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THE ARAB GULF AREA  
AND THE CONFLICTS INFLUENCING IT

BY

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THE ARAB GULF AREA AND THE CONFLICTS INFLUENCING IT

An Individual Study Project

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## ABSTRACT

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The Gulf area has a significant importance in today's world order. It is important geographically, politically, economically and militarily. Beside these factors, there are in the region several contrasts and elements of tension due to different political regimes, religions and cultural heritages, economic resources and the existence of crisis situations. The region is considered a confrontation arena between the superpowers, since each has tried to establish and then promote its military presence and influence there.

The region's nations have tried to cooperate among themselves to promote peace and security in the region. These attempts still need the support of superpowers and more effort to achieve the results they seek.

This paper analyzes the situation in the region, focusing on its importance and elements of tension, and it examines the possibility of achieving a state of peace and security. This peace and security can be achieved through cooperative economic behavior as a prelude to achieving political stability and peace. The participation of both superpowers and all Arab countries in the region is an essential requirement to changing the Gulf area to a peaceful region.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Egypt does not accept any violation of the security of Arab countries in the Gulf area seeking the safeguarding of their territories. It stands steadfast against the threats and the actions aiming at diminishing the rights of their friendly people to be able to lead a safe and prospective life.<sup>1</sup>

President Husns Mobarak, 1981

The Arab Gulf's importance lies in being the eastern border to the Arab world and the heart of the Islamic world. At the same time, it occupies the eastern edges of the Arab world and is considered the Arab world's terminal from the East. This importance increases as it is the crossroads between the Asian world to the east and the European world to the West.

In addition the Gulf has a great strategic importance, with many islands controlling the waterways in the Gulf. The most important of these islands are Abou Musa and the Small and Great Tombs. These islands are of great strategic importance as a suitable location for setting up naval and air bases.

The geological structure of the area has left it floating on a lake of oil, which makes its countries the richest in the world. It has the greatest proved reserves of oil (more than half of the proved reserve in the world) on which the U.S., European countries depend.

Beside its abundance of oil, the area is of interest to the Soviet Union because of its proximity. The distance between the

Gulf and borders of the Soviet Union is about 650 kilometers. To control the Gulf, it is clear that great powers are keeping a naval presence in the Indian Ocean which is connected to the Gulf. At the present time, there is a great competition among the superpowers to extend their influence within the area. This is because its strategic importance is gradually increasing due to the great need for oil and the possibility of another energy crisis.

Therefore, this area has become the hottest area of conflict in the world. This conflict is manifested in many political and military changes such as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the existence of socialist system in the area.

Underpopulation and lack of education in this area required immense assistance from the neighboring countries. This factor threatens the culture of the countries in this area.

From the military point of view, the military forces of these countries are not likely to be capable of securing the Gulf countries. This is a result of underpopulation, the lack of technical and scientific skills to absorb modern weapons, and the failure to set up a national strong and trained modern army.

The Gulf area produces 21.5 percent of the world's current oil needs.<sup>2</sup> It is one of the most important sources of oil while there also exists the largest reserve of oil in the world.<sup>3</sup>

#### Local Conflicts.

The problem of defining the borders in the region has more significance since there are large oil fields near many borders.

This has made it attractive for any country to seize a few kilometers, beyond its present border.

The British occupied the area to secure control over these countries. To sow dissent, it allowed Indian and Iranian groups to enter the Gulf to support it in dominating in the area. Britain had always been one part in any negotiations of problems about the borders, whether inside or outside the area. The first agreement about borders was between Britain and the Ottoman Empire in 1913. They agreed about the parts under each one's influence east of the Arab Peninsula. Also, Britain was the middleman among Iraq, Saudi and Kuwait in planning the borders because it was difficult to define the borders in the desert lands. So the borders agreed upon were interweaved and not accurate. Thus, they relied upon the idea of neutral areas.

There have been numerous border problems and conflicts in the region. These include the problem of borders among the Emirates of the United Arab Emirates; between Emirates and neighboring countries, between Bahrain and Iran, between Iran and the UAE, Iraqi claims in Kuwait, the Iraqi-Saudi border, and the Kuwaiti-Saudi borders.

These problems have all become sharper with the discovery of oil and rising land prices.

