Fishing

Historically, fishing was second only to farming as an economic activity in pre-oil Oman. Both the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea offer a variety of catch, including sardines, bluefish, mackerel, shark, tuna, abalone, lobsters, and oysters. Fishermen harvest their catch in the waters near the coast, using the traditional, small seagoing canoe, to which an outboard motor has been added.

The fishing sector (along with agriculture) is considered one of the most promising areas for commercial attention and accounts for the highest non-oil export revenue. However, sales in 1990 totaled RO17.3 million, dwarfed by oil export earnings of RO1.9 billion. The GCC provided the largest fish export market. The fishing sector also provided employment opportunities to 19,296 registered fishermen in 1990, of whom 18,546 were employed in traditional fisheries and 750 in industrial fisheries. Like agriculture, fishing has been affected by the diminishing number of people employed in the sector. As increasing numbers of fishermen turn to more remunerative employment, there has been a gradual decrease in the amount of fish caught.

The government has stressed modernizing and expanding the fishing industry and developing its export potential. The Joint United States-Oman Commission funded the Oman Fisheries Development and Management Project to strengthen the technical, administrative, and management skills of the Directorate General of Fisheries Resources (DGFR). In strengthening the DGFR, the government hopes to increase private-sector confidence in the fishing industry and, in the long term, to create private-sector-led development of the industry.

The government is following a dual strategy—internally, to improve the capacity of the DGFR to manage Oman's fishing resources and, externally, to provide incentives for fishermen to remain in their occupations. The government provides subsidies to purchase fiberglass boats and outboard engines; to construct workshops, cold storage facilities, and jetties along the coastline; and to establish companies to market fish both domestically and internationally.

Non-oil Minerals

The sultanate produces copper, chromite, gold, and silver. Oman's main copper reserves are in the Suhar area on the Al Batinah coast. The processing of ore at the Suhar complex,

operated by the government-owned Oman Mining Company, began in 1983. The production of chromite by the Oman Mining Company also began in 1983 in the Suhar area. Exports of the Oman Mining Company are primarily destined to the Far East market. In 1990 Taiwan accounted for 38.5 percent of exports, followed by Japan with 11.1 percent and South Korea with 2.9 percent.

In July 1991, the government established the Oman Chrome Company (OCC), in which it holds a 15 percent share. The remainder of the shares are held by the private sector. The OCC was created to develop the country's chromite reserves—estimated by the Robertson Group of Britain and the Bureau des Recherches Géologiques et Minières of France at 2 million tons of chromite—at 600 sites throughout the country. The public offering of OCC shares reflects the government's official policy of encouraging private-sector participation in industry and manufacturing.

Limestone for cement production is mined in both the northern and the southern areas to supply the Oman Cement Company's plant in the Rusayl Industrial Estate near As Sib and the Raysut Cement Corporation's plant near Salalah. Tile and marble are also produced for local construction.

Surveys have indicated deposits of numerous other materials—asbestos, coal, iron ore, lead, manganese, nickel, silver, and zinc. Large deposits of metal ores are located at the Sayh Hatat area (northeast of Izki) and the Al Jabal al Akhdar area. Substantial deposits of zinc and lead are known to exist in Dhofar, Jalan, and Hawshi Huqf (southwest of Al Ghabah). The feasibility of exploiting coal reserves at Al Kamil, near Sur, to replace oil in electric power generation, is being studied. A preliminary study on coal completed in 1990 by the UN Department of Technical Cooperation for Development estimates coal reserves in the sultanate at 22 million tons, a figure considered adequate for domestic use but not for export.

Industry

The government's program to diversify from the oil industry emphasizes the industrial sector, with a steady increase in small and medium-sized industries based on heavily subsidized industrial parks. The first industrial estate, at Ar Rusayl, fifteen kilometers from As Sib International Airport, was developed in the mid-1980s and housed about sixty enterprises, including manufacturers of cement, soap, crackers, and copper cathodes. The

Copper mine near Suhar; copper has been mined in Oman since ancient times.
View of multiple-highway system near Al Khuwayr, linking the sultanate's major cities
Courtesy Embassy of the Sultanate of Oman, Washington

sultanate's second industrial estate, a 100-hectare site at Raysut, was developed in the early 1990s by the local firm of Shanfari and Partners. The sultanate's third industrial estate is a planned fifty-hectare project at Suhar. Other estates are planned at Nazwah, Sur, Al Khasab, and the Al Buraymi Oasis. The government is also studying the feasibility of establishing cottage industries to produce such items as pottery, rose water, and frankincense. As a result of these efforts, by 1991 manufacturing contributed 3.5 percent of Oman's GDP.

A few small-scale traditional industries use primitive methods, such as in the production of ghee (clarified butter) and the drying of fish, dates, and limes. Some handicraft industries remain, but their importance is steadily being eclipsed. Silversmiths practice their trade, and artisans work with clay at Bahla, just west of Adam, an important center for the production of household pottery. Goldsmiths follow their trade in the Muscat metropolitan area and its environs. In several regions, workers fashion low-quality, hand-made cloth from locally produced wool. The coastal towns remain boat-building centers.

Whereas the industrial sector during the 1970s and 1980s was aimed at import-substitution industrialization (see Glossary), the objective in the 1990s is to encourage export industries for the Persian Gulf market. However, this assumes that Oman will be able to operate effectively in an increasingly competitive market, attract foreign investors, and increase the role of private-sector industry.

To increase its ability to compete with its Persian Gulf neighbors, particularly Dubayy, where the Mina Jabal Ali Duty-Free Zone permits fully owned foreign subsidiaries, Oman needs to overhaul its commercial and economic laws. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry set up three working teams in early 1992 to recommend amendments to existing laws for discussion with the Oman Chamber of Commerce and Industry (OCCI) and the Consultative Council. The government revised laws to permit GCC nationals to own up to 49 percent of the shares in twenty specified Omani companies, ten of which are banks. The OCCI has introduced an industrial consultations unit, computer-linked with the Vienna-based United Nations Industrial Development Organization, offering investment advice on twenty industrial sectors as well as data on equipment suppliers and training needs.

Tourism

The government promotes tourism, consistent with its policy of economic diversification, with emphasis on the Muscat metropolitan area and on coastal towns where principal hotels are located. The Ministry of National Heritage and Culture is restoring historical sites at Muscat and in the coastal towns. The forts at Nazwah, Ar Rustaq, Al Hazm, Bidbid, and Jabrin in the interior are accessible by automobile.

Oman has seven international hotels, the majority located in the Muscat metropolitan area. AZD Enterprises, set up by Qais ibn Tariq Al Said, Sultan Qabus ibn Said's first cousin, is planning a new tourism project at Bandar Jissah, a weekend coastal retreat in the north. The site of the planned hotel and sports facilities, including a large golf course, will be near the Al Bustan Palace Hotel, the most luxurious hotel in Oman.

Transportation

The Omani transportation system, as with virtually all the sultanate's physical infrastructure, is a post-1970 development. It includes an expanding highway network, two modern deep-water ports, an oil port at Mina al Fahl, and an international airport facilitating international, intraregional, and domestic service. By 1992 there were 6,000 kilometers of paved roads and 20,000 kilometers of gravel or earthen roads, in a contrast to 1970, when there was one ten-kilometer paved highway and limited coastal and air traffic.

The sultanate's modern transportation system links all significant populated places within Oman and gives easy access to many international destinations. A four-lane highway runs west from Muscat along the Gulf of Oman to Dubayy in the UAE. A second major paved highway in the interior connects locations from just east of Al Ayn in the UAE to Salalah on Oman's south coast. Good land connections link Oman only with the UAE, however. No roads extend across the Saudi or Yemeni borders. The sultanate's principal airport, As Sib International Airport, has regularly scheduled flights to numerous cities worldwide and also to five domestic destinations. Muscat's natural harbor has long been a haven for ships, and its port facilities are among the best in the eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula.

Transportation planning and administration, with the exception of the Muscat metropolitan area highways, are administered by the Ministry of Communications through the

northern and southern directorates general of roads. The Development Council is responsible for recommending and monitoring overall sectoral objectives and priorities and reports directly to the Council of Ministers. Laying pipelines and certain roads and port facilities related to oil production are under the direction of PDO.

With the major infrastructure in place by the mid-1980s, there was a shift from construction to maintenance and improvement of the existing network. Until 1984 ministry budgets reflected a marginal outlay for maintenance as a result of the relatively new paved road system. However, starting in 1984, maintenance of paved roads became important, and a program of bituminous surface treatment and regraveling was begun. The emphasis in the early 1990s has been on maintaining and upgrading the present highway infrastructure, but the government continues to allocate substantial resources to the development plan for the Muscat metropolitan area, where severe urban traffic problems are being addressed by the construction of interchanges and expansion of some highways to four-lane systems.

Further expansion of the existing transportation system includes enlarging both As Sib International Airport and Mina Qabus, the port near Muscat. Mina Qabus is expected to be inadequate to accommodate the projected increase in cargo traffic by the year 2000. An expansion project is designed to increase port capacity from 1.6 million tons to 2.6 million tons. The project involves converting two berths to container berths, building a new berth for the Royal Yacht Squadron, creating a storage area, and building a sea wall. The expansion is partially funded by the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development. The possibility of a port at Suhar, to be used as a transshipment site for destinations farther up the gulf, is under consideration.

Telecommunications

Modern telecommunications facilities were introduced in 1975, but major investment in such facilities occurred only after 1982. In 1989 the sultanate had almost 87,000 telephones, or about 6.8 telephones per 100 inhabitants, a figure considerably lower than for Oman's Persian Gulf neighbors. Service is unevenly distributed; more than 50 percent of the telephones are in the Muscat area. Service is entirely automatic, with international direct dial available to all customers.

International telecommunications to Europe, Asia, and the Americas go via a satellite ground station, working with the International Telecommunications Satellite Corporation's (Intelsat) Indian Ocean satellite. Calls to other countries in the region are routed through a ground station linked to the Arab Satellite Communication Organization (Arabsat) satellite. A third system of eight ground stations is used for domestic calls.

In 1992 broadcast facilities were limited. Television service was more widespread than radio. There are only two AM radio stations, one in Muscat and one in Salalah, and three FM radio stations, two in Muscat and the other in Al Khasab in northernmost Oman. A powerful shortwave station that broadcasts in Arabic and English can be received worldwide. Television service is available throughout the country; seven large transmitters are located in major towns, and twenty-five smaller relay stations broadcast in rural areas.

The government's priorities in the 1990s are to expand the local telephone facilities in existing telephone switching centers, to provide telephone service to rural communities without service, and to expand domestic long-distance and international telephone facilities. The Fourth Five-Year Development Plan allocated RO93 million (US$242 million) to telecommunications projects. Plans of the state-owned General Telecommunications Organization include launching public paging, data communications, and telephone expansion services.

Labor

A foreign work force was the key to the development of Oman's physical and administrative infrastructure. In 1992 about 60 percent of the labor force consisted of foreigners. However, indigenization is among the government's principal priorities. Only 23 percent of the private-sector work force is Omani, whereas the public-sector work force is dominated by Omani nationals. In 1990 Omanis made up 80 percent of public corporation employees, 52 percent of diwan, or court, employees, and 65 percent of the civil service. In certain organizations and ministries—such as the Oman News Agency and the ministries of foreign affairs; interior; justice, *awqaf* [religious endowments], and Islamic affairs; national heritage and culture; and social affairs and labor—Omanis exceed 90 percent of the work force.

In the banking sector, 70.8 percent of the work force was Omani in 1990; in the oil sector, it was 61.0 percent, with a

large disparity between producing and nonproducing companies. Of PDO's work force, 61.0 percent was Omani, compared with 53.4 percent of Elf Aquitaine Oman, 20.0 percent of Occidental Oman, and 21.0 percent of Japex Oman (see Hydrocarbon Sector, this ch.). In non-oil-producing companies, Omanis averaged 31.6 percent of the work force. In 1990 only 24.0 percent of insurance-sector workers and 19.0 percent of hotel-sector workers were Omanis.

The government hopes that an increasing number of Omanis will enter trade and industry, increasing the number of Omanis in the private sector to 45.2 percent by 1995. RO40 million (US$104 million) was allocated to training in 1990, with the intent of training 100,000 individuals and creating 160,000 job opportunities. In March 1991, the Higher Committee for Vocational Training and Labor was established to generate employment for Omanis and to establish other policies for the indigenous and foreign work force.

Institution building has been largely a foreign initiative. The professional core of the civil administration has consisted mainly of British and United States citizens, influencing the development of ministries, the judiciary, development planning, and resource management. The dependency on foreign advisers in the 1990s is likely to grow, given increasing Western, notably United States, involvement in the gulf after Operation Desert Shield and Operation Desert Storm, particularly in defense and security areas. Also, the emphasis of the Joint United States-Oman Commission on institution building and privatization has resulted in sustained foreign influence in the sultanate (see International Relations, this ch.).

The government not only faces a skills barrier to its indigenization program but also a psychological obstacle. As a result of the initiation of a civil administrative structure, a sense of entitlement has arisen in the public psyche. By ensuring positions in the public sector for Omani nationals, the government inadvertently created the notion that it was the universal provider for its citizens. This notion may be difficult to reverse and perhaps will become a source of political instability if the government proves unable to fulfill its obligations should an economic downturn and consequent financial difficulties occur.

Water and Power

The country's water resources are a key to its economic

future, and continued development will require much more water than has been available. Rainfall is so scant that crop production is impossible without irrigation. Livestock raising is restricted to areas having a dependable supply of drinking water for animals. Any substantial expansion of agricultural production will therefore require developing new water sources. Industrial expansion, increased tourism, and an improved standard of living combine to increase the requirements for water.

In the 1990s, water sources include wells for village water supplies, the *falaj* system, and desalination plants. Although the Muscat metropolitan area, Salalah, and Raysut are supplied with adequate water distribution and sewerage systems, such systems remain underdeveloped in many rural areas.

In 1969 Oman had only one electric power generating station, which produced one megawatt of electricity for the Muscat metropolitan area. Since then, electricity has been introduced in an increasing number of areas: Salahin in 1970; the island of Masirah in 1976; and Nazwah, As Sahm, and Ibri in 1978. In 1990 in the sultanate, 4,503 million kilowatt-hours were produced in comparison with 787 million kilowatt-hours in 1980. The Muscat metropolitan area represents 67.4 percent of the sultanate's electricity consumption, followed by the Al Batinah area at 14.7 percent and Dhofar at 9.4 percent. The government's diversification program and its plans to develop infrastructure across the country to balance economic development and to correct the regional disparities between the less developed south and interior and the more developed north require greater attention to water and power. Several large infrastructure projects are being considered in the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan: a new power station and grid network for the interior; improvement in Muscat's sewerage network; and construction of another desalination plant, which was completed by 1992. However, the water problem requires greater attention to the management of existing installations.

Banking

The Omani banking sector is largely the product of a November 1974 banking law that established the Central Bank of Oman (CBO), effective April 1975. The law also facilitated the entry of foreign-owned banks and permitted an increase in the number of local banks in the sultanate. As of September 1992, there were twenty-one commercial banks in comparison

with three registered in 1972. In addition, there were three specialized development banks: the Oman Development Bank (1977); the Oman Housing Bank (1977); and the Oman Bank for Agriculture and Fisheries (1981). However, the Omani banking market is the smallest in the GCC. Of the twenty-one commercial banks, eleven are foreign owned and concentrate primarily on financing trade. Ten are local banks operating in an increasingly competitive market. Because of competition, the government seeks to encourage consolidation. The expectation is that five or six local banks will emerge as the core, with those facing financial difficulties ceasing operations or merging with more profitable institutions. A similar pattern may apply to foreign banks, of which only five or six would continue to undertake significant business.

The CBO effectively replaces the Oman Currency Board, which was created in 1972 to issue currency, manage government accounts, and execute banking transactions with commercial banks and international institutions. A board of governors appointed by the sultan manages the CBO. The board's responsibilities include management of the government's foreign assets. The CBO is empowered to make advances to the government to cover temporary deficiencies in current revenues; to purchase government treasury notes and securities with a maximum maturity of ten years; to make advances to commercial banks; and to buy, sell, discount, and rediscount commercial paper. In 1991 the banking law was amended to empower the CBO to withdraw the license or suspend the activities of banks under its jurisdiction, allowing the CBO to liquidate, reorganize, or manage a bank directly.

The CBO exercised these expanded powers with regard to the takeover of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) branches in the sultanate. BCCI was incorporated in Luxembourg in 1972 and established a presence in Oman in July 1974. After 1974 it expanded its local operations to include twelve branches having total assets of RO67 million (US$174 million) as against total deposit liabilities of RO57 million (US$148 million). Gross mismanagement of assets resulted in a decision by central banks of various countries to freeze BCCI operations on July 5, 1991. Accordingly, the CBO suspended BCCI operations in the sultanate on July 6, 1991, and its board of governors offered BCCI branches for sale to locally incorporated banks. An agreement was signed with Bank Dhofar al Omani al Fransi, effective February 15, 1992, to

assume all assets and liabilities of BCCI Oman. Bank Dhofar al Omani al Fransi received a grant of RO15 million to cover BCCI's frozen assets abroad and a guarantee of RO4 million against future claims. The arrangement made Bank Dhofar al Omani al Fransi the second largest capitalized bank in the sultanate. The sale did not affect the National Bank of Oman, the largest bank in the sultanate, in which BCCI was a 40 percent shareholder.

In 1992 this sale was the most recent in a series of restructuring arrangements of the Omani banking market. The Union Bank of Oman was restructured in June 1990 and thereafter was called the Omani European Bank. Kuwaiti institutions lost their shares in the bank, the shares of France's Banque Indosuez increased, and several Omani groups held the remaining shares: Zubair Enterprises, Royal Oman Police Pension Trust, Oman International Development and Investment Company, Oman Aviation Services, and the Port Services Corporation. In January 1989, the Bank of Muscat purchased the assets and liabilities of the Oman Banking Corporation, which itself was a product of the restructuring of the Bank of Oman and the Gulf.

Consumer loans rose to 31.3 percent of total loans in 1990 from 18.8 percent in 1985. There was an accompanying decline in the share of construction and trade to 44.8 percent from 57.3 percent in the same period, reflecting the shift in commercial bank lending from commerce and real estate to personal loans. The decline also indicated the different development needs within the sultanate. During the early 1980s, large-scale infrastructural growth prompted banks to extend loan facilities for construction and real estate. The 1986 oil price collapse and the subsequent economic retrenchment contributed to repayment difficulties, and nonperforming loans diminished the net profits of banks.

In its declared interest in promoting mergers in the banking industry, in 1991 the government placed a ceiling on the amount banks could lend to their directors. Banks could lend up to 15 percent of their net capital to related individuals or their business interests, in comparison with the previous ceiling of 20 percent. An amendment to the 1974 banking law announced in May 1992, increasing the minimum required capitalization for banks to RO10 million for local banks and RO3 million for branches of foreign banks, was similarly

designed to encourage mergers and rationalization of the banking sector.

The three specialized development banks serve as mechanisms to promote government policies of economic diversification, private-sector development, and indigenization of the work force. The Oman Housing Bank is a joint venture developed by the government, Kuwait's Ministry of Finance, and the Oman Development Bank. In 1991 the Oman Housing Bank recorded a net profit of RO4.1 million (US$10.7 million), as compared with RO3.4 million (US$8.8 million) the previous year.

The Oman Development Bank extends loans to industrial development projects. The government holds 40 percent of the shares, and regional and foreign institutions hold 40 percent; the remaining 20 percent is open for private Omani subscription. In March 1991, the bank offered five- to six-year interest-free loans of up to RO50,000 (US$131,600) for establishing small businesses if all employees were Omanis. Businesses employing foreigners were to be levied 3 percent interest.

The government holds 98 percent of the capital of the Oman Bank for Agriculture and Fisheries, which, as its name implies, is authorized to extend loans to individuals or enterprises to finance activities in agriculture and fishing. By March 31, 1992, the bank had thirteen operating branches.

Government and Politics

Historical Patterns of Governance

Until 1970 the political title for the Al Said rulers was sultan of Muscat and Oman, implying two historically irreconcilable political cultures: the coastal tradition, the more cosmopolitan, secular, Muscat tradition of the coast ruled by the sultan; and the interior tradition of insularity, tribal in origin and ruled by an imam according to the theological tenets of Ibadism (see Religion, this ch.). The more cosmopolitan has been the ascending political culture since the founding of the Al Said dynasty in 1744, although the imamate tradition has found intermittent expression.

Several millennia ago, Arab tribes migrated eastward to Oman, coinciding with the increasing presence in the region of peoples from present-day Iran. In the sixth century, Arabs succeeded in repelling encroachments of these ethnic groups;

the conversion of Arab tribes to Islam in the seventh century resulted in the displacement of the settlers from Iran. The introduction of Ibadism vested power in the imam, the leader nominated by tribal shaykhs and then elected by public acclamation.

The Ibadis had five imamates before the founding of the Al Said dynasty. The first imamate in the ninth century became the example of the ideal Ibadi state. The fifth imamate, the Yarubid Imamate, recaptured Muscat from the Portuguese in 1650 after a colonial presence on the northeastern coast of Oman dating to 1508. The Yarubid dynasty expanded, acquiring former Portuguese colonies in East Africa and engaging in the slave trade.

A civil war broke out in the first half of the eighteenth century between two major tribes: the Hinawi, who claimed descent from an eponymous ancestor Qahtan, and the Ghafiri, who claimed descent from an eponymous ancestor Nizar. The war ended in the 1740s with the election of Ahmad ibn Said Al Said as imam. Ahmad ibn Said had previously served as governor of Suhar under the Yarubid imam, whom he replaced. By 1749 Ahmad ibn Said had become imam of Oman, Zanzibar, and part of what now constitutes Tanzania. Following Ahmad ibn Said's death in 1775, his son, Sultan ibn Ahmad Al Said, became ruler.

The successors of Ahmad ibn Said were known initially as *sayyids*, a title of respect for a Muslim of noble lineage, and later as sultans. Like its predecessors, Al Said dynastic rule has been characterized by a history of internecine family struggle, fratricide, and usurpation. Apart from threats within the ruling family, there was the omnipresent challenge from the independent tribes of the interior who rejected the authority of the sultan, recognizing the imam as the sole legitimate leader and pressing, by resort to arms, for the restoration of the imamate.

Schisms within the ruling family were apparent before Ahmad ibn Said's death and were later manifest with the division of the family into two main lines, the Sultan ibn Ahmad Al Said (r. 1792–1806) line controlling the maritime state, with nominal control over the entire country; and the Qais branch, with authority over the Al Batinah and Ar Rustaq areas. During the period of Sultan Said ibn Sultan Al Said's rule (1806–56), Oman cultivated its East African colonies, profiting from the slave trade. As a regional commercial power in the nineteenth century, Oman held territories on the island of Zanzibar off

the coast of East Africa, in Mombasa along the coast of East Africa, and until 1958 in Gwadar (in present-day Pakistan) on the coast of the Arabian Sea. But when the British declared slavery illegal in the mid-1800s, the sultanate's fortunes reversed. The economy collapsed, and many Omani families migrated to Zanzibar. The population of Muscat fell from 55,000 to 8,000 between the 1850s and 1870s.

The death of Sultan Said ibn Sultan in 1856 prompted a further division: the descendants of the late sultan ruled Oman (Thuwaini ibn Said Al Said, r. 1856–66) and Zanzibar (Mayid ibn Said Al Said, r. 1856–70); the Qais branch intermittently allied itself with the ulama to restore imamate legitimacy. In 1868 Azzam ibn Qais Al Said (r. 1868–71) emerged as self-declared imam. Although a significant number of Hinawi tribes recognized him as imam, the public neither elected him nor acclaimed him as such.

Imam Azzam understood that to unify the country a strong, central authority had to be established with control over the interior tribes of Oman. His rule was jeopardized by the British, who interpreted his policy of bringing the interior tribes under the central government as a move against their established order. In resorting to military means to unify Oman, Imam Azzam alienated members of the Ghafiri tribes, who revolted in the 1870–71 period. The British gave Imam Azzam's rival, Turki ibn Said Al Said, financial and political support. Turki ibn Said succeeded in defeating the forces of Imam Azzam, who was killed in battle outside Matrah in January 1871.

The deteriorating economy resulting from the suppression of the slave trade rendered Sultan Turki ibn Said's rule susceptible to opposition from the interior. For a brief period, Turki ibn Said appeased his opposition with cash payments and British backing. His authority extended from the Al Batinah coast to Suhar, with the rest of the country operating autonomously. Sultan Turki ibn Said suffered a stroke in the early 1870s and was incapacitated. He was succeeded in 1888 by his son, Faisal ibn Turki Al Said, who was the first ruler of the Al Said family in the nineteenth century to assume power peacefully, without resort to arms or political subterfuge.

Four sultans of the Al Said family have ruled Oman in the twentieth century: Faisal ibn Turki Al Said (1888–1913), Taimur ibn Faisal Al Said (1913–32), Said ibn Taimur Al Said (1932–70), and the present sultan, Qabus ibn Said Al Said

(1970–). In large part, Omani political developments in the twentieth century followed the temperament and priorities of successive sultans. Each, to varying degrees, responded to threats to his authority from the interior; each had to balance independent action with an indirect role by Britain, with which Oman had treaties of friendship. The initial British-Omani treaty, similar to British treaties with other Persian Gulf states, was signed in 1891.

The process of state formation in Oman and the centralization of political power within the ruling family followed the same pattern found in other gulf shaykhdoms, particularly Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar. Oil revenues and income redistribution facilitated a pattern of continuity of political power within the ruling family and the traditional political elite as well as change with the modest creation of new institutions and expanded administration engaging an increasingly diverse segment of Omani society.

Faisal ibn Turki, 1888–1913

On assuming power in 1888, Faisal ibn Turki gradually found his authority over the interior weakened as tribal leaders increasingly perceived his dependence on British advisers as an inherent weakness. In 1895 he was forced to seek refuge at Jalali fort after Muscat was captured. British political agents frustrated his efforts to recapture Muscat, compelling him to court the French. He granted the French coaling facilities for their fleet at Bandar Jissah near Muscat.

Determined to thwart any growth in French presence in what Britain considered its sphere of influence, Britain presented Faisal ibn Turki with an ultimatum in 1899 ordering the sultan to board the British flagship or Muscat would be bombarded. Having little recourse, Faisal ibn Turki capitulated. Publicly humiliated, his authority was irreversibly damaged. In 1903 he asked Lord George Nathaniel Curzon, viceroy of India, for permission to abdicate, but his request was denied. Responsibility for the capital was delegated to Said ibn Muhammad Al Said, while affairs of the interior fell to an ex-slave, Sulayman ibn Suwaylim. By 1913 control over the interior was completely lost, and a reconstituted imamate was again a threat to Muscat. In May 1913, Salim ibn Rashid al Harthi was elected imam at Tanuf and spearheaded a revolt against the sultan that combined both Hinawi and Ghafiri tribal groups.

