middle East oil as a strategic resource. However, US security assistance to the Middle East was disbursed bilaterally and this project seeks to understand the variation in security exchanges between small states and great powers as such, albeit in a regional context.

As discussed at the outset of this chapter, I intend to test PSV using both observed co-variation between the identified independent and dependent variables as well as causal process observations which confirm or deny the strategic logic suggested by the theory. In the following sections, I use archival data to demonstrate the countries with a higher PSV do, in fact, receive a larger proportion of American security assistance and that the strategic logic behind this pattern of behavior is the small state’s PSV and not some other method of allocating aid. Each section begins with a chronological narrative, then addresses both the tests mentioned above, and finally concludes with a summary table.

Two important caveats are in order. First, as discussed in the theory chapter, PSV is an intermediate variable that is more than the simple arithmetic sum of capability, resources, and relevance. Therefore, the values captured on the summary tables represent my reading of the

¹⁷¹ National Security Council. NSC 5428 “National Security Council: United States Objectives and Policies with Respect to the Near East.” July 6, 1954: 4. RG 273 , Policy Papers 5423-5428 Entry 1, Box 32.

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archival records and are meant to approximate the bureaucratic judgments rendered by the US about the small state. This is obviously somewhat imprecise; however, as discussed last chapter, there is a trade-off between objective, easily quantifiable measures and analytical power. The field of international relations would be ill-served by the elimination of fuzzy variables and scholarly judgment, not least because doing so would exclude many of the issues that are most central to war and peace. Moreover, the archival records do not support the notion that policy-makers think or act in as precise a way as one might hope, making the endless pursuit of precision not only quixotic but also, ironically, inaccurate.

Second, this section does not address every state in the region. This is because doing so would be an endless litany of well-documented weak tests that take the form “State X is small, has a negligible PSV, and receives no aid.” While useful from one perspective, these observations would not differentiate PSV from any of the other theories discussed earlier that suggest that marginal states don’t elicit much aid from great powers. Instead, this section discusses Western aid relationships with leading aid recipients, major oil exporting states, and high capability states, some of whom received security assistance and others of whom did not. There is both within case and across case variation on the variables of interest, and the sources and patterns of that variation helpfully demonstrate the comparative power of PSV over other approaches to great power alliance behavior.

Turkey

By the beginning of 1952, the US had already identified Turkey as an important ally in its security competition with the Soviet Union. Public Law 80-75, passed May 22, 1947, provided financial aid to Greece and Turkey in light of the belief that “the national integrity and survival

of these nations [was] of importance to the security of the United States.”¹⁷² Of the two states, it was believed that “Turkey is strategically more important than Greece” and that “the United States has greater long-range strategic interests in the military establishments of Turkey.”¹⁷³ By 1948, there were 349 U.S. armed service personnel in Turkey, assisting with “training, highway construction, and the supplying of equipment, including naval vessels and aircraft.”¹⁷⁴ Given the institutional strength of the Turkish state, these policies had two purposes. First, they were “based on the necessity of supporting and strengthening Turkish efforts to oppose communist pressure;” second, they were designed to develop a Turkish capability that would be available for the “utilization of Turkey for U.S. strategic purposes in the event of conflict with the USSR.”¹⁷⁵

At the outset of the period in question, the US judged that “Turkey is the strongest anti-Communist country on the periphery of the USSR and the only one in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East area capable of offering substantial resistance to Soviet aggression ... Turkey’s military strength-in-being, and firm determination to maintain its political independence and territorial integrity continue to be effective deterrents to Soviet or satellite aggression directed against Turkey.”¹⁷⁶ Although the Turkish Army had reduced its size after the end of WWII, its technological improvements had enabled it to retain its combat effectiveness.¹⁷⁷ However, it struggled to adopt NATO doctrinal templates, such as a vibrant Non-Commissioned Officer

¹⁷² *An Act To provide assistance to Greece and Turkey*, Public Law 75, 80th Congress, 1st sess. (May 22, 1947.)

Available online at

http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1947-05-22&documentid=5-2&pagenumber=1 . Accessed Feb. 3, 2014.

¹⁷³ National Security Council. NSC 42/1 “A Report to the President by the National Security Council on U.S. Objectives with Respect to Greece and Turkey to Counter Soviet Threats to U.S. Security.” Mar 22, 1949: 17. RG 273, Policy Papers 41-47 Entry 1, Box 5

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 7-8.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 18.

¹⁷⁶ National Security Council. NSC 109. “A Report to the National Security Council by Executive Secretary on The Position of the United States with Respect to Turkey.” May 11, 1951: 1. RG 273, Policy Papers 100-109 Entry 1, Box 14.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 8.

corps, and solicited US aid to correct these deficiencies.¹⁷⁸ Thus, in terms of the components of capability as used in this theory, Turkey had an army of significant (high) size, moderate technology, low doctrine, and high geography. It had no resources in the country proper, but contributed to American current and future war plans. In the eyes of American planners, the Perceived Strategic Value (PSV) of Turkey was high.

As a result of its relatively high PSV, Turkey obtained extremely high levels of aid. By 1955, NSC documents recorded that “present plans for building up Turkey’s armed forces in accordance with U.S. interests will require continued substantial U.S. assistance over a period of years. During FYs 1950-54 the U.S. allocated one billion dollars in those and following years on a program to build up the Turkish Army, Navy, and Air Force.”¹⁷⁹ Nonetheless, despite the importance of Turkey to American plans for the defense of the Middle East from the mid-1950s onwards, Turkey’s moderate capability constrained US assistance. Although the “qualitative improvement of the Turkish Army ... would seem to be desirable from a strictly military point of view” it was hampered by the “questionable ability of the Turkish armed forces to convert to greater mechanization so rapidly ... inadequate numbers of trained technical personnel and insufficient warehousing and maintenance facilities [technology], as well as the general low level of experience in logistics management [doctrine].”¹⁸⁰

American reliance on Turkey continued to grow, and Turkey “granted extensive military facilities to the United States which have great strategic value.”¹⁸¹ Moreover, the “Turkish Government has committed Turkish ground and air forces to NATO wartime tactical command,

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. 9.

¹⁷⁹ National Security Council. NSC 5510. “Note By the Executive Secretary to the National Security Council on U.S. Policy on Turkey.” February 14, 1955: 5. RG 273, Policy Papers 5510-5519 Entry 1, Box 37.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 6-7.

¹⁸¹ National Security Council. NSC 5708/2. “National Security Council: U.S. Policy Toward Turkey.” June 29, 1957: 1. RG 273, Policy Papers 5708-5719 Entry 1, Box 44.

and its naval forces under national command are assigned to NATO missions in time of war.”¹⁸²

The purpose of these forces was to “resist direct Soviet attack as part of a concerted allied defense, to withstand an assault by satellite forces, to protect the vitally important Straits, to protect Turkey’s southern flank, and to maintain internal security.”¹⁸³ However, despite the high levels of aid given to Turkey, in 1957 Turkish forces were believed to be unable to fully accomplish these missions, in large part because of the “low level of education and technical training” which “impede[d] the absorption of additional materiel, which [was] required if the Turkish forces [were] to attain the level of effectiveness currently envisaged.”¹⁸⁴ Thus, through the mid-1950s, the Turkish role in American war plans expanded and their projected capabilities and purposes expanded as well (i.e., their relevance remained moderate, trending towards high). Moreover, as predicted by the theory, the American strategic concern for Turkey was directed at the Soviet threat and only secondarily towards regional politics. Finally, Turkey’s capability continued to be constrained by technology and doctrine – although the US would have preferred to give more aid, it believed that it simply could not.

By the end of the 1950s, Turkey entered a “transitional phase” in the eyes of American planners that enabled US security assistance to move from “less sophisticated to more advanced weapons.”¹⁸⁵ Turkey had made excellent progress in fielding infantry and armored conventional forces, and the shortfalls in their equipping (vice NATO goals) consisted of surface-to-surface missiles, destroyers, and fighters.¹⁸⁶ Thus, Turkish capability continued its slow upward

¹⁸² Ibid. 6.

¹⁸³ Ibid. 6-7.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 7.

¹⁸⁵ National Security Council. NSC 6015/1. “National Security Council: U.S. Policy Toward Turkey.” October 5, 1960: 7. RG 273, Policy Papers 6015-6109 Entry 1, Box 53.

¹⁸⁶ “62. The Five-Year (FY 1962-1966) MAP for Turkey, which has been developed as a basis for planning, projects a shortfall (costed at approximately \$140 million) against NATO-approved force goals as of the 1963 target date of two LACROSSE, one REDSTONE and two CORPORAL/SERGEANT battalions and eight destroyer/escort vessels. Measured against U.S. strategic force objectives, the shortfall during the 1962-1966 period (costed at

movement, constrained by the technological capacity of the population, and despite significant US wartime goals for the Turkish forces, the aid that Turkey could absorb (especially in terms of advanced weapons and capabilities) was capped. Thus, one can observe the conceptual utility of PSV; *ceteris paribus*, Turkey would be more valuable strategically if it had a greater technological capability. This greater value would be reflected in American willingness to transfer security resources to Turkey at an even more substantial pace than was observed.

Looking at the period as a whole, it appears that PSV is effective in predicting American security exchange behavior vis a vis Turkey from 1952-1961. US war plans informed a component of the American willingness to pay significant costs to support Turkey's military modernization. However, the US also held beliefs about Turkey's capability – while it did bring to the table considerable manpower and a critical geography, it was not nearly as strong in its technological and doctrinal abilities. Combined with Turkey's unwavering commitment to an Integration strategy with the West (discussed in Chapter 6), these factors formed Turkey's PSV, which was set against American global commitments and economic limits to determine the security assistance the US was willing to provide in order to develop and maintain this alliance.

approximately \$225 million) will consist of two LACROSSE, two SERGEANT, four LITTLE JOHN (or substitute) and one REDSTONE battalion; four patrol vessels, 14 minesweepers, four torpedo boats, two tactical fighter squadrons and a SAM substitute for a BOMARC squadron. These shortfalls represent those portions of the prescribed force goals which cannot be effectively supported by the Turkish Armed Forces due to manpower, technical, and financial limitations.” Ibid. 7.

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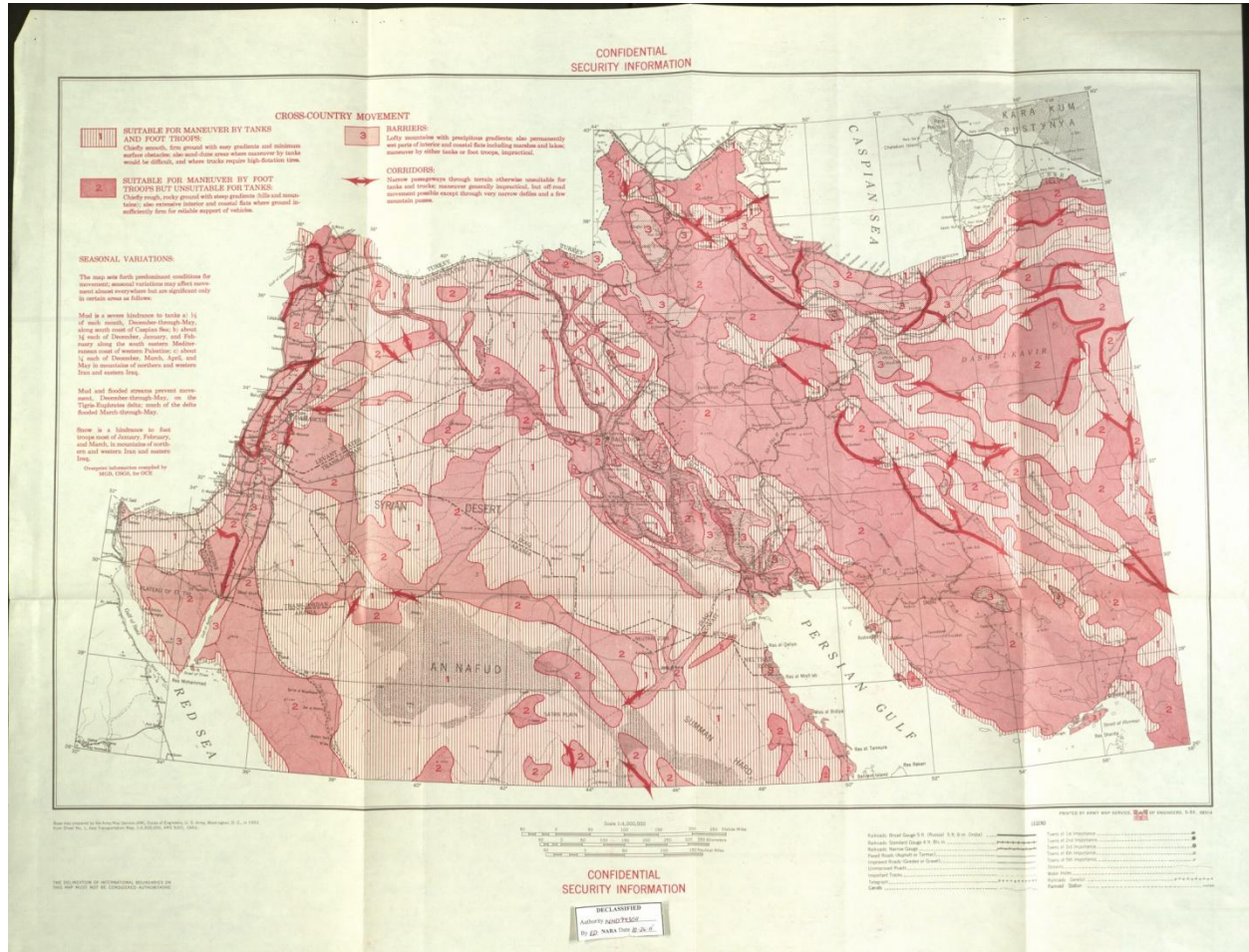
Summary Table: Turkey 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
TIV	358	555	498	360	195	606	673	848	605	329
% of total in the region	71	71	54	39	17	77	64	72	56	57
PSV	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Capability	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Size	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Tech	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Doctrine	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Geog.	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Resources	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
Relevance	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	High	High	High	High
Near	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	High	High
Long	Med	Med	Med	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
- TIV is the Total Import Value of all arms transferred from the West in this year (see Ch 3. for a more extensive discussion of this variable.) - % of total represents the small state's share of the TIV for the entire region										

Iran

As noted earlier, the potential strategic value of Iran's geography to the defense of Western interests in Turkey and the Gulf was not lost on Western planners after the Second World War. The Elburz mountains form a natural defensive barrier along the Soviet Union's southern border and would significantly impede the advance of a mechanized force. In the map below, created by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff in the early 1950s, restrictive terrain is marked in red and open terrain in white. The red arrows represent passes through which armored vehicles can travel, and it is these passes that would canalize invading Soviet forces for nuclear attack, as well as provide local numerical superiority for prepared defenders. In short, if the Iranian

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government could be induced to ally with the West and to produce the necessary forces, it would be the keystone linking the American defense of Europe, the Gulf, and South Asia.¹⁸⁷



4 Terrain Analysis. This map is an illustration of how the American defense establishment “saw” the Middle East. The very light areas are unrestricted terrain, which is ideal for mechanized warfare. The dark red areas are so-called SLO-GO terrain, in which the passage of armored vehicles is inhibited. The pink areas (such as those near the Caspian Sea) are NO-GO terrain, which is impassible to mounted forces. The only way to get armored vehicles from the Soviet Union to the Persian Gulf in a land invasion is via the dark arrows, which represent passes that link terrain types.¹⁸⁸

Of course, the pliability and suitability of the Iranian state for these purposes was in grave doubt at the outset of the period discussed in this chapter. Mohammed Mossadegh, whose

¹⁸⁷ For a further elaboration of this logic, see “Part I: Strategic Significance of Iran” in National Security Council. NSC 5402/1 “U.S. Policy Toward Iran.” Dec. 30, 1954: 21–24. RG 273, Policy Papers 5401-5404 Entry 1, Box 27.

¹⁸⁸ Joint Staff. “Report By the Joint Strategic Plans Committee on Defense of the Middle East” Oct 13, 1953. RG 218 Geographic File 1951-53, 388.1 Austria (6-8-46) Sec. 9 to 381 Emmea (11-19-47) Sec. 6, Box 13 Folder Sec 13.

ascendance and subsequent overthrow will be discussed in Chapter 6, was not considered a potential ally by the US, who conspired along with the British to have him removed from power. They succeeded in this endeavor in August of 1953 and restored the Shah, who facilitated the abandonment of Iran's "traditional policy of refusing to take sides in international rivalries" in favor of his own "profoundly anti-Communist" views.¹⁸⁹ Buttressed by the fact that he was "determined to use authoritarian means if necessary to maintain stability and carry forward desirable economic and political programs," the United States felt optimistic about the "progress ... made toward the attainment of U.S. objectives with respect to Iran."¹⁹⁰

The American evaluation of Iran's PSV in 1954 was fairly low. While it had a potentially useful geography and an abundance of oil, it lacked significant manpower (when compared to Turkey, for example) and what forces did exist would require "intensive training ... to make effective use of modern weapons."¹⁹¹ Thus, in terms of capability, Iranian manpower was medium and geography was high, but both technology and doctrine were low. In terms of relevance, it was understood that "Iranian armed forces [were] capable generally of maintaining internal security but [did] not possess a capability for significant defensive delaying action against Soviet aggression."¹⁹² In the immediate future, American planners hoped to develop Iranian forces that had "defensive delaying capabilities which would make a useful contribution to Middle East defense."¹⁹³ Thus, near-term Iran's relevance was low with the hope of reaching

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. 4.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. 4, 2.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 7.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid. 10. The decision not to utilize Iran's geography reflects the importance of analytically differentiating geography capability and war plan relevance. NSC 5402/1 declared that "It should be noted here that at the present time the U.S. has no commitment to employ U.S. forces in Iran. If it is found necessary for the U.S. to provide military forces in this area, implementation will require either an augmentation of U.S. forces or a reduction of present military commitments elsewhere. 6. The line which would have to be defended in order to protect Turkey and Pakistan against Soviet invasion through Iran, although mountainous, is much too extensive to permit any

medium at some point in the future. Given this rather modest PSV, it is unsurprising that American security transfers to Iran, while not negligible, were nowhere near what they would become.

In 1958, with the northward shift of the Western defensive line to the Elburz (driven largely by NATO's expanding atomic capability) and the demise of the Iraqi regime, Iran took on greater relevance. While its military continued to underwhelm American defense planners, who found it lacking in virtually all respects,¹⁹⁴ "[o]n July 19, 1958, the United States indicated to the Shah its agreement that, in the light of developments in Iraq, Iranian armed forces should be brought up to agreed operational strength and to a high level of operational efficiency."¹⁹⁵ The low technological and doctrinal capabilities of the Iranian forces required "additional training assistance" to support the increased security asset transfers and limited the amount of aid that could be given due to a lack of "adequately trained manpower."¹⁹⁶ A European Command (EUCOM) survey team found "serious problems exist[ed] in the fields of personnel, supply, and maintenance" that limited the "prospects for immediate improvement in the combat capability [of the] Iranian army."¹⁹⁷ Nonetheless, as mentioned earlier, Iran shared the distinction with Turkey of being one of the two small states identified by Eisenhower for rapid improvement in support of the American defensive concept for the Middle East. In fact, Iranian capability was believed to be trending upwards from its low levels of the mid-1950s, and in the 1958 policy

effective defense by Iranian forces alone in the foreseeable future. 7. The rugged terrain and lack of communication in this part of the Middle East make effective support of Iran extremely difficult."

¹⁹⁴ "Militarily, Iran is dangerously and directly exposed to Soviet expansion. The Army is only capable of maintaining internal security and offering very limited resistance to aggression by a major power. The Air Force and Navy are weak and ineffective. If the combat effectiveness of the Iranian armed forces is improved and the forces partially redeployed in accordance with U.S. strategic concepts, they could make an increased contribution to Middle East security by providing, with outside support, a delaying capability against Soviet forces, REDACTED frontier..." National Security Council. NSC 5821 "U.S. Policy Toward Iran." Oct. 31, 1958: 11. RG 273, Policy Papers 5821-5902 Entry 1, Box 49.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 11-A.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Cable from USCINCEUR PARIS FRANCE to DEPTAR WASH DC. 261346Z SEP 58. Para. B. File CCS 381 Sec 15. RG 218, Central Decimal File 1958 381 (8-23-57) Sec. 10 To 381 (8-14-57) Sec. 10, Box 65.

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review discussed here, American planners projected a “gradual introduction of major items of force improvement (e.g., tanks, heavy weapons) in the FY 1961 and 1962 as the Iranian Army show[ed] itself capable of utilizing and maintaining them.”¹⁹⁸

Thus, in this period Iran has a medium PSV, which is a function of their large petroleum reserves (resources), their geographical importance and relatively large army (medium/high capability) and low doctrinal and technological capabilities (low capability), and their limited relevance to US war planning in the present but anticipated contributions in the future (low-medium relevance). This value then informed the level of cost the US was willing to pay in order to maintain its security arrangements with Iran. As in Turkey, Iranian demands exceeded even the elevated level of resources the US was willing to dedicate in support of their strategic objectives in 1958: “Although pleased with this commitment, the Shah is basically dissatisfied with the U.S.-recommended levels for the Iranian armed forces and insists upon force levels that are clearly beyond Iran’s ability to support.”¹⁹⁹ Again, *ceteris paribus*, the evidence seems to show that a higher PSV (e.g. in the form of increased capability) would have resulted in a greater transfer of security goods from the US to Iran.

¹⁹⁸ National Security Council. NSC 5821 “U.S. Policy Toward Iran.” Financial Appendix. Oct. 31, 1958: 24. RG 273, Policy Papers 5821-5902 Entry 1, Box 49.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. 11-A.

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Summary Table: Iran 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
TIV	0	1	81	119	128	53	118	96	11	102
% of total in the region	0	0.1	9	13	11	6	11	8	1	18
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Capability	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Size	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	High	High	High	High	High
Tech	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Doctrine	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med
Geog.	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Resources	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Relevance	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Near	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Long	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
- TIV is the Total Import Value of all arms transferred from the West in this year (see Ch 3. for a more extensive discussion of this variable.) - % of total represents the small state's share of the TIV for the entire region										

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia in the 1950s had a very limited and specific value for the United States. It was, in strategic terms, an airfield and a sea of oil, but not much else. That is to say, it had very high resources (which are discussed above), a wartime relevance that was limited to the runways at Dhahran, and no other capability worth mentioning. This is expressed rather directly by the National Security Council: "The large-scale activities of American oil companies in the country

and the position of the U.S. Air Force at Dhahran Field have been the important factors contributing to the development of this close relationship.”²⁰⁰

A chief concern of American military planners in the 1950s was figuring out how to deliver atomic strikes into Soviet territory using long-range bombers. To create an effective deterrent, these bombers and their weapons needed bases within range of their targets, and, for the Southern USSR, this required bases in the Middle East.²⁰¹ As discussed earlier, it was with great alarm that the NSC noted in 1949 that there were no airfields in the area that could support American strategic requirements.²⁰² Dhahran Airfield presented a solution to that problem, especially since the Saudi regime had aligned itself with the US and not the UK.²⁰³ The agreement that secured the base for the US was about as straightforward an illustration of Security Exchange Theory as one can imagine:

Pursuant to a 1951 five-year agreement on U.S. base rights at Dhahran Airfield, a U.S. military training mission was established to provide training for the Saudi Arabian forces. During negotiations in early 1957 for a 5-year extension of the Dhahran base rights, the U.S. agreed to provide \$35 million in grant military assistance and to sell additional military equipment to Saudi Arabia. A three-year credit of \$50 million dollars has been extended in connection with the sales.

²⁰⁰ National Security Council. NSC 5428 Suggested amendments to NSC 155/1 “Memorandum for the National Security Council. Subject: United States Objectives and Policies with Respect to the Near East.” July 6, 1954: 33. RG 273, Policy Papers 5423-5428 Entry 1, Box 32.

²⁰¹ Khalidi, Rashid. 2009. Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East. Boston: Beacon Press: 12. “in 1945 the United States was already planning to acquire a major air base at Dhahran, which it continued using until 1962, and used again for a decade starting with the 1991 Gulf War, nearly thirty years later.” This base was part of a power-projection capability in the Middle East and North Africa that began with the “initial wartime deployments of American forces, and the later establishment and postwar maintenance of major U.S. air bases at Dhahran in Saudi Arabia, at Wheelus Field near Tripoli in Libya, in Morocco, and in Turkey [and] marked the beginning of a continuous U.S. military presence in different locales in this region, a presence that is ongoing to this day.” Ibid. 8.

²⁰² National Security Council. “A Report to the National Security Council by The Secretary of Defense on Airfield Construction” March 17, 1949: 1. RG 273, Policy Papers 41-47 Entry 1, Box 5. See also: National Security Council. “National Security Council Progress Report by The Department of State on the Implementation of Airfield Construction in the United Kingdom and the Cairo-Suez Area (NSC 45/1)” Oct. 31, 1950. RG 273, Policy Papers 41-47 Entry 1, Box 5.

²⁰³ This was a subject of competition between the British and Americans in the mid-1940s, and the political impact of the base was considered by Truman and American planners when the initial approval to complete the base was signed in 1945. See Palmer, Michael A. 1992. Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America’s Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833-1992. New York: Free Press:28-29.

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By the end of FY 1960, it is estimated that the U.S. will have delivered 55.5 million of assistance under these agreements. Major items of equipment include F86F, T-33, C-123 and B-26 aircraft; M-41 and M-47 tanks, howitzers, and 3.5” rocket launchers; and, coast guard utility boats. In addition, the U.S. has provided motor vehicles, spare parts, ammunition, and construction. Training assistance is administered by a U.S. Military Training Mission, which has a strength of approximately 370 U.S. military personnel.²⁰⁴

Unlike security transfers to Turkey and Iran, however, this allocation of resources was not intended to contribute to a larger defensive concept for the region. To believe that it was, one would have to assert that although Turkey and Iran were judged to lack the infrastructure to support large scale mechanized forces and thus US aid was limited, the Saudis were perfectly capable of fielding a modern force. If this was the goal, then it was a failure, because after seven years the Saudi military had made no noticeable progress: “Some of the limitations of the Saudi Army are: an inadequately trained officer corps, very limited logistical support for the Army in the field, the existence of endemic diseases among the troops, and a low level of education. The Saudi Army can maintain internal security but would be incapable of organized resistance against a modern army, except for desert harassing tactics.”²⁰⁵

A more compelling argument, which is captured by PSV, is that the US wished to buy a very specific capability – in this case, the geography of Dhahran, and was willing to pay for it using security assets. The overall pricing structure integrates the reality of Saudi resources (hence the importance of a notion of strategic value that is not simply a list of individual valuations tied to a form of capability, resources, or relevance,) but ultimately it is PSV that informs the extent of US willingness to pay costs to support its security arrangements with Saudi Arabia.

²⁰⁴ National Security Council. Financial Appendix to NSC 6011 “U.S. Policy Toward the Near East.” June 17, 1960: 34. RG 273, Policy Papers 6005-6014 Entry 1, Box 52.

²⁰⁵ National Security Council. NSC 5801/1 National Security Council: “Long-Range U.S. Policy Toward the Near East.” Jan. 24, 1958: Annex 7. RG 273, Policy Papers 5727-5805 Entry 1, Box 46.

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The other component of Saudi Arabia's strategic value is its immense oil reserves. Given their central importance to Europe's economy and the American strategic rivalry with the Soviet Union, it seems rather odd that the Saudis were not recipients of a greater level of security resources. However, I argue that the PSV of Saudi oil was so high that the US was unwilling to relinquish control over its defense and pay for a small state actor to provide an additional security capability.

There is strong archival support for this argument. First, the US planned to destroy the Saudi oil facilities rather than let them fall into Soviet hands and did not, from the discussion in the planning process, think it necessary to inform the Saudis about these intentions.²⁰⁶ Second, beginning in 1958, NSC documents began to include a paragraph to the effect that the flow of oil to the West would be maintained by force if necessary.²⁰⁷ This paragraph was repeated at various levels of redaction in all subsequent declassified NSC policy statements on the US objectives in the Middle East. Third, the Joint Chiefs of Staff directed the subordinate commands in the region to develop plans to reverse a coup d'état in Saudi Arabia and "reestablish [the] authority of [a] friendly government."²⁰⁸ Thus, in the 1950s the United States was unwilling to cede control of Saudi oil to foreign powers, a new Saudi regime, or even Saudi decisions to refuse to supply it. The strategic value of Saudi reserves had become so high that it

²⁰⁶ "In a memorandum to the Secretary of Defense (Enclosure "C" to SANACC 398), the Joint Chiefs of Staff have pointed out considerations which make it desirable to prepare plans for the destruction of oil facilities in the Middle East, presumably in the event it is impossible to defend them." Joint Staff. SANACC 398/4 "Demolition of Oil Facilities in the Middle East." Para 3. RG 218, Geographic File 1948-1950 381 Mediterranean Area (1-7-48) B.P. Pt. 18 To 600.6 Middle East (1-26-48) Sec. 1, Box No. 45, File marked "Demolition of Oil Facilities in The Middle East."

²⁰⁷ "Be prepared to use force, but only as a last resort, either alone or in support of the United Kingdom, to insure that the quantity of oil available from the Near East on reasonable terms is sufficient, together with oil from other sources, to meet Western Europe's requirements, recognizing that this course will cut across the courses of action envisioned above toward Arab nationalism and could not be indefinitely pursued." National Security Council. NSC 5820/1 "US Policy Toward the Near East." November 4, 1958: 7-8. RG 273, Policy Papers 5727-5805 Entry 1, Box 46.

