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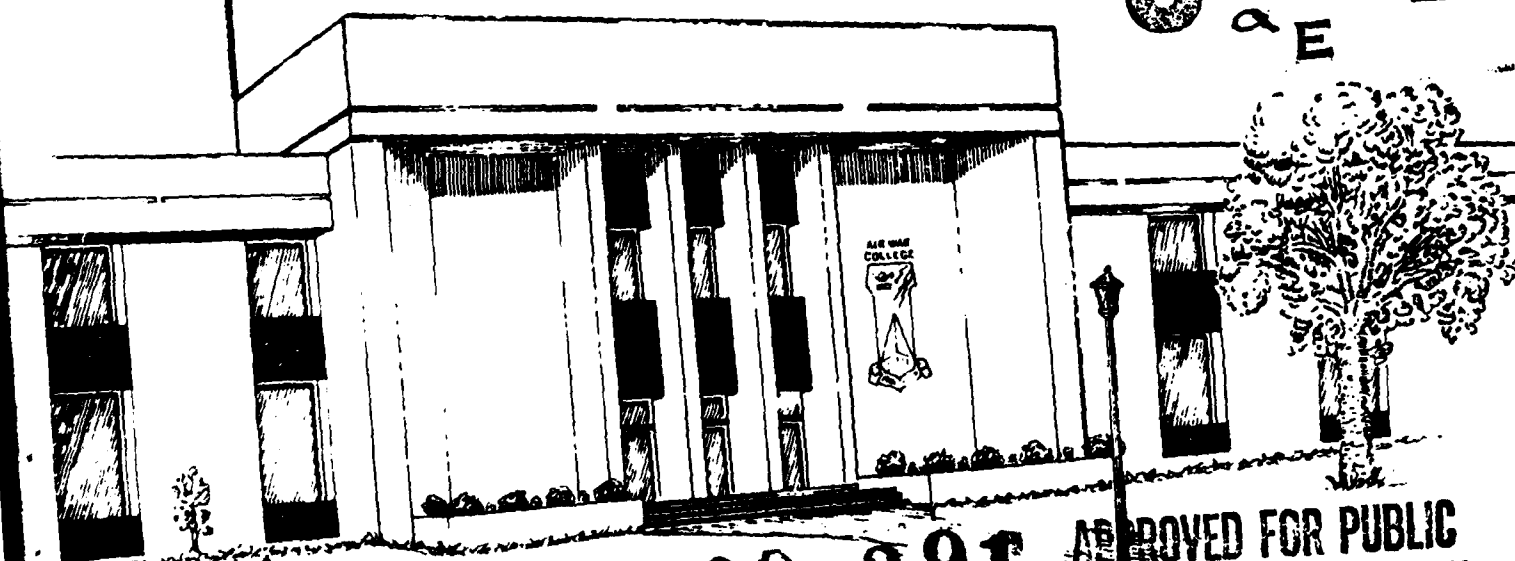
RESEARCH REPORT

THE ARAB GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL

COLONEL MOHAMMAD F. ALBISHI
ROYAL SAUDI AIR FORCE

1988

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THE ARAB GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL

by

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A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

in

FULFILLMENT OF THE RESEARCH

REQUIREMENT

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Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama

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ABSTRACT

Many people including the U.S.A. believe the Gulf Cooperation Council, GCC, is a very important part of the Middle East and its stability is a major issue. This paper will attempt to answer the question, "Do the GCC countries have a common interest with the U.S.A. and why is its stability so important to the west ?"



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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Colonel Mohammad Al-Bishi was born in Abha, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1946. He graduated from high school in 1964. In 1968 he graduated from Flight School at RAF Lemming, England as a rated pilot. He attended OCU at RSAF, Dahran AFB where he flew T-33s and F-86s. He continued his flight training on the Mark F-53 Lightning and was a member of the Sixth Squadron, Kamiss AFB., Southwestern Saudi Arabia. He held a variety of positions in the squadron including Squadron Commander. Mohammad Graduated from SOS here at Maxwell in 1975. In 1977, he went to King Abdul Aziz AFB at Dahran as the Operations Officer of the first Flying Wing. While there he was selected to become the base intelligence officer. In 1981, he graduated from ACSC at the Royal Saudi Army College and in 1982 he transferred to Headquarters in Riyadh. Mohammad then became the Commandant of the Royal Saudi Air Force Technical School at Dahran.