### World Conflicts.

Conflicts can be defined as interlocking spheres according to their importance and priorities with the international arena.

These spheres include the superpowers, the Arab world, the Islamic world, the Europeans, the Iranians, and the Israelis.

Because of the interests of the superpowers, it is very likely that any conflict in the Gulf area will always be a regional one backed by foreign power. The present conflict is therefore connected with past events and will have a significant effect on the changing parameters in the new world order.

The Arab sphere of influence is of a great importance as the Gulf countries are integral part of the Arab world. Without doubt, any conflict in the Gulf will affect directly the Arab nation and its security.

The Gulf area is considered the heart of the Islamic world, which extends from Indonesia in the east to Morocco in the west. The Arab Gulf countries, especially Saudi Arabia, have a great weight in the Islamic world because of their economic and religious importance.

Europe and Japan are the major countries consuming Gulf oil. Japan is considered one of the greatest oil consuming countries after the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and it imports 80 percent of its oil from the Gulf countries. It is expected that percentage will increase.

Iran's long history of attempts to control the Gulf show that it will never give up its dreams to make the Gulf a Persian lake. Therefore, since the Khomeni revolution, Iran has continued to hint that she has historical rights in Bahrain and some of the Gulf islands. This constitutes a danger in that the conflict may

not only be between Iran and Bahrain but also will involve the whole Gulf area.

The impact of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the overall stability in the area is very important. Any dispute in the area, such as the present Gulf crisis, will be linked in away or another to the original Arab-Israeli dispute.

## CHAPTER II

### THE GULF WAR AND IT PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES

Looking at the current situation, it appears that there are a number of Iraqi aims in the conflict in the area. First among these is escaping from the internal, political, economic and security problems and engaging the Iraqi public opinion on other foreign problems. Also, Iraq wants to demonstrate to the superpowers its power and domain over the area to preserve its prestige and its strategic importance. Iraq is trying to dominate the whole Gulf, exploiting the weakness of the military power facing it. Additionally, it is trying to preserve its previous role and influence in the area. It is trying to eliminate the American or Soviet domination in the area. Iraq wishes to gain new oil-rich areas and exploit the weakness of the Gulf countries and their failure to safeguard themselves. Finally, Iraq is doing its best to encourage groups to export the Islamic revolution.

In the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Iraq desired to hold all parts of Kuwait in order to have the upper hand to negotiate and bargain about borders between Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, had dreams and hopes that he would achieve his objective by invading Kuwait and threatening Saudi Arabia in order to pave the way for replacement of Egypt as the greatest military power in the area. He also wanted to be the leader of the Gulf and later the Middle East, and to play the main role in solving the Palestinian problem. He did not understand

the international changes and the relationship between two superpowers and the new world order.

When Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze addressed the UN on September 25, he relayed a number of ideas important for our understanding of the current situation. He said,

Iraqi actions are having and will have the greatest consequences for the people of Iraq and for millions of the men, women and children in many countries of the world and for their future. War may break in the Gulf region any day, any moment. Today is no time for rejoicing, but one cannot help being satisfied at unprecedented unity of the Security Council and the clear attitude of the international public opinion in the face of Iraq's behavior. This gives the world confidence in the ability of the UN to deal with grave international crisis.

The Gulf crisis is not just a tragedy, and an extremely dangerous threat, to the peace. It is also a serious challenge of maintaining security. It will define the method of protecting law and order on our planet, and the mechanism for controlling the state of human civilization, in the broadest meaning of these terms, as well as the future role of the UN.

International relations are being freed from the vestiges of the Cold War, which for many years had a negative effect on the international legal order. We are again becoming the United Nations and are returning to our global constitution, the charter of the UN. We are returning those of its provisions that were forgotten for a while, but have been proven to be indispensable for the most important of our tasks--the maintenance of international peace and security.

The establishment of principles of new thinking in world politics has enabled us to start implementing the effective measures of persuasion and enforcement provided in the UN charter. We need to define the criteria of defensive sufficiency, but the Iraqi aggression would seem to make it difficult even to discuss this. After all, what can be sufficient in the face of the irrational? On the other hand, the aggression here once again underscored the validity of the argument that no nation should have the exclusive prerogative or absolute freedom to determine its own level of armament.

