

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

2

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1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank) 2. REPORT DATE 3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED
FINAL

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE
MIDDLE EAST CONFLICTS: ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY FROM THE SOVIET PRESS

5. FUNDING NUMBERS

6. AUTHOR(S)
TIMOTHY L. SANZ

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
SOVIET ARMY STUDIES OFFICE
ATTN: ATZL-SAS
FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS 66027-5015

8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)

10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER

DTIC
ELECTE
MAR 15 1991
S G D

11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
STATEMENT A
APPROVED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE; DISTRIBUTION IS UNLIMITED

12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE

13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words)
CONTAINS CITATIONS TO SOVIET SOURCES AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS CONCERNING THE TOPICS OF MILITARY/POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS OF VARIOUS CONFLICTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, DESCRIPTIONS OF THE VARIOUS REGIONAL ARMED FORCES, AND ASSESSMENTS OF SOVIET EXPERIENCE WITH DESERT WARFARE

14. SUBJECT TERMS
MIDDLE EAST, IRAN, IRAQ, ISRAEL, DESERTS, DESERT WARFARE

15. NUMBER OF PAGES
10

16. PRICE CODE

17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT
UNCLASSIFIED

18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE
UNCLASSIFIED

19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT
UNCLASSIFIED

20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT

AD-A232 646

100-111-000

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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
FROM
THE SOVIET PRESS**

**SOVIET
ARMY
STUDIES
OFFICE**

**Fort Leavenworth,
Kansas**

91-01747

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91 3 07 037

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Middle East Conflicts: Annotated Bibliography from the Soviet Press

By Timothy L. Sanz

What political views and assessments do leading Soviet government officials, academicians and the government itself have concerning the numerous conflicts and wars that have occurred and are occurring today in the Middle East? What interpretations have Soviet military officers drawn from their involvement as advisers in the region's armed conflicts and from their evaluation of Western operations there? What experience has the Soviet army gained from its participation in desert warfare? Both the Soviet general and military press contain a wealth of information on these issues.

The following annotated bibliography lists, in reverse chronological order, citations exclusively from Soviet press sources providing commentary, narrative, analysis and opinion on the nature of the various conflicts in the Middle East from 1973 to the present. It is divided into political assessments, aspects of the theater of operations, descriptions of the armed forces of individual countries, military analyses of various conflicts and Soviet experience in desert warfare.

Wherever possible, citations to English translations have been provided. The original articles or translations (especially Joint Publications Research Service [JPRS] translations and the Transdex microfiche collection of these translations) should be available through Department of Defense libraries or its interlibrary loan services. However, for articles difficult to obtain elsewhere, the Soviet Army Studies Office (SASO), Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, will supply government agencies with copies of up to five of these articles. Send a written request specifying Russian or English versions of the articles with a self-addressed 8 1/2" X 11" envelope to Director; Soviet Army Studies Office; ATTN: ATZL-SAS (Dr. Sanz); Ft. Leavenworth, KS 66027-5015.

Dr. Sanz is the technical information specialist for the Soviet Army Studies Office, where he has created and maintains extensive data bases on military and political-military affairs in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He received an M.S.L.S. from the University of Kentucky and a Ph.D. from Ohio State University.

Military/Political Assessments. These assessments range from articles published through 1987 that tend to be didactic and reflect the atmosphere of the Cold War to the most recent articles that incorporate "new thinking" and more balanced information about the Soviet government's Middle East policy (especially those by D. Zgersky, N. Spasov and V. Yu. Goshev).

Cheporov, E. "Skhvotka za nef' " [Fight for Oil], *Literaturnaya gazeta* [Literary Gazette] (15 August 1990). Translated in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS): Daily Report; Soviet Union*, FBIS-SOV-90-161 (20 August 1990):19-21. Analyzes US rationale for sending troops to Saudi Arabia and some reasons for Soviet support, among which is that "Saddam Hussein owes Moscow \$20 billion, but the USSR could obtain considerably more from the West."

