From the Coast of Oman to the United Arab Emirates (1952-1971): Attempting to Federate the Emirates

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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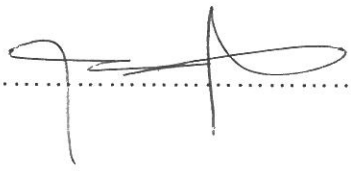

Abstract

The thesis examines the process of state formation of the only surviving federal state in the Arab world: the United Arab Emirates (UAE). It tries to answer questions related to the historical circumstances leading to the federation; the respective role of the British officials and the local rulers in it; and the methods and strategies employed by the rulers of these Emirates during the negotiations leading to the formation of the federation to preserve their local status and power while bridging the gaps between them and establishing a viable state.

It argues that, of the main sets of political players at the time (the British officials and the local rulers), it was the interaction among the rulers that led to the successful outcome of announcing the new state. Even during the successive negotiations to establish unions, the rulers of the Emirates did not differ over the forming of a larger state; however they did disagree on their influence over decision-making institutions within the new state. Therefore, it was the recognition by the rulers of each other's power and the value of their potential contribution to the future union that determined the issue of the negotiations and the inclusion or exclusion of a particular ruler from the union.

The ambition of this research is to contribute to the literature on federal state formation in the post-colonial world, with a particular emphasis on the process, the forces, and the avenues leading to the merging of various components into one political entity. It relies on newly-released British official documents and the increasing availability of personal accounts (books, articles and memoirs) by individuals who participated in the negotiations, giving new tools to investigate various aspects of the social, economic and political factors associated with the formation of the state on the Coast of Oman.

Acknowledgement

This dissertation would not have been completed without the contribution of many individuals and institutions both in the United Arab Emirates and in the United Kingdom. In the UAE I am indebted to members of my family: my father, Qassim Sultan, my mother, Rafi ‘a al-Hashimi, and my brothers Rashed, Ahmed, Jamal, Nawaf, Sultan and my sister Amal. They have assisted me in sending books and articles I requested as well as providing me with moral support while I was sick. This dissertation would not have reached its final destination without vital contributions of my supervisors, who agreed to carry the task at late stage: Dr. Marc Valeri, University of Exeter, and Prof. Abdulkhaliq Abdulla, United Arab Emirates University, who reviewed and commented on chapters of the thesis that improved it qualitatively. My earlier supervisor Dr. James Onley, who discontinued his task, assisted me with many comments as well. Ms. Lindy Ayubi transcended the role of editing chapters by critically reading them which saved me from many mistakes. In Exeter, my friends Dr. Khalid al-Muzaini, from the UAE, and Dr. Fahad al-Sharif, from Saudi Arabia, played crucial role in discussing many aspects of this thesis, which otherwise would not have appeared as such in its final form. Also the National Archives in Abu Dhabi supplied me with documents from the United Kingdom and the United States of America concerning the history of the Emirates. At the same time, the British Archives assisted me in searching for documents that I could not find in my home country. Also, a number of friends who provided me with documents requested not to be mentioned nominally.

A number of friends, both in the UAE and the UK, provided me with moral and intellectual support when I needed it. In the UAE I would wish to acknowledge Mr. ‘Ali Darwish and Mr. Salah bin Za‘als, who called me on a regular basis; in the UK, my gratitude extends to Ms. Layla bin Dismal and Mr. Abdulilah Tawfick in London, and Mr. Abdulla Kuzu and his Dinosaur Café in Exeter, where I used to spend times reading books or enjoying the company of my friends. In addition, Mr. Nabeel Fahim assisted me in bringing the chapters together in one body. Finally, hospitals both in the UAE and the UK played their role as well while I was sick; the medical staffs of the Rashid Hospital in Dubai, the Royal Exeter and Devon Hospital and the Chelsea and

Westminster Hospital played a crucial role in assisting me to recover from my unstable health. After leaving hospital, the staff of Cheval Harrington Court, where I have resided in London, made my life easier by providing me with assistance when necessary.

Finally, it should be clear that all shortcomings in this thesis are mine, not the individuals' mentioned above. Although they helped me in all possible ways (morally and emotionally) and provided me with their opinions, it was entirely up to my decision to include or exclude these elements from the final work.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Institutionally, states in the modern and contemporary world can be distinguished by a majority of them being unitary and a minority being composed (federal or confederal, with emphasis on the former) in form. The latter institutional system usually requires negotiation between the leaders of sovereign entities to transfer power to a federal structure and to enable it to maintain its political, legal, economic, and social organization. Among these federal cases is the United Arab Emirates **(**UAE, formerly known as the Coast of Oman), which lies in the south-eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula, bordered on the west by Saudi Arabia, on the east by the Sultanate of Oman, and on the north by the Persian or Arabian Gulf. The federation was declared by the rulers of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, ‘Ajman, Um al-Quwain, and Fujairah in December 1971 (see Annexe 1), and was expanded to include Ras al-Khaimah, as the seventh emirate, in February 1972, having gone through various stages of dismemberment and attempts at unification. The aim of this thesis is to bring this complex set of dynamics to the fore.

As a result of the civil war in Oman in 1720, the Coast of Oman and the Sultanate of Oman emerged as separate geographical and political regions. In 1952, after more than a century of domination over the Coast of Oman and the signing of a series of treaties with the rulers that imposed an informal protectorate on them, Britain established various state institutions, and in 1968 declared its intention to withdraw from the Gulf region by the end of 1971. As a consequence of this British initiative, the rulers of the emirates were constrained to move towards the formation of a federal state. While they focused initially on economic and social developments, from 1968 to 1971

they participated in two attempts at establishing a federation. The initial negotiations to establish a union (called “the union of the nine”) included Bahrain and Qatar, in addition to the seven emirates comprising the current UAE, and lasted for over three years without success. Subsequent negotiations to establish “the union of the six” (with Ras al-Khaimah refusing at first to join the federation) were marked by the necessity for the rulers to arrive at the declaration of the second union as a state in the limited time remaining before the termination of British dominance.

1.1 The Name of the Area

The name used to designate this part of the Arabian Peninsula evolved intermittently over time. Along with the lack of consensus, this ambiguity is explained by the predominance of British documents concerning the history of the Coast of Oman. The British diplomat J. G. Lorimer (1807-1914) stated that there were various unsatisfactory local names for this area,[1] while the Emirati researcher ‘Abdul-‘Aziz al-Musalam argues that the overwhelming dependency of scholars on British sources led them to emphasize their preferred terms, thereby undermining attempts to recognize a locally-established name.[2]

From the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century the British authorities employed the term ‘the Pirate Coast’, later using either ‘the Trucial States’ or ‘Trucial Oman’. Both of these were problematic. Besides the obvious offensive character of the first of them, an issue for the latter was concerned with the association of the name of an area with a political act, i.e. the signing of a treaty in 1853. Moreover it indirectly assumed that the history of the area as a separate political entity began with the signing of this treaty, even though it dated back to as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, as is shown in Chapter Three. Alternative names to those devised by the

[1] J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia*, vol. 2, *B Geographical and Statistical* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1908), p. 1427.
[2] ‘Abdul-‘Aziz al-Musalam, “al-Sahil: al-ism al-qadeem li-dawlat al-imarat al-‘arabiya al-mutahida” [The Coast: An Old Name for the United Arab Emirates], in Markaz al-Watani lil-Wathaiq wa al-Buhuth (ed), *Mafahim jadida fi tadwin tarikh al-imarat al-‘arabiya al-mutahida* [New Perspectives on Recording the UAE] (Abu Dhabi: Markaz al-Watani lil-Wathaiq wa al-Buhuth, 2009), pp. 239-246.

British to refer to the current United Arab Emirates were 'Oman', which was used by 'Uthman bin Bishr, a nineteenth-century Najdi historian,[3] and *al-Shamal* or 'the North', as used by Humaid Ibn Ruzaiq, a nineteenth-century Omani historian.[4]

As well as the Najdi and Omani historians, a number of twentieth-century writers from the Coast of Oman itself discussed the best name to apply to their native land. Humaid al-Shamsi and 'Abdul-'Aziz al-Musalam proposed *al-Sahil* or 'the Coast'.[5] While al-Shamsi did not specify his reasons for this choice and also used other designations, al-Musalam mentioned a special type of a dagger called *al-sahili*, to which he referred in association with the people of the area. Like 'the North', though, it seems to the researcher that it remains too vague a term to have been applied as a name for this area.

If the term 'the Coast of Oman' was discounted by both Lorimer and al-Musalam, it has been used more commonly by contemporary scholars, especially in association with the word 'North' (as in 'the Northern Coast of Oman'). This is the case with the Emirati historian 'Abdulla al-Mutawa', in relation to the nineteenth century, and with the Italian scholars Valeria Piacentini and Elena Maestri, in their work focusing on the period between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.[6] The term 'the Coast of Oman' has also appeared in offhand remarks by various authors, for instance, such as Ali Khalifa.[7]

The present study opts for the term 'the Coast of Oman' to designate the territory of the contemporary United Arab Emirates before 1971 over all available alternatives –

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[3] 'Uthman bin Bishr, *'Unwan al-Majd fi Tarikh Najd, al-Juzain* [The Symbolism of Glory in the History of Najid], vol. 2 ed. by 'Abdulatif bin 'Abdulla al-Shaikh (Riyadh: Darat al-Malik 'Abdul-'Aziz, 1402 AH/ 1982 CE), pp. 65, 230, 246. Of course 'Oman' could not be used as a name for this area since, by the middle of the nineteenth century, it was outside the political control of the Omanis.

[4] Humaid bin Muhammad ibn Ruzaiq, *al-Fath al-Mubin fi Sirat al-Sada al-Bu Saideen* [The Glorious Conquest in the Itinerary of al-Bu Saids], eds. 'Abdul-Munem 'Amer and Mohammad Mursi 'Abdulla (Oman: Ministry of National Heritage, [1977] 2001), p. 437.

[5] Humaid bin Sultan al-Shamsi, *Naql al-akhbar fi Wafeyat al-Mashayikh wa Hawadeth Hathehi al-Deyar* [The Report on the Shaikhs Death and the Events of this Land] ed. Faleh Handal (Abu Dhabi: Dar al-Fikhr al-Jadid, 1986), pp. 149, 158, 175, 188; 'Abdul-Aziz al-Musalam, "al-Sahil", pp. 241-242, 244.

[6] 'Abdulla bin Salih al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie fi Tarikh 'Oman al-Shamali* [Jewels and Pearls of Northern Oman] ed. Faleh Handal (Dubai: Markaz Jum'a al-Majid lil-thaqafa, 1995); Valeria Piacentini and Elena Maestri, "Rise and Splendour of the Sahil 'Uman al-Shamali within a New Order (13th – 16th Centuries AD) pp. 155-182, in al-Markaz al-Watani al-Buhuth (ed). *Mafaheem Jadeda fi Tadween*…, p. 157-158.

[7] Ali Mohammad Khalifa, *The United Arab Emirates: Unity in Fragmentation* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1979), p. 21.

for both historical and political reasons. This term preserves the historical legacy of the area which extends at least as far back as the first century, if not beyond, and captures the social and economic evolution of the society. Politically, it reflects the changes that took place after 1740, when this stretch of land that had formerly belonged to Oman broke away.[8] The term 'Oman' is used here to refer only to the territory covering the present-day Sultanate of Oman. British institutions that were established in the emirates (such as the 'Trucial States Council') are referred to using their British titles since the Arabic designations of all these institutions followed the British names.[9]

1.2 Objectives of the Study and Research Questions

The thesis aims to examine the process of state formation of the only surviving federal state in the Arab world: the United Arab Emirates. Despite the extensive studies on the UAE's political history, there are no studies examining the underlying dynamics and complexity in the actual process of the UAE's formation. Therefore, the intention is to contribute to the literature on state formation in the post-colonial world, with a particular emphasis on the process, the forces, and the avenues leading to the merging of various components into one political entity. In addition, this project is interested in the strategies and techniques that were employed by the rulers of these emirates during negotiations, in order to preserve their local status and power while they were establishing a viable state.

It is argued that, of the main sets of political players at the time (the British officials and the local rulers), it was the interaction among the rulers that led to the successful outcome of announcing the new state. Even during their negotiations to

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[8] Hamad bin Muhammad bin Seray, "Manteqat al-Imarat min al-Qarn al-Awal ila al-Qarn al-Sabi' Tarikhiyan, Iqtisadeyan, Seyaseyan, Athareyan [The Area of the Emirates from the First Century to the Seventh Century: Historically, Economically, Politically and Archeologically] pp. 121-136, in al-Markaz al-Watani al-Buhuth (ed.), *Mafaheem Jadeda fi Tadween*…, pp. 123-127, 129; Muhammad Mursy Abdulla, *Imarat al-Sahel wa Oman wa al-Dawlah al-Saudiyah al-Ula: 1793-1818, al-Juzi al-Awal* [Emirates of the Coast, Oman and the First Saudi State: 1793-1818, vol. 1] (Cairo: al-Maktab al-Masri al-Hadeth, 1978), pp. 59, 65-66.

[9] A notable exception involves the Trucial Oman Levies and Scouts, which were called in Arabic *Quwat/Kashafat Sahil Oman* (Coast of Oman Forces/Scouts).

establish either a union of the nine or the union of the six, the rulers of the emirates did not differ over the forming of a larger state; however they did disagree about their influence over decision-making institutions within the new state. Therefore, it was the recognition (or lack thereof) by the rulers of each other's power and the value of their potential contribution to the future union, that determined the issue of the negotiations and the inclusion or exclusion of a particular ruler from the union. On this basis, the research tries to answer four questions:

1. What were the historical circumstances leading to the federation?
2. In what manner did British officials and local rulers participate in its realization?
3. How did the failed cycles of negotiations (in particular those concerning the union of the nine) contribute to the realizing of the union of the six?
4. What methods and avenues were employed by the rulers of the six emirates to bridge the gaps between them?

This study fills a gap in the literature on the formation of the federal state on the Coast of Oman by focusing specifically on the role played by internal dynamics. The available literature concentrates on Britain's extensive role in shaping the history of the Coast of Oman, but has little to impart on the internal dynamics, i.e., the extent to which the rulers were ready or not to merge their emirates into one federal state. Moreover, whereas most studies emphasize economic and social conditions as the foundations of the federation, and relegate political conditions to no more than their by-product, the thesis emphasizes the opposite by attempting to understand how these emirates emerged. Development of the political conditions is approached through a study of the formation of each emirate, the British establishment of a proto-state, and the elaboration of the notion of the federation and its realization. Each of these three themes is discussed separately in order to understand its contribution to the formation of the federal state. For example, to what extent did the formation of each emirate, as a secession from its tribal political alliance, lead to the formation of a federal and not a unitary state? This research does not extend beyond 1971, since the post-1971 era is discussed extensively in the literature.

My interest in studying the formation of the federal state in the Coast of Oman grew out of my dissatisfaction with the literature covering this aspect of the history of the

UAE. To begin with, there was very little written about how the federation emerged. For instance, most of the studies narrated the history of the society in the Coast of Oman, with no more than a brief discussion concerning the formation of the state. Moreover, if there were any references, they tended to deal with the failed union of the nine, followed by a few pages on the success of the rulers of the six emirates in forming the state. Some of the literature gave the inaccurate impression that the reason for such a brief reference to negotiations for establishing a smaller federation was because there were few, if any, differences between the rulers. In fact, many of the same issues that dominated the union of the nine resurfaced in these meetings. Most of the literature has not applied an historical approach to the process of the formation of the federal nation-state. The present approach deals with the emphasis on the causes of the break-up and the reasons for merging these emirates. In other words, why did the federal rather than the unitary state become the only alternative for reuniting the Coast of Oman?

Intellectually, the interest in studying the federation is to discover the reasons behind the ability of the seven rulers to survive as a federal state, compared with other attempts elsewhere in the Arab world. When the federation was declared more than forty years ago, many experts predicted its demise. In the Arab World, the union was an important matter because of historical and linguistic connections, and discussion on this subject was a central theme in the press and on the street. After the 1950s, there were six 'federal attempts' in the Arab World, only two of which survived. The United Kingdom of Libya, which was declared in 1951, was turned into a unitary state by King Idris al-Sanussi's decree in 1963. Two states, the United Arab Republic (of Syria and Egypt) and the Hashemite Arab Union of Iraq and Jordan, declared in 1956, were dissolved in 1961 and 1958, respectively. An attempt to establish the Union of South Arabia was dissolved in 1967. The Republic of Yemen resulted from the merging of the Arab Republic of Yemen with the Popular Democratic Republic of Yemen in 1990, but at the time of writing, is still facing a secessionist movement in the South. Approaching the question of the survival of the federation of the United Arab Emirates will not only fill a gap in the literature, but will also offer local intellectuals an opportunity to evaluate the achievements of the federation by connecting its early beginning with its subsequent evolution.

1.3 Federalism in a Comparative Perspective

For historical reasons, the unitary state has been the dominant form of the state in the world. Marxist and Weberian approaches share common views on the historical evolution of power structures.[10] By the end of the Middle Ages, political power in many parts of Europe was gradually being transferred from feudal lords to kings or queens. In order to consolidate their command and to maintain and defend their sovereignty from internal and external challenges, the latter appointed representatives and retained a large number of men under arms in their territories. In addition to the emergence of powerful kings or queens, rich individuals in towns, or the bourgeoisie, provided the former with money to consolidate the status quo. In turn the bourgeois class competed with the nobility over positions in the administration and titles, and also used its financial resources to demand political participation in the affairs of the state.[11] Finally, after the conference of Westphalia in 1648, the sovereignty of the modern form of the state was recognized within and outside its borders.[12] The notion of a state for a nation emerged in Europe in the eighteenth century, along with the need to centralize political authority. In the colonized world, including the Coast of Oman, the formation of the modern state was a by-product of European domination which the nationalist leaders had inherited. The main purpose of establishing state institutions in these territories was to consolidate command over them. In many instances, European powers also included existing

[10]For a Weberian perspective, see Charles Tilly, "Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation", pp. 601-638, in idem. (ed), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975); for a Marxist approach, see Michael Hechter and William Brustein, "Regional Modes of Production and Patterns of State Formation in Western Europe", *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 85, no. 5 (1980), pp. 1061-1094.

[11] Charles Tilly, ibid., in idem. (ed), *The Formation of National*, pp. 624-628; Michael Hechter and William Brustein, ibid., pp. 1061-1066, 1082-1083.

[12]Roland Axtmann, "The State of the State: the Model of the Modern State and its contemporary Transformation'' *International Political Science Review*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2004), pp. 260-263.

political institutions and employed local power holders to subordinate local populations.[13]

In contrast to unitary states, federalism is a political structure based on institutions in which the power to govern is shared between a central authority and local governments as constituent political units, forming what is called a federation. K. C. Wheare, a leading scholar on federalism, views federations in terms of associations of states, in which leaders of various states agree, during negotiations, to transfer parts of their sovereignty to a national government and to retain other parts.[14] Thus the authority in federal states is divided between national and local, and both coordinate their activities to avoid any conflict of interest that might influence the federation negatively.[15] In addition Wheare identified geographic continuity, similar political institutions, external threat, secure economic benefits, and interest in becoming part of a larger state, as the foundations for establishing a successful federation.[16]

According to Preston King, the federal system can be centralized, meaning that power is predominantly in the hands of the federal authorities; decentralized, in which the balance of power tilts in favour of the constituent units; or balanced.[17] Establishing a federal state implies that leaders of would-be components of this state negotiate its formation based on well-defined purposes. Clarity of purpose is crucial to the successful outcome of the negotiations.[18] This approach is sufficiently broad to serve as a foundation for studying the formation of a federal state but it excludes any detailed description of how a federal state might evolve. Such an analysis would include the historical background of relations between would-be members of the new federation, and their reasons for forming a larger state. This shortcoming can be overcome by looking at actual experiences of formation of federal states.

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[13]Simon Bromley, *Rethinking the Middle East: State Formation and Development* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984), pp. 69, 81-82; Iliya Harik, "The Origins of The Arab State System", pp. 19-46, in Ghassan Salame (ed.), *The Foundations of the Arab States* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 23-24, 30.
[14] K. C. Wheare, *Federal Government* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 1, 8-9.
[15] Ibid. pp. 2-3, 12-13.
[16] Ibid., p. 37.
[17] Preston King, *Federalism and Federation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1982). p. 21.
[18] King, ibid., p. 146; Thomas Q. Hueglin and Alan Fenna, *Comparative Federalism: A Systematic Inquiry* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2006), p. 115.

In 2015 twenty-seven federal states, out of over 200 states, exist in the world. The following pages focus on the USA, Switzerland, Germany, Malaysia, Nigeria, South Arabia (Yemen), and Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi) as different examples of attempts to establish federal states and the diverse ways in which the federal states emerged. The emphasis is on the extent of the similarities or differences in their experiences that show how the federal state was formed or failed.

The USA was an outcome of thirteen British colonies on the West Coast of the Atlantic Ocean. Changes in the political situation in these colonies were the result of a war between Britain and France, as a consequence of which the British authorities, in order to cover financial shortages, attempted to impose taxes on goods exported or imported by residents of these colonies. This decision led the residents to revolt against the British authorities in 1774. In 1781 representatives of the thirteen colonies met and declared a confederal state, which was subordinate to its thirteen members. The new state was deprived of the right to collect taxes and remained at the mercy of the states for financial resources to discharge its obligations.[19] As a consequence of this situation, representatives of the member states met in Philadelphia in 1787 and issued constitutional amendments, in which both the national and member states shared powers. The federal government was granted more powers and resources to carry out its obligations but without infringing the ability of the constituent states to discharge their duties. Moreover the Supreme Court was entrusted with the role of maintaining the balance between the two sides by reviewing any legal and practical actions of the national government that might undermine the status quo or hinder the civil rights of citizens.[20]

The Swiss federal experience began with three German-speaking communes and ended with a federation that also includes French, Italian and Romansch speakers. In 1291 the communes of Uri, Unterwalden and Schwyz in the central Alps formed a confederacy which became the oldest confederal regime in the modern world to withstand military attack by the Habsburg dynasty. In 1315, the confederation forces

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[19] Ramesh D. Dikshit, *The Political Geography of Federalism: An Inquiry into Origins and Stability* (New Delhi: Macmillan of India Ltd, 1975), pp. 41-45.

[20] S. Rufus Davis, *The Federal Principle: An Inquiry Through Time Quest of a Meaning* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 74-81, 88-92, 120-121.

defeated the Habsburg army, with the result that other communities joined the confederation. Over time the confederation faced a number of domestic challenges such as the civil war between Catholic and Protestant Cantons and attempts by Zurich to act in its own interest without regard to the effect on the welfare of other Cantons. In 1848 during an era of revolutionary uprisings throughout Europe, Switzerland was transformed into a federal state following a period of civil war.[21] The new constitution reversed the relationship between the Cantons and the federal authorities by providing the latter with more powers. The constitution established a Supreme Court to resolve disagreements between the two sides over their responsibilities or interpretation of laws. At the same time, the powers of the Cantons were further reduced by providing the population with the ability to vote on laws through referendums.[22]

In this context it is important to examine the German Empire, which was declared in 1871. It was a federation of twenty-five states and a number of free cities. The federal structure included a parliament, a cabinet and an emperor. By virtue of its size and resources, Prussia dominated the federation and controlled all three institutions. The formation of the German federal state was an outcome of European and German political, military and social conditions. During the nineteenth century Europe and Germany were engulfed in power struggles for domination. Continentally, France, Russia, Britain, as well as Prussia and Austria were competing for supremacy. Germany, which was divided into numerous states of various sizes, was attempting to achieve unification. Moreover, these states were involved in economic and cultural transformation. As members of a Customs Union, German states sponsored economic development that transformed Germany from a predominantly agricultural to an industrial capitalist society, and the Confederation was instrumental in adopting laws that facilitated the merging of these states. The Napoleonic wars were equally significant in consolidating German nationalism. In addition, the Prussian-Austrian military confrontations of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1871 assisted Prussia to consolidate its control over other German States. After defeating Austria, Prussia militarily incorporated smaller states into its territories, and having defeated France,

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[21] Dikshit, *The Political Geography of….*, pp. 34-35.
[22] K. C. Wheare, *Federal Government*, p. 18.

rulers of the Southern German States were included in the federation through the signing of treaties that preserved their rights. Finally the 1871 Constitution identified education and the collection of taxes, among other issues, as areas under the control of the states, while foreign policy and defence were associated with the national government.[23]

After World War II, British officials in London introduced federation as a means of joining the Commonwealth.[24] Most of the new federal states which emerged after World War II were former British-dominated territories, such as Malaysia, Nigeria, South Arabia, and Rhodesia and Nyasaland. While the first two countries have survived, the latter two failed in their quest.

Malaysia is a federation of nine states and three British Settlement colonies and was established in 1957. It includes Malayans, Chinese and Indian ethnic groups, although the latter two have no state of their own. All Malaysian states are ruled by Malayan Sultans. The foundation of the federation is rooted in the British decision of 1896 to federate Pohang, Perak, Negeri Sembilan and Selangor. The rulers of these states signed a treaty of federation and protectorate with Britain in 1895, as a result of which the British Government appointed Sir Frank Swettenham as the first Resident General of the Federated Malay States (FMS) in 1896. The duties of the Resident-General were to administer the federation and to advise the rulers on all matters, except religious affairs. In 1909 the British government agreed to be responsible for Terengganu, Perlis, Kelantan and Kedah from Siam. The rulers of these states signed a protectorate agreement with the British authorities, which required the appointment of a British adviser for each ruler. These states were known as the Unfederated Malay States (UFMS).[25]

The British authorities in the Malayan Peninsula created a cumbersome administration that included three Crown Colonies, five UFMS and four FMS. At the same time they formulated a variety of incompatible laws and regulations that

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[23] John Breuilly, *The Formation of the First German Nation-State, 1800-1871* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), pp. 23, 25, 83-86, 95-99, 102, 110-111.
[24] W. David McIntyre, "The Admission of Small States in the Commonwealth", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1996), p. 250.
[25] B. Simandjuntak, *Malayan Federalism, 1945-1963* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 8-9, 22-23.

discouraged people in one state from operating in another. Thus, prior to World War II, British officials were working to simplify and unify laws and regulations across the states and colonies. Sir Cecil Clementi pushed to merge the FMS with the UFMS in the Malayan Union. However the rulers of FMS and UFMS rejected the plan on the grounds that they would lose financial revenues from taxes levied on imported or exported goods. This did not deter the British officials who devised another plan in 1942 for the unification of the Malayan states. Submitted by Sir Harold MacMichael to the rulers in 1946, the new plan included a loss of the rulers' powers and extended citizenship to the Chinese and Indians as well as transferring power to the British authorities as a precursor to implementing its provisions. The rulers signed initially but later withdrew their approval for fear of losing their authority and because of popular objections to the extension of citizenship to non-Malayans.[26]

In 1948, with cooperation from the United Malayan National Organization (UMNO) the rulers submitted a joint proposal to British officials to resolve the political stalemate, following which the British Government published the Malayan Order in Council of 1948. This Order declared the formation of a Federation of Malaysia which included, in addition to the FMS and the UFMS, the Malacca and Penang settlements. Singapore, on account of its Chinese majority, was excluded from the federation. In 1955 an election was held, which was won by an alliance of UMNO with the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress: a government was duly formed. Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman advised the rulers to support the government's intended negotiations with Britain to establish a Dominion in 1957. In 1956 a Malayan delegation representing the Rulers and the government visited Britain and met officials in London. The two sides agreed on an interim agenda and Dominion status. A committee of constitutional experts from the Commonwealth countries visited Malaysia and submitted a report, including recommendations to the British Queen and the rulers of the Malayan states, for signature. The Malaysian constitution included a council for the rulers, led by an elected ruler, along with executive and legislative branches, and also identified separate areas of responsibilities for the national and states' governments. The elected ruler of the Council rules but does not govern for a non-

[26] B. Simandjuntak, Ibid., pp. 17, 27, 30, 36-39, 43-47, 53, 56-57.

renewable five-year term. His authorities involve the appointment of the prime minister, from whom the Ruler-President should seek advice in all matters.[27]

Nigeria is the second example of a British-dominated territory that became a federal state in 1960. The federal nature of Nigeria did not reflect Nigerian economic, social or geographical features but was an outcome of multiple British administrations. Political changes in Nigeria resulted from decisions made by British officials in Nigeria, rather than a well-developed plan envisioned by the Colonial Office. British administration in Nigeria began in 1812 with the establishment of Lagos colony, followed by the signing of the 1855 protectorate treaty with local power-holders in the South, and of a protectorate treaty with leaders of the North in 1888. While a governor was appointed and British laws were introduced in the South, a political adviser was appointed in the North and local customs and *Sharia* laws were applied.[28]

In 1898 the Selborne Committee recommended amalgamating the Northern and the Southern regions, to be administered as Nigeria. However, not only was the application of the decision postponed, due to the lack of administration in some areas and a scarcity of lines of communication between the regions, but it also divided the South into East and West. Only in 1946 did Sir Arthur Richards, then Governor of Nigeria, recommend the introduction of a constitutional framework, along with indirect rule. Moreover, when British officials asked leaders in the three regions about their choice of political system, the response was federalism. In 1948, Sir John Macpherson, who had succeeded Richards as Governor, proposed that the law-makers should amend and replace the constitution because Nigeria had in a short time achieved what Richards' constitution had envisioned. A committee of Nigerian officials was therefore selected by the three regions to rewrite the constitution that was adopted in 1954. Nigeria was declared a federation that consisted of three regions, North, East and West, along with the federal district of Lagos. Moreover, a separate political party was established in each region: the Action Party in the West, the Council of Nigerian

[27] B. Simandjuntak, *Malayan Federalism..,* pp. 77, 87-89, 92, 109.
[28] Adiefe E. Afligbo, "Background to Nigerian Federalism: Federal Feature in the Colonial State", *Publius*, 21 (1991), pp. 13-17, 19.

Citizens in the East, and the Northern Peoples Congress in the North. These parties ran for election on local and national levels.[29]

South Arabia is the third example of a federation attempt within the British-dominated area. The federal experience lasted for almost a decade, from 1959 to 1968, when the National Liberation Front (NLF) managed to control the territory of the federation and defeated its rival, the Front for the Liberation of South Arabia (FLSA). South Arabia during the period of British domination was divided into Aden colony and thirteen protectorates. In 1839 Britain began its domination of South Arabia by purchasing Aden from the Sultan of Lahaj, with the aim of counteracting any move by Muhammad Ali, the Governor of Egypt, who was contemplating expansion into Yemen. By the 1880s the British authorities had signed a number of treaties with the rulers of various nearby tribal states to protect Aden. However, it was not until 1937 (when responsibility for the area shifted from the British Government in India to the Colonial Office), that Britain became actively involved in the local affairs of these states. This administrative change led to a series of political modifications in the region. Sponsorship of developmental projects after the foundation of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1941 derived from these modifications. Another change was the establishment of municipal councils with elected membership.[30]

The earliest British attempt to form a federation took place in 1954, when British officials contacted various rulers to encourage them to join a federation. At that time the idea was rejected by the rulers who feared losing control over territories and revenues from which this entity would profit. However, two years later, British Political Resident in Aden Sir Tom Hickinbotham appealed to the rulers to revisit the idea of the federation, and in 1958, rulers of what was called the West Aden Protectorates announced their success in forming the federation. It was inaugurated in 1959 and a federal government was established in which each ruler became a minister. From 1960 to 1964, British officials and rulers of the future state began a series of conferences in both London and Aden to consolidate the new reality, and in 1962, representatives of the federation and

[29] Adiefe E. Afligbo, "Background to Nigerian Federalism…", pp. 22, 24-25, 27-28.
[30] Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in her Last Three Arab Dependencies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 49, 56, 61-62, 65.

those of Aden colony met in London with British officials to finalize the incorporation of Aden into the federation. In another conference in London in 1964, British officials declared their intention to withdraw by 1968. However, the federation faced external and internal challenges. Externally, both the Yemeni and the Egyptian governments opposed the federation, and had provided local opponents with weapons. Internally, various political groups (including NLF and FLSA) challenged the federation militarily. Finally, in the last months before British withdrawal, the Federal Army declared its loyalty to NLF.[31] The Federation was abolished when it gained independence along with the Protectorate of South Arabia to become the People's Republic of South Yemen on 30 November 1967.

Beside South Arabia, another failed experience was the federation of South and North Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which lasted for a decade from 1953 to 1963. The federation included three regions at different levels of development. Politically, while South Rhodesia was a self-governing community, North Rhodesia and Nyasaland were protectorates ruled by the Colonial Office in London. Ethnically, the three regions included a ruling minority of European settlers and a ruled majority of indigenous populations. The primary reason for the failure was the inability of the South Rhodesian government to come to terms with legally accepting Africans as equals.[32]

The seven cases cited above illustrating the formation of federal states reflect diverse experiences. They differ from one another with regard to the manner of establishing the federation, i.e., the form in which relations between federal and sub-state components materialized, as well as the extent to which internal and external factors performed in establishing or undermining the formation of the federal state. At the same time, all successful and failed experiences, apart from Nigeria, had a long period of coordination between constituencies. The United States, Switzerland, and Germany were confederates while four of the Malayan states were already part of a federation. Therefore, the question arises as to what extent the formation of the

[31] Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East*…, pp. 66, 68-70, 72-76, 78, 81-82, 90.
[32]Herbert J. Spiro, "The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland", pp. 37-89, in Thomas M. Frank (ed), *Why Federations Fail: An Inquiry into the Requisite for Successful Federalism* (NY and London: New York University Press and University of London Press, 1968), pp. 37-39, 41.

federation in the Coast of Oman was similar to, or differed from, the examples briefly outlined above.

The establishment of the sub-states in the Coast of Oman is similar to that in the German Empire, Switzerland and Malaysia, since they were formed as a result of the dismemberment of a larger state. At the same time, it is different from the formation of the sub-states in the United States and Nigeria, as well as Rhodesia and Nyasaland, because they were creations of British domination.

The second issue is the nature of the external involvement. While in the case of the United States, Switzerland, and the German Empire a military threat was in play, in the case of the more recent federations, the external involvement, as represented by Britain, acted as a political negotiator to establish a federal state. Moreover, in the case of the United States, Switzerland and the Coast of Oman, the federal structure was created after the declaration of the state, whereas it took place during the negotiation period in the cases of the German Empire, Malaysia, and South Arabia.

In addition, it is important to highlight that, in the case of the Coast of Oman, and contrary to the four other cases of federal states associated with British domination, there was no offer to join the Commonwealth as a form of restructuring the future relationship. There is no clear explanation for this, other than the fact that no Arab country in which Britain was a dominant power, except for South Arabia, offered or accepted to become a member of the Commonwealth. As for the Coast of Oman, another distinctive issue was the involvement of regional powers, namely Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, as mediators to resolve disagreements between the negotiating parties in order to form the federation. It seems that the involvement of the two countries might have been more of a help than a hindrance to the process. The third distinctive issue was the ability of a number of rulers of the Coast, who were involved in a failed attempt to form a federation, to meet once more to form a smaller federation. Among the rulers of the seven emirates of the Coast there were more areas of agreement than disagreement and these were perceived as being worth an additional attempt to resolve the remaining differences and establish the federal state.

1.4 Methodology

This work follows a qualitative research method, using both primary sources and secondary literature. Primary sources include government-generated documents, which provide official and semi-official views on the issues under investigation. The lack of data has always been a major challenge for researchers interested in the contemporary history of the Coast of Oman. In particular, a number of previous academic studies faced the difficulty of obtaining official documents, due to British Government regulations concerning the release of documents, as well as the reservations of those who participated in the events about responding to scholarly inquiries, because of the sensitivity of the issues at stake. However, since the early 1990s, the British Government has released a substantial quantity of documents, some of which have been published, and some of the individuals who participated in the negotiations have published their memoirs of these events. As such, the greater availability of official documents and the increasing number of personal accounts have provided new tools with which to investigate various aspects of the social, economic and political factors associated with the formation of the state on the Coast of Oman. As a consequence, studies on the federation have increased and gaps in the literature are gradually being filled.

The primary sources used in this study include published and unpublished government documents, and books and articles by individuals who took part in these events. Among the government documents used, the British documents can be divided into six main collections: the *Records of the Emirates* (RoE), spanning the period 1820 to 1971;[33] *The Persian Gulf Gazette and Supplements*, published in six volumes in 1987, which also include Queen's Orders in Council from 1949 to 1971; the *Records of the Persian Gulf Pearl Fisheries; 1857-1962*, published in 1995 in four volumes (including maps), which deal with pearl diving, including the negative impact of cultured pearls on the local economy; *The Persian Gulf Historical Summaries: 1907-1953*, published in five volumes in 1987, dealing with a variety of issues, including oil

[33] While the wealth of information included in these documents is undeniable, the coverage of the 1971 negotiations leading to the establishment of the union of the six remains meagre.

exploration and the signing of agreements; unpublished British documents, including reports on the court system in the Coast of Oman[34] and on the establishment of the federation;[35] and last but not least, the Trucial States Development Council reports.[36] Other government documents used in this work include a United States report dated 15 February 1965 from the Embassy in London to the Department of State, concerning a meeting with British officials,[37] and four unpublished Arabic texts of meetings of the Trucial States Council (TSC) as well as its affiliated agency, the Deliberative Committee.[38]

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[34] These consist of seven annual reports for 1956, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1967 and two for 1969 These documents are classified into two series: FO 371, which includes 126906, 14025, 156706 and 157063, as well as the FO 8 series which includes 99 (three documents) and 1348. Although the main objective of these reports was to provide crime data, they sometimes (as with FO 371/1206906) included critical remarks on topics such as the lack of Arabic translations for the benefit of the locals of the Queen's Orders in Council.

[35] These documents fall mainly in the FCO 8 series, and include 1560 and 1562. The 1560 group contains two letters and two telegrams of June and July 1971. In the letter dated 30 June, British officials discussed a comment by the Saudi Ambassador to London revealing King Faisal's neutral stand in relation to the establishment of the union of the Six. This new position by the Saudi monarch meant the removal of a significant obstacle facing the establishment of a smaller union. The other letter and the two telegrams briefly reported that representatives of Abu Dhabi and Dubai, Ahmad al-Suwaidi and Mahdi al-Tajir, were negotiating the formation of the smaller federation. The 1562 group includes an agreement in Arabic, with an annex, signed on 15 July 1971 by Shaikh Zayed and Shaikh Rashid, the Rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai respectively, highlighting the efforts of local rulers to agree on the manner in which to establish the union and how to proceed in the future.

[36] One of them is the "Annual Report, Trucial States Council, 1968", which includes positive and negative aspects of the Council's operation. It also provides information about studies and projects conducted by the office from 1965 to 1968 in respect of roads, water resources, electricity, and city planning, among others. The report on city planning stated, for example, that the Ruler of Fujairah had refused to distribute low income houses until electricity and water services had been provided. This objection, if true, reveals a lack of coordination between various agencies within the Development Office.

[37] According to this NARA (National Archives and Records Administration) 2335 report dated 15 February 1965 from the US Embassy in London to the Department of State in Washington DC, the main objective of the British was to secure a financial contribution from the US towards the development of the emirates. However the report alleged that British officials had, among other topics, provided a negative view of Kuwait's educational programme. The US view suggested a tendency among some British officials to be unhappy about their inability to convince Kuwait to merge its social programme with the British-sponsored developmental services.

[38] These texts include the minutes for the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th meetings, which were held in Dubai on 16 November 1966, 6 April 1967, 29 August to 2 September 1967, and 23 February to 3 March 1971 respectively. There is also the 21st meeting of the Deliberative Committee, held in Dubai on 7 February 1968. The texts of these meetings reveal the extent of the rulers' involvement in development plans after the chairmanship of the TSC had been passed from the British Political Agents to the rulers themselves. At the same time, the minutes reveal that the programmes faced financial difficulties, and that the rulers, such as Shaikh Zayed of Abu Dhabi, either subsidized their services, or such schemes as building a road on the coast of the Gulf of Oman were terminated. I gained access to these documents through a friend to whom I promised anonymity.

In addition to official published and unpublished documents, this study benefitted from local accounts, including official and privately-published documents as well as regional and local sources. One document is *Murshid fi Baladiyyat Dubai: 1961-1963* [A Guide to Dubai Municipality: 1961-1963], a 1998 re-publication of the original published in 1964. It outlines the municipality's organizational structure, including names of its board of directors, its departments, and its projects, and reveals how Dubai started to modernize its administration. Another local source, *Watha'iq al-Khalij al-'Arabi, Tumuhat al-Wahda wa Humum al-Istiqlat: 1968-1971* [The Arab Gulf Documents, Attempts at Federation and Independence: 1968-1971], contains most of the minutes from the union of the nine's meetings between the rulers and their advisers, as well as correspondence between themselves and with Britain, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. These documents help in understanding the reasons for the failure of this union. A number of primary documents supplied by some of the participants in the negotiations are also available, either when cited partly or completely, or published as annexes, in secondary literature on the Coast of Oman. However the main difficulty with the primary sources is that, as far as the negotiations to form the union of the six are concerned, they appear to be incomplete since there are fewer documents available on these negotiations in comparison with the union of the nine. For instance, it is not clear from the sources consulted how many meetings the rulers held before signing the communiqué to declare the state.

Another group of important sources includes regional and local publications. They provide indigenous presentation of the events including information not presented in British documents. In his *Sirat al-Imam Nasir bin Murshid* [The Itinerary of Imam Nasir bin Murshid], 'Abdulla bin Qaysar, a seventeenth-century Omani historian, described how the Imam's forces liberated Julfar (near modern-day Ras al-Khaimah) and Deba, during his war against the Portuguese. Other Omani chronicles were those by Sarhan bin Sa'id bin Sarhan and Humaid ibn Ruzaiq, in the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries respectively, updating 'Abdulla bin Qaysar's accounts by focusing on the civil war. Sarhan bin Sa'id bin Sarhan's *Kashf al-Ghumah al-Jami' li-Akhbar al-Umma* [The Dispeller of Grief. The Complete Itinerary of the Umma, vol. 2], published in 2006, concentrated on the Omani civil war prior to the dismemberment of Oman in 1740, and

referred to the role of tribes from the Coast of Oman in this war. The history of the conflict was again revisited and updated by Humaid ibn Ruzaiq, who in his *al-Fath al-Mubin fi Sirat al-Sada al-Busa'idiyin* [The Glorious Conquest in the History of the al-Busa'idi], focused on the aftermath of the war, including on the one hand, the military confrontation between the al-Bu Sa'idi and the al-Qawassim, and on the other the al-Busa'idi's alliance with the Bani Yas. Najdi writer 'Uthman bin Bishr examines, in his 1982 two-volume *'Unwan al-Majd fi Tarikh Najd* [The Symbolism of Glory in the History of Najd], the military cooperation between the al-Qawassim and the al-Sa'ud in facing the al-Busa'idi and the Bani Yas alliance.

Within the Coast of Oman, three books, written between the 1940s and 1968, are particularly relevant to this study. 'Abdulla Salih al-Mutawa's *al-Jawahir wal-Lailie fi Tarikh Oman al-Shamali* [Jewels and Pearls of Northern Oman], published in 1994, devoted a chapter to the formation of Abu Dhabi, Sharjah, 'Ajman, and Umm al-Quwain.[39] Like the Omani and Sa'udi texts, al-Mutawa' focuses on military conflicts between the ruling families, with occasional references to social events. In *Naql al-Akhbar fi Wafiyat al-Mashaikh wa Hawadeth hathhi al-Diyar* [The Report on the Shaikhs' Death and the Events of this Land], published in 1986, Humaid al-Shamsi provides a chronology of events and short articles on topics such as the emergence of the ruling families. Finally, Muhammad Sa'id bin Ghubash's *al-Fawa'id fi Tarikh al-Imarat wa al-Awabid* [The Benefits in the History of the Emirates] examines why the al-Bu Muhair clan relocated in the late nineteenth century from Abu Dhabi to Dubai and to Ras al-Khaimah.

Between 1984 and 1988 'Abdullah 'Abdulrahman published a regular Thursday interview in *al-Ittihad* newspaper with elders about their life experiences before 1971. These interviews were later published in 1989, 1990, and 1998 as *al-Imarat fi Dhakirat Abnauha* [Emirates in the Memories of Its Sons], thereby providing invaluable data for researchers.[40]

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[39] He also refers to Dubai while dealing with either Sharjah or Abu Dhabi during the nineteenth century.

[40] The shortcomings of the published books include the lack of original publication dates of the interviews and the exclusion of political events – so that the information cannot be dated accurately, and any reference to people's views and feelings on the ongoing negotiations from 1968 to 1971 between the

Books and articles by regional political actors, and British political and military officials who were involved in disseminating the idea of the federation, and engaged in negotiating its formation and the operation of state institutions, are particularly worth mentioning too. This is the case of Kuwaiti Arab Nationalist and political activist Ahmad al-Khatib's *al-Kuwait min al-Imarah ila al-Dawla: Dhakirat al-'Amal al-Watani* [Kuwait from an Emirate to a State, Memories of Pan-Arab and National Activities] published in 2007. While focused exclusively on Kuwaiti political life, he did remark critically on the status of Arab unity, and the Arab Nationalists who, by neglecting to study the efforts of others, whether successful or not, failed to learn lessons for their own unification attempts. Unfortunately, al-Khatib himself referred to the United Arab Republic (1958-1961) between Syria and Egypt only in passing, without attempting a critical evaluation of this endeavour.

Another contributor to the idea of unification was 'Abdulrahman al-Baker, a Bahraini politician and one of the leaders of the 1956 uprising in Bahrain. His 1966 *Min al-Bahrayn ila al-Manfa Sant Haylana* [From Bahrain to Exile St. Helena] was mainly concerned with the Bahraini political situation in the 1940s and 1950s, but he did recommend the reunification of Oman through convincing the Sultan and the Imam to resolve their century-old feud, and the unification of the ten emirates of the Gulf into one state. For the latter case, al-Baker proposed the adoption of a constitution, the formation of a council for the rulers, and the introduction of a modern administration. Political organizations in the Gulf region expressed their opinions too on the unification in the region; this is the case, for example, of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG), whose views appeared in communiqués and pamphlets.[41]
Badr Khalid al-Badr, a Kuwaiti civil servant who worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 1971, published his memoirs in 2004, entitled *Rihla ma' Qafilat al-Haya* [A Journey with the Caravan of Life]. Volumes 2 and 3 of the work (dedicated to the period 1962-

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rulers to form the union is absent. More importantly, 'Abdulrahman did not ask hard questions to determine the accuracy of his informants' accounts.

[41] Earlier reaction to the union came in the form of a communiqué referring to the union as a fake. A more elaborate assessment appeared in a pamphlet *Tanaqudhat fi Ittihad al-Shuyukh* [Contradictions in the Shaikhly Union], published in the early 1970s, in which the Front argued that the union was negatively influenced by Anglo-American rivalry over oil and by rivalry among the rulers, but did not enlarge on how the situation could be resolved.

1971) focused on his activities as a Kuwaiti envoy to the Arab Gulf countries and Yemen. Concerning the Coast of Oman, al-Badr focused briefly on education and health, commenting on British efforts to force Kuwait to merge its programme with that of the Development Office, and also discussed Kuwait's efforts to assist the rulers to establish the union of the nine.[42] In his *Sard al-That* [A Permissible Narrative], Shaikh Sultan bin Muhammad al-Qassimi deals with political and social matters that occurred in the emirates of the Coast from 1950 to 1969. Of the many events that dominated the emirates during that period, Shaikh Sultan focuses on the arrival of the Arab League and the deposing of Shaikh Saqr bin Sultan (1950-1965) of Sharjah. Therefore it is Shaikh Sultan's emphasis on the latter issue that is of interest, since it is the first time the issue has been publically discussed in the country.

Najim al-Din Hammoudi, originally an Iraqi diplomat who was employed in 1965 by the Abu Dhabi Ruler's Court and took a post in the department of the Union Affairs, published his memoirs, *Qiyam Dawlat al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida, Mudhakarat wa Dirasat* [The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates: Memories and Studies] in 2004. The book covers Hammoudi's various diplomatic undertakings and includes an account of attempts to establish a federation in the Gulf, with brief notes on the actions of the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai and their aides, as early as June to mid-July 1971, to reach agreement on issues that would lead to the establishment of the union of the seven.[43]

Julian Walker, who had served in the emirates during the 1950s and was reappointed in 1971 as the last British Political Agent in Dubai, in which capacity he was involved in the negotiations between the seven rulers, gives his views on how the federation was established in *The Emergence of the UAE Federation* (2009). He briefly states his role as a mediator in bridging the gap between Abu Dhabi and Dubai, who had agreed to establish the union, and the other five rulers who disagreed on a number

[42]His account of the Kuwaiti social services lacks detail, and information on the union of the six is unfortunately absent.

[43] These notes include observations that the two Rulers mistrusted each other and that Dubai, not Abu Dhabi, was active in securing political and economic benefits from the federation.

of issues presented by the rulers of the two emirates.[44] Last but not least, in his book *Two Alpha Lima, the First Ten Years of Trucial Oman Levies and Trucial Oman Scouts* (1994), Peter Clayton, a British Military Officer seconded to the Trucial Oman Levies (later renamed Trucial Oman Scouts), described his experiences with this force.[45]

1.5 Review of Literature

Since the establishment of the union more than four decades ago, studies on the UAE have increased in number and in scope, and have increasingly focused on social, economic and political conditions, including state formation. However, in the realm of state formation itself, further research is needed because crucial aspects have yet to be dealt with. The review of literature that follows deals with studies, mostly books and dissertations, arranged in two sections: the ones interested in the general historical development of the society, and those with a more specific emphasis on the formation of the state. Most authors of these studies have dealt with the pre-independence era as a way of analyzing and understanding the contemporary scene, so this arrangement will assist in recognizing the evolution of the literature on the state formation in the Coast of Oman.

Among the works focusing primarily on the historical development of the society, five of them concentrate on the economic and political evolution of the UAE society, while two others (Peter Lienhardt and Andrea Rugh) are more interested in its social and cultural dimensions.

Hawley's *Trucial States* (1970) is the first work to deal exclusively with the modern history of the emirates of the Coast. Its strength lies in the discussion of the economic, social and political changes within the emirates during the gradual transformation of the British approach toward the emirates of the Coast, from non-

[44] Walker also refers to Iran's dispute with Sharjah and Ras al-Khaimah on the question of sovereignty over Abu Musa, and the Great and Lesser Tunbs.

[45] He focuses on such military activities as besieging a Saudi force in the al-Buraimi, and assisting the Sultan of Oman's Armed Forces to defeat Imamate loyalists in *Jabal al-Akhdar* or the Green Mountain. Clayton also explains the reason for the renaming of the force, which was not done to signify a change of mission or an increase in size, but to make it attractive to British officers.

intervention in the nineteenth century to involvement in the emirates' internal affairs from the 1950s onwards. This pioneering study does, however, lack discussion on the emergence of individual emirates and the factors leading to their formation. He also shows selectiveness in dealing with Kuwaiti efforts in the field of social services. While Hawley describes the Kuwaiti activities positively, he ignores British criticism of Kuwait's refusal to merge with their sponsored programmes. Even more, Hawley does not refer to British-established institutions and services as being an integral part of forming a state administration.

Frauke Heard-Bey's *From Trucial States to the United Arab Emirates* (1982) is the most comprehensive work in terms of discussing the economic, social and political history of the emirates. She emphasizes the role of Islam and tribalism in shaping both the society and the political authority in the emirates and focuses on the dominant role of the ruling family within the tribal alliance to explain its perpetuation or dismemberment. Heard-Bey uses these lenses to explain the reason for the al-Nahyan family's success in preserving the unity of the Bani Yas tribal federation, and the failure of the al-Qawassim to achieve the same objective. However, in terms of the formation of individual emirates, Heard-Bey uses only the success of the al-Bu Falasah in turning Dubai into an emirate as an example of a successful breakup of a dominant tribal alliance. In addition, Heard-Bey, like Hawley, views the political history of the emirates with regard to British domination in terms of the change from a predominantly non-involvement policy in the nineteenth century to involvement in internal affairs from 1950 onwards. She critically evaluates the application of Britain's developmental programmes and their lack of emphasis on training local administrators. In regard to the negotiations to form the federation, Heard-Bey discusses the rulers' efforts with an emphasis on the Union of the Nine more than on the Union of the Six.

The contribution of Abdulkhaliq Abdulla's doctoral thesis *Political Dependency: the Case of the United Arab Emirates* submitted in 1984 lies in its use of the dependency paradigm to analyze the political situation in the emirates from 1820 to 1982. He argues that changes in domestic political conditions in the emirates were influenced by Britain's involvement with the rulers' consent to integrate the emirates of the Coast into the world capitalist division of labour, indirectly through Indian merchants'

control over pearl diving, and directly through British companies' control over oil production. Britain itself became involved in the internal dynamics of the emirates through oil production, in addition to changes in international circumstances, and in order to consolidate its hegemony, established the Trucial State Council (TSC) and its affiliated Development Office (DO). However, because of its emphasis on capitalist development, the dependency paradigm does not adequately explain the nature of the previous stage. Abdulla makes only brief reference to how these emirates emerged and does not discuss the negotiations among the rulers. Abdulla argues that the federation was a British idea only, but does not investigate whether or not there were any local or regional attempts advocating unification for these emirates or encouraging the rulers to cooperate with each other as a prerequisite for a merger.

Another study which was originally a doctoral thesis by Aquil Kazim, entitled *Historic Oman to United Arab Emirates, from 600 to 1995* (submitted in 1996) worked to identify various dominant stages in the historical development of the United Arab Emirates. For Kazim, Emirati society in its pre-independence stage was passing through the "colonial" period. His contribution to the literature on state formation appears to categorize the actions of the British authorities, including the division of the Coast of Oman into seven emirates, and the creation of various state agencies as the embodiments of the above-mentioned technique.

In his *The United Arab Emirates: A Study in Survival* (2005), Christopher Davidson argues that, in spite of the apparent success since the formation of the state in 1971, a number of difficulties hinder the UAE's political development. He views in particular the post-independent stage as an extension of the British colonial era, during which the wealth generated in towns provided the merchants with influence over the rulers of various emirates. At the same time, Britain, which established its supremacy from 1820 until 1971, avoided direct involvement in the emirates' internal affairs until the 1950s, when the Trucial State Council was established. The brief overview of the pre-independent stage provided by Davidson in the earlier chapter of the book excludes many important elements, such as how each emirate emerged, and also lacks a detailed discussion of British efforts to form state institutions and of the negotiations between the rulers to form a new state.

Davidson's later study *Dubai: the Vulnerability of Success* (2006) focuses on Dubai, with an emphasis on its foundation in order to determine the reasons for its achievements. Davidson shows that, since their arrival, the rulers of Dubai have used the combination of political alliances and an open door policy to bring about stability and wealth, while weakening any external or internal threats to the political system. Of many issues discussed by Davidson about Dubai, of interest are those related to the formation of the emirate and the establishment of the UAE. In this respect there are issues that are of concern to Dubai in relation to federation. For instance, Dubai's free market orientation was a crucial aspect which its ruler insisted on preserving while becoming a member of a federation. In other words, how a ruler of a particular entity joins a federation and maintains elements of its success is not without significance.

Peter Lienhardt's *Shaikhdom of Eastern Arabia* (published in 2001) is based on his doctoral thesis and was edited and published posthumously by Ahmed al-Shahi. Lienhardt's contribution to the literature is reflected in his analysis of the impact of social structure and social values on patterns of political decision-making in the Arab shaikhdoms of the Gulf. The tribe, for both settled and nomadic communities, was the foundation of their existence. Members of both communities were therefore interested in their tribal genealogy which provided communal solidarity through military assistance in time of crisis. Politically, the office of the ruler was the prerogative of the ruling family, and power struggles would erupt for either financial or political reasons. Although Lienhardt's study provides crucial information about social and political conditions in the emirates prior to 1971, it deals with the society according to the Weberian 'ideal type' format which denies its complexity. There is no attempt to analyze this issue from an inter-emirate perspective, i.e., by comparing and contrasting between emirates rather than across emirates.

Besides Lienhardt, Andrea Rugh in *The Political Culture of Leadership in the United Arab Emirates* (2007), discusses the role of social structures on political outcomes. In this respect she argues that cultural and social dimensions have had a decisive impact on the political decisions adopted by the leadership. In order to consolidate their control over domestic affairs, the leaders of a particular emirate used tribal and family resources to realize this objective. In this respect, Rugh insists on the

role of endogamous and exogamous marriages as the main instrument in forming alliances that assisted the ruler in establishing his power base and by extension in undermining or co-opting potential challengers. Even though Rough's study attempts to deal with the complex social and cultural reality of the emirates in term of political power, its relevance to the establishment of the federation remains indirect.

The second section of the literature review, which concentrates on state formation, includes eight studies. Except for Abu Baker's theoretically-driven work, most of the studies are rather event-oriented. Among the latter, Khalifa and Anthony concentrate on the rulers' role in the negotiations but a limited effort has been made to analyze the establishment of the federation.

In his doctoral study entitled *Political Economy of State Formation: the United Arab Emirates in Comparative Perspective* (submitted in 1995), Al-Badr Abu-Baker argues that the federal state, despite its control over oil wealth, was neither autonomous nor free from the domination of the ruling families. His contribution to the literature with regard to the formation of the state was based on the British legacy of domination and the conflicts between various local elites. Concerning the British legacy, he focused on change from the initial stage of lack of interest in internal affairs during the nineteenth century to that of involvement in the internal affairs after World War II. This reorientation appeared in the creating of various state institutions in the Coast of Oman, in the form of the Trucial States Council. The local inter-elite feud was reflected in forms of accession and succession. The former was evident in the ability of a strong tribal leader with wealth and local support to declare himself an independent leader of that locality, whereas the latter dominated relations within the ruling family, especially when the ruler attempted to nominate a successor who was opposed by other family members. Abu Baker's work suffers from a lack of in-depth analysis of the historical background to the formation of each emirate, as well as an oversimplification in terms of the relations between British officials and the rulers, especially after World War II. There were occasions when the rulers were able to frustrate British efforts; notwithstanding, it was not necessarily a forgone conclusion that a local leader with financial resources and popular support would become the ruler of an emirate. Other factors, such as British India's interest in the Gulf region, also determined the outcome. Most importantly, his

study excludes any reference to negotiations to establish a federation. Yet it was within these negotiations that the rulers decided on the degree of independence granted to the federal institutions.

'Adel Tabatabai's 1978 *al-Nidham al-Ittihadi fi Dawlat al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida, Dirasah Muqarana* [The Federal System in the United Arab Emirates, a Comparative study] is the earliest major study written on the process of state formation in the UAE. His main contribution to the literature is his critical review of the constitutional aspect of the union, and a large part of his second chapter is devoted to the historical precedents of establishing the union in 1971. Tabatabai begins with the period from 1937 to 1968, focusing on an unfulfilled attempt in the 1930s by local intellectuals and British officials to advance the idea of the union, followed in 1952 by the emergence of British sponsorship of the Trucial States Council. The second period, from 1968 to 1971, is confined to negotiations by the rulers to establish a union, after Britain had declared its intention to withdraw from the Gulf region. Here his emphasis is on the contents of documents and the minutes of meetings that reveal the reasons for the failure of the union of the nine and the declaration of the union of the six emirates of the Coast. The main shortcoming of Tabatabai's presentation is the lack of any social and political historical background to relations between the ruling families that could have explained the reasons for the failure of the union of the nine and the successful declaration of the union of the six.

In *The United Arab Emirates: Unity in Fragmentation* (1979), Ali Khalifa analyses the economic, geographical, political and cultural bases for integrating various political entities into one state. He maintains that the reasons for integration are strengthened within either the political elites or the population of various independent entities to merge into a larger unit, and therefore discusses the union in relation to factors that either consolidate (such as a sense of mission) or split apart (such as tribalism). The author emphasizes that the British declaration to withdraw from the Gulf was the main reason inciting the rulers of the emirates to negotiate the establishment of a union.

The main objective of Abdullah Omran Taryam's study, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates, 1950-85*, published in 1987, was to analyze the role of the federal state after independence. In Taryam's opinion, the process leading to the

establishment of a union started when Britain was forced, due to post-1945 events, to become more active in the internal dynamics of the emirates, and therefore established various state agencies. Later, in 1968, the Labour Government was forced because of economic difficulties to include the Gulf region in "the Withdrawal from East of Suez" plan. Taryam's main contribution lies in the provision of a detailed description of disagreements among the rulers and the failure of efforts by friendly countries to bridge the gap prior to the declaration of the independent state. Taryam concentrated on the efforts of the seven rulers of the Coast to resolve their differences, and their inability to convince Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah to consent to the majority opinion, which resulted in the remaining six rulers declaring the union on 2 December 1971. Unfortunately Taryam's study lacks historical depth in the way it analyses the formation of each emirate, while his argument that Britain's post-1945 change of direction was due solely to external pressure is not accurate. British officials in the region argued with their superiors in London in favour of active involvement in the emirates' internal affairs to justify Britain's special status. As with some of the studies mentioned above, there were discrepancies in Taryam's detailed approach to the two unions, with the union of nine receiving more attention than the union of the six.

'Aisha al-Sayyar's study *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi li-Dawlat al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida* [The Political History of the United Arab Emirates] (1996) covers the period from 1892 to 1971, and focuses on events leading to the establishment of the union while disregarding the formation of each emirate. As with some earlier studies, al-Sayyar identified 1952 as a landmark in the formation of state institutions and the British declaration of withdrawal as a turning point for the negotiation to set up a union. However, al-Sayyar differs from Taryam in providing more details as to why the ruler of Ras al-Khaimah initially refused to join the union. The main element undermining al-Sayyar's contribution, though, lies in the fact that she does not deal with the earlier formation of individual emirates and fails to explore why the Coast of Oman split into various emirates before it could appreciate the notion of reunification. She also has some difficulty in accepting the view that the existence of each emirate was confined to a ruler, and ignores the political and legal ramifications of this development since negotiations were conducted by the rulers or their subordinates. Even though the

studies by al-Sayyar and Taryam provided some details about the events leading to the signing of a declaration to form a smaller federation, there definitely is a need for more detail on this issue.

Fatma al-Sayeigh's study *al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida: min al-Qabila ila al-Dawla* [The United Arab Emirates: from Tribe to State] (1997) explored the historical formation of the emirates over four centuries, from the early sixteenth century to 1971. Despite the study's ambition to present the historical transition of the emirates from tribe to state, as claimed in the subtitle, no reference is provided either for the emergence of any new social structure in the emirates to replace tribalism, or for the possibility that the source of the rulers' political legitimacy might have changed. Unlike studies mentioned earlier, there is little or no reference to the British administrative structure from 1952 to 1971.

In *The United Arab Emirates: Dynamics of State Formation* (2002), John Duke Anthony argues that the success of the federation of the six was a result of the efforts and the skills of Shaikh Zayed who, by understanding and compromising with the other rulers as well as with other members of his own family, was able to realize the federation. This short study probably overstates the role of leadership in history. It also excluded any historical landmarks for those discussions in terms of dates and months, and the information that it offers was based on private conversations, which are difficult, if not impossible, to verify.

Last but not least, Sayf Muhammad al-Bedwawi's *Britania wal-Khaleej: Sanawat al-Insihab* [Britain and the Gulf: the Years of the Withdrawal] (2009) studies how the British authorities planned to develop local capabilities before ending their protection responsibilities. In al-Bedwawi's opinion, the British approach was based on improving economic structures and building institutions administered by local personnel, instead of creating situations of dependency. Economically, the British authorities provided Abu Dhabi and Dubai with technical expertise, whereas the involvement for the other emirates was in terms of building and administering various services. The distinction between the two sides lay in the ability of Abu Dhabi and Dubai to finance their projects, in contrast to the remaining five emirates. Politically and administratively, the British approach was reflected in their handing over of the Trucial States Council and its

affiliated agencies to the care of the rulers themselves. In addition, the British authorities encouraged the rulers to establish local institutions, including court systems. The one issue that undermines the strength of al-Bedwawi's contribution is his inability to include critical observation regarding the objective of positioning trained local administrators to run various departments. While setting up economic projects and establishing administrations are matters of the ruler signing a law, training people capable of making them function effectively requires considerable investment in education and years of experience. The emirates at that time were short of locally-trained administrators, due to the late arrival of modern education which was not yet sufficient to provide an appropriate level of educated citizens. Moreover, the British plan would have realized its objective had it been started earlier, or if the withdrawal had not taken place earlier than anticipated.

1.6 Outline of the Study

This research analyses the historical development of the federal state on the Coast of Oman thematically, an approach that was considered the most appropriate for dealing with a territory that has evolved over a long historical period. The researcher identified and segregated various elements as a prerequisite for arriving at a comprehensive understanding of the process, since the formation of a state is determined by economic and social as well as political processes. Thus each of these is treated as a separate dimension, but connected to the others. The economic and social processes are discussed in a chapter that deals with the society, while the political process is discussed across three chapters. Politically, the Coast of Oman was approached in this study in terms of the formation of each emirate, the British establishment of the proto-state, and the rulers' negotiations for establishing a federation. Some of these questions, such as the British intervention in the internal affairs of the emirates, are spread throughout the four chapters. Other issues such as the Omani-Sa'udi and the Omani-Persian (Iranian) relationship are referred to with minimum exposure, without excluding their direct impact on political development in the Coast of Oman. However,

to elaborate on these issues would mean dealing with matters beyond the scope of this study.

Following the general Introduction, Chapter Two looks at the economic and social conditions in the Coast of Oman, from 1740 to 1971, with particular emphasis on the similarity of economic and social conditions in the various emirates. Most studies dealing with the history of the Coast of Oman begin with 1820, when the British India Government imposed the requirement upon the leaders of various communities to sign a treaty, a point of departure that ignored a history of almost eighty years of political autonomy. Such a difficulty led the author to choose the period around 1740, when Oman, as a result of a civil war, broke into two regions: the Sultanate of Oman under the al-Bu Sa'id, and the Coast of Oman which was divided between the al-Qawassim alliance and the Bani Yas federation. Following a discussion of topography and its influence over economic and social conditions, Chapter Two looks at economic activities in various areas and at the social structure, and examines the ongoing changes on both levels within the Coast of Oman after the 1930s. The chapter argues that the topographic nature of the terrain impacted on available economic activity as well as on social organization within the Coast of Oman, and reveals that such similarities did not lead to the unification of these emirates. Most of the traditional economic sectors were in the nature of subsistence activities, which could not support unification; even pearl diving operated on a local level and had been crushed by the Great Depression of the 1930s. It was only with the arrival of oil wealth in Abu Dhabi in late 1967 that the emirates were able to operate as a unit. Socially, tribalism was the foundation of the society, in which (actual or imagined) genealogy acted as a force uniting and dividing social groupings.

Chapter Three focuses on the formation of tribal-city states, from the end of the Omani Civil War in the mid-eighteenth century to the establishment of the union in 1971. It discusses the breakup of Oman through a civil war that led to the emergence of the al-Qawassim and the Bani Yas and the consequent division of the territory of the Coast of Oman into two tribal alliances. Internal and external factors challenged the authorities of these two powerhouses and caused their territorial unity to split into seven emirates. The chapter also discusses the efforts of the rulers to consolidate their tribal city-states

by resisting internal challenges to their authority, establishing local administrations, and fending off attempts by neighbours to reduce their territorial domain.

Chapter Four deals with the formation of a 'proto-state' structure in the period from 1952 to 1971 and focuses on changes in British imperial designs after World War II. By the end of this war, the British Government had changed course towards involvement in local affairs. This interventionist policy rested on the formation of various legal, security, political (the Trucial State Council) and administrative (the Development Office) institutions through which to control the region's internal affairs. The chapter identifies the reasons behind Britain's change of approach and investigates the setting up of these various bodies. It also discusses the late arrival of economic and social developmental programmes sponsored by the British and Kuwaiti governments, as well as the Arab League's aborted scheme. Most of these programmes were provided for six of the seven emirates of the Coast of Oman, since Abu Dhabi, because of the availability of financial resources, developed its own projects.