In the longer term, the world community will need to monitor the military power of states, arms supplies, and transfers of military technology. Such an approach will be in everyone's interests and will strengthen stability and trust. Otherwise, we will continue to be confronted with armed conflicts and attempts to intimidate and blackmail.

We need to agree on principles governing the sale and supply of arms. Such attempts were made in the past, but unfortunately they were not carried through. We must urgently request the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to address this issue and submit recommendations to the next session of the General Assembly.

Egypt realized that the invasion of Kuwait constitutes a great danger. It threatens a vital area important to the whole world, not to the Arab world only. Egypt knows that the invasion is an act without justification. Iraq was not exposed to direct aggression from any country, it was not forced to mobilize the armies, or drive them into fierce battle.

#### Influence on the World Economy.

The Gulf crisis has had negative effects on the economic rate of growth, especially in the Arab countries like Egypt-Jordan and Turkey, and in the industrial world also. The increase in oil prices contributed to the high prices and may lead to recession in some countries, like the U.S. During the course of war, the destruction in the area will be tremendous. The destruction of Kuwaiti, Iraqi and Saudi oil fields would raise oil prices, which would also raise prices in industrial world countries. The

destruction also would have a great effect on lowering the standard of living in the countries concerned and require rebuilding the destroyed infrastructure.

Once the war is over, the Gulf states, especially Saudi Arabia, should greatly increase their military power to deter any future aggression. This, however, may upset development plans to improve or maintain the standard of living.

The labor force of Egypt, Jordan, and the Sudan in Iraq was greatly decreased, therefore, remittance decreased and the economy of those countries suffered greatly.

CHAPTER III  
THE ARAB ROLE IN PEACEKEEPING

Whatever the present Gulf crisis leads to, the end state must guarantee the stability of the area. Stability in the Middle East has to be of Arab and international dimension. The Arab League must be the hub of the wheel for any peacekeeping effort in the area. The league is an apolitical structure with the objective of coordinating Arab efforts to serve Arab aims. An Arab Defense Council can be set up to serve the purpose. Arab heads of state must meet to define such an organization and give it the authority to implement the overall Arab military efforts. We see that any Arab state can contribute troops to perform such tasks, due to Egypt's leadership position from past crises. The commander of these forces should be an Egyptian general who, in turn, can be assisted by the commanders of the participating states. Let us call this organization the "Arab Peace Corps." The organization of this corps can be agreed on by a political decision taken by Arab heads of states. It can be located in Saudi Arabia.

To keep the peace in the area, the Arab-Israeli conflict has to be settled. The proposed international peace conference which all Arabs agreed to (including the PLO) is the most appropriate idea for a comprehensive peace settlement, if it would result in the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israeli security must be guaranteed by all Arabs, and any other international measures agreed upon by the United Nations.

In addition to this, we can foresee a major role for the Arab Peace Corps in preventing any member of the Arab League from threatening any other Arab state. We envision that this symbolic Arab force would have the strength of political decision making. Therefore, any threat from any Arab state would be met by a concerted Arab effort, politically and militarily.

To beef up these Arab efforts, the Arabs must establish a balanced strategy to keep good relations with all major powers, especially the U.S., USSR, Japan and Western Europe. Oil must flow freely to all industrial nations, and part of the profits can be used to develop the Arab nation to avoid more aggression and enhance stability in the area. Arabs also must establish good relation with Turkey, Iran, and Ethiopia. Joint economic development projects can be set up with these countries to create better understanding and settle old disputes, especially water disputes.

To stabilize the area, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons have to be addressed. An agreement should be reached along the lines of the U.S.-USSR strategic arms agreements to liquidate or limit all weapons of mass destruction.

GCC countries must be supported by other Arab states in developing their own military capabilities. The support can be in the form of military advisors and training.

To close the economic gap between the rich and poor Arab states, an Arab economic market can be set up. This would promote development programs in poor Arab countries in order to improve their standard of living and make them, in the long run, dependent

only on themselves. The Arab common market would create a free flow of labor and experience between Arab countries.

The Arab Gulf countries have an important role in the region. It is essential for the Gulf countries to work together for future peacekeeping in the area, which cannot be assured without addressing past crisis and their causes.