Zgersky, D. "Tolerance is needed on both sides," *New Times* 15 (10-16 April 1990):26-27. Reviews with "new thinking" Soviet Middle East policy that has varied from unconditional support of only Israel to unconditional support of only the Arabs; concludes that the problem can be assessed only if the opinions of both sides are taken into account.

Spasov, N. "Staroye i novoye v blizhnévostochnom konflikté" [Old and New Features of the Middle East Conflict], *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya* 3 [World Economy and International Relations (March 1990)]:65-80. Translated in *FBIS: JPRS Report; Soviet Union—World Economy and International Relations*, JPRS-UWE-90-005 (23 July 1990):31-39. Discusses the "new thinking" of Soviet foreign policy for this region and summarizes US political positions and hopes for possible solutions to Middle East conflicts.

USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "The Foreign Policy and Diplomatic Activity of the USSR (April 1985-October 1989)," *International Affairs* [Moscow] (January 1990):5-114. Surveys Soviet foreign policy over the past five years with an introduction by Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union; Pages 28, 29 and 91 to 94 summarize Soviet diplomatic relations and agree-

ments with Middle East countries during this time.

Belyakov, V. "Raketnaya gonka" [Missile Race], *Pravda* (20 December 1989). Condensed translation under heading, "Concern over Spread of Missile Technology," in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, no. 51, (1989):19. Reports on Iraq's launching of a three-stage ballistic rocket from the al-Anbar Space Research Center, west of Baghdad, Iraq, and its plans to put satellites into orbit.

Kuznetsov, V. "Odrá rakety na slom. A drugiye?" [Some Missiles to be Scrapped, but What about Others?], *Pravda* (19 December 1989). Condensed translation under heading, "Concern over Spread of Missile Technology," in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, no. 51, (1989):18-19. Surveys the problem of missile proliferation in the Middle East and the Third World and Soviet support for talks on stopping this proliferation.

Polyakov, V. "Options for the Persian Gulf," *International Affairs* [Moscow] (September 1989): 126-30. Written by the second secretary of the Soviet Union Embassy in Kuwait, who reviews positions of the CCG (Council for Cooperation of the Arab states of the Persian Gulf) and its relations with the superpowers.

Al-Masri, Taher. "Amman is Ready for Cooperation," *International Affairs* [Moscow] (August 1989): 14-16. The author, deputy prime minister of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan since April 1989, analyzes the state of Soviet-Jordanian diplomatic relations.

Goshev, V. Yu. *SSSR i strany Persidskogo zaliva* [The USSR and Countries of the Persian Gulf]. Moscow: *Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya*, 1988. Review of book in English under heading, "Book on Soviet Relations with Persian Gulf Countries Reviewed" in *FBIS: JPRS Report; Soviet Union—World Economy and International Relations*, JPRS-UWE-89-007 (13 May 1989):87-88. Based on "new thinking," the book covers three main topics: Arabian monarchies in the system of international relations; their historical relations with the Soviet Union; and Soviet policy in the region from the 1920s to the present.

Dimin, A. "Syrian Arab Republic," *International Affairs* [Moscow] (January 1988):143-44. Briefly summarizes the history, government and politics of Syria and its relations with other countries in the region and with the Soviet Union.

Nikolayev, Yu. "The Persian Gulf in Washington's Plans," *International Affairs* [Moscow] (September 1987):64-67. Analyzes US military-political thinking in the region since 1979 and Soviet interests in safeguarding the security of sea lanes in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

Gushev, A. "Voyenno-politicheskaya obstanovka na srednem vostoke i v yuzhnoy azi" [Military-political Situation in the Middle East and in South Asia], *Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obuzhneniye* 8 [Foreign Military Review (August 1987)]:7-12. Translated in *FBIS: JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Foreign Military Review*, JPRS-UFM-88-002 (28 January 1988):4-8. Discusses the politics of the Iran-Iraq War, political instability in Iran, internal affairs of Afghanistan, US-Pakistani military and political cooperation and US military presence in the Indian Ocean.

Mishanin, A. "The Iran-Iraq War and the Situation in the Persian Gulf," *International Affairs* [Moscow] (October 1987):84-87. Discusses US attempts to "counter the expansion of Soviet influence and presence in the Persian Gulf."

