

DEFENDING ARABIA

J.E. PETERSON

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

List of Abbreviations	iv
Preface	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
THE EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF SECURITY CONCERNS IN ARABIA	
ORIGINS OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN ARABIA	
CHAPTER 2: POWER AND EMPIRE IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA	13
THE FIRST AIR ROUTES: PERSIAN GULF AND BASRA-ADEN	
Origins of the Use of Airplanes in Arabia	
The Persian Gulf Route	
The Basra-Aden Route	
Political Impact of the Routes	
POLICING AND AIR OPERATIONS	
Air Control and the RAF	
The RAF in Iraq	
The RAF in Aden	
THE GROWING STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE GULF	
The Persian Gulf Sub-Committee	
Developments in the 1930s	
The Gulf on the Eve of World War II	
THE ARABIAN PENINSULA IN WORLD WAR II	
Far Eastern Reinforcement, ASW, and Convoy Escort	
Aden's Role in the East African Campaign	
The Gulf Supply Route to the Soviet Union	
The South Arabian Air Route	
POSTWAR REASSESSMENTS	
Wind-Down and Peacetime Footing	
Emergence of Anglo-American Rivalry	
Strategic Planning for a New Enemy	
<i>Table 2.1. Summary of RAF Air Operations at Aden, 1919-1941</i>	
<i>Table 2.2. Air Facilities in Arabian Peninsula, on Eve of World War II</i>	
CHAPTER 3: POSTWAR POLICY: BRITISH RETREAT AND IMPERIAL VESTIGES	59
AIR OPERATIONS IN ADEN PROTECTORATE	
EVOLVING COMMITMENTS AND THE OMAN WAR	
THE PROBLEM OF DEPLOYMENT AND THE DEFENSE OF KUWAIT	
THE STRUGGLE FOR ADEN	
THE LAST OUTPOST: OMAN AND THE DHUFAR REBELLION	
<i>Table 3.1. Summary of RAF Air Operations at Aden, 1940-1949</i>	

CHAPTER 4: THE US AND GULF SECURITY	87
THE CHANGING OF THE GUARD	
British Withdrawal from the Gulf	
America (Re)Discovers Arabia	
US INTERESTS IN THE 1980s	
THREATS TO GULF SECURITY: THE PARADIGM	
EVALUATING EXTERNAL THREATS	
EVALUATING REGIONAL THREATS	
EVALUATING INTERNAL THREATS	
<i>Table 4.1. US Interests in the Gulf in the 1980s</i>	
<i>Table 4.2. Threats to Gulf Security</i>	
<i>Table 4.3 Shi'a Population in the Gulf</i>	
CHAPTER 5: US MILITARY OPTIONS IN THE GULF	115
US COMMITMENT TO DEFEND THE GULF	
THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE: ORIGINS, EVOLUTION, AND STRUCTURE	
EVALUATING RDF CAPABILITIES	
Conceptual Questions	
Operational Questions	
ASSESSING RDF PERFORMANCE	
The Soviet Threat	
Regional Threats	
Internal Threats	
<i>Table 5.1. United States Central Command</i>	
<i>Table 5.2. Regional Facilities for RDF Use</i>	
CHAPTER 6: GULF SECURITY AND GULF SELF-DEFENSE	147
THE EMERGENCE OF ARABIAN NATION-STATES	
SAUDI MILITARY CAPABILITIES	
OTHER GCC DEFENSE CAPABILITIES	
Oman	
The Amirates	
THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AND THE FORMATION OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL	
<i>Table 6.1. Arabian Peninsula States: Military Capabilities</i>	
CHAPTER 7: DEFENDING ARABIA IN THE 1980s	181
THE BRITISH LEGACY	
THE AMERICAN INTENT	
THE GCC AND THE FUTURE	
<i>Table 7.1. World Crude Oil Production</i>	
<i>Table 7.2. US Dependence on OPEC</i>	
<i>Table 7.3. Estimated Imports of Crude Oil and Refined Products, 1984</i>	
<i>Table 7.4. Estimated Crude Oil and Natural Gas Proved Reserves, 1984</i>	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	199

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHQ	Air Headquarters
AIR	Air Ministry records in the PRO
ANM	Arab Nationalists' Movement
AOC	Air Officer Commanding
ASW	Antisubmarine Warfare
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System
CAB	Cabinet records in the PRO
CID	Committee of Imperial Defence
C-in-C	Commander-in-Chief
CO	Colonial Office records in the PRO
DEFE	Ministry of Defence records in the PRO
FBIS	Foreign Broadcast Information Service (Middle East and South Asia)
FO	Foreign Office records in the PRO
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GOC	General Officer Commanding
HMG	His/Her Majesty's Government
IOLR	India Office Library and Records (London)
IPC	Iraq Petroleum Company
JRCAS	Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society
JRUSI	Journal of the Royal United Service Institution
L/P&S	Government of India, External Department, records in the IOLR
MAB	Marine Amphibious Brigade
MEED	Middle East Economic Digest
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NLF	National Liberation Front (South Yemen)
PDRY	People's Democratic Republic of Yemen
PFLO/AG	Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman; previously Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf or Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf

