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Gulf Cooperative Council States and the UAE – National Security after the Second Gulf War and the Challenges in the next decade

By

Col Staff Pilot/ Sultan Al Dhaheri, UAE Army

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Abstract

The three Arabian Gulf Wars represented a threat to the region and affected its security. Based on background information the oil is the main game in the national security of the GCC countries. In so doing, the Arabian gulf region is so important to the Global community and especially to the United States and its allies, GCC countries must looking forward to achieve security in the Arabian Gulf region. The greatest thing is essentially, that the Arab gulf countries ensured their own national security by taking necessary steps for greater unity and established the Gulf cooperative Council (GCC). They must enhance and develop collective political, military and economic policies in order to face the national security challenges in the future. The threats to GCC countries are internal and external, and GCC must arrive at a good solution to these two threats. The location and the natural resources of the Arabian Gulf are both beneficial and disadvantageous and result in big challenges facing the GCC countries.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explain and discuss the national security and challenges for the GCC countries and UAE in the next decade. It also analyses how oil is one of the main players in national security and why it's so important to global and regional security. The GCC countries must give priority to the Gulf region security to insure security and stability in the area. Looking at the last 25 years, the gulf region has witnessed (3) wars, 1st Iran-Iraq War, 2nd Gulf War to liberate Kuwait and 3rd Gulf War, war on Iraq, *removing of Iraqi regime and WMD as said by U.S.* If the gulf countries (GCC, Iraq and Iran) do not co-operate and work together to keep peace and stability in this part of the world, there will be more wars in the future. Thus the questions are:

* Will the U.S. want to keep the gulf region stable?

* What would be the scenario of U.S and other global powers gulf run out of oil?

* What is the type of security needed for this region and for whom?

* Will the future bring in more peace than the past?

The answer of these questions is what this paper will aim to discuss.

To understand the present and future threat, it's very important to understand the history of the Arabian Gulf region. In this case the paper will discuss the history of the gulf region and characteristics of each of the GCC countries. The GCC countries are not the only countries in the gulf region, Iraq and Iran share the gulf region as well, but they are not a part of the GCC. The main issues with the Iranian regime are:

1. Occupation of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) Islands,

2. The Iranian nuclear, and

3. The war on Iraq.

The main strategic challenge for the GCC countries in next decade will be not only to deter and prepare to defend the GCC region against external military threats, but also to ensure that, the economic, political and social changes remains evolutionary.

The History of the Arabian Gulf

Before we study the present and future of the GCC countries, it is very important to cover the history of the gulf region, According to archaeologists; warfare was a common activity 5,000 years ago amongst the people of the area of the Middle East[1]. In the gulf region, according to the history, the east coast and the west coast are Arab tribes, in the west coast Al-ahwaz were occupied the area, some documents said Al-ahwaz were occupied the area since 4000 years before Christ, (Throughout its history it has made up a territory that is naturally Arab. The area of AL-Ahwaz is about 375.000 sq km and has a population of 8 million Arabian people)[2]. These people are called Arabs of Al-Ahwaz and they were purely speaking the Arabic language, and they live in Al-Muhammarah (Khurramshahr) on the west shores of the Arabian Gulf. Needless to say that Al-Muhammarah was an Arab Emirate until 1925, when it was annexed by force to

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[1] *http://countrystudies.us/persian-gulf-states/93.htm* Historical Overview, country studies, Source: U.S. Library of Congress, 2005

[2] http://www.alahwaz-revolutionary-council.org/English/Do%20You%20know%20AL-Ahwaz.htm, do you know al-Ala-hwaz?, The history of Al-Ahwaz

Iran. The ruler of Al-ahwaz (Shaikh Khaza'al Bin Mirdaw) went into exile in Kuwait, and his descendants are still living there. Until 1925 AL-Ahwaz was a free country. In April 1925 Iran attacked AL-Ahwaz with heavy weapons and after that AL-Ahwaz came under Iran's control and dependence by force[3]. On the other side of the Arabian Gulf are the GCC countries, with Iraq at the north. Thus both side of the gulf coasts were Arab until the British occupation in the late of 19th century. Persians have always been trying to have control of the Gulf region since long time, and other nations have also been trying. Due to this there has been a lot of fighting between the squatters and the local citizens (tribes). Often based on rivalries between the Persians and the Arabs, conflict has occurred ever since. Sargon, Hammurabi, Nebuchadnezzar II, and Alexander the Great were among the best known kings who led warring armies in the 2,500 years before the birth of Christ[4].

During the centuries of Greek and Roman domination, the Arabian Gulf was of limited interest to the major powers, but the area's importance as a strategic and trading center rose with the emergence of Islam in the seventh century A.D.[5] The Portuguese came to the gulf in the late fifteenth century; the Ottomans and the Iranians also tried to occupy the gulf but they faced opposition from local Arab tribes. Due to the importance of the area, beginning in the late eighteenth century, the British started showing interest in the gulf region as a means of protecting the sea routes to India. The main challenge to British forces came from the Al Qawasim tribal confederation originating in the area of the present-day United Arab Emirates (UAE).

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[3] *Ibid*.

[4] http://countrystudies.us/persian-gulf-states/93.htm , Historical Overview, country studies, Source: U.S. Library of Congress, 2005

[5] *Ibid*

> The Al Qawasim, who amassed a fleet of about 900 vessels, demanded tribute for the passage of merchant vessels and were regarded as pirates by the Europeans. Between 1809 and 1820, British sea power gradually brought about the destruction of the Qawasim fleet. This in turn led to the signing of agreements with Britain by the Qawasim and other shaykhs. The amirates promised to have no direct dealings with other foreign states and to abstain from piracy. Britain in turn assumed responsibility for the foreign relations of the amirates and promised to protect them from all aggression by sea and to lend its support against any land attacks. Before the end of the century, Britain extended protection to Bahrain and Kuwait; Qatar entered the system after it repudiated Ottoman sovereignty in 1916.[6]

The importance of the Gulf to international affairs began in 1873. The British put in efforts to be in the region, and so it transferred the supervision of the British Political from the local government of Mumbai to the supreme Indian administration in Calcutta. Since that date the British representative in the gulf region began sending reports summarizing diplomatic, political, and economy of the gulf to the Governor General in India. Theses reports continued until Indian independence in 1947. The British still had an interest in the gulf region, and hence these reports were then sent to the Foreign Officer in London.

What was the strategic importance of the Gulf region at that time? In the past the gulf was a trading route. It is a meeting point of Europe, Africa and Asia trading routes, and then this strategic interest in the twentieth century turned into oil. Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran all have claimed some of the territory of the Gulf States during the years between World War I and World

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[6] *Ibid*

War II[7], but the British resisted these claims by protecting the emirates and the oil from an outside threat.

The weather in Arabian Gulf is hot and humid at the coast and hot and dry at desert. Local people are adapted to the weather and environment but the European people have much difficulty to live in that weather. In 1948 the captain of an American carrier task force visiting the Arabian Gulf, remarked that the heat was so intense that he did not believe that his crew "could think straight". At that time, the unbearable heat and environmental conditions posed significant danger to them[8]. After that and in the beginning of 19th century the Americans oil companies and had an interest in the Gulf oil because it's cheap to pump out. By 1950 the gulf was familiar to those few Americans with a need to know, but it was far from the ken of most of their countrymen[9]. In the early 19th century the Americans had established a relationship with Oman, there was a United States consulate in Muscat until the beginning of World War I. In 1930, Chevron was able to excavate the oil in Bahrain and snatched the oil concession from the British, and subsequently Gulf oil did the same in Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the U.S established the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO). American officials viewed the increasing flow of cheap gulf oil as critical to Washington policy of fostering the post-war economic recovery of the West[10]. The U.S troops deployed in Iran during the World War II and the American advisors assisted and supported the Shah's government to modernize or (Westernize) Iran.

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[7] *Ibid*

[8] http://www.aljazeerah.info/Opinion%20editorials/2003%20Opinion%20Editorials/November/15%20o/The%20American%20involvement%20in%20the%20Arabian%20Gulf%20Fatma%20Al-Sayegh.htm , Al-Jazeerah, the American involvement in the Arabian Gulf, Fatma Al-Sayegh, Gulf News | 15-11-2003

[9] The united states and the Gulf: Half a century and beyond, Joseph Wright Twinam, page 7

[10] *Ibid*, page 8

Because of the oil, the Gulf countries had a great economic future. At the same time Washington was worried about the Soviet threat. They had to proceed with pumping oil and nation building, and also with the belief that American presence in the Gulf region will keep the Soviet threat away. The United States opened a Military Training Mission (USMTM) in Saudi Arabia by 1954. With passage of time Saudi Arabia showed interest in buying American arms, and thus began an association with a variety of U.S government agencies to provide services in Saudi Arabia.