Relying on the findings of Chapters Two, Three and Four, Chapter Five concentrates on the development of the federation between 1930 and 1971, and the historical process leading to the declaration of the state in 1971. It looks at the precursors to the federation, including the roles played by local intellectuals and civil groups, British officials, and the rulers, in introducing the idea of uniting the emirates into one state. It also examines the reasons for the British Government's declaration of withdrawal from the region by the end of 1971, and the rulers' successive rounds of negotiations to establish their state. The chapter shows that following the failure of the union of the nine, the discussions leading to the union of the six were determined by the objectives for the rulers, which were to preserve their power base but also to partake in the formation of a federation in order to compensate for the British decision to leave the Gulf.

Chapter Two

Economic and Social History in the Coast of Oman, 1740-1971

2.1 Introduction

In the Coast of Oman, also known as the Trucial States and from 1971 called the United Arab Emirates, the local society operated within similar economic and social conditions, but was governed by different ruling families. While Chapter Three will focus on this political fragmentation, the current chapter concentrates on the economic and social dimension of the research question. As will be shown, the economic and social uniformity of the society was a product of the topographic conditions of a continuous territory, predominantly desert but with scattered oases and a narrow coastal area. People in the Coast of Oman were economically active with herding in the desert, farming in the oases, and fishing, trade, and pearl diving in the coastal area. Socially, the society was divided into tribal and class groupings. There were no natural barriers between the emirates, and the only difficulty was the lack of a good communications infrastructure to enable travel from one part of the country to another. These shared economic and social factors assisted in the formation of the federation in 1971. Scholarly literature on the emirates differs in terms of its approach to common economic and social factors. Some studies have focused on these elements while others, notably the most recent, have either ignored them or referred to them only in passing. More interestingly, the literature has not examined shared social values. Therefore, the emphasis of this chapter is to define the economic and social conditions that existed in the Coast of Oman from 1740 to 1971, a period during which the ruling families established domination and interacted until the establishment of the federation.

The chapter shows that the topography of the Coast of Oman played a leading role in shaping types of economic activity and social affiliation among the population, and consequently, in creating the conditions for the establishment of the future UAE. Two questions must be asked here: first, how did the topography enable the population

to interact within a shared economic and social environment? And secondly, how did these economic and social environments consolidate the unity of the area?

The discussion is organised as follows: following a brief description of the topographic conditions that can be observed in the Coast of Oman, the economic and social structures are presented successively, for analytical purposes. The chapter deals with the emirates as a single unit, using examples and information related to individual emirates to illustrate the argument.

2.2 Topographic Conditions

The Coast of Oman has three types of areas or regions: the desert region, the mountain region, and the coastal region. The desert region extends over most of the territory of the Coast of Oman, especially of Abu Dhabi. It consists of sand with scattered salt flats, known locally as *sabkhas*. It also has limited fresh water sources. The mountainous region in the interior is known as the al-Hajjar, and although it has an ample supply of fresh water it lacks suitable soil for cultivation. The narrow coastal area, along with scattered oases, has a reasonably decent amount of fresh water as well as soil that is suitable for agriculture.[46] For this reason the first two regions, historically, made a minimum contribution to the economy and society of the Coast of Oman compared with the third, since the majority of the population was located along the coastal area, with a few residing in a handful of oases.

It is in this geographical oasis that the capital cities of all the emirates were found. Names of the capitals were in use as far back as the fifteenth century. According to Hassan al-Naboodah, while the name Julfar appeared in classical Islamic historical texts, other localities were mentioned by Ahmed bin Majid, a local sailor and a poet, and by an Italian traveller named Gosparo Balbi**,** a 16th century Italian traveller. For instance,

[46]J. C. Wilkinson, “A Sketch of the historical Geography of the Trucial Oman Down to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century”, *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 130, no. 3, September 1964, pp. 337, 339

Sharjah, ‘Ajman, Um al-Quwain and Ras al-Khaimah all appeared in their works, but not Abu Dhabi.[47]

Thus topography had a decisive impact both on economic activities and on the structure of the society, as discussed below.

2.3 The Economic Sector

This section deals with the nature and functions of the economic structure of the Coast of Oman. Economic activities were very much impacted by local topography which, as noted, is predominantly desert with scattered oases and coastal areas. Pastoral activity dominated the desert region with agriculture practised in the oases, while fishing, trading, pearl diving and, from the 1960s onwards, oil exporting, took place throughout the coastal areas. Of the three main regions, the coastal region was dominant in terms of providing employment to the population and of using coastal towns as ports for that enabled the people of the Coast of Oman to trade with the outside world.

From the late nineteenth century until 1971, Dubai and Abu Dhabi dominated the economy of the Coast of Oman. While Dubai’s dominance was associated with control over trade and pearl diving until the mid-1960s, Abu Dhabi’s economic power rested on the discovery and export of oil. This change, in turn, as will be seen in the later chapters, had a crucial political impact on power relations within the Coast of Oman. For example, oil revenues assisted Shaikh Zayed (r. 1966-2000), after he had assumed power from his brother Shaikh Shakhbut, in modernizing Abu Dhabi as well as in financing projects supervised by the Development Office. In other words, from the 1960s onwards the five less fortunate of the emirates depended on Dubai for the supply of goods, and on Abu Dhabi for financing developmental projects. Although each sector

[47]Hassan al-Naboodah, “Mawadhe’ wa Amaken min al-Imarat fi al-Masader al-‘Arabiyya al-Ula” [Places and Localities within the Emirates included in Early Arabic Sources], pp. 137-148 in Markaz al-Watani lil-Wathaiq wa al-Buhuth (ed). *Mafahim Jadida fi Tadwin Tarikh al-Imarat al-‘Arabiyya al-Mutahida* [New Perspectives on Recording UAE History] (Abu Dhabi: Markaz al-Watani lil-Watha’iq wa al-Buhuth, 2009), pp. 139-140. Studies in this collection are published in both Arabic and English; here I am using the former. It is not clear whether the Island of Abu Dhabi was not inhabited or if it was known at that time by another name.

operated separately, they were interdependent in numerous ways. These sectors are presented below in an ascending order.

2.3.1 The Desert

The desert, which covers a large part of the territory of Abu Dhabi but is less dominant in Dubai, ‘Ajman and Umm al-Quwain, has had a great impact in shaping the lives of the people and the behaviour of their leaders. The latter were eager to expand their territories by incorporating more tribes into their domain. The harsh desert nature of the Coast of Oman was responsible for the migration of tribes to coastal towns and oases. Rulers of the emirates competed for control of the desert because it connected coastal areas with the oases in the interior, as well as converting nomadic and semi nomadic tribes into a military force to defend their towns.

The desert was inhabited by nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. For nomadic tribes such as the al-‘Awamir or Bani Kattab, the primary source of subsistence was either pastoralism, such as herding camels, goats, and sheep, or the imposition of *khuwah* (protection fees) on traders, owners of caravans, and travellers in exchange for safe passage through their territories. Another method of securing a livelihood was for them to become mercenaries by offering their services and weaponry to the ruler of a town or city. The caravan owners arranged the method of payment with the tribal leaders in advance, as well as the employment of tribesmen as guards and guides. On occasions the rulers of Abu Dhabi, Dubai or Sharjah granted the Shaikhs of neighbouring nomadic tribes monetary stipends in exchange for manpower.[48]

Bedouin tribes, whether completely or partly nomadic, migrated seasonally from one designated area to another within their *dira* (territory), including the Coast of Oman, looking for grass to feed their animals as well as for wells with water for themselves and

[48] Khaldoun Hassan al-Naqeeb, *al-Mujtama’a wa a-Dawla fi al-Khaleej wa al-Jazira al-‘Arabi: min Mundur Mukhtalif* [The Society and State in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula: from a different Perspective] (Beirut: Markaz Dirasat al-Wahda al-‘Arabiyya, 1987), pp. 36-37.

their animals.[49] For both nomadic and settled individuals, livestock such as camels, sheep and horses, represented their most important property. For example, camel owners in the desert gave priority to their animals with respect to water and food.[50] In the desert and in towns, animals were used by tribal members as a source of nutrition and as items to trade, while hides and wool were also used for tents and clothes; additionally, animals, especially camels and horses, were the only means of transportation in the desert.

The differences between camels and sheep were also reflected in the annual *zakat*, a tax paid by members of the tribe to the Shaikh, who in turn handed it over to a local ruler's designated tax collector. The tax collector received taxes in kind from livestock owners; first by means of a sheep and, at higher tax levels, by means of a camel, based on the number of sheep and camels owned. The number of animals handed to the tax collector increased according to set bands and changed at a specific stage depending on the type of animal.[51] The tax levied on sheep would begin when the number of a certain herd reached forty, whereas it was five for camels. If one owned camels, the rate started at one sheep for the tax band of five to nine camels and increased to two sheep for the next band of ten to fourteen camels. As sanctioned by Muslim jurists, for the tax band of twenty-five to thirty-five onwards, and up to a maximum of 120 camels, a female camel became the unit of tax collected. In addition, both the number of camels and their age increased with each tax bracket.[52] As this description suggests, economic activities associated with nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes were relatively simple in nature and could not have formed any foundation for a state.

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[49] Halim Barakat, a*l-Mujtama'a al-'Arabi al-Mu'aser* [Modern Arab Society] (Beirut: Markaz Dirasat al-Wahda al-'Arabiyya, 1985), p.66.

[50] Frauke Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates: A Society in Transition* (London: Longman, 1982), pp. 165-7.

[51] It is not clear if the tax rates were based on a specific logic or if the figures were arbitrary.

[52] Abu 'Ubayd al-Qassim bin Salam, *Kitab al-Amwal* [The Book of Capital] ed. by Muhammad Khalil Hawas (Cairo: Maktabat al-kuleyat al-Azhariya wa Dar al-Fikr, [1388 AH/ 1968] 1396 AH/1976), p. 477-8; A. Zysow, "Zakat (A.)", pp. 406-422 in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* vol.XI, edited by P. Bearm, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrich (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2002), pp. 411-412.

2.3.2 The Oases

The importance of oases lies in their ability to sustain and support leaders in containing tribes and supporting living standards. The oases' main economic function was, and still is, in small-sized farming communities. The role of farming in scattered oases was to provide local residents with sources of income and the population of coastal towns with a portion of their staple requirements. Had there been sufficient investment in this sector, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, it could probably have replaced the pearl diving industry that collapsed after the 1930s.

In an agricultural area, tribes were sedentary or semi-sedentary and small in size, occupied an area of land that did not exceed five percent of a region's territory, and were confined to areas such as the town of al-'Ain in Abu Dhabi and Ras al-Khaimah.[53] The agricultural region in the Coast of Oman consisted of farming areas that relied on irrigation. Villages were divided into two sections: residential and gardens, while agricultural properties were separated from one another.[54] There were two kinds of land ownership: communal and private. As an example, communal land ownership was the norm in Masfut in 'Ajman, but private ownership existed in al-'Ain in Abu Dhabi and in al-Her and al-Munai'i in al-Fujairah.[55] The communal land was parcelled into smaller holdings and distributed to local families by the tribal Shaikh or ruler, or in certain situations was determined by a limited end-usage right.[56]

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[53]Muhammad Najeeb al-Shamsi. *Iqtisadiyyat al-Imarat Qabl 1971* [The Economies of the Emirates before 1971] (UAE: NP, 1995), p. 116.

[54]"Interview with Mohammed bin Rashed al-Jarwan", pp. 369-399 in 'Abdullah 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat Abnauha: al-Hayat al-Iqtisadiyya, al-Juz al-Thani* [The Emirates in the Memories of its Citizens: the Economic Life, vol. 2 (Dubai: al-Qeaa lil-Jamee', 1990), p. 374. Unfortunately, the interviewer did not provide a date for the interview.

[55]"Interview with 'Abdullah bin Hilal al-Kuwaiti", pp. 401-408; "Interview with Muhammad bin Khalfan Al-Kindi", pp. 409- 417; "Interview with Mohammad bin Subaih bin 'Ali", pp. 419-424; "Interview with Salem bin Sa'id al-Dhamani", pp. 427-431 in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer) (1990) ibid. pp. 404, 413, 419-20, 429. However, neither the interviewer nor the interviewees stated the size of each type within the overall agricultural land.

[56]Fuad I. Khuri, *Tribe and State in Bahrain: The Transformation of Social and Political Authority in an Arab State* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980) pp. 44-45; Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to..*, pp. 438-439 (note 18). One should note the difference between conditions in Bahrain, where the ruler granted the right to other members of the family, who approached the land as a fifth, with that in the Coast of Oman, where such approach was either restricted or did not exist.

The irrigation system in the Coast of Oman depended on wells and on *aflaj* (channels; sing. *falaj*).[57] The former was simple and represented the main system in the coastal areas, such as Ras al-Khaimah, where irrigation by means of a well required a bucket tied to a rope; the water was then pulled to the surface either by an animal or a person. The *falaj* on the other hand, represented a complex system and was more common in the interior. It consisted of a number of wells, connected by underground channels to transport the water from the source to the intended village.[58]

The main crops produced included dates, lemons, wheat, vegetables, and tobacco.[59] Most of this produce, such as dates, was consumed by the inhabitants and the small surplus was exported to nearby localities for sale. According to Lorimer, during the seasons from 1899-1900 to 1904-1905, merchants imported dates and juices worth £20,000 sterling from Ottoman Iraq and Persia.[60] On the other hand, tobacco, especially in some areas, was a cash crop that yielded considered revenue to its producers. For some farmers, its financial value was equivalent to that of pearls for divers. In many cases, merchants from Dubai, the Coast of Oman and also, in some cases, from Bahrain advanced loans to the producers at the beginning of the season in order to secure their right to purchase the product.[61]

At the end of the season, the owner paid the predetermined *zakat* taxes on the land and the products.[62] Taxes levied on land output were measured in two ways. The first concentrated on the irrigation system and the second measurement was the products. Areas irrigated by rain, wells, rivers and lakes were classified as a tenth and thus one tenth of the produce would be collected as taxes, while those dependent on

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[57] J.C. Wilkinson, *Water and Tribal Settlement in South-East Arabia: A Study of the* Aflaj *of Oman* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 68, 70; Peter Lienhardt. *Shaikhdoms of Eastern of Arabia*, ed. by Ahmad al-Shahi (Oxford: Palgrave, 2001), p. 80.

[58] "Interview with Rashed al-Jarwan", pp.369-399 in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer) (1990) ibid. p. 361; Wilkinson, ibid. p. 73.

[59] Muhammad al-Shamsi, *Iqtisadiyyat al-Imarat*, p, 119; "Interview with Muhammad bin Khalfan Al-Kindi", pp. 409-417 in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer) (1990) ibid. p. 409.

[60] J. G. Lorimer. *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Oman, and Central Arabia,* vol. 1: *Historical Part II* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1915), p. 2296. However, Lorimer did not reveal the quantity of imported items and juices.

[61] "Interviews with Muhammad bin Khalfan Al-Kindi, pp. 409-417; "interview with Salem bin Sa'id Al-Dahmani", pp. 427-431, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1990), pp. 409, 427, 429

[62] "Interview with 'Abdullah bin Hilal bin Sa'id Al-Kuwaiti. pp. 401-408, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), (1990) ibid. pp. 405

buckets for watering were categorized as a twentieth, and thus five percent of the produce was collected as taxes.[63] Due to the small size of oases, they could not have functioned as a foundation for the state. For example, Shaikh Saqr, the ruler of Ras al-Khaimah (r. 1948-2010), could not depend on agriculture in the oases as an alternative economic sector that would generate employment and income for the population in the post-pearl diving period.

2.3.3 The Coast

Unlike the interior, the coastal area where most of the population was located had the most significant economic value and played a greater role in shaping the behaviour of leaders and people. Thus the rulers of the emirates fought with each other to control and maximize their wealth and to deprive competitors.

Until the mid-1930s, trade and pearl diving were the main sources of employment and financial revenue. There were also various supplementary activities, such as boat construction or maintenance. The captain either instructed the ship's crew or hired specialists to inspect and repair any structural damages to a specific craft. By the end of the 1950s the discovery of oil had provided another source of income for the rulers and the population. This section deals with these four economic activities, i.e. the historical ones (in ascending order, fishing, trade and pearl diving) and the more recent oil industry. Of the four economic sectors, it was definitely the latter that assisted in financing state institutions in the Coast of Oman. In 1958, the discovery of oil was intertwined with the British-inspired project of forming a modern state. Thus oil revenues allowed the financing of a variety of economic projects.

In dealing with each economic activity, the emphasis here is on discussing its operation and ability (or inability) to bankroll state formation. In large towns, such as Dubai or Sharjah, farmers and Bedouins, along with native and foreign merchants, interacted and exchanged goods and services. Of the two towns, Dubai's economic fortune rested with decisions adopted by Shaikhs Maktum bin Hashir (r. 1894-1906) and

[63] Salam, *Kitab al-Amwal*, p. 589; Zysow, "Zakat (A.)", pp. 406-422 in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* vol.XI, pp.412-413.

Rashid bin Sa'id (r. 1958-1990) to reduce state taxes to a minimum, which greatly encouraged merchants within the region to operate from Dubai.[64] At the same time, local residents in these places were either direct producers – for example, fishermen and pearl divers – or big merchants and owners of small shops.

Fishing was an activity that required little effort and few rudimentary tools, such as small boats and nets, to produce an income. Fish was one of the main traditional food staples for the people. Figures given for the Coast of Oman in 1880-1881 reveal that there were 636 boats with a labour force of around 4,400 individuals.[65] There were two different objectives for the fishermen: to supply the local market with the day-to-day catch, and to export salt-preserved fish to East Africa or Iraq. In both cases a system of profit-sharing dominated the operation, and the participants used either verbal or written agreement to establish the division of the profits. In simple terms, the owner of a boat used his nets for fishing and, after selling the catch, the profit was divided into three shares: one for the boat, the second for the equipment, and the third for the fishermen, including the owner. In this way the owner of the boat collected more than two thirds of the profit. In larger operations, he would even have deducted other expenses, such as providing food and tea, before applying the same formula.[66]

In addition, there was trade, which local merchants of the Coast of Oman carried on between India, other ports in the Gulf region, and East Africa.[67] By the late eighteenth century, the Gulf region, including the Coast of Oman, had lost the long-distance Asian trade to European powers and had focused on trading within the Indian Ocean. Other merchants migrated to India and East Africa and established trade agencies to assist incoming merchants with the export and import of goods,[68] or to

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[64] Fatma al-Sayegh, "Merchants' Role in Changing Society: The Case of Dubai, 1900-1990", *Middle Eastern Studies*, January 1998, vol. 34 no. 1, pp. 87, 98; Christopher Davidson. *Dubai: The Vulnerability of Success* (London: Hurst & Company, 2008), p. 68.

[65] For more details on the situation see al-Shamsi, *Iqtisadiyat al-Imarat*. pp.105 and 107. For the figure see Muhammad Faris al-Faris, *al-Awda' al-Iqtisadiya fi Imarat al-Sahil (Dawlat al-Imarat al-Arabiya haleyan), 1862-1962* [The Economic Conditions in the Emirates of the Coast (now the UAE), 1862-1962], (Abu Dhabi: Markaz al-Imarat lil-Dirasat wa lil-Buhuth al-Istratijiyyya, 2000), pp. 296, 298 tables 2 and 4.

[66] Lienhardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern*, pp. 125, 128-9

[67] Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United*, p. 188; "Interview with Salem bin Husain al-Sharhan", pp. 195-201 in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1990), pp. 196-7.

[68] "Interview with Salem bin Sa'id Al-Suwaidi", pp. 211-222 in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer) (1990), ibid. pp. 218.

specialize in selling certain items such as clothes and textiles.[69] Trade in the Coast of Oman was divided into legal and illegal sections. The two forms, while in many ways overlapping, differed in their status, since the legal one was overt, whereas the illegal one was carried on covertly.

First, there was the legal trade that merchants conducted between the emirates of the Coast and other regions. Of the many trading partners, India ranked the highest. This status was reflected in the balance sheet of exports and imports for 1904 which included items such as livestock, textiles, durable goods, and fuels. Available figures for imports from India reveal a steady increase from an average of more than 363,000 rupees (Rp) for the period 1874-1883, to an average of more than one million rupees for 1894-1903. For the same periods, the volume of exports from the Coast of Oman fluctuated; decreasing from an average of more than Rp 600,000 from 1874-1883 to an average of nearly Rp 6,000 from 1884-1893, and then increasing again to an average of more than Rp 11,000 during 1894-1903.[70] India therefore generated a trade surplus between 1874 and 1883.

Second, there was the illegal trade which to a certain degree was associated with the Great Depression of 1929. This event had a negative influence on local merchants, who lost their source of income. As a consequence, many merchants turned to "the forbidden trade", which involved the smuggling of slaves, goods, and arms to the Gulf region.[71] There is one qualitative distinction between smuggling slaves and goods on the one hand, and smuggling arms on the other. The first two were carried on by traders solely for profit-making. The third also involved the Saudi government and the Imamate Movement in Oman, who were seeking to establish an independent state in Inner Oman.

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[69] "Interview with Sultan Hasan Bual-Shalat", pp. 317-323 in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer) a*l-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1990), ibid. pp. 318-9

[70] Hassan al-Naboodah, "Tarikh al-Melaha wa al-Tijara fi al-Imarat hata 1904" pp. 11-70, in *al-Buhuth al Faeza…* ["The history of Maritime and Trade in the Emirates until 1904", pp. 11-70 in The Winning Papers…], pp. 32, 34, 36, 44-50. Note that the average amount of nearly six thousand rupees is very low. It is not clear if this is a typographical mistake; otherwise it indicates an economic disaster. The later is not logical since I am unaware of any reference that mentioned any economic catastrophe during this period.

[71] al-Faris, al-Awda' al-Iqtisadiya fi Imarat, p. 139

The first aspect of the forbidden economic activity was slavery. Although the British authorities cut off the source of African slaves during the nineteenth century, slave traders during the first half of the twentieth century exploited people's poverty to expand their kidnapping activities into Iranian Baluchistan and to various towns of the Coast of Oman.[72] It was only from the 1950s onward, with the formation of the Trucial Oman Levies/Scouts and the decision by the Saudi Government in 1962 to prohibit slavery that this trade began to slow down.[73] Meanwhile, until the mid-1960s, while Glencairn Balfour-Paul was British Political Agent in Dubai, British officials in the Gulf region issued certificates of manumission to slaves who applied for it.[74]

The second aspect of forbidden trade was the smuggling of goods between India and the Gulf area. The emphasis was on smuggling gold into India and smuggling sugar, tea and rice to various Gulf countries.[75] Of these items, gold smuggling was the most profitable and continued until the 1960s. On the other hand, the smuggling of food items was less profitable and was discontinued after the Second World War. The reason for this was either a firm approach adopted by both the British and the Iranian authorities, or the fact that the smugglers were unable to find enough goods to smuggle. British officials demanded that the rulers curtail these activities, but met with little success, since on the one hand the rulers lacked the manpower and institutions to deal with such issues and, on the other, had to face local merchants and the shaikhs of Bedouin tribes who were involved in the smuggling trade.

Another forbidden trade was arms smuggling, which extended from the Coast of Oman to the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, as it was then called. Although the British authorities in the Gulf region in 1902 had been able to receive an agreement from the rulers of the time that outlawed arms trading,[76] economic and political events in the region from the 1950s onwards led to its re-emergence, and the coastal emirates

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[72] al-Faris, al-Awda' al-Iqtisadiya fi Imarat, pp. 145, 148, 154
[73] Ibid. pp. 140, 167, 149, 155, 179
[74] Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *Bagpipes in Babylon: A Lifetime in the Arab World and Beyond* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p. 191. He was an eyewitness to the event.
[75] al-Faris, ibid. pp. 157-8
[76] For the text of the Agreement: Appendix-B, no. 8: "Agreement for the Prohibition of Traffic in Arms, November 1902", p. 321 in Donald Hawley, *The Trucial States* (London: George Allen & Unwin, [1970] 1971), p. 321. However, Hawley does not state the reasons for the signing of this accord other than saying it was for Britain's "self-interest and the interests of the local people", p. 170.

became one of the routes used by smugglers to deliver goods to their clients.[77] Peter Clayton, a British military officer who served in the Emirates in the 1950s, revealed in his book three instances of armed smuggling. The first was in 1954 by the Saudi Government, the second was in 1955 by members of the al-Bu Shamis tribe, and the third was in 1957 and 1959 by sympathizers of the Imamate's cause during the civil war in Oman[78] from 1955 to 1959.[79]

During the nineteenth century merchants in the Coast of Oman paid annual *zakat* taxes to the local authorities of their emirate. The rulers used collected taxes either to hire guards, or to build town defences, among other developmental projects. The amount levied covered available cash and goods, sold goods, and in some cases expensive personal items such as jewellery; but excluded non-repaid advances by others. The emphasis was not on the goods themselves but on their monetary value. At the end of the year, a flat rate of two and a half per cent was collected from each trader or owner of sold property.[80] In addition the rulers imposed two types of import duties on goods, charging two per cent on standard items such as a sack of rice, or a flat rate of one and a half per cent on other types of goods.[81]

Alongside trade, pearl diving was the dominant economic activity in the Coast of Oman until the 1930s. During the nineteenth century, the pearling industry became the main source of income and employment, and by the 1860s, pearl diving had become very complex and required a large investment of capital and the employment of large crews. Incomplete data reveals that in the 1880-1881 season there were more than 1,100 ships, of various sizes, engaged in pearling and employing more than 21,000 crew members, with revenues that exceeded three million rupees. The figures for 1906-1907 reflect an increase to more than 1,200 ships, with crew members numbering more

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[77] al-Faris, al-Awda' al-Iqtisadiya fi Imarat, p. 166

[78]For a brief description of the conflict in Oman, see Marc Valeri, *Oman: Politics and Society in the Qaboos State* (London: Hurst & Company, 2009), pp. 51-58. Note that Valeri does not discuss the issue of smuggling.

[79]Peter Clayton, *Two Alpha Lima: The First Ten Years of Trucial Oman Lives and Trucial Oman Scouts, 1950-1960* (London: Janus Publishing Company, 1994), pp. 61, note 9 63, 64, 134-135, 137

[80]Salam, *Kitab al-Amwal,* p. 520-34; Zysow, "Zakat (A.)" pp. 406-422, in *Encyclopedia of Islam:* vol. XI, pp.413-414.

[81]Lorimer, *Gazetteer of …, vol. 1: Historical Part II,* p. 1780 cited in Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United*, p. 191

than 22,000, and total revenues reaching eight million rupees. According to Lorimer, the larger ships carried 40 divers and the smallest had ten; the average for 1906-1907 was 18 divers per boat.[82]

In terms of finance, both local and foreign merchants participated in the trade by providing loans to the ships' captains. While non-Muslims charged interest, their Muslim counterparts, because of a religious edict prohibiting usury, used *heyals* (trickeries) to legitimize profit-making on the capital advanced. In this connection, a Muslim merchant would sell a potential loan-seeker a particular commodity at a higher price than what would be requested for repayment at a later date. Upon signing and ratifying the agreement in court, the merchant re-purchased the item at a lower price. The difference between what was advanced and what would be collected represented the merchant's profit.[83]

The pearl diving season lasted for six months and mainly employed poor people in need of money. Regarding the operation of pearl diving, the season was divided into three expeditions: *Barid* (cold) began in April and lasted for forty days; *Kabir* (big) ran from May or June until September, and *Radda* (return) was initiated by some of the captains and their crews after the main season had ended, and lasted for eight weeks. In years when the month of Ramadan interrupted the pearling season, an expedition was broken off and and would be resumed at a later date.[84]

The system was based on a clear division of labour. At the top there were the merchants, the boat owners, and the captain; at the bottom were landless peasants, poor urban dwellers, Bedouins, and slaves. This group held posts as divers, helpers, and ship's servants.[85] While the oyster beds were considered the property of a particular tribe, pearl diving was open to all Arabs of the Gulf provided they had a permit to do so.

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[82] Figures are reported by al-Faris, *al-Awda' al-Iqtisadeya fi Imarat*, annex tables: 4 and 5 pp. 298-299; al-Naqeeb, *al-Dawlah wa al-Mujtama'a*: table 4-1, p. 56; Lorimer, *Gazetteer of* …, vol. 1: *Historical Part II.*.. pp. 2228, 2256.

[83] Maxime Rodinson, *Islam and Capitalism*, trans. Brian Pearce (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), p. 36.

[84] Lorimer, ibid. pp. 2228-9; and also Muhamad Hasan Saleh, "Tarikh Sayd al-Lulu wa Tejaratu", pp. 229-331 in *al-Buhuth al Faeza*… ["The history of Pearl Fishery and Its Trade." pp. 229-331… In The Wining Papers…], pp. 257-259. The only difference between the two observations is that Saleh added two additional stages reflecting a local situation.

[85] Saleh, "Tarikh Sayd al-Lulu", pp. 229-331 in *al-Buhuth al Faeza…,* pp. 276-27.

For instance, it was possible for a ship's captain from Ras al-Khaimah, Dubai or Sharjah to operate on a pearl bank that belonged to Abu Dhabi, provided he held a permit from the ruler of Abu Dhabi.[86]

At the beginning of each season, the owner of the ship selected one member of his family or tribe, or hired a captain to command the expedition. The divers and 'pullers' (or oarsmen) were either hired through a middleman or consisted of those previously employed and still in debt. Treatment of the crew differed from one captain to another; some treated their subordinates humanely, others abused them.[87] Ismael Nasseb Bu 'Afra, a former diver, recalled how "the divers and the helpers were mistreated by their captain" whom he described as "lazy". Moreover, during a bad season, some captains, hoping for a larger catch, would attempt to extend the expedition beyond the agreed duration.[88]

Prior to each trip the captain used the secured funds to repair his ship, acquire rations, and provide the crew with credit in the form of *salafiyya* (loans), and *kharjiyya* (pocket money), to be collected by the end of the season, though in some instances, the sponsor provided staples in kind instead of cash.[89] The items, or the money, would usually be left with the families of the employees, to be used during their absence. With the exception of the merchant, and to a lesser extent the captain, most of those participating in pearling were unable to repay the advances they had received. Nor was an outstanding debt written off on the death of the debtor; meaning that other members of the family had to carry on the task of repayment. In some cases, debtors had to escape from one emirate to another. To resolve this, British officials in the Gulf region, with consent from the rulers, therefore proposed an enlargement of the *mahkamat al-*

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[86] Lorimer, *Gazetteer of …, vol. 1: Historical Part II*, pp. 2241-2242.
[87] Recent literature either plays down or avoids the various ways in which ship's captains treated those on board.
[88] "Interview with Ismael Bu'Afra", pp. 85-95, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1990), p. 91.
[89] Muhammad Ghanim al-Rumaihi, "The Mode of Production in the Arabian Gulf before Oil", pp. 46-60 in Tim Niblock (ed), *Social and Economic Development in the Arab Gulf* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), p. 54.

ghus (the pearl diving court) in 1879, by including the British Political Agent as a final judge.[90]

Traditionally, the catch was auctioned at the end of the harvest, with the sponsor given the first right to purchase and at a reduced rate. In abnormal situations, such as lack of sufficient food or the loss of necessary equipment during storms and high seas, the captain would sell a portion of the collected pearls to a *tawash*, a floating boat merchant who visited pearl diving areas to buy pearls at a reduced price and sell various items that the ship needed at a higher price. This practice was beneficial for both sides. For the captain, it saved time and the effort of going back to shore; for the merchant, it provided a profit from selling goods and buying pearls at reduced prices. Sa'id al-Numan, a merchant from the Coast of Oman, described the norm of selling pearls as being from the captain to a small merchant to the wholesaler, and, at the end, to an Indian or a European buyer. The last transaction was achieved through a trip by one or other of the parties; thus a foreign merchant visited the home of a local counterpart or vice versa.[91] In exceptional cases, a pearl that was unique in size and quality could save the whole group from poverty by providing a larger profit for the sponsor and a way for the crew to get out of debt.

After selling the pearls, the proceeds were spent in a variety of ways. According to Lorimer, local authorities collected two types of taxes: *nob* and *traz*, both terms being of unknown linguistic origin.[92] The former was measured as one-fifth, collected from the ship owners in cash and in kind, whereas the latter was a cash tax imposed on divers and helpers.[93] The sponsor reclaimed the capital with profit and deducted advances to employees. The boat owner, if not a sponsor or captain, received one-fifth of the total; the remaining amount was divided among the participants, including the captain, in the

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[90]Obaid Butti, "Imperialism, Tribal structure, and the Development of the Ruling Elite: A Socio-Economic History of the Trucial States between 1892 and 1939", unpublished PhD Thesis (Washington DC: The Georgetown University, 1992), pp. 99-100; Donald Hawley, *Trucial States*, pp. 169-170.

[91]"Interview with Sa'id bin 'Ali al-Numan", pp. 77-84, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1990), pp.79, 81.

[92]Authors such as Handal referred to both terms as "ancient". See Faleh Handal, *Mu'jam al-Ghaus wa al-Lulu fi al-Khaleej al-'Arabi* [The Dictionary of Diving and Pearls in the Arabian Gulf] (Abu Dhabi: al-Mujama' al-Thaqafi, nd), pp. 237, 359. Lienhardt argued that *Traz* was called as such because it benefited the *Mutarizis*, or ruler's guards, who protected the pearling boats. See Lienhardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern..,* p.69.

[93] Lorimer, *Gazetteer of …, vol. 1: Historical Part II: Anne no. 6,* pp. 2284-2287.

following way: the captain (if not the ship owner) received three shares, as did a diver, with a helper receiving two shares.[94] Other members of the crew were excluded from the system, but were compensated monetarily by the captain, the divers, and the helpers. Thus, divers and helpers were the least fortunate in this process. To an extent they were exploited twice over, especially the divers since their initial subsistence advance incurred high interest, and then because they received only a fraction of the financial benefits associated with the pearls they had found.

From 1835 to 1911, the British authorities intervened with a series of measures to improve the operation of pearl diving. First, British officials attempted to extend the legal prohibition of war on the high seas against British ships, which the rulers had signed in 1820, to that covering pearl diving seasons as well.[95] British authorities had dual objectives: to extend British involvement in land by providing the population with a sense of security. The 1820 agreement excluded any references to the welfare of the local population and the local economy. In other words, people in the Coast of Oman had one main source of income (pearl diving) which was subject to interruption by political feuds. The interest of rulers and people was to make sure that pearl diving could take place in peaceful and organized periods.[96]

The British achieved the objective of eradicating military confrontation in series of steps, the first of which was to eliminate maritime confrontations between the local rulers during the pearl-diving period. The realisation of this objective occurred in three stages. First the British introduced a number of accords: an annual ratification of a maritime truce occurred between 1835 and 1842; then in 1843 a decade-long peace agreement was agreed; and finally, a "Perpetual Peace Treaty" was signed in 1853.[97]

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[94]Lorimer, *Gazetteer of …,* vol. 1: *Historical Part II: Anne no. 6*, pp. 2232-2233; Saleh, "Tarikh Sayd al-Lulu", pp. 229-331 in *al-Buhuth al Faeza*…, pp. 297. Although all studies on pearl diving have referred to this system, no attempt, as far as I am aware, was made to find out the origin of this method, i.e., when and how this technique was developed.

[95]Al-Badr Abu-Baker, "Political Economy of State Formation; the United Arab Emirates in Comparative Perspective", unpublished PhD thesis (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan, 1995), p. 18; Abdulkhaliq Abdulla, "Political Dependency: the Case of the United Arab Emirates", unpublished PhD thesis (Washington DC: The Georgetown University, 1984), p. 77; Donald Hawley, *The Trucial States*, p. 164

[96]Butti,"Imperialism, Tribal structure..., pp. 86, 93; Hawley, ibid. pp. 134-135.

[97]For the text of the agreements, see 'Ali Muhammad Rashed, *al-Itifaqeyat al-Seyaseya wa al-Iqtesadiya alati Uqedat baina Imarat al-Sahel wa Britania: 1806-1971* [The Political and Economic Agreements

The British intention, it appears, was gradually to win the support of the rulers of the emirates for further periods of "armistice" during another pearl season. In signing the annual maritime peace, the rulers witnessed the economic benefits of peace, which the British then exploited to propose a decade-long treaty, followed by the perpetual truce. In the last treaty, the rulers who signed it agreed to take action against any of their citizens involved in any military action, as well as to report any act of aggression by a fellow ruler to the British Political Agent to investigate and render a verdict.[98]

Secondly, a proposal was passed by the rulers in 1879 to establish an arbitration council, headed by the British Residency Agent in Sharjah, to complement the actions and decisions adopted by the *Mahkamat al-Ghus* (the Pearl Diving Court). The primary function of the court was to deliver a verdict on disputes between two rulers – one controlling the territory where the debtor originally resided and worked, and the other ruling the place where the debtor was handed down and paid his debt but was permitted to participate in pearl diving. The Native Agent, after receiving complaint from the injured party, convened a court of arbitration consisting of other rulers or their representatives to render a verdict. Final decisions on the course of action rested in the hands of the British Political Resident in the Gulf.[99] This legal arrangement formed a potential basis for a legal federal institution, because it dealt with inter-emirates relations.

However, there were concerns over the frequency of application of its verdicts, among other relevant matters. In fact the function of this agreement was to undercut the notion of the *al-dakheel*, akin to political asylum. Debtors were free to move from one locality to another with no or little deterrent. At the same time, this subject was not discussed to a great extent in the literature in order to arrive at a better understanding. Most importantly, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, when British officials in the emirates proposed in 1966 to create a court to handle inter-emirates legal cases, they

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Signed between the Emirates of the Coast and Britain: 1806-1971] (Sharjah: Ittihad al-Kutab wa al-Udabaal-Imarat, 1989), pp. 1-15, 18, 20-21.

[98]For the text of the agreement, Appendix B: Historical, no. 3: "Perpetual Maritime Peace Treaty, Dated 4 May, 1853," pp. 319-320 in Hawley. *Trucial States*, pp. 317-318.

[99]For the text of the agreement, Appendix B: Historical, no. 6: "Mutual Agreement Entered into by the Trucial Coast Rulers about Absconding Debtors, Dated 24th June, 1879", pp. 319-320 in Hawley, ibid., pp. 319-320; Butti. "Imperialism, Tribal structure…,", p. 123.

did not invoke the abovementioned legal arrangement as a part of their justifications. Thus it might have been convened but not to the extent of being part of an existing administrational norm within the Coast of Oman. The other possibility was that the British officials were not familiar with it.

The third stage lasted from 1857 to 1911, during which period British representatives in the region received consent from their superiors in Bombay and London to discourage British citizens and subjects from competing with the local population in the pearling industry. At the same time British officials, such as Percy Cox, demanded and received consent from local rulers, for example Shaikh Tahnun (r. 1909-1912) of Abu Dhabi, not to grant concessions for pearl diving to any foreigner.[100]

Despite all the British efforts, pearl diving in the Coast of Oman disintegrated in the 1930s, and by the 1950s was no longer a leading economic activity. There were some merchants who hired captains and crew to continue the profession, but the number of participants rapidly decreased to a handful of ships. The Coast emirates fell into a long economic depression, a situation resulting from their dependency on a single economic source of revenues (pearling), with financial support coming mainly from abroad. By the turn of the twentieth century Lorimer's gloomy prediction that "...ports of Trucial 'Oman [will] cease to exist" had become a reality.[101] In this regard, the root causes for the failure of this enterprise were a result of two factors; local merchants and captains accepting loans with a higher profit, and the arrival of cultured pearls.[102]

The first cause for the collapse of the pearl trade was the tendency among the participants to accept loans at higher returns. This practice continued after the First World War, when supply exceeded demand and fewer individuals tended to buy luxury items. In 1926 and 1930, for example, sponsors were left with surplus pearls from previous seasons and were unable to sell in order to fulfil obligations with creditors and ship crews. In some cases, pearl owners were forced to sell at a loss. Merchants such

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[100] For the texts of various correspondences within the British India Government, and with the British Government in London as well as the correspondences of British authorities with local leaders, Anita L. P. Burdett (ed), *Records of the Persian Gulf Pearl Fisher: 1857-1962,* vol.1: *1857-1914* (Farnham, Surrey: Archive Editions, 1995), especially sections 1.08 and 1.10, pp. 192-219, 244-278. Henceforth, the reference will be cited as RPGPF.

[101] Lorimer, *Gazetteer of …, vol. 1: Historical Part II*, p. 2220.

[102] Aisha 'Ateeq Ahmad Yousef. "Tarikh Sayd al-Lulu wa Tejaratu", pp. 177-228, in *al-Buhuth al-Faeza …* ["The history of Pearl Fishery and Its Trade", pp. 177-228, in The Wining Papers….], pp. 219, 233.

as Ahmad bin Dalmuk from Dubai and Khalaf al-'Utaiba from Abu Dhabi declared bankruptcy. As a result, Bahraini merchants decided to reduce advances to would-be participants. Divers and helpers faced the choice of accepting a cutback or refusing to participate.[103]

The other more important factor in the undermining of the pearl-diving industry was the arrival of cheap Japanese cultured pearls in the Coast of Oman in 1924, and their increasing production in the 1930s. There were two difficulties associated with this invention: the inability of experts to distinguish between the two without the use of modern technology, such as x-ray machines, and the involvement of local merchants in the selling of cultured pearls.[104]

This development attracted the attention of local rulers who took measures to offset the negative impact of the Japanese pearls. One method was employed in 1924 by the ruler of Dubai, Shaikh Sa'id bin Maktoum, who published a declaration prohibiting trade in cultured pearls and threatened offenders with a number of punishments, such as confiscation of property and banishment from Dubai. Another method was to enlist the services of informants to determine who was importing cultured pearls. In the early 1930s Shaikh Khalid bin Ahmad (1914-1924) of Sharjah arrested and punished a certain 'Abdul'Aziz bin 'Abdulrahman al-Najdi for his role as a distributor of a prohibited item.[105] But such steps were not sufficient to turn back the clock and by the 1930s the local pearl industry had seriously declined.

The British authorities made some minimal effort to reduce the negative impact of the Japanese cultured pearls, mostly in the form of communication with the British

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[103]Saleh, "Tarikh Sayd al-Lulu", pp. 229-331 in *al-Buhuth al Faeza…*, p. 320; al-Faris, *al-Awda' al-Iqtisadiya fi Imarat*, pp. 90-93; Yousef, "Tarikh Sayd al-Lulu wa Tejaratu", pp. 177-228 in *al-Buhuth al Faeza* …., p. 223 There are two observations on this event. On the one hand, the extent of similarity and differences between the situation in Bahrain and the Coast of Oman is not clear. On the other hand, the available studies are silent on how many divers and helpers participated or skippered during this season, or the rationale offered by the indebted crew to the creditors explaining their action.

[104]Richard LeBaron Brown, "Pearl Fisheries in the Persian Gulf", *The Middle East Journal*, 1951 vol. 5, no.2, pp. 161-180, p. 164; al-Faris, ibid. pp. 97-98.

[105]Letters of the Political Resident in Shariqah [Sharjah] to the Political Agent in Bahrain September 30 and October 17, 1933, R/15/2/346, in Burdett (ed), *RPGPF: 1857-1962;* vol. 3: *1930-1962*, pp. 221-230 and 237-238. For the text of Shaikh Sa'id's announcement, see annex to the "letter from [Khan Bahadur Abdullatif], the Resident Agent in Shariqah to [Lt. Col. Francis Beville Prideaux] Political Resident in the Gulf," dated 9th of [month illegible] 1342/July 12th, 1924, R/15/2/1344 in Burdett (ed), *RPGPF: 1857-1962,* vol.2: *1907-1930*, p. 486. The letter is difficult to read.

Resident or Native Agent in Sharjah requesting information on the actions adopted by the rulers, the names of vendors, and the name of any person receiving a parcel by air from Karachi (to which latter demand the Resident Agent made no reply).[106] The other subject of interest was the debate within the British administration in London and Bombay in 1937-1938 over the appropriate sort of action the British navy might adopt against the Japanese fishing for pearls in the waters of the Gulf. The consensus was that nothing could be done with regard to the high seas, but the British navy could arrest intruders who violated territorial waters or anchored near the traditional pearling settlements.[107]

From the 1950s onwards, the oil industry emerged as a new sector and as a leading source of financial revenue. Oil revenues thus began to replace pearl diving as a leading source of national income. Oil had been discovered in the first half of the twentieth century, and interest among the superpowers, all of whom saw it as a strategic commodity, heightened as the potential for oil discoveries in the region increased. Treaties were duly signed with the governments of Persia (Iran), Iraq, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.[108]

The development of the oil industry in the Coast evolved through three stages, with its impact on the society being felt from the late 1960s onwards. The first stage took place during the 1920s when British officials in the Gulf demanded a written pledge from the rulers of the various emirates to accept whatever oil company the British officials recommended before they signed any agreement on exploration in the area. Britain's main objectives in this regard were to exclude American oil corporations from the region and to reserve access to oil in these areas for British companies.[109] While the

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[106]It is unclear whether the Agent failed to acquire the information or if a letter giving his response is missing from British records.

[107]For the text of the letters see Burdett (ed), *RPGPF, 1857-1962,* vol.3: *1930-1962*. pp. 228-237; and for the second topic see ibid, section 3.20, pp. 405-465. It is not clear from the exchange if the subject was a real or a hypothetical case.

[108]Alawi Darweesh Kayal, "The Control of Oil: East-West Rivalry in the Persian Gulf", unpublished PhD thesis (Boulder CO: University of Colorado, 1972), pp. 84, 86; John Blair, *The Control of Oil* (NY: Pantheon Books, 1976), pp. 34-6, 42; Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power* (London and NY: Simon and Schuster, 1991), pp. 280-3, 289-95.

[109]al-Faris, al-Awda' al-Iqtisadiya fi Imarat, pp. 126-7; Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United*, p. 259.

rulers of the emirates duly submitted their written pledges in 1922,[110] as far as oil exploration in the area was concerned, the British authorities continued to lack any plan of action or activity for over a decade, from 1922 to 1936.[111]

The second stage began in 1936 when the British authorities recommended the Iraq Petroleum Company to establish a subsidiary, Petroleum Concessions Ltd, to acquire agreements for exploration from the rulers of the Coast.[112] This action was a direct result of Anglo-American competition, and was also intended to overcome the rulers' frustration with British inaction throughout the previous decade or so and their disappointment with British delays in advancing their oil potential compared with the case of Bahrain.[113] In 1937, British officials communicated with the rulers, instructing them to sign a contract with Petroleum Concessions Ltd, and requiring the rulers to produce four documents: a letter written by the ruler guaranteeing the safety of the oil prospectors, an agreement between the ruler and the company, a memorandum of understanding between the British officials in the Gulf and the company, and a letter from the British Government approving the above agreement.[114] It should be noted that the British officials treated all emirates as a part of a unified entity, hence being all on the Coast of Oman.

The rulers fell into two separate camps in their immediate reactions to this British communication. While the rulers of Dubai (Shaikh Sa'id bin Maktoum)[115] and Sharjah (Shaikh Khalid bin Ahmad) signed agreements, Shaikhs Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi and

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[110]The diplomatic notes are published in various books. For the Arabic text with an English translation of a ruler's positive response, see the letter from Shaikh Khalid bin Ahmad, the Chief of Sharjah, to the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonial A.P. Trevor, CSI, CIE, Political Resident, Persian Gulf, Bushire, dated 18th Jamadi-os-Sani [sic], 1340 (=17 February 1922), IOR: R/15/1/618, p. 73 in Penelope Tuson (ed), *Records of the Emirates, Primary Documents, 1820-1958, vol.9 1921-1935* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1990), p. 73.

[111]Rosemarie Said Zahlan, *The Origins of the United Arab Emirates: A Political and Social History of the Trucial States* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1978), p. 108.

[112] Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United*, p. 295.

[113] al-Faris, *al-Awda' al-Iqtisadiya fi Imarat*,pp. 128, 130; Zahlan, ibid. p. 108.

[114] al-Faris, ibid. pp. 129, 131; Zahlan, ibid., pp. 116, 118.

[115] For the text in Arabic and English languages, see "Agreement between Shaikh Sa'id bin Maktum, ruler of Dubai and the Petroleum Concessions Ltd" signed 22nd May 1937 in *The Persian Gulf Historical Summary,* vol. 3: *A Collection of Oil Agreements and Connected Documents Relating to the Persian Gulf Shaikhdoms and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman (1954)* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1987), pp. 171-177. Henceforth *PGHS*.

Salem of Ras al-Khaimah refused to accept the British approach.[116] As a consequence, Lt. Col. Trenchard Craven Fowle, a British Political Officer, delivered a written ultimatum to the rulers to sign an agreement, otherwise the British authorities would stop issuing travel documents to the ruler and his subjects. Of the remaining four rulers, Shaikh Sultan bin Salem, ruler of Ras al-Khaimah, declared his intention to act as he saw fit, and Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi described Fowle's message as *hawa* (air).[117] Eventually the ruler of Abu Dhabi, pressured by a prominent merchant Ahmad bin Khalaf al-'Utaybah, signed an agreement in 1939,[118] but with better conditions than those that had been achieved by the rulers of Dubai and Sharjah. The remaining rulers signed contracts between 1945 and 1951.[119] Both types of reaction were out of self-interest, not because of political objectives. Neither the proponents nor the opponents of granting oil concessions formed political alliances. Each ruler concentrated on the financial benefits generated from signing the agreement. In fact, it seems from Shaikh Shakhbut's action that his objective was to secure a better deal than other rulers.

The third stage in the development of oil production in the Coast of Oman started in 1949, with the focus on Abu Dhabi and the emergence of the oil sector. Initially, and following a number of failed explorations, the company informed the rulers of all the emirates of its intention not to renew the agreement after the expiry date of the contract, except for Abu Dhabi and Dubai. In 1949, a legal disagreement between Shaikh Shakhbut and the holder of the oil concession over whether the continental shelf constituted part of the original contract led the ruler to request an arbitration decision in 1951; he won it.[120] In 1951, Petroleum Concessions Ltd became Petroleum Development Trucial States; this in turn was renamed in 1961 as the Abu Dhabi Petroleum Company.[121]

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[116] Heard-Bey, ibid. pp.296-7.
[117] Zahlan, *The Origins….* pp. 118, 120.
[118] For the text of the agreement see: "Agreement between His Excellency Shaikh Shakhbout bin Sultan, Ruler of Abu Dhabi, and the D'Arcy Exploration Co. Ltd, 9 March, 1953", in *PGHS. Vol. 3*, pp. 158-164.
[119] Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United*, p.296; Zahlan, ibid. pp. 118, 120.
[120] al-Faris, *al-Awda' al-Iqtisadeya fi Imarat*, pp. 222-3; Hawley, *The Trucial*, p. 215; K. G. Fenelon, *The United Arab Emirates: An Economic and Social Survey* (London: Longman, [1973] 1974), p. 33.
[121] al-Faris, ibid., p. 223; Heard-Bey, ibid.. p. 295; Hawley, ibid.. pp. 212-3; Fenelon, ibid., p. 33.

In 1958, after a series of explorations in both Abu Dhabi and Dubai, the company discovered oil in commercial quantities in Murban-3 field in Abu Dhabi.[122] It carried the first shipment of oil in 1962, and after that year oil production and revenues increased. Abu Dhabi's oil output grew from 2.5 million tons in 1963 to 23.6 million tons in 1968; and sterling revenues grew from £2,990,000 to £63,870,000 during the same period.[123] As is discussed in Chapter Four, oil revenues generated by Abu Dhabi provided the rulers with financial resources to create economic and social programmes, as well as the possibility of advancing the notion of collaboration; this led to the negotiations to establish the federation in 1971. From this perspective, it is clear that, unlike the oil industry, the historical economic activities in the coastal area did not contribute to establishing the foundations for the formation of a state.

2.4 The Social Structure

Along with economic activities, the topography of the Coast of Oman also influenced social structures, whether the population resided in desert or in coastal areas. The two social organisations were classified as tribal or class groupings, and were not mutually exclusive since the urban populations emphasised their tribal backgrounds, and members of tribes were divided according to their level of wealth. While the former included nomadic, semi-nomadic, and settled tribes, the latter included the indigenous population, and people from the Indian subcontinent, Africa and Persia, who lived in towns.

The urban population could be classified into upper, middle and lower classes. Both communities were based on family units and shared common social values and traditions. In towns, intellectual life was more active through gatherings in public places, such as private guest houses or mosques. In this regard, enlightened merchants and their associates promoted discussion about introducing modern administration locally, and the negative impact of the great international depression on the local economy. These intellectuals encouraged the younger generation to acquire a modern education

[122]al-Faris, ibid., p. 220; Hawley, ibid., pp. 214; Fenelon, ibid., p. 33.
[123]Hawley, ibid,. enumerated tables, pp. 217-8, 220.

at elementary level either within or outside the Coast of Oman. Locally, the emphasis was on teaching the Arabic language, Islamic studies, and arithmetic.

2.4.1 Tribal Groups

The first of the two social groupings within the Coast of Oman was the tribal one. The population of the Coast of Oman was settled, nomadic or semi-nomadic, and the inhabitants of the settled community to a large extent identified themselves as members of a particular tribe. At the same time, the political system, as is discussed in Chapter Three, was founded on tribal affiliation. Thus, the significance of discussing relations within and between tribal groupings lies in their impact on the changes taking place within the society. Moreover, until the 1930s nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes played a significant role militarily, in a revolving power struggle within each emirate and between the emirates. A tribe (*qabila*) and its subsidiaries (clans, [*fakhdh*]) are lineage groups based on blood lines through a claimed common agnatic descent.[124] The tribal federation (*tahaluf qabali*), on the other hand, is a collection of different tribes or clans unified not by a shared ancestor but by a shared history or place of residency.[125] By the end of the 1930s, estimates of the number of tribes in this region varied between nine and forty.

In 1832 Samuel Hennel, British Political Resident in the Gulf, had reported that the Bani Yas consisted of ten clans, eight of which were members of other tribes; for instance, the al-Bu Muhair was originally from the al-Nu'aim.[126] As is discussed later, all sections of the Bani Yas adopted the same genealogical line, since it appeared over time that affiliated tribes and clans assumed the genealogical background as their own. Thus tribes, clans, or tribal federations were either reported as separate units or as

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[124]H.R. P. Dickson, *The Arabs of the Desert*, edited and abridged by Robert Wilson and Zahra Freeth (London: George Allen & Unwin, [1949] 1983), p. 23.
[125]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United*, p. 42.
[126]S[amuel] Hennel, "Baniyas Tribes of Arabs: From 1761 to Close of the Year 1831", pp. 461-469, in R. Hughes Thomas (ed), *Arabian Gulf Intelligence, Selections from Records of Bombay Government, New Series, no. xxi*. (Cambridge: Oleander Press, [1856] 1985), p. 462. There are several comments on this text. First, this is the first reference to give the names of the tribes; second, the author fell short in identifying his source.

unified groups. Tribal groups were organized into clans, tribes, and tribal federations. Thus the al-Qawassim was a clan, the al-Manaseer was a tribe, and the Bani Yas was a tribal (and clan) federation.[127]

The tribes of the Coast of Oman gradually evolved from a nomadic to sedentary way of life. The process of transformation had probably begun by the middle of the eighteenth century and lasted to the mid-twentieth century. By 1958, the majority of clans, tribes and tribal federations were residing in towns, except for the al-'Awamer tribe, which migrated seasonally between various locations. There were at least two reasons for this change. One was the eruption of internal feuding within the Bani Yas federation, which forced the weaker sections to relocate. In 1839, for example, the al-Bu Muhair clan was forced to change residency from Abu Dhabi to the territory of the al-Qawassim.[128] As a result, the al-Bu Muhair section of the Bani Yas maintained its tribal linkage even while residing outside the federation's territory.

A second reason for change was a gradual evolution from a nomadic to a sedentary way of life for reasons of self-preservation. For instance, in 1761 the Bani Yas tribal federation was in need of water and a defendable location. The federation resided in the Liwa area, which was a desert and located on the route of the Saudi forces coming from al-Hasa and Najd (currently parts of Saudi Arabia) to invade Oman. A hunting party of the Bani Yas on Abu Dhabi Island found water. This discovery, in addition to the location of the island which was at some distance from the Saudi forces,

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[127]Muhammad Hasan al-'Aidarus, *al-Tatawurat al-Siyasiya fi al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida* [Political Development in the UAE] (Kuwait: Dhat al-Salasel, 1983), pp. 18-29; also Julian Walker, "Tribes of the Trucial States", August 1958, pp. 425-459, in Richard Trench (ed), *Gazetteer of Arabian Tribes,* vol. 17, *Appendices II* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1996), pp. 429-430. PS: the table of contents for the collection did not include any call numbers. Also see Hendrik van der Meulen, "The Role of Tribal and Kinship Ties in the Politics of the United Arab Emirates", unpublished PhD Thesis (Medford: Tufts University, 1997).

[128]The causes for such action are reflected in the following chain of events. The al-Bu Muhair clan killed five individuals from the al-Manaseer tribe because of their involvement in murdering a guest of the al-Bu Muhair clan. As a consequence, the al-Manaseer tribe complained to Shaikh Khalifa bin Shakhbut (r. 1833-1845), the ruler of Abu Dhabi. The ruler dispatched a force to escort the al-Bu Muhair to Abu Dhabi town to answer the accusation. The al-Bu Muhair's reaction was to murder the Shaikh's escort and then flee (see Muhammad Sa'id Ghubash, "al-Fawaed fi Tarikh al-Imarat wa al-Awabid" [The Benefits in the History of the Emirates], ed. Faleh Handal (UAE: Typed Mss, 1998), p. 11).

provided the federation leaders with the idea of relocation. Thus, the majority of the Bani Yas alliance began a gradual move from the Liwa area to the Island of Abu Dhabi.[129]

The relationship between the nomadic and the settled communities varied between cooperation and conflict. Cooperation between the two sides took the form of an exchange of benefits. Members of both communities were also connected through family ties, since many townspeople were descendants of nomadic groups. The majority of the early settlers resided with individuals from their tribe or clan in towns, while others established their own quarters.[130] Towns formed the foundation for collaboration, since the nomads contributed militarily to the defence of the town, and in return, towns functioned as an economic centre for the nomads to sell their products and buy imported items.[131]

The issue of superiority appeared in a nomadic tribe's view of self and the other. For instance, the nomads regarded themselves as members of an upper caste and demoted the settled population to membership of a lower caste because they owned sheep or were involved in variety of manual labour activities. As such, a camel owner would refuse to accept a shepherd as a son-in-law.[132] This assertion of superiority appeared within the recently-settled groups; in effect, the holders of such views were in transition towards a new social reality that differed from their past experiences. The real reason for the usage of such a classification was simply to retain as much wealth in the family as possible.[133]

The claimed common ancestry (or genealogy) among the various tribes and clans in the Coast of Oman was a crucial factor in consolidating the unity of the society. In this regard, nomadic and settled tribes shared a number of similarities. The significance of these similarities lies in the way that segments of tribes residing within different emirates connected with each other, thereby indirectly forming links between the emirates. The first common factor was the emphasis on the genealogical

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[129] Muhammad Ghubash, ibid., p. 21.
[130] Lienhardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern* (2001), p.81-82, 84, 118.
[131] Muhammad 'Abdullah al-Mutawa', *al-Tanmiyya wa al-Taghyer fi al-Imarat* [Development and Change in the Emirates], (Beirut: Dar al-Farabi. 1991), p. 11.
[132] Muhammad Ghanim al-Rumaihi, *al-Bitrul wa al-Taghur al-Ijtima'e fi al-Khaleej al-'Arabi*. [Oil and Social Change in the Arab Gulf Societies], (Beirut: Dar al-Jadid, [1975] 1995), pp. 55-56.
[133] al-Rumaihi, ibid, p.56.

background. The basic foundation for all types of tribal communities was kinship – real or imaginary blood connections.[134] Members of each tribe memorised names of ancestors; alternatively each tribe had an official genealogist who was entrusted with the task of preserving its genealogical tree. For example, the Bani Yas were descendants either of Yas bin 'Amer of Hawazan, or of the Bani Hilal from 'Amer bin Sa'asa'a. The al-Qawassim, on the other hand, were descendants of al-Qassim bin Sha'awah from the Mudhar, the Azd, or the Dhafir tribes.[135]

In addition, a common factor shared by tribes, whether of a predominantly Bedouin or a predominantly Hadar type, was their division into clans. Each clan included a number of extended families. In 1958, the al-Manaseer tribe, for instance, included five sections.[136] The tribe had a paramount Shaikh, a *tamima*, who had control over the whole tribe. At the same time, each section had its own Shaikh. The leaders of these sections interacted with each other in the Council of Elders, which determined major issues concerning the welfare of its members. At either level, selection of a leader depended on the consent of the Council of Elders and was restricted to the dominant family within the tribe. The tribal genealogy performed a primary role in the tribe or in the clan's war efforts. The stronger the genealogical ties of two clans, the better their chances of receiving military assistance from each other.[137] In many cases, the survival of a clan depended on the extent of its support from other clans.

Furthermore, the threat of disintegration was shared by the nomads and the sedentary tribes. Power struggles over the leadership between the dominant factions within a tribe often led to sections breaking away from the main tribe. In the event of

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[134] Lienhardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern* (2001), p.85.

[135]Salem bin Humud al-Seyabi, "Is'af al-A'ayn fi Ansab Ahl Oman" [Assistance for the Nobles in the Genealogy of the People of Oman] (Oman: Typed MS., nd), pp. 12-13, 15; also 'Abdullah bin Saleh al-Mutawa'a, *al-Jawaher wa al-Laali fi Tarikh 'Oman al-Shamali* [Gold and Gems in the History of Northern Oman], ed. by Faleh Handal (Dubai: Markaz Jum'a al-Majid lil-Thaqafa, 1994), pp. 16-17, 55-56. These two authors disagree over the genealogy of both groups.

[136] Julian Walker "Tribes of Trucial States, 1958," pp. 425-459, in Richard Trench (ed), *Gazetter of Arabian Tribes, vol.17*, *appendices II*, p. 437.

[137]Peter Liendardt, "The Authority of Shaykhs in the Gulf: An Essay in Nineteenth-Century History", pp. 61-75 in R. B. Serjeant and R.L. Bidwell (eds), *Arabian Studies II* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1975), p. 63; also Brian D Clark, "Tribes of the Persian Gulf", in Alvin J. Cotterell (ed), *The Persian Gulf: A General Survey* (Baltimore MD and London: the John Hopkins University Press, 1980), p. 489; and J. E Peterson, Julian Walker, "Tribes and Politics in Eastern Arabia", *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 31, no.3, summer 1972: pp. 297-312), p. 297.

losing a leadership position over the whole tribe, the elders of the losing segment would decide to sever ties with the mother tribe. For instance, in 1830 the al-Bu Shamis and the al-Bu Kharban of the al-Nu'aim tribe, which resided in Ajman and al-Buraimi, feuded over the leadership of the tribe, with emphasis on al-Buraimi area.[138] In this respect, al-Mutawa' alleges that the cause of the split was that the leadership of the al-Bu Kharban did not share the revenue from the Sa'udi fort under their command in 1839 with the al-Bu Shamis.[139] As a consequence the al-Bu Shamis lost their leadership status. The al-Bu Shamis constituted themselves as a separate tribe to preserve their tribal genealogy.

2.4.2 Class Grouping

In contrast to tribal grouping, class grouping was an urban phenomenon associated with the diverse economic activities practised in coastal towns. In addition to the native population, people from the Indian subcontinent, Persia, and Africa were integrated into this stratification. This society was divided into upper, lower and middle classes.

2.4.2.1 The Upper Class

The upper class included the ruling family, the local merchants, and the expatriate merchants.[140] The source of power for the ruling families was their status as chiefs of their tribe or tribal groups. Their utmost objective was to preserve domination over territory under their jurisdiction. They had either established a town, as in the case of the al-Nahayan, or had arrived in a town and forged an alliance with the existing tribes, as in the case of the al-Qawassim. There was a consensus within the population that

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[138]'Abdulla Saleh al-Mutawa', *'Uqud al-Juman fi Ayam al-Sa'ud fi 'Oman* [Nucleus of Pearls in the Days of the al-Sa'ud in Oman], ed. by Faleh Handal (Abu Dhabi: al-Mujama' al-Thaqafi, 1417 AH/1997), pp. 234-235; John C. Wilkinson, *The Imamate Tradition of Oman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 141.

[139]'Abdulla Saleh al-Mutawa', ibid, p. 334.

[140]Hamza Alavi, "The State in Post-colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh", pp. 38-69 in Harry Goulbourne (ed), *Politics and State in the Third World* (London: Macmillan, 1979), p. 38. The differences between the Coast of Oman and the cases investigated by Alavi are in term of the duration of foreign domination versus independence, and the name of the sections involved in the situation under investigation.

political power was invested only in members of the ruling families or in a particular branch of these families.[141] The role of the population in each emirate was confined to supporting either the ruler or his challenger.

The power of the local merchants derived from their financial wealth, which was used to gain political power through association with the ruling families. On many occasions local merchants provided financial resources to the rulers when needed. They also used their connection with the ruling families to control the pearl industry, and furthermore had extensive contacts with merchants from nearby emirates, so that, for example, those who resided in Dubai and Sharjah either met while in India for business or visited each other's homes to resolve their differences. On many occasions, local merchants were able to pressure the rulers to defy British demands. In 1910, as a consequence of British failure to find smuggled arms in the houses of Thani bin Khalaf and Ahmed bin Dalmuk, local merchants forced the Ruler of Dubai, Shaikh Suhayl bin Butti (r. 1906-1912) to reject British demands to post an officer and to establish a telegraph station in Dubai. They were unable to prevent him from making a payment of Rp 5,000 as a fine.[142]

There were also economic and social networks among the merchants. The economic network appeared in the form of merchants from the Coast living in India and providing services to their counterparts at home. 'Abdul-Qader 'Abbass, from Dubai, invested the money of local merchants in the Indian market during the 1930s. At the same time, 'Abdulrahman al-Medfa', a merchant from Sharjah and a resident of Bombay [Mumbai] from 1932 to 1948, acted as an agent for local merchants in any business transaction. He sold local pearls to Indian merchants. and bought and shipped consumer goods for local merchants.[143] A leading merchant could be asked to render an unbinding verdict to resolve a financial disagreement between two merchants, either from one or different emirates. Both sides to the dispute were socially but not legally required to accept his judgment.

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[141]Liendardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern*, pp. 212-214.
[142]Butti,"Imperialism, Tribal", pp. 132-133, 137, 145.
[143]"Interview with Hay bin Mattar bin Musabeh", pp. 61-67"; "Interview with Sa'id 'Ali al-Numan", pp. 77-84, in 'Abdulrahman (Interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1990), pp. 63-64, 79-80.

The main objective for this approach was to avoid the ruler's involvement in the dispute. However, if a side was unsatisfied with the verdict, he might turn to the ruler for another verdict. In this case the verdict became binding and in normal circumstances no member of the community would attempt to alienate the ruler. More importantly, the ruler's involvement in the case had financial implications. He, as well as his retainers, would demand a payment to cover their services.[144] Thus the winning side in a dispute would not receive the full payment. As for the strength or weakness of these networks, it depended on the strength of the merchants within the society. Prior to 1938, merchants had strong networks reflecting their influence, but with the collapse of pearl diving they had lost a substantial part of their power.

With regard to the expatriate merchants, as noted earlier, the Indian and the Persian merchants were part of the upper class. Historically, according to Fatma al-Sayegh, members of the two communities had arrived in the second half of the nineteenth century: the Indians in the 1860s and the Persians during the 1890s. Profit-making was a common factor behind their settlement in the Coast of Oman: however, each community focused on a different economic sector – pearls for the Indians and food and retail goods for the Persians.[145] Of the two communities, the Persians tended to bring other family members with them to settle and merge within the local population, while their Indian counterparts left their relatives in India.

Cooperation was evident within the upper class, but during the nineteenth century relations between its three segments shifted from cooperation towards a conflict that dominated the twentieth century. While the main focus of the Indian merchants was the protection of their financial investment, and that of their local counterparts was the control of the pearl industry, the ruling family's priority was to secure their political position and to receive the annual taxes. During the second half of the nineteenth century, all three coordinated their activities to consolidate their power bases, especially in the organizing of pearl diving where the rulers signed a series of treaties to consolidate local economy.

