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COOPERATION COUNCIL FOR THE ARAB STATES OF THE GULF (GCC)

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ABSTRACT

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This SRP presents a review of efforts at security cooperation among the countries in the Arab Gulf. The described cases are from Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman. The focus of this report will be on ways in which these countries can enhance their individual security and culture through united action. The report will also consider developmental issues relating to the individual and collective security and goals of the countries under examination. Taking into account that Gulf Cooperation Council Council countries (GCCC) have a relatively short history of political and security cooperation, the data is expected to show a pattern of trial and error which nevertheless characterized by forward movement.

COOPERATION COUNCIL FOR THE ARAB STATES OF THE GULF (GCC)

According to the developed world epistemology and based on the Arab Islamic country levies, the scholars and the experts have to develop the required cooperation concepts. These concepts have to provide a methodology for schematizing and exercising policies, executing the strategies in all Arab Islamic countries in the Gulf area. It has to cover the aspects of sociology, politics, economics, and the military. These concepts also will be based on Islamic ideology and future-oriented. They will also tackle Muslims, present life issues. The Gulf Cooperation Council will promote cooperation and mutual assistance between them and will develop a conceptual unity in the Arab States of the Gulf.

The Qur'an, which is the capstone in Muslims faith, has defined the relations between the Muslims as the highest level of relations that can prevail between humans. The word of God stated that all Muslims are Awliya. "The believers, men and women, are Awliya' of one another, enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong."¹ Al-Tabari explains the believers between Muslims that their hearts are united in friendly relations, loving one another and helping each other.² The Qur'an also stated that all Muslims are brothers "But if they repent, perform As-Salat (prayer), and give Zakat, then they are your brothers in religion. We explain the Ayah (verses) in detail for those who know."³

We can recognize Muslim society as the community of the believers in the Islamic faith, wherever they live, connected to each other by brotherhood, unity, love, and helping each other. According to Qur'an and sunhat profit Mohammad.

THE ARAB STATES OF THE GULF, as follows: The United Arab Emirates, The State of Bahrain, The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, The Sultanate of Oman, The State of Qatar, and The State of Kuwait, have agreed to Establish a Council named The Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC). According to the similarity of the GCC states document and the ties of special relations, common characteristics and similar systems founded on the creed of Islam which bind them; and, desiring to effect coordination, cooperation and integration between them in all fields; and, having the conviction that coordination, cooperation, and integration between them serve the sublime objectives of the Arab Nation; and, in pursuit of the goal of strengthening cooperation and reinforcement of the links between them; and, in an endeavor to complement efforts already begun in all essential areas that concern their peoples and realize their hopes for a better future on the path to unity of their States; and, in conformity with the Charter of the League of Arab States which calls for the realization of closer relations and

stronger bonds; and, in order to channel their efforts to reinforce and serve Arab and Islamic causes⁴.

Being fully aware that many of the current challenges faced by the Arab States of the Gulf now a day are out coming, as it produced unstable area (countries), with some limited resources, struggling to improve their conditions individually, with little cooperation from other brother countries. It is clear today that all Arab States of the Gulf has reached the degree of maturity and prosperity to give enough attention that active alone take is less successfully.

Definition: GCC is a political, economic, social, regional organization according to its charter. It is a regional cooperation system between the Arab States of the Gulf created to meet the challenges imposed by surrounding circumstances. The scope of its work includes economy, politics, security, culture, health, information, education, legal affairs, administration, energy, industry, mining, agriculture, fishery and livestock.

Geographical location: GCC states are located in the Arabian peninsula southwest of Asia between the latitudes of 15 and 35 north of equator and longitudes of 35 and 60 east of Greenwich, bordered by Iraq and Jordan in the North, Republic of Yemen and the Arabian Sea in the South, Arabian Gulf in the East, and Red Sea in the West.