For the American policymakers, witch oil being an important factor, the security of the gulf region was critical for the American and British against the Soviet Union. The Gulf oil thus gradually became important in strategic calculations for the U.S. In the 1970s, the shortage of the oil in America became a threat to the American national security. Thus the Gulf region became strategically important to U.S, policymakers and this led to the establishment of a relationship with oil producing countries (Gulf countries). Since then the U.S has worked hard to establish its position in the Gulf region by removing some of the regimes or readjusting old regime to be friendly to U.S interests. This is what I term as ”Americanism” of the Gulf region. Throughout this history, oil was and will remain the symbol of American interest in the region. It will be the factor that will lead America into ever-deeper involvement in the Gulf.[11]

[11] http://www.aljazeerah.info/Opinion%20editorials/2003%20Opinion%20Editorials/November/15%20o/The%20American%20involvement%20in%20the%20Arabian%20Gulf%20Fatma%20Al-Sayegh.htm , Al-Jazeerah, the American involvement in the Arabian Gulf, Fatma Al-Sayegh, Gulf News | 15-11-2003

Gulf Cooperative Council (GCC) Countries Profile

The GCC countries (Gulf Cooperation Council) include (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates) all of them share certain characteristics. The Arabian Gulf in the past was an important waterway for traveling and trading with other nations such as India, China, and Africa. The GCC countries are Arabs and basically live in tribal societies, which are associated with desert nature and Bedouin life style, which are basically traveling for water and grass. The people living on the coast follow a coastal style. This is also similar to the people who live in the cities. In the twentieth century after oil was discovered there was a transformation from tribal style to modern style. That transformation from tribal to the modern style required a change of nature of the people in order to be suitable for the new modern life environment and also a change in political and social security. The challenge facing society was to do these changes without eliminating the existing social formation and traditions. Before discussing about the Arabian Gulf region, it is essential to go through the Arab states profile.

Kingdom of Bahrain

The official name is the Kingdom of Bahrain or in Arabic (Mamlakat al Bahrain); the old name of Bahrain was Dilmun. The word Bahrain in Arabic means “two seas”, which refers to the phenomenon of sweet water springs under which mingle salty water. This phenomenon is believed to be

Figure 1: Kingdom of Bahrain

responsible for the unusual luster of Bahrain's natural pearls, the country's major economies product before the advent of oil[12]. Bahrain is the smallest country in the GCC with an area of 720 sq km and a population of 689,418. Out of this population 438,209 are locals and 251,209 expatriates, as per the data of 2004. Considering religion: 98% are Muslims with Shi'a 70%, Sunni 30%, according to the Gulf Research Center. The official language is Arabic, but English, Urdu and Farsi are also spoken.

Bahrain has been headed since 1783 by the family of Al Khalifah, members of the Sunni Bani Utbah tribe, the tribe who succeeded in expelling the Persians. From 1861, when Al-khalifah aligned with Britain, until independence in 1971, Bahrain was protected by the British. In 1968, the British decided to withdraw from the gulf region. In 1971 Bahrain immediately took a decision to join the other eight states (Qatar and the seven Trucial Sheikdoms which are now known as the United Arab Emirates) to form a union of Arab Emirates. However on August 15, 1971 Bahrain declared itself fully independent without joining the other eight states. The Constitution was approved and promulgated on May 26, 1973. The King is chief of state, Prime minister is head of government, Council of ministers is the cabinet and it's appointed by the King and by the Prime Minister[13]. In 1971, Bahrain became a member of the United Nations and the Arab League. In 1981 it joined the GCC. Sheikh Isa Bin Salman al-Khalifa, who ruled Bahrain since 1961 as a president, died in 1999; he was succeeded by his son, Sheikh Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa. Then a new national charter, establishing a constitutional monarchy, was approved in

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[12] http://www.grc.ae/ Gulf research Center, Bahrain Profile

[13] *Ibid*

2001, and Bahrain was proclaimed a kingdom in 2002. Elections to the lower house of the national assembly were held in Oct. 2002. The capital of Bahrain is Manama.

State of Kuwait

The official name is the State of Kuwait or in Arabic (Dawlat al Kuwait); it was originally referred to as 'Qurain or (Grane) in the early 17th century[14]. The name means 'Qarn; which means a high hill, the word Kout means a fortress.

The Failka Island, one of the nine Kuwaiti Islands, was a trading post at the time of the ancient Sumerians and was known to the ancient Greeks. The modern history of Kuwait began in the early eighteenth century when a number of families of the "Anaizah" tribe migrated from central Arabia, settling eventually in Kuwait. These families established a self-governing political unit. They decided to select their leader name as Sheikh Al Sabah, who was succeeded by his son Sheikh Abd

Figure 1: State of Kuwait

[14] *Ibid*, Kuwait profile

Allah, in turn succeeded by his son Sheikh Jabir. All subsequent rulers historically have come from the Al Sabah family line, which have been chosen by family council. By early 1961, British begin to withdraw from Kuwait. On June 19, 1961, Kuwait became fully independent. Sheikh

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unni 70%, Shi’a 30%) according to the Gulf research Center. The official language is Arabic but they speak English and Persian. The capital of Kuwait is Kuwait.

Sultanate of Oman

The official name of Oman is the Sultanate of Oman. Oman has had a number of names but no final conclusion. During the course of its history Oman has been known as Magan, Mazoon, and Oman[16].

Due to the history of Oman, it has had two historically different cultures, the first culture being the coastal traditional culture, the more open culture and better known in the world, and is ruled by the Sultan; the second culture is the interior tradition of insularity, originally a tribal culture ruled by an *imam* according to the ideological tenets of *Ibadism* (another belief of Islam only in Oman).

The previous Sultan of Oman, Said bin Taimur, came to power in 1938. Said bin Taimur was unfair with his people and this led to suffering. The country experienced decades of international isolation. His son, Sultan Qaboos Bin Said was isolated in the royal palace. Subsequently his father sent him to Britain to get a formal education and he spent two years in a private school, and then enrolled into the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. After serving in the British military for a few months he returned back to Oman in 1964. His

Figure 2: Sultanate of Oman

[16] *Ibid*, sultanate of Oman profile

father still did not trust him enough to let him work in military or political spheres. Qaboos did not like what his father was doing to the country and to the people, so he deposed his father in 1970, opened up the country to the world, and embarked on economic reforms boosting spending on health, education and welfare. Said ibn Taimur withdrew to London, where he died in 1972. The Sultan of Oman (Qaboos bin Saeed) is the head of the country and the legislature is the Majlis Al-Shura (Consultative Council). Oman became independent in 1650 by defeating the Portuguese.

The area of Oman is 309,500 sq km, the population 2,340,815, of which 1.78 million are locals and 0.56 million expatriates. The religion is Islam (Ibadhi 75%); Sunni and Shi'a. the capital of Oman is Muscat.

State of Qatar

The official name is the State of Qatar (Dawlat Qatar). In the 5th century B.C., the Greek historian Herodotus referred to the seafaring Canaanites as the original inhabitants of Qatar. Later, the geographer Ptolemy showed "Qatara" in his map of the Arab world; this is believed to refer to the Qatar town of Zubara, which acquired the fame of being one of the most important trading ports in the Gulf

Figure 3: State of Qatar

region at the time. The area of Qatar is approximately 11,503 sq km and it is a peninsula. The population of Qatar is 724,125 of which 20% are locals, the rest being other Arabs, Pakistanis, Indians, and Iranians (2004). Arabic is the official language, but English is wildly spoken. The religion is Islam. Qatar was ruled by Bahrain from the 1700s until 1868 (Al Khalifa Family), when the British and the Ottoman Empire began vying for control of the peninsula. It was under the protection of British from 1916 until 1971. Qatar gained independence on September 3rd, 1971. The basic law of 1970 was revised in 1972. Qatar promulgated its first permanent constitution on June 8th 2004. The capital of Qatar is Doha.

In 1995, the Crown Prince Hamad bin Khalifa surprised the GCC by deposing his father (*who was out of the country*) to become the emir of Qatar by using the armed forces and the police. The reason according to some sources was to reform the liberty. The press freedom has been extended as the Qatari satellite TV station Al Jazeera has become one of the most important broadcasters in the Arab world.

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

The official name is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Al-Mamlaka Al-araiya As-Sa'udiya), and Saudi Arabia was named by ibn Sa'ud (1880-1953) for himself or his family. On September 23rd, 1932, a majority of the world powers recognized the sovereignty of the Kingdom

of the Saudi Arabia[17]. Earlier in 1902 ibn Sa'ud conquered the Nejd, Al Hasa, and Hejaz regions, and in 1932 he proclaimed himself king of a unified Saudi Arabia. It has emerged from being an underdeveloped desert kingdom to become one of the wealthiest nations in the region. The country includes the Hijaz region (Mekah), the birthplace of the Prophet Mohammad and the center of Islam.

Figure 4: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

The area of Saudi Arabia is approximately 2,250,00 sq km and it is the largest country in the GCC. The population of Saudi Arabia is 22,018,739, of which 17.1 million are locals and 5.5 million are expatriates, as per 2003 estimates. Most of the population is Arabs, but 27% of the population consists of resident foreigners. Arabic is the official language. Religion is Islam (Sunni and it has some Shi'a). The capital of Saudi Arabia is Riyadh.

