THE PROSPECTS FOR DEFENSE COOPERATION IN THE PERSIAN GULF: SAUDI ARABIA'S CONTINUING SEARCH FOR SECURITY

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1.0 Introduction: What Are the Issues Facing the Gulf?

Political stability and military security are the two pressing contemporary concerns of the Persian Gulf countries.[1] Owing to the oil and natural gas resources in this region, the fate of these countries is of critical importance to the Western industrial states and the Soviet Union. "Stability" and "security" in the Gulf are also of primary concern in the West, particularly in the United States. Yet these concepts are understood differently in the West than in the Gulf. For the West, the fundamental issue is the guarantee and security of its access to Gulf oil. However, the fundamental interest for the Arab states in the Gulf area is the stability and security, i.e., the survival and continued reign, of the governing regimes of those states. In fact, the common fear is that political instability in any one country may lead to a rapid and violent transformation of the socio-economic structure of all Gulf countries.

The differences in these views have led to different approaches in deterring and managing conflict. US options, for example, have focused on the threat of a Soviet military invasion of the Gulf area intended either to occupy the oil fields or to assert a sufficiently strong regional presence as to command irresistable political influence over the Gulf oil producing

nations. Thus, the US response has tended to emphasize unilateral countermeasures in the form of a rapid deployment force (RDF). The missions of this force have varied over time depending on the particular threat scenario which is assumed.[2]

The Gulf countries, on the other hand, perceive their military security needs in a different way, because they perceive the threats from a different perspective. They too almost universally fear Soviet incursions into the Gulf area. Almost as universally, the Gulf countries implicitly rely on US resolve to deter and to blunt any such Soviet designs. Yet, American pronunciations of its security interests in the region have prompted Arab reservations about being too closely identified with the US. In addition, Gulf states perceive instabilities induced by domestic and regional conflicts to be greater and more probable threats to Gulf security.

1.1 The Scope of the Problem

Arrangements for security in the Gulf can reflect either external, regional or internal (domestic) perspectives, or some combination thereof. A broad literature is currently available on US and Soviet security interests in the Gulf, especially, for example, dealing with the RDF.[3] This paper will primarily examine current efforts to develop security arrangements based on institutions of regional cooperation in the Gulf. A secondary, but important, issue is the relationship between these regional efforts and external, especially Western, states.

Specifically, propositions will be developed in this paper addressing the purpose of, and the potential for, contemporary regional security cooperation in the Gulf. Because it is the current framework of cooperation emerging

there, this discussion will focus on the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and
its potential role as a security institution. No predictions about the future
development of the GCC in particular are attempted. However, on the basis of
the current political environment, the scope and limits of contemporary
regional security cooperation in the Gulf are analyzed. What can we say about
the purposes of defense cooperation in the region? How are the purposes
related to contemporary political interests, regional political conflict and
actual military capabilities? What obstacles, if any, will undermine the
possibilities of defense integration? These conclusions, which will be
presented in the form of propositions, have policy relevance for such issues
as an American RDF or the search for basing rights in the Gulf area. However,
such discussion would require an analysis of regional history and bilateral
diplomatic relations which exceeds the narrower scope of this study.

1.2 Analytic Framework and Issue Background

Before outlining these propositions, it is appropriate to say something
about the GCC and about the methodology used here to discuss it. Four points
are relevant.

First, one can delineate the nature of the threats posed to the Gulf
governments as: internal, regional and extra-regional threats. Internal
threats refer mainly to subversive activities which reflect disputes intrinsic
to the political or social structures. Anti-monarchial sentiment can, for
example, be expressed by a newly emerging class of upwardly mobile, educated
technocrats with growing social and political demands and expectations. Or,
it could be inspired by a foreign power with the intent of destabilizing the
government by, for example, taking advantage of standing religious strife

between Sunni and Shia Muslims. Regional threats result from regional interstate competition to achieve regional domination or sufficient strength to deter other's attempts to assert domination in any of a number of regionally important issue areas. Finally, extra-regional threats involve attempts of foreign extra-regional powers to gain influence in the outcomes of regional policymaking processes by force or coercion. Clearly, the policy preferences of the external power in this case would not converge with those of the regional target state; otherwise, no "threat" would be perceived. Note that there is great overlap among these three categories. Although an attempt to distinguish between two of these three categories may be difficult in any particular scenario, it still is analytically useful to analyze conflict in this way.

Second, the emergence and role of the GCC will be cast in the context of previous efforts to organize a Gulf security system. Each proposal for coordinating security policies and defense maneuvers reflected the sponsor's particular needs and perceived threat environment. The emphasis here is on the needs and perceived threats which led up to the current framework of cooperation, i.e., the GCC.

This leads to a third point, that the discussion in the paper reflects a heavy emphasis on political developments and threat perceptions from 1979 to present. Thus, we begin with the assumption that the Islamic Revolution in Iran and, to a lesser extent, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan together induced a systemic transformation in the Gulf. That is, political interests, security needs and opportunities for deterring and managing conflict in the Gulf changed for regional and external actors for reasons endemic to those events.

The justification for this assumption derives from the evolution of regional conflict management over the last two decades.[4] Three periods are relevant. (i) Prior to the British withdrawal from the region in 1971, all interstate and much intrastate conflict was frozen by the presence of British political administration and military strength. External intervention was deterred; territorial claims were settled by the British; disturbances were suppressed.

(ii) After 1971, indirect forms of superpower intervention became dominant practice. US defense support of Iran and Saudi Arabia grew. The US Navy held exercises from its ports and bases in Bahrain and Oman. The USSR, on the other hand, developed close relations with Iraq. US-Soviet competition in the region remained indirect.

(iii) The current period reveals changes in intra-regional state relations, superpower relations vis-a-vis the Gulf, and superpower-regional client state relations. Specifically, the Iranian Revolution raised the dangers of internal instabilities in the states of the region by enhancing the relationship between internal and regional threats. This means that domestic disturbances, whether inspired by religious disputes or by the political demands of non-native populations, for example, posed new challenges to the security and survival of a state's ruling family. Indeed, this was the direct cause of the Shah's fall from power. That model of political change was perceived by the Gulf's ruling families as a direct threat. In addition, inspiring such internal disturbances has become a distinct typology for interstate relations in the Gulf, e.g., Khomeini's call for Shia uprisings in Bahrain.

In this atmosphere, the superpowers themselves have become more directly competitive. In a destabilized region, more opportunities are available for exploiting local and regional events. Such possibilities have been among US fears of Soviet involvement in the Gulf, especially following Afghanistan. Without strong and stable partners or client states in the region, a state like the US believes it necessary to play a more direct role in managing regional events. Only in this way, such a view implies, can the US make certain that political events and conflict in the region do not threaten critical national interests. Indeed, this is the basis for the US RDF or for US promises to keep open the Strait of Hormuz.

Finally, superpower and regional relations have changed. The absence of regional buffers (a role played by the Shah's Iran) increases the likelihood of superpower confrontation over local disputes. Equivalently, political mechanisms for decoupling local instabilities from direct superpower confrontation are unavailable. Thus, tensions are introduced into the political relationships between a superpower (e.g., the US) and a regional client state/ally (e.g., Saudi Arabia). The primary concern for the superpower becomes securing its interests in the region (oil) and minimizing the gains of the other superpower. For the regional ally, its primary concern- regime survival- may not always imply a convergence of interests with its superpower ally. This is, by and large, the Arab Gulf understanding of why the US did not save the Shah.

Two results are apparent. (a) Until a new "regional buffer" is in place, such tensions are likely to persist. In fact, it should be realized that such tensions might well be reflected in the development of a new regional buffer. This is the perspective from which to view the GCC dictum of "no foreign

bases" and "no foreign pacts" (although these serve purely rhetorical functions as well). (b) Efforts to create a new buffer have intensified at least one superpower-regional relationship: the US and Saudi Arabia. This development parallels the unilateral assertion of new military postures, e.g., the RDF. Since 1979, the US military role in Saudi Arabia has taken on a new dimension. From infrastructure support and arms transfers, the Americans assumed direct training and advisory roles, including assisting in combat (training) maneuvers and military missions and developing contingency plans.[5]

The structure of the current period leads to the fourth and final point. This paper will focus on Saudi Arabia as a means for narrowing the discussion, but still treating the important political themes. (Other countries will be discussed, but not with the same emphasis). This is appropriate for a number of reasons. First, it is larger, wealthier and more heavily invested in arms procurement than other Gulf countries. Also, Saudi Arabia is the main force behind current efforts to coordinate regional security plans. Indeed, conclusions of the paper suggest that the GCC is an independent variable in Saudi defense planning; i.e., the GCC is a vehicle for Saudi Arabia's search for security. Finally, Saudi Arabia is critically important to the West. This importance has increased since the Iranian Revolution, during a time when the Saudi political system is thought (at least in the West) to be less capable of tolerating domestic and regional instability. Therefore, as the relative military weakness of Saudi Arabia is magnified, the stability of the interdependencies between the West and Saudi Arabia becomes more uncertain.

1.3 Regional Security and the GCC: Propositions

The main hypothesis developed in this paper is that <u>the fundamental</u> <u>purpose of the GCC security framework is to counteract the current linkage</u> <u>between internal (domestic) and regional threats</u>. At best, the linkage could be <u>fractured</u>, which would imply the political inability of regional actors to exploit successfully local instabilities. At a minimum, however, the purpose of the GCC security framework is to permit the Saudi's <u>to</u> <u>cope</u> with the linkage between internal and regional threats.

This objective is important for two reasons. First, mutual regime support within the GCC framework is enhanced. Given the goal of regime survival, it is essential to preclude the possibility that internal and regional threats become challenges to the political survival of a ruling family. Second, by establishing a form of regional management of conflict, opportunities and incentives for external intervention are substantially reduced.

If this hypothesis is true, then several deductions follow. These deductions will take the form of propositions which will be analyzed. First, an obvious prescription for dealing with intra-state instabilities is to <u>improve internal security functions</u>. Inter-state coordination of police functions, e.g. information sharing, extradition laws, etc., might be especially important within a GCC-like framework. These actions would have the effect of placing a "cap" on criminal or political activities which might have implications for regime stability. Indeed, it will be demonstrated that the current "security" basis of the GCC focuses on internal security measures.

A second component of decoupling internal and regional threats is to reduce the incentive for military strikes or other hostile actions between states. This is accomplished by reducing the perceived benefits, or increasing the potential costs, of such action. Thus, the deduction is that we expect to see regional states acquiring stronger defensive capabilities in order to deter regional aggression, which might otherwise be "invited" by the absence of military strength. This statement may seem obvious, but a proposition can be drawn from it which is not so readily apparent.

It will be seen that Saudi Arabia is engaged in a massive arms acquisition program, far exceeding the arms programs in other Gulf countries in magnitude and sophistication. The expansion of these bilateral relations with the US is a parallel but complementary development to Saudi Arabia's involvement in the GCC. The proposition is that there is a fundamental connection between these two developments. That is, future coordinated GCC defense plans and capabilities are tied to the current Saudi modernization program and, therefore, to the availability of US arms and technical support. A simple example of why this is the case, as will be seen, involves the creation of an air defense system for GCC countries. Early radar warning and quick reaction interceptor aircraft are two essential components of an air defense network. Yet, to use these assets, a command, control and communications structure must be in place. The quick reaction time requirements at each stage of an intercept, especially in the Gulf, imply a high degree of personnel coordination and systems compatibility across the entire Gulf region.

One implication of this proposition is that progress in defense coordination in the GCC partially depends on the willingness of member states

to develop a close association with the US in order to expand and restructure its military forces. For a nation like Kuwait, this may present a serious political dilemma. Permitting the broad range of social contact and economic penetration by the US, which would inevitably result from sophisticated arms transfers, communications equipment, training and maintenance, is a politically unpalatable option for Kuwait. Oman and Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, have a close defense association with the US. Although they too are concerned about "appearances," their different attitude concerning an association with the US almost certainly is raising political obstacles to the realization of a GCC defense agreement.

The efforts to compensate for these political differences in Gulf diplomacy revolve around the themes of consensus building and legitimacy: what instruments serve the end of causing Gulf states to perceive interests which are close and converging to those of the other Arab Gulf states? Consensus serves those within the alliance framework, here referring to the GCC. Legitimacy, however, is a broader issue, relating to historical precedent, ethical and moral considerations (an important theme in Islam), and perceptions about the alliance by outsiders. These issues of consensus and legitimacy will reappear throughout the discussion.

This paper will begin with an examination of internal and regional threat perceptions in the Gulf. From there we will consider the historical dimension of coordinated security planning in the region. The GCC will enter the discussion in this section. Finally, profiles of the military status of the GCC states will follow.

2.0 Threat Perceptions in the Gulf

There are three major powers bordering the Gulf: Iran, Iraq and Saudi
Arabia. The first two are fighting a grueling war which will undoubtedly have
a major effect on the future of their development just as it dramatically is
affecting current intra-Gulf relations. The Saudis are organizing a
confederation of lower Gulf states to deal with economic and defense issues.
To understand how a security arrangement might emerge in that region, it is
important to understand threat perceptions as seen by the local nations.
Surely this is a necessary base on which to judge the success of a Gulf
security regime in addressing or resolving conflict, or the failure of that
regime owing to its incapacity to resolve conflict.

Three major factors influence Saudi Arabia's world position in the 1980s.
Saudi Arabia occupies a strategic geographical location. Its borders on the
Red Sea and Persian Gulf place it in direct contact with some of the most
strategic trade routes connecting Europe and Southwest Asia. Sixty percent of
the world's oil supplies travel through the Gulf en route to the world's
industrialized nations. Its proximity to the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean
emphasize its domination, together with India, of the exposed southern flank
of the USSR.

As the world's principal exporter of crude oil, Saudi Arabia plays a
pivotal role in the availability and pricing of energy supplies and therefore
in the politics of an international energy regime. Finally, two of Islam's
holy sites, Mecca and Medina, are located in Saudi Arabia. The central
importance of Saudi Arabia's self-perceived role as "guardian of Islam" should

not be underestimated. Annual pilgramages bring at least hundreds of thousands of foreign Moslems to Saudi Arabia. Its central role in the fulfilment of basic Islamic duties is widely recognized.

2.1 Internal Stability

Internal threats originate in basically two ways which overlap extensively: in the governmental domain from competing political parties and demographically from culturally or religiously diverse populations.

The Saudi government and society embody a number of contradictions. Saudi society is rapidly developing. Yet, the Saudi government is a monarchy. Although the government includes a number of ministries charged with overseeing technological progress, the monarchy retains many of its original tribal traditions and combines the traditional roles of religious and tribal leadership.[6] The monarch is imam and guardian of the holy cities Mecca and Medina, leader of the tribal shaykhs and king of the nation. The Qu'ran serves as the constitution of Saudi Arabia and the Shari'a, codified Islamic law, as its legal code. Thus, the king has final responsibility for all executive, legislative and judicial governmental functions.

The nature of the Saudi contradictions focuses on the conflict between managing the rapid social changes resulting from the (desired) high-paced economic development programs and retaining the traditional religious, tribal, feudal structure of political and social relations. Some evidence of such contradiction is found in the debates in govenment between fundamentalists who want to restore the religious and moral role of Islam and the materialists who wish to maintain the high economic growth. Each group sees the other as a primary threat. The very form of Saudi government, dynastic rule, sets Al

Saud, the inner ruling coterie within the House of Saud,[7] in possible

conflict with the emerging interests and expectations of the new, educated,

technocratic middle class of Saudi Arabia. The existence of such conflict in

Saudi society reflects the existence of a diversity of interest groups in the

society. Specifically, these groups include policymakers representing the

royal family and the technocrats, the military, the tribes, the 'ulema and the

educated.[8]

The royal family, including some 4000 princes, dominates Saudi domestic

and foreign policymaking. These princes are placed at all important levels of

the ministries, including especially those dealing with security issues,

foreign relations, commerce and technology. Indeed, the presence of

technically or managerially competent people, inside or outside the royal

family but clearly in the policymaking arena, arguably constitutes a separate

interest group.[9] With this size, it is clear that there have been and will

continue to be divisions within the royal family.[10] The difficulty of

assessing the impact of division within the royal family on Saudi unity and

stability is indicative of the poor state of knowledge concerning royal family

decision processes. However, informal consultations between the royal family

and other interest groups, notably the tribes and the 'ulema, serve as a

consensus building mechanism to win or maintain broad-based support for royal

policies.

Even in modern Saudi Arabia, the tribal tradition is evident.[11] The

attempts to build and maintain a consensus among the tribes have reinforced

the traditional structure of authority and the perception that the Saudi

monarchs are "tribal overlords." This process has, in effect, been one of

"transferring the loyalty of the Bedouin from the tribe to the nation."[12]

The result is structured patterns of coalition and alliance formation and dissolution similar to those found in industrial societies.[13]

Part of maintaining the tribal allegiance is the role of Islam. The full unification of religious values and the state creates a niche for the 'ulema, the Islamic clergy or religious scholars. The opinion of the 'ulema reflects their role in unifying the population and legitimizing the political rule.[14] The 'ulema figures prominently in the Ministry of Justice and advised the attack to end the occupation of the Great Mosque in Mecca in November 1979. Thus, Al Saud and the 'ulema together constitute the "intregrating mechanism" unifying Islam and the Saudi state:

> The Islamic system of Saudi Arabia is a close, real and practical expression of the General Will. The locus of legitimacy is not to be found in the people; instead, the Good Society (which Saudis as good Muslims wish to create) emerges through a leadership imbued with Islamic values and a society governed by Islamic law and teachings. In short, the totality and coherence of Islam is so ingrained in Saudi culture that it still serves as a potent integrating mechanism.[15]

The unity of faith and state is the foundation of Saudi perceptions of their position in the world and, as such, a real guide to policy. For example, Saudi money is often used to enhance the role of Islam in other Moslem states and to fight secularization: "In both the domestic and international arenas, therefore, Islam is far more than a mere rhetorical subject for the ruling elite. It pervades social customs and interactions. It dominates images and attitudes. It motivates policies and is used to justify them. And it embodies the system of values upon which the legitimacy of the regime rests."[16]

Iran and Iraq have significantly different political structures answering to different interest groups. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein simultaneously holds several posts which unify the country's political power and

decision-making authority in himself. He is President of the Republic, secretary-general of the ruling Ba'ath Socialist Party in Iraq, chairman of Iraq's highest executive and legislative body, the Revolutionary Command Council and commander-in-chief of the Iraqi armed forces.[17] Competing political parties are legal and active. The Progressive National Front, the Kurds and the Iraqi Communist Party are the three main political organizations besides the Ba'athist Party. The issue with such interest groups is not so much power sharing per se, because short of overthrowing the Ba'ath, no such arrangements are possible given the current structure of government. Factors related to security policymaking, or most other policy, are not matters of public discussion.[18] Rather, of particular interest here is the role of these groups in potentially undermining the Hussein regime's stability. However, this relates more directly to the activities of the different populations in Iraq, rather than the parties roles of political participation in the government.

Theological authoritarianism is now the form of government in Iran. The revolution which brought the Ayatollah Khomeini to power reflected the cleavages in Iranian society created by what the Islamic clergy saw as the evils perpetrated by the Shah: foreign domination, despotism and injustice.[19] The Shah's agrarian reform did not check the industrialization of agriculture and the consequent rise in rural unemployment. Iran's economic modernization program created a skewed consumer society benefitting the already privileged. High military expenditures, recession and rapid erosion of traditional and religious values all contributed to the broad coalition which in 1978 brought down the Shah's regime.

The movement which grew into the Islamic Revolution included leftist, ethnic and religious groups. The National Front consisted of Mossadeq

nationalists; the People's Mujahedeen were progressive Moslems; and the People's Fedayeen were Marxist-Leninist in orientation. Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis and Turkomans were among the ethnic groups aspiring for greater autonomy. However, it was Khomeini and the Shi'ite clergy, whose mullahs are closely identified with individual mosques and communities in Iran[20], who shaped the basis of the Revolution. They grounded their demands for the removal of the Shah in calls for the reunification of social values with fundamental Shi'ite Islamic values.

During the first year of the Revolution, Khomeini worked through secular governments to consolidate the political power in the hands of the clergy.[21] By the middle of 1981, Bani-Sadr fled Iran and the crisis of national instability seemed to make counter-revolution inevitable.[22] The Mujahedeen-al-Khalq declared a policy of armed resistance against Khomeini. Its attacks on the Islamic Republican Party headquarters in June 1981 killed over 70 top IRP members, including Khomeini's "ablest politician and strategist," Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti.[23] The government countered the guerilla campaign of assassinations, bombings and open counter-revolutionary combat by immediately replacing assassinated Islamic leaders, holding presidential and parliamentary elections and using the Revolutionary Guards as a counter-terrorist force to destroy the Mujahedeen. Thousands of Mujahedeen members and suspected members were executed or imprisoned.[24] By February 1982, the Mujahedeen ceased to be an effective source of resistance.

Elections of the Majlis (the Iranian Parliament) gave the IRP a large majority of the 270 seats. No Kurds, communist Tudeh party members, Mujahedeen or leftist Fedayeens won seats.[25] With the clergy in full control of executive and legislative functions, the full Islamic

transformation of Iran began.[26] In April 1982, the Supreme Court revoked

all "un-Islamic" laws and clerical judges took over administration of the

courts. Owing to the bloody history of SAVAK, the Shah's internal security

apparatus, the Majlis had displayed for some time a reluctance to support the

creation of a new intelligence ministry, even in light of the

counter-revolutionary threats.[27] Contrary evidence that intelligence bodies

were indeed organized, possibly in conjunction with the Revolutionary

Guards,[28] complements our knowledge of the komitehs, vigilante groups

organized as neighborhood surveillance and police committees. Their functions

ranged from maintaining law and order and delivering social services to combat

with the counter-revolutionary Mujahedeen. By 1983, over 6100 komitehs were

active throughout Iran, "encompassing many of Iran's villages and

neighborhoods."[29]

This survey of the three main regional governments underscores their

concern for stability and consolidation of political power. Perhaps more

important than a resume of power relations in government on the question of

internal stability and security are the longstanding conflicts and diverse

populations indigenous to the Gulf region. Focusing on the demographically

based conflicts contributes directly to an understanding of the sources of

regional conflict.

