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# Gulf Research Center Newsletter

Knowledge For All

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## Chairman's Message

During a relatively lean summer in the region, the Gulf Research Center was busy preparing for a full fall schedule. September saw two major workshops, the first in association with the Washington-based Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on "Political reform in the GCC States." The event brought together a number of specialists and stimulated a broad debate about the political agenda to be pursued in the region. It also strengthened the relationship between GRC and the Carnegie Endowment and discussions have already begun to consider a follow-up event. Following the discussion on political reform, GRC held a symposium on "New trends in the Gulf Media" with participation from all the major Arabic media outlets. What evolved was an engaged discussion on the challenges faced by the industry and steps needed to overcome existing obstacles. The event received broad press coverage throughout the region indicating the timely importance of such a topic. Such events are the direct result of GRC's pursuit to establish cooperation with external institutions of excellence that share a progressive mandate. This will be continued in November 2004



when we focus on "Europe, Gulf security and aftermath of Iraq War" in cooperation with the Bertelsmann Foundation of Germany. We believe that focusing on the European role in Gulf security is an important contribution to the overall effort of building an international relations program on GCC-European Union affairs. In addition to important scholarly gatherings, GRC also played host to a number of key officials and guests. Of particular importance was the visit of Nato Deputy Secretary-General Alessandro Minuto Rizzo, who briefed us on the organization's plans to expand operations to the Middle East. Included in this issue you will find our most recent publications which are the fruit of GRC's core activities in research, documentation and translation. In announcing our conference schedule for the coming months, we also hope to keep up with our quest for scientific research in various aspects of the Gulf.

Regards,  
**Abdulaziz Sager**  
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# 'Nato looking for regional partners'

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Nato) is on the course to transform itself from being an exclusively military player during the Cold War era to being a political actor, said Nato Deputy Secretary-General Alessandro Minuto Rizzo.

During a visit to the Dubai-based Gulf Research Center (GRC) on Tuesday as part of his official visit to the UAE to deliberate on Nato's recent plan to spread its influence in the Middle East, Rizzo emphasized that Nato was a "different and new organization that was looking for partnerships to share its security and defense expertise".

The "Istanbul Cooperative Initiative" is a step forward for the "transformed alliance" to move away from being Euro-centric and respond to new challenges.

Seeking to dispel the skepticism about US influence and role as part of Nato's efforts, the Nato deputy chief said 26 of 28 members of the organization are European; hence it cannot be dubbed as "US-influenced".

Rizzo, who is the first senior Nato official to visit any Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) country, said the organization had very modest ambitions. "We don't hope to solve the problems, but hope to contribute to the solutions," he said, adding that "training missions for commanding officers of the Iraqi Army, strengthening the Mediterranean dialogue and reaching out to the Gulf countries, and dialogue with Iran" would form the initial plank for Nato involvement.

Calling it the "right moment" for

Nato to contribute to the stability of the region, the official clarified that there was no question of "imposing security on the Gulf". The onus on the way forward is more on the region, he said, and "the Istanbul initiative could help kick-start that process".

The key to Nato's success, according to Rizzo, lies in "winning the hearts and minds of the people in the region during the next two-three years.

Since experience is Nato's biggest asset and its activities are backed by "political consensus", its involvement in the region will not be about "providing military equipment", but providing "military cooperation, calling for meetings, aiding in the dialogue process and contributing to crisis management".

In the region, "Nato will concentrate on helping formulate strategies and giving human assistance by sharing intelligence and knowledge," Rizzo added.

The Nato official's address followed GRC Chairman Abdulaziz

Sager's recommendation that the organization should help in the establishment of an "Arab peace force" that will effectively handle regional requirements during crises.

Earlier, GRC highlighted the sources of threat in the Gulf region by pointing to the instability that could reign in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia if chaos persisted in Iraq, the spreading of terrorism in some of the GCC countries and the impact of the Israeli-American threat against Iran. "Since the US has failed to find a local partner in the region, Nato might have a role to play," Dr Mustafa Alani, senior adviser and program director for security and terrorism issues said.

Elaborating on the factors that could allow for Nato involvement, Dr Christian Koch, program director of GCC-EU relations at GRC, said the regional states had failed to forge a security for the region while the US was imposing a security solution and European Union states had failed to evolve an effective security approach.



■ Nato delegates and GRC staff exchange notes on the regional scenario.

# GRC-Carnegie workshop calls for sustaining political reform



A two-day workshop – “Political reform in the GCC States: Current situation and future prospects” ended on Sept. 24 with a constructive call to sustain the process of political reform in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) States as the plank on which political legitimacy could be consolidated and the relation between state and society could be reconstructed on the basis of a new social contract. Participants at the workshop emphasized the need to uphold reform in a bid to contain external interventions in the domestic affairs of the GCC countries under the much-touted pretext of championing reform. Political reform calls for creating the right regional environment and making the best of international conditions, the participants said.

The workshop, jointly organized by the Dubai-based Gulf Research Center (GRC) and the Washington-based Carnegie Endowment for

International Peace, was attended by a pool of eminent regional and international academics and experts and involved six sessions.