Taimur ibn Faisal, 1913–32

Taimur ibn Faisal succeeded his father as sultan in October 1913. When he assumed suzerainty over the country, he inherited an external public debt and widespread rebellion among the tribes. Between 1915 and 1920, the sultan's forces were aided by British financial and matériel support against the rebel tribes, ensuring adequate resistance but not total victory. An uneasy situation of no war, no peace existed, with the sultan controlling Muscat and the coastal towns and the imam ruling the interior. This was tacitly codified in the Treaty of As Sib in 1920, brokered by the British political agent in Muscat. The treaty was between the sultan and the tribes, represented by Shaykh Isa ibn Salih al Harthi, leader of the Al Harth tribe.

In return for full autonomy, the tribes in the interior pledged to cease attacking the coast. The Treaty of As Sib was, de facto, a partition agreement between Muscat and Oman, serving Britain's interest in preserving its power through the office of the sultan without dispatching British troops to the region. The Treaty of As Sib ensured political quiescence between Muscat and Oman that lasted until the 1950s, when oil exploration in the interior reintroduced conflict. In return for accepting a truncation of his authority, the sultan received a loan from the government of British India with an amortization period of ten years, sufficient to repay his debts to merchants. When Sultan Taimur ibn Faisal abdicated for financial reasons in 1932, the twenty-two-year-old Said ibn Taimur inherited an administration that was in debt.

A United States Department of State bulletin on the sultan of Muscat and Oman in February 1938 describes the situation in which Sultan Said ibn Taimur found himself after assuming power: "The young Sultan found the country practically bankrupt and his troubles were further complicated by tribal unrest and conspiracy by certain of his uncles, one of whom immediately profited by the occasion to set up an independent regime. The Sultan tackled the situation with resolution and within a short time the traitorous uncle had been subdued, unrest quelled, and most important of all, state finances put on much more solid footing."

Said ibn Taimur, 1932–70

Between 1932 and 1970, Said ibn Taimur ruled Oman and impressed on it his own myopic vision. Said ibn Taimur was an

Anglophile who was compelled, in order to alleviate the country's debt, to integrate the interior with Oman and create an independent state. To create a financially independent state, he needed oil export revenues. But the acquiescence of the interior tribes was indispensable for exploration activities.

The dilemma materialized in 1954 when the PDO sent exploration teams to the interior. The move was interpreted by the tribal shaykhs as a violation of the 1920 Treaty of As Sib. This coincided with the death of Imam Muhammad ibn Abd Allah al Khalili, who had ruled the interior of the country, and the election in 1954 of a new imam, who led a breakaway movement seeking independence from coastal Oman. The new imam's brother solicited political and material support from Saudi Arabia and established a secessionist movement called the Omani Liberation Movement, with the goals of establishing an independent Omani state in the interior and forcing the withdrawal of foreign troops. The British intervened on behalf of the sultan and by 1959 reestablished the sultan's authority. The British abrogated the Treaty of As Sib and ended the office of imam.

After 1958 Said ibn Taimur established his residence at Al Hisn near Salalah, in Dhofar, where he remained permanently except for periodic visits to London. By retiring to the south from Muscat, Said ibn Taimur was not only more secure from assassination but was also no longer obligated to meet frequently with tribal shaykhs and distribute subsidies and thereby avoided depleting the treasury. He married Dhofari wives, one of whom bore him his only son, Qabus ibn Ṣaid, and two daughters. Above all, Said ibn Taimur created his personal fiefdom and sought to arrest modernization by enforcing antiquated laws, public executions, and slavery of people of African descent. The isolation and xenophobia that he forced on the country in general and on Dhofar in particular left Oman grossly underdeveloped, despite increasing oil export revenues in the late 1960s.

Qabus ibn Said spent his early years isolated within the royal palace. At the instigation of his father's British advisers, Qabus ibn Said was permitted to go to Britain in 1958 for his education. He spent two years at a small private school, where he acquired mastery of the English language. In 1960 he was enrolled in the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst and, after graduating from a two-year course of study, served for several months with British units stationed in the Federal Republic of

Germany (West Germany). After a world tour and studies in London, he returned to Oman in December 1964. His father, however, refused to entrust him with a responsible role in the government or military and instead sequestered him in the palace in Salalah. Qabus ibn Said's more cosmopolitan and progressive views were incompatible with his father's conservatism and isolationism, which Qabus ibn Said considered detrimental to the country's development. With the tacit endorsement of the British, who saw thirty-year-old Qabus ibn Said as an agreeable alternative, Qabus ibn Said and a number of alienated political elite overthrew Said ibn Taimur in a palace coup d'état on July 23, 1970. Said ibn Taimur withdrew to London, where he died in 1972.

Qabus ibn Said: The Emergence of a Modern State

After assuming power in 1970, Qabus ibn Said concentrated on restoring control over the southern Dhofar region, which had been in rebellion against his father's oppressive rule. He used economic and military means, believing that poor economic conditions had helped motivate the Dhofar rebellion. By 1975 he succeeded in suppressing militarily the Marxist-inspired rebellion, and the sultan could turn to development issues and the establishment of modern governmental and administrative institutions. By the mid-1980s, virtually all regions of the country were linked by a transportation system and a telecommunications network. Ministerial government and the civil service were expanded, and limited participation in the political process was created in 1981 with the establishment of the State Consultative Council and in 1991 with the formation of the Consultative Council, an advisory body that superseded the State Consultative Council.

The Dhofar Rebellion

The Dhofar rebellion combined economic grievances with political ideology. Placed in a regional context, Arab nationalism, the principal ideology of the 1950s and 1960s, indicted the conservative monarchs of the gulf and demanded their overthrow. Oman was susceptible to these populist stirrings, and, given Dhofar's economic backwardness, Dhofar was a tinderbox. Dhofaris resonated with the Marxist ideology of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY, also seen as South Yemen) during the late 1960s. The primary objective of the Omani liberation movement named the Popular Front for the

Sultan Qabus ibn Said Al Said, ruler of Oman
Courtesy Embassy of the Sultanate of Oman, Washington
(Photo Mohamed Mustafa)

Muscat, capital of Oman, with Jilali and Mirani forts in the background
Courtesy Embassy of the Sultanate of Oman, Washington

Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf (in 1972 renamed the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf and in 1974 further renamed the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman) was the removal of Sultan Said ibn Taimur. The government's policies and strategy after Sultan Qabus ibn Said's ascent to power diffused much of this opposition. Pacification occurred through the dual strategy of carrot and stick—military pressure and economic rewards.

Qabus ibn Said engaged neighboring states, apprehensive of the growth of left-wing movements in the region, in dispatching economic and military assistance. In 1973 the shah of Iran, fulfilling his self-perceived role as guardian of the Persian Gulf following the departure of the British, dispatched ground forces (eventually numbering more than 3,000) and air units to Dhofar to assist the sultan. Oman received annual financial aid of about US$200 million from Abu Dhabi to assist military and civil development projects and about US$2.5 billion from Saudi Arabia, with which relations had improved. Britain, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Pakistan provided training in military schools for armed forces personnel. The UAE and Jordan occasionally provided troop units for guard duty in the north, thereby releasing Omani units for service in Dhofar.

To erode the Dhofaris' political will, Qabus ibn Said directed a disproportionate percentage of government revenues to the Dhofar region. The shift was designed in part to augment military capabilities in the event of a resumption of hostilities and in part as economic appeasement. The construction of schools, hospitals, roads, and other infrastructure ameliorated the underprivileged status of the south.

Almost 25 percent of the approximately RO600 million (US$1.8 billion) allocated for development between 1971 and 1975 went to Dhofar to improve transportation, education, rural health, and religious facilities. This amount was spent on projects in Dhofar, although the population only numbered about 50,000, in comparison with the population of the rest of Oman of 400,000 in the mid-1970s.

The government also benefited from factionalization within the insurrectionary movement. The movement in the region had originally been organized in 1963 under the Dhofar Liberation Front, led largely by Arab nationalists and religious conservatives who could enlist support of tribal shaykhs in a common struggle against Sultan Said ibn Taimur. In 1968 the Marxists took over leadership, having the support of the PDRY,

the Soviet Union, and China. Conservative Dhofaris broke with the movement, and when Qabus ibn Said seized power in 1970, many agreed to support him against the insurgency. By the mid-1970s, as many as 2,000 rebels had surrendered and had been retrained and incorporated into the Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF) as pledged under the terms of the amnesty declared shortly after the 1970 coup.

The government based its new administration and distribution networks on preexisting tribal structures. The government established centers headed by local representatives, usually minor tribal leaders elected by the population of their respective districts but who had to be endorsed by the governor of Dhofar before assuming office. In the larger coastal settlements, local deputy governors managed the district administration independent of the governor of Dhofar. Most of these were major tribal shaykhs, who received a monthly stipend from the government and additional allowances, usually on state or religious holidays. The government's financial allowances to the shaykhs, irrespective of whether or not the shaykh held an administrative position, served to ensure allegiance to authorities in Muscat. Two state institutions distributed these allowances: the finance section of the *wali* (governor) and the palace administration, popularly known as Diwan Affairs.

State Formation and Politically Influential Groups

The process of state formation facilitated by Oman's commercial production and export of hydrocarbon resources transformed the relationship between the ruler and the traditional political elite comprising the ruling family, established merchant families, and tribal shaykhs. While reinforcing some linkages, such as the central role of the Al Said and the political influence of the merchant families, other linkages, particularly the tribes, have diminished in importance. Society outside the capital and urban centers remains tribal, with tribal leaders exercising political authority locally. But the power of tribes as regional pressure groups declined steadily as a result of the incorporation of rural areas into the government-administered sector.

Oil revenues facilitated the transfer of some of the income from the state to society, creating a broader base. Pre-oil stratification of Omani society, wherein the ruler depended on the tribal shaykhs to ensure popular support, has partially been superseded by the establishment of a social welfare state

through which the government fosters a direct relationship between the state and the individual. Government clinics, agricultural and industrial projects, schools, and employment in the public sector reinforce this new linkage.

The Al Said Dynasty

Members of the Al Said family have historically played a central role in the state apparatus, not only because of hereditary succession to the sultanate but also because much of the ruler's bureaucracy has consisted of his relatives. Before 1932 there was an implicit division between Muscat and Oman, with the ruler rarely able to extend his authority over the whole geographical area of Oman. Not only was the interior outside his sphere of influence, but frequently the ruler could not exercise authority over the Al Batinah coast. Relatives often controlled towns such as Suhar and Ar Rustaq autonomously, creating individual fiefdoms.

By the time Sultan Said ibn Taimur assumed power in 1932, these independent power centers had disappeared, coinciding with an increasing role of family members in the administration of the state. This nepotism has been practiced since the nineteenth century when members of the Al Said served in such positions as representative (*wakil*), deputy (*wazir*), governor (*wali*), field general, and council minister. Yet, the practice was not without its risks, and often rulers were sensitive to the potential for relatives to become contenders for power. Sultan Said ibn Taimur recognized the risk his half-brothers Tariq ibn Taimur Al Said and Fahar ibn Taimur Al Said and his son Qabus ibn Said presented, and he delegated only minor responsibilities, if any, to Qabus ibn Said.

Sultan Qabus ibn Said has similarly incorporated members of the Al Said family into the state apparatus, particularly in sensitive ministerial positions. The sultan reserved major ministerial positions for himself. In 1993 he held the posts of prime minister, minister of defense, minister of finance, and minister of foreign affairs, although the functions of the prime minister were often entrusted to the minister of state for foreign affairs. In the 1993 cabinet, two members of the Al Said served as deputy prime ministers: Fahar ibn Taimur Al Said for security and defense and Fahd ibn Mahmud Al Said for legal affairs; Faisal ibn Ali Al Said served as minister of national heritage and culture. The Al Said also controlled the Ministry of Interior, the governorship of Muscat, and the governorship of Dhofar. Sul-

tan Qabus ibn Said's cousin, Thuwaini ibn Shihab Al Said, was the sultan's special personal representative, and some considered him the most likely candidate to succeed Qabus ibn Said. Shabib ibn Taimur Al Said, Qabus ibn Said's uncle, assumed the role of special adviser to the sultan for environmental affairs (see fig. 15).

Despite his progressive rule on some fronts, Sultan Qabus ibn Said has been slow to delegate real political authority. One of his first acts as sultan was to return his father's half-brother, Tariq ibn Taimur, from exile in West Germany and appoint him prime minister. Tariq ibn Taimur was educated in West Germany, married a German national, and had extensive experience working in the Middle East as the representative of a construction firm. He had been an outspoken critic of Sultan Said ibn Taimur's rule, when forced into exile in 1958.

Tariq ibn Taimur formed his first cabinet on August 16, 1970, and brought the notion of political reform. He supported the establishment of a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary system and as a result came into direct conflict with Sultan Qabus ibn Said, who preferred the status quo, with real power remaining in the office of the sultan. As of 1993, power remained centralized with the Al Said, and, although departing from his father's conviction that to maintain the ruler's power the people must remain uneducated, real decision making remained the exclusive privilege of a narrowly based elite that the Al Said dominated.

The centralization of power with the sultan and the absence of a mechanism for succession left speculation open concerning Oman after Qabus ibn Said. Qabus ibn Said has no heir, although he was married briefly in 1976 to Tariq ibn Taimur's daughter. The Al Said family is small, numbering fewer than 100 male members. Since the death in 1980 of Tariq ibn Taimur, no individual within the ruling family has distinguished himself or demonstrated any exceptional ability to rule. Likely candidates to succeed Qabus ibn Said include his two uncles, Fahar ibn Taimur and Shabib ibn Taimur; three cousins, Thuwaini ibn Shibab, Fahd ibn Mahmud, and Faisal ibn Ali; and, among the junior princes, Haitham ibn Tariq Al Said, son of Oman's former prime minister. The issue of succession is sensitive, and, in the absence of a designated crown prince, the door is open for political struggle.

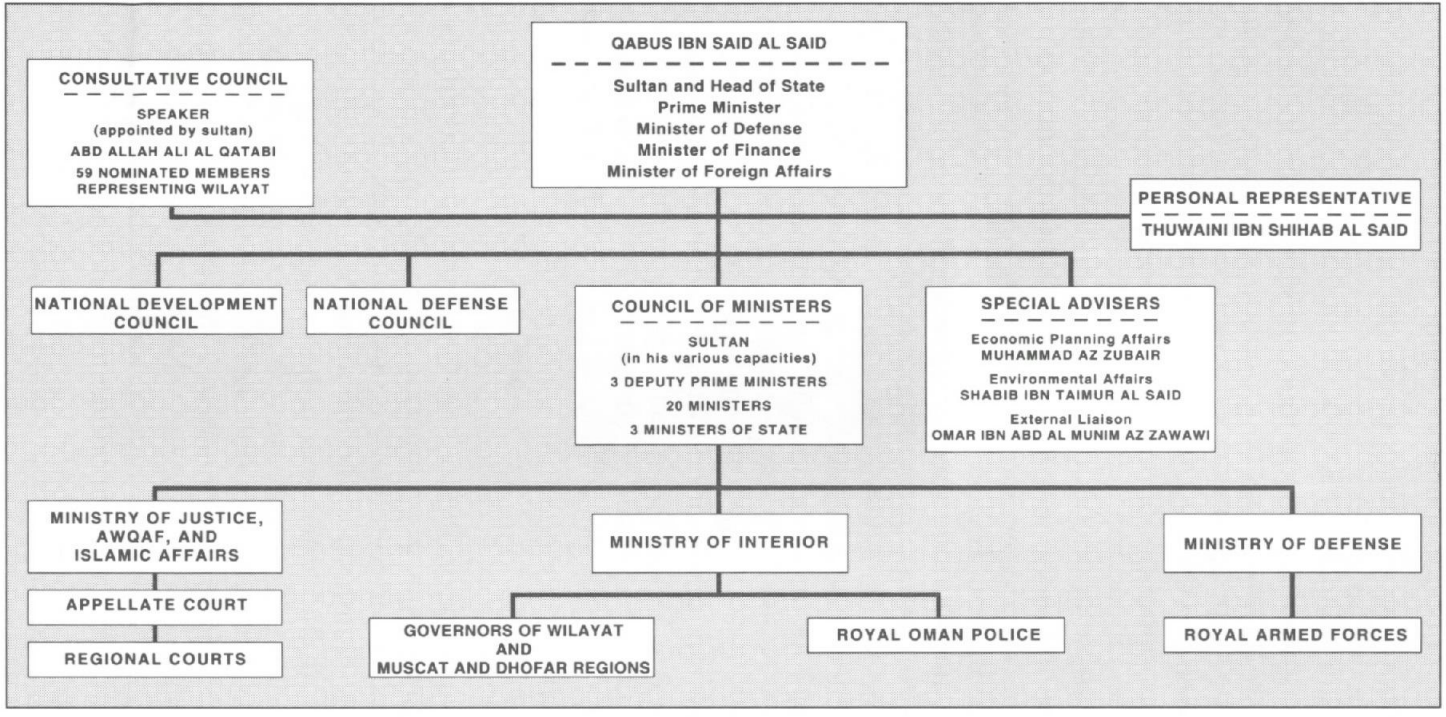


Figure 15. Oman: Government Structure, 1992

Established Merchant Families

Among the most important groups, in terms of political influence, are a number of merchant families whose economic wealth is predicated on old, established links with the ruling family. The merchant families live primarily in Muscat and the coastal region and include both Hindus and Muslims from the Indian subcontinent and Shia from Iran. These families consolidated their power during the reign of Sultan Said ibn Taimur and continued to amass fortunes after 1970, largely through monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic franchises. None is directly involved in the oil business, but together they are the principal suppliers of goods to the government, local contractors, foreign firms, local consumers, and the oil industry. Valuable distributorships for consumer and capital services are under their aegis.

Close cooperation between the merchants and Sultan Said ibn Taimur evolved into a mutually protective relationship with civil servants in the Qabus ibn Said government. Included in this group are the Zawawis, whose roots are in Saudi Arabia. Qais ibn Abd al Munim az Zawawi, for example, as of 1991 served as deputy prime minister for economic and financial affairs. Apart from his ministerial position, Qais ibn Abd al Munim is a prominent Muscat businessman. He was educated in India, has no hereditary relationship with the ruling family, and is well connected in the Arab world. His brother, Omar ibn Abd al Munim az Zawawi, a Harvard-educated physician, is considered the second wealthiest man in Oman next to the sultan. In addition to being president of Omar Zawawi Establishment (the Omzest Group), which comprises about seventy companies and joint ventures, he is special adviser for external liaison to the sultan. The Omzest Group represents multinational companies, such as Daimler-Benz and Mitsui Engineering and Shipping Company, which is contracted to build the oil refinery near Muscat.

Another example of a merchant family drawn into the ministerial level is Said Ahmad ash Shanfari, the minister of petroleum and minerals, whose family origins are Dhofari and who has held the portfolio since 1974. The Shanfari family is related to Qabus ibn Said's mother and controls Shanfari and Partners, a contracting company involved in building infrastructure. Its bid was selected from among six contractors to build the new industrial estate at Raysut.

Khimji Ramdas, who heads the Khimji Ramdas Group, which holds international franchises ranging from consumer products and soft drinks to insurance and construction, is also in this circle. Yahya Muhammad Nasib, chairman of Yahya Enterprises, provides defense and communications equipment to the Ministry of Defense and other ministries. Other influential families include those of Muhsin Haidar Darwish and Suhail Bahwan, chairman of the Bahwan Group, Muscat.

Government Institutions

Government institutions on the national level include the Council of Ministers and two other bodies: the National Defense Council and the National Development Council. In 1992 the Council of Ministers had twenty-seven members, including the prime minister and three deputy prime ministers—for security and defense, legal affairs, and financial and economic affairs. The sultan occupied the sensitive posts of prime minister, minister of defense, minister of foreign affairs, and minister of finance. Sultan Qabus ibn Said controls all ministerial appointments and cabinet reshuffles. Policy formulation remains largely the product of person-to-person negotiations between the sultan and individual ministers.

The National Defense Council, working in conjunction with the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Interior, coordinates the activities of the Royal Armed Forces (formerly called the Sultan's Armed Forces) and the Royal Oman Police. The National Development Council manages national development planning, and all projects involving more than a certain minimum expenditure require its review.

Consultative Council

In 1991 Qabus established the Consultative Council (Majlis ash Shura), a sixty-member body. The Consultative Council superseded the fifty-five-member State Consultative Council (SCC; Majlis al Istishari lil Dawlah) created in 1981 with significant regional and popular as well as official representation.

Whereas the concept of consultation is an integral part of Ibadi Islam and the imamate, it was not a tradition incorporated into Oman's contemporary sultanate until Qabus ibn Said established the SCC by royal decree on October 18, 1981. Initially, the SCC consisted of forty-three members but was expanded to fifty-five in 1983 with representation of the seven geographic regions weighted according to population size and

development needs. Nineteen members were government officials, and of the nineteen, eleven—undersecretaries of social service ministries—were the only permanent members of the SCC. The remaining seven government officials could serve a maximum of two terms (four years), as could other SCC members.

Like the SCC, the Consultative Council lacks legislative powers but plays a consultative role. Its representatives come from Oman's forty-one *wilayat* (governorates; sing., *wilayah*). Candidates are selected by the *wali* (Muscat-appointed governor) and can be nominated by friends or themselves. After the nomination process, names of three candidates are submitted to the deputy prime minister for legal affairs in Muscat, who selects the final candidates, who must then be endorsed by the sultan.

Unlike the SCC, members of the Consultative Council cannot include government officials or civil servants. Although this condition automatically excludes a pool of politically experienced individuals, it is intended to circumvent potential allegations of conflict of interest. The inclusion of eleven undersecretaries in the SCC tended to strengthen it as a body codifying the status quo rather than offering legitimate criticism and alternative policies. The SCC's recommendations did not include defense, foreign affairs, or the petroleum sector. It convened three times annually, with each session lasting three days to a week. The restricted format, infrequent meetings, and lack of veto power or legislative role combined to tie the SCC's hands. Despite these shortcomings, the news reports and televised broadcasts of the SCC exposed the public to a limited part of the government structure. It also modestly introduced the concept of accountability, although the ultimate authority of the sultan remained unquestioned.

The role of the new Consultative Council can perhaps best be understood in the framework of Oman's graduated development process. In 1970 Qabus ibn Said rejected a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary system in favor of preservation of the status quo. Subsequently, the SCC evolved from an earlier advisory body, the Council on Agriculture, Fisheries, and Industries, established in April 1979. The council was largely successful in serving as an "outside" body offering policy recommendations to the sultan and the ministers, although the scope of its consultation was relatively narrow. It was abolished in October 1981, and seven of its twelve members were incor-

porated into the SCC. The Consultative Council has modestly opened the political system.

Judicial System

Oman's legal system is based on the Ibadi interpretation of the sharia (Islamic law), which is similar to that of the four orthodox schools of Sunni Islam (see Sunni Islam, ch. 1). Jurisprudence is administered regionally by the *wali*, in conjunction with the qadi, a judge who has attained that position either by graduating from an Islamic law college or by taking advanced study with local religious experts. Although primarily guided by the sharia, the system aims at arriving at a fair decision or compromise acceptable to all parties. Invariably, tribal law has become mixed with religious law. Modern commercial law, borrowed from other parts of the Middle East and Europe, also operates in the business sphere.

The Media

The media sector remained rudimentary in 1993. There are three Arabic-language dailies: *Al Watan* (The Nation), *Khalij Times*, and *Oman Daily Newspaper*. The Muscat daily, *Times of Oman*, and the *Oman Daily Observer* are two English-language newspapers. Rather than a forum for open discourse, the media serve primarily as benign commentators on local and international news.

Foreign Relations

Oman's foreign policy since the 1970s has been influenced by Qabus ibn Said's determination to reverse the isolationism of Sultan Said ibn Taimur's rule and guardedly to integrate Oman both regionally and internationally. The geostrategic position of the country on the southern shore of the Strait of Hormuz, the imperatives of an oil-dependent economy, and the threats posed by stronger, neighboring regimes, notably Saudi Arabia and Iran, have also shaped the sultan's foreign policy. Oman's foreign policy, as a result of the sultan's goals and the regime's ties to Britain and the United States, has been nonconfrontational and conciliatory to Western interests in the region.

Nonetheless, the regime has displayed an uncommon independence of action in comparison with other Arab gulf states. On several occasions, Oman has acted as a broker in regional

disputes. During the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88), the two belligerents conducted cease-fire talks secretly in Muscat. Although no formal agreement resulted, the talks reduced mistrust between the parties. Similarly, after 1988 Oman acted as mediator in the restoration of diplomatic relations between Iran and Britain and Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Regional Relations

Since 1970, when Qabus ibn Said assumed power, Oman's role in regional political dynamics has increased. Although remaining outside the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), it has been a member of the GCC since its formation in May 1981. Relations between Oman and other Persian Gulf countries have improved since 1970 as long-standing territorial disputes have been resolved. Oman and Saudi Arabia signed a treaty in 1974 ending a long-standing territorial dispute concerning the Al Buraymi Oasis; in March 1990, the two countries concluded a border agreement. Oman and the UAE resolved a border dispute in 1981. And in 1982, Oman and the PDRY normalized relations; in October 1992, Oman and reunited Yemen signed a border demarcation agreement, ending a twenty-five-year border dispute.

The resolution of the Al Buraymi Oasis territorial dispute, concerning a cluster of nine villages claimed by Saudi Arabia and administered by Abu Dhabi and Oman, improved regional relations. With the discovery of oil reserves in the Persian Gulf, the revenue potential for the Al Buraymi Oasis prompted Saudi Arabia to press its claim to the disputed territory. Riyadh dispatched troops, which occupied the area in 1952. After failing to win their claim in international arbitration, the British, using the sultan's army and the Trucial Oman Scouts, reoccupied the oasis in 1955. Although the United States protested the British action, the United States was not prepared to extend military assistance to Saudi Arabia to reverse the situation. From the early 1950s onward, Saudi Arabia provided a base from which the Ibadi imam of the interior continued to challenge the authority of the Al Said dynasty.

After the 1970 coup d'état, Qabus ibn Said sought to improve and normalize relations with Saudi Arabia. Formal relations were established following a state visit by the sultan to the kingdom in December 1971. An agreement on July 29, 1974, among Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE settled the Al Buraymi dispute. It stipulated that Oman would receive three

villages in the region and Abu Dhabi six and that the two countries would share the oil field at Shaybah. The agreement provided Saudi Arabia with an outlet to the gulf through UAE territory.

In the course of the Dhofar rebellion, Oman received substantial financial support from Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Kuwait, countries that feared the growth of left-wing, antimonarchist movements in their own territories. In March 1990, Saudi Arabia and Oman formalized a border pact legitimating the existing declared line separating the two countries.

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the fear of militant Islam among Arab leaders, combined with the Iran-Iraq War and the potential interruption of tanker traffic through the Strait of Hormuz, catalyzed the formation of the GCC, consisting of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE (see Collective Security under the Gulf Cooperation Council, ch. 7). The GCC is theoretically a means to ensure collective security of the member states. In practice, as Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait showed, it proved ineffectual in deterring and responding to aggression by neighboring states.

After the Persian Gulf War, Sultan Qabus ibn Said suggested the creation of a multilateral 100,000-strong collective defense force. However, Saudi Arabia scuttled the proposal, which was unpopular in Oman and in other gulf states. Objections ranged from the matter of costs and manpower needs of such a force, given the small populations of GCC member states, to the question of who would command such a force. The smaller gulf states feared a dominant Riyadh dictating terms and foreign policy.