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[144]Lienhardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern*, pp. 204-206. Lienhardt discusses this issue in general terms with reference to Kuwait. It is not clear if such an approach was practised in the Coast of Oman.
[145]al-Sayegh, "Merchants' Role in a Changing Society", p. 88.

However, as the situation in Dubai in 1938 showed, the collapse of the pearl-diving industry forced each side to emphasize its own interests and to disregard the interests of the others. For instance, the Indian merchants communicated with the British authorities to secure the collecting of their debts from local merchants and boat captains, while the local merchants lobbied the ruler to intervene on their behalf to guard their economic interests. As for the ruler of Dubai, he requested British assistance to maintain his authority. As a consequence, some local merchants, such as bin Dalmuk, declared bankruptcy while others, in collaboration with dissatisfied members of the ruling family such as Shaikh Mani' bin Hashir, proposed the formation of the *Shura* (Consultative) council, and the Ruler, Shaikh Sa'id, used force to consolidate his power (see Chapter Three for more details).[146] Two decades later, from 1953 to 1959, local merchants such as al-Ghurair and al-Futtaim, again attempted but failed to regain political influence over the Ruler.[147]

2.4.2.2 The Middle Class

The middle class consisted of the established and the "new" middle classes, depending on the date of arrival (with the latter emerging in the 1930s) and their importance within the state. Both groups included locals and expatriates involved in a variety of activities. Among the established group, the expatriates (Indians and Persians) were predominantly owners of restaurants and grocery stores. Their native counterparts were involved in petty trade. Some had changed professions many times, while others followed family tradition by concentrating on specific sectors.

Ahmed al-'Abduli, a merchant from Sharjah, for instance, revealed in an interview that he had moved from being active in the import-export of goods between India and

[146]al-Faris, *al-Awda' al-Iqtisadeya fi Imarat*, pp. 89-90; Butti, "Imperialism, Tribal", pp. 109, 126; Muhamad al-Shamsi, *Iqtisadiyyat al-Imarat*, pp. 97-98; "Miscellaneous", pp. 561-570 in *RPGPF*, vol.2: *1907-1931*, p. 566; al-Sayegh, ibid., p. 94; Christopher M. Davidson, *Dubai: the Vulnerability of success* (London: Hurst & Company, 2008), pp. 30, 32-5; Rosemarie J Said,"The 1938 Reform Movement in Dubai" *al-Abhath*, December 1970, pp. 246- 317, 260,

[147]al-Sayegh, ibid., p. 98-9; Davidson, ibid., pp. 43-54.

the emirates in the 1940s to selling electrical equipment in the late 1960s.[148] Although he did not emphasize the reasons for changing direction, it might have been because of his fear of being accused of smuggling and thus having to suffer the possible loss of his merchandise. At the same time, Sultan Bu Shalat, representing traders who retained family specialisations, explained the reason behind his involvement in the textile trade. Like his uncle, he sold different types of fabrics to the local community. He recalled receiving requests from influential merchants to send samples of his goods to their homes for selection. At one point when the market was slow in Dubai he travelled to Abu Dhabi to expand his business, but due to his ignorance of the size of the market, he shipped a large quantity of fabric which took a month to be sold.[149]

Another section of the middle class was composed of white-collar professionals, including physicians and police officers, who resided mainly in Sharjah and Dubai. The emergence of these professions was due to the arrival of trained doctors from other countries such as Iran, or the interest of local authorities in establishing a modern administration. In the early years of the twentieth century, very few individuals were able to travel to India to receive modern medicine and care; most people in the Coast of Oman were still treated traditionally for various health problems (and had also developed treatment methods for their livestock). The area was therefore in need of physicians. Muhammad Habib Riza was among the first doctors to arrive in Dubai in 1930, and was granted a certificate by the ruler, Shaikh Sa'id bin Maktoum, to practise his profession.[150]

Further, until the 1950s, security within major towns of the emirates was the responsibility of a ruler's guards. In 1957, Shaikh Rashed of Dubai, as part of establishing modern state institutions (see Chapter Three), created the first police force in the emirates. He was keen to recruit local people to serve as either policemen or police officers. One of the earliest local police officers was Khadhem Surur al-Ma'asam,

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[148]"Interviews with Ahmad al-'Abduli", pp. 235-244 in 'Abdulrahman (Interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1990), p. 236, 243-4.
[149]"Interviews with Sultan Bu Shalat", pp. 317-323 in 'Abdulrahman (Interviewer), (1990) ibid. p. 318.
[150]Rafia Ghubash and Mariam Lotah, "Tarikh al-Tib fi al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida", pp. 11-72, in *al-Buhuth al-Faeza…* [History of Medicine in the United Arab Emirates, pp. 13-72 in The Winning Papers…], pp. 41-43, 46-48.

who was Dubai's chief of police from 1970. In an interview, he recalled that Shaikh Rashed had encouraged him to join the force in 1960.[151]

2.4.2.3 The Lower Class

The lower class within the society of the Coast of Oman included those active at the lower end of all the social sectors in the economy. The status of the labourers had changed by the end of the 1930s. Previously they had engaged in two activities: one during the summer in the pearl industry, and the other during the rest of the year, when they were employed as porters in the coastal towns, farmers in the oases, or animal herders in the desert. Of all sectors of the economy, pearl diving was the hardest to carry out, but financially the most rewarding. In many cases, individuals from one emirate dived from a ship belonging to a merchant from another emirate. For example, Rashed bin Ghulaidh al-Qumzi, from al-'Ain in Abu Dhabi, stated that he had dived with a captain in Dubai for eight years, with another one from Abu Dhabi for seven years, and with a third one from 'Ajman, also for seven years.[152] There were at least two ways for a diver to move from one captain to another. Either the new captain bought the diver's debt from his previous employer, or the diver was working on his own account (in effect self-employed). Working conditions varied widely from one boat to another, some captains being pleasant to work for while others abused their crew members badly. Former divers, Ismael Nasseb Bu 'Afra and Ghanim bin Yaqut bin Bakheet, recalled that "the divers and the helpers were mistreated by their captain."[153]

From the 1940s to the 1960s, members of the lower class migrated either to other parts of the Coast of Oman or to other countries within the Gulf region in search of better employment and more stable incomes. Some of them were employed abroad as

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[151]Interviews with Khadhem Surur al-Maasam", pp. 219-231, in 'Abdulrahman (Interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat Abnauha: al-Hayat al-Ejtimaeya, Al-Juz al-Thalith* [The Emirates in the Memories of its Citizens: Social Life, vol.3] (Dubai: Nadwat al-Thaqafa wa al-'Ulum, 1998), pp. 219-20; "Interview with Khalfan bin 'Abdullah Al-Mansuri", pp. 521-527, in 'Abdulrahman (Interviewer) (1990), ibid., p. 525-6.

[152]"Interviews with Rashed bin Ghulaidh al-Qumzi" pp. 281-302 in 'Abdulrahman (Interviewer) (1998), ibid., pp. 291.

[153]"Interview with Ismael Nasseb Bu'Afra". pp. 85-95, and "Interview with Ghanim bin Yaqut bin Bakheet", pp. 97-104, in 'Abdulrahman (Interviewer) *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1990), pp. 91, 101.

janitors in government departments, or were daily wage labourers who worked as drillers in the oil fields. Their main interest was to save money for the future and to reduce hardship for other family members at home. In order to save money, migrant labourers often shared living accommodation, and one method of transferring money was through a friend who was returning home.[154] With the discovery of oil in the late 1960s and the formation of the unions in 1971, many migrant workers returned home not only with a small fortune but also with the skills and knowledge to build a new life for themselves and their families.

2.4.3 Family

The family formed the basic social unit among both the nomadic and the sedentary communities in the Coast of Oman – with one minor distinction. In the nomadic communities, families were of the same kin, while the sedentary groupings included families who were not only from different tribes but also from different ethnic backgrounds. In this regard, while women in both communities were excluded from interaction with unknown males, women in the desert, unlike their settled counterparts, interacted frequently with men. In the Coast of Oman, the extended family was, and to some degree still is, the dominant structure, with more than one generation of the same family residing within the same household, and controlling all aspects of an individual's life, including marriage: the family would arrange the marriages of its younger members through the decision of the patriarch of the family since it was common practice to marry within the family.

Even so, there were also external marriages, to consolidate either financial or personal connections.[155] This applies to marriages between families within each emirate

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[154]"Interview with 'Abdulrahman Ahmad Kajur", pp. 245-252, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer) (1990), ibid., pp. 251-252; "Interviews with Khadhem Surur al-Maasam", pp. 219-231, in 'Abdulrahman (Interviewer) (1998), ibid., pp. 219-20.

[155]Lienhardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern*, pp. 33-5, 42, 188-90; Fawzeya Sa'id Badri, "al-Tahawulat al-Ijtima'iyya fi Mujtam'a al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida wa Atharuh al-Ijabiyya wa al-Salbiyya", pp. 21-102 … in *al-Buhuth al-Faeza fi Jaezat al-'Uwas… al-Dawrah al-Sabe'ah, 1996, al-Juz al-Thani* ["Social Changes in the Society of the United Arab Emirates and its Positive and Negative Impacts", pp. 21-102,

and between the emirates. Of the two types of marriage, the external marriage for social and practical reasons was rare. Families and females themselves were not keen on accepting the notion of a female member residing in a distant place, since in such a situation the female would be deprived of family support in the event of a dispute with either her husband or other members of his family.

Women, even if wealthy, were not obliged to contribute to the financial well-being of the family, but there are notable examples of women who were economically active in the society. One frequently-cited example of a female merchant was Hessa Bint al-Murr bin Huraz, the wife of Shaikh Sa'id Bin Maktoum of Dubai. Within the middle and the lower classes, women were economically active in the society. Hamda bint Humaid al-Hamli was instrumental in securing a contract to supply fresh water to pearling boats; and Muza bint Jum'a 'Ubaid, who had started off by selling fish in the market, managed a small hotel in Dubai during the 1940s and 1950s and became a caterer for weddings.[156] Thus women, especially from middle and lower class backgrounds, were economically active in the society. Lack of financial resources within the family often forced women to work outside the household. The society neither condoned nor condemned their actions but understood it as an act of survival.

2.4.4 Shared Culture

Shared social values represented an important component of the unity of the society within the Coast of Oman. Such values were manifested in different forms. One form involved meeting places. People met either in private or in public gathering places. In both nomadic and settled communities, social norms in these settings required gender segregation, and there were separate places for women and men. There were various occasions for people to meet friends and families. One such occasion for public gatherings was during religious festivals, such as the month of Ramadan. Thani bin

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in Al-'Uwais Awards… The Seventh *Round*, 1996, vol. 2] (Dubai: Nadwat al-Thaqafa wa al-Ulum, 1996), pp. 33-4.

[156] Lienhardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern*, pp. 171-2; "Interview with Hamda bint Humaid al-Hamli", pp. 405-427; "Interview with Muza bint Jum'a 'Ubaid", pp. 429- 437, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1998), pp. 407, 419-20, 441-3.

Jum‘a al-Maktoum stated that he continued family tradition by meeting friends in the family guest house.

Another occasion for public meeting was the arrival of a guest from a distant place, and in this connection Rashid bin Ghulaidh from al-‘Ain, recalled that the host family invited other neighbours to a gathering. All those present would interact by exchanging information about a variety of subjects. During the summer season, when the men were involved in pearling, the rest of the families spent holidays in villages away from the heat of the coastal area, and in this respect, the benefit to the locals would extend to the economy, in the form of renting accommodation or erecting new houses. Similarly, during the pearl-diving season, captains and their crew members would visit their friends on other ships. The host not only offered food to his guests, but provided an opportunity for them to enjoy themselves away from the hardships of the day.[157]

Another form of shared values in the coastal society was the relationship between males and females within the family. Society assumed that men were the bread winners, but it was women who controlled the internal dynamics of the household, a role that included the wife organising the pattern of her husband’s daily life. According to Hamda bint Humaid al-Hamli, the matriarch of the family appeared to organise all the day-to-day activities of the household, and would assign each female in the family a specific task, such as cooking, washing clothes or dishes, or bringing water from a nearby well. In addition, Muza bint Jum‘a ‘Ubaid recalled that such daily functions continued even during pregnancy, though at a slower pace. It was expected that if a woman wished to show displeasure with the way her husband treated her, she would leave the household and return to her own family. This is why it was incumbent upon

[157]Lienhardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern*, pp. 33-; “Interviews with Thani Bin Jum‘a al-Maktum”, pp. 175- 187; “Interview with Rashed bin Ghulaith al-Qumzi”, pp. 281-302, in ‘Abdulrahman (interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1998), pp. 253, 171; Yahya ‘Ayash, *al-‘Alamah wa al-Tahawulat: Dirasa fi an-Mujtama’ wa al-Kitabah fi al-Imarat* [The Sign and the Change: A Study in the Society and Writing in the Emirates (Dubai: Matabi’ al-Bayan al-Tejareya, 2006), pp. 12, 20.

the husband to contact his wife's family to arrange for a solution. As a way to resolve a dispute the husband would normally offer a gift to his wife.[158]

A third form of shared common values in the society of the Coast of Oman was the use of poetry as a means of describing and informing people about various events. Because the society was largely illiterate, people in the Coast, as in other communities in Arabia, would transmit verses orally, from one generation to another. At the same time a poem served as a form of news bulletin, telling nomads residing within the area to come and feed their animals. As Muhammad al-Basti noted, poetry was also a medium used by pearling crews, either to complain about their mistreatment by their captain or to remind him that they were still diving for pearls even though the season was over. Some captains extended the season illegally, either to find more pearls or turn their fortune from failure to success.[159]

A fourth form of shared values was to be observed in the form of stories that revealed beliefs about the power of myth in communal life. According to Ahmad Amin, an Emirati author, the transmission of stories about myths and legends was a form of reflection on the pleasing and the poignant aspects of life. Words of wisdom might appear either in short statements or in a conclusion to a story. Belief in myth could be seen as a fear of the unknown, exemplified by the action of an individual dipping the head of a cat into water to indicate that rain inflicted damage on local livelihoods. This and similar actions probably represented part of a residual superstitious belief retained from bygone periods, and reflected an act of despair in having to face natural causes without being able to respond.[160] Another type of belief in myth was the emphasis on the role of the *jinni*, a supernatural creature that can be either male or female, evil or good, and which influences people's interactions on land and at sea. In towns, story tellers present their subjects in a manner that affects their audience, and at a later time will

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[158]Lienhardt, ibid., pp. 39, 42, 48-9, 52-6; "Interview with Hamda bint Humaid al-Hamli", pp. 405- 427, and "Interview with Muza bint Jum'a 'Ubaid", pp. 429- 437, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer) (1998), ibid., pp. 412, 416, 432.

[159]'Ayash, *al-'Alamah wa al-Tahawulat*, p. 27-28, 31; 'Abdullah 'Abdulrahman, "Lughat al-Matar Yatanaqaluha al-Aba wa al-Abna Abr al-Wjdan al-Sha'abi" [The Language of Rain Transmitted Fathers and Sons Reflecting the Popular Feelings], pp. 265-272, in Idem, *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1989). pp. 266-267, 271; "Interviews with Muhammad al-Basti. pp. 39-45 in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), (1990) ibid. p. 42.

[160]Yet to date there has been no analysis of this aspect of popular belief systems in the Coast of Oman.

select one person to measure the effect of their methods. At sea, the crew of a pearling boat would attribute all their misfortunes, such as the loss of a life, to a *jinni*. They also believed that as a consequence of mistreating members of his crew a captain could be punished by magicians who would turn him into an animal.[161]

From a more political perspective, similar patterns of resolving internal feuds and inter-family conflicts within the ruling families can be detected in the Coast of Oman. In particular, a member or a branch of a ruling family could flee and find protection in another emirate. This act of changing location represented either a sense of displeasure with the rulers' action, as happened when Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr (r. 1924-1951) was in Dubai in 1924 during the reign of his predecessor Shaikh Khalid bin Ahmad (r. 1914-1924), or the need to find a safe place. An illustration of the latter was the relocation to Sharjah by the family of Shaikh 'Isa bin Khalid al-Nahayan (r. July-Sept. 1845) after his assassination by Shaikh Diab bin 'Isa (r. Sept.-Dec. 1845), who succeeded him as Ruler of Abu Dhabi.[162] The relocation could be temporary (depending on the right circumstances to return home and to eventually try and depose the ruler) or permanent. The choice of these individuals between living abroad or returning home depended on both the existence (or the lack) of political aspiration and the political strength of the ruler to be defeated. Ultimately, these examples show that the ruling families were strongly connected one to another, despite their potential political disagreement.

A second factor increasing unity between the ruling families was marriage within the family, for political purposes. For the al-Nahayan and the al-Maktoum, the issue was to unify various branches of the family, but for the al-Qawassim, the al-Nu'aim, and the al-'Ali, the objective was to form political alliance with other ruling families. The ruler of Abu Dhabi, Shaikh Zayed the Great (r.1855-1909), married the daughter of his assassinated predecessor, Shaikh Tahnun bin Sa'id (r.1845-1855). In 1939, Shaikh Sa'id bin Maktoum (r.1912-1958) arranged a marriage for his second son Shaikh Khalifa to Shaikha San'a, daughter of his challenger Shaikh Man'i bin Rashid. On the other hand, the marriage of the unnamed daughter of the ruler of Um al-Qawain, Shaikh 'Ali

[161]"Interview with Ahmad Amin", pp. 287-291 in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1989), ibid., pp. 289-290; "Interviews with Ghanim bin Yaqut bin Bakheet", pp. 97-104 in 'Abdurahman (interviewer), (1990), ibid., pp. 91-99.
[162]Butti, "Imperialism, Tribal" pp. 149; al-Mutawa', *al-Jawaher wa al-Laali fi…,* p. 23.

bin ‘Abdulla (r. 1854-1872), to Shaikh ‘Abdulla bin Sultan (r.1846-1855), Ruler of Sharjah and the unnamed sister of Shaikh Humaid bin ‘Abdulla led to a strengthening of the relations between the two families.[163] The consequence of inter-marriages between ruling families was to resolve conflicts between them. In many cases, an individual with family connection to feuding parties might act as a peace maker by bringing both sides to a common ground. Thus, it further decreased military tension between the emirates.

2.4.5 Formation of Intellectual Life

The third aspect of social similarities in the emirates of the Coast to be considered was the formation of an urban intellectual life, which assisted the transmission of ideas throughout the emirates. In the earlier decades of the twentieth century groups of merchants and their associates began the process of introducing elements of modernity into intellectual thinking. This segment of the society included a merchant from Sharjah, Ibrahim al-Medfa’; a teacher and administrator from ‘Ajman, ‘Abdulla bin Saleh al-Mutawa’ who had become a historian; a poet from Dubai, Mubarak al-‘Uqaili; an intellectual from Ras al-Khaimah by name Sa‘id bin Ghubash, and a preacher from Abu Dhabi called Darwish bin Karm.

In each town, like-minded individuals met regularly in guest houses and mosques, either to discuss issues of common interest or to exchange books on specific subjects. On some occasions, local intellectuals as well as those from neighbouring towns were invited to attend lectures by visiting scholars or famous politicians from an Arab or a Muslim country. For instance, in 1931 ‘Abdul-‘Aziz al-Tha‘alibi, a Tunisian politician, visited the emirates of the Coast and met a number of local intellectuals. Discussions focused on contemporary issues ranging from Palestine to European domination of their countries.[164] During these meetings, the participants learned about

[163]Andrea B. Rugh, *The Political Culture of Leadership in the United Arab Emirates* (NY: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2009), pp. 56, 111, 176-7, 188.
[164] ‘Abdullah al-Tabur, *Rejal fi Tarikh al-Imarat*, (al-juz al-thani) [Men in the History of the Emirates, vol. 2] (al-‘Ain: Markaz Zayed lil Turath, 2003), pp. 25, 27-29 and 31.

events elsewhere in the Arab World as well as exchanging ideas about how to coordinate their activities and inform members of their communities about these events.

Moreover, the arrival of Arabic newspapers introduced new issues, such as nationalism, to the general public. There were two consequences to the arrival of modern media: the emergence of a local press and, as is discussed in Chapter Three, the reform movement in Dubai in 1938. Concerning the local press, Ibrahim al-Medfa', from Sharjah, who was an intellectual as well as a merchant, founded and edited two hand-written wall-charts: '*Oman*, in 1927, and *Sawt al-'Asafir* (The Voice of the Sparrows) in 1932. His objective was to inform members of his community of international and local events. While his reports on international issues depended on the Arab press and letters from friends abroad, his coverage of local affairs was based on personal contacts and his knowledge of the society.[165] Although al-Medfa' and Shaikh Mani' bin Hasher, a leading member of the reform movement in Dubai 1938, were friends who exchanged ideas on issues of mutual interests, the latter's influence on these events was not clear. Al-Medfa's coverage of popular demands for political participation might have been a source of aspiration to the leaders of reform movement in Dubai.

However, the most important contribution of these groupings to the wider society was in education through attending a modern school system, either at home or abroad. This enabled younger generations of various emirates to interact with one another. Until the 1950s, access to modern education was limited to a handful of individuals who were members of rich families that had an interest in education. In such cases, a father would teach his sons basic Arabic grammar and Islamic law.[166] For the merchants the objectives of education were to find qualified local people to manage their bookkeeping and accounts, and to supply local government with administrators. Their educational efforts consisted of building semi-modern schools and financing advanced studies abroad for the most promising young men. In terms of local schools, merchants such as 'Ali al-Mahmud built al-Taimiyya al-Wahabiyya school in Sharjah, Ahmad bin Dalmouk

[165]al-Tabur, *Rejal fi Tarikh...,* pp. 213, 283-284.
[166]"Interview with Hamad al-Gamzi", pp. 21-29, in 'Abdulrahman, *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1990), p. 23; "Interview with Mujrin bin Muhammad bin Mujrin", pp. 41-47, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), (1989) ibid., pp. 23, 42-3/

built al-Ahmadiyya school in Dubai, and Khalaf al-'Utaibah and later Darwish bin Karam built two schools in Abu Dhabi. In these schools, resident teachers and visiting scholars taught Arabic language, Islamic studies and basic mathematics. Enrolled students were either locals or from distant locations, the latter being housed in the school. All young students from Dubai and Sharjah were taught in local schools because there were sufficient spaces for them. However, schools in Sharjah hosted young students from Ras al-Khaima and 'Ajman, either because there were no local schools or insufficient space. A number of prominent individuals graduated from these schools, such as Mani' Sa'id al-'Utaiba, the first minister of Petroleum in the UAE.[167]

In addition to local schools, the merchants sponsored young men to study in other parts of the Gulf. In the 1920s 'Ali al-Mahmud sponsored fourteen young men from different emirates to be educated in Qatar. In 1927, one of the fourteen, Muhammad Sa'id Ghubash, became the first young man from the Coast of Oman to graduate from al-Azhar University in Cairo.[168] At a later stage, a student who was interested in studying abroad would receive a letter of recommendation from his head master or a judge. Such a certificate, as in the case of Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Mahmud, included details as to where and when the student had studied, who had taught him, and what kind of subjects he had mastered.[169]

Furthermore, in 1952 merchants and intellectuals contacted other Gulf countries such as Kuwait to secure enrolment for a handful of students in their schools. Of these individuals, Hussain Darwish, an Omani intellectual and political activist, was instrumental in securing enrolment for students in Kuwaiti schools. By 1958 there were thirty-nine Omani students enrolled in Kuwaiti schools. The list included the names of

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[167]"Interviews with 'Umran bin Salem al-'Uwais", pp. 49- 58; "Interview with Hamad bin Ahmad bin Flah", pp. 81-87; "Interview with Darwish bin Karm bin 'Abdulla", pp. 89-102; "Interview with Muhmmad bin 'Ali al-Mahmud", pp. 103-110, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer), *al-Imarat fi Dhakerat* (1989) ibid., pp. 90-1, 103.
[168]"Interviews with 'Umran bin Salem al-'Uwais", pp. 49-58; "Interview with Hamad bin Ahmad bin Flah", pp. 81-87, in 'Abdulrahman (interviewer) (1989), ibid., pp. 53, 81.
[169]See the text of innumerate certificate signed by Sayf bin Muhammad bin Sa'id al-Medfa', Shari'a Judge of Sharjah, dated Safar 1377 in al-Tabur, *Rejal fi Tarikh,* p. 335.

seven students from the emirates of the Coast of Oman.[170] Four were from Ras al-Khaimah, two from Sharjah and one from Dubai (Table 2.1).[171]

Table 2.1: Students from the coast of Oman Enrolled in Kuwaiti Schools, 1958

Emirates	Student Names	Level of Education
Dubai	Ibrahim Murad	High School
Sharjah	Butti ‘Ubaid	High School
	Salem ‘Abdullah al-Mahmud	High School
Ras al Khaimah	Muhammad ‘Isa al-‘Ali	High School
	Su ‘ad Kayd	Intermediate
	‘AbdulMalik Kayd	Intermediate
	‘Abdullah Humaid	Intermediate

Sources: Hussain Haidar Darwish, *Munadel min Oman: Muhammad Amin ‘Abdullah, 1915-1982* [A Political Activist from Oman: Muhammad Amin ‘Abdullah, 1915-1982] (NP: second edition, 1990), pp. 25-26.

2.5 Conclusion

In exploring the formation of the Coast of Oman as a distinct geopolitical entity in south-eastern Arabia from 1740-1971, this chapter has shown that the region had a common economic and social structure. Because the predominant feature of the region was desert, much of the population was restricted to living in scattered oases or in the narrow coastal areas, and many people were involved in a handful of viable economic activities, especially the pearl-diving industry. Socially, the population was organized within tribal and class groupings, and the local inhabitants also had shared cultural values.

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[170] In the 1950s, the term “Omani” was used to designate people native from the Coast of Oman as well.

[171] Hussain Haidar Darwish, *Munadel min Oman: Muhammad Amin ‘Abdullah, 1915-1982* [A Political Activist from Oman: Muhammad Amin ‘Abdullah, 1915-1982] (NP: second edition, 1990), pp. 25-26; Muhammad al-Harbi, *Tatawur al-Ta‘alim fi al-Imarat al-‘Arabiya al-Mutahida: Muqadima Tawthiqiia* [Education in the United Arab Emirates: A Documentary Introduction] (Sharjah: np, 1988), p. 88. The list of names in the two books differs, because al-Harbi focuses only on Sharjah. Unfortunately Darwish does not specify how these students were selected for studying in Kuwait and how their level of education was determined. Nor did he mention whether or not these students had known each other before, except that two of the students from Ras al-Khaimah had the same second name.

From the 1930s to the 1960s, the society of the Coast witnessed a process of rapid economic and social change. On the economic level, the pearling sector collapsed and at a later stage the oil industry emerged and flourished. This gave the oil industry a leading role in underpinning the economic sector. It also advantaged Abu Dhabi over the rest of the emirates by providing the ruler with considerable economic leverage during the negotiations to establish the state. On the social level, the ruling families, represented by the rulers of the emirates (see Chapter Three), emerged to take command of the society; the merchants lost their economic and political influence; and there were early manifestations of the formation of a new segment of the middle class. This development revealed that the society was in transition and in need of a state to complete its transformation.

Chapter Three

The Formation of City-States, 1750-1971

3.1. Introduction

The establishment of the federation of the seven emirates evolved into two stages: fragmentation into seven emirates from 1823 to 1952, and unification of the seven into the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in 1971. The previous chapter revealed the inability of traditional economic activities and social conditions to maintain political integration. This chapter discusses the political disintegration of the Coast of Oman, which was an outcome of challenges, either to the authority of leaders of the dominant tribal alliances, or to the ruler of an emirate by leading figures in various localities against his institutional authority over his subordinates. This fragmentation is explored in detail in this chapter. One interesting aspect of the formation of the emirates is that the ruling families of splinter territories undermined the authority of their former patrons, but adopted their manner and methods of governing.

The political formation of the seven emirates also evolved in two stages over two centuries, from 1750 to 1971. It began with a process of dismemberment from 1750 to 1952, and was then followed by the consolidation of each emirate. The first stage of this process was in 1750 when, as a result of the civil war, Oman broke into what is known now as Oman or later on as the Sultanate of Oman, and the Coast of Oman or the United Arab Emirates. The second stage of the dismemberment began in the 1830s, when the two dominant power holders – the al-Qawasim confederation and the Bani Yas federation – started to fragment politically into seven emirates. As a consequence of the second stage each ruling family consolidated their presence. The literature on the history of the UAE discusses all aspects of political transformation in the Coast of Oman at great length, with the exception of the breakup of Oman and the emergence of Fujairah. In an attempt to cover this gap these issues are re-examined through an analysis of the historical evolution of emirates of the Coast.

This chapter argues that, by and large, the formation of the emirates was an outgrowth of internal factors, with external factors performing the role of consolidating the status quo. Consequently, the chapter is divided into five sections. The first examines the breakup of Oman, while the second looks at the political situation in the Coast of Oman. Section three discusses what role, if any, was played by the local power holders, Britain and the al-Bu Sa'id and the al-Sa'ud rivalry, in the dismemberment of the two alliances. The fourth section considers the formation of the city-states; and the fifth deals with factors associated with the consolidation of the new political reality as shaikhdoms.

There are a number of issues pertaining to the presentations of the above subjects. First, these issues are interrelated and interdependent, and are separated only for analytical purposes, a method that enables each stage to be treated on its own merits. Second, the chapter puts aside numerous issues that are beyond the scope of this study. For example, Omani-Persian and Omani-Saudi relations are not dealt with because they are associated with the history of other countries in the region, but without exclusion of any interaction with direct impact on the breakup of Oman; while other subjects such as border demarcation, although part of the history of the emirates, are examined by others in separate studies.

The formation of emirates in the Coast of Oman was a product of tribal activities as well as British policies. According to Iliya Harik and Richard Tapper, tribes in the Coast of Oman formed the foundations of the modern state from the middle of the eighteenth century when they selected their Shaikhs to be the chiefs of their towns, regardless of their action of maintaining or breaking up an existing state.[172] In turn, Khaldoun al-Naqeeb, F. Gregory Gause III, and Rosemarie Said Zahlan maintained that the rulers of these emirates, in order to overcome challenges to their legitimacy, emphasised the tribal roots of their founding institutions. In this regard the state continues to view the tribe as an important social institution. State officials have regularly met tribal shaikhs in traditional settings as a means of showing support for

[172] Iliya Harik, "The Origins of the Arab State System", pp. 19-46, in Ghassan Salame (ed), *The Foundations of the Arab State* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 24, 30; Richard Tapper, "Introduction", pp. 1-80, in idem (ed), *The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 4, 51, 53.

their tribal past by inviting them to weddings, finding official posts, offering financial subsidies, enabling access to local markets, and overseeing the supply of guns and ammunition. At the same time, state officials not only visit and invite members of various tribes but also employ them as part of their military forces to defend their cities against potential enemies.[173]

Britain's contribution to state formation evolved over time from non-intervention to intervention in the internal affairs of the Coast of Oman. British domination over the Coast of Oman, in contrast to its Colonies and Dominions, rested on what Roland Robinson, a historian of the British Empire, described as the role of local collaborators in governing these territories.[174] Signing treaties with local holders of power was Britain's favourite method of achieving the objectives of protecting British maritime trade and the route to India.[175]

British intervention in local affairs evolved over a long period of time, reflecting British economic and political interests. Economic interest was manifested in oil discoveries, while political interests appeared in the increasing international and regional competition over the Gulf region, where the British authorities signed a treaty restricting the rulers from contact with any foreign power save for Britain. Moreover, withdrawal from the Indian subcontinent and changes in international conditions after World War Two forced the British government to intervene in local affairs by encouraging rulers to create institutions at the local level (as discussed in this chapter), and to sponsor others on national levels (see later chapters). These became the foundations of a modern state.[176]

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[173] Khaldoun Hassan al-Naqeeb, *al-Mujtama'a wa al-Dawla fi al-Khaleej wa al-Jazera al-'Arabia: min Mandhur Mukhtalif* [Society and State in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula: from Different Perspective (Beirut: Markaz Dirasat al-Wehda al-'Arabiya, 1987), p.170; F. Gregory Gause III, *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States* (NY: Council on foreign Relations Press, 1994), p. 11; Rosemaire Said Zahlan, *The Origins of the United Arab Emirates: A Political and Social History of the Trucial States* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1978), p. 34, 55.

[174] Roland Robinson, "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration", pp. 117-142, in R. Owen and B. Sutcliffle (eds), *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London: Longman, 1972), p. 118.

[175] Zahlan, ibid., p. 18; al-Naqeeb, ibid., pp. 96, 99, 112.

[176] Zahlan, ibid.. p. 18; al-Naqeeb, ibid,. pp. 96, 99 and 112; Fuad I. Khuri. *Tribe and State in Bahrain: the Transformation of Social and Political Authority in an Arab State* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 85, 109; Sayf al-Bedwawi, *Britania wa al-Khaleej al-'Arabi: Sanwat al-Insehab* [Britain and the Arabian Gulf: Years of Withdrawal] (Dubai: Maktabat al-Falah, 2007), p. 120.

3.2 The Breakup of Oman

This section deals particularly with the disintegration of Oman into two geopolitical entities: Oman and the Coast of Oman; its significance lies in revealing how the Coast of Oman emerged as a separate geographic and political entity. It describes Oman's political history and how this was followed by its political dismemberment. This taking apart was due to internal and external factors, the internal factor being represented in the civil war, and the external factor in the intervention of regional powers both *during* and *after* the civil war. Of the two, the internal factor performed a dominant role in setting the stage for external intervention, as well as for developments that occurred later.

The period from 1624 until 1741 was the last time in which Oman proper and the Coast of Oman were ruled by one dynasty: the al-Ya'ruba. The al-Ya'rubi rule began with the election of Nasser bin Murshid (r. 1624-1649) as the new Imam of Oman; his objectives were to unify Oman and to defeat the Portuguese. The Portuguese, who were dominant in Oman from the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, had arrived in the Gulf region as part of their quest to control the Asian spice trade. According to his contemporary, 'Abdullah bin Qayser,[177] the founder of the dynasty was able to liberate most of the Omani territories, including both Julfar/Sir[178] (near modern-day Ras al-Khaimah) and Diba (which is currently divided between Oman and the UAE),

[177]Qayser's book (see note 178 below) is the oldest Omani source, not Sarhan bin Sarhan's *Kashf al-Ghummah* as claimed by Davidson, who cites Hamdi Tammam as well as Jayanti Maitra and Afra Al-Hajji in his recent publication. Cf. Christopher Davidson, *Abu Dhabi Oil and Beyond* (London: Hurst and Co., 2009), note 1, p. 178. See also Hamdi Tammam, *Zayed bin Sultan Al-Nahayan: the Leader on the March* (Tokyo: Dai Nippon, 1983), 22-24; Jayanti Maitra and Afra Al-Hajji, *Qasr al-Heson: the History and Rulers of Abu Dhabi, 1793-1966* (Abu Dhabi: Center for Documentation and Research, 2001), p. 15. Davidson appears to have misinterpreted the reference to the 17th century in Maitra and al-Hajji's book: "… according to the Omani chronicle, *Kashf al-Ghummah* [sic], in the early 17th century the Bani Yas tribe…"

[178]There is confusion in the Omani sources about the name of the place. While Qayser and Sarhan used both names as a reference to the same locality, Ruzaiq wrote "village of Julfar al-Sir". See 'Abdullah bin Qayser, *Serat al-Imam Nasser bin Murshid* [The Itinerary of Nasser bin Murshid] (Oman: Wizarat al-Turath al-Qawmi, nd), p. 46; Sarhan bin Sa'id Sarhan, *Kitab Kashf al-Ghumah al-Jame' li-Akhbar al-Umah, al-Juzi al-Thani* [The Dispeller of Grief; the Complete Itinerary of the Uma, vol. 2] ed. by Hassan al-Naboodah (Beirut: Abu Dhabi: Dar al-Barudi, 2006), p. 956; Humaid bin Muhammad bin Ruzaiq, *al-Fath al-Mubin fi Sirat al-Sada al-Bu Sideen* [The Glorious Conquest in the Itinerary of al-Bu Saides], eds. 'Abdul-Munem 'Amer and Muhammad Mursi 'Adbulla (Oman: Ministry of National Heritage, [1977] 2001), p.240.

but excluding Muscat which was under Portuguese control until it was liberated during the rule of Sultan bin Sayf (1649-1681), successor to, and cousin of, Imam Murshid. At an unknown point during the years of Imam Naser's reign, his army gained control of Julfar by defeating its governor, Nasser al-Din al-'Ajmi, and also took control of Diba by defeating the Portuguese garrison.[179]

During this period, the Bani Yas federation and the al-Qawassim family were militarily and politically active in Oman. The Bani Yas resided in the al-Liwa area, in the north west of Oman, while the al-Qawassim resided in the area of Julfar, in the north east. Qayser states that the Bani Yas federation was independent of the Imam because they twice came out in support of Qutun bin Qutun al-Hilali in his annual raids on Oman from the al-Hasa region (currently the eastern region of Saudi Arabia).[180] The al-Qawassim, on the other hand, were operating within the al-Ya'riba administration. A Portuguese document referred in 1650 to a peace negotiation with Imam Murshid, in which the Omani delegation included a representative – Sayf bin 'Ali bin Saleh al-Qassimi – who is assumed by B. J. Slot to have been a member of the al-Qawassim family.[181] Slot also cited a Dutch document from 1648 referring to a Qassimi leader resisting Portuguese domination in the vicinity of Kalba on the Gulf of Oman.[182] In addition, almost seventy years later in 1718, a Dutch naval officer carried a letter from two Omani commanders on Qishm Island off the Persian coast; one of them, who was to be active during the civil war, was Rahama bin Matar al-Houli who apologized to the Dutch authorities in the East Indies for detaining the crew of a Dutch ship near Hormuz.[183]

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[179]Qayser, ibid., pp. 46, 48. It is not uncommon for pre-1900 local authors from the Gulf region, such as Qayser, to omit dates related to a particular event.

[180]Qayser, ibid., pp. 55, 62.

[181]Slot, citing P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do consselho de Stado*, vol. 3. pp. 504, 507-508. See B. J. Slot. *The Arabs of the Gulf, 1602-1784*. (The Netherlands: Leidscendam, 1993), p. 160.

[182]B. J. Slot, "I'adat Seyaghat wa tandem Tarikh al-Imarat al-Hadith" [Rewriting and Arrangement of the Emirates' Modern History", p. 5. This is the Arabic text of a lecture delivered by Slot on 7 December 1993 at the Cultural Center in Sharjah. Unfortunately, it does not include any references.

[183]ARA, VOC. Vol. 1913, fol. 437-443 cited in Slot, ibid. p. 239. There are a number of issues concerning the al-Qawassim. First there is no corroborative reference in Qayser's *Serat al-Imam Nasser...* to the negotiator cited above. Second, British reports such as the ones by Francis Warden, Member of Council at Bombay, and 'Abdulla bin Salih al-Mutaw'a, a local historian, refer to the long residency of the al-Qawassim in the area but fall short of giving any dates, except for the fact that Warden began the presentation of his report with 1748. See Francis Warden. "Historical Skech of the Jowasmee Tribe of

The demise of the ruling family and the breaking of the country into two parts were the direct outcome of the power vacuum as a result of internal conflict within the dynasty and a tribal civil war between the Hinawi and the Ghafiri alliances.[184] The decline of the ruling family began with the death of Imam Sultan bin Sayf in 1718 CE/ 1131 AH,[185] with Sayf, a minor, as his successor. 'Udi al-Dhahli, an Ibadi jurist, contested Sayf's right to become an Imam on legal grounds, arguing that since Sayf was a minor and not eligible to control his own wealth, how could he be trusted to control the welfare of a whole nation. Thus, from 1718/1131 to 1727/1140, five members of the dynasty, such as Ya'rub bin Bal-'Arab al-Yarubi and an outsider, Muhammad bin Nasser, a leader of the al-Ghafiri tribe, competed for Sayf's guardianship or to replace him as a new ruler. The rapid change in the upper echelons of the state had a negative influence on its ability to enforce its authority. In other words, the population disregarded any directives since those entrusted with their enforcement might be replaced by a successor.

In 1727/1140, following the death of all five contenders to the throne, Sayf was reappointed by the religious establishment as Imam. However, his rule was dominated by popular challenges to his authority, and in 1737/1149, he requested military assistance from Nadir Shah of Persia, who promptly occupied Oman. As a consequence of this occupation, the notables of Oman deposed Sayf by electing Ahmad bin Sa'id al-Bu Sa'idi as the new ruler who would liberate Oman from Persian rule.[186] In other words, as it appeared later, not all sides involved in the civil war consented to this choice, including the al-Qawassim. Various forces involved in the civil war had established their authority in various parts of Oman and were not interested in losing their power to a new leader.

Arabs, from the year 1747-1819", pp. 300-312, in R. Hughes Thomas (ed), *Arabian Gulf Intelligence, Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government. New Series, no. XXIV* (Cambridge: The Oleander Press, [1856] 1985), p. 300; also 'Abdullah bin Saleh al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie fi Tarikh Oman al-shamali* [Jewels and Pearls of Northern Oman] ed. Faleh Handal (Dubai: Markaz Jum'a al-Majid lil-Thqaf, 1995), p. 57.

[184]Ghafiri and Hinawi are originally names of two tribes used to define two alliances that fought each other during the civil war.

[185]In some sections of this chapter, the *Hijri* calendar follows the Gregorian when one of the sources has used that calendar; the two dates – Common Era and After the Hijra – are separated by a forward slash (thus CE / AH).

[186]Sarhan, *Kitab Kashf*, pp. 969-994; Ruzaiq, *al-Fath al-Mubin*, pp. 264-290.

The other cause for the breakup of Oman was a tribal civil war between the Hinawi and Ghafiri tribal factions. This political tribal feud started when Ya'rub bin Nasser, Imam Sayf's guardian, threatened to attack some tribes, especially Muhammad bin Nasser al-Ghafiri, leader of this tribe. Muhammad bin Nasser resented the guardian's tone and requested military support from various tribes to repel any possible attack from the al-Ya'rubi leader. As a result of Muhammad's declaration, Khalfan bin Mubarak al-Hinawi formed a tribal counter-alliance. It is interesting that both leading figures were killed in 1727 during the same battle around Suhar, a city in the Sultanate of Oman.

The composition of the two alliances cut through sectarian and tribal lines. On the sectarian level, the Hinawi alliance included al-Shihuh (who were Sunnis) and the Bani Shakeel (who were Ibadis); while the Ghafiri alliance included the al-Qawassim (Sunnis) and the al-Rahbiyyin (Ibadis). At the tribal level, the Hinawi alliance included thirty-one tribes; of which fifteen were Qahtani and sixteen were 'Adnani tribes; while the Ghifiri alliance consisted of thirty-nine tribes, nineteen of which were Qahtani[187] and twelve were 'Adnani tribes.[188] Therefore, the conflict was not exclusively sectarian or tribal in its origins, but was political in nature since the aim of the feuding parties was political domination. However, use of the labels Hinawi and Ghafiri, according to Abdullah, was associated with the two leading figures noted above.[189]

In the early stage of the tribal civil war, tribes from the Coast of Oman, such as the al-Qawassim (who were, and are still, the ruling family of Ras al-Khaimah and Sharjah), along with the Bani Yas federation which was/is dominated by the al-Nahayan family of al Bu Falah clan (who were, and are, the rulers of Abu Dhabi), participated militarily in the conflict. Initially both groups sided with the al-Ghafiri alliance, though they took part in different battles;[190] later, however, the Bani Yas withheld their support from the Ghafiri alliance and joined the Hinawi alliance. The reason why the Bani Yas

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[187]Qahtani and 'Adnani are two mythical names employed by Arab genealogists to group all Arab tribes.
[188]Sarhan. *Kitab Kashf*, pp. 969-994; Ruzaiq, *al-Fath al-Mubin*, pp. 264-290; Muhammad Morsy 'Abdullah, *Imarat al-Sahel wa Oman wa al-Dawla al-Sa'udiya al-Ula: 1793-1818, al-Juz al-Awal* [Emirates of the Coast, Oman and the First Saudi State: 1793-1818, Vol.1], (Cairo: al-Maktab al-Masri al-Hadeth, 1978), pp. 59, 65-66.
[189]'Abdullah. ibid. 66.
[190]Sarhan, ibid. vol.2, pp. 975, 979-981; Ruzaiq. ibid. pp. 274, 296.

changed sides was because Muhammad bin Nasser had tortured their leaders to reveal the names of individuals allegedly responsible for vandalizing the property of a local farmer. According to Ruzaiq, a biographer of al-Bu Sa'id, the accusation was made on the instruction of al-Darmaki, leader of the Hinawi alliance, as a way of denigrating the military strength of his opponent.[191]

In addition to, and as an extension of, the civil war, there was outside involvement both during (by Persia) and after (by the Sa'udi state) in the internal conflict. This factor reduced the ability of the central government to control its territories. During the war, as stated earlier, the Persian government's invasion of Oman probably resulted from an attempt to realize an earlier objective. In 1695 the al-Ya'ruba dynasty had extended their military action against the Portuguese to the Persian side of the Gulf, which displeased the Persian government. At the same time, the Persian authorities in Bandar Abbas had lost tax revenues because many merchants had relocated to Muscat to benefit from the lower taxes levied by the local authorities on the import and export of goods.[192] For the Sa'udi state, intervention came in the aftermath of the civil war and the objectives were religious (i.e., the spread of a particular interpretation of Islam); political (i.e., more territory); and economic (i.e., the collection of taxes on individuals and goods).[193] Neither side achieved its main objectives. For the Persian government, it was the internal dispute within the ruling group and the emergence of Ahmad bin Sa'id; for the Sa'udi state, it was the emergence of British power that curtailed their ability to achieve their strategic objectives in Oman.

The significance of the dual conflict in Oman along with the Persian and Sa'udi interventions lay in the fact that the tribes of the Coast were provided with time and opportunity to consolidate control over the territories in which they resided. Both the competing Imams and the leadership of the two tribal alliances focused on the area from Suhar in the north to Muscat in the south, but paid little or no attention to the territories beyond this. Forces allied to a sitting Imam or to a challenger fought to retain

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[191]Ruzaiq, ibid. pp. 285-286.
[192]Willem Floor, *The Persian Gulf: The Rise of the Gulf Arabs, the Politics of Trade on the Persian Littoral, 1747-1792* (Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2007), pp. 2-4.
[193]Zamil Muhammad Al-Rashid, *Su'udi Relations with Eastern Arabia and Uman, 1800-1871* (London: Luzac & Company Ltd, 1891), pp. 33, 52, 57.

or conquer various forts and towns between the two urban centres noted above. Leaders of the two feuding tribal alliances were not interested in territorial domination but in winning new allies with military capabilities. Thus while the conflict was taking place in central Oman, tribal groups in the Coast were consolidating command over nearby territories. The main consequence of this negligence, along with Persian occupation and the emergence of the Sa'udi state (as will be discussed later) undercut Imam Ahmad's ability to subjugate the al-Qawassim. Oman was thus broken into two parts.

3.3 The Political Situation in the Coast of Oman

This section deals with the political conditions in the Coast of Oman with emphasis on the rise of the two tribal alliances, and describes the political nature of the al-Qawassim confederation and the Bani Yas federation. The significance of this section is in describing the political situation before their political dismemberment in the nineteenth century. By the end of the Omani civil war, the two sections of Oman had evolved along separate political tracks. Two political forces had dominated the Coast of Oman since the spread of the civil war in Oman: the al-Qawassim confederation and the Bani Yas federation, though it is not clear when these alliances emerged. Each had a different power base: while the al-Qawassim were predominately a maritime power, the Bani Yas were a land power. At the same time, within the al-Qawassim-led confederation, power was fragmented; whereas within the Bani Yas federation it was consolidated in the hands of al-Nahayan. Of these two characteristics, the latter was crucial to the degree of unity or dismemberment of each alliance. A brief description of each side follows.

3.3.1 The al-Qawassim Confederation

One power dominated the Coast of Oman – the al-Qawassim confederation, which covered a predominantly settled area that extended from Sharjah in the west to Jalfar/

Ras al-Khaimah/Sir[194] in the east. The region under al-Qawassim control included a number of settlements which had existed at least two centuries before the emergence of the al-Qawassim and their allies in the region. The Emirati historian Hassan al-Naboodah notes in a recent study that Classical Muslim historians such as al-Tabari, as well as Ahmed bin Majid, a local poet and a sailor of the fifteenth century,[195] and Balbi, a Venetian traveller, all referred to localities with familiar names. Al-Tabari stated that Julfar was the port used by Muslims in the Gulf area to invade southern Persia. Ahmed bin Majid and Balbi presented a list that included Sarba (Sharjah), Agiman (‘Ajman), Rasichaime (Ras al-Khaimah), Emgeuain (Um al-Quwain) (otherwise known as Um al-Quwairah by Ibn Majid), in addition to Julfar or Sir.[196] The main criticism of these sources, according to al-Naboodah, is the lack of any reference to their exact geographical locations.[197] During the nineteenth century, the al-Qassimi confederation included at least twelve towns and villages such as Sharjah (on the coast of the Gulf), the Daid Oasis (inland), and Kalba (on the Gulf of Oman), as well as three islands, such as Abu Musa.[198] In addition, the al-Qawassim’s power base was Julfar or Sir. According to an unidentified Dutch document cited by B. J. Slot, during the early eighteenth century Julfar was one of the main ports for the export and import of goods in the Gulf.[199]

The al-Qawassim family, which came originally from Iraq, migrated first to Nakhilu Badu on the Persian coast; later, during the period of Portuguese domination over Hormuz Island (off the Persian coast) they relocated to Julfar. The arrival of the al-Qassimi leader was either in a personal capacity or else as an adviser to an unnamed

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[194]Use of the three names here is because the Arab and British sources employ them interchangeably.
[195]Ahmed bin Majid wrote a book on maritime, partly rendering his experiences in poems. See Ahmad bin Majid. *Kitab al-Fawaid fi Ahwal ‘Ilm al-Bahr wa al-Qawa‘id wa al-Fusul* [The book of Benefits in Maritime, Bases and Seasons] ed. by Ibrahim Khori. (Ras al-Khaimah: Markaz al-Derasa wa al-Wathaiq, [2ed] 2001]
[196]Hassan al-Naboodah, “al-Mawadhe wa Amakin min al-Imarat fi al-Masader al-Arabiya al-Ula” [Places and Localities within the Emirates included in the earlier Arabic Sources], pp. 137-148 in al-Markaz al-Watani lil-Wathaiq wa al-Buhuth (ed). *Mafaheem Jadida fi Tadwin Tarikh al-Imarat al-‘Arabiya al-Mutahida* [New Perspectives on Recording UAE History] (Abu Dhabi: al-Markaz al-Watani lil-Wathaiq wa al-Buhuth, 2009), pp. 139-140.
[197]al-Naboodah, ibid. p. 140.
[198]Capt. A. B. Kemball, “Statistical and Miscellaneous Information Connected Elce.”, in Thomas (ed). *Arabian Gulf Intelligence*, pp. 293-294.
[199]Slot, “I‘adat Seyaghat wa Tandem”, p. 7.

Persian official.[200] In 1718, as stated earlier, the al-Qawassim were involved in the Omani Civil War, in which Rahama bin Mattar led a force consisting of both Arabs and non-Arabs to fight against the Hinawi faction. The British historian Charles Davis refers to the non-tribal Arab faction as "people of Ras al-Khaimah",[201] while the Arab contingent included, among other tribes, the al-Za'ab, the al-Nu'aim, and the al-'Ali.[202] The al-Za'ab had migrated from al-Reg on the Persian coast to al-Jazera al-Hamra, which is in modern-day Ras al-Khaimah. The al-Nu'aim migrated, in undated time, from the region of al-Tan'eem in Oman to 'Ajman, and had its own leadership.[203] The al-'Ali, a section of the al-Mutair tribe of Najd, migrated to Sur in Oman, Um al-Quwain in the Coast of Oman, and Charrack on the Persian coast. Of the three sections, those who resided in Um al-Quwain lived in separate quarters from one another.[204]

In the aftermath of the Omani Civil War and the demise of the Safavids in Persia, various local powers including the al-Qawassim competed for control over a number of towns and islands on the Persian coast, and the relative strength of the sides involved in the struggle led to exchanges of command over towns and islands on the Persian side of the Gulf. The first sign of the al-Qassimi involvement in the politics of the Persian coast was around 1727, in which year, according to Lorimer, the al-Qawassim established a foothold on Qishm Island.[205] In 1751, the al-Qawassim formed an alliance with Mullah Ali Shah, the Persian governor of Hormuz and a naval commander, and in 1755, this alliance was consolidated through marriage.

There were two consequences of this association. One was that the al-Qawassim were able to expand their naval power by utilising elements of the Persian

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[200]al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie*, pp. 56-58, 60; Slot, "I'adat Seyaghat wa Tandem", pp. 5, 7. It is not clear from either local or European sources when and why the al-Qawassim settled in the Coast of Oman. Moreover, there is a difference between the two accounts: al-Mutawa' refers to a Persian link and Slot deals with an early period of the al-Ya'riba war of liberation. It is not clear if the Persian Government controlled Julfar prior to its intervention on behalf of Sayf.

[201]Charles E. Davis, *The Blood-Red Arab Flag: An investigation into Qassimi Piracy, 1797-1820* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001), pp. 218-219.

[202]Unfortunately British documents do not cover this aspect of al-Qawassim history and local sources are short in terms of dates.

[203]al-Mutawa', ibid. pp. 103-104, 106-107, 129.

[204]Humaid bin Sultan al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar fi Wafeyat al-Mashaikh wa hawadeth Hathehi al-Deyar* [The Report on the Shaikhs' Death and the Events of this Land], ed. Faleh Handal (Abu Dhabi: Dar al-Fikr al-Jadid, 1986), pp. 228-229.

[205]J. G. Lorimer. *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia,* Vol.1: *Historical, Part 1-a*. (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1915), p.631.

navy in their operations.[206] The other outcome, which occurred around 1765, was that the al-Qawassim were able to incorporate Lutf, Lingah and Shinas into their territories, although they lost Qishm and Lutf to the Persian government shortly after.[207] However, according to a statement by John McNeil, deputy Medical Stores Keeper, who met a number of local inhabitants, by 1815 or 1816 the al-Qawassim were once again in control of five ports, including Mogoo, along the Persian coast, where they had appointed an official to direct incoming or outgoing ships to these ports, such as Charrack. McNeil's report further stated that local residents were not interested in piracy but in trade, which could not be carried on without the protection of a powerful overlord.[208] The al-Qawassim domination of parts of the Persian coast lasted until 1887, when the Persian Government deposed the al-Qassimi governor of Lingah.

3.3.2 The Bani Yas Federation

In addition to the al-Qawassim, there was the Bani Yas, a federation between fourteen and nineteen clans and tribes. There is no available credible report as to when the federation emerged, or the reasons for its formation. The earliest report on the Bani Yas was written in 1831 by Samuel Hennell, the Political Resident in the Gulf. Hennell identified eleven members of the federation, some with and others without their tribal origins. The tribal federation of the Bani Yas consisted of the following (I was unable to recognize some of the names): the al-Bu Falah family; the al-Qubaisat from Abedal; the al-Murar and the al-Gumzan from the Bani Sukur; the al-Rumaithat from the Bani Humeed; the al-Muharibah from the Bani Nu'aim; the al-Hawamil and Mujalibah from

[206]Slot cites the English Gumbroon-Diary (EGD) 17-5-1751 and EGD 28-5-1751. See B. J. Slot. *The Arabs of the Gulf*, pp. 337-339, 349; also Francis Warden, "Historical sketch of Jawaseem Tribe Arabs", pp. 299-312, cited in Thomas (ed*). Arabian Gulf Intelligence,* p. 300.
[207]A.B. Kemball, "Chronological Table of Events", pp. 120-165 in Thomas (ed). *Arabian Gulf Intelligence*, p.129.
[208]Secret Letters from the Persian Gulf, 1820, John McNeil. Statement of Information Collected on the Island of Guss [Kish or Qais] or Kenn, from the Natives of that Island, and from some inhabitants of the opposite coast. [c. February 1820], L/P&S/9/80, pp. 313-314, 317 TNA, London.

the Al-'Ali; the al-Bu Muhair from Shubeeb and Kalazy; Bani Kaab and the al-Bu Falasah from Bani Yas.[209]

There are two observations on this portion of Hennell's report. First, the report listed the names with no accompanying details and the names are sometimes difficult to decipher. Second, it mentioned the al-Bu Falah (the clan that includes Abu Dhabi's ruling family, the al-Nahayan) but without giving details, and only identified the Bu Falasah, the clan that included Dubai's future ruling family, as a section of the Bani Yas. Of the many components of the Bani Yas federation, there is some information on the al-Bu Falah and the al-Bu Falasah. Of the two sections, reference to the roots of the al-Bu Falah is clearer than that of the al-Bu Falasah. According to al-Mutawa', the al-Bu Falah came from the tribes of either the Bani Hilah or the al-Dawassir,[210] both of which were from Najd. Local sources, such as al-Mutawa', al-Shamsi and Ghubash claim that the al-Falah family resettled with the Bani Yas. The reason for changing residency was because Nahyan, the oldest of the brothers, had requested assistance from Shaikh Qutun bin Qutun al-Hilali to secure his marriage to his cousin, but for reasons unknown, the uncle rejected this union. In turn, Shaikh Qutun asked the Bani Yas to provide Nahyan with military assistance to realize his intentions.[211]

Regarding the al-Bu Falasa, there are two claims concerning their original habitat: one by al-Shamsi and the other by Davidson. According to al-Shamsi, who cited Ahmed bin Sayf bin Yousef on the authority of Ahmed al-Rajabani, a judge from Ras al-Khaimah, the al-Bu Falasah were originally from the Azd tribal confederation in Oman, and their merger with the Bani Yas was through marriage.[212] However, Davidson, citing Maitra and al-Hajji as well as Hopwood, argues that the al-Bu Falasah came originally from al-Sa'rah in Buraimi, and the islands of Bateen and Tarut.[213] There are several issues where Davidson's account is concerned. First, his cited sources do not support

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[209]S[amuel] Hennell, "Baniyas Tribes of Arabs: from 1761 to the close of the year 1831", pp. 461-469 in Thomas (ed), *Arabian Gulf Intelligence*, p. 462.
[210]al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie,* pp. 16-17.
[211]al-Mutawa', ibid., pp. 16-17; al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar*, p.221; Muhammad Sa'id Ghubash, "al-Fawaid fi Tarikh al-Imarat wa al-Awabid" [Benefits in the History of the Emirates], ed. Faleh Handal (Abu Dhabi: Typed MS, 1998), pp. 40-41.
[212]al-Shamsi, ibid., pp. 222. Note that there is no corroborating reference for this information and it contradicts Hennel's citation, above.
[213]Christopher Davidson, *Dubai: The Vulnerability of Success* (London: Hurst & Company, 2008), p. 13; this statement is repeated in his *Abu Dhabi; Oil and Beyond* (London: Hurst, 2009), note 83, p. 182.

his claim; secondly, Tarut is actually in the eastern region of Saudi Arabia, while Bateen is not an island but is a neighbourhood in Abu Dhabi city; and third, there is no credible report that the Bu Falasah resided in al-Sa'rah. Nor does Davidson provide any details of why the al-Bu Falasah merged with the Bani Yas.

Concerning the leadership of the federation, al-Mutawa' states that the al-Sudan tribe was originally entrusted with the leadership position. However, in an unknown year, probably during the Omani civil war in the eighteenth century, the leading tribe was engulfed in an internal feud which culminated in the assassination of Shaikh Muhammad bin Saleem, who was also the leader of the Bani Yas.This act led the elders of the federation to entrust the post to the al-Bu Falah.[214]

The Bani Yas's original place of residence was in the al-Liwa area, in the emirate of Abu Dhabi, where each tribe and clan lived in a separate *mahdar* or quarter. In 1761 a hunting party from the Bani Yas found fresh water on the island of Abu Dhabi, a discovery that led to the gradual relocation of sections of the federation from al-Liwa to Abu Dhabi Island. This action probably saved the Bani Yas federation from political disintegration when the Sa'udi forces began their military campaign against Oman by crossing the territories of the Bani Yas. Once on the island, each tribe and clan established a separate neighbourhood for itself, and newcomers either joined their relatives or established a new quarter.[215]

3.4 Factors Contributing to Political Realignment in the Coast of Oman

This section focuses on various factors that undermined the unity of the two above-mentioned tribal alliances and led to their dismemberment. The significant of this section lies in its emphasis on the internal factors that contributed to the political fragmentation. From the early nineteenth century to 1952, the situation in the Coast of Oman changed, from one where two forces were dominant into an entity made up of

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[214]al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie*, pp. 17-18. Note that no British or local sources included such information and al-Mutawa' does not give his sources (whether written or oral), other than stating that "this confirms what we have of reports and documents", p. 18. All sources agree with the outcome.
[215]Peter Lienhardt, *Shaikhdoms of Eastern of Arabia*, ed. Ahmad Shahi (Oxford: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 81-82, 84, 118.

seven emirates. This alteration in the political reality of the Coast of Oman was a direct and indirect outcome of factors such as the power struggle between the two local dominant sides; the strength of the seceding tribes or clans; British policy; and the Sa'udi-Omani conflict. By 1952 the al-Qawassim confederation had yielded five emirates and the Bani Yas federation had split into two emirates.

3.4.1 Power Struggle between the al-Qawassim and the Bani Yas

The first factor in the dismemberment of the two alliances and the formation of the seven emirates was the power struggle between the two main rivals. It involved each side acting to promote its own entity while disparaging its opponent. Both sides employed at least two methods to realize the stated objectives. First, the two sides constantly fought with each other. One such battle, which took place at Um al-Tarafa in 1872/1289, involved large numbers of casualties on both sides. Secondly, each side employed an assistant who was partnered with the opposite side to jeopardize its territorial integrity and occupy a strategic location. An example of this strategy was the al-Qawassim's contribution to the success of the al-Nu'aim in commandeering a fort in the al-Buraimi area in 1872/1289, the outcome of which was the establishment of a foothold in an otherwise hostile territory.[216]

However, for a number of reasons the conflict between the al-Qawassim and the al-Bu Falah had subsided by the mid-nineteenth century. The decline of al-Qawassim power because of British restrictions on the use of naval force in local confrontations had an effect, as did the death of Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr (r. 1803-1866) of Sharjah in 1866, and the rise of Shaikh Zaid bin Khalifa of Abu Dhabi (r. 1855-1909). Both leaders were charismatic, yet both faced internal and external threats (discussed below) that prevented them from unifying the Coast of Oman.[217] Nevertheless, they both depended on military means rather than popular support to secure their political position within the

[216]Rosemarie Said Zahlan, *The Origins of the United Arab Emirates: A Political and Social History of the Trucial States* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1978), pp. 35-36.
[217]Fatma al-Sayegh, *al-Imarat al-'Arabiyah: min al-Qabelah ila al-Dawlah* [The United Arab Emirates: from Tribe to the State] (Dubai: Markaz al-Khaleej lil-Kitab, 1997), pp. 56-57, 138, 159-160.

Coast of Oman. For instance, neither invoked the common history of their areas as a foundation for their political domination. These and other factors not only reduced direct confrontation between the two sides, but also contributed to mutual recognition.[218]

3.4.2 The Seceding Tribes or Clans

The second factor in the transition from the two alliances to the seven emirates was the strength of the secessionist tribe (the al-Nu'aim) or clan (the al-Bu-Falasah) in the nineteenth century. As is discussed in this chapter, in the majority of cases, with the exception of the al-Bu Falasah in Dubai, the group was well-established in that particular locality. It was often the case that the stronger a splinter group's solidarity with its leader, the more likely it was that the former hegemonic leader would be unable to regain control over the territory and would have to accept this new reality. In other words, there was a crisis of institutional legitimacy for the ruler since part of his community recognised someone else's authority rather than his. External assistance produced a *fait accompli*. On one occasion the Qassimi ruler, Shaikh Saqr, intervened, as in the case of Dubai, to help the Bu Falasah in fending off an attack from forces loyal to Shaikh Khalifa of Abu Dhabi. In another case, it was the involvement of the British authorities that either consolidated or negated an attempted secession. Thus, in 1823 Shaikh Rashed bin Humaid of 'Ajman, having complained to the British authorities about the aggression of Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr of Sharjah, vowed to challenge Shaikh Sultan's overlordship. Shaikh Sultan responded by showing Captain McLeod, British Naval officer in the Gulf, a document acknowledging his supremacy and signed by tribal leaders in Ajman.[219]

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[218]al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar*, pp. 56-57; al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie*, pp. 79-81.

[219]al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie*.., pp. 20, 161, 163, 165, 188-189; Abi Bashir Muhammad bin Humaid al-Salemi, *Nahdat al-'Aayan bi-Hurriat Oman* [The Revolt of the Notables for the Freedom of Oman] (Beirut: Dar al-Jeel, [1961] 1998), pp. 29-30; al-Sayegh, *al-Imarat al-'Arabiyah: min al-Qabelah*.., pp. 48-57; Faleh Handal, *al-Mufasal fi Tarikh al-Imarat al-'Arabiya min Aqdam al-'Usur hata 1910, al-Juz al-Thani* [The Comprehensive History of the Arab Emirates, from Ancient Times to 1810. Vol. 2] (Abu Dhabi: Dar al-Fikr, 1983), pp. 1, 495, 544, 623-624, 652; Lt. S. Hennell, "Continuation of Foregoing Sketch, to the Year 1831", pp. 313-326, cited in Thomas (ed), *Arabian Gulf Intelligence*, p. 315.

3.4.3 The British Role

The third factor that determined the political future of the Coast of Oman was British domination of the area. By 1616 the British had arrived in the Indian Ocean, including the Gulf region; they then faced economic and political challenges from Holland, France and Germany, as well as military confrontations with the al-Qawassim. Britain's main purpose in the Gulf region was to protect its economic and political domination over the Indian subcontinent. By the end of the eighteenth century Britain had, through the activities of its East India Company, established a good working relationship with Persia that undermined Dutch activities in the area. As for the other European competitors, in 1891 the French government dispatched two spies – Chopy and Tramir – to visit Um al-Quwain in the Coast of Oman, and in 1907, a German firm secured the right to exploit red copper from the island of Abu Musa, which was then a territory of Ras al-Khaimah (Coast of Oman). By using provisions of the "Exclusive Treaty" of 1892 (as discussed below) to expel these intruders, Britain was able to avoid potential diplomatic and military conflicts.[220]

As for the British and the al-Qawassim rivalry, the conflict extended from the 1790s to 1819. British reaction took the form of limited military actions and the signing of provisional truces. However, in 1819, with an increasing number of military attacks by the al-Qawassim and following the defeat of the Sa'udi state by Egypt, the British authorities were obliged to modify their *modus operandi* and proceeded to attack and occupy Ras al-Khaimah.[221]

British policy from 1820 until 1939 was to use minimum force, avoid intervention in the internal affairs of local populations, and forestall any attempt to establish bases in the Coast of Oman; initially the priority was strategic (defence of India) but with the

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[220]Donald Hawley, *Trucial States* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), pp. 76-77; Salah al-'Aqqad, *al-Tayyarat al-Siyasiya fi al-Khaleej al-'Arabi min Bedayat al-'Usur al-Hadetha hata Azmat 1990-1991* [Political Trends in the Arabian Gulf from the Beginning of Modern Period until the Crisis of 1990-1991] (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-Masriya, nd), pp. 60, 65-67, 71, 78, 208, 210; Faleh Handal, *al-Mufasal fi Tarikh al-Imarat*, pp. 701, 749.