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INTRODUCTION

"No arm of the sea has been or is of greater interest alike to the geologist and the archaeologist, the historian and the geographer, the merchant, the statesman, and the student of strategy than the inland water known as the Persian Gulf." (1.1)

Sir Arnold provides a much needed perspective for any information concerning the Arabian Gulf and the area around it. The above quotation clearly indicates the importance of geography as far more basic and enduring than the current energy crisis while much of the West seems to relate the importance of the Gulf only to oil.

The perception held widely throughout the world is that the strategic importance of the Middle East is inextricably joined to access to the energy resources which makes the Arabian Gulf the cornerstone.

The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was formed in 1981. The GCC consists of the following nations: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates. The GCC was formed as a regional reaction to the overthrow of the Shah of Iran and the Iran - Iraq war. (7:213) The Charter of the Council (GCC) is designed to increase cooperation between these Gulf States and project a unified front, regionally and globally. The emphasis of cooperation centers on the political, military, economic, and social concerns of the member states.

The six members share many similarities. The most important similarity is their religious and cultural heritage in Islam. Other commonalities that are shared are language, climate, terrain, and customs.

The countries of the GCC encompass an area of great geostrategic importance to the entire world. The area is vital to the U.S. national security interests. The six countries of the GCC produce 25% of the world's oil and contain 65% of the total world reserves. Besides oil, 25% of the world's natural gas reserves are estimated to be beneath the surface of the region. (2:6) In addition to this, the region is situated along the "soft underbelly" of the Soviet Union. It is in the best interest of the U.S. for the region to be stable, self-determining, and militarily strong.

In this paper, two questions therefore must be addressed. First, "Do the GCC countries have common interests with the USA? Second: Why is their stability so important to the world? In order to answer these questions, the geography of the region will be discussed; why the GCC was created and the possible outcome of the GCC will be analyzed.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHY

The entire peninsula is part of the Middle East region in Southwest Asia. The peninsula has the same topographical features, similar weather conditions and agricultural products. The GCC countries are located on the western part of the Arabian Gulf.

Regions of Borders by Country

Bahrain. Bahrain is made up of a group of islands in the Gulf midway between the tip of the Qatar peninsula and the mainland of Saudi Arabia. the interior plateau on the main island of Bahrain has an elevation of about 30 to 60 meters. The hill, Jabal Dukhan, that rises to a height of 135 meters above sea level, is the highest point on the island. Approximately 66% of the indigenous population come from the Arabian Peninsula and Iran. Islam, the major religion, is divided into two sects. The Sunni predominate in the urban centers and the Shi'a sect in the rural areas. The estimated population is 450,000. (3:1)

Road networks are limited. There is no rail system. Cross country transportation is good without any major obstacles, such as forests, rivers or large urban areas. The total area of Bahrain is 260 square miles. (3:1) Bahrain is served by an international airport and a connecting bridge to Saudi Arabia.

The Bahrain defense forces number around 3,000 and are divided into the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. (7:192)

KUWAIT. Kuwait is located in the northeastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula, bounded on the north and the west by Iraq, on the south by Saudi Arabia and on the east by the Gulf.

The population of Kuwait is approximately 2,150,000 and is primarily Arab in origin. Most natives of Kuwait are Sunni Muslims, however, approximately 30% of them are Shi'a Muslims. The road network is limited to one principle north to south road and one east to west road. Kuwait city, the capitāḷ, is also a major seaport. (10:307)

The defense forces of Kuwait total approximately 15,000 personnel. The Army, their largest service, is 10,000 strong followed by the Navy and the Air Force. The Navy is primarily a Coast Guard while the Air Force's role is that of intercept and ground attack. (7:192)

OMAN. Oman is located in the eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Its land borders on Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emerites, (U.A.E.) The eastern borders of Oman are the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea. Oman's borders with Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. are ^{ill-}defined. Oman's borders with Yemen are still very much in dispute. Oman's territory includes the tip of the strategically important Musandam peninsula which overlooks the Strait of Hormuz, the passage way for much of the region's oil exports.