²⁰⁸ Joint Staff. JCS 938896. March 22, 1958. RG 218, Central Decimal File 1958, 381 (8-21-58) to 381 (8-23-57) Sec. 9, Box 64, File 381 (8-23-57) Sec. 6 H.B.

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falls outside the spectrum of Security Exchange Theory. The “cost” of the alliance is hidden in the threats that underlie it – because defection is not an option, the transfer of resources puts a pleasant veneer on what is not really a completely voluntary exchange. The ability and willingness of the U.S. to use force as needed to reverse adverse ally decisions requires resources, but these remain under the control of the US and within the global pool of coercive capabilities and thus are not implicated in the process of security exchanges.

Setting aside the complicated issue of Saudi Arabia’s extremely high resource value, it is apparent that it is of limited PSV in terms of capabilities or relevance. Saudi forces were deemed incapable of serious resistance, the battle to protect the Saudi oil fields was to take place further north (in the Zagros and then the Elburz mountains), and the sole useful military contribution that Saudi Arabia could make was to provide a suitable airbase. The perceived value of this airbase can be observed directly, since negotiations between America and Saudi Arabia explicitly tied security exchanges to leasing rights. Especially relative to Iran and Turkey, it is clear that between 1952 and 1961 the PSV of Saudi Arabia was low.

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Summary Table: Saudi Arabia 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
TIV	7	1	1	9	10	51	36	8	11	12
% of total in the region	1	0.1	0.1	0.9	0.8	6	3	0.7	1	2
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Capability	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Size	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Tech	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Doctrine	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Geog.	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Resources	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Relevance	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Near	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Long	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
- TIV is the Total Import Value of all arms transferred from the West in this year (see Ch 3. for a more extensive discussion of this variable.) - % of total represents the small state's share of the TIV for the entire region										

Iraq

At the end of World War II, Iraq was considered to be of central importance to Western security policy in the Middle East. The British claimed that “the ability of Great Britain to contribute effectively to the maintenance of the Security of the Middle East depended to a large extent upon the holding of bases in that area” and “Iraq was regarded as possibly the key Middle Eastern country at the present time [1947].”²⁰⁹ For their part, the Americans did not disagree and only argued that Kuwait should continue to be developed as an alternative “in case developments should make it appear that effective use could not be made of the Iraqi bases.”²¹⁰ In the period immediately before this project’s analysis begins, “The Regent and other responsible officials

²⁰⁹ National Security Council. “Documents Resulting from Conversations with the British in regard to The Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.” Iraq Section: 1. RG 273, “P” Papers 2-46 Entry 3, Box 1.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

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were well disposed and the Iraqi Army appeared well satisfied with recent British efforts to meet its requests for the supply of military equipment.”²¹¹ However, in the intervening decade, Iraq’s portion of Western security transfers to the region became relatively small (and, as will be shown in Chapter 6, irritating to the Iraqi government); despite Iraqi participation in the Baghdad Pact, the monarchy collapsed, and Iraqi withdrawal from the US alliance framework for the region was met with mild disinterest. The reasons for this massive shift are easily explained in the terms of PSV. Iraq’s geography was of central relevance to controlling indigenous forces in the Middle East, but was of contingent usefulness in terms of a global conflict with the Soviet Union. Likewise, Iraqi forces, aided by British aircraft, were more than sufficient to put down various tribal rebellions in the mid-Euphrates but had negligible abilities against a modern mechanized force. Iraq’s resources, while important, were exploited in the broader context of Western oil ventures in the region and did not seem to be given a special independent weight.

A stark demonstration of the power of PSV over purely objective approaches to small state value is that just five years after agreeing on the centrality of Iraq to the defense of the Middle East, the NSC expressed the belief that “the armed forces of the Arab states [were] far inferior to those of the Western powers” and were “utterly inadequate to provide an effective counter to possible Soviet aggression.”²¹² Iraq was included in the list of countries whose military forces were “poorly trained and inadequately equipped.”²¹³ At the same time, Iraq was also identified (along with Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan) as a state that was “most keenly aware of the threat of Soviet Russia” and was “located geographically in the way of possible Soviet

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² National Security Council. NSC 5428 “Suggested amendments to NSC 155/1 Memorandum for the National Security Council. Subject: United States Objectives and Policies with Respect to the Near East.” July 6, 1954: 37. RG 273, Policy Papers 5423-5428 Entry 1, Box 32

²¹³ Ibid.

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aggression.”²¹⁴ Thus, as the American concept for the defense of the Middle East moved from a defense of the Suez to a defense of the Zagros (based largely on robustness of its nuclear capability), the relevance (and therefore the PSV) of Iraq increased and an aid program was established. Nonetheless, Iraq was of relatively less importance than its neighbors to the north. In 1955, the same year that the US assistance program to Turkey was expanding and worth nearly a billion dollars, due to “worldwide requirements and limited funds available, the Iraq program [was] screened downward [from \$33 million to \$12.8 million over a four-year period.]”²¹⁵

In 1955, Iraq also became a founding member of the Baghdad Pact, which integrated it into the American concept for the defense of the Middle East. As such, it “enjoy[ed] the highest priority in the delivery of MAP [Military Assistance Program] equipment along with Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey.”²¹⁶ This aid appears to have some effect, and by 1957 the Iraqi army was considered “good by Near Eastern standards” and could support “one infantry division outside Iraq without loss of capability to maintain internal security.”²¹⁷ Nonetheless, it was still assessed as capable of “no more than minor harassing action” against the invasion of a major power.²¹⁸ It is precisely because it made such a limited contribution to the Western defense of the region against the Soviet Union that the 1958 coup that overthrew the monarchy was met with a less aggressive response than was planned for the equivalent event in Saudi Arabia.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ National Security Council. NSC 5428 “Financial Annex to Progress Report on Near East (NSC 5428)” in National Security Council “Progress Report on United States Objectives and Policies with Respect to the Near East.” Nov 2, 1955: 2. RG 273, Policy Papers 5423-5428 Entry 1, Box 32.

²¹⁶ National Security Council. “Near East Military Annex” Sep 12, 1957: 3. in National Security Council. NSC 5801/1 “Long-Range U.S. Policy Toward the Near East.” Jan 24, 1958. RG 273, Policy Papers 5727-5805 Entry 1, Box 46.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

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After the coup, the American evaluation of the Iraqi army's capabilities remained stable. While it was "fairly well-trained and well-equipped by Middle East standards" it nonetheless suffered from "a shortage of well-trained and efficient officers [doctrine], the small size of the forces [size], the low level of general and technical education [technology], the lack of combat experience and of an adequate reserve of mobilization system, and a weak logistical system [doctrine/technology]."²¹⁹ Iraq continued to sell oil to the West under the auspices of the Iraq Petroleum Company after the revolution. Thus, in terms of PSV, Iraq was consistently a low capability state with high resources throughout the period 1952-1961. However, its Perceived Strategic Value to the United States varied with its relevance in terms of war plans focused on the USSR. While more relevant than states further south, it was less important than Turkey or Iran, especially after the planned line of defense moved north from the Iran/Iraq border to the Iran/USSR border area.

²¹⁹ National Security Council. Annex A to NSC 6011:38 in National Security Council "U.S. Policy Toward the Near East." June 17, 1960. RG 273, Policy Papers 6005-6012 Entry 1, Box 52.

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Summary Table: Iraq 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
TIV	58	49	19	91	97	4	58	0	0	0
% of total in the region	12	6	2	10	9	0.5	6	0	0	0
PSV	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Low	Low	Low
Capability	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Size	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Tech	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Doctrine	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Geog.	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Resources	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Relevance	Med	Med	Med	Med	High	Med	Med	Low	Low	Low
Near	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Low	Low	Low
Long	High	High	High	High	High	Med	Med	Low	Low	Low
- TIV is the Total Import Value of all arms transferred from the West in this year (see Ch 3. for a more extensive discussion of this variable.) - % of total represents the small state's share of the TIV for the entire region										

Israel

In the early 1950s, the United States was concerned that the dispute between Israel and the surrounding Arab states would distract them from “the greater threat of international communism.”²²⁰ In order to encourage settlement of the dispute, the US pursued a “relatively balanced” approach to the two sides of the conflict and, according to Rashid Khalidi, “[i]t could certainly be said that until the mid-1960s the United States acted more as an honest broker in the conflict than as a dedicated ally of Israel.”²²¹ Further, American willingness to pay disproportionate costs to ally with Israel was also very different in the 1950s – “the United States

²²⁰ National Security Council. NSC 47/5 “A Report to the President by the National Security Council: United States Policy Toward the Arab States and Israel.” March 14, 1951: 7. RG 273, Policy Papers 41-47 Entry 1, Box 5.

²²¹ Khalidi, Rashid. 2005. *Resurrecting Empire*. Boston: Beacon Press: 126.

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did not sell Israel significant quantities or the most modern kinds of arms until the 1960s.”²²² To properly analyze these shifts, which are still shrouded by classification, it is first necessary to establish Israel’s PSV.

The purpose of the limited assistance provided to Israel (and the Arab states) in the early 1950s was 5-fold. It was believed that:

If military assistance were supplied to the several Arab States and Israel, these states would (a) tend to become more closely oriented towards the United States; (b) be better able to preserve the internal security; (c) contribute after a time to the defense of the area; (d) be able to conduct guerrilla warfare and harassing operations in the event the area or part of it is overrun; and (e) be more amenable to the granting of strategic rights.²²³

This supports the defensive concept outlined at the beginning of the chapter, wherein the defense of the Middle East was to occur around the Suez after a series of atomic attacks on invading Soviet forces. While the states in the region had a value that is identified by policy-makers, they were not of such strategic importance that they were deemed worth a large-scale transfer of scarce security assets.²²⁴

Nonetheless, it was clear to American policy-makers in the 1950s that Israel had a population that was “highly literate, industrious, and relatively free from the diseases which handicap other peoples of the area” and could, for its size, contribute “substantial and effective numbers to a fighting force.”²²⁵ That is to say, Israel had low size and geography, but high

²²² Khalidi, Rashid. 2005. *Resurrecting Empire*. Boston: Beacon Press: 127. The TIV in the table above records arms sales from all Western sources, and the distance between the archival records and this measure should be understood as indicative both of TIV’s limitations as proxy and of the theories imprecision when dealing with the policy initiatives of second-tier states in a bipolar system.

²²³ NSC 47/5: 6.

²²⁴ In fact, in order to “avoid being drawn into an arms race in the Near East it was decided that these shipments [of weapons] should be limited to such equipment as we might consider necessary for the maintenance of internal order and for legitimate defense.” The only exception to this in the early 50s was British transfers of heavy military equipment for “the defense of the Near East in case of Soviet aggression.” National Security Council. NSC 65/2 “A Report to the National Security Council by the Executive Secretary on United States Policy Towards Arms Shipments to the Near East.” May 10, 1950. RG 273, Policy Papers 61-67 Entry 1, Box 8.

²²⁵ National Security Council. NSC 5428 “United States Objectives and Policies with Respect to the Near East.” July 6, 1954: 34. RG 273, Policy Papers 5423-5428 Entry 1, Box 32.

technology and doctrine. This opinion remained stable over time, as did the US position vis-a-vis Israel during this period.²²⁶ Israel offered neither the overwhelming size nor the critical geography to be considered a high capability state worth investing in, and their contribution to the Western defense of the Middle East, its oil, and the critical sea lanes to Europe would be minimal in the event of a large-scale Soviet attack. Thus, Israel capabilities, resources, and relevance were not particularly noteworthy during the 1950s.

There is, however, an odd spike in the data that bears further discussion. In 1956, there is a rapid increase in arms transfers to Israel, which is recorded in US government documents thusly: “The U.S. continued its policy of not shipping major quantities of arms to Israel and neighboring Arab states ... Prior to October 29 [1956], the U.S. offered no objection to the sale to Israel by France of 24 Mystere jet fighters and by Canada to Israel of 24 F-86s ... France during this period [around the Suez Crisis] apparently supplied arms to Israel in substantial quantities without informing the U.S.”²²⁷ This reality presents a challenge to the usefulness of great power PSV similar to that of the British nuclear force discussed in the war plans section, in that PSV focuses itself on bipolar competition and does not model second-tier states particularly well. In the data, it is apparent that the US supports purchases from other Western suppliers

²²⁶ “The Israeli armed forces have a high degree of literacy, a universal determination to develop a militarily strong state, many officers and enlisted men with combat experience in foreign armies, and the ability to mobilize rapidly. The Israeli armed forces can maintain internal security and carry out a limited offensive against the combined Arab States. Against a major power, it could offer effective delaying action.” National Security Council. “Near East Military Annex” dated Sep 12, 1957: 4. In NSC 5801/1 “Long-Range U.S. Policy Toward the Near East.” Jan 24, 1958. RG 273, Policy Papers 5727-5805 Entry 1, Box 46. “Israel maintains an active force of approximately 53,250, consisting of an Army of 34,500, Youth Forces of 5,500, a Navy of 4,150, and Air Force of 3,200, and a Police Force of 5,900. An excellent reserve system permits expansion to about 250,000 within 48 hours. These forces can maintain internal security and carry out a limited offensive against the combined Arab states. They could offer effective delaying action against a large-scale attack by a major power.” National Security Council. “Annex A Strengths and Capabilities of Near East Forces” in NSC 6011 “U.S. Policy Toward the Near East.” June 17, 1960: 38. RG 273, Policy Papers 6005-6014 Entry 1, Box 52.

²²⁷ National Security Council. NSC 5428 “National Security Council: United States Objectives and Policies with Respect to the Near East. Progress Report.” Dec 26, 1956: 8. RG 273, Policy Papers 5423-5428 Entry 1, Box 32

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financially, which seems to fit with the puzzle addressed by PSV (why would a bipole spend security resources on a small state?).

The reason for the spike, of course, is that Britain, France, and Israel had independently developed a plan to seize the Suez Canal, which they then executed to the surprise and great annoyance of the United States. This crisis and its politics are not tractable within the theory, given that they relate to regional security and post-colonial animosities. Nonetheless, it still finds its way into the data, because by treating “the West” as a bloc that is co-extensive with the United States, this research design inadvertently captures shifts in the dependent variable proxy that do not accurately reflect costs to the great power. I do not believe this noise is fatal to the project as a whole, as it seems that, in general terms, the West shared similar security goals and the US supported the arms transfers that did occur between 1952 and 1979. Nonetheless, it may introduce noise into the data and seems likely to have inflated the Israeli TIV listed here.

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Summary Table: Israel 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
TIV	69	107	49	118	593	30	40	207	375	93
% of total in the region	14	14	5	13	52	4	4	18	35	16
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Capability	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Size	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Tech	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Doctrine	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Geog.	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Resources	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Relevance	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Near	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Long	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
- TIV is the Total Import Value of all arms transferred from the West in this year (see Ch 3. for a more extensive discussion of this variable.) - % of total represents the small state's share of the TIV for the entire region										

Section Summary

This section demonstrates the explanatory power of the PSV approach. Countries with lower PSV generally received lower total security transfers from all western sources (subject, of course, to the caveats discussed above.) Moreover, the internal deliberations of the American government indicates that it understood capability, resources, and relevance in the manner in which the terms are used in the theory, that the causal relationship between PSV and security exchanges operates as predicted, and that alternate theories of alliance pay-offs (such as ideological, symbolic, and security/autonomy approaches) are not only less accurate but, in fact, are explicitly rejected by policy-makers as a basis for security transfers.

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I have demonstrated that US strategic evaluations of potential alliances in the Middle East were a function of its beliefs about the region's defensibility in a war with the USSR. In the early 1950s, limited Western conventional forces, nuclear capabilities, and delivery platforms forced planners to adopt a defense of the region based around the Suez canal. As American nuclear capabilities expanded, this line moved north, first to the Iran/Iraq border and then into northern Iran / Turkey. Simultaneously, the region's oil resources became increasingly critical, leading the US to prepare to use force to preserve access to Saudi oil.

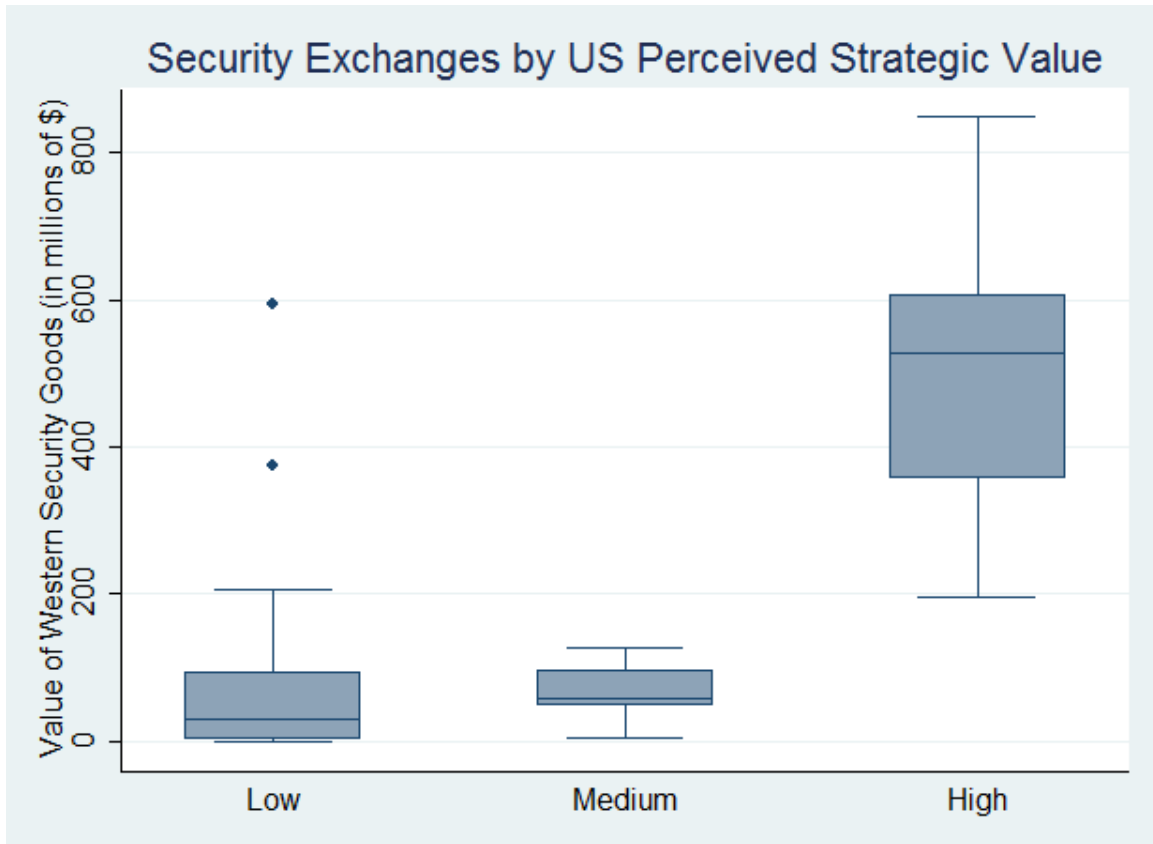
PSV asserts that great powers base security payments not only on the geography, resources, and planning relevance of small states, but also on their capacity to absorb security transfers in such a way that the small state generates a useful force to be employed against a great power adversary. The utility of this expanded notion of capability is evident in American deliberations concerning security transfers. While the great power might, based purely on geography, resources, and relevance, prefer to transfer more resources, it is constrained by the size, doctrine, and technology limitations of its small state ally. Conversely, a doctrinally and technologically advanced small state that is simply in the wrong place is also not of much value, as evidenced by American discussions of Israel's potential contributions to regional war plans. The power of PSV is that it integrates these diverse considerations into a single variable, which both reflects policy-maker considerations and the reality that its particular sub-components are seldom considered in isolation.

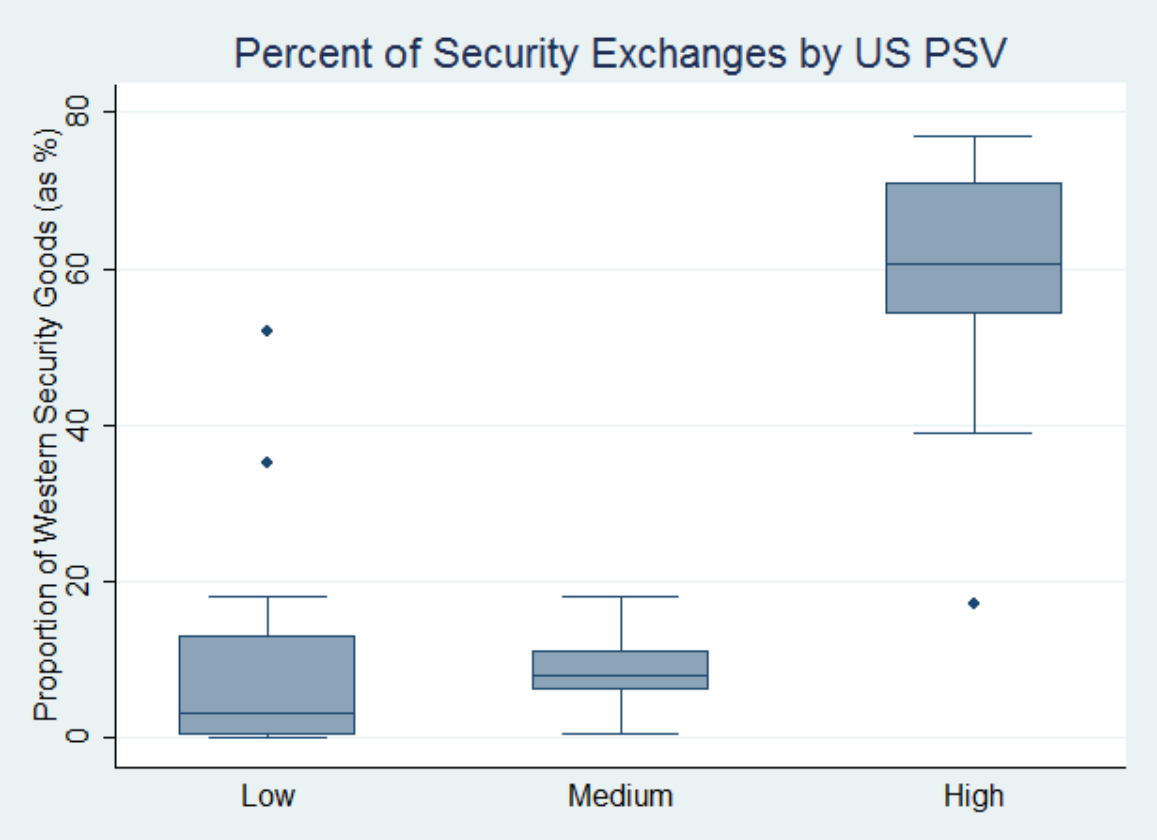
This chapter has tested PSV against US alliance policy in the Middle East between 1952 and 1961 and found it to be parsimonious and useful. It is an effective predictor of both process and outcome, even in an era with significant political and ideological turmoil.

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PSV Summary Table: 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Turkey TIV	358	555	498	360	195	606	673	848	605	329
% of total	71	71	54	39	17	77	64	72	56	57
PSV	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
<i>Capability</i>	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
<i>Resources</i>	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
<i>Relevance</i>	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	High	High	High	High
Iran TIV										
Iran TIV	0	1	81	119	128	53	118	96	11	102
% of total	0	0.1	9	13	11	6	11	8	1	18
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
<i>Capability</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
<i>Resources</i>	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
<i>Relevance</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Saudi TIV										
Saudi TIV	7	1	1	9	10	51	36	8	11	12
% of total	1	0.1	0.1	0.9	0.8	6	3	0.7	1	2
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
<i>Capability</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
<i>Resources</i>	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
<i>Relevance</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Iraq TIV										
Iraq TIV	58	49	19	91	97	4	58	0	0	0
% of total	12	6	2	10	9	0.5	6	0	0	0
PSV	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Low	Low	Low
<i>Capability</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
<i>Resources</i>	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
<i>Relevance</i>	Med	Med	Med	Med	High	Med	Med	Low	Low	Low
Israel TIV										
Israel TIV	69	107	49	118	593	30	40	207	375	93
% of total	14	14	5	13	52	4	4	18	35	16
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
<i>Capability</i>	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
<i>Resources</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
<i>Relevance</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low

- see previous notes regarded TIV and % of total measures.





Soviet Security Exchanges in the Middle East, 1952-1961

In this chapter, I analyze the costly alliances made by the Soviet Union in the Middle East between 1952 and 1961. Security Exchange Theory has been presented as a general theory of great power – small state security behavior in essential regions under bipolarity. However, the bulk of the evidence presented has explored shifting American strategic considerations and the impact that these exogenous changes had on alliance behaviors in the Middle East. An obvious and reasonable critique of this method is that it only demonstrates the efficacy of PSV as a theory of American foreign policy, but not as a component of a general theory of security exchanges. Therefore, I now turn to Soviet policy, albeit in a more abbreviated fashion than the previous chapter. Due to the differences in archival accessibility and robustness, to the extent I discuss the Soviet Union, I rely on memoirs, secondary sources, and a few critical documents. To be clear, the purpose here is not to make a structured and focused comparison between the US and the USSR, but rather to confirm that my theory is a general approach to great power alliance behavior.

I undertake that task in three parts. First, I discuss Soviet strategic goals in the Middle East in a general way, recount their early and unsuccessful attempts to achieve those goals, and open my discussion of the alliance strategy that emerged in the mid-1950s. Next, I analyze the relative PSV of the three recipients of Soviet aid during this period: Egypt, Iraq, and Syria. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the utility of PSV in understanding the behavior of a great power that experiences limited success in the attainment of its strategic goals.

Soviet Strategic Considerations 1952-1961

The Soviet Union suffered terribly during the Second World War, and began the period of this study in a precarious strategic position. Western planners were deeply concerned about

the vulnerability of their forces to Soviet attack, but ironically “[a]lthough, based on their capabilities or functions, the Western forces in early postwar Europe were not particularly suited to wage another war, the Soviet forces were even less so.”²²⁸ Many of the identified Soviet divisions were below strength or existed only on paper, and Soviet regular army formations relied on horse-drawn transport until the mid-1950s.²²⁹ The Soviet Union possessed no offensive naval capability. Stalin’s goals for the Navy were “a credible deterrent against seaborne enemy attack; an adequate wartime defense of the USSR’s extensive maritime borders; and a prestigious position of readily apparent naval strength (tonnage-wise), from which to conduct the political, economic, psychological, and paramilitary programs of the USSR’s long-term policy of ‘peaceful coexistence.’”²³⁰ It had no ability to force its way into the Atlantic to gain control of NATO lines of communication (LOCs) and could not operate in the Mediterranean against the American Sixth Fleet due to a lack of organic air capabilities (ie carriers). Finally, despite the development of a nuclear capability in 1949, the Soviet Union did not possess the long-range bombers to deliver those weapons to targets in the United States. “It was not until 1956/7 that intercontinental bombers (the TU-20 Bear and the MYA-4 Bison) entered the Soviet inventory,”²³¹ and these bombers had engine problems that made them unreliable for trans-Atlantic flights.²³²

Between 1952 and 1961, Western nuclear strike capabilities relied on aircraft and intermediate range ballistic missiles, both of which required a ring of bases throughout the Middle East in order to range targets in the southern USSR. I discuss these considerations

²²⁸ Mathew Evangelista, “Stalin’s Postwar Army,” in *Soviet Military Policy*, ed. Sean Lynn-Jones, Steven Miller, and Stephen Van Evera, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989), 293. The chapter originally appeared in *International Security* – Matthew Evangelista, “Stalin’s Postwar Army Reappraised,” *International Security* 7 (1982/83)

²²⁹ *Ibid.* 294.

²³⁰ Robert Herrick, *Soviet Naval Strategy: Fifty Years of Theory and Practice*, (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1968), 60.

²³¹ Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, 3rd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 61.

²³² Paul Bracken, “Net Assessment: A Practical Guide,” *Parameters* 36 (2006), 93.

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extensively in Chapter 4 and won't recapitulate them here, except to highlight the strategic imperative this created for the Soviet Union to extend the buffer zone around its borders, which would have the salutary effect of both displacing existing missile sites (which would limit target selection and missile type) and creating more space for an air-defense in depth (which would increase the detection and subsequent attrition of incoming bombers). In terms of defensive naval capabilities, the ability to intercept nuclear-armed naval aircraft would be enhanced by the ability to push the Sixth Fleet deeper into the Mediterranean, which, in turn, would be facilitated by control of the Turkish straits. Thus, strictly from the perspective of limiting nuclear attacks against the USSR proper, the Soviets had strong incentives to attempt to gain either control or domination of neighboring states. As will be discussed below, the Stalinist attempts to do so in Iran and Turkey failed catastrophically, and had the unfortunate effect of amplifying the very outcome they sought to avoid – that of Western-aligned states contributing capabilities to American war plans.

However, the Middle East also presented the Soviet Union with other Western vulnerabilities that could be exploited in a war with the United States. Specifically, interdiction of the Suez Canal would cut an important sea line of communication (SLOC) between the Atlantic and Pacific, the ability to destroy shipping in the Persian Gulf and oil pipelines running across Syria would severely curtail Western petroleum supplies, and bases around the Mediterranean could play to Soviet naval strengths (littoral defense augmented by land-based aircraft) in the battle against the Sixth Fleet. Thus, Soviet strategic objectives in the region were fourfold: gain and expand the control over buffer states (known to the West as the Northern Tier – Turkey and Iran); control SLOCs (the Suez and the Turkish Straits); interdict Gulf oil; and develop basing in the Mediterranean in support of operations against the Sixth Fleet.