Another important division in the Gulf is that between Sunni and Shia

Moslems. A doctrinal dispute following the death of the Prophet Mohammed in

632 split Islam into the orthodox Sunni and the unorthodox Shias. The dispute

originally centered on a question of Mohammed's successor.[30] It broadened

with the Shia becoming the focus for disaffected ethnic groups and dissidents

in Arab society.[31] Sunnis constitute the majority of Moslems, particularly

in the Arab countries. Thus, they represent the mainstream, in thought and custom, of Islamic society. Shi'ites, historically the persecuted ethnic minority, have tended to occupy the lowest economic classes throughout the Gulf area regardless of nationality.[32] Shia constitutes the main belief system in Iran and has a significant following in Iraq and other Gulf countries.

Extremist movements have marked both Sunni and Shia sects. Shia extremism in historical and contemporary times protested its imposed social and economic deprivation.[33] However, Shia extremism may also reflect the Shia doctrine of the imamate. One day, according to the doctrine, a hidden imam, an infallible leader who is a descendant of Ali,[34] will reappear to establish the realm of justice. Sunni extremism, on the other hand, usually advocates doctrinal purity, anti-corruption and sometimes anti-Westernism. The Moslem Brotherhood is an example of Sunni-inspired extremism. Both Sunni and Shia extremists use violence as a means of achieving objectives; both seek to protect their understanding of traditional Islamic values from competing Western influences.

The historical relationship between Sunni and Shia beliefs offers the underlying explanation for the widespread fear among Arab Gulf countries during and following the rise to power of the Ayatollah Khomeini. The central concern is to maintain stability of the Sunni-dominated regimes in the Gulf area from Khomeini-inspired Shia uprisings. The dispersion of significant Shia populations in Sunni-dominated countries (and a significant- over 40%- Sunni minority in Shia-dominated Iran) makes this goal of stability problematic.

The Shia constitute a majority in Iraq. Their grievances stem from Sunni domination of governmental institutions since the 1958 revolution and socioeconomic discrimination in the Ba'athist-Sunni dominated business and professional sectors.[35] In addition, Shia civil unrest in the holy cities of Karbala and Najaf indicate religious grievances as well.

Many of the tradesmen and merchants in the lower Gulf are Shia Moslems of Iranian origin. This group comprises 30-40% of the Kuwaiti population, 75% in Bahrain, 20% in Abu Dhabi, 30% in Dubai, 20% in Qatar and 50% in Oman. While the percent of Shia in Saudi Arabia is much smaller, they are the largest minority in the Kingdom. They number over 275,000, but more critically are concentrated in Qatif and al-Hasa, both in the eastern and most important oil producing provinces. Thus, their labor contributes significantly to the Saudi oil industry and Eastern Province industrial development projects. In addition, there are thousands of Iranian emigres who, although not counted as native population, are resident aliens.[36]

The significance of the Shia populations in the Arab Gulf countries is, of course, related to the Iranian revolution. Despite a Sunni minority in Iran of around 40% including Kurds, Baluchis, Arabs and Azerbaijanis, the Khomeini-led revolution and government is dominated by the Shia Persian majority. Significantly, the pattern of civil and socioeconomic discrimination there has mirrored the Shia-Sunni history in other Gulf countries. Throughout the Gulf, Khomeini's success inspired Shias, convincing them that their interests would be served by the spreading Shia influence from Tehran.[37] Indeed, it is claimed that part of the success of the revolution was to sharpen the perceptions among the Shia communities in Arab countries of being suppressed by the Sunni rulers, while simultaneously creating the

"entirely unprecedented feeling of belonging to the potentially winning side."[38]

Thus Shia unrest and uprisings in the Arab states created much anxiety in those governments. In Iraq, violent demonstrations at the Shia shrines in Najef and Karbala in 1979 paralleled similar disturbances in 1977. The 1979 episodes, however, were responses to Iranian incitement of the Arab Shia communities to revolt against the Sunni (and in Iraq, secular) governments.[39] Shi'ite demonstrations also occurred in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Kuwait.[40] In the Saudi case, demonstrations followed Iranian radio broadcasts- in the name of the Arabian Liberation Front.[41] A stronger tradition of Sunni-Shia disputes in Kuwait and Bahrain led to new outbreaks of violence, again at the behest of radio broadcasts and mosque sermons.

Such urgings by the Iranian clerics constitute a paradoxical policy on the part of the Iranians. Although Khomeini stressed the unifying role of Islam for the entire Middle East regardless of Sunni and Shia distinctions (despite his public statements against Saddam Hussein), many of the public statements coming from Iran clearly made that distinction. Of course, this reflects the strongly anti-monarchial and anti-secular sentiments of Khomeini and his associates.[42] However, the ends to be served by the unity of the Moslem world are to oppose imperialism and, by implication, the agents of imperialism. It is that connection which poses the inherent dangers to the regional monarchial and secular regimes by the Iranian Revolution.[43]

Religious inspired instability extends beyond the Sunni-Shia disputes. Indeed, Shia activity complements Sunni extremism as well, in the form of orthodox Sunni reaction to the modernization and pro-Western policies of the Sunni monarchies. The Moslem Brotherhood has already been mentioned. The

Mecca Grand Mosque incident in 1979 in Saudi Arabia characterizes the dangers

of Sunni extremism.

In this incident, hundreds of armed Wahhabi fundamentalists[44] carried

out an attack on the Masjid al-Haram (the Holy or Grand Mosque). The

attackers were led by Juhaiman ibn Saif of the Utaibah tribe, which plays an

important role in the Saudi internal security (National Guard) forces.[45]

The entire group consisted of a number of distinct subgroups.[46] Those from

the Utaibah reportedly were angered by the expropriation of their land near

al-Taif by the Deputy Commander of the Saudi National Guard. Other subgroups

included: the al-Mushttarin sect which broke away from Wahhabism in the late

1920s and espoused a more puritanical form of Islam than Wahhabism; Bedouins;

members of the Muslim Brotherhood who, reviving the Najdi-Hijazi rivalry, want

autonomy for their region; some Shias from North and South Yemen; Egyptians

linked with the Muslim Brotherhood; and some Kuwaitis. The breadth of this

group and the fact that they occupied the Mosque for two weeks suggest a high

degree of coordination and training. In addition, their possession of weapons

suggests a connection with Saudi military sources or outside agents, perhaps

Soviet-backed nations.[47]

The statements of these fundamentalists carried a religious demand[48]

and a broad criticism of the Saudi regime. Al Saud was denounced for its

"impure Islam," and for moving away from the Wahhabi ethic while pursuing

economic modernization.[49] They called for the elimination of all

Westernism, from television to ties with infidel states, and challenged Al

Saud's legitimacy on the grounds of vast corruption in the Royal Family.[50]

In addition to the Mosque seizure, sketchy evidence is available that there

were plans for simultaneous uprisings at a Medina shrine and an oil field

employing foreign workers.[51]

The seriousness of this challenge to the government is indicated by the breadth of the occupying force's composition, the publicity-seeking interpretation of the event by leftist groups as being a prelude to popular uprising, and the quick reactions of the Gulf states, including Saudi Arabia, to introduce reforms to re-assert a commitment to Islam.[52]

In addition to religious problems, the predominance of foreign nationals and ethnic minorities in the Arab countries creates potential for instability. Kurds still fight against Iraq and Iran for historically claimed autonomy.[53] Large foreign workforces, including Iranian Shias, potentially radical Palestinians and non-Islamic nationals pose different kinds of threats to Gulf countries whose native populations may be in the minority. The United Arab Emirates are a prime example: of a population of 877,000, only around 200,000 are UAE citizens.[54] In Saudi Arabia also concern about foreign nationals extends throughout the government. Forty to fifty percent of the Saudi workforce is foreign. See Table 1. Half of Jidda's one million residents are thought to be alien; and the 60,000 strong Saudi military is nearly matched in numbers by foreign advisers and technicians.[55] Fears of strikes and sabotage in the oil fields and erosion of Islamic values have led to crackdowns and tighter controls on the influx and movement of resident aliens.[56]

Although the data are unreliable, Palestinians are known to make up a large body of foreign nationals in the lower Gulf countries. One estimate, which does not report its primary sources, claims that Palestinians comprise 20% of the Kuwaiti population, 22% in Qatar (more than native born Qataris), 30% in the UAE and about 110,000 in Saudi Arabia.[57] However, for raw data,

Table 1
Migrant Workers in Gulf Countries
1970, 1975, 1980

	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait	UAE	Qatar	Bahrain	Oman
(I) 1970:						
Palest-Jordanian	50,000?	41,299	6640	n.a.	2000?	n.a.
Arab	345,000?	121,939	35,450	24,000?	15,600?	2000?
non-Arab	n.a.	53,500	8819	16,090?	6000?	3000?
(II) 1975:						
Palest-Jordanian	175,000	47,653	14,500	6000	614	1600
Arab	699,900	143,280	62,000	14,870	4200	8800
Total	773,400	208,001	251,900	53,714	29,201	70,700
(III) 1975:						
National	50%	25.4%	43%	17%	62.9%	n.a.
Arab/non-national	n.a.	51.7%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Foreign	50%	22.9%	57%	83%	37.1%	n.a.

(IV) Saudi Arabia only:	1975	1980
National (%)	1,445,880 (66.6%)	1,723,480 (62.7%)
Nonnat'l (%)	723,400 (33.3%)	1,023,580 (37.3%)
Total employment	2,169,280	2,747,060

I. Nazli Choucri and Peter Brecke (1983), "Migration in the Middle East: Transformation and Change," Middle East Review, Winter 1983/84, Vol. XVI, No. 2, p. 18. "?" denotes rough estimate. Data for UAE is from 1968, for Bahrain 1971 and for Oman 1973.
II. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
III. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba (1979), "Arab Migrations," in Arab Industrialization and Economic Integration, Roberto Aliboni (ed.), (New York: St. Martin's), p. 172. This table is "Distribution of Foreigners and Nationals % of Total Economically Active Population."
IV. Business International (1981), Saudi Arabia: Issues for Growth, New York.

see Table 1. Most Palestinians in Saudi Arabia live and work in the eastern oil provinces, also the home of most Saudi Shias. This created concern in Saudi Arabia about potential subversion initiated by Iranian-PLO cooperation. Although the possibilities for such cooperation now seem limited, the potential for Palestinian incitement of political strife still exists in the minds of Saudi leaders.[58] Only tight controls have kept Palestinian populations in Bahrain, Iraq and Oman at lower levels.

2.2 Regional Conflict

Regional relations are closely related to those factors affecting internal stability. Shia demonstrations against Sunni discrimination can quickly take on a dimension characterizing the state of Saudi-Iranian relations, for example. Internal stability factors do not necessarily dominate regional relations, however. Iraqi-Saudi competition is more a function of the competition of economic and military power attending the ascension of one of these states to a leadership role in the Gulf. This section will consider the general factors surrounding Gulf security, e.g., border disputes, competition for resources.[59] In addition, more specific cases will be discussed: Saudi relations with the lower Gulf countries, relations between the lower Gulf countries themselves, and Iranian and Iraqi relations in the region.

2.2.1 Classes of Regional Disputes

Three classes of Gulf disputes can be distinguished. They include boundary disputes and the nearly indistinguishable competition for economic resources, dynastic competition and the regional struggle between "radical"

and "conservative" political regimes.[60] These disputes are expressed and must be resolved in an environment of intense regional rivalry enhanced by the magnitude of economic power which the Gulf states now enjoy. Added dimensions affecting these disputes are the Arab-Israeli conflict and the global superpower competition underlying the superpower relations with the Gulf countries.

There are numerous outstanding boundary disputes within the Gulf. These disputes are historic and reflect political competition owing to religious and tribal differences, and economic competition related to access to mineral resources and land and water rights in the region. The nature of boundary disputes has changed since the 1950s to focus on questions of sovereignty over strategically located islands and border areas and, of course, petroleum rights. Boundary disputes in the old Trucial States (now the UAE) which interfered with oil drilling operations were often resolved by British mediation. In fact, of some 35-40 boundary disputes ongoing in the 1950s-1960s, British representatives proposed around 25 solutions which ultimately were accepted by the involved parties.[61] Current border disputes in the Gulf include those between:[62]

-Saudi Arabia and Kuwait over their maritime boundary;

-Saudi Arabia and Southern Yemen over their lengthy, undemarcated boundary, especially in the al-Wadi'a area where armed clashes have occurred;

-Saudi Arabia and Oman over the Umm Zamul oasis and the undemarcated border in the northern part of the Rub' al-Khali desert;

-Saudi Arabia and Egypt over the sovereignty of the island of Sanafir in the Straits of Tiran which reverted to Egyptian control under the Camp David Accords despite the Saudi claim of sovereignty;

-Iraq and Iran over their maritime frontier in the Shatt al-'Arab which was temporarily settled by Iraq and the Shah in the 1975 Algiers Accord,

at a time of Iranian military supremacy. This agreement later became the focal point of Iraqi discontent, when Iraq declared the Algiers agreement null and void just prior to its invasion of Iran;

-Iraq and Syria over control and use of the Euphrates River;

-Iraq and Kuwait over their common frontier and control over the strategic offshore islands Warbah and Bubiyan;

-Bahrain and Qatar over the Hawar Islands in the Bay of Salwa and over the village of Zubarah on the west coast of the Qatar Peninsula;

-Ra's al-Khaimah and Iran over the Greater and Lesser Tunbs islands, which the Shah of Iran seized by force in 1971;

-Sharjah, 'Ajman, Umm al-'Qawain, and Iran over offshore waters near Abu Musa Island where petroleum was discovered in 1972;

-Sharjah and Iran over whose sovereignty should extend to the geopolitically strategic Abu Musa Island located along the oil tanker route in the Strait of Hormuz;

-Sharjah and Fujairah over their common borders, a dispute which re-erupted in 1972 causing the deaths of some 30 Sharjan and Fujairan tribesmen and which, in 1980, required the intermediating presence of a battalion of the UAE Defense Force;

-Dubai and Sharjah over border territory desired for commercial development;

-Ra's al-Khaimah and Sharjah over border territory thought to contain lucrative deposits of phosphate; and

-Ra's al-Khaimah and Oman over land and offshore boundaries on the Musandam Peninsula.

Equal weight should not be given to all of these disputes, but they do reflect the diversity of interests among the Gulf countries. Despite the fact that these disputes are outstanding, progress was achieved in several border cases, especially in the Saudi-Bahraini and Qatari-Abu Dhabi maritime boundary disputes. The settlements in these cases involved sharing the revenues of the offshore oil sites.[63] On the other hand, the Abu Musa sovereignty problem has remained a problem for 20 years. Periodic violence, such as the

assassination of the Sharjan ruler in 1972, has highlighted the continuing politico-legal disputes surrounding control of the island. Even an attempt to settle this dispute has resulted in new differences. A plan to resolve the dispute required Sharjah to pay Umm al-Qawain a percentage of the oil revenues derived from the area, after total revenues had been first shared with Iran.[64] Being second behind Iran has angered Umm al-Qawain, especially given the declining production and oil profits from the disputed area. Thus, economic, religious and nationalist differences compound the difficulties of resolving these disputes.

Dynastic competition still marks contemporary inter-state relations in the Gulf. There are twelve ruling families in the Gulf area which compete politically; intra-family rivalries also effect political rule in various states such as Saudi Arabia. Intradynastic rivalry and challenges have been largely nonviolent in recent years, which has characterized much of the political dynamic among the lower Gulf littoral states in the 1970s.[65] Exceptions can be cited in coups which resulted in the violent overthrow of one ruler by another. Cases in point include a coup attempt by a ruling family member in Sharjah in 1972, a similar but successful change of rulership in Qatar in the same year, the 1970 palace coup of the Sultan Qa'bus deposing his father. Of course, in 1975 King Faysal of Saudi Arabia was assassinated, but by a vengeful, lone-acting member of the ruling family.

Interdynastic competition has often affected inter-state relations in the Gulf. Central issues of dispute have included irredentist claims to territory, secessionist claims to legitimacy of rule, or simple prestige between heads of ruling families.[66] Relations between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait reflect a dimension of regional competition for prestige and recognized

leadership, based on different attitudes and interests, over issues such as oil policy, foreign policy alignments and support for radical Arab groups. Perhaps more important though is such competition among the smaller states, Bahrain, Qatar, Abu Dhabi and Dubai, for example, which owe their independence to dynastic struggles and which will certainly influence their ability to agree on cooperation and integration in the areas of economics, energy and defense.[67] One example of the potential difficulties is the case of Qatar and Bahrain. They are engaged in an on-going boundary dispute involving offshore islands and a coastal village. The territorial claim is based on what the ruling family of Bahrain used to control. One result of the dispute is the different attitudes of Bahrain and Qatar on the value and form of regional political integration, a difference owing to its previous history in their territorial disputes.

Finally, there is the regional competition between radical and conservative regimes. Here, of course, more attention is due to Iran, Iraq, Oman, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, rather than the smaller shaykhdoms of the UAE. Iraq had long belonged to the radical category, being the regional proponent of secularism, socialism and friendliness to the USSR. Reintegration of Iraq into mainstream Arab politics from 1978 foreshadowed a reversal of political alignments.[68] Conversely, Iran- perhaps the regional bastion of conservativism- underwent a rapid transformation during its revolution. Now it symbolizes fundamentalist Shia-style Islamic revolution, anti-monarchialism and anti-imperialism (i.e., anti-American and anti-Soviet sentiment).

The destabilizing influence of foreign and politically radical populations in conservative/moderate Arab countries has already been noted. The generic solution attempted by these states is to gain a broad-based

legitimacy by accomodating as many social and economic demands as possible, without involving a change in the form of government. This approach complements the increasing legalistic restrictions on the activities and movements of foreign residents and ethnic minorities in each country in order to inhibit their influence on the political preferences of the native population.

How have differences between regional governments along "radical" and "conservative" lines produced interstate conflict? In form, the result has been to inspire dissident activity in neighboring countries with the purpose of fomenting instability. In frequency, the events have been rather limited. Iraqi proclivity to create troubles for Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Iran during Hussein's more radical days in the 1970s were largely constrained by the prominent military power of the Shah. Indeed, it was Iranian support for Kurdish insurgency within Iraq which preoccupied Iraq during much of the 1970s.

Iraq's opportunities for encouraging dissidence in Saudi Arabia have also been constrained by the limited appeal of the secular, socialist Ba'athist Iraqi regime to any particular political, social or economic element in Saudi Arabia, especially given the Saudi's broad-based economic development program. Those elements of domestic dissatisfaction which do exist in Saudi Arabia are either relatively small or disorganized, or have religious dimensions. In either case, Ba'athist influence is limited.

This history of political and ideological isolation of Iraq among Gulf countries has limited its capacity to win friends in Gulf disputes, e.g., its boundary dispute with Kuwait. Its favor among Gulf states changed only following Camp David. However, that period saw a deradicalization of Iraqi foreign policy preferences, apparently with less emphasis on its relationship with the USSR.

Other examples of the radical v. conservative competition exist for the Arabian Peninsula. Here, the Yemeni civil war and the Dhufar rebellion are representative. These conflicts are currently "settled," but their potential for re-eruption certainly exists, especially given some outside, e.g., Soviet, encouragement. Perhaps more germaine though is Iran. Iran presents the region with a new form of "radicalism." It is anti-monarchial; it intrinsically appeals to broad, though perhaps in the final analysis not significant, sectors of the populations in neighboring countries. How that can be understood in terms of a basis for anti-monarchial uprising is, however, not clear. For example, Iraqi Shias have apparently not welcomed Iranian invaders and turned on their own Ba'athist government.[69]

However, what the Gulf region's past and current level of radicalism has achieved is to sensitize the conservative Gulf regimes to their common interests in opposing the further spread of radicalism. Indeed, the commonality of interests in view of the developments in Iran cut across ideological lines creating the phenomenon of a socialist, secular Iraq in a working alliance with Saudi Arabia.

Thus, three sets of interests emerge which may well be sufficient to encourage the convergence of state policies, cooperation and integration in the Gulf.[70] First is the perpetuation of Gulf regimes. This interest is closely shared among the monarchial states of the lower Gulf. However, it is also an interest shared by Iraqi President Hussein who currently is relying on Saudi and Kuwaiti political and financial support to remain in power. An important component of the perpetuation of Gulf regimes is the common interest in the prevention of radical movements from attaining influence of power. This interest is clearly depicted in the discussion of the potential influence

of diverse populations in Gulf states. Here, though, the term "radical" can take on the broader, Iranian-inspired meaning which places Iraq in a similar threat domain as the other lower Gulf countries.

Second is the uninterrupted flow of oil traffic. All states in the region share the objective of maintaining access to outside markets. This fact could encourage a degree of self-deterrence in interstate relations in the area. As long as no state is "pushed to the wall" with its survival threatened, or as long as every state perceives its own oil trade to be as vulnerable as its adversary's, then massive threats to oil resources will not necessarily characterize Gulf conflict. Yet the Iran-Iraq war presents a sharp contrast in which a prime objective has been to damage the adversary's oil industry in an effort to cripple its war efforts. The Iraqi attacks on Iranian facilities which have occurred are closely correlated with a sense of Iraqi desparation resulting from a significant reduction of its own oil markets. The Iranian attacks on Iraq, conversely, are more suggestive of Iran's confidence that it can prevail in a war of attrition, and that its own oil industry is less vulnerable than that of Iraq.[71] Oil industry vulnerabilities to military action, however, raise the serious possibility that attacks on oil facilities might in any situation become a form of political signalling to adversaries or allies. This is a major aspect of the Iranian-Iraqi oil attacks. The main threat, of course, is in uncontrolled escalation. The contemporary question, related to this issue, is how the Super Etendard fighters affect that calculus.

Third is the related interest in securing the highest possible or most optimal exchange value for oil, measured in terms of economic and political objectives. In this area there is more conflict especially as related to

intra-OPEC politics in pricing mechanisms and oil production schedules.

To the extent that these general categories of interests are valid and suggestive of motivations for state behavior, the question becomes one of understanding the relations between Gulf states in light of their classes of disputes and range of interests.