The population of Oman is estimated to be 1.5 million of which one third lives in the city of Muscat and in the Batinah coastal plain, northwest of the city; the road network is limited. One road, the principle road, runs from Muscat, southwest to the border with South Yemen. An international airport is located 36 km. west of Muscat. During the monsoon season transportation is difficult due to floods. (4:1)

The Omani defense forces number over 22,000 personnel. Military service is voluntary. The army is organized into two brigade headquarters to which battalion size units are assigned when tasked. the Navy performs coastal protection and limited amphibious operation from bases located in Muscat and Ghanam. The Air Force capabilities include ground attack, reconnaissance, transport and counterinsurgency operations. (7:192)

QATAR. Qatar is situated on the peninsula which juts out into the Gulf. It borders on the U.A.E. and Saudi Arabia in the south. Bahrain lies to the northeast. Almost 80% of the population of approximately 270,000 are expatriates from Iran, India, and Pakistan. The Qataris are mainly Sunni Muslims of the Wahabi Sect. The terrain is mostly flat and barren, covered with loose sand and gravel which ^{is} relieved in the south by low ridges. A lattice-like road network connects most major towns and the capitol, Al-Dawhah or (Daha). The major airport is located in Al-Dawhah.

Qatar maintains a military establishment of about 6,000 volunteers. (7:192)

SAUDI ARABIA. Saudi Arabia, geographically, is the largest of the GCC states occupying about four-fifths of the Arabian Peninsula. Bordered on the east by the Gulf and the Red Sea on the west Saudi Arabia has common borders with Qatar, and U.A.E., Oman, North Yemen, and South Yemen to the east and to the south. In the north Saudi Arabia has common borders with Jordan and Iraq. The topography is mainly desert with the terrain sloping gently to the east from the mountains near the Red Sea.

The population is estimated to number around 9.6 million. Observers frequently connect the country's stability to its Islamic heritage. About 95% of the population has settled in the urban centers. The road network is good. The airports serve nearly all the major urban areas. Domestic travel between major cities is supported by daily scheduled flights. (6:1)

The Saudi military service is the most advanced of the GCC member states with over 51,500 personnel. The Royal Saudi Air Force is one of the most advanced Air Forces in the GCC. A two fleet Navy is required because of the two contiguous waters, the Red Sea and the Gulf. A National Guard of about 25,000 can field an additional forty infantry battalions. (7:192)

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES. U.A.E. The U.A.E. is approximately 30,000 square miles, bounded on the north by the Gulf and there share a common border with Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Oman. The climate is hot and dry with little rainfall.

Fewer than 20% of the population of 1.5 million are U.A.E. citizens. The remaining 80% of the population consist of Palestinians, Egyptians, Yeminis, Omanis, Iranians, Pakistanis, Indians, and Europeans. Most of the indigenous people are Sunni Muslims.

The terrain is primarily flat, barren coastal plains which changes to rolling sand dunes inland. This eventually merges into an uninhabited wasteland. Paved roads link the seven Emirates, which make up the U.A.E. (5:1)

The U.A.E. armed forces have more than 46,000 troops. The Air Force has about 1,800 personnel. The Navy is small, about 1,000 personnel. Most of the U.A.E.'s military equipment is French and British. (7:192)

CHAPTER III

CREATION OF THE GCC

History/Background

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain gained control of all the Gulf countries, except the country known as Saudi Arabia. Although the British controlled the region they were unable to change such common factors as language, religion, customs, family ties and economic policies. The British tried very hard to influence the Arab people to change as had the Indians in India but they were unsuccessful. The French and the other Colonial Empires were more successful in changing language and economic practices in some of the Black African countries.

A series of events occurred in the region after the British were forced to withdraw from the Gulf region which convinced the Gulf Countries they needed to form the Gulf Cooperation Council. Iraq made claims on Kuwait's sovereignty during President Kassem's reign. Iran occupied three Arabian islands that were part of the U.A.E. During the Shah's regime, Iran claimed Bahrain belonged to them. (15:1-3)

Unity of language, Religion, Culture

The Arabian Peninsula throughout known history has always been known as one area. When the history of the region is examined we will find many factors that all inhabitants share. Those are Language, Religion, Geography, Customs

family ties, economic factors and more.

Language. The GCC is part of the Arab World and the Arabic Language is the official language. Because of this factor, cooperation and coordination is much easier in all aspects intended by the GCC states.

Religion. Islam originated in the Arabian Peninsula and became the dominant religion in that area. This contributes to the cohesiveness of the area.

Geography. The entire peninsula has similar weather conditions and similar agricultural products.

