

SAUDI ARABIA

Leader: King Faysal

Population: about 3.8 million

Attitude toward US: Before the Arab-Israeli War, Saudi Arabia was closer to the US than any other Arab country -- partly because of the amazingly successful relationship between the Saudis and the American-owned Arabian American Oil Co. (ARAMCO), partly because Faysal is almost fanatically anti-Communist and saw the US as a kindred spirit.

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Attitude toward the USSR: Saudi Arabia has no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and Faysal is [REDACTED] convinced that the Soviets are working to overthrow him and all remaining traditional regimes in the Arabian Peninsula.

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Attitude towards a peace settlement: Faysal is [REDACTED] convinced that Palestine must be returned to the Arabs. Because he is the guardian of the Muslim holy places in Mecca and Medina, he feels a personal responsibility for Jerusalem as well. His attitude could complicate a possible peace settlement with Israel, even though Saudi Arabia was not directly involved in the war.

Size of Armed Forces: army 28,000; navy 200; air force 5,150 (100 pilots); national guard 28,000.

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Political factionalism and opposition groups: In Saudi Arabia, the royal family is firmly in the saddle, but there are certain groupings within the royal family that could pose a problem in the event of Faysal's death; [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Otherwise, there is little organized opposition in the country,

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[REDACTED] So far, political opposition is more or less confined to the workers in the oil installations in the Eastern Province, who are exposed to more sophisticated political ideas and subversive influences.

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Position and influence vis-a-vis the other Arabs: Before the war, Saudi Arabia had been the leader of the "conservatives" among the Arab states -- Morocco, Libya, Kuwait, and the shaykhdoms of the Persian Gulf. Because of its financial and material support of the Yemeni royalists, Saudi Arabia had become embroiled with Egyptian troops in Yemen and had come close to the brink of war. The war weakened the socialist Arab states, however, and Egyptian dependence on Saudi subsidies has given Saudi Arabia a voice in Egyptian policy.

Oil: Saudi Arabia produced 2,597,600 barrels per day in 1967, amounting to an estimated \$879 million in revenues paid to the government.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC (EGYPT)

President: Gamal Abd al-Nasir, born 1918, one of leaders of the successful military coup against the monarchy in 1952, emerged as the real leader of Egypt in 1954.

Population: 32,000,000 as of 1969, over 90% Muslim.

Attitude toward US and USSR: Egyptian relations with the US have fluctuated dramatically over the years. Egypt sees considerable value in maintaining moderately good relations with the US now as a counter-balance to the large Soviet presence in Egypt, and in the hope the US will be more amenable to the Arab viewpoint in working out a settlement of the Arab-Israeli impasse. Egypt views Soviet military, diplomatic, and economic aid as necessary but at the same time is wary of becoming totally dependent upon Moscow at the expense of all ties with the West.

Attitudes toward a peace settlement: Egypt desires a peaceful settlement if possible but one that can be pictured as honorable by the Arabs. Will not agree to any arrangement that appears to be surrendering to Israeli terms. Would like a solution that appears imposed by the great powers or the United Nations.

Size of Armed Forces: Egypt has some 160,000 men in all branches of its military services. It has some 1,200 tanks and assault guns, and about 500 aircraft of all types.

Political factionalism: The Nasir regime is confronted with the most serious opposition it has yet had to face. Following the war with Israel in 1967, unrest in the military grew dramatically. Civilian unhappiness is also at an all time high, highlighted by two outbursts of student rioting in 1968. The opposition appears diffused, however, so Nasir will probably be around for awhile yet.

Position and influence in the Arab World: Nasir's pre-eminence in the Middle East has waned since the military debacle of June 1967 but he remains the most prominent single Arab leader of modern times. With the powerful propaganda facilities at his disposal, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Nasir continues to command considerable respect in the Middle East.

Oil: Petroleum production in Egypt has risen dramatically in the last few years and is one of the brightest hopes for the future of the Egyptian economy. Egypt now exports some crude oil and hopes to be producing near 300,000 barrels per day by mid-1969.