Stoklitskiy, S. "The Causes of the Conflict in Lebanon," *International Affairs* [Moscow] (June 1987):53-61. Covers Lebanese history leading up to the present crisis and analyzes the various factions involved in the current conflict.

Nikolayev, V. "U. S. Anti-Arab Policies," *International Affairs* [Moscow] (May 1986):107-10. Presents a Cold War analysis of US and Israeli foreign policy toward Lebanon and Libya.

Viktorov, V. "Whence the Threat to the Persian Gulf," *International Affairs* [Moscow] (February 1986):93-97. Another Cold War, "old thinking" analysis of US "imperialist ambitions" in the Middle East, especially with regard to Saudi Arabia.

Theaters of Operations. This section contains information on Middle East communications systems, transportation, pipelines and installations.

Dokuchayev, A. "Tot egipetskiy god" [That Egyptian Year], *Krasnaya zvezda* [Red Star] (25 March 1989). Translated under the heading, "Soviet Participation in Arab-Israeli War of Attrition Recalled," in *FBIS: JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Military Affairs*, JPRS-UMA-89-014 (3 June 1989): 53-56. Reports the recollections of two Soviet officers who commanded an anti-aircraft missile battalion and unit in Egypt in 1970.

Gromov, Ye. "Osnovnyye puti susheshcheniya i nazemnyy transport Irana" [Principal Iranian Communication Routes and Ground Transportation], *Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obuzhneniye* 11 [Foreign Military Review (November 1987)]:70-76. Translated in *FBIS: JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Foreign Military Review*, JPRS-UFM-88-004 (10 May 1988):40-45. Analyzes, with a detailed map, the position, condition and specific features of the highways, railroads and oil pipelines in Iran.

Kazakov, A. "Truboprovodnyy transport stran Aravyskogo poluostrova" [Arabian Peninsula Countries'

Pipeline Systems], *Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye* 11 [Foreign Military Review (November 1986)]: 69-74. Translated in FBIS: *JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Foreign Military Review*, JPRS-UFM-87-001 (13 July 1987):81-88. Describes the location, length, size, capacity and other information concerning pipeline networks in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates.

Kalgin, A. "Sistemy svyazi v stranakh Araviyskogo poluostrova" [Communication Systems in Arabian Peninsula Countries], *Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye* 12 [Foreign Military Review (December 1985)]:27-32. Translated in FBIS: *USSR Report; Military Affairs—Foreign Military Review*, JPRS-UMA-86-027 (30 May 1986):21-27. Surveys the nature and extent of radio, radio-relay, tropospheric, wire, cable and satellite communications in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman.

Various Regional Armed Forces. These articles are generally based on Western sources of information, with some Soviet interpretation.

Palov, A. "Sukhoputnyye voyska Irana" [Iranian Ground Forces], *Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye* 10 [Foreign Military Review (October 1987)]: 19-22. Translated in FBIS: *JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Foreign Military Review*, JPRS-UFM-88-003 (9 May 1988):13-15. Describes the organization and composition of Iran's ground forces, to include specific information on the amounts and types of armament and personnel.

Gur'yanov, I. "Iranoirakskiy vooruzhennyi konflikt" [Iran-Iraq Armed Conflict], *Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye* 2 [Foreign Military Review (February 1987)]:14-19. Translated in FBIS: *JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Foreign Military Review*, JPRS-UFM-87-004 (15 September 1987):11-18. Chronologically summarizes the most important operations of the war with a political assessment of alleged US involvement.

Cherneta, O. "Religiozno-ideologicheskaya obratka v vooruzhennykh silakh Irana" [Religious-Political Indoctrination in the Iranian Armed Forces], *Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye* 3 [Foreign Military Review (March 1987)]:8-14. Untranslated article in FBIS: *JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Foreign Military Review*. Describes the concepts of Pan-Islamism, jihads, the role of the clergy in the armed forces, anti-Soviet teachings and other topics.