Customs. When the commonalities of the language, religion, and geography are examined it is not surprising to note the similarities in customs. Because of this the GCC are called the conservative states. (15:1)

Family ties and values. Most of the GCC people are descendants from the same tribes that roamed throughout the area. This contributed to the closeness of the people of the region. Consequently, inter-marriage is common across borders as well as tribal and non-tribal movement from one area to another.

Economic factors. Historically, people of this region have relied on agriculture and fishing, plus camel and sheep raising. The people who live on the Gulf's shores are concerned with fishing and pearl diving. Many residents are merchants bringing goods into the Gulf from India and Africa. The majority of the population engages in farming. The major crops are dates, wheat, and fruits. The remainder of the people are Bedouins who raise sheep and camels.

These people, nomads, never settle in one place. They usually follow the rain which could be anywhere in the area. (15:1)

Political factors. All members of the GCC have a monarchical type of government. This is a hereditary ruler not one who is elected by the people. Although the U.A.E. is a federation with an appointed rotation of leaders, the seven members of the federation are traditional Emirates. In the world front, all belong to the Arab League. The ideological background of the political structure is deeply rooted in Islam.

These factors, plus recent history, are most important ingredients in the formation of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Establishment and the Objectives of the GCC

Formation of the GCC. The Gulf Cooperation Council was formed on May 20, 1981. The two major factors leading to the formation of the GCC were the fall of the Shah's regime in Iran and the Iran-Iraq war. (8:11) The headquarters of the GCC is in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. The GCC consists of a Supreme Council, a Ministerial Council and a Secretarial Council. The Supreme Council is made up of the heads of state, with a rotating presidency. The GCC is scheduled to meet once a year but any member can request an emergency meeting. Each member state has one vote and all resolutions must be approved unanimously.

The Composition of the GCC. The foreign ministers of each state make up the Ministerial Council. The

Ministerial Council has a revolving presidency and meeting are held every three months. To have a quorum, two-thirds of the members must be present. Each member is qualified to address almost any issue. The Secretariat has a secretary general who is appointed by the Supreme Council for a term of three years. Assistant Secretary Generals are appointed by the Ministerial Council. The Ministerial Council formulates plans and studies for virtually every area of the Gulf Activity. (8:12) All members are equal partners with equal powers. The main objectives of the GCC are:

- 1) The organization and coordination in every aspect and field that would unite the whole region.
- 2) To deepen and strengthen all the common factors that exist among all the people of the member states in every aspect.
- 3) Coordination in every field including:
 - a. economic
 - b. commerce, customs, and transportation
 - c. education and literacy
 - d. health and social services
 - e. telecommunication
 - f. tourism
 - g. management and legislation
- 4) To encourage the progress of science, arts, agriculture, marine life, environmental protection, and to establish scientific research in all fields.
- 5) To encourage the participation of private

enterprises in all these fields.

When founded, the GCC emphasized that it was not meant to be a pro-western group, hostile to the USSR, nor an Arab group against non-Arabs. The GCC stated priorities are Arab Unity against the hostility of both superpowers. The goals for GCC are self-determination and self-defense in the region. (7:218)

CHAPTER IV
POLITICAL ISSUES
GCC PROSPECTIVES

Presently the Gulf is imperiled by war. The Gulf regions are targets for confusion and armed conflicts. The GCC has been the chief stabilizing force working to maintain the predictability of the Gulf economic and political affairs. However, the conflicts are increasing in intensity.

Moderation. This is the principle arm. The GCC insists upon cooperation, coexistence, peaceful resolution of conflicts, compromise, and moderation. Therefore, the use of force and coercion is unacceptable. Change must be accomplished when it is peaceful and based on persuasion. To the GCC the use of force or coercive change is unacceptable. Moderation is the essence of the societies and governments that make up the GCC.

Flexibility. An important feature in the GCC is their flexibility. It is called give and take. The Heads of States use patience, quiet persuasion, consensus-building and cooperative decision-making in finding solutions to problems. Traditionally, these methods have always been skillfully used and they are the cornerstones of unity within the GCC and cooperation in the region.

