

Contents

Preface	5
List of Boxes	11
About the Author	12
Acknowledgments	13
Introduction	15
1 Emergence of Conflict	17
2 Regional Asymmetry	19
3 Geographical Disputes and Other Historical Sources of Tension Between Gulf States	22
Part One: The Iran-Iraq War	24
1 Introduction	24
2 Historical Sources of Conflict	24
2.1 <i>Roots of the Historical Conflict</i>	25
2.2 <i>The Empires' Legacies</i>	27
2.3 <i>Components of a Recurring Conflict</i>	28
2.4 <i>Another Component of Escalation: The Cold War and Western Attempts to Create an Anti-Soviet Alliance</i>	31
2.5 <i>Iran: The Gulf's Policeman</i>	38
3 The Regional Status Quo	42
4 Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution	46
5 The War	50
6 Regional Impact of the Iran-Iraq War	53
6.1 <i>The Tanker War</i>	59
6.2 <i>GCC and Kuwait</i>	61
7 The Effect of the War on Iran and Iraq	65
7.1 <i>Iraq</i>	65
7.2 <i>Iran</i>	68
8 Economics in the Iran-Iraq War	72
8.1 <i>Iraq</i>	72
8.2 <i>Iran</i>	73
8.3 <i>Neighboring Arab States</i>	74

9 Conclusion	76
Part Two: The Iraq-Kuwait Conflict	78
1 Iraq's Passage to War	78
2 Kuwait: Confusing Friend and Foe	82
2.1 <i>Kuwait's Security: The Attitude Towards Iraq</i>	87
2.2 <i>Kuwaiti Responses to Iraq's Demands</i>	89
3 Inter-Arab Mediation of the Iraq-Kuwait Conflict	93
3.1 <i>The Legacy of Mediation</i>	94
3.2 <i>Background to the Gulf Crisis</i>	96
3.3 <i>Approaching Mediation</i>	99
3.4 <i>The Mediators and Their Actions</i>	103
3.5 <i>After 2 August</i>	107
3.6 <i>Epilogue and Conclusions</i>	112
4 The Unique Role of the United Nations during the Iraq-Kuwait Conflict	115
5 The Characteristics of the War	116
6 The Attempts at Post-War Accords	119
7 The Search for Gulf Security	123
7.1 <i>The Arab Gulf States' Indecisiveness: Basic Considerations</i>	125
7.2 <i>Difficulties in Arriving at a Security Arrangement</i>	127
7.3 <i>Divided Security and Growing Conflicts: Escalation of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti Tension</i>	131
7.4 <i>Iran's Bid for Regional Influence</i>	132
7.5 <i>The Saudi-Qatari Dispute</i>	134
7.6 <i>Gulf Security in the Fall of 1992</i>	135
7.7 <i>Attempts to Defuse Tensions: Attitudes Toward Egypt and Syria</i>	136
7.8 <i>Readdressing the Issue of a GCC Army</i>	138
7.9 <i>Limited Achievements</i>	139
Part Three: Between the Gulf Wars: Restrained Conflict	141
1 Introduction	141
2 U.S. Foreign Policy Background: The Nixon Doctrine and Twin Pillars	142
3 U.S. Dual Containment	146
4 Iraq	147
4.1 <i>1991</i>	147
4.2 <i>Perceptions in the Gulf</i>	150
4.3 <i>U.S. Policymaking toward Iraq</i>	151

4.4 <i>Iraq and the International Community</i>	152
4.5 <i>Iraqi Economy</i>	155
4.6 <i>Saddam's Defiance</i>	156
4.7 <i>New U.S. Policy toward Iraq?</i>	162
5 Iran	163
5.1 <i>The Iranian Economy during the 1990s</i>	165
5.2 <i>Social Unrest in Iran</i>	167
5.3 <i>U.S. Imposes Sanctions on Iran</i>	168
5.4 <i>Iranian Foreign Policy Background</i>	170
5.5 <i>Iranian Foreign Policy in the 1990s</i>	172
5.6 <i>The Iranian Nuclear Issue</i>	177
5.7 <i>Europe's "Critical Dialogue"</i>	179
5.8 <i>Iranian Escalation leads to U.S. Sanctions</i>	180
5.9 <i>Iranian Response to U.S. Sanctions</i>	183
6 Limitations of U.S. Sanctions	191
7 Gulf States' Security during the 1990s	192
8 Gulf State Border Issues during the 1990s	194
8.1 <i>Unity in Yemen</i>	194
8.2 <i>The Saudi Arabia-Yemen Border</i>	195
8.3 <i>Bahrain-Qatar Border Dispute</i>	196
8.4 <i>Oman-UAE Border</i>	197
8.5 <i>Gulf States and Iran</i>	197
Abu Musa – Two Tunbs Dispute	198

Part Four: Al-Qa'ida's Challenge: Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and the War Against Terrorism, 1992–2005	201
1 Introduction	201
2 The Rise of Extremist Opposition	205
3 The 21 st Century: Religious Extremism Turns into Fierce Opposition	210
4 Terrorism	214
4.1 <i>Achievements</i>	219
4.2 <i>Saudi Responses</i>	219
4.3 <i>Two main points worth mentioning in retrospect</i>	222
5 Responses to Religious Radicalism and Terrorism	223
6 The Making of Zarqawi	225
7 The Impact of Terrorism and the Iraqi War – The Gulf and Saudi Arabia	235
8 Regional Problems in the Gulf	239

Part Five: Conclusion	244
1 Causes of Conflict	244
2 The GCC's Security Approach	245
3 The Build-Up to New Security Challenges	249
Appendices	251
Appendix 1: Chronology: Iran-Iraq War	251
Appendix 2: Chronology: The Iraq-Kuwait War	257
Appendix 3: The Iraq-Kuwait War - Relevant UN Security Council Resolutions	260
Appendix 4: Maps	263
Appendix 5: Middle East and Gulf Research: A Guide for Users	270
I. Middle East Journals	270
II. International Relations and Public Policy Research and Publications	270
III. Internet Research Resources for the Gulf	271
Appendix 5: Glossary	273
Bibliography	278
Books and Articles	278
Middle East Contemporary Survey (MECS; New York: Holmes and Meier)	286
Middle East Periodicals	286
English Language Periodicals and Journals	287