[221]al-Sayegh, *al-Imarat*, pp. 83-85; Hawley, ibid., pp. 89-116; al-Salemi, *Nahdat al-'Aayan bi-Hurriat Oman...*, p. 18; Frauke Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates: a Society in Transition*, (London: Longman, 1982), pp. 282-283.

discovery of oil it became economic as well. The application of this policy was reflected in a speech given in Sharjah in 1901 by Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, in which he explained that British action or lack thereof depended on how fairly the local rulers treated these foreign traders, and that this philosophy also applied to resolving local disputes.[222] However, as a way of consolidating their own command, British officials adopted three interconnected techniques: limited military operations, the imposition of treaties, and the appointment of a low level agent to liaise with the local rulers.

During this period, too, military actions were the preferred method, though limited in their scope and duration. After 1820, military power was employed to impose political solutions on problems.[223] According to Zahlan, the use of gunboat diplomacy was the ideal choice because the Coast of Oman "was viewed generally as a wild and savage area that would respond effectively to a violent form of punishment."[224] Standard British procedure in dealing with the rulers of emirates of the Coast was twofold. One way was to communicate with the ruler in order to arrive at a resolution of his compliance with British objectives. The alternative was to use what Colonel T. W. C Fowle described as "…[an] amount of interference which *would* [in original] achieve our end."[225] Such interference would include both military and diplomatic pressure.

Among the many limited encounters between the British anal local shaikhs, military actions were employed with regard to the 1910 landing by the British in Dubai on the pretext of arresting arms smugglers, and to the 1921 bombing of the palace of the ruler of 'Ajman to forestall local violence resulting from the ruler having deprived his brother of his share of inheritance.[226] The other type of action – political pressure – as explained below, was exemplified in 1933 by Shaikh Sa'id bin Hamad of Kalb, who switched from refusing to consenting to Britain's request for emergency landing rights. According to Shaikh Sultan al-Qassimi, this reversal resulted from a visit in 1936 to the chief of Fujairah by Tom Hickinbotham, the Acting Political Agent in Bahrain, on board a

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[222]Hawley gives the text of the speech in Appendix B: "Historical, no. 5: Lord Curzon's Address at Sharjah Durbar in 1902"; see Hawley, ibid. pp. 323-325.
[223]Heard-Bey, *Trucial States*, p. 284.
[224]Zahlan, *The Origins*, p. 162.
[225]Extract from Personal Letter from Colonel Fowle to Mr. Laithwaite, 21 February, 1935, L/P&S/12/3747, pp. 8-9, in Tuson (ed), *RoE*, vol. 9, p. 9,
[226]For a brief description of the events in Dubai see: al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar*, p. 70; Zahlan, *The Origins*, p. 162.

military vessel.[227] This action probably benefited from the rivalry between the al-Qawassim in Kalba and the al-Sharqiyyin in Fujairah over British recognition. The visit, therefore, was an indirect sign by British officials to Shaikh Hamad so that they might recognize Fujairah instead of Kalba as an independent emirate. The two kinds of event were different in nature: the first did not require the stationing of a British force while in the latter case this action would lead to such an outcome. Therefore, in 1933 the Secretary of State for India was accurate in objecting to such an approach in relation to Kalba.[228]

The signing of treaties was another instrument employed to realize British objectives. On various occasions, local rulers were pressured by British representatives to sign treaties whose primary emphasis was on British domination. Of the many treaties, the "General Peace Treaty" of 1820 and the "Exclusive Treaty" of 1892 had a lasting impact on the history of the Coast of Oman. The first agreement with its eleven articles concentrated on military resistance and slavery as acts of "piracy," and limited military operations to a declaration of war by the government.[229] Kazim claims that behind the signing of this agreement with the leaders of 'Ajman and Um al-Quwain, Britain's intention was to secure their cooperation in suppressing acts of piracy and to avoid extending political recognition to the leaders' status.[230] The three articles of the "Exclusive Treaty" of 1892 were signed between 5 and 8 March by all the rulers, not only on their own behalf, but also on behalf of their successors to restrict their interaction with other countries unless approved by British representatives.[231] From

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[227]H.H. Shaikh Sultan bin Muhammad al-Qassimi, *Mahatah al-Shariqah al-Jawwiyaj bain al-Sharq wa al-Gharb* [The Sharjah Airport between East and West] (Sharjah: Manshurat al-Qassimi, 2009), pp. 108-109. Note that H.H. Shaikh Sultan has not cited his source.
[228]al-Qassimi, *Mahatah al-Shariqah*…, p 104.
[229]For the text of the treaty see Appendix B: "Historical, 4 Treaties no. 7: "Exclusive Agreement, Signed between 5 March and 8 March, 1892 in Hawley, *Trucial States*, pp. 320-326. See also Handal, *al-Mufasal* vol.1, pp. 371-383; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf: 1795-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); Sultan M. al-Qassimi, *Myth of Arab Piracy in the Gulf* (London, Routledge: 1986); Charles E. Davis, *The Blood-Red Arab Flag: an Inquiry into Qasimi Piracy* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997).
[230]Aquil A. Kazim, "Historic Oman to the United Arab Emirates, from 600 A.D. to 1995: An analysis of Making, Remaking and Unmaking of a socio-Discursive Formation in the Arab Gulf", unpublished PhD thesis (Washington DC: The American University, 1996), p. 345. Note that this misinterpretation of the treaty's objective is not confined to Kazim alone.
[231]Appendix B: Historical: Treaties: no. 9-b: "Translation of a letter from Shaikh Tahnun-bin-Zaid, Chief of Abu Dhabi, to Colonel P. Z. Cox, CSI, CIE, Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, dated 19 August, 1911", pp. 321-322, cited in Hawley, ibid, pp. 321-322.

1880s, European competitors such as France or regional powers such as Persia attempted to communicate with local rulers as a prerequisite to establishing a foothold in the Coast of Oman. This treaty was proposed by British authorities to the rulers both as a counter measure to the abovementioned activities and as confirmation of its domination.[232] As such, these treaties consolidated British control over the Coast of Oman.

The third component of British domination was their administration of the area. Until 1947, the Arab societies of the Gulf, including the Coast of Oman, were administered as a single unit that was attached to the India Office and the British Government in India. The hierarchy consisted of the Political Resident and the Assistant Political Resident (stationed in Bushire in Iran until 1946 when they moved to Bahrain), the Senior Naval Officer in the Gulf (stationed on Qishm, then Hanjam, and then Bahrain), Political Agents (who were based in Muscat, Bahrain, and Kuwait), and a Native or Resident Agent (located in Sharjah-Coast of Oman). The Native Agent's role,[233] among other things, was to provide the Political Resident with a daily account of local affairs and included: reporting on the rulers' compliance or otherwise with obligations specified by the various treaties; conveying the Political Resident's instructions to the rulers; and managing minor incidents until the arrival of a British representative in the area.[234] The post of Native Agent had been created in 1826 and was abolished in 1949, although a British Political Officer was available on a part-time basis from 1939 until the post was upgraded to that of Political Agent in 1951.

After the Second World War and Britain's withdrawal from the Indian sub-continent in 1947, responsibility for relations with the Coast of Oman was transferred to the Foreign Office. In 1951, Britain began a process of changing its policy in the region

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[232]Hawley, ibid. pp. 137-139; Muhammad al-'Aidarous, *al-Tatawurat al-Siyasiyya fi Dawlat al-Imarat al-'Arabiyya al-Mutahida* [Political Development in the United Arab Emirates] (Kuwait: Dhat al-Salasel, 1983), pp. 80-81.

[233]The duties of the Native Agent were wider than those described above. For a more comprehensive account see James Onley, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 134-135.

[234]Rupert Hay (Sir), *The Persian Gulf States* (Washington DC: The Middle East Institute, 1959), pp. 19-20, 114. For the list of the Political Residents in the Gulf, Native Agents and Political Agents and Officers in the Coast of Oman from 1820-1939, Penelope Tuson (ed). *Records of the Emirates, Primary Documents, 1820- 1958;* vol. 1: *1820-1835* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1990), pp. xiv-xxi. Henceforth, RoE and vol. number.

while retaining officials who had been attached to the Government of India. One area of change was the upgrading of the status of British officials from Political Officer to Political Agent, along with the relocation of the Sharjah office to Dubai, but the most important area of change was the adoption of a new policy of involvement in the internal affairs of emirates of the Coast. British engagement with local affairs covered two levels: those of the Coast of Oman as a whole (see Chapter Four), and those within each individual emirate, as discussed below.[235] According to Frauke Heard-Bey, the historian of the Emirates, this new approach was expected to rectify a century of neglect of local needs by the Government of India while providing Britain with a justification for being a dominant power in the region.[236]

As Chapter Four argues, this new strategy was presented by British officials in the form of "protected states", in which British authorities and local rulers both held equal power. Britain took its authority through the signed treaties with the rulers, and the ruler took his through the holding of office.[237] Based on this concept, the British authorities began a slow and belated process of establishing state institutions and formulating development programmes that did not surpass the early stages of modern economic, social, and political development. At the same time, British officials maintained heavy-handed control over any access by the rulers to outside assistance, which thereby reduced its impact. The essence of Britain's responsibility in the emirates was political, with an emphasis on improving the well-being of local populations, but due to its late arrival this latter aspect was absent from British-devised and-sponsored developmental projects. Because it was 'too little too late' it did not, for instance, provide the society with technically-capable individuals.

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[235]Hawley, *The Trucial States*, pp. 167-168; Frauke Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates: a Society in Transition* (London: Longman, 1982), p. 309.
[236]Heard-Bey, ibid., p. 308.
[237]Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in Her Last Three Arab Dependencies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 116.

3.4.4 The Role of al-Bu Sa'id–al-Sa'ud Rivalry

In addition to the influence of the British, regional influences on the political reality of the Coast of Oman came from the al-Bu Sa'id dynasty of Oman and the al-Sa'ud dynasty in Najd. Emerging during the eighteenth century, the two dynasties had both a negative and a positive impact on the region. From the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century both sides fought political and sectarian battles in Omani though not in Saudi territories.[238] In 1845, Sa'd bin Mutlaq al-Mutairi, a Saudi military commander, invaded Oman as far as Muscat. On the political level, while the al-Bu Sa'id attempted only to preserve its independence in Oman, the al-Sa'ud aimed to subordinate Oman to its own authority. The sectarian divide accelerated the conflict, because the majority of the population in Oman was, and still is, predominantly Khawarij-Ibadi, whereas the majority in Najd was, and remains, Sunni-Hanbali.[239]

With regard to the Coast of Oman, the two sides formed an alliance with one of the two local powers and fought each other throughout the nineteenth century in the Coast of Oman. The foundations for a partnership differed: for the al-Bu Sa'id and the Bani Yas it was on an equal footing, whereas for the al-Sa'ud and their the al-Qawassim counterparts it was akin to a master-client relationship. This distinction reflects the strength of the Sa'udis and the relative weakness of the al-Bu Sa'id *vis-à-vis* their allies. While the al-Bu Sa'id cooperated with the Bani Yas federation to fend off the Sa'udi actions inside Oman, the Sa'udi dynasty subordinated the al-Qawassim to consolidate its control over Oman. The Bani Yas contributed directly and indirectly to the al-Bu Sa'id's war efforts. Their direct action was in the form of battles, such as al-'Anka in 1842/1264, and their indirect action was through assisting Sultan Faysal bin Turki (r. 1888-1913) to recover al-Buraimi from the Sa'udis. Simultaneously, the al-Qawassim participated in various Sa'udi efforts against the Omani forces. One such conflict was for

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[238]It is interesting that the Omanis fought in Persia, East Africa and Bahrain, but did not cross even once into Najd.

[239]Ruzaiq, *al-Fath al-Mubeen*, p. 436; 'Uthman bin 'Abdullah bin Bishr, *'Unwan al-Majd fi Tarikh Naj. Juzain* [The Symbolism of Glory in the history of Najd. 2vols.] ed. 'Abdullatif bin 'Abdullah al-Shaikh (Riyadh: Darat al-Malek Abdul-Aziz, 18402 AH/ 1982 CE), vol. 1, pp. 316-319, vol.2, pp. 86, 246; see also Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian…,* Vol.1: *Historical, Part 1-a*., p. 706.

control over the town of Khur Fakkan in 1808/1223; in addition one fifth of the spoils from any military operations won by the al-Qawassim was transferred to the al-Sa'ud.[240]

By the middle of the nineteenth century a new reality had emerged, in which the opposing regional and local powers began to communicate with their foes in order to establish peace. Of the two sides, it was the Omani dialogue with the al-Qawassim that started earlier and took a longer time to achieve, whereas Sa'udi-Bani Yas contacts to reduce tensions began with a direct meeting in 1852 between Shaikh Sai'd bin Tahnoun (r. 1845-1855/1257-1267) and Imam Faysal bin Turki (1834-1865/1246-1277).[241] With regard to the dialogue between the al-Qawassim and the al-Bu Sa'id, this began in 1761 when Shaikh Saqr, accompanied by his uncles 'Abdulla and Muhammad bin 'Ali, met Imam Ahmad bin Sa'id to arrange a maritime truce.[242] However, this peaceful resolution was short-lived because the two sides then resumed their military confrontation. However, genuinely peaceful co-existence began in 1809/1265, when Shaikh Saleh, brother of Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr, secured assurances of protection when his brother arrived in Muscat from Jeddah.[243] This verbal guarantee turned into a diplomatic recognition of the al-Qawassim state through a note written by Sayyid Sa'id bin Sultan (r. 1807-1865) on 17 May 1852/27 Rajab, 1268, and the rapprochement was further consolidated by a letter from another ruler of Oman, Sayyid Turki bin Sa'id (r. 1871-1888) to a Qassimi governor of Kalba and Khur Fakkan, Shaikh Hamad bin Majid, dated 6 May 1872/15 Safar, 1288.[244] In 1879, Sayyid Turki, in correspondence with an

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[240]al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar*, pp. 75-76; Bishr, '*Unwan al-Majd*, vol. 1, p. 362 vol.2, p. 248; Ruzaiq, ibid., pp. 474, 521-523 512; al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie*, p. 26; Lorimer, ***Gazetteer of the Persian…,*** Vol.1: *Historical, Part 1-a*., p. 729.

[241]al-Shamsi, ibid., p. 51; al-Mutawa', ibid., p. 26; Bishr, ibid., vol. 2, pp. 248-249, 284. Although none of these sources revealed what happened during the meeting, Bishr and al-Shamsi adopt a view favouring the Sa'udi sovereign, while al-Mutawa' offers a balanced approach between the two.

[242]Colonel S. B. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, Introduction by Robin Bidwell (Reading: Garnet Publishers, [1919] 1994), p. 269. Neither the Emirati nor Omani sources cited below mentioned this earlier meeting or this accord.

[243]This is one of the most confusing issues, since the sources disagree on various aspects: see al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar*, p. 75-76; al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie..*, p. 75; Bishr, '*Unwan al-Majd*, vol. 1, p. 362; Ruzaiq, *al-Fath al-Mubin*, p. 457. Of the four, al-Shamsi and Bishr provided limited details only; al-Mutawa' emphasized the local disagreement; and Ruzaiq concentrated on the rapprochement with Oman.

[244]The texts of both letters can be found in al-Salemi, *Nahda*, pp. 26-27; see also Ruzaiq, ibid., p. 457; al-Mutawa', ibid., pp. 78-81. There is a problem with the chronology. Ruzaiq and al-Mutawa' mention the event, but indicate that it took place earlier, probably before 1819. As for the first letter, Ruzaiq alludes to it but did not reproduce it, whereas al-Mutawa' does not refer to any written communication between the

unnamed British official regarding the al-Fujairah dispute with the al-Sharqyin tribe (see below), clarified the issue of his recognition of al-Qawassim control over this territory when he declared that his written recognition of the status quo in the area extending from Diba in the north to Fujairah in the south had originally been in exchange for unspecified service. However, he considered the statement was void because the al-Qawassim had failed to render the requested service.[245]

During the ongoing confrontation between the two sides for domination of the Coast of Oman, a number of exceptional events occurred outside the usual military norms. One of these was in 1823 when, for unknown reasons, the al-Qawassim and the Bani Yas joined forces to attack the al-Bu Sa'id in Oman. Another exceptional action was in 1831 when Sayyid Sa'id (r. 1807-1856) requested military assistance from the al-Qawassim and not from the Bani Yas to restore his authority over Suhar. According to Lorimer, the change in the alliance was because Sayyid Sa'id did not care for the manner in which the Bani Yas had operated during his 1828 campaign against the al-Khalifa of Bahrain. However, owing to an attack by the Bani Yas, the al-Qawassim could not participate in the battle. A third exceptional act at this time occurred between 1855 and 1867, during which period the Sa 'udi representative, Ahmad al-Sudairi, and his son Turki, were involved in peacefully resolving disputes in the Coast of Oman. In 1855, Ahmad al-Sudairi intervened with either Shaikh Sa 'id bin Tahnoon (r. 1845-1855) or Shaikh Zaid bin Khalifa (r. 1855-1909) (Lorimer does not mention the name), to resolve a dispute with the al-Manasir. Ahmad al-Sudairi was accidentally killed in 1873 while involved in Sharjah in a failed palace coup against Shaikh Salim (r. 1868-1883) in favour of Shaikh Humaid bin 'Abdullah. Shaikh Salim was eventually overthrown by Saqr bin Khalid (r. 1883-1914).[246]

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two sides, other than reporting on the verbal request from Shaikh Saleh, at his brother's behest, for safe entry into Muscat.

[245]Lorimer, ***Gazetteer…,*** Vol.1: *Historical, Part 1-a*, p. 780. Unfortunately, Lorimer gave no further details.

[246]Lorimer,Ibid.,pp. 685-686, 726-727; Al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar*, pp. 57-58, 111-112 (n. 79). No detailed information is available about Shaikh Humaid or the attempt to overthrow Shaikh Salim.

3.5 The Political Formation of City States

After discussing various factors that contributed to the dismemberment of the two tribal alliances, the focus of this section shifts to the process of establishing the seven emirates. On the one hand, the emphasis is on the sessions within each tribal alliance, and on the other it is on constraints within each one over the powers of the rulers. In both issues, the success or the failure of the challengers within either level depends to a large degree not only on the challengers' strength or weakness but also on the rulers' institutional legitimacy needed within the city state to preserve its unity and his hold on the decision-making.[247]

3.5.1 Secession

While the political situation in the Coast of Oman during the nineteenth century reflected a relative weakness of the central authority within both the dominant sides, it contributed to varying degrees to the demise of their territorial control. At the same time, it coincided with a leading figure in a tribe or a clan possessing popular support, an external patron, and the political ambition to establish a new tribal entity. In this context, there were more fragmentations within the decentralized al-Qawassim confederation than within the Bani Yas federation. The al-Qawassim confederation split into five emirates while the Bani Yas federation broke into two emirates. There was also a failed attempt within each camp, and a description follows of the changes within each of the two sides. In all these cases, there was no reference to similar activities that involved the opposing side. In this respect, political dismemberment of the two tribal alliances was driven by internal

[247] On this aspect see Peter Lienhardt, "The Authority of the Shaykh in the Gulf: An Essay in Nineteenth-Century History", pp. 61- 75, in R. B. Serjeant and R. L. Bidwell (eds), *Arabian Studies II* (London, C. Hurst & Company: 1975), p. 61. Note that in his study Lienhardt focuses only on the challenge within the city state.

factors and consolidated by British officials in the Gulf by the signing of a treaty that recognised its leader as a ruler of an emirate.

In the case of the al-Qawassim, the confederation disintegrated into five components: Sharjah and Ras al-Khaimah were governed by two branches of the ruling family, while ‘Ajman, Um al-Quwain and Fujiarah were under the control of the al-Nu‘aim, the al-Mu‘alla and the al-Sharqyin respectively. The three tribes were incorporated differently in the al-Qawassim-led alliance. While the al-Nu‘aim and the al-Mu‘alla, as noted earlier, were initially part of the al-Qawassim-led alliance and resided within the jurisdiction of its overall territories, the al-Sharqyin were resident in territories that had originally been held by the al-Bu Sa‘id dynasty but were now controlled by the al-Qawassim after they had inflicted a military defeat on the Omani Forces. The bases for the forming of the smaller entities differed between the two groups. The split within the al-Qawassim family was caused by personal interests, while for the other three it was the consolidating of their dominant status within a specific area.

The split in the al-Qawassim family produced the three shaikhdoms of Sharjah, Ras al-Khaimah, and the short-lived Kabla. Their formation occurred as a negative consequence of Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr and his policy of consolidating his dominance over the towns run by the al-Qawassim; this involved replacing stronger governors (such as Husain bin ‘Ali) with more subordinate ones (like Muhammad bin ‘Abdurrahman) in Rams. More importantly, Khan Sahib Hussain, the Native Agent, argued that the root cause of the problem within the al-Qawassim was associated with Shaikh Sultan’s decision in 1866 to divide Sharjah, Ras al-Khaimah, Kalba and Diba into fiefs for his four sons – respectively Khalid, Salim, Majid and Ahmad. However, Hussain’s report did not explain Shaikh Sultan’s intention: i.e., whether this was to be a total separation or merely an administrative division to reduce tension and improve control over these territories.[248] This act seems to have led many of the al-Qawassim leaders to consolidate their rule over their territories.

The first split within the al-Qawassim was in Ras al-Khaimah, where the governor of the town, in addition to the above, needed to spend locally-collected taxes on

[248] Note by Abdul Razzaq: Landing Ground at Kalba, 12 March, 1936 enclosed in PA, Bahrain, to PR, Bushire, 5 Oct., 1937, IOR: R/15/1/287, pp. 332- 338 in Tuson (ed), *RoE*, vol. 9, p. 337-8.

strengthening the town's fortifications against outside attacks. Realizing the intentions of Ras al-Khaimah in 1921 was an outcome of the efforts of Shaikh Humaid bin 'Abdullah and Sultan bin Salim. In 1869, Shaikh Humaid, the governor of Ras al-Khaimah, had declared independence and the British authorities had deflected a naval force sent by Sharjah's Shaikh Khalid bin Sultan (r. 1866-1868) to force Shaikh Humaid to submit to the ruler's authority. However, Shaikh Humaid died in 1900, which allowed Shaikh Saqr bin Khalid (r. 1883-1914), with no objection from the British, to reunify the al-Qawassim confederation. However, the reunification was short-lived because in 1910 a former ruler of Sharjah, Shaikh Salim bin Sultan (r. 1868-1883), who had been appointed as a deputy ruler in Ras al-Khaimah, declared his independence. The British authorities did not consent to this, but in 1920 recognized his son Sultan (r. 1918-1921) as an independent ruler of Ras al-Khaimah.[249]

Along with Ras al-Khaimah, Shaikh Sa'id bin Hamad, the governor of Kalba, also declared his independence from Sharjah in 1936; this lasted until 1952, when Kalba was reintegrated into Sharjah by Shaikh Saqr bin Sultan (1951-1965), ruler of Sharjah. The main reasons why Britain permitted Kalba's reintegration were the discontinued lineage of this branch with the al-Qawassim, and the failure of the extended family to arrive at an alternative solution.[250] The reasons for Kalba's independence included Britain's interest in securing alternative landing rights for the Imperial Airlines route to India from the Persian to the Arab side of the Gulf. In 1932, British officials in the Gulf contacted the rulers of emirates of the Coast for this purpose. First, Shaikh Sa'id refused to accept the British request for landing rights,[251] despite receiving a letter from T.C. W. Fowle, the British Political Agent in Bahrain. In terms of providing assistance for the planes and their passengers, the letter contained either rewards or punishments for his actions or lack thereof.[252] In 1936, Tom Hickinbotham, the Acting Political Agent in

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[249]Lorimer, ***Gazetteer…,*** Vol.1: *Historical, Part 1-a*., pp. 689, 713-714, 731, 762; Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States...*, p. 68; alBadr Abu-Baker, "Political Economy of State Formation: The United Arab Emirates in Comparative Perspective", unpublished PhD Dissertation (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1995), p. 67.
[250]PO, Trucial States, to Shaikh Saqr bin Sultan, Sharjah, 7 May, 1952, FO 1016/191, pp. 417-419 in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 9*, pp.417-419.
[251]Zahlan, *The Origins*, pp. 102-103.
[252]al-Qassimi, *Mahatah al-Shariqah*, p. 108; PR to [Shaikh] Sa'id bin Hamad, 5 March, 1933, enclosed in PZ 22239/33, PR, Bushire, to India, 24 Mar., 1933, L/P&S/12/1963, cited in Zahlan, *The Origins*, p. 102. Note that H.H. Shaikh Sultan has not cited his source.

Bahrain, met Shaikh Sa'id and agreed to a *quid pro quo*: independence for Kalba in exchange for emergency landing rights for Britain.[253]

However, during the seventeen years of its independence, Kalba was in political turmoil. In 1937, Shaikh Sa'id's death led to a feud within the family that ended with the appointment of his minor son, Shaikh Hamad, as a ruler. This solution led to another contest within the family over the minor's guardianship. Three individuals were appointed to the post: initially in 1937, there was Barut Yaqut, his father's slave, who was soon replaced by Shaikh Khalid bin Ahmad, Hamad's brother-in-law;[254] due to illness, he, in turn, was replaced in 1948 by Shaikh Humaid bin Muhammad.[255] Finally, Shaikh Hamad, who became a ruler on his own right, was assassinated in 1951 by a distant relative, Shaikh Saqr bin Sultan bin Salim.[256]

Regarding 'Ajman and Um al-Quwain, the leaders of both tribes were selected by members of the al-Nu'aim and the al-'Ali, separately, without the al-Qawassim having any involvement in the process. For example, around 1768, Shaikh Majid bin Khalfan bin Barakat, better known as al-Mu'alla, had arrived from Charrack and unified the al-'Ali under his leadership,[257] while leaders of the two tribes began to claim independence as early as 1823. Shaikh Rashid bin Humeed (r. c. 1820-1838) of 'Ajman rejected the notion that Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr of Sharjah was his superior, while the latter argued against such a claim. Unfortunately, the British report of Shaikh Rashid's letter did not include any explanations or reasons for his attempt at changing his political status. In 1832, Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr (r.1803-1866) stated his inability to control the actions of Shaikh Rashid bin Humeed, even though in 1848 he still retained his ambition to re-

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[253]For full Arabic text of the agreement: al-Qassimi, ibid., pp. 117-119; for brief English citation: PA, Bahrain, to PR, 23 May, 1936 (Extract) enclosed in PZ 233881/36, Political Resident to India Office, 29 May, 1936, L/P&S/12/1963, cited in Zahlan, ibid., p. 102.

[254]PA, Bahrain, to PR, Bushire, 17 May 1937, IOR: R/15/1/287, p. 243; Memorandum 629-9/5 From the RA, Sharjah, to PA, Bahrain, 3 Jul., 1937, IOR: R/15/1/287, pp. 301-303; Agreement between People of Kalba and [Shaikh] Khalid bin Ahmad signed in 11 Rajab, 1356 [17Sept., 1937, IOR: R/15/1/287, pp. 325-327, in Tuson (ed), *RoE*, vol. 9, pp. 243, 301-303, 325-327. Note the English translation of the agreement was positioned before the original text.

[255]PA, Bahrain, to Shaikh Humaid bin Muhammad, the Regent of Kalba, 11 May, 1948, and replay on 21 Rajab, 1367 [30 May, 1948], FO 371/68358, pp. 371-4, in Tuson (ed), *RoE*, vol. 9, pp. 371-4.

[256]PO, Trucial States, Sharjah, to PA, Bahrain 19 Jul., 1951, FO 1016/84 pp. 395-396, in Tuson (ed), *RoE*, vol. 9, pp. 395-396.

[257]al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar*, pp. 224-231; al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie*, pp. 127-148. Note: of the two studies, while al-Shamsi's is shorter, al-Mutawa's is longer with many details of events that are not covered in the British reports. One such issue is how these emirates emerged in the 18th century.

subjugate ‘Ajman and Um al-Quwain. The British authorities therefore treated the Shaikhs of ‘Ajman and Um al-Quwain as independent rulers.[258]

In addition to ‘Ajman and Um al-Quwain, there was Fujairah, which was the last territory to gain independence from the al-Qawassim. In this case, the al-Sharqiyyin, the most populist tribe on the coast of the Gulf of Oman, had originally fought on the side of the al-Bu Sa‘id against the al-Qawassim in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Their territorial residence along the Gulf of Oman coast became part of the al-Qawassim region, and due to their numerical superiority in this area, they held the key to either stable or turbulent rule by the al-Qawassim.[259] In 1866 the al-Sharqiyyin displayed the earliest sign of discontent with the al-Qasimi rule. Shaikh ‘Abdulla bin Khamis (great-grandfather of the current ruler of Fujairah) informed Shaikh Khalid bin Sultan (r. 1866-1868) of the intention of his tribes to withhold their annual monetary payment. Lorimer did not reveal the reasons behind the al-Sharqiyyin’s discontent with the al-Qawassim. In other words, the al-Sharqiyyin leadership continued to agitate, retaining the loyalty of other members of the tribe until they secured British recognition in 1952. The rebellion continued until the accession of Shaikh Salem bin Sultan in 1868, who authorized his brother (Lorimer does not provide the name) to reach a peaceful resolution to the crisis. However the problems persisted and the al-Sharqiyyin again challenged the al-Qawassim authorities, in 1876 and in 1879, but without arriving at a solution.[260]

With the two sides remaining entrenched in their positions, the British authorities in the Gulf stepped in to resolve the dispute. The first manifestation of British intervention was in 1880, when the Political Resident, Colonel E. C. Ross, recommended extending the maritime truce to the Gulf of Oman to prevent fighting on the high seas; he also advised the British-India Government not to promise “complete independence of al-Fujairah” to the al-Sharqiyyin.[261] Around the same time, Colonel Ross (again in 1880) and Colonel S. B. Miles, the Acting Political Resident (in 1881),

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[258]Francis Warden, “Historical Sketch of the Jowasmee Tribe of Arabs, from the year 1747-1819”, pp. 300-312; A. B. Kemball, “Further Continuation of the Preceding, to the Year 1844”, pp. 329-46 in Thomas (ed), *Arabian Gulf Intelligence*, pp. 315, 330.
[259]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States...*, p.93; Abu Baker, “Political Economy of State Formation…”, p. 71.
[260]Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian…, Vol.1: Historical, Part 1-a.*, pp. 779-780.
[261]Lorimer, ibid., p. 781.

both advised Saiyid Turki (r. 1871-1888) of Oman not to interfere in Sharjah's affairs, and the same message was delivered to the ruler of Dubai, Shaikh Hashir bin Maktum (r. 1859-1886).[262]

In 1952, the British authorities recognized Fujiarah, not as a result of consent from a former overlord, as in the cases of 'Ajman and Um al-Qaiwain, but because of the possibility of oil discoveries in the region. Oil companies had been pressing the British authorities to resolve the long-running political dispute since this would enable them to communicate with local authorities about beginning the process of inspecting what appeared to be promising sites for oil in the Gulf of Oman. In this respect M. S. Weir, the Political Officer, wrote a letter to Shaikh Mohammad bin Hamad al-Sharqi on 19 March 1952 informing him that the British Government was "willing to recognize you as a Ruler of Shaikhdom of Fujiarah."[263] This British letter of recognition made no reference to the reasons for the change of policy or, for that matter, to the topic of oil.

The authority of the al-Nahyan of the al-Bu Falah leadership over the Bani Yas was in turn challenged by two of its factions in the nineteenth century, with the aim of establishing separate tribal city-states. One successful attempt was by the al-Bu Falasah in 1833/1255 and the other failed attempt was by the al-Qubaisat in 1836/1258.[264] Under the leadership of Shaikh Maktum bin Butti, the al-Bu Falasah moved with the al-Rumaithat to Dubai, and declared independence from Abu Dhabi.[265] Shaikh Maktum had earlier communicated with Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr to warn him that Shaikh Khalifa bin Shakhbut (r. 1833-1845) would retaliate in an attempt to regain control over the town.[266] As Maktum had predicted, Khalifa's reaction was to attack, and a joint force of tribesmen from the al-Bu Falasah with the al-Rumaithat and the al-Qawassim defended the town.

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[262]Ibid., pp. 724, 781-782.
[263]Letter from PO, Trucial States, to the Ruler of Fujiarah, 19th March, 1952, pp. 465-467, FO371/9836, in Tuson (ed), *RoE*, vol. 9, pp. 465-467.
[264]A. B. Kemball, "Chronological Table of Events", pp. 120-165, and "Continuation of Preceding, from 1832-1843", pp. 469-485, in Thomas (ed), *Arabian Gulf Intelligence*, pp. 162, 164; 471-478; Lorimer. ibid., pp. 691-692, 766.
[265]Until now there is no credible source for the nature of the actual root causes of the al-Bu Falasah's secession from the Bani Yas.
[266]al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie*, p. 19; Lorimer, ibid., p. 692.

Meanwhile, in either 1834 or 1835, the British authorities approached Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr for payment of fines for what had been labelled as the al-Bu Falasah's act of piracy. Once again Shaikh Sultan declared his inability to control his subordinates, which led the British authorities to approach the leader of the al-Bu Falasah to pay the fine instead.[267] By this means, the British authorities recognized Dubai as an independent shaikhdom. In 1839, Shaikh Khalifa not only attacked the town once again, but briefly held it until the combined forces of the al-Bu Falasah and the al-Qawassim defeated the Khalifa garrison in Dubai. A few years later, as a result of Shaikh Maktum bin Butti's initiative in 1842, Shaikh Khalifa bin Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi signed an agreement in 1843 that ended the state of hostilities between the two sides.[268]

However, there are two areas of disagreement in the literature associated with the secession of Dubai from Abu Dhabi led by the al-Maktum family; one of these concerns the month in which the event happened, while the second concerns the reason for secession. This action either occurred immediately after the assassination of Shaikh Tahnoon bin Shakhbut (r. 1818-1833) by his brothers Khalifa and Sultan in May, or happened a couple of months later. Part of the difficulty lies with the two reports written by Lieutenant A. B. Kemball, Assistant Resident in the Persian Gulf. Presentation of the event in the first report gives the impression that it took place immediately; however, the second report refers to August or September. While Christopher Davidson, a specialist on Dubai, agrees with the latter date, Muhammad al-Mutawa', a local historian, states that Shaikh Maktum bin Butti departed for Dubai shortly after the evening prayer on the day of the assassination and handed over a forged letter from the deceased Shaikh Tahnoun addressed to Sultan bin Dalmouk, governor of Dubai, to be given to the town's administration. Al-Mutawa' claims, though without citing any eye-witness reports, that Shaikh Maktum wrote a letter and then, following Shaikh Tahnoon's assassination, stole his seal with which to stamp the

[267]Kemball, "Chronological Table of Events", pp. 120-165, in Thomas (ed), ibid., p. 165; Lorimer. *Gazetteer… Vol.1: Historical, Part 1-a*., pp. 765-766.
[268]Lorimer, ibid., pp. 711, 765-766.

letter.[269] Of the two versions of the events, the one presented by al-Mutawa' is closer to reality. This version supported by what has been stated above, i.e., that the al-Bu Falasah predicted Shaikh Khalifa's reaction and responded accordingly. In other words, they had communicated earlier with Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr about their intentions so that he could intervene on their behalf.

Most importantly, British and local sources disagree over the rationale for such an act. For Kemball and Lorimer, it was the violent behaviour of Shaikh Khalifa in his approach to his opponents that caused the al-Bu Falasah and the al-Rumaithat to leave Abu Dhabi for Dubai.[270] In the opinion of al-Mutawa' and al-Shamsi, Shaikh Butti was interested in establishing an independent political entity, and thus used the feud between Shaikhs Tahnoon and Khalifa to achieve his own objectives.[271] In this respect, al-Shamsi repeats a local proverb to describe what happened: i.e., "the feud between the two benefits the third."[272] Therefore, of the two views, that held by al-Mutawa' and al-Shamsi is comprehensive to the extent of including British reasons as well.

As well as the al-Bu Falasah's establishment of a separate political entity, the al-Qubaisat also attempted during the period 1835 to 1880 to build a settlement as a prerequisite for declaring a break-away shaikhdom in Khur al-Udaid; however they did not succeed, and this territory is now split between Saudi Arabia and Qatar. The reason for the flight of the al-Qubaisat was their refusal to contribute financially to a fine imposed on the Bani Yas by the British authorities on the pretext that they had carried out an act of piracy. In 1835 the tribe not only relocated to al-Udaid, but also formed an alliance with the leaders of Sharjah and Dubai to stand against a possible attack from Shaikh Khalifa bin Shakhbut. In 1837 Shaikh Khalifa, who had received British consent, not only attacked the settlement but also forced its inhabitants to relocate to Abu Dhabi town. In 1849, after a period of peace, the al-Qubaisat moved again to Khur al-Udaid. This time, Shaikh Sa'id bin Shakhbut promised the al-Qubaisat that they would be well-

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[269]A. B. Kemball, ibid., pp. 120-165, and "Continuation of Preceding, from 1832-1843", pp. 469-485, in Thomas (ed), *Arabian Gulf Intelligence*, pp. 161, 471-472; Davidson, *Dubai*, p. 13; al-Mutawa', ibid., p. 19. Note that that neither Kemball nor Davidson mentioned the name of the governor; Davidson did not cite Kemball; and al-Mutawa' does not provide a source for his story.
[270]Kemball, "Chronological Table of Events", pp. 120-165, in Thomas (ed), *Arabian Gulf Intelligence*, p. 165.
[271]al-Mutawa', *al-Jawahir wa al-Laalie*., p. 19; al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar*. p. 222-223.
[272]al-Shamsi, ibid., p. 223.

treated if they returned to Abu Dhabi town but he did not keep his word. Having failed to resolve their differences with the ruler of Abu Dhabi, the al-Qubaisat returned for a third time to Khur al-Udaid in 1869, but this time under the protection of the Ottoman authorities. The intervention of the Ottoman authorities and the application of the Maritime Truce Treaty of 1853 reduced the ability of Shaikh Zayed bin Khalifa (r.1855-1909) to act militarily. He had therefore to resort to diplomacy to convince members of the tribe to return to Abu Dhabi town and to reclaim their confiscated property.[273]

3.5.2 Constraints on the Rulers' Power

The second factor in the process of the establishment of a city-state was constraint on the authority of the rulers of each city-state in the Coast of Oman. The power of the ruler of an emirate constitutes a symbol of authority over the local community. However, until 1971 this symbol was to a large degree constrained by pressure from British officials and local elites. This meant that the rulers of the individual emirates were unable to decide on a variety of issues without having first to consult officialdom and various influential local groups. British withdrawal from the Gulf region, and the decline in the power of various local groups by virtue of the collapse of pearl diving during the 1930s, assisted the rulers to decide on various issues with little or no accountability. As a consequence they were able to consolidate the unity of their states.

Since 1820 the British authorities had gradually established a balance of power with the rulers that undermined the ability of the latter to make their own decisions.[274] Although British pressure associated with domestic affairs was relatively infrequent, in many cases its impact was decisive, despite Hawley's assertion that the advice given by the British Agent "never progressed … to enforcement of Britain's will in internal

[273]Kemball, "Chronological Table of Events", pp. 120-165; H. F. Disbrowe, "Conclusion, To the Year 1853", pp. 485-496, in Thomas (ed), ibid., p. 162-63 and 492; Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian…, Vol.1: Historical, Part 1-a*., pp. 766-769; al-Sayegh, *al-Imarat al-'Arabiyah: min al-Qabelah*., pp. 48-57; Faleh Handal, *al-Mufasal fi Tarikh al-Imarat*, pp. 1, 495, 544, 623-624, 652.
[274]Muhamad al-Jassim and Sawsan al-Sha'er, *al-Bahraiyn: Qesat al-Sera' al-Seyasi, 1904-1956*. [Bahrain: the Story of Political Struggle, 1904-1956] (Bahrain: np, 2000), pp. 250-251.

matters."[275] The main problem with such statements is the definition of an 'internal matter' and its relation to British interests. There were several instances in which British officials were involved in pressuring the rulers to adopt certain decisions that reflected British concerns rather than the interests of a local counterpart. In this respect, two examples are sufficient. One event occurred in 1965 when British officials pressed the rulers of Sharjah and Ras al-Khaimah, Shaikhs Saqr bin Sultan and Saqr bin Muhammad, to revoke their consent to the Arab League's development plan (see Chapter Four). Of the two rulers, Shaikh Saqr of Sharjah, for example, was pressured during a meeting by the British Secretary of State, George Thompson, who argued that Shaikh Saqr should withdraw his invitation to the Arab League to open an office in his capital, because the British Government, as a legal party conducting the foreign affairs of the emirates, did not find it acceptable. At the same time Thompson stated that Saqr could borrow money from any side including the Arab League. Shaikh Saqr responded to the first point by disagreeing with Britain's request.[276]

British reports in that year included impolite wording in referring to the rulers.[277] On one occasion, instead of using the correct name of the ruler of 'Ajman, a statement referred to him as "Ajman [who is] too stupid to understand..."[278] This and similar cases reflected a state of mind in which British officials were unable to win an argument on its merits so turned instead to such phrases in their internal confidential reports.

The other example concerned Britain's role in the deposing of Shaikh Saqr of Sharjah in 1965, and Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi in 1966. Although British intervention in these two cases was undertaken at the behest of members of the two

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[275]Hawley, *Trucial States*, p. 173.

[276]There are two texts of the minutes, a short English version and a long version in Arabic. Both agree on the general outline but differ on details. One such disagreement was a reference to the side which Shaikh Saqr could borrow from. While the English text included the Arab League, the Arabic text excluded it. "Telegram from Bahrain to Foreign Office, 16 May, 1965", FO 371/179918, pp. 489-492, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1965*, p. 491; H.H. Shaikh Sultan bin Muhammad al-Qassimi, *Sard al-That* [A Permissible Narrative] (Sharjah and Beirut: Manshurat al-Qassimi and al-Muassasah al-'Arabiya lil Dirasat wa al-Nashr, 2009), pp. 315-321.

[277]This type of comment is not confined to British officials alone. Peter Clayton, a British officer who served with the Trucial Oman Scouts, cites in his book "uncomplimentary references" about himself by a Saudi official in al-Buraimi. Peter Clayton, *Two Alpha Lima: The First Ten Years of Trucial Oman Levies and Trucial Oman Scouts, 1950-1960* (London: Janus Publishing Company, 1994), p. 63 (n. 9).

[278]Dubai to Foreign Office, 26 May, 1965, FO 371/179917, pp. 338-340, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1965*, p. 339.

ruling families, the act itself, on the other hand, was to avoid interference in internal affairs.[279] In the case of ruler of the Sharjah, for example, members of the ruling family, according to their letter to the British Political Resident, deposed Shaikh Saqr based on four counts, including his actions as being contrary to the tenets of Islam.[280] It was in the interests of the British administration to have a "moderate" ruler in command of both emirates. Indeed, with regard to Saqr's dismissal by his family, Balfour-Paul subsequently categorized the British act as one of "encouragement", and used the term "persuading" in association with the deposing of Shaikh Shakhbut.[281] In both cases, the deposed ruler was accompanied by the commander of the Trucial Oman Scouts to an aeroplane that was standing by to fly him into exile.[282]

In addition to pressure from the British, the rulers faced internal challenges. Domestic conflict in emirates of the Coast appeared in traditional and in modern form. The traditional form of challenge to the ruler's authority was exclusively from within the ruling family. The phenomenon of internal feuding fell into two categories; it could either be between family branches, or the result of personal ambition. The former reflected a division inside the family into at least two sections that were competing for domination, as in the case of the al-Nu'aim in 'Ajman. The ruling family included two leading segments: the al-Darweesh (or the al-Bu Shamis) and the al-Bu Kharban. In 1816/1232, Shaikh Rashid bin Humaid al-Qurtasi of the al-Bu Kharban not only deposed the ruler, but also replaced the al-Darweesh branch as the leading section. In 1868/1285 members of the deposed faction that had relocated to another area, attempted but failed to reclaim their lost authority.[283]

Internal feuds were also fuelled by personal aspiration, and in many instances conflicts within the family regarding a ruler's authority included political assassinations. Such cases involved disagreement either with the ruler's methods of governing, or

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[279]Andrea B. Rugh, *The Political Culture of Leadership in the United Arab Emirates* (NY: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2007), pp. 78, 156.
[280]The English translation of the text "[A Letter from Members of the al-Qawassim Family Deposing Shaikh Saqr, nd] from Bahrain to Foreign Office, 25 June, 1965", FO 371/ 179918, pp. 25-26, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1965*, pp. 25-26. I was unable to find the original Arabic text.
[281]Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East*, pp. 121-122, note 68 p.223.
[282]Chapter Four will show that the Trucial Oman Scouts were prohibited from operating inside the capitals of the emirates. How members of this force entered Abu Dhabi town is not clear.
[283]al-Mutawa', ibid., pp. 128-129, 134-138.

regarding the ruler's preference for a particular individual as his successor. This type of power struggle was most frequent within the al-Bu Falah (Abu Dhabi), and to a lesser degree within the al-Qawassim (Sharjah and Ras al-Khaimah) and the al-Nu'aim ('Ajman). For example, between 1793 and 1845, ten rulers of the al-Bu Falah were deposed or assassinated; and during the same period, similar events befell four of the al-Qawassim leaders and three of the leaders of the al-Nu'aim. The main reason for this problem was associated with the absence within the ruling families of an agreed formula for succession. The typical pattern of succession was: father to son, brother to brother, nephew to uncle, or palace coup d'état.[284]

In addition to the traditional forms of resisting a ruler's authority, a quasi-organized form of opposition evolved in 1938 in Dubai. However, it is not clear why there were no similar actions in other emirates.[285] The power of Shaikh Sa'id bin Maktum (r.1912-1958) was challenged by an alliance of dissatisfied members of the ruling family and local merchants, under the command of Shaikh Mani' bin Hashar. The action was referred to locally as the reform movement,[286] or the "Council of Fifteen". The local name for this body, as Ghanim Ghubash, an Emirati intellectual and journalist, implies in an article, was derived from the Council's membership numbers.[287] The objectives of the movement were to find alternative financial sources for pearl diving and to establish a modern state administration, and its members petitioned the ruler to realize their demands. This event was rooted in a conflict in 1929 that had involved an attempt to restrict the ruler's ability to act independently of other sectors of the ruling

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[284]Riad N. el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaeq al-Khaleej al-'Arabi (1968-1971): Tumohat al-Wehda wa Humom al-istiqlal* [Arabian Gulf Documents (1968-1971):Attempts at Federation and (problems of) Independence] (London: Riad el-Rayyes Books, 1987); see especially the inumerated tables pp. 668, 670-674. Tables listing Dubai and Um al-Quwain's ruling families reveal a peaceful transition of power, i.e., no assassinations or depositions. Salah Salem Zartuqa, *Anmat al-Istela 'ala al-Sulta fi al-Duwal al-'Arabiya: al-Namat al-Werathy, al-Namat al-Inqelabi, Anmat Ukhra, 1950-1985* [The Patterns of Seizing Power in the Arab Countries: Hereditary Form, coup d'etat Form, and Other Forms, 1950-1985] (Cairo: Maktbat Madbouli, 1992), pp. 186-194, 201-209.

[285]Unfortunately the available studies did not investigate this element.

[286]This movement was not confined to Dubai, being preceded by a similar one in Kuwait and attempts to establish a similar one in Bahrain. See al-Naqeeb, *al-Mujtama'a wa al-Dawla fi al-Khaleej*, pp. 116-118. However, al-Naqeeb does not provide a detailed analysis of the events.

[287]Ghanim Gubash, *Fi al-Hayat wa al-Seyasah: Maqalat* [On Politics and Life: Articles] (Beirut: Dar al-Farabi, 1990), p. 67. These articles were actually published in the weekly *al-Azminah al-'Arabiyya*, which he founded and ran, with other Emirati intellectuals, from 1979 to 1990. The magazine was outlawed by the UAE Government in 1982.

clan. It erupted in October 1938 and ended in March 1939 when Shaikh Sa'id, on the pretext of celebrating the marriage of his crown prince Shaikh Rashed, stormed the Daira section of the city which was under the Council's command.[288] Contemporary scholars have defined this event as the "beginning of democracy" (Zahlan); "a bourgeois revolution" (Abdullah); and akin to a feud within the ruling family (Abu Baker).[289]

There were four interconnected reasons for the emergence of this power struggle which was particularly exacerbated by the economic difficulties of the 1930s, as noted in Chapter Two above. For the opposition, especially the merchants, the great depression of 1929 and the collapse of pearl diving had not only created economic difficulties but had also meant the loss of their political influence. By contrast, the ruler had increased his wealth through receiving landing rights fees from the British as well as royalties from oil companies. As a consequence, opponents of the ruler seemed to be looking for other methods of acquiring wealth, and saw modernizing the state administration as a way of sharing in the benefits. The ruler's control over both these new sources of revenue was contested by the opposition to the extent that they warned the British authorities to put pressure on the ruler not to renew the agreements.[290] The subsequent development of Dubai as a commercial centre in the Coast of Oman enabled its residents to interact with foreign nationals, which in turn fostered the spread of new ideas. In addition, Arab media, such as the periodical *al-Fath* which was distributed in Dubai, propagated the concept of popular participation.[291]

However, the immediate reasons for popular discontent were many, and included the ruler's consent to British requests to deport two alleged arm smugglers; British manumission of slaves; and the heir's apparent monopoly over taxi services between

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[288]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, pp. 255-256. Local sources either ignored the topic, as with al-Mutawa', or briefly stated that the two factions within the ruling clan competed over who administered the customs house, as with al-Shamsi. See al-Shamsi, *Naql al-Akhbar*, pp. 77-78.

[289]Zahlan, *The Origins*, p. 150; 'Abdulkhaleeq Abdullah, "Political Dependency: the Case of the United Arab Emirates", unpublished PhD Dissertation (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 1985), p. 90; alBadr Abu Baker, "Political Economy of State Formation", p. 87.

[290]Fatma al-Sayegh, *al-Imarat al-'Arabiya wa al-Khat al-Jawi al-Britani ita al-Sharq, 1929-1952* [The Arab Emirates and the British Air Connection to the East, 1929-1952] (Abu Dhabi: al-Mujama' al-Thaqafi, 1995), pp.199-241.

[291]Salah al-'Aqqad, *al-Tayyarat al-Siyasiya fi al-Khaleej al-'Arabi min Bedayat al-'Usur al-Hadetha hatta Azmat 1990-1991* [Political Trends in the Arabian Gulf from the Modern Era to the Crisis of 1990-1991] (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-Masriya, nd], pp. 151-282.

Dubai and Sharjah. Of the three issues, it was the latter two that gained sympathy for the opposition from a majority of the al-Bu Falasah clan. In this regard, residents of Dubai were reactive, but not proactive in these events; i.e., they did not adopt an independent stand, but tended rather to support one of the two competing factions within the ruling elite in the conflict. The leading opposition figures presented the ruler with a list of six demands that included the formation of a police force; reorganization of the customs department; and financial assistance for all elderly male and female members of the clan. At that time the list did not include a demand for an elected council.[292]

A political solution to the conflict evolved through the efforts of local rulers and British officials. On 9 October 1938 a delegation that consisted of Shaikh Shakhbut bin Sultan (r. 1928-1966), the ruler of Abu Dhabi, and an unnamed Shaikh of the Bani Kitab arrived in Dubai, and were able to achieve the aim of reducing tensions by declaring a five-day truce.[293] The British Political Agent in Bahrain, Hugh Weightman, and the Resident Agent in Sharjah, Khan Sahib Sayed ‘Abdulrazzaq, assisted the ruler and his opponents to arrive at an agreement which was signed on 15 October 1938.

The declaration included nine items for implementation, such as the formation of an elected council,[294] a national budget that had to be approved by a majority vote, and a fixed salary for the ruler of one-eighth of the budget. The elected council envisioned political and administrative reform, but after six months it had only managed to achieve a few administrative reforms, such as establishing a department of education, securing funds for the elderly, and reorganizing the customs department.[295] The balance of

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[292]For the list of the demands in English, Express Letter from the Political Resident, [Lt. Col. Trenchard Carven Fowle] to MH Secretary of State for India, [Lawrence Dundas, 2nd Marquess of Zetland], dated 8 July, 1938, IOR: L/P&S/ 12/3827, pp. 444-446, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 8: 1935-1947*. pp. 444-445. Rosemarie J. Sa‘id, “The Reform movement in Dubai”, *al-Abhath* (December 1970), p. 256; Khaldoun al-Naqeeb, *Al-Mujtama wa al-Dawlah fi*, p. 76.

[293]Telegram from the PA, Bahrain, to MH Secretary of State for India, 11 Oct., 1938, IOR: L/P&S/12/3827, p. 451 in Tuson (ed), *RoE, Vol. 8: 1935-1947*, p. 451.

[294]Although there was no separate document stating the names of the council members, one can arrive at the names by contrasting the list of names in the first with the second and the third columns. The names in the second and thirds columns are accompanied by “Sah”, an Arabic word used to replace the signature. This sign did not appear beside the names in the first column. See, Enumerated Appendix the “Declaration of 27 Sha‘ban, 1357 or 21 Oct., 1935” in Sa‘id, ibid., pp. 264-265.

[295]Zahlan, *Origins*, p. 158; For the resolutions on these and other issues see an inumerated Appendix, “Proclamations by the ruler on 28 Sha‘aban, 1357 [or 2 Oct., 1938], 5 Ramadan, 1357 [or 29 Octo.,

power between the ruler and the elected council determined the ruler's level of engagement with the council. It appeared that he sometimes attended their meetings but at other times he neglected them, despite repeated written invitations from Shaikh Mani', a leading member of the council.[296]

In addition to the ruler's direct military action, there were two overwhelming reasons for the defeat of the movement. One cause was the contradiction between the opinions of members and their deeds: thus, while the leadership of the elected council preached national interests, it acted to preserve the interests of the ruling clan. In his communications with the British authorities and with the ruler, Shaikh Hashar bin Maktum employed previously unfamiliar concepts such as "national duty" and "public good",[297] while members of the council were at the same time voting to provide themselves with a fixed monthly salary of 100 Rupees.[298] This and other steps deprived the elected council of support from the non-al Bu Falasah residents of the city.[299]

The other factor contributing to the downfall of the movement was the active support of the British authorities for the ruler. British representatives in the Gulf, while unable to deny the need for reforms, refused to grant legitimacy to the elected council as a viable institution. As Weightman, a Political Agent in Bahrain, remarked to a representative of the council: "the British authority will continue to deal directly with the ruler."[300] British officials communicated with both sides in the dispute, requiring them, verbally or in writing, to protect the "life and wealth of British subjects," i.e., Indian

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1938], 6 Shawal, 1357 [or 29 Nov.,1938]"; letters from "Shaikh Mani' bin Rashed to [the ruler] Shaikh Sa'id bin Maktum dated 17 Ramadan, 1357 [or 10 Nov., 1938]", contained in Sa'id, ibid., pp. 266-267, 268 269-270, 278-279, 296.

[296]Inumerated Appendix; letters from "Shaikh Mani' bin Rashed to [the ruler] Shaikh Sa'id bin Maktum and the reply dated 24 Ramadan 1357 [or 17 Nov., 1938]", and "25 Ramadan 1357 [or 25 Nov., 1938]", in Sa'id, ibid., pp. 271-272. In his response, the ruler appointed a certain Muhammad bin 'Abdullah as his representative. It is not clear if the ruler was busy or had no interest in attending these meetings.

[297]Inumerated Appendix, letters of "Shaikh Mani' bin Rashed to [the ruler,] Shaikh Said bin Maktum, dated 27 Ramadan 1357 [or 20 Nov., 1938]", and a letter "Shaikh Hashar bin Rashid to [the ruler,] Shaikh Said bin Makum", dated 16 Du al-Hijjah, 1357 [or 6 Feb., 1939], in Sa'id, ibid., pp. 275, 297-298.

[298]Inumerated Appendix; "Council's declaration dated 1 Shawal 1357 [or 24 Nov., 1938]" in Sa'id, ibid., p. 276.

[299]Obaid Butti, "Imperialism, Tribalism, and the Development of the Ruling Elite: A Socio-economic History of the Trucial States between 1892-1939", unpublished PhD Dissertation (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 1992), pp. 221-225.

[300]Political Agent, Bahrain, to Political Resident, Kuwait, 18 Oct., 1938, IOR: l/P&S/12/3827, pp. 456-457, in Tuson (ed), *RoE*, vol. 8: *1935-1947*, p. 456.

merchants.[301] Their support for the ruler materialized in the form of a British recommendation to the ruler to create a consultative body in order to offset any negative influences.[302]

3.6 The Consolidation of City States

Having discussed the formation of the seven emirates, this section emphasises two factors that contributed to the consolidating and modernizing of the emirates. They had evolved into seven shaikhdoms in the Coast of Oman from two tribal alliances. One of these factors was the establishment of local systems of administration and the other was the demarcation of borders. The significance of this section appears in the process of political change in each emirate, and the decrease in the number of military confrontations between the emirates' and the rulers' recognition of each other as equals. In other words, the Coast of Oman began to witness a degree of political stability.

3.6.1 Modern State Administration

The first component of consolidating the city-state in the Coast of Oman was the establishing of modern state institutions. Political administration of the society in the Coast of Oman was divided into two stages with 1952 being the landmark date for transition from the former to the latter. During the period from the early nineteenth century until 1952, administration in the emirates was minimal and confined to the territory held by the al-Qawassim and the Bani Yas federation under the leadership of the al-Nahyan family. Due to extensive territories and the fear of losing control over their populations, rulers on both sides were forced to appoint a governor or a representative in distant places.[303] However, the two sides differed in their approach to selecting a representative. For the al-Qawassim, it was predominantly within the family, with the

[301]Enumerated Appendix; "letter from Resident Agent in Sharjah, Abdullatif bin Muhammad to Mani' bin Rashed, dated 16 Sha'aban 1357, [10] Oct., 1938", in Sa'id, ibid., p. 264.
[302]Butti,. ibid., pp. 221-225.
[303]al-'Aidarous, *al-Tatawurat al-Siyasiyya…*, pp. 342, 350.

aim of avoiding the emergence of a strong, locally-supported governor, and reducing quarrels within the family regarding financial allowances. For the al-Nahyan, it was a mix of members from the family as well as from among prominent allies.[304]

In 1952, with the British government intervening in internal affairs to provide basic services (see Chapter Four), rulers of the Coast were encouraged to establish local administrations and in some cases provided them with the necessary financial and technical assistance. The rulers of the seven emirates now began to establish their own administrations; however, they were divided into those with financial resources, such as Abu Dhabi and Dubai, and those without, i.e., the other five emirates. The rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai were able to realize the processes of establishing modern administrations, whereas the five smaller emirates had only rudimentary state organizations that were associated with the ruler's court.[305]

In this context, the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai differed in their approaches to the establishing of state institutions. Whereas Abu Dhabi emphasized the creation of a large structure, Dubai aimed at creating something smaller; and this distinction between the two methods reflects the impact of the revenue source. Thus, while Abu Dhabi generated its wealth from oil, Dubai depended on loans secured by the ruler from other rulers in the Gulf region. The former needed active state intervention to provide services, while the latter aimed at a smaller-sized administration to provide basic services only, leaving the private sector to operate free of bureaucratic constraints.

Abu Dhabi depended on oil revenues to create its state structure. The process began in 1957 during the era of Shaikh Shakhbut, and expanded when his brother Shaikh Zayed assumed the position of ruler in 1966.[306] One difficulty with Shaikh Shakhbut was his emphasis on a slow and gradual implementation of projects.[307] With regard to administration he adopted two steps. One was in 1957 when, with British assistance, he established a police force; the second was in 1960, when a request was made to the Government of Kuwait for the secondment of an administrator who would

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[304]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, pp. 81-83, 87-88, 98-99; Abu Baker, "Political Economy of State Formation", p. 87-88.
[305]Kazim, "Historic Oman to United Arab.," pp. 663-664.
[306]It is customary for authors such as al-'Aidarous, to overlook Shaikh Shakhbut's contribution and focus on the efforts of Shaikh Zayed. See al-'Aidarous, *al-Tatawurat al-Siyasiyya*. p. 343.
[307]Kazim, ibid., p. 538.

formulate an administrative blueprint for Abu Dhabi (which was subsequently discarded).[308]

From 1966 to 1971 Shaikh Zayed adopted a number of decrees and delivered speeches regarding the establishment and reorganization of the Government of Abu Dhabi. For example, in 1966 a Department of Finance was established by Amiri Decree No. 3 to prepare the budget for 1967. In addition, the ruler adopted other decrees that created at least twelve civilian departments as well as a military installation; these were run by members of the ruling family. In 1968, the legal department adopted criminal, civil and penal codes for the emirate,[309] and a year later, Seif Ramahi, a staff member at the Amiri Court, recommended that the ruler should expand the Amiri Court to include three new sections, such as financial control.[310] Finally, in a speech to the people of Abu Dhabi in 1971, before the establishment of the UAE, Shaikh Zayed announced a reorganization of the government into ministries, as well as the establishment of a Consultative Council.[311] As is discussed in Chapter Five, this action was probably an attempt to turn Abu Dhabi into an independent state if the negotiations to establish the smaller union should fail.

In contrast to Abu Dhabi, Dubai depended on loans secured by the ruler from neighbouring countries for financing its administration. As noted above, Dubai had enjoyed a brief encounter with modern governmental organizations. However, due to the defeat of the reform movement, the formation of modern institutions was not resumed until 1956. In this year, the acting ruler of Dubai, Shaikh Rashed bin Sa'id (r. 1958-1990), in cooperation with the British Political Agency, established a police force and signed an agreement with a British company to create a water and electricity company;[312] he also signed a decree to establish the court system. In the following year, 1957, he signed a decree establishing the Dubai Municipality, as well as the charter of the Water and Electricity Company. In 1960, Shaikh Rashed, as ruler of

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[308] Ibid., pp. 599-560.
[309] al-'Aidarous, *al-Tatawurat ...*, p. 347-348; Kazim. ibid. pp. 604-607.
[310] Seif Al Ramahi. *Economic and Political Evolution in Arab Gulf States* (NY: Carlton Press, 1972), p. 107.
[311] Text of "Speech of Shaikh Zayed", pp. 350-352; Text of "Special Law To Reorganize Governmental Administration", pp. 352-358, in al-'Aidarous, *al-Tatawurat al-Siyasiyya*, pp. 350-351, 358.
[312] Hawley, *The Trucial States*, pp.51-52; Kazim, "Historical Oman", pp. 538-539.

Dubai, signed a decree to establish the Land Registry Department.[313] Finally, in 1959, as a prerequisite for building an airport in 1960, Shaikh Rashed signed the Civil Aviation Agreement. Control over most of these institutions was in the hands of Shaikh Rashed and his son and crown prince, Shaikh Maktum. The exception was the police force, which was led by a British officer.[314] Of these institutions, the twelve members of the board of directors of the Dubai Municipality included representatives of prominent families of the town, such as 'Ali al-'Uwais and Ahmed al-Ghurair, as well as a prominent Indian doctor, Hirst Mandudi. The council was divided into eight committees which focused on areas ranging from transportation to city planning.[315]

3.6.2 Internal and External Border Disputes

The second component of the formation of a modern state is the establishment of recognized borders. The emirates of the Coast were involved in two types of border disputes: some were between various emirates, whereas some emirates had disputes with regional powers. While the internal type of border disagreement, as well as the dispute with Saudi Arabia, emerged in the 1930s, the dispute with Iran (known until 1935 as Persia) had begun in 1887.

From the early nineteenth century until 1952, emirates of the Coast recognized only boundaries that were associated with tribes, whether nomadic or settled. However, from the 1930s and with the possibility of oil discoveries, rulers of the emirates, along with the leaders of other countries in the Gulf region, focused on defining their territories, including territorial waters. For the rulers, the possibilities opened up by the discovery of oil meant the emergence of financial revenues to replace those of the now collapsed pearl-diving industry. Oil companies which signed treaties for oil exploration were interested in identifying their areas of operation,[316] and as a result the region

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[313]Kazim, ibid., pp. 540-543.
[314]Hawley,. ibid., pp. 55-57.
[315]Kamal Hamza and 'AbdulGhafar Husaain (eds), *Murshid fi Baladeyat Dubay* [A Guide to Dubai Municipality] (Dubai: al-Bayan, [1964 ?] 1998), pp. 19, 24-32.
[316]Sir Rupert Hay, "The Persian Gulf States and Their Boundary Problems", *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 12, no. 4, September 1954, pp. 433, 435, 441-443; Julian Walker, *Tyro on the Trucial Coast,* (Durham: the Memorial Club, 1994), p. 109.

became engulfed in multi-dimensional border disagreements. With regard to the emirates of the Coast, the British authorities started from 1952 to apply a policy of defining the borders between the emirates as well as the borders with their regional neighbours. As Julian Walker, a staff member of the British Agency in Dubai in the 1950s and the Political Agent in Dubai in 1971, observed, countries resolving local or international boundaries could in many cases influence each other either positively or negatively.[317] The process might encourage other parties to use the same method to solve a dispute, or might discourage them for fear of losing ground to their opponents.

The domestic aspect of border demarcation within the Coast of Oman was particularly associated with Julian Walker, who was relieved of all other responsibilities in 1954 in order to deal specifically with this issue. According to Walker, when the subject was discussed with the rulers, all, with the exception of Shaikh Shakhbut, agreed to abide by the Political Agent's decision. Walker also noted that the dispute over territories pre-dated the possibility of oil discovery; in his view, this was an issue that would have to be dealt with sooner or later.

Initially in summer 1954, Christopher Pirie-Gordon, the Political Agent (1954-1955) began his investigations to resolve the disagreement between Ras al-Khaimah and Um al-Quwain, in the belief that both sides would be knowledgeable about their territories. In this case, the issue became complicated because the Ras al-Khaimah side had only a vague idea, whereas the knowledge of the Um al-Quwain side was detailed to the level of referring to a hill top or to an individual tree. In 1955, Walker, after assuming his responsibility, noted that the main problem in resolving the border issue was an informant's fear of retribution from a ruler if he presented what he knew. Another issue of concern was the reaction from the Foreign Office. Following the completion of the task, the Foreign Office objected to the findings on the pretext that Walker's method resembled the one that had been used by the Sa'udis in defining their territories in the al-Buraimi (see below). However, Walker did not elaborate further on this matter.[318]

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[317]Walker, *Tyro*.., p. 121.
[318]Walker, ibid., pp. 111-112, 114, 121.

In some cases the demarcation of borders assisted in achieving a larger political objective, such as forming the federation. In 1968, for instance, during negotiations to form a union, Abu Dhabi and Dubai resolved their border disagreement when Shaikh Zayed consented to Shaikh Rashed's demand for clear control over the territorial waters near its oil field, on the assumption that Dubai would forego any further claims.[319]

In addition to the domestic border disputes among emirates of the Coast, there were border demarcation problems with neighbouring countries, such as Abu Dhabi with Saudi Arabia, and Sharjah and Ras al-Khaimah with Persia. As with the local disputes, potential oil discoveries were the underlying cause of the disagreements with Saudi Arabia. However, the Iranian approach to the dispute with the two Qassimi emirates was both national and strategic in nature, according to al-Moalla, an Emirati legal scholar.[320] Regarding these two cases, while both sides had attempted to control these territories since the nineteenth century, it was the Iranians and not the Sa'udis who were the first to proclaim their sovereignty over a territory considered to be part of one of the emirates in that period.

The al-Buraimi dispute lasted from 1935 until after the end of the British presence in 1971; it concerned nine villages, known collectively as the al-Buraimi region, which were divided between Oman and Abu Dhabi. Oman controlled al-Buraimi, which was also the name of one of the villages, al-Sa'arah and al-Hamasah, while Abu Dhabi had jurisdiction over al-'Ain, al-Hili, al-Muwaij'i, al-Qatarah, al-Mutaridh and al-Jimi.[321] Interest in this dispute was expressed by American and British oil companies and their governments, as well as by Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, and Oman, and in discussions with their Sa'udi counterparts Abu Dhabi and Oman were represented by the British Government. The problem emerged in the 1930s after the Sa'udi government had signed an oil agreement with American companies to explore its Eastern region for oil, and the issue evolved through four stages. The first stage was in 1935, when the Sa'udi government disputed Britain's claims that, according to the Anglo-Ottoman Agreement

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[319]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United*, p. 341.
[320]Sheikh Majid Al-Moalla, "Is the Policy Adopted by Iran towards the United Arab Emirates Regarding the Three Islands (Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb and Abu Mussa [sic] since 1971 a Policy Based on Imperialism", unpublished MA dissertation (Hull: University of Hull, 2007).
[321]Saeed A. Al-Shamsi, "The al-Buraimi Dispute: A case in Inter-Arab Politics", unpublished PhD Thesis (Washington DC: The American University, 1986), p. 2; Walker, ibid., p. 93

of 1914, its territorial limits were due west of Khur al-Udaid. From 1949 until 1955, the two sides revisited the subject of the al-Buraimi.