2.2.2 Gulf Relations

Saudi Arabia is the dominant actor in the lower Gulf. Thus it plays a well-accepted, but not absolute, leadership role among the other lower Gulf countries- Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and the UAE (the UAE consists of the shiekdoms of Ra's al-Khaimah, Sharjah, Fujairah, 'Ajman, Umm al-Qawain, Dubai and Abu Dhabi). Part of this role relates to Saudi Arabia's position as the principal oil exporter in the Gulf. Part also relates to the similar modernization problems and social stresses facing all of these conservative monarchies. But beyond that, the Saudi's have taken an active lead in attempting to resolve outstanding regional disputes in order to avoid being caught between the conflicting parties. In a broader context, the Saudis seek to reconcile region-wide disputes to enhance the prospects for regional cooperation, especially the possibility of creating a Gulf-based security regime. Saudi Arabia's role as a regional mediator had been evident from the October 1973 War.

Immediately following the October 1973 War, the Saudi's sought and achieved resolution of a long-standing territorial dispute with Abu Dhabi and a continental shelf boundary problem with Kuwait. In addition, they mediated in boundary disputes between Oman and the UAE and in the Qatari-Bahraini sovereignty issue over the Hawar Island.[72] What this level of activity

indicates is the Saudi calculation that the Gulf countries could not defend against external aggression or alien ideologies from within, if outstanding disputes fostered suspicions and precluded cooperation and policy coordination of the Gulf states.[73] Indeed, in a 1976 interview, Prince Fahd stated the policy imperative of resolving these disputes to eliminate the region's major irritants and impediments to cooperation.[74]

As such the Saudis publicize a stated policy "to freeze the numerous Arab disputes, then seek to dissolve them."[79] The Saudi methodology is "to attain bilateral reconciliation among various parties, or to confine disputes to the narrowest possible scope."[80] This requires regional recognition of its mediatory role and, fundamental to that, an open door policy with all other Arab states. Thus, it works bilaterally with other states, through existing regional organizations such as the Islamic Conference Organization,[81] or through new associations created out of an interest of promoting stability and a framework of reconciliation, such as the Gulf Cooperation Council. The Saudis view their diplomatic role of mediation pragmatically, but describe it as a "traditional mission," "a living, enlightening notion in the minds of Saudi leaders in the various phases of their modern history."[82] It is with this view of historical precedent that Saudi officials promise to dedicate Saudi resources "to exert all its efforts and put all its weight ... no matter what the price may be ... behind the elimination of Arab disputes at this decisive stage of the (Arab) nation's history."[83]

Rhetoric such as this represents a "public relations" campaign to demonstrate the legitimacy of a Saudi-led Gulf framework of stability. Casting their role in this light amounts to a call for recognition of Saudi

Arabia's unique capacity to fulfil this role. To this end, the Saudis stress that "the kingdom is almost the only Arab country that can talk to everyone and has kept the doors of dialogue open to everyone."[84] Such proclamations, whether true or not, do not necessarily imply anything about the success of Saudi attempts to persuade its neighbors. Saudi Arabia had been unable to win Arab re-acceptance of Egypt in several instances following Camp David, for example.

Implicit in Saudi efforts to reconcile disputes and forge an Arab consensus of regional issues is the idea of moderating Arab state policies. In pragmatic terms, this means supporting conservative, basically pro-Western Gulf regimes and moving the more radical states like Iraq to policy positions more compatible with Saudi interests. This is not to suggest, however, that the Saudis would approve of any overt regional dependencies on, or a greater regional role for, a Western nation, or that they will support only pro-Western Arab states.[85]

However, the dual approach of moderating foreign policies and maintaining conservative domestic policies is well substantiated in the bilateral relations between Saudi Arabia and other regional states. The internal social situations of the Arab Gulf countries has already been discussed. These internal schisms contributed to the beginnings of internal security-related cooperation between the Saudis and other states. In 1976, the Saudis concluded cooperative agreements with Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and the UAE. An intelligence sharing agreement with Kuwait followed in 1979.

With the fragmentation of these societies, the Saudis have discouraged power sharing plans designed to broaden the constituency involved in decisionmaking in other states. The role of Saudi Arabia in encouraging the

dissolution of the Bahraini National Assembly in 1975 is now accepted, supported by the immediate extension of Saudi financial assistance to Bahrain following that event.[86] In 1976, King Khalid expressed concern during his visit to Kuwait about the political freedoms left to that country's parliament and press. Five months later, the Kuwaiti National Assembly was dissolved and two pro-Palestinian newspapers were suspended.[87] This is not to imply, however, that only Saudi pressure led to the dissolution of the Kuwaiti parliament. A serious clash of interests had developed between the opposition in Kuwait and the government of the ruling family.[88] Saudi Arabia had encouraged this action to preclude any moves against Kuwait's ruling family. A more extreme case of dissuading any regional government from moving too far from Saudi interests is presented by the Saudi role in supporting royalist forces in Omani Marxist uprisings and in the Yemini civil war.[89]

Saudi relations with Iraq have followed a different course. The Saudis found that they could do little to induce changes in Iraq's foreign policies. Iraq had a prosperous oil economy and a strong military capability in its own right which permitted it to withstand the threat or enticement of Saudi financial power. This recalls earlier comments about Iraq's lack of leverage over Saudi policy. Thus, the current atmosphere of conciliation, cooperation and convergence of interests is not due to pressures and changes induced by one side on the other, but to changing conditions in Iraq's domestic power structure and in the regional political situation.

Domestic political conditions in Iraq favored increased concern with internal stability. Power struggles within the Ba'ath Party and between the Ba'aths and the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) convinced Hussein of the need to settle a domestically turbulent situation. He also became convinced of the

Soviet's role in the destabilizing activities of the ICP.[90]

Perhaps more important was the changing Iraqi assessment of its proper role in the Arab world. The Camp David Accords undermined the leadership role of Egypt. Iraqi succession to that role seemed natural given its demographics and economic and military strength.[91] However, its political position in the Arab world reflected its more radical ideology; its secularism and pro-Soviet orientation stood out in contradistinction to that of the oil-rich, but Islamic, conservative monarchies of the Gulf. Yet to reduce Iraq's political isolation required a less revolutionary rhetoric. Thus, attacks on the regional intrusion of the Soviet Union[92] and on the communist ideology complemented Hussein's increasing appeal to pan-Arab symbolism and to carving out a place for Iraq in the center of Arab political struggles.[93] A revealing example of the change in Iraqi rhetoric/policy was Hussein's pronouncement in 1980 that, as a part of the Arab National Charter, no Arab state should use force against any other Arab state in an attempt to resolve conflict. This represents a clear departure from its more radical posture less than a decade earlier.

By the end of the 1970s, with Egypt out of the Arab camp, the Shah's rule crumbling, the radicalism of Libya and Syria growing and the Arab perception of the closeness between Saudi Arabia and the US increasing, Hussein chose to cast Iraq in the role of defender of Arab interests.[94] The next step for Iraq was to initiate rapprochements with other Arab states, including Jordan, Morocco and the UAE. In addition, Iraq resolved regional issues which had put it at odds with Saudi Arabia; e.g., discontinuing aid to Dhufar rebels in Oman, reducing its ties with radical Palestinian groups and not joining the radical Confrontation Front opposing Camp David. The Saudis mediated in the

Iraqi-Kuwaiti boundary dispute, concluded a border agreement with the Iraqis
and, subsequently, have contributed significantly to the Iraqi war effort
against Iran.[95]

As an example of the effort involved in resolving these disputes,
consider the Iraqi-Kuwaiti offshore island conflict.[96] The problem centers
on the two Kuwaiti islands of Bubiyan and al-Warbah which lie between the
Iraqi port Umm Qasr and open Gulf waters. Iraqi territorial claim to the
islands (and all of Kuwait) originated in the 1930s. However, Iraqi
recognition of Kuwait in 1963 did not lessen its pressure for control of the
two islands. In 1969, this pressure led to the deployment of Iraqi troops on
the islands, allegedly to deter Iranian aggression. Iraqi attempts to expand
its control resulted in Kuwaiti military action to regain the islands. Only
Arab, especially Saudi, pressure induced Iraq to withdraw its troops.[97]
Despite the 1975 settlement with Iran over Shatt al-Arab (now, of course,
void), Iraq still insisted on its role in defending these islands and, by
implication, its continued military presence. Since 1977, both Kuwait and
Iraq have maintained a demilitarized area on either side of their common
border in order to reduce tensions. No final resolution of the issues
surrounding control and defense of the islands has been achieved. Thus, it is
uncertain how Iraq might react to future threats to its access to the Gulf by
virtue of a hostile Kuwait, or from another nation's military power.

The most significant current fact affecting Iraq's regional political
status is the war with Iran. The significance of the Iranian Revolution to
the Arab Gulf states has already been mentioned. Details concerning the war
are available in a number of sources. The duration and intensity of the war
has done much to change Iraq's relations with the other Arab Gulf states.

A quick victory would have benefitted Iraq in two ways. The first would have been its ascension to undisputed leader and military power in the Gulf. In addition, Iraqi control over the oil-rich province of Khuzistan would have given Iraq control over most of Iran's oil wealth, an advantage both in terms of economic gain and future bargaining leverage over Iran.[98] Also, defeat of Iran would constitute a defeat of the revolution, at least diminishing any nascent revolutionary aspirations of Shia Gulf populations. Although the level of support drummed up by Hussein in the capitals of the Arab Gulf states is uncertain,[99] Arab support of Hussein during the war is unmistakeable.[100]

The war, however, has dragged on for more than three years. Iraq's inability to win the war, or to bring Iran to the negotiating table, creates possibilities for regional instability. One such threat is presented by the effect which Iranian military victories might have on Shia popular uprisings throughout the Gulf. At least, Tehran might be encouraged that it has the strength and appeal to export its revolution, as in its role in the attempted Bahraini coup.[101]

As perceptions of Iranian strength or tenacity are reinforced, so is the perception of Iraq's limited military power and inability to fill a regional leadership role.[102] Indeed, Iraq's dependence on Gulf financial and diplomatic backing lends more credence to the central role of Saudi Arabia in regional politics.[103] Gulf aid to Iraq now amounts to about $6.5 billion every six months. Kuwait itself has extended about $6 billion in interest free loans to Iraq for the war, which is costing Iraq about $1 billion per month.[104] By 1982, the GCC countries had provided at least $25 billion in aid to Iraq. For 1983, Iraq requested a $35 billion aid package from the GCC.[105]

This level of aid may be more difficult for the Gulf countries to provide in coming years. Economic slowdowns in Gulf countries are requiring domestic economic adjustments,[106] which may affect foreign aid outlays, even for Iraq. In addition, Kuwait is growing more reluctant to support a strong pro-Iraqi line. Three Iranian fighter-bomber attacks on Kuwait have heightened the sense of vulnerability in that country. The UAE enjoys a long-standing trade relationship with Iran, which it does not want to jeapordize by adopting anti-Iranian policies.[107]

Contributing to the emergence of Saudi leadership are the war-induced instabilities in the Hussein regime. The war has uncapped several political and social conflicts in Iraq. Military alienation from civilian leadership reflects unhappiness about Hussein and Ba'ath conduct of the war.[108] Although both the military and civilian leaderships sought to topple the Khomeini regime and check the Revolution, war as the best way to accomplish it did not receive full support in either wing of leadership.[109] Defeats, setbacks and huge casualties certainly create tensions within the military service about how best to run the war. The Iraqi capture of Khorramshahr, with heavy loss of life, was delayed 24 days by only 2500-3000 Iranian defenders.[110] Especially criticized in the armed forces though was Iraq's invasion of Iran along the full length of their common border.[111] The World War I-like trench warfare began with inadequate manpower, utilizing only three of twelve Iraqi divisions with limited, ineffective attacks on Iranian airbases.[112] Less than a year later, Hussein had committed eight full Iraqi divisions to stalemate combat.[113]

Popular support for the war seems to be holding.[114] However, given the stresses that the war has placed on Iraqi society, future popular support must

remain uncertain. Almost every family has been touched by the war, with-
according to one lower estimate- its 60,000 Iraqi dead, 100,000 wounded and
40,000 captured.[115] Higher estimates range between 175,000 and 500,000
killed in the war.[116] Economic development programs and political
liberalization have been derailed.[117] Reduced government budgets complement
increasing proportions allocated to defense, slowing down the economy even
further.[118] Kurds and other dissident groups have taken advantage of the
war- and the military personnel shortages inside Iraq- to renew their military
operations.[119]

The impact of the war on Iran's stability can be read in two ways.
Iranian successes in the war, not the least of which was expelling the Iraqi
military from all of Iran in 1982, are balanced by more recent setbacks after
it took the war into Iraq. Khomeini's successes have contributed to his
stability in Tehran.[120] The war has served the purpose of uniting the
Iranian clergy around the goal of exporting the revolution, thereby closing
the ranks at home.[121] With these successes, Khomeini escalated his demands
for peace to include $150 billion in reparations and Saddam's overthrow.[122]
As late as this year, an Iranian Majlis representative still called for the
export of the Islamic Revolution to Iraq.[123]

Signs of Iranian weakness, however, could imply threats to the regime's
stability. Some elements of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps reportedly
favor overthrowing Khomeini, while others want to wait for Khomeini's death.
These reports, if true, suggest that political stability in Tehran is not yet
a reality.[124] Despite such reports, Gulf states clearly fear both an
Iranian victory and continued Iranian instability. A victory would strengthen
Iran and the resultant change of regime in Iraq could jeopardize Gulf state

security, especially for Kuwait and Bahrain.[125]   Short of an Iranian
victory, some believe that Iran will remain unstable for as long as another
fifty years.   This time would be marked by the ever present possibility of
violent changes in government favoring a more militant Islamic Shia government
or a military government led by "lower level officers of the Nasser or
Qaddhafi type."[126]

For Saudi Arabia, Iran represents a military threat in the Gulf. A war
of words characterizes current Iranian-Saudi relations. Iran's accusations
indict Saudi Arabia for being the base of Western imperialism in the Middle
East. The purpose is to undermine the Saudi claim to the role of defender of
the faith and of nonalignment in the Arab world. It follows then that Saudi
military strength is "devoted to the suppression of the oppressed Moslem
masses of the Peninsula" and "Saudi financial strength has been used solely to
further the interests of the US and to undermine the influence of Islam."[127]

Saudi Arabia similarly sees Iran as being the region's primary threat to
stability. In a concerted effort to turn Arab and Moslem opinion against
Khomeini (as opposed to the Shia Islamic movement), Iranian policies are
described as "fascist," "rascist," "aggressive," "seeking to achieve the
objective of securing 'Lebensraum,'" and posing a "cultural challenge to the
Arab nation no less dangerous than the challenge posed by Israel." The
Khomeini regime is "barbaric" and displays "intransigence" (as opposed to
Iraqi flexibility) in response to regional efforts to end the Gulf war.[128]
In seeking to preclude any identification between Khomeini and the role of
guarding Islam, Saudi papers run coordinated editorials claiming that Khomeini
falsely hides behind Islam to subvert the Arabs: "Halting Khomeini's
expansionist tendency and eradicating it completely has now become an urgent

Arab and Islamic responsibility in view of the fact that the threats of the Iranian regime's forces to Iraq are indeed a threat to all the Arab countries ... Khomeini's danger is hiding behind Islam."[129] Furthermore, it is Khomeini's war policies which serve the interests of foreign parties. Criticizing Iran's insistence on impossible demands for ending the Gulf war, Saudi papers claim that "ending the Iran-Iraq war is vital ... to the Gulf region's security and stability as well as keeping it aloof of foreign intervention by the big powers."[130]

The perception of Iran as a regional threat was reinforced when an Iranian backed terrorist group attempted to instigate a coup in Bahrain in 1981.[131] Following the coup attempt, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain signed a security pact under which the Saudis can extend to Bahrain "unqualified assistance if she requests it."[132] This pact presented a broader message to Iran, or any other agent of instability in the region. Saudi Interior Minister Nayif ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz represented the pact as an indirect "warning to Iran that Saudi Arabia, along with the other Gulf countries, is responsible for quashing any attempt to shake the security and stability of the Arab Gulf region." Supporting this security directive is the policy "that Saudi security forces are ready to support the security forces in any Gulf country and to go to that country immediately if asked."[133]

In addition to asserting a central Saudi role in regional security, Prince Nayef "stressed that he expected all Gulf states to join the Saudi-Bahrain security accord as a result of their common conviction that Ayatollah Khomeini's regime poses a genuine threat to their security."[134] Operationalizing this security pact included "close cooperation between the Interior Ministries of the two countries and the extradition of criminals,"

but also it stimulated calls for the "creation of a Gulf rapid deployment force to counter possible subversion in the region."[135] Clearly, such a pact represented an attempt to secure broader consensus on regional security arrangements.

This is a highly visible role for Saudi forces to play in the region. It reflects the Saudi attempt to create legitimacy both for a regional role for its forces, but also more importantly for a regional political association within whose framework regional interests can converge into a set of policies compatible with Saudi values. Thus, one would expect a broad range of economic, energy and defense issues to concern decisionmakers. This, in fact, will be seen to be the case when the GCC is discussed.

This section has analyzed the regional environment in which Saudi Arabia has attempted to develop a basis for regional security cooperation. The linkages between internal security concerns and regional stability multiply the dangers of any political conflict in the Gulf. Appeals to Arab "nationalism" are tied to appeals to Arab Islamic heritage to create a foundation for the legitimacy of a central Saudi role in organizing and directing a Gulf security regime. The sense of urgency is intensified by the Gulf war and has provided the Saudis with an opportunity to initiate the development of a defense plan. In the next section, we will look at past attempts to organize a regional security arrangement and compare those with current activities in the GCC.

3.0 Early Efforts to Integrate Gulf Security Policy

This paper has examined sources of regional instability and its influence among Gulf states. Especially since the fall of the Shah, a regional search for security has marked Gulf state relations and Saudi state behavior. Saudi methods have included an appeal to Islamic sentiment, both as a means of rallying support around Saudi interests and as a means of undermining Iranian attempts to export their form of Islamic revolution. Old regional disputes received more attention in recent years, reflecting efforts of several Gulf states- most importantly Saudi Arabia and Kuwait- to resolve divisive issues. Thus, the emphasis has been on consensus building in the Gulf and establishing a legitimate basis for regional cooperation. This section will review the proposals prior to 1981 for regional security cooperation.

In 1968 the United Kingdom announced its intention to withdraw all military presence from the Persian Gulf within three years. This announcement initiated a series of intra- and extraregional attempts to reorganize a Gulf security regime with the basic purpose of assuring the stability of the local governments and ultimately the availability of oil. Cooperation increased somewhat with the resolution of some border disputes and the political strife of the Dhufar rebellion in Oman, but success in coordinating regional policies and force postures never materialized.

The first official attempt to initiate discussion on a defense alliance of the Gulf littoral states occurred at a Gulf Foreign Ministers' Conference in Oman in November 1976. Despite regional concerns with this issue dating back to the British announcement to withdraw, there was no basis for its

discussion until the resolution of key regional disputes.[136] Notably, Iran
and Iraq had in 1975 settled their border disputes with the Shatt-al-'Arab
line being redrawn in Iran's favor and Iran terminating its military and
political support for the Kurdish insurgency in Iraq. In addition, the end of
the Dhufar rebellion and the evacuation of foreign military presence served to
defuse regional tensions to the point of being able to discuss regional
defense needs.

At the Gulf Foreign Minister's Conference, five regional defense working
papers were examined. Submitted by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman and the UAE,
these papers demonstrated varied positions as to the best form of coordinated
defense planning.[137] Iran proposed a comprehensive mutual defense
alliance. On the other hand, the UAE, voicing Arab concerns about the
regional use of Iranian military forces and fears of the Shah's expansionary
interests, rejected the need for such a collective security program. Other
proposals addressed elements between these extremes, e.g., intelligence
sharing and non-aggression pacts.

The inability of the Gulf states to reach agreement on defense issues
reflected the residual undercurrents of regional conflict left unaddressed by
the Iran-Iraq agreement and the termination of the Dhufar rebellion. In
particular, not only had the Arab Gulf states not lost their suspicions of the
Shah's intentions, but also conflicts between Ba'athist Iraq and Kuwait, Oman
and Saudi Arabia, as well as between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, precluded
serious consideration of any military coordination. The smaller, weaker Gulf
states simply feared the institutionalization of their conflicts with their
larger, stronger neighbors if any pact were approved.

Relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran, for example, developed along two contradictory lines. On the one hand, their relationship during 1976-77 was marked by rivalry and mutual suspicion, reflected by their sizeable arms acquisitions and competing oil policies.[138] At the same time, their mutual fear of leftist influence and political upheaval led to a tacit understanding of their spheres of influence: Iran in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia on the Peninsula.[139] This relationship remained stable, even as efforts in 1977 to coordinate Gulf surveillance over oil transportation yielded no results.[140] At this time, however, Saudi efforts to intensify security cooperation among the lower Gulf states were weakened by its 1977 oil policy disputes with Kuwait, which led ultimately to Saudi occupation of two Kuwaiti islands in the Partitioned Zone. Cooperation between Iraq and Saudi Arabia also remained unattainable with the inherent suspicions between Iraqi socialist Ba'athism and the conservative Saudi monarchy.

Cooperation focusing on internal security matters was, however, possible among the lower Gulf states. Concern was especially evident following an assassination attempt on the Syrian Foreign Minister in 1977 by Palestinians living in the UAE. Although the Syrian minister was not killed, the UAE Minister of State for Foreign Affairs was. A demonstration reacting against the slaying resulted in several deaths, again at the hands of armed Palestinian residents. This action stimulated renewed fears in the Gulf states of internal unrest and terrorism against oil targets. Bilateral agreements between the Saudis and Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE addressed such issues as intelligence sharing and police communications and cooperation. Indeed, the forms of cooperation elicited in these bilateral agreements serves as the basis for the current GCC defense framework.

The overlap between regional security and policing functions soon became apparent, however. Oman and Iran, for example, agreed in early 1978 to conduct joint naval surveillance in the Strait of Hormuz to deter the possibility of terrorist action against oil shipping.[141] In addition the lower Gulf states also began cautiously to extend their discussions from police to military matters. In 1977, a Bahraini general discussed the importance of military cooperation in the Gulf.[142] Furthermore, the UAE defense minister cited the need for coordination in arms procurement and military training with the overall goal of fielding a single Gulf army capable of defending any of the littoral states.[143] Such statements were a reaction to American hints that the US would use force to guarantee Western oil supplies, apparently from Soviet advances in the region.