Misfire in the Opening Salvo

In his final speech to the CPSU in 1952, Stalin shared his thoughts on the relationship between the Soviet Union and its newly acquired client states. In his view, the Soviet Union had been the “shock troops” that suffered enormously at the hands of czarist, fascist, and capitalist opponents, but in the aftermath of the Second World War that mantle had now been passed to the post-war People’s Republics across the world. The Soviet Union would serve as an example, a guide, and a source of support and inspiration for revolutionary forces elsewhere, but, implicitly, was not eager to continue to bear the costs of global revolution as it had been doing for the previous 30 years.²³³

The need to buffer the Soviet Union proper against the aggression of capitalist states led to the creation of the Warsaw Pact in Eastern Europe, which was easily accomplished through the presence of an occupying Soviet army. A similar initiative was contemplated along the USSR’s southern border as well. During WWII, the Soviet Union established a de facto state in northern Iran and continued to occupy its “zone” after the end of the conflict. Similarly, the Soviets sought to gain a dominant position in Turkey both during and after the war. Without getting into the diplomatic intricacies, it is sufficient to say that during the Second World War Turkey resisted Allied pressure to allow basing rights, in the belief that Allied bases would trigger a German offensive that they would be unable to counter on their own. This incapacity would then merit the introduction of further Allied forces to shore up Turkish defenses (or retake Turkish territory) and, post-Stalingrad, those forces would in all likelihood be Soviet. Having failed to do so during the war, the Soviet Union attempted to introduce bases into Turkey after the fact. It is worth considering this Soviet attempt in a bit more detail, since its failure

²³³ Joseph Stalin, “Speech of the 19th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,” 1952, in *Works*, Vol. 16, (London: Red Star Press Ltd, 1986,) accessed Aug. 13, 2013, <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1952/10/14.htm>

transformed the Northern Tier into the fulcrum of American regional defense policy and became a considerable barrier to Soviet security ambitions for the remainder of the decade.

Of the four Soviet strategic objectives in the Middle East listed above (geographical buffers, control of sea lanes, basing rights, and the interdiction of Gulf oil,) three would be met directly through domination of Turkey. The Black Sea fleet could traverse the straits and operate in the Eastern Mediterranean with land-based air support, the West would be unable to operate in the Black Sea in wartime, and Western missiles and aircraft would be driven southward and away from the Soviet homeland. Thus, Stalin sought a revision to the treaty apparatus that controlled the Turkish Straits.

In addition to a 1921 treaty signed between Turkey and the Soviets, Turkish control of the straits connecting the Mediterranean and the Black Sea is governed by the 1936 Montreux Convention which “ensures that no enemy fleet more powerful than the Soviet Black Sea fleet can threaten the coasts and shipping of the USSR in that region” but “limits the size and character of the warships which the USSR can pass through the Straits into the Mediterranean.”²³⁴ This external check on Soviet naval capabilities was challenged by Stalin in 1946, when the Soviets transmitted a note to Turkey that “asserted that the Montreux Convention did not meet the security interests of the Black Sea Powers, and proposed a new regime at the Straits.”²³⁵ The revised plan “called for a joint Turco-Soviet system of defense for the Straits – a system which implicitly contained the idea of Soviet bases.”²³⁶ The idea of a permanent Soviet military presence was extraordinarily threatening to Turkey, and it was this diplomatic blunder

²³⁴ Malcolm, Yapp, “Soviet Relations with the Countries of the Northern Tier,” in *The Soviet Union in the Middle East: Policies and Perspectives*, Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha, ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 31-32.

²³⁵ Bruce Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East: Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey, and Greece*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 359.

²³⁶ Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East*, 360

by the USSR that “pushed Turkey into the arms of the USA.”²³⁷ Or, put differently, the Soviet offer of a security exchange was rejected by the Turks in favor of the American alternative.

The Soviet Entry into the Middle East

In 1953/4, the Soviet position in the Middle East was extremely precarious. While American planners were concerned about the Soviet ability to generate forces within the USSR proper and attack south, the Soviets had to contend with Turkey’s alignment with the West, the restoration of the Shah in Iran, and American attempts to create the Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO). The Soviet recognition of Israel had not persuaded the Israelis to abandon neutralism and a broad policy of support for local communist parties was yielding no worthwhile results. In Egypt, “Stalin’s death in 1953 produced no real change. The Russians opened a cultural centre in Cairo and there were some trade agreements, but communist parties everywhere maintained their hostility towards the Egyptian revolution.”²³⁸ Effectively locked out of the region, the Soviets were forced to wait for an opportunity to present itself.

In 1955, Egypt’s President Gamal Abdul Nasser delivered a speech at the Bandung conference in which he argued that the conflict between the great powers slowed the progress of all nations, not least because the pursuit of self-interest by large countries involved the manipulation of small countries in such a way as to divide and weaken them.²³⁹ Given that the

²³⁷ Yapp, “Soviet Relations with the Countries of the Northern Tier,” 32.

²³⁸ Mohammed Heikal, *The Sphinx and the Commissar*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 54. This view is corroborated by pre-eminent Soviet Arabist Yevgeny Primakov, who wrote: “When the Free Officers first came to power in Egypt, Moscow’s attitude to them could charitably be described as skeptical. Back then, the main consideration in evaluating any new regime was the gap that separated it from the communists. In Egypt’s case that gap was considerable.” Yevgeny Primakov, *Russia and the Arabs*. Paul Gould, trans. (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 61.

²³⁹ “The address by President Gamal Abdel Nasser at the opening of the Asian African Conference in Bandung,” April 19, 1955, <http://nasser.bibalex.org/Speeches/browser.aspx?SID=339&lang=en>, accessed August 15, 2013. The relevant paragraphs read:

Baghdad Pact had been signed earlier in the year, it is not hard to read Egypt's participation in the Non-Aligned Movement signaled a final rejection of American overtures to form an alliance and created a further schism between Nasser and the West. Egyptian politics, security considerations, and its bargaining strategy in this period are fascinating and will be discussed in the following chapter; for now, it is sufficient to note that the US chose to exit the bidding for a security exchange with Egypt, thus opening the opportunity for the Soviet Union to do so.

Unlike the American case, I do not have archival evidence of that allows direct causal process observations of Soviet calculations of Egyptian Perceived Strategic Value (PSV). However, "if one considers that the primary and overriding objective of the Soviet Union during the period 1955-58 was the protection of Soviet security through the isolation and ideally the dissolution of the Baghdad Pact, then the Czech arms deal certainly contributed to the achievement of this objective."²⁴⁰ Thus, the security exchange with Egypt was intended to indirectly facilitate Soviet security aims along its southern borders – namely, the creation of a buffer zone. It could also directly achieve Soviet control of the Suez in the event of hostilities, assuming that the Egyptian government would be willing or able to close the canal to Western

من عليه نص وما الام يثاق أن صار من مصر كانت - الأمم هيئة تقدم عاق الذي - الك برى الدول بين التوترف ترة وفي
- الإن سان حقوق يطابق بما المنظمة هذه قيام عدم بشأن الأوهام من خلواً الدول أكثر من كانت العربية الدول أن ومع مبادئ
كان وما بشأنها، اهتمامنا يقل ولم فيها، ثقتنا فقد لم أننا إلا - ف لسط بين إفريقيا شمال دول ي تعلق فيما ولا سيما
ال عالية وأهدافها الرفيعة بما بادئها إيماننا لا يضعف أو نشاطها، نواحي في معها التعاون عن ليعوق ناموق فيها
الرئيس سيادة
التي السياسة الضغط ألعيب وهي ألامنها، رة الك بي سيما ولا الدول تغفله ما فكثيراً إليه، أشير أن أحب آخر شرط وهناك
نضع أن أردنا إذا فوراً وفيه يجب هذا الأولى، أغراض لتدقيق كأداة الصغيرة الدول اسد تخدام على الك بيرة الدول تعمل بها
حالياً الموجود الدولي ل لتوتر حدة
يعزلها فهو الصغيرة، الدول على ضارال أثر له الخاصة مصالحها لتدقيق معينة سياسة الك بيرة الدول فرض إن
فإن الأجد بية السيطرة تحت تقع وبذا بينها، قائماً يكون قد الذي والتعاون الروابط يضعف كما بينها، فيما ويرق
الدولي التوترحدة وتخفيف الدولية، العلاقات تحسدين سبيل في الإن شاتي بدورها ت قوم أن الصغيرة الدول على

²⁴⁰ Karen Dawisha, *Soviet Foreign Policy Towards Egypt*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 13. Dawisha identifies the primary Soviet objective in the region thusly: "On the Soviet side, in so far as the Czech arms deal was designed primarily to alleviate pressure on Egypt to join a Western-sponsored pact, the agreement certainly did assist the Soviet decision-makers in achieving their primary objective of reducing the perceived threat to Soviet security by isolating, while not eradicating, the Western military threat in the Arab world." Ibid. 11-12.

ships. Finally, Egypt could facilitate basing for Soviet forces intended to challenge the American Sixth Fleet, although this point merits further discussion.

It is certainly true that by the late 1960s Soviet basing rights in Egypt were used in support of Soviet naval operations in the Mediterranean.²⁴¹ Given the realities of the geography and the limitations of the Soviet arsenal, bases that supported naval operations with land-based aircraft near a natural chokepoint like the Suez were nearly ideal for Soviet strategic needs and one might conjecture that Soviet planners took this into consideration when evaluating Egypt's PSV. However, it seems just as likely that this is a case of the *post hoc, propter hoc* logical fallacy. First, it imputes to Soviet planners an ability to predict 15-20 years into the future and then base policy on those predictions. While military establishments in general are capable of trying to predict future trends, it is not apparent that these predictions are the basis for major foreign policy decisions (as opposed to say, research, doctrine, or procurement.) To make this assertion would require facts that are currently not in evidence. Second, at the time the Czech arms decision was made, Soviet naval doctrine had not evolved past a commitment to coastal defense and limited-duration naval strikes. While there were changes afoot that would make themselves apparent in the next two decades, these were not yet doctrinal and likely had limited

²⁴¹ "The period immediately after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, witnessed, if anything, an increase in Soviet influence. It was the Soviet leaders themselves who decided to upgrade and intensify their presence in the region ... Soviet strategic thinking was shifting towards establishing a greater conventional military presence to challenge Western domination in conventional arms in areas such as the Middle East. The securing of military facilities in Egypt, and to a lesser extent Syria, Iraq and Algeria, therefore became a high priority. Indeed, by the early 1970s, thousands of Soviet military advisers had been dispatched to Egypt and Syria to rebuild the armies from the ashes of 1967. At the same time, the annual number of Soviet ships in the Mediterranean was dramatically increased, and the Soviet navy obtained repair and resupply facilities at the Egyptian ports of Alexandria, Port Said, Mersa Matruh and Sollum; at the Iraqi port of Um Kasr; at Berbera in Somalia; and at Aden in the PDRY [People's Democratic Republic of Yemen]. To crown and cement this increasing Soviet visibility, Moscow signed treaties of friendship and cooperation with Egypt in 1971 and Iraq in 1972." Adeer Dawisha, "The Soviet Union in the Arab World: The Limits to Superpower Influence," in *The Soviet Union in the Middle East: Policies and Perspectives*, Adeer Dawisha and Karen Dawisha, eds. (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 13-14.

impact on alliance strategy.²⁴² Therefore, arguing that Egypt has a high PSV in the mid-1950s on the basis of its suitability for naval bases is difficult to support given the available evidence.

PSV and Soviet Arms Transfers 1955-1961

Given the difficulties the Soviet Union faced finding willing participants in costly alliances in the Middle East and the relative inaccessibility of Soviet calculations, care must be taken in deriving theoretical predictions and assessing observable implications. Nonetheless, PSV is an excellent predictor of the relative allocation of Soviet aid within the set of countries to which in transferred arms in the 1950s. In this section, I leverage the four strategic imperatives identified above, the memoirs of participants, and contemporaneous assessments to derive measures of PSV for Iraq, Syria, and Egypt and then test the rougher evaluation of PSV against the observed value of the arms transferred to each country.

Egypt

With the second largest army in the region (behind Turkey,) a critical geographic position athwart the intersection of Asia and Africa, access to both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and the ability to address Soviet strategic imperatives as discussed above, it is unsurprising that Egypt would rank highest in PSV among the three states receiving Soviet aid. In this section I discuss the constituent elements of the Soviet PSV for Egypt and conclude with a summary table.

While Egypt had a relatively large army, it had exceedingly limited equipment and capabilities. In 1955, the USSR sent Dimitry Shepilov, an editor of Pravda and former chair of the Supreme Soviet's Foreign Affairs committee to Cairo, where he observed the anniversary

²⁴² See Robert Herrick, *Soviet Naval Strategy*, (Annapolis: US Naval Institute Press, 1968) and Robert Herrick, *Soviet Naval Theory and Policy: Gorshkov's Inheritance*, (Newport: Naval War College Press, 1989).

celebrations for the July Revolution. Upon “leaving Cairo, Shepilov took with him numerous photographs of an Egyptian military parade, which featured a few outdated armored vehicles, and soldiers equipped with rifles that dated back to the First World War.”²⁴³ It is worth noting both that Shepilov is alleged to have passed along this information and that Primakov (himself a senior government official who, among other things, served as the head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, Foreign Minister, and Prime Minister of Russia) saw fit to remember this detail and include it in his memoirs.

Thus, I conclude that in 1955 the Soviet Union was aware of the low level of technology in the Egyptian military, its relatively large size, and the strategic importance of its geographic position to the Soviet defensive concept for the region. Sadly, I do not have data on the Soviet estimate of Egyptian doctrinal ability. I also determine, based on the foregoing section, that Egypt had low war-time relevance in the near-term but could plausibly have been foreseen to contribute to Soviet plans in the future, which I assess as medium long-term relevance.

Whatever the Soviet beliefs about the doctrinal abilities of the Egyptian military, its deficiencies were laid bare in the 1956 Suez crisis. “Egypt had taken delivery of Soviet arms only at the beginning of 1956 its army had very little time to master their use. It was imperative, therefore, to have specialists who could quickly train Egyptian soldiers to use those arms – but it was only significantly later that Soviet military specialists were invited to Egypt.”²⁴⁴ Thus, beginning in 1956 and continuing through 1961, I determine that the Soviets believe the

²⁴³ Primakov, *Russia and the Arabs*, 65. In an extended quote from a 1960 interview with Egyptian Major Salih Salem, Patrick Seale confirms Shepilov’s presence although reports that the arms transfers began almost immediately after Shepilov’s return. In this account Shepilov’s photos would not have played a causal role, because the deal was brokered through the Chinese and began in May 1955. After a short period of discussion and a final offer to the British and Americans, the agreement with the Soviets was completed in June and Egyptian technicians departed for Prague in July. Patrick Seale, *The Struggle for Syria*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, , 1986[1965]), 235-6. In any event, it seems quite unlikely that the Soviets were unable to discern the low levels of technology and doctrine that characterized the Egyptian army of the period and were made painfully apparent in the 1955 Israeli raids in the Sinai.

²⁴⁴ Primakov, *Russia and the Arabs*, 39-40.

Egyptian doctrinal ability to employ the weapons it had obtained was low. Nonetheless, since the Soviet Union would certainly have been aware of the weapons it had transferred, which included the T-34/85, the BTR 40, and the MiG-17 (a tank, an armored personnel carrier, and a fighter respectively.) These weapons systems were relatively advanced – the T-34/85 had a larger gun than its WWII-era variant and was only just being replaced by the T-54 in the Soviet forces, and the BTR40 and MiG-17 both represented the Soviet state-of-the-art platforms. Thus, beginning in 1956, I assess the Soviet belief about Egyptian technological ability to be medium – not as advanced as the Soviet forces, but certainly more advanced than most other states in the region.

The relevance of Egypt to Soviet war plans, which is to say, the extent to which it could reasonably contribute to the four Soviet imperatives listed above is not entirely clear. In terms of challenging the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, Soviet naval doctrine at the time eschewed foreign bases (and, in fact, they returned the bases they had access to in Finland and China) and did not envision large conventional surface engagements far from Soviet shores.²⁴⁵ While this would change in the coming decade, it did not appear to inform Soviet policy between 1956 and 1961. The Egyptian army might have presented a threat to the West in terms of its ability to interdict the Suez, although the Suez Crisis demonstrated the limits of Soviet abilities to project power and protect Egypt from aggression, and, thus, the low likelihood that Egypt could be expected to retain control of the Suez in the face of Western attack in the late 1950s. However, it is possible that the production of a more powerful Egyptian military could, in fact, serve such a purpose, and thus I assess the near-term relevance as low and the long-term relevance as medium for the entire period.

²⁴⁵ Herrick, *Soviet Naval Strategy*, 67-72.

Chapter 5: Soviet Security Exchanges in the Middle East, 1952-1961

Summary Table: Egypt 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
TIV	0	1	0	525	1011	488	478	322	134	208
% of total in the region	0	100	0	88	92	55	64	60	40	68
PSV	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Capability	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Size	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Tech	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Doctrine	UNK	UNK	UNK	UNK	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Geog.	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Resources	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Relevance	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Near	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Long	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
- TIV is the Total Import Value of all arms transferred from the Warsaw Pact in this year (see Ch 3. for a more extensive discussion of this variable.) - % of total represents the small state's share of the TIV for the entire region										

Iraq

Iraq's favorable disposition towards the West during the Hashemite regime was discussed briefly in the previous chapter and will be explored in more depth subsequently, so I won't go into great detail here. Suffice to say, however much the Soviet Union may have preferred it, a security exchange with Iraq prior to the July 1958 revolution (which saw the (literal) demise of the monarchy and its replacement by Gen. Karim Qasim) was simply not in the offing. Here again is a case where the underlying Soviet PSV for Iraq is hidden in the archives and its implications unobservable, due to the fact that the Soviets lost the initial bidding for involvement in the Middle East rather badly. Happily, the 1958 revolution and its aftermath serve to reveal

useful information about the Soviet perception of Iraq between 1958-61 and, in conjunction with the four strategic imperatives previously identified, to estimate Iraq's PSV.

The Soviet Union was quick to recognize the new Iraqi regime and to do what it could to check the Western and Western-aligned forces that began to gather almost immediately. The Western reaction is significant, in that it demonstrates the extent to which the revolution was considered a security issue of global import. In the event, thousands of American soldiers and marines landed in Lebanon and a British force was dispatched to Jordan. For his part, the Jordanian king suggested that, as the sole remaining government in the AU, it was now incumbent upon him to take charge of the Iraqi state.²⁴⁶ Turkey and Iran also indicated their support for military action against the Qasim regime in the days that followed the coup.²⁴⁷ The British believed that the most appropriate response was an invasion of Iraq that would depose the Qasim regime and reinstate a conservative, Western-friendly monarchy.²⁴⁸ Unable to do so on their own, they requested support from the Eisenhower administration, hoping that the forces in Lebanon would form the American contribution to a joint force that would march on Baghdad.²⁴⁹ Eisenhower refused, and the invasion plans came to naught.

For their part, the Soviets "announced maneuvers by the Black Sea Fleet as well as in the Turkmen and Caucasus regions (which border Iran and the Caspian Sea)."²⁵⁰ Later, in 1963, Khrushchev reportedly said these maneuvers were intended to "deter Turkey, Pakistan and

²⁴⁶ State Department, "Telegram From the Embassy in Jordan to the Department of State," July 14, 1958, in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1958-1960, Vol XII: Near East Region; Iraq; Iran; Arabian Peninsula*, ed. Edward C. Keefer, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1993): 312.

²⁴⁷ State Department, "Briefing Notes by Director of Central Intelligence Dulles," July 14, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol XII*: 311.

²⁴⁸ Stephen Blackwell, "A Desert Squall: Anglo-American Planning for Military Intervention in Iraq, July 1958-August 1959" *Middle Eastern Studies* (Vol. 35, No. 3, 1999), 4.

²⁴⁹ State Department, "Memorandum of Telephone Conversation Between President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles," July 15, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol XII*: 317-318.

²⁵⁰ Primakov, *Russia and the Arabs*, 65.

Ira[n].”²⁵¹ The revolution survived and in time “the Soviet leadership started to think it ought to give precedence to General Qassem” over Nasser as a result of Qasim’s relatively greater tolerance for the Iraq Communist Party.²⁵² Ultimately this policy was checked by Qasim’s increasing instability, Soviet rapprochement with Nasser, and, finally, Qasim’s overthrow at the hands of his former co-conspirator, Gen. Arif.

From this brief narration, it is possible to determine that Iraq was a country of military significance to both the West and the Soviets, that both states employed military maneuvers in response to the revolution and its impact on the security situation in the region, and that Iraq was understood to be of military relevance to the defense of both Turkey and Iran. I therefore posit, although I cannot prove directly, that Iraq had the potential to play an important part in Soviet war plans for the region. Just as Turkey and Iran could invade Iraq from the north, so too could a strong and Soviet-aligned Iraqi army eventually invade the two countries from the south. Regardless of the eventual outcome, the mere threat of Iraqi invasion would force both Iran and Turkey to orient some portion of their forces southward and away from the Soviet Union in order to be prepared for the contingency. In the near-term, the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact and its commitment to “positive neutrality” favored the Soviets, in that it pushed the logistical support for the American defensive line in Turkey and Iran further north, making it more vulnerable to Soviet attack and rendering the Western position more brittle as a result. Thus, I assess that Iraq had medium near- and long-term relevance in the Soviet strategic vision of the Middle East.

The capabilities of the Iraqi Army and the equipment that it had procured were public knowledge, and absent evidence to the contrary I make the assumption that the Soviet Union

²⁵¹ Ibid. 66. Original text contains a typographical error and reads “Turkey, Pakistan and Iraq”

²⁵² Relative to Nasser, that is. Qasim was certainly willing to persecute the communists in Iraq and did so viciously at various intervals. However, Nasser’s stand on the issue was much harsher. See Ibid. 67.

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would have been aware of the size, technology, and doctrinal status of the Iraqi military, which would have yielded an identical assessment to that of the US. The geographic importance of Iraq to the USSR is that it undermines the threat posed by US allies against the Soviet southern border, which was a key concern for the Soviet leadership. Thus, while not of high importance in its own right, it is able to directly influence an essential buffer area, which I evaluate as medium geographical value. I therefore evaluate the overall value of Iraqi capabilities to the Soviet Union as medium between 1958 and 1961.

Summary Table: Iraq 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
TIV	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	167	164	114
% of total in the region	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	31	50	25
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med
Capability	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Size	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Tech	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Doctrine	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Geog.	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Resources	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Relevance	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med
Near	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med
Long	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med
- TIV is the Total Import Value of all arms transferred from the Warsaw Pact in this year (see Ch 3. for a more extensive discussion of this variable.) - % of total represents the small state's share of the TIV for the entire region										

Syria

Syria was a troubled place in the 1950s, beset by relatively powerful and meddlesome neighbors, unstable governments, passionate ideological parties, and negligible resources.

Consequently, despite being the most overtly pro-Soviet state in the area beginning in the mid-

1950s (espousing a “positive neutralism” can be read as occupying the space between complete indifference to super-power conflict and explicitly alignment within a command structure)²⁵³ it did not receive the most security transfers from the Soviet bloc during the period. This is a function of its extremely weak armed forces and its consequent indefensibility, which made it a partner of limited potential usefulness in a great power war.

In assessing Soviet perceptions of the size, doctrine, technology, and geography (i.e., its “capability” as the term is used here) I am unable to rely on Soviet accounts, because Syria simply was not important enough militarily to make it into the memoirs and accounts translated into English. However, two key facts are sufficient to support a reasonable estimation. First, when Syria offered a full military union with Egypt prior to the creation of the United Arab Republic, it was rejected because Syria contribution to the shared budget would have been 4.5% the size of Egypt’s.²⁵⁴ It is reasonable to assume that, had Syria been in possession of more modern technology and methods of employment, Egypt might have considered the trade worthwhile – as it was, it seems that Egypt would have assumed the burden of modernization for Syria, leading me to conclude that the Soviets, along with the Egyptians, would have assessed size, technology, and doctrine as “low” for Syria. Second, in addition to its Byzantine internal power struggles, Syria was credibly threatened by its neighbors. Upon signing a defense agreement with Egypt in 1955, Syria was promptly the victim of a large-scale Israeli attack in the Lake Tiberias area.²⁵⁵ Turkey, for its part, also used military exercises near the border as “a

²⁵³ Seale, *The Struggle for Syria*, 236.

²⁵⁴ Elie Podeh, *The Quest for Hegemony in the Arab World: The Struggle Over the Baghdad Pact*, (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 156.

²⁵⁵ Seale, *The Struggle for Syria*, 254.

standard method of putting pressure on Damascus.”²⁵⁶ Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the Soviets were aware of Syria’s relative vulnerability and weakness.

That said, Syria was not in an altogether useless position. Positioned in such a way as to potentially disrupt Western operations in Turkey, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean, it could serve an instrumental purpose geographically that, while less critical than Turkey or Egypt, was still non-negligible. And, given time, Syria could be developed into an important contributor to the Soviet defensive concept for the area, which is likely why “Russian and Czechoslovak officers had reconnoitered the Syrian desert between Syria and Iraq, while access to large tracts of this area was denied to the public.”²⁵⁷ This, combined with Soviet port calls in Latakia, suggests the awareness of the potential base for Soviet power in the Middle East that Syria was to become. Thus, I assess the geographic value of Syria to the Soviets as “medium” and the Syrian contribution to near and long-term Soviet war plans as “low” and “medium” respectively.

²⁵⁶ Ibid. 300.

²⁵⁷ Ibid. 268.

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Summary Table: Syria 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
TIV	0	0	0	72	86	385	123	36	33	11
% of total in the region	0	0	0	12	8	43	16	7	10	2
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Capability	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Size	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Tech	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Doctrine	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Geog.	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
Resources	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Relevance	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Near	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Long	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
- TIV is the Total Import Value of all arms transferred from the Warsaw Pact in this year (see Ch 3. for a more extensive discussion of this variable.) - % of total represents the small state's share of the TIV for the entire region										

Conclusion

The application of PSV theory to the Soviet case demonstrates both its utility and its limitations. The evidence indicates that the USSR placed an extremely high value on the strategic utility of both Turkey and Iran for the defense of their southern border. However, due to serious diplomatic miscalculations during World War II and its aftermath, both states sought the assistance of the West in checking Soviet ambitions. Therefore, no alliance was made and no security transfers took place; put differently, there is no movement on the dependent variable in Turkey and Iran due to a set of variables not considered by the theory. In particular, there is nothing in the theory which would account for the situations in which a high-PSV small state fails to come to an agreement that results in the acquisition of arms from a great power that highly values it. This defect is not fatal to the enterprise. In this case, both great powers held

similar views of the strategic importance of Turkey and Iran, so their relatively high PSV for both the US and the USSR resulted in substantial security transfers.

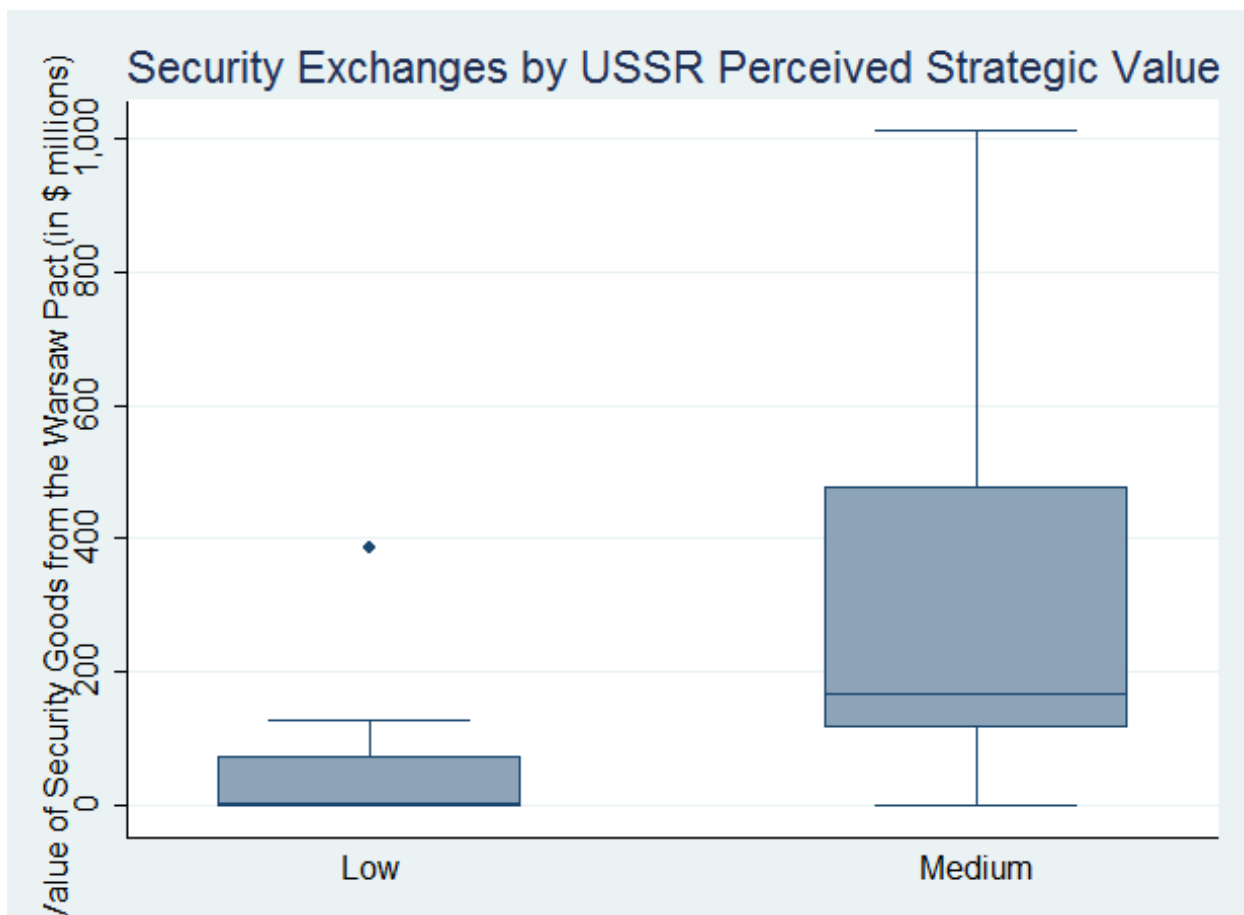
However, it is important to avoid drawing the conclusion that this implies there is a symmetry in great power PSV that implies an underlying objective rule that is ultimately driving the process, which would make the “Perceived” element of strategic value completely superfluous. Recall, for example, the within case variation in security transfers to Iran from the US discussed in the previous chapter. The Soviet Union occupied northern Iran and was willing to run substantial risks to maintain their control, only to find themselves on the losing end of the proposition. By contrast, the US had a low regard for the Iranian forces and its defensibility until late in the 1950s and only began transferring substantial amounts of arms once the Western strategic arsenal was sufficient to defend the Elburz rather than the Zagros mountains. The Soviet Union could not know this with certainty, nor could the US know the precise nature of Soviet offensive or defensive designs. This illustrates the more general point that there are often multiple reasonable methods for achieving one’s military objectives given a particular geography, and a great power is seldom able to ascertain another’s intentions with certainty. This asymmetry of information creates the space in which two different evaluations of strategic value can emerge, even given a bipolar competition in a region with limited strategic options.