Maynikov, A. "Vooruzhennyye sily Iordanii" [Jordan's Armed Forces], *Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye* 8 [Foreign Military Review (August 1985)]: 18-22. Untranslated in FBIS: *JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Foreign Military Review*.

Ivanov, G. "Vooruzhennyye sily Kuveyta" [Ku-

wait's Armed Forces], *Zarubezhnoye voyennoye obozreniye* 1 [Foreign Military Review (January 1983)]:28. Untranslated in FBIS: *JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Foreign Military Review*.

Military Analyses of Various Conflicts. The sources in this section assess the role of Soviet advisers, the 1973 Middle East War, the Iran-Iraq War, the Lebanese conflict of 1982, electronic warfare, air tactics of Israeli fighter-bombers and Arab air defenses.

Timofeyev, I. "War on the Day of Atonement: 15 Years On: Facts, Opinions, Lessons," *New Times* 45 [Moscow] (November 1988):18-22. Summary also provided under heading, "Gareyev et al Comment on Yom Kippur War," in FBIS: *JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Military Affairs*, JPRS-UMA-89-001 (11 January 1989):99-102. Summarizes the involvement of Soviet advisers and the activities of the General Staff in Moscow during the war and specifically the recollections of V. Vinogradov, former Soviet ambassador to Egypt (1970-1974), Colonel General M. Gareyev, the deputy chief of staff of the Soviet armed forces, and colonel general of aviation G. Dol'nikov.

Loskutov, R. M. and Latushko, O. I. "Boevye deystviya egipetskoy i izrail'skoy armiy v zone Suetskogo kanala v voyne 1973 goda (po materialam zarubezhnoy pechaty)" [Combat Actions of the Egyptian and Israeli Armies in the Suez Canal Zone during the 1973 War (Based on Foreign Press Materials)], *Voyenno-istoricheskiy zhurnal* 10 [Military Historical Journal (October 1988)]:63-70. Translated under the heading, "Operations of Egyptian, Israeli Armies in Suez Canal Zone in 1973 War," in FBIS: *Soviet Union; Military History Journal*, JPRS-UMJ-89-004 (29 March 1989):41-46. Evaluates, based on Western literature, reports of Western experts concerning combat actions of Israeli and Egyptian forces during the crossing of the Suez Canal.

Markaryan, R. "K krizisu v zone Persidskogo Zaliva" [On the Crisis in the Persian Gulf Area], *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya* 12 [World Economy and International Relations (December 1987)]:37-49. Translated under the heading, "Danger of Persian Gulf Escalation Examined," in FBIS: *JPRS Report; Soviet Union—World Economy and International Relations*, JPRS-UWE-88-004 (19 May 1988):16-24. Provides a brief summary of the most important military operations in the Iran-Iraq War and a discussion of US strategies concerning the conflict.

Sokolov, V. A. "Razvitiye taktiki istrebiteley-bombardirovshchikov v lokal'nykh voynakh" [Development of Fighter-Bomber Tactics in Local Wars], *Voyenno-istoricheskiy zhurnal* 4 [Military Historical

Journal (April 1986):65-72. Translated in FBIS: USSR Report; Military Affairs; Military History Journal, JPRS-UMA-86-048 (21 August 1986):66-74. On pages 72 to 74, the translation discusses the tactics of US-built and Israeli aircraft in the Six-Day War, the 1973 October War and the Lebanese armed conflict of 1982. The role of US aircraft in Korea and Vietnam is also discussed.

Seroshtan, S. V. "Radioelektronnaya bor'ba v lokal'nykh voynakh na Blizhnem Vostoke" [Radio-Electronic Warfare in Local Wars in the Near East] *Voyenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 3 [Military Historical Journal (March 1986)]:62-67. Translated in FBIS: USSR Report; Military Affairs—Military History Journal, JPRS-UMA-86-047 (20 August 1986):69-75. Reviews the experience of the Israeli-Arab wars in which radio-electronic warfare became a major component of combat, substantially complementing fire, attack and maneuver. It was also used extensively in the course of air combat operations.