SYRIA

Leaders: Syria is governed by a military junta theoretically loyal to the principles of the Arab Socialist Resurrection Party -- the Baath. The Baathists took power in 1963 after a long succession of tumultuous military and civilian governments, but underwent a major reshuffle in 1966 when a radical wing of the party took power from a slightly less radical clique. The Baath has hung on to power by virtue of its support within the military, and the regime has been extremely successful in repressing and purging opposition groups of various stripes. Most Nasirists, conservatives, and rival Arab nationalists have lost almost all of their influence, and the present group is narrowly-based Baathist group dominated by members of a minority Muslim religious sect.

Population: Approximately 5,800,000. Of these, 90% are Arab. 70% of the population are members of the Sunni sect, and only 16% members of various minority Muslim sects.

Attitude towards the US and the USSR: The Syrians are bitterly antagonistic towards the US. Even before the June 1967 war American officials were almost universally distrusted by Syrian officialdom and, since that time, we have had no diplomatic relations with the country.

The Syrians have become heavily dependent on Moscow for both military and economic aid. While the Soviets have had some difficulty in keeping the rabid Syrians in line from time to time, relations are extremely close between the two countries. The Syrians, appear, however, to be unwilling to let the Soviets infiltrate too deeply into Syrian affairs.

Size of Armed Forces: Syria has an army of 55,000 men, a navy of 1,000, and an air force of 2,100. In addition, the government sponsors a national guard of approximately 5,000 men.

Political factionalism and/or opposition groups: There are no significant opposition groups in Syria. The major opposition extant today comes from exiled Syrian politicians -- mostly the so-called "old Baathist" -- working out of Beirut and Baghdad. The major threat to the regime lies in its own basic instability and in the constant infighting among its members. Any successor regime in the near future would be likely to be some realignment of the present players.

Position and influence vis-a-vis the other Arabs: The Syrians have relatively little influence other than harrassment over their fellow Arabs. Nasir is still calling the shots pretty well in the Middle East, [REDACTED]

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Attitude towards a peace settlement: Syria has consistently been adamant in its opposition to a peace settlement. If, however, Jordan and Egypt could work something out with the Israelis, they would probably give the agreement a tacit acceptance. The Soviet Union would certainly urge them to do so.

JORDAN

Leader: King Husayn is indisputably the ruler of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. With the support of his bedouin followers, he fully dominates the government, despite occasional grumblings from Palestinian elements in the country.

Population: Approximately 1,300,000 (post-June 1967); almost one-half of these are refugees.

Attitude toward US and USSR: Jordan has long been friendly to the US. The government has tried to continue a policy of procuring arms only from the West -- the most recent action along this line is a deal by which the US will supply F-4's to the Jordanian air force. Moscow has offered to discuss military assistance, but the government has turned down such offers. Economic aid is predominantly from the West, although small Soviet deals have been concluded in the past. The last Jordanian economic delegation spent a chilly time, and Soviet proposals have apparently been rejected to expand the program.

Attitude towards a peace settlement: Jordan is the most anxious of any party involved to obtain a peace settlement. Jordan lost more important territory, and has been more affected politically since the war than Egypt. Husayn, however, is politically unable to seek a separate peace, and feels that he must settle in the context of a total peace arrangement. A separate peace without Cairo's public blessing would probably be the end of the Hashemite dynasty.

Size of armed forces: Army, 50,000; navy, 150; air force, 2,500 (38 pilots)

Political factionalism and/or opposition groups: The major opposition in the country is from the Palestinian population. Radical Arab nationalism has found a foothold among the Palestinians, who, should Husayn be deposed or assassinated, would play a leading role in a future government. The public's sympathy for terrorist activity is high, and the terrorists sufficiently strong that the government seems incapable fully of squashing their activities. Organized political activity is still minimal, however, and the Baathist, Nasirists and Communists in the country do not at present constitute a formidable political opposition force.

Position and influence vis-a-vis the other Arabs: Jordan is somewhat of a political maverick in the Arab world, in that Husayn has kept his ties with the West and eschewed the general rush to Moscow. In the area, however, Husayn is compelled to make the proper Arab noises and pay lip-service to Cairo. At the same time, he takes no pains to conceal his contempt for the Syrians. Jordan is one of the beneficiaries of the Khartoum conference, and has been receiving substantial financial assistance since the war from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya.