The government is a monarchy with a Council of Ministers and a Consultative Council. The constitution is the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunnah, which rules over all other States

[17] *Ibid*, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

laws. The King is the head of government and the Council of Minister. Saudi Arabia signed the UN Charter in 1954.

United Arab Emirates (UAE)

The official name is the United Arab Emirates (UAE) federation of emirates. The UAE consists of seven emirates (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Um Al-Qaiwain, Fujairah, Ajman and Ras Al-Khaimah); the largest emirate is Abu Dhabi and the smallest emirate is Ajman. The area of UAE is 83,600 sq km. The population is 4,041,000, with 808,200 locals and 3.32 million expatriates as per the 2003 estimates. The religion is 99% Islam (80% Sunni, 16% Shei'a and 4% others). The official language is Arabic, but English, Urdu and Farsi also used.

Figure 5: United Arab Emirates

In the past this area was known as the Trucial States, Tricial Coast, or Trucial Oman, and was a British protectorate until 1968. When the British announced its decision to leave the area in 1971, the seven emirates, Qatar and Bahrain attempted to form a union of Arab Emirates,

and by the middle of 1971 they were unable to agree on the terms of the union. It was then that Bahrain and subsequently Qatar became independent. When the British treaty expired on December 1st, 1971, the other seven emirates also became fully independent. Next day, six of the emirates entered into a union called the United Arab Emirates; later the state of (Ras-alkhaima) joined the union in 1972. Federation is the type of government (federation of Emirates); 7-members Supreme Council of Rulers elects the president and vice president. The country was originally governed by a provisional constitution; in 1996 the provisional constitution changed to a permanent constitution.

The UAE joined the UN and the Arab League and established the diplomatic relations with more than 60 countries immediately after they announced the unity of the country. President Sheikh Zayed is known as the father of the nation, and he succeeded his brother Shakboot as ruler of Abu Dhabi in 1966. Because of his strong leadership and commitment to forming the federation, Zayed was elected as the first president of the United Arab Emirates in 1971. Sheikh Zayed was reelected every five years since 1971; he instilled the values of religious tolerance and equality, especially for women, into his policies, which greatly enhanced the stability of the UAE. His first concern was for all people in the country, and he used the oil (Abu Dhabi oil) to develop the country and the people. He said (no good is oil unless it exploits the services of the nation). Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed was elected as president by the UAE Federal Council shortly after the death of his father Sheikh Zayed Bin-Sultan Al Nahyan in November 2004. The UAE is one of the most liberal countries in the Arabian Gulf.

The Iranian Revolution

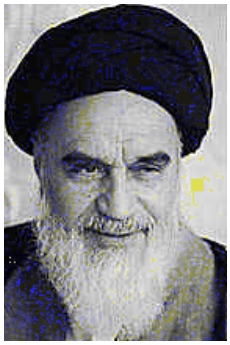

Figure 6: Ayatollah Khomeini

Figure 7: The King (shah) Muhammad Reza Pahlavi

What caused the Iranian revolution? What was the strategic objective of Ayatollah Khomeini? Between 1953 and 1963, it was poverty of the Iranian people, and the gap between the rich and poor was growing wider and wider. The king (shah) Muhammad Reza Pahlavi was one of the great landowners. The Shah was in conflict with Muslims who advocated banning tobacco, alcohol, movies, gambling and foreign dress.[18] The Shah increased his relationship with the United States and the agreements with western oil consortiums annoyed the Islamic people. Other Iranians were annoyed by the presence of foreigners from the United States in Iran who accompanied U.S. aid. Some Iranians thought the United States had taken the place of the British in Iran, and thus a few Iranians formed a group called the (Fedaiy-e Islam). This group of (Fedaiy-e Islam) tried to assassinate the prime minister of the Shah; he responded by restraining the group and executing a few of its members. The Shah was worried about Islamic people is opinions on his life style while he enjoyed the support from Iran's upper and middle classes, and some Muslim clerics, who saw the Shah as a better alternative to those on the Left in Iran. Some

[18] http://www.fsmitha.com/h2/ch29ir.html The Iranian Revolution King Pahlavi (the Shah) against Dissent

of those clerics, including the Ayatollah Khomeini, were very offended in the early 1960s when the Shah of Iran gave himself the authority to initiate legislation. The Shah started to modernize his realm economically and socially, to reform the situations in Iran to be a modern country as the west. At that time Ayatollah Khomeini, announced a fatwa (religious edict) against those reforms. The Shah responded belligerently to Khomeini fatwa. The announcement of the Shah was (that his reforms would take Iran into the jet age while the mullahs wanted to remain "in the age of the donkeys.")[19]

Then a number of clerics decided to go to the side of Khomeini. In the city of Qom (shei'a holy city), the shei'a students who were agitating against the opening of liquor stores were attacked by the Shah's paratroopers and by his security agents - SAVAK. Ayatollah Khomeini attacked the Shah's regime, calling it "*tyrannical*", and then he was arrested. Khomeini in the eyes of many Iranians was a fearless leader with a strong personality who would take Iran to a better life. He thus became a hero to some. When he was arrested it caused anti-government demonstrations in most of the cities. Then the Shah declared martial law. An order was given to the tanks and troops to shoot to kill the rioters. Within two days the rioting was crushed. Many Iranians had been arrested, about twenty-eight ayatollahs were also arrested, and thousands had died. The Shah sent Khomeini into exile; Khomeini went to Iraq and settled in a Shei'a community in southern Iraq. He continued his attacks on the Shah from Iraq by sending written and recorded messages to the people in Iran. From 1963 until the seventies, the Shah strived to modernize Iran by putting a program designed to improve economic, social and political conditions - with the assistance of U.S. strategists who thought the shah as a stabilizing force in

[19] *Ibid*

West Asia. Not only was Iran the most powerful in West Asia, it also tolerated the existence of Israel[20]. With United States assistance, Iran laid plans for a proliferation of atomic power plants, and the new economic development included the introduction of new fertilizers and pesticides.[21] Despite that, the economy of Iran did not improve much according to the percentage increase in population; the Shah was spending most of the oil income to buy arms. He was investing the country's economy into a deal that he had made with President Nixon, which was that the (Shah would be allowed by the US government to buy any top of the line American military products if he would watch out for American interests in the Gulf region)[22]. Despite the unstability of the shah's government, the agreement was ideal for the U.S.

By 1971, Britain withdrew its military forces from the Arabian Gulf region. Concerned that the Soviet Union might try to be the power in the area after the British withdrew, Iran increased the defense budget by almost 50%, with the assistance of U.S. and British defense programs. In 1970 Iran renounced all claims to Bahrain and instead occupied three United Arab Emirates small islands (Nov., 1971) at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf. Iraq protested Iran's action by expelling thousands of Iranian nationals.

In late 1977, the Shei'a colleges in the Qom city closed down in protest. In January, 1978, around 4,000 Shei'a students demonstrated for restoration of freedom. The police came and pointed their guns at the demonstrators. The demonstrators dared the police to fire; they thought that the police will not fire but the police did, killing between about 72 demonstrators.

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[20] *Ibid*

[21] *Ibid*

[22] http://www.ccds.charlotte.nc.us/History/MidEast/02/curme/curme.htm, The Cause of The Iranian Revolution, By Jon Curme '02

Khomeini then called for another demonstration of mourning for the killed demonstrators. Many Iranian embassies in different countries were attacked by Iranian students. In Iran, numerous clerics joined the protests, the religious and secular leaders called on the public to stay away from work. Demonstrations followed demonstrations, and in one of them one demonstrator was shot to death. The mood of the demonstrators, mainly poor people, raged, and they chanted "*Death to the Shah*". The poor demonstrators attacked all liquor shops and theaters showing movies they considered lewd. They attacked banks too, believing that by attacking banks they were attacking the rich people.

As the Shah's regime, supported by United States, became increasingly repressive, civil war developed. In February 1979, Khomeini returned back to Iran. On 4 November 1979, the Shah went to the U.S for medical care; militant Iranians stormed the U.S embassy taking 66 american hostages.