While suggesting that external factors had helped, to some extent, in bringing about “cosmetic changes” in the region, a number of participants emphasized during the session entitled “Why is political reform taking place now?”, that political reform is first and foremost an internal affair while external fac-

tors retain at best a general role of support and incentive for reform.

Speakers at the workshop remarked that the US reform and democratization drive in the Arab world lacks credibility. This was attributed, as some speakers stressed, to the approach embraced by Washington in dealing with the ruling regimes across the region and throughout the world. The US has often sacrificed the principles of democracy on the altar of its own national interests. Another reason has to do with US policies towards Arab and Muslim issues, notably the Arab-Israeli conflict of which the Palestinian question remains the core.

Participants made the point that only a fundamental change in the US policies towards the Arab-Israeli conflict paving the path for a settlement in compliance with international law and legitimacy constitutes an essential element for regaining some

**“Political Islam  
has stolen the  
show from  
political  
nationalism”**

of the lost credibility of Washington's calls for democratization in the region. After the initial pretexts for the war fell apart and neither any weapons of mass destruction were ever found nor any relation between Saddam Hussein's regime and Al-Qaeda was ever established, the US dubbed the war against Iraq as a war for the edification of a democratic regime that would be the locomotive pulling political reform in the region. It now seems that the future US role in Iraq remains the true litmus test for the credibility of Washington's democratization agenda in the region.

On the issue of "Differing views on political reform", some of the speakers said that "more participatory politics could end up being more regressive than otherwise", at least in the short term. While some suggested that there can hardly be "representation without taxation", others reacted to the gains made by some Islamist parties and movements in the recent elections held in some countries in the region as being an indication of their wide popularity.

Discussing the role of religion, some of the experts said that "political Islam has stolen the show from political nationalism, a reality hard to ignore". Moreover, democracy, which is a "rule of inclusion cannot exclude any party or movement, no matter what its political program, on the obvious condition that it abides by the rules of the political game, denounces resort to violence and commits itself to espousing peaceful means while engaging in politics." In fact, "democracy does represent the ideal political formula which may help Islamists and the other political forces and movements achieve equilibrium", some analyzed.

Citing the "obstacles" hampering political reform, the workshop pointed to "legislatures not exactly suit-

## List of Participants

### *Thomas Carothers*

Senior Associate and Director of Democracy and Rule of Law Project, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### *Saif bin Hashel Al-Maskari*

Member of the State Council, Sultanate of Oman

### *Paul Wilhelmus Aarts*

Lecturer of international relations, University of Amsterdam

### *Nader Fergany*

Director, Al Mishkah Center for Research, Cairo

### *Mustafa Kamel Al-Sayyid*

Professor of political science and Director of the Center for Developing Countries Studies, Cairo University

### *Mustafa Alani*

Senior Adviser and Program Director for Security and Terrorism Issues, Gulf Research Center

### *Mohammad Abdulla Al-Roken*

Associate Professor of Constitutional Law, Faculty of Shariah and Law, UAE University

### *Michael Herb*

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Georgia State University

### *Marina Ottaway*

Senior Associate, Democracy and Rule of Law Project, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### *Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb*

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### *Ms. Julia Choucair*

Democracy and Rule of Law Project, Carnegie Endowment

### *Ismail Al-Shatti*

Professor of Political Science, University of Kuwait

### *Henner Fuertig*

Researcher, Deutsches Orient Institut, Hamburg

### *Hassanein Tawfik Ibrahim*

Professor of Political Science, Cairo University

### *George Perkovich*

Vice-President of Studies, Carnegie Endowment For International Peace

### *Farid Al-Khazen*

Chairman of Political Studies and Public Administration, American University of Beirut

### *Ebtisam Suhail Al-Kitbi*

Assistant Professor of Political Science, UAE University

### *Christian Koch*

Program Director, GCC-EU Relations, Gulf Research Center

### *Baqer Salman Al-Najjar*

Professor of Sociology, University of Bahrain

### *Amr Hamzawy*

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

### *Ahmed Abdulkareem Saif*

Research Manager, Gulf Research Center

### *Abdulkhaleq Abdullah*

Professor of Political Science, UAE University

### *AbdulKarim H. Al-Dekhayel*

Head of the Department of Political Science, College of Administrative Science, King Saud University

### *Abdulaziz Sager*

Chairman, Gulf Research Center

### *Abdulaziz Al-Fahad*

Lawyer, Riyadh

### *Abdel Hamid Al-Ansari*

Dean of Islamic Studies, Qatar University



■ (From left) Abdulaziz Sager, Marina Ottaway, Thomas Carothers and Khaldoun Al-Naqeeb

able for political reform, a deficit in political and civic culture, limited power of legislative bodies to legislate and oversee the performance of the executive branch, in addition to some existing social values that hinder women's political participation and the presence of a large expatriate labor."

The negative impact of Iraq and US factors were the focus of the session on "Regional and International Contexts of Reform". Rather than intensify the drive for reforms, the US "intentions and actions" and the instability in Iraq in which the US plays a visible role had retarded the drive for reforms, speakers said. In this connection, participants at the workshop observed that it is hard to build a democratic and stable regime in Iraq, at least in the short and medium terms, even on the assumption that security and stability are fully restored to this war-battered country. The reason, as some speakers suggested, lies in the weakness, if not the utter absence, of the pillars on which real democratization could be founded in Iraq.