Thus, it remains a theoretical possibility that a great power might highly value a small state that is deemed worthless by other great powers, be willing to engage in security transfers to that highly valued state, and then so botch the diplomacy that no transfer occurs. The frequency of such an occurrence is an empirical question, and it doesn’t appear from the cases addressed in this project that it happens very often. Nonetheless, even if this were to diminish PSV’s utility to a degree, it remains an excellent tool for explaining the distribution of security transfers

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conditional on some transfer taking place. As illustrated in the table below, despite having a strategically relevant location and a vibrant communist party, Syria obtained the lowest level of security transfers. Iraq, by contrast, got much higher levels, and even temporarily replaced Egypt as the leading recipient of Soviet aid in 1960 (when Nasser aggressively persecuted the local communist element in Egypt and Qasim had not yet proven his unreliability.) However, in the end it was Egypt's perceived capability and potential relevance that ultimately determined Soviet distributions. While not the Soviet first choice (which, again, would have been Turkey or Iran), it was nonetheless the best of the remaining alternatives.

Soviet PSV Summary Table: 1952-1961										
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Egypt TIV	0	1	0	525	1011	488	478	322	134	208
% of total	0	100	0	88	92	55	64	60	40	68
PSV	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
<i>Capability</i>	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med	Med
<i>Resources</i>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>Relevance</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Iraq										
Iraq TIV	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	167	164	114
% of total	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	31	50	25
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med
<i>Capability</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
<i>Resources</i>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>Relevance</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Med	Med	Med
Syria										
Syria TIV	0	0	0	72	86	385	123	36	33	11
% of total	0	0	0	12	8	43	16	7	10	2
PSV	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
<i>Capability</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
<i>Resources</i>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>Relevance</i>	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
- TIV is the Total Import Value of all arms transferred from the Warsaw Pact in this year - % of total represents the small state's share of the TIV for the entire region										



Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt, 1952-1961

So far, I have demonstrated that great powers consider the Perceived Strategic Value of a small state when contemplating the transfer of security goods. The more capable, resource-rich, and relevant a small state is to the great power's strategy for obtaining security against its great power rivals, the more security goods it can expect. However, my theory claims that the purpose of these bilateral transfers is to contribute to a larger strategic outcome, which implies that the great power has an incentive not only to transfer the security goods but also to monitor the utilization of those goods to ensure that they comport with the great power's understanding of both the global threat environment and the appropriate strategies to address it.

Unfortunately for the great power, small states have a diverse set of security concerns which can sometimes imply force postures that are not particularly useful to great power designs. As I've argued in Chapter 2, whereas great powers operate in a world of hierarchy domestically and anarchy internationally, the modest amount of relative power available to small states means that they operate in semi-anarchy both at home and abroad. As a result, the primary threat facing a small state regime can be either internal or external. Similarly, a small state is vulnerable to a variety of actors that are inconsequential to great powers. Thus, in some cases it is threatened by a great power, which implicates it in the global security competition between great powers and presents a challenge that comports with great power understandings of the world; in other cases, it is threatened by a lesser, regional actor, which is of little concern to the great power from which it seeks a security transfer. Therefore, the primary threat to a small state's security can be identified according to its location along two binary dimensions: internal-external and regional-global.

I argue that the type of threat a small state faces is exogenously given and causes a small state to choose one of four strategies: Integrated, Client, Distributed, or Independent. If the small state faces an external threat from a great power, then it behooves that state to integrate itself into the war plans of the threat's rivals, since the small state, by definition, has no hope of resisting the great power on its own. Therefore, it will adopt an Integrated strategy. If a small state faces internal threats sponsored by a great power, then it will seek the support of that power's rival and will try to counter the threat using the language and tactics of great power conflict – it will adopt a Client strategy. If the small state faces an internal threat not sponsored or ideologically supported by a great power, it will array its military so as to both control the society and prevent the takeover of the state by the security forces. However, unlike the Client strategy, it will pursue a strategy of repression and payoff without paying more than lip-service to great power concerns. I call this the Distributed strategy. Finally, if a small state faces an external threat from a regional (i.e. non-great power) actor, it will be loathe to specialize its military capabilities in support of a great power's global strategy – rather, it will seek to build a self-contained, self-directed military optimized for the physical defense of the small state's sovereignty and territorial integrity, not for maximal contribution to a multinational alliance in the context of a global war. This is the Independent strategy.

Given that great powers transfer scarce security goods into essential regions in order to secure themselves against the depredations of their rivals, I assert that they believe those strategies that comport to their understanding of the world are superior to those that do not. Therefore, a great power would prefer that a small state facing an external threat integrate themselves into the great power's overall strategic framework. If the small state is facing an internal threat, the great power would prefer that the small state accept advice on how best to

organize their forces and which elements within the society present the most danger. In the terms of my theory, this means that, *ceteris paribus*, great powers prefer small states with Integrated strategies to those with Independent strategies and small states with Client strategies to those with Distributed strategies. These preferences then inform the amount of security goods the small state is offered, both because the great power wishes to encourage Integrated and Client strategies and because it discounts the utility of security assistance that is repurposed for an Independent or Distributed strategy. If a great power believes there is some residual usefulness to be gained by the transferred security goods to a small state that employs either of the latter two strategies, then it will make the transfer based on that small state's PSV. If it does not, then no bargain will be struck. Thus, Security Exchange Theory argues that security exchanges are determined by the interaction of great power and small state beliefs about how best to obtain security in a threatening world.

The fact that threat is exogenously given also limits the flexibility of the small state to mold its security behavior to maximize aid. The type, training, and disposition of the forces implied by each of the four strategies identified varies significantly – troops in border forts will respond slowly to mass unrest in the cities and troops garrisoned near population centers and away from ammunition stockpiles are not well-situated to repel invaders. Further, as I pointed out previously, security exchanges are costly for the recipient state – they require logistical adjustments, reduce flexibility in subsequent procurements, and carry the risk of future vulnerabilities to embargo of critical supplies. Thus, small state preferences must be taken seriously in understanding the bargaining process that precedes any transfer of security goods.

In this chapter, I test my theory of small state security behavior and bargaining. I select four cases: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt. Collectively, these four countries received 76.7% of

Chapter 6: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt, 1952-1961

the security transfers from NATO and Warsaw Pact countries between 1952 and 1961. They are also linguistically, geographically, and politically diverse states that have excellent within case and between case variation. Each of the four underwent an involuntary change of leadership at some point during the decade, two of the four (Egypt and Iraq) switched their primary arms supplier, and one (Iran) changed its security strategy in response to changing threats. They also represent all four of the potential small state strategies enumerated above.

In order to test my theory, I engage in a series of causal process observations using archival data. Relying primarily on contemporaneous reports, and to a lesser extent memoirs and scholarly histories, I examine each state's threat environment and assess whether my theory accurately predicts the strategy the small state chooses. I then assess the great power response, which should be positive in the case of Integrated and Client strategies and negative in the case of Independent and Distributed strategies. Finally, I discuss the bargaining dynamics in each great power – small state dyad, and assess the impact of both PSV and small state strategy on the shape of the final agreement. In order to avoid over-reliance on the archives that supplied the data for Chapter 4 (and which were drawn primarily from the military bureaucracy and the American National Security Council), in this chapter I focus on the diplomatic record and the documents compiled by State Department historians in the Foreign Relations of the United States, or FRUS.

Small State Threats, Cases, Predicted Posture, Predicted Great Power Response		
Threat	Regional	Global
Internal	Case: Iraq 1952-58, 1958-61; Iran 1957-61 Predicted Posture: Distributed Predicted Response: Negative Bargain: Based on PSV	Case: Iran 1953-1956 Predicted Posture: Client Predicted Response: Positive Bargain: Above PSV
External	Case: Egypt 1952-55, 1955-61 Predicted Posture: Independent Predicted Response: Negative Bargain: Based on PSV	Case: Turkey 1952-1960, 1960-61 Predicted Posture: Integrated Predicted Response: Positive Bargain: Above PSV

Turkey: Integrated Strategy

In this section, I argue that Turkey perceived the Soviet Union as the most significant threat to its regime between 1952 and 1961, and therefore adopted an Integrated position vis a vis the United States. My theory predicts that, given Turkey’s high PSV, the United States would reward and encourage Turkey’s efforts at integration and would read Turkey’s perception of their security environment as particularly praiseworthy and a relevant consideration in the disbursement of security transfers. To test this prediction, the section is organized into three components. First, I discuss the Turkish perception of the Soviet Union and argue that it is best characterized as an external-global threat in my conceptual framework. Second, I test the prediction that Turkey would therefore have pursued an Integrative approach to their security, as my theory predicts. Third, I assess the American response to the Turkish security posture, focusing in particular on the impact of that posture on American military support policies.

The Soviet Threat

It must be remembered that there is no “natural” enmity between Turkey and Russia (Soviet or otherwise). Czarist Russia sought to gain control over the Turkish Straits at various

points, but after the consolidation of the Communist government, the Soviet forces disavowed any intentions of employing force against Turkey and signed a treaty of friendship in 1921. By contrast, Turkey suspended diplomatic relations with the United States from 1917 to 1927, although the two countries were cordial upon their resumption. Turkey developed some German leanings during the 1930s, but later reversed these inclinations and remained neutral throughout the Second World War.²⁵⁸ Thus, the decisive shift towards the US by Turkey during the period under discussion here is not a function of a natural hostility towards Russia, Kemalism, or an enduring predisposition to the West. Instead, it is a direct response to Stalin's diplomacy.

As discussed in the previous chapter, after failing to draw Turkey into the Second World War, which would have necessitated Allied support for her defense (which, in turn, would most likely have been provided by the Soviet Union), Stalin attempted to obtain the same outcome by different means. Since the Soviet Union had not been able to emplace bases in Turkey during the war, the Soviets argued the need to do so after the fact and sent a note to Turkey expressing their desire for a jointly run defense of the Turkish Straits. Unsurprisingly, having just expended a great deal of time and effort averting this eventuality, the Turks found Stalin's undiminished enthusiasm for control of the straits extraordinarily threatening and sought ways to deter it. In fact, Turkey expressed to the United States that it viewed the world in stark bipolar terms and was deeply concerned about "the Soviet threat."²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Turkey perceived a threat from both Germany and the Soviet Union, and was unwilling to enter the war without allied promises that Turkey would be protected from German bombardment and invasion. Since these guarantees were not forthcoming, and because Turkey was quite concerned with Stalin's designs on the Straits, Turkey did not join the allies, although they met and engaged in strategic discussions at numerous points. See Chapter 1: The Turkish Context in Bruce Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East: Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey, and Greece*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

²⁵⁹ State Department, "Memorandum of Conversation, by the Counselor of Embassy in Turkey (Rountree)," May 26, 1953. in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954, Vol IX: The Near and Middle East*, ed. John P. Glennon, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1986), 138-9.

While there were considerable threats from abroad, Turkey's domestic picture was much rosier. Because "she was never occupied by a foreign army" Turkey "was less susceptible to the kinds of pressures exerted by occupation on the states which bordered her. Her sense of community, of nationhood, provided the moral fiber for her army and kept her from the internal divisions which, aggravated by occupation, were so disruptive in Iran and even more divisive in Greece."²⁶⁰ While the formal government of the country was replaced in 1960 by a military coup, the consensus reading of the regime is that these coups reflected a stable underlying power structure (the military monitoring the civilian government's adherence to Kemalist principles) and not an internal threat that the regime guarded itself against. In fact, according to the new Turkish President the "biggest problem concerned his largest and toughest neighbor to the North. Turkey was not under direct attack but was subject to constant Soviet pressure. This pressure no longer took forms of threats but constituted insistent offers and urgings to accept assistance. The approach included Soviet effort to persuade Turkey to foresake [sic] NATO and join bloc not aligned against USSR. Soviets insisted Turkey would be safer on this course."²⁶¹ Thus, the new regime continued to perceive external, great-power threats as predominant in their security decision-making. Similarly, while Turkey certainly involved itself in the affairs of its neighbors and held opinions on Arab nationalism, the chief security concerns of the regime were not a function of regional threats. Turkey sought American assistance because "American commitment offered the support immediately needed to counter pressure from another great

²⁶⁰ Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East*, 67.

²⁶¹ State Department. "Telegram From the Embassy in Turkey to the Department of State," November 5, 1960, *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. X*, 901.

power source – the Soviet Union.”²⁶² Thus, the evidence strongly supports Turkey’s inclusion in the External-Global threat category and its exclusion from the Internal or Regional categories.

Integration: The Turkish strategic response

My theory predicts that because the most serious threat facing Turkey was the external intervention by a great power, Turkey would seek an opposing great power and actively integrate itself into that great power’s security strategies. This is precisely what seems to have occurred in this case. Throughout the period, Turkey aggressively integrated itself into US strategic concepts. In 1951, the US perception was that “[t]he primary objective of Turkey’s foreign policy [was] to obtain a United States security commitment.”²⁶³ Not only did it make a continuous effort to gain “full membership in NATO,” it also “indicated its willingness to participate in some other form of security arrangements in which the United States [was] a party.”²⁶⁴

The Turkish government was very blunt about this aspiration. Contrasting its own stance with Egypt’s objections to continued British occupation of the Suez Canal Zone in 1953, the Turkish Prime Minister stated:

...attempts by Egypt to present the [Canal Zone] issue as a struggle for independence and freedom should be entirely secondary to the importance that the Canal Zone has to the entire free world as a point of strategy ... The Turks, for example, possess airfields which they intend to use jointly with United States forces, and they do not feel that this involves in any way a question of

²⁶² L. Carl Brown, *International Politics and the Middle East: Old Rules, Dangerous Game*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984,) 176.

²⁶³ National Security Council. “NSC 109. A Report to the National Security Council by Executive Secretary on The Position of the United States with Respect to Turkey,” May 11, 1951: 10. RG 273 Records of the National Security Council (NSC) Policy Papers 100-109 Entry 1 Box 14.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

infringing Turkish sovereignty. On the contrary, Turkey considers such arrangements to be elements of security for its very existence.²⁶⁵

As discussed earlier, this strategy came to fruition and Turkey was able to obtain both US aid and integration into the NATO command and control apparatus. They were so successful that only four years later, they were held up in the National Security Council as the sort of “effective forces” that could deter “local aggression” and exemplar of President Eisenhower’s global strategy wherein “our friends and allies supply the means for local defense on the ground and that the United States should come into the act with air and naval forces alone.”²⁶⁶

By 1958, NATO operated under a document called MC-70, which determined force requirements for member states. One of the key predictions of my theory is that a small state pursuing an integrative strategy will structure its forces in such a way that integration with the great power ally is prioritized over the maintenance over a fully autonomous defense capability. This seems to have occurred in the Turkish case. As discussed in the previous chapters, Turkish units were “generally in accordance with NATO goals;” however, Turkey had also undertaken the “deactivation of certain pill-box battalions, frontier regiments, etc.” that were “maintained by the Turks over and above recognized force objectives.”²⁶⁷ It appears that documentary evidence from the period across multiple American sources and based on the direct testimony of Turkish leaders supports the assertion that Turkey pursued a strategy of Integration with the US.

²⁶⁵ State Department, “Memorandum of Conversation, by the Conselor of Embassy in Turkey (Rountree),” May 26, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-1954, Vol. IX*, 139.

²⁶⁶ State Department, “Memorandum of Discussion at the 314th Meeting of the National Security Council, Washington,” February 28, 1957, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XIX*, 429. Secretary of State Dulles made this claim, which was affirmed by President Eisenhower.

²⁶⁷ State Department, “Operations Coordinating Board Report on Turkey (NSC 5708/2)” November 12, 1958. *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. X*, 770.

A Friendly Bargain

Thus far I have argued that Turkey believed it was threatened by a great power and pursued a strategy of integration with the rival great power throughout the 1950s. This is an uncontroversial claim. However, my theory makes two novel predictions: the small state will emphasize their integration with the great power in pursuit of larger amounts of aid and the great power will place a positive value on the small state's shared perspective on global security and the appropriate response. This is because the value of a small state to a great power is not simply a function of its objective capabilities (where it is, how big an army it has, etc.) but the extent to which those capabilities are perceived to be useful to the great power in their pursuit of security. Thus, where less sophisticated models place no particular value on the mechanics or extent of integration, Security Exchange Theory argues that the orientation of a small states security apparatus matters in the determination of security transfers. Moreover, I assert that both the great power and the small state are aware of this fact and will use it in their bargaining behavior. In its discussions with the United States, the Turkish government consistently emphasized its value as a partner to the United States – not simply because of the capabilities it possessed, but because of the marginal utility of additional security transfers given to Turkey as opposed to some other state. The Turks were absolutely explicit in this regard:

The Prime Minister said he would like to stress one more fact pertinent to the establishment of the level of defense aid. In addition to Turkey's strategic position, her relentless determination to resist aggression, the social and political stability of the country, and her willingness to contribute forces to the common defense, it is clear that dollars spent in Turkey will buy more for defense than those expended in any other country.²⁶⁸

This sort of rhetoric characterized Turkish presentations throughout the period. During a visit to Washington DC six years after the comment above was made to the American ambassador, "the

²⁶⁸ State Department, "Memorandum of Conversation, by the Conselor of Embassy in Turkey (Rountree)," May 26, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-1954, Vol. IX*, 141.

Prime Minister indicated gratitude for aid given in the past, which he felt had been effectively utilized by the Turks.”²⁶⁹ Shortly thereafter, during President Eisenhower’s visit to Turkey, the Turkish Foreign Minister argued that American aid policy ought to favor those small states which were “on the line” – that is, “they [were] committed to the West and [were] located in contact with the USSR” – because “they [were] in a better position than the uncommitted countries to receive and make use of aid.”²⁷⁰ In addition to lobbying for additional aid on the basis of their effectiveness, the Turkish government also readily adhered to American requirements for the placement of Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles, and “accepted, apparently without change, the draft proposed by the United States.”²⁷¹

Lest it be thought that this language was purely a function of one regime’s strategy, it is worth noting that the regime which replaced it (and executed the officials cited above) used an identical approach. After the coup in 1960, new Turkish President Gursel argued that Turkey would require additional military assistance because the previous government had been dishonest with NATO, that Turkish forces could not meet the MC-70 force goals, and that “he personally wishe[d] to explain [the] situation to Gen. Norstad.”²⁷² The assistance that was eventually provided seemed to regard this as a negotiating tactic that mixed authentic concern with a bit of melodrama and was actually targeted at reforms to the Turkish military that would require

¹² State Department, “Memorandum for Record: Conversation with Mr. Adnan Menderes, Prime Minister, Turkey,” March 2, 1959. *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. X*, 792.

²⁷⁰ State Department, “Memorandum of Conference With President Eisenhower,” December 6, 1959, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. X*, 822.

²⁷¹ State Department, “Memorandum From Secretary of State Herter to President Eisenhower,” September 16, 1959, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. X*, 812.

²⁷² State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Turkey to the Department of State,” July 13, 1960, *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. X* 856. The US read this as a negotiating tactic and placed more emphasis on the fact that “[i]mmediately after the coup, the provisional government gave assurances that it would honor Turkey’s international commitments and that no change in Turkish foreign policy was contemplated. In general, we think this is likely to be the case. Turkish participation in NATO and CENTO councils has continued without interruption and with no discernible change in tactics or purpose The regime’s decision to reduce Turkey’s contingent in Korea from a brigade to a company was taken in the face of US opposition, but we do not believe it augurs any weakening of Turkey’s essential commitment to the Western Alliance.” see State Department, “Special National Intelligence Estimate 33-60 Short Term Prospects for Turkey,” July 19, 1960, in *FRUS, 1958-1960. Vol. X*, 861.

significant funds to pay for pensions for a large number of senior officers to be retired from the service. Nonetheless, the language of security transfers between the US and Turkey was expressed in terms of MC-70 force requirements, which is to say, it was expressed in terms of integration.

The United States also understood its policy in terms of the economics of security exchanges. In the words of Eisenhower, “it was much better and cheaper to assist the Turks to build up their own armed forces than to create additional U.S. divisions.”²⁷³ This was a belief he maintained throughout the period, and continued to express the power of the American alliance strategy in integrative terms. During his 1959 visit to Turkey, he said (regarding the defense of the Free World): “All countries must work together in their own way. The Turks, for example, contribute by maintaining large military forces.”²⁷⁴ Based on its perceptions of Turkey’s efforts to integrate its defense forces, the US determined that: “In view of Turkey’s special position as a staunch ally which has consistently withstood Soviet threats, the U.S. must consider carefully the effect of pressures and actions that would offend Turkish pride and adversely effect [sic] this basic U.S.-Turkish relationship.”²⁷⁵ This concern for the Turkish perspective went so far as to structure the nature of security assistance offered by the United States. Despite the fact that President Eisenhower believed that “it was high time to convince the Turks that they must be content with a smaller military establishment,” he was nonetheless concerned that up until that point “we have been urging the Turks in the past to build up a considerable military establishment. We are now changing our minds about the desirability of such a large Turkish

²⁷³ State Department, “Memorandum of Discussion at the 230th Meeting of the National Security Council, Washington,” January 5, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XIX*, 17.

²⁷⁴ State Department, “Memorandum of Conference With President Eisenhower,” December 6, 1959, *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. X*, 820.

²⁷⁵ National Security Council. “NSC 5510. Note By the Executive Secretary to the National Security Council on U.S. Policy on Turkey” February 14, 1955: 9-10. in RG 273 Records of the National Security Council (NSC) Policy Papers 5510-5519 Entry 1 Box 37.

military establishment. It is nevertheless going to be very hard to tell the Turks to stop.”²⁷⁶

These statements place a value on commitment and continuity that, when combined with the economic logic above, powerfully express the logic of great power bargaining with an integrative small state. Because the small state has integrated its forces with the great powers, it yields a greater marginal return than a distributed or independent type; because it has accepted some vulnerabilities and costs as a result of adhering to great power guidance, there is a reluctance by the great power to impose additional costs through policy volatility.

Conclusion

The Turkish case is the most over-determined of the four presented in this chapter. Virtually any theory of alliance would predict Turkish alignment with the West against the material and ideological threat presented by the USSR. Moreover, virtually any theory would predict that, based on its location, military capability, and overall size, Turkey would be a valuable ally sought by both the US and the USSR. However, with a minimum of additional information, I am also able to make predictions about the scope, limitations, and logics of US-Turkish security transfers.

Previously, I discussed how Turkish PSV limited the type of weapons that were transferred as a function of the Turkish incapacity to absorb and employ large numbers of high-technology systems. But while PSV established a sort of ceiling on aid, this section has demonstrated how Turkish commitment and bargaining was able to create a floor. Turkey’s integration with the West through NATO and the Baghdad Pact inspired an American commitment to avoid rapid policy shifts, even when those shifts seemed indicated by a purely strategic logic. Because the Turks has been “doing their part,” and hewed closely to the

²⁷⁶ State Department. “Memorandum of Discussion at the 285th Meeting of the National Security Council, Washington,” May 17, 1956, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XIX*, 306, 308.

American understanding of the global security environment, aid was consistently maintained, slight deviations in policy were overlooked, and policy continuity was maintained. Moreover, the actors on both sides of the bargain understood this dynamic and appealed to it across both time and governments.

Iran: Client and Distributed Strategies

Iran, like Turkey, faced credible threats of domination by the Soviet Union during the 1950s. However, unlike Turkey, the Iranian regime at the time had yet to consolidate its power to the extent that it could afford to focus primarily on external threats. Instead, the Shah's forces and their American advisors were primarily oriented towards internal threats, specifically those generated by Soviet-supported groups, during the late 1940s and early 1950s. However, with the end of the Stalin era, the repression of Iran's communist party, Tudeh, and the development of an increasingly powerful and sophisticated repressive apparatus, the Shah became less concerned about the threat of Soviet-sponsored movements destabilizing the governments. Rather, Iran turned its attention to non-great power (or, in the terminology used here "regional") internal challenges. While both the U.S. and Iran perceived an external threat from the Soviet Union, I will demonstrate that the specter of a direct Soviet invasion was not foremost in the mind of the Shah, nor in the design of the Iranian security apparatus. In this section, I will seek to demonstrate that the Shah understood the primary threat to his regime to be internal-global in the immediate aftermath of the Mossadegh coup, that Iran therefore adopted a Client strategy, and that Iran's cooperativeness had a positive impact on the provision of American aid. Following the successful elimination of the Communist threat, Iran then turned against other social elements that challenged the regime, and pursued a Distributed strategy. By the end of the

period, this shift was being met with disapproval and skepticism by the US, who would have preferred a more active integration into CENTO to support its war plans vis a vis the USSR, as Security Exchange Theory expects.

Iran, Communism, and Clientalism

Iran's regimes found themselves in a difficult position at the outset of this study. The Pahlavi dynasty had spent its early years slowly consolidating power and bringing the various local, tribal, and religious elements within Iran under the control of the state. This process was abruptly reversed by the Soviet and British occupation of Iran during the Second World War, during which "the centrifugal forces (political, administrative, religious, tribal, economic) which had militated against centralization under the shah again came to the fore."²⁷⁷ As the Shah grew weaker, the Soviets simultaneously became bolder, and expressed their disinclination to withdraw from northern Iran at the conclusion of the war. This triggered one of the earliest flashpoints in the American-Soviet rivalry, as American power was used to force a Soviet withdrawal.²⁷⁸

Although the Mossadegh era only overlaps with the period examined in this study by a year or two, it is nonetheless worth discussing for what it reveals about the perils of pursuing neutralist strategies by a comparatively weak regime in the face of active great power interference. The United States was aware that Mossadegh was interested in a policy of

²⁷⁷ see Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East*, 140-141, for a more detailed discussion of the Anglo-Soviet occupation, its effect, and the early crisis diplomacy regarding Soviet withdrawal.

²⁷⁸ For a fuller discussion of this period, see Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East*, Chapter 3 "The Iranian Context," and Chapter 5 "Crisis and Diplomacy," pg 303-359 and Chapter 6 "From Policy to Commitment," 383-399. For an alternate view, which argues that the Soviet withdrawal was a function of Soviet commitments elsewhere and a Soviet belief that a newly nationalist Iran would not become a Western client, see Richard Hermann, "The Role of Iran in Soviet Perceptions and Policy, 1946-1988." in *Neither East nor West: Iran, the Soviet Union, and the United States*. Nikki R. Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990,) 63-67.

neutrality, or what would become called non-alignment.²⁷⁹ This was a source of irritation, but early in the Mossadegh era (and to the great frustration of the British) the US held the view that Mossadegh, while not ideal, would stave off a potential Communist revolution.²⁸⁰ By 1953, both the American administration and its views had changed. In the wake of Tudeh (the Iranian Communist Party) demonstrations in July, the US administration interpreted Mossadegh's failure to crush the organization as an indication of dangerous predilections (or, at the very least, blind spots.)²⁸¹ These concerns led the Secretary of State to declare publicly that "Recent developments in Iran, especially the growing activity of the illegal Communist party, which appears to be tolerated by the Iranian Government have caused us concern."²⁸² Less than a month later, Mossadegh was overthrown in a US-sponsored coup, the details of which continue to spawn an impressive array of primary sources and secondary literature. Of particular interest to this study is the fact that Mossadegh seems to have badly misapprehended the threats he faced. Focusing primarily on the maintenance of civil order and the oil dispute with the British, Mossadegh pursued a Distributed security policy and kept loyal troops in their barracks during the coup; this facilitated the American coup plot and did nothing to actively enlist Soviet support.²⁸³

In the aftermath of the coup, the Shah rejected neutrality and aligned himself with the West. After reestablishing control over the government, the Shah visited the United States in

²⁷⁹ State Department, "Telegram from the Secretary of State to the Embassy in Iran," May 10, 1951, in *FRUS, 1952-54, Vol. X*, 50. In this document, Mossadegh's policy is described as "neutral" and "ultra-nationalist." It is believed that these policies might create space for a Communist take-over.

²⁸⁰ State Department, "Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State," Nov. 4, 1951, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. X*, 257, and State Department, "Telegram from The Acting Secretary of State to the Secretary of State, at Paris," Nov. 5, 1951, *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. X*, 259.