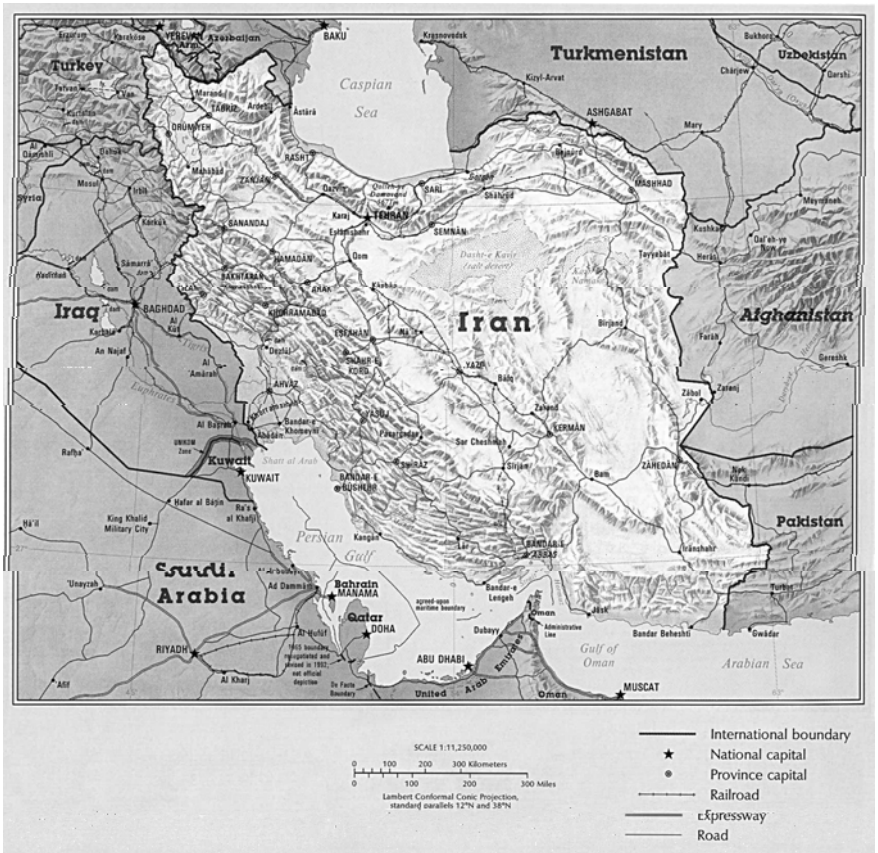

Figure 8: Iran

In 1980, Iraq took advantage of unstable political to seize the territory of the *Shaat al Arab* and oil rich Khuzestan

province. The war ended in 1988 cost the two countries an estimated of 1 million dead and 1.7 million wounded. And in 1989 ayatollah Khomeini died.

Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988)

One year after the Iranian Revolution and the collapse of the regime of the Shah of Iran, on 22 September 1980, a conflict began between Iran and Iraq. This war was another Arab-Persian conflict; fuelled by border disputes. The Arabs and Persians had had conflicts in the past: Persians were always trying to move towards Arab Areas, and the Arabs were trying to stop them from occupying these areas. Immediately after Khomeini took over Iran's revolution of 1979, hi Shei'a fundamentalists armed separatist Kurds in northern Iraq and encouraged fundamentalist Shei'a in southern Iraq to rebel against Sadam Government. Iraq started the war and engaged in border clashes for nine years. In this war, Sadam took a decision to invade Iran, since he feared that Iran's new revolutionary leadership would threaten Iraq's delicate Sunni-Shei'a balance and would exploit Iraq's geo-strategic vulnerabilities—Iraq's minimal access to the Arabian Gulf. In fact, the GCC countries did not get directly involved in the war, but indirectly it had a strong impact on their economy, security and stability.

Because the gulf region had no war for a long time, the people in the GCC countries called this war the first Gulf War in modern history. The Arab Gulf countries were in a difficult choice between Iraq and Iran. Were they going to help Iraq or Iran or be neutral? It was not an easy choice for them. The six Arab states knew the victory of Iran in the war will be a threat to them, because Iran has a greediness to expand the Shei'a ideology into the Arab Gulf region, and

to have it under Iranian control. I have no doubt Iran wanted to occupy all Arab countries by peace or war, to create the *Greatest Persian country*. There was a high percentage of Iranians in the population of the Gulf countries who were loyal to Iran, moreover they were Shei'a. The governments of the Arab Gulf countries needed to take this into account, as a victory for Iran in the war would be for them a continuation of the Iranian revolution. Logically, the decision of the Arab Gulf countries was to stand beside Iraq. We must understand this choice was not an easy one for the Arab countries: supporting Iraq in the war meant they are against Iran in the war, which would affect the Arab Gulf countries economy, security and stability. In fact, the GCC was feeling an impact of insecurity and instability during the period of the war. The GCC countries have paid over a billions of Dollars to Iraq supporting the war, which affected the lives of peoples and the countries development of GCC countries. On the other hand the Shei'a in the GCC countries were supporting Iran, which made security in the GCC countries unstable.

The top issue for the GCC for the future is the security and stability in the Gulf region and its economy in their modern countries era. In so doing, the reaction of the Arab Gulf countries of this war was to establish the Gulf Cooperative Council (GCC). But is another impact that has affected the region security and stability development, Iraq invaded Kuwait.

Establishment of the Gulf Cooperative Council

Figure 9: Gulf Cooperative Council logo

Due to many different threats facing the Arab Gulf countries, such as the Iran-Iraq war and the Palestinian-Israel conflict, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was established to ensure the security and stability of the Arab Gulf countries, and give the members of GCC countries more power to confront threat from inside as well as outside. These issues pushed the Arab Gulf countries to pursue political cooperation and common defense measures, hoping to make the countries stronger and give them more influence in international issues. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was established by an agreement on 25 May 1981 in Abu Dhabi (UAE capital), between the six Arab countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates). These countries declared that, due to the special relationship between them, their similarity in cultures, economic structure, historical development and strategic future of national security in the Gulf region, with the aim of coordination and cooperation among the six Arab countries the GCC has been established. The most important reason was the need of unified response of the GCC to protect themselves from the dangers of the Iraq-Iran war (1980 – 1988) and the political violence associated with the Iranian revolution, the six Arab Gulf

countries realized that, they should work together in case of the danger of war reaching or affecting one or all of the Arab countries. As they have a common destiny and common objectives.

The objectives are to achieve cooperation, coordination, integration;

* To increase the ties between the people of the GCC;

* To encourage the progress of economy, technology, agricultural resources and in all other fields;

* To adopt similar system in all fields;

* To defend the GCC from internal and outer threat.

Figure 10: Gulf Cooperation Council

Special Committee: This committee is a special committee, called by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

Objectives: To discuss regional developments, study whether further integration could be achieved, and view the progress of the Council as a whole. Special emphasis will be placed on the current situation in Iraq, Iran's nuclear arms build up, the Syrian-Lebanese front, as well as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This committee will be dealing with current issues, so keeping up with the news and what is happening around in that region will be important. The committee will compromise of twelve members, a Foreign minister and a Finance minister, from each state.[23]

Important Issues on the GCC's Agenda

Defense: The GCC members worked hard on defense planning by establishing a joint forces (two-brigades, 10,000 man) *Peninsula Shield Force*, to be based in Saudi Arabia under a joint command in 1984, and ready to deploy to any GCC countries in the case of one of the GCC countries faces a threat. In October 1987, the members of GCC agreed that any attack on any member country would be treated as an attack on all GCC members.

Trade: The GCC worked on trade issues to create the suitable trading environment in the member countries more productive for all of them. It worked towards complete tariff unification beginning in 1994. In 1998, a GCC Patent Office was established, to protect the intellectual property rights in the area.

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[23] http://www.student.virginia.edu/~irouva/conferences/vics/guides/GulfCooperationCouncil.pdf The Secretariat of the Eleventh AnnualmVirginia International Committee Simulation

Oil Policy: As oil is one of the important issues for the Arab Gulf Countries. The GCC worked to coordinate oil production and pricing policy. The members should coordinate their polices with regard to all aspects of the oil industry including extraction, refining, marketing, processing, pricing, the exploitation of natural gas, and development of energy sources.

Threat of Terrorism: Presently **t**he GCC insisted on tracing the criminals and terrorists in the Gulf region. In 1987, the GCC approved a security strategy as a framework for security cooperation and coordination. After 9/11 the GCC countries had begun working on combating terrorism attack and consequent organization in the region. A dialogue and monthly meetings have been created to introduce open dialogue and moderation in the region. The GCC leaders during the last Consultation Summit held in Riyadh in May 2006, they agreed to establish a counter-terrorism center in Bahrain.

First Gulf War (Kuwait Freedom 1990-1991)

Another war began in the Arabian Gulf Region when Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug 2, 1990. It was the first war between Arabs in history with complete occupation of a country (Kuwait) by another (Iraq) using a military force. Why did Iraq (Sadam regime) occupy Kuwait? In spite of Sadam declaring that the invasion was a response to overproduction of oil in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) which had cost Iraq an estimated $14 billion a year when oil prices fell, and he claimed Kuwait illegally pumped oil from Iraq's Rumaila oil field. The war would not have happened unless a third party had put fuel into the fire.

The United States plan is to have control on Gulf oil and destruction of the Iraqi force. Why was it? Because Iraq had the fourth largest army in the world, and Iraq a diminutive relative to the Soviet Union - a virtual nonentity, who showed a potential threat to the US's oil interests. By the year 1988 Iraq was brutally weakened and tired by 8 years of war with Iran. Iraq had plenty of its own oil, in so doing; the economic motivation to attack neighboring countries for oil from my perspective was weak.

This war again had been a threat to the national security of the GCC states. When Iraq occupied Kuwait, at that time GCC countries were not ready nor did they have the capability to stop the Iraqi Army from advancing.