The last session touched on the "Future prospects of political reform" and highlighted the need for a combination of factors likely to contribute to the implementation of



■ Participants in rapt attention.

reform in the GCC States. First, some speakers emphasized that if the external role is limited to being a "backstage player" and to persuasion, then the internal political dynamics could gain enough momentum over time to boost the reform process. Since the US had lost much of its credibility in the eyes of the people of the region, Europe could be a better external partner.

In the final analysis, participants at the workshop underlined the need for political reform to spring from and breed on domestic soil, though it is always possible to uphold the reform process with positive external props. In this sense, the role of

civil society organizations and the private sector in the reform process ought to be enhanced. A genuinely democratic culture needs to be built as it represents one of the key pillars on which political reform and democratization could unravel. Educational reform, too, needs to be sustained in keeping with domestic realities and national objectives. And economic reform should be invigorated as it is the only viable remedy to the challenge of unemployment facing many GCC States.

Without a concerted move towards enacting these measures, experts at the workshop maintained, it is highly probable that socio-economic-political problems would transform into a suffocating crisis. As conditions stand today, there is a pressing need to effectively gear up the pace of reform in a bid to avert the undesirable ramifications that could arise out of the prevailing problems. What, in fact, consolidates the reform project is the principled recognition by its advocates of the legitimacy of the standing ruling regimes.

"Deploying confident and positive steps down the reform path will no doubt foster the regimes' legitimacy and help cement political and social stability", concluded the experts at the workshop.



■ AbdulKarim H. Al-Dekhayel (left) and Abdulkhaleq Abdullah

# GRC symposium spotlights new trends in Gulf Media

The need to clearly define the terminology and concepts used by the media, critically examine its strengths, weaknesses and challenges, and the role it assumes in contributing to educating people on critical issues topped the discussion at the one-day symposium — “Trends in the Gulf media: Between domestic needs and external pressures” — held in Dubai on Sept. 30.

The workshop, organized by the Dubai-based Gulf Research Center (GRC) and attended by the directors of news agencies, editors-in-chief of major newspapers and director-generals of major television channels in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, was held under the patronage of UAE Minister of Information and Culture Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al-Nahyan.

Delivering the opening speech on behalf of Sheikh Abdullah, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Information and Culture Saqr Ghabash pointed out that “prevailing conditions in the region place huge

“Nationalization alone can link the media to the development of society”

and disseminating awareness”.

“The credibility of the media is one of the most critical issues that ought to be placed on top of our concerns,” Sager emphasized, while expressing hope that the symposium would address a number of dilemmas that wrack the media in the Gulf region.

Sager briefly pinpointed three key dilemmas: First, the scope of freedom citizens of the GCC countries demand to have in order to better express their concerns and aspirations; second,

responsibilities on the different media in ways that touch on our *raison d’être* and the future of our children, particularly in light of the momentous technological developments unfolding in the field of communication”.

“Media leaders need to reflect carefully in order to evaluate the progress registered by the various media in the Gulf region and clearly define its weak and strong points,” he added.

The undersecretary highlighted the role played by private research centers, notably the GRC, in debating a plethora of essential issues related to the concerns of the people of the region. He laid emphasis on “the role the Gulf media assumes in contributing to sensitizing the people to and enlightening them about various critical issues”.

GRC Chairman Abdulaziz Sager said that “a free and responsible media is an effective tool of influence and change thanks to the role it plays in shaping and orienting public opinion, as well as gauging public policies



**Sagr Ghobash**

Undersecretary, Ministry of Information and Culture, UAE

**Aaed Bin Baniya Ar-Radadi**

Director-General, Saudi Press Agency

**Tareq Bin Mohammed Al-Khatrawi**

Deputy Director of the Technical Directorate, Saudi Press Agency

**Seif Ahmed Abdullah Seif Al-Qattan**

Chairman of the Center for Research, Kuwait News Agency

**Saeed Bin Mohammed Al-Shaqsi**

Managing Editor, Al-Watan, Oman

**Saad bin Taflah Al-Ajmi**

Former Kuwaiti information minister, Professor at the University of Kuwait

**Nassr Taha Mustafa**

Chairman-cum Editor-in-Chief, Yemen News Agency, Chairman of Arab News Agencies

**Nasser Ahmed Abdel Wahhab At-Tura**

Managing Editor-in-charge of Local Affairs, Kuwait News Agency

**Nasser Mohammed Al-Othman**

Senior Advisor for Dar Al-Khaleej Printing and Publishing, Coordinator-General of the Meeting of Gulf Editors-in-Chief

**Nakhla Al-Haj**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Arabiya TV, UAE

**Mustafa Alani**

Senior Advisor and Program Director for Security and Terrorism Issues, Gulf Research Center