SUDAN

Leaders: The Sudan is governed by an extremely unstable coalition of civilian politicians. The civilian political parties have tried to lead the country since 1964, when civil protest led to the army's stepping from power after 5 years of military rule. The present government -- which might fall apart or be subjected to a realignment of political groups -- is dominated by a fairly leftist and Arab-nationalist minded party known as the Democratic Unionist Party.

Population: 15,000,000. 39% are Arabs, and most of the remainder represent negroid strains of one kind or another. 73% of the population are Muslim, and many of the negroid southerners are Christian.

Attitude toward US and USSR: While the Sudanese people are basically friendly to the US, the majority of the government -- particularly the foreign minister -- are not. Relations with the US were broken after the June 1967 war, and the limited US aid projects then in process cut off. The government had been traditionally pro-Western, but in the past two years has turned closer to Cairo's Arab nationalism and last year concluded an arms agreement with Moscow.

Attitude towards a peace settlement: The Sudan will follow Egypt's line as regards a peace settlement. Premier Mahjoub fancies himself as an international peacemaker, but will have little chance of exercising his influence in a situation in which the Sudan plays no direct role.

Size of Armed Forces: Army, approximately 26,000; navy, 200; air force 500 (40 pilots).

Political factionalism and/or opposition groups: Sudanese politics are characterized by a constant shifting of factions, largely based on personal rather than ideological principles. The major opposition group at present is the Sadiq al-Mahdi branch of the Umma Party -- the other branch of the party remains part of the government. The DUP itself, which dominates the government, is a disparate organization which could break apart at any time.

Position and influence vis-a-vis the other Arabs: The Sudan, a member of the Arab League, plays little role in the Arab world. The Sudan has always been especially susceptible to Egyptian influence, but has little influence of its own to bring to bear on its fellow Arabs. With no oil, no political influence, and a remote position geographically, the Sudan is definitely on the fringe of the Arab world.

IRAQ

President and Prime Minister Hasan al-Bakr; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Hardan Tikriti; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Salah Ammash.

Population: 8,791,000

Attitude towards US: Although a socialist Arab state, whose armed forces are equipped by the Soviet Union, Iraq had grown increasingly friendly toward the US before the Arab-Israeli war. At that time diplomatic relations were severed and the government has remained hostile ever since. Iraqi propaganda is probably more virulently anti-American than that of any other Arab state; the CIA is currently being accused of working with Israel to establish espionage networks throughout the country. Seven Americans -- six of them women -- were recently arrested and held without formal charges, although all have now been released. Iraq's anti-American posture is a reaction to US support of Israel, but its intensity also reflects the instability of the Iraqi regime.

Attitude towards Soviet Union: Soviet stock in Iraq has never been higher. Despite the fact that the USSR is the source of Iraqi arms, relations were chill before the Arab-Israeli war, primarily because of Soviet support for rebelling Iraqi Kurds. Now, however, the Soviet Union has become the chief friend of the Arabs, and relations are close.

Attitude towards a peace settlement: Iraq's position towards Israel is probably more intransigent than that of any other Arab state. Iraq was not directly involved in the fighting in June 1967, but has denounced the UN resolution. Some 22,000 Iraqi troops are now stationed in neighboring Jordan and would be involved in any renewal of large-scale fighting. No Iraqi leader has suggested the slightest willingness to compromise with Israel on any point.

Size of Armed Forces: army 80,000; navy 400; air force 3,550 (260 pilots); mobile police force 4,800.

Political factionalism and opposition groups: Those now in power in Iraq belong to the "moderate" wing of the Iraqi Baath Party. Bakr, Tikriti, Ammash and a number of others are rivals for power, however, and are engaged in complicated maneuvers against one another which will sooner or later result in some kind of coup attempt. Meanwhile, various other groups would like to take power -- the left wing of the Baath Party; a group of junior army officers; the Communists; pro-Nasirists; and a number of individuals out for themselves. Several of these elements are likely to combine in a coup attempt -- perhaps with one or more of those presently in power.