The UN Security Council called on Iraq to peacefully withdraw from Kuwait by Jan 15, 1991, but Sadam refused to withdraw. Before that and earlier of Nov 29, the U.S troops moved into Saudi Arabia to protect the oil fields (as U.S announcement). When Sadam refused to withdraw, Operation Desert Storm was launched on Jan 18, 1991, under the command of the United States. The U.S and its allies began (a massive air war to destroy Iraq's forces and military and civil infrastructure).[24] This war divided the Arab countries into two groups. The Arab countries that were beside Sadam were against the GCC countries, which affected the national security and stability in the GCC countries. This war showed the fragile nature of relationships in the whole Arab world. The main objectives for establishing the GCC was to protect the economic, political, and social structures, and have a common military for security. But what we saw, the GCC failed to achieve an effective way of confronting the crises without

[24] http://www.infoplease.com/ced/history/a0838511.html Persian Gulf Wars or Gulf Wars**,** two conflicts involving Iraq and U.S.-led coalitions in the late 20th and early 21st cent.

the assistance of the U.S and the allies which resulted in war. This made the GCC leaders think about how to improve the GCC council and national security issues in order to ensure better security and stability. In spite of the fact that the GCC is one united organization, yet each of the GCC countries has an individual relationship and defense agreement with U.S, Britain and France.

The war has affected the economic, social and political security structures of the GCC countries. Life has changed by connecting security with the way of life in society. This has meant changing the concepts of political, economical and social standards. The GCC countries at that time were concerned more about external threat than the internal threat. To keep security at a high level, the GCC countries spent a lot of money in changing and upgrading the military and conducting joint military training. On the other hand they invested large amounts in social development. The program of change did not only affect the internal; it also affected the external (relations with other countries).

I have no doubt that the Arabian Gulf is a target of different nations and especially for the superpowers throughout its history, due to its strategic location, and later with the discovery of oil. This war gave the U.S a very good opportunity to come and stay in the Gulf region on the plea of protecting the GCC countries from Sadam and to maintain gulf security and stability.

Second Gulf War (U.S War on Iraq) Mar-Apr 2003

I call this war ”U.S war on Iraq” this conflict known as second gulf war. It has had a variety of different names; the U.S government call it Operation Iraqi Freedom. The GCC

countries call this war the third Gulf War. What ever the name, it still is the same war which destroyed the infrastructure of the country, caused displacement of the citizens and their deprivation from the electricity, clean water, food and health care.

On March 19, 2003 the U.S and British began the War on Iraq without a clear approval from the United Nations. U.S insisted that the Iraqi regime had Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and it had failed to cooperate with U.N weapons inspectors after the first Gulf War. The U.S also (implied an (as yet unproven) Iraqi connection with Al-Qaeda. Using the potential threat of Sadam-supplied Weapons of mass Destruction in the hands of terrorists, the U.S, government increasingly insisted on total Iraqi disarmament).[25] U.S. insisted that the Sadam regime had connections with Al-Qaeda and till now this has not yet been proven. For the U.S it was a very good reason to conduct the war on Iraq and occupy it. Presently, after the war was finished we still see no (WMD) discovered in Iraq and no connections between Sadam and Al-Qaeda. Bush and other officials suggested that the war on terrorism might be expanded to include Iraq for resisting UN arms inspections.[26] One more thing, the U.S president said, “Changing the Iraqi regime will not be away from the war on terrorism”.[27] Some few people of the GCC countries (specially in Kuwait) think the United States is serving as a security and stability umbrella to

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[25] http://www.historyguy.com/GulfWar2.html , the third Persian Gulf War, The History Guy Website

[26] http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/history/A0838511.html , Persian Gulf Wars, Second Persian Gulf war

[27] http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/2003/535/535p14.htm, Oil and the Bush plan for global domination, new American century, According to *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward, on the morning after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Rumsfeld urged Bush to authorize a US invasion of Iraq. Bush's secretary of state Colin Powell succeeded in persuading the president that “public opinion has to be prepared before a move against Iraq is possible”. Instead, it was agreed to first authorize a war against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, plans for which had already been drawn up by the Clinton administration. According to the January 3 *Washington Post*: “On September 17, 2001, six days after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, President Bush signed a 2½-page document marked `Top Secret' that outlined the plan for going to war in Afghanistan as part of a global campaign against terrorism. Almost as a footnote, the document also directed the Pentagon to begin planning military options for an invasion of Iraq, senior administration officials said.”

protect them from outside threats; but that is not true: the strategic interests and national security of U.S are on top of security agenda. All the above is only a reason to begin the war on Iraq, but the strongest reason is the oil (Oil War); oil is the strategic objective of the U.S to conduct the war in the Arabian Gulf and to be close from the other areas of oil (Caspian Sea).

While writing this paper, I came across a write-up that stated that the U.S and Iraqi governments announced they found some papers to prove connections between Sadam regime and Al-Qaeda. Personally I think this is one of a manoeuvres and another story created by the U.S and is not true, just try to convince and let us believe that there's a connection without a proof: it's same as the (WMD) story-not proven yet.

The GCC countries were worried that the war would reach them by other means; they thus had to satisfy the U.S and could not say no to assist the U.S in the war. Why was that? The GCC states wanted to maintain the security and stability in the GCC states, and yet all of them agreed to what the U.S said; other wise they would be considered anti U.S. The GCC countries had a vision; all of them would be to keep U.S satisfied.

The impact of the second Gulf War on GCC economy was very big; they are still suffering from the war. They were forced to pay a percentage of the war quotation. This affected GCC citizens' life and the developments in the countries. GCC countries now started to think seriously what should be done to maintain the security and stability for the Arabian Gulf region. This would be done by:

- Stopping the Al-Qaeda organization;
- Making the Gulf region free from WMDs;

- Make the region stable by introducing democracy by beginning free elections;
- And to maintain the region clear of any kind of wars.

Some people thought the third gulf war would finish by the collapse of the Sadam regime, but it was not true. I noticed from the beginning that this war would not finish, it would still be fought, involving the Iraqi and other Arab peoples as they would not approve the U.S troops staying and occupying Iraq. Subsequently they would start fighting the U.S troops. As long as the U.S troops stay in Iraq the fighting will not stop, and on the other hand the U.S will not leave Iraq and abandon the oil to Russia. Occupation of Iraq by United States is a step to get profit from the oil from the near east region and especially the oil in Caspian Sea. Enabling the U.S to have the control of the largest crude oil reserve in the world. And to have control the oil supply to Japan and China. It is forecast that China will need approximately 10 million barrels in the year 2020.

The Oil-National Security issue

> In 2003, the Arabian Gulf countries (Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) produced about 27% of the world's oil, while holding 57% (715 billion barrels) of the world's crude oil reserves. OECD gross oil imports from Arabian Gulf countries averaged about 11.6 million barrels per day (bbl/d) during 2003, accounting for 46% of the OECD's total net oil imports. Besides oil, the Arabian Gulf region also has huge reserves (2,462 trillion cubic feet -- Tcf) of natural gas, accounting for 45% of total proven world gas reserves.[28]

[28] http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/pgulf.html, Persian Gulf Oil and Gas Exports Fact Sheet, GENERAL BACKGROUND, country analysis briefs, September 2004

Oil for all countries is a strategic issue and part of the economics of national security. In the GCC countries oil is the main stay in national security issues and plays a major role in the political, economic and social security aspects. GCC countries play a lead role in the world oil market due to their huge percentage of oil production. Western Europe and North America import about 20 million barrels of oil a day. Thus oil is very important for both North America and Western Europe. It means that oil production must continue to be exported at a reasonable price. According to the Energy Information Administration's (EIA),in the *International Energy Outlook 2003*, the oil production in Arabian Gulf oil is expected to reach approximately (26 million bbl/d by 2010), and (35 million bbl/d by 2020), comparing with about 21.7 million bbl/d in 2000. This will increase Arabian Gulf oil production capacity to (33%) of the world oil by 2020, up from 28% in 2000.