International Relations

Reciprocity has characterized Oman's relationship with foreign powers. Historically, Oman has relied on foreign powers to ensure political stability, domestically and regionally. In turn, Oman's geostrategic location at the entry point of the Strait of Hormuz and its long coastline have guided the interests of foreign powers.

Relations with the British date back to 1798 when the first treaty of friendship was concluded between the sultan of Muscat and the British government of India. British interests in Oman were predicated on Whitehall's concern with the defense of India and the imperative of maintaining secure trade routes and containing the expansion of other European

powers in the Indian Ocean. Following the discovery of the potential for using oil as fuel, and later the conversion of the British naval fleet from coal-fired ships to oil-fired ships in 1911, the security of tanker traffic through the Strait of Hormuz gained increasing importance. Britain's Royal Air Force had staging and diplomatic telecommunications facilities on the island of Masirah from 1932 to 1977.

The British largely facilitated the extensive military buildup and modernization of Oman's armed forces during the course of the Dhofar rebellion in the 1960s and 1970s. Without British military assistance in suppressing the rebellion, the sultanate probably could not have contained the threat, even with troops from Iran and advisers from Jordan. This close military relationship continued after the suppression of the insurrection. The chief of the general staff and the commanders of the air force and navy were British officers through the mid-1980s.

United States influence in Oman has been felt more strongly since the 1970s. Britain's disengagement east of Suez in 1971 opened up the region to greater competition for influence, primarily from the United States. When Sultan Qabus ibn Said assumed power, there was no United States diplomatic presence in Oman. A United States consular officer made at least an annual visit, with contacts managed by the British, who had full control of Oman's foreign relations and defense matters. A United States missionary medical doctor was prominent in the health program. In addition, a United States archaeologist, explorer, and oilman briefly extended his exploration from the PDRY into Dhofar in the 1970s.

United States interests in regional security and in maintaining local allies, particularly after the fall of the shah of Iran in 1979, called for the reinforcement of close security links to the sultanate. Since the 1970s, Sultan Qabus ibn Said has quietly asserted his independence and engaged United States petroleum professionals to advise the government. The selection of United States citizens to manage the development programs in the Musandam Peninsula and the Al Buraymi Oasis and to develop water resources in the sultanate was a dramatic departure from the sultanate's exclusive reliance on British advisers. Relations between Oman and the United States strengthened as Qabus ibn Said supported United States peace initiatives in the Middle East, manifest in Muscat's support of the Camp David Accords signed in 1979 by Egypt and Israel and mediated by the United States.

United States influence in Oman widened with the signing of a facilities access agreement in June 1980 (most recently renewed in 1990) providing United States military access to Omani bases under specified conditions. This was part of a larger regional strategy that also included facilities in Somalia and Kenya. The air bases at As Sib and Thamarit and on Masirah (the latter abandoned by the British in 1977) were upgraded with United States assistance.

The Joint United States-Oman Commission was established in 1980 with the mandate to fund and administer economic assistance programs in the country. Activities funded through the commission reflect sectoral priorities and include a school construction project, a scholarship and training project, a fisheries development project, a management project, and a water resources project.

The activities funded reflect United States Agency for International Development (AID) priorities. In the 1990s, AID development assistance focused on the agency's interest in privatization and institution building. The annual Omani budget proposal for fiscal year 1993 allocated US$5 million (or 33 percent of the total program) to private-sector development, US$9.5 million (or 63 percent) to institution building, and US$8.8 million (or 58 percent) to develop education facilities.

Despite these programs promoting economic development and education, Oman faced significant problems in the early 1990s. A wealthier, better-educated population will demand greater participation in the political process. As of early 1993, the sultan was unwilling to relinquish real power, and he carefully preserved his political autonomy. A new Consultative Council was established in late 1990 but was essentially an advisory body without legislative power. To serve as a mechanism for true political reform, the council must be empowered with a legislative role; as of early 1993, this had not occurred.

* * *

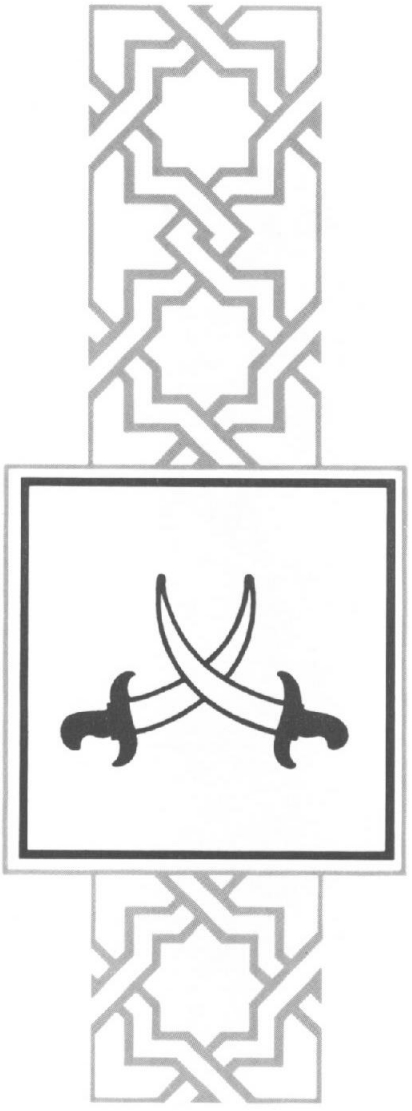
The literature on Oman is scarce and varies in quality. Most works were published in the late 1970s or 1980s and concentrate on contrasting the periods before and after Qabus ibn Said came to power. Although such comparative analysis is valid, it seems dated because more than twenty years have elapsed since the accession of the sultan. Government publications, such as the annual *Statistical Yearbook*, provide informa-

tion on every sector of the society and economy and are helpful tools in determining economic and social trends.

Monographs offer a general framework for understanding Oman's contemporary scene and also provide a detailed history. Among the more useful is John E. Peterson's *Oman in the Twentieth Century.* Also valuable is a work by John Townsend, former adviser to sultans Said ibn Taimur and Qabus ibn Said, *Oman: The Making of a Modern State,* which focuses on institution building in the post-1970 period.

Various journal articles provide more up-to-date material. General economic information is reported weekly in *Middle East Economic Survey* and *Middle East Economic Digest* and periodically in London's *Financial Times* country surveys. Current information on the hydrocarbon sector is best found in industry journals, particularly the *Oil and Gas Journal, Petroleum Intelligence Weekly,* and *Petroleum Economist.* (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Chapter 7. Regional and National Security Considerations



Crossed scimitars

ANY THREAT TO THE STABILITY of the Persian Gulf endangering the region's oil flow greatly concerns the rest of the world. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 was the opening stage in more than a decade of upheaval. The outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq in 1980, the expansion of the war to nonbelligerent shipping, and the presence of foreign naval flotillas in the gulf followed. When general hostilities eventually broke out, they arose from an unexpected quarter—Iraq's sweep into Kuwait in August 1990 and the possibility of Iraqi forces continuing down the gulf coast to seize other oil-rich Arab states. The smaller Arab regimes volunteered use of their ports and airfields as bases for the coalition of forces in Operation Desert Storm to defeat Iraq.

The overwhelming concentration of military power that enabled Iraq to invade and occupy Kuwait underscored the vulnerability of the territory and oil facilities of the other gulf states. To the extent that their military resources permitted, each of the Arab states participated in the coalition that defeated Iraq and drove it out of Kuwait. It was clear, nonetheless, that they played a subordinate role in the vast operation in which the United States, Britain, and France predominated, supported by Egypt and Syria.

After its sharp setback, Iraq in early 1993 remained a major regional power and a littoral state of the Persian Gulf, along with Iran and Saudi Arabia. None of the five other Persian Gulf littoral states—Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, or Oman—is in a position to defend its borders or territorial waters alone. In the face of their fragility, these Persian Gulf states continue to take measures to reinforce their individual and collective security. Relative to size and population, they have been among the world's most lavish spenders on the needs of their armed forces. Nevertheless, their military potential is limited by small manpower pools, sectarian divisions, limited area, and little experience in the effective use of modern weaponry.

A few months after the start of the Iran-Iraq War in 1980, the six regional nonbelligerents—the five gulf states and Saudi Arabia—in 1981 banded together to form the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Although the GCC had economic, social, and political aims, its main purpose was the creation of a defensive military alliance. The GCC leaders feared that a decisive

Iranian military victory would fuel the drive of the revolutionary government of Iran to spread its Islamic revolution. Concurrently, the GCC states accelerated their individual military efforts by purchasing modern aircraft, armored vehicles, air defense systems, and missile-armed naval vessels.

The GCC members are determined to construct a collective self-defense system without the direct involvement of foreign powers. For both political and practical reasons, however, the military goals of the GCC—standardization of equipment, coordination of training, integration of forces, and joint planning—have been achieved only to a limited degree. The gulf states have also been forced to restrain their military purchases as a result of declining oil revenues.

In the immediate aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, agreement was reached with the GCC to station Egyptian and Syrian troops in Kuwait to ensure the military stability of the northern gulf. By 1993, however, this plan seemed to have been abandoned. Instead, Kuwait and most other gulf states turned to cooperation with the West to develop a new security framework. The United States concluded agreements to permit prepositioning of United States equipment for combat units, port access, and joint exercises and training. Britain and France also negotiated military cooperation arrangements. The effect was to spread a Western strategic umbrella over the region without the permanent stationing of foreign forces, although a United States and British naval presence is expected to continue.

In early 1993, two years after the gulf war ended, the danger of renewed violence in the region had receded, although no reconciliation among the antagonists had occurred. Iraq has not fully recovered from its humiliating defeat; nevertheless, its reduced army and air force still overshadow the combined forces of the GCC. Iran's military strength was depleted during its eight-year struggle with Iraq, and recovery is proceeding slowly. Although it appears to have shifted to more moderate policies, Iran's ambition to be a factor in regional gulf security has been treated with suspicion.

Traditional rivalries and territorial disputes among the smaller gulf states still linger but have steadily diminished as sources of tension. Subversion and terrorist incidents, often linked to Iran, have abated, as has the potential for disruption by foreign workers manipulated by external forces. The police vigilantly control internal dissent that can threaten the stability of the existing regimes. Nevertheless, resistance to democratic reforms by some members of the conservative ruling families

of the gulf increases the likelihood of future destabilization and upheaval.

Historical Overview

According to archaeologists, warfare was a common activity 5,000 years ago among the peoples of the area of the Middle East that in modern times became known as Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the smaller gulf states. Sargon, Hammurabi, Nebuchadnezzar II, and Alexander the Great were among the best known kings who led warring armies in the 2,500 years before the birth of Christ. During the centuries of Greek and Roman domination, the gulf region was of limited interest to the major powers, but the area's importance as a strategic and trading center rose with the emergence of Islam in the seventh century A.D. The caliphate's naval strength was concentrated at Hormuz (present-day Bandar-e Abbas in Iran). Strategically sited at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, its authority extended over ports and islands of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf (see fig. 16).

The strategic importance of Hormuz, however, did not survive the appearance of Western powers, initially the Portuguese who came to the gulf in the late fifteenth century after Vasco da Gama's discovery of the route to India via the Cape of Good Hope. The Ottomans and the Iranians also tried to dominate the gulf but faced opposition from local tribes in Bahrain and Muscat, reluctant to cede authority over their territories, which by then were the most important areas on the coast. Increasing British involvement in India beginning in the late eighteenth century quickened British interest in the Persian Gulf region as a means of protecting the sea routes to India. The principal challenge to Britain arose from the Al Qasimi confederation originating in the area of the present-day United Arab Emirates (UAE). The Al Qasimi, who amassed a fleet of about 900 vessels, demanded tribute for the passage of merchant vessels and were regarded as pirates by the Europeans. Between 1809 and 1820, British sea power gradually brought about the destruction of the Al Qasimi fleet. This in turn led to the signing of agreements with Britain by the Al Qasimi and other shaykhs (see Glossary; see Treaties with the British, ch. 1). The amirates promised to have no direct dealings with other foreign states and to abstain from piracy. Britain in turn assumed responsibility for the foreign relations of the amirates and promised to protect them from all aggression by sea and to lend its support against any land attacks. Before the end of the century, Britain

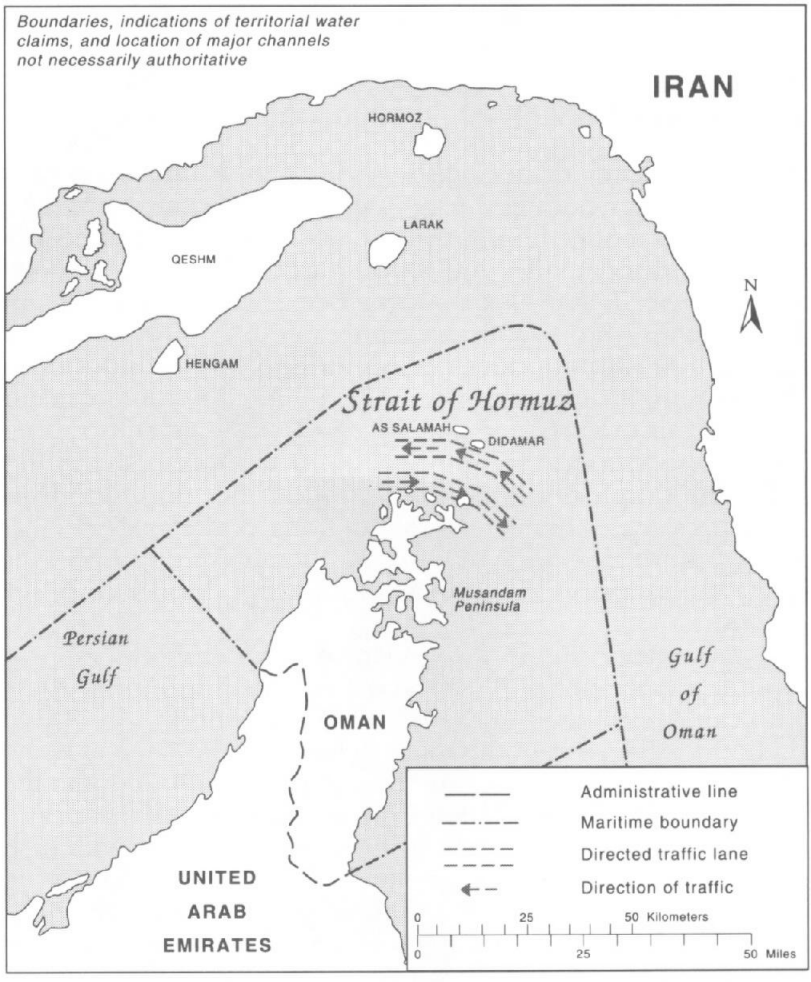


Figure 16. Strait of Hormuz, 1993

extended protection to Bahrain and Kuwait. Qatar entered the trucial system as well, in 1916, and received Britain's military protection from Ottoman encroachment in return for relinquishing its autonomy in foreign affairs and certain other areas.

Although Muscat was traditionally a center of the slave trade, its sultan made concessions to the British in this regard in return for British help in building a navy. In the early nineteenth century, the sultan's efficient fleet of sloops, corvettes, and frigates enabled him to support a maritime empire extend-

ing from East Africa to the coast of present-day Pakistan. With the eventual decline of this empire, owing in part to its division into two states—Zanzibar and Oman—Britain's influence grew, and it signed a treaty in 1891 similar to those with the gulf amirates.

The strategic importance of the Persian Gulf became increasingly apparent as the oil industry developed in the twentieth century. Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran all claimed some of the territory of the gulf states during the years between World War I and World War II, but Britain's firm resistance to these claims enabled the amirates to maintain their territorial integrity without resort to arms. Except for a small force of the British Indian Navy to ensure observance of the treaty conditions and maintain maritime peace in the gulf, Britain abstained from direct military involvement. As the wealth of the gulf's oil resources became clear, the size of the British military establishment expanded. By the end of the 1960s, Britain had about 9,000 men in Oman, Sharjah (an amirate of the Trucial Coast states, which became the UAE in 1971), and Bahrain, where British military headquarters was located. The Trucial Oman Scouts, a mobile force of mixed nationality that Britain supported and British officers commanded, became a symbol of public order in the Trucial Coast states until Britain's withdrawal from the Persian Gulf in 1971.

Impact of the Iran-Iraq War, 1980–88

The first major threat to the security of the Persian Gulf states followed the outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq in 1980. The war began after a period of deteriorating relations between these two historic rivals, dating from the fall of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1979 and his replacement as Iranian leader by Ayatollah Sayyid Ruhollah Musavi Khomeini. Full-scale warfare erupted in September 1980 as Iraqi military units swept across the Shatt al Arab waterway—which forms the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers—into the province of Khuzestan, Iran's richest oil-producing area. Iraqi president Saddam Husayn hoped to overthrow Khomeini, who had been overtly attempting to spread his Islamist (also seen as fundamentalist) revolution into Iraq, where the secular Baath (Arab Socialist Resurrection) Party regime feared Iran's influence among Iraq's disaffected Shia (see Glossary) Muslims.

By November 1980, the Iraqi offensive had lost its momentum. Rejecting an Iraqi offer to negotiate, Iran launched a series of counteroffensives in 1982 that resulted in the recap-

ture of the Iranian city of Khorramshahr. The destruction of huge oil facilities caused both belligerents sharp declines in oil revenues. Iraq was able to obtain substantial financial aid from Saudi Arabia and other gulf states. In early 1986, an Iranian offensive across the Shatt al Arab resulted in the fall of the Iraqi oil-loading port of Faw and the occupation of much of the Faw Peninsula almost to the Kuwait border. But the Iranians could not break out of the peninsula to threaten Basra, and their last great offensive, which began in December 1986, was ultimately repelled with heavy losses. In the spring of 1988, the freshly equipped Iraqi ground and air forces succeeded in retaking the Faw Peninsula. Iranian battlefield losses, combined with Iraqi air and missile attacks on Iranian cities, forced Khomeini to accept a cease-fire, which took effect in August 1988.

Initially, the fighting between Iran and Iraq only peripherally affected the Persian Gulf states. In May 1981, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE banded together in the GCC to protect their interests and, if necessary, to defend themselves (see Collective Security under the Gulf Cooperation Council, this ch.). In 1984 Iran reacted to Iraqi air attacks on its main oil terminal on the island of Khark by attacking ships destined for ports in gulf countries that assisted Iraq's war effort. In addition, the Arab states of the gulf suspected Iranian involvement in several destabilizing incidents, including an abortive coup in Bahrain in 1981, terrorist activity in Kuwait in 1983, and the violence in Mecca during the 1987 pilgrimage resulting in the deaths of more than 400 pilgrims.

Iran stepped up the tanker warfare in early 1987 by introducing high-speed small craft armed with Italian Sea Killer missiles. Kuwait had already sought the protection of United States naval escorts through the gulf for reflagged Kuwaiti vessels. Determined to protect the flow of oil, the United States began tanker convoys in July 1987. Eleven Kuwaiti ships—one-half of the Kuwaiti tanker fleet—were placed under the United States flag. Other Kuwaiti tankers sailed under Soviet and British flags. Although United States escorts were involved in a number of clashes with Iranian forces and one tanker was damaged by a mine, Iran generally avoided interfering with Kuwaiti ships sailing under United States protection.

Persian Gulf War, 1991

Despite its huge losses in the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq was unchallenged as the most powerful military presence in the gulf area.

Reviving Iraq's old territorial claims against Kuwait, Saddam Husayn demanded leases for the islands of Bubiyan and Warbah at the mouth of the Shatt al Arab to give Iraq a clear passage to the gulf. He also accused Kuwait of illegally siphoning off oil from Ar Rumaylah field, one of the world's largest oil pools, which the two countries shared. Saddam Husayn threatened to use force against Arab oil producers, including Kuwait and the UAE, that exceeded their oil quotas, charging them with colluding with the United States to strangle the Iraqi economy by flooding the market with low-priced oil.

Although Iraq had accompanied its threats by moving troops to the border area, the world was largely taken by surprise when, on August 2, 1990, the Iraqi army invaded and occupied Kuwait. A force of about 120,000 soldiers and approximately 2,000 tanks and other armored vehicles met little resistance. The Kuwaiti army was not on the alert, and those troops at their posts could not mount an effective defense. Some aircraft operating from southern Kuwait attacked Iraqi armored columns before their air base was overrun, and they sought refuge in Saudi Arabia. Of the 20,000 Kuwaiti troops, many were killed or captured, although up to 7,000 escaped into Saudi Arabia, along with about forty tanks.

Having completed the occupation of Kuwait, the Iraqi armored and mechanized divisions and the elite Republican Guard advanced south toward Kuwait's border with Saudi Arabia. Intelligence sources believed that the Iraqis were positioning themselves for a subsequent drive toward the Saudi oil fields and shipping terminals, possibly continuing toward the other gulf states.

In the first of a series of resolutions condemning Iraq, the United Nations (UN) Security Council on August 2 called for Iraq's unconditional and immediate withdrawal from Kuwait. In the ensuing months, a coalition force of more than 600,000 ground, sea, and air force personnel was deployed to defend Saudi Arabia and to drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait. Command of the coalition force was divided: the commander in chief of the United States Central Command, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, headed United States, British, and French units; his Saudi counterpart, Lieutenant General Khalid ibn Sultan ibn Abd al Aziz Al Saud, commanded units from twenty-four non-Western countries, including troops from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Kuwait, and the other Persian Gulf states. In addition to 20,000 Saudi troops and 7,000 Kuwaiti troops, an estimated 3,000 personnel from the other GCC states took part in

the land forces of the coalition offensive, which was known as Operation Desert Storm.

When the massive coalition ground assault of Operation Desert Storm got under way on February 24, 1991, troops of the Persian Gulf states formed part of two Arab task forces. The first, Joint Forces Command North, consisting of Egyptian, Saudi, Syrian, and Kuwaiti troops, deployed on Kuwait's western border. Joint Forces Command East deployed along the gulf immediately south of Kuwait and consisted of about five brigades (each well below the strength of a regular Western brigade) from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar. The main attack was a sweeping movement by United States, British, and French forces in the west designed to cut the links between the Iraqi forces in Kuwait and their bases in Iraq. The Saudis and Kuwaitis on the western border of Kuwait, composed of about four brigades organized as the Khalid Division, together with an Egyptian regiment, breached Iraqi defenses after allied bombing and engineer operations blasted passages. Iraqi troops, although in strong positions, surrendered or streamed to the north. Units of Joint Forces Command East advanced up the coastal road, capturing the city of Kuwait on the third day of the offensive after light fighting and the surrender of thousands of Iraqi soldiers.

Territorial Disputes

Before the oil era, the gulf states made little effort to delineate their territories. Members of Arab tribes felt loyalty to their tribe or shaykh and tended to roam across the peninsula's desert areas according to the needs of their flocks. Official boundaries meant little, and the concept of allegiance to a distinct political unit was absent. Organized authority was confined to ports and oases. The delineation of borders began with the signing of the first oil concessions in the 1930s. The national boundaries had been defined by the British, but many of these borders were never properly demarcated, leaving opportunities for contention, especially in areas of the most valuable oil deposits. Until 1971 British-led forces maintained peace and order in the gulf, and British officials arbitrated local quarrels. After the withdrawal of these forces and officials, old territorial claims and suppressed tribal animosities rose to the surface. The concept of the modern state—introduced into the gulf region by the European powers—and the sudden importance of boundaries to define ownership of oil deposits kindled acute territorial disputes.

Iran has often laid claim to Bahrain, based on its seventeenth-century defeat of the Portuguese and its subsequent occupation of the Bahrain archipelago. The Arab clan of the Al Khalifa, which has been the ruling family of Bahrain since the eighteenth century, in turn expelled the Iranians in 1783. The late shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, raised the Bahrain question when the British withdrew from areas east of Suez, but he dropped his demand after a 1970 UN-sponsored plebiscite showed that Bahrainis overwhelmingly preferred independence to Iranian rule.

In 1971 Iranian forces occupied the islands of Abu Musa, Tunb al Kubra (Greater Tumb), and Tunb as Sughra (Lesser Tumb), located at the mouth of the Persian Gulf between Iran and the UAE. The Iranians reasserted their historic claims to the islands, although the Iranians had been dislodged by the British in the late nineteenth century. Iran continued to occupy the islands in 1993, and its action remained a source of contention with the UAE, which claimed authority by virtue of Britain's transfer of the islands to the amirates of Sharjah and Ras al Khaymah. By late 1992, Sharjah and Iran had reached agreement with regard to Abu Musa, but Ras al Khaymah had not reached a settlement with Iran concerning Greater Tumb and Lesser Tumb.

Another point of contention in the gulf is the Bahraini claim to Az Zubarah on the northwest coast of Qatar and to Hawar and the adjacent islands forty kilometers south of Az Zubarah, claims that stem from former tribal areas and dynastic struggles. The Al Khalifa had settled at Az Zubarah before driving the Iranians out of Bahrain in the eighteenth century. The Al Thani ruling family of Qatar vigorously dispute the Al Khalifa claim to Az Zubarah, as well as lay claim to the Bahraini-occupied Hawar and adjacent islands, a stone's throw from the mainland of Qatar but more than twenty kilometers from Bahrain. The simmering quarrel reignited in the spring of 1986 when Qatari helicopters removed and "kidnapped" workmen constructing a Bahraini coast guard station on Fasht ad Dibal, a reef off the coast of Qatar. Through Saudi mediation, the parties reached a fragile truce, whereby the Bahrainis agreed to remove their installations. However, in 1991 the dispute flared up again after Qatar instituted proceedings to let the International Court of Justice in The Hague decide whether it had jurisdiction. (Bahrain refused the jurisdiction of the court, and as of early 1993 the dispute was unresolved.) The two countries exchanged complaints that their respective

naval vessels had harassed the other's shipping in disputed waters.

As one pretext for his invasion of Kuwait in 1990, Saddam Husayn revived a long-standing Iraqi claim to the whole of Kuwait based on Ottoman boundaries. Ottoman Turkey exercised a tenuous sovereignty over Kuwait in the late nineteenth century, but the area passed under British protection in 1899. In 1932 Iraq informally confirmed its border with Kuwait, which had previously been demarcated by the British. In 1961, after Kuwait's independence and the withdrawal of British troops, Iraq reasserted its claim to the amirate based on the Ottomans' having attached it to Basra Province. British troops and aircraft were rushed back to Kuwait. A Saudi-led force of 3,000 from the League of Arab States (Arab League) that supported Kuwait against Iraqi pressure soon replaced them.

The boundary issue again arose when the Baath Party came to power in Iraq after a 1963 revolution. The new government officially recognized the independence of Kuwait and the boundaries Iraq had accepted in 1932. Iraq nevertheless reinstated its claims to Bubiyan and Warbah in 1973, massing troops at the border. During the 1980–88 war with Iran, Iraq pressed for a long-term lease to the islands in order to improve its access to the gulf and its strategic position. Although Kuwait rebuffed Iraq, relations continued to be strained by boundary issues and inconclusive negotiations over the status of the two islands.