²⁸¹ see State Department, "Telegram from The Charge in Iran (Mattison) to the Department of State," July 25, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. X*, 738-739. As the Charge d'Affairs warns darkly, "In belief, situation continues uncertain. If present trends persist over a period of time whereby each step Mosadeq takes gradually increases his dependence on Tudeh, results too obvious to need elaboration."

²⁸² State Department. "Press conference, July 28, 1953," appears at Editorial Note, Doc. No 339, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. X*, 740.

²⁸³ Hermann, "The Role of Iran in Soviet Perceptions and Policy, 1946-1988," 68-69.

December 1954, and, in a meeting with President Eisenhower, suggested that Soviet ambitions meant that Iran was “compelled to keep constantly on guard to prevent or frustrate Communist infiltration,” which had been allowed to occur in both the Iranian armed forces and the body politic.²⁸⁴ The Shah identified three forms the Communist threat might take: armed invasion, internal subversion, or the reduction of the Iranian people to a point of hopelessness. The first of these I classify as an “external” threat, the latter two as “internal.” In the Shah’s view, “one of the essential for preventing international communism from realizing its ambitions with regard to Iran is for us with the help of great free nations, particularly the US, to strengthen our Armed Forces to the extent that would render them capable of putting up an honorable defense if Iran is attacked. If our forces could possess such a capability, morale would be much higher and they would be much less vulnerable to penetration. The Iranian Government and the Iranian people would be sure to stand up more firmly in the face of pressures, threats and attempts at Communist infiltration if they had the feeling Iran could resist if attacked, and that the free world were interested in Iran being able to put up such resistance and were helping to that end.”²⁸⁵

What is particularly interesting about the Shah’s rationale is the relationship between the external and the internal threats. Contrast this stance with Turkey’s – whereas Turkey is internally stable and has the intention of effectively resisting Soviet invasion, Iran has no such pretensions. Quite to the contrary – Iran is sure that in the event of external attack it will lose. Thus, the purpose of the request for aid is not to effectively integrate Iran into a defensive concept that supports an externally-focused strategy; rather, the aid simultaneously addresses two internal threats to the regime. First, it placates the armed forces, which the Shah has just

²⁸⁴ State Department, “Tab A: Ambassador Henderson’s Summary of the Memorandum to be Handed to the President By the Shah at the Opening of Their Talk at the White House on December 13,” in “Memorandum by the Acting Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Jernegan) to the Secretary of State,” Dec 9, 1954, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. X*, 1069.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

identified as a target of Communist infiltration. Second, it motivates society, which the Shah does not go so far as to accuse of disloyalty, but of apathy.

The Shah had good reason to concern himself with Communist infiltration, as only months before his meeting with President Eisenhower, the Iranian government had discovered a network of 600 Tudeh activists in the Iranian armed forces. In conjunction with a broader campaign of imprisonment and execution of Tudeh leaders, the regime eliminated the network. Soon the Tudeh was a spent force: “[a]fter the mid-1950s the Tudeh party survived primarily through its organization outside Iran; within the country, the party barely managed to maintain a clandestine presence.”²⁸⁶ One of the key elements in the regime’s expanding repressive capacity was its rapidly professionalizing police and intelligence services. The US contributed training teams for the National Police, and replaced a small military intelligence element with a permanent CIA detail that was to train a new intelligence unit.²⁸⁷ This unit became an independent organization in 1956 and began operating in 1957 under its new name: SAVAK.

In this strategy, the Shah followed in his father’s footsteps. The elder Pahlavi had responded to Kurdish unrest in 1942 (in the Soviet controlled areas) by requesting an American advisor to take charge of the national gendarme. This had the salutary effects of getting someone else to contribute to a necessary social function and drawing the United States into Iranian affairs on the side of the regime, rather than the Soviets or British.²⁸⁸ The parallels with the Shah’s strategy 15 years later abound. In the 1950s, the relationship between SAVAK and the CIA expanded beyond trainers to include joint operations into the Soviet Union, intelligence sharing,

²⁸⁶ James A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988,) 100.

²⁸⁷ Mark Gasiorowski, “Security Relations between the United States and Iran.” in *Neither East nor West: Iran, the Soviet Union, and the United States*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski, (New Haven: Yale University Press,) 154.

²⁸⁸ Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East*, 144.

and the establishment of CIA-run listening posts in northern Iran.²⁸⁹ This both expanded the regime's ability to suppress communist, nationalist, and religious critics and linked American security needs to the expertise and success of the Iranian intelligence service and the forbearance of the Shah.²⁹⁰ The regime also heavily invested in the military as an instrument of domestic oppression. The Shah, who once said, "I am the Army," personally hand-picked every officer above the rank of major, was deeply involved in military affairs, and, eventually, spent enormous sums on cutting-edge military hardware.²⁹¹ And while SAVAK operated an intelligence-gathering operation, a network of notorious prisons, and possessed some limited coercive capacity, the military was utilized repeatedly to augment police forces in quelling large-scale demonstrations through mass violence. It also provided a third of the cabinet officials appointed by the Shah in the wake of Mossadegh's departure.

Thus, in the immediate aftermath of the Mossadegh coup, it appears that Shah was deeply worried about Communism and, in the wake of late-1940s Stalinist policy, about the threat of destabilization supported by the USSR. That is to say, the leading threat to the regime was of the Internal-Global type. As the theory predicts, the Shah responded by requesting U.S. assistance,

²⁸⁹ Gasiorowski, "Security Relations between the United States and Iran," 155-6.

²⁹⁰ This was to prove a rather debilitating linkage in the 1970s. As James Bill writes: "Despite its enormous reputation among Iranians, who considered it the all-knowing force that shrewdly and surreptitiously directed Iranian affairs while pulling the strings of the Pahlavi puppet, the Central Intelligence Agency was surprisingly uninformed and ineffective in Iran. Not only was it plagued by the problems that debilitated other American officials and missions in Iran but it carried one additional burden. Since Iran was contiguous with the Soviet Union, U.S. intelligence organizations were preoccupied with gathering information on the Soviet Union. The CIA, and other American intelligence organizations active in Iran, focused its efforts on Soviet-watching. In so doing, they committed the cardinal error of either ignoring or deemphasizing the situation in the host country itself.

A primary reason for American intelligence blindness to political events in Iran had to do with the two monitoring stations at Bihshahr and Kapkan. In the minds of some in Washington, it was better to be blind to Iranian affairs than to risk overlooking certain Soviet activities. A communication received from an informed American intelligence officer who discussed the importance of the two listening posts reveals this position:

'There is no doubt that their operation was absolutely critical for two decades in enabling the U.S. to detect and properly evaluate Soviet ICBM testing and capabilities. Without the data derived from these stations we would have been half-blind. The loss of similar sites earlier in Turkey and Pakistan were serious blows that was offset only by the presence of the Iranian sites. With them gone we are indeed blind again. The slight public comment that was made in this regard was for obvious reasons, optimistic. Don't you believe it. There is no substitute for those sites.'" Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 401.

²⁹¹ Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 196.

reflecting U.S. policy concerns, and molding his forces based on the advice of American technical experts; that is to say, the Shah pursued a Client strategy.

In the Client strategy, the small state deploys its forces in support of the regime's security from internal threats while attempting to induce security transfers from a great power on the basis of its fidelity to the great power's view of the global situation. In 1955, Iran did exactly that. Even though the American defensive concept for the region was centered on the Zagros mountains (near the Iranian border with Iraq), Iranian security forces remained positioned near population centers (which were to be abandoned to the Soviets in the American-planned war). This was readily apparent to the American embassy in Tehran, which wrote that "[t]o make best use Iran defense capabilities in event Soviet invasion in force, it would be necessary for Iran forces to occupy different positions and have their supplies and equipment in different locations from present ones."²⁹² Nonetheless, the Joint Chiefs of Staff seemed happy with the progress of Iranian forces, and expressed their sentiment that "[t]he friendly and cooperative attitude of the present Iranian government should be encouraged. Some recognition should be given to the receptiveness of the Iranian armed forces to guidance from the U.S. Mission and MAAG personnel and to the marked improvement over the past year in Iran's ability to receive and utilize MDAP equipment."²⁹³ The embassy shared the Joint Chiefs' optimism, and while they expressed concern that the Iranian "Army is carrying a greater portion of the burden of the internal security effort than is compatible with concentration upon its regular duties or in the long term with the interests of the country" it nonetheless cheerfully noted that "[t]he Iranian Army with military aid already programmed can bring to bear adequate force to cope with

²⁹² State Department, "Telegram from the Embassy in Iran to the Department of State," Mar 23, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 720.

²⁹³ State Department, "Memorandum From the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary of Defense (Wilson)," Apr 12, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 732.

insurrection on any foreseeable scale if there is no coincident external military threat.”²⁹⁴ Thus, the evidence indicates that the US government was consistent in its evaluations across agencies. Although it found that the Iranian Army was not yet able to perform a useful role in contributing to regional defense, it was pleased with Iranian willingness to heed American advice and the Iranian ability to maintain internal stability with American assistance. Despite the Shah’s “sensitive and mercurial” nature, the US felt it important in this period to encourage his policy orientation through at least some additional generosity with military aid.²⁹⁵

Growing Internal Unrest, the Distributed Strategy, and the American Response

The US remained patient with the Shah during tough negotiations over Iran’s accession to the Baghdad Pact, an official visit by the Shah to Moscow, and various small agreements reached between Iran and the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, by the middle of 1956, local embassy officials began to notice that the Shah’s needs extended beyond simply suppression of the Tudeh – the fact that he “oscillate[d] between military dictatorship, cynicism and cowardice” meant that “[p]olitical elements of all stripes” held the “fervent wish that the Shah would withdraw from active leadership.”²⁹⁶ The embassy presented a range of options, from a gradual reduction of support to the Shah in anticipation of the need to build “cooperation with other elements which

²⁹⁴ State Department, “Country Team Analysis of the Internal Security Position in Iran,” Apr. 25, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 735-6. Continuing in this vein, the State Department observed that while it was probably a bad thing for the Army to be so actively involved in repression it was necessary because “[w]hile the Tudeh Party is now incapable of seizing power, it could rebuild itself rapidly if present Iranian security programs were relaxed or if lack of effective leadership resulted in further political disunity;” therefore, the great danger was that “[i]f U.S. advice and assistance in the internal security field were to operate to reduce the value of the Army as the prime guarantor of the Shah’s political strength, it would be met with royal and military resistance and, even if accepted, would tend to weaken the most important elements of stability in Iran.” State Department, “Memorandum From the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Jernegan) to the Acting Secretary of State,” Sep. 9, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 770-1.

²⁹⁵ State Department, “Letter from the Director of Central Intelligence (Dulles) to Under Secretary of State (Hoover),” Jul 1, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 747.

²⁹⁶ State Department, “Memorandum From the Deputy Director of the Office of Greek, Turkish, and Iranian Affairs (Kitchen) to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Rountree),” May 17, 1956, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 816.

may take over political leadership” to “creating military forces which [could] maintain the Shah in power despite his political weakness.”²⁹⁷ This view percolated upwards, and in the 1957 National Intelligence Estimate it was reported that “Iranian military and security forces, numbering some 168,000 officers and men, are presently organized, equipped, and deployed primarily for internal security duties.”²⁹⁸ These forces were necessary because the Shah “made little progress in coping with the fundamental causes of discontent that gave strength to the ultranationalists and Communists in the Mossadeq era” and, thus, was “unsuccessful in developing a solid basis of popular support and [had] in fact lost ground in this regard since the events of 1953.”²⁹⁹ The threats to the regime could no longer be ascribed to Soviet interference, since “criticism of the regime ... exist[ed] in virtually all elements of the politically conscious public both in Tehran and in the provinces, including even those closely associated with the regime.”³⁰⁰ In the words of the embassy, even as the Shah became increasingly autocratic and grandiose, it was nonetheless the case that “[b]oth the Shah and his officers realize[d] that he relie[d] on the Army to keep him in power.”³⁰¹

In terms of the present theory, 1957 was a key transition year. The Iranian regime, having gained control of the state apparatus and eliminated the threat posed by Soviet-inspired dissidents, turned its attention to the threat posed by society. In the same moment, there was a temporary thaw in Iran-Soviet relations, Iran joined the Baghdad Pact, and the US nuclear arsenal became robust enough to begin contemplating a defense of the Elburz, rather than the

²⁹⁷ State Department, “Memorandum From the Deputy Director of the Office of Greek, Turkish, and Iranian Affairs (Kitchen) to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Rountree),” May 17, 1956, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 819.

²⁹⁸ State Department, “National Intelligence Estimate 34-57: The Outlook for Iran,” Jan. 23, 1957, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 877.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 878-9.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ State Department, “Dispatch From the Embassy in Iran to the Department of State: The Shah of Iran, 1957 – A Revised Study,” in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 918.

Zagros, mountains. Iran remained internally focused, albeit on a broader array of potential opponents; this necessitated the adoption of a Distributed rather than an Integrated or Client strategy. This strategy is observed in the archival data presented – Iran had not created forces designed to oppose a Soviet invasion (as it would in an Integrated approach) nor was the Shah as amenable to US direction and advice (as in the Client approach.) *Ceteris paribus*, the theory would then predict a reduction in aid. However, in the same moment that Iran was becoming difficult it was also becoming more important and its forces were growing more capable. This, then, exerted pressure on the US in the opposite direction – given Iran’s higher PSV, it should receive more aid, not less.

The key to assessing the effect of Iran’s strategic shift is to complement the Causal Process Observations regarding its PSV and aid policy discussed in chapter four with a further set of observations regarding the Shah’s requests for assistance. Bearing in mind that when Iran was employing a Client strategy in 1954-6, the Shah was given aid over and above military requirements in order to reward his cooperativeness; therefore, any dramatic shifts in tone from 1957-61 or a reluctance to reward the Shah’s behavior would seem to demonstrate the plausibility of Security Exchange Theory.

The Shah’s requests for US security transfers continued unabated, and as the American embassy in Iran “reported several times before the Shah’s primary interest [was] in military aid.”³⁰² He even hinted darkly that, absent a dramatic increase in Iranian military capabilities analogous to Turkey’s, he might have to reconsider his participation in the Baghdad Pact.³⁰³

Both of these strategies had been successful previously, but by the end of 1957 they were met

³⁰² State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Iran to the Department of State,” Dec 15, 1957, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 959.

³⁰³ State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Iran to the Department of State,” Dec 15, 1957, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 960.

with the bureaucratic equivalent of a sigh. Following the meeting with the Shah, the embassy wrote Washington that “Iranian military forces are of course necessary for internal control but Shah admits present level of forces are more than adequate for this purpose,” and that the “Shah’s interest in military forces is in part emotional rather than logical.”³⁰⁴ Given that the US would “not be able to increase military assistance Iran and since any level of increase military assistance would not completely satisfy the Shah’s appetite” the embassy advised seeking “other ways” to “persuade Shah of constancy of US support, while at same time disabuse[ing] him of notion that US has not lived up to its promises.”³⁰⁵ The same tone and content was echoed a month later by the Secretary of State in a letter to President Eisenhower about his visit to Tehran, in which he derisively notes that the “Shah, who considers himself a military genius,” is demanding a military that would “throw an increased economic burden upon the country and further unbalance and already unbalanced budget.”³⁰⁶

The trend of expressions of concern over the “inordinate demands for additional military assistance from the Shah of Iran” continued across all levels of the American defense and diplomatic establishment through mid-1958.³⁰⁷ Combined with this irritation was a frustration of the Shah’s “marked reluctance to accept U.S. advice” leading to an American perception of a “decline in the stability of the Shah’s regime and of his utility in the achievement of our objectives.”³⁰⁸ This general demeanor toward the Shah was abruptly reversed that summer by the confluence of two important events. First, the Shah had a successful visit with President

³⁰⁴ State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Iran to the Department of State,” Dec 18, 1957, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Vol. XII*, 962-3.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ State Department, “Telegram From Secretary of State Dulles to the Department of State,” Jan. 25, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 533.

³⁰⁷ State Department, “Letter From the Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (Irwin) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (Rountree),” Apr. 16, 1958 in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 544.

³⁰⁸ State Department, “Report by the Operations Coordinating Board,” May 8, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 548.

Eisenhower, who called the Secretary of State immediately afterwards and informed him that he found the Shah “fairly convincing” and appreciated “his clear comprehension of the relationship between economy and military strength and that military strength must be gauged by economy.”³⁰⁹ The Shah had wisely taken the opportunity to emphasize both the conventional threat posed by a Soviet land invasion of Iran and the renewed efforts at Communist subversion, thereby reflecting the American worldview.³¹⁰ As my theory predicts, this had the effect of building the confidence of the great power in the small state’s strategic acuity. Second, less than three weeks after the Shah’s visit to Washington, the pro-Western government of Iraq was overthrown in a bloody coup that caused grave concerns amongst American policy-makers about the possible spread of Communism in the Middle East.³¹¹ President Eisenhower felt sufficiently moved by the events to instruct the American embassy to deliver a verbatim message from him to the Shah in which he observed that the Shah “indicated [his] belief that there should at this time be additional strengthening of the Iranian armed forces beyond that already contemplated” and goes on to inform the Shah that he has “already directed that the delivery of a wide range of equipment for your present forces be further accelerated and [he was] prepared to provide your armed forces with additional training assistance on a selected but intensified basis.”³¹²

Within a month, however, the basic critique of the Shah’s regime that was interrupted by the events of June and July began to resurface. A Special National Intelligence Estimate charged

³⁰⁹ State Department, “Memorandum of Telephone Conversation Between President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles,” Jun. 30, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 569.

³¹⁰ State Department, “Memorandum of Conference with President Eisenhower,” Jun. 30, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 566.

³¹¹ This concern was not particularly warranted, for reasons I will discuss below. Nonetheless, it drove American policy in the Middle East for the next two years.

³¹² State Department, “Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Iran,” Jul. 19, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII Near East Region; Iraq; Iran; Arabian Peninsula*, Edward C. Keefer, ed. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 575-6. This build-up had the effect of expanding Iran’s armed forces by about 37,000 men, along with associated equipment, and accelerating the delivery of various advance aircraft and other weapons. see State Department, “Memorandum From the Special Assistant for Mutual Security Coordination (Barnes) to the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs (Dillon),” Jul. 24, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 579.

with examining the Shah's stability found "basic and widespread dissatisfaction with his regime" and "his character and situation are such that he is unlikely" to undertake major reforms; thus, while the American intelligence community believed "a coup unlikely in the immediate future, because ... the army does not now desire it," in the absence of significant reforms "the overthrow of the monarchy is likely."³¹³ Nonetheless, American policy-makers were sufficiently shaken by the prospect of revolution that they gave up on the idea of actively seeking alternatives to the Shah and chose a policy of constructive engagement.³¹⁴ The Shah, for his part, became more amenable to American advice and continued raising the specter of Tudeh and other forms of communist infiltration. That said, even in light of the increased American commitment the Shah remained "basically dissatisfied with the U.S.-recommended levels for the Iranian armed forces" and continued to confront the U.S. with "a major problem in attempting both to dissuade the Shah from embarking upon excessive military programs and, at the same time, to encourage Iran's participation in the Baghdad Pact through assistance to the Iranian armed forces."³¹⁵

By 1959, the fundamental tensions that had been briefly masked by the events of the previous summer had re-emerged. The Shah's demands for additional security transfers from the US led him to threaten to sign an agreement with the Soviet Union. This was deeply irritating the US, which felt that it had moved to its maximal offer with the aid promised by President Eisenhower's note, which was subsequently delivered.³¹⁶ Iran eventually rejected the Soviet Treaty of Friendship and signed a bilateral agreement with the US. President Eisenhower made a

³¹³ State Department, "Special National Intelligence Estimate 34-58: Stability of the Present Regime in Iran," Aug. 26, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol XII*, 586.

³¹⁴ State Department, "NSC 5821/1 Statement of U.S. Policy Toward Iran," Nov 15, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol XII*, 604.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.* 611.

³¹⁶ Secretary of State Dulles refused to assume further obligations to Iran under the specter of defection to the USSR, President Eisenhower sent a direct letter discouraging the Shah from this course of action, and the American embassy identified the source of the problem as the Shah's "insatiable appetite to expand his army." see *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol XII*, 625-30.

visit to Tehran, and again the Shah imprecated him for more aid, this time in the form of airfields and aircraft.³¹⁷ While the President continued to hold a relatively positive view of the Shah, U.S.-Iranian relations entered a pattern of begrudging acceptance. The Shah continued to make demands on the US for security transfers, but the US, recognizing the Shah's limited exit options, the path-dependency of US support up to that point, and the limits of the Iranian military to absorb additional aid, simply continued to execute the planned levels of expenditure. Concurrently, the CIA training mission for SAVAK begins to wind down, and was removed in 1960 or 61 and replaced by an element from the Mossad.³¹⁸

Security Transfers to Iran and the Impact of Client Strategies

As predicted, when Iran focused its efforts on suppressing Communism and seemed to be willing to follow the advice of American advisors, the US was willing to consider additional support to the Shah beyond that dictated by a strict security calculation to be a worthwhile expense in support of a valued ally. Even though Iranian forces were not ideally deployed to support American plans for defense of the region, the fact that they listened, or, in terms of the theory, adopted a Client strategy, generated additional security transfers. By contrast, as the Shah shifted to a Distributed approach, the US national security apparatus became disillusioned, and limited the rate of security transfers to that dictated by Iran's capacity to absorb the additional capabilities. The historical evidence supports the hypothesis that great powers prefer small states to view their threat environments in global rather than regional terms. While the extent of the effect of this great power preference cannot be quantified precisely, observing the

³¹⁷ State Department, "Memorandum of Conversation: President's Good Will Trip," Dec. 14, 1959, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol XII*, 658.

³¹⁸ Mark Gasiorowski, "Security Relations between the United States and Iran," in *Neither East nor West: Iran, the Soviet Union, and the United States*, Nikki R. Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 155.

causal process posited by my theory in both the Iran and Turkish case indicates that policy-makers explicitly consider the extent to which small states share their understanding of the threat environment and act on the advice and strategic intentions of the great power. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that, *ceteris paribus*, Client and Integrated strategies by small states will induce larger security transfers from great powers.

Iran: An epilogue

While it lies outside the scope of the cases under scrutiny in this chapter, given the scale of the security transfers Iran eventually received from the United States, the spectacular nature of the regime's collapse, and the on-going drama of American-Iranian relations, it seems important to discuss the rest of the story. The negative trends in the American assessments of the Shah discussed above continued into the Kennedy administration, abated in the Johnson administration, and then sharply reversed themselves under Nixon. Gaining a rough understanding of why this is the case is important not simply for historical interest, but for what it illuminates about the strengths and weaknesses of my theory.

At the beginning of the Kennedy administration, it was quite clear to American planners that major structural reforms were required to ensure the longevity of the Shah's regime. Concerned with loss of allied regimes to revolutions from within, Kennedy embarked on a global initiative to induce friendly illiberal regimes to begin top-down reforms of the security sectors, economy, and political practices. In Latin America, this was known as the Alliance for Peace, and a similar program was suggested for Iran. Under pressure from the US, the Shah begrudgingly accepted the necessity for some sort of policy shift and reluctantly appointed a reformist Prime Minister named Amini; however, Amini's favor with the Kennedy

administration worked against him, and the Shah successfully engineered his removal from power. Still needing to placate the US, the Shah began a process of land reform and education known as the White Revolution.³¹⁹

This resulted in a series of social dislocations and challenges to the regime, which culminated in a series of protests in 1963 and 1964 that the Shah brutally repressed. However, at this point Kennedy had been assassinated and Johnson was proving to be far more tolerant of the Shah's exercise of force and reduced the pressure to reform throughout the 1960s even as American security transfers expanded. The reasons for this are varied, but one of them is certainly the fact that American involvement in Vietnam was deepening and the need for stable clients seemed more pressing.³²⁰ Another is that an expanding oil sector was supporting arms purchases by the Shah, reducing the cost of such transfers to the United States (who suffered the opportunity costs of losing control of the equipment, but not an additional monetary cost.)³²¹

While the flow of American security transfers to Iran may have increased in the 1960s, in 1972 Nixon and Kissinger completely opened the floodgates. Against the advice of the American national security establishment, Iran was allowed unlimited access to the American inventory, subject only to the discretion of the Shah.³²² The purpose of this change in policy was to support the Two Pillars strategy for ensuring the security of the Persian Gulf, in which Iran would provide a military bulwark against Soviet aggression without the need for direct involvement of American forces. Security transfers then commenced on a truly massive scale,

³¹⁹ see Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 131-147.

³²⁰ Ibid. 177

³²¹ Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 124. see also Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 172. for a discussion of the sale of two squadrons of F-4 Phantoms (then one of the world's most advanced aircraft and only available for sale to Great Britain) to Iran.

³²² Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 201.

with a more than sevenfold increase in Iranian military expenditures from 1972 to 1979.³²³ “By 1975, the shah had the largest Navy in the Persian Gulf, the largest air force in Western Asia, and the fifth largest army in the whole world.”³²⁴ The alteration to the security relationship between Iran and the United States was so fundamental as a result of this unprecedented decision that it persisted beyond the Nixon/Kissenger era and until the eventual demise of the regime.³²⁵

This sequence of events highlights both the strengths and weaknesses of my theory. On the one hand, it is clear that changing security postures vis a vis their rival’s structure great power decision-making as regards security transfers. Kennedy and Johnson, who were concerned about internal threats, supported policies of reform and repression, respectively. Nixon and Kissinger, in alignment with a general policy of “Vietnamization” which leveraged the capabilities of local proxies in conventional wars, decided to expand Iran’s high-technology military capacity. Both of these calculations were made in terms of the stability of the client, the security needs of America in the Persian Gulf, and the availability (politically or militarily) of American forces to intervene and reverse adverse outcomes. On the other hand, it is clear that my theory suffers from the same limitations incurred by all general theorizations that depend on structural considerations and orderly, rational decision-making. Namely, the bounded rationality of individual decision-makers creates noise in the data that may overwhelm the variation accounted for by the theory. The secondary literature is unanimous that Nixon and Kissinger acted against the professional advice of both the defense and diplomatic bureaucracies, and then subsequently thwarted attempts by the bureaucracy to undertake policy reviews after the fact. While not clairvoyant in every respect, the American national security apparatus consistently

³²³ Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, 132. The exact numbers (in millions of 1973 dollars) are: 1971 – 958, 1972 – 944, 1972 – 1300, 1973 – 1800, 1974 – 4000, 1975 – 5500, 1976 – 5700, 1977 – 7200.

³²⁴ Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, 124.

³²⁵ Gary Sick, *All Fall Down: America’s Tragic Encounter with Iran*, (Lincoln: Backprint.com, 2001), 14-22. This short section provides an excellent summary of the Pahlavi/Nixon/Kissenger relationship.

generated the prediction that, given the ability purchase unlimited arms, the Shah would wreck his economy and trigger unrest and revolution. In previous administrations, this was sufficient to deter such a policy; in the Nixon administration, it was not. There is no obvious theoretical solution to this problem – rather, it merely highlights the fact that my theory works better for states with defense bureaucracies that achieve more comprehensive rationality and undertake orderly and consistent policy-making and is less effective for autocratic, erratic, or vainglorious leaders.

Iraq: Distributed Strategies

Unlike Turkey and Iran, Iraq was never occupied or directly threatened by the Soviet Union during World War II and the early Cold War. Further, unlike the Turks and Persians to the north, the politics of Iraq during the 1950s were structured by, and responded to, the examples and interferences of other regional actors. The vulnerability of the regime to threats from within and the lack of obvious great power interference led Iraq under both the Hashemite monarchy and Qasim's revolutionary regime to pursue Distributed strategies. That is to say, Iraq's security apparatus was not optimized to address threats from abroad, nor did it integrate itself into a single great power command structure, nor did it hew closely to the dictates of great power advice. Of course, like the Shah, Iraqi leaders occasionally sought to portray themselves as worthy clients that aspired to an integrated defense posture; however, just as with Iran, American and Soviet policy-makers were able to determine the motivations of their erstwhile ally and adjust their security transfers accordingly.

The Enemy Within: Threats to the Hashemite Monarchy 1952-58

From its birth in 1921, the Hashemite monarchy struggled to gain control over Iraq and its territory. In the words of King Faisal I, “In Iraq, there is still – and I say this with a heart full of sorrow – no Iraqi people but unimaginable masses of human beings, devoid of any patriotic idea, imbued with religious traditions and absurdities, connected by no common tie, giving ear to evil, prone to anarchy, and perpetually ready to rise against any government whatever.”³²⁶

Gaining mastery over this fractious and unruly (but well-armed) bunch required the creation of an army powerful enough to crush the tribal uprisings that erupted throughout the 1920s and 30s. This was accomplished through a rapid expansion of the state, the support of the British, and the ruthlessness of the new Iraqi generals. However, in addressing the threat posed by the society, the regime constituted a new threat posed by the state. The officer corps became increasingly emboldened in carrying out coups against Prime Ministers, until in April 1941 they overthrew the monarchy itself.³²⁷ Unfortunately for the new rulers, they chose to contest the British right to use Iraq to support their war effort, were invaded and quickly overcome by the United Kingdom, and were ushered out of power only two months after they seized it.³²⁸

The return of the monarchy under the protection of the British also signaled the return of their powerful courtier, Nuri al-Said, who served variously as cabinet minister, Prime Minister, kingmaker, and power behind the throne for most of the next two decades. A cunning politician with a strong authoritarian streak, Nuri sought to modernize Iraqi society, bring the army to heel,

³²⁶ Hanna Batatu, 2004 [1978], *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of its Communists, Ba'ithists and Free Officers*, (London: Saqi, 2004 [1978]), 25

³²⁷ Charles Tripp, “Chapter 3: The Hashemite Monarchy 1932-41,” *A History of Iraq*, 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 75-100.