Coordination. The member states realize that they must coordinate ~~and~~ integrate their economies. the GCC is more than economic integration and more than a common market. Continued prosperity is contingent on stability in the region. The GCC members believe security is based on the independence of the Gulf, assertive self-determination, and collective self-defense. The GCC realizes security needs can be served only through self-reliance. The coordination of the armed forces into a "peninsular shield" is a symbol of the Gulf states' cooperation. As a shield it threatens no one and does not indorse policies of intervention. The GCC is an all embracing structure which was formed to meet the present and future needs of the member states when the need arises. The GCC is an ingenious self-supporting organization. (12:1-2)

Policies of the GCC. The stated political principles and strategy of the GCC are:

- 1) To maintain regional security.
- 2) To treat aggression against one member as aggression directed against all.
- 3) To use military force defensively.
- 4) To prevent superpowers intervention within the region.
- 5) To treat GCC countries as part of the "Arab nations". (8:11)

The formation of the GCC and its involvement in the area of maintaining regional security have positive affects. The GCC can pool their strength and talents politically,

economically, and militarily. The GCC provides a framework within which the council can work for peaceful problem solving.

The GCC and the United States

Involvement. Good relations with the United States are very important to the GCC. A GCC-U.S. economic agreement increases the benefits in the economic relationship for both parties. The trade and economic cooperation should not be "ad hoc" but should follow a formalized framework in which fairness and growth occurs in the relationship. The U.S. has shown a great understanding of the need for stability in the Gulf, an awareness of the dangers if the conflict spreads, and the essential role the GCC plays in the region. The diplomatic support received from the U.S. is a plus because the GCC has successfully discouraged reckless moves or an expansion of fighting in the Iran-Iraq war. The U.S. clearly recognizes the importance of its interests and those of its Western Allies can only be achieved by a peaceful, intact Gulf. Since the continued maintenance of the regional balance of power necessitates an improvement in GCC's collective self-defense capabilities the GCC expect to find an attentive "ear" with the U.S. for the acquisition of defensive military systems. Their requests must be judged on their own merits and not used as leverage in domestic U.S. politics, or confused with extraneous issues. They expect much more from a superpower with critical interests in the region. The strategic interests held by the U.S.

and the USSR contributed in turn to the strategic importance of the Gulf to the international community. The statement of the U.S. objectives in the region reflect the perceived strategic importance of the area. Their objectives are: ~~to preserve and protect the independence~~ of the states in the region from aggression and subversion; to help secure a lasting peace for all the peoples of the Mideast; to prevent the spread of the Soviet influence and the loss of freedom and independence that it entails; to protect Western access to energy resources of the area; to maintain the security of key sea-lanes in and to this region. This is evident in the recent escorts of Kuwait's ships through the strategic Strait of Hormuz.(2:63)

Threats to GCC

To understand the counter forces in the Gulf it is necessary to understand the potential threat to the GCC countries. The range of the conflict which would result from one hostile action is staggering. The possible involvement of the superpowers takes on an added dimension in view of the above stated objectives to maintain an access to the Gulf's energy resources. Within the region, conditions exist which could draw GCC members into an untenable position in an effort to maintain a semblance of national integrity. (2:64)

Internal Threats. Few threats are exclusively internal to the GCC. Even situations which are internal in origin eventually become international in nature as regional or

external powers seek to exploit these situations for their own purposes. Internal threats include domestic unrest, revolution, coups, secessionist movements and civil wars. This exploitation and the promotion of domestic unrest and revolution by outside interests make it virtually impossible to separate internal threats from external ones. Recent examples of internal threats have occurred within the GCC and within the region. The Islamic revolution in Iran, although not directly involving a GCC state, was nonetheless a great shock to the Gulf region. The overthrow of a seemingly secure and powerful Shah regime by a popular revolutionary movement had obvious implications for the other regimes in the region with a similar cultural, religious, ideological and governmental makeup. Many of the Gulf States face similar problems stemming from the rapid socio-economic and cultural changes fueled by vast oil wealth. The large-scale foreign immigration, which has placed the native population of three of the GCC states in minority, could be destabilizing. Such conditions have historically led to situations of unrest with the foreign population alleging unfair treatment. The attempted coup in Bahrain, in December 1981, was clearly the catalytic event in the history of the GCC. This event led the member states to agree on the need for defense and security cooperation. The Bahrain coup attempt and the Dhofar insurgency in Oman which lasted from 1965 to 1977 are indicators of threats which were originally internal by were later discovered to have been exploited by external

powers. The Iranians were involved in the attempted Bahrain Coup. "The Islamic Liberation Front" acted as the instigator, recruiter, and paymaster of the plot. The Dhafor insurgency, originally tribal, was taken over at its height by Marxist leaders backed by the South Yemen acting as Soviet surrogates. (7:134)

Threats like these can be dealt with most efficiently by the defense and security establishment of the GCC members with some degree of cooperation among the member states.