Such US statements reflected growing concern about potential instabilities in the Gulf region. Civil unrest in Iran, instability in Afghanistan, and growing Soviet influence and Cuban activism in Ethiopia and possibly the PDRY further startled Gulf littoral states. Saudi concern over these sources of instability led to its plan for a "security belt" to be established in the Gulf to include Iran and Iraq.[144] In the spring of 1978, the Saudi concept of a Gulf security arrangement was not so much a matter of "neutralizing the area from foreign influence, but of ensuring that the stability of local regimes was not threatened by subversion."[145] Even in 1978, the Saudis recognized- at least rhetorically- that cooperation was needed not only in defense issues, but also in "economic, information and other spheres."[146] This approach is raised again in the context of the GCC, the purpose of which is to establish a broadly recognized legitimacy for a security regime.

In mid 1978 and during the uncertainty surrounding the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Sultanate of Oman proposed a joint Gulf security plan to insure the security of navigation in the Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz. In addition, this plan explicitly mentioned the work of Soviet-inspired subversive elements in the region.[147] During this time also, Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia supposedly reached agreement on an intelligence sharing network to protect oil sites. The media reported that this agreement would initiate "a major shift in the strategic balance of the oil producing area."[148] Whether this article referred to a military pact or a looser defense cooperation remains unclear.[149] Despite further reports that all Gulf littoral states and the YAR sought to participate, Kuwait refused, citing the need for cooperation and coordination, but not alliances.[150]

In June 1978, Iran announced that it would end its efforts to form a regional collective security pact, which had failed because of Iraqi and Saudi opposition. Henceforth, Iran intended to concentrate only on improving bilateral relations in the Gulf. Most Gulf states saw the Shah as, whatever else, a stabilizing factor in the region whose fall could only ignite regional threats. Thus Ayatollah Khomeini's rise to power sharpened the feeling of vulnerability in neighboring Gulf states. Khomeini's ideology of exporting Shia fundamentalism and, concomitantly, inciting Iranian and Shia populations in Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE and to a lesser extent in Saudi Arabia complemented his anti-US and anti-monarchial sentiments, posing to the Gulf states a range of particular threats.[151]

Local responses took the form of tightening internal security regulations. Regulation of the mobility and working rights of Iranians throughout the lower Gulf and arrests of Shia demonstrators and clerics in

Bahrain and Kuwait demonstrated the fear of Gulf governments over the threat of internal subversion from Shia populations.[152]

The case of Bahrain is illustrative. A few months after Ayatollah Khomeini took power in Iran, a spokesman for that regime, Ayatollah Ruhani reaffirmed Iran's historic claim to Bahrain, saying it was Iran's fourteenth province.[153] Despite an official denial several days later, claiming that Iranian policy toward Bahrain had not changed, Bahraini leaders felt their independence to be at stake. Bahraini Shias, allegedly in contact with Ruhani, subsequently called for the establishment of a Khomeini-like Islamic state in Bahrain. Shia demonstrations led to arrests, which were answered by Iranian threats to back open rebellion against Bahraini rulers. As if in support of its threat, the Iranian navy began a six day exercise in the Gulf near Bahrain. In response, Bahrain requested and received reinforcement from two Saudi army brigades. This action effectively neutralized whatever subtle, but threatening, political signal which Iran intended to communicate.

Concern over such internal developments in the Gulf stimulated the search for defense cooperation. From the Saudi viewpoint, concern focused on the fear of insurrection, whether inspired by Iran or other outside powers seeking to exploit local instabilities. Soviet inroads- from Afghanistan and the PDRY to Iraq- presented particular difficulties. Unilateral US statements spoke of the creation of a rapid deployment force whose mission would be to guarantee Western access to Gulf oil by forcible occupation of the fields if necessary. Official Gulf reaction, except for Oman, denounced these US statements and warned against superpower confrontation in their region.[154] Aside from the (inherent) vagaries of declaratory policy, however, the Gulf states linked talk of US military action with Lloyds of London 1979 declaration of the Gulf

as a war zone, which increased insurance costs to oil tankers and established a precedent for escalating the costs of business in the Gulf.[155] The search for security cooperation thus took on the dimension of re-establishing business confidence in the area, a task which the Gulf countries reasoned required broader forms of cooperation to encourage perceptions of security and business stability in the Gulf.

The search for regional security followed attempts of Gulf countries to resolve indigenous disputes to clear the way for enhanced cooperation. In December 1978 during the upheavals in Iran just prior to the Shah's departure and during Syrian-Iraqi discussions of a possible merger, Kuwaiti Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd undertook tours to Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, the UAE and Oman to explore the possibility of Gulf unification along the lines of the EEC. Specifically, Sa'd sought broad cooperation in political, economic, cultural and information policy.[156] During this time also, Kuwait interceded in regional disputes between Abu Dhabi and Dubai, Oman and the PDRY, YAR and the PDRY, and Iran and Iraq. Omani Ruler Sultan Qabus more frequently consulted with Saudi Arabia and the UAE on the Dhufar problems after the Iranian withdrawal from Oman in 1979. Qatar and Bahrain also publically addressed the need for Gulf defense cooperation.[157]

In early 1979, the Saudis began a diplomatic initiative to win consensus for the basis of a Gulf defense treaty. Promoting "full cooperation among all Gulf countries" as a precondition for creating a "region of peace, security and stability," Saudi accomplishments fell short of any formal agreement. Following Saudi military maneuvers that summer, King Khalid asserted his readiness "to use all human, material and military resources in support of any Gulf state facing an outside threat against its sovereignty and

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independence."[158] This marked a distinct shift, although not a new theme,

in the emphasis on Gulf security needs. Interestingly, the point complemented

a joint Gulf statement that US security guarantees went only as far as US

interests, i.e., access to oil and prevention of Soviet invasions. Thus, the

Gulf leaders enunciated their understanding that the US could not be counted

on to safeguard any particular regime in the Gulf. The precedent, after all,

had been Iran.[159]

The real utility of the Saudi maneuvers and proclamation was realized in

Saudi awareness of the need to stabilize an uncertain security situation.

Whether or not Saudi Arabia had the necessary military strength to fulfill the

role seemed less important than its assertion, in essence, that it and the

other Gulf countries intended to protect their own security interests.

Despite closer rhetorical positions on defense coordination, an attempt

by the UAE to convene a Gulf security summit in July 1979 failed. The reasons

were both historical and contemporary, displaying the fragility of cooperation

on such a sensitive issue as defense policy. The failure reflected "mutual

suspicions deeply rooted in regional history; [the persistence of] traditional

local disputes, some of longstanding [sic]; disagreement over the nature of

the defense pacts or regional union; and conflicting economic interests due to

the inequitable distribution of wealth among the states and divergences in

their national economic systems."[160] It is clear, of course, that such

problems would still persist even after the establishment of the GCC.

However, despite the problems in organizing a defense agreement, attempts

to do so continued. An Omani proposal in September 1979 to include US

participation and financing in a Gulf defense plan won no overt support

because the other Gulf states adhered to a policy of rejecting foreign

alliances. Yet, Bahrain's follow-up proposal to create a Gulf joint naval task force also drew no responses from the Gulf states.[161] Later that year though, Baharain and Kuwait signed bilateral military agreements, accompanying Bahrain's announcement that its armed forces constituted an extension of Kuwait's.[162]

3.1 The Gulf Cooperation Council

Established in the spring of 1981, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) constituted a regional response to growing concerns over political and economic stability and military security in the Persian Gulf. Shaken confidence of the international business community in the security of their investments in regional economic development projects resulted from the initial shocks of the Iran-Iraq war, especially with the realization that economic targets were considered legitimate targets. In this sense, the creation of the GCC is intended, at least in the perception of extra-regional countries, to sustain "confidence in the continuation of stable business in the area."[163]

Defense coordination clearly was an important agenda item when the GCC was formed. Yet, from its inception the six member countries, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, the UAE and Saudi Arabia, could reach no agreement on a military alliance or even a political confederation. Instead, the GCC more closely resembles the EEC, based on the principle of economic cooperation and gradual political integration.[164] From the beginning, however, several proposals have outlined possible security arrangements. Oman called for a joint naval force to patrol the Strait of Hormuz. Oman's geographical position is strategically the most important and vulnerable. Thus, Sultan

Qabus favored a close linkage of a Gulf security regime to the US. Other

states favored a purely indigenous scheme. The Saudis suggested that the six

countries pool their military resources. Yet they opted for cooperation at

the security forces level falling short of the formality of an integrated

military pact involving the regular armies.[165] Kuwait expressed interest in

a joint command military structure. Bahrain resurrected the idea of a Gulf

weapons industry. None of these ideas have been acted upon; probably only the

Omani proposal has received any sustained attention.

At the first official GCC meeting in May 1981 the six states issued a

communique rejecting foreign intervention in the Gulf, as well as the presence

of foreign bases and navies. Despite such public proclamations, Oman provides

facilities, but no home port for the US Navy; Bahrain provides refueling

facilities; and Saudi Arabia welcomes the US presence in the Gulf, as long as

no land bases are involved.[166] A clear divergence emerged on the issue of

identifying the threats to the Gulf. For Oman, Soviet encirclement of the

Gulf presents the greatest danger. For Kuwait, the most danger is posed by

the Iran-Iraq war, internal subversion and Gulf state alignment with the West,

which alienates the Soviets.

This section will discuss both the political and economic aspects of GCC

cooperation. The emphasis will be on what the overall goals are rather than a

detailed assessment of the feasibility and significance of economic

objectives. Then the focus will shift to defense strategies and interests.

In particular, an assessment of the GCC's balance between economic and defense

related priorities will be suggestive of the deeper motivation for the GCC

structure as presented here: establishing the legitimacy of Gulf force

deployments and management.

3.1.1 Institutional Comments

The GCC was formed in February 1981 at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers
of the six countries in Riyadh. Bureaucratically, GCC meetings are at the
level of summit or foreign ministers meetings. It consists of three
institutions. At the top, there is a council of heads of state which meets
biannually. The next level is the council of ministers which meets four times
a year. This group is responsible for policy planning in all issue areas,
including security and defense. Finally, administrative tasks are handled by
a permanent secretariat based in Riyadh. The structure of the Council implies
a serious interest in the objective of policy coordination. A GCC
constitution, initialled in March 1981, governs the political relations in the
Council and delegates authority. However, that part of the constitution which
is part of the public domain rhetorically emphasizes the achievement of Arab
unity and the rejection of foreign influence. In addition, GCC
secretary-general Abdullah Yacoub Bishara said in the Saudi daily Al-Medina
that the GCC constitution rejects foreign military bases in the region and
stipulates the Council's non-aligned status.[167]

3.1.2 GCC: Economic Cooperation

In 1982 the GCC countries together accounted for 70 per cent of all
contracting work in the Middle East, 40 per cent of regional imports and 97
per cent of the surplus capital.[168] These countries are making efforts to
coordinate economic reforms and energy policy. In March 1983 several measures
were introduced as first steps toward integrating the individual economies.
These included: an elimination of tariffs on certain goods traded between GCC

countries; easing capitial investment restrictions within the GCC; promotion of professional mobility within the GCC; and creation of a Gulf Investment Corporation with broad powers to invest in development projects.[169] Although it is suggested that the tariff reforms in particular will not, for various reasons,[170] have an immediate impact on local economies, what is important is the creation of the framework in which to pool the individual markets. The advantage then is that the GCC members are "making a big step towards overcoming one of the biggest hurdles to development: being unable to tap the economies of scale of capital-intensive industries."[171]

Lifting barriers to the creation of a larger Gulf market is leading to consideration of a common industrial policy in the GCC to avoid duplication of development programs in individual countries. Although a number of problems need to be solved, a draft of a coordinated industrial policy is discussed for late 1983.[172] In particular, it is suggested that to develop such a policy would require mechanisms for one government to subsidize, at some level, another's development project. Another requirement would be to unify external tariffs while needing both to protect young indigenous industries and yet to stimulate trade, creating export markets and meeting broad import demands.[173]

A second area of cooperation within the GCC is on energy policy. Although joint action and policy formulation is in its initial stages, key areas of energy policy have been identified. A broad pledge "to unify their positions in OPEC and OAPEC" have led to discussions of crude oil and gas pricing, coordinating oil production output schedules, and encouraging the development of the member states' energy industries, e.g., GCC priority for further investment in Oman's and Bahrain's oil industry.[174]

3.1.3 GCC: Defense Cooperation

Following the British withdrawal from the Persian Gulf in 1971, the United States sought to establish the Shah of Iran as the guardian of regional stability. In fact, the Shah did advocate a collective security pact in the Gulf which would include Iraq and Saudi Arabia, but which would be unambiguously led by Iran. After the initial phases of the Islamic Revolution, Saddam Hussein of Iraq sought the leadership role. Hussein called for the creation of a collective Arab Gulf Security Force. As a supplement to the Arab League Joint Defense Pact, it would draw its manpower from the individual armies of the Gulf states. Although its status was to be autonomous, the fact that it was to be a primarily military organization preselected the leadership role for Iraq. Saudi Arabia resisted collective security agreements which would place Iraq in the lead. Finally the Iran-Iraq war broke out, partially the result of Hussein's eagerness to become the recognized leader of the Arab world. In Hussein's view, Iraq would step into Egypt's traditional role, whose support in the Arab world had been weakened by the Camp David accords, by defeating an apparently weakened and revolution-torn Iran. That war is still being waged with heavy casualties, huge economic losses and relatively stable battle lines. In this environment, with the two dominant Gulf military powers distracted, Saudi Arabia organized the GCC to address regional defense issues.

The main impetus behind the formation of the GCC was the interest in forming a defensive strategy for the Gulf countries.[175] For GCC ministers, an independent Gulf defense strategy should have three elements.[176] First, the strategy should maintain nonalignment. Some of the differences between

Gulf countries on this point have been mentioned. The GCC declaratory policy
is adamant on this issue. Yet the second element runs counter, in practice,
to this first goal. The second element is the establishment of a Gulf
military base capable of protecting national security in the Gulf. This
involves a build-up of local military forces with the latest and most
sophisticated of weapons. The purpose of such a military capability is not,
however, to wage sustained combat. Security in the Gulf, in the Saudi view,
depends closely on the maintenance of a global balance of power in which an
invasion by either the east or west will be deterred by the other. Rather
this military power would provide options for deterring and meeting threats
within the region in a manner designed to re-establish the local balance of
power in the event of the outbreak of violence. Finally, promoting internal
security within each country and containing regional disputes is the third
most important element of a Gulf strategy. In this case, cooperation in
internal security matters and mediating an end to the Gulf War are important.
The latter element has proved to be the most consistent and visible aspect of
GCC defense cooperation.

The framework of the GCC security agreement is based on bilateral
security agreements between Saudi Arabia and Oman, Bahrain, Qatar and the
UAE. These agreements were signed bilaterally to provide near term linkages
among the GCC member countries and to create a precedent for broader Gulf
consensus on a GCC-wide security agreement.[177] In 1980 Saudi Interior
Minister Prince Nayef Ibn Abdel-Aziz traveled to the other Gulf states to
promote a regional collective security plan. The Saudi plan established five
principles of Gulf security which provide a clear basis for a GCC defense
pact.[178]

First: Collective Arab security depends on continued security and stability of each individual Arab state. If the security of one or more states is jeopardized, then the collective security of all is threatened.

Second: Maintaining the collective security requires Arab states to respond with assistance at the request of any Arab state whose security is threatened. Such assistance would, in particular, help in combatting "local and imported sabotage, and cooperating at the international level to stop international criminals from entering the Arab states."

Third: A mechanism of collective security requires closer cooperation among the regional Arab police forces. This includes coordination of activities, exchange of information and rapid communications.

Fourth: Saudi Arabia, in view of principle one, "urges cooperation to establish collective Arab security and deny any international criminals and saboteurs access to the Arab society or refuge in Arab countries."

Fifth: Saudi Arabia is ready to cooperate with other Arab states "in any way" and "at all levels" to maintain security and stability in every Arab state.

These principles of collective security refer to local and regional threat categories. Much of the local threat, such as sedition, shaken confidence of the people in the leaders, or students and workers spreading chaos, is attributed to "imported" ideologies, the work of spies, or the infiltration of Arab countries. Hence, there is a clear emphasis on cooperation among internal security forces. This level of cooperation, according to this Saudi plan, is preferable to "an integrated military pact that would require involvement by the regular armies."[179]

This restriction runs counter to some of the more recent literature available on the progress of a GCC defense agreement. On the one hand, the Saudi plan calls Gulf cooperation "strategically inevitable and urgently required." On the other hand, it rejects the formation of "military alliances and defense pacts between the countries of the region and foreign powers."

But the Saudis apparent rejection of an indigenous Gulf military agreement, supplanted at the time with their UN efforts to have the Gulf declared a "zone of peace,"[180] was a move to undercut Iraq's efforts to form such a pact and, inevitably, to dominate Gulf security policy.

Several Gulf military maneuvers in the past two years have underscored the possibilities for defense cooperation beyond merely internal security issues. Individual countries have held their own maneuvers, including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Oman. The first coordinated GCC military exercise was held in October 1983 in the UAE. Codenamed Gezira Shield, these exercises were intended to serve as a precursor to a GCC rapid deployment force.[181] Although it was supposed to have involved only ground forces, the exercise included elements of the member states' ground and air forces. A proposal being considered at the November 1983 GCC summit meeting in Qatar is to allocate $6 billion for military equipment, manpower and training for joint air, naval and ground units for a GCC rapid deployment force (RDF).[182] This RDF would be directed from a C^3I network headquartered in Riyadh.

A second important area of defense cooperation in the GCC concerns air defense coordination. The concept of a single air space for the Gulf region is being studied by the GCC's general secretariat.[183] At a GCC defense ministers meeting in October 1982, Saudi Arabia presented its study on a plan to expand the current Saudi air defense network so that it covers all GCC air space. Under this plan, Saudi AWACS would watch activities around the Red Sea, the Horn of Africa, the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf. As a first step, the Saudis proposed the coordination of anti-aircraft systems.[184]

The Saudi plan has been reportedly approved, by some sources, and reportedly shelved, by other sources. One report suggested that implementation awaited only the arrival of experts and technicians "from among area citizens."[185] Probably a more credible analysis suggested that the plan had been shelved.[186] The reason did not reflect any difficulty in agreeing to the content of the plan. However, implementation of the plan requires a massive commitment to accepting US arms sales, including interceptors, missiles, radars and communications equipment. Hundreds more US military personnel would be required to train Arab state personnel on the systems. This relationship between Saudi Arabia and the US is well documented. The difficulty, though, is the reluctance of other Gulf states, notably Kuwait, to accept this scale of contact with the US. Indeed, this problem may well derail any attempts to standardize Gulf military purchases as well.

Currently, only bilateral agreements between Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf Council countries are in force. However, a comprehensive security agreement was reported to be "in the final stages of preparation" by Saudi Interior Minister Prince Nayef Ibn Abdel-Aziz in April 1983.[187] By July, Kuwait had "finalized amendments" to the proposed pact, having blocked a clause which would permit one country's security forces to pursue suspects 20 kilometers into the next country.[188] Yet, in October Kuwait, probably owing to its large immigrant population, still objected to "several clauses, including those related to cross border disputes and extradition of criminals."[189]

This discussion of the GCC outlined both agreements and disagreements over internal security issues, as well as military aquisitions which potentially signal broader defense plans for the region. Since the GCC has existed for only three years, it is difficult to ascribe the lack of progress to particular reasons. Whatever other outcomes are possible, the political and economic cooperation serves a legitimizing function both as channels of communication for the six member states and a broader base of cooperation from which to deal with outside states. If the GCC can avoid being labelled as a defense alliance, it might avoid the liabilities which could be incurred both in the Arab world and elsewhere.

More significantly, however, are the barriers to security agreements even within the GCC framework. The problems of an implicit US role are illustrated more clearly in the next section on arms acquisitions. But even within the GCC political framework, disagreements over the extent of security cooperation is indicative of deeper disputes. Unambiguous evidence is not available, but the Saudi security plan combined with the military capabilities they are acquiring implies the establishment of both the legitimacy and capacity to intervene militarily in the internal affairs of neighboring countries facing "subversive threats." This proposition is consistent with Kuwait's intransigence over the criminal extradition and cross-border pursuit rights sought under the Saudi plan.

4.0 Defense Issues and Events of Relevant Countries

Different types of regional threats and tensions facing Gulf countries have been examined. This section presents a comparative discussion of regional defense policies and issues with an emphasis on examples of cooperation and coordination.[190] These policies will be related to the regional threats discussed in section two.

The six GCC member states are examples of developing countries which are transforming their economic assets into military power. In this section, we will examine two particular points: whether collectively these states have sufficient military power to meet regional or extra-regional threats; and whether collectively these states can redefine the Gulf security environment in terms of their own interests.

The central argument underscoring this assessment of each country's defense status is that the diffusion of power in the region, for which the security regime could formerly be characterized as part of a bipolar global arrangement, may set the necessary conditions for a new organization of regional security interests. This claim is based on similar propostions for the developing world in general. Specifically, the spread of military force capabilities around the world has: (i) contributed to the international security system becoming more diffuse and decentralized; and (ii) given the developing countries "the capacity and will to utilize actively a range of politico-military instruments for the extension of power and influence."[191]

The absence of order and security in the Third World is demonstrated by increasing numbers of internal conflicts, coups, civil wars and insurgency

operations.[192] We have seen that both internal and regional threats, and the potential for spillover from one into the other, constitute fundamental challenges to the survival of Gulf regimes. The growth in military expenditures in the Third World, and especially in the Middle East,[193] is indicative that these states search for internal stability and "seek at least to neutralize the advantages of militarily more powerful rivals."[194] The emphasis here is not necessarily on the ability of small regional powers to wage sustained combat, but at least on the deterrent value of their military forces.[195] The absence of a military capability could well invite limited armed aggression designed to induce a political settlement of a bilateral conflict. Indeed, in the absence of any military capability, the mere threat of such aggression might be sufficient to induce a political settlement. An example would be the Iranian air threat to Saudi oil facilities on the Gulf. Destruction of a few key targets like pumping stations or gas-oil separators could result in major production cuts and equipment losses which could take up to two years to replace.[196] Without a Saudi air defense system, revolutionary Iran might have been tempted to execute such an airstrike, perceiving little resultant political cost.