> In 2003, Arabian Gulf countries had estimated net oil exports of 17.2 million bbl/d of oil (see pie chart). Saudi Arabia exported the maximum oil from any Arabian Gulf country in 2003, with an estimated 8.40 million bbl/d (49% of the total). Iran had estimated net exports of about 2.6 million bbl/d (15%), followed by the United Arab Emirates (2.4 million bbl/d -- 14%), Kuwait (2.0 million bbl/d -- 12%), Iraq (0.9 million bbl/d -- 9%), Qatar (0.9 million bbl/d -- 5%), and Bahrain (0.01 million bbl/d -- 0.1%).[29]

[29] http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/pgulf.html, Persian Gulf Oil and Gas Exports Fact Sheet, GENERAL BACKGROUND

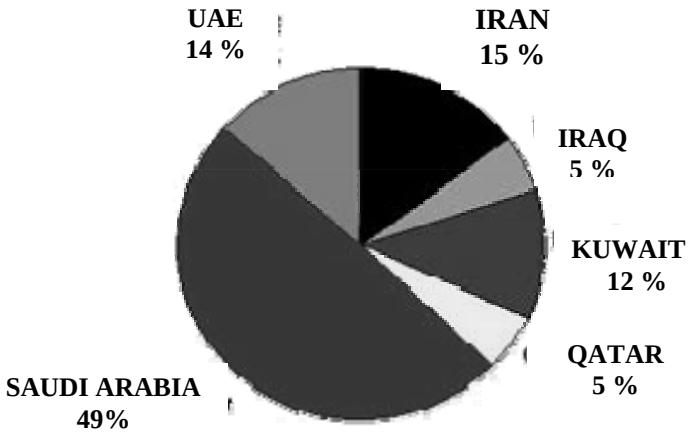

Figure 11: Arabian Gulf Exports by Country - 2003

The importance of the oil made the region an operational theatre center of the United States. In a short time the region had three wars. Mainly they were because of oil. From the geopolitical point of view, oil is the coveted commodity that all countries fight to obtain… the fact that there was, and there still is plenty of oil in the area of conflict which needs to be protected.[30]The United States has a long term dependence on Arabian Gulf oil. Therefore any instability in oil supplies in Arabian Gulf region will affect the U.S. economy. When the British withdrew from the Arabian Gulf in 1971, the U.S. maintained a strong presence in the region. This they did to ensure stability and security in the region. They would also insure the security of oil supplies, but would not necessarily maintain regional security. The reason of U.S. presence in the Arabian Gulf was to prevent any other country from gaining regional control leading to an oil

[30] The Gulf: future security and British policy, Energy Security in the Gulf, *HE Mr. Hisham Nazer, Page48*

dependency. This was done by a strong military presence in the Gulf region. There were other counties trying to take the lead of region, but the United States being the most powerful country, no other country could take the lead. Iran had a chance to be a powerful country in the Gulf region but it could not do so with the presence of United States. To prevent Iran from fulfilling this planned role and bringing in the Russians into the region enabling both countries to have control of the Gulf oil, the U.S. has continued to maintain a strong presence in the region. But is that the only reason? What about the Arab Gulf countries having full control of their own oil, would the U.S will be happy?

> *"Oil is much too important a commodity to be left in the hands of the Arabs."*
> *- Henry Kissinger,*
> *US Secretary of State under Presidents Nixon & Ford.*[31]

This will lead us to ask how important is the Arabian Gulf oil to United States? It is important because of the widespread belief that the U.S. war on Iraq is not about weapons of mass destruction but about oil. 25 years ago, the U.S had a plan to seize control of Iraqi oil based on its Kissinger plan.

> In 1975, an article headlined "Seizing Arab Oil" appeared in *Harper's* magazine, which, as Akins told Dreyfus, outlined how the US "could solve our economic and political problems over the Arab oil fields [and] bringing in Texans and Oklahomans to operate them". The author of the article, who used the pseudonym Miles Ignotus, was identified as "a

[31] http://lysistrataproject.org.hosting.domaindirect.com/oilandwar.htm, The Lysistrata Project Peace in the world *is* attainable, oil and war

> Washington-based professor and defence consultant with intimate links to high-level US policy makers.[32]

U.S. believed that by controlling the Arabian Gulf oil and combining it with it being a decade ahead of everybody else in the world in military technology would insure a super-power status for the US for the next 100 years.

Is the United States only interested in Arabian Gulf Oil? Of course not, its interest is global. China is now quickly becoming a major economic player in the gulf region, the trade volume between GCC and the China, was expected to reach $20 billion in 2004, up from $16.9 billion in 2003, *according to the National Bureau of Statistics in China*. Trade between China and Iran is expected to have totaled $7 billion in 2004, up from $5.6 billion in 2003, *according to the Iran-China Chamber of Commerce, which was established in 2000.*

There was tremendous movement and discussions last year (2005). In one of the biggest deals between China and Saudi Arabia, the China Petroleum and Chemical Corporation, signed an agreement with Saudi Arabia petroleum company (Aramco) to spend US $300 million to develop natural gas resources near the Ghawar field. This development could result in competition between China and the United States for Arabian Gulf oil and gas. U.S report said, one of the scenarios suggested that Beijing would form military ties with Arabian Gulf states to ensure that China has a priority for Arab and Iranian oil exports. "The rising dependence of China

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[32] http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/2003/535/535p14.htm, Kissinger plan, Oil and the Bush plan for global domination, Doug Lorimer, a voice of dissent

on Arabian Gulf oil could well alter political relationships within and outside the region," the CSIS report warned the Bush administration.[33]

Japan also desires to have a big piece of this cake. Foreign Minister Taro Aso told ministry officials last week to promote talks with the GCC, saying it is necessary for Japan to reinforce its economic ties with the Arabian Gulf states in order to secure a stable supply of energy resources.[34] Japan's annual exports to the GCC include a variety of goods, while its imports from the GCC is mainly oil, which is 75% of Japan is oil imports from GCC countries.

As we see, oil is very important to the global economy; it is equally important to both importers and exporters; it runs the industries and construction machinery, in so doing improving the economy of the countries. This stabilizes the security of nations. In 2001, the industrialized countries imported about 16.1 million barrels of oil per day from OPEC oil producers, out of which a total of, 9.7 million barrels per day came only from the Arabian Gulf region. The forecasters estimated that by 2025, the industrialized countries will increase their oil requirements to about 11.5 million barrels per day higher than their 2001 level, and more than half the increase is expected to come from the Arabian Gulf region.

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[33] http://www.worldtribune.com/wta/Archive-2001/ea-china-02-21.html , Report: Growing China may threaten U.S. oil supply, SPECIAL TO WORLD TRIBUNE.COM, Wednesday, February 21, 2001, WASHINGTON

[34] http://www.tmcnet.com/usubmit/2006/02/14/1369983.htm, Based on a dispatch from Middle East Newsline, February 14, 2006

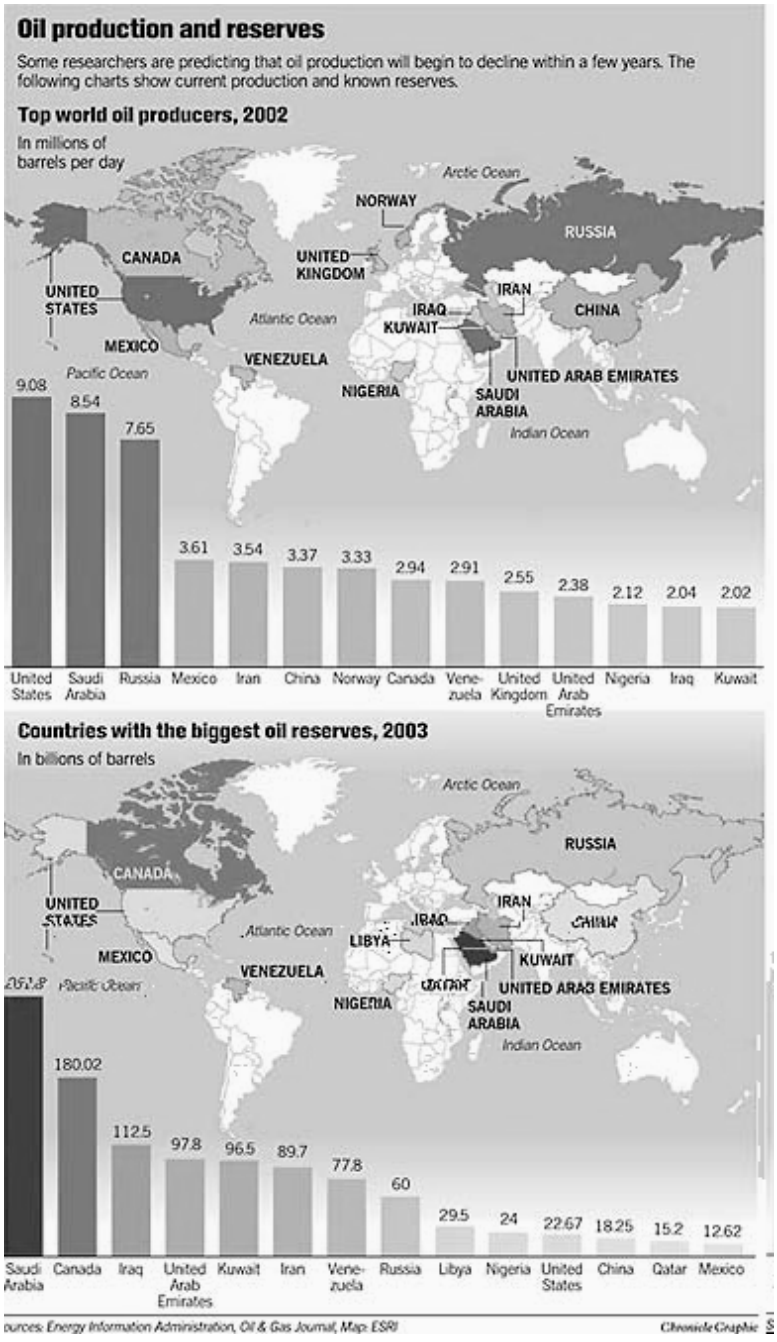

Figure 12: Oil production and reserves [35]

[35] http://lysistrataproject.org.hosting.domaindirect.com/oilandwar.htm#USThirstforOilCouldSendAfricaonMideastsPath, Jeff Cohen, Published on Monday, May 16, 2005

Moreover, security of the Arabian Gulf area and its stability will provide oil security and at the same time necessary oil investment in GCC states. Oil security is still critical, especially for GCC states strategic interests. Most of the oil exports pass daily through the Strait of Hormuz. This Strait is a narrow passage between Oman and Iran; to ensure security of transshipment the GCC must have a good relationship with Iran. This gains more importance especially after the Iranian government announcement of having developed the fastest torpedo in the world, as this could be a new threat to oil export.