In 1952 the Sa'udi Government extended its territorial claim to include most of the territories of Abu Dhabi, but short of the al-Buraimi area. In the same year the two sides meet in Dammam, Saudi Arabia, and agreed to establish a committee to decide on the matter. However, while negotiating with Britain in 1954, and faced with British rejection of this claim, the Sa'udi Government was able to establish a foothold when Turki bin al-'Utaishan, a Sa'udi official, managed to enter the village of al-Hamasah. Al-'Utaishan's success forced the British authorities to deploy a contingent of the Trucial Oman Scouts to besiege the village.[322] Both sides agreed to international arbitration which, however, ended in stalemate over the al-Buraimi. The issue persisted until 1974, when Shaikh Zayed, as President of the UAE, signed a border demarcation with King Faysal of Saudi Arabia.

The other regional border dispute in which emirates of the Coast were involved was with Persia (Iran); it concerned the Islands (the Greater and Lesser Tunbs and Abu Musa). This disagreement had emerged in 1887 when the Persian Government, after deposing Khalifa bin Qudhaib al-Qassimi, the ruler of Lingeh, claimed sovereignty over the three Islands in question. This proclamation led Shaikh Khalid bin Saqr to protest to the British authorities who, in light of the Persian statements rather than military activity, took no action.[323] From that time until 1971, both sides employed a variety of methods to substantiate their claims as well as to resolve the disagreement.

One approach which both sides adopted to control the islands was tit for tat. For instance, in 1903, the Persian Government hosted their flag on the islands. On the basis of British recommendations, the al-Qawassim posted their flag and also built structures to indicate their control over the islands. In addition they signed concessions with a British firm to exploit red oxide on Abu Musa. The Persian Government

[322]Saeed Al-Shamsi, "The al-Buraimi Dispute", pp. 33-34, 94-95; Walker, *Tyro.*., pp. 95, 97.
[323]Al-Moalla, "Is the Policy…", p. 8; Yousif Ebraheem Al-Noqbi, "The Sovereignty Dispute over the Gulf Islands: Abu Musa, Greater and Lesser Tunbs" (unpublished PhD thesis, Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1998), pp. 41-42.

responded by delivering a diplomatic note of protest to the British Embassy in Tehran.[324]

Another approach to the dispute was in the form of proposals and counter-proposals. In 1931, the Persian Government communicated through the British Government a proposal to lease the Greater Tunb from Ras al-Khaimah. Shaikh Sultan bin Salim's response was in the form of eight conditions, such as active British involvement in the enforcement and that his flag was to be hoisted on the ground while the Persian flag was to be hoisted only on buildings. In 1955, the Iranian Government proposed to the British Government an exchange of recognition of sovereignty: the al-Qawassim in Sharjah would recognize Iranian control over Seeri Island while the Iranian Government would recognize Sharjah's control over Abu Musa. At the same time, there was a third idea for a long-term lease of the Greater Tunb.[325]

3.7 Conclusion

In exploring the formation of the Coast of Oman as a distinct geopolitical entity in south-eastern Arabia from 1750 to 1971, this study shows that the region lacked political unity. By 1952, the Coast of Oman was divided into seven emirates with power vested in the hands of seven separate rulers. The reason for the Coast of Oman's evolution into seven city-states could be attributed to the multi-faceted forces that had competed for domination since the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the emphasis here has been on explaining how the interests of the various sides in the many local and regional conflicts, along with external forces, prevented the unification of the Coast of Oman.

The first dimension involved local conditions. The Coast of Oman in this period was engulfed in tribal warfare between two antagonistic camps that developed into separate entities. Part of the explanation for the formation of various shaikhdoms can be found in the prevailing political conditions, both in alliances and within each dominant family. There was a level of power struggle in which a leading family member, with the internal support of his clan or through outside alliances, was able to challenge the

[324]Al-Moalla, "Is the Policy…", p. 9-10; Al-Noqbi, "The Sovereignty…", pp. 43-44.
[325]Al-Noqbi, ibid., pp. 49, 52.

authority of the ruler. At the same time, the rulers of various city-states lacked the institutional legitimacy needed to preserve their unity. In other words, powerful leaders viewed themselves as being on the same level as the ruler, and acted to realize that objective. The leading figures in a movement originating in the upper echelons of Dubai cooperated to establish an institutional/governing infrastructure and to subjugate the decisions of the ruler to the needs and demands of the society. However, by the end of the 1930s, this attempt had failed to establish the institutional foundation for a state. The inability of this group to realize the intended objective can be understood in terms of the residual effects of both a tribal identity and a ruler who was supported by the British authorities. However, from 1956 onwards, and with British cooperation and support, the rulers of the emirates began the process of creating state institutions.

The second dimension of British involvement in the Coast of Oman was determined by Britain's interest in preserving its domination over the maritime trade route to India. There was no intention of integrating local tribes into a single entity, apart from the Trucial States Council which was established in 1952 (see Chapter Four). By and large, British representatives intervened in the Coast of Oman largely to preserve the status quo, and even if that meant diminishing local reform efforts, such as the elected council, it would also bestow a seal of approval for the ruler or the challenger who could demonstrate an ability to control the local situation and comply with the letters and deeds of the agreements signed with Britain. In relation to the formation of the seven emirates, the British authorities approached this matter into two distinctive ways. During the nineteenth century, with 'Ajman, Um al-Quwain and Dubai, the British authorities recognized them only after the over-lord had declared his inability to prevent them from carrying out "acts of piracy". It was only in the case of Kalba and Fujiarah that British strategic and economic interests rather than the local balance of power led the British Government to recognize them as independent states. Their respective political conditions differed with regard to their endurance; Kalba's quest for independence was shorter, while Fujiarah's continued for decades. Even so, as an emirate, Kalba disappeared in less than two decades but Fujairah endured.

At the same time, the regional powers were consumed by the desire to rule Oman, and treated the Coast of Oman as a geographical bridge into Oman without

having the intention, or the ability, to annex it, and even if such intentions had materialized, both al-Sa‘ud and al-Bu Sa’id were militarily capable of frustrating each other’s efforts. Therefore, by the middle of the nineteenth century, rulers from both dynasties had communicated with the local feuding factions in order to arrive at an understanding and a cessation of the hostilities between them. In this way, both recognized any local antagonist as an independent state to the extent that they would refrain from assisting a former ally in its quest for supremacy. Of the two sides, it was only the al-Sa‘ud that continued their involvement in the Coast of Oman.

From 1930 to 1955, the Sa‘udi Government, in cooperation with American oil companies, was involved in a border dispute with Abu Dhabi over the al-Buraimi. However, negotiations between the British and Sa‘udi governments proved fruitless. Iran, the third regional power, was involved in the affairs of the emirates through its claim to sovereignty over the three islands. Its impact on the early formation of the Coast of Oman as a whole had been relatively minor during the period of British domination. However, as Chapter Five will show, its imprint on political realities increased during 1971, when it demanded ownership of the three islands as the price for its cooperation in establishing the federation.

Chapter Four

Formation of a Proto-State Structure, 1952-1971

4.1. Introduction

The establishment of a federal state in the Coast of Oman in 1971 was the culmination of a process that had begun in 1952 with the creation of the Trucial States Council, which acted as a forum for the rulers to meet and discuss issues of mutual interest. That organisation had been the third institution created by the British Government after 1947 to control the internal affairs of the Coast of Oman, and was intended to counteract the tendency towards political fragmentation that existed within the Coast of Oman, as described in Chapter Three.

The aims of the present chapter are twofold. The first is to establish how the foundation for the federal state was negotiated and declared by the rulers in 1971 (see Chapter Five). The second is to explore the types of state institution and the level of welfare services that existed in the Coast of Oman between 1952 and 1971. The latter, which are the focus of this chapter, have been discussed at some length in the relevant scholarly literature, with the exception of intelligence activities. However, in most of such studies the agencies were not presented as part of state institutions, and are therefore approached here as structures within British-dominated state institutions, apart from educational and health services which were also actively sponsored by Kuwait.

This chapter argues that Britain's setting up of various state institutions performed a role in the political integration of the seven emirates. In other words, this step was the catalyst for assisting the rulers to negotiate the formation of the federation (Chapter Five). In this regard, the present chapter deals with the role of Britain in the formation and expansion of the state institutions in the Coast of Oman. The state structure consisted of state institutions and welfare services, but although these are interrelated, they are presented here separately because of the degree of British domination. While the British authorities to a large degree exercised exclusive control

over state institutions, certain elements of the welfare services were shared with Kuwait. British performance in relation to state formation was influenced by international, regional and local forces. Our interest is in dealing with the interaction between Britain on the one hand, and international, regional and local sides on the other by way of two broad questions. First, what were the factors that led the British authorities to establish legal, security, and political institutions as well as providing welfare services? Second, to what degree were the British authorities, Kuwait, and the rulers each restrained by the involvement of the others?

To answer these questions, the chapter is divided into three main sections. The first establishes the reasons behind Britain's establishment of state institutions and services; the second deals with legal, security, and political administration; and the third discuss the formation of welfare services.

4.2 The Reasons for Britain's Establishment of State Institutions

This section deals with Britain's formation of state institutions in the Coast of Oman since this was an indication of a change in direction from non-intervention to intervention in the internal affairs of the Coast. The significance of this section is in its exploration of the external and internal causes of Britain's change of direction. According to the Kenyan scholar Ali Mazrui, the main characteristic of British policy in overseas positions was to maintain the status quo inherited from the previous local rulers or leaders, with incremental changes to avoid negatively influencing the existing balance of power locally.[326] In addition, British officials introduced the notion of modern borders in these territories by separating them from each other,[327] while emphasizing the formation of state institutions. This British approach involving the gradual introduction of a modern state administration was reflected in many areas within its jurisdiction, such as Jordan and Bahrain, and was achieved through the employment of a handful of officials and a limited budget. The objective was to prepare that country for

[326]Ali A. Mazrui, "The Triple Heritage of State in Africa", pp. 107-118, in Ali Kazancigil, ed., *The State in Global Perspective* (Aldershot UK: Gower, 1986), p. 111.
[327]Christopher Clapham, *Third World Politics: An Introduction* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 17-19, 23.

eventual political independence. The British authorities either updated or introduced political, economic, and security institutions as well as improving the country's infrastructure to secure popular consent.[328]

There would then be local and international factors that would force Britain to change its course of action. The local factor was reflected in popular demand for political participation that would lead to independence from Britain. On the other hand, the international factor consisted of military and political confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union to further their own interests. When applied to the Coast of Oman, changes in direction resulted from a number of interdependent factors, including international and regional dynamics, the preserving of Britain's strategic interests in the Gulf region, and recommendations put forward by British officials in the Gulf region. There was, however, no reference to any local demand for modification of the status quo; nor was there any clear reason for this omission, other than the possibility of a ruler's indifference or a low level of political awareness among the population.

The first reasons for Britain's change in direction from non-intervention to intervention in the internal affairs of the Coast of Oman were changes in both international and regional politics. The international reality of the post-1945 period saw the emergence of two new interdependent factors: the Cold War between the West and the East, and the rise of national liberation movements in the Third World. Both factors contributed to modifications in Britain's overall approach. In terms of the Cold War, the Soviet Union supported the quest for national independence in the colonized world in order to advance its own objectives. The United States was unwilling to support Britain in maintaining traditional forms of colonial control;[329] for the US Government, winning the support of a newly-emerged state was achieved through political recognition in exchange for political alliance against the Soviet Union. In the colonized world, political

[328]Yoav Alon, *The Making of Jordan: Tribes, Colonialism and Modern State* (London and NY: I. B. Tauris [2007] 2009), p. 61; Fuad I. Khouri, *Tribe and State in Bahrain: the Transformation of Social and Political Authority in an Arab State* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 85, 109.
[329]L.J. Butler, *Britain and Empire, Adjusting to a Post-Imperial World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), p.191.

movements emphasized political independence rather than participation in local government.[330]

Meanwhile, states within the Arab World employed various techniques to challenge British hegemony, as did the emirates of the Coast. As discussed in Chapter Three, Saudi Arabia attempted in 1949 to control areas assumed by the British authorities to be part of Abu Dhabi and Oman. After 1956, Colonel Nasser of Egypt supported the Arab quest for national independence, while in 1958 the Kuwaiti authorities, after having agreed to cooperate with Britain in providing educational services, decided instead to operate separately.

The second reason for British involvement in the Coast of Oman was to preserve Britain's strategic interests in the Gulf region and to protect its status as a superpower internationally. Regionally, from 1935 onwards, British officials debated over the best course of action to protect air routes and to secure oil concessions from the rulers. Of these two issues, as noted in Chapter Two, there was competition between the US and Britain over Gulf oil resources. At the same time, there were debates within the British government about adopting a more active approach in relation to the Gulf region. As discussed below, the British authorities were determined to fend off any encroachment on their exclusive rights, which had been obtained through signed treaties, and there were frequent discussions revolving around this issue among British officials in Bahrain, India, and London. Concerning the matter of British intervention in the internal affairs of the emirates, Colonel Trenchard Fowle, Political Agent in Bahrain, advocated gaining cooperation from the rulers either through using "a minimum level of interference", or advocating "an amount of interference which *would* [sic] achieve our ends."[331] Fowle, however, did not elaborate on what this would entail. Internationally, Britain's aim was to avoid any accusation of colonial domination and to retain its status as a superpower through expansion of the Commonwealth. From 1949 onwards, discussion focused on granting political independence to British colonies as the main way of achieving both

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[330]R. D. Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa, British Colonial Policy: 1938-1948* (London: Frank Cass, 1982), p. 135.

[331]Extract from Personal letter from Colonel Fowle to Mr. Laithwate, 21 Feb., 1935, IOR: L/P&S/12/3747, pp. 8-9, in Penelope Tuson (ed), *Records of the Emirates: Primary Documents, 1820-1959, vol. 8: 1935-1947* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1990), p. 9.

objectives. At that stage, the crown colonies were classed as being ready to become independent, being able to achieve independence through federation, or too small and too poor to be independent.[332] If the Coast of Oman was regarded as a "colony", it could be included in the second and the third of these three categories.

The third reason for British intervention was the recommendation from British administrators to introduce a certain level of welfare services. These recommendations dated back to 1935 when Yousef Kano, a Bahraini employee of the British Political Agency in Bahrain, approached his superiors with ideas that would assist Britain to obtain favourable status with both the rulers and the populations of the emirates. In his letter of 7 May 1935 to Fowle in Bahrain, Kano stated that for the United States, the main procedure for winning oil concessions from the Government of Bahrain was through benefiting from missionary activities in providing health-care services for the population. Thus, by employing the same methods, Britain would achieve the same results in the Coast of Oman.[333] However, it was only with the arrival of British representatives who had extensive experience of operating social and economic projects in Britain's former colonies, that such recommendations were implemented as actual policy. According to Heard-Bey, these new personnel encouraged the government to fund social and economic programmes, pinpointing specific fields that would affect the population by achieving direct and visible results. These were medical services, agricultural projects, and technical training. Moreover, some of these programmes began immediately to show favourable results, even before any long-term governmental commitment had been secured.[334]

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[332]W. David McIntyre, "The Admission of Small States to the Commonwealth", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 24, no. 2, May 1996, pp. 248, 250, 255.

[333]Letter from Yousef Kano, Bahrain, to PR, Bahrain, 7 May, 1935, IOR: R/15/2/1070 cited in Rafe'a Ghubash and Maryam Lotah, "Tarikh al-Tib fi al-Imarat al-'Arabia al-Mutahida", pp. 12-72, in a*l-Buhuth al-Faizah bi Jaizat al-'Uwais lil-Derast wa al-Ibticar al-'Ilmi: al-Dawrah al-Rabiah-1993, al-Juzi al-Thani* [The Winning Papers in al-Uwais Awards for Studies and Scientific Discoveries: Fourth Round, 1993, Vol.2] (Dubai: Nadwat al-Thaqafa wa al-'Ulum, 1994), pp. 29-30.

[334]Frauke Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to the United Arab Emirates, A Society in Transition* (London: Longman, 1982), p. 320.

4.3. Formation of State Institutions

This section explores changes in the political reality within the Coast of Oman that extended from 1938 to 1953 and evolved in two stages. The significance of this section is the way in which British authorities intervened in the internal affairs of the emirates. The first step was the upgrade in the level of British administrators, discussed above in Chapter Three, and the second stage was the establishment of the main components of state institutions: legal, security and political. Of the three, the first two were directly associated with the discovery of oil, while the third was associated with the formation of a proto state's institutions. In the Coast of Oman, British intervention began with the formation of the legal system rather than with political institutions, an approach that can perhaps be explained by the limited involvement of the British Government in India as a way of avoiding financial and administrative responsibility. Thus the British Government's initial step was to establish a legal presence as a precursor to enforcing its authority in the emirates of the Coast.

It should be noted that historical necessity determines the use of both locally- as well as British-coined terms. While the 'Coast of Oman', as used in this thesis, was the local name for the area, British officials used 'Trucial' and 'Trucial States'. Therefore, in the discussion that follows, the Coast of Oman will continue to be used as a name for the area, and the terms Trucial or Trucial States are retained as part of the official titles of these agencies.

4.3.1 The Legal System

The first British-formed state institution was the court system. The initial reason for this step reflects Britain's interests in oil exploration in the region. British involvement in the internal affairs of the emirates of the Coast of Oman was secured through the consent of the rulers to the application of British jurisdiction over foreign residents. This issue evolved out of discussions about the possibility of oil discoveries in the emirates of the Coast and about Britain's interest in maintaining its dominant role and avoiding challenges by the US government, and in 1946, following a decade of debate within the

British administration as well as the Second World War, the British Government of India enacted a King's Order-in-Council to this effect. In a continuation of the Trucial system which the rulers had signed up to 1855, the ordinance approached the emirates of the Coast as one territory. The Order applied British jurisdiction over foreign residents in the Coast of Oman and its enforcement was terminated only after independence in 1971. Its jurisdiction included British citizens, citizens of Commonwealth countries, and those deemed foreigners by the rulers of the emirates.

The first act by the Political Resident, after the Government of India had sanctioned the Order, was to apply it to the Persian community by requiring the Political Agent in Bahrain to obtain information about the size of this community in the emirates.[335] The significance of this action was to inform the local population about the existence of British legal power within the Coast of Oman, and to expand its control beyond the Indian community. The approach also reflected a constitutional set-up in which the British authorities and the rulers formed separate jurisdictions. The power of the rulers was driven by local consent, whereas British power was negotiated and delimited through treaties with local rulers.[336] As a result, from 1946 onwards, there were two separate and equal legal systems: one under the control of the rulers and the other under British command, with a mixed court to deal with cases involving individuals under the above-mentioned jurisdictions. In this regard, Taryam's claim that nationals from countries under British jurisdiction who violated local laws were immune from prosecution was not accurate;[337] they could in fact be charged in either a British or a mixed court.

The issue of jurisdiction in the emirates had emerged in 1935, when the Air Ministry recommended the Government of India to change its course from non-intervention to intervention in the internal affairs of the emirates of the Coast.

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[335]Gov. of India to PR, Bahrain, 21 April 1945, pp. 193-194, and Letter from PR, Bahrain, to PA, Bahrain, 30 May, 1945, IOR: R/15/1/289, pp. 160-165, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 8: 1935-1947*, pp. 193-194, 160-165; also Hussain al-Baharna, *Britain's Extra-Territorial Jurisdiction in the Gulf, 1913-1971: An Analysis of the System of British Courts in the British Protected States of the Gulf during the Pre-Independence Era* (Farnham Common UK: Archive Editions, 1998), pp. 47-48. Henceforth, PR: Political Resident or Residency; PA: Political Agent or Agency.

[336]Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of the Empire in the Middle East, Britain's Relinquishment of Power in her Last Three Arab Dependencies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 102.

[337]A[bdullah] O[mran] Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates, 1952-1985* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 35.

Disagreement between the two sides over a course of action led to a meeting of the Imperial Defence Committee. During the discussions Sir Andrew Ryan of the Foreign Office argued, and the committee approved, that Britain should admit "international responsibility" for the emirates of the Coast to avoid hostile acts by other Governments. In other words, British officials at that time were worried that the US Government, for instance, might deny British companies access in areas under their control. Attendees at this meeting were also informed that the assassination of a foreign engineer might be dealt with through the normal approach of holding a ruler responsible for monetary compensation. If a ruler refused to comply with the demand, force would be used to assure compliance.[338]

After 1946, British officials did not apply this method, either because no assassinations occurred or because the rulers agreed to accept liability for any act of assassination. Ways to deal with the question of international responsibility were discussed by British officials in the Gulf region, and during deliberations, Hugh Weightman, the Political Agent in Bahrain, suggested that the focus on oil concessions should be relegated to the point at which an oil company began exploration, and that emphasis should be on securing the rulers' consent to applying British jurisdiction over expatriates, since the rulers "recognise in some rather vague manner that [Britain has] shadowy jurisdiction over British subjects."[339] In his letter to the British authorities, Weightman did not expand on how he had arrived at this conclusion, nor did he explain his reasoning for the rulers' mode of thinking. It seems, however, that the rulers learned from British officials such as Weightman who, during the Reform Movement or Council of Fifteen in 1938 (see Chapter Three), had informed both the ruler and his cousins that they must protect "the lives and properties of British subjects."[340]

In 1945, at the end of the Second World War, British officials resumed their activities by obtaining written consent from the rulers of the emirates for applying British

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[338]Minutes of 42 Meeting of Committee of Imperial Defence Standing Official Subcommittee for Questions Concerning the Middle East, 24 Sept., 1935, IOR: L/P&S/12/3747, pp. 23-39, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 8: 1935-1947*, pp. 29, 32 and 36.

[339]Acting PR, Bahrain, to Gov. of India, 23 Mar., 1939, IOR: R/15/1/289, pp. 128-129 in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 8: 1935-1947*, p. 128.

[340]PR, Persian Gulf, to Secretary of State for India, 7 Oct., 1938, IOR: L/P&S/12/3827, p. 447 in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 8: 1935-1947*, p. 447. Note that the report did not mention Weightman by name but referred to him as Political Agent in Bahrain.

jurisdiction over foreign subjects, assuming that the responses of the majority of rulers would be positive and those of a minority (consisting of Shaikhs Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi and Salim of Ras al-Khaimah) would be negative – past experience with the rulers having formed the basis of this classification.[341] The Political Agent in Bahrain duly wrote a letter, with an attached Arabic translation, to the rulers of the emirates, stating the British Government's desire to turn its "customary jurisdiction" over foreign subjects into a formal one. As anticipated, apart from the two defiant shaikhs, the majority replied positively, whereupon British officials unsurprisingly requested the dissenters to resubmit their letters of consent by including the omitted phrases.[342] This stance by the two rulers was part of a power struggle between local rulers and British officials. On various occasions, the local rulers would engage in such actions, albeit with little or no success, as a way of asserting their power against British involvement in their affairs.

British legal jurisdiction came into effect in 1946, and between 1950 and 1959 three amendments were made to the original law[343] with the intention of refining certain clauses concerning the British courts in the Coast of Oman. The original Trucial States Order-in-Council of 1946 included seven parts and ninety-one articles and, among other issues, designated the persons covered under British civil and criminal jurisdiction while specifying offensive items such as offences against any religion. The British legal hierarchy consisted of the Political Resident as the chief judge, the Political Agent as the district judge, and the Assistant Political Agent as the assistant district judge. There were three levels of legal administration: the Chief Court, the Full Court, and the Joint

[341]PA, Bahrain, to IO, 8 Feb., 1945, IOR: R/15/1/289, pp. 145, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 8: 1935-1947*, p. 145. Henceforth: IO: India Office.
[342]PA, Bahrain, to [the Rulers of the Emirates], 10 Jul., the replies 24 Jul. to 22 Aug., 1945, and PR, Shiraz, to PA, Bahrain and reply, 20 Sept.1945, IOR: R/15/1/289, pp. 148-155, 159-164, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 8: 1935-1947*, pp. 148-155, 159-164.
[343]Trucial States Order-in-Council, 1946, IOR: R/15/1/289, pp. 169-192, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 8: 1935-1947,* pp. 169-192; Trucial States Order-in-Council, 1946, Supplement no. 1, October, 1953, pp. 211-241, and Trucial States Order-in-Council, 1959, Supplement no. 25, August 1959, pp. 91-118, in *The Persian Gulf Gazette and Supplements, 1953-1972*, vol. 3: *Suppl., 1953-1956* and vol. 4: *Suppl., 1957-1960* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1987), pp. 211-241, 91-118. Note these and other Orders-in-Council in this collection were not classified under any call numbers. Henceforth, Persian Gulf Gazette and Supplements: PGG&S, with vol. number and years.

Court. The Order also established a mixed court to deal with cases covering individuals under the jurisdictions of both the British and the rulers.[344]

With regard to the court cases, most were under British jurisdiction, while only a handful of cases appeared in the mixed courts. The reason for the discrepancy was probably associated with the transfer of jurisdiction to the rulers of the emirates (as discussed below). In terms of the application of the law, the available court data from 1956 to 1969 focuses on the number of crimes committed and the national origins of the felons (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Crimes and Criminals of the Coast of Oman, 1956-1969

	1956	1959	1960	1961	1965	1966	1967	1969
Crime	22	21	88	2	169	119	314	488
Convicted	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	251	NA
Civil	13	8	12	1	69	35	41	67
Convicted	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Estate	1	2	4	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Convicted	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Joint court	NA	6	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Convicted	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

SOURCES: Report on the working of the Trucial States Order, court cases during the year 1956, FO 371/126986, pp.129-131; Report on the working of the Trucial States, Inspection of Dubai Court, 1959, FO 371/140251, pp.34-36; Report on the working of the Trucial States, Court cases during the year 1960, FO 371/156706, pp.121-123; Report on the working of the Trucial States, Examination of Court Register in Dubai ,1961, FO 371/157063, pp. 3-5; Annual Report for 1966, FO 8/99 pp. 27-30; Annual Report for 1967, FO 8/99, pp.5-10; Annual Report for 1969, FO 8/1348, pp. 3-8. These documents are deposited in The National Archives, London. Henceforth: TNA. In this chapter, all unpublished copies of British and American documents used are those available in the National Centre for Documentation and Research in Abu Dhabi, UAE.

During this period, the criminal cases prosecuted increased from 22 to 314, with civil cases increasing from 13 to 67. While the main offenders in criminal cases were from India and Pakistan, in the civil cases they came also from Britain, the US, Italy and

[344]Trucial States Order-in-Council, 1946, IOR: R/15/1/289, pp. 169-192, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 8: 1935-1947*, pp. 172, 175, 180; Hussain al-Baharna, *Britain's Extra-Territorial Jurisdiction,* p. 62.

China.[345] The nationalities of the criminals are interesting since they indicate the extent to which the emirates of the Coast, especially Dubai, were integrated into the modern world.

There were two main issues in relation to British jurisdiction over foreign residents. One issue was the extent of inclusion; the other was the extent of its impact on local laws. In the context of the inclusion of British jurisdiction, the King's Order-in-Council of 1946 and its subsequent amendments was extensive. But there were provisions to transfer responsibility for expatriates incrementally to the rulers, as long as they established a modern court system. However, the process was short-circuited by Shaikh Shakhbut who, in 1958, expressed interest in including all expatriates under his jurisdiction. In return, the Political Resident in Bahrain wrote to Shaikh Shakhbut proposing the transfer of individuals from Arab and Muslim countries to his jurisdiction in exchange for modernizing his court system. After a short hesitation, Shaikh Shakhbut accepted the offer but then reneged on his part of the deal. At the same time, the Political Agent in Dubai was discussing this matter with Shaikhs Rashed of Dubai and Saqr of Sharjah, both of whom had requested a similar arrangement,[346] and a Queen's Order-in-Council to this effect was duly published in 1960.[347] In this regard, the British authorities were interested in equal treatment of the rulers to avoid accusations of favouring one ruler over another.

A major concern with the application of British law in the Coast of Oman was its minimal impact on local laws. There were two interconnected issues associated with the application of British jurisprudence in the Coast. One issue was its late arrival which reduced its impact locally. Through the employment of Egyptian jurists, local authorities had opted for an Egyptian legal system, itself based on the French model.[348] The other

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[345]Report on the Working of the Trucial States Order, Court Cases during the Year 1956, FO 371/126986, pp. 129-131; Annual Report for 1969 By Assistant Judge and Registrar of the Chief Court for Persian Gulf Pursuant to the Persian Gulf Order-in-Council, FCO 8/99, pp. 3-8, TNA, London.

[346]FO to PR, Bahrain, to Shaikh Shakhbut and PA, Dubai, to G. H. Middleton, Bahrain, 7, 22 April and 13 May, 1960, PRO: FO 371/149107, pp. 236-237, 243, 245-246, in Tuson (ed), *Records of the Emirates: Primary Documents, 1820-1960*, vol. 12*: 1959-1960* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1992), p. 236-237, 243, 245-246. Henceforth FO: Foreign Office

[347]Brief on Transfer of Jurisdiction in Trucial States, Prepared for the Cabinet by R. A. Beaumont, 23 Sept., 1960 and Trucial States Transfer of Jurisdiction Regulation 1960, FO 371/149108, pp. 256-259, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 12: 1959-1960*, pp. 256-259.

[348]Frauke Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to the United Arab Emirates*, p. 318.

issue was the failure of British officials to introduce their legal system to a wider audience, since in practice only a handful of individuals recognized the existence of the Trucial States Order. For instance, 'Abdurrahman Dajjani, a Syrian *qadhi* employed by the Government of Dubai, was cited in a British report as saying that he was "astonished… that the Trucial States Order-in-Council had never been translated into Arabic for the benefit of the rulers and the local Qadhis."[349] The author of the report supported this statement, also citing an objection by Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi to the subjugation of an Abu Dhabi member of the Trucial Oman Scouts, and claiming the Shaikh had "never been informed [about British] jurisdictional powers."[350] Whether or not this shortcoming was rectified is not clear. The issue does not seem to have been due to a lack of translators since *The Persian Gulf Gazette and Supplements, 1953-1972* included English translations of local laws for the purpose of their enactment. Thus, translation of a law from English into Arabic should not have been a problem.

4.3.2 Establishment of Security Institutions

The second instrument of the state institutions created by the British authorities in the Coast of Oman was the security agencies. In the modern era, countries around the world protect themselves and their interests from internal and external threats by establishing many agencies that have specific tasks to perform. In the context of the Coast of Oman, the emphasis here is on the Trucial Oman Levies (TOL), later renamed the Trucial Oman Scouts (TOS), and Britain's intelligence networks, whereas local police forces are largely excluded from this analysis. The reason is that local police forces were part of local administration and responsible to each ruler's direction. One notes, in this regard, that the British authorities not only assisted the rulers to establish their local police forces but also seconded British officers to administer them and to coordinate with British security agencies in the Coast of Oman.

[349]Report on the Working of the Trucial States Order, Court Cases during the Year 1956, FO 371/126986, p. 129, TNA, London.
[350]Ibid.

Although the ultimate objective of the security agencies was to preserve the status quo, their focus differed. Technically, the role of the TOL and the TOS was to defend the territories of the Coast of Oman, while the role of the intelligence agency was to collect information enabling them to analyse and assess degrees of threat. The two agencies differed from each other with regard to their existence in the emirates. Historically, apart from a brief period in 1819-1820, there were no British-led forces stationed in the Coast of Oman until 1941, when the Royal Air Force (RAF) formed Levies to protect landing sites in Sharjah. In 1932, the ruler of Sharjah Shaikh Sultan bin Saqr (r. 1924-1951) had agreed to supply the airport with a contingent of local army recruits to protect landing strips (although the chain of authority under which these individuals operated is not clear from the agreement).[351]

By contrast, there had been a type of intelligence-gathering service in the emirates of the Coast, represented by the Native Agent who was stationed in Sharjah during the period from 1823-1949. Among other things, it was the duty of the Native Agent to provide the British authorities with regular reports on the situation in the emirates of the Coast. The following section discusses the evolution of the TOL and TOS, and then examines the security agencies.

4.3.2.1. Trucial Oman Levies (TOL) / Scouts (TOS)

As with the legal system, the formation of the TOL in the Coast of Oman was associated with the protection of groups exploring for oil. From 1948 to 1950, British officials in the Foreign Office and in the Gulf region debated the best way of achieving this end. At the outset the Foreign Office was informed by its representatives in the region that oil companies exploring in the emirates and Oman might set up their own security forces based in Sharjah. The Foreign Office rejected this possibility (as did Sultan Sa'id bin Taymur (1932-1970) of Oman (though details of his response were omitted from the

[351]Exchange Letters with Rulers of Sharjah and Dubai relating to RAF facilities for duration of war, 6-11 Feb., 1942, IOR: R/P&S12/2020, pp. 106-107, in Tuson (ed), *Records of the Emirates: Primary Documents, 1820-1958*, vol.9: *1947-1958* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1990), p. 106-107; HH Shaikh Sultan al-Qassimi, *Mahat al-Sharqah al-Jawwiyah bain al-Sharq wa al-Gharb* [The Sharjah Airport between East and West] (Sharjah: Manshurat al-Qassimi, 2009), pp. 39-41, 93-95. In this instance, and throughout the study, HH Shaikh Sultan does not provide the call numbers associated with the British documents cited.

documents), arguing that any military force should be under the jurisdiction of a state, not a private company.[352] In such a situation, British officials had to try and avoid any possible military confrontation between a company and the local tribes that might lead to loss of control over the Coast of Oman. At the same time, the British Commander of Middle East Land Forces informed the Foreign Office that his consent to the formation of such a military force would remain muted "until the development of British interests" in the Gulf region required such an institution.[353] In other words, the military establishment required political direction before supporting such a move.

Before providing the Political Resident with an answer, the Foreign Office tried to resolve the issue through discussion with officials in London and in the region.[354] The first practical recommendation on this subject came from C. J. Pelly, of the Political Residency in Bahrain, who suggested creating a military force in the Coast of Oman under the command of British officers, with personnel recruited initially from Pakistan and India.[355] However, Glubb Pasha, the founder of the Arab Legion in Transjordan, took the view that, rather than expatriates, the local Bedouins constituted a better option since, in his view, they were better informed about local society, and with good instructors would become good soldiers.[356] The discussion focused on practical steps to be taken prior to the establishment of the force. Sir Rupert Hay, the Political Resident in Bahrain, informed the Foreign Office that this issue did not require the rulers' consent, but simply notification of British intentions. However, of all the rulers, the ruler of Sharjah needed to be contacted immediately since his town would host the new force.[357]

In terms of organization, the military force in the Coast of Oman was dealt with through three King's or Queen's Orders-in-Council and one Directive. The original Order

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[352]Minutes by T.E. Roger, 15 Feb., 1949, FO 371/75018, pp. 126-127, in Penelope Tuson (ed), *Records of the Emirates: Primary Documents, 1820-1958*, vol.9: *1947-1958* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1990), p. 127.
[353]C in C, CHQ Middle East Land Force, to MoD, 12 Jan., 1949, FO 371/75018, p. 125, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 9: 1947-1958*, p. 125. Note: C in C: Commander in Chief; MoD: Ministry of Defence.
[354]Foreign Office Minutes by A. G. Stewart, 20 January, 1949, FO 371/75018, p. 123, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 9: 1947-1958*, p. 123.
[355]C. J. Pelly, Bahrain, to Sir Rupert Hay, Bahrain, 22 March, 1949, FO 371/75018, pp. 132-133, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol.9: 1947-1958*, pp. 132-133.
[356]Records of FO Meeting, 6 May, 1949, FO 371/75018, pp. 134-136, in Tuson (ed.), *RoE, 1820-1958, vol. 9: 1947-1958*, p. 135.
[357]Notes by C. M. Rose of a Discussion with Sir Rupert Hay, 30 Jan., 1950, FO 371/82172 & 82175, p. 135-139, in Tuson (ed.), *RoE, vol. 9: 1947-1958*, p. 138.

which established the TOL in 1951 included fourteen articles dealing, among other items, with the chain of command, operational processes, and its members' duties. There were several outstanding issues within this Order. Article 2 identified two main objectives: protecting British officials, and preserving law and order in the emirates. Of the two objectives, the second was broader in nature, since it might include providing escorts to members of oil exploration teams and assisting the rulers to overcome any disturbances. In this regard, the Order made no reference to any oil exploration parties, even though this was the main reason for its formation. Articles 4 and 7 gave TOL members the right to arrest any individuals without a warrant if they were suspected of carrying out an act or an offence punishable for six months, or if they threatened or attempted to challenge British or local authorities.[358]

A major omission in the regulation was the limitation of its power. In a draft directive to the Commander of TOL, the Political Resident stated that only in an emergency situation, or at the direct request of a British representative or a ruler, would the force operate in the capitals of the emirates.[359] This exclusion reflected British interest in maintaining separate jurisdictions and avoiding any conflict of interest. The next ordinance was an expansion of article 12 of the above-mentioned regulation. This ordinance was in twelve articles. With the aim of maintaining control over the enlisted men, it dealt with disciplining members of the force by enumerating offending acts such as accepting bribes, and deserting or assisting others to desert from the force.[360]

The third ordinance, adopted in 1956, was an amendment to change the name of the force. Although it was in four articles, the changes were stated in articles 1 and 3. Article 1 was formal, declaring that the force would be called the Trucial Oman Scouts instead of Trucial Oman Levies. The reason for changing the name of the force was not explained. Article 3 included an additional point, to the effect that the Political Resident, as its commander-in-chief, had the power to deploy the force to serve anywhere outside

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[358]Trucial States Order-in-Council no. 1: Trucial States Levies Regulation, 1951, Supplement, no.1, Oct., 1953, pp. 241-243, in *PGG&S, 1953-1972, vol. III, Suppl., 1953-1956*, pp. 241-243.
[359]Draft Directive to the Commander of Trucial States Levies from the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf (Jan., 1951), FO 371/82172 & 82175, pp. 140-141, in Tuson (ed.), *RoE, vol.9: 1947-1958*, p. 140.
[360]Trucial States Order-in-Council no. 1: Rules of Discipline for Trucial States Levies made under Article 12 of Trucial States Order-in-Council no. 1: Trucial States Levies Regulation, 1951, Supplement, no.1, [Oct., 1953], pp. 241-243, in *PGG&S, 1953-1972, vol. III, Suppl., 1953-1956,* pp. 241-243.

the emirates.[361] Although the ordinance did not specify the reason behind this additional article either, it was not associated with deploying the force to assist the Sultan of Oman's Armed Forces in their operation against forces loyal to the Imam in Jabal al-Akhdar (the Green Mountain), but to encourage British Officers to join this force.[362] It seems that British officials in the Gulf and in London were not successful in their recruitment drive and as a result resorted to changing the name of the force to make it more attractive.

In addition to the renaming, a police wing was created within the TOS to carry out investigative functions. This additional unit improved the operation of the TOS since it too was a semi-police force. In 1961, the performance of a TOS detachment undertaking patrolling duties in one of the emirates was improved on advice from an experienced police officer, with the result that British representatives in the emirates informed the Foreign Office of the need to establish a police unit. The Foreign Office, in turn, communicated with the Political Resident in Bahrain, who reacted positively, except for reducing the size of the unit, his rationale being that the rulers' retainers were adequate for preserving law and order in the five emirates.[363]

Three years later, in 1964, the Military Coordination Committee in the Gulf region approved the formation of the Police Wing. The Directive to the Commander of TOS concentrated on various aspects of its operation; its scope was the five emirates, except the capitals, and the objectives were to suppress any illegal acts against British, Shari'a, or rulers' laws, to serve arrest warrants for British and local courts, and to pass on information obtained to the commander of TOS. The directive also prohibited members of the force from carrying on political or commercial activities while on duty, and restricted information gathering to directives from the commander.[364]

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[361]Trucial States Order-in-Council no. 1: Trucial States Levies (Amendment) Regulation, 1956, Supplement, no.12, April 1956, pp. 35-36, in *PGG&S,1953-1972, vol. III, Suppl., 1953-1956*, p. 35.
[362]Peter Clayton, *Two Alpha Lima: the First Ten Years of Trucial Oman Levies and Trucial Oman Scouts, 1950-1960* (London: Janus Publishing Company, 1994), p. 89.
[363]PR to FO, 29 April; FO to WO, 11 May; Political Residency to Foreign Office, 5 August, 1961, FO 371/156692, pp. 232-235, in Anita L. P. Burdett (ed), *Records of the Emirates, 1961-1965: 1961* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1997), pp.232-235. Note: WO = War Office
[364]Minutes of Military Coordination Committee, Persian Gulf, 15 June, 1964, FO 371/174718, pp. 191-195, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1961*, pp.191-195.

The formation of TOL/TOS, according to Donald Hawley, began in 1951 when Major Hankin Turvin, assisted by a number of Jordanian officers and seventy local recruits from Abu Dhabi, began operations from their camp in Sharjah.[365] Balfour-Paul adds that by 1971 the force had evolved into brigade strength.[366] The force was involved in two military actions, the first in 1955 against a Sa'udi force that had penetrated the al-Buraimi area (see Chapter Three on the al-Buraimi Dispute), and the second in 1959 in support of the Sultan of Oman's Armed Forces.

Although the TOS achieved its intended military objectives, it faced two contrasting local reactions. While there was popular support for its activities in al-Buraimi, probably because it was protecting territory belonging to Abu Dhabi, its military involvement in Oman was unpopular with the rulers as well as with the population at large, presumably due to family ties with the rebels in Oman.[367] British officials also reported that Sultan Sa'id bin Taymur was alarmed that members of this unit were sympathetic to his opponents' cause, and objected to the involvement of TOS in the conflict. For these reasons, as well as the improved operational ability of Omani forces which would influence the future involvement of the force outside the Coast, British military commanders in the region decided to confine the activity of the TOS to the territory of the emirates.[368] One notes that the decision was taken following military hostilities that had no impact on the outcome.

From the time of the formation of the Trucial States Council (TSC), the main objective of British officials had been for the commander of the TOS to gain the trust of local rulers. But in contrast with the policy of jurisdiction over foreign residents, British officials did not contemplate attaching the TOS to the TSC, probably because there were no local individuals capable of leading this force, and because it was necessary to protect TOS members from involvement in local disputes. The commander of TOS attended meetings of the TSC and provided the rulers with regular reports; the aim of such contacts, according to one directive, was to become "visible to the rulers and the

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[365]Donald Hawley, *The Trucial States* (London: George Allen & Unwin, [1970] 1972), p. 174.
[366]Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of the Empire in the Middle East…*, p. 110.
[367]Hawley, ibid., p. 175; also Secret note for chief of Staff, military Coordination Committee, 28 April, 1961, FO 371/156692, p. 189, in Burdett (ed), *RoE,1961*, p.189.
[368]Secret note for chief of Staff, Military Coordination Committee, 28 April, 1961, FO 371/156692, p. 189, in Burdett (ed), *RoE,1961*, p.189.

population".[369] Of various presentations, the rulers reacted particularly to that made during the 12th Session of the TSC meetings in 1958, when Captain Stone, having confirmed that the force was "the ruler's force, working for their benefit and must rely largely on the support of the rulers, especially in matter of recruitment", then requested the rulers to assist in "recovering a deserter."[370] Shaikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi replied that it was the commander's duty to approach the rulers first, while Shaikh Saqr of Sharjah recommended that the commander of TOS should write a letter to the ruler describing "the activities of the force."[371] It is not clear from the available records whether or not these suggestions were acted upon by British military officers.

Additionally, on several occasions during the sessions of the Trucial States Council, the Political Agent would inform the rulers of contributions made by the TOS to public works. For instance, in 1963 the TOS was instrumental in cleaning up Wadi Hams. The Political Agent also read a written report by the commander of the force stating, among other issues, his willingness to assist the rulers in such areas as locust control.[372]

Another approach to winning the rulers' support was the "Arabization" of the TOS. In 1964, Brigadier M. W. Holme directed the commander of the TOS to select for promotion suitable individuals from the ranks who would be commissioned as officers of the rifle squadrons.[373] The report indicated that Arab officers would serve under overall British command of the force.[374] Unfortunately, the report did not include any timetable for the realization of this objective, and there were apparently no further reports on

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[369]Bahrain to FO Meeting, 5 Aug., 1961, FO 371/75038, pp. 196-200, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1961*, p. 195.
[370]PR, Bahrain, to FO Meeting, 6 June, enclosing a letter from PA, Dubai, 20 May, with the Agenda and Minutes of the 12 Session Meetings of the Trucial States Council 13 May, 1958, PRO: FO 371/132760, pp. 347-375, in Tuson (ed), *Records of the Emirates: Primary Documents, 1820-1958, vol. 11: 1958-1959* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1990), pp. 363.
[371]Ibid., p. 363.
[372]Dubai to Bahrain, Regarding the Improvement in the Council's Meetings and Forwarding the Agenda and Minutes of the Twentieth Session and five annexes, 18 May, 1963, FO 371/168917, pp. 109-128, in Burdett (ed), *Records of the Emirates: 1961-1965, 1963* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1997), pp. 118, 122.
[373]Brigadier M. W. Holme to Commander of TOS, 7 Mar., 1964, FO 371/174718, pp. 199-200, in Burdett (ed), *Records of the Emirates, 1961-1965, 1964* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1997), pp. 199-200.
[374]Secret Report on Arabization of the Trucial Oman Scouts, June, 1966, FO 1016/236, pp. 495-501, in Burdett (ed), *Records of the Emirates, 1966-1971, vol. 1: 1966* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 2002), p. 496.

either the success or failure of this scheme. This logistical decision was also connected with the relocation of British forces from Aden to Sharjah. In turn, the TOS was removed from the base to another location, the reasons for the relocation being to preserve the TOS as an embodiment of the federation of the emirates and to separate its rank and file from the British forces. The underlying objective was to provide them with freedom of movement within the emirates.[375]

While the military commander was applying the Arabization policy to the TOS, there were discussions within the British administration regarding the downsizing of this force by removing one squadron in 1966 and a second in 1967. The main reason behind this decision was financial conditions in Britain. At the same time the report used Abu Dhabi's interest in establishing its own defence force in 1965 to justify the decommissioning of these units and providing the troops with an alternative source of employment.[376] However, this proposal was undercut by a negative response from the commander of British forces in the Middle East who, in his reaction to the downsizing of troops, stated that the region would face more threats in the future that would require an increase rather than a decrease in the number of troops under British command in the Gulf. As a consequence of the above communication, the Political Resident in the Gulf reversed his earlier remarks citing challenges from Egypt and Iraq to the rulers' authority, justifying his decision by stating that in the current circumstances it was "undesirable [to use] British troops…in internal security."[377] British officials appear to have been sensitive to the notion that their forces might become involved in oppressing local opposition; such a situation might well lead to increasing rather than diminishing local resentment of British domination.

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[375]PR to FO, 16 Jul., 1966, FO 1016/236, pp. 511-514, in Burdett (ed), *RoE*, vol. 1: *1966*, pp. 512-514.
[376]PR, Bahrain, to FO, 28 Feb., 1966, FO 1016/236, pp. 483-485, in Burdett (ed.), *RoE, vol.1: 1966*, p. 484.
[377]HQ Land Force, Persian Gulf to Middle East Command, 28 June; PR, Bahrain, to FO, with an annexe, 16 Jul., 1966, FO 1016/236, pp. 506-508, 511-514 in Burdett (ed.). *RoE, vol.1 1966*, pp. 507, 512. There was no direct communication between the Military and Political establishments in the region. It appears that the Political Resident received the military assessment through another channel.

4.3.2.2. Intelligence Networks

As well as the formation of a military establishment in the Coast of Oman, the British authorities created an intelligence network of agents to gather information on local groups in order to pre-empt any potential threat to their domination over the Coast.[378] There were two aspects to this network. One was to control and to coordinate the activities of agencies at multiple levels. The other was to report on the actions of various groups and individuals within the society. In this regard, such reports were incomplete in respect of the facts because they were written while events were occurring. In some cases the information sources themselves were the intended target, while in others the sources were obscure.

The first aspect of British intelligence was control and coordination between various networks. There were two levels of information gathering, one at Gulf level and the other within the Coast of Oman. Although challenges to British domination in various parts of the Gulf region had begun at least a decade earlier, coordination between networks started only in 1966. This delay in regional cooperation was probably due to the lack of similar organizations elsewhere in the region.

At the Gulf level there were at least four official meetings. In 1966 Bahrain hosted the first meeting of the chiefs, or their representatives, of the Gulf police forces, at which participants discussed issues associated with their work. At the end of the meeting, Major Briggs of the Dubai police force criticized the participants for emphasising the administrative function of policing instead of analyzing how the Bahraini police force had controlled the demonstration in 1965.[379] Bahrain hosted another meeting in 1966 which was organised by the local Counter-Subversive Activity working groups in the Gulf shaikhdoms. Chaired by the deputy Political Resident, the meeting included eleven participants: the Political Agents in Bahrain, Qatar and Dubai; the director of the Gulf Intelligence Centre and the information officers in the Lower Gulf and Bahrain. Their task was to review and recommend to their superiors ways and means of offseting political and economic threats to British interests in the region. In this respect, the term

[378]C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (NY: Cambridge University Press, [1996]1999), p. 1.
[379]PR, Bahrain, to FO, 18 Jan., 1966, FO 371/185213, p. 221, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 1, 1966*, p. 221.

"counter-subversion" was defined in their report as including any states, political groups, or mass media acting against British interests.[380] There was also a report about a possible additional meeting (although it is not clear if it was ever actually held) of the Counter-Subversive working group in Bahrain. Attendees would include information officers in Bahrain and the emirates of the Coast, as well as a British Embassy representative from Kuwait, who would work together to undermine any potential threat to Britain's interests in the region.[381]

The second level of intelligence which concerned the British authorities was within the Coast of Oman. A secret report in 1966 on "The Internal Security in the Trucial States (Except for Abu Dhabi)" examined the situation in the emirates (that was eventually to lead to British withdrawal in 1971). It emphasised worries about any repetition of the Adani scenario, where political groups had successfully overthrown the local authorities, pointing out that the Coast of Oman lacked trade unions and student associations from which bases for insurgency might be formed. The report also highlighted the potential weakness of local Emirati police forces in dealing with any domestic challenges. To overcome these shortcomings, the report recommended that local police forces should establish special branches and coordinate their activities, and that the British government should second competent officers to direct them. Another report confirmed that special branches had been established in the Dubai Police force and within the TOS. Sharjah had also established its own police force.[382]

A report four years later discussed the role of these local special branches in providing the British Government and local rulers with information to assist with the British withdrawal. It also dealt with the possibility of British Government assistance in improving local security arrangements in the six emirates, including, among other items, standardizing communication methods, utilising existing English language-based

[380]Revised Directive for Local Counter-Subversive Group, Bahrain, to FO, 18 June, 1966, FO 371/185168, pp. 263-266, in Burdett (ed.), *RoE, vol. 1, 1966*, pp. 263-264.
[381]Secret note Forwarding a brief on Counter-Subversive Activities, with an annexe, 20 June, 1966, FO 371/185168, pp. 259-262, in Burdett (ed.), *RoE, vol. 1, 1966*, p. 261.
[382]The Internal Security Situation in the Trucial States (except for Abu Dhabi) in 1966/68 [18 Jan.,]; Secret note Forwarding a brief on Counter-Subversive Activities, with an annexe, 20 Jane, 1966, FO 1016/851, pp. 223-229, 259-262, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 1: 1966*, pp. 226-227, 260-261.

equipment, and the need to appoint an Arabic-speaking officer to coordinate the operation of these units.[383]

An additional report written around 1 February 1971 concentrated on the establishment of a new section within the TSC to deal with security arrangements, recommending that this should be headed by an Arab national, assisted by a British adviser who would be in charge of financial and technical matters; this would assure Britain of the proper use of its financial and technical contribution.[384] It would also enable the British to maintain control over the security arrangements in the Coast of Oman after its withdrawal. However, the rulers rejected this proposal. For example, according Najm al-Deen Hammoudi, a foreign affairs adviser to Shaikh Zayed, when General E. F. Willoughby briefed the ruler in July 1971 about the functions and hierarchy of the agency, the ruler stated that due to threats from the local opposition, it was inappropriate for a British citizen to command this unit.[385]

During the last two decades of their domination, British officials accumulated various forms of information on activities within the Coast of Oman, including reports on actions by rulers, political activists, and political groups. Concerning action by the rulers, there was a report on Shaikh Shakhbut who, without notifying the British authorities, had hired two Jordanians with Communist backgrounds which, according to the report, created a security problem since the local police force was understaffed and lacked the technical ability to track down these individuals after their arrival. It was recommended that the ruler should provide the British authorities with information that would enable them to vet potential applicants before granting them visas, and to focus on any individual who was "a northern Arab".[386] This report reflected a Cold War mentality by classifying individuals with critical views as "communist", regardless of their political opinion or affiliation. It was also tainted with racial profiling through identifying individuals by their ethnic background.

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[383]PR, Bahrain, to FO, 30 Dec., 1970, FCO 8/1255, pp. 383-390, in Burdett (ed.), *Records of the Emirates, 1966-1971: vol. 4, 1969* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 2002), pp. 383, 386-388.
[384]PA, Dubai, to PR, Bahrain, 1 Feb., 1971, FCO 8/1629, pp. 391-393, in Burdett (ed.), *Records of the Emirates, 1966-1971: vol.6, 1971* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 2002), p. 391.
[385]Najm al-Deen Hammoudi, *Qiyam Dawlat al-Immarat al-'Arabiyya al-Mutahida, Mudhkarat wa Dirasat* [The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates, Memories and Studies] (Abu Dhabi: np, 2004), p. 523.
[386]Concern over Communist Subversion, Abu Dhabi to Bahrain and reply, 12 and 27 Nov, 1965, FO 371/179915, pp. 292-294, in Burdett (ed.), *ibid. 1961-1966, 1965*, pp. 292-294.

Political activists in the Coast of Oman represented another group under British surveillance. A report of 11 April 1965 noted the arrest and release, by order of the ruler of Dubai, of Suror bin Sultan al-Murr, the Imam's representative in Kuwait. His crime was to have violated customs regulations by distributing pamphlets in Diba and Ras al-Khaimah.[387] Another report stated that eleven individuals, thought to be acting as a cell, were arrested but later released because they were only involved in "intellectual discussion" about the idea of Arab Nationalism.[388] A third report concerned local police monitoring of a bookshop in Abu Dhabi, and revealed that two individuals who visited the shop owner held critical views of the regime in Abu Dhabi.[389]

In addition to reports on individuals, the British authorities monitored the activities of regional and Arab political groups in the emirates. Two examples of the monitoring of regional political groups were the arrests of Sallim Jum'a from Sharjah and Salim Muqbili from Wadi Jizzi in Oman, who were visiting members of the People's Organization to Liberate Oman. Salim Muqbili was deported to Oman,[390] but there was no further report on the status of Salim Jum'a. Then there was the arrest and interrogation of a Bahraini activist, 'Abdulrahman al-Nu'aimi, leader of *al-Maktab al-Siyasi* or "the Political Office", followed by the apprehending of other members of this group. Of those arrested, al-Nu'aimi was tried by the court in Abu Dhabi.[391]

British surveillance also reported on Palestinian political groups. British surveillance of the Palestinian community in the Coast of Oman was driven by the need to know the extent of political activism within it, as well as by the extent to which members of the community had connections with the local population and their willingness to challenge the political status quo. The first report documented the activities of Palestinians affiliated with the Fatah party in Ras al-Khaimah. While the group was in town, they were visited by a number of local citizens; the local municipality

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[387]The Trucial States Intelligence Report from 11 April to 2 May, 1965, FO 371/179902, pp. 585-588, in Burdett (ed). *RoE, 1965*, pp. 585-586.
[388]Revised Directive for Local Counter-Subversive Group, Bahrain, to FO, 18 June, 1966, FO 371/185166, pp. 263-266, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol.1: 1966*, pp. 263.
[389]PA, Abu Dhabi, Intelligence Report no.1, 18 Mar., 1967, FCO 8/900, p. 121, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1966-1971: vol. 2, 1967*, p. 121.
[390]Trucial States Intelligence Reports, 27 April to 7 Dec., 1969, FCO 8/1255, pp. 273-283, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 4: 1969*, pp. 276-278.
[391]Records of Local Intelligence Committee, 23 April to 19 Dec., 1969, FCO 8/1256, pp. 286-297, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 4: 1969*, pp. 292-294.

also imposed a one percent tax on all goods sold, as a form of support for the Palestinian cause. While British reports stated that the tax was collected by Fatah, the amount was in fact paid to the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). At the same time, prominent merchants in Dubai collected donations and sold tickets for the Palestinian cause.[392] A third report concentrated on a visit to the emirates of the Coast by a delegation from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine to collect donation for their activities. While in the emirates, the delegation visited the ruler of Sharjah, who promised them a financial contribution.[393]

A number of questions arise from the above reports. For instance, there was a reference to an individual from the emirates who was involved in political activities. Did this mean a low level of popular political awareness or were British officials unsuccessful in finding other such individuals? Second, in terms of outcome the reports were not conclusive – in some cases outcomes were clear-cut, while in others results were unclear. In other words, what happened to these individuals? Were they deported or released? Third, in some cases the reports included incorrect information. It was not clear if the source was badly informed or whether the recipient had misunderstood the information.

4.3.3 The Trucial States Council (TSC)

While the previous section discussed the intelligence networks, this section deals with the formation of the TSC and its affiliated agencies between 1952 and 1971. The importance of this institution lies in its role as a political and an administrative entity that governed the emirates of the Coast of Oman.

During 1950-51 British officials in London and the Gulf discussed this body, and the Council held thirty-three regular meeting and one extra-ordinary meeting in 1967. The first meeting was held in 1952 and the last in 1971. Although the initial intention had

[392]Trucial States Intelligence Reports no. 35 to 48, 27 April to 7 Dec., 1969, FCO 8/1255, p. 273-283, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol.4: 1969*, pp.273, 275.
[393]Trucial States Intelligence Reports no. 35 to 48, 27 April to 7 Dec, 1969, FCO 8/1255, p. 273-283, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol.4: 1969*, pp.279, 282.

been to federate the seven emirates, it was felt that involving the rulers in the Council as an interim stage on the road to federation would improve cooperation between them and overcome their mutual rivalry.[394] In their discussions British officials did not reveal the legal justification for establishing this institution, but improving local administration and modernizing the society were two possible reasons.

There were several issues associated with the establishment of the federation and the operation of the TSC. One issue concerned the leading role in the Council. The Foreign Office approved the scheme proposed by the Political Resident for the TSC. In the initial stages the chairmanship was to be entrusted to British representatives in emirates of the Coast, and at a specified time in the future, the post would be turned over to the rulers themselves. The Foreign Office directive to the Political Resident stated two conditions: the rulers had to become used to the notion of joint action and sufficiently experienced to take the leading role in deliberations.[395] However, in 1965, as discussed later in this chapter, Balfour-Paul rationalized a transfer of responsibility to the rulers stating it was "inappropriate"[396] for him to hold the post any longer, but without further elaboration. Thus, the chairmanship role was not handed over to the ruler as a fulfilment of these requirements. In fact there were various motives for British officials to transfer the chairmanship to the rulers, e.g., to avoid accusations of colonialism, to force the rulers to become more active in the TSC discussions, to set the stage for the establishment of federation, or all of the above. This unexpected turn of events would not be the last from British officials, since it was repeated in 1968 with the decision to include the Gulf region in the British plan to withdraw from East of Suez (see Chapter Five).

The handing over of the TSC leadership to the rulers of the emirates had not diminished the power and the status of the Political Agent, according to Saif al-Badwawi.[397] The Political Agent continued to contribute to improving the Council's

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[394]Hawley, *The Trucial States*, pp. 176-178; also PR, Bahrain, to FO, 24 Jan., 1951, FO 371/19262, pp. 77-80, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 9: 1947-1958*, p. 77.
[395]FO to PR, Bahrain, 2April, 1951, FO 371/19262, pp. 65-71, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 9:1947-1958*, p. 68.
[396]Dubai to Bahrain, 27 November, 1965, FO 371/179905, pp. 95-104, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1965*, p. 97.
[397]Sayf Muhammad al-Bedwawi, *Britania wa al-Khaleej al-'Arabi, Sanawat al-Insehab* [Britain and the Gulf, the Years of Withdrawal] (Kuwait and UAE: Maktabat al-Falah, 1427 AH/2007), pp. 83-84.

activities by proposing schemes such as a manifesto that included defining the responsibilities and roles of the TSC, the Committee, and the Development Office (the latter are discussed below). At the outset, this document defined the role of the TSC as being to develop the society in cultural, economic and social terms. The TSC's role was either to approve or to reject suggested projects as well as the budgets from the Committee and the Development Office; in addition it was to appoint the Director of the Development Office and empower him to supervise the financial aspects of the office.[398]

Another issue associated with the TSC was the Foreign Office's monopoly over the idea of federation to the exclusion of other interested parties within the British Government. In 1961, internal debate within the Foreign Office led M.C.G. Man in Bahrain to propose replacing the existing accords with the rulers with a new treaty that would include a section on establishing a federation as an objective agreed upon by both sides.[399] In 1960 and 1961, the Foreign Office faced its first setback when the Political Resident in Bahrain submitted his proposed budget for a five year plan that included an amount earmarked for establishing federal institutions. The Treasury department responsible for approving the budget questioned the rationale for including this item, citing though not elaborating on, problems associated with the Federation of South Arabia. The Foreign Office, in turn, advised the Political Resident to exclude federal institution-building from his budget.[400]

Despite Foreign Office acceptance of the Treasury's objection, British officials in the region contacted the rulers to ascertain their views about federation. In particular, Donald Hawley, Political Agent in Dubai, communicated with Shaikh Rashed of Dubai, while Archie Lamb, Political Agent in Abu Dhabi, discussed the subject with Shaikh Saqr of Sharjah. Both rulers responded positively to the idea.[401] However, the rulers did not advance beyond verbal agreement, for example, withholding their consent to the setting

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[398]Appendix B: Trucial States Development Distribution of Responsibility in Dubai to Bahrain, 30 Jul., 1965, FO 371/179919, pp. 508-510, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1965*, p. 508.
[399]M. C. G Man, Bahrain, to FO, 7 March, 1961, FO 371/15019, pp. 327-328, in Burdett (ed),. *RoE, 1961*, p. 327.
[400]G. H. Middleton, Bahrain, to FO, 17 February, 1960, with annexes and a reply from the Treasury, 22 Mar., 1960, PRO: FO 371/148974, pp. 427-438, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 12: 1959-1960*, p. 444; FO to Bahrain, 5 Aug., 1961, FO 371/15019, pp. 341-342, in Burdett (ed), *RoE,1961*, p.341.
[401]PA, Dubai, to FO, 27 May, 1960, PRO: FO 371/148975, pp. 444-445; FO note on Trucial States Development to Treasury, 28 June, 1960, PRO: FO 371/148975, pp. 448-449, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1961*, pp.427-438, 448.

up of a Committee intended to review, and advise the rulers on various economic and social programmes for integrating the emirates.[402] The Foreign Office's exclusionary approach to the federation ended up having a negative influence on the process. There were two problems with its approach. Regarding the Treasury, the issue was the inclusion of an item that had not previously been discussed or even notified in advance. In the case of the rulers, British officials could not distinguish between an offhand remark by a ruler and a practical commitment to a decision. The rulers might agree to an idea in principle but turning it into a reality was another matter since they feared losing political power to members of this agency.

The Council, which met twice a year, was a consultative body only, with no powers to enforce its decisions. Implementation of agreed issues was left to each ruler or, in some cases, to the Political Agent.[403] Reviewing the available minutes of the Council's meetings from 1954 to 1961 reveals a lack of basic societal or state infrastructure. As stated by Abu-Baker,

> It is interesting how these minutes reveal the lack of even the most rudimentary elements of state institutions in the Trucial States. Discussion of the meetings usually centred around the need to establish [a] judicial system, schools, a police force, budgets for expenditure, nationality laws and travelling documents, frontier demarcation among the different Trucial States, development programs, municipalities, taxation, a water system, and even traffic regulation and issuing licenses to drivers.[404]

From 1960 to 1971, other issues such as the establishment of subcommittees and a population census were included in the Council's deliberation. From the eighth session onwards, the rulers were given an oral presentation of written reports on social and economic projects by the medical officer, the headmasters of technical schools, and the agricultural supervisor, as well as on the status of the military by the commander of the TOS. Some issues resurfaced at almost every meeting before being either rejected (e.g. failing to establish a court system to resolve legal problems involving citizens of the

[402]Dubai to Bahrain, 18 May, 1963, FO 371/168917, pp. 109-128, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1963*, p.117.
[403]Hawley, *The Trucial States*., p. 177
[404]Albadr Abu-Baker, "Political Economy of State Formation: the United Arab Emirates in Comparative Perspective", unpublished PhD thesis (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1995), p. 49.

various emirates); or else approved with few or no objections (e.g., the formation of education and health committees).

In their dispatches, British representatives in the emirates of the Coast reflected on the mode of operation within the Council. Whereas British officials criticized the rulers for their inaction within TSC meetings during the 1950s, in the post-1965 period the emphasis was on attempts to dominate the institution and its projects. For example, in 1953, C. M. Pirie-Gordon, the Political Agent in Dubai, stated in his dispatch that it was "apparent from the lack of content in the minutes [that] the council has a long road to travel before it can... fulfil the role of consultative body."[405] Another report in 1958 argued that improvement in the Council's deliberations was due to the success of the development plan.[406] Slowness in the performance of the rulers in the earlier years was a by-product of their passive role in which the Political Agent determined issues for discussion. At the same time, the rulers were not accustomed to the format, even though they held their own regular courts. The difference between the two forums was in their attendees. The TSC was a meeting between equals, whereas the ruler in his court was the final arbiter, with some influence exerted by leading members of the community. The twists and turns in the rulers' actions indicated their attempts to digest the new reality, and with the passage of time they became more involved in the Council's discussions.

In the post-1965 period, there were various occasions when British officials commented on the rulers' attitudes towards the operation of the Development Office. In one report the Political Agent criticised Shaikh Zayed's intervention during the 29th session of the TSC by using his financial leverage to dominate the Council, reorganise the development projects, and waste the Council's time on minor issues.[407] The minutes of meetings usually included issues discussed or views that were expressed by various participants. However, the report did not quote Shaikh Zayed verbatim or paraphrase his points to assist the reader in understanding the issue at hand, and an additional

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[405]Minutes of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Meetings of the Trucial States Council, 25 April, 17 November 1953 and 25 June, 1954, FO 371/91262, pp. 183-198, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 9: 1947-1958*, p.189.
[406]PR, Bahrain, to FO, with annexes, 6 June, 1958, FO 371/91262, pp. 347-375, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 9: 1947-1958*, p. 374.
[407]PA, Dubai, to PR, Bahrain, 6 Sept., 1967, FCO 8/825, pp. 196-201, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 2:1967*, pp. 196, 199.

difficulty was the Foreign Office's retention of the minutes of that particular meeting. Thus, Shaikh Zayed's remarks on the issue are not known, and the reader is unable to judge the merits or demerits of his or the Political Agent's comments.

4.3.3.1. Administrations within the TSC

There were three consecutive institutions associated with the Trucial States Council. First, there were the health and educational committees, followed by the Deliberative Committee (which was renamed the Executive Committee in 1968), and the Development Office. The formation of the subcommittees was characterised by a power struggle between British officials and the rulers of the emirates. Available documents reveal that while British officials were interested in expanding the organisational structure of the TSC, the rulers were interested in maintaining its small structure. From 1960 to 1971, British officials proposed, and the rulers either rejected or accepted, the establishment of number of agencies. This interaction reflected a degree of contradiction between the views and involvement of both sides on issues of mutual interest.