The establishment of the GCC: The geographical nature of the GCC states and the similarity of their regulations, economic and social conditions, and the nature of contemporary challenges are the factors that helped in the establishment of the GCC. Shared geographic features, existence of similar systems and social bonds, and the similar nature of challenges facing them, were the essential characteristics that led to the formation of the GCC. Given these shared characteristic, the Foreign Ministers of the six countries met in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on the February 4th, 1981. The closing statement issued at the end of the meeting stated, " ... the Ministers agreed to establish a council for cooperation between the States of the Arabian Gulf, and to form a Secretariat-General to achieve this goal, and to convene regular summit meetings at the Ministerial level so as to realise the desired goals of these countries and their people." On 25 May 1981, the first GCC summit conference was held in Abu Dhabi, UAE. Since then, GCC summits have been regularly convened annually.⁵

Flags: The flag of each country comprises of four colours i.e. red, green, white and black. These four colours are inspired by the Arabic couplet, which means⁶: White denotes our deeds, Black our battles, Green is our Land, and Red our sacrifices.

Country	National day	Capital	Population	Area	Currency	Time
United Arab Emirates (UAE)	2 December	Abu Dhabi	4.496,000 million	83,600 sq km	Dirham 1USD=3.67 Dirham	+4 GMT
Kingdom of Bahrain	14 August	Manama	656,585 million	711.9 sq km	Dinar (BD) 1US \$=0.378 BD	+3 GMT
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	18 th November	Riyadh	27.019,73 1 million	2,250.000 sq km.	Riyal (RS) 1US \$ =0.375 RS	+3 GMT
Sultanate of Oman	3 rd September	Muscat	2.567,000 million	309,500 sq km	Riyal(OR) 1 US \$ = 3.67 OR	+4 GMT
The State of Qatar	3 rd September	Doha	839,213 Million	11,521 sq km	Riyal(QR) 1 US \$ = 3.65 QR	+3 GMT
The State of Kuwait	25 February	Kuwait	2,418,393 million	17,818 sq km	Dinar 1US \$= 0.290 KD	+3 GMT

Source: Data received from the Member States

- Data from the State of the UAE until 2005
- Data from the Kingdom of Bahrain until 2005
- Data from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia until 2006
- Data from the Sultanate of Oman until 2005
- Data from the State of Qatar until 2006
- Data from the State of Kuwait until 2006

Table 1. Members States of the Gulf Cooperation Council⁷

Objectives of the GCC: The basic objectives of the Cooperation Council are as follows:

(1) To effect coordination, integration, and interconnection among member states in all fields in order to achieve unity among them.

(2) To deepen and strengthen relations, links and areas of cooperation now prevailing among their people in various fields.

(3) To formulate similar regulations in various fields including the following:

- (a) Economic and financial affairs.
- (b) Commerce, customs and communications
- (c) Education and Culture
- (d) Social and health affairs
- (e) Information and tourism
- (f) Legislative and administrative affairs

(4) To stimulate scientific and technological progress in the fields of industry, mining, agriculture, water and animal resources, to establish scientific research, to establish joint ventures and encourage cooperation by the private sector for the good of their people.⁸

Organizations of the Cooperation Council: The Cooperation Council has the following main organizations:

(1) Supreme Council: The Supreme Council is the highest authority of the Cooperation Council formed of heads of member states. Its presidency rotates based on the alphabetical order of the names of the member states.

The Council holds two ordinary and consultative sessions every year. Extraordinary sessions may be convened at the request of any member seconded by another member. It holds its session in the territories of member states. The Supreme Council's meeting is considered valid if attended by two-thirds of the member states. The Cooperation Council has a commission called "The Commission for the Settlement of Dispute" which is attached to the Supreme Council. The Supreme Council establishes the composition of the Commission for every case on an "ad-hoc" basis in accordance with the nature of dispute. If a dispute arises over interpretation or implementation of the Charter and such a dispute is not resolved within the Ministerial Council or the Supreme Council, the Supreme Council may refer such dispute to the Commission for the Settlement of Dispute. The Commission submits its recommendation or opinions as applicable, to the Supreme Council for such action as the Supreme Council deems appropriate.

(2) Ministerial Council: The Ministerial Council is formed of the Foreign Ministers of the member states or other delegated ministers. The presidency of the Ministerial Council is for the member states which presided the last ordinary session of the supreme Council or if necessary, or the states which is next to preside the Supreme Council. The Ministerial Council meets every three months. An extraordinary meeting could also be held whenever needed.