The Outside Threats. Conflicts similar to the Iran-Iraq conflict which has continued for a very long time adds to the instability of the Gulf Region. A threat exists for all who export or import the Gulf's oil. These two nations, (Iran-Iraq) have the military power, geographical locations, population and revolutionary fervor to pose a serious threat to the GCC. This threat is currently obscured by the prolonged stalemate of the war in which Iran and Iraq are engaged. Victory by either side in the Iran and Iraq conflicts would bring about disastrous results to the GCC. Iran would probably demand compensation, if not subjugation, from the GCC states. Victory by Iraq could cause Iran to carry out, in desperation, the threat to close oil exports through the strategic strait of Hormuz. (7:122)

Israel. The Israeli presence in the occupied lands and the unresolved Palestinian problem is the most destabilizing factor in the region. Israeli forces are still in the Southern part of Lebanon, which they have occupied since 1982. Israel ignores U.S. warnings on those occasions when it feels its security needs justify military

action. Israel thus creates, from time to time, very hazardous and threatening situations for the entire area. (7:122)

The Soviet Union. Long before the discovery of oil in the Gulf the Soviets were interested in the area. The Gulf's position on the southern flank of the Soviet Union cannot be ignored. Since the time of Peter the Great, The Soviets have desired a warm water port in addition to those in the Black Sea. Moreover, the Soviet's interests in the Gulf region and its valuable oil assets are growing. The Soviet's sphere of influence is spreading in this part of the world. Their influences are felt in Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Yemen. The current Soviet military posture includes more than 20 front line divisions on the Turkish and Iranian borders. These factors cause much concern for the region especially when coupled with the uncertainty of the Soviet Union's own need for oil. (13:177)

South Yemen. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) has common borders with Oman and Saudi Arabia. South Yemen could provide entry to the Arabian Peninsula to the Soviet Union. The PDRY supported the Dhofar rebellion. The regime in PDRY is a client of the USSR. The presence of Soviet, Cuban, and East German advisors and the buildup of forces in the PDRY provides an unique threat to the regional stability. (13:118)

CHAPTER V

THE OUT COME OF THE GCC

The GCC is an all-embracing structure which was formed to meet the future needs of the member states as they arise. It is a natural, self-supporting organization, an irreversible force. (12:1)

The GCC members have made tremendous progress in modernizing their military forces and in improving cooperation between states. Member countries of the GCC face a vast dimension of security problems and long term constraints. However, the GCC, to date, has satisfactorily cooperated and managed its security problems. Agreements and understanding that, by any standard, are impressive in nature and scope have been achieved. These agreements and understandings are documented in civil aviation, standardization of educational programs, exchange of information at all levels, standardization of customs procedures and tariffs, establishment of joint economic and venture arrangements, harmonization of development programs, and countless other cooperative efforts. In this chapter there will be an attempt to discuss the military, economy and stability aspects of the out come of the GCC.

Military

The coordination of our armed forces into a "peninsula shield" is a symbol of our will for collective security measures and spirited defense. (12:1)

The GCC has made great strides in cooperation and coordination in the area of military defense. Upon examination of a map and analyses of the geography of the GCC countries it will be apparent that Saudi Arabia has strategic depth for the defense of the rest of the GCC. Saudi Arabia has the greatest land mass, the largest population and the most varied resources. The major threats to the GCC are external. The GCC strongly believes that the defense and the protection of the Gulf must be under GCC control. In order to establish this the GCC has established a Joint Command for a Joint Gulf Rapid Deployment Force. One product of this joint command was the various joint military exercises and maneuvers that have taken place (Peninsula Shield 1-2). The GCC established its joint military to quickly react to any potential emergency or threat to any GCC state. Its use would only be against any external threats. The military of the GCC is not powerful and is still forming, but it has vitality. The GCC rely on very advanced and effective military, massive joint exercises, unification of military equipment, unification of command and training, and increasing the technical knowledge of military personnel. The people and the governments of the Gulf have a strong

faith in the future of their military power and cooperation.
(15:10-11)