Position and Influence vis-a-vis the other Arabs: Iraq has little influence among the other Arab states, most of whom are embarrassed by Iraq's uncompromising and unrealistic attitude towards Israel. Iraq is in a position to exert influence on Jordan, however, through its troops on Jordanian soil -- probably enough to overthrow King Husayn if Iraq so desired. Iraqi propaganda could hinder more moderate Arab leaders trying to compromise with Israel.

Oil: Iraq is the fourth-largest producer in the Middle East. Production in 1967 amounted to 1,222,000 barrels per day, and yielded the government an estimated \$352 million in revenues.

KUWAIT

Leader: Amir Sabah al-Salim Al Sabah

Population: 546,000

Attitude toward US: Kuwait is historically closer to the UK than to the US, but relations with the US have been generally good. There were anti-American demonstrations during the Arab-Israeli war, but relations were never severed. Kuwait is disappointed in US support for Israel, but is less emotional on the subject than is Saudi Arabia.

Attitude toward USSR: Relations with the USSR are not close; the regime is fully aware that Communism would threaten its own existence. At the same time, Kuwait appreciates Soviet support for the Arab cause.

Attitude towards a peace settlement: Kuwait was not directly involved in the Arab-Israeli war. Because of an extremely large Palestinian element in its population, Kuwait actively supports the fedayeen both officially and through private donations. However, Kuwait would probably go along with a settlement if all of the other Arab states did so as well.

Size of Armed Forces: army 8,000; air force 50 (8 pilots); police force 1,500.

Political factionalism: the royal family is split into two major blocs, and power must be balanced between them. So far, however, they have managed to hang together.

Opposition groups: The most important opposition group in Kuwait is the Kuwait Arab Nationalist Movement, which is linked with the area-wide Arab Nationalist Movement.

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Position and influence vis-a-vis other Arabs: Kuwait is a very small state with a very great deal of money, and thus serves as a tempting target. Only prompt British assistance prevented its absorption by neighboring Iraq when the British gave Kuwait its independence in 1962. Since then, Kuwait has successfully followed a policy of buying independence by supplying funds to other Arab countries. Like Saudi Arabia and Libya, Kuwait possesses economic leverage over Egypt and Jordan through periodic subsidies.

Oil: Kuwait produced 2,295,000 barrels per day in 1967; revenues to the government amounted to an estimated \$616 million.

ISRAEL

1. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol as head of the ruling Labor Party is the effective head of government. Minister of Defense Moshe Dayan because of his immense popularity and position is undoubtedly the second most important Israeli leader. Israel's current population is about 2.7 million. Israel currently occupied Arab territory of some 25,000 square miles it took during the June 1967 war -- 3 times the size of Israel; there are some 1.1 million Arabs in the occupied territories.

2. Israel looks to the U.S. as its prime protector and supporter, a source of funds and armament. Israel's previous close association with France has soured with De Gaulle's change of Middle East policies. The Soviet Union broke relations with Israel as a result of the June war, and Israel looks on Moscow as the primary supporter of the Arab States and thus the prime trouble maker in the Middle East. Israel would like nevertheless to re-establish diplomatic with the Russians, and to obtain Soviet permission for the emigration to Israel of the 2-3 million Jews still held in the USSR.

3. Israel insists that it has been looking for a peace settlement with the Arabs for the 20 years of its existence. It thought after the June war that peace was on the horizon. Soviet re-armament of the Arabs they believe blocked Israel from obtaining it on Israel's terms. Today, Israel professes to doubt that the Arabs want or can make a viable peace, and while willing to talk peace, Israel believes it may have to accept something less than a viable peace. In the meantime, Israel plans to sit on the occupied territories, develop them, until a peace satisfactory to Israel can be achieved. Israel, as the victor, of course would like to dictate the peace settlement, and is opposed to the Soviet and French proposals for four-power talks since these, they feel, will lead eventually to an imposed solution, unsatisfactory to Israel.

4. Israel's military strength vis-a-vis the Arabs is qualitative, not quantitative; its forces are superior to the Arabs in skill, knowledge and techniques. Israel has an army of about 65,000, a navy of about 3,000, and an air force of 11,000 with about 600 pilots. It has some 262 jet aircraft, one destroyer, 2 active submarines, and 15 patrol craft. It also has Hawk missile units. Israel's military budget is about one-third of the total budget.