(3) The Consultative Commission for the GCC Supreme Council: Based on the resolution of the GCC Supreme Council in its 8th session held in Kuwait in December 1997, to establish an advisory commission for the Supreme Council consisting of 30 members (five from each GCC Member State for three renewable years), the Commission held its first meeting in November, 1998.

(4) Secretariat General: The Secretariat General is composed of a Secretary-General, Assistant Secretaries-General, and a number of staff as required. Its headquarters is in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. The Secretariat General is consists of the following sectors:

- (a) Secretary-General's Office
- (b) Political Affairs.
- (c) Military Affairs
- (d) Economic Affairs

- (e) Human and Environment Affairs
- (f) Legal Affairs
- (g) Finance and Administration Affairs
- (h) Information Centre
- (i) Information Department
- (l) The Technical Telecommunication Bureau in Bahrain
- (m) GCC Delegation in Brussels

Achievements of the GCC States : The GCC member states, during the last two decades of their concerted action and pioneering experiment of cooperation, have attained numerous achievements in various fields, within the framework of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC), despite political, security, and economic challenges. These achievements could not have been accomplished without the unfaltering determination and persistence of the leaders of the member states. They have endeavored, through their regular meetings and constant consultations, to lay down the foundations of GCC's shared values, and to consolidate the close relationships among the member states to realize the ambitions of the citizens by effecting coordination in political, security, economic, military, legal, information, and educational fields.

The aspirations of the leaders and the citizens of the member states of the GCC are not limited to what have already been achieved. In fact, these aspirations spur them on to strive for included success and they are determined to surmount all difficulties and obstacles coming on their way. This experiment in cooperation has equipped them with the expertise in confronting new challenges and sustaining the process of joint action.

The Political Dimension. Member states of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) have agreed to take unified political stances on all issues of concern to the Member States. These positions are shaped by rational and solemn political views with priority to national interests, adherence to the principles of good neighborliness', and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

The resolutions adopted by their Majesties and Highnesses, the GCC Heads of State, in the previous sessions of the Supreme Council, have essentially stressed on the fact that the preservation of security is a collective endeavor with simultaneous emphasis on the principles embodied in the GCC Charter.

Iraqi context. . A 2006 report from International Crisis group examines the situation in Iraq. "We are looking at Iraq's complete disintegration into failed-state chaos, threatening to drag down much of the region with it", says Crisis Group President Gareth Evans "More troops in – or

out – are not going to solve this. What is needed above all is a new multinational effort to achieve a new political compact between all relevant Iraqi players.” And he claimed that “ All Iraqi actors who, one way or another, the station in Iraq caused much havoc Supreme Council exerted at all levels to prevent the breakout of war that would have averted the destruction to life and property of innocent Iraqi civilians. At a time when the GCC States are aiming to prevent any further loss of life and property in Iraq, they underline the necessity and importance of the Iraqi people taking complete charge of their own affairs. The Supreme Council has further asserted that the time has come for the international community, represented by the United Nations (UN), to make a quick, positive, and effective move that would guarantee a bright future for Iraq, and ensure its territorial sovereignty, unity and safety of its citizens.⁹

The Arab - Israel Situation: The GCC affirms that there is just one path leading to the achievement of a comprehensive just, and lasting peace in the Middle East region, the path that would save the region and the world from a war that would lead to disastrous humanitarian consequences. That path is embodied in ending the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories captured by Israel in 1967.

The world Situation: GCC states renewed their appeal to the international community to work towards making the Middle East region, including the Gulf region, free from all types of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons. They have stressed upon the need for Israel to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and to subject all its nuclear installations to the international system of inspections of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

In connection with terrorism, the GCC States have condemned terrorism in all its forms and features, irrespective of origin, justifications or place of occurrence. However, they expressed their firm and unequivocal stand on the need to differentiate between terrorism and the right of people to legitimate struggle and resistance against occupation. The GCC States have affirmed their keenness to strengthen and reinforce the international efforts aimed at combating the phenomenon of terrorism, remedying its causes and factors that motivate it, within the framework of international laws sanctioned by the UN