The development of Saudi military doctrine, concentrating on land-air coordination, mobility of forces and effective command, control and communications (C^3), places the emphasis of the Saudi military buildup on weapons technology and battlefield management. The objective is clearly to deter regional aggression. The result, however, may exceed the objective. The military forces of developing states can also deter military action by the superpowers. In addition, by checking the possibility of spillover between internal and regional crises, Arab Gulf military power can remove at least

some of the incentives and justifications for superpower intervention in regional conflict. The conclusion of this section will be suggestive of this outcome. In this way, Saudi Arabia hopes to use the GCC to transform the relationship between regional security arrangements and the international security system.[197]

Table 2 summarizes current demographical, economic and military indicators for the GCC countries. Of particular interest are both the relatively small sizes of the armies and recent economic trends. Trends of military growth and arms transfers will be discussed for each country. However, it is currently uncertain what impact, if any, reduced GDP growth will have on future defense spending in the Gulf.

4.1 Bahrain

Bahrain has had a pro-US and pro-Saudi orientation since its independence in 1971. In the military area, it has cooperated with both of these countries, as well as Kuwait and Jordan. Bahrain supports the development of regional defense institutions which, while not to rely on explicit American guarantees, do not adopt an anti-Western orientation.

In late 1977, Bahrain extended the use of an airbase to Saudi Arabia, the Saudis first extraterritorial military installation. This base has been characterized as "a natural extension of the Saudi air defense system, as well as a contribution to the collective security of the Arab Gulf and to the defense of Bahrain."[198]

Also in that year, Bahrain terminated an agreement with the US which permitted a US Navy three-ship fleet basing rights at the Jufair air and naval base. The navy ships were still permitted to visit Jufair under a new

Table 2
Country Facts[1]
GCC Only

	Bahrain	Kuwait	Oman	Qatar	SA	UAE[2]
Pop.[3]	400	1450	970	260	8-12,000	1130
Mil. Serv.	Vol	18 mo.	Vol	Vol	draft 18-35	Vol
Total armed forces	2700	12,400	23,550 (inc 3700 foreign)	6000	51,500 (+25000 NG +10000 for.)	49,000
Est. GDP (bn $)	1980:4.0 81:4.5	81:25.5 82:20.2	80:5.3 81:6.2	81:6.8	81:158. 82:152.	81:33.
Est. Def. Expend.($)	81:181.6 m 82:223.7 m 83:253. m	82:1.6 b	82:1.7 b 83:1.8 b	81/3: 896 m 83:166 m	82:27. b 83:22. b (Inc NG)	82:2.9b
GDP growth	81: 9%	81:-9.3% 82:-7.5%	81:9.5% 82:8.5%	81:-17% 82:-20%	81:5.3% 82:-4.9%	81:-.6% 82:-7.%
Inflation	81:11%	81:7.4% 82:7.7%	81:5% 82:5%	81:9% 82:8%	81:3.3% 82:1.0%	81:15% 82:10%

1. Source: International Institute of Strategic Studies (London), Military Balance, 1983-84.

2. The Union Defense Force and the armed forces of the UAE (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ras al Khaimah and Sharjah) were formally merged in 1976.

3. Population in thousands.

agreement. So, while the Navy basically enjoyed the same privileges, the removal of the basing rights served Bahraini domestic political objectives of heading off potential unrest focused on the presence of a US base.[199] The following year, with some financial inducement from Saudi Arabia and in reaction to the Marxist coup in Afghanistan and Soviet activity in the PDRY and the Horn of Africa, Bahrain re-leased basing rights to the US Navy, apparently causing no negative regional reactions.[200] After the fall of the Shah, there is some evidence that the US moved its intelligence installations to Bahrain from Iran.[201]

As Bahrain developed its armed forces, cooperation with Kuwait and Jordan in the areas of military training and intelligence sharing intensified. The government established a Supreme Defense Council in late 1978 apparently to coordinate Bahrain's military development with its economic capabilities and political policies.[202] The Council includes the Prime Minister, Minister of Defense, Foreign Minister, Minister of Interior, Minister of Finance and Economy, the military Chief-of-Staff and the Intelligence Chief.

In 1982 the Bahraini Defense Forces decided to procure an air defense capability. Currently, it is based on only four US F-5E Tiger II fighters, two F-5F trainers, and US and Swedish surface-to-air missile systems.[203]

4.2 Kuwait

Regional threats seem to have stimulated the recent development of Kuwaiti armed forces. Kuwait's defense modernization program has received attention for some time, but was intensified in response to territorial seizures in Kuwait by both Iraq and Saudi Arabia in 1976-77. In 1976 following the incursion of Iraqi troops into Kuwait to reinforce annexation

demands, a seven year Defense Development Plan took effect at a projected cost of $3 billion. This plan provided for compulsory military service, military construction including a naval base and training schools, and arms purchases.[204] Kuwait's draft, the first in the lower Gulf states, began in 1979.

Two aspects of Kuwait's military program are worth special mention: its emphasis on naval development and the policy of diversification of arms sources. Both the Iraqi and Saudi military actions against Kuwait involved the seizure of islands. Interest in naval development led to 1977 contract agreements for Japan, Yugoslavia and Pakistan to assist in the construction of a naval base. At that time, Kuwait had only 28 lightly armed patrol boats and launches. As part of the Defense Development Plan, negotiations immediately began to purchase more advanced guided missile and fast attack craft from European, especially British, sources.

At the onset of the 1976 defense plan, Kuwait decided to pursue a policy of diversified arms sources in order both to preclude the possibility of being subject to political pressures and to develop a broad market. With a greater number of suppliers, Kuwait could acquire the "best" mix of weapons and, perhaps more importantly, might avoid being viewed as a dependent client of the West. Kuwait purchased fighter-bombers, anti-aircraft batteries, air-to-air missiles, artillery, tanks and guided missile craft from the UK, France and the US. Kuwaiti nervousness owing to fighting between Iran and Iraq, especially in view of the three Iranian air strikes on Kuwait, recently led to new orders of French weapons.[205] The French state firm SNIAS will soon ship six Exocet-equipped Super Puma helicopters, often used in anti-ship roles by other nations. Twelve Dassault-Breguet Mirage F-1C fighters also

will be delivered soon. In addition to these orders, a broader military cooperation agreement has been signed which provides for the training of Kuwaiti pilots in support of an air defense/anti-aircraft program.

Kuwaiti interest in purchasing Soviet military equipment caused the most regional consternation, however. What began as a broad, $400 million purchase order in 1976 from the Soviets shrunk to an order for only the SAM-7 missile. The issue at stake was the Soviet insistence that Kuwaiti military personnel receive their training on the Soviet systems from Soviet advisers either in Kuwait or the USSR. Kuwait, however, would accept training only from qualified Egyptian experts. The impasse reflected both Kuwaiti and Saudi concerns over the presence of Soviet military advisers in the Gulf region.[206] Kuwait's concern centered on the advisers as sources of Marxist indoctrination of Kuwaiti military personnel. The Saudis would surely be concerned about that also, especially given their general policy goals of minimizing the Soviet presence on the Arabian Peninsula. SAM-6 and SAM-7 missiles eventually entered the Kuwaiti force structure, but with the insistence of Kuwaiti officials that the Soviets were not involved in the training.[207]

Nevertheless, Kuwait's arms procurement policy still requires diversification of sources and includes the US, UK, USSR and France. Perhaps owing to its compulsory military service laws, all Kuwaiti weapons are serviced by "teams of specialists made up of Kuwaitis."[208] Maintaining this sort of independence from any foreign influence is part of the overall objective, which is according to Kuwaiti Defense Minister Sheik Salem al-Sabbah al-Salem, "to transform our army into a force capable of defending the national soil and supporting the Arab armies, to help them recover the

despoiled territories."[209] A note, which will resurface later in the Saudi section and in discussing regional cooperation, is the reluctance to identify any threat, except the most obvious one and the one likely to engender the least regional reaction- Israel.[210]

An interesting example of Kuwait's intentions for military development can be seen from recent multi-force or combined arms exercises.[211] The exercise involved the Kuwaiti Sixth Motorized Infantry Brigade defending against a sea assault. This particular mission does not represent the full operational development of the Kuwaiti army. Apparently, the Sixth Brigade's assignment is to prepare for this contingency. Missions of the army in general include defending against "Israel's threats to occupy the Gulf and destroy its oil wells" and "any other threats emanating from any quarter."[212] Sensitivity of the military leadership to political objectives and directives is supposed to maintain the military's loyalties in countering and deterring the threats perceived by the government. This is an important point, if true, given the heterogeneous character of the Kuwaiti military leadership, including foreign nationals.

The exercise displayed two interesting developments. The first is the pattern of defense employed. The second is the combined arms nature of the training. Defense against sea assault, for example, involves a "holding" strategy, winning time for the main counterattack forces to be concentrated. The defense apparently began as a blocking operation which permitted the enemy forces to establish a beachhead. That advanced defense unit then retreats, "enticing enemy forces" (apparently to advance, unaware of a strong counteroffensive force poised to strike). It is then that a combined arms, concentrated force of shock troops coordinates "in a stragetic move to stop

the penetration, using maximum force and weapons." The forces involved in such defense include infantry supported by tanks and Gazelle helicopters, apparently in an anti-tank configuration. Skyhawk fighter-ground attack aircraft engage the enemy as soon as the infantry does, apparently while the beachhead is being established. Artillery fire supports the withdrawal of the initial defense force to prevent an enemy breakout prior to the Kuwaiti counterattack.

Although no time scale for the holding strategy was discussed (the exercise, however, lasted one day), the emphasis on containing the enemy advance with one particular unit would be most useful in a situation requiring mobilization time, time to assemble a counterattacking force, or time to permit outside assistance to be readied.

This assessment apparently emphasizes a deterrent-by-denial function against foreign invasion. By denying an adversary the opportunity for a quick victory, an attack is deterred. Another way to look at it is that the Kuwaiti army serves a primarily tripwire function.[213] This view holds that periodic (especially by Iraq) invasions and military occupation of Kuwaiti territory has given the Kuwaiti army the mission of fighting an invasion "with sufficient vigor to enable Kuwaiti diplomacy to mobilize support in other Arab countries."[214] The nuance here is that the Kuwaiti force structure is not intended to be capable of fully repelling invasions or waging sustained combat. On the contrary, the mission is intended to support Kuwaiti diplomacy in the event of hostilities and to prevent rapid occupation of Kuwaiti territory.

4.3 Oman

In recent years Oman has faced two sets of security problems, one related to the Dhufar rebellion and the other to the Strait of Hormuz. Oman, with the assistance of Iranian forces provided by the Shah, quieted the rebellion of the Marxist oriented Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, supported by the PDRY in early 1977. The mediation of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait led to the removal of most of the Iranian forces after most of the combat had stopped, but no lasting reconciliation occurred.[215] The remaining Iranian force demonstrated the Shah's interest in regional security cooperation; the force assisted in the development of Oman's air defense system based on the British Rapier missile.[216] The last Iranians left Oman during the revolution in Iran.

Initially in concert with Iran and then because of Iranian withdrawal during the revolution, Oman initiated a naval build-up to protect its long coastline and to patrol the Strait of Hormuz. The international trade routes going through the Strait are entirely within Omani territorial waters since that is the only part of the Strait where the water is deep enough for the tankers to transit. Since the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, transport ships have been stopped or seized in the Strait, including 14 UAE ships seized by Iran.[217] In 1979 Oman reinforced its military strength on the Ra's Musandam Peninsula overlooking the Strait.[218] At this time also, Oman first granted port facilities to the US Seventh Fleet.[219] By 1983, Oman approved a $300 million project to build a naval base at Wadam Alwi on the Batinah coast. Oman's small, yet expanding navy is largely under the command of British officers.[220] Fast attack craft with Exocet SSM are deployed at Oman's naval

bases at Muscat, Raysat and Gharam Island. The Omani navy is currently the most experienced and effective in the GCC,[221] yet still "is a light patrol force that can barely cover Oman's long coastline against terrorist infiltration or arms smuggling and which has limited ability to deal with more serious threats."[222] However, the Omani patrol boats did confront three Iranian frigates approaching the Strait in Omani waters in September 1980.[223] Omani naval presence has apparently deterred any further Iranian attempts to approach the Strait in force.

In September, the GCC countries agreed to grant $1.8 billion for regional defense spending, in part to improve Omani defensive capabilities in the Strait of Hormuz and to purchase advanced fighters from the US.[224] This decision apparently is in addition to Oman's purchase of a second squadron of 12 Jaguar International fighter-bombers, adding to the 19 already operational.[225] The purchase of 250 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles and 28 Blindfire radars to complement existing Rapier air defense missile systems will provide a limited air defense system by the mid 1980s.

Currently, the Omani air force is designed mainly for ground attack missions and has a counterinsurgency squadron. Although the air force is considered to be weak when facing an opponent like Iran, it has "considerable capability to deal with internal security threats" and also a growing air threat from South Yemen.[226]

British training of the ground forces has led to a special competency in fighting guerrilla and light infantry forces.[227] The 15,000 strong Omani army is itself basically a light infantry force. The Sultan has plans to equip his army with heavy armor, artillery, long-range anti-tank weapons and helicopters. However, shortages of educationed and technical manpower to

operate such weapon systems will limit the army's expansion.[228]

Oman faces military threats to the north from Iran and to the south from the PDRY and, to a lesser extent, the Dhufar rebels. Soviet-backed PDRY army units are only at 30-40% authorized strength, but tank squadrons near the Omani border and the presence of Soviet and Cuban advisors suggest that the current relatively minor threat posed to Oman could change in the near term, especially if the PDRY saw benefit in attacking with limited objectives, e.g, taking the Omani air base at Thumrait.[229]

Notwithstanding Kuwaiti and UAE protests over the informal US-Omani alliance, Oman has continued to cooperate with the US to the extent of exercising with elements of the RDF and prepositioning stock of US supplies to support air operations.[230] The US is improving Omani communications and air bases.

4.4 Qatar

Qatar achieved its independence in 1971. No particular issues seem to have dominated Qatar's military situation between its independence and the beginnings of regional cooperation in the 1980s. Qatar began a modest modernization program in 1977 with the purchase of French fighters, and medium and long range US and British SAMs. Recent orders included 14 Mirage fighters, six Alpha Jets and Exocet-equipped fast patrol boats.[231] These purchases indicate a interest in a coastal defense program and creation of an air defense network. From the late 1970s, Qatar has supported the idea of an Arab arms industry with the stated intention of freeing the Arabs from dependence on foreign weapons producers.[232]

4.5 UAE

The United Arab Emirates is a federation of seven principalities: Abu
Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ras al-Khaymah, Fujayrah, Ajman and Umm al-Qaywayn.
The federal army was created by incorporating the individual armies in 1976,
five years after the establishment of the UAE.[233] The UAE armed forces
included the British-trained Trucial Oman Scouts of 3500 men, the National
Guard of Sharjah of 250, the Motorized Force of Ras al-Khaymah of 300, the
Defense Army of Dubai of 1500 and the Defense Army of Abu Dhabi of
24,000.[234] Because of the unequal contributions of the principalities to
the federal army, a Jordanian general was given operational command to
preclude any one state, especially Abu Dhabi, from taking control of the
army.[235] Three regional commands divided the new army: the western region
in Abu Dhabi, the central region in Dubai and the northern region in Ras
al-Khaymah.[236]

Within a year, divisions in the federal army, reflecting the existence of
separate regional commands, were still apparent. An effort to reorganize and
to unify the armed forces, and to increase their mobility, precipitated a
crisis in 1978 which deepened the distrust and division in the UAE.[237] The
Supreme Commander of the UAE force, President Shaykh Zayid of Abu Dhabi,
ordered a reorganization of the army which unified army and naval forces and
abolished the separate regional military commands. However, Shaykh Rashid of
Dubai, Vice President of the UAE, feared that such a move would consolidate
too much power under Zayid. Consequently, he put the Dubai army on alert and
cancelled Zayid's decree while the latter was abroad.

No resolution of this crisis subsequently occurred. Although the reorganization plan was cancelled, the UAE's arms procurement program and manpower building program continued.[238] In a case similar to that of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia discouraged the UAE's plans to purchase arms from the Soviet Union, instead convincing the UAE to maintain its British and French connections.[239]

Full integration of the UAE armed services has not yet occurred. Indeed, the separate components of the military act independently in a number of areas, including arms purchases.[240] However, the size and sophistication of the military continues to grow. From around 26,000 men in 1977, the force has grown to 48,500 in 1983, of which 46,000 are ground troops.[241]

The current practice in the UAE is to absorb modern technology and military strategy in what President Zayid described as "a race against time."[242] UAE President Zayid recently inaugurated a new airbase and air force college at Al Dhafra, their first such base.[243] The base houses French Mirage fighter-bomber/interceptors and Gazelle helicopters. Other purchases include British Aerospace Hawk Mark 61 combat trainer strike aircraft. Eight have been ordered by Dubai and Abu Dhabi is negotiating for 16-18.[244] In addition, an order of 12-14 Harrier AV8B vertical takeoff fighters is thought to be likely in the near future for the UAE, with the total order possibly rising to 30-40 eventually.[245]

The French and Americans are also interested in selling aircraft. French Defense Minister Charles Hernu visited the UAE in May 1983 to discuss the sale of 40 Avions Marcel Dassault/Breguet Aviation Mirage 2000 fighters. The US Northrop Corporation is similarly interested in selling its new F-5G Tigershark fighter, a special, relatively inexpensive Third World export

version.[246]

Although the UAE now has around 52 combat fighters, including two interceptor squadrons with 30 Mirage 5s, its interest in new aircraft reflects the objective of doubling the air force strength and supplementing a surface-to-air missile (SAM) being purchased from the US. This system consists of seven Hawk SAM missile batteries purchased from the US Army at a cost of over $600 million. This purchase is part of a larger effort of the UAE to establish a command and control system to cover the entire UAE. The UAE and the US plan to integrate the communications component of this system with the airborne warning and control systems (AWACS) aircraft based in Saudi Arabia.[247]

4.6 Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia's military forces are undergoing a massive transformation with infusions of the latest Western technologies. Changing political-military conditions in the Gulf region have placed a greater emphasis on the reliability of the Saudi military to protect Saudi interests. An earlier security framework, which included US support for Iran, afforded considerable protection of Saudi defense interests. This permitted the Saudis to employ their version of "riyal politik" as the basis of their regional diplomatic relations. The Iranian Revolution shattered the illusion of a stable military balance in the Gulf and forced the Saudis to extend the objectives of their military build-up to include the formation of an Arab Gulf security arrangement.[248]

The primary constraints facing the Saudi military are demographic. Saudi Arabia has a value in terms of strategic importance and wealth

disproportionate to the size of the indigenous population, around 6 to 7

million. Saudi Arabia's skilled manpower base and the competition between the

military and civilian sectors for that base limits the capabilities of the

Saudi military. Therefore, its role is focused more as a deterrent force from

large attack and a defensive force to counter limited incursions.

This section will look at two aspects of the Saudi military. First,

certain missions must be fulfilled. The nature and extent of Saudi military

missions will be examined, including a statement of general security interests

and a description of the geographical areas which the military must defend.

Since the relatively small Saudi military requires high technology weapons and

organizational stability to fulfil modern military missions, the structure and

weapons acquisitions of the Saudi land, naval and air forces will be

emphasized.

4.6.1 Saudi Security and Military Policies

Protecting Saudi Arabia from both external attack and subversion is the

primary objective of the military. Officially, Saudi defense capabilities are

intended to "constitute a deterrent factor and a means of protecting our

territory and our achievements as well as a means of protecting the natural

rights of the citizens of the Arab and Muslim world."[249] In addition, Saudi

policy seeks to "keep the region free from the superpower's influence and

conflicts and preserve its nonaligned status."[250] Concern over the

superpowers partially reflects the "growth of the Soviet naval force that

could be employed to interdict sea lanes vital to the Western alliance and its

dependence on Saudi oil" which has "convinced Saudi Arabian defense officials

that the USSR aims to isolate" the Saudis.[251] Some Saudis also fear the

possibilities of a US military intervention to "secure" the oil fields. Perceptions of regional threats have already been discussed. Possible military threats are seen in Israel, Iran, Iraq, North and South Yemens, and even Egypt.[252] There are also internal security roles which concern branches of the military. The holy cities and the oil fields are especially important in this regard.

Addressing security concerns in a broader context, Crown Prince Abdullah Ibn Abd al-'Aziz stated that "Saudi Arabia is a source of protection for the Arab nations. Saudi Arabia wants to develop its armed forces with the aim of introducing greater security and peace to the Gulf. The region must distance itself from tensions resulting from the Iran-Iraq war. The continuation of this explosive situation could give grounds to foreign intervention."[253]

The Saudis thus perceive a clear linkage between regional and global security questions. Regional instabilities can either be caused by superpower competition or at least can invite intervention. In this sense, security cannot be guaranteed only by Saudi military force, but must involve broader regional cooperation to protect against foreign exploitation of differences in Gulf countries' interests. Regional cooperation could bring together local interests, contributing more to Saudi security. It is this role which the GCC is intended to play.

Despite this role, bilateral military cooperation, in particular Saudi-Pakistani and Saudi-US cooperation, fundamentally complements these efforts at regional cooperation. The latter, as has been mentioned, seeks to achieve political legitimacy and a convergence of regional interests. The former, on the other hand, lends muscle to the Saudi position. Actual military strength is gained from Saudi Arabia's extra-regional associations.

Pakistan officially supports the goal of mapping out a joint military strategy in the Gulf and sees Saudi Arabia as playing an essential and central role in that strategy.[254] Although Pakistan is not a Gulf state, it is Islamic and conservative. Since the overthrow of the Shah, it has shared similar Gulf security interests as Saudi Arabia from the viewpoint of wanting to avoid regional instabilities which might present opportunities for foreign-especially Soviet- intervention. Pakistan is clearly sensitive since Khomeini has also called for the overthrow of the Zia government.[255] An additional worry for Pakistan is the Soviet role in Afghanistan. In addition, both Pakistan and Saudi Arabia have expressed disappointment and distrust in the reliability of US security commitments in view of the indecisive Carter years. Thus, both nations have incentives for securing more American assistance while organizing joint/regional arrangements explicitly not dependent on a US role.[256]

Current roles for Pakistani military personnel in Saudi Arabia could include supplementing Saudis in the National Guard, in the Royal Saudi Air Force or in air defense units. If such roles were accepted by Pakistan, the advantage to Saudi Arabia would follow from the political loyalty of Pakistani military personnel to the Saudi government. But in addition to the internal security role, Pakistani assistance in operating advanced weapons and in training would also be beneficial.