First of all, border problems must be solved through complete cooperation between all of the Gulf countries, including the problems caused by the Iraq/Iran war and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. In the meantime, major efforts must be devoted to developing and improving the political, social and cultural relations among those countries. Moreover, additional steps must be undertaken to establish a balanced relation with the superpowers and the European countries, including the establishment of an oil policy that can be accepted by the oil consuming countries.

Along with the above steps, and equally important, is the development of the Arab Gulf countries' armed forces in complete coordination with the other Arab countries and the formation of a mobile and modern reserve force. This, in turn, could open the door toward the establishment of an Arab joint force that is aimed to secure the Gulf region against foreign aggression without having the need for Western assistance. The development of such a force, equipped with the latest weapons, would constitute a restraining force that does not exist in the area.

The Arab Gulf countries must play an important role in strengthening Arab and the Islamic solidarity between each other

and between themselves and the other Arab and Islamic countries. According to the present circumstances prevailing in the Gulf, the Arab countries which are affected by the current Gulf and world crisis must put an end to the disputes and begin a joint comprehensive study to discover their causes and eliminate future reoccurrence.

Finally, Egypt, who always believed the Arab causes are indivisible and their fate is common, must assume its leadership position and assist the Gulf countries in achieving stability and security. This can be accomplished by providing the Gulf countries with advisors and through participation in joint military training.

CHAPTER IV  
THE SUPERPOWERS

The Gulf area is considered to be a vital area for the west, due to its petroleum sources and because the Soviet threat appears more dangerous here. The most important Western strategic goal in the area is the security of western supplies of petroleum from the Arab Gulf.

For many years American policy was directed toward establishing a collective strategic union through gathering Middle East countries in a political strategic cooperation framework directed against the Soviet Union. This policy aimed to convince the Arabs that the Soviet threat was more important than all local disputes.

It appears that this policy embodied the following:

- Viewing Israel as an dependable ally in the area.
- Minimizing the danger of the Arabs employing oil as a weapon in any Middle East conflict. Avoiding any misunderstanding with the Soviet Union that would delay disengagement between the Arab and Israeli forces, clarifying the relation between stability and prosperity.

In light of modern international changes such as the end of the Cold War, changes in Eastern Europe and the German unification, the Middle East area became a field for a full geopolitical and strategic race between the two superpowers. This area occupied the first stage in the new American strategy. In the framework of this strategy, the U.S. concentrated its effort

to reduce Soviet expansion, especially in the area surrounding the Gulf and its oil. The U.S. realized that the confusion and instability in the Middle East could also result from changes in the area surrounding the Middle East, including Soviet treaties of friendship with a number of countries and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The continuation and complication of Arab-Israeli conflicts is the factor which allows the chances for Soviet interference and Soviet acquisition of new allies in the area.

It appears that the U.S. strategic objectives in the Gulf area are as follows. First of all, the continuity of oil flow to the U.S. and its allies in Western Europe and Japan at a favorable price. Second, resisting the Soviet expansion by attempting to limit the communist threat towards the Gulf area. Third, maintaining Israeli security and acting to achieve relatively parallel relations with the Arabs on one hand and between the U.S. and Israel on the other. Fourth, achieving stability and peace in the area to protect its interests and the interests of its Western allies. Fifth, economically exploiting Arab markets in favor of the America economy and keeping its own markets in the Gulf area. Sixth, aiming at setting up military bases in the Middle East to secure oil supplies and to form an obstacle against Soviet policy, and to prevent soviet infiltration into the region.

To accomplish these goals in the Gulf crisis of 1990, President Bush announced four guiding principles: First, the U.S. seeks the immediate unconditional and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Second, Kuwait's legitimate government

must be restored to replace the puppet regime. Third, the U.S. administration, as has been the case with every President from Roosevelt to Reagan, is committed to security and stability of the Persian Gulf. Fourth, the U.S. is determined to protect the lives of American citizens abroad.

#### The American Dilemma of Defending the Persian Gulf.

The U.S. has been facing several problems in its efforts to defend the vital interests of the Gulf states. It must be very careful not to overstep a certain line, otherwise the Soviet Union would cross another line, maybe several. The U.S. has to maintain a balance between political considerations and military requirements so as not to lose its grip on things at the time when signs of total "detente" have emerged.