Economy

Objectives. Considerable progress has been made in the area of economics. Generally economic progress has been without contest and welcomed by the member states. However, as with other similar economic groups, progress could be expected to slow in this area as the economic interests of each member become more varied. The GCC should not be expected to be an exception to this experience, however, it is hoped that shortening the bureaucratic circuit of decision making within the GCC will reduce this problem. The GCC has given priority to efforts that will create an environment favorable for development through common objectives and policies, such as, a common agricultural policy and the creation of a unified industrial development strategy. The Unified Industrial Development Strategy is particularly important to industrial development in the region. Diversifying industrialization of the GCC member states will increase self-reliance and create stability. The creation of new skills and experience will cause a more rapid increase in productivity and more flexibility. By providing more investment opportunities within the region an accelerated growth in the economy can be expected. The expectations and goals may be met through the policies and program set by the Unified Industrial Development Strategy

(UIDS). UIDS is structured to direct efforts to accelerate the industrialization process of the region within the framework of GCC integrated economy. It involves closer coordination of existing industrialization programs and plans. More Cooperation through the participation of citizens in industrial growth, attaining a degree of self-reliance in basic manufactured goods by creating an indigenous base for applied sciences, research and technology, and integrating the oil sector with other sectors in the economy, especially in the manufacturing sector, is encouraged. The hope is that the GCC's trading partners will be more understanding and accommodating than they have been to date. The GCC's negotiations with major trading partners is contingent on the protection of the GCC's interests and the development of institutions which are more receptive in increasing the GCC's role. The negotiations also have direct impact to bring members closer to each other in order to unify their positions, particularly with the outside world. In conclusion, and with positive responses to these factors, the prospects for the GCC look fairly promising in the long term. In context of financial resources and infrastructure, the GCC member states are in a good position to trigger and consolidate development opportunities both within the region and with the GCC's trading partners. With over one third of the world's oil reserves in the GCC territories, a comfortable income is guaranteed well into the next century. The fact thereby increases the GCC's potential for successful economic development and integration. (14:1-2)

The Arab World. It should be stated that the success of the GCC experience will have a spill-over effect on the Arab world at large. The GCC will enhance relationships among the other Arab nations through rationalizing spending that will allocate more resources for development, thereby increasing Arab productive assets, creating a bigger market for goods produced within the region, opening additional opportunities for employment, developing a strong economic entity that is part of the Arab world, and creating a marketable model of Arab unity.

Stability

Security. We, in the Gulf, have become passionate about security. We want to prosper, to maintain our international message of the value of moderation and understanding, to continue to participate positively in the world economy. The GCC is a product of the status quo. It seeks to create and preserve stability in the region. (12:2) This stability relies on the balance of power in the Gulf. The GCC states have very few internal security threats. Coexistence and understanding are very important to regional stability. It is in everyone's interest that the GCC remains as solid as it is. The GCC worked through diplomacy and moderation to contain the conflict of the Iran-Iraq war and have emphasized everywhere the dangers of its spreading. Both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. have acknowledged this and have welcomed the stabilizing effect of the GCC on the region. The most undesirable solution to the defense of the region

would be to have U.S. military forces stationed there. To do this would invite retaliation from other factions that hold different perceptions of the value of the region. The most acceptable defense arrangement would be one devised by member nations of the GCC. It is apparent that the individual national forces of the region cannot accomplish their defense goals without the cohesive effect of the GCC. Although the actual presence of U.S. military forces is not desired by anyone, there is a definite need for external assistance. This assistance is needed in the form of sales of advanced weapon systems and training in operating and maintaining the new equipment. The advanced systems could compensate for the small military forces of the GCC nations. In this way the U.S. could and should give invaluable support to the efforts of the Gulf States that have entered into a cooperative defense arrangement. This is favored to having U.S. military assume responsibility for local defense. They can and must be prepared to assist the GCC whose security and stability is so directly and immediately tied to the U.S. national interests.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

There is an overwhelming consensus in the GCC that the defense of the Gulf must be in the hands of the inhabitants of the region. The United States can best assist regional efforts and at the same time serve its own purpose of continued access to the region's energy resources by supporting the GCC cooperative defense efforts. The superpowers desire stability because of the oil resources that are in the area. The internal instability of the Arab World has been increased by different definitions of their ideas of national concept. The Western nations define stability in the region in terms of their philosophy and their interests. The Communist parties define stability in terms of their ideologies. All express their desire to relieve the social pressures and many are sincere in their beliefs. However, the underlying concept of the superpowers is to serve their interests. The majority of Arabs have their visions in terms of their Islamic heritage. Their aspirations are not narrowly national but pan-Arab. The GCC strives to attain these aspirations.

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