At the tenth session of the TSC in 1957, the Political Agent recommended and the rulers approved the establishment of affiliated subcommittees specifically for education and health, but not for agriculture. For no apparent reason, reports on the activities of the two subcommittees were discontinued after 1961. Their purpose was to coordinate and supervise both these Council-organised services,[408] while an indirect objective of the education subcommittee, according to al-Bedwawi, was to monitor any revolutionary Arab teachers who might disseminate anti-British ideas.[409] In addition, and

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[408]"al-Ijtima' al-'Ashr liMajlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 13Mayo, 1957" [Minutes of the Tenth Session of Trucial States Council, 13 May, 1957], pp. 75-87, in Sayf Muhammad al-Bedwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleh: 1952-1971* [The Council of the Trucial States Rulers] (Ras al-Khaimah: Markaz al-Dirasat wa al-Wathaiq, 2009), pp. 82-83. Cf. also Minutes of the Trucial States Public Health Committee, Senior Medical Officer's Report, and Minutes of Education Committee, Headmaster's Report, FO 371/ 15019, pp. 383-384, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1961*, pp. 383-384. Because not all the relevant documents have been released by the British Government, this book, which includes summaries of the content of each meeting, was used to supplement the lack of data.

[409]"al-Ijtima' al-'Ashr liMajlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha..." [The 12th Session of …] in al-Bedwawi (ed). ibid. p. 82.

to encourage further involvement by the rulers in the Council's affairs, the British authorities in the Gulf requested a funding allocation for the rulers to spend on projects of their choice which was duly approved by the British Government.[410] Sub-committee meetings were held following adjournment of the TSC sessions and, as with TSC meetings, deliberations began with a statement from the Political Agent followed by reports from directors of health or educational officials.[411]

The Deliberative Committee was the second affiliated agency formed within the TSC. The idea for this body was circulated within the Council for almost a year before being adopted in 1963, and the first committee meeting was held in 1964. The delay was due to dissension among the supporters and opponents of the rulers (particularly of Shaikhs Saqr of Sharjah and Rashed of Dubai) who were establishing this committee. The opponents rationalized their position through their worries over interference by committee members in inter-state politics. Assurances from both the Political Agent and Shaikh Saqr as to the technical nature of the committee having failed to win over the hesitation of opponents, the consensus of the meeting was to postpone a decision to the following meeting, thereby providing the rulers with time to reflect before giving a final response. At the next meeting, and despite an elaborate explanation by the Political Agent, Shaikh Shakhbut requested additional time to review the matter. It was only after Shaikh Zayed had advised the Political Agent in Abu Dhabi to avoid bothering his brother, Shaikh Shakhbut, over this issue that the British authorities focused on other rulers in forming the committee.[412] The six rulers duly submitted their nominees to the British authorities (table 4.2).

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[410]Annexe A: Address by the Political Resident, Persian Gulf, to Trucial States Council, 28 May, 1959, PRO: FO 371/140143, pp. 348-431, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 11: 1958-1959*, p. 423.
[411]Education Committee and Public Health Committee, 13 May, 1958, PRO: FO 371/132760, pp. 366-375, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 11: 1958-1959*, pp. 366-375.
[412]Dubai to Bahrain, 18 May, 1963, FO 371/168917, pp. 109-128, in Anita P. L. Burdett (ed), *RoE,1961*, pp. 113-119, 124; Letter from A. J. Lamb, Dubai, to Bahrain, 19 Jan., 1964, FO 371/174699, pp. 105-119; Abu Dhabi to Bahrain, 18 Mar., 1964, FO 371/174700, pp. 146-148, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1964*, pp. 117, 146, 148.

Table 4.2 Members of the Committee. 1964

Representing Emirates	Name 1964[*]	Name 1967 [**]
Dubai	Ahmed bin Slayym	Ahmed bin Slayym
	Essa al Gurg	Essa al Gurg
Sharjah	Ibrahim al Midfa	Ibrahim al Midfa
'Ajman	Ibrahim al-Hadidi	'Abdullah Amin
Umm al Qawain	Rashid [Al-'Ali][***]	Rashid Bin Humaid
Ras al Khaimah	Said 'Ubaid al-Shamsi	'Ali bin 'Abdulla bin 'Esa
	'Abdullah bin Esa	Muhammad 'Abdullah
Fujairah	Rashid al-Hamroni	'Abdullah bin Faris
Abu Dhabi	-	Ahmad bin Hamed
	-	Khalah al-Utaibah
	-	Saleh Farah
General Secretary-TSC	Ahmad Adi al-Baitar	Ahmad Adi al-Baitar

Sources: [*] Dubai to Bahrain, enclosing minutes of the second meeting of the Committee of 10 Sept., 1964, FO 371/174700, in Anita. L. P. Burdett (ed), *Records of Emirates 1961-1965, 1964*, innumerate table, p. 155.
[**] "al-Ijtima' al-Hadi wa al-Eshreen wa al-Thani wa al-Eshreen lillajna al-Tashawereya, Bedun Tarikh" [The twenty-first and the twenty-Second Meeting of the Deliberative Committee, nd] pp. 233-234, in Sayf al-Bedwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam*…, 2009, p. 233-234.
[***]Bedwawi (ed), ibid. p. 133.

Initially the Deliberative Committee included representatives of the six emirates, as well as the Political Agent in Dubai (after becoming the ruler of Abu Dhabi in 1966, Shaikh Zayed also decided to join the committee and appointed his two representatives)[413] (see Table 4.2). At its second meeting in 1964, the Deliberative Committee selected its chairman and discussed various ideas before submitting them for the rulers' consideration. For instance, the possibility of establishing a carpet factory was discussed, as was the creation of a Trucial States Development Fund. When the TSC met again in March 1965, the committee's recommendations were considered, among other items. Of these two specific issues, the rulers approved the establishment

[413]"al-Ijtima' al-Hadi wa al-'Eshreen wa al-Thani wa al-'Eshreen lilajna al-Tashawereya [bedun Tarikh]" [The Twenty-First and the Twenty-Second Meetings of the Deliberative Committee, nd], pp. 233-243, in al-Badwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam...*, p. 233. While this reference indicates there were two representatives, it is not clear why the name of Saleh Farah was included, as in Table 4.2.

of the funds (see section on development in this chapter) but rejected the idea of a carpet factory because of strong competition from the Iranian industry.[414] This rejection indicates an attempt by the TSC to inform members of the committee that the rulers were unwilling to sign on any unvetted project to determine its success or failure in its operation. At its 22nd session in 1965 the TSC approved a directive defining the role of the committee. This included the right of a ruler to select up to two representatives, and the appointment of the chairman and vice-chairman of the committee; while the meeting and the committee agenda were at the discretion of either the TSC or the Director of the Development Office (DO). It is interesting to note that Abu Dhabi was later represented by three members, but it is not clear if the rule concerning representatives of the emirates in the committee had changed or if Abu Dhabi was granted special status. The committee would also advise the director of the DO on various matters.[415]

The TSC was restructured in 1968. In December the rulers approved a recommendation to rename the Deliberative Committee as the Executive Committee,[416] and at its first meeting the newly-named organisation decided to create specialised subcommittees on education, agriculture, and construction, among others; it also expanded membership of the Committee to twenty-four members.[417] Although there were no clearly-stated reasons behind both decisions, a possible explanation might be that either the chairman of the TSC or the director of the DO was attempting to expand the TSC's administrative structure. On 4 May 1970, the Executive Committee decided to appoint members to the subcommittees for Finance and Administration, Health and Education, Agriculture, Fisheries and Cooperatives, and Planning and Steering.

There are two observations based on the accompanying tables (Tables 4.3 to 4.6). First, not all the emirates were represented on all these committees. The first

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[414]Dubai to FO, 13 Jan., 1965, pp. 72-79; FO 371/174700, "Dubai to Bahrain, 3 March, 1965", FO 371/174700, pp. 80-90, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1964*, pp. 72-76, 78-79, 90-92.
[415]Appendix B: Trucial States Development Distribution of Responsibility in Dubai to Bahrain, 30 Jul., 1965, FO 371/179919, pp. 508-510, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1965*, pp. 508-9.
[416]"al-Ijtima' al-Hadi wa al-'Eshreen wa al-Thani wa al-'Eshreen lilajna al-Tashawereya, [bedun Tarikh]" [The Twenty-First and the Twenty-Second Meetings of the Deliberative Committee, nd], pp. 233-243, in al-Bedwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam…*, p. 233.
[417]"Jadwal A'amal Majlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 13-14 Maris, 1968" [The Agenda for the Session of Trucial States Council, 13-14 March, 1968], pp. 244-246, in al-Badwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam…*, pp. 245-246; see also Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates…*, pp. 322, 467 (n. 117). I was unable to find a list of names for this committee.

committee included all seven emirates; the second and the fourth included six emirates, excluding Abu Dhabi; and the third excluded Abu Dhabi and Dubai. Second, from the lists in these tables, two individuals were members of more than one subcommittee: Ahmed bin Slayyem from Dubai was a member of the Finance and Administration as well as the Planning and Steering subcommittees; and 'Abdullah Faris from Ras al-Khaimah was a member of the Finance and Administration and the Health and Education subcommittees.[418] It is not clear why Shaikhs Rashed of Dubai and Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah appointed the two names mentioned above to two committees. It might have been due to a lack of suitable nationals or to their refusal to serve on any committees. Nor did the Executive Committee provide a clear reason for the expansion; however, it may have had something to do with the increase in the number of projects being undertaken by the Development Office.

Table 4.3 Committee for Financial & Administration Affairs, 1970

Name	Emirate
Oteiba Abdullah	Abu Dhabi
Essa alGurg	Dubai
Ibrahim al Midfa	Sharjah
Abdullah Amin	'Ajman
Rashid bin Humaid	Umm al Qawain
Mohammed Ibrahim Ubaidallah	Ras al Khaimah
Abdullah Abdulrahman Faris	Fujairah

Sources: The Newsletter of the Trucial State Council, June-July 1970, FCO 8/1533, in A. L. P. Burdett (ed), *Records of the Emirates 1966-1971*: Volume 5*, 1970*, innumerate Table, p. 699.

[418]Extracts from June-July [issue of TSC News Letter] 1970, FCO 8/1533, pp. 593-602, in Burdett (ed), *Records of the Emirates: 1966-1971, vol. 1970* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 2002), p. 599

Table 4.4 Committee for Health & Education Affairs, 1970

Name	Emirate
Ahmed bin Sultan bin Slayyem	Dubai
Mohammed bin Hamed al Midfa	Sharjah
Said bin Nassair	Umm al Qawain
Mohammed bin Issa al Ali	Ras al Khaimah
Abdullah Abdulrahman Faris	Fujairah

Sources: The Newsletter of the Trucial State Council, June-July 1970, FCO 8/1533, Burdett (ed), *RoE 1966-1971*: Volume 5, *1970*, innumerate Table, p. 699.

Table 4.5 Committee for Agriculture, Fisheries & Cooperative Affairs, 1970

Name	Emirate
Hamed Abdullah al-Owais	Sharjah
Ali al Kameiti	Ajman
Ahmed bin sultan Jaoor	Umm al Qawain
Saif al Jarwan	Ras al Khaimah
Saif bin Sultan	Fujairah

Sources: The Newsletter of the Trucial State Council, June-July 1970, FCO 8/1533, Burdett (ed), *RoE 1966-1971*: Volume 5, *1970*, innumerate Table, p. 699.

Table 4.6 Planning & Steering Committee, 1970

Name	Emirate
Ahmed bin Sultan bin Slayyem	Dubai
Mohammed bin Ubaid al-Shamsi	Sharjah
Salem bin Said al Suaidi	'Ajman
Sultan al Khariji	Umm al Qawain
Saif al Jarwan	Ras al Khaimah
Yousuf Abdulrahman Hafiz	Fujairah

Sources: The Newsletter of the Trucial State Council, June-July 1970, FCO 8/1533, in Burdett (ed), *RoE 1966-1971*: Volume 5, *1970*, innumerate Table, p. 699.

The Trucial States Council Development Office (TSCDO) was the third agency affiliated within the TSC. It was originally created in 1958 to supervise British-funded economic projects in the emirates, but by 1965, the British Government had decided to transfer responsibility for the DO to the TSC,[419] where it continued to administer TSC-financed projects. The distinction between the two stages was in the funding source (with the rulers approving the Trucial States Development Fund); and the scope (with the emphasis mainly on the five less well-to-do emirates, since Abu Dhabi and Dubai by this time had their own financial resources). Abu Dhabi had become an oil-producing emirate and Dubai was a trading emirate. Al-Bedwawi notes that Britain's aim was to prepare the emirates for eventual independence and to counteract the Arab League's economic assistance programme.[420]

There were two administrative strands within the TSCDO. One component was the senior staff of the Office, consisting of the director, an assistant director, a resident engineer and the TSC's legal adviser, as well as representatives of major donors/contributors if wished. Of these staff positions, only the role of its director was defined in the official reports. He managed the operation of the Office, with responsibility for submitting an annual budget to the TSC for approval and subject to TSC directives,

[419]Dubai to Bahrain, 3 Mar., 1965, FO 371/179902, pp. 80-89, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 1965*, p. 89.
[420]Sayf al-Bedwawi, *Britania wa al-Khaleej al-'Arabi*, p. 81.

as well as responding to questions from contributors.[421] Directorial appointments caused some difficulty since the rulers insisted that a local or a national of another Arab Gulf country should be appointed. They therefore rejected a British-proposed Palestinian Arab nominee, Hazim al-Khalidi, while an alternative nominee, Sayyed Tariq bin Taymur, a brother of the Sultan of Oman, was also rejected, possibly to avoid offending the Sultan. Thus, C. B. Kendel, the British acting director of the TSCDO, continued as post-holder until 1971 when Easa al-Gurg, later to be the UAE's ambassador to the United Kingdom, was approved by the rulers as a local director of the office.[422]

The second component was the number of sections operating within the TSCDO. There were at least ten, of which agriculture, education, health, and public works had existed prior to the Office merging within the TSC. Additional sections established after 1965 included Council headquarters, fisheries, marketing and cooperation, veterinary services, and the Mileiha agricultural project. In 1971, Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah, chairman of the Council, replaced the department of public works with a department for technical consultancy,[423] probably in response to earlier complaints by members of the Executive Committee regarding the slow operation of certain departments within the DO.[424] The Office also submitted details of its employees of which there were 432 by 1970 (Table 4.7).

Of the 432 personnel, 195 were locals or from Oman, and the rest of the staff were expatriates. As Table 4.7 indicates there were nearly 500 vacant posts.[425] In other

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[421]Appendix B: Trucial States Development Distribution of Responsibility in Dubai to Bahrain, 30 Jul., 1965, FO 371/179919, pp. 508-510, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 1965*, pp. 508-509.

[422]"al-Ijtima' al-Thani wa al-Thalatheen liMajlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 13-14 Maris1971" [Minutes of the Thirty-Second Session of Trucial States Council, 13-14 Mar., 1971], pp. 266-276, in al-Bedwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam…,* p. 267; Easa Saleh al-Gurg, CBE. *The Wells of Memory, An Autobiography* (London: John Murray, 1998), pp. 121-123.

[423]"al-Ijtima' al-Thani wa al-Thalatheen liMajlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 13-14 Maris, 1971" [Minutes of the Thirty-Second Session of Trucial States Council, 13-14 March, 1971], pp. 266-276, in al-Bedwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam…*, p. 267.

[424]"al-Ijtima' al-Hadi wa al-Thalatheen liMajlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 28 Febrair hata 3 Maris, 1970" [Minutes of the Thirty-First Session of Trucial States Council, 28 Feb., to 3 Mar., 1970], pp. 247-265, in al-Bedwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam…*, p. 257.

[425]Extracts from June-July [issue of TSC News Letter] 1970, FCO 8/1533, pp. 593-602, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 5:1970*, p. 601.

words, shortages of suitably qualified candidates for employment in the DO were partly responsible for the delays in its response to requests.

Table 4.7 Staffing of the Development Office, 1970

Department	Established	Post Filled By		Monthly
	Posts	Nationals*	Expatriates	Payments
Council Headquarters	21	15	13	28,585
Agricultural Services	105	54	27	41,672
Technical Education	104	36	58	103,726
Health services **	512	41	59	74,605
Public Works Department	87	7	48	50,430
Fisheries	37	13	17	24,105
Agricultural School	9	4	4	5925
Veterinary Services	17	12	2	7165
Marketing & Cooperatives	8	3	2	4260
Mileiha Agricultural Scheme	26	10	7	8555
Total	926	195	237	349,828

* This category includes both locals and Omanis.
**Excluding Al Maktoum Hospital
Sources: The Newsletter of the Trucial State Council, June-July 1970, FCO 8/1533, in Burdett (ed), *RoE 1966-1971*: Volume 5, *1970*, innumerate Table, p. 601.

4.4 Welfare Services

In addition to British-sponsored state institutions there was the establishment of welfare services. Nationals of the Coast of Oman were the last in the Gulf region to benefit from officially-sponsored, modern welfare programmes. This section deals with the welfare services as far as the reasons for their late arrival, factors for promoting them, evaluation of their implementation, and the status of their components are concerned. The significance of this section is not only in its discussion of the welfare services but also in its examination of the variety of sources that participated in providing them. In this regard, welfare services in the Coast of Oman represented the only instance where

more than one country was involved in delivering them. In other words, the situation in the Coast of Oman was an exception, with different countries involved in running the services. During the 1950s, welfare services were established, expanded, and structured following intervention by the Governments of Britain and Kuwait,[426] and were initially established to cover all seven emirates, although at a later stage they were confined to the five poorer emirates, and to a lesser extent to Dubai. After 1958, Abu Dhabi was assumed to be financially capable of providing services to its nationals.

4.4.1 Reasons for the late Arrival of Welfare Services

There were two reasons for the late arrival of the welfare services. The first was the lack of local financial resources needed to establish, support, and maintain them. By the 1930s, as noted in Chapter Two, the Coast of Oman had lost its only valuable economic resource – the pearl industry – with no alternative other than the hope of oil discovery to finance such far-reaching and less rewarding programmes. Until the problem was solved in the late 1950s, when oil was found in commercial quantities in Abu Dhabi, this was a reality that made both the rulers and the British authorities unable, even if they had wished, to provide social services such as education.[427] By the 1950s, British representatives and the rulers turned to the British and the Kuwaiti Governments, respectively, for financial and material support. In addition, during the annual meetings of the TSC, the British Political Agent encouraged the rulers to supplement the British contributions by giving what they were able in order to sustain and improve the existing facilities.[428]

The other reason why these services were lacking was Britain's indifference to people's welfare; this was recognised by British officials, the rulers, and the populations of the Coast of Oman. The signed treaties, as discussed earlier, limited the extent of British interference in the internal affairs of the Coast of Oman. In earlier times, well

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[426]Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates…*, p. 51.
[427]F. G. Gause III, *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security in the Arab Gulf States* (NY: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994), p. 45.
[428]Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Trucial States Council, 25 June, 1954, FO 371/104261, pp. 205-213, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 9: 1947-1958*, p. 208.

before 1947, Britain had been interested in the Gulf region largely as a maritime base, and had shown little concern for the land and its people except when its maritime policies were affected.[429] But even in the pre-1947 period, British officials in the region had criticized Britain's lack of action or interest in establishing and improving the welfare of the population. As a former diplomat, Sir Arnold Wilson commented, Nowhere did we make, except at Abadan and in oil fields, any attempt to establish schools or colleges, or to assist the inhabitants to develop local industries, or to fit them to take their place in a rapidly changing world: medical aid was restricted to the maintenance of a few dispensaries of little practical value.[430]

4.4.2 Factors in Promoting Welfare Services

The status quo in the Coast of Oman started to change after Britain and the Arab states had sponsored and introduced the badly-needed welfare services. However, the two sides were inspired by different motives, and by 1950, with changing international circumstances, Britain's efforts had turned toward the creation of a new state, whereas the Arab efforts were driven by the rise of Arab nationalism and the revenues generated from oil. For Britain, the welfare policy was a tool for achieving a higher goal: i.e., the integration of the seven emirates into a federal entity along with the implementation of developmental programmes under the supervision of the Trucial States Development Office (TSCDO) which had originally been the Development Office attached to the British Political Agency in Dubai. Thus the original quid pro quo between Britain and the rulers of non-intervention and protection in exchange for relinquishing external sovereignty (defence and foreign affairs), was replaced by an interventionist policy. This new direction was interpreted by officials in London as being for the good of the Coast of Oman so that its rulers were under an obligation to assist Britain in carrying out its international responsibilities.[431] This policy shift rested on the continuation of an earlier

[429]Husain M. al-Baharna, "The Consequences of Britain's Exclusive Treaties: A Gulf view", pp. 15-37, in B. R. Pridham (ed), *The Arab Gulf and the West* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1985), p. 22.
[430]Arnold Wilson (Sir), *The Persian Gulf: An Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (London: George Allen & Unwin, [1928] 1959), p. 12.
[431]Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of the Empire in the Middle East*, p. 111.

British approach which had involved dealing with the rulers and their emirates as one territory, governed by the same treaties and communicated through the same Native Agent.

The efforts had started on an ad hoc basis during the 1950s and became more organised during the following decade. In the earlier stage, each side appointed a single individual to administer the programme. For the British Government it was the Political Agent, and for Kuwait it was Murshed al-Usimi, a Kuwaiti merchant living in Dubai. In the early stages, the rulers of the emirates submitted their requests to representatives of one or the other side for approval and appropriation of funds to carry out the projects. Of the representatives of the two sides, British officials in the emirates were active in sponsoring some of the projects without waiting for local requests. At the second stage, administrative institutions were established to operate and evaluate projects in the Coast of Oman. Britain established the Development Office (DO), the remit of which included public works, agriculture, fisheries, health, and educational departments, while in 1963 Kuwait established its office in Dubai, which supervised health and education.[432] From 1965 onwards the rulers became involved in administering developmental projects.

In relation to the Arab World, the mix of political independence and oil revenues reflected what Taryam characterised as a division of labour between Kuwaiti capital and Egyptian labour.[433] Like the rest of the Third World, the Arab World was moving towards national liberation from colonialism. The 1952 Egyptian revolution led by Nasser and his quest for establishing a Pan-Arab state accelerated efforts for the political independence of the British and French colonies and protectorates in the Arab World. Given conditions in the Coast of Oman, the method of achieving independence was to provide social and economic assistance.[434] In the case of Kuwait, the discovery of oil in the 1950s had provided the necessary economic resources to replace the pearl industry and provide finance to improve first the welfare of the Kuwaiti people, then of

[432]Hawley, *The Trucial States*, pp. 227-228.
[433]Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates…*, p. 25.
[434]Muhammad al-Harbi, *Tatawur al-Ta'aleem fi al-Imarat al-'Arabia al-Mutahida: Muqadema Tawthiqiia* [Education in the United Arab Emirates: A Documentary Introduction] (Sharjah: np, 1988), p. 70.

populations in the Coast of Oman.[435]

With the involvement of Britain and the Arab world in promoting these projects, financial difficulties were reduced but not eliminated. From 1953 to 1965, Britain and Kuwait were the sole financial contributors to these projects. In 1953 the British Government allocated £25,000, which increased in 1960 to £200,000,[436] and by 1965 Bahrain, Qatar, and Abu Dhabi were also contributing. From 1953 to 1968 the total financial contributions of the five countries had exceeded £5 million (see Table 4.8). Britain contributed £1.6 million over 13 years; Qatar and Bahrain respectively made one-off contributions of £250,000 and £40,000; Abu Dhabi gave £2.2 million over two years; and Kuwait's contribution was £1.2 million over six years. Of the five countries, only Kuwait funded its own projects while the rest channelled their funds through the TSCDO. In addition, Abu Dhabi was the only local contributor to the Development Fund and gradually replaced Britain as the funder of social and economic programmes. Finally, this donated capital assisted towards carrying out economic and social projects in agriculture, digging water wells, and constructing roads, in addition to building schools and hospitals. These projects attempted to cover the widest range of economic and social services in the Coast of Oman.

[435]J. P. Tripp, Dubai, to C.A. Gault, Bahrain, 24 June, 1958, PRO: FO 371/132884, pp. 623- 627, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 11: 1958-1959*, p. 625.
[436]FO to Treasury and reply, 15, 24 Jan., 1954, FO 371/109859 pp. 721- 723, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 11: 1958-1959*, p. 721; "Letter from PR, Bahrain, to FO, 25 Nov., 1964," FO 371/17413, p. 79. Deposited in TNA, London.

Table 4.8 Financial Assistance for Social and Economic Development in the Coast of Oman 1953-68 (in £ Millions / Concurrent Prices)

Country	Britain	Qatar	Bahrain	Abu Dhabi	Kuwait	Total
Duration	1953-68	1965	1965	1965-6	1962-7	-
Contribution	1,6443	250	40	2,265	1,200	5,399.3

Sources: Hawley, ibid, pp.227-9, for Britain, Qatar, and Bahrain; Heard-Bey, ibid., pp.322-3, for Abu Dhabi; K. G. Fenelon, *The United Arab Emirates: An Economic and Social Survey* (London: Longman, [1973] 1976), p.27, for Kuwait.

Of the two sides contributing to development, the TSCDO, despite the increased financial resources available, continued to face funding shortages. With regard to Kuwait, the literature is silent about any financial constraints on its welfare programme in the Coast of Oman.[437] From 1967, Shaikh Zayed certainly intervened financially more than once to cover the deficit in the TSCDO's budget. While thanking Shaikh Zayed, Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah, President of the TSC, attempted to encourage other rulers to follow his action but without success.[438] The reasons for the deficit were unclear: was it the misallocation of funds, or attempts to carry out projects that were beyond the means of the Development Office? As a consequence, however, the rulers instructed the Executive Committee to reduce spending by proposing projects that were within the Council's financial capacity.[439]

[437]A handful of literature, including al-Badr, that deals with the financial aspect of the Kuwaiti welfare programme briefly stated the amount allocated but made no attempt to investigate any constraints on it. See Badr Khalid al-Badr, *Rihlah maa Qafilat al-Hayah, al-Juzi al-Thani wa al-Thalith: 1962-1971* [A Journey with Caravan of Life, Vols. 2 and 3: 1962-1971] (Kuwait: Markaz al-Buhuth wa al-Dirasat al-Kuwaitiya, 2004), pp. 82-84, 86; Hawley, ibid., pp. 229-230; Fenelon, ibid., p. 26-27.

[438]"Waqai' al-Jalsa al-Tase'a wa al-'Eshreen li Majlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 13-14 October, 1968" [Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Session of Trucial States Council, 13-14 October, 1968], pp. 244-246, in al-Badwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam*…p. 244; "Waqai al-Jalsa al-Tase'a wa al-'Eshreen li Majlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 29, 31, Augustus wa 2 Sebtember, 1967" [Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Session of Trucial States Council, 29, 31 August and 2 September, 1967], p. 2 [unpublished document in private collection in my possession].

[439]PA, Dubai, to Bahrain, 9 Mar. 1970, FCO 8/1533, pp. 583-585, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 5: 1970*, p. 583.

4.4.3 Evaluation of Economic and Social Programmes

The difference in British and Kuwaiti-Egyptian reasons for interference and sponsorship of social programmes led to counter-criticism of each other's plans. In this respect, emphasis on development was not financial or related to technical matters but was political in nature. Both sides employed development to dominate the future of the Coast of Oman. Education, as appeared in a statement by Balfour-Paul, the Political Agent in Dubai, was but an example. His comparative approach focused on education:

> Small sums had been made available to the Trucial States in 1952 and in subsequent years for the development of water resources, the promotion of agriculture and other modest purposes; but help in the virgin field of education was largely left to Kuwaiti generosity. In the absence of any major teacher-training initiatives anywhere in the Gulf, the rising generation in all states were [sic] largely taught by Egyptian recruits, bearing, it was feared, a political message from Cairo. The British shook their heads but did little else.[440]

The British authorities used political leverage in 1956 and also in 1965 to counteract any movement by any side to undermine its domination. In the first event, they appealed for the de-politicizing of education during the Suez crisis of 1956. In the same year the Political Resident in Bahrain requested Peter Tripp, the Political Agent in Dubai to ask "the Rulers and, perhaps, Murshed Al Usaimi...to impress upon expatriate teachers....that their duties are in the educational field and they, the local Rulers, will brook no interference in politics. [441] A major consequence of this British pressure was the deportation of politically undesirable teachers from the emirates. One early deportee teacher in 1957 was Hashim Abu 'Imarah, the headmaster of al-Ahmadiyya school in Dubai. According to Ghanim Gubash, the British view was that Abu 'Imarah's guilt lay in preaching the Arab Nationalist cause and demoting Britain for standing against Arab inspiration for independence, as well as blaming Britain for the Palestinian

[440]Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 116.
[441]C.A. Gault to FO, 3 Jul, 1958, PRO: FO 371/132884, pp. 636-637, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol 11:1958-1959*, p. 636.

problem.[442]

In the second case, the British authorities in the emirates employed two methods to undermine attempts by the Arab League to establish projects in the areas of health, agriculture, and city-planning in the five poorer emirates. One method was based on a recommendation by Easa al-Gurg, at that time a member of the Deliberative Committee and later the UAE's ambassador to London, to establish the Development Fund. The Committee did not discuss the wording of the statement before submitting it for the rulers' consideration,[443] the resolution to establish this scheme having been prepared in advance by the Political Agent. The rulers duly approved a resolution that focused on establishing the Development Fund as the receiving agency, and on the appointment of staff.[444] The second method was through active British intervention. For instance, Balfour-Paul, the Political Agent, revealed that he had failed to prevent the Arab League's aircraft from landing at Dubai airport. The RAF having achieved this objective,[445] the Arab League was forced to discard its developmental project.

While Britain criticised the efforts of both Kuwait and the Arab League, its own strategy differed. It gradually adopted a hostile position regarding Kuwait's efforts, and stood firmly against any move by the Arab League unless it was made through the TSCDO. By 1955, when education was established in the Coast of Oman, both sides had agreed to supplement each other's efforts. Britain formed an educational policy addressing local needs, and Kuwait provided the capital and recruited teachers. Initially, Britain had welcomed Kuwait's participation, but in 1958, when Kuwait set off on its own in the field of education, it was strongly criticised by British officials. As Murshid al-'Usaimi stated in a partly illegible transcript, Kuwait had decided by 1958 to create its

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[442]"al-Ijtima' al-'Ashir limajlis Hukam al-Imarat al-Mutasaliha, 13 May, 1957" pp. 75-87, in al-Bedwawi (ed), *Majlis Hukkam…*, pp. 77-78; al-Harbi, *Tatawur al-T'aleem fi al-Imarat*, p. 47. Note that the text of the minutes did not include the name of the expelled teacher, and that the report indicated that Shaikh Rashid did not object to this action.

[443]Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the Deliberative Committee, 12 December, 1964, and Minutes of the Fifth Meeting Deliberative, 22 Feb., 1965, FO 371/179902, pp. 74-79, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1965*, pp. 76, 79.

[444]Dubai to Bahrain, 3 Mar., 1965, FO 371/179902, pp. 80-94, in Burdett (ed), *RoE 1965*, pp. 84, 90.

[445]Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *Bagpipes in Babylon; A Lifetime in the Arab World and Beyond* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p. 199.

own educational programme, a new orientation that was due to the desire of Shaikh 'Abdulla (r. 1950-1965) of Kuwait to help the less fortunate people of the Gulf area.[446] There was no elaboration from al-'Usaimi as to Shaikh 'Abdulla's objectives or possible difficulties with the above-mentioned arrangement.

The relationship between the British and Kuwaiti governments became more tense as efforts by the Arab League and the British to unify social and economic welfare programmes in the Coast of Oman got under way. In 1965, the British Foreign Office noted Kuwait's resistance to merging with the Development Office.[447] Kuwaiti officials, such as Badr al-Badr from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, repeated the official line, but without providing any further explanation of Kuwait's stand *vis-à-vis* the choice of not joining "the British-sponsored Development Office." He also stated that if pressure continued they would close the Office. Moreover, al-Badr cited but did not include the text of correspondence between Shaikhs Rashed of Dubai and 'Abdalla of Kuwait on the same subject: the former requested but later refused to merge the Kuwaiti Office with the Development Office.[448] It seems that the Kuwait Government either viewed the Office as a symbol of its independence or attempted to avoid being criticised in the Arab World for consenting to the dictates of the British.

British officials, in turn, repeated similar criticisms in their discussions with foreign diplomats. For instance, Anthony Bullock of the Overseas Development Department argued at a meeting with American diplomats in London that the ruler of Kuwait aimed to become "the leader of the Gulf", and described the Kuwaiti education and health services as "propagandistic" in nature.[449] There were no further clarifications of this term and no reference to specific shortcomings within the Kuwaiti services. There was, however, a minority, such as Christopher Gandy from the British Embassy in Kuwait,

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[446]Dubai Telegram to FO, and reply 24 and 27 June, 1958, PRO: FO 371/132884, pp. 621, 629, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 11: 1958-1959*, pp. 621, 629. There are no Kuwaiti documents that directly outline the reasons for changing their course of action.
[447]FO Minutes, 4 March, 1965, FO 371/179846, pp. 273-247, in Burdett (ed), *Records of Kuwait, 1861-1965: 1965* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1997), pp. 237-238. Henceforth *RoK.*
[448]al-Badr, Rihlah ma'a Qafilat al-Hayah…, pp. 120-121.
[449]From [the US] Embassy, London, to Department of State, Washington, 15 Feb., 1965, NARA 2335, AF4 (4-4), p. 6. [The National Archives and Research Administration NARA, Washington DC].

who pointed out that the Kuwaiti and Development Office programmes were different in orientation and could complement each other for the benefit of the local population.[450] British officials were also critical of the Arab League's announcement about providing economic assistance to the emirates of the Coast. The League's proposed five year plan for economic development concentrated on five areas: roads, health, electricity, agriculture, and water, and the total budget for the plan was £1 million, to be shared equally by Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Iraq.[451] Of these four countries only Kuwait wired its share into an account in the National Bank of Dubai. Saudi Arabia preferred to operate its own projects, and it was unclear what happened to the shares of Egypt and Iraq. Britain's main reaction was to classify the project as an Egyptian ploy, without providing concrete evidence to support its claim. Thus, Britain attempted to reduce its apparent negative impact by proposing to channel this contribution through the Development Fund.[452] As with the British reaction to Kuwait's programme, there was only one attempt to deal directly with the Arab League's proposal. Balfour-Paul briefly examined the initial phase of the plan but not the overall project, probably because it was not available for him to review. His comments focused on two points; a comparison with the British plan in its emphasis on water surveys and medical facilities, along with a passing reference to the fact that Sharjah had received "the lion's share",[453] a phrase that could be interpreted as a political favour to its ruler. Similar comments might have been made with regard to Britain's establishment of the al-Maktum hospital in Dubai in 1949 as a reward for its ruler's collaboration. The review did not evaluate the overall feasibility of the plan based on Britain's first-hand knowledge of the Coast of Oman.

In turn, the British developmental programme was critically evaluated by the Arab side. Their argument was based on the rationale that Britain was a world power with financial resources but prior to the 1950s had made no effort to modernise the Coast of Oman. Concerning the creation of modern welfare programmes in the Coast of Oman,

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[450]"Kuwait to FO, 5 Jul., 1965", FO 371/179846, p. 239, in Burdett (ed), *RoK, 1965*, pp. 239.
[451]"al-Watheqa 27: "Ijtima' Bi'that Jamea al-Duwal al-'Arabiya al-Fanneya, 15 Fabrayer, 1965", pp. 457-458 [Report 27: Meeting of Technical Committee of the Arab League, 15 Feb., 1965, pp. 457-458], in Sayid Nawfal, *al-Khaleej al-Arabi aw al-Hudud al-Sharqiya lil-Watan al-'Arabi* [The Arabian Gulf or the Eastern Flank of the Arab World] (Beirut: Dar al-Taleea, 1969), pp. 457-458.
[452]FO Minutes, 4 Mar., 1965, FO 371/179846, pp. 237-238, in Burdett (ed), *RoK, 1965*, p. 237.
[453]Dubai to Bahrain, with a summary of Arab League's Proposal, 5 June, 1965, FO 371/179918, pp. 377-378, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1965*, pp. 277-378.

for example, British projects in the education field had failed with technical education.[454] Not only was the Arab critique political in nature, similar to the one presented by Britain, but it also showed a lack of understanding of British methods of administering overseas territories. From at least 1882 until 1940, the British Government had delegated the financing of economic and social services in overseas territories to the local authorities. By the 1960s, as part of a new orientation to accommodate the post-1945 political reality, the Imperial Government was sponsoring various social and economic developmental schemes through newly-established governmental agencies.[455] Before embarking on any project, these agencies conducted surveys to determine the possibilities of success or failure. For instance, from 1965 to 1968, various institutions in the Coast of Oman undertook studies: two on roads, eight on water resources, one on fishery, two on town planning, and two on mineral resources, seven on electricity and four on agriculture.[456] The main intention of the British authorities was to restructure the Empire into a Commonwealth, by creating modern economic and social projects to improve people's standard of living.

In relation to technical education, the critics were not correct in assuming that the British project had failed, since it involved a gradual process. However, the problem with such a project was its emphasis on manual labour and middle-level white-collar professionals. Due to the gradualist nature of Britain's approach to development, the programme excluded training in public administration,[457] a subject that provides a society with administrators for its various agencies. In this case, it would have been useful after 1971 for the Federal Government to have had individuals who were knowledgeable about the way administrative systems worked. In the early 1950s, however, the British Political Agents, while encouraging the rulers to modernise local government and assisting them by employing British and Arab advisers, fell short in announcing their readiness to train local recruits for the new agencies.

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[454]Nawfal, *al-Khaleej al-'Arabi aw al-Hudud…,* p. 299; 'Abdulla Sulaiman al-Naqbi, *Siyasat Britania al-Ta 'alemeya fi Imarat al-Sahel, 1953-1971* [Britain's Educational Policy in the emirates of the Coast, 1953-1971] (Ras al-Khaimah: Markaz al-Derasat wa al-Buhuth, 2009), p. 33.
[455]D. J. Morgan, *The Official History of Colonial Development, vol.4: Changes in British Aid Policy, 1940-1970* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1980), pp. 2-6.
[456]Annual Report, Trucial States Council, 1968, [UAE 332.1095362 TSC 1968], pp. 54-55.
[457]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to the United Arab Emirates*, pp. 332-333.

4.4.4 The Status of Welfare Programmes

Welfare services in the Coast of Oman from 1953 to 1971 were divided into three categories: economic development (which was exclusively under British control and transferred to TSC supervision), urban planning, and social development (which began after Britain and Kuwait had started the separate operation and supervision of their economic programmes and social projects). The first category included agriculture, irrigation, and fisheries; the second included electricity, water supply, roads, and low income housing; and the third category included health and education. Of the eight areas, agriculture, irrigation, health, and education were initiated in 1953, while electricity, fisheries, roads, and low income housing emerged after 1965. During the 23rd session of the TSC, the latter four, along with water supplies, were emphasised by the rulers as major developmental projects. The rulers' choices were referred to by Balfour-Paul as "uneconomic",[458] although he did not define this term or state his reasons for using it.

4.4.4.1. Economic Development

From 1954 to 1971, emphasis in the economic development sphere was on agriculture and fisheries. These sectors were the only locally-available source of employment for the population of the Coast of Oman. At an earlier stage the British authorities had concentrated on agriculture and ignored fisheries, although unfortunately there was no British report comparing the two sectors to justify this approach. Moreover, economic developmental projects expanded after 1966 when Shaikh Zayed became the ruler of Abu Dhabi. On various occasions, he provided financial resources for the TSCDO to expand its projects, or for other rulers to cover the expenses of a project of local interest. Shaikh Zayed's financial contributions played a vital role in assisting the TSCDO to realize the majority of its projects in the emirates.

[458]Dubai to Bahrain, 1 Jul., 1965, FO 371/179919, pp. 500-511, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1965*, p. 503.

Economic development began in 1954 when the British authorities in the Gulf requested an allocation of funds from the Foreign Office to improve water supplies for farming. The project included rehabilitating existing wells and repairing irrigation channels – *aflaj* (sing. *falaj*) – in al-Buraimi, Abu Dhabi, and also in Um al-Quwain.[459] In the same year, they established the Agricultural Trial Station at Degdaga in Ras al-Khaimah. The objectives of the scheme were to test the possibility of growing fruit and vegetables, among other items, in the emirates; to supply local farmers with tested seeds, and to train local farmers in modern farming techniques. Later the station provided transport for supplying nearby markets with the produce.[460] In addition to the Degdaga station, the TSC approved the establishment in 1967 of the Meleha project, the objectives of which were to test seeds and also to benefit local farmers by turning the fields into small farms for rent.[461]

In 1966 the Deliberative Committee recommended to the rulers of the emirates the establishment of a fisheries department, in preparation for including fisheries as part of the expansion of economic development. During the 27th session of the TSC the rulers asked for more time to discuss the issue, and at the next meeting approved the inclusion of fisheries as part of the TSC programmes.[462] The rulers of the smaller emirates such as Um al-Quwain and Ras al-Khaimah were interested in such projects, but the TSCDO was short of funds. As a result, and with the encouragement of the Fisheries Adviser, the ruler of Um al-Qawain approached Shaikh Zayed of Abu Dhabi, who provided him with the necessary funds to build an ice-making factory and a fish market.[463]

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[459]FO to Treasury and reply, 15 and 24 Jan., 1954, PRO: FO 371/109859, pp. 721-723, in Tuson (ed), *RoE; vol. 9: 1947-1958*, p. 721.
[460]A. T. Lamb, Bahrain, to D. F. Hawley, Dubai, 15 Feb., 1960, PRO: FO 371/149060, pp. 505-509, in Burdett (ed), *RoE; vol.12: 1959-1960*, pp. 506-509.
[461]Annual Report…, 1968, [UAE 332.1095362 TSC 1968], p. 6,
[462]al-Ijtima' al-Sabe'a wa al-'Eshreen liMajlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 16 November, 1966 [Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Session of Trucial States council, 16 November, 1966], pp. 11, 13; al-Ijtima'al-Thamin wa al-Eshreen liMajlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 6 Ibreel, 1967 [Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Session of Trucial States council, 6 April, 1966], pp. 5- 6 [unpublished document in private collection].
[463]Trucial States Council, Fishery Department, to Ministry of Overseas Development, 8 Dec., 1969, OD 34/185, pp. 523-526, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, vol. 4: 1969*, pp. 524-525.

4.4.4.2. Urban Planning

In addition to economic projects, there was urban planning which included electricity and water supplies, roads, and low-income housing. Of the four issues, the first three topped the rulers' 'wish list' during the 23rd session of the TSC, while low-income housing was an item added by the Political Agent. Its inclusion was a form of compensation for Fujairah, which is located on the Gulf of Oman, and all the projects were for the benefit of emirates located on the Arabian Gulf.

The first component of urban planning was building power stations in the five smaller emirates. Until 1965, all the towns in the emirates had lacked electricity, but by 1966, the rulers' wish to provide electricity began to turn into reality when the Deliberative Committee decided to form a subcommittee to review a report submitted by the electricity consultancy. Having received this review, the Committee decided during successive meetings to authorise the installation of electric lines, with Jumairah in Dubai and Sharjah town being the first two places to be covered. Not only was this decision confirmed by the TSC on 3 June 1966, but the service was also extended to the towns of 'Ajman, Um al-Qawain, and Ras al-Khaimah, and in 1968 the power stations in 'Ajman and Um al-Qawain were providing electricity to the local populations.[464] However, due to the high costs of the service, the company recorded losses, which in 1967 and again in 1970 led Shaikh Zayed of Abu Dhabi to recommend that the TSC should subsidize the service, with the company selling the service to consumers at lower prices and the TSC paying the differences.[465] No explanations were forthcoming as to the reason for the high prices and financial losses. These circumstances were repeated in the case of water supplies.

The second component of urban development was supplying urban residents with piped fresh water. Until 1965, townspeople in the emirates had had water transported from wells by donkeys or else drank brackish water. Agencies within the

[464]Annual Report…1968 [UAE 332.1095362 TSC 1968], pp. 49-50, 52.
[465]"Waqai' al-Ijtima' al-Tasea' wa al-'Eshreen li-Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 28, 31, Agustus wa 2, September, 1967" [The Minutes of Twenty-Ninth Session of the Trucial States Council, 28, 31 August and 2 September, 1967], pp. 12-13; "Bayan al-Sadir 'an Majlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 28 Fabrair hata 3 Mares, 1970" [A Communiqué by the Rulers of the Trucial States, 28 Feb., to 3 Mar., 1970], p. 3 [unpublished document in private collection].

TSC began the process of providing fresh water by employing two approaches: initial surveys to locate fresh water, followed by the digging of wells and the repairing of the traditional *aflaj* to transport water. From 1967 to 1970, the Deliberative Committee approved schemes to survey areas for water,[466] and at a more practical level approved various plans to supply water to towns by installing engines, pumps, and pipes to near-by wells. Of the five smaller emirates, Sharjah and Um al-Quwain towns received water from wells within their territories; 'Ajman, on the other hand, was supplied with water from wells within Sharjah. Of the three emirates, the TSC decided that the TSCDO would operate 'Ajman's project.[467]

The third component of urban welfare was building roads. Prior to 1965, lack of roads made travelling difficult within and between the emirates of the Coast, and in many cases, it was easier to travel to other locations by sea. Building roads had been one aspect of the Arab League's unimplemented project, which the rulers then adopted as their own, putting particular emphasis on covering the distance between Dubai and Ras al-Khaimah. This project was later divided into two parts. The stretch between Dubai and Sharjah was realised by the TSCDO and the other part, extending from Sharjah to Ras al-Khaimah, was built by the Saudi Government. In addition, the TSC and its Deliberative Committee decided to build roads within and between various towns and emirates.[468] Building these roads assisted in connecting emirates of the Coast with each other. It reduced the time spent by people in travelling from one locality to another, either for visiting relatives or for business. Building communication networks also served the cause of federating the emirates of the Coast by connecting them to one another. However, on various occasions, financial constraints in the TSCDO forced the TSC to choose between projects. In 1967, for example, the rulers had to postpone completion of a road on the Gulf of Oman in order to complete another one that covered Wadi Ham and crossed the al-Hajjar Mountains.[469]

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[466]Annual Report…, 1968, [UAE 332.1095362 TSC 1968], p. 50 [unpublished document].
[467]Trucial States Council Report, 1969, pp.49-51, 53 [unpublished document]; "Taqrir al-Reasah 'an Ijtima' al-Thalith wa al-Thalatheen, 10 Ulu, 1970" [The Presidential Report on the Thirty-Third Session (of the TSC), 10 Jul., 1970], p.286, in al-Bedwai (ed), *Majlis Hukkam*…, pp. 277-287.
[468]Annual Report…, pp. 49-51.
[469]Annual Report…, p. 52; Waqai' Ijtima; al-Tase' wa al-'Eshreen li-Majlis Hukkam al-Imarat al-Mutasaleha, 29, 21 Agustus wa 2, Sebtember, 1967 [The Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Session of the

The fourth component of the urban welfare was the building of low-income housing for the benefit of poorer segments of society. Although this scheme began as a form of compensation for Fujairah, the TSC decided in 1967 to build four houses in Um al-Qawain.[470] The project began in 1966, at which time the Deliberative Committee invited companies to bid for the construction of thirty-six houses. A year or more later, the committee declared the project completed, and stated its intention to build another six houses.[471] However, the ruler of Fujairah refused to distribute the houses until they had been supplied with water and electricity services.[472]

4.4.4.3. Social Development

Although, as noted in Chapter Two, there were certain levels of modern education and health services in the Coast of Oman, it was through the intervention of the British, Kuwaiti, and Egyptian Governments between 1953 and 1971 that these services were modernized and expanded to reach more people who lived in the remotest regions of the country. Educational services were divided into two areas. In 1962 responsibility for public education was turned over to the Government of Kuwait, which controlled public education. In 1965, technical education, which had initially been under British control, was moved to the TSCDO.

Technical education had been set up and supervised by Britain until 1965, at which time the DO was turned into the TSCDO. Schools were of two types, technical and agricultural, and each focused on providing skills and training to enable students to be productive in the relevant economic sector. By 1970 there were at least three technical schools; the first opened in Sharjah in 1958, the second in Dubai in 1960, and the third in 1970 in Ras Al-Khaimah. Of the three, the Sharjah and Dubai schools provided a variety of courses. The Sharjah school taught carpentry, vehicle maintenance, and mathematics, while the school in Dubai focused on Arabic- and

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Trucial States Council, 29, 31, Aug., and 2 Sept., 1967], pp. 13-14, unpublished document in private collection.

[470]Hawley, *The Trucial States*, pp. 241-3.

[471]"Annual Report…1968," [UAE 332.1095362 TSC 1968], pp.49-50, 52; "Waqai' Ijtima' al-Hadi wa al-'Eshreen li-al-lajnah al-Tashawereia, Febrair, 1968" [Report on the Twenty-First Meeting of the Deliberative committee, Feb.,1968] , p. 2.

[472]Annual Report…, 1968, [UAE 332.1095362 TSC 1968], p. 51.

English-language typewriting, accounting, and commercial law. There appears to have been a division of labour between these two schools in order to provide a range of subjects. The technical school in Ras Al-Khaimah focused on agriculture. This emirate had been chosen as the school's location since the area was predominantly agricultural. As well as agricultural courses, the school provided teaching in basic science and Arabic language.[473]

Officially, modern education started in 1953 when Shaikh Saqr of Sharjah appealed directly to President Nasser of Egypt and Shaikh 'Abdulla of Kuwait to assist in creating a modern educational system for the people of Sharjah.[474] Kuwait supported the school completely and hired teachers, provided books and stationery, and modified the system's curriculum. The system provided twelve years of education, divided into primary, elementary, and secondary levels, each with four grades, and the schools taught Arabic, arithmetic, Islamic studies, English, and general sciences, among others. The first school was for boys, and was followed by schools for both boys and girls in all six emirates. Initially the teaching of girls faced some resistance, but this was eventually overcome, mainly through linking education with the traditional role of women with the emphasis on teaching girls how to be good mothers. Table 4.9 shows how the combined Arab efforts in education increased the numbers of schools, students, and teachers between the academic years 1953-54 and 1970-71. During this period the schools increased in number from one to twenty-two, student numbers increased from 230 to 16,217, and the number of teachers rose from six to 815.

[473]Hawley, *The Trucial States*, pp. 236-238.
[474]Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*…, p. 17.

Table 4.9 Progress in Public Education in the Coast of Oman for Selected Years by Schools, Students, and Teachers.

Education	1953-4	1958-9	1963-4	1968-9	1970-1
Schools	1	5	19	20	22
Students	230	2335	2741	12292	16217
Teachers	6	68	255	523	815

Source: Muhammad Muttar al-'Asi, *Maserat al-Taleem fi Dawlat...*[History of Education in the United Arab Emirates], (Dubai: Matabi' al-Bayan, 1993), Tables 17, 19, 20 pp. 255,257, and 258 respectively.

Additionally, both Britain and Kuwait provided modern medical services. The first health facility was built in Dubai in 1949 by the British Government. At a later stage of cooperation with the then crown prince of Dubai, the late Shaikh Rashid al-Maktoum, this facility was expanded and called the Al-Maktoum Hospital. Kuwaiti medical support arrived in 1962, and from 1963 onwards, both sides built clinics in remote areas of the country, in which resident health personnel offered medical services, with a visiting doctor providing for the medical needs of patients as well as supervising the aerial spraying of infested areas. Medical provision to deal with diseases such as malaria was also established. The use of health services is reflected in the numbers of patients visiting the Al-Maktoum Hospital for medical treatment. The hospital's 1959 annual report revealed an increase in both in- and out-patients from 10,828 in 1956 to 30,860 in 1958.[475] However, a positive response to modern health care was not immediate, since there were elements of distrust on the part of the general population towards modern medicine. For instance, Dr Majdi Nassef, one of the earliest Arab doctors in the Coast of Oman, recalled the difficulties to be faced in dealing with the local population: "It was difficult to convince patients of the benefits of modern medicine. Patients, who were generally hopeless cases, arrived after losing hope in traditional treatments and in some cases left the hospital, without our knowledge, upon recommendation from relatives."[476] Health services provided by Britain and Kuwait increased in terms of both facilities and personnel. Table 4.10 shows that by 1968 there were six hospitals, twenty-two

[475]Annual Report of the al Maktum Hospital, 1959, PRO: FO371/149150, pp.638-651, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 12: 1959-1960*, pp. 639-640.
[476]Ghubash and Lotah, "Tarikh al-Tib fi al-Imarat al-'Arabia al-Mutahida", pp. 12-72, in *al-Buhuth al-Faizah*…, p.70

dispensaries, and 219 medical personnel. The British and Kuwaiti governments, as the main providers, had four hospitals, twenty-two dispensaries, and 219 employees, and hired almost equal numbers of health workers. The remaining two hospitals were operated by American missionaries who had little or no connection with the TSCDO.

Table 4.10 Summary of Health Care Services: Facilities and Personnel, 1968

Sponsors	Hospitals	Dispensers	Personnel
Britain	2	11	108
Kuwait	2	11	111
American Mission	2	-	-
Total	6	22	219

Source: Hawley, ibid. pp. 231-3.

4.5 Conclusion

In exploring changes in the political situation in the Coast of Oman from 1952 to 1971, the study reveals that there was the embryo of a modern state. The federal government, contrary to Taryam's claim,[477] inherited legal, security, and administrative institutions as well as a number of social welfare programmes from the British and Kuwaiti Governments. These formed the foundations which the newly-established state used as ways and means to interact with other states, to deal with the needs of its citizens, and to respond to external or internal challenges to its legitimacy. Similarly the federal government was, in due course, able to expand these institutions through the enactment of laws and training of citizens in order to deal with the future requirements and needs of the society.

The chapter dealt with the creation of state institutions and the provision of welfare services. This outcome was the result of Britain's role in establishing and expanding the formation of a state structure, and the influence of Kuwait and the local rulers on its

[477] Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*…, pp. 209, 254-255.

evolution. An interesting element in the case of the Coast of Oman was their separation. While Britain controlled the former, it shared responsibility with Kuwait for providing the latter to nationals of the emirates, in addition to a failed attempt by the Arab League to create a separate programme. This division between the two seems special in the annals of European domination, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s when the Cold War and the quest in the Third World for independence were at their height. While the European powers were interested in maintaining their dominant status within the Third World, the newly-independent states were interested in challenging the above-mentioned status quo. The contest was between Britain and two Arab states – Egypt and Kuwait – as well as with the Arab League with emphasis not on the services but on winning 'hearts and minds' among local populations. Education was an area of competition for both sides to exploit and advance their agenda, since it deals with teaching the younger generation. In this case, Egypt and Kuwait used their resources while benefiting at the same time from Britain's inability to match them. Egyptian-Kuwaiti success in dominating the education of the younger generation in turn led to British frustration, as reflected in Balfour-Paul's comment on this issue cited above.[478]

There are a number of issues associated with the formation of modern state institutions. In term of the actual process, the emergence of state institutions was within the confines of a changing international situation in the post-1945 world, with Britain's objectives being to maintain its superpower status while retaining its hegemonic position in the Coast of Oman. Arab countries, regardless of political orientation, were interested in achieving political independence. As Chapter Three showed, the rulers of the emirates were interested in improving local structures but not the one on the Coast of Oman as a whole. Of the three institutions examined above, the reasons for establishing legal and security systems were to assist Britain in consolidating its domination over the Coast of Oman, while the political system was formed explicitly in order to create a federation. At the same time, of the three institutions, only the political and some elements of the legal systems were eventually transferred to local rulers, whereas the security systems were maintained under exclusive British jurisdiction until Britain's withdrawal in 1971.

[478]Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire*, p. 116.

As a result of British- (and Kuwaiti-) established institutions, there were political as well as social consequences. Politically, through their attendance at the TSC meetings, the rulers of the emirates increased their level of cooperation and minimized their mutual hostility and mistrust. This interaction between the rulers of the emirates was a major factor in the eventual success of the negotiations among six of the rulers to establish the federation, following the demise of the earlier negotiation among the nine rulers (see Chapter Five). Rulers of the emirates of the Coast, especially from 1965 onwards, communicated with one another in respect of selecting and implementing various projects beneficial to their nationals. Socially, through employment in the TOS, enrolment in educational institutions, and visits to medical facilities in different towns and centres in the emirates, nationals of all the emirates were able to increase their level of interaction. It is through direct contact that people change their perception of others. They discover their similarities as well as their differences. As nationals of emirates of the Coast, historical events in one emirate were closely connected with those in other emirates.

In the realm of the welfare programme, which was confined to six of the seven emirates, it was contested between Britain on the one hand, and Kuwait and Egypt on the other. While the overall result, by and large, was a success in terms of social and economic transformation, there was a gap in terms of the insufficient number of trained nationals to organise and run modern institutions in the post-1971 era. In other words, educational facilities administered by Britain and Kuwait were too recent to have produced cadres of young, educated nationals of sufficient quantity and quality to compensate for the delay in the institutional formation that was needed to assist the future federation. Attaining such an objective was left to the federal government after 1971. The federal government allocated large portion of its annual budget for building schools and hospitals as well as for sponsoring young people to further their education overseas. At the same time, the federal government signed agreements with international organizations and foreign countries to train nationals, either at home or abroad.

Concerning constraints, the efforts of the British, the Kuwaitis and the local rulers in providing welfare services were all affected by this factor. In other words, all the

participants were influenced by restrictions. At the same time, each side had a different source of power which prevented any one of them from imposing its will on the Coast of Oman. For Britain, it was its political hegemony over the Coast of Oman; for Kuwait, it was its financial revenues and connection with Egypt; and for the rulers, it was their political status and Abu Dhabi's oil revenues. Each of the three sides, directly or indirectly, had to accommodate the other two with regard to introducing modern institutions in the Coast of Oman. Britain, for instance, had to tolerate the actions of Kuwait and the local rulers, even if it did not approve of them; Kuwait managed its education and health services in a way that would avoid offending Britain and the rulers; and the rulers, in adopting any developmental decisions, were careful to accommodate British views and Kuwaiti plans. In the final analysis, they had the same objectives, which were to improve living conditions for their nationals in the Coast of Oman, and any attempt to force one party to alter its plans radically might have negatively influenced the welfare of their common recipients.

Chapter Five

The Development of the Federation, 1930-1971

5.1 Introduction

In the Arab Gulf region, as in the rest of the Arab World, local intellectuals have viewed political union as a correction to what has been perceived as European efforts to break up a supposedly Arab world into a number of smaller states.[479] Such a broad impression contradicts what is revealed in Chapter Three, where I argue that the formation of the United Arab Emirates was an outcome of internal rather than external causes and dynamics. Even more, as argued in Chapter Four, the abovementioned fragmentation of the former Coast of Oman turned progressively into integration through British-established state agencies, such as the Trucial States Council.

The present chapter deals with the historical foundations of the federation. It assesses the role of the various parties involved in promoting federation, and emphasises the negotiations and processes that led to the establishment of the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This effort began when, after 150 years of domination, Britain decided on 4 January 1968 to withdraw its forces from the Gulf region by the end of 1971, a decision which led the rulers to negotiate the federating of their emirates. The result was a failed attempt to establish the Union of the Nine Emirates, which included Bahrain, Qatar, and the emirates of the Coast (Trucial States). The failure led six of the emirates of the Coast to create a smaller federation in 1971, which was eventually joined by Ras al-Khaimah in 1972. The scholarly literature focuses to a large extent on the British decision to withdraw from the Gulf and on the negotiations aimed at the Union of the Nine Emirates, but there are few, if any, studies that deal with the earlier attempts to advance the notion of unification of the Arab emirates of the Gulf, or that

[479]Hussain Haider Darwish, *Munadel min Oman, Muhammad Amin 'Abdullah: 1915-1982* [An Activist from Oman, Mohammad Amin 'Abdullah: 1915-1982] (np: 2nd ed., 1990), p. 81.

reflect on the subsequent negotiations towards the formation of the Union of the Six Emirates.

This chapter argues that the establishment of a federal state is an outcome of negotiations by multiple parties interested in creating one common political unit. The motivation of entities to join a union can be explained by various factors. one of which is related to the shared perception of the need to confront external political and military threats; it also means achieving social and economic development for the citizens. These factors were particularly present in unions established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as the United States and Germany. The second type of motivation has to do with shared history, geographic continuity, and the similarity in ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Such factors were connected with federations that were formed after the ending of colonization, as reflected in the cases of Malaysia and Nigeria.

In negotiations to establish a union, the parties involved will compromise with one another on various aspects of the proposed state, the objective being to reach a solution that will satisfy all the sides concerned. During negotiations each party attempts to maximize its own gains and to minimize those of its opponents. The outcome is based on the balance of power between the parties involved, the negotiators' knowledge of their own and their opponents' objectives, their experience in dealing with the issues at hand, and the options (or lack of alternatives) available to each side. For instance, should one of the parties fear during negotiations that its local power will be lost to the federal authorities, a recommended solution during the discussions might be to divide responsibility between the federal and the local authorities.[480] In this regard, the success of a federal project is not solely the product of a common background, such as shared heritage, language, traditions and the like. It depends also – and above all – on how the internal dynamics, such as the ability of various political entities to resolve disputes, might contribute to realizing the intended objective.

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[480] Michael Burgess, *Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 13, 78, 100; Thomas O. Hueglin and Alan Fenna, *Comparative Federalism: A Systemic Inquiry* (Ontario: Broadview Publishers, 2006), pp. 48, 57-58, 114-115; Anselm Strauss, *Negotiations, Varieties, Contexts, Processes and Social Order* (San Francisco CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978), pp. ix-x, 5-6, 23-25, 238.

This chapter addresses the formation of the federation of the United Arab Emirates by answering the following questions: in what way did the historical evolution of the idea of federation and the negotiations to form the UAE actually emerge? How was the concept of a union comprehended among the region's intellectuals, the British authorities in the region, and the rulers of the emirates? What were the roles of the various actors in advancing or hindering the cause of the union from the 1930s to 1971? What was the relationship between the British officials and the rulers of the emirates during this phase of the development of the federation? What were the reasons for, and the impact of, British withdrawal, on the formation of the new state? Why did the union of the nine emirates fail and the union of the six succeed? What impact, if any, did the failed negotiations have on the successful union? In relation to the two federation attempts, what were the views of the participating rulers, the mediators (e.g., Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Britain), Iran, and local popular forces concerning the union? What difficulties did the rulers face in their quest for unification?

To answer these various questions, the chapter is organised into three sections. The first section focuses on the precursors to the federation; the second deals with Britain's declaration of its intended withdrawal from the Gulf region; while the third concentrates on the negotiations for establishing the two federations and discusses the evolution of the process that led to the declaration of the state.

5.2 Precursors to Federation

Prior to the British decision to withdraw from the region, there had been successive efforts by local intellectuals, British officials and, to a lesser extent, rulers of various emirates to advance the idea of forming a larger state.[481] These various calls and attempts consisted, practically speaking, of advocacies, debates, and proposals to unify the area politically and even to establish a federation among the Arab emirates of the Gulf region. It was as a result of these attempts, the first of which dated back to the

[481]Easa Saleh al-Gurg, CBE, *The Wells of Memories: An Autobiography* (London: John Murray, 1998), p.120. There is a reference to the establishment of the League of the States of the Arabian Gulf, but since the author gives no precise date, it is not clear if the reference is to any of the matters dealt with below.

1930s, that the idea of merging the emirates into a single political entity became popular in the Gulf.

5.2.1 The Intellectuals' Contribution

As early as the second half of the 1930s, intellectuals and civil organizations represented one of the contributing sources for uniting the Arab Gulf states.[482] Their actions ranged from advocating for the uniting of their countries to presenting practical proposals for its realization.

Local intellectuals and civic organizations employed print media, including articles and communiqués, in their calls for unifying the Arab Gulf shaikhdoms. The first of these calls was made in an editorial in 1942 by 'Abdullah al-Zayed, a Bahraini journalist who argued that although the peoples of the Arab side of the Gulf had the same traditions, beliefs and language, their shaikhdoms were not united and their rulers did not communicate with each other. A second advocate for unity was Hussain Darwish, an intellectual from Oman, who stated in an article published in 1951 that a federation was the best solution for the Gulf emirates because they were too small in size to succeed as separate states, due to their tiny populations and limited economic resources. At the same time, Darwish called upon the younger generation to avoid localism and to focus on a regional common ground.

Later on, call for a union was reflected in the communiqués published by two political organizations. An initial position was declared in 1956 by a group calling itself "the Bureau of the Arab Gulf and Southern Arabia". In their document, the group stated that their aim was to unify the area which stretched from Kuwait in the north to Southern Arabia in the south into one country. Members of the group maintained that federation

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[482]Although the beginning of the call for union among the Arab shaikhdoms in the Gulf cannot be dated with absolute precision, articles by al-Zayed and by Darwish reveal that it was probably towards the end of the 1930s. See 'Abdullah al-Zayed, "al-Wehda al-'Arabeya Omniyah Talama Tatala'a ilayha al- 'Arab", pp. 13-15, in idem., *Eftitaheyat 'Abdullah al-Zayed, Min 'Aamedat'Abdullah al-Zayed fi Jaridat al-Bahrayn: 1942-1943* ["Arab Unity an Objective for the Arabs", pp. 13-15 in idem., Editorials of 'Abdullah al-Zayed, From the Editorials of 'Abdullah al-Zayed in the journal *al-Bahrayn*; 1942-1943] (Bahrain: Markaz Ibrahim bin Muhammad Al-Khalifa, 2003), p. 15; Hussain Haidar Darwish, "Ittihad Imarat al-Khaleej al-'Arabi", pp. 19-23, in idem., '*Asr al-Dhulumat* ["Union of the Emirates of the Gulf" pp. 19-23 in idem., The Dark Ages] (London: al-Safa ll-nashr wa al-tawz'i, 1989), p. 21.

was their answer to the division that had been created by British imperialism on the Arab side of the Gulf.[483] It is not clear from their statement whether unification would be achieved through the cooperation of the rulers or against their wishes. In 1968 a splinter group calling itself "The Revolutionary Popular Movement in Oman and the Gulf" (RPMOG), which had separated itself from the Gulf branch of the Pan-Arab Movement in 1967,[484] proposed a contrasting view of regional unity.[485] The founding communiqué of this group stated its intention of waging war against imperialism and the local rulers in the region,[486] although it did not elaborate on how the group proposed to establish its region-wide political system. However, it appears from the name that it would include in one state all the Arab side of the Gulf, except for Saudi Arabia. The organisation was later criticised by its leading members, such as 'Abd al-Nabi al-'Akri, for ignoring, among other issues, the usefulness of peaceful political struggle, as well as the ongoing political changes that were occurring in the Gulf region as part of the processes involved in establishing independent states.[487]

In addition to calls for unity, there were two proposals to make the Gulf emirates into a federation. The first practical effort was confined to the Coast of Oman in the 1930s, when a *qadi* from Ras al-Khaimah moved temporarily to al-Buraimi to encourage the rulers to form a union.[488] In 1966 'Abdulrahman al-Baker, a Bahraini political reformer, proposed a plan to form two larger entities: one which would reunify Oman after more than a century of division, and the other that would include Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and the emirates of the Coast of Oman. At a later time these two entities might merge. According to al-Baker, the establishment of the first union required not only

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[483]al-Zayed, ibid., pp. 14-15; Darwish, ibid., p. 21; The Bureau of the Arabian Gulf and Southern Arabia, "Bayan" in Hussain Haider Darwish, *Munadel min …,* p. 81.

[484]Abd al-Nabi al-'Akri, *al-Tandhemat al-Yasariya fi al-Jazira wa al-Khaleej al-'Arabi* [Leftist Organizations in [Arabian] Peninsula and the Arabian Gulf] (Beirut: Dar al-Kunuz al-Adabiya, 2003), p. 76. al-'Akri was a leading member of the organization.