The importance of Gulf oil, as President Carter's Secretary of Defense Harold Brown put it, lies in the United States' conviction that the Persian Gulf stands for the prosperity and political well-being of the U.S. and its allies. If the industrial countries are denied access to the sources of energy in the Gulf, the most likely outcome will be total collapse of the U.S. allies and world economy.<sup>5</sup>

There were several threats to the flow of oil to Western industrial countries. These threats led to the current tensions and will continue to affect events in the future. These threats include Iraqi invasion of Kuwait or any country in the area, the new world order, and internal upheavals against any of the current ruling regimes.

The threats that the U.S. is facing in the region today make direct American military action completely unsuitable in one case and absolutely necessary in another.

If the Arab-Israel conflict were settled, the U.S. could play a major role in promoting technological and economical development in the Arab world. Arabs see the U.S. as the most important Arab ally to perform this task. Therefore, the U.S. must do its best to solve this conflict and convince the Arabs that the U.S. is a natural ally. It must do its best to solve the conflict to avoid being criticized about its relations with Israel.

Arabs see that any new peace agreement between Arabs in the Middle East must not be disturbed by any military alliance or security arrangement by the U.S. with Arabs.

The U.S. can also enhance the Arab peace corps capability to perform its role and can contribute to the development of GCC military capabilities by providing weapons and training. The U.S. must contribute to stabilizing the area in cooperation with moderate Arab states and bring Libya, Syria and Iran to follow the same strategy.

#### Soviet Interests in the Gulf Area

Many in the West have feared that Soviet intentions in the gulf are offensive. Now and well as a century ago, there has been concern that Russia seeks to gain a warm water port on the Gulf or the Indian Ocean to which they would have overland access through Iran. They fear the Soviet Union plans to gain control of this region in particular because of the enormous oil reserves the Gulf

possesses. Controlling this region could provide the Soviet Union with the oil it might not be able to produce itself in the future. In addition, by controlling the Gulf the USSR could limit or cut off the region's oil supplies to the West. Unless additional oil supplies were found rapidly or other alternatives found, this could cripple the economics of Western Europe and Japan which are so heavily dependent on Gulf oil.

Others, including the Soviets themselves, claim that Soviet intentions toward the Gulf region are completely defensive. Moscow says it is interested in the security of a region located directly on its southern border, especially since the U.S. is so active there and even though the Gulf is several miles from its borders. They also point out that USSR has enormous oil and natural gas reserves. The Soviets say it is the West which is deficient in these resources and thus it is the West that seeks to control the Gulf's oil.

In reality, Soviet policy towards the Gulf nations has both offensive and defensive elements. The most important interest that the USSR has in the region is the preservation of peace. The Soviets fear that Islamic fundamentalism in Iran could conceivably spread to Soviet Central Asia. They have strong interests in preventing this. The second goal in the Gulf is both to prevent growth and reduce where possible U.S. influence in the region. The reduction of U.S. influence is an offensive goal, while preventing its growth is a defensive one. The Soviets were pleased when the U.S. lost influence in Iran. The Soviets also have a strong interest in maintaining in power governments in the

region which are friendly towards Moscow. These include leftist regimes allied to Moscow in Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq and Yemen. The Soviet Union has had a long friendship with Iraq. Keeping friends in power is a defensive goal also.

Another Soviet goal is to keep the Arab world united in its opposition to Israel and any Arab state such as Egypt which agrees to peace with Israel. So long as Arab governments and nations see Israel as their main enemy, they will oppose U.S. aid to Israel. The Soviets also hope that they will be able to ally with Arab governments opposed to U.S. foreign policy.

The Soviets are interested in seeing that Islamic fundamentalism does not become a strong rival with communism as an ideology for those who seek radical political change in the Gulf and Middle East as a whole.

The Soviets hope to establish good relations with the Gulf Cooperation Council (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and the United Arab Emirates) and have succeeded in establishing relations with both Oman, UAE and Saudi Arabia. Soviet relations with these states is an offensive interest.