In August 1991, Kuwait charged that a force of Iraqis, backed by gunboats, had attacked Bubiyan but had been repulsed and many of the invaders captured. UN investigators found that the Iraqis had come from fishing boats and had probably been scavenging for military supplies abandoned after the Persian Gulf War. Kuwait was suspected of having exaggerated the incident to underscore its need for international support against ongoing Iraqi hostility.

A particularly long and acrimonious disagreement involved claims over the Al Buraymi Oasis, disputed since the nineteenth century among tribes from Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, and Oman. Although the tribes residing in the several settlements of the oasis were from Oman and Abu Dhabi, followers of the Wahhabi (see Glossary) religious movement that originated in Saudi Arabia had periodically occupied and exacted tribute from the area. Oil prospecting began on behalf of Saudi oil interests, and in 1952 the Saudis sent a small constabulary force to assert control of the oasis. When arbitration

efforts broke down in 1955, the British dispatched the Trucial Oman Scouts to expel the Saudi contingent. After new negotiations, a settlement was reached in 1974 whereby Saudi Arabia recognized claims of Abu Dhabi and Oman to the oasis. In return, Abu Dhabi agreed to grant Saudi Arabia a land corridor to the gulf and a share of a disputed oil field. Other disagreements over boundaries and water rights remained, however.

The border between Oman and Yemen remained only partially defined, and, as of early 1993, border clashes had not occurred since 1988. Improving relations between Oman and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY, also seen as South Yemen)—which was reunited with the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR, also seen as North Yemen) in 1990—offered some hope that the border would be demarcated. Earlier, the physical separation of the southern portion of Oman from its territory on the Musandam Peninsula (Ras Musandam) was a source of friction between Oman and the various neighboring amirates that became the UAE in 1971. Differences over the disputed territory appeared to have subsided after the onset of the Iran-Iraq War in 1980.

Regional Security Problems

The Persian Gulf is a relatively constricted geographic area of great existing or potential volatility. The smaller states of the gulf are particularly vulnerable, having limited indigenous populations and, in most cases, armed forces with little more than symbolic value to defend their countries against aggression. All of them lack strategic depth, and their economies and oil industries depend on access to the sea. Conflicts involving the air forces and navies of the larger gulf powers inevitably endanger their critical transportation links. Closure of the Strait of Hormuz, which was threatened but which never actually occurred during the Iran-Iraq War, would have a catastrophic effect on regular ship movements.

The oil drilling, processing, and loading facilities of the Persian Gulf states, some of them on offshore platforms, are vital to their economies. In an era of highly accurate missiles and high-performance aircraft, the protection of these exposed resources against surprise attack presents enormous difficulties. Even those states that can afford the sophisticated weaponry to defend their installations can ensure their effectiveness only through proper training, manning, and maintenance.

Most of the Arab gulf states, although vulnerable by air and by sea, are relatively immune from ground attack. Because of their geographic position on the Arabian Peninsula, they are exposed on their landward side only to vast desert tracts controlled by Saudi Arabia, with which they are linked by security treaties. Potential aggressors in the region, although heavily armed, lack the equipment or experience to project their forces over long distances. The only realistic possibility of overland attack seems to be in the north, where Kuwait has no natural line of defense and its oil facilities are near both Iran and Iraq. In early 1992, Kuwaiti officials disclosed plans to construct an electronic fence stretching more than 200 kilometers along the Kuwait-Iraq border. Although some obstacles might be emplaced to obstruct an Iraqi crossing, the main purpose of the fence is to prevent infiltration. Border guards of Kuwait's Ministry of Interior are to patrol the fence area.

In the south, reunited Yemen had inherited large stocks of military equipment from the Soviet Union's earlier support of the PDRY. Yemen's political support of Iraq in the Kuwaiti crisis caused the GCC states to regard it as a potentially hostile neighbor. Although offensive operations against Oman or Saudi Arabia, with which it shared long, undefined borders, seem unlikely, the encouragement of border infiltration by all three countries cannot be ruled out.

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 introduced a new threat to stability in the gulf. Shia form a majority of the population of Bahrain and an important part of the foreign labor force in Kuwait and are considered potential dissidents in any future hostilities. Numerous terrorist actions in Kuwait during the 1980s were attributed to domestic Shia instigated by Iran (see Kuwait: Internal Security, this ch.). Iran is one of the strongest military powers of the region and has historically sought to extend its influence to the Arab shore of the gulf. Nevertheless, fears of military confrontation subsided after the Iran-Iraq War ended. The influence of the more extremist elements within the Iranian government appears to have declined; Iran also had opposed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

In spite of Iraq's defeat in 1991, Kuwait remains the most vulnerable of the gulf states. Despite the crippling of Iraq's offensive military capabilities, it continues to be a formidable military power in the region. Its postwar manpower strength is estimated at 380,000, including at least three intact divisions of the elite Republican Guard, as well as large stocks of armor, artillery, and combat aircraft. Only with the assurance of out-

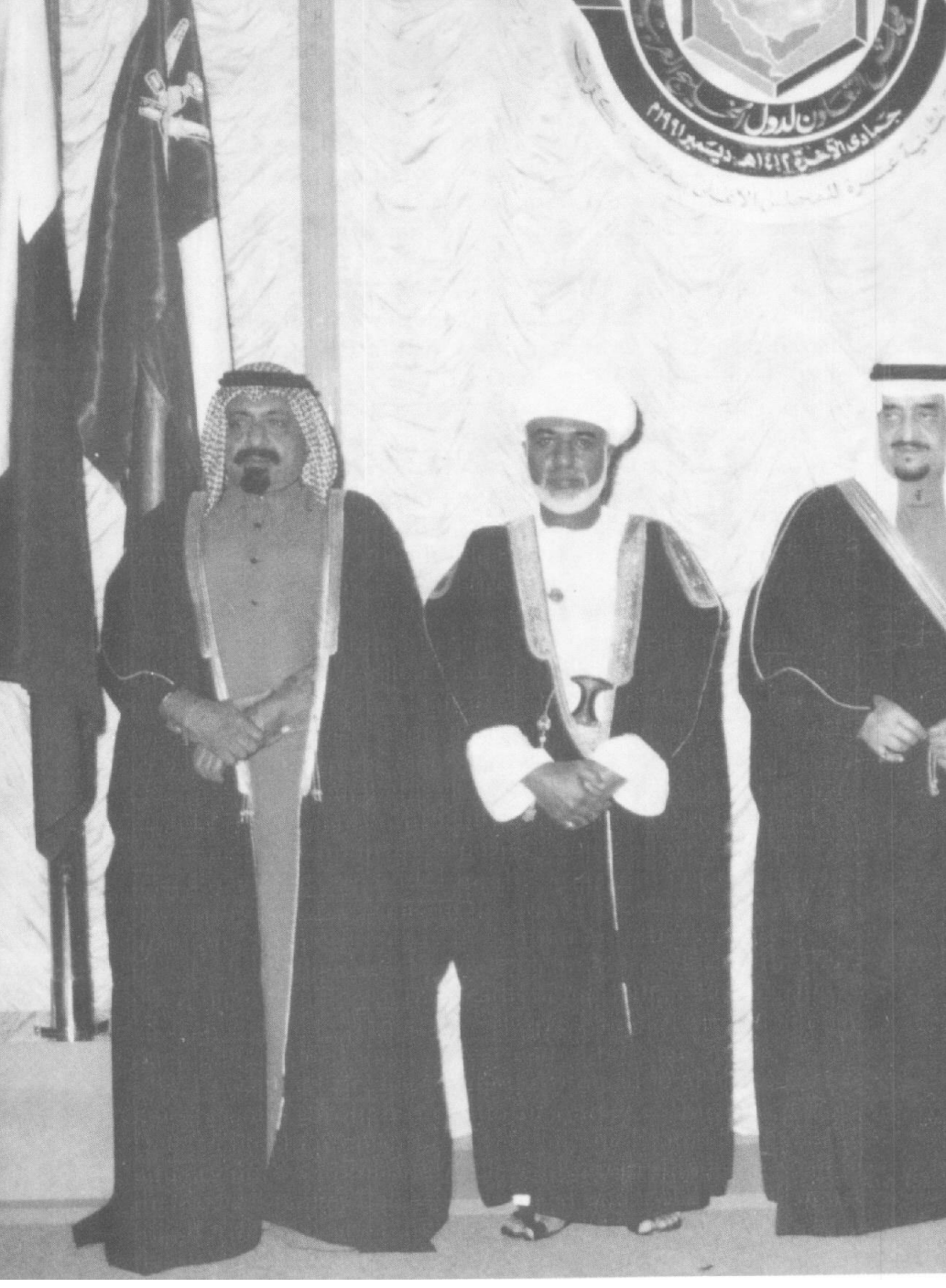
side support can the GCC states be confident that they can successfully resist renewed Iraqi aggression.

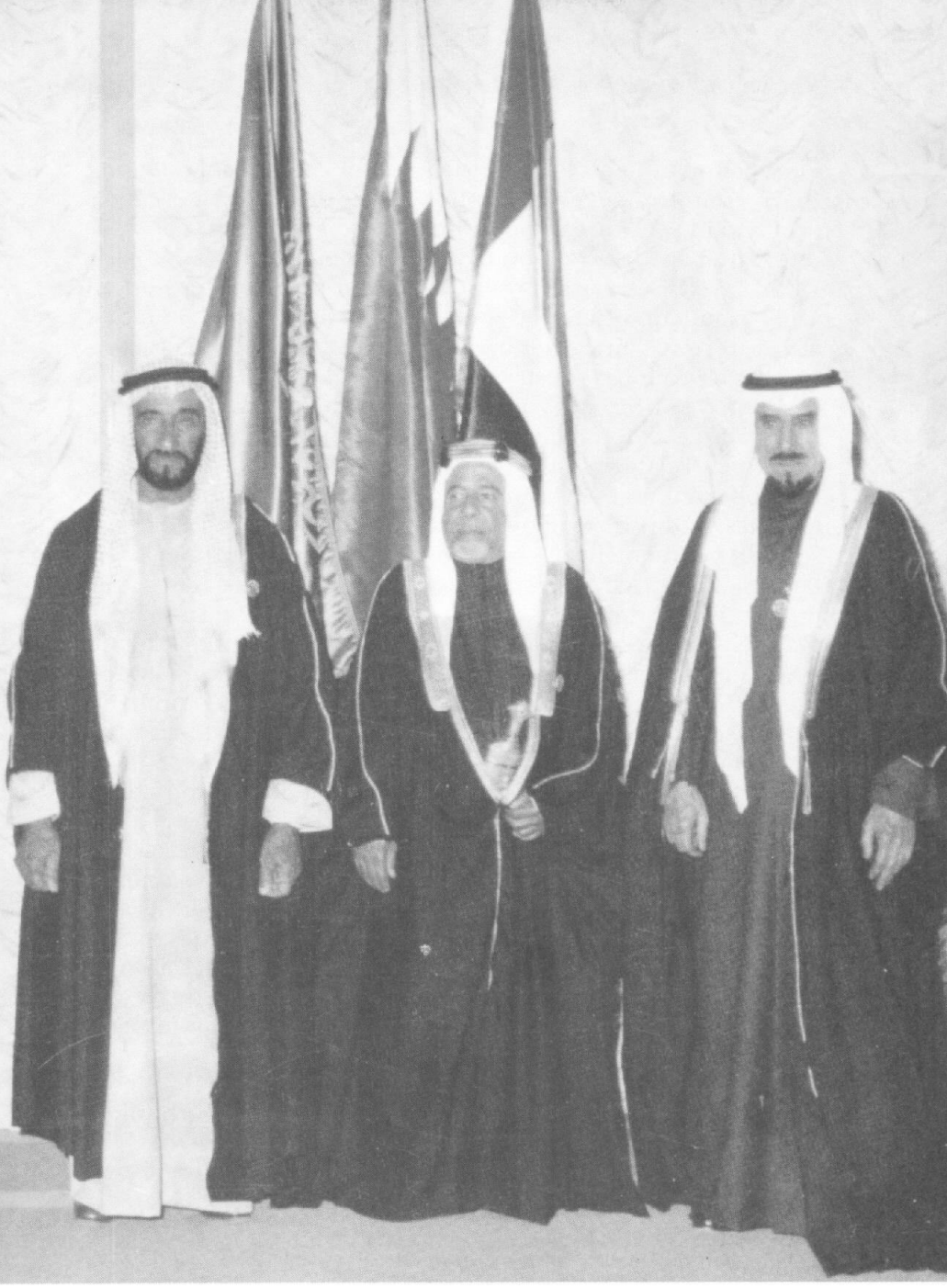
The gulf Arabs believe that a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict will enhance gulf security. Direct conflict with Israel was a remote contingency in early 1993, although Israel's doctrine of preemptive attack and its demonstrated ability to hit distant targets must be reckoned with in their strategic planning. Because the northwestern areas of Saudi Arabia are well within range of Israeli attack, air defense units that would otherwise be available to the GCC for gulf defense must be positioned there. Efforts of the Arab gulf states to upgrade their air defense systems have often been viewed by the United States Congress and by the public as hostile to Israeli interests.

In early 1993, two years after Saddam Husayn's defeat in the Persian Gulf War, the region's security appeared more stable than in many years. The fear of a communist encroachment or of a superpower confrontation has evaporated. Iran seems to be seeking greater accommodation with its gulf neighbors, although the Tehran government is continuing its military buildup and insists that it has a role in regional mutual security. Iraq, although still hostile, does not present an immediate military threat. The United States and other Western powers have indicated that they will act against any new instability in the gulf that endangers their interests.

Collective Security under the Gulf Cooperation Council

The six Persian Gulf states of the Arabian Peninsula—Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE—formed the GCC in May 1981 with the aim of "co-ordination, integration, and co-operation among the member-states in all fields." Although none of the committees initially established dealt with security, the final communiqué of the first meeting affirmed the will and the intention of the signatories to defend their security and independence and to keep the region free of international conflicts. Four months later, the chiefs of staff of the armed forces of the six member states met to discuss regional military cooperation. The immediate objective was to protect themselves from the dangers posed by the Iran-Iraq War and the political violence associated with revolutionary Islam. In a series of meetings over the years, the defense ministers and chiefs of staff devoted numerous sessions to the improvement of military cooperation and the creation of a





Rulers of the member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council pose for a photograph.
Courtesy Embassy of the Sultanate of Oman, Washington

joint command and joint air defense mechanisms. Managing their common security challenges collectively has made progress in some areas, but little in others. Creation of a fully integrated air defense system was far from a reality as of early 1993. The GCC states have not realized plans to develop an arms production capacity, although they have launched a new effort to revive an earlier arrangement with Egypt to create a pan-Arab weapons industry.

Political differences among GCC members have been the main obstacles to placing gulf defense on a collective rather than on a bilateral basis, even in such matters as achieving interoperability of equipment and cooperating in training, logistics, and infrastructure. The GCC experienced delays in reaching agreement to cooperate in internal security matters because Kuwait, the chief target of terrorism, feared that its relatively liberal domestic security regime might be impaired. Until Kuwait accepted a GCC agreement in late 1987, Saudi Arabia and several other members of the GCC coordinated their efforts bilaterally, including the exchange of equipment, expertise, and training; the extradition of criminals; and the interception of border infiltrators. GCC members have adopted parallel policies on deportation and travel restrictions and share information on suspected terrorists and plots.

Ground and air units of the six member states have carried out small-scale combined training exercises. Military assistance, provided mainly by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait under GCC auspices, has enabled Bahrain to modernize its stock of combat aircraft and Oman to improve its air and sea defenses around the Strait of Hormuz. In 1984 GCC defense ministers agreed to create the Peninsula Shield force and base it at Hafar al Batin in Saudi Arabia, about sixty kilometers south of the Kuwaiti border. Under the command of a Saudi general, the unit consists of one Saudi brigade and a composite brigade with token personnel from the other states.

The limited reaction of the GCC to the August 2 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait exposed its weakness when faced with direct aggression against a member of the alliance by a much stronger power. The GCC immediately condemned the Iraqi action, but when GCC defense ministers met three weeks later, they could only agree on strengthening the Peninsula Shield force. During the Persian Gulf War, national contingents deployed separately as units of Arab task forces.

At the conclusion of the war on March 3, 1991, the six members of the GCC, along with Syria and Egypt, met in Damascus

to agree on the establishment of a permanent security force to protect Kuwait against future aggression. Syria and Egypt were to contribute troop contingents on a reimbursable basis. The Damascus Declaration soon unraveled when differences emerged over the desirability of a long-term Egyptian and Syrian presence in the gulf. However, Egypt and Syria remain committed under the agreement to send military aid to Kuwait and the other gulf states if a threat arises.

Kuwait subsequently negotiated defense cooperation agreements with the United States, Britain, and France as an additional form of security if its borders were again threatened (see Kuwait: Background, this ch.). At a GCC meeting in late 1991, Oman proposed that the six GCC members develop a 100,000-strong joint security force under a unified military command. The Omani plan was set aside after other defense ministers questioned whether the manpower target was attainable and whether administrative and procedural problems could be overcome. The consensus of the ministers was that the Peninsula Shield force should be the nucleus of a unified army, the realization of which might be many years in the future.

Military Capabilities of the Persian Gulf States

During the decade after the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War, all the gulf states set out to strengthen their armed forces by converting to the most modern weapons they could obtain and assimilate. By 1993 each state had at least a modest inventory of tanks and other armored equipment, air defense missiles, combat aircraft, armed helicopters, and missile-armed naval craft with which to deter an intruder. Kuwait is less prepared than the others, not having recovered from the losses it suffered in personnel and equipment during the Persian Gulf War. A fundamental constraint for all the gulf states has been the limited pool of qualified manpower and, in most countries, the problem of attracting recruits when better employment opportunities exist in the civilian sector. The emphasis on advanced weaponry is part of an effort to minimize the need for personnel. As stated by a senior Kuwaiti officer, the object is to obtain the best equipment technologically, "easy to maintain, understand, and operate . . . the greatest firepower for the smallest human effort." But integrating modern weapons into the gulf armies and ensuring their effective operation create other problems. Such problems include the necessity of continued reliance on foreign officers and foreign maintenance and training of staffs at a time when all gulf states are trying to

achieve greater self-sufficiency. Dependence on foreign personnel, moreover, implies a degree of loyalty and trustworthiness that may not be forthcoming in times of crisis.

Although in every case the gulf armies are much larger than the air forces and navies, the ground forces have traditionally been oriented toward counterinsurgency actions and the protection of the ruling families. Most of the armies are organized into one or more combat brigades; actual fighting strengths are generally lower than the brigade structure implies. Except for the officers and men who were briefly exposed to modern military operations during the Persian Gulf War—and in the late 1960s and first half of the 1970s during Oman's war with Dhofari guerrillas and their supporters in the PDRY—most have not faced actual combat situations.

In recognition of the great strategic importance of their air and sea defenses, the gulf states have all introduced modern combat aircraft and air defense missile systems, such as the United States Hawk surface-to-air missile (SAM). Several of the states have in their inventories or on order attack helicopters to help protect their oil facilities and oil drilling platforms in the gulf. All the gulf states have communications, control, and warning systems for the effective use of their fighter aircraft and antiaircraft missiles. But each air force is small, and, unless integrated with others, the overall effectiveness of the GCC in air defense is marginal. In spite of the attention the problem has received, there is no common network linking all air defense squadrons and SAMs to the Saudi Arabian air defense system and to the Saudi airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft. Technical difficulties, including the incompatibility of national communications systems and the reluctance to turn control of national air defense over to a unified command structure, account for this weakness.

Fast missile attack craft acquired by all of the gulf navies with small but well-trained crews could inflict damaging blows to heavier fleets and discourage hostile amphibious operations. The sixty-two-meter corvettes belonging to Bahrain and the UAE are the largest vessels among the gulf navies. As the Iran-Iraq War demonstrated, the navies lack minesweeping capability, and their shipboard defense weapons against air attack are also weak. Only Oman has available large amphibious transports to convey troops and vehicles for defending islands or remote coastal areas.

Defense expenditures of the gulf states are among the highest in the world relative to population. According to an analysis

covering 1989, prepared by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Qatar recorded the highest per capita military expenditures of any country in the world, followed by Israel and the United States. Oman ranked fourth and Kuwait sixth. The UAE was eleventh highest; Bahrain, listed in twenty-seventh place worldwide, had the lowest outlays relatively of the gulf states. Military spending as a percentage of central government expenditures also is high, amounting to more than 40 percent in Oman and the UAE, for example. In contrast, military spending in Bahrain is 13 percent of central government expenditure. Military expenditures as a percentage of the gross national product (GNP—see Glossary) are more moderate except for Oman, whose military outlays were more than 20 percent of GNP in 1989. Force ratios are also high in Oman and the UAE; both countries had about twenty men in uniform per 1,000 population in 1989. Their respective rankings were eleventh and twelfth highest in the world. Bahrain and Kuwait had manpower levels of about ten per 1,000 population, whereas the level for Qatar was fifteen per 1,000 in 1989.

In spite of the small personnel pools and the desire of all the gulf governments to train nationals to replace foreigners as quickly as possible, constraints found in traditional Islamic societies prevent the widespread recruitment of women to serve in the armed forces. Oman and Bahrain have allowed a few women to enlist. They receive combat-style training and learn how to operate small arms. In Bahrain, however, almost all the women have been assigned to hospital staffs. In 1990 the UAE introduced a five-month training course for female recruits with the assistance of a team of female soldiers from the United States. About 1,200 women applied; only seventy-four were accepted. Two top members of the first class were selected to continue with officer training at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst in Britain. The other graduates of the first class were assigned as bodyguards of female members of the ruling families and as specialists in such fields as military intelligence.

Before the Persian Gulf War, some women served in support departments of the Kuwaiti armed forces, including engineering, military establishments, moral guidance, and public relations. In July 1991, noting that a large number of women had volunteered for service in the postwar military, the minister of defense said that some would be accepted for a training period of three to six months but would initially be unsalaried. A role would then be found for them. The minister cautioned that

acceptance by Kuwaiti society was essential for the government to move ahead with this plan.

Kuwait

Background

From 1899 until 1961, Kuwait remained, in effect, a British protectorate. A succession of amirs of the Al Sabah ruled the country, but the handling of its foreign affairs was a British prerogative, and Britain guaranteed the security of the amirate. Kuwaiti forces consisted of the amir's royal guard plus a small domestic police force or constabulary under the British administration. During the 1920s and 1930s, British protection became particularly important in deterring Saudi encroachment and later in blocking Iraqi territorial claims. By independence on June 19, 1961, the British had converted the 600-man constabulary into a combined arms brigade of 2,500 men trained by a British military mission. Small air and naval forces were also established in 1961 under British tutelage.

With its small size and enormous oil wealth, Kuwait occupies an uneasy position at the head of the gulf. One of its powerful neighbors, Iran, only forty kilometers away, had proclaimed its aim of exporting its Islamic revolution; another powerful neighbor, Iraq, had repeatedly challenged Kuwait's legitimacy (see Territorial Disputes, this ch.). Fearful of the radical leadership in Iran, Kuwait aided Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War by permitting the transshipment of goods across its territory and by loans of about US$6 billion. Kuwait responded to terrorist bombings and other violence inspired by Iran by intensifying its military cooperation with the GCC and by building up its own forces. Although formally neutral and reluctant to become involved with the great powers except as a last resort, Kuwait turned to the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain for naval protection of its tanker fleet after twenty-one ships were attacked in the gulf in the six months preceding April 1987.

Iraq's surprise attack and occupation of Kuwait caused the virtual disintegration of the Kuwaiti armed forces. Large numbers of personnel were killed, captured, or dispersed, and most Kuwaiti equipment was destroyed or taken over by the Iraqi armed forces. The minister of defense said that 90 percent of military installations had suffered major damage. By early 1992, most army barracks were again usable, and the naval base was in operation but needed rebuilding. The air force flew temporarily from the civilian airport near the city of Kuwait while

Kuwaiti soldiers in formation during a dignitary's visit to their outpost in Operation Desert Shield
Kuwaiti M–84 main battle tank lays a smoke screen in an exercise during Operation Desert Shield.
Courtesy United States Air Force

the air bases were being reconstructed in 1992. Kuwait expected to spend about US$9 billion—six times the prewar defense budget—in 1992 to replace destroyed equipment and installations.

In a sharp departure from previous policy, Kuwait entered into a ten-year defense cooperation agreement with the United States in September 1991. The agreement included provisions for United States port access, military equipment storage, and joint training and exercises. The agreement did not provide for the stationing of United States military personnel in Kuwait; 1,500 personnel remaining after the gulf war were scheduled to leave within a few months. Similar but less extensive ten-year cooperation agreements were subsequently concluded with Britain and France.

Organization and Mission of the Forces

Under the constitution, the amir is the supreme commander of the armed forces. The minister of defense directs the armed forces through the chief of general staff. The National Guard has its own commander, who reports directly to the minister of defense. The public security forces are all under the minister of interior. The minister of defense in early 1993, Ali as Sabah as Salim Al Sabah, had been shifted from the Ministry of Interior as part of the military shakeup after the gulf war. The ruling family maintained a tight grip on the centers of power, including many senior posts in the security services.

Before the Iraqi invasion, the army's manpower strength was 16,000 officers and enlisted men. The principal combat formations were three armored brigades, one mechanized infantry brigade, and one artillery brigade with a regiment of self-propelled howitzers and a surface-to-surface missile (SSM) battalion. All the combat units were under strength; by one estimate, as of 1988 the army's entire fighting strength was the equivalent of only one Western brigade.

Kuwait's first-line main battle tanks are M–84s, Yugoslav versions of the Soviet T–72 tank. The army has various models of British armored cars and armored personnel carriers (APCs). Its artillery consists of 155mm self-propelled howitzers, mainly of French manufacture. Kuwait has a large inventory of antitank missile systems of British, French, and United States origin, including the improved TOW (tube-launched, optically sighted, wire-guided) missile from the United States. It has purchased the Soviet FROG–7, a mobile battlefield missile with a range of sixty kilometers. In 1984, after the United States

rejected a Kuwaiti order for Stinger shoulder-fired SAMs, Kuwait turned to Moscow for air defense weapons, purchasing SA–7 and SA–8 SAMs and ZSU–23-4 antiaircraft guns.

An estimate of the postwar strength of the Kuwaiti army, published in *The Military Balance, 1992–1993,* revealed the devastating effect of the Persian Gulf War. The disparate ground forces, estimated to number about 8,000, were to be reconstituted into four understrength mechanized and armored brigades, a reserve brigade, and an artillery brigade. Little matériel survived the war: some tanks, APCs, and 155mm guns (see table 38, Appendix). Kuwait's postwar equipment orders include 200 M–84 tanks (from Serbia to offset previous Serb oil purchases) and eighteen self-propelled 155mm guns from France. Kuwait also has received United States, Russian, and Egyptian armored vehicles.

The air force complement in 1990 before the gulf war was estimated at 2,200, excluding foreign personnel. Its inventory included about eighty combat aircraft, mainly Mirage F1s from France and A–4 Skyhawks from the United States, and more than forty helicopters of French manufacture, some fitted for assault missions with antitank missiles. Ground-based air defense was structured around the United States improved Hawk (I–Hawk) missile system, tied into Saudi air defense to receive data transmitted by United States and Saudi AWACS aircraft that had been operating in the area since the start of the Iran-Iraq War.