[485]Falah al-Medairis, *al-Harkat wa al-Jama'at al-Siyasiya fi al-Bahrayn: 1938-2002*. [Political Movements and Groups in Bahrain: 1938-2002] (Beirut: Dar al-Kunuz al-'Adabiya, 2004), pp. 47-48.

[486]Annexe 6: "Bayan Inbethaq al-Haraka al-Thawriya al-Sha'biya fi Oman wa al-Khaleej al-'Arabi", pp. 155-160 [The Communiqué (Regarding) the formation of the Popular Revolutionary Movement in Oman and the Gulf], in al-Medairis, *Al-Harkat wa al-Jama' at*…, p. 159.

[487]al-'Akri, *al-Tandhemat al-Yasariya*…., pp. 84-85.

[488]Rosemarie Said Zahlan, *The Origins of the United Arab Emirates: A Political and Social History of the Trucial States* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1978), p. 197. Unfortunately Zahlan provided neither sources nor the name of the qadi. Of special interest is the absence of any reference to his activities or communication with the rulers of other emirates, particularly in Ras al-Khaimah.

strong pressure on the Sultan and the Imam to modernize Omani society, but also British approval to terminate its protectorate status, and a popular referendum on the form of government to take place after five years, as well as, finally, an application for membership of the Arab League. With respect to the ten emirates, the second proposal contained a number of practical steps, including the adoption of a national charter to govern the union, constitutional reforms within each emirate, the formation of a rulers' council, the unification of education and currency, and the termination of all agreements signed with Britain.[489] The second proposal, to a certain degree, resembled a British proposal that had been issued in 1937, as will be discussed below.

It is striking to note here the extent to which the approach of the intellectuals towards the question of the union relied mainly on political discourses but there was a lack of effort by the Pan-Arabists in the Gulf to form pressure groups actually to realize their political intentions. Moreover there was little or no analysis of the variety of options available for exploring the merits or drawbacks of either merging these sheikhdoms or forming separate independent political entities. With regard to the political situation in the Gulf region, the advocates of federalism excluded any reference to federal experiences elsewhere that might have served as a guide for their project. The Kuwaiti political activist and one of the founders of the Gulf Branch of the Pan-Arab Movement, Ahmad al-Khatib, contends that the lessons gained from the success or failure of unity attempts elsewhere would have been helpful in guiding them towards the future unification of the emirates, since it would have helped them to avoid possible mistakes and enabled them to recognise better alternatives.[490] He did mention the formation and the later demise of the United Arab Republic (UAR) as an illustration of a political union within the Arab world, but did not enlarge on the relevance of this experience to future unions. In other words, al-Khatib offered an idea but did not elaborate upon it.

Moreover the practical proposal put forward by al-Baker offered several pitfalls. On the one hand, the merging of the imamate and the sultanate of Oman seemed to

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[489]'Abdulrahman al-Baker, *Min al-Bahrayn ila al-Manfa Sant Hailanah* [From Bahrain to Exile St. Helena] (Beirut: Dar al-Kunuz al-Adabiyah, [1966] 2002), pp.17-25.

[490]Ahmad al-Khateeb, *al-Kuwait min al-Imarah ila al-Dawla: Thekrayat al-'Amal al-Watani wa al-Qawmi* [Kuwait: from an Emirate to a Nation-State: The Memories of National and Pan-Arab Activism] (Beirut: Markaz al-Thaqafi al-'Arabi, 2007), p. 311.

ignore the century-long chronicle of hostility between the two sides, which made any reconciliation difficult to achieve. Moreover the question of the political model (i.e., the reconciliation of a semi-elected Imam with a hereditary monarchical system) remained unresolved. As for uniting smaller Gulf sheikhdoms, as is discussed in more detail below, there were geographical, political and economic differences. Geographically, Kuwait was separated from other emirates by a long swathe of Sa'udi territory; Bahrain was separated from Qatar by a narrow strip of water; and Qatar was separated from the Coast of Oman by the Gulf (and later on by Sa'udi control over part of Khor al-'Udaid). Politically, Kuwait had become an independent state in 1961. Economically, oil had been discovered in Kuwait, Bahrain and later on in Qatar before it was found in any of the emirates of the Coast of Oman. In other words, these emirates were not at the same level of development. It would therefore have been difficult, if not impossible, for this objective to be realised.

5.2.2 The British Contribution

Between 1937 and 1967, British officials too advanced the idea of federation alongside these local efforts. These moves were influenced by Britain's economic and political interests in the Gulf region, as well as by the need to respond to the spread of the idea of Arab unity, to secure domination, and to exclude foreign influence. Therefore, the British attempt to secure the unification of the shaikhdoms materialised in different forms.

The first proposal, set out in 1937, to advance the idea of uniting the shaikhdoms was associated with the loss of financial revenues from the pearl industry resulting from the appearance of cultured pearls on the global market (see Chapter Two). The idea of federation was sponsored either by the Arab Bureau in Cairo or the Government of India. Like al-Baker's plan, the scheme envisioned a larger political entity that would include a ruling council as well as an elected or an appointed *shura* (consultative council) in charge of adopting and ratifying laws, unifying legal,

educational, and communications systems, and establishing national and local military units.[491]

The main reason for this British plan for a federation was to find a solution for political fragmentation and for the collapse of pearl diving in the Gulf region. However, it is not clear whether the plan was proposed for immediate implementation or was intended as a proposal for discussion. At the same time, it is difficult to state which agency within the British Empire was responsible for initiating this scheme and who in the Gulf region might have been its intended recipients. To apply the proposal at that time would have been inappropriate because the region had no bureaucratic structures or qualified civil servants to administer modern institutions. Therefore, according to Tabatabai, a Kuwaiti intellectual and legal expert, had the plan been put into operation it would have failed.[492]

The second British plan in relation to the federation of the seven emirates was associated with the formation of the Trucial States Council in the early 1950s, as discussed in Chapter Four.[493] Discussions on the union took place around the nature of the Council and the British role in providing social and economic services. British officials in London categorized this stage as "a transition toward the federation" that might be realised in the distant future. In this context, according to Sir Rupert Hay, the then Political Resident in Bahrain, the Council would function as a coordinating committee to assist the rulers to interact with each other and to overcome their mutual hostilities. Moreover, J. P. Tripp, who at the time was the Political Agent in Dubai, felt that the success of the project depended on Britain's role in providing financial and administrative assistance, a contribution that on the one hand would be a means of

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[491]Ali Humaidan, Les princes de l'or noir: évolution politique du Golfe (persique) SEDEIS (Paris: Fataribe, 1968), pp. 173-4, cited in 'Adel Tabatabai, *al-Nidham al-Ittihadi fi al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida: Dirasa Muqaran* [The Federal System in the United Arab Emirates] (Cairo: Matbaat al-Qahirah al-Jadida, 1978), pp. 30-31. Humaidan is an Emirati intellectual and a former civil servant. Tabatabai's book contains a number of useful documents on the United Arab Emirates.

[492]Tabatabai, ibid., p. 31; Jamal Zakariya Qassim, "al-Muatherat al-Siyasiyya ll-Harb al-'Alamiya al-Ula 'ala Imarat al-Khaleej al-'Arabi" [The Political Impacts of the First World War on the Emirates of the Arabian Gulf], *al-Majalah al-Tarikhiya al-Masriya*, no. 16 (1969), p. 131.

[493]Mustafa 'Aukil, and Ahmed Zakarya, *Katar wa Ittihad al-Immarat al-'Arabiya al-Tes'a fi al-Khaleej al-'Arabi, 1968-1971: Dierasa wa Wathaiq* [Qatar and the Union of the Nine Arab Emirates in the Arabian Gulf, 1968-1971] (Doha: Dar al-Fikr, 2nd ed., 1998), p.19. This book contains a number of useful documents on the Union of the Nine.

encouraging the rulers to participate in the council's activities and, on the other, a way to show the population that Britain cared about their wellbeing.[494]

The project of a federation was conceived as a preliminary stage in a gradual process of evolution toward the strategic objective of merging these shaikhdoms into a single state. There was no overall blue-print or target date for realization. Discussion revolved around practical steps for preparing the rulers to coordinate their activities, the functioning of British officials as communicators with the rulers concerning the scheme, and identifying areas in need of development. The overall objective of the British officials was to preserve the region's political stability, to secure oil supplies, and to prevent the Soviet Union from dominating the area.

The third British plan appeared in 1967 in the form of three reports, submitted in November and December by Sir Stewart Crawford, the Political Resident in Bahrain, to George Brown in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. In these reports Crawford discussed a variety of issues pertaining to the federation.[495] In the first report, the emphasis was placed on Britain's concealment from the rulers of its intentions to establish a federation**,** and on its avoidance of pressuring them while assisting them to determine their own future. The stated reason was to avoid creating resentment among the rulers toward Britain. The second report discussed the union within the Coast of Oman, and especially the competitiveness between Shaikh Zayed of Abu Dhabi (r.1966-2004) and Shaikh Rashid of Dubai (r.1958-1990) with regard to supremacy over the other five emirates. Although these five emirates had few, or no, financial and technical resources, they were unwilling to disappear from the scene. Thus, four scenarios for a federation were put forward: a federation with the seven emirates; one with six emirates (with Dubai, but without Abu Dhabi); one with six emirates (with Abu

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[494]FO to PR, Bahrain, 2 April 1951, FO 371/91326, pp. 65-76; PR, Bahrain, to FO, 29 Jan.,1951, pp. 77-80; PA, Dubai, to PR, Bahrain, 25 Oct.,1955, pp. 107-113; Riches to Bernard Burrow, Bahrain, 22 August 1958, PRO: FO 371/132760, p. 377; D.F. Hawley, Dubai, to C.A. Gault, Bahrain, 10 Sept.,1958, PRO: FO 371/132535, p. 378; Gault to Foreign Office, 19 Sept.,1958, p. 379, in Penelope Tuson (ed), *Records of the Emirates, Primary Documents: 1820-1958, Vols. 9 and 11* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1990), pp. 66, 79, 111; 377-9.

[495]PR, Bahrain, to Foreign Secretary, 29 November 1967, PR, Bahrain, to Foreign Secretary, 13 December 1967, Political Resident, Bahrain to Foreign Secretary, 28 December 1967, FCO 8/828, pp. 79-118, in A.L.P. Burdett (ed.), *Records of the Emirates: 1966-1971, vol. 2: 1967* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 2002), pp. 103-4, 111, 113, 116-7. No responses from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office are included in this collection.

Dhabi but without Dubai); and a union of the five excluding both Abu Dhabi and Dubai. The second (i.e. a union excluding Abu Dhabi) seemed to be the preferred one.

The third report discussed the situation as far as Qatar, Abu Dhabi, Bahrain and Dubai were concerned. Its emphasis was on the formation of four states. While it discouraged the formation of a wider union, it supported cooperation on certain issues and assistance in settling border disputes. The reasons given for not promoting a wider federation were the jealousies that existed between the rulers and the inability of local administrations to deal with complex arrangements. The report promoted a gradual improvement of local institutions in terms of providing services to their populations as a prerequisite for the transfer of responsibility from the British authorities to their local counterparts.

Crawford's report is one of the most elaborate British documents on the union prior to the 1968 declaration of withdrawal. It is not clear what, if any, implications there would have been for the region had Crawford's "plan", for lack of a better term, not been short-circuited by the declaration mentioned above. It is worth noting that the report did not refer to any previous or ongoing British attempts to form a union in other parts of the empire. Nor did the report refer to any previous British efforts, such the attempt in 1937, to introduce the idea of merging the emirates of the Gulf. In the case of the Coast of Oman, the report apparently excluded any possibility of an agreement being reached between the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai to establish a state, as happened in the al-Sumayh Accord in January 1968.[496] In addition, the reasons cited in the third report for discouraging the formation of a larger union are inadequate since they could apply equally to the smaller union. The alternative might have been to claim that the federation would be threatened by difficulties if there were more than two powerful sides within the same establishment. In this case it was possible that two out of three rulers would agree on a compromise while the third rejected the solution.

[496]This accord was signed by the two rulers to demonstrate their ability to overcome their differences by joining a union and inviting other rulers to join in as well.

5.2.3 The Rulers' Contribution

Britain's connections with the rulers led to the involvement of the latter in the process of state formation. The interest of the rulers in merging their shaikhdoms took various forms. In 1953, the rulers participated in discussions about the federation within the Trucial States Council, with the obvious objective of benefiting from the British government's sponsorship of social and economic projects. Some of the rulers, such as Shaikh Saqr of Sharjah (r.1951-1965), even approached Kuwait and Egypt for assistance.[497] Later on, between the late 1950s and early 1960s, the rulers signed agreements to allocate a percentage of their oil revenues to finance both ongoing and future development programmes. This consensus materialized after Shaikh Zayed had become the ruler of Abu Dhabi in 1966. He declared his intention of providing the Development Office with funds to realize its objectives, and his approach reflected his interest in promoting the role of the Trucial States Council in improving people's living standards.[498]

Although this element was not directly connected to the federation project, the rulers' participation in the discussions reflected positively on their political status within the population, since it showed the people of the region that their rulers could act together if there were incentives or rewards for their actions. In this instance, two objectives were pursued. One was to provide previously-unavailable services to the population to gain their political support. At the same time, since the rulers lacked sufficient funds, other countries such as Britain and Kuwait promised to shoulder the responsibility for financing and administering these services.

The rulers' involvement in pushing towards a union did not stop at discussions; it also took the form of practical steps and suggestions. In 1958 and in 1964, Shaikh Saqr of Sharjah (r.1951-1965) and Shaikh Muhammad of Fujairah (r.1952-1974) signed an agreement to coordinate their administrative actions and to share revenues from oil discovered in their territories in the Gulf of Oman. During a visit to London in 1963,

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[497]Salah al-'Aqqad, "Juthur al-Wehda wa 'Awamel al-Tafakuk fi al-Khaleej al-'Arabi" [The Roots of the Union and the Factors of Division in the Arab Gulf], *al-Siyasa al-Dawliyya*, no. 57 (July 1979), p. 72.
[498]PA, Dubai, to PR, Bahrain, 11 Jan., 1967, FO 1016/827, pp. 233-236, in Burdett (ed.), *Records of the Emirates: 1966-1971, vol. 2: 1967* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1997), p. 233.

Shaikh Saqr proposed the formation of an elected or an appointed council made up of citizens from the seven emirates, which would review all aspects of the development programmes and recommend new ones.[499]

This aspect reflects the first concrete example of a political development towards union on the Coast of Oman. The understanding between the two rulers provided an alternative to a long-lasting feud and normalized the relationship between their emirates. Although cooperation between the two sides was limited in scope, it constituted a precedent and showed that other emirates could perform in the same manner. However, there were no further reports on this event, and it is not clear if their accord was negated or if it was overtaken by events. Certainly Shaikh Saqr's suggestion of popular participation represented a step forward and, as discussed in Chapter Four, Shaikh Saqr was instrumental in supporting the Political Agent in advancing the idea of establishing the Deliberative Committee as an agency within the TSC.

In 1965 British officials in the Gulf contacted the rulers of Qatar, Bahrain and Abu Dhabi about the possibilities of forming a larger union. All responded positively, and also recommended that the smaller states should become a union and join the project. Shaikh Shakhbut (r.1928-1966) of Abu Dhabi then modified his views by recommending that Dubai was to be treated as equal to Qatar, Bahrain and Abu Dhabi. In 1967 British officials communicated again with the three rulers, as well as with the ruler of Dubai; this promoted a mixed reaction. While Shaikh Zayed of Abu Dhabi, and Shaikh Rashid of Dubai supported the formation of a larger state, Shaikh Ahmad of Qatar (r.1960-1972) and Shaikh 'Isa of Bahrain (r.1961-1999) were both opposed to the recommendation.[500]

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[499]PR, Bahrain, to FO, 12 Feb., 1958, PRO: FO 371/132796, pp. 435-452, in Tuson (ed), *RoE, vol. 11: 1958-1959* (Farnham Common: Archive Editions, 1992), pp. 435-442; PA, Dubai, to PR, Bahrain, 28 Nov.,1963, FO 371/168918, p. 140 in Burdett (ed), *RoE 1961-65*, *vol. 3, 1963*, p. 140; "Majalat al-'Arabi, al-Istitla' al-Thaleth", pp. 96-99, in Ali Muhammad Rashid (ed), *Dawlat al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida fi Majalat al-'Arabi, 1960-1980* [The United Arab Emirates in *Al-Arabi* magazine, 1960-1980], (Abu Dhabi: al-Mujama al-Thaqafi, 1988), p. 98.

[500]PR, Bahrain, to FO, 19 Jul., 1965. FCO 371/179905, pp. 396-403, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1961-65; vol. 5, 1965*, pp. 400-1; PR, Bahrain, to Foreign Secretary, 28 Dec.,1967, FCO 8/868, pp. 110-118, in A. Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1966-71: vol. 2, 1967*, p. 111; Glencairn Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in Her Last Three Arab Dependencies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 122.

As is explained below, Ahmed and ‘Isa would later join the negotiations to establish the failed Union of the Nine.

Although some of the rulers consented to the proposal, and others rejected several of its elements, these discussions revealed a shared readiness to move beyond general statements towards workable solutions. One difficulty was that Bahrain and Qatar were newcomers to the fold. The rulers of the other seven emirates had been involved in negotiations with each other for over a decade and were able to form working relationships among themselves, whereas Shaikhs ‘Isa of Bahrain and Ahmad of Qatar needed more time to bridge gaps and form functioning relationships with their fellow rulers.

5.3 The British Declaration

As well as the various sides advocating for union, more specifically it was Britain’s decision to withdraw from the Gulf that forced the rulers of the emirates to rethink their political future, which they did by negotiating to form a union. The British government, while under Labour Party control, revealed its intention in 1968 to withdraw from “East of Suez”, including the Gulf region, by the end of 1971; later on, with the Conservative Party in power, the task was completed. This section explains how the British decision to withdraw contributed to a re-enhancing of the idea of federation amongst the rulers.

During a meeting of the British cabinet on 4 January 1968, the initial decision taken in November 1967 to withdraw from East of Suez underwent a revision. Although the original intention had been to exclude the Gulf region from the withdrawal scheme, domestic considerations were the main reason for this change of plan. During its time in opposition the Conservative Party had rejected withdrawal, but after winning the elections in 1970, it accepted the withdrawal decision and consultations were undertaken with the rulers and with British representatives in the region. British officials in London and the region communicated with the United States, the regional powers of Saudi Arabia and Iran, and local rulers to explain the reasons for Britain’s change of direction, and also encouraged regional powers to participate in establishing a union of the nine emirates, pressing the rulers to negotiate such a union as the only possible

avenue for survival. The decision served the interests of both Britain and the local rulers by preventing unwanted domestic challenges.[501]

5.3.1 Reasons for the Withdrawal

Domestic reasons behind the British withdrawal were primarily economic and political. The devaluation of the pound sterling in 1967 had forced the British government to reorient its budgetary priorities, as demanded by the International Monetary Fund, and the proposed cuts were directed primarily at domestic social welfare programmes, especially education, health, and social security. The left-wing bloc of the ruling Labour Party in parliament challenged the move to curtail the welfare state, and put the case for similar steps to be taken for international projects, arguing that, as with their domestic counterparts, Britain's overseas financial commitments should be reduced. These included British military commitments in the Gulf region which amounted to around £12 million annually.[502] The two sides reached an agreement in which the redeployment of British troops from the Gulf region would also be included in the plans.[503]

External factors were three-fold. One aspect concerned the loss of the monopoly over Gulf oil to American and Japanese companies. As a result, British forces stationed in the region had, in effect, been protecting not only national but also international interests. In other words, British forces in the Gulf were shouldering military responsibility for protecting the economic interests of other countries without being financially compensated. A second reason had to do with the efforts within the Third World and the United Nations Decolonization Committee to end colonialism in the remaining areas of the world. Last but not least, local military as well as civil popular movements were opposing Britain's continued presence in the region, while

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[501]J.B. Kelly, *Arabia, the Gulf and the West: A Critical View of the Arabs and their Oil Policy* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), pp. 49-50; Wm Roger Louis and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Decolonization", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 22, no. (3), (1994), p. 463.
[502]A[bdullah] O[mran] Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates: 1950-1985* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 68; Louis and Robinson, ibid., p. 465.
[503]Frauke Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates* (London: Longman, 1982), pp. 336-337; Shohei Sato, "Britain's decision to Withdraw from the Persian Gulf, 1964-1968", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 37, no. 1, Mar., 2009, pp. 101, 112.

independent regional states, such as Kuwait, questioned its imperial presence. The success of armed resistance in south Yemen and the spread of nationalism contributed to the defeat of rulers in South Yemen who were allies of the British. As a consequence the British government was forced to search for other avenues through which to retain friendly relations with local governments, as a pre-requisite for safeguarding political and strategic interests.[504]

5.3.2 Reactions to Britain's Announcement

The Labour government's declaration that the Gulf region would be included in the withdrawal plan provoked mixed reactions, within as well as outside Britain, from approval to condemnation. The opposition Conservative Party within Britain and British diplomats in the region did not support the move, with the opposition declaring the step to be a breach of long-held British commitments and promising to revisit the matter once they were in office, while British officials in the Gulf were surprised by their government's declaration. Eventually, however, both the Conservative Party and the British representatives in the Gulf implemented the decision that had been adopted by the Labour government. Neither side could have altered the situation. The Conservative Party inherited an established policy, and the role of British representatives was to implement orders from their superiors, not to make them.[505]

The most interesting reaction came from the diplomatic corps in the region. In its bid to regain power, the Conservative Party used this declaration as one of the issues on which to challenge the Labour government in the 1970 elections; nor was this the first time that the party had adopted such a stand. In 1947, former Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill had declared formal opposition to a decision by the Labour government under Atlee to withdraw from India. The difference between the two cases

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[504]Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*, p. 66; Trevor Lloyd, *Empire: the History of the British Empire* (London: Hambledon & London, 2001), p.167.
[505]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, pp. 336-7; Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East...,* pp.125; Wm Roger Louis, "The British Withdrawal from the Gulf, 1967-1971", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 31, no. 1, Jan., 2003, p. 99.

was the passage of time, and the role of successive Conservative governments in formulating a British path to decolonization. According to John Darwin, a historian of the British Empire, the objective of all British politicians since 1947 had been to preserve as much economic and strategic benefit as possible, even with the demise of the empire.[506] In other words, what mattered was the interest but not the form of its extraction.

The position of civil servants, who were state functionaries with a duty to implement policies, not to make them, varied. In a series of dispatches in January 1968, Sir Stewart Crawford, the Political Resident in the Gulf, requested a reversal of the decision, or at least avoidance of the declaration of a specific date for the withdrawal. He also requested answers from the government to questions concerning new policies that had been directed to him by the rulers, but in this respect met with no success.[507] Part of the problem seems to have been that Crawford was perhaps not aware of the "winds of change" in London regarding the inclusion of the Gulf region in the "East of Suez" withdrawal plan, especially since, as noted above, he had submitted a number of working papers dealing, among other matters, with the federation of the emirates. This case differs from what had happened in India in 1947, when the British Government consulted Lord Mountbatten, the nominee for the post of Viceroy, on the matter of withdrawal. Mountbatten made identification of the withdrawal date a condition for accepting the post. Prime Minister Attlee consented by selecting 30 June 1948 (which was then changed to 15 August 1947) as the deadline, as well as providing the new Viceroy with the power to resolve the issue of withdrawal on the basis either of a federated subcontinent or partition into two entities, India and Pakistan.[508]

Concerning the Gulf region the British government, in order to generate wider support for its decision and to find assistance, communicated with other governments within and outside the region, especially the United States, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the

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[506]For the text of the debate see "Churchill Versus Attlee over India: February-March 1947", in Tony Smith (ed), *The End of the European Empire: Decolonization after World War II* (Lexington MA: DC Heath and Company, 1975), pp. 52-60; John Darwin, *Britain and Decolonization: The Retreat From Empire in Post-World War* (Houndmills: Palgrave, [1988], 2002), pp. vii, 333-5.

[507]Telegram from PR, Bahrain, to FO, T317/1069, 11 Jan.,1968, pp. 223-225; PA, Dubai, to PR, Bahrain, 20 Jan.,1968, FCO 8/828, pp. 230-232, in Burdett (ed), *RoE, 1966-1971,vol. 3: 1968*, pp. 224, 234-5.

[508]Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of Partition of India, 1936-1947* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 212-3 and 232; also Lloyd, *Empire* …, p.173.

rulers of the emirates. The decision also invoked a response from the USSR, which had been viewed as a potential threat to British interests and therefore had previously been excluded from the consultation over the political future of the Gulf. Initially the United States, Saudi Arabia, and local rulers demanded that the British government rescind the decision to withdraw, but later they accepted it as a *fait accompli*. Iran and the Soviet Union supported the British decision. The British objective was not merely informative; rather it was an invitation for the regional powers to participate in realizing the British withdrawal and establishing a new state. The British government hoped to avoid a repetition of the mistakes that had occurred with the Union of South Arabia in 1967.[509]

As a fellow member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United States was the first to be notified of the decision. However, the two sides were competing with each other over oil in the Gulf area. Britain's "closed door policy" on oil in the Gulf region had been broken in 1933 when the Standard Oil Company of California, later to be part of the Arab-American Oil Company (ARAMCO), secured an oil concession from the Sa'udi government. Three years later, the company discovered oil in commercial quantities in its area of operation.[510] This competition between oil companies as well as between the two governments continued during the 1950s, with the US supporting Saudi Arabia and Britain backing Abu Dhabi's territorial claims in the al-Buraimi area.

In connection with the British withdrawal from the region, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs George Brown visited Washington DC in early January 1968, to meet Dean Rusk, his US counterpart, before announcing the decision. President Johnson's administration was surprised by the rapid pace of British withdrawal, and requested a delay, in order to avoid the creation of a political vacuum that might have enabled a local group, such the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf, to take control of the region. The US position was established in the context of the Cold War, with the objective of denying the USSR any foothold in strategic areas such as the Gulf. The main cause for this objection was the contrast between the situation in South

[509]Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East...*, p. 123.
[510]Alawi Darweesh Kayal, "The Control of Oil: East-West Rivalry in the Persian Gulf", unpublished PhD thesis, (Colrado: University of Colorado,1972, pp. 126-127.

East Asia, where forces from the United States existed, and the situation in the Gulf, where British forces were preparing to withdraw. In other words, the withdrawal would leave Western interests, i.e. Gulf oil, unprotected and subject to hostile takeover.[511] By the late 1960s, European countries and Japan were importing at least 40 percent of their oil from the Gulf region.

Like the US, the USSR also offered its response by condemning the British government for having been excluded from the consultations on the political future of the Gulf region. As the Czar's government, which preceded it, had done, the Soviet Union too had competed with Britain over the establishment of a foothold in Iran, but the British had successfully prevented the USSR from reaching the Gulf. If domination was to be unattainable, the Soviet government had adopted a three-fold approach to deal with the region. One element was to establish diplomatic relations with Gulf countries; the second was to support radical regimes such as Iraq and South Yemen; and the third was to condemn Britain and the US for subordinating the Gulf region to their own interests. For example, in 1968, TASS, the Soviet News agency, criticized Western powers for "interference in the affairs of the countries in the area" and for imposing their will on those countries.[512] In the Soviet view, as well as in the opinion of many leaders of the newly-independent Third world countries (such as President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana), it was a new tactic on the part of the British to retain domination by making client states of their former dependencies, and was an approach that had little or no interest in improving the welfare of the population.[513] This approach is referred to in the literature as neo-colonialism.

Britain communicated with Iran about the plan. As a strong regional power, Iran could both assist and hinder the formation of a new federal state between the smaller Gulf emirates. Since the later part of the nineteenth century, Britain had resisted Iranian sovereignty claims over Bahrain and the Islands of Abu Musa, and the Greater and Lesser Tunbs, as discussed in Chapter Three. On 7 January 1968, British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Goronwy Roberts informed Iran of the withdrawal plan. In

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[511]J. B. Kelly, *Arabia, the Gulf and the West*…, pp. 49-50; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*…, pp. 68-70.
[512]Taryam, ibid., p. 83; TASS Agency report of March 3, [1968], cited in Kelly, ibid. p. 54.
[513]Lloyd, *Empire…,* p. 168

relation to the formation of the union of the nine emirates, Iran objected because the union included Bahrain. Furthermore, the Iranian government, as a regional power, stated its keenness in protecting Western interests in the region against the Soviet Union. British representatives attempted to find a solution to preserve Bahrain's sovereignty, the success of the union, and Iran's cooperation in regional security.[514] The issue was resolved a year later when the Shah declared in January 1969 that Iran would not invade Bahrain, and agreed to UN mediation to ascertain the true wishes of the population. Moreover, the Iranian Prime Minister, Amin Abbas Hoveida, stated on 27 January 1969 that, as a regional power, Iran would assure Western interests and opposed either continuation of the British presence or direct involvement on the part of the US.[515]

Britain included Saudi Arabia in the consultation to achieve both objectives. Goronwy Roberts visited Saudi Arabia on 10 January 1968 where he met King Faisal to discuss the situation. Roberts informed Faisal of the British intention to withdraw on 31 March 1971 and stated that his government would like to assist in establishing a new state in the Gulf region. The King responded by asking questions about the political impact on, and the reactions from, the region, as well as warning of the dangers that could result if the British mentioned the date of their withdrawal. In the course of the meeting he reflected on the interest of most independent states in the region except for the Kingdom.[516] However, the discussion did not focus on specific plans for action.

Like Iran, Saudi Arabia had claimed territorial sovereignty over a portion of Abu Dhabi and domination over the al-Qawassim emirate from the late eighteenth century. Of the two issues, and because of possible oil reserves, the dispute with Abu Dhabi dominated tripartite relations, as discussed in Chapter Three. During the period under investigation, and while helping to narrow the gap between the parties, Saudi Arabia's primary objective was to solve its border disputes with Abu Dhabi prior to recognizing

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[514]From A. D. Parsons to Sir William Luce, 17 Feb. 1971, FCO 8/1553 [TNA, London]; Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East...*, p. 127.
[515]Balfour-Paul, ibid., p. 127.
[516]Meeting between King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and the Minister of State at Riyadh Airport, 10 Jan., 1968, FCO 8/47, pp. 219-222, in Burdett (ed). *RoE 1966-1971, Vol. 3: 1968*, pp. 219-222.

the union upon its official proclamation.[517] Saudi Arabia's initial opposition was due to the United Arab Emirates' possible negative influence in the region. On the one hand, there was the stated Iranian claim over Bahrain, and on the other, there were the recent leftist successes in South Yemen and similar advances in Oman.[518]

Lastly Britain consulted with the rulers of the nine emirates. Goronwy Roberts made two visits to the region. The first took place in November 1967 to assure the rulers that the British decision would have no negative impact on the region, because the declaration was confined to South East Asia. However, two months later, on 8 January 1968, he visited the region again and delivered a very different message: there would indeed be withdrawal because his government did not have the necessary £12 million annually to cover expenses in the region. During discussions with British officials, the rulers expressed their disappointment over the manner of the British government's approach to the issue. At a meeting in Dubai on 8 January, Shaikh Ahmed of Qatar expressed the harshest criticism by challenging the manner in which the British government had treated them. He began his comments by questioning the impact of the rulers' views on

> ...a matter which was already decided. [He added] that if the announcement was made now there would be troubles in the Gulf within 3 years. … Once the British went there would be the same outcome as in South Arabia where [the British] abandoned the sultans. … He went on that H.M.G. had had time to think out their action but they had given the Rulers none. [The Shaikh at the end stated] The matter should have been tackled differently. [The British] should have first informed the Rulers, given them time to think things over and finally discussed the decision with them.[519]

On the same day the rulers proposed that they would shoulder the annual costs of maintaining British forces in the Gulf region, but the British government declined the offer on 29 January. On 22 January Secretary of State for Defence Denis Healey had added insult to injury when he responded to a question in a televised interview by

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[517]It was not until 1974 that the Sa'udi government recognized the UAE.

[518]Alexei Vasiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), pp. 106-7, 383.

[519]Records of the Meetings between Mr. G. Roberts, Foreign Minister and the Rulers of Qatar and Dubai, Dubai, 8 Jan., 1968, FCO 8/47, pp. 211-214, in Burdett (ed), *RoE 1966-71, vol. 3: 1968*, pp. 212-214. It appears from the text that Shaikh Ahmed's views were not recorded verbatim.

stating that British were "not a sort of white slaves for Arab sheikhs… It would be a very great mistake if we allowed ourselves to become mercenaries for people who like British troops around."[520] Two days later, the British government gave the rulers a written apology on the minister's behalf for his statement. While Kelly categorized this response as tasteless, Taryam referred to the whole affair as a "misunderstanding" of the rulers' intention behind their financial offer.[521]

The most crucial of all aspects of the decision to withdraw from the region was the manner in which the British intention was declared. By unilaterally stating the intention to withdraw from the region they almost repeated in the Gulf region the mistake that had been made in South Arabia. The way in which the British government informed the rulers about its decision appeared to have left them with negative feelings, since British officials had previously consulted them before adopting policies. This time, however, the approach was different; the British government despatched its representative to inform the rulers about its intention. The rulers found themselves in an uncomfortable position and, having to cope with the *fait accompli*, they were forced to seek their own answer to the future.[522]

5.4 Negotiations for Union

After absorbing the shock of the British decision, the rulers of the nine emirates had to concentrate on the future and visit neighbouring Arab Gulf countries and each other, with the objective of arriving at a common understanding of the future. It is within this context that the rulers formulated the idea of negotiation to establish a larger state. An analysis of this process of state formation through the study of the various stages of negotiations from 1968 to 1971 is the focus of this section. The emphasis here is on the

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[520]Kelly, *Arabia, the Gulf and the West…*, pp. 50-51.
[521]PA, Abu Dhabi, to PR, Bahrain, 24 Jan.,1968, Statement by Defence Secretary, Circular Letter to Ruler from PA, Dubai, 24 Jan.,1968 FO 1016/739; Further meetings between PR and Ruler of Abu Dhabi (two parts), 30 Jan.,1969, FCO 1016/739, pp. 238-244, in Burdett (ed), *RoE 1966-71*, *vol. 3, 1968*, pp. 214, 225, 238-239, 245; Kelly, ibid., pp. 49-51; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United*, pp. 68, 77.
[522]Humphrey Trevelyan, *The Middle East in Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 216; Ronald Robinson, "Non-European Foundation of European Imperialism", pp. 117-142, in Roger Owen, and Bob Sutcliffe (eds), *Studies in Theories of Imperialism* (London: Longman, [1972] 1980), pp. 130, 135-6.

foundation for the federation as a prerequisite for dealing with negotiations to establish the union. A first sub-section (5.4.1) deals with the transition stage of the Union of the Two, which formed the foundation for the negotiation to establish the Union of the Nine (sub-section 5.4.2). When this project failed, the new objective was the Union of the Six (sub-section 5.4.3). However, before addressing the efforts of the rulers to negotiate the formation of a new state, a brief discussion of their initial objectives and motivations is useful.

Immediately after receiving the British announcement of withdrawal, the rulers held press conferences and published communiqués. Shaikh 'Isa of Bahrain visited Saudi Arabia on 18 January and discussed the Iranian threat of annexation with King Faisal bin 'Abdulaziz; and on 5 February he visited Kuwait to exchange ideas with Shaikh Subah al-Salem on the future of the region. In a response to a question on 5 February from the Kuwaiti daily newspaper *Ray al-'Amm* about a possible federation, Shaikh 'Isa stated that it was "a national issue which we will decide and will not be decided for us by anyone."[523]

Rulers of the emirates of the Coast visited each other and contacted British officials. Between 22 and 27 January 1968 Shaikh Zayed of Abu Dhabi had separate meetings with Shaikh Rashid of Dubai, Shaikh Khalid of Sharjah, and Shaikh Hamad of Fujairah. At the end of the first and the last meetings, the rulers emphasized in a communiqué that they had discussed "all possible means to strengthen their cooperation and work together, internally and externally, to promote their national interest and to preserve these interests in the future."[524] In addition, British representatives in the region contacted the rulers of the Coast to discuss various aspects of the union. On 20 January, D. A. Roberts, the Political Agent in Dubai, stated

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[523]Reprinted in *Arab Reports and Records*, Issue 3, 1-15 Feb., 1968, cited in Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United*, p. 341.

[524]For the Arabic text of the communiqué between the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai see "al-bayan al-Mushtarak [al-Sadr fi] Abu Dhabi, 22 Yanayer, 1968", p. 25 [The Joint Communiqué (issued in) Abu Dhabi, 22 Jan., 1968,] p. 25, in Riad el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-'Arabi: Tumuhat al-Wehda wa Humum al-Istiqlal, 1968-1971* [The Arabian Gulf Documents: Attempts at Federation and Independence, 1968-1971] (London: Riad el-Rayyes Books, 1987), p. 25; for the Arabic texts and the English translation of Abu Dhabi and Dubai see Telegram from Dubai to Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 22 Jan., 1968, FO 1016/855 [TNA, London]; Telegram from PA, Abu Dhabi, to FO, 22 Jan., 1968; PA, Abu Dhabi, to PR, Bahrain, 24 Jan.,1968, FCO 8/847, pp. 29-37, in Burdett (ed), *RoE 1966-71, vol. 3: 1968*, pp. 32-4; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United*, pp. 84-5.

that Shaikh Khalid of Sharjah had declared that the union of the seven should be governed by a rotating ruling council, aided by an advisory council. Shaikh Rashid, the ruler of Dubai, declared the need to expand the federation to include all the nine emirates. Furthermore, Sir Stewart Crawford revealed on 24 January that during the previous three days Shaikh Rashid had visited all the rulers and gained positive responses to his idea from the other rulers.[525] These early movements were consultative in nature, with no concrete plans for action.

During the period preceding the negotiations and even during part of them, the rulers of the nine emirates formulated two interrelated reasons for participating in the creation of a union. On the one hand, they regarded the political outcome of their negotiation as being to establish an internationally-recognised state, and on the other hand, they aimed to retain a degree of local self-governance.[526] In various interviews during the pre-negotiation period, the rulers declared their pleasure in cooperating with each other to determine their collective political future and to improve the welfare of their citizens. Through their activities they attempted to show the public that they were acting independently from Britain.

However, during the main negotiations, several rulers made their approval of the federation conditional on achieving a number of demands. For the rulers of Ras al-Khaimah, Sharjah, ‘Ajman, Umm al-Quwain and Fujairah, the federation meant equality with the rulers of the richer emirates and provision of social and economic services to all its citizens. Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, Ras al-Khaimah and Sharjah looked at the federation as a political structure ensuring protection from the encroachments of powerful neighbours such as Iran and Saudi Arabia. For Abu Dhabi and Qatar, the union meant a leading role in the Gulf region through the dominance of the new state. Finally, Dubai

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[525]PA, Abu Dhabi, to PR, Bahrain, 24 Jan.,1968, Statement by Defence Secretary, Circular Letter to Rulers from PA, Dubai, 24 Jan.,1968, FO 1016/739; pp. 238-239 in Burdett. (ed), *RoE 1966-71, vol. 3: 1968*, p. 239; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United*, pp. 230-1, 234.

[526]Tabatabai, *al-Nidham al-Ittihadi…,* p. 36; Jamal Zakariya Qassim, *al-Khaleej al-‘Arabi: Dirasa li-Tarikh al-Mu’aser, 1945-1971* [The Arabian Gulf: A Study of its Modern History, 1945-1971] (Cairo: Ma’ahad al-Buhuth wa al-Dirasat al-‘Arabiya al-‘Ulya, 1973), p. 355-356.

viewed the federation from the perspective of its commercial enterprise, with a minimum of financial responsibility and less state intervention in free trade.[527]

The two attitudes seem contradictory in nature. The first reflected feelings of goodwill because the parties were emphasizing their emotions rather than any rational view of the process. The second represented the practical aspects, in which each party emphasized its own needs, objectives and fears. Many participants failed to separate the two approaches. Thus, in many cases, disagreements between the negotiating parties led to stalemate and failure. On many occasions and despite their best efforts, the mediators were unable to convince the rulers and their delegates to compromise on various aspects of their positions.

5.4.1 The Union of the Two

The first serious step toward a federation was a meeting in al-Sumayh in Dubai on 18 February 1968 between the rulers of Dubai and Abu Dhabi The signing of this accord was a crucial step in constructing the federation since it was the cornerstone of all future activities by the rulers and their advisers, as well as regional and foreign mediators. According to a British report of 13 February, the meeting was a local initiative (see Annexe 2). Shaikh Rashid of Dubai reported that it had originated with a call from Shaikh Zayed before 11 February proposing a meeting at which to resolve all the outstanding problems between them, such as the border disputes.[528] Therefore by 16 February both parties were discussing all the issues, including the opportunity of the formation of a federation.

The two rulers signed the al-Sumayh Accord with the aim of uniting their emirates and conferring the realms of nationality, public service, foreign affairs, and national and internal security upon the new entity. In addition they invited the other five rulers of the

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[527]al-'Aqqad, "Juthur al-Wehda…", pp. 65-67; Taryam, ibid., pp. 110-111; 'Aisha 'Ali al-Sayyar, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi li-Dawlat al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida* [The Political History of the United Arab Emirates] (Abu Dhabi: Maktabat al-Jami'a, 1996), p. 318.

[528]Foreign and Commonwealth Office Memorandum, records of conversation between the Ruler of Dubai and the Political Agent in Dubai, 13 Feb., 1968, FCO 8/828; pp. 47-49 in Burdett (ed), *RoE 1966-71, vol. 3, 1968*, p. 47.

emirates of the Coast of Oman to participate in the union; the rulers of Bahrain and Qatar were invited to debate the future of the area only.[529] The accord received outright support from the United Kingdom and Jordan, but was met with certain reservations from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. This action was not seen as an end but as a means towards forming a larger entity that would include other emirates of the region. It was Shaikh Zayed's vision to focus initially on the emirates of the Coast before the inclusion of Qatar and Bahrain. This preference materialized a few weeks later in the form of a constitutional document for the emirates of the Coast.[530]

Even though this was a positive step, the way in which the meeting had been arranged and the vagueness of the content of the signed document itself undermined its contribution to the formation of a union. Kuwaiti legal expert 'Adil Tabatabai insisted in particular on the conciseness of the text and the need to clarify many of its provisions in order to improve its quality (specifically the agreement did not define the nature of the federal authorities and the relationship between the emirates and the federal authorities).[531] These and other issues pertaining to this action, as is discussed later, had a negative impact on the interaction between the rulers.

5.4.2 The Union of the Nine

As a consequence of earlier deliberations, the rulers of the nine emirates began their negotiations to establish the Union of the Nine, known formally as the Union of Arab Emirates. Although the rulers failed in their quest to declare a state, these negotiations assisted the rulers of the emirates of the Coast in later on establishing a smaller federation, since the legacy of the Union of the Nine prevailed in the draft of the

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[529]al-bayan al-Mushtarak [al-Sadr fi] Dubai, 18 Febrayr, 1968", p. 25 [The Joint Communiqué (issued in) Dubai, 18 Feb., 1968,] pp. 25-26, in Riad el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-'Arab…,* pp. 25-26; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United*, pp. 89-92.

[530]"al-Qanun al-Asasi al-Muaqat li-Imarat Sahil Oman", pp. 86-97 [The Temporary Basic Law for the Emirates of the Coast of Oman], in Law Comment of Political Agent in Dubai on the Temporary Basic Law, Prepared by Adi al-Baitar, Legal Adviser to Ruler of Dubai, with an English Translation, FCO 8/10 [in TNA]

[531]Tabatabai, *al-Nidham al-Ittihadi…,* pp. 39-40.

July 1971 provisional constitution that was modified to the satisfaction of the founders of the Union of the Six, as is discussed below. This sub-section focuses on the rulers' meetings, the role of the outside powers, popular reaction, and the reasons for its failure. One of the main difficulties encountered during the meetings of the union of the nine was that some rulers, such as Shaikh Ahmed of Qatar and Shaikh Rashed of Dubai, feared that the inclusion of Bahrain might have negative political and economic consequences on the relations of the union with Iran, since Tehran had stated it would not recognize the new state if it included Bahrain.

In the aftermath of the al-Sumayh declaration, a protest from the rulers of Qatar and Bahrain and the intervention of the Political Resident in Bahrain extended the scope of the invitation to include both rulers. The ruler of Qatar, Shaikh Ahmed bin 'Ali, questioned the differences between the invitation addressed to the other rulers of the Coast of Oman with the ones extended to him and Shaikh 'Isa, and inquired whether there was an attempt to exclude them from the union.[532] In this respect it was very clear that political and economic rivalries between emirates were already surfacing. The first bone of contention (involving Qatar and Abu Dhabi) was over control of political decision-making in the union, and the application of financial resources to win favour with less-wealthy emirates. On the economic side, Bahrain and Dubai were emerging as contenders over economic assets, with aspects such as the location of future ports, and favourable tax deals, providing a way to win loyalties.[533] There is no doubt that these early signs of competition between emirates can be seen as indicators of rivalries that could have developed later, within a Union of the Nine.

Three reasons contribute to explaining the expansion of the proposed Union of the Nine. First, the rulers were interested in demonstrating to their nationals their independence from British influence. For instance, Minister of State Goronwy Roberts had recommended establishing a union of seven emirates. However, the rulers of the seven emirates took a negative view of the recommendation to use the "Trucial States Council" as the foundation for the federation. In their experience, this institution lacked

[532]Mustafa 'Aukil and Ahmed Zakarya, *Katar wa Ittihad al-Immarat al-'Arabiya…,* p. 26.
[533]John Duke Anthony, *Arab States of the Lower Gulf: People, Politics, and Petroleum* (Washington DC: The Middle East Institute, 1975), p. 223.

the mechanisms for implementing whatever decisions were adopted, as was discussed in Chapter Four. It was the right of each ruler to decide whether a particular decision might or might not be applied in his emirate. In addition, in most of its operations, the Development Office of the Trucial States Council took the form of a large public service organization. Moreover, the two rival rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai were looking for allies in future negotiations to form a federal state, and thus found interests in pushing for a wider union. Bahrain provided Abu Dhabi with technical expertise, Qatar was a commercial partner of Dubai, and the former leader Shaikh Ahmed was a son-in-law of Shaikh Rashid.[534] A third reason was related to the broader added value that Bahrain and Qatar could bring to the union. While Bahrain could provide the federation with an educated population and much-needed administrators, Qatar's oil revenue would supplement Abu Dhabi's financial contribution to the federation.

5.4.2.1 Meetings of the Rulers of the Nine

After resolving the differences in the status of Qatar and Bahrain and that of the seven emirates, the rulers agreed to meet in Dubai during the period 25-27 February 1968. At the conclusion of this summit, an "Agreement of the Union of Arab Emirates" or what became known as the "Dubai Agreement" was signed by the nine rulers. Based on a Qatari draft, the agreement was divided into three sections and included seventeen articles. Section One declared the formation of the union and identified its objectives. Section Two identified two authorities in charge of implementing the rulers' decisions and their respective functions. The Supreme Council, which concentrated the executive power, consisted of the rulers of the emirates, while the Council of Union was composed of the ministers of the federation. In the confines of powers assigned to the Supreme Council, the agreement stipulated that a decision should be unanimously approved by all rulers before becoming law. The third section defined other state

[534]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, p.342; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*, p. 91.

institutions, such as the Supreme Court.[535] The Dubai Agreement functioned as a foundation for the negotiations to establish the Union of the Nine. A number of studies, including those by ‘Adil Tabatabai and by ‘Amru Hasbu, an Egyptian legal scholar, critically reviewed this agreement. Both scholars insisted on the fact that, by contrast with the al-Sumayh accord, the agreement was short but detailed, and recognized the sovereignty of member states. However they disagreed on the nature of the intended union: while Tabatabai viewed it as contractual, Hasbu perceived it as a federal union. Tabatabai also insisted on the exclusion of citizens from decision-making affairs.[536]

After the founding convention, the rulers and crown princes,[537] as well as their representatives and legal advisers, met on numerous occasions between 25 May 1968 and 24 October 1970 to bring the union into reality.[538] The rulers met four times: the first meetings (twice) (6-7 May and 25-26 May1968) and the last (21-23 October 1969) were held in Abu Dhabi, while the second (20-22 October 1968) and the third (10-14 May 1969) summits were held in Doha. Due to their inability to resolve their outstanding differences, as will be shown below, the rulers of the emirates did not meet after the October 1969 summit in Abu Dhabi. The crown princes and the legal advisers held three additional meetings, all in Abu Dhabi (20 October 1968, 13 June and 24 October 1970).[539] The last meeting by the deputy rulers was an attempt to resolve the differences between various parties in order for the rulers to resume their summit. However, the negotiating parties failed in their quest to bridge the gap to meet once more and to declare the state.

During the first summit held in May 1968 in Abu Dhabi, the representatives and advisers of the rulers were unable to agree whether the focus should be on drafting the

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[535]“Itifaqiyat Ittihad al-Imarat al-‘Arabiya [al-Muwaqa’ fi Dubai], 27 Febrayr, 1968,” pp. 27-29 [The Agreement of the Union of the Arab Emirates (signed in Dubai), 27 Feb., 1968], pp. 27-29, in Riad el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-‘Arab…,* pp. 27-29.

[536]Tabatabai, al-Nidham al-Ittihadi…, pp. 43-45; Amru Hasbu, *al-Nidham al-Ittihadi fi Dawlat al-Imarat al-‘Arabiya al-Mutahida: Dirasa Nadhariya wa Tatbiqiya fi Dhu al-Nudhm al-Ittihadiya al-Muqarana* [The Federal System in the United Arab Emirates: A Theoretical and Practical Study Based on Comparative Federal Approach] (Cairo: np, 1995), pp. 61-64.

[537]A meeting of the crown princes was included later on, either during the first conference or by an oral agreement between the rulers. The aim seems to have been to pre-empt disagreements between the rulers.

[538]“Mufakirat al-Wathiqa”, pp. 659-660 [Chronology of Events], in el-Rayyes (ed), Ibid., pp. 659-660.

[539] Ibid., pp. 659-660.

constitution or establishing various state organisations, especially the Council of the Union.[540] In the final communiqué that concluded the first session, the rulers acknowledged that they "have consulted [with each other] over the best course to implement Dubai's agreement… [and] the consultation revealed a difference on the best course [of action]."[541] Thanks in part to the Kuwaiti intervention, the stalemate was resolved, as will be seen later.

While the last summit held in Abu Dhabi in October 1969 marked an improvement compared to the first, in term of attitudes on the part of the rulers and their advisers and representatives that indicated an evolution towards more cooperation, the final result was no better. Members of the Supreme Council were apprehensive about achieving a positive result by the adoption of a number of resolutions advancing the cause of the federation. Even if the rulers during this last summit revisited more than once the selection of a vice-president (until Shaikh Rashid of Dubai accepted the post), the appointment of Shaikh Zayed (ruler of Abu Dhabi and chairman of the summit), as the president of the new country was approved unanimously. However, a positive message from Sir Stewart Crawford, the Political Resident in Bahrain, delivered by the Political Agent in Abu Dhabi, James Treadwell, encouraging the rulers to overcome their differences and establish the union led to the failure of the summit. The rulers of Ras al-Khaimah and Qatar condemned the statement as a British intervention in their internal affairs.[542] Shaikh Zayed argued against the actions of the two rulers by stating that no one objected to James Treadwell's request to address the rulers. He considered that the statement had not been offensive and that the rulers of the emirates were obliged by the treaties to accept advices from British officials.[543] However this had no effect and

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[540]"Waqai' Ijtima' Mumathili wa Mustashari al-Hukam, Abu Dhabi, 18-19 Mayo, 1968", pp. 30-63 [Meeting of the Rulers' Representatives and Advisors, 18-19, May, 1968], in el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-'Arab…,* pp. 30-63.

[541]"al-Bayan al-Mushtarak al-Awal, Abu Dhabi, 26 Mayo 1968" p. 69 [The First Join communiqué, Abu Dhabi, 26 May, 1968], in el-Rayyes (ed), Ibid.*,* p. 69.

[542]'Auki and Zakarya, *Katar wa Ittihad al-Immarat…,* pp. 29, 31, 44-45. For the Arabic translation of text of the message, see Zakariya Neel, *Burat al-Khatar fi al-Khaleej al-'Arabi*. [Dangerous Spots in the Arabian Gulf] (Cairo: Matabi' al-Ahram al-Tijariya, 1973), pp. 136-137. Unfortunately, no reference was made of such an event in the published minutes of the fourth meeting.

[543]Neel. ibid., pp. 141-142. Note that it is not clear how Neel was able to obtain a copy of an Arabic translation of a missing English text.

Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah and Shaikh Ahmad of Qatar withdrew without signing the final statement.

Two axes (Bahrain-Abu Dhabi) and (Qatar-Dubai) emerged quite clearly during the negotiations. While Ras al-Khaimah supported the latter, the Bahrain-Abu Dhabi alliance won support from the remaining four smaller emirates. Disagreement between the two sides was apparent from the first meeting of the representatives and advisers. At a conference in Abu Dhabi on 18 and 19 May 1968, the host emirate, with support from others, submitted a single-issue agenda: the selection of a constitutional expert to draft "the permanent and complete charter of the union." Qatar, on the other hand, proposed an elaborate agenda of fourteen articles that included, in addition to the previous point, the formation of state institutions, the election of a president, the establishment of the cabinet, and the formation of a Union Council.[544] It seemed that the would-be members of the new state were divided into those who argued for a slow transition and those who demanded a fast track.

The main stumbling block in advancing the union was undoubtedly the balance of power between the nine emirates and the unanimity in voting within the Supreme Council of the rulers**.** The nine emirates were divided by wealth and size as well as by alliance. Of the nine, Bahrain, Qatar, Abu Dhabi, and Dubai were wealthier and larger than the remaining five, and were therefore the ultimate decision-makers. At the founding conference, Qatar submitted a draft of a resolution to unify the smaller five emirates into an "Emirate of the United Arab Coast".[545] Smaller emirates, sensing devaluation of their status, rejected the proposal, asserting the equality of all members despite the unbalance in size and resources.[546] During the last conference, according to Zakariya Neel, an Egyptian journalist, and Zakariya Qassim, an Egyptian scholar, the rulers of the small emirates demanded the allocation to their representatives of some

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[544]Two versions of the minutes, a shorter version probably prepared by Abu Dhabi, and a more detailed one subtitled as drafted by the Qatari delegation, can be found in "Waqai' Ijtima' Mumathili wa Mustashari al-Hukkam – Abu Dhabi" pp. 30-39; "Waqai' Ijtima' Mumathili wa Mustashari al-Hukkam, 18-19 Mayo, 1968," pp. 40-63 [Minutes of the Meeting of Representatives and Advisors of the Rulers- Abu Dhabi, pp. 30-39, and Minutes of the Meeting of Representatives and Advisors of the Rulers, 18-19-May, 1968, pp. 40-62] in el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-Arab…,* pp. 30-63.

[545]"Mashru' bi-Insha Imarat al-Sahil al-'Arabi" p. 29 [Proposal to establish Emirate of United Arab Coast], in el-Rayyes (ed), ibid., p. 29.

[546]Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*, p. 92.

sovereign ministries (such as Defence and Finance) to compensate for the uncontested domination of the larger emirates over the federation.[547]

At almost every meeting, time was spent on peripheral issues such as the composition of the agenda, and decisions were delayed for lack of consensus. During the rulers' summits, the agenda, whether agreed by the deputy rulers or a working version submitted by the host emirate was frequently contested and a new one had to be negotiated between the rulers' representatives. Procedural issues, such as appointing an expert to survey social and economic conditions, were discussed at the same time, although this element could have been carried out at a lower level, such as the Provisional Union Council or one of its subcommittees.[548]

Of the many issues of disagreement between the rulers, the constitutional structure and the allocation of seats within the federal assembly also took centre stage. With regard to constitutional structure, there was an understanding from the beginning of the need for written rules to govern the new state. The imprecise phrase "complete and permanent charter" was later replaced by the term "constitution" to avoid confusion between the establishment of a federal state and an arrangement for governing relations between several entities. Following brief delays during which medical reasons prevented the Egyptian constitutional scholar, 'Abdul-Razzaq al-Sanhuri, from assuming responsibility, Waheed Ref'at, another Egyptian constitutional expert and a legal adviser to Shaikh Subah al-Salem, the ruler of Kuwait, was appointed to review a draft of seven chapters and 126 articles that had been prepared by a committee composed of the rulers' legal advisers.[549] The individual who had drafted the provisional constitution had also recommended amendments: Dubai objected to the adjustment concerning the

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[547]Neel, *Burat al-Khatar fi al-Khaleej al-'Arabi*, pp. 130-135; Qassim. *al-Khaleej al-'Arab*…, p. 391, cited in 'Aukil and Zakarya, *Katar wa Ittihad al-Immarat*…, p. 45.

[548]"Mahdar Ijtima' al-Dawra al-Rabia' [lil-Majlis al-A'ala], Abu Dhabi, 21-25 October, 1969" [Minutes of the fourth meetings of The Supreme Council, Abu Dhabi, 21-25 October, 1969], pp. 411-439 n el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-Arab…,* pp. 417-421, 430; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*, p. 109.

[549]"al-Majlis al-A'ala Qarar 1 1968: Bi-al-Ittifaq ma' Khabeer 'Arabi fi al-Qanun al-'Am" pp. 86-87 [The Supreme Council Decision 1 1968: Regarding an Agreement with an Arab Expert on General Law], pp. 86-87; "al-Majlis al-A'ala Qarar 1 1969: Bi-Shan Wadh al-Destur al-Muaqat" p. 351 [The Supreme Council Decision 1 1969: Regarding the Writing of the Provisional Constitution], p. 351, in el-Rayyes (ed), ibid., pp. 86-87, 351.

unification of customs tariffs.[550] In this respect, the negotiators were involved in formulating a constitutional structure for the new state, with their objective being to establish a sound legal framework to reduce problems in the future. One crucial aspect, for instance, was to separate federal from local jurisdictions, since clear wording in the official documents would help to define areas that would be under each party's authority.

Regarding the allocation of seats to the emirates in the National Consultative Council (NCC), a disagreement emerged between Bahrain and all remaining parties. On 6 and 7 July 1968, and on 24 October 1970, Bahrain, being the most heavily populated of the nine and having been ignored when key posts in the federation were distributed, demanded an allocation of seats in the parliament according to the population of each emirate. Fearing that they would be outvoted in the NCC, other emirates objected to this and insisted on equal shares. Bahrain, which had abided by the position of the majority in previous meetings, chose to re-address the issue, and relieved of Iranian pressure, now argued for protecting its interests within the union, and for the right of its population to participate in national affairs. However, having for the second time failed to change the consensus, Bahrain's delegation therefore abstained from further participation in the conference's deliberations.[551] In this respect, the disagreement rested on applying different principles in the discussions. It seems that Bahrain had opted for a power base which other emirates refused to grant by voting against the proposal. The only time Bahrain was offered a high post in the union was on 22 October 1969, when Shaikh Ahmed of Qatar nominated Shaikh 'Isa for the post of vice-president of the union. This nomination was not acted upon because the chairman of the summit, Shaikh Zayed, adjourned the meeting for further consultation.[552] No explanation was given for adjourning the meeting, nor were there any details of what the rulers discussed on this occasion. Furthermore, it is unclear whether Shaikh Ahmad was serious about his decision and whether Shaikh 'Isa was going to accept the nomination.

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[550]"Rad Hukumat Dubai, bedun Tarikh", pp. 639-642 [The Reply from Government of Dubai, nd], pp. 639-642, in el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-'Arab…,* p. 641. It is worth noting that the response excluded this point from its list of approved items.
[551]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates,* pp. 351-352, 357.
[552]"Mahdar Ijtima'at al-Dawra al-Rabi'a, Abu Dhabi, 21-25 October 1969", pp. 611-654 [Minutes of the Fourth Meeting, Abu Dhabi, 21-25 Oct., 1969], in el-Rayyes (ed), Ibid., pp. 625-626.

5.4.2.2 Foreign Support and Mediation

After the nine rulers had declared their intention to form a union, states such as Britain and Iran expressed varying degrees of support or opposition to the enterprise. Moreover, with the rulers' inability to solve their disagreements, friendly countries intervened to assist them to arrive at a common ground. While Iran opposed the federation, Britain, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait supported the formation of the union.[553] Iran, because of its claim over Bahrain, communicated its position to the rulers of Qatar, Dubai and Abu Dhabi when they were on various official or private visits to Iran, and as a consequence, several rulers deliberately avoided Bahrain as a meeting place, or acted in a manner that Iran would not interpret as showing support for Bahrain. Indeed, the ruler of Qatar argued that the inclusion of Bahrain in the union might jeopardize an otherwise good working relationship with Iran.[554]

Britain meanwhile was one of the outside powers to mediate in disputed issues. In this regard, British Government action turned from covert to overt involvement. In the earlier stages, and in order to avoid repeating the mistakes they had made in South Yemen,[555] and to overcome allegations that they were in any way directing the process of unification, British officials conducted behind-the-scene discussions with the rulers. For example, Britain discouraged Bahrain from unilaterally declaring independence, especially after the Shah of Iran had accepted the result of the United Nations Fact-Finding Mission regarding its political future.[556] However, after the 1970 elections in Britain, the Conservative Party changed direction towards active participation. This was reflected in a letter of 3 December 1970 sent by Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, to the Ruler of Qatar, Shaikh Ahmed bin 'Ali, in which he announced the appointment of Sir William Luce as a special envoy to assist in arriving at a desired conclusion. After a review of the Sa'udi-Kuwaiti proposal

[553]It is not clear if the three governments coordinated their efforts by exchanging documents and ideas.
[554]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, p. 350.
[555]Balfour-Paul. *The End of the Empire in the Middle East….,* especially chapter 3. In this project, Britain, in order to withdraw from south Yemen, but to keep a friendly government in place and prevent militant opposition from overrunning the country, forced local rulers into a union. Later events revealed the failure of such an approach.
[556]Balfour-Paul, ibid., p. 127.

(see below), Luce proposed a plan on 13 May 1971 that was focused on resolving four of the outstanding issues: the country's capital, the armed forces, financial contributions, and voting patterns in the Supreme Council. However, his efforts failed, partly because Qatar refused to attend the meeting, invoking political rather than constitutional areas of disagreement, and raised objections to the choice of location for the meeting (which happened to be the official residence of the British Political Resident in Bahrain).[557]

Along with Britain, both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia also attempted to use their influence to resolve outstanding obstacles. From 22 to 27 June 1968, Shaikh Subah al-Ahmad, the Kuwaiti Foreign Minister, had met the nine rulers and was instrumental in convincing them of the necessity of establishing a Provisional Union Council to advance the union. Later, on 13 and 14 January 1971, the Kuwaiti Foreign Minister also joined a committee with the Sa'udi government representative, Prince Nawaf bin 'Abdul-'Aziz, to resolve the ongoing disagreements. After meeting with the four dominant rulers on 8 April 1971, the delegation submitted a seven-point proposal, on the basis of which the rulers agreed on: (1) equal representation in the parliament; (2) the union's jurisdiction over international representation except for technical areas such as OPEC; (3) the union's control over territorial waters and maritime trade; and (4) the continuation of local armies until the formation of the federal armed forces. However, Qatar rejected the exclusion of any reference to the capital in the Provisional Constitution; the unspecified percentage required from the emirates as a contribution to the annual budget (a point ignored by Dubai); and the replacement of consensus with a seven-vote majority in the Supreme Council.[558] Bahrain accepted all the proposed recommendations with a minor

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[557]Appendix 11, "Letter from E.F. Hinderson, PA Doha, to H.H. Shaikh Ahmed bin 'Ali, ruler of Qatar, 3 Dec., 1970, including a letter from Sir Alec Douglas Home, Secretary of State, with British Arabic translation, pp. 207-211, in 'Aukil and Zakarya, *Katar wa Ittihad al-Immarat*…, pp. 207-211. Also "Muthakarah min Dr Hasan Kamel," pp. 501-509 [A Memorandum from Dr Hasan Kamel,"pp. 501-509], in el-Rayyes (ed)., *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-'Arab…,* pp. 501-509. Unfortunately, sources for other rulers' responses are not available for ascertaining their impact on the results.

[558]"al-Muqtarahat al-Sa'udiya-al-Kuwaitiya al-Nihaeya", "Rad Hukumat Qatar", "Rad Hukumat Abu Dhabi", Rad Hukumat Dubai" pp. 628-642 ["The Final Saudi-Kuwaiti Proposal", "the Response of the Government of Qatar", "the Response of the Government of Abu Dhabi", and "the Response of the Government of Dubai"] pp. 628-642], in el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-'Arab…,* pp. 628-642; Annexe 17: "Memorandum Concerning Sir William Luce's Suggestions Regarding the Proposals on the Constitution of the Union of the Arab Emirates by Saudi-Kuwaiti Mission", 13 May, 1971, in 'Aukil and Zakarya, *Katar wa Ittihad al-Immarat*…, pp. 269-270.

amendment concerning voting in the Supreme Council between the initial submission and the resubmission of a particular text.[559]

5.4.2.3 The Popular Response to the Negotiations to Establish the Union of the Nine

In addition to the reactions from other countries, there were both positive and negative reactions from local populations. Popular response to the rulers' actions was reflected in the thinking of intellectuals and by appraisal on the part of political organizations. Intellectuals in the region, both for and against federation, discussed the rulers' efforts. Balfour-Paul quotes a rhyme by an unnamed Bahraini politician that, alternating between hope and dismay, revealed great uncertainty about the union:

> Where all was once disharmony, there's been a change of heart.
> The Nine Arabian shaikhdoms meet to wonder where to start.
> While each one claims the other, same *in toto* [in original] same in part,
> The Union marches on.
> Glory, Glory, Hallelujah, the Union marches on.
> Where all was once dissension, of agreement now they speak.
> The flesh is yet unwilling and the spirit somewhat weak, but still
> The whispered password is relayed from creek to creek: The Union marches on.
> Glory, Glory, Hallelujah, the Union marches on.[560]

Two Kuwaiti intellectuals with pan-Arab views, 'Abdulla al-Naibari and Ahmed al-Saqqaf, were of the opinion that the noticeable absence of popular participation and support for the federation had been the primary reason for the collapse of previous unification attempts in the Arab world. In their view, the first step towards union was to reach an agreement among national forces within the countries opting for merger. They also suggested that a gradual and vertical process, founded on social, economic, and political structures, was an integral element in moving towards the declaration of the new state.[561] However, neither al-Naibari nor al-Saqqaf elaborated on how their plan might have been applied.

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[559]Amal Ibrahim al-Zayani, *al-Bahrayn (1783-1973): Dirasa fi Muhit al-'Ilaqat al-Dawliya wa Tatawur al-Ahdath fi Mantiqat al-Khaleej* [Bahrain (1783-1973): A Study in the Internal Arena and the Development in the Gulf Region] (Beirut: Dar al-Tarjuma wa al-Nashir, 1973), p. 166.
[560]Balfour-Paul, *The End of the Empire in the Middle East…..,* p. 225 (n. 79).
[561]Mufeed al-Zaidi, *al-Tatawurat al-Fikriyah fi al-Khaleej al-'Arabi, 1938-1971* [Intellectual Development in the Arab Gulf, 1938-1971] (Beirut: Markaz Dirasat al-Wehada al-'Arabiya, 2000), pp. 237-8.