It appears that Soviet Union objectives in the Gulf area are as follows:

- . Weakening the Western and U.S. influence in the Gulf area and imposing Soviet domination.
- . Trying to disseminate communism.
- . Expending its influence to deprive the West and U.S. from Gulf oil.
- . Providing new markets for Soviet products.

- . Ensuring the provision of required oil.
- . Arriving at the warm water ports and securing naval bases for its navy.
- . Controlling the waterways, especially those that are used to transport oil.

The crisis in the Persian Gulf is different, and it is the change in USSR behavior that makes it different. During previous regional crises, the U.S. was either competing with the USSR or, at a minimum, trying to deny the Soviet Union any gains in influence as a result of the crisis. Now the Soviet Union is actively cooperating with the U.S. in trying to solve the crisis. This is what makes this the first crisis of the post-cold war era. There is no end of ways that the USSR could have exploited this crisis, and in the old days they would have done so. They are working closely with the U.S. to isolate Saddam Hussein and deny Iraq, a long-term client of Moscow's, the fruits of its aggression. Why this new stance? Undoubtedly, Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking" about international security efforts is one factor, but the most important reason is long-term economic interests. The USSR needs Western economic assistance to reverse its economic collapse and reform its failed economy.

In the long term, the world community will need to monitor the military power of states, arms supplies and transfers of military technology. Such an approach will be in everyone's interests and will strengthen stability and trust. Otherwise, these two superpowers will continue to be confronted with armed conflicts and attempts to intimidate and blackmail. It will be necessary to

keep a close watch on those countries that make determined efforts to build up the offensive capabilities of their armed forces. Moreover, it is necessary to have them explain why this is being done. They might consider the idea of introducing on a global and regional level the international registration of certain types of armaments that are produced or acquired. There is a need for transparency in this area. They need to agree on principles governing the sale and supply of arms. Such attempts were made in the past, but unfortunately they were not carried through. All states must urgently request the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to address this issue and submit recommendations to the next session of the UN General Assembly.

CHAPTER V  
CONCLUSION

The Middle East is the cradle of three religions and civilizations. It contains many sacred and holy places, besides the Islamic universities which educate millions of Moslems all over the world.

The Gulf region has a wealth of resources on which the world economy greatly depends. Conflicts and disputes in the region will adversely impact the whole world in general, and the entire Middle East in particular. Therefore, great efforts must be made by the other Arab countries, as well as the superpowers, to ensure stability in the region.

The Gulf countries, which are affected by current local conflicts, must lead the way to put an end to disputes and begin a comprehensive and scientific study to remove such disputes and eliminate their causes. This could begin by negotiating existing border problems and developing the current ruling systems to begin approaching a more democratic system.

Believing that the Arab causes are indivisible and the Arab fate is common, all Arab countries must work jointly to support the Gulf countries and promote economic fulfillment between the Arabic and Islamic countries in the region as well as the development of a joint market. In the meantime, the U.S. must play an active role in the region by improving the systems of observation, air defense warning and reconnaissance sensors in addition to improving the defense of the Southeast NATO which in

turn will impact the defense capabilities in the Gulf area. The U.S., with its great military resources, must also support a peacekeeping force in the Gulf.

The Gulf countries must then optimize oil production according to world demands and exert more efforts for the exploration of new oil fields. Building a sound economy that does not depend on oil alone should also be another objective for these countries. With the assistance of Western and Arab countries, other industries which rely on local raw materials should be encouraged.

It is also necessary to invest a considerable part of financial surplus in the Gulf and the Arab countries as well as in the Islamic and Western countries.

Referring to the Middle East, the former U.S. Foreign Secretary John Foster Dullas once said, "The NATO is a great organization based on solid principles, and to consolidate it, it is necessary to establish an Eastern pact beside it."

## ENDNOTES

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3. Ibid.

4. Edward A. Sheverdnadze, "Iraqi Aggression Threatens World Peace," a speech given to the United Nations General Assembly, (25 September), quoted in The Retired Officers' Association National Security Report (Washington: November 1990, p. 34-35).

5. Lieutenant General (Ret) Saladin El Haddidi, "The American Dilemma of Defending the Persian Gulf," Defence Journal (Egypt), February 1988, pp. 8, 97.

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