The Military Balance estimated that the immediate postwar complement of the air force was 1,000, with thirty-four combat aircraft and twelve armed helicopters remaining. By early 1993, however, air force personnel numbered about 2,500, with seventy-four combat aircraft, including McDonnell Douglas A–4s and F–18s, and twenty armed helicopters. Its two air bases, at Ahmad al Jabir and Ali as Salim, badly damaged in the war, are being repaired. In addition to Iraq's capture of the four batteries of I–Hawk medium-range SAMs, most of the fleet of transport aircraft was lost to Iraq. Before the occupation of the amirate, the Kuwaiti air force had ordered forty United States F–18 fighter aircraft plus air-to-air missiles and cluster bombs. Deliveries under this order began in the first half of 1992. Kuwait will acquire the strongest air defense network in the Persian Gulf region under a proposal announced by the United States in March 1992 to transfer six Patriot antiballistic missile SAM firing units (each consisting of up to four quadruple launchers, radar, and a control station) and six batteries of

Hawk SAMs. The sale will include 450 Patriot missiles and 342 Hawk missiles.

The navy's strength had been estimated at 1,800 in 1990 before the Iraqi occupation. Previously a coastal defense force with police responsibilities, the navy's combat capabilities were significantly enhanced during 1984 with the delivery of eight fast-attack craft armed with Exocet antiship missiles from the West German Lürssen shipyard. The navy also operated a wide variety of smaller patrol craft. According to *The Military Balance*, the navy was reduced to about 500 personnel in 1992 as a result of the Persian Gulf War and the Kuwaiti policy of removing *bidun* ("without"—stateless persons without citizenship, many of whom had long-standing stays in Kuwait while others came in the 1960s and 1970s as oil field workers and construction workers) from the armed forces. By early 1993, however, naval personnel numbered about 1,200, including the coast guard. With the exception of two missile boats, the entire fleet was captured and sunk or badly damaged by coalition forces while being operated by the Iraqis. Some ships are believed to be salvageable. Five Republic of Korea (South Korea) twenty-four-meter patrol craft were among the vessels lost. However, delivery is expected on an additional four craft under an order pending when the war broke out.

Role of Kuwaiti Armed Forces in the Persian Gulf War

The Iraqi invasion in the early hours of August 2 was detected by a balloon-borne early warning radar, but the army had insufficient time to mount any organized resistance. Some contingents continued a small-unit defense, including those equipped with Chieftain tanks. About 7,000 soldiers escaped to Saudi Arabia; the remainder were killed or captured or participated in the internal resistance movement. Some Mirage and Skyhawk aircraft carried out attacks on the advancing Iraqi columns; when their air base in southern Kuwait was overrun, they flew to Saudi Arabian bases, as did some of the armed helicopters.

According to Norman Friedman, author of a study on the strategy and tactics of the Persian Gulf War, the Kuwaiti forces participating in Operation Desert Storm in February 1991 included the 35th Armored Brigade (renamed Martyr Brigade), the 15th Infantry Brigade, and the lightly equipped Liberation Brigade, which was armed with .50-caliber machine guns mounted on trucks. One source estimated that 7,000 Kuwaiti troops were involved. The Martyr Brigade was the first

of the units of Joint Forces Command East in the drive paralleling the coast northward when the allied operation began on February 24, 1991. Along with Saudi, Qatari, and Bahraini forces, supported by United States marines on their left flank, their assignment of liberating the city of Kuwait incurred little Iraqi resistance.

Of twenty-four Kuwaiti aircraft participating in strikes against the Iraqi forces, one A–4 Skyhawk was lost to enemy fire. The two surviving Kuwaiti missile craft, carrying small marine contingents, were able to retake oil platforms and some of the gulf islands. Kuwait suffered only one combat death, according to an official British source.

Kuwait pledged contributions totaling more than US$16 billion to support the United States role in the Persian Gulf War. An additional US$6 billion was promised to Egypt and other member countries of the coalition to help offset the economic effects of the war.

Personnel, Training, and Recruitment

Unlike other Persian Gulf states, Kuwait has a conscription system that obligates young men to serve for two years beginning at the age of eighteen. Educational deferments are granted, and university graduates serve for only one year. In practice, exemptions are liberally granted, and most young Kuwaitis are able to avoid military duty. Estimates are that only 20 to 30 percent of the prewar military ranks were filled by Kuwaiti nationals. Military and security forces had been purged of Shia personnel during the 1980s. At the outbreak of the gulf war, Palestinians filled many technical positions, supported by thousands of Pakistanis, Indians, and Filipinos in maintenance and logistic functions. Officers on detail from Britain, Pakistan, Egypt, and Jordan provided military expertise. Lower ranks in the army and security forces were occupied predominantly by *bidun*, who had taken reasonably well to military life but were poorly prepared to absorb training in operating and servicing modern equipment. In spite of reports that many *bidun* fought well against the Iraqis, many were expelled from the army in 1991 for alleged collaboration. Because of their removal and the removal of Palestinians and other non-Kuwaitis, the ranks of the services became seriously depleted. Few Kuwaitis volunteer for military service, and conscription is not regarded as an acceptable option. Under the circumstances, Kuwait will be hard pressed to meet its goal of a postwar armed strength of 30,000. A relaxation of the policy toward *bidun* was hinted at by

the statement of the minister of defense that people of "unspecified nationality" may be retained after screening for loyalty and may even be given Kuwaiti citizenship. With respect to conscription, the minister of defense in July 1991 said that the system was being reviewed to make it more effective.

Most Kuwaiti officers are members of the ruling family or related tribal groups. Education standards are high—many are graduates of Sandhurst—and living conditions, pay, and benefits are excellent. The Kuwaiti Military College accepts secondary school graduates for eighteen months of cadet training in army, air force, and navy programs. The United States provides pilot training and assistance in developing a flight training facility within Kuwait. United States, British, and French military missions and civilian contractors provide training for more technologically advanced systems. A small Soviet advisory group provided training in the use of Soviet missile systems before the Persian Gulf War.

Traditionally, the officer corps—with its close links to the ruling family—was considered to be a loyal and trustworthy defender of the regime. In the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, however, there were displays of discontent among officers arising from the inadequate response of the armed forces to the Iraqi invasion and the failure to launch postwar reforms. Many of the 6,000 officers and men taken prisoner by the Iraqis were prevented from rejoining the armed forces and were angered at their treatment by senior officers who fled to Saudi Arabia. In June 1991, some officers of the resistance group known as the Second of August Movement petitioned the amir to dismiss the former ministers of defense and interior from their cabinet posts and to investigate the reason the Kuwaiti army was not mobilized or on the alert when the Iraqis attacked. The petition also called for removal of the army chief of staff and his immediate staff and as many as twenty generals and seventy-five colonels.

In July fourteen senior officers were forced into retirement. The amir reportedly met with disaffected officers to tell them that their calls for reform would be considered. Officers threatened with dismissal for signing the petition were reinstated, and other reform-minded officers were reportedly promoted.

Internal Security

Many of the domestic strains in Kuwait arise from the disparities between the living standards of Kuwaiti nationals and the majority of Kuwait's foreign population. Palestinian work-

ers presented problems for the Al Sabah rulers for several decades, but, during the 1980s, militants and terrorists advancing revolutionary Islam overshadowed the Palestinians as troublemakers. Kuwait's support for Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War accounted for much of the violence that disturbed internal stability during the 1980s. A series of terrorist bombings in 1983 aimed at Kuwaiti installations and the United States and French embassies were ascribed to events in Lebanon. A network of Hizballah terrorists was uncovered, and, in the spring of 1984, seventeen Shia were sentenced to long prison terms, and three were condemned to death. Airplane hijackings, explosions, car bombings, and an assassination attempt against the amir ensued. Kuwait steadfastly rejected demands for release of terrorists in its custody, most of whom were still in jail at the time of the Iraqi invasion and subsequently disappeared. A number of Kuwaiti Shia were sentenced for setting fires at oil installations in 1986 and 1987. The incidents declined after 1988.

Police and the Criminal Justice System

The Ministry of Interior has overall responsibility for public security and law and order. Under the ministry, the national police has primary responsibility for maintaining public order and preventing and investigating crimes. The National Guard, a semiautonomous body, has guard duties on the border and at oil fields, utilities, and other strategic locations. The guard acts as a reserve for the regular forces and reinforces the metropolitan police as needed.

Police selected for officer rank attend a three-year program at the Police Academy. National Guard officer candidates attend the Kuwaiti Military College, after which they receive specialized guard training. Women work in certain police departments, such as criminal investigation, inquiries, and airport security.

The principal police divisions are criminal investigation, traffic, emergency police, nationality and passports, immigration, prisons, civil defense, and trials and courts-martial. The criminal investigation division is responsible for ordinary criminal cases; Kuwait State Security investigates security-related offenses. Both are involved in investigations of terrorism and those suspected of collaboration with Iraq.

The Kuwaiti judicial system generally provides fair public trials and an adequate appeals mechanism, according to the United States Department of State's *Country Reports on Human*

Rights Practices for 1991. Under Kuwaiti law, no detainee can be held for more than four days without charge; after being charged by a prosecutor, detention for up to an additional twenty-one days is possible. Persons held under the State Security Law can be detained. Bail is commonly set in all cases. The lowest level courts, aside from traffic courts, are the misdemeanor courts that judge offenses subject to imprisonment not exceeding three years. Courts of first instance hear felony cases in which the punishment can exceed three years. All defendants in felony cases are required to be represented by attorneys, appointed by the court if necessary. Legal counsel is optional in misdemeanor cases, and the court is not obliged to provide an attorney.

Kuwaiti authorities contend that the rate of ordinary crime is low, and data available through 1986 tended to bear this out. Of more than 5,000 felonies committed in that year, only 5 percent were in the category of theft. The number of misdemeanors was roughly equal to the number of felonies, but only 10 percent were thefts. Offenses involving forgery, fraud, bribery, assaults and threats, and narcotics and alcohol violations were all more common than thefts.

Two separate State Security Court panels, each composed of three justices, hear crimes against state security or other cases referred to it by the Council of Ministers. Trials in the State Security Court, with few exceptions, are held in closed session. They do not, in the judgment of the Department of State, meet international standards for fair trials. Military courts, which ordinarily have jurisdiction only over members of the armed services or security forces, can try offenses charged against civilians under conditions of martial law. Martial law was imposed for the first time after the liberation of the country from Iraqi occupation. About 300 persons suspected of collaboration with Iraq were tried by military courts in May and June 1991, and 115 were convicted. Twenty-nine received sentences of death, later commuted to life imprisonment after international criticism of the trials. Human rights groups drew attention to the failure to provide adequate legal safeguards to defendants and an unwillingness to accept the defense that collaboration with Iraqi forces had been coerced. Many of the accused alleged that their confessions had been extracted under torture.

Human Rights Practices

Prior to the occupation of Kuwait in 1990, the principal

human rights concerns, aside from widespread restriction on the exercise of political expression, were instances of arbitrary arrest and mistreatment of prisoners and lack of due process in security trials. A number of Kuwaitis were arrested between late 1989 and mid-1990 for political reasons and for participating in unlicensed gatherings. Noncitizens could be arbitrarily expelled if deemed security risks and were also subject to deportation if they were unable to find work after being released from their initial employment. Some foreigners reportedly were held in deportation centers for up to five years because they were unable to provide for their own travel out of the country. According to the Department of State, there were plausible reports of occasional torture and violence in apprehending and interrogating criminal suspects.

The seven-month Iraqi occupation subjected Kuwaitis to a systematic terror campaign that included extrajudicial killings, torture and other inhuman treatment, kidnappings, and arbitrary arrest and detention. There were many credible accounts of killings, not only of members of the Kuwaiti resistance but also of their families, other civilians, and young children. Attacks on Iraqi soldiers resulted in reprisal actions in neighborhoods where attacks had taken place and included summary and random execution of innocent civilians. Many Kuwaiti citizens also disappeared at the hands of the Iraqi occupation authorities. Large-scale executions of young men by gunfire or by hanging were reported. About 850 Kuwaitis remained unaccounted for in early 1993, many of them presumably killed while in Iraqi detention. Iraq insisted that it had no Kuwaiti prisoners.

After the restoration of the amirate government in 1991, there were many reports of beatings and torture to extract confessions from suspected collaborators. The Department of State estimated that forty-five to fifty Palestinian and other foreigners were tortured to death by police or military personnel. As many as 5,800 persons, mostly non-Kuwaitis, were detained on suspicion of collaboration during the four months of martial law that followed the country's liberation. Many arrests were arbitrary, and some detainees were held for months without being charged. As of early 1993, about 900 persons were still in detention; these included persons convicted in the State Security Court or martial law courts and those under deportation order but with no place to go. Of the prewar population of about 400,000 Palestinians resident in Kuwait, only about 30,000 remained. Most of the departures occurred during the

Iraqi occupation; the remainder left because of less favorable living circumstances or because of Kuwaiti pressure.

Bahrain

After more than 100 years of British presence and protection, Bahrain gained full independence on August 15, 1971. The agreement granting independence contained no provision for British defense in an emergency, but it did provide for consultation. British authorities hoped that Bahrain, the most economically and socially advanced of the small gulf states, might take the lead in a federation similar to that of the UAE, but Bahrain opted instead for complete independence. Shaykh Isa ibn Salman Al Khalifa, leader of the Al Khalifa since the death of his father in 1961, became the newly independent country's first amir and continued as the hereditary ruler in 1993.

The constitution designates the amir supreme commander of the armed forces. In 1977 Isa ibn Salman chose his eldest son and heir apparent, Hamad ibn Isa Al Khalifa, to be minister of defense and commander in chief of the Bahrain Defense Force (BDF). In 1988 the former chief of staff, Major General Khalifa ibn Ahmad Al Khalifa, was named minister of defense, but Hamad ibn Isa retained the position of commander in chief in 1993. Other members of the Al Khalifa in prominent military positions include the new chief of staff, Brigadier General Abd Allah ibn Salman Al Khalifa, as well as the assistant chief of staff for operations, the chief of naval staff, and the commander of the air force. As in other Persian Gulf states, the ruling family keeps a tight hold on important positions in the national security structure.

The BDF is principally dedicated to the maintenance of internal security and the protection of the shores of the Bahrain archipelago. Nevertheless, with the rise of tensions in the Persian Gulf, the force has nearly tripled in size since 1984 and has added significantly to its inventory of modern armaments. Its total personnel strength in 1992 was about 6,150: army, 5,000; navy, 500; and air force, 650. The Bahraini army is organized into one brigade, consisting of two mechanized infantry battalions, one tank battalion, one special forces battalion, an armored car squadron, and two artillery and two mortar batteries. Its principal armored weapons are M–60A3 main battle tanks purchased from the United States in the late 1980s. Deliveries are awaited on an order for eighty United States M–113 APCs, supplementing a mixed accumulation of older armored

A–4KU Skyhawk aircraft of the Kuwaiti air force being serviced in Saudi Arabia in preparation for an Operation Desert Storm mission
UH–1W Iroquois helicopter of the Bahrain Defense Force takes part in a training mission following Operation Desert Storm.
Courtesy United States Air Force

vehicles. The army's artillery pieces consist of a few towed 105mm and 155mm howitzers. Its principal antitank weapon is the BGM–71A–TOW wire-guided missile (see table 39, Appendix).

Until 1979, when its first fast-attack craft were ordered from the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Bahrain's maritime force was a coast guard under the supervision of the minister of interior. As of 1992, the navy was equipped with two Lürssen sixty-two-meter corvettes. One Dauphin helicopter armed with an antiship missile has been delivered for use with the corvettes. The navy also has in its inventory four forty-five-meter Lürssen fast-attack craft and two thirty-eight-meter craft. The coast guard operates a variety of patrol craft, as well as three landing craft and a Hovercraft.

The Bahraini air force began operations in 1977 with a gradually expanding fleet of helicopters. Its first combat aircraft—United States F–5s—were acquired in 1986, followed in 1990 by more advanced F–16s. As of 1992, it had twelve F–5s and twelve F–16s. Eight Apache attack helicopters were ordered from the United States in 1991 to defend the archipelago and offshore oil platforms against incursions or terrorist action. I–Hawk SAMs are on order as the principal air defense weapon. After initially being denied shoulder-fired Stinger SAMs by congressional objections, Bahrain was allowed to purchase the weapons on a provisional basis and later to retain them permanently. The main air force base is adjacent to Bahrain International Airport on Al Muharraq. Another base developed for use in the Persian Gulf War is available near the southern tip of Bahrain; as of 1992, it was being used for servicing carrier-based United States aircraft.

Defense expenditures, which reached a peak of US$281 million in 1982, fell off sharply before gradually rising again to US$237 million in 1992. Because of its declining revenue from oil, the amirate has fewer resources available for defense than the more prosperous gulf states. The GCC had allotted Bahrain and Oman a special subsidy of US$1.8 billion between 1984 and 1994. Bahrain's share enabled it to purchase new fighter aircraft and to construct its new air base.

At the time of the British withdrawal in 1971, the United States leased port and docking facilities from the government of Bahrain for the United States Middle East Force. This was, in fact, an extension of a United States-British agreement, in effect since the late 1940s, enabling United States naval vessels to use facilities at Al Jufayr, a port section of the capital, Man-

ama. The agreement was a sensitive one because none of the Arab states of the gulf wanted to appear to be submitting to any new form of colonialism or to be too closely associated with the United States, the main supporter of Israel. In 1977 the amir's government terminated the lease. The headquarters of the United States Middle East Force was compelled to move aboard one of the three ships that constituted the force. Otherwise, little changed as a result of the termination of the lease. United States ships—with the aid of a support unit staffed by about sixty-five United States naval personnel—were still permitted to use Bahraini port facilities for naval operations in the gulf to ensure the availability of fuel, communications, and supplies. During the Iran-Iraq War, when attacks on gulf shipping threatened Bahrain's oil refining and tanker servicing operations, United States personnel and military cargoes were permitted to transit the region via Bahrain International Airport. Large barges in Bahraini waters were used as bases for United States attack helicopters, radar, and air defense weapons. In October 1991, Bahrain signed a defense cooperation agreement with the United States similar to that previously concluded between the United States and Kuwait. The agreement provided for port access, equipment storage, and joint exercises.

Role in the Persian Gulf War

Bahrain played a limited but active role in the Persian Gulf War. Bahraini ground forces were among the 3,000 Peninsula Shield force of the GCC (exclusive of Saudi Arabian and Kuwaiti troops) that were assigned to a support role during Operation Desert Storm as part of Joint Forces Command East. Bahrain was the primary coalition naval base and was the point of origin for coalition air operations against Iraqi targets. Bahraini pilots joined other members of the coalition in flying strikes into Iraq. Three Scud missiles were aimed at Bahrain during the war. Only one landed in the country, and it did not hit a target area. There were no Bahraini combat deaths in the war.

Internal Security

The Bahraini national police force was believed by most sources to number about 2,000 in 1992. In addition to the usual police functions, the mission of the force is to prevent sectarian violence and terrorist actions. Bahrain has a high proportion of native Shia, possibly 65 to 70 percent of the popula-

tion, who tend to resent their inferior status in the social and economic structure. The government sought to moderate the socioreligious cleavage by appointing Shia to a number of cabinet posts and senior civil service posts, although generally not in security-related positions. A failed coup d'état against the Al Khalifa in 1981 resulted in the expulsion or trial of many Shia dissidents. A number of persons were arrested in 1987. In 1989 twenty-two persons were sentenced to prison by the Supreme Court of Appeal, sitting as the Security Court, for plotting to overthrow the government.

Two clandestine political groups are active in Bahrain. The Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, which was responsible for the 1981 coup attempt, consists of militant Shia calling for violent revolution. The Islamic Call Party is more moderate, calling for social and economic reforms. Two secular leftist groups that espouse Arab nationalist ideologies are the Popular Front for the Liberation of Bahrain and the National Front for the Liberation of Bahrain. Their influence appeared to be on the decline as of early 1993. The agencies of the Ministry of Interior, the police force, and the Security and Intelligence Service (SIS) maintain strict control over political activity. It is thought that their operations are extensive and highly effective. Detention and arrest can result from actions construed as antiregime activity, such as membership in illegal organizations, antigovernment demonstrations, possession or circulation of antiregime writings, or preaching of sermons of a radical or extreme Islamist tone. The Department of State reported some loosening of controls in 1991 over actions previously regarded as subversive, reflecting the government's assessment that domestic and foreign threats to its security had receded.

Under the State Security Act of 1974, persons can be detained for up to three years, with a right of appeal after a period of three months and thereafter every six months. Arrested persons tried in ordinary criminal courts are provided the usual guarantees, such as public trials, the right to counsel (including legal aid if needed), and the right of appeal. Prisoners charged with security offenses are tried directly by the Supreme Court of Appeal, sitting as the Security Court. The procedural guarantees of the penal code do not apply: proceedings are in secret, and there is no right of judicial appeal, although cases can be referred to the amir for clemency.

According to Department of State human rights studies, there have been credible reports that the SIS engages in tor-

ture and mistreatment of detainees. Convictions in some cases have been based only on confessions that allegedly have been extracted by torture. There were, however, no confirmed cases of torture in 1991. The independent human rights group Amnesty International claimed that as of 1992, about seventy political prisoners, many with ties to banned Islamic groups, were serving sentences after unfair trials. Between 220 and 270 people were held in Bahraini jails in 1992. Of these, fewer than 100 were thought to be serving sentences for security offenses.

Qatar

In company with other gulf amirates, Qatar had long-standing ties with Britain but had remained under nominal Ottoman hegemony until 1916, when Qatar formally became a British protected state. During the next five decades, Britain also exercised considerable influence in the internal affairs of the amirate. When the announcement came that Britain would withdraw its military forces from the gulf by 1971, Qatari leaders were forced to consider how to survive without British protection. Unable to support a large military establishment, Qatar has placed its reliance on small but mobile forces that can deter border incursions. Nevertheless, the Iran-Iraq War brought attacks on shipping just beyond its territorial waters, underscoring Qatar's vulnerability to interference with oil shipments and vital imports. In addition to seeking collective security through the GCC, Qatar has turned to close ties with Saudi Arabia, entering into a bilateral defense agreement in 1982.

The ruler in 1992, Shaykh Khalifa ibn Hamad Al Thani, had taken control of the country twenty years earlier, when the leading members of the ruling family decided that Khalifa's cousin, Ahmad ibn Ali Al Thani, should be replaced because of his many shortcomings as amir. As supreme commander of the armed forces, Khalifa ibn Hamad issued a decree in 1977 appointing his son and heir apparent, Hamad ibn Khalifa Al Thani, to the post of commander in chief. The same decree created the Ministry of Defense and named Hamad ibn Khalifa as minister. Hamad ibn Khalifa was a graduate of Sandhurst and had attained the rank of major general.

At the time of independence on September 3, 1971, the armed forces consisted of little more than the Royal Guard Regiment and some scattered units equipped with a few armored cars and four aircraft. By 1992 it had grown to a force of 7,500, including an army of 6,000, a navy of 700, and an air force of 800. In addition to the Royal Guard Regiment, the

army had expanded to include a tank battalion, three mechanized infantry battalions, a special forces company, a field artillery regiment, and a SAM battery. The combined combat strength of these units, however, is estimated to be no more than that of a reinforced regiment in a Western army.

Initially outfitted with British weaponry, Qatar shifted much of its procurement to France during the 1980s in response to French efforts to develop closer relations. The tank battalion is equipped with French-built AMX–30 main battle tanks. Other armored vehicles include French AMX–10P APCs and the French VAB, which has been adopted as the standard wheeled combat vehicle. The artillery unit has a few French 155mm self-propelled howitzers (see table 40, Appendix). The principal antitank weapons are French Milan and HOT wire-guided missiles. Qatar had also illicitly acquired a few Stinger shoulder-fired SAMs, possibly from Afghan rebel groups, at a time when the United States was trying to maintain tight controls on Stingers in the Middle East. When Qatar refused to turn over the missiles, the United States Senate in 1988 imposed a ban on the sale of all weapons to Qatar. The ban was repealed in late 1990 when Qatar satisfactorily accounted for its disposition of the Stingers.

Three French-built La Combattante III missile craft, which entered service in 1983, form the core of the navy. The missile craft supplement six older Vosper Thornycroft large patrol craft. A variety of smaller craft are operated by the marine police.

The air force is equipped with combat aircraft and armed helicopters. Its fighter aircraft include Alpha Jets with a fighter-ground attack capability and one air defense squadron of Mirage F1s, all purchased from France. All of the aircraft are based at Doha International Airport. The planned purchase of Hawk and Patriot missile systems from the United States will give Qatar a modern ground-based air defense. British pilots on detail remain on duty with the air force, and French specialists are employed in a maintenance capacity. Nevertheless, an increasing number of young Qataris have been trained as pilots and technicians.

The lack of sufficient indigenous personnel to staff the armed forces is a continuing problem. By one estimate, Qatari citizens constitute only 30 percent of the army, in which more than twenty nationalities are represented. Many of the officers are of the royal family or members of leading tribes. Enlisted personnel are recruited from beduin tribes that move between

Lieutenant General Charles Horner, commanding general, United States Central Air Force, congratulates Major Hamad ibn Abd Allah Al Khalifa, commander of Bahrain's Shaykh Isa Squadron, after awarding him the Legion of Merit for his support during Operation Desert Storm.
A Qatari air force pilot performs a preflight check on his Mirage F1 aircraft before a mission during Operation Desert Storm.
Courtesy United States Air Force

Qatar and Saudi Arabia and from other Arab groups. Many Pakistanis serve in combat units. In 1992 there were still a number of British officers, as well as British, French, Jordanian, and Pakistani advisers and technicians. More young Qataris are being recruited, and the number of trained and competent Qatari officers is steadily increasing.

Although official data on military expenditures are not published, the defense budget estimate of US$500 million for 1989 was 8 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP—see Glossary). The estimate of US$934 million for 1991, an increase of 80 percent over 1989, was presumably attributable to the costs of the Persian Gulf War.

During the hostilities, the Qatari tank battalion was deployed to the Saudi-Iraqi border as part of Joint Forces Command East. Beginning on January 22, 1991, Qatari aircraft joined other countries in carrying out strikes against Iraqi forces. United States, Canadian, and French fighter squadrons flew daily missions from Doha during the gulf war. Saudi and Qatari forces that had dug in to defend the road leading south from the border town of Ras al Khafji were forced to withdraw when the Iraqis made their only incursion into Saudi territory on January 29, 1991. The three Saudi battalions and the one tank battalion from Qatar maintained contact with the Iraqi forces and participated in the coalition counterattack two days later that drove the Iraqis out of the town with considerable losses. The Qatari contingent, composed mostly of Pakistani recruits, acquitted itself well. The Qatari battalion also formed part of the Arab forces that advanced across Iraqi positions toward the city of Kuwait during the general coalition offensive on February 24, 1991. One Qatari tank was lost in the engagement, and a number of Arab soldiers were killed or wounded. No Qatari combat deaths were reported during the war.