Military Affairs: GCC has expressed the will of its Member States concerning their right to self-defense. They believe that aggression on one member state of the GCC is an aggression on all of them; and any danger that threatens anyone of them, in effect, threatens all of them. The security of the region is the responsibility of its peoples and States; hence, military cooperation has received serious attention from their Majesties and Highnesses, the leaders of the GCC States. In this connection, many constructive steps have been taken.¹⁰ These steps

include, conducting studies and enhancing coordination to reinforce the military power of the GCC States. These steps have crystallized into the drawing-up of the broad outlines for military cooperation and can be seen in the approval of numerous documents related to defense cooperation and the unity of their strategic vision, as well as in various other facets of military cooperation, these endeavors have focused on building military power based on structural requirements of each Member State guided by a shared vision, which aims to unify of the numerous operational procedures; conducting training, and harmonization of systems; advancement of the *Dira' Al Al-Jazeera* (Peninsula Shield) Forces; and conducting joint exercises , It is a symbol of mutual support, common destiny and goals, and embodies the belief in joint defense, which should be based on the principle of collective, integrated and mutually guaranteed security and follow-up the implementation of the resolutions on collective security and military cooperation for the GCC States , It also looks into ways to overcome obstacles hindering the execution of those resolutions. The goal is to support and develop the military capabilities of the Member States, and to bring about greater cooperation and coordination between them to pled the efforts to reinforce continuous coordination , exchange of visits and sharing of experiences as well as training exchange programs between military colleges and schools of the GCC States , implementation of the radar coverage and early warning system projects; execute a number of training programs and military manuals as well as other manuals related to different fields of military cooperation, continuation number of joint (land – air , naval) military exercises between the Peninsula Shield and armed forces of the member states; The nature of the enemy has changed , the nature of the threat has changed, so the response to the new enemy and new threats must change. This concept and “formulation” of preemption supports the rights of nation states or individuals to prevent an attack upon themselves or their nation if the attack is “anticipated,” imminent, overwhelming and there are no other options.

Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) .On the other hand, the six GCC state, expanded fully engagement of there capabilities in other countries as well as its one world crises. Because the nation cannot hermetically seal its borders and cocoon it self within them ,(GCC) recognized principles for MOOTW are objective, unity of effort, security, restraint, perseverance and legitimacy . The principles of objective and security are aligned with the principles of war in that commanders must understand the strategic goals and set appropriate objectives to ensure unity of effort.

Joint Economic. the Council also decided that the Commission, in coordination with the Secretariat-General, should open a model file to record with continuity, the sub-goals, mechanisms, programs, procedures as well as the means of implementation of what the

Commission deems would be helpful in enhancing the effective implementation of the Long-Term Strategy for Comprehensive Development (2000-2025). It should focus, at the same time, on the issues of economic cooperation, and interaction with the international and regional economic blocs. Economic activity represents the fundamental area of joint Gulf economic action continues within the framework of the GCC. The economic objectives have been set forth in the major documents, including; the Unified Economic Agreement Among the GCC States; strategies and policies of development plans.¹¹

The process of joint Gulf economic action continues - through the gradual implementation of the unified economic agreement - to move towards achieving the aspirations of the peoples of the region and to bring about greater cohesion and integration among them. Towards this end, many cooperative steps were taken by the concerned authorities of the GCC at various levels and in diverse fields. With a view to bolstering the joint action in the field of economy, the leaders of the GCC States, took the following decisions pertaining to Economic :

- Economic agreement between the GCC States.
- Time-table for the bringing about the Monetary Union and the introduction of a unified currency for the GCC States.
- Exemption of imported components and materials used in manufacturing process from customs.
- Unification of time periods for holding the general census in the GCC States.
- Amended Agricultural Quarantine Law of the GCC States
- Establishment of an independent Metrology and Standards Organization for the GCC States.

The joint action in the field of Human and Environmental Affairs has focused on another fields such as; Education and Training, Youth and Sports, Social Affairs, Protection of Environment, Health Affairs, Human Resources, and Cultural Affairs, those fields are done through Ministerial Committees, or committees of Ministerial level. They are assisted by the committees of under-secretaries and a number of technical committees, which are instituted for specific purposes.

Media Affairs: Media represents a vital element in the joint process. It is a clear indicator of interaction with the developments taking place in the field of media at the international level. The Specialized Media Committees have been devoted to studying the most effective ways to harmonize policies, and to unify laws to serve the media in the region and strengthen its image locally, regionally and internationally.