**Mohammed Al-Awam**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, UK

**Mohammed Abdel Qader Al-Jassem**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Watan, Kuwait

**Mohammed Abdullah Al-Waeel**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Yawm, Saudi Arabia

**Mohammed Rashed As-Sahlawi**

News Supervisor, Qatar TV Channel

**Mohammed Rayan Baryan**

Director General of Al-Ikhbaria TV channel, Saudi Arabia

**Mohammad Abdulla Al-Roken**

Associate Professor of Constitutional Law, Faculty of Shariah and Law, UAE University

**Khalid Bin Hamad Al-Malek**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Jazeera, Saudi Arabia

**Khalid Abdullah Az-Zayyani**

Director-General, Bahrain News Agency

**Khalid Abdullah**

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**Ibrahim Al-Abed**

Director-General, Emirates News Agency

**Hydar Taha Abdo**

Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Akhbar Al-Arab, Abu Dhabi

**Ms. Huda Al-Rasheed**

Writer-Broadcaster, British Broadcasting Corporation

**Ghassan Sharbal**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Hayat, London

**Ghassan Tahboub**

Deputy Chairman for Research and Studies,

ownership and management of the different media outlets, which remain in most cases linked to government interests; and third, impact of a set of punitive measures and administrative sanctions imposed against some media organizations or against some of their staff.

The GRC Chairman added that “the media in the GCC States is the target of two types of external pressure: first, direct pressure which unfold through hemming in and casting suspicion on the practices of the Gulf media. At times, the pressure goes as far as accusing the Gulf media of pronounced bias and instigating violence. Second, indirect pressure exerted by external powers on some ruling regimes in the region so that freedom of the media is curtailed, particularly when a media organization broaches the double-standard policies enacted by external powers towards Arab and Muslim issues”.

The symposium involved debates on four main themes. During the first

session Dr. Abdullah Al-Roken of the UAE University discussed the salient new trends in the GCC mediascape in relation to statutory media regulations in force in the GCC countries, insisting on “the need to conduct a comprehensive review of media regulations in the Gulf region, either by amending existing legislative texts or issuing

new regulations that would better match the requirements of the times.”

Dr Roken added that “New media instruments, like satellite TV channels and the Internet have created a wider space for the discussion of sensitive and erstwhile “taboo” issues, a development that constitutes a formidable challenge by itself.”



■ (From left) Mohammed Abdel Qader Al-Jassem, Ghassan Tahboub, Mohammed Rayan Baryan and Khalid Bin Hamad Al-Malek

## Participants

the Executive Office, Dubai

**Ghassan Al-Makahal**

Al-Arabiya TV channel, Dubai

**Fahd Hasan Al Aqran**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Madina, Saudi Arabia

**Fahd Bin Abdullah At-Tayyash**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Majala, Saudi Arabia

**Dhaen Shaheen**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Bayan, Dubai

**Awad Bin Said Bin Ali Baqweer**

Director of Studies and Reports Unit, Oman newspaper

**Assef Farid Ali Hameedi**

Editor-in-Chief, Abu Dhabi TV Channel

**Ali Mohammed Hassoun**

Managing Editor, Al-Bilad, Saudi Arabia

**Al-Azb At-Tayyeb At-Taher**

Editor of Diplomatic Affairs, Ar-Raya

**Ahmed Abdulkareem Saif**

Gulf Research Center

**Ahmad Abdullah Sanad Al-Yussif**

Editor-in-Chief, Saudi 'Gazette'

**Ahmad Abdelmalek**

Qatari academic and media specialist

**Ahmad Jassim Al-Hamr**

Director General cum Editor-in-Chief, Qatar News Agency

**Ahmad Abdul Aziz Al-Jarallah**

Editor-in-Chief, As-Siyassa, Kuwait

**Ahmad Bin Ali Bin Mohammed Al-Msheekhi**

Head of the Media Department, Qaboos University, Oman

**Adnan Khalifah Rashed Ar-Rashed**

Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Al-Anbaa, Saudi Arabia

**Abdullah Al-Ayyoubi**

Head of the News Department, Bahrain

**Abdullah Al-Abri**

Director-General, Oman Television

**Abdulaziz Sager**

Chairman, Gulf Research Center

**Abdulaziz Al-Mahmoud**

Editor-in-Chief, Al-Jazeera Net



■ Saqr Ghobash

During the second session, former Kuwaiti information minister Dr Saad bin Tafla Al-Ajmi highlighted the means and requirements for upgrading media performance in the GCC countries in the face of existing challenges and obstacles.

Ajmi remarked that "there is a pressing need to define clearly the ter-

minology and concepts used by the media," adding that "one of the factors that motivates researchers and observers to study the Gulf media is the high degree of professionalism that marks its practices and the millions of spectators it attracts throughout the Arab world." He also said that thanks to the modern technologies it

uses and the freedom it enjoys, the Gulf media has become an important center for monitoring and tracing the various events and developments unraveling across the region.

Dr Fahd At-Tayyash of the King Saud University addressed the theme of external pressure and the challenges facing the Gulf media. He observed that pressure on the Gulf media has grown unbearably severe and adopt various means. Among the myriad external pressures, "the pressures exerted on the GCC governments and instigating other parties against them by accusing Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya TV channels of encouraging violence and terrorism."