Although the amirate has experienced little internal unrest, the large number of foreigners—forming 80 percent of the work force—is regarded as a possible source of instability. Qatar is determined to maintain control over their activities and limit their influence. A significant number of resident Palestinians, some of whom included prominent businessmen and civil servants, were expelled after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Iranian Shia have not been the source of problems but are nevertheless looked on as potential subversives. Foreigners are liable to face arbitrary police action and harassment and often complain of mistreatment after their arrest.

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander in chief, United States Central Command, with Brigadier General Muhammad ibn Abd Allah al Attiyah of Qatar, whom he presented with the Legion of Merit for his role in Operation Desert Storm

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf speaks with Lieutenant General Khamis ibn Humaid ibn Salim al Kilbani, chief of staff, Royal Oman Land Forces, while touring As Sib Air Base during Operation Desert Storm.

Courtesy United States Air Force

The Ministry of Interior has controlled the police force of about 2,500 members since 1990. The local police enforces laws and arrests violators. The General Administration of Public Security, which in 1991 replaced the Criminal Investigation Department, is a separate unit of the ministry charged with investigation of crimes. The Mubahathat (secret police office), a nearly independent branch of the Ministry of Interior, deals with sedition and espionage. The army's mission does not include internal security, although the army can be called on in the event of serious civil disturbances. Nevertheless, a separate agency, the Mukhabarat (intelligence service), is under armed forces jurisdiction. Its function is to intercept and arrest terrorists and to keep surveillance over political dissidents.

Qatar has both civil and sharia courts, but only sharia courts have jurisdiction in criminal matters. Lacking permanent security courts, security cases are tried by specially established military courts, but such cases have been rare. In sharia criminal cases, the proceedings are closed, and lawyers play no formal role except to prepare the accused for trial. After the parties state their cases and after witnesses are examined by the judge, the verdict is usually delivered with little delay. No bail is set, but in minor cases, charged persons may be released to a Qatari sponsor. Most of the floggings prescribed by sharia law are administered, but physical mutilation is not allowed, and no executions have occurred since the 1980s.

The police routinely monitor the communications of suspects and security risks. Although warrants are usually required for searches, this does not apply in cases involving national security. The security forces reportedly have applied severe force and torture in investigating political and security-related cases. Suspects can be incarcerated without charge, although this is infrequent. The United States Department of State noted that standards of police conduct have improved in spite of a 1991 incident in which a group of Qataris were detained without charge for two months in connection with the unauthorized publication of tracts and letters critical of the government; at least one member of the group, which included several members of the ruling family, is said to have been beaten.

United Arab Emirates

Background

The numerous treaties that Britain concluded with the sev-

eral gulf amirates in the nineteenth century provided, inter alia, that the British were responsible for foreign relations and protection from attack by sea. Until the early 1950s, the principal military presence in the Trucial Coast states (sometimes referred to as Trucial Oman) consisted of British-led Arab security forces and the personal bodyguard units of the ruling shaykhs. In 1951 the British formed the Trucial Oman Levies (later called the Trucial Oman Scouts) under a British commander who reported to the British political agent of the gulf. Arabs from the Trucial Coast made up only about 40 percent of the strength; Omanis, Iranians, Pakistanis, and Indians made up the remainder. Organized as light armored cavalry, the scouts used British weapons, trucks, and armored cars in carrying out police functions and in keeping peace among the tribes of the various amirates. During its approximately two decades of existence, the unit was respected for its impartial role in maintaining public order on the coast.

By the time the United Arab Emirates (UAE) became independent on December 2, 1971, the scouts had become a mobile force of about 1,600 men, trained and led by about thirty British officers assisted by Jordanian noncommissioned officers (NCOs). At the time of independence and federation, the Trucial Oman Scouts became the nucleus of the Union Defense Force (UDF), responsible to the federal minister of defense, the Supreme Council of the Union, and—ultimately—to the president of the federation, Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan Al Nuhayyan, ruler of Abu Dhabi, who continued to fill this office in 1993. Separate amirate forces are also authorized by the provisional constitution, and the separate entities of the union—especially Abu Dhabi—have made clear that they intend to maintain their own forces. Drawing on tremendous oil wealth accumulated in the early 1960s, the amir of Abu Dhabi gave high priority to the development of the Abu Dhabi Defense Force (ADDF) when the British withdrawal from the gulf was announced. The ADDF—with 15,000 men and primarily British and Jordanian officers—consisted of three army battalions, an artillery battery, twelve Hawker Hunter fighter-bombers, and a sea defense wing of four fast patrol boats. Dubayy had a much smaller force of 2,000, Ras al Khaymah had 900, and Sharjah had even fewer.

Personnel for the UDF and separate amirate forces were recruited from several countries of the region, but soon after independence enlistments from the Dhofar region in Oman and from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY,

also seen as South Yemen) were curtailed out of fear that personnel from these areas might spread dangerous revolutionary doctrines. As the largest in territory, the most populous, and by far the richest of the amirates, Abu Dhabi has borne the brunt of funding the federation's military establishment. A major step toward unification of forces occurred in 1976 when Abu Dhabi, Dubayy, and Ras al Khaymah announced the merger of their separate armed forces with the UDF. Sharjah had previously merged its police and small military units into the UDF.

Despite the promises and pledges of 1976, true integration and unification of the UAE armed forces has not occurred. The UDF is seen by some, particularly the amir of Dubayy, as merely an extension of Abu Dhabi power. Individual amirs view their forces as symbols of sovereignty no matter the size or combat readiness of the units. The separate forces therefore continue as they had earlier, but they are called regional commands, only nominally part of the UDF. Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan's attempt to install his eighteen-year-old son as commander in chief in 1978 shook the fragile unity of the UDF. Although the appointment was rescinded, Dubayy strengthened its resolve to maintain the autonomy of the Central Military Command, its own regional military command.

As of 1992, the commander in chief of the UDF was Zayid ibn Sultan. The crown prince, Lieutenant General Khalifa ibn Zayid Al Nuhayyan, held immediate command as deputy commander in chief. The chief of staff with operational responsibilities was Major General Muhammad Said al Badi, a UAE national who replaced a Jordanian general in the post in the early 1980s. His headquarters was in Abu Dhabi. The minister of defense was Shaykh Muhammad ibn Rashid Al Maktum, son of the ruler of Dubayy. The ministry, located in Dubayy, concerned itself primarily with administrative, personnel, and logistic matters and apparently had little influence on operational aspects of the UDF.

In data published by the Department of State in mid-1991, the total strength of the UDF with responsibility for defense of six of the seven amirates was estimated at 60,000. Dubayy forces of the Central Military Command with responsibility for the defense of Dubayy were given as 12,000. The Department of State estimated that there were 1,800 in the UDF air force and 1,000 in the navy. Estimates of ground forces given in *The Military Balance, 1992–1993* were significantly lower.

The Military Balance stated that perhaps 30 percent of the armed services consist of foreigners, although other sources

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf presents the Legion of Merit to Major General Muhammad Said al Badi, chief of staff, United Arab Emirates Union Defense Force, for his contribution to the coalition during Operation Desert Storm. Courtesy United States Air Force

claim that the forces have a much higher proportion of non-UAE nationals. Omanis predominate in the enlisted ranks, but there are also many Pakistanis among the more than twenty nationalities represented. Well into the 1980s, many mid-level officers were Britons under contract, as well as Pakistanis and Omanis. By 1991 the officer corps was composed almost exclusively of amirate nationals, according to the Department of State. The UAE lacks a conscription system and is unlikely to adopt one. It was announced in 1990 that all university students would undergo military training as a requirement for graduation. Although adopted as a reaction to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the UAE authorities reportedly are considering continuation of the requirement as a possible prelude to reservist training.

Organization and Equipment

The principal units of the UDF in 1993 were one mechanized infantry brigade, one armored brigade, two infantry brigades, one artillery brigade, and the Royal Guard, organized along brigade lines. The Central Military Command of Dubayy

supplies one infantry brigade. Major weapons include French AMX–30 main battle tanks, of which an additional twenty-five tanks are on order. The Central Military Command separately purchased Italian OF–40 Mk 2 Lion tanks. French armor predominates throughout the army; it includes reconnaissance vehicles, infantry fighting vehicles, APCs, and 155mm self-propelled howitzers (see table 41, Appendix). Negotiations were reportedly under way in 1992 for the purchase of 337 M1A1 tanks from the United States. The UAE also has a variety of older British armored vehicles, many of them in storage, as well as Brazilian APCs. The army's antitank guided wire missiles include twenty-five TOWs from the United States, some of them mounted on Urutu chassis, as well as French Milan and HOT and the older British Vigilant systems. Because of difficulties of coordination between air- and ground-based defenses, the operation of air defense missiles was shifted to the air force in 1988. The army's tactical air defense is limited to 20mm and 30mm guns.

The most powerful units of the UDF navy are two Lürssen corvettes delivered by Germany in 1991, similar to those of the Bahraini navy. The corvettes are supplemented by fast-attack craft and large patrol boats.

The air force is organized into two fighter-ground attack squadrons, one air defense squadron, and one counterinsurgency squadron. The fighter-ground attack squadrons are equipped with Mirage IIIs and British Hawks, the latter with a combined attack and training role. The fighter squadron is composed of Mirage 5s and Mirage 2000s. The counterinsurgency squadron is equipped with the Italian Aermacchi. In addition, the air force has four early warning aircraft. A number of French helicopters are armed with Exocet, HOT, and other air-to-ground missiles. In 1991 the United States agreed to the sale of twenty Apache attack helicopters after the administration overcame objections in Congress by pointing out that the helicopters were needed to defend the UAE's oil platforms in the gulf and to enable the UAE to contribute more effectively to the deterrence of aggression by Iraq.

The existing air defense system is based on one air defense brigade organized into thirteen batteries armed with Rapier, Crotale, and RBS–70 SAMs. Five batteries of improved Hawk missiles were being formed in 1992, with training provided by the United States.

The Role of the United Arab Emirates in the Iran-Iraq War and the Persian Gulf War

The attitude of the UAE during attacks on international shipping in the Iran-Iraq War was ambivalent. The amirates were profiting from a brisk reexport trade with Iran; furthermore, they felt vulnerable because their offshore oil facilities were exposed to the danger of Iranian attack. Dubayy and Ras al Khaymah in particular, with a substantial number of Iranians and native Shia, leaned toward Iran and were reluctant to abandon their neutrality. Abu Dhabi, however, as the richest oil state, adopted a pro-Arab stance in the war favoring Iraq. An offshore oil platform belonging to Abu Dhabi was hit by Iranian missiles in 1987; although denying responsibility, Iran paid an indemnity. The Department of State credited the UAE with supporting the United States Navy during its convoy operations despite Iranian threats of retaliation.

Reversing its earlier policy of avoiding collaboration with foreign military powers, the UAE, according to the Department of State, was the first Persian Gulf state to propose combined military action to deter Iraq when it threatened war against Kuwait. An air refueling exercise between United States and UAE aircraft one week before the invasion of Kuwait was intended as a warning signal to Iraq. During the Persian Gulf War, UAE troops, reportedly numbering several hundred, participated in the conflict as part of the GCC Peninsula Shield force that advanced into the city of Kuwait. United States aircraft bombed Iraqi positions from the UAE, and United States ships, including aircraft carriers, operated out of UAE ports. The UAE air force also carried out strikes against Iraqi forces. A total of six UAE combat deaths were reported as a result of the fighting.

The UAE defense budget remained fairly stable at about US$1.6 billion between 1988 and 1991. However, an additional US$3.3 billion represented UAE contributions and pledges in 1991 to other countries in connection with the war. Total UAE support to other countries participating in the Persian Gulf War was reported to have reached US$6 billion by mid-1991; payments of nearly US$3.8 billion had been made to the United States, US$500 million to Britain, and US$1.4 billion to Egypt, Jordan, Turkey, and seven other nations, combined, to offset their economic losses from the war. Oil prices and UAE oil production rose significantly after the outbreak of the gulf crisis; exports rose from US$15.5 billion in 1989 to US$21.0 billion in 1990. However, the balance of payments was negative

for the first time as a result of UAE contributions to other countries affected by the crisis and large capital transfers out of the country during the period.

Internal Security Problems

In the past, internal dynastic rivalries within individual amirates were often sources of tension and even bloodshed. In part, this resulted from the absence of clearly established rules of succession. More recently, however, heirs apparent have usually been designated, most often the eldest son of the amir. Intra-UAE rivalries no longer take a violent form, but the continued existence of independent military forces and competition in acquiring arms bring with them a costly proliferation of weapons that complicates training and logistics.

The threat of subversion from resident Iranians and native Shia seems to be less acute in the UAE than in other gulf states in spite of the large Shia population in Dubayy. Dubayy and Sharjah have traditionally maintained good relations with Iran and enjoyed profits from maritime trade, particularly the transshipment of items officially banned in Iran to conserve foreign exchange.

The provisional constitution authorizes federal police and security guard forces, which are subordinate to the Ministry of Interior. The strength of the police force has not been reported but is estimated as relatively large and vigilant in exercising control over political activities. Individual shaykhs had their own police forces before independence and maintained those forces after unification. Both the federal government and the amirate of Dubayy retain independent internal security organizations. The police forces of the other amirates are also involved in antinarcotic and antiterrorist activities.

Criminal cases are tried either by sharia courts administered by each amirate or by civil courts of the federal system that exist in several amirates. Rights of due process are accorded under both systems. Defendants are entitled to legal counsel. No formal public defender system exists, but the judge has responsibility for looking after the interests of persons not represented by counsel. Under the Criminal Procedures Code adopted in 1992, the accused has the right to defense counsel, provided by the government, if necessary, in cases involving possible sentence of death or life imprisonment. There are no jury trials, but trials are open except in cases involving national security or morals offenses. No separate security courts exist, and military courts try only military personnel in a system based on Western

Lieutenant General Charles Horner presents Muhammad an Nahyan, a United Arab Emirates Union Defense Force air force officer, with a pistol in recognition of his performance during Operation Desert Storm. Courtesy United States Air Force

military judicial principles. According to Department of State human rights reports, the criminal court system is generally regarded as fair. Despite the lack of a formal bail system, there are instances of release on deposit of money or passport.

Detentions must be reported to the attorney general within forty-eight hours; the attorney general must decide within twenty-four hours whether to charge, release, or allow further limited detention. Most persons receive expeditious trials, although Iraqis and Palestinians had been held incommunicado in detention for one or two months in 1991. Others were being held in jail because they were unwilling or unable to return to their countries of origin.

Oman

Background

As a regional commercial power in the nineteenth century, Oman held territories on the island of Zanzibar off the coast of East Africa, in Mombasa along the coast of East Africa, and until 1958 in Gwadar (in present-day Pakistan) on the coast of the Arabian Sea. When its East African possessions were lost,

Oman withdrew into isolationism in the southeast corner of the Arabian Peninsula. Another of the Persian Gulf states with long-standing ties to the British, Oman became important in the British-French rivalry in the nineteenth century when France challenged the British Empire for control of the trade routes to the East. Although nominally an independent sultanate, Oman enjoyed the protection of the empire without being, de jure, in the category of a colony. With its external defenses guaranteed and its overseas territories lost, the sultanate had no need for armed forces other than mercenaries to safeguard the personal position of the sultan.

In 1952 a small Saudi constabulary force occupied the Al Buraymi Oasis, where tribes from Oman and Abu Dhabi had traditionally resided. When arbitration failed, the British sent a force of Trucial Oman Scouts to expel the Saudis in 1955. Later in the same decade, the sultan called on British troops to aid in putting down a rebellion led by the former imam (see Glossary) of Oman, who attempted to establish a separate state free of rule from Muscat. British ground and air forces dispatched to aid the Muscat and Oman Field Force succeeded in overcoming the rebels in early 1959. Nevertheless, instead of a minor intertribal affair in Oman's hinterland, the rebellion became an international incident, attracting wide sympathy and support among members of the League of Arab States (Arab League) and the UN.

An agreement between Sultan Said ibn Taimur Al Said and the British government in 1958 led to the creation of the Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF) and the promise of British assistance in military development. The agreement included the detailing of British officers and confirmed the existing rights of Britain's Royal Air Force to use facilities at Salalah in the Dhofar region and on Masirah, an island off the Omani coast in the Arabian Sea.

Sultan Said ibn Taimur was ultraconservative and opposed to change of any kind. Kindled by Arab nationalism, a rebellion broke out in 1964 in Dhofar, the least developed area of Oman. Although begun as a tribal separatist movement against a reactionary ruler, the rebellion was backed by leftist elements in the PDRY. Its original aim was the overthrow of Said ibn Taimur, but, by 1967, under the name of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf, which in 1974 was changed to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO), it adopted much wider goals. Supported by the Soviet Union through the PDRY, the rebellion hoped to spread revo-

lution throughout the conservative regimes of the Arabian Peninsula.

Said ibn Taimur's reprisals against the Dhofari people tended to drive them into the rebel camp. In 1970, as the Dhofari guerrilla attacks expanded, Said ibn Taimur's son, Qabus ibn Said Al Said, replaced his father in a coup carried out with the assistance of British officers. Qabus ibn Said, a Sandhurst graduate and veteran of British army service, began a program to modernize the country and to develop the armed forces. In addition to British troops and advisers, the new sultan was assisted by troops sent by the shah of Iran. Aid also came from India, Jordan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE, all interested in ensuring that Oman did not become a "people's republic." An Iranian brigade, along with artillery and helicopters, arrived in Dhofar in 1973. After the arrival of the Iranians, the combined forces consolidated their positions on the coastal plain and moved against the guerrillas' mountain stronghold. By stages, the Omanis and Iranians gradually subdued the guerrilla forces, pressing their remnants closer and closer to the PDRY border. In December 1975, having driven the PFLO from Omani territory, the sultan declared that the war had been won. Total Omani, British, and Iranian casualties during the final two and one-half years of the conflict were about 500.

Mission of the Armed Forces

After 1970 the Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF; later renamed the Royal Armed Forces) became one of the more modern and better trained fighting forces among the Arab gulf states. Recognizing its strategic importance guarding the Strait of Hormuz (through which nearly one-fifth of the world's oil transited) and the Gulf of Oman, the sultanate has struggled to maintain a high degree of military preparedness in spite of its limited financial means. Its defense budget in 1992 was estimated at US$1.7 billion, exclusive of the GCC subsidy shared with Bahrain. It has periodically tested the capabilities of its armed forces by engaging in joint exercises with Western powers, particularly in regular exercises with British forces. Oman has taken the initiative in efforts to strengthen regional collective security through the GCC. At the conclusion of the Persian Gulf War, it proposed the development of a GCC regional security force of 100,000 personnel.

For many years after the defeat of the Dhofari insurgents, Oman regarded its southern border with the PDRY as the most likely source of future conflict. The PDRY provided the Dhofari

rebels with supplies, training camps, and refuge from attacks. Omani ground and air strength was concentrated at Salalah, Thamarit, and other towns near the PDRY border. The threat of PFLO dissident activity supported by the PDRY or border operations against Oman declined after reconciliation with the PDRY, marked by the exchange of ambassadors in 1987.

Apart from its military role, the SAF carried out a variety of civic-action projects that, particularly in Dhofar, were an important means of gaining the allegiance of the people. Military engineers assisted road construction in mountain areas. The air force carried out supply operations and provided medical service to remote areas. The navy performed similar duties along Oman's long coastline. The navy also patrolled the sultanate's territorial waters and the 370-kilometer Exclusive Economic Zone to deter smuggling and illegal fishing.

Organization and Equipment of the Armed Forces

Sultan Qabus ibn Said retained for himself the positions of prime minister and minister of defense. The sultan's uncle, Fahar ibn Taimur Al Said, served as deputy prime minister for security and defense. Between 1970 and 1987, the armed forces commander, as well as the heads of the air force and navy, were British generals and admirals on loan. As of early 1993, the chief of staff and the three service commanders were Omanis. As of 1992, personnel strength of the Royal Armed Forces (as they were renamed—RAF) had reached about 35,700, including 6,000 Royal Household troops (a 4,500 Royal Guard of Oman (RGO) brigade, two Special Forces regiments totaling 700, the Royal Yacht Squadron of 150, and 650 other personnel) and foreign personnel, believed to number about 3,700. The army, known as the Royal Oman Land Forces (ROLF), is the largest of the service branches with a strength of 20,000. The ROLF is organized into regiments, although each regiment is of no more than battalion size. It includes two armored regiments composed of three tank squadrons; one armored reconnaissance regiment composed of three armored car squadrons; eight infantry regiments, three of which are staffed by Baluchis; four artillery regiments; one air defense regiment of two batteries; one infantry reconnaissance regiment composed of three reconnaissance companies; two independent reconnaissance companies; one airborne regiment; and one field engineering regiment of three squadrons. A small tribal militia of rifle company strength on the Musandam Peninsula is known as the Musandam Security Force.

One divisional headquarters and two brigade headquarters are maintained, within which the independent regiments can be combined into larger fighting units. The separate Royal Household troops consist of the RGO, the Special Forces elements (trained by British commandos), and personnel to staff the royal yacht and a number of transport aircraft and helicopters. The RGO, an elite corps with the primary function of protecting the sultan and performing ceremonial duties, has a separate identity within the ROLF but is trained to operate in the field alongside other army formations.

The two tank squadrons are equipped with United States M–60A1 and M–60A3 tanks and with British Chieftains. The armored car squadrons are outfitted with British Scorpion light tanks and French VBC–90s. The ROLF lacks armored equipment for troop movement, depending on Austrian Steyr cross-country vehicles. In July 1991, Oman ordered US$150 million worth of armored vehicles from the United States. The ROLF has a variety of towed artillery pieces; its principal antitank weapons are TOW and Milan guided missiles. Air defense is provided by a variety of guns and shoulder-fired SAMs (see table 42, Appendix).

Initially, nearly all the army officers and men were Baluchis from Pakistan, except for senior commanders, who were British. As of early 1993, most of the officers were Omanis, although British involvement continued, especially in the armored regiment. The training battalion of the RAF conducts recruit training for all services at the RAF training center near Muscat. Officer candidates—who must serve at least one year in the enlisted ranks—attend the Sultan Qabus Military College and the Officers' Training School. In 1988 the first class of twenty officers graduated from the Sultan's Armed Forces Command and Staff College near Muscat. This is a tri-service school to prepare mid-ranking officers for senior command and staff appointments. Officers of other government security services and some civilian officials also attend.

The Royal Oman Navy (RON), with a strength of 3,000 in 1992, has its headquarters at As Sib, thirty-six kilometers west of Muscat. The principal naval establishment is the Said ibn Sultan Naval Base, completed in 1987, at Wudham Alwa near As Sib. One of the largest engineering projects ever undertaken in Oman, it provides a home port for the RON fleet, training facilities, and workshops for carrying out all maintenance and repair activities. The Naval Training Center, located at the base, offers entry-level courses for officers and enlisted person-

nel, as well as specialized branch training. Initially, the navy was staffed almost entirely by British officers and Pakistani NCOs. By the late 1980s, most ship commanders were Omanis, although many Pakistani and British technical personnel remained.

The navy's main combat vessels are four Province-class missile craft built by Vosper Thornycroft. Armed with Exocet antiship missiles and 76mm guns, the last ship was delivered in 1989. The navy also operates four Brook Marine fast-attack craft with 76mm guns and four inshore patrol craft. The navy is well equipped for amphibious operations and has one 2,500-ton landing ship capable of transporting sixty-ton tanks and three landing craft, mechanized. Oman has ordered two corvettes with eight Exocet missiles, scheduled for delivery from Britain in 1995–96, and hopes to remedy its lack of minesweepers.

The Royal Oman Air Force (ROAF) had a strength of about 3,500 in 1992. Its forty-four combat aircraft of British manufacture consist of two fighter-ground attack squadrons of modern Jaguars, a ground attack and reconnaissance squadron of older Hunters, and a squadron of Strikemasters and Defenders for counterinsurgency, maritime reconnaissance, and training purposes. The air force is fairly well equipped with three transport squadrons and two squadrons of helicopters for troop transport and medical transport. Rapier SAMs are linked to an integrated air control and early warning network based on a Martello radar system. Skyvan aircraft fitted with radar and special navigational gear conduct maritime reconnaissance and antipollution patrols. The principal air bases are at Thamarit in the south and on Masirah. Others are co-located with the international airport at As Sib, at Al Khasab on the Musandam Peninsula, at Nazwah, and at Salalah. Officer and pilot training takes place at the Sultan Qabus Air Academy on Masirah. Pilots of fighter aircraft receive advanced training in Britain.

Omani Role in the Persian Gulf War, 1991

Oman's perceptions of the strategic problems in the gulf diverge somewhat from those of the other Arab gulf states. Geographically, it faces outward to the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea, and only a few kilometers of its territory—the western coast of the Musandam Peninsula—border the Persian Gulf. Nevertheless, sharing the guardianship of the Strait of Hormuz with Iran, Oman's position makes it of key importance to the security of the entire Persian Gulf. In its willingness to

Gunboat of the Royal Oman Navy prepares to transfer a crew member injured while patrolling the Strait of Hormuz. Courtesy Aramco World

Weapons training for women of the Royal Oman Police Courtesy Embassy of the Sultanate of Oman, Washington

enter into strategic cooperation with the United States and Britain, Oman has always stood somewhat apart from the other gulf states. In 1980 Muscat and Washington concluded a ten-year "facilities access" agreement granting the United States limited access to the air bases on Masirah and at Thamarit and As Sib and to the naval bases at Muscat, Salalah, and Al Khasab. The agreement was renewed for a further ten-year period in December 1990. Although some Arab governments initially expressed their disapproval for granting the United States basing privileges, the agreement permitted use of these bases only on advance notice and for specified purposes. During the Iran-Iraq War, the United States flew maritime patrols from Omani airfields and based tanker aircraft to refuel United States carrier aircraft. The United States Army Corps of Engineers carried out considerable construction at the Masirah and As Sib air bases, making it possible to pre-position supplies, vehicles, and ammunition. Hardened aircraft shelters were built at As Sib and Thamarit for use by the ROAF.

Oman's traditionally good relations with Iran were strained by Iran's attacks on tanker movements in the Persian Gulf and Iran's emplacement of Chinese Silkworm antiship missile launchers near the Strait of Hormuz. The sultanate reinforced its military position on the Musandam Peninsula, which is only about sixty kilometers from Iranian territory.

After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Oman declared its support for the multinational coalition ranged against Iraq. The facilities on Masirah became an important staging area for the movement of coalition forces to the area of conflict. Oman also contributed troops to Operation Desert Storm as part of the Arab contingent of Joint Forces Command East. A reinforced Omani brigade, along with Saudi, UAE, Kuwaiti, and other forces, participated in the ground assault paralleling the gulf coast that converged on the city of Kuwait. No Omani combat deaths were reported.

Internal Security

Oman has not been exposed to a significant internal threat since the defeat of the Dhofari insurgents in 1975. Tribal dissension, a factor in the past, is considered unlikely to recur because most tribal chiefs and leading families share the advantages of rising oil income. The foreign labor force is large—estimated at 60 percent of the working population—and most foreign workers are Indians and Pakistanis who are not politically active. A few observers foresee an internal power struggle

over the succession because Sultan Qabus ibn Said has no designated successor, but others believe that the country is stable enough to avoid strife over the selection of a new ruler.