The Media Affairs ministers emphasised upon the follow-up of the resolution of the 20th session about employing national workforce and the easing of their movement between the GCC States in the media sector, and the intensification of media campaigns at the local level to increase awareness about the importance of nationalization of jobs.

Concerning the role of media in combating terrorism, it was agreed to continue to give due attention to this subject by producing radio and TV programs that discuss this phenomenon and its various aspects. Simultaneously, emphasis has been laid on the dangers of linking Islam with terrorism. The importance of exchanging these programs and information between the media authorities in the Member States has also been stressed.

This is an age characterized by the massive flow of information and the spectacular development in the media of communicating and disseminating them. Therefore, the process of handling information and making it available to the users demand creative updating and continued development.¹²

In this context, the work of the Information Centre of the (Secretary-General) can be summarized as building local information bases and programs, and interlinking them with the web of specialized regional and international information bases, and making available the various sources of information such as books, periodicals, and statistics. The Centre uses technical means to record, index, classify, and condense all the sources of information it receives in accordance with standard international technical methods of information storage and retrieval. The Centre updates local databases such as the database for Arabic books and publications, the government and foreign books and publications database, specialized articles and periodicals database on a regular basis.

Concept of the GCC Customs Union: An External Common Customs Tariff (ECT) charging a 5% duty rate on all foreign imports, excluding the following categories: Live animals; fresh and chilled meat; and fish, fresh vegetables and fruit; and cereals, medicaments and medical supplies, books; newspapers and magazines, ships and commercial aircraft, charging a 100% duty rate on tobacco and products. Goods produced in any of the GCC member states shall be accorded national treatment and shall be allowed to move freely among the member States under the respective national invoices and the single customs declaration. Re-qualification of the products of national factories, which was applicable prior to the establishment of the customs union, has been abolished. It's worth mentioning here that products, on which the proof of origin and the name of manufacturer cannot be affixed in an irremovable manner due to their peculiar nature, shall be accompanied with a certificate of origin during the 3-year- transitional period of expires, As for the national products bearing the

proof of origin and the name of manufacturer affixed thereon in an irremovable manner, no certificate of origin shall be required for their movement between the GCC States as the production of national invoices and the single customs declaration will be sufficient.

GCC Prize for the Best Environmental Activities: The GCC member states being fully aware of the importance of environmental awareness in conserving and sustaining environmental resources, consider the environment prize as a way to recognize and encourage those who endeavor for a better regional environment. The prize awarding rules have been approved by the Ministers in charge of environment affairs in their meeting held in Bahrain in 1997. The Secretariat General is pleased to present these conditions and regulations of awarding the environment prize, and seek the help of Allah, the Almighty, in achieving the desired goals that aim to encourage and further the enhancement of environment awareness and quality in member states through scientific research, innovation, and adherence to environmental regulations, standards and specifications, the Prize is to be financed through contributions from companies, establishments or individuals in addition to contribution from environmental organizations, the Prize shall have a board of six members one each from all of the council states and nominated by the environmental authorities in their countries, according to their distinguished scientific positions and contributions in the field of their specialization.¹³

Challenges: The inception of the GCC in May 1981 came as the culmination of the serious efforts imbued with faith in its objectives and conscientious of its need at all levels of intellectual and political activity since the second half of the 1970s. Thus, the Council came as actualization of the great dream of the peoples of the Arabian States of the Gulf. This reflected itself in the collective efforts towards economic, social and political integration representing Gulf Unity. The Gulf Unity embodies all the necessary historical, cultural, human and material ingredients and factors thereby making it capable of meeting all challenges that threaten its cultural progress .It is capable of warding - off the various threats emerging against its existence or against any of its members at the local, regional and international levels.

After reviewing and evaluating the process of the joint action made by the GCC states, it is clear that it was able to subdue the challenges in the midst of which the Council was raised. Those challenges were embodied in a group of threats. The joint action was able to position itself against those challenges and threats by ensuring the effectiveness of the cultural and social presence of its peoples in the world arena throughout the period of its existence.