Dol'nikov, G. U. "Istrebiteli v bor'be za prevoskhodstvo v vozdukh" [Fighters in the Struggle for Air Supremacy], *Voyenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 9 [Military Historical Journal (September 1985)]:62-71. Translated in FBIS: USSR Report; Military Affairs—Military History Journal, JPRS-UMA-86-009 (18 February 1986):38-48. Pages 44 and 45 (translation) summarize the tactics of the Israeli air force in the 1973 October War and the conflict in Lebanon in June 1982. The first US jet fighters in Korea, US fighters in Vietnam and the Royal Air Force in the Falklands conflict are also analyzed.

Loskutov, R. and Morozov, V. "Nekotoryye voprosy takiki vooruzhennogo konflikta v Libane v 1982 godu" [Some Tactical Issues of the Armed Conflict in Lebanon in 1982], *Voyenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 7 [Military Historical Journal (July 1984)]:75-80. Translated under the title, "Soviet Views on Israeli Operation in Lebanon Presented," in FBIS: USSR Report; Military Affairs—Military History Journal, JPRS-UMA-84-073 (28 November 1984):75-81. Describes the 1982 Israeli operations in Lebanon, including the events leading up to the invasion, tactics employed, resistance encountered, aviation support and other aspects of the operation.

Fesenko, M. "Ognevyye porazheniye nazemnykh sredstv PVO" [Fire Strike of Ground Air Defense Assets], *Voyenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 5 [Military Historical Journal (May 1984)]:66-73. Translated under the heading, "Air Tactics against Air Defenses in Local Wars Analyzed," in FBIS: USSR Report; Military Affairs—Military History Journal, JPRS-UMA-84-051 (30 July 1984):60-68. On pages 65 to 67, recounts the attacks by Israeli fighter-bombers and antiradar missiles and the

Arab countries' air defenses in the Six-Day War, the "positional" war of 1969-1970 and the 1973 October War. It also focuses on US aviation in Korea and Vietnam.

Kozhevnikov, A. and Mikitenko, T. "O nekotorykh tendentsiyakh razvitiya protivovozdushnoy oborony v lokal'nykh voynakh" [Some Trends in the Development of Air Defense in Local Wars], *Voyenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 2 [Military Historical Journal (February 1984)]:59-64. Translated in FBIS: USSR Report; Military Affairs—Military History Journal, JPRS-UMA-84-036 (7 May 1984):58-64. With examples from the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Korea and Vietnam, shows how the developments of air attack weapons and air defense are closely interrelated.

Dol'nikov, G. "Razvitiye takiki aviatsii v lokal'nykh voynakh" [The Development of Aviation Tactics in Local Wars], *Voyenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 12 [Military Historical Journal (December 1983)]:34-43. Translated in FBIS: USSR Report; Military Affairs—Military History Journal, JPRS-UMA-84-019 (8 March 1984):30-40. Chronicles the evolution of air tactics from the wars in Korea and Vietnam to the 1973 October War with the use of Phantom fighters and the conflict in Lebanon in 1982 with the use of F-15 and F-16 aircraft (pages 36 to 39 of the translation).

Paliy, A. "Radioelektronnaya bor'ba v Izrail'sko-Arabskikh voynakh (po materialam zarubezhnoy pechaty)" [Radioelectronic Warfare in Israeli-Arab Wars (According to Foreign Press Articles)], *Voyenno-istoricheskii zhurnal* 7 [Military Historical Journal (July 1980)]:65-71. Translated in FBIS: USSR Report; Military Affairs, no. 1544, JPRS 76824 (14 November 1980):67-75. Summarizes 11 Western press articles on the intensive use of radioelectronic warfare, specifically active and passive jamming, radar and infrared decoys and radio deception by the Israeli armed forces in the 1967 and 1973 wars.

Assessments of Desert Warfare. These articles, based on Soviet desert combat experience from the Great Patriotic War (World War II) to the present, address both offensive and defensive operations and specific problems applicable to the environment, to include the march, concealment, reconnaissance, logistic support and other topics.