The sultanate has not been the target of terrorist acts; it faces few problems from the narcotics trade and considers the level of general crime to be remarkably low. The security services are described as large and efficient but not overly intrusive.

The Royal Oman Police (ROP), commanded by the inspector general of police and customs, is under the supervision of the Ministry of Interior. The size of the force was estimated in 1992 at 7,000, but this number is believed to include customs, immigration, civil defense, firefighters, coast guard, and prison service. The principal crime fighting unit is the Directorate General of Criminal Investigation. An oil installation division has responsibility for security of the oil industry and patrols pipelines, oil rigs, and oil terminals. The mounted division patrols border areas on horseback and camel and also provides security control at airports and border points. The coast guard contingent numbers 400; it is equipped with fifteen AT–105 APCs and eighteen inshore patrol craft.

The home guard (*firqat*) units had been raised and trained for irregular counterinsurgency operations by troops of the British army's Special Air Services. Armed with small arms, *firqat* units serve as tribal police and defense forces for the mountain people engaged in herding cattle in areas infiltrated by the Dhofari insurgents during the rebellion. After the insurgency, they remained as paramilitary tribal police, numbering about 3,500 in 1992.

Oman's criminal court system provides for fair trials within the framework of Islamic judicial practice. The defendant in criminal trials is presumed innocent and cannot be detained for longer than twenty-four hours without review of the case by a magistrate, who may then allow the police to hold a suspect up to fourteen days—extended if necessary up to seventy days—to carry out further investigation. Some suits have been filed against police officers for illegal arrest.

The accused can be represented by an attorney, but the government does not pay for a public defender. There are no jury trials and no right to a public trial. The judge can release the accused on payment of bail. Only the judge questions witnesses at the trial. The verdict and sentencing are frequently pronounced within a day. Sentences of more than two months and more than US$1,300 in fines are subject to appeal. No execu-

tions have been carried out since 1975 and are, in any event, subject to the sultan's ratification. A rarely used security court system handles internal security cases. The government can search private residences and monitor telephones and private correspondence without a warrant but generally confines such actions to investigations of potential security threats and individuals suspected of criminal activity.

According to the Department of State's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, torture, mistreatment, and cruel punishment are not systematically practiced, nor are they countenanced by Omani authorities. The traditional punishments authorized by Islamic law, such as amputation and stoning, are not imposed. The Department of State reported that some prisoners had complained of beatings by police in 1991, and other physical abuse had been reported in earlier years. Prison conditions are described as harsh, with extreme temperatures in cells without proper ventilation. However, a practice of punitive hard labor under grueling desert conditions was discontinued in 1991.

* * *

Much of the foregoing data concerning the size and equipment of the armed forces of the Persian Gulf states is based on *The Military Balance* and on *Jane's Fighting Ships*. Some of the discussion of internal security practices and judicial systems is drawn from *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991*, prepared by the United States Department of State.

Two general works, *The Making of the Modern Gulf States* by Rosemarie Said Zahlan and *The Turbulent Gulf* by Liesl Graz, provide background on security perceptions and problems facing the smaller states of the gulf. Anthony H. Cordesman's *The Gulf and the West* contributes details on the individual armed forces, the military strengths and shortcomings of each state, and each state's involvement in the naval confrontation in the gulf in the 1980s. *The Middle East*, published by the Congressional Quarterly, treats numerous topics dealing with Persian Gulf security, including local disputes, United States military sales, and the events leading up to the 1990–91 gulf crisis.

Studies of the military strategy employed in Operation Desert Storm in *Desert Victory* by Norman Friedman and *Thunder in the Desert* by James Blackwell give limited mention to the role played by the Persian Gulf states. Several analyses of the geostrategic environment in the region, although dating from

the mid-1980s, still have relevance. They include *Arms and Oil* by Thomas L. McNaugher and *Saudi Arabia: The West and the Security of the Gulf* by Mazher A. Hameed. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Appendix

Table

Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters	0.04	inches
Centimeters	0.39	inches
Meters	3.3	feet
Kilometers	0.62	miles
Hectares (10,000 m^2)	2.47	acres
Square kilometers	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters	35.3	cubic feet
Liters	0.26	gallons
Kilograms	2.2	pounds
Metric tons	0.98	long tons
	1.1	short tons
	2,204.0	pounds
Degrees Celsius (Centigrade)	1.8 and add 32	degrees Fahrenheit

Table 2. Kuwait: Population by Nationality, Selected Years, 1957–89

Census Year and Nationality	Population	Percentage
1957		
Kuwaiti	113,622	55.0
Non-Kuwaiti	92,851	45.0
Total	206,473	100.0
1961		
Kuwaiti	161,909	50.3
Non-Kuwaiti	159,712	49.7
Total	321,621	100.0
1965		
Kuwaiti	220,059	47.1
Non-Kuwaiti	247,280	52.9
Total	467,339	100.0
1970		
Kuwaiti	347,396	47.0
Non-Kuwaiti	391,266	53.0
Total	738,662	100.0
1975		
Kuwaiti	472,088	47.5
Non-Kuwaiti	522,749	52.5
Total	994,837	100.0
1980		
Kuwaiti	565,613	41.7
Non-Kuwaiti	792,339	58.3
Total	1,357,952	100.0
1985		
Kuwaiti	681,288	40.1
Non-Kuwaiti	1,016,013	59.9
Total	1,697,301	100.0
1989[1]		
Kuwaiti	826,586	38.6
Non-Kuwaiti	1,316,014	61.4
Total	2,142,600	100.0

[1] Estimated.

Source: Based on information from Kuwait, Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, *Annual Statistical Abstact, 1989*, Kuwait, 1990, Tables 11 and 12, 27.

Table 3. Kuwait: Enrollment in Government Schools by Education Level, Nationality, and Gender, Academic Year 1989–90
(ten years of age and older)

Education Level	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti
Primary		
Males	35,042	24,592
Females	34,619	24,525
Total primary	69,661	49,117
Intermediate		
Males	31,601	30,325
Females	30,575	27,799
Total intermediate	62,176	58,124
Secondary		
Males	21,072	28,498
Females	23,033	25,314
Total secondary	44,105	53,812

Source: Based on information from Kuwait, Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, *Annual Statistical Abstract, 1990–91*, Kuwait, 1992, Table 269, 324.

Table 4. Kuwait: Number of Teachers, Students, and Schools, Selected Academic Years, 1962–63 to 1988–89

	1962–63	1967–68	1972–73	1977–78	1982–83	1988–89
Teachers						
Males	1,551	3,342	5,734	9,673	12,052	12,286
Females	1,390	3,053	5,771	10,101	13,085	16,145
Total teachers	2,941	6,395	11,505	19,774	25,137	28,431
Students						
Males	35,674	64,366	88,897	136,714	176,368	190,624
Females	23,877	47,655	71,334	116,498	158,574	182,063
Total students	59,551	112,021	160,231	253,212	334,942	372,687
Schools	140	195	273	394	519	642

Source: Based on information from Kuwait, Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, *Annual Statistical Abstract, 1989*, Kuwait, 1990, Table 305, 355.

Table 5. Kuwait: Government Medical Facilities and Personnel, Selected Years, 1979–88

	1979	1982	1984	1986	1988
Hospitals and sanitoriums	9	15	17	16	16
Clinics	49	54	62	62	65
Dental clinics	78	114	140	169	193
Maternal care centers	15	18	21	22	23
Child care centers	24	28	32	38	42
Preventive health centers	16	23	25	28	29
School clinics	420	494	540	626	688
Physicians	1,555	2,254	2,442	2,548	2,641
Dentists	167	223	259	294	320
Nurses and assistant nurses	5,322	7,866	9,000[1]	8,069	8,500[1]
Pharmacists and assistant pharmacists	578	687	719	769	805

[1] Estimated.

Source: Based on information from Kuwait, Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, *Annual Statistical Abstract, 1989*, Kuwait, 1990, Table 339, 397.

Table 6. Kuwait: Production of Crude Oil, Selected Years, 1946–92 (in thousands of barrels)

Year	Production	Year	Production
1946	5,900	1970	1,090,600
1950	125,700	1975	760,700
1955	402,700	1980	607,268
1960	619,100	1985	387,363
1965	861,500	1992	41,061

Source: Based on information from M.W. Khouja and P.G. Sadler, *The Economy of Kuwait*, London, 1979, 26; Kuwait, Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, *Annual Statistical Abstract, 1989*, Kuwait, 1990, Table 200, 210; and Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, *Annual Statistical Bulletin, 1993*, Vienna, 1993, 23.

Table 7. Kuwait: Government Revenues, Fiscal Years 1985 and 1989
(in thousands of Kuwaiti dinars) [1]

	1985	1989
Oil revenues	2,094,675	1,941,969
Taxes		
Customs duties and fees	59,481	65,877
Taxes on net income and profits of nonoil companies	11,634	13,000
Taxes on real estate property transfers	1,348	2,250
Taxes and fees on goods and services and entry and registration fees	477	538
Total taxes	72,940	81,665
Service charges		
Transportation and communications	67,014	89,425
Electricity and water	50,311	60,078
Housing and public utilities	10,645	10,038
Security and justice	9,091	7,733
Financial stamps revenue	6,410	14,800
Education	4,538	5,606
Health	581	720
Other	974	670
Total service charges	149,564	189,070
Miscellaneous revenues and fees	20,718	17,546
Sales of land and real estate	7,196	250
TOTAL	2,345,093	2,230,500

[1] For value of the Kuwaiti dinar—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from Kuwait, Ministry of Planning, Central Statistical Office, *Annual Statistical Abstract, 1989*, Kuwait, 1990, Table 257, 286.

Table 8. Kuwait: Principal Exports, 1983, 1984, and 1985[1]
(in Kuwaiti dinars)[2]

Commodity	1983	1984	1985
Food and live animals	30,905	36,152	28,290
Mineral fuels and lubricants			
Crude petroleum	1,578,171	1,920,958	n.a.[3]
Refined petroleum products	1,259,269	1,258,690	n.a.
Gas (natural and manufactured)	100,752	77,287	77,486
Other	15	0	0
Total mineral fuels and lubricants	2,938,207	3,256,935	2,845,178
Chemicals			
Manufactured fertilizers	18,352	33,237	22,258
Other	32,033	35,172	30,961
Total chemicals	50,385	68,409	53,219
Basic manufactures			
Nonmetallic mineral manufactures	36,255	18,848	10,094
Other	85,881	67,909	65,942
Total basic manufactures	122,136	86,757	76,036
Machinery and transportation equipment			
Transportation equipment	95,580	80,108	78,024
Other	48,967	45,379	52,871
Total machinery and transportation equipment	144,547	125,487	130,895
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	50,157	44,301	40,234
Other	27,420	13,429	11,216
TOTAL	3,363,757	3,631,470	3,185,068

[1] Free on board. Total exports were KD2,105 million in 1986; KD2,304.4 million in 1987, of which KD666.8 million consisted of crude petroleum out of a total of KD1,925.4 million for petroleum and petroleum products; KD2,166.2 million in 1988, of which KD524.6 million consisted of crude petroleum out of a total of KD1,783.2 million for petroleum and petroleum products; and KD3,378.0 million in 1989. Further breakdown not available.
[2] For value of the Kuwaiti dinar—see Glossary.
[3] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from *The Middle East and North Africa, 1993*, London, 1992, 606.

Table 9. Kuwait: Principal Imports, 1986, 1987, and 1988[1]
(in thousands of Kuwaiti dinars)[2]

Commodity	1986	1987	1988
Food and live animals			
Live animals	46,350	37,684	42,713
Grains and grain products	34,459	33,731	32,537
Fruits and vegetables	79,139	81,659	82,181
Other	106,498	115,440	121,899
Total food and live animals	266,446	268,514	279,330
Chemicals	98,872	110,489	132,027
Basic manufactures			
Paper, cardboard, and manufactures	24,382	29,904	37,051
Textile yarn and fabrics	75,150	80,642	92,126
Nonmetallic mineral manufactures	47,822	48,588	58,751
Iron and steel	87,807	52,321	81,086
Other	85,229	81,034	103,625
Total basic manufactures	320,390	292,489	372,639
Machinery and transportation equipment			
Nonelectric machinery	147,844	131,750	107,714
Electrical machinery and apparatus	285,230	213,108	152,873
Transportation equipment	213,408	171,036	234,140
Total machinery and transportation equipment	646,482	515,894	494,727
Miscellaneous manufactured articles			
Clothing (excluding footwear)	81,257	85,308	107,289
Scientific instruments and watches	43,307	40,573	43,023
Other	141,736	125,502	148,093
Total miscellaneous manufactured articles	266,300	251,383	298,405
Other	62,741	91,942	137,028
TOTAL	1,661,231	1,530,711	1,714,156

[1] Cost, insurance, and freight. Total imports in 1989 were KD1,849.4 million; breakdown not available.
[2] For value of the Kuwaiti dinar—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from *The Middle East and North Africa, 1993*, London, 1992, 605.

Table 10. Kuwait: Major Trading Partners, 1990 and 1991
(in percentages)

Country	1990[1]	1991[2]
Exports		
Japan	20.6	12.3
Netherlands	13.0	n.a.[3]
United States	7.5	7.9
Singapore	5.5	n.a.
Pakistan	5.3	7.6
India	3.4	n.a.
France	n.a.	16.1
Italy	n.a.	14.9
Britain	n.a.	11.1
Egypt	n.a.	10.0
Spain	n.a.	5.0
Imports		
Japan	11.6	12.4
United States	11.1	34.8
Germany	9.1[4]	7.8
Britain	8.5	8.8
Italy	6.2	n.a.
Saudi Arabia	4.1	n.a.
Canada	n.a.	8.7
South Korea	n.a	3.5
France	n.a.	3.1

[1] Figures based on partners' trade data to August 2, 1990, invasion.
[2] Figures based on partners' trade data after February 1991 liberation.
[3] n.a.—not available.
[4] West Germany.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Report: Kuwait* [London], No. 1, 1992, 3; and Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Report: Kuwait* [London], No. 1, 1993, 3.

Table 11. Kuwait: Balance of Payments, 1987, 1988, and 1989[1]
(in millions of United States dollars)

	1987	1988	1989
Merchandise exports, f.o.b.[2]	8,221	7,709	11,383
Merchandise imports, f.o.b.	-4,945	-6,064	-5,746
Trade balance	3,276	1,645	5,637
Exports of services	1,030	1,158	1,328
Imports of services	-4,073	-4,204	-4,228
Other income received	5,867	7,626	8,840
Other income paid	-470	-487	-756
Private unrequited transfers, net	-1,102	-1,179	-1,287
Official unrequited transfers, net	-158	-140	-211
Current account balance	4,371	4,419	9,323
Direct investment, net	-115	-254	-507
Portfolio investment, net	219	-487	-330
Other capital, net	-4,913	-6,028	-6,859
Capital account balance	-4,809	-6,769	-7,696
Errors and omissions, net	-1,409	355	-372
Overall balance	-1,847	-1,996	1,255

[1] Figures may not compute to balances because of rounding.
[2] f.o.b.—free on board.

Source: Based on information from *The Middle East and North Africa, 1993*, London, 1992, 605.

Table 12. Kuwait: Government Budget, Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991
(in millions of Kuwaiti dinars)[1]

	1990	1991
Revenues		
Oil	2,109	700
Non-oil	296	170
Total revenues	2,405	870
Expenditures		
Education	491	456
Electricity and water	486	245
Defense	450	2,641
Social security	410	816
Health	245	187
Security and justice	237	196
Public utilities	233	217
Administrative services	202	237
Land purchase	150	100
Housing	104	68
Communications	90	54
Foreign obligations	83	108
Information	69	57
Financial services	68	71
Fisheries	64	45
Transportation	24	17
Religious affairs	21	15
Mining and exploration	16	24
Trade and industry	9	8
Unspecified	182	525
Total expenditures	3,634	6,087
Reserve Fund for Future Generations	240	87
TOTAL	-1,469	-5,304

[1] For value of the Kuwaiti dinar—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from *Middle East Economic Digest* [London], 36, No. 3, January 17, 1992, 15.

Table 13. Bahrain: Enrollment by Education Level and Gender, Selected Academic Years, 1977–78 to 1991–92[1]

Education Level	1977–78	1980–81	1984–85	1986–87	1991–92[2]
Primary[3]					
Males	24,185	23,849	25,000	26,268	29,009
Females	19,042	20,305	25,180	25,953	28,165
Total primary	43,227	44,154	50,180	52,221	57,174
Intermediate					
Males	5,260	9,068	10,099	10,816	12,283
Females	4,513	7,394	8,777	9,740	11,804
Total intermediate	9,773	16,462	18,876	20,556	24,087
Secondary, secular and vocational					
Males	4,885	4,561	7,614	7,824	8,518
Females	4,767	3,926	6,815	7,551	9,528
Total secondary, secular and vocational	9,652	8,487	14,429	15,375	18,046
Secondary, religious[4]	31	20	126	20	41
Higher education					
Males	485	1,255	1,381	1,898	1,837
Females	206	1,093	1,347	2,248	2,543
Total higher education	691	2,348[5]	2,728	4,146	4,380[6]

[1] Until 1986–87 included only students in government schools; thereafter, included students in both government and religious schools.
[2] 1991–92 figures for government schools only.
[3] Until 1986–87 included students in both government and religious schools.
[4] Males only.
[5] Figures for 1981–82
[6] 1988–89 figures for University of Bahrain only.

Source: Based on information from Germany, Statistisches Bundesamt, *Länderbericht Bahrain, 1991*, Wiesbaden, 1992, 38; and America-Mideast Educational and Training Services, *Education in the Arab World*, 1, Washingtron, n.d.

Table 14. Bahrain: Government Budget, 1987–92
(in millions of Bahraini dinars)[1]

	1987	1988	1989	1990[2]	1991[2]	1992[2]
Revenues						
Oil sector	247	210	n.a.[3]	250	292	314
Other	180	191	n.a.	190	180	184
Total revenues	427	401	438	440	472	498
Expenditures						
Current	356	377	392	415	445	478
Development	111	105	104	125	145	145
Total expenditures[4]	466	482	496	540	590	623
TOTAL	-39	-81	-58	-100	-118	-125

[1] For value of the Bahraini dinar—see Glossary.
[2] Projected.
[3] n.a.—not available.
[4] Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 16.

Table 15. Bahrain: Summary of Oil and Gas Statistics, Selected Years, 1984–89

	1984	1986	1988	1989
Crude oil production (in barrels per day)	39,835.0	39,578.0	39,595.0	39,033.0
Natural gas production (in millions of cubic meters per day)	15.2	19.9	19.9	20.5
Petroleum products exports (in millions of United States dollars)	2,712.0	1,970.0	1,774.0	2,129.0
Refinery capacities (in thousands of barrels per day)	250.0	250.0	250.0	250.0

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 11.

Table 16. Bahrain: Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by Sector, Selected Years, 1982–90
(in millions of Bahraini dinars at constant 1985 prices)[1]

Sector	1982	1984	1985	1986	1990
Agriculture and fishing	22.2	20.3	19.9	20.0	14.3
Mining and quarrying	309.2	364.1	390.5	355.7	323.9
Manufacturing	154.6	153.1	140.7	205.9	252.7
Electricity, gas, and water	17.9	24.4	25.8	23.3	28.7
Construction	123.0	166.5	133.7	115.3	94.1
Wholeasale and retail trade, restaurants, and hotels	202.5	136.2	119.2	111.6	147.9
Transportation and communications	142.0	174.3	167.1	143.0	140.2
Financial institutions and insurance	283.0	240.4	227.8	289.6	192.5
Real estate and business services	83.3	91.2	81.5	80.7	
Other services	41.6	48.9	53.4	51.3	78.9
Government services	203.0	228.2	243.3	243.8	314.3
GDP at factor cost	1,582.3	1,647.6	1,602.9	1,640.2	1,587.5[2]

[1] For value of the Bahraini dinar—see Glossary.
[2] GOP at current prices, 1990.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 8; and "Bahrain: Statistical Survey," in *The Middle East and North Africa, 1994*, London, 1993, 294.

Table 17. Bahrain: Balance of Payments, Selected Years, 1984–89[1]
(in millions of United States dollars)

	1984	1986	1988	1989
Merchandise exports, f.o.b.[2]	3,204.0	2,199.5	2,411.4	2,831.1
Merchandise imports, c.i.f.[3]	-3,131.6	-2,164.6	-2,334.0	-2,820.2
Trade balance	72.3	34.8	77.4	10.9
Exports of services	813.8	764.4	899.5	872.9
Imports of services	-555.1	-327.1	-529.3	-559.8
Inflows of IPD[4]	335.6	277.9	263.0	494.1
Outflows of IPD	-447.3	-675.0	-694.1	-743.6
Private transfers, net	-125.5	-264.6	-193.1	-195.7
Official transfers, net	124.5	120.7	366.5	102.1
Current account balance	218.4	-68.9	189.9	-19.1
Direct investment	140.7	-31.9	222.1	180.9
Other capital	-176.3	-41.8	-448.9	-362.5
Capital account balance	-35.6	-73.7	-226.8	-181.6
Errors and omissions	-192.8	-36.9	136.7	12.3
Overall balance (- indicates inflow)	10.1	179.4	-99.7	188.5
Change in reserves (- indicates increase)	129.9	170.3	-103.2	201.7

[1] Figures may not compute to balances because of rounding.
[2] f.o.b.—free on board.
[3] c.i.f.—cost, insurance, and freight.
[4] IPD— interest, profits, and dividends.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 20.

Table 18. Bahrain: Major Trading Partners, 1987, 1988, and 1989[1]
(in percentages)

Country	1987	1988	1989
Exports			
Saudi Arabia	16.4	19.7	18.2
United States	15.3	11.4	7.3
Japan	13.4	12.7	5.9
Kuwait	7.6	5.2	4.3
India	6.4	4.0	4.5
South Korea	3.2	4.7	4.0
United Arab Emirates	2.8	12.1	6.9
Imports			
United States	19.2	11.6	12.4
Britain	18.3	19.6	16.3
Japan	10.5	10.2	10.5
Australia	5.6	6.0	6.9
West Germany	5.3	6.2	6.9
Italy	3.9	4.0	4.7
Saudi Arabia	2.6	4.4	4.7

[1] Excludes oil sector.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 19.

Table 19. Qatar: Enrollment in Government Schools by Education Level and Gender, Selected Academic Years, 1975–76 to 1988–89

Education Level	1975–76	1979–80	1983–84	1984–85	1985–86	1988–89
Primary						
Males	11,150	12,452	15,285	16,014	16,573	n.a.[1]
Females	10,252	11,796	13,941	14,501	15,271	n.a.
Total primary	21,402	24,248	29,226	30,515	31,844	48,097
Intermediate						
Males	2,737	4,328	5,331	5,659	6,028	n.a.
Females	2,480	4,032	5,369	5,687	6,003	n.a.
Total intermediate	5,217	8,360	10,700	11,346	12,031	13,875
Secondary						
Males	1,544	2,195	3,201	3,139	3,224	n.a.
Females	1,086	2,401	3,588	3,776	4,251	n.a.
Total secondary	2,630	4,596	6,789	6,915	7,475	8,303[2]
Vocational, secular[3]						
Males	224	105	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Females	269	55	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Total vocational, secular	493	160	220	204	294	924[4]
Vocational, religious						
Males	200	287	350	377	406	n.a.
Females	0	0	0	0	0	n.a.
Total vocational, religious	200	287	350	377	406	n.a.
University of Qatar						
Males	355	722	1,582	1,799	1,875	n.a.
Females	428	1,303	2,483	2,822	3,182	n.a.
Total University of Qatar	783	2,025	4,065	4,621	5,057	5,692[5]

[1] n.a.—not available.
[2] Includes intermediate and secondary schools.
[3] Females are only admitted to the teacher training schools.
[4] Includes secular and religious vocational schools.
[5] 1987–88.

Source: Based on information from Federal Republic of Germany, Statistisches Bundesamt, *Länderbericht Katar, 1988*, Wiesbaden, 1988, 29; and "Qatar," in *The Middle East and North Africa, 1993*, London, 1992, 762.

Table 20. Qatar: Summary of Oil and Gas Statistics, Selected Years, 1985–89

	1985	1987	1988	1989
Crude oil production (in thousands of barrels per day)	290.0	291.0	319.0	395.0
Natural gas production, marketed (in billions of cubic meters per day)	5.5	5.6	5.7	6.1
Crude oil exports (in thousands of barrels per day)	280.0	254.0	305.0	320.0
Oil export revenues (in billions of United States dollars)	3.1	1.8[1]	1.7[1]	2.0[1]

[1] Estimated.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 28.

Table 21. Qatar: Gross Domestic Product by Sector, 1984 and 1989 (in millions of Qatari riyals at current prices)[1]

Sector	1984	1989
Agriculture and fishing	206	238
Oil and natural gas	11,330	7,117
Manufacturing industries	1,829	3,144
Electricity and water	165	368
Building and construction	1,411	1,152
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	1,506	1,457
Transportation and communications	480	667
Finance, insurance, and real estate services	1,919	2,350
Other services	6,162	7,715
TOTAL	25,008	24,208

[1] For value of the Qatari riyal—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 26.

Table 22. Qatar: Government Budget, Selected Fiscal Years, 1986–91[1]
(in millions of Qatari riyals)[2]

	1986	1988	1989	1990[2]	1991[3]
Revenues	5,884	7,688	9,057	7,786	8,438
Expenditures					
Current	8,949	12,694	9,358	9,920	9,911
Capital	1,484	1,689	1,013	1,789	1,795
Total expenditures	10,433	14,383	10,371	11,709	11,706
TOTAL	-4,549	-6,695	-1,314	-3,923	-3,268

[1] Fiscal year followed Islamic calendar until 1989, when fiscal year changed to April 1–March 31 in Gregorian calendar.
[2] For value of the Qatari riyal—see Glossary.
[3] Projected.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 33.

Table 23. Qatar: Balance of Payments, 1984–89
(in millions of Qatari riyals)[1]

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989[2]
Exports, f.o.b.[3]	12,245	11,277	6,730	7,435	8,045	9,658
Imports, c.i.f.[4]	-4,230	-4,147	-4,000	-4,128	-4,613	-4,827
Trade balance	8,015	7,130	2,730	3,307	3,432	4,831
Services and private transfers, net	-4,995	-5,132	-3,417	-3,923	-4,382	-4,977
Current account balance	3,020	1,998	-687	-616	-950	-146
Capital account balance	-2,005	-2,360	-1,085	-1,031	-1,286	-92
Change in reserves (- indicates increase)	-1,015	362	1,772	1,647	2,236	238

[1] For value of the Qatari riyal—see Glossary.
[2] Provisional.
[3] f.o.b.—free on board.
[4] c.i.f.—cost, insurance, and freight.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 36.