Saudi-US military cooperation is extensive. Although Saudi Arabia will not permit US bases on its territory and is reportedly cool to the US rapid deployment force proposal,[257] cooperation ranges from arms trade and training to a consultative joint military committee.[258] While defending its general cooperation with the US in response to criticisms even within the

Gulf,[259] the Saudis downplay the importance of military ties, especially deemphasizing anything akin to joint military planning.[260] The general relationship of Saudi security interests with those of the US and USSR is discussed below; for purposes here, the military and training programs are more important.

Attempting to match military missions with arms acquisitions and military training programs presents a couple of difficulties. First, the state of the art of defense planning may lack sophistication, thus poorly mapping the military missions onto the force structure. Saudi defense planners, for example, may not identify threats, propose possible options and plan to deal with these threats based on the configuration of available forces. Instead, the methodology may be less systematic, acquiring different types of arms and creating a force structure in reaction to several threat concepts, i.e., broad contingencies which could occur, but may not be probable given a sober analysis of existent military threats.[261]

An effort to deter broadly defined threats might dictate a policy of purchasing high visibility weapons, for example, "the acquisition of prestige aircraft that may have a great deterrent value than combat value in the Saudi environment."[262] In addition, high technology weapons are an answer to the manpower shortage- they are intended to have a high multiplier value. This, of course, places a high reliance on the "ability of Gulf personnel to absorb and use the most sophisticated weapons in a record time."[263]

The sheer magnitude of the current Saudi military buildup, with its emphasis on integration of the command, control, communications and intelligence (C^3I) missions, suggests greater reliance on fulfiling combat roles rather than advertising the prestige of military forces. Indeed,

increasing the deterrent value of Saudi military forces is an objective and it is best accomplished, reflecting US military advice, by enhancing the combat value of the forces present. "The goal of Saudi Arabia is to develop a credible deterrent to defend itself against regional threats and to assist its Gulf council neighbors in protecting themselves."[264]

Saudi Arabia's arms acquisition program is perhaps the most active in the developing world. Military expenditures have grown from $6.8 billion in 1975 to over $27 billion in 1982.[265] Sales of equipment have risen for every branch of service. Before examining the current state of arms acquisitions in Saudi Arabia, we will consider first the structure of the military and their missions, as an introduction to assessing the rationale for arms purchases. Yet, up until recently, much of the Saudi military expenditure has been earmarked for infrastructure development. Acquisition of sophisticated arms is therefore the next logical step in its military modernization program.[266]

4.6.2 Military Structure and Missions

The Saudi military is directly administered by the Royal Family.[267] Members of the Royal Family serve as the Minister of Defense, deputies, Chief of Air Operations and National Guard Commander, for example. The military structure is divided into the regular armed services and the National Guard.

The National Guard consists of 25,000 personnel organized into 44 infantry battalions and other special units.[268] National Guard personnel are almost entirely Bedouin in background from the Nejd Province where the Saud family originated and, it is assumed, are intensely loyal to the Saud family.[269] The National Guard is assigned to protect the oil fields, the holy cities and to guard against coup or insurrection of the regular armed

forces.[270]

Recently, the National Guard participated in the al-Yamanah maneuvers, whose goal was to repel a night attack on the outskirts of Riyadh.[271] The counterattack required National Guard reconnaissance units to obtain information from local citizens, then to coordinate the combined arms attack. Heavy artillery, tanks and aircraft supported the National Guard infantry units. The exercise permitted the National Guard to practice rapid mobilization, logistics and C^3 coordination. The goal of the maneuver is more interesting. The National Guard's purpose in the exercise was not to engage the enemy in sustained combat. The objective of the counterattack was thus not to encircle the attacking enemy force, but to force it to retreat and withdraw.[272] What makes this interesting is that the enemy force was apparently assumed to have infantry units and tanks as well, and that little coordination between the National Guard and the regular services occurred during the exercise. Reading between the lines, the exercise could well have been designed to defeat a coup attempt.

The regular armed forces consist of an army, navy and air force. The army has 35,000 personnel and consists of two armored brigades, two mechanized brigades, two infantry brigades, an airborne brigade, five artillery battalions and a Royal Guard regiment.[273] The navy has 2500 personnel and two fleet headquarters at Jiddah and Al Qatif/Jubail. Other bases are at Ras Tanura, Damman, Yanbu and Ras al Mishab. The air force has 14,000 personnel and 170 combat aircraft.[274]

All branches of service have undergone and continue to undergo modernization. Past developments are well documented; thus this presentation will concentrate on current improvements.[275] Saudi Arabia, like other Gulf

countries, claims to adhere to a policy of diversification of arms sources. The Saudis are very sensitive about the role of foreign advisers and are quick to assert that no foreign ideologies or bases are linked with the arms sources. Saudi sensitivity on this issue causes it to be advertised as a primary objective during the military buildup.[276]

Currently, the National Guard is being outfitted with modern communications, after having been mechanized and its mobility increased.[277] The United Kingdom is especially involved in improving the military communications network of the National Guard. A recent $340 million contract was signed to build ground stations for satellites, radio links and training programs.[278] Although evidence is lacking, this program might be linked to a French-Saudi contract under which Aerospatiale is building three space satellites and ground based receiving stations for the Arab satellite program ARABSAT.[279]

A broad command, control, communications and intelligence (C^3I) program is underway for the Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF). One objective is to tie this C^3I system into a nationwide network linking the RSAF with the Royal Saudi Land Forces (RSLF) and the Royal Saudi Naval Forces (RSNF) commands. Such a program is estimated to cost $3.8 billion and would require 17 radars deployed around the periphery of Saudi Arabia.[280] The tie-in with the RSLF also will be linked to the Hawk air defense missile system in six nationwide air defense regions. This is a five year program.[281] Pursuant to its policy of achieving technical independence, the Saudis want this C^3 program to be the initial stage of a high technology transfer process leading to an integrated circuit production industry.[282]

Table 3
RSAF Modernization Program*
US Weapon Systems

weapon	firm	number	cost	comments
F-15	McDonnell-Douglas	62	$2.85 b	-air superiority mission; -incl. training, support; -1 sqd at Dhahran on PG; 1 at Taif on Red Sea; 1 at Khamis Mushait in s.w. SA
F-5	Northrop	129	$3.8 b	-incl. training, support; -RSAF assumes most maintenance for F-5s
E-3A AWACS	Boeing	5	$5.8 b	-to operate from Al Kharj, 35 mi S of Riyadh; -4 now operated by USAF;
KC-707 tankers	Boeing	6	$2.4 b	-to be delivered by 3-87
KC-707 ELINT	Boeing	2	--	-electronic intelligence missions
C-130 transport	Lockheed	46	--	-43 now in inventory, 3 on order
AIM-9L Sidewinder	Raytheon-Ford	1177	$200 m	-heat seeking AAM -improved for look-up/look-down capability
AIM-7F Sparrow	Raytheon-Gen'l Dynamics	1000	--	-for 62 F-15s
Maverick ASM	Hughes	2400		-for F-5s -electro-optical guidance

* Sources: Aviation Week and Space Technology, SIPRI

Air Force modernization has progressed through a number of stages, including $23 billion of construction of five major air bases and support facilities and $14 billion for military city complexes. The emphasis now is on weapons acquisition. High priority weapons include the US F-15 air superiority fighters, F-5 fighters, E-3A airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft, KC-707 tanker aircraft, C-130 transports, the AIM-9L air-to-air missile (AAM), the AIM-7F and the Maverick ASM. See Table 3.

The F-15 air superiority fighter is probably the best of its type in the world. Capable of flight speeds of 2000 mph, the F-15 in an interceptor mission has a range of up to 900 miles. It can carry up to 15,000 pounds of bombs in a ground attack configuration, but this is a poor use of the F-15, compared for example with the F-16. The F-15 radar can spot targets 50 miles away and can guide its four Sparrow AAM up to 20 miles. The aircraft houses a 20 mm cannon and carries four Sidewinder AAM. An important feature for the Saudis is the easy maintenance requirements for the F-15. The plane is designed for quick maintenance as well, requiring only 20 minutes for an engine replacement. The on-board electronic equipment is modularized making replacement easy.[283] The F-5 has a top speed of around 1000 mph and a range of up to 650 miles. It is designed for dogfights, is of low cost and is easy to maintain.

The AIM-9L Sidewinder is a short range air-to-air missile utilizing infrared homing to track enemy aircraft. This missile can be used from any angle of attack, including head-on, a decisive advantage in close combat. Its heat sensing technology is very sensitive, capable even of homing on air friction on the wings of another aircraft. Together with the fast F-15, the AIM-9L is intended to fulfil an air defense-interceptor role.

This array of high technology weapons systems is mostly a response to regional and extraregional threats which require quick reactions to short warning time air engagements possibly spread over large geographical distances. This point is particularly relevant in the Middle East and the Gulf region where short flight times between potential adversaries has caused a strong precedent for pre-emptive strikes. This is the rationale, for example, for the Saudi interest in ring laser gyros (RLG) inertial navigation equipment. Installing RLGs in F-5s can decrease scramble time from 2.5 minutes to 22 seconds.[284] With this decreased reaction time, more flight time can be used to prepare for a combat engagement, increasing the single-shot kill probability of an AIM-9L launch and increasing the chances for two launches per sortie against the attacker.[285] Continuous combat air patrol during times of crisis is another solution to the time problem. Finally, airborne reconnaissance, electronic countermeasures and electronic intelligence capabilities are important. This is provided by the E-3A AWACS and the KC-707 ELINT aircraft.

The Saudi government is committed to defense of a geographical band extending across the center of the country from the Red Sea to the Gulf. This defense perimeter contains Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, Taif, the Najd, Riyadh, the al Hasa eastern province along the Gulf and all major airfields except Tabuk.[286] See Figure 1. This band is considered to be essential for national survival. In the Gulf, the Fahad line is the demarcation beyond which all unidentified aircraft approaching Saudi Arabia are considered to be hostile for purposes of interception by Saudi fighters.[287] This line runs from the Abadan area on the Iran-Iraq border along the middle of the Gulf to the Strait of Hormuz.

Figure 1

Major Saudi Military Installations

TURKEY

U.S.S.R.

U.S.S.R.

Caspian Sea

CYPRUS

LEBANON
Beirut
Damascus
SYRIA

ISRAEL
Tel-Aviv
Amman
JORDAN
Sinai

Tehran

Baghdad
IRAQ

IRAN

Tabuk

KUWAIT
N.Z.
Kuwait

Shiraz

Bushehr

Al Batin

Persian

Jubail
Dhahran
BAHRAIN Gulf
QATAR
Doha

Bandar Abbas

OMAN

Gulf of Oman

Riyadh
Al Kharj
(under construction)

Abu Dhabi
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Muscat

Red
Sea

Jiddah
Taif

SAUDI

OMAN

SUDAN

ARABIA

Khamis Mushait

Sharurah

YEMEN(S)

Sea

YEMEN(A)

DJIBOUTI
Aden Gulf of Aden
Djibouti

Addis Ababa

Berbera

ETHIOPIA

SOMALIA

Arabian

LEGEND:

Air Force

Army

Navy

⊙ Capital

● City

0   100   200   300 Statute Miles

0 100 200 300 400 Kilometers

Names and boundary representation
are not necessarily authoritative.
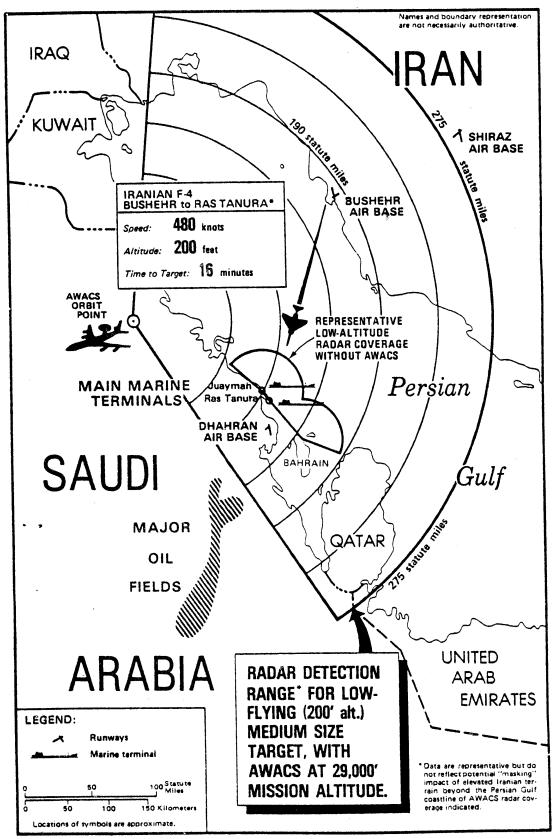
Locations of symbols are approximate.

Source: Richard F. Grimmett (1981), "Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia:
AWACS and the F-15 Enhancements," Congressional Research
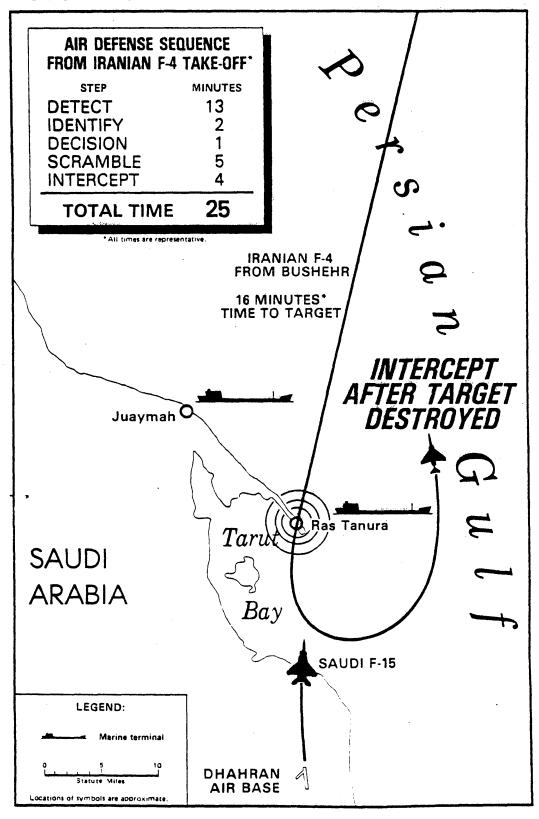Service, Library of Congress, Issue Brief IB81078.

The normal peacetime situation has two F-5Es and two F-15Cs on a five minute alert at the Dharan airbase near the Gulf. This base also has Hawk SAM batteries, Shahine Crotale SAMs and air defense guns. The other F-15s and some F-5s are hangared in hardened shelters, a precaution reflecting the fact that it is this base which would receive the heaviest attack in an assault on the eastern province oil facilities. AWACS are linked with the base, directing the interceptor missions.

In Figure 2, a hypothetical Iranian attack scenario is depicted.[288] Within 16 minutes from its home base at Bushehr, an Iranian Phantom could reach its target at the Ras Tanura oil facility. The Phantom would cross the Fahad line approximately eight minutes from the target. Figure 3 shows the sequence of events for an F-15 from Dharan (187 miles from Bushehr) to intercept, with the assistance of only ground based radar and no AIM-9L armament. Up to 13 minutes are required to detect an incoming, low flying aircraft due to the limited (30 to 50 miles of low altitude) coverage of the radar.[289] The scenario suggests that three minutes are required to identify the aircraft as hostile and to decide to intercept. For argument's sake, assume this process is nearly instantaneous. The plausibility of this assumption rests on the fact that the Fahad line was crossed, so the aircraft would be assumed to be hostile. However, if scrambling takes five minutes and the intercept up to four minutes, reflecting the required time to vector the fighter and engage without the AIM-9L, then the defending and attacking fighters would meet and engage after the oil facility had been hit. With the AIM-9L, the intercept time is postulated to be two minutes. With the AWACS, detection time is effectively zero. Intercept and combat can then occur comfortably before the target is threatened. See Figure 4. Some distances

Figure 2

Iranian Air Attack Scenario

Names and boundary representation
are not necessarily authoritative.

IRAQ

KUWAIT

IRAN

190 statute miles

275 statute miles

SHIRAZ
AIR BASE

**IRANIAN F-4
BUSHEHR to RAS TANURA***

Speed: **480** knots

Altitude: **200** feet

Time to Target: **16** minutes

BUSHEHR
AIR BASE

AWACS
ORBIT
POINT

REPRESENTATIVE
LOW-ALTITUDE
RADAR COVERAGE
WITHOUT AWACS

Persian

MAIN MARINE
TERMINALS

Juaymah
Ras Tanura

DHAHRAN
AIR BASE

BAHRAIN

Gulf

SAUDI

MAJOR

OIL

FIELDS

QATAR

275 statute miles

ARABIA

LEGEND:

Runways

Marine terminal

0   50   100 Statute Miles

0   50   100   150 Kilometers

Locations of symbols are approximate.

**RADAR DETECTION
RANGE* FOR LOW-
FLYING (200' alt.)
MEDIUM SIZE
TARGET, WITH
AWACS AT 29,000'
MISSION ALTITUDE.**

UNITED
ARAB
EMIRATES

* Data are representative but do
not reflect potential "masking"
impact of elevated Iranian ter-
rain beyond the Persian Gulf
coastline of AWACS radar cov-
erage indicated.

Source: Richard F. Grimmett (1981), Congressional Research Service

Figure 3

F-15 Intercept With Ground-Based Radar and No AIM-9L

AIR DEFENSE SEQUENCE FROM IRANIAN F-4 TAKE-OFF*

STEP	MINUTES
DETECT	13
IDENTIFY	2
DECISION	1
SCRAMBLE	5
INTERCEPT	4
TOTAL TIME	**25**

* All times are representative.

IRANIAN F-4 FROM BUSHEHR

16 MINUTES* TIME TO TARGET

Persian Gulf

INTERCEPT AFTER TARGET DESTROYED

Juaymah

Ras Tanura

Tarut Bay

SAUDI ARABIA

SAUDI F-15

LEGEND:

Marine terminal

0   5   10
Statute Miles

Locations of symbols are approximate.

DHAHRAN AIR BASE

Source: Richard F. Grimmett (1981), Congressional Research Service

Figure 4

F-15 Intercept With AWACS and AIM-9L

AIR DEFENSE SEQUENCE FROM IRANIAN F-4 TAKE-OFF*

STEP	MINUTES
DETECT	0
IDENTIFY	2
DECISION	1
SCRAMBLE	5
INTERCEPT	2
TOTAL TIME	**10**

* All times are representative.

IRANIAN F-4 FROM BUSHEHR

16 MINUTES* TIME TO TARGET

Persian Gulf

INTERCEPT PRIOR TO TARGET

SAUDI F-15

Juaymah

Ras Tanura

Tarut

SAUDI ARABIA

Bay

LEGEND:

Marine terminal

0   5   10
Statute Miles

Locations of symbols are approximate.

DHAHRAN AIR BASE

Source: Richard F. Grimmett (1981), Congressional Research Service

Figure 5

DISTANCES BETWEEN MAIN SAUDI AIR BASES AND SELECTED POINTS

MAIN SAUDI AIR BASE		
Dhahran to	Tehran (635)	
	Shiraz, Iran (250)	
	Baghdad (610)	
	Al Basrah, Iraq (290)	
	Strait of Hormuz (405)	
Taif to	Tel Aviv (805)	
	Aden, S. Yemen (670)	
	Addis Ababa (800)	
	Dhahran (615)	
Khamis Mushait to	Aden, S. Yemen (290)	
	Addis Ababa (600)	
	Dhahran (680)	

All distances expressed in statute miles and are approximate.

Source: Richard F. Grimmett (1981), Congressional Research Service

from selected points to Saudi airbases are listed in Figure 5.

This scenario illustrates the mission of the Saudi air force:

> ...to modernize to the point where it could maintain a fighter screen over its oil fields and other Southern Gulf countries with sufficient effectiveness to act as a major deterrent to any air attacks on the oil fields and give its army significant air cover in a defensive role or similar air cover to other Gulf forces. By the mid 1980s, the AWACS package should also give the Saudi Arabian air force enough effectiveness to coordinate the use of up to 100-150 additional fighters from the other conservative Gulf nations in a defense of the Southern Gulf coast and the oil facilities in the Gulf.[290]

Faults do exist in the system, however. In 1982 a defecting Iranian F-4 Phantom flew across the Gulf, directly over the Ras Tanura oil facility, and entered its landing pattern just as the intercepting F-5s were taking off. The problem here was reportedly that the covering AWACS was at the far end of its orbit. Another incident involved a defecting crew in a 707 Iranian cargo plane which flew across the Gulf, across Saudi territory and into Cairo airport without being detected.[291] The RSAF, however, regularly practices intercepting simulated attacks on oil facilities with English Lightning fighters simulating MiG-21s armed with Soviet Atoll AAM.[292]

Both the RSLF and RSNF also are being modernized. Stationed mostly near border areas, one problem facing the land forces has been lack of mobility. The RSAF is upgrading five of its 747 transports to carry armor, artillery and air defense weapons throughout the country. C-130 aircraft are available now for RSLF transport.[293] The Saudis are also expected to participate in the McDonnell Douglas C-17 advanced cargo aircraft program.

To enhance the armored capabilities of the RSLF, the US hopes to provide the M-2 Bradley armored personnel carrier and the M-1 Abrams tank. Saudi tank crews arrived in the US for training on the M-1, while negotiations for the sale of up to 1200 continued.[294]

Table 4
Saudi Armed Forces
Growth in Force Structure

	1973-74	1978-79	1983
Armored Bgd.	1 bn.	1	2 (1 forming)
Airborne Bgd.	--	--	1
Para. bn.	1	2	2
Spec. forces rgmt.	--	3	3
Mechanized Bgd.	--	1	2
Infantry Bgd.	4	2-4 (some being mechanized)	2 (1 to be mechanized)
Royal Guard Bn.	1	1	3
Tanks	120	350	450
APCs/MICVs	200+	550	1370
Artillery	90	300	--
art. bn.	3	3	5
Combat a/c	70-90	130-178	170
Transports	11	45	72
Helicopters	40	52-60	64
SAM batteries	11	11	18
Naval vessels (FAC-PB/Other)	24/8	120/10	17/16

Key: Bgd. = brigade
    Para. bn. = paratrooper battalion
    Spec. forces rgmt. = special forces regiment
    APCs/MICVs = armored personnel carriers/mechanized infantry combat vehicle
    art. bn. = artillery battalions
    a/c = aircraft
    SAM = surface-to-air missile
    FAC/PB = fast attack craft/patrol boats (note: the 1978-79 figure of 120 includes small coastal PB not counted in other year totals)

Sources: Arab Military Strength, June 1978 (Jerusalem, Israel Information Center) and International Institute for Strategic Studies, Military Balance, 1974-75, 1978-79 and 1983-84.