Kuznetsov, Yu. K. "Marsh v gorno-pustynnoy mestnosti" [The March in Mountain-and-Desert Terrain] in *Peredvizheniye i vstrechnyy boy* [Movement and Meeting Engagement]. Moscow: Voenizdat, 1989. Translated by Harold S. Orenstein, Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990. Covers the march and technical and rear services support in mountai-

nous-desert regions (pages 98 to 108).

Moiseyenko, N. P., et al. "Nastupleniye v pustynye" [Offense in the Desert] in *Motostrelkovaya (tankovaya) rota v boyu* [Motorized Rifle (Tank) Company in Combat]. Moscow: Voenizdat, 1988. Translated by Harold S. Orenstein, Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990. Pages 92 and 93 discuss difficulties of offense in the desert, such as problems with concealment, limited water supply, poor sanitary and medical conditions, preparation of troops and equipment for heat and weather conditions and other offensive concerns.

Reznichenko, V. G., ed. *Taktika* [Tactics]. 2d ed. Moscow: Voenizdat, 1987. Translated in FBIS: *JPRS Report; Soviet Union—Military Affairs*, JPRS-UMA-88-008-L-1 (29 June 1988). Contains brief descriptions on the nature of a desert offensive (pages 115 and 116 of the translation) and desert defense (pages 170 and 171 of the translation).

Shamshurov, V. K. "Inzhenernoye obespecheniye boya v pustynnyakh" [Engineer Support of Combat in Deserts] in *Inzhenernoye obespecheniye boya v osobykh usloviyakh* [Engineer Support of Combat in Special Conditions]. Moscow: Voenizdat, 1985. Translated by Harold S. Orenstein, Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990. This chapter (pages 157 to 191) covers the effect of desert conditions on engineer combat support, the offensive, engineer reconnaissance, fortification, preparing the line of march, construction and maintenance of water supply facilities, concealment and various other topics concerning engineer support of a defense.

Peredel'skiy, G. Ye. "Deystviya u pustynye" [Desert Operations] in *Artilleriyskiy divizion v boyu* [Artillery Battalion in Combat]. Moscow: Voenizdat, 1984. Book partially translated in FBIS: *USSR Report; Military Affairs*, JPRS-UMA-85-012-L (1 May 1985). Contains a chapter on conducting combat

actions under various conditions including actions at night, in the mountains, in northern regions and in deserts (page 160 of the translation).

Lapygin, N. "Ob ispol'zovanii motostrelkovykh podrazdeleniy v pustynnoy mestnosti" [Employing Motorized Rifle Subunits in Desert Terrain], *Voyenno-istoricheskiy zhurnal* 5 [Military Historical Journal (May 1979)]: 43-49. Translated in FBIS: *USSR Report—Military Affairs*, no. 1452, JPRS 73874 (20 July 1979):45-53. Reviews the experience of Soviet troops in both offensive and defensive desert operations in the battle on the Khalkhin-Gol (1939) and in the Manchurian Operation (1945) and draws lessons from these experiences.

Simonyan, R. G. and Grishin, S. V. "Razvedka v pustynnykh rayonakh" [Reconnaissance in Desert Regions] in *Razvedka v osobykh usloviyakh* [Reconnaissance under Special Conditions]. Moscow: Voenizdat, 1975. Translated by Harold S. Orenstein, Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990. Contains a 31-page chapter with sections on desert conditions and their effect on reconnaissance, special considerations in organizing and conducting reconnaissance in the desert, artillery reconnaissance, engineer reconnaissance, logistic support and other topics.

Dudarev, S. N. and Shipov, B. V. "Boyevoye primeneniye artilleriyskiykh podrazdeleniy v pustynnoy mestnosti" [Combat Employment of Artillery Subunits in Desert Terrain] in *Artilleriya v osobykh usloviyakh* [Artillery under Special Conditions]. Moscow: Voenizdat, 1970. Translated by Harold S. Orenstein, Soviet Army Studies Office, 1990. Chapter 2 (pages 59 to 84) assesses the employment of artillery subunits in the offensive in desert environments, the desert's effect on the use of artillery, fire preparation for the attack, fire support of the attack and march and meeting engagement. Also included is a section on subunits on the defense.