At-Tayyash added that among the challenges confronting the Gulf media are the need to establish radio stations and TV channels whose key mission would be to present viewpoints that would interest the attention of a wider Arab audience. "We should approach this issue by defining the nature of external pressures facing the Gulf



■ (From left) Abdulaziz Al-Mahmoud, Ibrahim Al-Abed, Ahmad Jassim Al-Hamr and Aaed Bin Baniya Ar-Radadi



■ Nasser Mohammed Al-Othman (left) and Saad bin Taflah Al-Ajmi



■ Seif Ahmed Al-Qattan (left) and Nasser Ahmed At-Tura

media and the sources from which they spring as well as the causes that drive them and the tools they employ,” Tayyash pointed out.

The last session addressed by Ghassan Makhal of Al Arabiya discussed the issue of the requirements and means necessary for improving the press and the media in the GCC States. Makhal remarked that intensifying the nationalization process might be the nodal point to boost the performance of the Gulf press.

“Nationalization is the only way to link the press to the overall development of society... Making the Gulf press entirely national should be the

ultimate objective,” Makhal added, while calling for the integration of the various Gulf media outlets and the establishment of newspapers whose interests would go beyond the local GCC concerns. Training centers across the region ought to be created to educate media people.

Makhal also called for conducting more opinion polls in a bid to better direct the work of the press community, especially since opinion polls are extremely important in moving the media more towards the concerns and interests of the people. He added that there is a need to offer the chance to a new generation of young people in the

press and the management of newspapers. “Stagnation in this specific domain is the worst enemy that freezes innovation, development and continuity,” Makhal emphasized.

“It is important to encourage conferences in order to listen to the opinions, views and proposals of press professionals, particularly with regard to the process of change and development,” he added, highlighting the need to boost the bonds between the press and the media in the Gulf region through establishing a union of the Gulf press or various individual unions for Gulf editors, photographers and producers.



■ (From left) Fahd Bin Abdullah At-Tayyash, Ahmad Abdelmalek, Dhaen Shaheen, Mohammad Abdulla Al-Roken and Huda Al-Rasheed

# Anti-terror action incites violent reaction

Three years after the Sept. 11 attacks, one glaring gap in the US's war against terror strategy has been the failure to make political capital of its military might, which has made the world a victim of terrorism rather than be a beneficiary of peace as propagated initially. Whether that gap was unintended, miscalculated or deliberately conceived by Washington is subject to interpretation.

While the world is yet to reach a consensus over a definition of terrorism, a certainty, however, is that the Sept. 11 attacks were not, as the US claims, the culmination of Al-Qaeda's long-term planning; it was, in fact, the beginning of Al-Qaeda's long-term plan to drag US into a prolonged battle that would showcase Washington's biased views, inhuman action and hegemonic ideology.

According to US President George W. Bush, more than three-quarters of Al-Qaeda's key members and associates have either been detained or killed or on the run, and by that logic, the threat of terrorism has diminished. Statistics, however, don't support that — of the estimated 70,000 people trained by Al-Qaeda, only 3,500 have reportedly been killed or captured.

Further, what the US administration has taken note of, but not publicized are: first, the fragmentation of the Al Qaeda network into small units in countries that hitherto didn't see terror as a major threat; second, the pre-emptive strike policy, war in Iraq and lack of positive movement on the Palestinian-Israeli front have encouraged many more youth, individuals and groups to swear by terror to achieve their political, religious and personal goals — Osama bin Laden has become a symbolic figurehead, whose ideology has been championed by fringe groups totally unconnected with the main network; and third, the combination of the first and second factors has resulted in 9/11-like attacks in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Turkey, Morocco, Indonesia, Russia, Spain and Egypt.

Thus, while the war against terror has insulated the United States from any further attacks for now, it has exposed the world, particularly Iraq, to the "gates of hell", resulting in extensive civilian casualties that easily overshadow the Sept. 11 death toll in the United States. Unconfirmed reports suggest that in Iraq alone, nearly 30,000 people — about half of them civilians — have died

since March 2003, apart from making it a terrorist hub since Saddam's ouster.

The prospects for a diminished terror scenario have not benefited much from US unilateralism either. While France, Germany and Russia have consistently voiced displeasure at the way the events have evolved on the ground in Iraq, some of the so-called US allies in the war against terror — Spain and the Philippines — pulled their troops out of Iraq for political and security reasons.

While the US has now ensured that the world is in the grip of Islamophobia, it fails to admit that it was the first to use the services of religion to achieve its political objectives when they backed the mujahideens in Afghanistan against the Soviet forces during 1979-89. Bolstered by the goals achieved during that mission, Islamic extremism has grown from strength to strength in its quest to fulfil political aspirations.

In this context, it is hard to refute that the US wouldn't have moved against terrorism but for 9/11, which targeted its symbols of economic and military might.

While poverty and lack of political freedom have often been cited as factors encouraging terrorism in the Middle East, the presence of the "wealthy" Bin Laden and the alleged involvement of Malaysian Azahari Husin, a British-trained engineer and former university lecturer, in the Australian embassy bombing in Indonesia, indicate that the problem of terrorism is all-pervasive. In fact, elections in Turkey, Bahrain, Pakistan and Kuwait have seen Islamists surge ahead in popularity, reflecting the mood of the public, which is caught

between fighting extremism in their own backyard and defending their religion against Western slur.