The RSNF is charged with protection of the Saudi coastline, the Red Sea and Gulf shipping lanes. The naval mission is dictated by four factors.[295] First, Saudi Arabia is located on a peninsula with over 1300 miles of coastline. The waterways surrounding Saudi Arabia are militarily and politically strategic, including the Gulf of Aqaba, the Red Sea, the Horn of Africa, the Arabian Sea/Indian Ocean and the Gulf. The naval bottlenecks in the area require particular security attention. Here, the important spots are the Strait of Tiran, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Bab al-Mandeb and the Strait of Hormuz. Finally, of course, oil trade requires defense of the shipping lanes in the region.

The RSNF is engaged in an $8 billion modernization program, about half of which is for naval base construction at Jeddah and on the Gulf.[296] Plans for expansion include an increase from 2500 to 4500 personnel by the mid 1980s and to build up to a 34 ship fleet with 24 attack helicopters.[297] Future missions are to include antisubmarine warfare, and antisurface and antiair operations from the Gulf into the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and eastern Mediterranean.

A large Saudi-French naval deal includes a $3.5 billion purchase of four 2600 ton displacement destroyers armed with OTOMAT ship-to-ship missiles (ShShM) and Crotale ShAM. Each destroyer will carry the Dauphin-2 antisubmarine helicopter. These destroyers will be delivered between July 1984 and January 1986. Other Dauphin-2 helicopters will be armed with AS-15 AShM for anti-ship missions. A new $2.12 billion agreement has been kept mostly secret, except for an intended sale of two Atlantic naval reconnaissance and long range ship interdiction aircraft. The Atlantic can remain on station for 8 to 12 hours covering a distance of 2500 miles.[298]

There is an emphasis on air defense systems, naval surveillance and c^3I, all important components of the kind of coordinated defense regime which might emerge from the GCC. Of all the GCC countries, only Saudi Arabia is acquiring sufficient amounts of sophisticated equipment and weapons to manage an integrated Gulf rapid deployment force, or a Gulf air defense network, or an integrated air, land, naval command. Thus, any step in the direction of integrating these functions enhances the prestige and power of the Saudis in the Gulf.

The Saudis face an increasingly militarized environment and are responding with their own defense modernization program. They are developing basically a two-faceted program. On the one hand, Saudi Arabia intends to develop a sufficient force structure both to deter regional aggression by raising the potential military cost and to combat actively any attacks on itself or other GCC members. Available evidence is not suggestive that either Saudi Arabia alone or the GCC collectively intends to develop a force structure capable of waging sustained combat in the near future. Manpower, logistics, equipment and communications are simply insufficient to fulfil this role.

In addition, if the Saudis can develop the military structure necessary to contain internal and regional problems, especially in a political framework like the GCC within which its interventions in other Gulf states would be legitimized, it can manage the presence of the superpowers in the region. The Saudis rely on the US, but too close of an association is a political liability for them. Thus, they want the US RDF "over-the-horizon" security guarantee without an attendant US military presence.

5.0 Closing Remarks

In this paper, we have examined the sources of internal instability in the Gulf countries. Among the conflicts discussed were religious disputes between Sunni and Shia, and fundamentalist movements within both, potential political disputes between Arabs and Iranians, between Gulf citizens and Palestinians and other foreign workers, and among different political groups and interests in some of the Gulf countries.

In addition, we have examined sources of regional conflict. These include various forms of interstate and interdynastic rivalries, especially those related to access to resources, e.g., oil, mineral rights, etc. Furthermore, the current political environment in the Gulf is marked by the manipulation or incitement of domestic disturbances by states involved in regional conflict.

It is with these observations in mind that we consider the original hypothesis, that the main purpose of the GCC security framework is to fracture the current linkage between internal (domestic) and regional threats. This theme, and the propositions implied by it, have been consistent with the analysis throughout the paper.

5.1 The Propositions

Acceptance of the propositions flows immediately from the analysis in sections 3.0 and 4.0. Virtually the entire security emphasis as existing in the GCC agreements is, to date, oriented toward improving police functions, intelligence-sharing and the like. Even in this role, disagreement has slowed

progress as Kuwait has objected to particular provisions, e.g., extradition of criminals and free pursuit by the police/border patrols of one country into the neighboring country.

Expansion of the security role of the GCC to coordinated national defense clearly would depend on Saudi Arabia. In terms of military capability, the Saudis are acquiring much more than any other GCC state. Perhaps more critically, military coordination in the form of C^3I would necessarily be based in Riyadh. Only with the sophisticated capabilities being purchased by the Saudis can the Gulf countries coordinate a region-wide air defense net, for example. At best, however, such a capability cannot be achieved probably not until the 1990s. The Saudis simply will not have enough operational equipment and trained personnel before then. In addition, it is not likely that the current political impasse in the GCC will be overcome soon enough that there will be any coordinated military planning or large scale weapons purchases in the next few years. Clearly, the GCC must resolve its ambiguous relationship with the US and the West, at least to the satisfaction of countries like Kuwait and the UAE. Otherwise, coordinated defense planning will remain at the level of occasional exercises, cooperative rhetoric and perhaps a limited division of defense responsibilities among GCC states.

5.2 The Hypothesis

Recent historical efforts to coordinate Gulf defense policies created the foundation for GCC cooperation. Given the political framework of the GCC, based on the Saudi plan bilaterally approved with several neighboring states, the major emphasis on defense development in the region is to deter military aggression by neighboring states. The existence of the GCC serves to increase

the uncertainty facing any potential aggressor whether it can isolate one Gulf country militarily, as Iran has done to Kuwait most recently. The Saudi plan provides for coordination in internal security matters, with military and paramilitary forces in the Gulf countries being upgraded to deal with internal instabilities.

Consequently, we can accept that the GCC serves to break the link between internal and regional threats, but only in conjuction with the individual Gulf state military modernization programs. However, we have also found that the modernization programs and the existence of a cooperative framework in the Gulf may act to remove justifications and to decrease incentives for direct superpower military actions in the region. But this can be true only to the extent that an effective and coordinated military capability of one or more members of the GCC can protect the access of the West to regional oil resources. If in any circumstance this cannot be guaranteed, then the West/US may be compelled to rely on its own military forces. This point emphasizes the limited utility of the current and near term GCC military capability for coping with a wide range of contingencies, from a Soviet attack to local terrorist action. As has been maintained, what GCC countries can do is to deal with the terrorist/local disturbance scenario and limited military attacks from within the region. While this is not insignificant and would contribute to Gulf security, it does not eliminate the role of a US security guarantee.

5.3 Final Statement and Caveats

An initial question was whether the main purpose served by a GCC security regime would be internal or regional. The answer is both. Many of the causes

of internal security problems directly influence regional security relations as well. Efforts by Saudi Arabia in 1981 to limit Gulf discussions to internal security agreements reflected a dual objective. On the one hand, focusing on internal security questions implied a greater chance of finding consensus than if the larger questions of regional defense coordination were initially pursued. On the other hand, by focusing on internal security- a real concern of the Gulf states- the Saudis were able to undercut Iraqi attempts to organize a regional association dominated by its military forces.

This comment prompts two key points for understanding the evolution of the Gulf Cooperation Council as a security regime. First, Saudi policy is oriented toward achieving internal and regional stability through regional and domestic consensus and legitimacy. Contemporary Saudi state behavior, one must keep in mind, is fundamentally motivated by its search for security. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia has a well established diplomatic history of exercising its influence by winning over allies. Inherent limitations on its power have traditionally placed Saudi Arabia more in a power-broker role in the Arab world than in a leadership role.

This tradition persists in the development of the GCC. GCC security interests are clearly skewed toward Saudi interests, but this is not necessarily detrimental to Gulf interests. Exclusion of Iraq from the GCC, for example, should be understood in this context. The Arab Gulf states, led by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, are working to preserve the Hussein regime or, at least, to preclude the ascension to power of a regime hostile to Sunni-dominated, conservative monarchial regimes. This does not mean that Saudi Arabia would necessarily share similar foreign policy goals with a post-war Iraq, which will certainly strive to regain its former stature in the

region. Today's friend can be tomorrow's enemy; in the case of Iraq, ceteris parabis, it still will be a powerful neighbor vis-a-vis Saudi Arabia in a post-war environment. Therefore, now is the best time for the Saudis to build consensus without the input of Iraq. Thus, the big question is how to achieve legitimacy.

This brings us to the second key point for understanding the evolution of the GCC. This one focuses on the political downside of pursuing security through the GCC framework. There is one important political liability for Saudi Arabia, quite essential to the development of the GCC, but contradictory to one of its basic tenets: the US. The real problem is not the anti-US or the more general nonalignment rhetoric of the GCC. What Gulf countries like Kuwait, owing to its internal social structure, want to avoid is the massive subsystemic contact with the US that they would have to accept with the requirements of broad defense coordination in the GCC. Saudi Arabia's military program is largely dependent on US advisers and trainers. Extension of the Saudi military strategy throughout the Gulf would certainly require some degree of weapons standardization and compatibility, especially in the critical C^3I area.

A legitimacy issue is related to this problem as well. If the US is so closely identified with the military capabilities of the major GCC states, then how is the GCC to maintain its "nonaligned" status? This may not be a problem for some Gulf states like Oman and Saudi Arabia who welcome some regional US presence, but for other states like Kuwait and the UAE, the implication of cooperating with US planners is undesirable. Furthermore, if a country like Kuwait is suspicious of US motives, then what conclusion must it draw about Saudi motives which appear to be closely related to those of the US?[299]

The general point to be drawn from this discussion is the difficulty of
achieving a full consensus and therefore legitimacy on regional security,
despite a rhetoric and appearance of unity among the lower Arab Gulf states.
Without this consensus and legitimacy, the GCC can never attain the role of a
coordinated defense structure. That goal is materially possible; the issue
challenged here is whether the political opportunity is available.

Notes

1.0 Introduction

1. The terms "Persian Gulf," "Arabian Gulf" and "Gulf" will be used interchangeably throughout the text. Traditionally, we in the West have referred to the Persian Gulf. However, among our current allies in the region, the Arab Gulf states, it is referred to as the Arabian Gulf.

2. Including the following: fulfilling the general requirements as laid down by the 1980 Carter Doctrine; blunting a Soviet land and airborne invasion through Northern Iran with light and highly mobile units; occupying Saudi and other Gulf oil fields to "protect" them from falling to hostile forces; waging protracted combat with heavily equipped infantry and armored divisions in southern Iran to protect the approaches to the Gulf; guaranteeing free navigation through the Strait of Hormuz; executing limited nuclear strikes in Azerbaijan; or simply deterring any Soviet advances by posing the threat of superpower conflict with the use of tripwire American forces. See Caspar W. Weinberger, Annual Report to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1983 and Fiscal Year 1984.

3. See Joshua M. Epstein (1981), "Soviet Vulnerabilities in Iran and the RDF Deterrent," International Security, Fall, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 126-158. Epstein develops several scenarios for US-Soviet combat, mainly in Iran. However, there is little discussion of the expected attitudes of regional countries and the anticipated activities of their military forces. Also in the same issue is Dennis Ross (1981), "Considering Soviet Threats to the Persian Gulf," pp. 159-180. This is a discussion of Soviet interests and recent activities in the Gulf. W. Scott Thompson (1982), "The Persian Gulf and the Correlation of Forces," International Security, Summer, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 157-180. Thompson argues that the US strategic forces are mainly responsible for deterring Soviet military moves into the Gulf, but that a shift in the correlation of local conventional forces may undercut this.

4. See Shahram Chubin (1982), Security in the Persian Gulf: The Role of Outside Powers, Vol. 4, (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies), pp. 111-114.

5. Ibid., p. 58. An example would be the US crews on the AWACS.

2.1 Internal Stability

6. R.D. McLaurin, Don Peretz and Lewis W. Snider (1982), Middle East Foreign Policy: Issues and Processes, (New York: Praeger), p. 199.

7. Consisting of the elder sons of King Abd al Aziz.

8. McLaurin, et. al. (1982), op. cit., pp. 199-205. Each will not be discussed in detail. The military analysis however will be in a later section.

9. Ibid., p. 202.

10. Ibid., p. 201 and Adeed Dawisha (1979), "Saudi Arabia's Search for Security," Adelphi Paper, No. 158, (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies), p. 13.

11. See Dawisha (1979), ibid., p. 13 for discussion of the tribal tradition and its relation to modern government.

12. Ibid., p. 13.

13. McLaurin, et. al. (1982), op. cit., p. 203.

14. Dawisha (1979), op. cit., p. 12.

15. Michael Hudson (1977), Arab Politics, (New Haven: Yale University Press).

16. Dawisha (1979), op. cit., p. 10.

17. See McLaurin, et. al. (1982), op. cit. and R.D. McLaurin, Mohammed Mughisddin and Abraham R. Wagner (1977), Foreign Policy Making in the Middle East: Domestic Influences on Policy in Egypt, Iraq, Israel and Syria, (New York: Praeger) for detailed Iraqi government structure analysis.

18. John Devlin (1982), "Iraq," Chapter 11 in Edward A. Kolodziej and Robert E. Harkavy (eds.), Security Policies of Developing Countries, (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books), p. 233.

19. Eric Rouleau (1980), "Khomeini's Iran," Foreign Affair, Fall, p. 3.

20. Ibid., p. 5.

21. For a discussion of the Bazargan and Bani-Sadr governments, see Rouleau, ibid., pp. 1-20.

22. Elaine Sciolino (1983), "Iran's Durable Revolution," Foreign Affairs, Spring, p. 896.

23. Ibid.

24. International Institute for Strategic Studies, Strategic Survey 1982-83, (London: IISS) pp. 81-82.

25. Sciolino, op. cit., p. 898.

26. See William Olson (1983), "The Succession Crisis in Iran," The Washington Quarterly, Summer, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 156-161, and Adeed Dawisha (1983), "Iran's Mullahs and the Arab Masses," same issue, pp. 162-168.

27. Sciolino, op. cit., p. 900.

28. Strategic Survey 1982-83, op. cit., p. 82.

29. Ibid.

30. Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammed was passed over for succession three times. His supporters became known as Shi'at Ali, or the partisans of Ali.

31. Fouad Ajami (1981), The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice Since 1967, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. xii.

32. David L. Price (1981), "Islam and Arab Peninsula," Brassey's Defence Yearbook, by the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, London, (Oxford: Brassey's Publishers Ltd.), p. 80.

33. Ibid.

34. See footnote 30.

35. John K. Cooley (1979), "Iran, the Palestinians and the Gulf," Vol. 57, No. 5, Summer, pp. 1019.

36. Ibid.

37. Price (1981), op. cit., p. 81.

38. Daniel Dishon (1980), "The Middle East in Perspective: A Review of 1979," in Colin Legum, Haim Shaked and Daniel Dishon (1980), Middle East Contemporary Survey: Volume III 1978-79, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.), p. 8.

39. See Claudia Wright (1979), "Iraq-New Power in the Middle East," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 58, No. 2, Winter 1979-1980, p. 265, and Claudia Wright (1980), "The Iran-Iraq War," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 59, No. 2, Winter 1980-1981, p. 278.

40. Eli Flint (1980), "Bahrain" and "Kuwait," in Colin Legum, Haim Shaked and Daniel Dishon (1980), Middle East Contemporary Survey: Volume III 1978-79, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.), pp. 440, 450.

41. Price (1981), op. cit., p. 84.

42. Dishon (1980), op. cit., p. 9.

43. See Cheryl Benard and Zalmay Khalilzad (1979), "Secularization, Industrialization and Khomeini's Islamic Republic," <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>, Summer, pp. 229-241.

44. Some estimates have run as high as 1000. The Wahhabi movement was founded in Nadj, the home of al-Saud, by Muhammed Ibn Ahd al-Wahhabi. It is a uniquely Saudi tradition within the Sunni sect. Wahhabi Islam emphasizes a "pure" approach to Islam, with a full unification of the Shariah with Islamic life. Any deviation is believed to degrade the role of the ruler as the upholder of the Shariah, the guardian of morals and the protector of justice. The ruling House of Saud claims to represent this tradition. However, the Saudi modernization program, which has resulted in great wealth, changes in the ways men and women relate and closer ties with foreign, infidel states, is seen by orthodox Wahhabi followers as compromising Islamic values.

45. McLaurin, et. al. (1982), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 231.

46. Avi Plascov (1981), <u>Security in the Persian Gulf: Modernization, Political Development and Stability</u>, Volume 3, (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies), p. 20. This account is taken from pp. 17-22.

47. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 20.

48. That mosque worshippers "recognize Muhammad ibn Abdallah al Qahtani (whose family was said to be related to the Prophet's Quraish lineage in the House of Hashem) as the long-awaited Mahdi ('Messiah'). <u>Ibid</u>., p. 18.

49. <u>Ibid</u>.

50. <u>Ibid</u>. pp. 18-19. The conflict between spiritual fundamentalism and modernization has grown for over 20 years. Cars, telephones, girl's schools, television and the broad introduction of a secular curriculum in the schools have involved open debate and conflict between religious and secular interests. See <u>ibid</u>., p. 17.

51. Price (1981), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 84-85.

52. Saudi communists and Arab Socialist Labour Party members made such claims. See al-Hadaf weekly (George Habash's PFLP publication), Lebanon, May 3, 1980, p. 23. Some reforms started by Saudi Arabia included land grants and financial loans to poor Saudis, salary increases for the imams and anti-corruption measures. See Plashcov, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 17.

53. Omran Yahya and Arlene R. Fromchuck (1976), "Kurdish Struggle for Independence," <u>Middle East Review</u>, Fall, pp. 47-58.

54. Eli Flint (1980), "United Arab Emirates," in Colin Legum, Haim Shaked and Daniel Dishon (1980), <u>Middle East Contemporary Survey: Volume III 1978-79</u>, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.), pp. 479.

55. <u>New York Times</u>, March 25, 1979.

56. Cooley (1979), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 1020.

57. <u>Ibid</u>.

58. See <u>ibid</u>., passim.

2.2.1 Classes of Regional Disputes

59. For a detailed historical account of border disputes in the Gulf, see Robert Litwak (1981), <u>Security in the Persian Gulf: Sources of Interstate Conflict</u>, Volume 2, (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies), passim.

60. John Duke Anthony (1980), "The Arab States of the Gulf," <u>Rethinking US Policy</u>, The Seventh National Security Affairs Conference, 1980 Proceedings, (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University), pp. 202-210.

61. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 204.

62. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 203-204.

63. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 205.

64. John Duke Anthony (1981), "Transformation Amidst Tradition: the UAE in Transition," in Shahram Chubin (ed.), <u>Security in the Persian Gulf: Domestic Political Factors</u>, Volume 1, (London: IISS), p. 27.

65. See Anthony (1980), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 205-209 for a detailed discussion of intra- and inter-dynastic rivalries during this period.

66. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 207.

67. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 208.

68. See International Institute for Strategic Studies, <u>Strategic Survey 1978-1979</u>, (London: IISS), p. 59 for a discussion of the change in Iraqi politics.

69. Sciolino, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 909.

70. The four interests were drawn from Anthony (1980), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 215.

71. One should also realize the existence of "brinksmanship" diplomacy and "compellance" in Schelling's sense, that the oil attacks also serve as a warning against the dangers of further escalation.

2.2.2 Gulf Relations

72. NOTE: this was previously reported as being unresolved.

73. Dawisha (1979), op. cit., p. 19.

74. Al-Anwar (Beirut) 30 July 1976 in Dawisha (1979), ibid.

79. "Nation's Efforts to Reconcile Various Regional Disputes Described," Al-Yamamah (Riyadh), January 26-February 1, 1983, pp. 28-31, in JPRS Near East and South Asian Report, 83111, No. 2724, March 22, 1983, p. 82.

80. Ibid., p. 83.

81. This is the format for the Iran-Iraq war discussions.

82. Ibid., p. 86.

83. Ibid., p. 87.

84. Ibid.

85. The example of Saudi financial support for Syrian arms purchases from the Soviet Union illustrates that the Saudis will not act to isolate another Arab country- especially perhaps if it would push that country into greater dependence on the USSR.

86. Dawisha (1979), op. cit., p. 20.

87. Ibid.

88. Arnold Hottinger (1981), "Political Institutions in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain," in in Shahram Chubin (ed.), Security in the Persian Gulf: Domestic Political Factors, Volume 1, (London: IISS), p. 9. In addition to the Parliament, a number of professional groups were outlawed. Also, 18,000 foreigners were expelled from October through December 1979. See pp. 10-11.

89. Dawisha (1979), op. cit., pp. 20-21. Also, McLaurin, et. al. (1982), op. cit., pp. 216-217.

90. Adeed I. Dawisha (1980), "Iraq: The West's Opportunity," Foreign Policy, Winter 1980-81, p. 138. See also McLaurin, et. al. (1982), ibid., pp. 89-95 for intra-Ba'ath struggles and 105-108 for Ba'ath-ICP relations.

91. Dawisha, ibid., p. 139.

92. For example, complaints that the Soviet Union abandoned the Palestinian cause and became complacent to the Israeli threat, See FBIS Daily Report, Middle East and North Africa, January 4, 1980 quoting al-Thawrah.

93. Iraq began to warn of US-Soviet complicity in an attempt to control Middle east oil, See Voice of the Masses (Baghdad), FBIS Daily Report, Middle East and North Africa, January 24, 1980, p. E1.

94. Steven B. Kashkett (1982), "Iraq and the Pursuit of Nonalignment," Orbis, Vol. 26, No. 2, Summer, p. 487.

95. For details of Iraqi rapprochement with other Arab states, especially Saudi Arabia, see Kashkett, ibid., pp. 487-493; Bruce Maddy-Weitzman (1981), "The Fragmentation of Arab Politics: Inter-Arab Affairs Since the Afghanistan Invasion," Orbis, Summer, pp. 389-407; David Tinnin (1980), "Iraq and the New Arab Alliance," Fortune, November 3, p. 46.