UAE national security

The UAE national security can not be separate from other Arab nations, Arabian Gulf and GCC countries security. This section will illuminate the strategic issues of the UAE, aiming to achieve its security in the present and in future, in both internal and external dimensions. This could lead to UAE political, economic and social security. All factors, domestic and international, would be taken into account.

National security should be developed in regional and national interests. No single Arab country can individually achieve security without other Arab countries. Thus the UAE wants to cooperate with GCC countries regionally to achieve the national security. The security must be transparent and balanced between both internal and external challenges of security. The internal stability of UAE political, economic and social structure constitutes a necessary pre-condition for confronting any external challenges or threat.

The national security strategy must be formed in transparency of equilibrium among political, economic and social factors. It's difficult to separate the factors mentioned above; and they must be integrated to achieve the security and stability strategy. They all must be taken in account. UAE must be focused on sociality in order to achieve security, which is leading to the transformation of all factors of security. Developing the security strategy must take into account challenges impeding achievement of the UAE security, both internal and external challenges

Political security: No country will ever be able to achieve its national security without citizens' participation. That's why people participate in building political security, and in the UAE it should be one of its top priorities. To participate in political security the citizens must be well educated. The UAE is working hard to make all UAE citizens well educated people at highest level of education. As the UAE is faces various threats on both internal and external levels, political education has to be performed with the aim of informing the citizens and making them aware of the security challenges threatening UAE national security. Therefore, the well educated citizens anywhere; especially those who have confidential information must be trained in how to maintain information secrecy, which affect the national security and stability of the country. On other hand, the percentage of foreign residents is higher than national residents, and most of confident information in foreign hands, therefore, will affect the UAE national security. The UAE presently, working in a long-term program to achieve the nationalization of all important and sensitive jobs.

The important thing is that the UAE leadership have long term political plan, to maintain the stability and secure federation unified for ever. All the Emirates have greatly benefited from the current federation. The leadership of UAE, political and economic system currently fined out

that the commercial and diplomatic relations with all of the GCC states, Iraq and Iran are very important. But with very careful relation with Iran in the future,

> Iran has the resources to carry out only small-scale attacks… indeed, the emirates' center for strategic studies and research noted in a recent report that with the U.S present in the Arabian Gulf, there is no short-term danger of an Iranian invasion because any such "invasion by sea will require enormous amphibious capabilities and air bridges, which Iran lacks ".[36]

Economics and social security: Political security can not be achieved apart from economic and social security. Economic and social security constitute the main pillars anchoring a political security. The country will provide the best living standard in the manner of economy and social conditions for all citizens, which improve their quality of life.

UAE has used oil and the oil sector for country and economic developments. The UAE government plans to divert the economy away from oil, through privatization of existing industries and establishment of new industries. This can be demonstrated by the growth of a non-oil sector, which is pushed the UAE GDP up to $88.1bn in 2004, a 7.4% increase over 2003 according to the Central Bank's annual report. *In the year of 2005 the GDP is on course to record 12.7% growth*, said Sheikha Lubna Al Qasimi, Minister of Economy and Planning, and Dr Mohammad Khalfan Bin Kharbash, Minister of State for Finance and Industry. Analysts said the figures show the UAE has one of the fastest growing economies in the world. This stable growth of GDP will make the economic security of the country stable. But the main economic challenge

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[36] http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1999/issue1/jv3n1a3.html, (MERIAN) Middle East Revew of International Affairs, journal, Volume 3, No. 1 - March 1999, THE UAE: POLITICAL ISSUES AND SECURITY DILEMMAS, Sean Foley

in my perspective is the foreign manpower and labor market. They have control over most economic fields in the country.

The imbalance between UAE citizens and foreign nations is the greatest challenges; result in the national citizens became a minority in UAE. It's a serious problem; the national citizens suffer from the spreading of the phenomena of social diseases among them, which constitutes a hazard to the stability of the social structure and consequently a hazard to the country's political, economic and social security. Not only have that threatens the social life of UAE, the drugs and juvenile delinquency too; these three are threats to the future of social and economic development of the society. In 1995, there were only 736 nationals in local industries, which was 1.5% of the labor force. 76 (This number is still shocking, though 80% of the population are expatriates).[37]

The Future and the Challenges of GCC

This part of the paper will cover the future challenges facing the GCC countries. By looking into the events in the Gulf region for the past 25 years, we can visualize that the area will not be stable in the future. The global interest in the Arabian Gulf region will continue for two reasons, firstly it is one of the main oil and gas resources in the world, and secondly it's the unique geographical and strategic location at the crossroads connection the world's continents (Asia, Europe and Africa), oceans, civilizations and cultures… resulting in political, security,

[37] *Ibid*, The problem of expatriate labor, page14

social, and cultural effects.[38] It is for these reasons that the region has had three wars in the last two decades. A number of experts and analyzers have been visualizing, the "nature of security challenges" facing the GCC. One of the options has been to let the major powers use their military located in the area. The other vision of the GCC is that security requirements have changed since it was established. Their view is that due to changing political developments and the changes in the area in the last few years it is essential to let the GCC countries reconsider the security system and let them redesign their new security system.

GCC draw up a document outlining the future course of national security for long term (25 years, 2000-2025). In a manner that it takes into account the characteristics of the 21st century and at the same time addresses the key challenges and demands of the global economic and social developments.[39] The document contains the threats prevailing in the GCC states at the local, regional and international levels in economic, social and political and security fields.[40] But as we knew, the GCC faces different challenges of threats, such as internal and external challenges. The internal and external challenges in the past and future are:

- The Iranian revolution,
- Iran – Iraq war,
- Iraq invasion of Kuwait and,

[38] The Gulf Challenges of the Future, Positioning the GCC Countries in the Global Economy: Challenges and Policy Options, H.E Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al Thani, The Emirates Center for Strategic Study and research, page, 2005

[39] http://library.gcc-sg.org/English/Books/strategy2003.htm, The Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) Secretariat General, Long –Term Comprehensive Development Strategy, For the GCC States (2000-2025), 1999, page 1

[40] *Ibid*, page 2

- War on Iraq,
- 1971 and 1992, Iran occupied three islands of United Arab Emirates,
- Al Qaada group aiming and attempting to conduct terrorist activities in the area,
- The Iranian nuclear threat to the region, and
- Presence of U.S. troops and its allies in the region makes some people and parties unhappy.

Gulf security system

Regarding the gulf security system and the challenges, in my perspective, they are three challenges, affecting the future of the GCC countries:

- **GCC Organization**. The GCC as an organization is very important for the region. The problem is, these Gulf States are flexible to changes which imply that they are not the states who would make strategic decision for the area. GCC is trying to be accommodating with Iran but at the same time they do not want to be under Iranian pressure. U.S. insists on keeping the GCC under its umbrella and desires that the GCC do what ever the U.S wants it to. The GCC must be wise to this issue and this requires deep thinking in the political field to arrive at solutions without affecting U.S interests. This is because the strategic interests of the U.S are different from than the GCC. The states in Arabian Gulf, for an especially Iran, must work to maintain good relationships with the GCC, to make the area more secure and stable.

- **United States**. The strategic interests of the U.S are not the same as of the GCC. The U.S knows this and they realize that they are not in this region to protect the region or the people or to split the democracies. They are here to put a footprint to enable them to be very close to the oil in the Arabian Gulf and the oil in the Caspian Sea. The north, east and south Asia counties are very important for the U.S. due to the availability of natural resources and means of cheap production.

- **Iran**. It's one of the important players in the gulf region. Iran is trying to spreading the Shei'a ideas into the Arab region and in so doing obtain a control on the area. Iran is today trying to obtain strong weapons and advanced technology to convey to the world a message, that, Iran is stronger than before.

External pressures challenge the Gulf Security

> At the level of challenges, they can be divided into two sets. The first set comprises of the outcome of the process of development in all the member states, the nature of geo-political situation, resources and demographic features. The second set comprises of the new developments in the world system in the last two decades of the twentieth century.[41]

[41] Ibid, page 4, **The First Set**: Following are the major challenges grouped in the first set:
- The region continues to reel under the effect of conflicting global petroleum interests centered in and around the region. Besides, other regional problems continue to besiege the GCC states.
- The pillars of the economy of the GCC states have been founded on the basis of competition (duplication) rather than integration. This has limited the growth of the volume of inter - trade, prevented diversification of trade and obstructed the integration the manufacturing sector.
- Scarcity of water resources and rise in the cost of alternative water resources.
- The development efforts, especially those associated with building capacities for technological advancement and political & administrative development have been launched with national considerations in mind. These efforts have not been made with collective considerations like reducing disparity in the levels of development. Similarly, specific standards have not been set for distributing the fruits of integration among the member states.