It is true that the last three years have seen several attempts at reforming the socio-political-economic institutions in several of the Middle Eastern countries. But if the voice of the moderates has to acquire the intensity capable of drowning the gunshots of the extremists, the war against terror has to shift from the battleground to the boardroom.

It is logical to argue that any counter-offensive against terror is bound to see an upswing in terror-related events in the first phase. But if the one-way military road to solving the terror crisis continues into the second phase, there could well be no lull in the next phase either.



*This article is translated from Araa – published by GRC in Arabic and electronically available in Arabic and English at [www.grc.ae](http://www.grc.ae) and [www.gulfinthemedia.com](http://www.gulfinthemedia.com)*



■ *Mr. Sager explains GRC's mission to Dr. Jairam Reddy.*



■ *Mr. Lars-Erik Grundell gets a briefing on the center's activities.*

**Sept. 28**

**Nato Deputy Secretary-General Alessandro Minuto Rizzo** and his delegation interacted with GRC researchers on what the security scenario and concerns were in the region, and how and what Nato's involvement will be.

**Sept. 20**

**Professor Takeji Ino, Dean of Faculty of Humanities, Wayo Women's University, Japan**, consulted the center on water politics in the region for a project he is working on. Along with points of view that were exchanged in a comprehensive discussion, the academic expressed the willingness of his university to cooperate with the center on research and convening conferences.

**Sept. 20**

**Swedish Ambassador to the UAE, Bahrain and Qatar Lars-Erik Grundell** discussed the ways of cooperation between the embassy, Swedish Business Council and GRC, including the possibility of joint events and presentations for the wider diplomatic and business communities in the UAE.

**Sept. 19**

**Dr. Jairam Reddy, Director (ad interim), International Leadership**

**Institute, United Nations University (UNU-ILI)**, visited GRC. The discussions concentrated on establishing institutional relations with the UNU-ILI and the prospects of organizing joint leadership programs on global public policy issues.

**Sept. 13**

**Belgian Ambassador to the UAE Marc Van den Rieck** visited GRC and held talks with senior researchers. The envoy offered the services of the embassy in strengthening the academic database of the



■ *Mr. Dikganag Moopeloa*

research portal and discussed issues pertaining to the GCC-EU ties.

**Sept. 6**

**Rui Jorge Carneiro Manguiera, Counsel-General of Angola to the UAE** held discussions on GRC's activities and the economic growth that Dubai has experienced over the last 30 years. Ideas were presented on potential joint ventures and cooperation between the GCC States and Angola and a willingness expressed to convene conferences and seminars to tap the potential benefit of cooperation between the two sides.

**Aug. 24**

**Dr. Patrick Clawson, Deputy Director, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington DC**

**Aug. 22**

**Dr. Ahmed Al Yusuf, Editor-in-Chief, The Saudi Gazette, Okaz Group, Jeddah.**

**Aug. 18**

**South African Ambassador Dikganag Moopeloa and Counsellor Thabo Thage.**

**July 7**

**Swedish member of parliament Ms. Yvonne Ruwaida of the Green Party and Second Secretary of the Swedish embassy Magnus Nordstrom**

Making Headlines

GRC workshop 'review  
political' efort in GCC

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**Stable Iraq  
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security ii**

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**'Right moment for  
Nato to contribute  
to Mideast stability'**

Challenges and expectations of Gulf media come under the spotlight

*Gulf News, UAE, Sept. 30*

Israel weighs 'all options' to stop Iran nuke plan

*Reuters, London, Sept. 29*

GRC to host symposium on new trends in media

*AME Info, UAE, Sept. 29*

Political reforms in GCC states should come from within

*The Gulf Today, UAE, Sept. 29*

GRC Symposium on 'New Trends in the Gulf Media' opens on Thursday

*Emirates News Agency (WAM), Sept. 28*

GRC releases policy paper on Iran nuke crisis

*The Gulf Today, UAE, Sept. 28*

GCC workshop proposes regional road map for reform

*Arab News, Saudi Arabia, Sept. 28*

Experts call for 'regional

roadmap'

*Khaleej Times, UAE, Sept. 25,*

Experts debate political reforms in AGCC states

*Khaleej Times, UAE, Sept. 24*

Forget achievements; it is time to focus on challenges

*Khaleej Times, UAE, Sept. 23*

9/11 and Saudi Arabia: Who stands in the dock?

*Khaleej Times, UAE, Sept. 18*

Car bomb near rebel Iraqi city kills 7 US marines

*ABC News, United States, Sept. 6*

Feasible options to end Saddam's saga

*Khaleej Times, UAE, Aug. 1*

Possible endgame scenarios in Saddam Hussein's trial

*Khaleej Times, UAE, July 31*

Understanding how terrorists plan and execute kidnappings

*The Daily Star, Beirut, July 28*

Islamic militants embrace political kidnapping

*The Daily Star, Beirut, July 27*

Who are Iraq's hostage-takers?