³²⁸ Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 101-103.

and propel Iraq to a position of dominance in the Arab world. At the outset of this study, in 1952, his project was well underway. He had developed a philosophy of a single party state, had begun to introduce military reforms as Minister of Defense, and was on his way to obtaining more favorable terms from the British on both oil concessions and treaty obligations.³²⁹

The regime's relationship with Iraqi society was complicated. While it had spent the 1920s and 30s quelling tribal uprisings and trying to dismantle tribal power, in the aftermath of the coups during the 1940s and the development of "the intensely leftist or intensely nationalist intelligentsia allied with the urban masses" the regime and tribal organizations made common cause.³³⁰ The leftists were able to find a home in the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP), which was suppressed in the 1940s but reemerged in the 1950s and gave special attention to mobilizing in Shi'a areas.³³¹ In the fall of 1952, when this case study begins, the ICP coordinated protests in Baghdad so extensive that the Army was called out to subdue them. While the ICP began fragmenting by the mid-1950s, it nonetheless aroused Nuri's ire sufficiently to find itself banned and the object of special scrutiny. Also emergent in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution was an intense nationalism which found expression in Ba'athism and the Arabization of the ICP.³³² In reaction to the Suez Crisis of 1956 the ICP was again able to mobilize large protests, this time in Najaf, which overwhelmed the police and again required the intervention of the army.³³³ In 1957, the ICP combined with Ba'ath and other leftist / nationalist organizations to form the National United Front, which "marked a qualitative change in the political situation. It at least

³²⁹ Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 107-127

³³⁰ Batatu, *The Old Social Classes*, 102.

³³¹ Ibid. 663.

³³² Ibid. 1081 (regarding Arabism) and 736 (regarding Ba'athism and Arab socialism).

³³³ Ibid. 754.

polarized Iraqi society more than ever before, and to a point of genuine threat to the structure of the monarchy.”³³⁴

Given the political involvement of the military in the previous decades and the example of the Egyptian revolution, it is hardly surprising that the “idea of a blow by the army was in the early fifties in the air, so to say.”³³⁵ While the ICP had long been active in the army “they progressed, principally, among the common soldiers and noncommissioned officers.”³³⁶ Thus, in 1952 a Major named Rif’at al-Hajj Sirri formed the Free Officers, a clandestine organization motivated by Arab nationalism and inspired by the Egyptian organization of the same name that had just seized power from King Farouq.³³⁷ Sirri was investigated and punitively transferred in 1956, but the organization was not effectively suppressed. In part, as will be discussed in more detail below, this stemmed from Nuri’s belief that he had the military under his control after his tenure as Minister of Defense. Yet while he “succeeded among the most senior officers ... the reaction amongst a number of the junior and middling officers was quite different.”³³⁸ In 1958, these Free Officers, led by Brigadier General Karim Qasim, overthrew the monarchy established a new regime.

From 1952 to 1958, the monarchy faced serious threats from society and the state. Nuri managed these political challenges in a variety of ways – allowing free elections, banning all parties, creating independent agencies, shuffling allies, resigning in protest, suppressing dissent, etc. While he had regional ambitions relative to external powers, he did not seem especially concerned about the physical invasion. However, after the Egyptian revolution, he was very concerned about the impact of Arab nationalism on the internal threats to his regime. The

³³⁴ Ibid. 763.

³³⁵ Ibid. 772.

³³⁶ Ibid. 773.

³³⁷ Ibid. 770-3.

³³⁸ Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 128.

challenge for Nuri was that he simultaneously harbored ambitions for a leadership role in the Middle East, needed to maintain domestic support for reform projects, and held a belief that the “there was nothing odd about the notion of cooperation with the West,” which was “a natural, if not inevitable requisite.”³³⁹ Since the British had oil concessions and defense interests in Iraq, a sudden breach would likely have had deleterious effects on Iraqi access to Western support necessary to complete a wide variety of development projects; however, continued cooperation with the West in an era of Arab nationalism created an opportunity for the Egyptian mobilization of domestic opposition to the Iraqi regime.

Egypt seized this opportunity with gusto. After Iraq signed a treaty with Turkey in 1954 that seemed to move Iraq away from the cause of Arab neutralism and Egyptian leadership and towards the west, Cairo launched a blistering radio attack on the anniversary of famous riots that had scuttled an earlier treaty with Britain in 1948. “Implicit in the vilification [sic] of Nuri in that broadcast was a thinly veiled incitement to the Iraqi public to repeat the Portsmouth riots and cause the rejection of the proposed Turkish-Iraqi Agreement and the downfall of Nuri.”³⁴⁰ These attacks continued throughout the process in which the Baghdad Pact (discussed in Chapter 4) was negotiated and signed. While Nuri was publicly confident, he also urgently requested “as quickly as possible, from the United States, radio equipment powerful enough to match radio Cairo.”³⁴¹ Therefore, in terms of the theory, the threat facing the Iraqi regime was internal and regional.

³³⁹ Elie Podeh, *The Quest for Hegemony in the Arab World: The Struggle over the Baghdad Pact*. (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 30. see also Waldemar Gallman, *Iraq Under General Nuri: My Recollections of Nuri al-Said, 1954-1958*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), 29.

³⁴⁰ Gallman, *Iraq Under General Nuri*, 38. see also Lord Birdword, *Nuri As-Said: A Study in Arab Leadership*, (London: Cassell, 1959), 232.

³⁴¹ Gallman, *Iraq Under General Nuri*, 49.

Balancing the Threats: Iraq's Distributed Strategy

My theory predicts that, faced with internal threats that are not strongly supported by a great power, small states will adopt a Distributed strategy. Unlike an Integrated or an Independent strategy, the military apparatus of the state is not optimized to preserve its territorial integrity from external threats. Unlike the Client strategy, the small state employs its coercive capacity against a breadth of opponents and outside the ideological language of great power rivalry. In the case of Iraq between 1952-58, this took two forms. First, Nuri undertook purges and payoffs to gain control of the military. Second, the newly loyal military was held in reserve away from the major cities and used to quell disturbances that overwhelmed the police.

As Minister of Defense, and later as Prime Minister, Nuri attempted to regain mastery of the officer corps through “promotions, fat salaries, grants of land, and other privileges.”³⁴² Nuri had been a soldier himself and took an active interest in equipping the forces of public order in both the army and the police.³⁴³ He also used the procurement of arms to political effect in the society at large, noting in a radio address before the 1957 annual military parade that spectators “could expect to see weapons on parade such as were possessed exclusively by the modern armies of the United States and Britain. Many more of this sort were on their way or awaiting shipment.”³⁴⁴ While Lord Birdwood, his biographer, rather patronizingly noted that “[t]he delight of a child may have been discernable in his enthusiasm” it was nevertheless the case that Nuri’s “firm direction which had produced such a display could look for its reward in a general

³⁴² Batatu, *The Old Social Classes*, 764.

³⁴³ Gallman, *Iraq Under General Nuri*, 91-97.

³⁴⁴ Birdwood, *Nuri As-Said*, 246.

sense of confidence restored at home and abroad.”³⁴⁵ That said, the modern armaments that the regime obtained from the West were not arrayed according to a strictly military logic. In fact, “Nuri ... made sure to keep the powerful units out of Baghdad and without ammunition for their weapons,”³⁴⁶ which is an inadvisable strategy if facing a foreign adversary and eminently sensible if living under the threat of coup. Beyond controlling ammunition stockpiles, “the government had up its sleeve a contingency plan envisaging the systematic destruction of defiles, bridges, bottlenecks, and so on, to forestall a coup d’état and ‘freeze’ the army in its barracks.”³⁴⁷ Again, even as Nuri paid off army leaders and used to the army to deal with threats from society, he also tolerated substantial costs to military efficiency to protect the regime against threats from the state. Put differently, Iraq pursued a Distributed strategy in response to an internal-regional threat, just as my theory predicts.

Skepticism and Limitation: the American Response

The American ambassador to Iraq in the mid-1950s, Waldemar Gallman, identifies three possible goals for American military aid in his memoir:

One was to concentrate on equipping an Iraqi force capable of taking part in a general war. A second was to disregard this, but aim at building up a force intended primarily to do no more than maintain internal order during a general conflict. The third possible course might have been to disregard these objectives and frankly concentrate on building a force for purely political ends, showy enough in types of equipment to have bolstered Nuri with his own people and to have impressed his neighbors at the same time.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Batatu, *The Old Social Classes*, 764.

³⁴⁷ Ibid. 796.

³⁴⁸ Gallman, *Iraq Under General Nuri*, 193.

While Gallman may have preferred the third alternative, both my theoretical expectation and the empirical data indicate that great powers transfer security goods on the basis of their utility in what Gallman calls “a general conflict.” Indeed, it was precisely the fact that American planners discerned that military aid to Iraq would be allocated according to a domestic political logic that they limited such transfers to the minimum necessary to achieve the desired military effect.

In 1952, the US began moving away from the paradigm in which the UK was given specific responsibility for the West’s policy in Iraq, referring to such arrangements as “galling in the extreme to the Iraqis” and “anachronistic in light [of the Middle East Command, a precursor to the Baghdad Pact] concept.”³⁴⁹ Given the American ambition to create an integrated defense structure for the defense of the Middle East, the decision was made to utilize aid as a “bargaining lever to bring Iraq into the MEC.”³⁵⁰ The Iraqi government correctly discerned US priorities, and expressed their concern about “how very vulnerable their country was to a Soviet attack coming through Persia.”³⁵¹ Thwarting such an attack would require the development of Iraqi forces, which would in turn require American funding, and “Nuri emphasized the precedent of arms and funds given to Turkey and that such aid had been given prior to Turkey’s participation in NATO,” also mentioning the fact that, at the time, “US-UK military assistance was being proposed for Egypt.”³⁵²

To a limited degree, these arguments succeeded, and Iraq was considered, alongside Syria, for an aid package designed to protect it from Communist attack in the form of “a limited

³⁴⁹ State Department, “The Ambassador in Iraq (Crocker) to the Department of State,” April 21, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2327-8.

³⁵⁰ State Department, “Memorandum of Conversation, Subject: Provision of Military Assistance to Iraq Under Section 408e of the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, as Amended,” May 2, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2330.

³⁵¹ State Department, “The Ambassador in Iraq (Berry) to the Department of State,” March 22, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2344.

³⁵² State Department, “The Charge in Iraq (Ireland) to the Department of State,” March 26, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2346.

amount of military aid to strengthen the internal security of friendly regimes.”³⁵³ Nonetheless, even though the aid would be distributed bilaterally, the US remained committed to regional security arrangements, in this case among the Northern Tier states.³⁵⁴ When such a commitment appeared to waver in the face of blistering attacks from Cairo, which led the Iraqi government to temporarily disavow any potential agreements with the West, Turkey, or Pakistan, Secretary Dulles informed the embassy in Baghdad that the “whole policy regarding military assistance to the Middle East [was] based on concept of collective security” and that even though the US was “willing to consider military aid to Iraq without insisting upon adherence to any regional defense pact” it was nonetheless “counting upon at least a clear-cut public recognition by Iraq of her interest in regional defense against outside aggression and her willingness to cooperate with other states who also see the danger.”³⁵⁵ The negotiations for military aid to Iraq were then suspended until the Iraqi government assuaged concerns about the limits of its anti-Communism. The issue facing Iraq was that Nuri was famously “adept” at “tailoring his argument to fit [the] listener on hand.”³⁵⁶ Thus, despite its slow acceptance of regional defense, the US remained somewhat skeptical of Iraqi intentions. As became the case in Iran in the late 1950s, the Iraqi government tended to request higher-profile items than the “vehicles, signaling equipment, etc.” that were programmed, while the US maintained that the creation of an effective Iraqi army required “the supply of a number of items which had little ‘glamour’ attached to them but were nevertheless indispensable.”³⁵⁷ Put in terms of my theory, while the language Iraq used signaled

³⁵³ State Department, “Memorandum of Conversation, by the Second Secretary of the Embassy in Iraq (Barrow),” August 24, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2356.

³⁵⁴ State Department, “Secretary of State to the Embassy in Iraq,” Jan 5, 1954, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2363.

³⁵⁵ State Department, “The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Iraq,” April 8, 1954, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2375.

³⁵⁶ State Department, “The Charge in Iraq (Ireland) to the Department of State,” November 2, 1954, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2390.

³⁵⁷ State Department, “Memorandum of Conversation, by the Officer in Charge of Arabian Peninsula-Iraq Affairs (Fritzlan),” November 6, 1954, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2396.

a Client strategy with aspirations to Integration, its actions were read by the US as neither. Rather, the Iraq regime was understood to have adopted a Distributed approach, and thus was not given the benefit of the doubt in terms of either the type or the timing of security assistance that it received.

This skepticism is expressed most clearly in the internal American assessment of Iraq motivations for signing the defense agreement with Turkey that had been such a priority for Sec. Dulles and US regional policy:

Iraqi cooperation in the regional defense sphere will continue to be influenced by a number of motives other than that of developing an effective defense arrangement. Although Iraq's signature of a defense agreement with Turkey reflected some appreciation of the Soviet military threat, it was largely motivated by such collateral factors as: (a) the desire to replace the old Anglo-Iraqi Treaty with an arrangement more acceptable to nationalist sentiment; (b) the wish to promote Syro-Iraqi union; (c) the recognition that some positive step toward area defense was necessary to obtain further US military aid; (d) the wish to increase Iraq's prestige among the Arab states at Egypt's expense; and (e) the weight of Turkish insistence.³⁵⁸

Despite taking the actions required by the US, the Iraqi government received little forbearance. For example, in the aftermath of the transfer of Soviet aircraft to Syria, Iraq requested Western fighters.³⁵⁹ But other than the training of Iraqi pilots, the US demurred on the transfer of aircraft; in fact, President Eisenhower determined that one helpful course of action would be to improve the quality of allied regional air coverage by "re-equipping a Turkish squadron with the latest type interceptors."³⁶⁰ The stated Iraqi force procurement goals were, in the short term included "3 squadrons of jet fighter aircraft, 100 M-24 tanks ... [and] equipment for a third division, in

³⁵⁸ State Department, "NIE 30-55: Middle East Defense Problems and Prospects. Department of State, INR-NIE Files," June 21, 1955. para. 15. in *FRUS 1955-1957, Volume XII*, 82.

³⁵⁹ State Department, "Memorandum of a Conversation, Department of State, Subject: Increase in Military Aid for Iraq," December 21, 1956, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Volume XII*, 1021.

³⁶⁰ State Department, "Conference memorandum of meeting dated November 23, 1956," in *FRUS 1955-1957, Volume XII*, 1014 fn 3.

addition to the equipment for two divisions currently being supplied under MDAP [a US aid program]” with the long-term objective of creating “six Army divisions and a nine squadron (one group) Air Force.”³⁶¹ The American response in 1957 was to allocate “24 M-24 tanks and various combat vehicles,” provide “5 additional pilot training spaces,” and accept the possibility of forming additional Iraqi units, which the Iraqis would be expected to pay for, given the American inability to “provide equipment these forces on grant basis.”³⁶² To the irritation of both the Iraqi government and the American ambassador in Baghdad, the US remained steadfast in its commitment to resist aid requests that exceed its assessment of Iraqi needs.³⁶³

The archival evidence indicates that Iraq was treated more like Iran during its Distributed strategy period than Turkey. The US did transfer security resources to Iraq, but in accordance to a strictly military strategic logic that remained focused on the threat from the Soviet Union at the expense of other regional and domestic political considerations. This notion was clearly illustrated in the American response to Iraqi requests for aircraft – while the threat from the north could be adequately addressed by Turkish squadrons, this was hardly an acceptable solution in terms of the Iraqi regime’s needs. The national security apparatus was informed of this fact by both Iraqi and State Department sources, so it wasn’t ignorant of these concerns; it was simply indifferent to them. This reinforces the findings from the Iranian case; the US extends its forbearance and extra resources to states that either integrate themselves completely into American strategic concepts or accept tutelage in security affairs and it does not do so vis a vis

³⁶¹ State Department, “Memorandum of a Conversation, Department of State, Subject: Increase in Military Aid for Iraq,” December 21, 1956, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Volume XII*, 1022.

³⁶² State Department, “Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Iraq,” February 20, 1957, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Volume XII*, 1038.

³⁶³ see State Department, “Operations Plan for Iraq (NSC 5428),” Aug. 7, 1957, in *FRUS 1955-1957, Volume XII*, 1062 for the official US position. see State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Iraq to the Department of State,” August 3, 1957, in *FRUS, 1955-1957, Volume XII*, 1060. To get a sense of Gallman’s frustration, see Gallman’s memoirs for his perception of the program and its inadequacy in Iraqi eyes in Gallman, *Iraq Under General Nuri*, 188-195.

states that refuse to do either. This is not to say that such states do not receive any security exchanges, only that offers to them are driven by the logic of Perceived Strategic Value.

The Enemy Within: Threats to the Qasim Regime and the Soviet Response 1958-61

On 14 July 1958, the young King of Iraq, the Crown Prince, the ladies of the Palace, the Prime Minister and his son, and several foreigners were killed. The British Embassy was burned and looted. The Hashemite monarchy, established by the British nearly forty years before on the ruins of the Turkish Empire and bound by allegiance to Britain was overthrown. The romance of early Anglo-Arabism, the special relationship born of archaeology and the coincidence of war-time interests, pictured in Allenby's capture of Jerusalem and the contrived entry of Feisal I into Damascus, incarnate in those more than life-size figures of the romantic period, Lawrence, Gertrude Bell, Percy Cox, was finally shattered in the ruins of the British Embassy in Baghdad.

-Baron Humphrey Trevelyan, *British Ambassador to Iraq 1958-1961*³⁶⁴

This rather vivid description of the day that brought Gen. Karim Qasim to the head of a new Iraqi regime in 1958 captures the many of the internationally significant elements of the coup: the old monarchy and its courtiers were utterly destroyed, the old relationship with the UK was severed, and Iraqi withdrew from the Baghdad Pact, which transferred its headquarters to Ankara and renamed itself CENTO. As discussed previously, this inspired a deep antipathy from the British towards Qasim, and they proposed a joint invasion to Eisenhower in the immediate aftermath of the coup.³⁶⁵ The US, while it declined to participate in armed regime change in 1958, was nonetheless concerned about the fact that Qasim allowed known Communist sympathizers into his initial revolutionary government.³⁶⁶ However, it promptly recognized the

³⁶⁴ Humphrey Trevelyan, *The Middle East in Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1971): 135.

³⁶⁵ see Stephen Blackwell, "A Desert Squall: Anglo-American Planning for Military Intervention in Iraq, July 1958-August 1959" *Middle Eastern Studies* 35 (1999), 4. see also Richard John Worrall, "'Coping with Coup D'Etat': British Policy towards Post-Revolutionary Iraq, 1958-1963" *Contemporary British History* 21 (2007), 180-181. For an extended discussion of the week after the revolution, see Alexandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, *Khrushchev's Cold War: The Inside Story of an American Adversary*. (New York: WW Norton Company, 2006), 160-172.

³⁶⁶ Interestingly, both Vice President Nixon and Secretary of State Dulles supported the idea of an invasion. see State Department, "Memorandum of Telephone Conversation Between Secretary of State Dulles and Vice President Nixon" July 15, 1958 in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 321.

new government and went about the creation of a new strategy to deal with the radically altered situation.

As my theory expects, great powers see the world in terms of their security imperatives, and in the next year, both the Soviet Union and the United States assessed the Qasim regime in the language of the Cold War. The United States came to understand that Qasim himself was not a Communist, and reflected this fact in communications from the embassy³⁶⁷ and within Washington.³⁶⁸ Nonetheless, Qasim's tolerance of the Iraqi Communist Party moved CIA Director Allen Dulles characterized Qasim as "in the hands of the Communist mob" at a meeting of the National Security Council.³⁶⁹ As events continued to unfold, the US despondently forecast that 1959 would be the "year of the bear in Iraq."³⁷⁰

By contrast, the Soviets were initially quite excited by Qasim. In the two weeks after the revolution, and encouraged by Nasser, Khrushchev directed the creation of a plan to "outfit two Iraqi infantry divisions with Soviet equipment ... on a crash schedule with everything in Iraqi hands in a month's time."³⁷¹ Over Nasser's objections, this agreement was concluded on a bilateral basis and the equipment was shipped through the Syria port of Latakia. Within a month of the revolution, Khrushchev expressed the feeling that, while no one could predict Iraq's trajectory with certainty, he was happy with Iraq's willingness to "followed Moscow's recommendation" and "take Soviet advice."³⁷² However, both the Soviets and Americans were soon to discover that Qasim's strategic logic was structured by regional and domestic threats, not

³⁶⁷ State Department, "Telegram From the Embassy in Iraq to the Department of State," October 14, 1958, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 344-346.

³⁶⁸ State Department, "Memorandum From the Director of Intelligent and Research (Cumming) to Secretary of State Dulles," November 25, 1958 in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 353-354.

³⁶⁹ State Department, "Memorandum of Discussion at the 391st Meeting of the National Security Council," December 18, 1958 in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 363.

³⁷⁰ State Department, "Doc. 166: Telegram From the Embassy in Iraq to the Department of State" (Baghdad: March 26, 1959 in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 398.

³⁷¹ Fursenko and Naftali, *Khrushchev's Cold War*, 178.

³⁷² *Ibid.* 183.

grand narratives of superpower conflict. Like the US and Iran, the quick burst of Soviet enthusiasm quickly gave way to a sober assessment of Iraq's commitment to global security objectives.

Karim Qasim rode into Baghdad on an armored brigade and a wave of revolutionary enthusiasm; the coup was to usher in a new pluralist era in which Iraqis would work together to propel the nation to the vanguard of the Arab world.³⁷³ Qasim expressed a vision for unified, powerful, and modernizing Iraq, but led by a single leader (himself) who embodied the very essence of the nation, pithily expressed in Arabic as “Maku zaim, illa Karim” – there is no leader other than Karim.³⁷⁴ Being the Sole Leader necessitated the removal of rival centers of power, beginning with allies that vied for popular affection and extending to political parties, tribal organizations, and other social formations. While internationally Qasim disputed with Iran and rather futility rattled his saber at Kuwait, the role of the military in his policy-making was limited. However, domestically the Iraqi armed forces found themselves pressed into service against a Kurdish uprising, a coup attempt, and several incidents of mass violence. Qasim himself was nearly assassinated by Ba'ath plotters and spent the majority of his tenure gaining control of both the Iraqi state and Iraqi society.

Although Iraq remained the fractious and unruly society lamented by King Faisal 30 years earlier, Qasim's difficulties were compounded by the active involvement of an emerging regional adversary in the form of Egypt's Nasser. While Nasser originally supported Qasim and helped smooth his introduction to the Soviet Union,³⁷⁵ he became disillusioned with Qasim's Iraqi nationalism and refusal to recognize Egyptian leadership. He then embarked on a

³⁷³ see Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 3rd ed, 143-169

³⁷⁴ Ironically, this phrase was coined by one of his Qasim's co-conspirators who Qasim subsequently banished and who led the revolution of 1963 that resulted in Qasim's death. Batatu, *The Old Social Classes*, 798

³⁷⁵ see Fursenko and Naftali, *Khrushchev's Cold War*, 169, 178

campaign of subversion which was tracked closely by the American government. President Eisenhower was informed of coup plots in Iraq backed by Egypt,³⁷⁶ the State Department communicated their support of Nasser's efforts to Egypt,³⁷⁷ and the National Security Council contemplated ways to "discreetly lend Nasser encouragement and assistance recognizing that the United States is severely handicapped ... and that the problem should be approached through indigenous forces."³⁷⁸ Thus, in the estimation of contemporaneous American documents, the US did not interfere in Iraqi politics directly, although Egypt certainly did. Therefore, the chief threat to Qasim's regime was of the internal-regional type, just as was the case for his predecessor.

The Soviet leadership initially interpreted Qasim's cautious neutrality, commitment to the stability of the global oil markets, and tolerance of (as opposed to alignment with) the Communist Party as evidence that their prudent advice had been heeded.³⁷⁹ Mikoyan, who went on to become the Soviet deputy premier in 1960, went so far as to praise Qasim for Iraq's neutrality and tolerance and suggest that the policy might "serve as an example to other countries" in the Middle East.³⁸⁰ As discussed previously, the Soviet regime considered giving primacy to its perceived client in Iraq over the obstreperous Nasser.³⁸¹ However, a series of incidents in Iraq demonstrated Qasim's regional (vice global) orientation and his associated Distributed strategy.

³⁷⁶ see footnote in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 385.

³⁷⁷ State Department, "Paper Prepared in the Department of State. THE SITUATION IN IRAQ: Policy the United States Should Follow To Prevent Communism From Establishing Control of the Country," April 15, 1959, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 421.

³⁷⁸ State Department, "Paper Prepared in the Department of State. THE SITUATION IN IRAQ: Policy the United States Should Follow To Prevent Communism From Establishing Control of the Country," April 15, 1959, in *FRUS 1958-1960, Vol. XII*, 421.

³⁷⁹ see Fursenko and Naftali, *Khrushchev's Cold War*, 183.

³⁸⁰ As quoted in Yevgeny Primakov, *Russia and the Arabs*, (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 67.

³⁸¹ see Mohamed Heikal, *The Sphinx and the Commissar*, (New York: Harpers Row Publishers, 1978), 101.

The first major challenge to Qasim's regime occurred in March 1959, when pro-Qasim communist marchers in Mosul became involved in a dispute with nationalists that escalated into general mayhem. Plotters within the state decided it was time to strike, and called for the military to rise up and depose Qasim. This came to naught, and the abortive coup was utterly crushed by the regime, which then conducted a series of purges against nationalist officers. However, by eliminating its nationalist enemies within the state, the regime also removed the largest check on the power of the Iraq Communist Party. Having seen the power of the ICP, which mobilized its members in large numbers in defense of the regime, when another round of violence in northern Iraq burst forth in July, Qasim took the opportunity to suppress and disarm the Communist Party. He disbanded the Communist militia, closed various ICP vocational organizations, and demobilized "no fewer than 1,700 reservists, including the entire Communist-influenced Thirteenth Reserve Officer Class."³⁸² The third, and most important, incident of 1959 came in October, when a Ba'athist assassin named Saddam Hussein, along with his co-conspirators, attacked the Presidential motorcade and wounded Qasim. Fearing another nationalist coup attempt, Communist cadres took over barracks and key government facilities; in the event, Qasim lived and became even more wary of his Communist allies. Convinced by the amateurishness of the attack that the nationalists were a spent force, Qasim increased his repression of the Iraq Communist Party until, eventually, he refused to arm its militias and call for its assistance in the days of fighting that led to his death in 1963.³⁸³

Thus, at the close of the period under scrutiny in this study, Qasim was increasing his repression of the Communists in defiance of Soviet appeals for tolerance at the moment when

³⁸² Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq*, 923.

³⁸³ Marion Fouruk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett refer to this at "The Breaking of the Radical Left." see Marion Fouruk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship*, (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1990), 74-76.

Chapter 6: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt, 1952-1961

Nasser was seeking to heal the rift that had opened between Egypt and the USSR. While Iraq enjoyed a brief moment in the sun, it became clear that it had neither the PSV of Egypt nor a Client strategy that might have warranted elevated levels of support. Thus, in the end, the Soviet Union remained committed to Cairo and the Nasser regime, which I discuss in detail below.

Conclusion

Both Nuri and Qasim, for a set of exogenously given reasons, were more threatened by internal actors and regional politics than they were by the menace of invasion or great power interference. As predicted, both regimes adopt a Distributed strategy, which uses the armed forces to check society while simultaneously limiting the threat the armed forces pose to the regime. My theory predicts both that great powers view the world in terms of threats posed by other great powers and that they prefer their small state clients to view the world in similar terms. They reward compliance, as seen in Turkey, Iran, and the early Qasim regime, and frown on deviations, as seen with the Shah, with Nuri, and with Qasim after 1960.

Both between case and within case variation support my hypothesis that Client and Integrated strategies have a positive effect on great power security transfers to small states. Contrast, for example, the forbearance shown to Turkey throughout the period and Iran in 1954 with the impatience and focus on the Soviet threat voiced by the US vis a vis Iraq and, later in the period, Iran. When Turkey needed money to pension off a bloated officer corps, the US was ready to find ways to support the policy. When Iraq needed aircraft for an equally political purpose, the US was willing to provide them – to Turkey, in order to counter the Soviet menace. Likewise, when Qasim seemed like a client, the Soviets were quite patient; when he deviated

from their desires, they turned back towards Egypt. Iraq is an especially vivid and useful test in this respect, and the results are consonant with the theoretical expectation.

Egypt: Independent Strategy

This study begins in 1952, the year the Free Officers overthrew the monarchy in Egypt, inspiring a generation of Arab nationalists and inaugurating over a half century of military-dominated Egyptian governments. While an internecine struggle brought Gamal Abdul Nasser to power over his adversaries in 1954, the chief concern of the revolution was not threats from other Egyptian political actors. Workers who seized their factory in 1952 were promptly hung,³⁸⁴ the communist party was relatively small and disorganized,³⁸⁵ and the Muslim Brotherhood was initially aligned with the Free Officers before being brought to “ruin” in 1954 by Nasser after a failed assassination attempt.³⁸⁶ This is not to say that there was not a capacity for mass violence – Cairo had been burned and “in 1951 alone a total of forty-nine workers’ strikes and several bloody peasant uprisings took place.”³⁸⁷ Rather, that these violent impulses lacked political organization and focus – Nasser had the control of a regime-sponsored mass party and the coercive instruments of the state and, “with the military as the bedrock of his support” became “the master of Egypt.”³⁸⁸

The threats facing the Egyptian regime were threefold. First, its army was of a low quality – in the words of the former commander-in-chief of the Egyptian Army, General Aziz el-

³⁸⁴ Heikal, *The Sphinx and the Commissar*, 53. “On August 13 at Kafr el-Dawar, near Alexandria, the workers, probably prompted by the communists, seized control of a textile factory. The two ringleaders were tried by a military court, sentenced and hanged.”