5. Israel is presently governed by a "national unity" cabinet formed for the June war. The core of Israel's government is the Labor Party which has through alignment of other lesser parties now has (for the first time in 20 years) an absolute majority (63) in the 120-member Knesset. The groups in "opposition" include the small Communist parties, some right-wing parties, and the religious parties. None of these could form a government. Political factionalism centers within the Labor Party, the most notable, being the faction led by Moshe Dayan and Simon Peres, and the faction led by Deputy Prime Minister Allon. Both Dayan and Allon are ambitious to succeed Eshkol, but both are currently within the Labor Party since it alone is the route to power.

6. Not applicable to Israel.

7. Israel is normally dependent on outside sources for oil, but currently is believed to be supplying its domestic oil requirements from the captured Egyptian oil fields in Sinai and offshore.

LIBYA

Head of State: King Idris I

Head of Government: Prime Minister Wanis al-Qaddafi

The King and majority of the ruling establishment are very pro-US. Libya depends on US and the UK for defense against external aggression although the US had made no formal commitment to defend the country. A further factor binding the two countries together is the nearly one billion dollars in revenue that Libya annually receives from American economic interests in the country.

While the USSR and Libya have diplomatic relations, the Libyan attitude toward the Soviet Union can best be described as cool and correct. The Soviets have no economic interests in the country and it is very doubtful that the King would allow them to acquire any.

While the Libyan government is very anxious to see a peace settlement reached as soon as possible, it must be careful not to espouse any terms of the settlement that are not acceptable to the Arab states directly involved in the dispute, Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The emotional force of the Palestine issue among the general population is such that any other course of action by the Libyan government would result in public disorder.

The armed forces, which number 20,000, are adequate to maintain public order and internal stability. However, should there be an external aggression outside aid would be needed. Libya presently has a defense treaty with the UK providing this aid. We would cooperate with the British in this.

There are no opposition groups of any importance in the country. Leftist elements attempted to form a political organization, which is illegal under Libyan law, after the June 1967 war but government security forces put an end to this within a very short time.

Ordinarily Libya has very little influence with other Arab states. However, since the June 1967 war it has provided Egypt and Jordan with \$75 million in financial support. This has helped to moderate Egypt's attempts to subvert other Arab states.

Libya is the third largest oil producing nation in the Middle East. Its revenues from oil totaled over \$1 billion for 1968 and is expected to grow by 42 per cent during the next decade. US oil companies loom very large in the Libyan oil complex.

LEBANON

Head of State: President Charles Hilu

Head of Government: Prime Minister Rashid Karami

Population: approximately 1 million

The government and about one half of the population is pro-US and look upon it as the guarantor of the country's continued independence. The radical elements, mostly Muslims as opposed to the pro-American Christians, identify very closely with Syria and Egypt and are anti-American because they feel the US government follows a pro-Israel policy in the Middle East. The Soviet Union on the other hand is popular among the Muslim masses because of its military support and political support in the UN of the radical Arab states. The government maintains a correct, but cool, attitude towards the Soviet government.

The government is very anxious to see a peace settlement reached as soon as possible because it feels that is considerable danger to the nation's continued existence as an independent state in the absence of a settlement. It is caught in a tug of war between the radical Arab state of Syria and Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other. The two Arab states are pressuring Lebanon to take a more active role in the struggle against Israel and Israel is warning Lebanon if it does so, Israel will retaliate.

The Lebanese Army is about the size of an American Army division, the navy and air force are very small with not more than a few hundred men each. The armed forces are able to maintain internal security but they would not be able to defend the country against any of its neighbors.

The Communist Party is one of the largest in the Middle East and a subversive threat to the country. The major threat to Lebanon however comes from various left wing Arab nationalist parties that want to see Lebanon incorporated into a larger Arab state.

Lebanon has very little influence vis-a-vis the other Arab states. With a population that is about one half Christian, it has always occupied a special position in the area. It has usually played the role of a bridge between the Christian West and the Muslim East.

Lebanon has no oil deposits within its territory. What income it gains from oil comes from transit charges levied on American and British companies that have pipelines running to terminals in Lebanese territory.