PGSC	Persian Gulf Sub-Committee of the CID
PRO	Public Record Office (London)
PRPG	Political Resident in the Persian Gulf
PSP	People's Socialist Party (South Yemen)
R/15	Political Residency in the Persian Gulf records in the IOLR
R/20	Political Residency, Aden, records in the IOLR
RAF	Royal Air Force
RDF	Rapid Deployment Force
RDJTF	Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (US)
RNAS	Royal Navy Air Services
RUSI	Royal United Service Institution
SAF	Sultan's Armed Forces (Oman)
SAS	Special Air Service (British)
SNO	Senior Naval Officer
UAE	United Arab Emirates
USAAF	US Army Air Force
USAF	US Air Force
USCENTCOM	US Central Command
USGPO	US Government Printing Office
USMTM	US Military Training Mission
YAR	Yemen Arab Republic

PREFACE

The topic of Gulf security has received considerable attention in the United States and Western Europe in recent years, in addition to the natural concern expressed in the Gulf itself, and this interest has spawned a virtual flood of literature on the subject. Many of these publications have been annotated in my *Security in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf States, 1973-1984*¹. Not surprisingly, most of this literature deals only with the period since 1979 or so and is primarily or exclusively concerned with US (and to a lesser extent Western European) national interests and political, economic, and military policy options. By the time the writing on this book was completed in October 1985, the monographs by Jim Noyes, Tony Cordesman, Bruce Kuniholm, and Tom McNaugher could be singled out from among the hundreds of books, articles, congressional prints, and other publications on Gulf security and recommended as essential reading on the subject.²

In light of this mass of publications on Gulf security, it is logical to ask what original contribution this book may make to a burgeoning field. First, it is a major thesis that the parameters and ramifications of security in the Gulf, as well as the constraints on both outside and indigenous actors, can not be fully appreciated without an understanding of the historical background to the topic of Gulf security. This has not been comprehensively discussed elsewhere. Second, I have consciously avoided writing another handbook for US policy and have attempted to portray, as accurately and objectively as I can, the concerns and policies of the three principal actors or groups of actors that have sought to exercise responsibility for Gulf security in this century: Britain, the United States, and the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

No book is ever solely the product of its author, and this one would not have seen the light of day without the assistance I received from a large number of institutions and individuals. The Earhart Foundation generously provided funds for archival research in London during the summer of 1982, and the opportunity to continue this research was provided by invitations to give papers at symposia of the University of Exeter's Centre for Arab Gulf Studies in 1983 and 1985. Part of this book was written under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia, while I served as the 1983-1984 Thornton D. Hooper Fellow in International Security Affairs. The maps, which were prepared originally for my article on "Defending Arabia: Evolution of Responsibility" in *Orbis*, appear here courtesy of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. I am sorry to say that my request to discuss the subject of this book with individuals in the USCENTCOM Headquarters while on a visit to Tampa was summarily rejected. I can only hope that this flat refusal to provide any

¹Washington: National Council on US-Arab Relations, 1985.

²James H. Noyes, *The Clouded Lens: Persian Gulf Security and U.S. Policy* (2nd ed.; Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1982; Hoover International Studies); Anthony H. Cordesman, *The Gulf and the Search for Strategic Stability: Saudi Arabia, the Military Balance in the Gulf, and Trends in the Arab-Israeli Military Balance* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press; London: Mansell, 1984); Bruce R. Kuniholm, *The Persian Gulf and United States Policy: A Guide to Issues and References* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1984; Regina Guides to Contemporary Issues); and Thomas L. McNaugher, *Arms and Oil: U.S. Military Strategy and the Persian Gulf* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1985).

assistance or cooperation is not indicative of the command's attitude toward relations with the governments and people of the Middle East and Gulf.

Among the many people who have helped me, I would like to thank the following individuals who graciously commented on drafts of one or more chapters: Dr. Rosemarie Said Zahlan (Ch. 2), Sir John Wilton (Ch. 3), Dr. Thomas L. McNaugher and Lt. Col. Maxwell Orme Johnson (Chs. 4 and 5), Dr. Edmund Ghareeb and Richard Hennighausen (Ch. 6). Their suggestions and criticisms were invaluable. I am particularly grateful to John H. Maurer, who not only read and commented on the entire manuscript but directed me to a multitude of sources of which I would have otherwise remained ignorant. Needless to say, complete responsibility for all errors of fact and interpretation is mine alone.