³⁸⁵ Ibid. 39, 50 “But the communists themselves remained for most of the time a small coterie of squabbling and secretive theoreticians.”

³⁸⁶ Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993 [1969]), 160.

³⁸⁷ Raymond Baker, *Egypt’s Uncertain Revolution under Nasser and Sadat*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 27.

³⁸⁸ Baker, *Egypt’s Uncertain Revolution*, 33.

Masri, “Of course the Egyptian army is worthless. It was the British who organized it, and they had their reasons for making a poor thing of it.”³⁸⁹ Second, the British government was inhospitable towards the revolution, yet had a garrison with tens of thousands of soldiers at the Suez that could menace the regime’s survival and its interests. Third, despite Nasser’s disinclination to provoke Israel, cross-border raids continued to escalate throughout the early 1950s, culminating in “a devastating retaliatory raid on Gaza in February 1955 [which] sharply escalated the level of violence. The attacking Israelis lost eight men, with thirteen more wounded; they left behind thirty-eight dead Egyptians – thirty-seven men and a seven-year old boy.”³⁹⁰ Combined, these three facts not only limited the Egyptian capacity to create security for itself, but also undermined the regime’s *raison d’être* through cross-border raids and occupation. Thus, the chief security concerns of the regime were external.

They were also regional – Egypt did not perceive Britain as a member of the “West” in the sense that there was an exact congruence between American and British foreign policy aims and central direction from Washington. Nor was Israel understood to be an American client (and, as discussed earlier, America was quite deliberate in avoiding partiality in the Arab-Israeli dispute during the 1950s.) Less than a month after the revolution, the new heads of Egypt dined with the American ambassador and “emphasized their desire to be particularly friendly with the US.”³⁹¹ The US was generally amenable, to the great annoyance of the British, who were prone to “muttering of the threat of mil[itary] intervention being [the] best deterrent on Egypt Govt.”³⁹² Secretary of State Acheson directed the embassy in Cairo to inform the Egyptian government

³⁸⁹ Ibid. 19.

³⁹⁰ Ibid. 37.

³⁹¹ State Department, “The Ambassador in Egypt (Cafferty) to the Department of State,” Aug 20, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol IX*, 1851.

³⁹² State Department, “The Ambassador in Egypt (Cafferty) to the Department of State,” Sep 10, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol IX*, 1859.

that the US wanted to help settle the dispute between Egypt and the UK in order to reach some accommodation that would leave the Canal Zone free for regional defense while recognizing legitimate Egyptian political concerns.³⁹³ And, of course, even at the same time that he was enlisting the help of the US in various regional matters, Nasser was keen to avoid involvement in superpower competition. Even before his speech in Bandung, Nasser pursued a policy of non-alignment, which is to say, in the terms of Security Exchange Theory, he was uninterested in global threats. As he told Dulles in 1955, “The Soviet Union never occupied our country; it has no imperial past in the Middle East. I don’t see why I should turn my country into a base to threaten the Soviet Union with nuclear warheads when they have never threatened us.”³⁹⁴

My theory predicts that in the face of regional external threats small states will adopt an Independent security strategy. That is to say, they will avoid stationing the forces of other actors on their territory, will build self-sufficient militaries capable of waging regional campaigns, and will steadfastly resist the demands of great powers to adjust their military’s logistical bases, command and control structures, or force composition. As with the Distributed strategy, great powers may have a burst of initial enthusiasm, but will update quickly regarding the small state’s pliability and feel free to give voice to their irritation. However, like the Integrated strategy, the great power security establishment will understand the essentially military, rather than purely political, purpose of the small state’s arms procurement strategy and transfer requests.

Egypt and the Middle East Defense Organization: 1952-1955

As discussed earlier, the garrison at the Suez canal was to provide the line of defense that would halt a Soviet advance in the Middle East and eventually set the conditions for a

³⁹³ State Department, “The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Egypt,” Sep 10, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol IX*, 1859-1863.

³⁹⁴ Quoted in Heikal, *The Sphinx and the Commissar*, 55.

counteroffensive to retake the region. Nuclear attacks by aircraft launched from airfields across the region were to attrit Soviet forces substantially, but without the Western forces stationed at the Suez there was no way to prevent the Soviet seizure of this vital Sea Line of Communication (SLOC). Hence, the story of America's relationship with Nasser is the tale of a drive for integration that encountered an Independent strategy – as expected by Security Exchange Theory the US, after a period of hope, was frustrated in its goals, and ultimately abandoned its efforts and focused further north.

Initially, though, the US was quick to offer military equipment on a reimbursable basis just as soon as a needs assessment could be completed.³⁹⁵ Egypt demurred, stating that it was “glad to enter into discussions with the Govt of the US to determine the nature and the scope of such coop[eration] immed[iately] upon ... the withdrawal of Brit armed forces from Egypt territory.”³⁹⁶ However, Egypt held out the possibility of future integration, saying that upon the conclusion of a final agreement regarding the withdrawal of the British, Egypt would “be prepared to give assurances that one of the ultimate objectives of its policy [was] participation with the US, UK and other free-world powers in planning for the common defense of the area within the framework of the charter of the UN.”³⁹⁷ The US, while disappointed that the Egyptian response was “not as forthcoming as might be wished” found that “it nevertheless provide[d] the basis for a limited program of assistance at this time with the object of supporting and

³⁹⁵ State Department, “The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in Egypt,” Oct 21, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1872

³⁹⁶ State Department, “The Ambassador in Egypt (Caffery) to the Department of State,” Nov 10, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1877.

³⁹⁷ State Department, “The Ambassador in Egypt (Caffery) to the Department of State,” Nov 10, 1952, in *FRUS, 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1878. This claim was explicitly referenced by the Secretary of State in a memorandum to the Secretary of Defense justifying the delivery of aid to Egypt prior to the development of a strategic assessment. see State Department, “The Secretary of State to the Secretary of Defense,” Dec 12, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1911.

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strengthening the present regime.”³⁹⁸ This aid was to take the form of repurposing supplies originally intended to equip three police divisions and a promise of further transfers to come.³⁹⁹

The US government was very explicit in its internal and external communication that security transfers were based on the promise of integration – the willingness to pay up-front costs was a function of the value placed on the importance of Egyptian cooperation in the future. Egypt was well aware of this fact, and the head of the regime at the time, Naguib, told the American ambassador that “I may be dreaming but if you could find a way to let us have 100 tanks various doors would be opened including one leading to Middle Eastern Defense.”⁴⁰⁰

The aid requested by Egypt was supported by the American national security apparatus, in the form of an interim program that facilitated the purchase of \$11 million in US arms.⁴⁰¹

This transfer was to be made as a result of “overriding political considerations;” namely, the fact that that the US became “convinced that Egypt is the key to the establishment of a Middle East Defense Organization and to a new relationship between the West and the Arab states.”⁴⁰²

However, the British government vehemently opposed the transfer of American arms to Egypt prior to a final settlement regarding the Canal Zone. Interestingly, the British objection to the

³⁹⁸ State Department, “The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in the United Kingdom,” Nov 18, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1885.

³⁹⁹ Ibid. Approval for this course of action was forthcoming. See State Department, “Memorandum by the Acting Special Assistant to the Secretary for Mutual Security Affairs (Battle) to Major General George H. Olmstead,” Dec 18, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1914.

⁴⁰⁰ Quoted by the US Ambassador in State Department, “The Ambassador in Egypt (Caffery) to the Department of State,” Nov 25, 1952, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1885.

⁴⁰¹ It was, however, delayed by the transfer of power between American administrations. Truman declined to find Egypt eligible for MDAP assistance because his government would not have time to “carry the whole program through.” He did however believe “that the step should be taken ... and trusted that his successor would take it.” State Department, “Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State,” Jan 7, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1955. The decision to provide aid over British objections was immediately taken by the Eisenhower administration. see State Department, “The Secretary of State to the Embassy in the United Kingdom,” Jan 23, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1970.

⁴⁰² State Department, “Memorandum by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Jergenan) to the Secretary of State,” Dec 30, 1952, in *FRUS, 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1925. This was a source of deep annoyance to the British, who were not in favor of any interim aid transfers prior to the arrival at a final settlement. see State Department, “The Ambassador in the United Kingdom (Gifford) to the Department of State,” Jan. 6, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol IX*, 1952.

US transfer of arms to Egypt went beyond the purely mercantile (the UK having been, up to that point, the sole supplier of Egyptian arms); in fact, the British were concerned about the development of an capable and independent Egyptian force, noting that the “supply of armoured cars and tanks ... would greatly increase potential of Egyptian force which could be used against Her Majesty’s forces in Suez Canal Zone.”⁴⁰³ Furthermore, the British couched their desire to remain in the Canal Zone in the language of integration when requesting the assistance of the United States during negotiations.⁴⁰⁴

British resistance to the sale of arms to Egypt was initially met with skepticism and irritation by the US, since indications had been made to the Egyptian regime that the deal was made. President Eisenhower himself transmitted his displeasure to Prime Minister Churchill in which he claimed to “most deeply deplore having gotten into a position where we can be made to feel like we are breaking faith with another government.”⁴⁰⁵ However, after a personal visit to Cairo, in which he found that “MEDO [the formal Middle East Defense Organization] [was] completely unacceptable to Egyptians,” Dulles determined that the US would not move forward with their arms deal with Egypt “at this time.”⁴⁰⁶ This was not because the US supported the British policy in the regionally generally, but because “the 70,000 British troops in the Suez base and zone represented the only effective fighting force for the free world in the Middle East.

⁴⁰³ State Department, “The Charge in the United Kingdom (Holmes) to the Department of State,” Feb 10, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 1986.

⁴⁰⁴ State Department, “The British Foreign Secretary (Eden) to President Eisenhower,” Apr 10, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2041. “I also understand what you say in your letter about the need to avoid the appearance of our attempting to dominate together the councils of the free world. As you know, we certainly do recognize the rights of Egypt, and we are fully ready to negotiate with her as an equal. In return, we must expect that the Egyptian Government should face the facts of life. After all, we are being asked to give up something of real value; it is something which we have created as a result of the experience which we gained in the last war at the cost of so many lives and so much expenditure of effort, time and money. We are being asked to substitute for this, which we now hold, an agreement which must be in part an act of faith in Egypt. And on this agreement will rest an essential element in the defence of the free world against aggression. That is why your help is so necessary.”

⁴⁰⁵ State Department, “President Eisenhower to Prime Minister Churchill,” May 8, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2062.

⁴⁰⁶ State Department, “The Ambassador in Egypt (Cafferty) to the Department of State,” May 13, 1953, in *FRUS, 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2072.

Accordingly, we [the US] [had] to play along with the British for the time being, and take the beating that would inevitably result through our association with an ally whom the Egyptians and other Arab states hated as imperialists.”⁴⁰⁷ The overriding American concern was the “need to assure functioning and availability of [the] base in [the] sense that we understand those terms,” which is to say that the American security exchange strategy was rooted in its global security imperatives vis a vis the Soviet Union.⁴⁰⁸

As power shifted within the Egyptian government, Nasser began negotiating directly with the West and resumed the Egyptian strategy of tying security exchanges to an effort to “build pro-American sentiment in army in preparation for future cooperation.”⁴⁰⁹ Nonetheless, the US remained true to its commitment to the UK and, even as negotiations wore on throughout the rest of 1953, held back the allocated military equipment. Interesting, the chief obstacles in the process were uniforms for British personnel and the criteria for British reoccupation of the base. The former was a function of the symbolic importance of the Suez base for both countries – the Egyptians wanted no visible remnant of the British colonial occupation (and, hence, wanted no uniforms) and the British national pride demanded otherwise.⁴¹⁰ The latter got directly to the core concerns of the both the US and the UK, in that access to the Suez base was still of key importance to the Western concept for the defense of the region; whereas Egypt wanted restrictive conditions under which the base could be reoccupied, the UK asked for a greater

⁴⁰⁷ State Department, “Memorandum of Discussion at the 145th Meeting of the National Security Council,” May 20, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2076.

⁴⁰⁸ State Department, “The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in Egypt,” May 28, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2083.

⁴⁰⁹ State Department, “The Ambassador in Egypt (Cafferty) to the Department of State,” June 29, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2105.

⁴¹⁰ The US was unimpressed by British claims and the American embassy in London was directed to inform the British government that, regarding “British insistence on military uniforms,” the US “consider[ed] British position most unfortunate and unnecessary.” State Department, “The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in the United Kingdom,” Oct 17, 1953, in *FRUS, 1952-54, Vol IX*, 2146. The British had rather deep attachments in this regard, however; as Churchill pointed out to Eisenhower: “50,000 British graves lie in Egypt and its approaches.” State Department, “The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in the United Kingdom,” Dec 22, 1953, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol IX*, 2183.

degree of latitude in the matter, based on the discretion of the British government. While issues of national pride and symbolism lie outside the scope of my theory, the nature of the discussions regarding the strategic significance of the Canal Zone support my evaluation of American Perceived Strategic Value of the region, and also indicate the security transfers were artificially depressed by omitted variables (namely, the intransigence of an alliance partner with a historical tie).

The negotiations over the canal dragged on throughout the first half of 1954, until an agreement was finally reached in July. Freed from the restraints of British diplomatic strategy, the US began the process of providing security transfers on the basis of Egypt's strategic value, through both training and grants for equipment.⁴¹¹ Again, the record is explicit about the connection between the plans for "the defense of the Near East" which "require[d] Egypt to take an important part therein" and the military assistance offered.⁴¹² Surprisingly to the US, Nasser did not immediately leap at the opportunity for a security transfer, in large part "because of the anticipated adverse public reaction to the type of agreement required by the [Military Security Assistance] legislation."⁴¹³ Moreover, even if the agreement was kept secret (and so would not inspire public outcry), Nasser was opposed to the American survey teams or military advisors

⁴¹¹ see State Department, "The Secretary of State to the Secretary of Defense (Wilson)," July 12, 1954 in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol IX*, 2281, which requests the necessary Presidential finding, and State Department, "Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Byrde) to the Secretary of State," July 15, 1954, in *FRUS, 1952-54, Vol IX*, 2283, which requests the ability of the embassy to open talks with Egypt regarding the distribution of the "twenty-one million dollars of MDAP funds" that are available to Egypt.

⁴¹² State Department, "Memorandum for the Director of the Foreign Operations Administration," Aug 12, 1954, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol IX*, 2296. These are Eisenhower's words on the subject.

⁴¹³ State Department, "Memorandum by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Jergenan) to the Under Secretary of State (Smith)," Aug 30, 1954, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2298. To be clear, in a later meeting Nasser "stated that he could sign an agreement that night, nothing would happen in Egypt the next day or during the period when the RCC maintain full control, still he was looking to the years ahead, when a constitution had been adopted, elections held and a parliament established. At that time opponents of the regime would have free play to attack the government and he did not feel he could take on the fight that would inevitably come over the Suez Base Agreement and a military pact with the U.S. at the same time and have the right forces win." Or, in terms of my theory, Nasser did not perceive a significant internal threat in 1954. State Department, "Department of State file 774.5 MSP," Nov. 29, 1954, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol IX*, 2315.

working in Egypt.⁴¹⁴ While he was not of the opinion that the Egyptian military could deter a Soviet attack on the Suez in the event of a general war, he had no interest in joining a MEDO that left a “vacuum” between the oil fields of the Arabian peninsula (the first Soviet target) and the canal (the second).⁴¹⁵ In short, America’s expectations of a rapid integration of Egypt into their strategic concept vis a vis the Soviet Union were thwarted by Egyptian indifference to global external threats. Egypt was committed to rebuilding its military for its own purposes; thus, it pursued an Independent strategy.

The tension between Nasser’s refusal to accept American guidance regarding both his military and regional politics continued into 1955. As an inducement to begin a peace process with Israel, the US considered offering Egypt \$20 million in grant military aid not subject to signing a formal MDAP agreement, with the possibility of more aid under the auspices of MDAP later on.⁴¹⁶ However, paralleling the bureaucratic fate of the potential offer of military assistance contemplated in 1952, this security transfer quickly became bogged down in the diplomatic morass of the Anglo-American peace initiative in the Middle East (Operation Alpha) and the American shift to the Northern Tier defensive concept embodied in the Baghdad Pact.⁴¹⁷ While the grant aid did not materialize, after several months the US agreed to sell Nasser \$28 million in military equipment, with an initial delivery worth about \$11 million based on a list delivered by the Egyptian government at the behest of the American ambassador in Cairo.⁴¹⁸ Unfortunately

⁴¹⁴ State Department, “Department of State file 774.5 MSP,” Nov. 15, 1954, in *FRUS 1952-54, Vol. IX*, 2320.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ State Department, “Memorandum From the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (Jernegan) to the Under Secretary of State (Hoover),” Jan 14, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 8.

⁴¹⁷ State Department, “Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Egypt,” March 31, 1955, in *FRUS, 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 127.

⁴¹⁸ For the final approval of the deal, see State Department, “Memorandum of a Conversation Between the President and the Secretary of State, White House,” Aug 5, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol XIV*, 339 fn 2. For the list of items, see State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Egypt to the Department of State,” July 2, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 274.

for Nasser, Egypt was suffering from a lack of foreign currency and held “a balance of \$28 million;” therefore, he asked if it would be possible to “finance these purchases with Egyptian pounds.”⁴¹⁹

This request created “severe difficulties” for the US,⁴²⁰ both because of the bureaucratic complications associated with accepting foreign currency and the simple fact that generating the demand for pounds would require offsets in the effectiveness of US economic assistance programs.⁴²¹ The American ambassador to Egypt was apoplectic at the “unwillingness to manipulate a few million dollars” that was “permitting [the] situation to deteriorate” to the point that Egypt was driven into the arms of the Soviet camp.⁴²² While the ambassador’s predictions were shown to be accurate, they fell on deaf ears precisely because Egypt no longer has a sufficiently high PSV to demand American aid on favorable terms to support its security requirements against regional rivals. While it may have been somewhat important, it was not “essential” to the security of the Middle East any longer.⁴²³ Whereas the Suez Base had been the bedrock of the Western defense of the region, the US now sought “tightly-knit military cooperation by states along northern tier” and “association by Egypt with Turkey and Pakistan in a looser form of association appropriate to remoter area.”⁴²⁴ In the terms used by this theory, Egypt’s declining PSV meant that the US would only accept security transfers on its own terms – complete with an MDAP agreement, military advisors, and the like. These conditions were

⁴¹⁹ State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Egypt to the Department of State,” Aug 15, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 354.

⁴²⁰ State Department, “Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Egypt,” Aug 20, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 377.

⁴²¹ State Department, “Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Egypt,” Sep 15, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 471.

⁴²² State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Egypt to the Department of State,” Sep 20, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 484.

⁴²³ State Department, “Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Egypt,” Aug 20, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 377.

⁴²⁴ State Department, “Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Egypt,” March 31, 1955, in *FRUS, 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 127.

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unacceptable to Nasser, who was pursuing an Independent strategy and he was unable to compel the US to change them; ultimately years of bargaining came to nothing.

Egypt and the Soviet Union: 1955-1961

Despite his commitment to an Independent strategy, Nasser still had a substantial requirement for foreign arms. On Feb. 28, 1955, Israeli forces attacked Egyptian positions in Gaza, killing over three dozen people.⁴²⁵ This raid was a substantial escalation in the level of violence along the border, and afterwards a series of guerrilla attacks in Israel, mine warfare targeting Israeli forces, and conventional artillery and small unit attacks against Egypt commenced in earnest. The simple fact facing Nasser was that his Israeli opponents were better equipped and trained, and that he lacked the indigenous ability to produce the arms necessary to adequately protect Egypt from the threat of Israeli attack.

Up until 1955, “Nasser believed America to be capable of playing a useful and constructive role in the Middle East, for alone among the major powers she seem potentially able to influence events in the right direction.”⁴²⁶ But at the Bandung conference, Nasser approached Chou Enlai, who reportedly told the Soviet Union that “Nasser asked me if the Soviet Union would agree to sell him the arms which he was unable to get from the United States and which he badly needs if he is to break out from the monopoly over arms supplies which dominates his part of the world, and if he is able to meet the armed raids over Egypt’s frontier to which he is

⁴²⁵ For details see: State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Egypt to the Department of State,” March 1, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 73.

⁴²⁶ Heikal, *The Sphinx and the Commissar*, 61

subjected.”⁴²⁷ The security transfer from the USSR was forthcoming and, as discussed previously, it supplied Egypt with cutting edge equipment on extremely favorable terms.⁴²⁸

It is important to note that Nasser was not favorably disposed towards Egypt’s communists, who, as discussed above, sided with Naguib, his rival, in their internal struggle for power. The regime quickly suppressed any hints of communist agitation in the immediate aftermath of the revolution and continued to do so throughout the whole of the period examined in this study. Soviet policy-makers were aware of this fact, which Nasser reportedly made explicit to them during the negotiation of the 1955 arms deal. In response, he was told that “the Soviet Union had nothing to do with local communists; what Nasser did with his communists was a purely domestic Egyptian affair.”⁴²⁹ In combination with his speeches at Bandung, it seems clear that Nasser was not interested in integrating himself into the global revolution and that he made his commitment to an independent Egyptian security policy explicit through both his words and deeds. Unfortunately for the Soviets, they had so badly mismanaged their diplomacy with Turkey and Iran that supporting the Independent policy of the Egyptian regime was the only option they had.

Egypt’s determination to forge an independent path (and its vulnerability to regional external threats) came into sharp relief during 1956 during the Suez Crisis. Up until the crisis, Nasser had attempted to maintain cordial relations with both superpowers – while he took Soviet arms, he had immediately relayed to the US that this was “in the nature of a commercial arrangement and he would take every precaution [to] minimize its political implication.”⁴³⁰ He also continued to negotiate with the West to finance the building of the Aswan High Dam, since

⁴²⁷ Ibid. 58

⁴²⁸ Fursenko and Naftali, *Khrushchev’s Cold War*, 71.

⁴²⁹ Heikal, *The Sphinx and the Commissar*, 60.

⁴³⁰ State Department, “Telegram From the Embassy in Egypt to the Department of State,” Sep 21, 1955, in *FRUS 1955-57, Vol. XIV*, 497.

Soviet aid would have required visits from foreign technicians, which, as seen above in the discussion of American military advisors, he strongly wished to avoid.⁴³¹ During the negotiations with the US, he decided to put pressure on the Americans by recognizing the People's Republic of China, which backfired and resulted in the termination of the negotiations and the cessation of American support for the project. Since Nasser still needed currency and the Egyptian government was still sharing Suez revenue under the terms of a lease signed by the King, he decided to nationalize the canal.

Nasser was aware that there might be a military response by the British and French to the nationalization of the canal, but believed that if he could buy enough time he could find a diplomatic solution.⁴³² Of key importance to the theory at hand, “[t]he Egyptian government was careful not to ask the Russians what they proposed to do if Egypt was attacked, fearing that their answer might well be to propose joint military planning, the preparation of bases for their forces on Egyptian territories, the recruitment of volunteers and so on.”⁴³³ The Egyptian government remained committed to its belief that its optimal strategy was Independent, and it resisted even the possibility of moving towards Integration. In this case, though, the military strength of Egypt was no match for the combined forces of Britain, France, and Israel, who seized the Sinai and the Canal Zone by force in an operation that began on October 29th. This invasion prompted saber-rattling by the Soviet Union and outrage within American policy-making circles; 11 days later the combined pressure of the two superpowers forced a withdrawal by the occupying forces and the return of the Suez Canal to Egyptian control.

This moment was the “high point of the Egyptian-Russian honeymoon,” when the politico-military benefits seemed clear to both parties and discordant aims implied by an

⁴³¹ see Fursenko and Naftali, *Khrushchev's Cold War*, 84.

⁴³² Ibid. 84-85.

⁴³³ Heikal, *The Sphinx and the Commissar*, 68.

Independent strategy had not yet become clear.⁴³⁴ So close was the relationship that “Nasser was told all the arms lost at Suez would be replaced – the aeroplanes free of charge and the rest at half their cost price.”⁴³⁵ As discussed previously, simply having a Middle Eastern client capable of disrupting Western strategic imperatives in the region was worth the cost of the security transfers to the Soviets, and the ready supply of weapons necessary to resist regional adversaries was of critical importance to the Egyptian regime; thus, unlike the bargaining process between the US and Egypt, there was space to achieve a mutually satisfactory agreement, which is what occurred.

Nonetheless, Security Exchange Theory predicts that great powers have an enduring preference for small state clients that conform to the great power’s understanding of the world. Eventually, small states with Independent strategies will be pressured to conform their forces to the dictates of an Integrated approach; likewise, Distributed strategies will elicit pressure to accept advisors and direction and thus become a Client strategy. If the small state continues to believe that the primary source of threat to their regime is from regional, not global, actors, then this pressure creates friction between it and the great power. Divergent conceptions of the security environment bring the honeymoon to an end.

This dynamic began to emerge in Soviet-Egyptian relations in 1957-8. Eager not to alienate the West, Egypt abstained from a resolution condemning the Soviet occupation of Hungary. Egypt also disbanded the volunteer forces that had resisted the occupation of the Suez; since these forces were openly supported by the Egyptian Communist Party, Khrushchev felt moved to object.⁴³⁶ In the words of an Egyptian participant in the relationship: “They were very

⁴³⁴ Ibid. 73.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

generous with their advice on all matters.”⁴³⁷ Compounding the friction created by this propensity to advise, the merger of Syria and Egypt into the United Arab Republic (UAR) was opposed by the Syrian communists, who found their party banned. This was an unexpected development for the Soviet Union, which had until that point “been regarding with understandable satisfaction the growing importance of the communist party in Syria, and now the party was dissolved, its leader in virtual exile, and Nasser installed in Damascus instead.”⁴³⁸ This pattern of suppression continued to expand. As discussed above, Iraq-Egyptian competition led Nasser to renew his efforts against the Qasim regime and the communists within the UAR.⁴³⁹ Tensions flared and Khrushchev gave a speech referring to Nasser as a “hot-headed young man who has taken on more than he can manage;” Nasser replied in a speech in Damascus that, while it might have been the case that he was hot-headed, it was his willingness to courageously face steep odds that had brought Egypt out of colonial domination and “[w]ith that same hot-headedness we shall face the new danger, just as we faced dangers in the past. We shall achieve victory against the new agents of communism.”⁴⁴⁰

Eventually, as discussed above, Qasim’s autocratic tendencies and unstable narcissism led the Soviet Union to turn back towards Egypt and to cool the heated words being exchanged publicly. Nasser developed a system for understanding Soviet foreign policy, in which he articulated five stages that culminated in a country being placed in one of three categories.⁴⁴¹ Category A was a most-favored status, which was enjoyed by Egypt in the early 1960s and was reminiscent of the “honeymoon” stage of the mid-1950s; Category B was more stand-offish, but still obtains “reasonable aid;” Category C was an entirely marginal state; and, if a small state is a

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Ibid. 88.

⁴³⁹ Ibid. 102.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid. 107-108.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid. 23-26.

source of deep irritation it can find itself, as Egypt did in 1959, in Category D, subject to “cold formality and scarcely concealed hostility.”⁴⁴²

Security Exchange Theory presents a systematic and falsifiable explanation for Nasser’s classification scheme. The Soviet Union began its engagement with Egypt well enough, because it was happy to have a small state ally in the region and was willing to tolerate Egypt’s Independent security strategy. Egypt maintained this strategy throughout the period, due to the significant and on-going threat of attack by regional powers, as my theory expects. However, also in keeping with the theory, the Soviet Union became irritated by Egypt’s unwillingness to take its advice and was less than sanguine about Egyptian persecution of local communists. When an exit option seemed to present itself, the Soviets became more aggressive in their demands that Egypt comport itself in accordance with the Soviet understanding of the world; when that option faded, the Soviet Union became less vociferous in its objections and the space to bargain over security transfers expanded.

Conclusion

The Egyptian case conforms to the expectations of my theory. The Egyptian regime consolidated quickly after the revolution, and the primary threat it faced was posed first by the British garrison in Suez and later by the qualitatively-superior, better-equipped Israeli military. Thus, the central preoccupation of Egyptian security strategy was the development and deployment of a capability to meet these threats, which they sought from the Americans and then the Soviets. Both great powers, at various points, believed that Egypt would contribute to a global security strategy of some type and that, in some way, Egyptian concerns were aligned

⁴⁴² Ibid. 26.

with great power strategies. Both great powers were subsequently disappointed, as Egypt remained consistent in their evaluation of the regional threat and their strategy to meet it.

Security Exchange Theory also expects that the impact of small state strategy interacts with that state's Perceived Strategic Value to a great power. When Egypt was the cornerstone of America's defensive strategy in the Middle East, American policy-makers would have preferred to give aid on favorable terms and rushed to do so upon the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian Suez agreement. However, as Egypt became less important strategically, the US became less flexible in its willingness to circumvent bureaucratic procedure in order to make a security transfer. Similarly, when Egypt was the Soviet Union's primary partner in the region, the USSR had a much higher tolerance for the persecution of local communists than it did when it seemed that Iraq presented a viable alternative for Soviet security aims in the region.