While facing those challenges, all the member states exerted maximum efforts in order to achieve the objectives laid down by the founding charter and by the auxiliary agreements and strategies, which originated from the successive sessions of the Supreme Council as well as the

major organizations and institutions which evolved in the bosom of the Secretariat General of the Council.

In as far as it concerns review and evaluation, it can be concluded that the GCC states have made tremendous strides in all fields of development work. Indeed many of the challenges surrounding the development efforts have been surmounted by national as well as integrated policies pursued side by side at the same time. Despite that, the latest international, regional and local developments have brought forth changes, in the past years. These changes are likely to have dangerous consequences not only for the process of development in every State that strives towards economic and social progress- GCC states being among them- but also on the future of the peoples of those countries, the continuity of their existence, and their role in the progress of the world civilization in the 21st century. There is no doubt that the dealing with these new developments will constitute one of the major challenges in any development effort in the future stages.

One of the most important results has been the creation of strong faith among the peoples in the absolute need for the Council to continue to exist as a framework for dealing with challenges; and for organizing the development endeavors; and for creating an institutional structure for the joint Gulf action in the economic and social fields. In addition to that, a clear vision has been outlined to address issues pertaining not just to the political and security challenges but also to address long - term development challenges and its various complexities, at the level of challenges, they can be divided into two sets. The first set comprises of the outcome of the process of development in all the member states, the nature of geo-political situation, resources and demographic features. The second set comprises of the new developments in the world system in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

Among the major systemic changes developments in this field are: Global war on terrorism, end of the international order characterized by two poles, military intervention by United Nation's forces to resolve regional conflicts and continuation of conflict between major powers as regards oil, a vast proportion of which is concentrated in the Gulf states and a few other states in the region; and the developments in the Middle East (Israel / Lebanon) conflate, Operation Iraq Freedom (OIF) , among the major developments of this phase are: continuance of the scientific & technological revolution and their applications, including those in the filed of information technology and increased importance of earmarking expenditure on scientific research. The repercussions of these successive revolutionary changes on the vocational structures of manpower and the rate of unemployment in all sectors of the economy are

significant. In addition, successive developments in the field of communications and information have had great impact on the economic, social facets in the various countries.

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

Some of the questions that rise up nowadays are: How to tackle the complicated problems faced by these Arab Muslim countries? How to find common ground for the 6 Muslim countries to address these issues? Do we want to reestablish the old model of the Muslim state or to progress individually? Is it enough to achieve material development to solve our problems? Are westernization and secularization of the society necessary preconditions for development? Are we permitted to progress? Certainly there are many other questions, and each of them needs a comprehensive study to answer.

Conclusion. How the GCC Government Review Arabian Gulf Region?

With the end of this phase of the second Gulf war Iran commenced its attempts to consolidate its regional role in the Gulf. The Iranian leadership felt that the moment was favorable to regain And how that will effaced that Gulf Cooperation Council?¹⁴ Is that will make it moor stronger? The changing regional environment, the defeat of Iraq where is no another regional power is certainly more conducive to an increasing Iranian role in the Gulf, so it will allow Tehran to produce more energy and resources to the Arabian Gulf. These challenges include the political and military presence of the West in the Gulf, Without GCC countries' cooperation with each other and with its Western allies; the Gulf can not be protected from major threats. Yet pushing such cooperation too far and too fast runs.

Endnotes

¹ The Holy Qur'an 9 -71

² Al-Tabari, vol.9-10, part 10, pp123. Mentioned by Dr.Souran Mardini, Bi-Annual urnalVOL1.NO.2, and 1988.p51.

³ The Holy Qur'an 9 -11.

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⁷ Data Source – The Institute for Strategic Studies “The GCC Balance 2005/06

⁸ Co-operation Cancel for the Arab State the Gulf Secretariat General data. Abdul Jaleel Marhoon , Gulf security ;(Dar Alnahar, Beirut 1997).

⁹ An Alternative Strategy for Iraq ,White Paper (December 16, 2006)

¹⁰ Article in the book by Muhammah Al-sayed “Gulf Security After crisis “

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¹⁴ Anwar Grgash,"Iran,the GCC States, and the UAE: Prospects and Challenges in the Coming Decade", in Iran and the Gulf, Search For Stability, (The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research)