96. This synopsis taken from McLaurin, et.al. (1982), op. cit., pp. 111-112.

97. See Majid Khadduri (1978), Socialist Iraq: A Study in Iraqi Politics Since 1968, (Washington: The Middle East Institute), pp. 153-159 for details.

98. Dawisha (1980), op. cit., p. 147.

99. Wright (1980), op. cit., p. 282 suggests that at the least "the Saudi position was one of benevolent acquiescence in Iraqi plans." The Saudis were always concerned over the possibility of the war providing opportunities for Soviet penetration of the region.

100. See broad literature available. This support may be less forthcoming as Gulf states experience cutbacks in public spending.

101. Robert C. Toth (1982), "Iran May Be Re-emerging as Gulf Power," Los Angeles Times, January 25, pp.1, 18.

102. McLaurin, et. al. (1982), op. cit., p. 114.

103. "No Real Signs of Settlement, Says Aziz," (1983) Middle East Economic Digest, March 4, p. 23.

104. "Money and Motive in Short Supply," (1983), The Economist, February 5, p. 39. This amount, the article notes, cannot be guaranteed anymore given the budget problems in the Gulf states. Also see David B. Ottaway (1983), "Iraqis Seek Help to Meet Rising Costs of War," Washington Post, March 16, A19.

105. H.M.F. Howarth (1983), "The Impact of the Iran-Iraq War on Military Requirements in the Gulf States," International Defense Review, Vol. 16, No. 10, p. 1406.

106. Wharton Econometric Forecasting (1983), "Economic Outlook for the Middle East and North Africa," Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 22, June 3, pp. 37-47.

107. Howarth (1983), op. cit., p. 1406.

108. Jonathon Crusoe (1982), "Shakeup Strenghtens Saddam's Hand," Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 26, No. 27, July 2, p. 10 .

109. McLaurin, et. al. (1982), op. cit., p. 114. Also see Helen Cobban (1980), "Internal Dissension Hampers Iraq's Hussein in Gulf War," Christian Science Monitor, December 24, p. 7.

110. "What Happens If Punches Are Pulled?" (1981) The Economist, May 9, p, 32.

111. Ibid.

112. Professor Nadav Safran, Harvard, personal communication.

113. See footnote 106.

114. Jonathon Crusoe (1983), "Iraq Coming to Terms With New Austerity," Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 31, August 5, pp. 12-15.

115. Ibid.

116. "The Gulf Time Bomb," (1983), The Economist, November 19, p. 15.

117. "Iraq Development Drive Overcomes War Snags," (1981) Middle East Economic Digest, December 18, pp. 17-18; Jonathon Crusoe (1983), "Contractors Face Iraqi Payments Problems," Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 7, February 18, p. 18; Jonathon Crusoe (1982) "Iran/Iraq-contractors wait and see," Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 26, No. 30, July 23, p. 15; Barbara Donnelly (1983), "Iraq-Dwindling Revenues Hit French Firms," Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 7, February 18, p. 20.

118. Jonathon Crusoe (1983), "Iraq Takes Austere View of 1983," Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 5, p. 17.

119. Edward Cody (1982), "Kurds Join Other Rebels to Overthrow Iraqi Rulers," Washington Post, January 7, p. A17.

120. Vahe Petrossian (1982), "Victories Bring New Force to Iran's Revolution," Middle East Economic Digest, April 9, p. 18.

121. Sciolino, op. cit., p. 908.

122. Liz Thurgood (1982), "Khomeini Raises the Stakes," Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 26, No. 29, July 16, p. 5.

123. "Majlis Deputy Predicts Triumph of Islamic Revolution in Iraq," (1983) Tehran Times, February 21, in JPRS Near East and South Asia Report, 83111, No.2724, March 22, 1983, p. 134.

124. See al-Madinah (Jidda) March 5, 1983, "Iranian Plans to Topple Khomeyni," in JPRS Near East and South Asia Report, 83127, No. 2726, March 23, 1983, p. 115.

125. "Iraqi Defeat Would Threaten Kuwait's Self-Reliance," (1982) Middle East Economic Digest, April 9, p. 21.

126. "Gulf State Officials Fear Iran Faces Long Years of Instability," (1983) Iranian Press Service (London), March 17, pp. 6-9, in JPRS Near East and South Asia Report, 83255, No. 2737, April 13, 1983, p. 196.

127. "Paper Blasts Saudi Arabia as 'Superpower Puppet,'" (1983) Tehran Times, March 15, in JPRS Near East and South Asian Report, 83255, No. 2737, April 13, 1983, p. 170. In this vein, it is also claimed that Saudi support for Iraq serves imperialist interests which includes undermining Sunni Moslem support for the Islamic movement with the assistance of US and Israeli intelligence. See "CIA, Mossad, Saudis Blamed for Sectarian Strife in Pakistan," in JPRS Near East and South Asian Report, 83295, No. 2740, April 20, 1983, pp. 79-80. It is common for both sides to accuse the other of Mossad connections. See "Saudi Paper Equates Khomeyni, Zionist Danger," in JPRS Near East and South Asian Report, 83051, No. 2718, March 11, 1983, pp. 204-205.

128. Saudi Paper Sees.

129. "Saudi Paper Equates Khomeyni, Zionist Danger," in JPRS Near East and South Asian Report, 83051, No. 2718, March 11, 1983, pp. 204-205.

130. "Saudi Papers Urge Iran to Reconsider War Policy," in JPRS Near East and South Asian Report, 83127, No. 2726, March 23, 1983, pp. 111-112.

131. Some evidence suggested that "the Iranian navy's hovercrafts were prepared to carry in a force of armed troops to Bahrain 'at the request of the Bahraini revolutionary government' once the coup had been successful." See "Tehran Intended Sending Forces into Bahrain," (1981) Iranian Press Service (London), December 23, in JPRS Near East and North African Report, 79895, No. 2471, January 19, p. 84.

132. "Bahrain Incident Underscores Gulf Security Concerns," (1982) in JPRS Near East and North Africa Report, 80129, No. 2489, February 18, pp. 13-14.

133. Ibid., p. 13. Other sources read this pact as the beginning of a "political-military alliance to confront the dangers they face from the Tehran regime." See "Saudi-Bahrain Anti-Iran Alliance," (1982) in JPRS Near East and North Africa Report, 79797, No. 2465, January 6, p. 29.

134. "Security Agreement Signed with Saudi Arabia," (1982) in JPRS Near East and North Africa Report, 79999, No. 2479, February 2, p. 23.

135. Ibid.

3.0 Early Efforts to Integrate Gulf Security Policy

136. Aryeh Shmuelevitz (1978), "Gulf States," in Colin Legum (ed.), Middle East Contemporary Survey 1976-77, Volume 1, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.), p. 330.

137. Ibid.

138. Haim Shaked and Yehudit Ronen (1978), "Saudi Arabia," in Colin Legum (ed.), Middle East Contemporary Survey 1976-77, Volume 1, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.), p. 574.

139. Ibid.

140. Ibid.

141. Aryeh Shmuelevitz (1979), "Gulf States," in Colin Legum (ed.), Middle East Contemporary Survey 1977-78, Volume 2, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.), p. 411.

142. BBC (1976), Summary of World Broadcasts; Middle East and Africa, November 27, (Kuwait).

143. Shmuelevitz (1978), op. cit., p. 331.

144. Haim Shaked and Tamar Yegnes (1979), "The Saudi Arabian Kingdom," in Colin Legum (ed.), Middle East Contemporary Survey 1977-78, Volume 2, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.), p. 683.

145. Ibid.

146. Ibid.

147. Shmuelevitz (1979), op. cit., p. 412.

148. New York Times, June 18, 1978.

149. Haim Shaked and Tamar Yegnes (1979), op. cit., p. 684.

150. Shmuelevitz (1979), op. cit., p. 412.

151. During the revolution in Iran, Shia religious leaders in the Gulf became more politically active, with some actually meeting with Khomeini. Also the Shia and Iranian communities in Qatar and the UAE hosted the visits of some of Khomeini's representatives.

152. Eli Flint (1980), "The Gulf States," in Colin Legum, Haim Shaked and Daniel Dishon (1980), Middle East Contemporary Survey: Volume III 1978-79, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.), p. 435.

153. See Flint (1980), "Bahrain," op. cit., pp. 440-441.

154. Flint (1980), "The Gulf States," op. cit., p. 435.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

158. Jacob Goldberg (1980), "The Saudi Arabian Kingdom," in Colin Legum, Haim Shaked and Daniel Dishon (1980), Middle East Contemporary Survey: Volume III 1978-79, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.), p. 751.

159. Ibid. The Rulers of Qatar, the UAE, Kuwait, YAR and the Bahraini Defense Minister viewed the maneuvers with King Khalid.

160. Flint (1980), "The Gulf States," op. cit., p. 436.

161. Ibid., p. 437.

162. Ibid.

3.1 The Gulf Cooperation Council

163. "Bahrain's Prime Minister Stresses Importance of GCC," (1982) Middle East Economic Digest, May 14, p. 12.

164. "Together at Last," (1981) The Economist, March 14, p. 37.

165. Yasmin Qureshi (1982), "Gulf Cooperation Council," Pakistan Horizon, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, (Pakistan Institute of International Affairs).

166. "Gulf Security: One Plus Five," (1981) The Economist, May 30, p. 36.

167. "Gulf Defense Agreement Expected Soon," (1982) Middle East Economic Digest, April 2, p. 2.

168. Jonathan Becker (1983), "GCC States Offer Cold Comfort in 1984," MiddleEast Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 28, July 15, p. 14.

169. "A Common Market of Sorts," (1983) The Economist, February 19, p. 25.

170. Ibid. The Economist article reports that the GCC countries have low tariffs already. In addition, the Industrial Bank of Kuwait reports that, on the average, GCC member nations "do only about 2% of their exporting and 7% of their importing from within the group."

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid.

173. Ibid.

174. Harvey, Nigel (1983), "GCC Looks at Joint Action on Energy," Middle East Economic Digest, February 12, p. 21.

The tone of the article is almost suggestive of a new cartel arising in the form of the GCC. However, Bahain's Development and Industry Minister Yousef al-Shirawi is clear that this is not the case. The article does claim that the GCC could "not hope to match OPEC's bargaining strength in gas and petroleum products," although it "would take a fresh approach to determining energy prices." What is not addressed is the future potential role of the GCC within the OPEC framework. Here the future of GCC membership, sometimes thought to be possibly inclusive of Jordan, Iraq or North Yemen, is important. This question is also suggestive of the interdependencies between the regional economic-energy regimes and the security regime.

175. Qureshi (1982), op. cit., p. 86.

176. "Gulf Security Linked to Neutrality, Defense, Democracy," (1982) in JPRS Near East and North Africa Report, 81178, No. 2573, June 30, pp. 22-23.

177. "Persian Gulf States Sign Security Pacts," (1982) in JPRS Near East and North Africa Report, 80362, No. 2508, March 19, p. 14.

178. "Gulf Security Document," (1981), The Middle East, January, p. 16.

179. Ibid., p. 17.

180. Ibid.

181. "GCC to Stage Military Exercise," (1983), Middle East Economic Digest Vol. 27, No. 39, September 30, p. 7.

182. Howarth (1983), op. cit., p. 1406.

183. "Military Plans, Gulf War, Relations with France Discussed," (1983) in JPRS Near East and South Asia Report, 83592, No. 2762, June 2, pp. 82-85.

184. Qureshi (1982), op. cit., p. 88.

185. "Report on Discussions of Gulf Cooperation Council Defense Ministers," (1982), in JPRS Near East and North Africa Report, 82434, No. 2675, December 9, p. 31.

186. Qureshi (1982), op. cit., p. 88.

187. "Gulf Defense Agreement Expected Soon," (1982) Middle East Economic Digest, April 2, p. 2.

188. "Kuwait Drafts GCC Security Changes," (1983) Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 29, July 22, p. 4.

189. "Gulf cooperation-theory or practice," (1983) Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 43, October 28, p. 14.

4.0 Defense Issues and Events of Relevant Countries

190. See Edward A. Kolodziej and Robert Harkavy (1982), Security Policies in Developing Countries, (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books), p. 13.

In the introduction, Kolodziej and Harkavy define security policy as "that set of decisions and actions taken by a government to preserve or create an internal or external order congenial to its interests and values primarily (although not exclusively) through the threat or use of force." (p. 13)

In addition, they create a nine point framework for comparative studies of security policymaking, which are more or less adhered to in the text of section 4.0 of this paper. (1) Elite assumptions about the international system within which national military forces must operate; whether, for example, the structure is constraining or permissive, hostile or benign, legitimate or illegitimate; (2) The definition of military and non-military threats to the domestic political regime or nation-state or both; the national objectives to be supported by the use or threat of military force; and the regional or international security structure implied by its security policies and behavior; (3) The military doctrinal response to these threats and opportunities, requiring the use or threat of force; (4) The force levels and weapons systems organized to respond to the previous three levels of decision and action; (5) The announced strategies to communicate to, or to conceal policies from, allies, adversaries and neutrals, as well as subordinates (military elites, functionaries, et. al.) and the coordination of coercive and non-coercive instruments of power; (6) The human and material resources, including advanced technology, needed to respond to security imperatives while addressing internal socioeconomic demands; (7) The marshalling of public opinion, political parties, and interest groups to support regime and national pbjectives and policies; (8) The creation of political incentives and controls to direct the military establishment to support defined objectives; and (9) Alignment strategies with allies and adversaries to maximize security objectives, including arms control measures.

191. Edward A. Kolodziej and Robert Harkavy (1980), "Developing States and the International Security System," Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 34, No. 1, Spring/Summer, p. 59.

192. Ibid., p. 64.

193. See ibid., for summaries of global military expenditures. Saudi Arabia, for example, increased its military expenditures over 550% from 1968 to 1977, in constant 1976 dollars. This occurred at a time when its GNP increased some 163%. There was virtually no increase in the size of its armed forces during this time, which indicates the magnitude of its buildup of military infrastructure.

194. Ibid., p. 62.

195. It is also possible that states want their military forces to secure bargaining leverage in dealing with other states. "It may be precisely because states are increasingly interdependent- that is, that their policy objectives depend partially but often crucially on the behavior of other states in greater or lesser measure- that some elites have turned increasingly to military instruments to advance their objectives and interests. Cooperative behavior may often be induced by essentially negative incentives. The ominously growing tensions over Persian Gulf oil, now sought by both the US and the USSR, illustrate all to well the dangers inherent in interdependence." Ibid., p. 61.

196. Anthony H. Cordesman (1981), "The Changing Military Balance in the Gulf and the Middle East," Armed Forces Journal International, September, p. 54.

197. See Kolodziej and Harkavy (1982), op. cit., p. 18 for extension of this concept to other cases in the developing world.

198. Shmuelevitz (1978), op. cit., p. 335.

199. Akhbar al-Khalij, June 29, 1977 in ibid., p. 336.

200. Shmuelevitz (1979), op. cit., p. 420.

201. Flint (1980), "Bahrain," op. cit., p. 442.

202. Ibid., p. 441.

203. Howarth (1983), op. cit., p. 1407.

204. Shmuelevitz (1978), op. cit., p. 343.

205. Barbara Donnelly (1983), "France Increasing Share of Middle East Weapons Market," Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 31, August 5, p. 7.

206. Shmuelevitz (1978), op. cit., p. 344.

207. International Institute for Strategic Studies (1979), Military Balance 1979-80, (London: IISS). See also Shmuelevitz (1979), op. cit., p. 428.

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208. "Military Plans, Gulf War, Relations with France Discussed," (1983) in JPRS <u>Near East and South Asia Report</u>, 83592, No. 2762, June 2, pp. 82-85.

209. <u>Ibid</u>.

210. Reference is even made to Israeli Minister Sharon's plan to occupy Kuwait. See "Army Holds Multi-Force Exercise," (1983) in JPRS <u>Near East and South Asia Report</u>, 83517, No. 2756, May 20, p. 47.

211. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 46-47.

212. <u>Ibid</u> 47.

213. Hottinger (1981), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 13.

214. <u>Ibid</u>.

215. Shmuelevitz (1978), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 350 and Shmuelevitz (1979), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 436-7.

216. Shmuelevitz (1978), <u>ibid</u>., p. 350.

217. "Iranians to Release Ships," (1983), in JPRS <u>Near East and South Asia Report</u>, 82993, No. 2715, March 3.

218. Flint (1980), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 462.

219. <u>Ibid</u>.

220. "Naval Base Work Begins," (1983) <u>Middle East Economic Digest</u>, Vol. 27, No. 7, February 18, p. 33.

221. Howarth (1983), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 1408.

222. Anthony H. Cordesman (1983), "Oman: The Guardian of the Eastern Gulf," <u>Armed Forces Journal International</u>, June, p. 26.

223. <u>Ibid</u>.

224. "GCC Provides $1,800 Million for Defense," (1983) <u>Middle East Economic Digest</u>, Vol. 27, No. 37, September 16, p. 46.

225. Howarth (1983), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 1408.

226. Cordesman (1983), <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 26.

227. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 24.

228. <u>Ibid</u>.

229. Ibid., p. 30.

230. Ibid.

231. Donnelly (1983), op. cit.

232. Shmuelevitz (1979), op. cit., p. 446.

233. Shmuelevitz (1979), op. cit., p. 358.

234. Ibid.

235. Ibid.

236. Ibid.

237. Ibid., pp. 451, 453.

238. Flint (1980), op. cit., p. 479.

239. Ibid.

240. "Defense Spending Up in 1983," (1983) Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 10, March 11, p. 66.

241. Ibid.

242. "UAE: President Inaugurates new airbase," (1983) Dubayy Khaleej Times, in JPRS Near East and South Asia Report, 83517, April 12, p. 51.

243. Ibid.

244. "Defense Spending Up in 1983," (1983) Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 10, March 11, p. 66.

245. "More Fighter Aircraft Purchases Likely," (1983) Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 13, April 1, p. 49.

246. Ibid., p. 48.

247. "Hawk Missile Deal Signed," (1983) Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 27, No. 12, March 25, p. 56.

248. This brief synopsis is clearly simplified, but for purposes here illustrates the important points. It is true, of course, that the Saudis have been engaged in a large scale military program since the October 1973 War and the oil price increases. Hence the reference in the text to the "illusion" of a stable military balance. The Saudis probably never accepted the role of Iran as security guarantor in the Gulf, but at the same time there was no better alternative and several worse ones, an

enhanced role for socialist Iraq being among them. The main point to be taken though is that changes in regional security arrangements, implicit as they may have been, have intensified the need for a highly capable Saudi military force in a nearer time frame.

249. "National Guard Military Exercise Examined," (1983) Al-Yamamah (Riyadh) in JPRS Near East and South Asia Report, 83460, No. 2752, May 13, p. 144.

250. "Crown Prince Discusses Gulf Relations, Defense Capabilities," (1982) SPA (Riyadh) October 10 in JPRS Near East and South Asia Report, 82066, No. 2646, October 25, 1982, p. 74.

251. Clarence A. Robinson (1983), "Saudis Facing USSR, Regional Threats," Aviation Week and Space Technology, Vol. 118, No. 21, May 23, p. 66. See also Alvin Z. Rubinstein (1977), "Soviet Persian Gulf Policy," Middle East Review, Winter, pp. 47-55, and George Lenczowski (1982), "The Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf: An Encircling Strategy," International Journal, Vol. 37, No. 2, Spring, pp. 307-327. Lenczowski claims that Soviet policy in the area is marked by a gradual encirclement stretching from the Horn of Africa through South Yemen to Afghanistan. One goal of this strategy is to initiate a communist takeover in Iran.

252. McLaurin, et. al. (1982), op. cit., p. 206. However other sources suggest that the Israeli threat is considered by the Saudis to be more of an "irritant and a potential threat" rather than an "overriding threat" such as Iran and the USSR. See Robinson (1983), ibid.

253. "Paper Blasts Saudi Arabia as Superpower Puppet," (1983) Tehran Times, March 15 in JPRS Near East and South Asia Report, 83255, No. 2737, April 13, 1983, p. 170.

254. Naveed Ahmad (1982), "Pakistan-Saudi Relations," Pakistan Horizon, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, p. 59.

255. Shirin Tahir-Khali and William O. Staudenmaier (1982), "The Saudi-Pakistani Military Relationship: Implications for U.S. Policy," Orbis, Vol. 26, No. 1, Spring, p. 156.

256. See ibid., passim, for discussion of Saudi-Pakistani joint interests for cooperation and details of past military cooperation.

257. "Government Reported Cool to US RDF Proposal," (1982) 8 Days (London), in JPRS, Near East and North Africa Report, 80284, No. 2503, March 10, pp. 54-55. The RDF is seen as useful only as a last resort and in the unlikely event of direct Soviet military action in the region.

258. "U.S., Saudi Arabia Form Joint Military Committee," (1982) in JPRS China Report, 80149, No. 272, February 22, p. 2.

259. "Oman, Saudi Arabia Criticized for Complicity with U.S.," Al-Tali'ah (Kuwait) in JPRS Near East and North Africa Report, 80219, No. 2497, March 2, p. 42. Kuwait is the source of some criticism.

260. "Paper Rejects Criticism of Saudi-US Cooperation," (1982) Al-Jazirah (Riyadh) February 16 in JPRS Near East and North Africa Report, 80249, No. 2500, March 5, pp. 83-84.

261. Abdul Kasim Mansur (1980), "The Military Balance in the Persian Gulf: Who Will Guard the Gulf States From Their Guardians?" Armed Forces Journal International, Vol. CXVIII, November 3.

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297. Clarence A. Robinson (1983), "Saudi Naval Force Grows Toward 34-Vessel Fleet," Aviation Week and Space Technology, Vol. 118, No. 21, May 23, p. 75.

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299. Indeed, there is a degree of suspicion in smaller Gulf countries about Saudi motives. Saudi disputes with neighboring Kuwait and the UAE have not been fully forgotten. A case is arguable that Kuwait is much more interested than Saudi Arabia in preserving a future role for Iraq in the GCC. From Kuwait's viewpoint, the balance between these two relatively more powerful states would be itself a form of protection for Kuwaiti independence and interests.