*BBC News, London, July 13*

Exciting opportunities, daunting challenges beckon Iraq

*Khaleej Times, UAE, July 9*

East discovers West

*Deutsche Welle, Bonn, Germany, July 7*

Forthcoming events

*GRC and Bertelsmann Foundation workshop...*

"Window of opportunity? Europe, Gulf security and aftermath of Iraq War" on **Nov. 24-25**. The workshop would be an extension of an understanding between GRC and German think-tank Bertelsmann Foundation to build an international relations program on GCC-European Union affairs.

*GRC annual conference and workshop...*

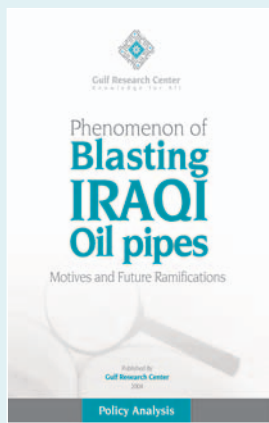
"Future of GCC-US relations after elections" on **Jan. 5-6, 2005**. The workshop will be held in conjunction with the center's second annual conference.

*Workshop on...*

"Iraq and its neighbors: Mutual visions" on **March 31, 2005**

*Social Sciences and Humanities Forum...*

"Educational technologies and methods in social sciences and humanities in the GCC States" on **April 14, 2005**.



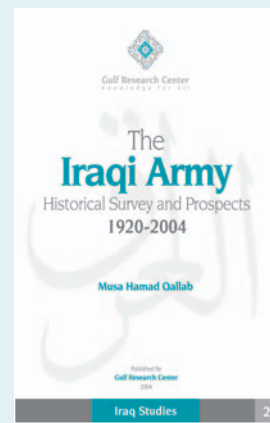
*Discusses and analyzes the phenomenon of blowing up Iraqi oil pipelines in the current political context. It offers predictions about the future prospects of this phenomenon and its local and international impact.*

**Amar Ali Hassan**



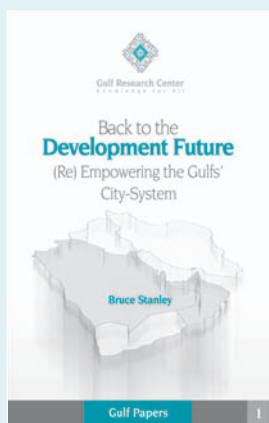
*Traces and analyzes the major determinants governing the future political system and state in Iraq while it explores minutely key related issues and dilemmas.*

**Hasanain Tawfik Ibrahim**



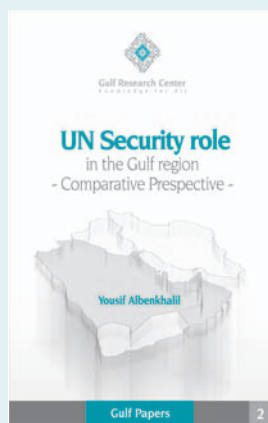
*Traces the creation and evolution of the Iraqi army. It also analyzes the transformations that have affected Iraq's military creed.*

**Musa Qallab**



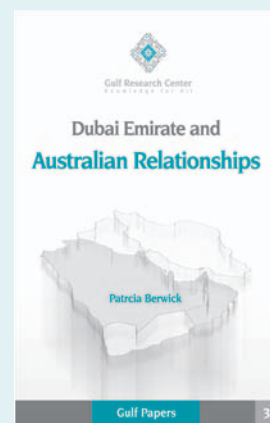
*Investigates the developmental capabilities of the urban system in the Gulf region as it subsumes the pivot of political, economic and social dynamics.*

**Bruce Stanley**



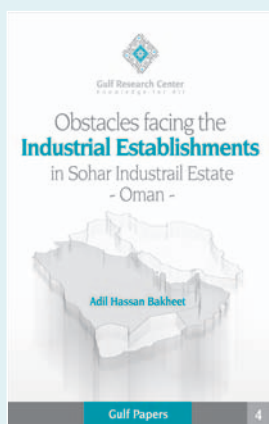
*Offers answers to questions revolving around the security role the UN could assume in the Gulf region in light of recent regional and international developments.*

**Yousif Albenkhalil**



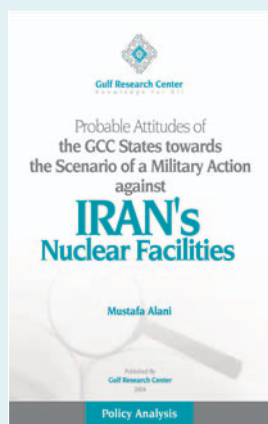
*Examines the bonds between the emirate of Dubai and Australia as they unfolded through history across a wide spectrum of fields, including economy, education and social interactions in the Gulf region.*

**Patricia Berwick**



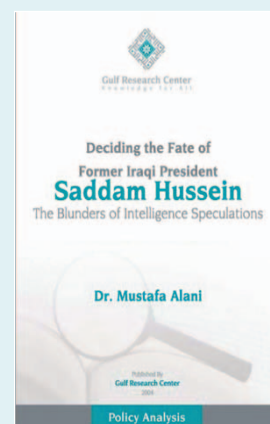
*Sheds light on obstacles confronting industrial corporations in Sohar industrial zone regardless of the size of their activities and the capabilities of their managers.*