Table 24. Qatar: Major Trading Partners, 1987, 1988, and 1989
(in percentages)

	1987	1988	1989
Exports			
Japan	39.6	50.0	54.4
Singapore	13.5	10.0	4.0
South Korea	3.1	2.1	3.6
India	2.9	3.3	2.8
Saudi Arabia	2.6	2.8	2.5
United Arab Emirates	2.2	2.1	3.4
Thailand	2.2	4.3	5.0
Imports			
Japan	16.3	17.6	18.8
Britain	16.0	13.8	11.6
United States	11.9	9.3	8.8
West Germany	7.1	7.9	7.3
Italy	4.9	4.3	7.8
France	4.3	4.0	4.7
United Arab Emirates	3.0	3.1	4.4

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: Bahrain, Qatar, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 35.

Table 25. United Arab Emirates: Official Estimated Population and Population Distribution by Amirate, 1991

Amirate	Population	Percentage of Total Population	Area[1]	Density[2]
Abu Dhabi	798,000	41.8	67,340	11.9
Ajman	76,000	4.0	259	293.4
Al Fujayrah	63,000	3.3	1,166	54.0
Dubayy	501,000	26.2	3,885	129.0
Ras al Khaymah	130,000	6.8	1,683	77.2
Sharjah	314,000	16.4	2,590	121.2
Umm al Qaywayn	27,000	1.4	777	34.7
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES[3]	1,909,000	100.0	77,700	24.6

[1] In square kilometers. Excludes islands; approximate only because boundary with Saudi Arabia is undemarcated.
[2] Inhabitants per square kilometer. Excludes islands.
[3] Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Based on information from "The United Arab Emirates," in *The Middle East and North Africa, 1993*, London, 1992, 933.

Table 26. United Arab Emirates: Enrollment by Education Level and Gender, Selected Academic Years, 1980–81 to 1986–87

Education Level	1980–81	1983–84	1984–85	1985–86	1986–87
Primary					
Males	46,300	65,900	71,600	78,800	85,300
Females	42,300	60,800	66,100	73,300	80,200
Total primary	88,600	126,700	137,700	152,100	165,500
Secondary					
Males	17,400	27,200	29,100	31,600	34,300
Females	14,500	24,100	27,000	29,900	33,300
Total secondary	31,900	51,300	56,100	61,500	67,600
Teacher training institutions	422	615	607	604	638
Quran schools	1,770	1,930[1]	n.a.[2]	n.a.	n.a.
Higher education, university					
Males	1,393	2,854	2,851	3,152	3,295
Females	1,126	2,761	3,475	3,988	4,559
Total higher education, university	2,519	5,615	6,326	7,140	7,854
Higher education, other					
Males	35	14	30	50	n.a.
Females	180	238	500	450	n.a.
Total higher education, other	215	252	530	500	n.a.

[1] Figures for 1982–83.
[2] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Germany, Statistisches Bundesamt, *Länderbericht Vereinigte Arabische Emiraten, 1990*, Wiesbaden, 1990, 31.

Table 27. United Arab Emirates: Summary of Oil and Gas Statistics, Selected Years, 1985-91

	1985	1987	1989	1990	1991
Crude oil Production[1]					
Abu Dhabi	788.0	1,058.0	1,470.0	1,650.0	1,946.0
Dubayy	351.0	365.0	431.0	435.0	434.0
Ras al Khaymah	9.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	0.8
Sharjah	64.0	45.0	35.0	37.0	25.0
Total production	1,212.0	1,495.0	1,946.0	2,132.0	2,405.0
Exports[1]	978.0	1,250.0	1,650.0	1,865.0	2,195.0
Export revenues[2]	11.8	8.7	11.5	15.0	n.a.[3]
Natural gas Production[4]					
Marketed	13.2	18.9	22.4	22.1	25.9
Nonmarketed	9.2	8.2	7.4	7.7	n.a.
Total production	22.4	27.1	29.8	29.8	n.a.
Exports[4]	3.0	2.9	3.1	3.2	3.5

[1] In thousands of barrels per day.
[2] In billions of United States dollars.
[3] n.a.—not available.
[4] In billions of cubic meters.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: United Arab Emirates, 1991-92*, London, 1991, 16; and Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, *Annual Statistical Bulletin, 1991*, Vienna, 1991, 6, 14, 16.

Table 28. United Arab Emirates: Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by Sector, Selected Years, 1982–87
(in billions of UAE dirhams at current prices)[1]

	1982	1983	1985	1986	1987
Agriculture and fishing	1,144	1,198	1,440	1,540	1,596
Oil and gas	55,982	46,145	44,707	26,171	32,423
Mining	298	309	309	282	48
Manufacturing	9,436	9,584	9,255	7,172	8,151
Electricity and water	1,851	1,746	2,143	2,132	2,063
Construction	10,168	10,520	8,882	8,945	8,400
Transportation, storage, and communications	5,465	4,780	4,224	4,582	4,746
Commerce and hotels	10,913	9,701	8,715	9,385	9,625
Finance and insurance	4,741	5,520	5,154	5,447	5,404
Real estate	6,634	6,587	5,176	4,525	4,672
Government services	9,632	9,847	11,001	10,542	10,972
Other	1,633	1,854	2,009	2,138	4,038
Less imputed bank service charges	-2,243	-2,287	-1,025	-1,029	-1,324
GDP at factor cost	115,654	105,504	101,990	81,832	89,218

[1] For value of the UAE dirham—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: United Arab Emirates, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 12.

Table 29. United Arab Emirates: Federal Government Budget, 1987, 1988, and 1989[1]
(in millions of UAE dirhams)[2]

	1987	1988	1989[3]
Revenues			
Taxes	473	479	573
Grant support from amirates[4]	9,865	10,950	11,298
Other	2,296	1,442	775
Total revenues	12,634	12,871	12,646
Expenditures			
Defense	5,827	5,827	5,827
Education	1,773	1,882	1,985
Internal security	1,713	1,697	1,789
Health	912	919	916
Economy	670	582	572
Social security	423	420	420
Energy	401	324	329
Agriculture	106	105	96
Other	1,433	1,429	1,330
Total expenditures	13,258	13,185	13,264
TOTAL[5]	-624	-314	-618

[1] As of December 31.
[2] For value of the UAE dirham—see Glossary.
[3] Provisional.
[4] Belived to be exclusively from Abu Dhabi and Dubayy.
[5] Financed exclusively from domestic sources.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: United Arab Emirates, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 26.

Table 30. United Arab Emirates: Balance of Payments, Selected Years, 1985–90[1]
(in billions of UAE dirhams)[2]

	1985	1987	1988	1989	1990
Exports, f.o.b.[3]	54.2	45.0	44.7	57.2	75.2
Imports, c.i.f.[4]	-23.5	-26.0	-31.3	-36.7	-41.1
Trade balance	30.7	19.0	13.4	20.4	34.1
Services, private transfers, and official grants	-4.7	-4.8	-4.8	-5.0[5]	n.a.[6]
Current account balance	26.0	14.2	8.7	14.8[5]	n.a.
Capital account balance	-23.4	-8.0	-6.4	-9.3	n.a.
Overall balance	2.6	6.2	2.3	5.5	n.a.

[1] Figures may not compute to balances because of rounding.
[2] For value of the UAE dirham—see Glossary.
[3] f.o.b.—free on board.
[4] c.i.f.—cost, insurance, and freight.
[5] Unrevised Central Bank figures, which do not agree with revised trade figures.
[6] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: United Arab Emirates, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 31–32.

Table 31. United Arab Emirates: Major Trading Partners, 1986, 1988, and 1990
(in percentages)

Country	1986	1988	1990
Exports			
Japan	34.8	30.7	35.1
United States	4.0	3.5	3.7
India	2.3	3.4	2.6
Singapore	0.6	3.6	5.8
South Korea	0.1	3.7	3.5
Oman	0.1	2.7	2.0
Imports			
Japan	18.3	16.4	14.2
Britain	11.2	9.7	9.6
United States	9.7	9.5	9.5
West Germany	8.6	7.1	9.2[1]
France	5.3	3.4	5.2
Italy	4.6	4.5	5.0

[1] Includes East Germany, beginning in July.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Profile: United Arab Emirates, 1991–92*, London, 1991, 30.

Table 32. Oman: Enrollment in Government Schools by Education Level and Gender, Selected Academic Years, 1975–76 to 1989–90

Education Level	1975–76	1981–82	1985–86	1988–89	1989–90
Primary					
Males	39,700	65,400	98,000	122,400	129,300
Females	14,800	36,200	77,500	106,300	113,700
Total primary	54,500	101,600	175,500	228,700	243,000
Secondary, lower and upper					
Males	900	12,200	21,600	31,000	35,900
Females	200	4,400	11,100	20,300	25,300
Total secondary, lower and upper	1,100	16,600	32,700	51,300	61,200
Higher education					
Males	143	1,788	6,971	7,490	9,572
Females	57	696	3,763	7,700	9,689
Total higher education	200	2,484	10,734	15,190	19,261

Source: Based on information from Germany, Statistiches Bundesamt, *Länderbericht Oman, 1991*, Wiesbaden, 1991, 34.

Table 33. Oman: Government Budget, 1987–92[1]
(in millions of Omani riyals)[2]

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992[3]
Revenues						
Oil and gas	1,182	995	1,130	1,588	1,290	1,344
Other	245	203	220	270	281	283
Total revenues	1,428	1,198	1,349	1,859	1,570	1,628
Expenditures						
Current						
Defense and national security	584	589	601	742	643	665
Civilian	500	535	600	660	674	625
Interest	73	84	95	92	69	100
Other	67	63	66	75	76	83
Total current	1,223	1,271	1,361	1,570	1,463	1,472
Capital						
Non-oil	240	204	177	163	241	252
Oil	99	76	94	123	151	157
Lending and equities, net	16	9	13	14	−1	−6
Total capital	354	289	284	300	390	404
Total expenditures	1,576	1,560	1,645	1,870	1,853	1,876
TOTAL	−149	−362	−296	−11	−283	−248

[1] Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.
[2] For value of the Omani riyal—see Glossary.
[3] Provisional.

Source: Based on information from Central Bank of Oman, *Annual Report, 1991*, Muscat, 1992, 41.

Table 34. Oman: Balance of Payments, 1987, 1988, and 1990
(in millions of United States dollars)

	1987	1988	1990
Merchandise exports, f.o.b.[1]	3,805	3,342	5,508
Merchandise imports, f.o.b.	-1,769	-2,107	-2,519
Trade balance	2,036	1,235	2,989
Services	-558	-824	-949
Transfers	-694	-720	-874
Current account balance	784	-309	1,166
Direct investment in Oman	35	92	141
Other long-term capital of resident official sector	-135	181	-403
Other short-term capital of deposit money banks	-72	-86	-96
Other short-term capital of other sectors	-18	34	-211
Reserves	-108	467	-109
Capital account balance	-298	688	-678
Errors and omissions, net	-486	-379	-488

[1] f.o.b—free on board.

Source: Based on information from International Monetary Fund, *Balance of Payments Statistics Yearbook, 1992*, Washington, 1993, 520–21.

Table 35. Oman: Major Trading Partners, 1987, 1989, and 1990
(in millions of United States dollars)

Country or Region	1987	1989	1990
Exports			
Middle East	1,862	3,049	2,984
Asia	454	571	542
Britain	204	158	275
Japan	122	46	96
United States	99	150	168
Africa	61	45	193
West Germany	61	25	31
France	22	26	62
Imports			
Middle East	433	632	729
Japan	277	354	455
Britain	268	263	308
Asia	186	219	268
West Germany	146	124	130
United States	122	191	251
France	66	76	115
Africa	2	3	10

Source: Based on information from International Monetary Fund, *Direction of Trade Statistics, 1992 Annual*, Washington, 1992, 309–10.

Table 36. Oman: Summary of Oil and Gas Statistics, 1988–91

	1988	1989	1990	1991
Crude oil production (in thousands of barrels per day)	621.0	641.0	685.0	708.0
Crude oil exports (in thousands of barrels per day)	580.0	592 .0	628.0	644.0
Natural gas production, gross (in billions of cubic meters)	4.9	5.2	5.2	5.3
Natural gas production, marketed (in billions of cubic meters)	2.1	2.3	2.8	3.1

Source: Based on information from Central Bank of Oman, *Annual Report, 1991*, Muscat, 1992, 31–32; and *Le gaz naturel dans le monde*, Paris, 1988–91.

Table 37. Oman: Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by Sector, Selected Years, 1987–91
(in millions of Omani riyals at constant 1978 prices)[1]

Sector	1987	1989	1990	1991
Agriculture	63	75	78	83
Fishing	21	19	19	18
Crude oil	906	1,001	1,071	1,101
Oil refining	5	7	7	8
Natural gas	20	21	22	23
Mining and quarrying	10	10	8	9
Manufacturing	79	81	93	93
Construction	145	111	115	144
Utilities	95	131	157	160
Transportation and communications	80	90	103	113
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	192	228	257	304
Financial and business services and real estate	226	243	281	271
Government and other services	296	321	332	372
Import duties	16	17	18	22
Less imputed bank service charges	-58	-67	-100	-75
GDP at factor cost[2]	2,096	2,289	2,461	2,646

[1] For value of the Omani riyal—see Glossary.
[2] Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Based on information from Central Bank of Oman, *Annual Report, 1991*, Muscat, 1992, 146.

Table 38. Kuwait: Major Military Equipment, 1992

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Army		
Main battle tanks		
M–84	Yugoslavia	200
Other armored vehicles		
Ferret reconnaissance	Britain	n.a.[1]
BMP–2 infantry fighting vehicle	Yugoslavia	39
M–113 personnel carrier	United States	37
Fahd personnel carrier	Egypt	44
Artillery		
M–101 105mm howitzer	United States	8
M–109A2 155mm self-propelled howitzer	-do-	3
GCT 155mm self-propelled howitzer	France	18
Antitank guided missiles		
TOW/improved TOW, some self-propelled	United States	n.a.
Navy		
Missile craft		
Lürssen 57-meter, each with 4 Exocet missiles	Germany	1
Lürssen 45-meter, each with 4 Exocet missiles	-do-	1
Air force		
Fighter-ground attack		
A–4TA Skyhawk	United States	22
F/A18	-do-	8
Fighters		
Mirage F1	France	15
Counterinsurgency and training		
Hawk 64	Britain	12
Shorts	-do-	16
Helicopters		
AS–332 Super Puma and SA–330 Puma	France	13
SA–342 Gazelle with HOT	-do-	16

[1] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1992–1993*, London, 1992, 113–14; and *Jane's Fighting Ships, 1992–93*, Alexandria, Virginia, 1992, 391.

Table 39. Bahrain: Major Military Equipment, 1992

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Army		
Main battle tanks		
M-60A3	United States	81
Other armored vehicles		
AML-90 reconnaissance	France	22
AT-105 Saxon	Britain	10
Panhard M-3	France	110
Artillery		
105mm light	Britain	8
155mm M-198	United States	14
Antitank guided missiles		
BGM-71A-TOW	-do-	15
Navy		
Corvettes		
Lürssen 62-meter, each with 4 Exocet missiles	Germany	2
Missile craft		
Lürssen 45-meter, each with 4 Exocet missiles	-do-	4
Patrol craft		
Lürssen 38-meter	-do-	2
Air force		
Fighter-ground attack		
F-5E/F	United States	12
Fighters		
F-16C/D	-do-	12
Helicopters		
AB-212 Agusta-Bell (8 armed)	Italy and United States	12
Bo-105 (armed)	Germany	4

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1992–1993*, London, 1992, 105–6; and *Jane's Fighting Ships, 1992–93*, Alexandria, Virginia, 1992, 37.

Table 40. Qatar: Major Military Equipment, 1992

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Army		
Main battle tanks		
AMX-30	France	24
Other armored vehicles		
AMX-10P infantry fighting vehicle	-do-	30
VAB, wheeled armored personnel carrier	-do-	160
Artillery		
G5 155mm howitzer	South Africa	12
AMX Mk F-3 155mm, self-propelled	France	6
Antitank guided missiles		
Milan	-do-	100
HOT (mounted on VAB)	-do-	24
Navy		
Missile craft		
La Combattante III, 56-meter, each with 8 Exocet missiles	France	3
Patrol craft		
Inshore, Vosper Thornycroft 33-meter	Britain	6
Air force		
Fighter-ground attack and training		
Alpha Jet	France and Germany	6
Fighters		
Mirage F1	France	12
Attack helicopters		
SA-342L Gazelle with HOT	-do-	12
Commando MK3 with Exocet missile	Britain	8

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1992-1993*, London, 1992, 119-20; and *Jane's Fighting Ships, 1992-93*, Alexandria, Virginia, 1992, 508.

Table 41. United Arab Emirates: Major Military Equipment, 1992

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Army		
Tanks		
AMX-30	France	95
OF-40 Mk 2 Lion	Italy	36
Scorpion, light	Britain	76
Reconnaissance vehicles		
AML-90	France	90
Armored personnel carriers and fighting vehicles		
AMX-10P	-do-	15
VCR	-do-	50
Panhard M-3	-do-	240
EE-11 Urutu	Brazil	100
Artillery and rocket launchers		
105mm	Various	77
130mm	-do-	20
155mm Mk F-3 self-propelled howitzers	France	20
G-6 155mm howitzers	South Africa	40
FIROS 25 122mm multiple rocket launchers	Italy	40
Antitank guided missiles		
Milan	France	230
HOT, self-propelled	-do-	20
Vigilant	Britain	n.a.[1]
TOW	United States	25
Navy		
Corvettes		
Lürssen 62-meter, each with 4 Exocet missiles, Crotale SAM, 76mm gun, and SA-316 Alouette helicopter	Germany	2
Missile craft		
Lürssen 50-meter, each with 4 Exocet missiles	-do-	2
Lürssen 45-meter, each with 4 Exocet missiles	-do-	6
Inshore patrol		
Vosper Thornycroft 33-meter	Britain	6
Air force		
Fighter-ground attack		
Mirage III	France	14
Hawk Mk 63	Britain	18
Fighters		
Mirage 5 AD	France	12
Mirage 2000 EA	-do-	22

Table 41. United Arab Emirates: Major Military Equipment, 1992

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Counterinsurgency		
Aermacchi MB–326, MB–339A	Italy	11
Reconnaissance		
Mirage 2000	France	8
Mirage 5–R	-do-	3
Early warning		
Casa C212 Aviocar	Spain	4
Helicopters		
AS–332F Super Puma with Exocet missile	France	2
SA–342K Gazelle with HOT	-do-	10
SA–316/319 Alouette III	-do-	7
Air defense missiles		
Improved Hawk	United States	5 batteries[2]
Rapier	Britain	12
Crotale	France	8
RBS–70	Sweden	13

[1] n.a.—not available.
[2] Being formed.

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1992–1993*, London, 1992, 125; and *Jane's Fighting Ships, 1992-93*, Alexandria, Virginia, 1992, 714.

Table 42. Oman: Major Military Equipment, 1992

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Army		
Tanks		
M-60A1/A3	United States	49
Chieftain	Britain	29
Scorpion (light)	-do-	37
VBC-90 (light)	France	6
Armored personnel carriers		
VAB PC and VAB VCI	-do-	8
Artillery		
105mm and 130mm guns, towed	Various	66
Antitank guided missiles		
TOW	United States	18
Milan	France	32
Navy		
Fast attack craft		
Province-class 56-meter, one with 6 and three with 8 Exocet missiles	Britain	4
Brook Marine 37-meter, each with 76mm gun	-do-	4
Inshore patrol craft		
Vosper Thornycroft 25-meter	-do-	4
Air force		
Fighter-ground attack		
Jaguar Mk 1	-do-	15
Hunter FGA-73	-do-	10
Counterinsurgency and training		
BAC-167 Strikemaster	-do-	12
BN-2 Defender	-do-	7
Helicopters		
Agusta-Bell 205, 206, 212, and 214 (transport)	Italy and United States	36
Air defense missiles		
Rapier	Britain	28

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1992-1993*, London, 1992, 118-19; and *Jane's Fighting Ships, 1992-93*, Alexandria, Virginia, 1992, 456.

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Glossary

Al—Uppercased, it connotes family of, or belonging to, as in Al Sabah, Al Khalifa, Al Thani, Al Nuhayyan, Al Maktum, Al Qasimi, and Al Said. Lowercased, it represents the definite article *the*, as in Ras al Khaymah.

amir—Literally, commander. In many of the Arab states of the Persian Gulf, amir often means ruler or prince.

amirate—Political entity under the rule of an amir. Analogous to a shaykhdom and, if an independent state, to a kingdom.

Bahraini dinar (BD)—Consists of 1,000 fils. Bahrain has maintained a fixed exchange rate according to which in 1993 US$1 equaled BD0.376.

barrels per day (bpd)—Production of crude oil and petroleum products is frequently measured in barrels per day. A barrel is a volume measure of forty-two United States gallons. Conversion of barrels to tons depends on the density of the specific product. About 7.3 barrels of average crude oil weigh one ton. Heavy crude is about seven barrels per ton. Light products, such as gasoline and kerosene, average close to eight barrels per ton.

downstream—The oil industry views the production, processing, transportation, and sale of petroleum products as a flow process starting at the wellhead. Downstream includes any stage between the point of reference and the sale of products to the consumer. Upstream (*q.v.*) is the converse.

gross domestic product (GDP)—A value measure of the flow of domestic goods and services produced by an economy over a period of time, such as one year. Only output values of goods for final consumption and investment are included because the values of primary and intermediate production are assumed to be included in final prices. GDP is sometimes aggregated and shown at market prices, meaning that indirect taxes and subsidies are included; when these have been eliminated, the result is GDP at factor cost. The word *gross* indicates that deductions for depreciation of physical assets have not been made. *See also*

gross national product (GNP).

gross national product (GNP)—The gross domestic product (*q.v.*) plus the net income or loss stemming from transactions with foreign countries. GNP is the broadest measurement of the output of goods and services by an economy. It can be calculated at market prices, which include indirect taxes and subsidies. Because indirect taxes and subsidies are only transfer payments, GNP is often calculated at factor cost by removing indirect taxes and subsidies.

hadith—Tradition based on the precedent of Muhammad's words and deeds that serves as one of the sources of Islamic law (sharia).

hijra—Literally, to migrate, to sever relations, to leave one's tribe. Throughout the Muslim world, hijra refers to the migration of the Prophet Muhammad and his followers to Medina. In this sense, the word has come into European languages as hegira. The year of Muhammad's hijra constitutes the beginning of the Islamic calendar.

ibn—Literally, son of; *bint* means daughter of; and *bani* is literally sons of, hence clan or tribe.

imam—Word used in several senses. In general use, it means the leader of congregational prayers; as such it implies no ordination or special spiritual powers beyond sufficient education to carry out this function. It is also used figuratively by many Sunni (*q.v.*) Muslims to mean the leader of the Islamic community. Among Shia (*q.v.*) the word takes on many complex meanings; in general, however, and particularly when uppercased, it indicates that particular descendant of the Party of Ali who is believed to be God's designated repository of the spiritual authority inherent in that line. The identity of this individual and the means of ascertaining his identity have been major issues causing divisions among Shia. Among the Ibadis of Oman, the imam was elected to office and was regarded by all as the spiritual leader of the community and by some as the temporal ruler as well. Claims of various Omani imams to secular power led to open rebellions as late as the 1950s.

import-substitution industrialization—An economic development strategy that emphasizes the growth of domestic industries, often by import protection using tariff and non-

tariff measures. Proponents favor the export of industrial goods over primary products.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)—Established along with the World Bank (*q.v.*) in 1945, the IMF is a specialized agency affiliated with the United Nations and is responsible for stabilizing international exchange rates and payments. The main business of the IMF is the provision of loans to its members (including industrialized and developing countries) when they experience balance of payments difficulties. These loans frequently carry conditions that require substantial internal economic adjustments by the recipients, most of which are developing countries.

jihad—The struggle to establish the law of God on earth, often interpreted to mean holy war.

Kuwaiti dinar (KD)—The national currency, consisting of 1,000 fils. The exchange rate of the Kuwaiti dinar to the United States dollar has fluctuated somewhat; in May 1993 the exchange rate was US$1 = KD0.30.

majlis—Tribal council; in some countries the legislative assembly. Also refers to an audience with an amir (*q.v.*) or shaykh (*q.v.*) open to all citizens.

Omani rial (RO)—Monetary unit of Oman, divided into 1,000 baizas. Oman has maintained a fixed exchange rate according to which in 1993 US$1 equaled RO0.3845.

Qatari riyal (QR)—The national currency consisting of 100 dirhams. Qatar has maintained a fixed exchanged rate according to which in 1993 US$1 equaled QR3.64.

shaykh—Leader or chief. Applied either to a political leader of a tribe or town or to a learned religious leader. Also used as an honorific.

Shia (from Shiat Ali, or Party of Ali)—A member of the smaller of the two great divisions of Islam. The Shia supported the claims of Ali and his line to presumptive right to the caliphate and leadership of the world Muslim community, and on this issue they divided from the Sunnis (*q.v.*) in the major schism within Islam. Later schisms have produced further divisions among the Shia over the identity and number of imams (*q.v.*). Most Shia revere twelve Imams, the last of whom is believed to be in hiding. *See also* Twelve Imam Shia.

special drawing rights (SDR)—An International Monetary Fund (IMF—*q.v.*) unit of account made up of a basket of major international currencies consisting of the United States dollar, the German deutsche mark, the Japanese yen, the British pound sterling, and the French franc.

Sunni—The larger of the two great divisions of Islam. The Sunnis, who rejected the claims of Ali's line, believe that they are the true followers of the sunna, the guide to proper behavior composed of the Quran and the hadith (*q.v.*).

Twelve Imam Shia—The majority group among Shia (*q.v.*), who believe that the Imamate began with Ali, the fourth caliph, or successor ruler, in Islam. The line continued through his sons until the Twelfth Imam, who is believed to have ascended to a supernatural state to return to earth on Judgment Day.

UAE dirham (Dh)—National currency of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), consisting of 100 fils. The UAE has maintained a fixed exchange rate according to which in 1993 US$1 equaled Dh3.671.

ulama—Collective term for Muslim religious scholars.

upstream—The converse of downstream (*q.v.*), it includes the exploration and drilling of wells in the petroleum production process.

Wahhabi—Name used outside Saudi Arabia to designate adherents to Wahhabism (*q.v.*).

Wahhabism—Name used outside Saudi Arabia to designate official interpretation of Islam in Saudi Arabia. The faith is a puritanical concept of unitarianism (the oneness of God) that was preached by Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab, whence his Muslim opponents derived the name. The royal family of Qatar and most indigenous Qataris are Wahhabis (*q.v.*).

World Bank—Informal name used to designate a group of four affiliated international institutions that provide advice and assistance on long-term finance and policy issues to developing countries: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). The IBRD, established in 1945, has as its primary

purpose the provision of loans at market-related rates of interest to developing countries at more advanced stages of development. The IDA, a legally separate loan fund but administered by the staff of the IBRD, was set up in 1960 to furnish credits to the poorest developing countries on much easier terms than those of conventional IBRD loans. The IFC, founded in 1956, supplements the activities of the IBRD through loans and assistance specifically designed to encourage the growth of productive private enterprises in the less developed countries. The president and certain officers of the IBRD hold the same positions in the IFC. The MIGA, which began operating in 1988, insures private foreign investment in developing countries against various noncommercial risks. The four institutions are owned by the governments of the countries that subscribe their capital. To participate in the World Bank group, member states must first belong to the International Monetary Fund (IMF—*q.v.*).

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