As I discussed earlier, the global players have strategic interests in the Arabian Gulf region, the pressure from other countries who also have an interest in the region, make the region unstable especially after the destruction of the Iraqi forces. In the past the matching forces between Iraq and Iran made the region stable. But after the destruction of Iraqi forces, Iran is aiming to get the U.S and other countries to leave the region, and in so doing; it will automatically have control over the gulf. Withdrawing the U.S troops from the region will affect

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- There is incongruence between the role of the private sector in development and the level of incentives provided by the State for institutions of the private sector.
- Encouragement of the concept of " fatherly treatment" for the citizens by the state. This concept on the one hand, led to the concentration of the national workforce in state administrative units & government institutions and, on the other hand, it led to the disinclination, on part of citizens, towards technical and vocational activities. This in turn led to dependence on the foreign workers in order to fulfill the needs of the job market in non- governmental activities could be met.
- Disharmony between the products of educational and training systems and the needs of the job market on the one hand and economic structures on the other. There is a need to develop these systems so that they attend to the philosophy, content and mechanisms in order to meet the needs of the job market and the demands of economy.
- Predominance of the forces of consumption over those of production.
- Existence of deficit in the national budget. This, along with the inability of the Gulf economies to employ labor and to invest in productive capacities owing to deflationary economic, fiscal and monetary policies have negative social implications.

The Second Set of Challenges: The challenges of this set can be seen in a group of global developments. These challenges will have to be addressed by the development efforts in the first decades of the 21st century. These challenges are evident in a number of fields:

The Intellectual Field: There are two major concepts in the modern development thought: the first being the concept of human development, which includes aspects such as preservation of environment and natural resources. This concept is based on number principles. The most important among those principles is increasing the choices of the people, giving them opportunities for work and to earn a living, protecting the rights of citizens, aiming at sustainable development and linking up the geographic regions as well as the present and the future generations. On the other hand, the second concept is related to the new concept of the modern state and its role in the economic and social life. It includes a number of issues like participation of the private sector, activation of the market mechanisms and horizontal participation by the civil society in all development efforts.

In the field of International Political Relationships: Among the major new developments in this field are: disintegration of the Soviet Union, end of the cold war, end of the international order characterized by two poles, military intervention by United Nation's forces to resolve regional conflicts and continuation of conflict between major powers as regards oil, a vast proportion of which is concentrated in the Gulf states and a few other states in the region; and the developments in the Middle East peace process.

In the Field of International Economic Relationships: Among the major developments in this fields are: formation of regional economic blocs; the growing trend towards globalization of the economy, which includes freeing the international trade and investment within the framework of the World trade Organization (WTO); quitting centralized planning, adopting decentralized planning, establishing a free market economy and developing economic and technological capacities of the newly industrialized nations. Among the major developments of this phase are: continuance of the scientific & technological revolution and their applications, including those in the filed of information technology and increased importance of earmarking expenditure on scientific research. The repercussions of these successive revolutionary changes on the vocational structures of manpower and the rate of unemployment in all sectors of the economy are significant. In addition, successive developments in the field of communications and information have had great impact on the on the economic, social facets in the various countries.

There is no doubt that, together, these challenges constitute the objective basis for the GCC states, in the light of which, they can form strategies to address these challenges in the first quarter of the 21st century. Similarly, on the same basis, the GCC states can invest all their achievements made through the development efforts since 1981. This would lead to consolidation of the economic, social and political bloc which is not only capable of addressing the challenges of the next century but also of placing the Gulf on a high pedestal globally.

the stability of gulf. But at the same time, it doesn't imply that the presence of the U.S makes the area stable. The destruction of Iraq brought war, prohibited weapons and troops into the region, all of which are a threat to gulf security. This resulted in Iran and the terrorists conducting operations against U.S and its allies, as well as operations against the GCC countries as we saw in the bombing in Saudi Arabia. This increases the threat to the gulf security system.

The terrorism and the Gulf Security system

Due to terrorist organizations existing in the Gulf region, the GCC must develop a good security system to stop terrorist attacks in the region. The terrorists are aiming to integrate all GCC countries under one common Government on the same lines as the Taliban Government. This is based on their perception that all GCC countries are wrong and only Al Qaada is right. Some people believe in the Al Qaada ideas and attempt to follow them. This affects the Gulf Security System, and the GCC countries must work together to convince the Al Qaada followers not to follow them as they are completely wrong.

By looking at the nature of the threats faced by the GCC and the challenges, it is clear that in order for the Gulf countries to guarantee the security and stability of the Arabian Gulf Region, the GCC must reach a clear formula for dealing with the new environments and find new measures to overcome the challenges and to insure the security and stability of the region. The six GCC countries in the past were just small countries and protected by the military might of Britain, but even today the reality is that the six countries cannot protect themselves from external threats like those emanating from Iran, which resulted in the U.S taking over the British

role. However it is also essential to consider that the U.S strategic interests would come first followed by the GCC countries security.

The GCC fears that what the U.S has in store for the gulf region includes U.S plans to initiate reforms to ensure that the governments of the region respond to its demands and promote its interests. While the close ties between U.S and the GCC countries may rule out a U.S strategy of regime change, the GCC countries continue to fear regime changes in the region. In this regard, the U.S may propose the formation of a new Gulf region security by mean of a framework of US policy. This will create new challenges for the GCC. While at the same time the GCC council continues to maintain a strategic partnership with the U.S, it also realizes that they are still part of the Arab world and share the same problems, especially Israel-Arab problem, which looks far from solved.

The GCC members realize that removing Iraq from of the strategic equation in the Gulf region leaves more room for Iran. Iran is the largest country in the region and may possibly have an arsenal of nuclear weapons in the future. Iran has considerable authority over the Shi'a in the Gulf, which constitutes the majority in Bahrain, and is party to a long disagreement with the UAE over three islands in the Gulf. Iran thus constitutes a major security challenge for the GCC.[42]

Despite the steps taken by the Iranian president to communicate with the GCC, Iran wants to have control of the gulf region by pushing out the foreign powers like U.S and Britain. In addition Iran does not appear to want to solve the problems between Iran and some GCC

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[42] http://www.siyassa.org.eg/esiyassa/ahram/2003/10/1/FILE3.HTM The Impact of the US Presence in Iraq on the GCC Ashraf Mohammed Kishk, October 2003

members, like the three UAE islands.

Conclusion

The Gulf Security Policy must be adaptive to the world environmental changes and the global security, especially towards the U.S and Iranian strategic interests. The gulf security must be worked together between all Arabian Gulf countries (GCC, Iraq, and Iran) and with the countries that have an interest in the gulf region. Gulf security cannot be achieved in isolation from the political, economic or social arenas. Political security cannot be achieved without strong economic or social structure supporting political decisions. Political, economic and social issues require a balanced attitude to face the external and internal security challenges. But at the same time the last but not least, is the issue of the solid and stable internal security which becomes the first precondition for the successful resolution of external security threats. This must be in the GCC strategic international interests.

It is not possible to achieve security by military only; it must be in all fields and the organization must work together to achieve the desired security. The relationship between the leaders and the people must be strong. The government must achieve democracy in the countries, and the social culture is equally important too, the coherence between all the tribes and parties is a must in order to achieve internal security and stability. The best example for that coherence is in UAE.

The challenges facing the GCC must be accepted by all member countries. They should strive for good relations with Iran and other countries like the U.S, in order to achieve gulf

security. Oil is the main interest for the global community and the GCC countries have to consider this issue and make the region stable.

The UAE national security cannot be achieved without connection between political, economic and social factors to confront the challenges both internal and external. And the weakness caused by the imbalance between foreign residents and national citizens. The consequence of this deformation is an imbalance in the labor market in which foreign manpower dominates. The UAE is not depending on oil to develop the country; it has long-term plan to divert the economy away from oil and to privatization of the industries. Other challenges which affect the future of the security are drugs and juvenile delinquency.

To insure the national security and stability strategic of the GCC must develop and improve all fields to be capable to the interest of the GCC citizens. It's important to take the internal and external policy in account and make them easy to work. In this paper I suggest below some of the important fields for the GCC interests:

- Develop collective security system among the all Gulf countries.
- Unify the GCC policies against all kind of threats.
- Solve all problems between the GCC members.
- Solve the three UAE islands occupied by Iran.
- Make agreements between the members to solve the boundary problems.
- Improve the economic cooperation between the members and with world especially who has an interest in the region.

- Counter all kind of terrorism by all kind of means and make sure the region is secure ans stable.
- Solve and stop the illegal emigrations from neighbor countries.
- Create security system between all countries on the Gulf to insure the security and stability of the Arabian Gulf.
- Create Gulf oil organization including all countries to unify the oil policy.
- Depending on the science and technology to qualify the GCC citizens and capable them to build the countries future.

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