Conclusions

Security Exchange Theory is a powerful predictor of small state security behavior, the great power response to the strategies of its allies, and the interaction between great power and small state security logics in the determination of security transfers. The theory performed well not only in over-determined cases like Turkey, but also in stronger tests: unlike security-autonomy, simple capability aggregation, or even other structural approaches (like Balance of Threat) my theory provides useful predictions that explain why the US became less patient with Egypt between 1952 and 1955, why the American opinion of the Shah shifted dramatically in 1957, and why the US failed to reward Iraq's adherence to the Baghdad Pact between 1955 and 1958. It is effective in explaining both within case and between case variation – that is, it

provides a plausible logical sequence that explains why countries are treated differently from one another and why the same country is treated differently over time.

Importantly, the historical cases discussed in this chapter address important questions in the omnibalancing and the bargaining literatures. First, it seems clear that small states assess both internal and external threats when arraying their forces and seeking security assistance abroad. While the omnibalancing literature often emphasizes the cumulative effect of alliances on small state power, it is apparent from the analysis above that omnibalancing can sometimes reduce security transfers from great powers. This is because, while great powers acknowledge the necessity to balance against internal threats, they nonetheless prefer their clients to see the world the same way they do. This congruence of perception is a novel contribution to the omnibalancing literature, and, as the foregoing has demonstrated, can have a significant impact. Second, there is a considerable emphasis in the security-autonomy, rational choice, and bargaining literatures on the challenges associated with accepting costs in the present for payoffs in the future. The possibility of defection looms large, and the management thereof has stimulated substantial scholarly and policy-maker attention. In the case of security exchanges, though, these concerns are less significant. In fact, the data presented in this chapter show that although great powers are often overly optimistic in their initial assessment of small state commitment to global strategies, they adjust their views quickly and their policies accordingly. This is because the practicalities of security exchanges are such that the great power often has performed an independent assessment of the small state's needs, has officers in the small state able to observe the utilization of any security transfers, and has an intelligence apparatus that seems to update quickly in response to shifts in small state strategy. A transfer of security goods typically takes place over a period of years, enabling both parties to update continuously

throughout the process. In most cases and at most times, the great power has a clear understanding of the strategy small state and is able to make adjustments to the security exchange package as the situation evolves. Thus, while the threat of defection might be enormously important in many alliance and security structures, it is less so in regards to the transfer of security goods.

That said, the empirical record examined in this chapter also highlights some interesting dynamics not predicted by the theory. The strength of the theory is in its usefulness for understanding the broad trends in great power and small state security bargaining, which is driven by a rational actor assumption that informs the optimization processes of both parties. However, as was vividly illustrated by the Iranian case, idiosyncratic decisions taken by senior leaders can create very surprising results. This can also be the case with the leaders of small states that unilaterally take precipitous action that has enormous impact on the security environment, such as was the case with Nasser's nationalization of the Suez and the Arab-Israeli wars. The Soviets were not consulted prior to either of these events, and the losses to the Arab armies that they were then asked to replace were significant.

Individual leaders and regimes also have a great deal of latitude within the four ideal types of strategies I've identified for small states, and, as evidenced above, sometimes either select the wrong strategy or implement the correct strategy badly. There is only one case in which a regime fully misapprehended the threat against it – the Mossadegh regime in Iran. While he acted as though he faced internal threats from regional actors (and, for a while, he did), once the Eisenhower administration took office, Iran faced a rapidly emerging and quite serious great power threat. Security Exchange Theory expects that they should have sought the overt assistance of the Soviet Union, and they did not do so. This suggests that perhaps small states

have a lag in their updating process that parallels, in some ways, the great power updating process regarding small states' strategies. More common in the cases examined than a small state leader choosing an altogether inappropriate strategy is that the appropriate strategy nevertheless fails. The Hashemite regime in Iraq tried to employ a Distributed strategy, and yet was destroyed by the state security apparatus. The Independent forces of Egypt were defeated by regional allies on multiple occasions. The Turkish civilian government, while focused on the threat from the Soviets, was replaced in a coup. The fact that regimes are occasionally defeated by that which most threatens them ought not be read as an indictment of the theory. It is entirely believable that a regime's best strategic alternative might simply not be good enough to handle the magnitude of the threat it faces. Similarly, the fact that a lesser threat becomes fatal does not indicate that the regime was wrong to focus on the greater threat; it simply means that in a complex, semi-anarchic environment, regimes face a dizzying array of threats and are always, in some way, playing the odds.

Finally, my theory also takes the West and the Warsaw Pact as homogenous blocks for the purpose of analytic efficiency. But, of course, the foregoing history indicates that there were substantial disagreements between members of the West over regional strategy generally and security transfers in particular. For example, the actions of the UK, France, and Israel in the Suez crisis were inimical to American interests, the British successfully dissuaded the US from selling arms to Nasser in 1952, and British arms exports to Iraq were notoriously slow and underwhelming.

While both the idiosyncratic actions of individual leaders and the reality of intra-bloc conflict create noise in the data, it is not clear that there is an easy or prudent theoretical fix. Happily, the impact of leaders seems to operate strongly only when a confluence of factors are present; in all

the cases mentioned above, more than one idiosyncratic leader needed to choose to override their national security bureaucracy. For example, had the Shah been reasonably conservative regarding the economic impact of septupling his defense budget, the Nixon/Kissinger disregard for the bureaucracy's security recommendations would have been less significant. Trying to determine ex ante which leaders are more likely to keep their own counsel and when their interactions will result in significant deviations from predicted behavior seems likely to induce ad hoc theorization and proliferating complexity for a marginal improvement in results. While this problem is less acute with intra-bloc disagreements, moving from a bilateral theory to a multilateral theory will still exponentially increase the interactions that must be modeled. Again, while this would certainly increase the accuracy of predicted result, the Security Exchange Theory in its bilateral formulation is already an extremely effective tool for understanding the logic of security transfers from great powers to small states.

Conclusion

Security Exchange Theory is a parsimonious explanation of the transfer of scarce security resources from great powers to small states. Perceived Strategic Value, or the utility of a small state in terms of a great power's wartime needs vis a vis a rival, explains why great powers would choose to relinquish control over some portion of their national power to a state that, by conventional measures, has no ability to significantly influence the international security environment. Based on an assessment of their global security needs and resources, great powers evaluate small states on the basis of their capabilities, resources, and relevance. Small states with a higher PSV are offered more security goods than those with a lower PSV.

Unlike great powers, small states face a variety of internal and external threats. As actors interested in their own survival, small state regimes orient their security apparatus towards the source of the greatest threat. Depending on whether the most serious threat is internal or external and regional or global, a small state selects one of four Small State Strategies: Integrated, Client, Independent, or Distributed. Each of these strategies entails a different configuration and composition for small state security forces and a different relationship to potential great power patronage. Great powers prefer Integrated and Client strategies, which both allocate security goods in accordance with the great power's understanding of the world. Great powers tend to frown upon Independent and Distributed strategies, which focus small state energies on regional threats and not on their contribution to the global security environment.

As the logic of Perceived Strategic Value and the logic of Small State Strategy interact, a bargaining dynamic emerges wherein great powers offer security goods to potential allies in the hopes that key small states will participate in their war plans against their rivals. Small states, if threatened by the rival great power, eagerly accept the goods and the advice that comes along

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with them; great powers seek to reward compliant behavior and are willing to offer additional goods in order to ensure its continuation. However, when small states are threatened by regional rivals, great power security goods are repurposed and put in service of a strategy that may not optimally contribute to the great power's desired strategic outcome. Great powers then tend to lower security transfers to the minimum levels dictated by PSV and to shop for alternative small states. Where no alternative exists, the security exchange continues; however, if the great power can achieve their desired aim by other means or if the small state is unwilling to accept the costs incurred by accepting great power security goods then no exchange takes place.

The historical evidence provided great power security exchanges in the Middle East between 1952 and 1961 supports the hypotheses generated by Security Exchange Theory. Small states with higher PSVs received more security exchanges than those with low PSV. Both the US and the USSR rewarded compliance with their strategic worldviews and became unhappy with small states that deviated from great power advice and pursued Distributed or Independent strategies. Moreover, causal process observations indicate that the hypothesized covariation occurred for the reasons captured by Security Exchange Theory. The US and USSR thought about their security environment and the role of security exchanges in terms of the components of PSV (capability, resources, and relevance) and were able to accurately assess small state strategies and adjust their security transfers accordingly. Small states adopted the strategies the theory expected them to adopt and responded to great power imprecations in the way the theory expected them to respond.

I selected the mid-twentieth century Middle East for both the abundance of available archival records and because it meets the scope conditions I articulated in Chapter 2. The international system was bipolar, the region was essential to both great powers for the

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maintenance of their security and filled with small states, and neither great power could simply dominate reluctant small states and induce widespread bandwagoning (although Stalin certainly tried.) While certainly useful from a theoretical and empirical perspective as a test of Security Exchange Theory, one could argue that the selected cases are of limited relevance to the contemporary, unipolar world. According to this critique, Security Exchange Theory is mostly relevant to a world that no longer exists. In this chapter, I show the applicability of Security Exchange Theory to great power – small state interactions today. Specifically, I discuss the myopia of national-security bureaucracies, the relationship between observed security exchanges and inferences about great power security priorities, and the role of Security Exchange Theory in regions with bipolar characteristics, such as East Asia. I will conclude with Security Exchange Theory's implications for the discipline of International Relations and future research agendas.

You see what you look for: Myopia and Policy-making

One of the surprising phenomena that emerge from Security Exchange Theory is the great power disdain for Distributed strategies. Presumably, if a great power thought a small state was important, it would be happy to support its efforts to achieve internal stability. A regime that collapses from within will be of no help in a larger global conflict. Yet both in theory and in practice, great powers reduce aid to small states that do not hew to their advice regarding internal security.

This counter-intuitive behavior is, ironically enough, the result of a great power's deep concern for the stability of valuable small states. The national security apparatus of a great power is compelled to develop a theory of power and security that provides a framework for its resources allocations. This framework can be implicit or explicit, but it explains to the great

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power where national power comes from, the relationship between power and security outcomes, and how to allocate scarce resources to maximum effect. During the Cold War, Soviet security behavior was structured, in part, by its beliefs about historical materialism and the role of communist states in the advancement of its national interests. American security behavior was informed by a belief in the insidious nature of Communism and the tendency of communist states to ally with one another. Thus, the Soviet Union became angry at Nasser over his persecution of Egypt's communists; for its part, the US became equally concerned about Qasim over the early inclusion of communists in minor positions in the Iraqi government. The US also became irritated with the Shah of Iran's deviations from its advice over how to develop Iranian stability and national power. In all these cases, the great power believed that it had a clear understanding of the threats faced by small states and the optimal strategy by which to address them. To the extent that a small state did not share this understanding, the great power believed it was allocating resources suboptimally and unnecessarily increasing the risks to itself and to the great power.

American beliefs about the nature of communism and the security policies required to oppose it remained fairly consistent through the end of the Cold War, with obvious exceptions. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US was left without an adversary around which to concentrate its theory of national security. This all changed on September 11th, 2001, after a particularly successful terrorist attack which began the Global War on Terror (GWOT). The GWOT included invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, but also heralded expanded military operations against Islamic terror organizations in the Philippines, the Horn of Africa, Yemen, the tribal areas of Pakistan, and the Sahara desert. The focus on the security threat posed by Islamic terrorism structured American actions in Iraq, including the attempted arrest of Moqtada al-Sadr

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and the headlines and jubilation that greeted the death of the leader of Al Qaeda in Iraq, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Similarly, exhaustive reports on the attack on the US embassy in Benghazi indicates the team there was more focused on the danger from transnational terrorism than it was on the more significant threat posed by local actors responding to local security imperatives. The fact that national security discussions find themselves couched in the language of “the post-9/11 era” is a strong indication that America’s national security bureaucracy has remained largely focused on a single class of threat in the 13 years since the 9/11 attack.

This behavior adheres to the expectations of Security Exchange Theory. Great powers allocate scarce resources according to a logic that identifies both threats and optimal strategies for obtaining security from those threats. As it positions resources around the world to facilitate the execution of its chosen plans, a great power expects valuable small states to adhere to its theory of security and to adjust their forces accordingly. In the contemporary era, an example of this behavior is American demand that Malian forces, which are given training and equipment as part of the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Partnership (TSCTP), be pushed away from populated areas and into smuggling networks in the desert utilized by Islamic radicals. Transnational terror networks are not Mali’s most pressing security concern, and one could easily make the case that Western counterterror operations in the Sahara will be better served by a stable Malian government than by the combat power generated by forward-deployed Malian soldiers. However, just as Security Exchange Theory expects, the United States prefers its clients to share its worldview and to act accordingly.⁴⁴³

The great power tendency toward strategic myopia in their interactions with small states has important implications for security studies as a discipline. In order to make sense of great

⁴⁴³ Peter Tinti, “What has the US already tried in Mali?” Christian Science Monitor, November 20, 2012. <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2012/1120/What-has-the-US-already-tried-in-Mali> accessed February 22, 2014.

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power behavior towards small states, one must have some sense of the great power's beliefs about the nature of threats in the world (in bipolarity, this is fairly obvious, but in other circumstances it is less so) and how best to meet those threats with its available resources. This is more than just a simple problem of physics, wherein any observer could determine the optimal allocation of assets based solely on their capability – it is a problem of perception. This creates interesting bargains with small states regarding security exchanges; it also creates asymmetrical strategic behavior between great power rivals, who do not necessarily share the same perception of what constitutes a “valuable” place. Happily, the tendency towards myopia also makes the evaluation of perception more feasible for researchers, as it appears to be stable over time and across geographies. Thus, a great deal of insight into great power politics can be gained at relatively low informational cost by discovering and incorporating the great power's beliefs about security.

Determining great power strategies

As I discussed in Chapter 3, determining great power war plans using a stable, objective measure is extraordinarily difficult. Great powers have an incentive to deceive their opponents about the precise nature of their plans, and one would have to presume that any objective measure that could be manipulated by a great power to its strategic advantage would be. However, Security Exchange Theory, and particularly PSV, might enable both policy-makers and scholars to infer a great power's security strategy from objective measures that are not easily manipulated, such as security exchanges, resource consumption, and available military force.

The logic is as follows: if a great power is observed transferring scarce security goods to a small state without an obvious payment in return, it is likely doing so on the basis of its belief

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in that small state's strategic utility. Major arms transfers are tracked by multiple international organizations, the general size and composition of great power militaries is also public information, and wartime resource consumption can be estimated using the basic analytical tools of security analysis. The technological and doctrinal status of the small state, its general security posture, and the size of its military are also not difficult to discover. Thus, it is possible to observe the dependent variable (security exchanges), the small state strategy, and two of the three independent variables of PSV (capabilities and resources). Armed with this information and with an assessment of the great power's general beliefs about security, it is possible to estimate the geographical significance of the small state to the great power and its relevance to great power war plans.

Given the scale of the commitment required to significantly alter a small state's capabilities, this method of deriving great power's private security strategies is more difficult to manipulate strategically than are other forms of great power signaling, such as formal alliances, public declarations, or short-term deployments of power. Applying this logic to the cases discussed in Chapter 4, it is possible to determine American plans for the defense of the Middle East by backwards inducing the war plans from the security transfers. When the Middle East was to be abandoned, transfers to the Arab states were very low; when the line of defense was to be anchored in Iraq, the US-Iraqi security exchanges increased and when the line moved north, they decreased. The plans that were discussed in secret documents circulated at the top of the national security establishment that I cite in the chapter could have been derived from observing US-small state security exchanges.

The reason that security exchanges are particularly difficult to manipulate in support of a strategic deception plan is that doing so creates risk by allocating scarce resources sub-optimally

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and that effective security exchanges require a substantial investment. The archival data that I've presented in this project show that, in the American case, there was a finite pool of money available to support security exchanges in the Middle East, that allocations within the pool were understood to be zero-sum, and that deliberations regarding the optimal employment of security exchanges extended to the highest level of government. Watching carefully what great powers invest in seems to be an excellent method for determining how they intend to create security for themselves.

Relaxing the Bipolar Assumption

In the scope conditions listed in Chapter 2, I restricted Security Exchange Theory to bipolar systems. This has several desirable theoretical effects – it simplifies the alternatives available to small states, reduces the complexity of great power decision-making, and provides a structural imperative for great powers to engage in a bit of myopia without relying on less tractable theories of bureaucratic behavior. When tested in an essential region where small states could balance (the Middle East) during the early Cold War, Security Exchange Theory performed quite well. One might, however, question its utility in the post-Cold War world. Thus, in this section I relax the assumption of global bipolarity and argue that even in a unipolar world, some regions may take on characteristics of bipolarity and be amenable to analysis by Security Exchange Theory.

Removing the assumption of bipolarity is not without cost. Great powers are likely to continue to be strategically myopic, but this is a function of bureaucratic culture and capacity, not a simple response to the logic of security. In a world with only one existential threat, that threat structures the security apparatus of a state interested in its survival. In a world with many

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threats, none of which are existential, it seems plausible that great powers might split their attention, even if they seldom seem to do so as an empirical matter. However, to the extent that a great power neglects one threat in favor of another, this would lower the PSV of the states more suited to plans to combat less important threats. The tricky part is when a state could contribute to multiple security strategies designed to combat multiple threats – it is not clear, theoretically-speaking, whether the strategic valuation of the state should aggregate all those strategies together or not.

For example, consider American policy in East Asia. Since I have argued that power declines over distance, my theory can accommodate the idea that American and Chinese power start to equalize the closer one gets to China and the further one gets from America. Thus, it is imaginable and, in fact, seems reasonable to argue that the region takes on some bipolar characteristics, even if China is not able to threaten the United States on a global scale. One American concern about potential conflicts with China is the challenge of overcoming Chinese anti-ship defenses (called Anti-Access / Area Denial, or A2AD in military parlance) to move forces into the region. There are a variety of solutions to this problem, which could rely on naval, air, and cyber attack, could utilize intermediate staging areas, or could preposition supplies in the region in order to rapidly introduce forces faster than they could be interdicted. All of these sorts of strategies are facilitated by the Philippines, and the US has recently taken steps to rehabilitate the base at Subic Bay for contingency operations.⁴⁴⁴ However, as discussed above, the Philippines are also a participant in the American campaign against global terror – in fact, the same agreement that facilitated the use of Subic Bay was also used to introduce

⁴⁴⁴ James Hardy, “Back to the Future: The U.S. Navy Returns to The Philippines,” *The Diplomat*, October 16, 2012. <http://thediplomat.com/2012/10/just-like-old-times-us-navy-returns-to-philippines/> accessed February 20, 2014.

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American special forces to fight the Moro Islamic Liberation Front in 2002.⁴⁴⁵ It seems that the Philippines are important, although the absence of bipolarity makes it more difficult to determine exactly why.

In any event, it would seem that the Philippines is important to the US because it provides a capability the US cannot manufacture on its own – a base near the South China Sea. The Philippines face a fading threat from internal actors and a growing threat from China. Since the US shares its perspective on these threats, and because of the Philippines position, Security Exchange Theory would expect there to be security exchanges between the two states. And, in fact, the Philippine military has been modernizing and “[t]he U.S. is aiding in this effort by selling the Philippines more advanced arms like U.S. Coast Guard cutters.” Similar security exchanges exist with other powerful states in the region that are threatened by growing Chinese assertiveness.

The purpose of this discussion is not to make final claims about American strategy in Asia, but, rather, to demonstrate the applicability of Security Exchange Theory to the contemporary world. While relaxing the assumption of bipolarity complicates the theory by making capability and relevance much slipperier concepts, it does not render the theory analytically useless. In fact, in areas of the world that take on characteristics of bipolarity relevant to the theory (i.e., a great power can be credibly militarily challenged in some way that reduces its security, even though the challenge doesn’t threaten its survival), Security Exchange Theory will continue to perform well at both a predictive and an analytical tools for the evaluation of great power – small state security exchanges.

Scholarly implications and future research

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

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Security Exchange Theory provides a new approach to the analysis of security cooperation between great powers and small states. It extends the capability aggregation literature by providing a broader and more nuanced definition of “capability” that more accurately models real-world security decision-making, adds significant predictive power at minimal informational cost, and solves a puzzle that defies explanation using standard approaches in the field. It also challenges some of the common heuristics employed by the field to understand military aid and security cooperation. Specifically, this project illustrates the limited fungibility of military goods and the difficulty in defecting from security exchanges. This, in turn speaks directly to an important difference between raw capability and relative power which is often elided in the literature but that is illuminated by Security Exchange Theory. It also highlights the need to test alternative security exchange measures in the era of commercial arms transfers.

Military equipment is frequently treated in the aggregate by international relations theory, for very good reasons. In calculating rough estimates of national power, the particulars of military hardware are less important than the aggregate number of people and systems the state has. To determine the relative power of two states or the overall distribution of power in a structure, this level of imprecision may be appropriate. However, in the analysis of security exchanges, the precise attributes of the security resources being transferred is important. In the cases I examine in this project, the small states lacked an ability to indigenously produce the tools of mechanized warfare. Thus, both the Iraqi and Iranian regimes expressed frustration with the US for its refusal to increase the rate at which it transferred armored vehicles, artillery, and other higher technology systems. It was simply impossible for either regime to reallocate funds from the indigenous production of logistical support systems the Americans were willing to provide to the indigenous production of tanks that they weren't. However, just because military

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assistance may have limited fungibility does not mean that it is never fungible – for example, when Turkey needed to finance a retirement plan for senior officers (which was forbidden under American law), American officials intentionally contributed extra aid elsewhere in the Turkish budget to free up the money to facilitate their personnel reforms. Thus, the obvious rejoinder to Security Exchange Theory that small states will simply accept aid and reduce spending in one area only to increase spending in another, thus slipping the leash of great power control is theoretically appealing but practically difficult.

Connected to the idea that the practicalities of military equipment might obviate some of the common concerns in security studies is that fact that defection from the security exchange or repurposing of the security transfer is quite difficult for small states. As discussed in Chapter 6, one of the chief contributors to the breakdown in US-Egyptian negotiations in the 1950s was the American requirement that security exchanges include military assessment teams to aid in fielding the new technology and, implicitly, to monitor its use and report back to the American national security apparatus. The disposition of large numbers of conventional forces is not an easy thing to keep secret, and the archival evidence in this project has shown that the US was aware of the location and purpose of the military elements in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Egypt. Thus, the theoretical concern that small states might secretly defect from a security exchange would seem to be unfounded.

Equally unfounded is the concern that a small state could defect in a very short timeframe after receiving a large quantity of aid. There are a number of obstacles in this regard. First, the delivery of security goods is not an instantaneous thing, and is constrained by equipment availability, logistic capacity, and throughput limitations at all the various ports along the delivery chain. Second, as discussed theoretically in Chapter 2 and then demonstrated in Chapter

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6, transforming military equipment into national power requires training, a supply of spare parts, and a logistical infrastructure. If a small state were to defect, the value of the transferred arsenal would degrade quickly; this encourages caution on the part of small states, as exemplified by the lengthy and careful process undertaken by the Egyptians in the 1970s during their move from the Soviet to the American camp. It is far more likely that great powers will determine that a small state is no longer particularly valuable (or, in terms of Security Exchange Theory, its PSV drops) and will rapidly decrease security exchanges. This was the case for Egypt in the early 1950s and Iraq in the late 1950s. As the American nuclear arsenal expanded, the feasible line of defense moved north and formerly critical states became luxuries, not necessities.

The upshot of these practical limitations on the fungibility of aid and the possibility of rapid defection is that extant theories of alliances are unsuitable for security exchange behavior. While defection and buck-passing may be viable strategies in alliances between states of equal power or states that both have the domestic capacity to produce the security goods their militaries require, such is not the case in alliances between great powers and small states. Because of the very particular asymmetries that exist between these types of powers and the nature of the capabilities to be aggregated, Security Exchange Theory represents an important addition to the on-going research on variations in alliance patterns.

Security Exchange Theory is also rooted in a deeper debate about the nature of power in international relations. The theory itself is rooted solely in the austere logic of material, relative power – great powers and small states are differentiated on the basis of relative power, face different threats due to their power disparities, and seek to grow their power to increase the capacity of their states/regimes to overcome threats to their survival. They engage in security

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exchanges because each party believes doing so will increase the power it has relative to its most pressing threat.

In physics, force is the product of mass and acceleration while power is the product of force and displacement. For a given force to become powerful internationally it must exert itself across space; thus, national capability includes not only the people and machines at a state's disposal, but where they are and where they can be put. This is well-known to military thinkers. In fact, the difference between the two concepts is captured in the language used to describe combat formations – from the very beginning of their military educations, American officers are taught to think in terms of “composition” (what the formation has) and “disposition” (where it is and how it is arrayed), because both attributes are of critical importance in shaping the formation's capabilities at a given time. In international relations theory, there is a tendency to elide the latter at the expense of the former. As a matter of intellectual history, this makes sense. Much of the foundational thinking about polarity and power was done during the Cold War. In that era, the disposition of nuclear forces can be changed rapidly by adjusting alert levels or, in terms of conventional forces in Europe, disposition remained relatively fixed while composition changed over time.

Nonetheless, as President Eisenhower explained to the Treasury Secretary in the meeting recounted at the beginning of this project, improving the disposition of existing forces can do more to increase a state's coercive capacity relative to its rivals than simply increasing the total pool of forces available. Since relative power, in the sense that it is used here and in the realist canon, refers to the material capability to induce desirable behavior in others and protect oneself from their depredations, it necessarily includes the sorts of compositional things that are very commonly measured – the size of a state's army, economy, population, level of mechanization,

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etc. – and dispositional elements of power that are not. Security Exchange Theory provides one avenue by which dispositional considerations can be reintroduced into the larger concept of relative power through the inclusion of geography and war plan relevance in great power security considerations and the differentiation in the disposition of forces captured by the four distinct strategies adopted by small states. However, there is more work to be done to determine methods for the consistent and valid inclusion of dispositional variables into general theories of international security behavior.

Future research will also be needed to address the complexity of applying Security Exchange Theory in the contemporary world. Total Import Value (TIV) worked well as an operationalization of security exchanges in the cases study because the countries lacked an ability to produce weapons on their own and the Cold War blocs were still allocating scarce resources in a world where demands outstripped supply. For some types of arms, this has changed. For example, the US tried to manage the Arab-Israeli conflict in the 1950s by limited the export of arms to the combatants and maintaining parity between the parties when superpower security calculations demanded the introduction of capabilities to an ally. It could pursue this policy because neither the Israelis nor the Arabs could simply produce advanced weaponry on their own. Today, however, Israeli has a robust and highly advanced weapons industry, and is capable of producing its own tanks, guns, and other tools of warfare. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 3, in the 1990s the US Commerce Department took over responsibility for foreign military sales from the State and Defense Departments. Countries with money to spend have a variety of potential arms suppliers, and the export of arms is considered good business and fiscally prudent for the powers capable of producing them. Thus, TIV would now

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be a poor operationalization of security exchange behavior because it includes both mercantile logics and the logic of security competition.

A possible alternative measure would be to consider only high-technology systems that countries are reluctant to export, either for security considerations or supply constraints. An example of such a system would be the American PAC-III variant of the Patriot Ballistic Missile Defense system, which is both sensitive and scarce. With the proliferation of ballistic missile technology, American allies in both the Middle East and Asia are interested in optimizing their defensive capabilities. Thus, a good measure of the relative strategic importance the US places on a small state ally might be the transfer of PAC-III systems. Whether this works as a measure is an empirical question; it is, however, illustrative of the sorts of approaches that will be necessary to apply and test Security Exchange Theory in the messy and complicated contemporary world.

That is not to say that it should not be attempted. Great power beliefs about the relative power, the measures they take to array their forces in the world, and struggle of small states to obtain security while buffeted from without and within are central issues in the study of international relations. As states transfer tens of thousands of soldiers and billions of dollars of military hardware around the world, both scholars and practitioners ought to pause and consider what these behaviors reveal about relative power and how they relate to the pursuit of security. Security Exchange Theory is a theoretically-powerful and empirically-tested tool to help them in that process.

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Bibliographic Note

This project relies heavily on primary sources, including archival documents, edited readers, speech transcripts, and memoirs. For ease of reference, these sources have been grouped together. Within the “Primary Sources” section, the works are subdivided based on their type and origins. Speeches and memoirs are presented in standard Chicago-style bibliographic formatting that readers are likely to be familiar with. However, the organization of the archival documents and edited volumes merits further comment.

The US government documents produced by the national security apparatus in the 1950s and 1960s are primarily held in the National Archives in College Park, MD. There, documents can be requested by Record Group (RG), File, and Box number. The Record Groups are quite large, and encompass entire agencies or departments. Here, I draw from RG 218, the records of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and RG 273, the records of the National Security Council. Within the Records Group, agencies have considerable latitude in the creation of a filing system. Thus, files can be organized by any sort of logic – in the present case, RG 218 uses a geographic filing system for documents pertaining to a particular area and a topical filing system (called the Central Decimal system) for general topics; RG 273, by contrast, uses a bureaucratic system that differentiates between specifically enunciated policies and more general “think piece” documents circulated by the National Security Council staff. Within the files, documents are sorted into boxes, which may contain loose paper, sub-folders, or numbered documents.

In order to facilitate the rapid location of the records I have used in this project, I have adopted the National Archives’ organizational schema for my bibliography. Thus, within the National Archives section, there are sub-headings for Records Group, File, and Box. Further

Bibliography

information about the precise sub-file location, if available, is contained in each document's citation.

In addition to the documents at the National Archives, I also employ the documents collected by the State Department and presented in the Foreign Relations of the United States, or FRUS. The FRUS volumes are organized by date and topic, and within each volume documents are presented chronologically, with occasional topical division. I use the same organization for the documents presented in the bibliography. The titles of the documents are generally anodyne for the period that I study, but the supplied date should enable the reader to quickly locate the documents I reference. Doing so will be made considerably easier thanks to the University of Wisconsin-Madison, which has digitized the FRUS volumes into searchable .pdf files. The FRUS can be accessed online at <http://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/FRUS> .

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