**Adel Bakheet**



*Attempts to examine and predict the Gulf States' reactions towards two possible scenarios that could have a great impact on the regional security and stability: Iran's possession of an atomic bomb and/or an external military action against Iran.*

**Mustafa Alani**



*Deals with what promises to become a unique case in contemporary world history: The legal process of a head of state, captured by an invading foreign force and declared as a prisoner of war.*

**Mustafa Alani**

**All publications are available in English and Arabic.  
Place your orders at [sales@grc.ae](mailto:sales@grc.ae)**

### New appointments

*Dr. Mustafa Alani -- Senior Advisor and Program Director for Security and Terrorism Studies (alani@grc.ae)*

Dr. Alani brings with him extensive experience in the field of Gulf Security and Terrorism studies and will be responsible for the establishment and expansion of a dedicated research gateway in this field. Prior to his appointment at GRC, Dr. Alani was Fellow and Senior Consultant on Security and at the Royal United Service Institute for Defense and Security Studies (RUSI) Whitehall, London. Dr. Alani has studied political Islam and the activities of the Islamist fundamentalist groups for many years. He is known for his contributions in Arab and international media on most issues related to the Middle East political developments, security and defense. He has several publications on various topics related to security and strategic issues in the region.



*Dr. Christian Koch -- Program Director, GCC-EU Relations (ckoch@grc.ae)*

Dr. Koch brings with him extensive experience in the field of Gulf-Europe relations and will be responsible for the establishment and expansion of a dedicated research gateway in this field. Dr. Koch previously worked as Head of the Strategic Studies Section at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi. Dr. Koch received his Ph.D. from the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany, with a thesis on the role of voluntary association in the political development of Kuwait. He also studied at the American University in Washington, DC and the University of South Carolina. Dr. Koch has a number of publications on various Middle East political developments and Gulf strategic issues. He is the co-editor of *Gulf Security in the Twenty-First Century* (Abu Dhabi: ECSSR, 1997) and a contributor to *Elections in Asia: A Data Handbook* (Oxford University Press, 2001) and *Der Irak: Ein Land zwischen Krieg und Frieden* (Palmyra, 2003). Dr. Koch has also contributed to *Jane's Sentinel Publications* on Gulf issues. His particular research interests are political liberalization in the Arab Gulf States as well as the role of Europe in the Gulf.



### GRC participation and presentations

*Sept. 9-12* -- GRC Chairman Abdulaziz Sager attended a meeting of the Mideast Regional Security Program organized by the UCLA Burkle Center for International Relations at the Dead Sea in Jordan.

Mr Sager visited South Africa between Aug. 30-Sept. 1. His itinerary ran as follows:

*Sept. 1* -- Talks with Dr. Greg Mills, South Africa Institute of International Affairs ([www.saiia.org.za](http://www.saiia.org.za)), University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and Dr Garth Le Pere, Executive Director, Institute of Global Dialogue ([www.igd.org.za](http://www.igd.org.za)).

*Aug. 31* -- Visited L.N. Le Roux, Major General (Retd.), Head, Defense Sector Program at the Institute for Security Studies ([www.iss.org.za](http://www.iss.org.za)), Pretoria, and the Department of Foreign Affairs, South Africa.

*Aug. 30* -- Meetings with Professor Virginia Gamba, Director, Safer Africa, Pretoria, and Dr. Eddie Maloka, Chief Executive Officer, Africa Institute of South Africa. ([www.Aisa.org.za](http://www.Aisa.org.za))

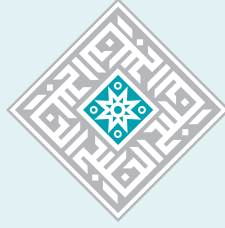
### Partnerships

#### *GRC and SaferAfrica sign deal*

GRC signed a wide-ranging co-operation agreement with SaferAfrica, a South Africa-based development institute, on Sept. 1. The agreement opens the way for GRC to benefit from an exchange of research articles and papers, experts, collaborative workshops and seminars and comparative assessments of how best to approach the security needs of the Gulf region using the models and solutions provided by SaferAfrica.

The GRC aims to use the agreement to strengthen the partnership between the governments of the Gulf region and South Africa in addressing the issues of peace, security and sustainable development.

With its head office in Pretoria and regional offices in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, SaferAfrica is a leading independent organization established to serve the long-term security and development needs of Africa. It provides professional, expert and technical assistance to governments and civil society institutes in the fields of peace and security, consensus-building and development-oriented policies. The institute's main objective is to assist in the development of responsible, self-reliant and good governance and management systems in these fields.



Based in Dubai, UAE, GRC began its activity in 2000 as a privately-funded, non-partisan think-tank, education provider and consultancy specializing in the Gulf region.

GRC produces recognized research from a Gulf perspective, redressing the current imbalance in Gulf area studies, where regional opinions and interests are underrepresented.

At GRC, we believe that the Gulf Cooperation Council has transcended the initial reasons for its establishment, to become a fundamental right of its citizens in the development of the region. GRC seeks to further this belief by being an institution of distinction and innovative research that advances different aspects of development to ultimately benefit the people of the region.



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