Political organisations in the region reacted in two ways to the rulers' negotiations: qualified support and outright condemnation. The first reaction was reflected in a statement signed by an unknown group called the People of Oman and the Gulf that was distributed in Abu Dhabi on 6 and 7 November 1969. The communiqué supported the activities of the rulers, but demanded firm action from them according to the wishes of the country. The group attributed the obstacles and divisions among the rulers to the activities of the British government.[562] Other political organizations, such as the Revolutionary Movement in Oman and the Gulf (RPMOG) and its umbrella group, the Dhofar Liberation Front, which was renamed the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG)[563] in 1968, opposed the federation. According to these parties the objective of such action was to unify the region in a single state and to undermine the national liberation struggle. RPMOG and PFLOAG, in separate statements issued on 10 November 1969, condemned the rulers' activities and declared it to be a British ploy which would not last for long. The difference between the two statements lies in their emphasis. RPMOG's statement focused on the failure of the meeting and the way the rulers had reneged on previously-agreed (though unspecified) resolutions. The PFLOAG statement concentrated on labelling the union as "forged" and a "despicable distortion".[564]

More broadly, the federation of the nine generated interest among the various populations, but since interaction with the process was mostly confined to a small circle of intellectuals and secret political organizations, the public at large appeared to be no more than cheer-leaders with minimal influence on the outcome. The contribution of those who did attempt to be proactive was confined to discussion of the broad issues, and little or no effort was exerted to deal with details that appeared in the local or regional press. Nor did these comments have any impact on the rulers or on members of their delegations. For example, there seems to have been no discussion on suitable

[562]"Ila man yahumuhu al-amr" pp. 94-95 [To Whom It May Concern, 94-95] in el-Rayyes (ed), *Wathaiq al-Khaleej al-'Arab…,* pp. 94-95.
[563]al-'Akri, *al-Tandhemat al-Yasariya….*, pp. 93-94, 97.
[564]The Revolutionary Movement in Oman and the Gulf, "Bayan"; The Popular Front for the Liberation of the Arabian Gulf, "Communiqué", *al-Hurriyah* newspaper, Beirut, 10 November 1969.

forms of federation, or on the best way of reducing differences among the rulers so as to overcome deadlock and to establish a state in the area.

5.4.2.4 The Reasons for Failure of the Union of the Nine

There were internal and external factors behind the failure of the negotiations to establish a federation. The inability of the rulers to comprehend the nature of the project must be noted. Initially they were euphoric, assuming that goodwill and similarities of political backgrounds would be sufficient to realize their objective. There was no discussion about each side's intentions in participating in negotiations, or about the possible impact of their historic feuding, although with the passage of time this aspect emerged, forcing each party to focus on its own interests and preventing collaboration in reaching common ground.[565] Neither did the participants contemplate forming an alternative plan for federation, should this attempt fail. Moreover, the rulers' decision from the beginning to agree unanimously on any given issue was another crucial factor behind the failure of the Union of the Nine, since this approach led the negotiations to stalemate if any ruler did not agree with others on a particular subject. Any alteration to the earlier decision might win that vote but might lose another one.

External factors also contributed to the demise of the federation of the nine. Out of the growing inability of the rulers to resolve their differences, the opportunity for external actors to interfere in the process and to pressure the different parties in a direction that would benefit their own national interests became more evident. While avoiding direct involvement, Iran indirectly pressured some of the rulers to exclude Bahrain from the union. Kuwait, which sensed pressure from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran, tried to be friendly to the emirates and to participate in bridging the gap between the rulers. Britain and Saudi Arabia, while appearing to be assisting the rulers to form the union, focused more on pursuing their own national objectives. Britain's concern was to inform the rulers of its intention to withdraw, while Saudi Arabia's interest was to

[565]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United,* p. 351; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United*, pp. 95, 159-160; Ali Mohammed Khalifa, *The United Arab Emirates: Unity in Fragmentation* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1978), p. 34.

preserve the union of the nine and to prevent the formation of a federation led by Abu Dhabi.[566] When faced with a possible resolution to a problem, the mediators found that it often coincided with the interests of just one party or else that it contradicted those of another. The available options were not helpful in bridging the gap.

5.4.3 The Union of the Six

Following the rulers' failure to arrive at a consensus in the fourth conference of the Supreme Council in October 1969, two contrasting dynamics emerged. While the regional powers and Britain were involved in various attempts to resolve the difficulties with the Union of the Nine, on the other hand, the rulers of the nine emirates turned inwards. In January 1970 the Bahraini government established the Council of State, a new 12-member body which became the state's supreme executive authority and a precursor to a Council of Ministers; in February the rulers of the Coast of Oman resumed their actions within the Trucial States Council;[567] and in April the Qatari government adopted its own constitution. The rulers of the Coast of Oman also increased their bilateral and multilateral meetings to find common ground, as a precursor to forming a smaller union. Thus events returned to what had been the initial intentions of the rulers of the emirates of the Coast in 1968 towards establishing their union. At the same time the rulers were aware of the imminent termination of British protection and the impact of this on their future. They were therefore interested in resolving the stalemate as a means to ensure their future political survival. The third and finally successful effort at unification was the negotiation to establish a smaller union, during which six agreed to join in a federation.

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[566]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United*, p. 345; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United*, pp. 166-7; al-Sayyar, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi l-Dawlat*…, pp. 323, 341.
[567]Ramadan Battekh, *al-Tatawur al-Sieyasi wa al-Desturi fi Dawlat al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida* [Political and Constitutional Development in the United Arab Emirates] (Abu Dhabi: Muassat al-'Ain lil-'Ilan wa al-Tawzi' wa al-Nshr, nd), p.92.

5.4.3.1 The Abu Dhabi-Dubai Accord of 15 July 1971

Between June and December 1971 the rulers met on numerous occasions, both in and outside the emirates of the Coast, to exchange views on the future of the federation. Apart from the meeting in al-Khawanij in Dubai on 18 and 19 July 1971, most of the discussions were held in unofficial forums, and only a few were held in formal settings. The latter type included consultations among the rulers while they were attending the Development Office between 10 and 13 July. At this time the rulers agreed on a variety of issues, including sending their delegations to meetings in Abu Dhabi on 1 and 9 August 1971.[568]

From the later part of June, the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai, Shaikh Zayed and Shaikh Rashid, with other rulers such as Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah, Shaikh Khalid of Sharjah, and Shaikh Hamad of Fujairah, regularly discussed issues pertaining to the federation. However, the first proposal for a union probably came from the ruler of Fujairah, who wrote on 9 July to Shaikh Zayed of Abu Dhabi; his letter stated that

> Based on our solemn belief in the unity of land, religion, language, history, [common] destiny and our previous verbal agreement on Friday 2 July 1971 in al-'Ain city… I am writing this letter to affirm the union between our two emirates.[569]

It is unclear what impact, if any, this statement might have had on activities towards the federation. For example, it was not known whether or not Shaikh Zayed responded to this letter. Furthermore, after the six rulers had signed the agreement to establish the union on 18 July 1971 (see below), another agreement was announced, although the literature does not specify the source or the date, and details are sparse.

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[568]For the pre-10 July meetings see *al-Khaleej* newspaper, 22 April, 1971. For the post-22 April period, see *Yaumiyyat Zayed, al-Juz 1; 1966-1976* [Zayed's Diary, vol. 1: 1966-1976], Introduction by H.H. Shaikh Mansur bin Zayed (Abu Dhabi: Diwan al-Reasa- Markaz al-Wathaiq wa al-Buhuth, 2003), pp. 67-74.

[569]Risalah min al-Shaikh Hamad bin Muhammad al-Sharqi, Hakim al-Fujairah ila al-Shaikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan, Hakim Abu Dhabi, 9 Yulu 1971 [Letter from HH Shaikh Hamad bin Muhammad al-Sharqi, ruler of Fujairah, to HH Shaikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan, ruler of Abu Dhabi, 9 July 1971] (Private collection in my possession).

This announcement concerned an agreement between Abu Dhabi and Sharjah to form a union, should all other efforts to form a larger federation fail.[570] While it is unclear whether any other ruler officially proposed a union with a fellow ruler, these and other attempts reveal the rulers' interest in a federation as a means of securing their political future.

Of all the rulers of the emirates, Shaikhs Zayed and Rashid were at the head of the initiative for the establishment of the union and it was incumbent upon them, as rulers of the two richest emirates on the Coast, to act once more because an agreement between them would assist in realising the union. Moreover, as had probably been learned from the failed attempt, it was the disagreements among the rulers of the leading emirates that had led to its demise. Therefore, the two leaders resumed their contact with each other on 28-29 June 1971. They also appointed Ahmad Khalifa al-Suwaidi and Mahdi al-Tajir as their representatives to discuss further details pertaining to the union. The contact between the two sides had accelerated when, in early June, Abu Dhabi decided to form a cabinet, an action that prompted al-Tajir to visit Abu Dhabi to affirm Dubai's interest in the union and to find out about Abu Dhabi's objectives from al-Suwaidi. The latter explained that it was an administrative measure and that Abu Dhabi would be interested in union with whoever responded positively.[571]

According to a British report, al-Tajir confirmed that the two emissaries had met on 29 June and 4 July and had discussed various proposals to divide the cabinet. In the first meeting they agreed that Abu Dhabi should hold the posts of prime minister and interior minister while Dubai would take finance, defence and foreign affairs. Other emirates were allocated one portfolio each.[572] Moreover, Najm al-Deen Hammoudi, a former Iraqi diplomat and the head of the Union Office at the Amiri court in Abu Dhabi, states that in these meetings, representatives of Dubai proposed to declare Dubai as the provisional capital, but their Abu Dhabi counterparts refused. Hammoudi did not mention Abu Dhabi's preference for the provisional capital. At the same time both sides

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[570]Waheed Ref'at, "Hawl Inheyar al-Ittihad al-Tusa'i lil-Imarat al-'Arabeya wa Qeyam Ittihad Suba'i Badeel" [On the Disintegration of the Union of the Nine and the Formation of Alternative Union of the Seven], *al-Majalah al-Masriya lil Qanun al-Dawli*, vol. 28 (1971): p. 243; al-Sayyar. *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi l-Dawlat…,* p. 368.

[571] *al-Khaleej*, 2 Jul. 1971; Taryam,. *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*, p. 173.

[572]Telegram from PA, Dubai, to FCO, 4 Jul., 1971, FCO 8/1560, TNA in London.

agreed to transfer some of the authorities from the Supreme Council to the presidency.[573]

At the second meeting on 4 July, the distribution of the posts for Abu Dhabi and Dubai changed. Abu Dhabi was allocated the presidency as well as the ministries of finance and interior, while Dubai received the prime ministership, along with foreign affairs and defence. *Al-Khaleej* newspaper reported proposals to expand the functions of the Development Office to enable it to act as a government. These early agreements encouraged the two representatives to ask their leaders to postpone the forthcoming meeting of the Development Office until July, in order to submit a plan for consideration to the other rulers.[574]

During their consultations the two sides differed over the nature and function of the state. While Dubai's preference went to a small state structure with a minimum of functions, Abu Dhabi's wish was to expand them. This difference, as was discussed in Chapter Three, reflects the distinctive views between commerce-driven Dubai and oil revenue-based Abu Dhabi. The former favoured free trade with less state intervention, whereas the latter was interested in expanding social and economic programmes, with a central role for state institutions in the society.

According to Hammoudi, a third meeting was held on 5 July at which both sides discussed two issues: the location of the provisional capital, which both agreed would be Abu Dhabi; and the division of ministers, in which Dubai was awarded the posts of prime minister, and ministers of defence and finance, while Abu Dhabi received the posts of foreign affairs and internal affairs, in addition to the presidency.[575]

The discussions outlined above led, on 15 July 1971, to the two rulers signing an accord (composed of four articles and an annexe) to form another union (see Annexe 3). The first article stipulated that a smaller union, to be known as the United Arab Emirates, would be formed with Abu Dhabi and Dubai, as well as with any additional

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[573]Najm al-Deen Hammoudi, *Qiyam Dawlat al-Immarat al-'Arabiyya al-Mutahida, Mudhkarat wa Dirasat* [The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates, Memories and Studies] (Abu Dhabi: np, 2004), pp. 426-427,

[574]*al-Khaleej*, 22 June and 3, 28, 29 Jul. 1971; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*., pp. 172-73; Khalifa, *The United Arab Emirates: Unity…,* p. 34; Letter from PA, Dubai, to FCO, 30 June, 1971 FCO 8/1560; Telegram 186 from PA, Dubai: UAE, 6-Jul., 1971, FCO 8/1560, TNA in London.

[575]Hammoudi, *Qiyam Dawlat al-Immarat*…, pp. 430-431.

interested emirate of the Coast if Bahrain and Qatar declared their wishes not to join the federation. The second article referred to an agreement whereby modifications to articles of the draft of the provisional constitution, having arisen from the failed attempt, would now serve as a legal foundation for the new state. The third article confirmed the division of the posts within the new state that had been agreed on at the 5 July meeting: Abu Dhabi would be allocated the posts of the presidency and the portfolios of interior and foreign affairs, while Dubai would hold the vice-presidency, the prime ministership and the defence and finance portfolios. Moreover, the two rulers agreed to meet five years after the formation of the state to discuss the redistribution of federal posts. In addition the accord referred to the establishment of offices for the Council of Ministers in Abu Dhabi (which was not mentioned by name in the text) and Dubai, as well as to granting the right to foreign governments to select either Abu Dhabi or Dubai as a location for their embassies. In the fourth article the two rulers agreed to implement the contents of the accord, and to refrain from intervening in each other's affairs.[576]

The annexe included thirty-nine modifications to the draft of the provisional constitution of 1969 for the Union of Arab Emirates, including the merging of some articles and the subsequent re-numbering of others. They also agreed to rephrase a number of articles. Among the many changes included in the annexe was the renaming of the country from 'union' (*Ittihad*) to 'united' (*mutahida*). Politically, it denoted a stronger state that included federal and local authorities with the supremacy invested in the hands of the former.[577] Other significant changes included the allocation of veto power to Abu Dhabi and Dubai as well as the distribution of seats in the Federal National Council (with Abu Dhabi and Dubai supplying eight members each, Sharjah and Ras al-Khaimah six, and 'Ajman, Um al-Quwain, and Fujairah four). The third significant change was the assignment of a greater role in federal affairs for the

[576]Itifaqiya bain Shaikh Zayed, Hakim Abu Dhabi wa Shaikh Rashid, Hakim Dubai, ma' mulhaq lil-Ta'adelat al-mutafaq 'alaiha li-mashru' Dustur Ittihad al-Imarat al-Arabiya, 15 Yolu, 1971, FCO 8/1562, [An Agreement between Shaikh Zayed, Ruler of Abu Dhabi and Shaikh Rashid, Ruler of Dubai, with An Annexe of Agreed upon Amendments on the draft of the Provisional Constitution of the Union of Arab Emirates, 15 Jul., 1971], pp.1-15 [TNA London].

[577]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, p. 372; Khalifa, *The United Arab Emirates*, pp. 93-94.

president.[578] The accord evolved during the concomitant and subsequent negotiations with the other five rulers, who were aware of the fact that close consultation between Abu Dhabi and Dubai was also taking place. However, it is unclear to what extent the other rulers were aware of the existence of the accord.

A number of observations concerning this accord must be made. First, it is worth noting that the accord indicates that the two rulers were in agreement on the federation, and that without consent from either side the union might not have emerged or, if it was established, it would have been of a different nature. The objective of the accord, as stipulated in article four, was to be the "road map" for the formation of the state. Moreover, the stipulation in article one relating to the inclusion in the federation of any interested emirate was probably a lesson learned by the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai from their previous negotiations to establish the Union of the Nine. In that case, the declaration of the state would require the approval of all participants. As will appear later, the refusal by Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah did not prevent the other six rulers from signing the declaration for the establishing of the federation.

Third, the accord between Abu Dhabi and Dubai, as it stood, consolidated the affairs of the union in the hands of the two rulers and excluded any role for the remaining five rulers, not only during the negotiations to establish the federation but even five years later, when attention would turn to writing the permanent constitution. The implication of this division of the emirates into two categories was one of the reasons put forward by Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah to explain his refusal to join the union, as will be argued later in this chapter. Fourth, the rulers' intentions behind the establishment of two locations for the cabinet while also allowing foreign countries to select one of the two cities as the location for their embassies remain unclear. The fact that meetings were held in Dubai as well as in the provisional or the permanent capital might be an explanation behind the creation of two sites for the cabinet.

Last but not least, this accord, if compared with the draft prepared for the Union of the Nine, enhanced the power of the federal government in dealing with local issues. This can be justified by the difference in the objectives behind the two documents. The intention behind the draft version of 1969 was to form a confederation, granting the bulk

[578]Itifaqiya bain Shaikh Zayed, Hakim Abu Dhabi wa Shaikh Rashid, Hakim Dubai, ibid.

of power to the emirates, with a Supreme Council directed by a rotating presidency; while the accord of 15 July 1971 aimed at establishing federal authorities to provide social and economic services, while granting a central role to the president of the council.[579]

5.4.3.2 An Agreement Reached without Ras al-Khaimah

As a consequence of the discussions that would lead to the agreement of 15 July 1971 between Abu Dhabi and Dubai, and prior to the rulers' regular Development Office meeting from 10 to 13 July 1971, *al-Khaleej* reported on 7 July that the aim at this forthcoming meeting was to discuss the future of the federation, and that the rulers of the emirates of the Coast, including Dubai, were determined to declare their intention to form a smaller union (than the Union of the Nine that had been discussed initially) which would be established in September. The rulers and the Political Agent in Dubai, Julian Walker, who attended the meeting excluded any discussion on this subject on the first day, despite efforts by the ruler of Ras al-Khaimah, Shaikh Saqr, supported by a representative from Sharjah, to focus on establishing a federation. Instead they conferred only about the transfer of jurisdiction from British to local agencies.

The following day, a report indicated that the rulers had discussed the federation after the scheduled meeting had adjourned. From this encounter, two views on the federation emerged: while Dubai emphasized the improvement of the role of the Development Office as the basis for the new state, Abu Dhabi defended a more ambitious structure by ignoring the Office entirely and moving towards a constitutional form of federation. At this stage, the ruler of Ras al-Khaimah, Shaikh Saqr, recommended postponing the debate to provide the rulers with time to reflect on both options.[580]

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[579]Muhammad bin Huwaidin, *al-Federaleya fi al-Imarat: Nadhariya, wa Waqi', wa Mustaqbal* [Federalism in the Emirates, Theory, Reality, and the Future] (Abu Dhabi: Markaz al-Imarat lil-Dirasat al-Istratijiya, 2010), pp. 46, 53; also Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United,* p. 372.

[580] *al-Khaleej*, 7, 10 and 11 Jul. 1971. There is a gap of a couple of days between the events and their publication in *al-Khaleej* newspaper, the reason for this being that the paper was printed in Kuwait and airmailed to Sharjah.

On 13 July, it transpired that the rulers had continued their consultations which had led to agreements on selecting Shaikh Zayed as the President; on sending a delegation to Qatar and Bahrain to ascertain their final views on union; and on establishing a committee to review and rewrite the articles of the draft of the constitution that had been proposed for the Union of the Nine so that they would serve for a smaller state. Moreover, Shaikh Zayed asked the other rulers at this meeting if they were interested in the federation; he received a positive answer. The negotiations then turned to more detailed topics, among which the construction of a new capital for the state became an issue for debate.[581] Those opposed to the building of a new city argued that the money could be used more wisely to provide essential services for the population. Thus, by agreeing on major issues pertaining to the federation, the meeting achieved what the rulers of the proposed larger union had failed to do. This success was, to a large extent, due to the legacy of the Union of the Nine, since the rulers had learned from their early experience what might or might not be achieved in their negotiations. At the same time, there were plenty of ideas to be found in the documents from the previous negotiations which could assist the rulers in realizing their objectives.[582]

The rulers met again on 16 and 18 July 1971 in Shaikh Zayed's palace in al-Khawanij in Dubai, a meeting which was also attended by the British Political Resident, Sir Geoffrey Arthur, and which subsequently became known as the "al-Khawanij Conference". On this occasion, the rulers agreed to establish a federal capital, to be called al-Karama, between Dubai and Abu Dhabi, and also consented to two demands made by Shaikh Rashid of Dubai as a precondition to joining the federation. Dubai opposed any future federal restrictions on free trade and also required to be exempted from any financial contribution to the national budget for the first five years. The rulers agreed in addition to form delegations to visit a number of Arab countries as well as the United Kingdom, in order to explain the objectives of the union and, in the case of the UK, to discuss the practical steps towards establishing a new state.

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[581] *al-Khaleej*, 14 Jul. and 2 Aug. 1971; Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, p. 362; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United…*, pp. 174-5; al-Sayyar, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi l-Dawlat…*, p. 367.
[582] Thomas H. Frank, "Why Federations Fail" pp. 167-199 in Thomas H Frank (ed), *Why Federations Fail: an Inquiry into the Requisites for Successful Federation* (NY: New York University Press, 1968), p. 169.

As had been the case previously, the rulers disagreed during this meeting over many aspects of the proposed amendments to the provisional constitution which had appeared in the annexe of the accord. A split over the veto power assigned to Abu Dhabi and Dubai, and the allocation of seats for each emirate in the Federal National Council emerged between the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai on the one hand, and the ruler of Ras al-Khaimah on the other. On both issues Abu Dhabi and Dubai defended their proposal, while the ruler of Ras al-Khaimah demanded equal treatment for all. The remaining four emirates initially stood with Ras al-Khaimah. While accepting the majority of the amendments of the Abu Dhabi-Dubai accord, the four rulers defended the principle of equality of voting within the Supreme Council, an equal distribution of seats within the Federal National Council, and the transfer of five percent of their annual income from the richer to the poorer emirates for local projects.[583] The five rulers justified the third demand on the basis that local authorities would lose revenues from water and electricity services, among other items, to the federal authorities.[584] However, the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai did not consent to these demands and stuck to their original proposal, by stating that the federal government would take the responsibility of providing essential services to nationals in the five emirates.[585]

As a consequence of the encounter, the five rulers of Ras al-Khaimah, Sharjah, ‘Ajman, Umm al-Quwain and Fujairah met on 18 July to discuss how to move forward. While Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah maintained his original stance of rejecting all

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[583]This refers to Hammoudi’s summary of the statement of the five rulers, the original of which I was, unfortunately, unable to find. It seems from the summary that this response was general in nature (see Hammoudi, *Qiyam Dawlat al-Immarat…,* pp. 439-441).

[584]*al-Khaleej*, 19 and 20 Jul., 1971; Khalifa, *The United Arab Emirates: Unity…*, pp. 34-5; Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, pp. 362-364; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates,* p. 175; al-Sayyar, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi l-Dawlat…*, pp. 368-369; Waheed Ref‘at, “Hawl Inheyar al-Ittihad al-Tusa‘i lil-Imarat al-‘Arabiya…”, pp. 242-243; John Duke Anthony, *The United Arab Emirates: Dynamics of State Formation* (Abu Dhabi: Markaz al-Imarat lil-Derasat al-Istratigiya, 2002), p. 115.

[585]There is no reference in the available consulted sources to any efforts by the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai to justify their veto power or to propose means to alleviate the other rulers’ fear of misuse of it. It is interesting that Julian Walker, the last British Political Agent in Dubai, and Abdullah Omran Taryam, a former federal minister and an owner of the influential *al-Khaleej* newspaper in Sharjah, with first-hand knowledge of the negotiations, failed to elaborate on this point. See Julian Walker, “The Emergence of the UAE Federation”, pp. 349-358, in Markaz al-Watani lil-Wathaiq wa al-Buhuth (ed), *Mafaheem Jadida fi Tadween Tarikh al-Imarat al-Arabiya al-Mutahida* [New Perspectives on Recording UAE History] (Abu Dhabi: al-Markaz al-Watani lil-Wathaiq wa al-Buhuth, 2009), p. 354-356; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United…,* pp. 174-175.

amendments, the other four accepted the explanation from the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai.[586]

On the same day, the six rulers of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, ‘Ajman, Umm al-Quwain and Fujairah signed a statement declaring their intention to establish a federation and approving the provisional constitution with proposed amendments (for the names of the founding fathers of the country, see Annexe 1). The first paragraph of the communiqué states:

> By the grace of God and in response to the demands of our Arab people, we the rulers [of the six emirates] have decided to [establish] a federal state to be known as “the United Arab Emirates”. On this holy day [we] have signed the provisional constitution of the United Arab Emirates… We wish, with God, to turn this union into the foundation of a larger federation to include the rest of the family from other emirates, who were prevented by their circumstances from signing this constitution.[587]

The rulers also agreed to form committees of representatives who would meet in Abu Dhabi to prepare the necessary laws for the new state.[588] It is worth noting that the six rulers, even after signing the agreement, were hoping that the rulers of the three remaining emirates would join the union.

Some of the rulers of the four smaller emirates of Sharjah, ‘Ajman, Umm al-Quwain and Fujairah still had reservations regarding the power of veto. The ruler of Umm al-Quwain, Shaikh Ahmed al-Mu‘ala, for instance, declared his displeasure with this matter:

> We have agreed to everything for the sake of the federation. We have accepted the right of Abu Dhabi and Dubai to the [power of] veto, but if this veto is misused

[586]Hammoudi, *Qiyam Dawlat al-Immarat,* p. 441. Note that Hammoudi reported this meeting but did not provide details concerning the content of the discussion.
[587]“Wathiqat ‘Ilan al-Itihad al-Sudasi”, pp. 226-227, cited in Neel, *Burat al-Khatar fi al-Khaleej al-‘Arabi..,* pp. 228-227.
[588]*al-Khaleej*, 31 Jul. and 8, 9 Sept. 1971; Heard-Bey, ibid., pp. 362-4; Ref‘at, ibid., pp. 242-3. Article 152 of the Provisional Constitution granted the rulers the right to publish a statement at a later stage regarding the implementation of the provisions of that document (see ‘AbdulRahim Shahin, *Nidham al-Hukm wa al-Idara fi al-Imarat al-‘Arabiya al-Mutahida* [The System of Government and Administration in the United Arab Emirates] (Ras al-Khaimah: Matba ‘at Julfar, 1997), p. 76.

> then we will respond. We have accepted this responsibility and we will, God willing, live up to it.[589]

This statement seems to refer to the final writing of the constitution five years later, at which time the ruler of Umm al-Quwain apparently considereds that it would be possible to revoke this veto power. However such optimism ignores the fact that the vote on the final constitution within the Supreme Council would follow the rules that had been prescribed in the provisional one, meaning that the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai would retain the power to veto any propositions that would reduce their political influence. Despite these reservations, the four smaller emirates of Sharjah, 'Ajman, Umm al-Quwain and Fujairah all rallied around the proposal for union, as presented by the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai. This is easily explained by the fact that they had no other alternative. With very limited financial or technical resources to provide social services to their citizens they were financially dependent on the economic power of Abu Dhabi and Dubai. Moreover they were probably afraid of potential popular reaction and criticism if they had not joined the union, which, as shown below, happened with Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah.

Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah had held his ground over the veto power assigned to the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai, as well as on the distribution of seats in the federal parliament. However, it appeared that during the negotiations he had defended two different positions on these issues. The first was his demand to be granted a similar status as that of the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai. According to Julian Walker, Shaikh Saqr assumed that the possibility of discovering oil or gas in his emirate would enable him to extract a better deal.[590] The second position he defended during the negotiations, which was related to the declaration of the state, and which he revealed after he had refused to sign the 18 July statement, was the equality of voting within the Supreme Council and an equal distribution of seats within the Federal National Council, as part of the agreement with the other four smaller emirates. Which

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[589]Cited in 'Ali Hashim, *Rihlat 'Umur: al-Khaleej al-'Arabi* [My Life Journey: the Arabian Gulf] (London: Riad el-Rayyes Ltd, 1991), p. 84. I have not found anything similar to the undated statement anywhere else.

[590]Julian Walker, "The Emergence of the UAE Federation", pp. 349-358 in Markaz al-Watani lil-Wathaiq wa al-Buhuth (ed), *Mafaheem Jadida fi Tadween*, p. 354; al-Sayyar, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi l-Dawlat…,* p. 369.

of the two positions was the initial stand of the ruler of Ras al-Khaimah and which was his alternative? While the second was adopted during the al-Khawanij meeting, it is not clear when the first (claim to be granted a similar status as the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai) was expressed. Was it before, during**,** or after the meeting and signing by the six rulers of a statement that declared the state? The sources cited in this study cannot help provide an answer.

In the aftermath of his refusal, Shaikh Saqr came under pressure from the people of Ras al-Khaimah and from other visiting rulers to change his position. His response to the pressures was made in a communiqué on 20 July 1971, in which he stated his reasons for refusing to join the new state; he argued that

> Certain emirates [Abu Dhabi and Dubai] recommended modification of the provisional constitution, including providing some emirates with the power of veto, and distributing seats in the Federal National Council [according to] 8 [for Abu Dhabi and Dubai], 6 [for Sharjah and Ras al-Khaimah], and 4 [for Ajman, Um al-Quwain and Fujairah]. Our response was that the power of veto does not create a sense of equality among the brothers and does not assist in building confidence and cooperation among them. The veto power means simply that what they want will be approved and what they do not want will be rejected… As for the issue of representation, the deputy rulers have previously confirmed the issue of equality between the emirates. We have recommended them to accept the status quo but they have refused and insist on their refusal.[591]

As had been the case with the negotiations for the establishment of the Union of the Nine, some mediation took place to resolve differences between the rulers, and especially to bridge the gap between the views of Abu Dhabi and Dubai on the one hand, and the rulers of the five emirates on the other; however, they were on a smaller scale and fewer in number. Julian Walker mentions two channels of mediation: one by himself, for a short time in coordination with Shaikh Khalid bin Saqr, the deputy ruler of Ras al-Khaimah; the other conducted by Shaikh Khalifa bin Zayed, later to become the President of the UAE.[592] Unfortunately, Walker remained economical with the details of his discussion with the rulers and with their effects on influencing the ongoing events of that period. Other scholars such as Taryam, Heard-Bey, and al-Sayyar completely

[591] *al-Anwar* (Biurit) 20 July 1971 cited in al-Sayyar. ibid. pp. 369, 371
[592] Walker. "The Emergence of the UAE Federation," pp. 349-358 in Markaz al-Watani lil-Wathaiq (ed.), *Mafaheem Jadeda fi Tadween Tarikh…,* pp. 354.

ignored this aspect and presented the negotiations, short of Shaikh Saqr's refusal to sign the agreement, as a *fait accompli*.[593]

From this point on, the process of setting up the state began. The rulers, especially Shaikh Zayed and Shaikh Rashid, continued their regular mutual consultation, as illustrated by Shaikh Rashid's visit to Shaikh Zayed on 6 September. Meanwhile, in order to secure Shaikh Rashid's decision to join the union, Shaikh Zayed offered him the post of vice-president with equal power, and also recommended that Shaikh Maktoum, the Crown Price of Dubai, should be the first prime minister after the state had been established.[594]

A number of decisions were implemented rather quickly. The first was the formation of two delegations to visit other countries and inform their leaders about recent developments concerning the union. Each group included at least one member from each emirate. On 10 September, the first delegation, led by Ahmed Khalifa al-Suwaidi from Abu Dhabi, began a tour that included Iraq, Egypt, Lebanon and Syria. At the same time another delegation, headed by Shaikh Ahmed bin Hamed, who was also from Abu Dhabi, visited the Arab Gulf states. In the meantime, from 1 to 9 August, delegations of representatives of all the emirates met in Abu Dhabi to agree on the institutional requirements of the new state, and in particular to rewrite the draft of the provisional constitution, to review a report from the military experts, to discuss issues of migration and citizenship and to prepare the first annual budget for the incoming state. British officials had, since 1966, recommended the transfer of responsibility for migration to the emirates but the rulers had declined the offer. The role of the conference was to submit these documents for consideration by the rulers at their forthcoming summit in September which was later postponed. The objective of this meeting was for the rulers to review all necessary steps before the declaration of the state. [595]

During the meetings held in Abu Dhabi on 9 August, the representatives of the emirates presented a variety of contrasting opinions and a degree of disagreement. For

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[593]Taryam. *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*, pp. 170-177; Heard-Bey. *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, pp. 362-364; al-Sayyar. *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi l-Dawlat*…, pp. 366, 374
[594]*al-Khaleej*, 8 Sept., 1971; Anthony. *The United Arab Emirates*, pp. 115- 117
[595]*al-Khaleej*, 31 Jul., 2 Aug., and 10 Sept.,1971.

instance, Najm al-Deen Hammoudi, representing Abu Dhabi on migration and citizenship, revealed that while representatives of Abu Dhabi aimed at restricting the movement of people within the country to reduce pressure on services, representatives of other emirates had advocated unlimited freedom of movement. On the matter of citizenship, representatives of Abu Dhabi argued for offering citizenship to all Arabs residing on the Coast of Oman, while members of other emirates refused that option. In light of these divergences, it was agreed to leave these issues for the rulers, with assistance from their advisers, to decide on the course of action to be taken.[596]

5.4.3.3 Regional Territorial Demands and Impact of Foreign Powers

In addition to internal disagreements among the rulers, some of them faced challenges from Saudi Arabia and Iran with regard to their territorial integrity. While Saudi Arabia indirectly stated its intention not to recognize the new state but finally agreed to postpone its territorial ambitions, Iran made a direct threat demanding an upfront payment for its recognition.

As stated in Chapter three, the Sa'udi and British governments had negotiated unsuccessfully since the late 1940s to resolve the border dispute over the al-Buraimi area. With the imminent termination of British control over the emirates, King Faisal supported the Union of the Nine but refused to render the same unqualified support for a smaller union under the leadership of Abu Dhabi, unless both sides arrived at a satisfactory resolution of the border disagreement. Balfour-Paul noted that in early 1970 King Faisal restated to Shaikh Zayed, who was visiting Riyadh, his interest in resolving the border dispute between the two sides. However, the extent of the territorial claim was confined to a narrower area. In fact Badr al-Badr, a Kuwaiti diplomat, quotes Sir William Luce as saying that "King Faisal wants Khor al-Udaid."[597] A solution was found

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[596]Hammoudi, *Qiyam Dawlat al-Immarat…,* pp.465-466, 468-470. According to Heard-Bey, representatives of the five emirates, excluding Abu Dhabi, met in October and agreed that Dubai would host the central department for immigration, See Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United,* p. 479 (n. 100).

[597]Badr Khalid al-Badr, *Rihlah ma'a Qafilat al-Hayah, al-Juzi al-Thani wa al-Thalith: 1962-1971* [A Journey with Caravan of Life, Vols. 2 and 3: 1962-1971] (Kuwait: Markaz al-Buhuth wa al-Dirasat al-Kuwaitiya, 2004), p. 188.

in July 1971, when a British report quoted al-Helaisi, the Sa'udi Ambassador to the UK, as stating that the King would not overtly hinder or support the establishment of this state.[598] It seems that the king was aiming for a later occasion when the two leaders would meet and find a mutual solution without outside intervention.

Having accepted the independence of Bahrain, Iran demanded sovereignty over Abu Musa, which was under the control of Sharjah, and over the two Tunbs, which were under the control of Ras al-Khaimah. The Iranian government declared that unless it gained control over these islands, it had resolved to withhold recognition of the new state. Even though the rulers of both emirates rejected the Iranian claim to sovereignty, Sir William Luce, the British envoy, did attempt to find a solution to this challenge. The two rulers approached the issue differently. The ruler of Ras al-Khaimah rejected an Iranian offer of financial compensation for the islands when it was presented to him by Luce. He claimed that the land was not for sale, and called upon the Arab world to render moral and political support for his cause.[599] The ruler of Sharjah, by contrast, agreed in February 1970 to form a joint committee with the Iranian government. Shaikh Khalid of Sharjah also commissioned a legal team to review the status of Abu Musa; he sent a letter to Arab leaders on 18 August 1971, but was forced by lack of practical Arab action and support to sign an agreement for the partitioning of Abu Musa on 29 November 1971. Shaikh Saqr of Ras al-Khaimah, on the other hand, simply reiterated his position and refused any negotiations with Iran. On 30 November, Iranian armed forces landed on the three islands. This was done peacefully on Abu Musa but with a brief military confrontation on the larger of the Tunbs.[600]

These territorial demands by regional actors led to a critical evaluation of the impact of their role on the establishment of the federation. Many countries were involved in the process of influencing the future of the federation, including in particular Kuwait, Britain, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. Except for Iran, the others played a significant but low-key role in mediating between the rulers. Furthermore, apart from Kuwait, the other

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[598]Letter from W. H. Luce to Mr. Acland, 2 Jul, 1971, FCO 8/ 1560 [in TNA]; Ref'at, "Hawl Inheyar…", p. 239; Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East…,* p. 128.
[599]Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*, p. 181; Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire…,* p. 134.
[600]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates,* pp. 365, 366; Taryam, ibid., pp. 180, 184; Balfour-Paul, ibid., pp. 132, 134.

countries openly tried to combine their national interests with their mediating role in determining the final outcome. For instance, British officials expressed their interest in retaining the goodwill of Iran and the emirates, while mediating on the one hand between Iran and Sharjah over Abu Musa, and on the other between Iran and Ras al-Khaimah over the two Tunbs. The British pressured the ruler of Ras al-Khaimah to accept the Iranian offer of financial compensation in exchange for transferring sovereignty over the two islands.[601] Criticism of Iran on the part of the local media focused on Iran's overt threat to derail the union if the rulers of the emirates did not consent to its demand for sovereignty over the islands.[602]

Although it was active behind the scenes, Britain was criticised locally for pressing the rulers of Sharjah and Ras al-Khaimah to accept the Iranian proposal and for not standing against what the local media assumed to be an immanent Iranian occupation of the Islands.[603] Finally Saudi Arabia, which had acted as a broker for the Union of the Nine, was labelled by British officials as the only side that had not accepted the failure of the larger union and that had been late in coming out positively in support of the Union of the Six. Yet, according to Balfour-Paul, the Saudis were only interested in control over the al-Buraimi area.[604]

5.4.3.5 Popular Response to the Union of the Six

As with the previous failed attempt, the Union of the Six provoked mixed reactions that ranged from support from the local press to opposition from regional political organisations.

Sharjah's newspaper *al-Khaleej* was a proponent of the smaller union, while all outside mediators focused on reviving the larger union. Through a series of editorials dating as far back as March 1971, the newspaper began a campaign to establish the Union of the Seven. The primary reasons for this action were the limited time available

[601]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, pp. 334, 336; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*, pp. 180, 184.
[602]Heard-Bey, ibid., p. 364; Taryam, ibid., p. 167.
[603]Taryam, ibid., pp. 160, 170; *al-Khaleej*, 6 March and 8 May 1971.
[604]Letter from W. H. Luce to Mr. Acland, 2 Jul., 1971, FCO 8/ 1560 [TNA]; Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire…,* p. 128.

before Britain's withdrawal and fear of the unknown future. The editorials were divided between calling for the union and encouraging the rulers to act. In the context of support for the Union of the Seven, the paper warned on 11 March about excluding Dubai from the union because of the possible negative impact on its trade, and barring Sharjah and Ras al-Khaimah because of border disputes with Iran. On 20 March it began its efforts with the slogan: "If the Union of the Nine is impossible, let us have the Union of the Seven". In addition, the paper identified three reasons for the likely success of this federation. The first, which appeared in the editorial of 29 March, emphasized the geographic continuity of the emirates; the second, published on 20 April, concentrated on the agreement between Shaikh Zayed and Shaikh Rashid on the federation; and the third, appearing on 18 April and 14 July, focused on the idea that this Union of the Six could be the basis for re-establishing the larger union.[605]

As well as proselytising for the federation, the editorials of the newspaper identified the other benefits to individual rulers of participation in the negotiations. In the 30 March issue, concerning the case of Dubai, the newspaper focused on the economic benefits of the federation for Dubai: traders would find markets for their imported goods. *Al-Khaleej*'s issues of 2 April and 2 July concentrated on Abu Dhabi and on the continuation of popular support, and challenged others to follow. The five smaller emirates were targeted in the issues of 6 and 7 April, and were urged to submit proposals for federation because it was in their best interests to do so. Finally, the paper declared on 19 July that the people were not involved in the negotiations and had no interest in the rulers' disagreements; the rulers should either declare the state or announce that they had failed.[606]

On the eve of the declaration of the new state, opposition groups condemned its formation in communiqués and pamphlets. Authors of these documents indirectly predicted the disintegration of the federal system. The earliest one was a joint statement by PFLOAG and the National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (NDFLOAG), both of which were political arms of RPMOG. The union was described in the statement as "a fake union", and as part of an imperialist plan to

[605]*al-Khaleej*, 11, 28 and 29 Mar., 14, 18, 20 April, 1971.
[606]Ibid., 30 Mar., 2, 6-7, 19 April and 2 Jul. 1971.

dominate the region.[607] A few years later, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG)[608] published a pamphlet arguing that the union was dominated by a variety of contradictions that the nationalist forces had to exploit. This concerned in particular the contradictions between Western imperialist interests and what was seen in their local clients, including local rulers, but also disagreements within the new state regarding border demarcations as well as competition between Dubai and Abu Dhabi over the nature of the federal system.[609]

Other popular response to the union seems to have been limited. The press failed to find any clear indication of either outright support or opposition to the federation, although there were a few signs of popular activity in relation to the federation. Abdullah Taryam noted that during the early stages of discussion about the Union of the Seven, a citizens' delegation had visited the rulers to encourage them to form a federation. Other evidence of involvement was a popular reaction in Ras al-Khaimah where people rejected the ruler's rationale and also demanded that he sign up to the federation. This limited popular involvement was noted in the *al-Khaleej* editorial on 7 July, which declared that the people were not at the negotiation table and were uninterested in the rulers' disagreements on various issues. Another reference to the population was on 20 July, when *al-Khaleej* stated that after the rulers had signed the declaration of intent, it was incumbent upon the citizens to consolidate the union, because they were the ones who would benefit from its successes and be blamed for its failure.[610]

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[607]The text of the statement is published in The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf, *Wathaiq al-Nidal al-Watani, 1965-1974* [The Documents of the National Struggle, 1965-1974] (Beirut: Dar al-Talia, 1981), p. 44.

[608]The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf was the result of the merging in 1971 of NDFLOAG and the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf.

[609]Dirasat 9 Yuniu, *Tanaqudat fi Ittihad al-Shuuykh* [The Contradictions in the Shaikhy Union] (Beirut: Dar al-Talia, nd), pp. 1-2, 10-11, 13.

[610]Taryam, *The Establishment of the United…..,* p. 175; *Al-Kaleej*, 7, 13, 20 and 27 July 1971.

5.4.3.6 The Declaration of the United Arab Emirates

With the ability of the rulers to resolve differences among themselves and with their neighbouring countries, the final obstacles towards the declaration the state had been removed. Abu Dhabi hosted two meetings in November 1971: one including the legal advisers (14 November), and the second on 23 November, when Shaikh Zayed and Shaikh Rashid met to finalize their agreement.[611] Therefore, on 2 December 1971 the six rulers gathered in Dubai to announce the formation of the new state and to sign its provisional constitution. The statement of this declaration of independence states that

> the Supreme Council announces … the formation of the United Arab Emirates as an independent sovereign state and part of the great Arab homeland... [It] intends to maintain its independence and sovereignty … and to protect the rights and freedom of its people.[612]

As a consequence of this act, the rulers met as members of the Supreme Council and selected both Shaikh Zayed and Shaikh Rashid as the first president and vice-president of the state respectively. Prior to this, Sir Geoffrey Arthur, the last British Political Resident in the Gulf, had visited each ruler and signed an agreement to abrogate Britain's protection responsibilities.[613] On the following day, Shaikh Zayed, in his capacity as the President of the state, signed a "Treaty of Friendship" with Sir Arthur.[614] According to this treaty, the practical command over the armed forces remained under British control until such time as the enactment laws establishing competent institutions would be promulgated. Ras al-Khaimah finally joined the

[611]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, p. 367.
[612]"Bayan Qiyam Dawlat al-Imarat al-Arabiya al-Mutahida" pp. 100-101 [The Declaration of Independence, pp. 100-101], in 'Ali Hashim, *Rihlat 'Umur: al-Khaleej al-'Arabi.*., p. 100.
[613]For the texts of the agreements signed with the rulers see PR, Bahrain, to the Rt. Hon. Sir Alex Douglas-Home, FCO 8/1569, 6 Dec., 1971, in Burdett (ed). *RoE: 1966-1971, vol. 6: 1971*, pp. 192-250.
[614]PR, Bahrain, to Sir Alex Douglas-Home, forwarding Treaty of Friendship between the United Arab Emirates and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland signed at Dubai on 2 December, 1971, English and two Arabic versions, FCO 8/1569, 6 Dec., 1971, in Burdett (ed). *RoE: 1966-1971*, vol. 6: *1971*, pp. 251-260.

federation on 10 February 1972, after Shaikh Saqr had requested admission to the union as a seventh emirate.[615]

The new state is characterised by the balance between federal and emirate authorities within the UAE.[616] The main illustration is the central role of the rulers at both levels: while being rulers at the emirate level, they are also members of the Supreme Council of the federation. As such, the rulers are the decision-makers at both levels. Moreover, Article 2 of the provisional constitution grants unlimited sovereignty to the federal level, while Article 3 awards only limited sovereignty to sub-states. Also Articles 120 and 121 entrusted the federal government with legislative and executive functions in a list of thirty-one areas, such as foreign affairs, construction of interstate highways, and labour laws. The legislative and executive powers of the emirates are referred to in article 122 as prerogatives that are not under federal jurisdiction. It includes a limited right to sign agreements with other states, as well as the possibility to adopt laws dealing with local needs only, but also the control of the mineral resources within their jurisdictions (Article 23). However these rights do not undermine the supremacy of federal laws over local ones.[617]

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the formation of the federation from its inception as an idea, to the negotiations, followed by the declaration of the state, and the role of the various parties in this process of creating a new state. It demonstrates that for a negotiation to lead to the establishment of a long-lasting federation, the ability of various parties to

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[615]Heard-Bey, *From Trucial to United Arab Emirates*, pp. 367-370; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates*, pp. 189-90, 192.

[616]There are a number of works studying the UAE in terms of the dichotomy between federal versus confederal structures. See for instance Mustafa 'Abdul-Qadir al-Najjar, *Dirasat fi Tarikh al-Khaleej al-'Arabi al-Mu'asir* [Studies in Contemporary Arab Gulf History] (Cairo: al-Munadhama al-'Arabiyya lil-Tarbiyya wa al-'Ulum wa al-Thaqafa, 1978), p. 45.

[617]"al-Dustur al-Muaqat lil-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida", pp. 1-39, in *Majmuat al-Jaridah al-rasmiya li-Dawlat al-Imarat al-'Arabiya al-Mutahida, 1971-1976: al-Juz al-Awal* [The Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Emirates, pp. 1-39, in The Collection of the Official Gazette of the United Arab Emirates, 1971-1976: vol 1] (Abu Dhabi: Majlis al-Wezara, nd.), pp. 2, 30-31 and 36; Heard-Bey. *From Trucial to United Arab Emirates,* pp. 373-375; Taryam, *The Establishment of the United Arab Emirates,* pp. 200-202; Huwaidin, *al-Federaleya fi al-Imarat*…, pp. 58-61.

compromise with one another is required in order to arrive at a resolution that will satisfy the objectives of all participants. In addition, external military and political threats, and inherited ethnic, historical and geographical factors play a supporting role during and after the formation of this state. In other words, the stronger the foundations of a federal state, the longer it will last.

The idea of merging the emirates of the Gulf region had appeared in the 1930s, when local intellectuals and the civil society, as well as British officials, separately promoted the uniting of small tribal entities into a single modern state. The rulers of the emirates, who were brought into the fold by British officials, initially played a minor role in the process. In the earlier stages, advocates of the union did not present a clear view of the nature of the new state, apart from British officials who discussed various models in 1967.

Of the three sides that promoted the idea of a federation, local intellectuals and civic organizations who had earlier advocated this scheme lost their leading role and became either critics or supporters of the process. Nor was there any direct popular participation in advancing the federation. This outcome was a result of the exclusive format of the negotiations which included only official representatives from the emirates, the rulers in particular. The British Government's declaration in 1968 to include the region in its East of Suez withdrawal plan, which was made for purely British domestic reasons, was instrumental in forcing the rulers to negotiate the formation of the federal state in order to secure political survival. Without this decision the federation would probably have continued to be an idea for discussion among local intellectuals and officials in the region, without any concrete action to turn it into a reality.

The rulers of the emirates were central actors in the negotiations over the unions of the nine and of the six. While the rulers were in agreement about their control over state institutions, they differed on the balance of power between themselves. During the negotiations the rulers employed demographic or economic sources as instruments to promote their influence within what would become a federal state. The rulers of Bahrain and Qatar, after failing to convince other rulers of their views, declared independence; the ruler of Ras al-Khaimah, who hoped that a potential oil discovery would provide equal status for him with Abu Dhabi and Dubai, was forced initially to opt out, before

joining the established state two months later. It was the ability of the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai to accommodate each other's interests and to win consent from the remaining four rulers that enabled them to form the federation, and it was this balance of power between the two rulers that led to a declaration of the state. Rulers of the remaining four emirates, who had realized their inability to provide their citizens with decent services by themselves, agreed to join the new state based on the formula presented to them by rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai. In other words, the federation for the six rulers was a compromise that included all their objectives: a larger state with a degree of rulers' control over local affairs.

In both attempts to form the Unions of the Nine and of the Six, external actors, including the governments of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Britain and Iran, also played a significant role – either positively or negatively. The main reason for such intrusions lay in the recurrent inability of the negotiating rulers, especially the nine, to bridge the gaps between their various positions. This incapacity to sort out issues between themselves frequently opened the door to external interferences. In many cases, these self-proclaimed leaders used these interventions to push for their own interests. As an illustration, one reason why the Union of the Nine failed was Iran's pressure on the rulers of the emirates to exclude Bahrain from the federation. Conversely, the achievement of the smaller Union of the Six can be attributed not only to the ability of the rulers to overcome their differences, but also to the passive consent of the Sa'udis, to acceding to Iranian demands for sovereignty over the three islands, and to British involvement behind the scenes to encourage the rulers to achieve both objectives.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This dissertation asserts that the formation of the UAE was set in motion by two decisive forces: the British government and the rulers of the emirates. Of the two forces, it reveals that the rulers' role was instrumental in arriving at the final outcome. Additionally, it was the rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai who engineered the birth of the federation more so than did the rulers of Sharjah, 'Ajman, Fujairah, Ras al-Khaimah, and Umm al-Quwain. The federation was not formed from scratch but evolved through various historical circumstances.

There were number of historical circumstances that led to the formation of the federal national state in the Coast of Oman. These were political rather than economic and social in nature. As Chapter Two reveals the society in the Coast of Oman was similar on these levels. As for the political level, Chapter Three indicated that the initial stage was the breakup of Oman after the end of the 1750 civil war into Oman proper and the Coast of Oman. The latter was dominated by two feuding alliances, which consolidated control over certain areas within the Coast of Oman. The second stage was the break up of two alliances into seven emirates in the period from 1832 to 1952. This development was an outcome of the strength of holders of local power, Britain's indirect political domination over the Coast of Oman, and the Omani-Sa'udi military confrontation. These developments, in turn, reflect the impact of internal fluidity and external intervention on the affairs of the Coast of Oman, as well as the relative weakness of the alliances. As a consequence of these historical events, the Coast of Oman became a separate political territory but divided into several autonomous emirates.

As for the formation of the federal state, the process was triggered at a crucial historical juncture when the British government announced in 1968 its intention to withdraw from the region by the end of 1971. This decision led to the need to select either a unitary or a federal form as the best possible political option for the new state.

The option of the federation rested on the fact that the Coast of Oman was divided politically and any solution needed to recognize the rulers' interests in realizing the compounded objectives of forming one state under their command, retaining control over their emirates, and preserving existing historical association. There were roles for the British and the rulers in forming the state. Britain first prompted the idea of a federation behind the scenes, while leaving the overt role for Kuwait and Saudi Arabia later on. The reason for this choice of direction was to avoid being accused of having applied a heavy-handed approach if the attempt had failed. However, by the end of 1970 British activity became overt due to its imminent withdrawal. Most importantly, the rulers of the nine emirates failed to agree on establishing the state, which led British officials to encourage the notion of forming the 'union of the seven', with particular emphasis on applying recommended constitutional compromises.

With regard to the role of the rulers, this was confined to the negotiations, since they had vested interests in the success of the merging of their emirates. They first attempted to form the 'union of the nine', but when it failed due to the inability of the four prominent rulers (especially the rulers of Bahrain and Qatar) to agree on a compromise, a smaller union was agreed and established, which achieved their objective. The reason for the success of the small union was due to the agreement between the two prominent rulers: Shaikh Zayed of Abu Dhabi and Shaikh Rashid of Dubai who, in turn, secured the approval of four of the remaining five rulers to form the federation. Therefore, the creation of the state was the direct result of discussion and negotiation among the rulers, not of any British intervention. As a consequence the rulers, in the final analysis, would be praised or condemned for the success or the failure of the federation.

In their second attempt the rulers used two approaches to achieve the objective of establishing the 'union of the six'. First they met unofficially in bilateral or multilateral forums to discuss all aspects of the federation. The rulers then delegated to assistants the function of discussing and proposing the details of the subjects for the rulers' meeting. The earlier negotiations produced a draft of the provisional constitution and provided solutions to number of issues, such as the division of power between federal and local jurisdictions. On the other hand, the rulers attempted to accommodate each other's requirements and avoided emphasis on unanimity as a precursor to declaring

the state. This approach helped in exchanging opinions on various topics, which in turn reduced disagreements to a minimum. Thus, when most, if not all, issues were resolved the seven rulers meet officially; however, only six signed the agreement for establishing the state. Of all the rulers of the emirates of the future UAE, those of Abu Dhabi and Dubai were the primary actors in the federation with veto power. On their agreement or lack thereof depended the continuation or dismemberment of the state. This appeared during the second half of the 1970s when the federation faced two challenges: adopting a new constitution and unifying a state administration. While the rulers progressively agreed to postpone the implementation of amending the constitution, discussion over the move toward a unitary form resulted in a disagreement between unionist (the ruler of Abu Dhabi) and federalist (the ruler of Dubai) approaches. The former was demanding an immediate merger of local administrations while the latter was emphasizing a gradual approach.

The gradualist approach continues to dominate the federation until today. It did however evolve through three stages. The first stage (from 1971 to 1979) was dominated by the establishment and the expansion of state institutions, and the extension of the operation of the provisional constitution, as well as the failure to federalise all local institutions. The second stage (from 1979 to 2006) was dominated by the debate over the maintaining of the role of the state in providing services to the population, as well as over another extension of the provisional constitution. At the same time, a new leadership of the federation emerged. The third stage (since 2006) has been characterised by three tendencies. One was greater coordination between Abu Dhabi and Dubai, while the others were the re-emergence of local institutions as providers of certain services to the population, as well as the partial election of the Federal National Council.

Regardless of the ultimate choice for the form of the state, the building blocks for the state were the very institutions created in the 1950s and 1960s. From 1947 Britain had changed its approach in relation to the emirates of the Coast from non-intervention to intervention in internal affairs. This change of direction was connected with changes in the international situation, with emphasis being placed on state institutions as a prerequisite to creating a federal state. Special emphasis was placed on assisting the

rulers of the emirates to interact with each other through the Trucial State Council, supplemented in addition with various social programmes. Furthermore, the British government established the Trucial Oman Scouts as an armed force, adopted and applied modern legal codes, and also encouraged the rulers to create a modern courts system, albeit under British legal supervision. At the same time, there were initiatives from other Arab Gulf states (mainly Kuwait) to improve the living conditions of the local populations by providing social services. Both sides adopted a gradual approach towards increasing the number as well as the scope of these services. Since these institutions had a positive influence on local communities, they therefore formed the basis for a government but were insufficient for that purpose due to their small size and limited scope. As a consequence, the federal government after 1971 adopted laws for expanding the number of state institutions, hiring more qualified administrators from other Arab countries and in addition gradually training nationals to replace the expatriates in the future. Direct and indirect objectives for enlarging these institutions were intended to maintain the historical ties of the ruling elite among themselves as well as with the ruled.

Analysis of how the federation was formed historically and of the nature of its main stages from 1971 to 2006 has led to a brief attempt to focus on two main scenarios for the future. The first option is the continuation of the status quo, in which the rulers maintain the same methods (compromises) that earlier saved the state. It reflects the spirit and the deeds of the approach employed by the founding fathers during the negotiations which established the state. The second option is the reemergence of the unionist tendency which draws the emirates together into a unitary state. This would increase the dominance of the emirate of Abu Dhabi over the political scene in the country, and would drive towards more integration of the emirates. Of these two options the more likely scenario is the continuation of the status quo. It reflects the original foundation of the state which was based on compromises between the founding fathers. In addition, it is in Abu Dhabi’s interest, as a dominant emirate, to avoid any future internal power struggles in the country.

Annexe 1

The Emirates, the Ruling Families, the Founders of the UAE

(1747-1971)

Emirates	Ruling Family and number of Rulers	Established	Rulers Then	The post within the Union	Duration of the Rule
Abudhabi	Al-Nahayan (16)	Bef. 1793	Zayed b. Sultan*	The president	1966-2004
Dubai	Al-Maktoum (9)	1833	Rashid b. Sa'eed*	Vice President	1958-1990
Sharjah	Al-Qassimi (11)	1747	Khalid b. Muhammed*	Member of SCU	1965-1972
Ras Al Khaimah	Al-Qassimi (3)	1747	Saqer b. Muhammed	Member of SCU	1948-2010
'Ajman	Al-Nuaimi (11)	Bef. 1820	Rashid b. Humaid*	Member of SCU	1928-1981
Um al-Quwain	Al-Mu 'alla (8)	1820	Ahmmed b. Rashid*	Member of SCU	1912-1980
Al-Fujirah	Al-Sharqi (2)	1952	Muhammad b. Hamad*	Member of SCU	1952-1974

Source: Abdulkhaliq Abdulla. "Political Dependency…." Table 10,pp. 127-8; Riad el-Rayyes (ed). *Wathaeq al-Khaleej….* inumumerated Tables in pp. 668, 670-675

* Signed the agreement to join the federation in February, 1972

Annexe 2

Al-Bayan al Mushtarak [al-Sadr fi] Abu Dhabi, 22 Yanair, 1968

[The joint communiqué, issued in Abu Dhabi, 22 January 1968]

(Also known as al-Sumayh)

Source: National Archives, Abu Dhabi.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اتفاقية اتحاد امارتي أبوظبي ودبي

ان صاحب العظمة الشيخ زايد بن سلطان آل نهيان حاكم امارة أبوظبي
وأخاه صاحب العظمة الشيخ راشد بن سعيد المكتوم حاكم امارة دبي ،

في سبيل المحافظة على استقرار بلديهما ،
وسعيا وراء خير شعبيهما ورفاهيته ،
وتحقيقا للمستقبل الأفضل ،

قد اتفقا بعون الله تعالى على ما يلي :-

(١) تكوين اتحاد بين البلدين يكون له علم واحد .

(٢) تناط بالأتحاد المسائل الآتية :-

(أ) الشئون الخارجية .

(ب) الدفاع والامن الداخلي في حالة الضرورة .

(ج) التعليم والصحة .

(د) الجنسية والهجرة .

(٣) تناط بالأتحاد السلطة التشريعية في الشئون الموكولة للأتحاد بموجب هذا الأتفاق وفي المسائل الاخرى المشتركة بين البلدين .

(٤) الشئون التي لم توكل للاتحاد بموجب هذا الاتفاق تظل كما كانت من اختصاص حكومة كل بلد .

واقرارا بما اتفق عليه الطرفان المتعاقدان فقد وقعا بأسميهما على هذه الوثيقة في السبيح في هذا اليوم الأحد الواقع في ١٨ فبراير سنة ١٩٦٨م الموافق ٢٠ ذو القعدة سنة ١٣٨٧هـ .

زايد بن سلطان آل نهيان
حاكم امارة أبوظبي

راشد بن سعيد المكتوم
حاكم امارة دبي

وذلك بحضور صاحبي السمو الموقعين أدناه :

الشيخ مكتوم بن راشد المكتوم

الشيخ حمدان بن محمد آل نهيان

Annexe 3

Itifaqiya bayn Shaikh Zayed, Hakim Abu Dhabi wa Shaikh Rashid, Hakim Dubai, ma‘ Mulhaq lil-Ta’adelat al-Mtafaq ‘alaiha li-Mashru’ Dustur Ittihad al-Imarat Al-‘Arabiya, 15 Yuliu, 1971, FCO 8/1562 [Agreement between Shaikh Zayed, Ruler of Abu Dhabi, and Shaikh Rashid, Ruler of Dubai, with Annexe of Agreement upon Amendments on the Draft of the Provisional Constitution of the Union of Arab Emirates, 15 July 1971]

Source: National Archives, Kew, London, UK

سرّى

اتفاقية

اتفـــاقيـــــة

فيما بين صاحب العظمة الشيخ زايد بن سلطان آل نهيان حاكم امارة ابوظبي كطرف أول ،
وبين صاحب العظمة الشيخ راشد بن سعيد المكتوم حاكم امارة دبي كطرف ثانـــي ،

بما أن ارادة صاحبي العظمة الشيخ زايد بن سلطان آل نهيان حاكم امارة أبوظبي والشيخ راشد بن سعيد المكتوم حاكم امارة دبي وشعبيهما قد تـلاقت على قيام اتحاد بين امارتيهما وامارات الشارقه وعجمان وام القيوين ورأس الخيمـه والفجيره في حالة انسحاب كل من البحرين وقطر برغبتيهما من اتحاد الامارات العربية في الخليج ،

فقد تمّ الاتفاق والرضى بعونه تعالى بين صاحبي العظمة حاكمي أبوظبي ودبي وتعاهدا على ما يلي :-

اولا : ينشأ اتحاد من امارتي أبوظبي ودبي وأيّـة امارة من امارات الشارقـة وعجمان وام القيوين ورأس الخيمه والفجيرة ترغب في الاشتراك فيـه ، يعرف بالامارات العربية المتحدة (ويشار اليه فيما بعد في هـذه الاتفاقية بالاتحـاد) ، وذلك في حالة انسحاب كل من البحريـن وقطر برغبتهما من اتحاد الامارات العربية في الخليج وفي أقرب وقت ممكن بعد ان يتمّ التحقق من هذا الانسحاب .

ثانيا : يعـدّ في أقرب وقت ممكن وبالطريقة التي تتم بموافقة صاحبي العظمة حاكمي أبوظبي ودبي مشروع دستور للاتحاد بنفس نصوص مشروع دستور اتحاد الامارات العربية في الخليج الذي كان اجتماع نوّاب الحكام المعقود في أبوظبي يوم ١٩٧٠/١٠/٢٦ قد اوصى به ، مع تحفظ البحـرين عليه ، وذلك مع التعديلات المدرجة في ملحق هذه الاتفاقية الموقـع من الطرفين المتعاهدين .

ثالثا : ومن المتفق عليه بين الطرفين المتعاهدين :-

١- أن توزع المناصب العليا في الاتحاد طيلة مدة الخمس سنوات الاولى من قيامه بحيث تكون رئاسة الاتحاد لصاحب العظمة الشـيخ زايد بن سلطان آل نهيان حاكم ابوظبي ونيابة رئاسة الاتحاد لصاحب العظمة الشيخ راشد بن سعيد المكتوم حاكم دبي وتكون رئاسة مجلس وزراء الاتحاد ووزارتا المالية والدفاع في الاتحاد لمن يرشحهم

(يتبع صفحه ٢)

عظمة حاكم دبي لهذه المناصب وتكون وزارتا الخارجية والداخلية فيه لمن يرشحهما عظمة حاكم ابوظبي لهذين المنصبين .

وقد تعهد الطرفان بأن يتشاورا فيما بينهما بعد فترة الخمس سنوات الاولى من قيام الاتحاد بشأن من يشغل المناصب العليا في الاتحاد وان يعملا معا على تحقيق ما فيه خير الاتحاد وما يحفظ لامارة كل منهما مصالحها .

٢- أن ينشأ فرع لمجلس وزراء الاتحاد في دبي ليجتمع فيه المجلس من وقت لآخر حسب الحاجة كما ينشأ فيها فرع لكل وزارة اتحادية .

٣- أن يسمح الاتحاد للدول العربية والاجنبية بحريّة انشاء سفاراتها وقنصلياتها في أيّ من أبوظبي أو دبي وان يعلن عن ذلك حين قيامه .

رابعا : تعهد الطرفان المتعاهدان بأن يلتزما بتنفيذ احكام هذه الاتفاقية وعاهدا الله سبحانه وتعالى على أن يحتفظا بأمتن روابط الاخوة الصادقة فيما بينهما وان يحترم كل منهما سيادة الآخر في شؤون امارته الداخلية وان تمتنع الامارة الواحدة منهما من التدخل في الشؤون المذكورة للامارة الاخرى بأى شكل من الاشكال . كما عاهدا الله على أن يتعاونا تعاونا وثيقا لتحقيق كل ما فيه خير بلديهما وان يعملا معا يدا واحدة لكل ما فيه مصلحة اتحادهما . والله ولي التوفيق ،،

وقعت في هذا اليوم ١٥ من شهر نوفمبر سنة ١٩٧١م
الموافق هذا اليوم من شهر سنة ١٣٩١هـ

زايد بن سلطان آل نهيان
حاكم امارة ابوظبي

راشد بن سعيد المكتوم
حاكم امارة دبي

شهد بذلك :

شهد بذلك :

شهد بذلك :

شهد بذلك :

ملحـــــــق

الاتفاقيـة المعقودة بين حاكمي ابوظبي ودبي

بتاريخ .....

التعديلات المتفق عليها بين حاكمي ابوظبي ودبي لمشروع دستور اتحاد الامارات العربية في الخليج الذي اوصى به اجتماع اصحاب السمو نواب الحكام المنعقد في أبوظبي يوم ٢٦ / ١٠ / ١٩٧٠م

(١) اسم الدستور

يعدّل اسم مشروع الدستور ليسمّى " الدستور المؤقت للامارات العربية المتحدة ".

(٢) المقدمـــة

(أ) تعدّل الفقرتان الاولى والثانية من مقدمة الدستور لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" نحن حكام امارات ابوظبي ودبي والشارقه وعجمان وام القيوين ورأس الخيمه والفجيره ،

نظرا لان ارادتنا وارادة شعب اماراتنا قد تلاقت على قيام اتحاد بين هذه الامارات ، من أجل توفير حياة افضل ، واستقرار أمكن ، ومكانة دولية أرفع لها ولشعبها جميعا " .

(ب) تعدّل الفقرة الاخيرة من مقدمة الدستور لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" ومن أجل ذلك كله والى أن يتم اعداد الدستور الدائم للاتحاد نحلف أمام الخالق العلي القدير ، وامام الناس أجمعين موافقتنا على هذا الدستور المؤقت المعدل بتوقيعاتنا ليطبق أثناء الفترة الانتقالية المشار اليها فيه . والله ولي التوفيق ، وهو نعم المولى ونعم النصير " .

(٣) تعدّل المادة الاولى لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" الامارات العربية المتحدة دولة اتحادية مستقلة ذات سيادة (ويشار اليها فيما بعد في هذا الدستور بالاتحاد) .

ويتألف الاتحاد من الامارات التالية :-

(يتبع صفحه ٢)

أبوظبي – دبي – الشارقه – عجمان – ام القيوين – رأس الخيمه – الفجيره .

ويجوز لأى قطر عربي مستقل ان ينضم الى الاتحاد ، متى وافق المجلس الاعلى للاتحاد على ذلك باجماع الآراء . "

(٤) تعدّل المادة التاسعة لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" ١- تنشأ عاصمة الاتحاد في منطقة تمنحها للاتحاد امارتا أبوظبي ودبي على الحدود بينهما ، ويطلق عليها اسم " الكرامة " .

٢- يرصد في ميزانية الاتحاد للسنة الاولى ما يكفي لتغطية نفقات الدراسات الفنية والتخطيط لأنشاء العاصمة على أن يباشر في أعمال انشائها بأقرب وقت ممكن وعلى أن يتم انشاؤها خلال مدة لا تجاوز سبع سنوات اعتبارا من تاريخ نفاذ هذا الدستور .

٣- والى أن يتم انشاء عاصمة الاتحاد تكون أبوظبي المقر المؤقت للاتحاد . "

(٥) تعدّل المادة (٤٥) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" تتكون السلطات الاتحادية من :-

١- المجلس الاعلى للاتحاد .
٢- رئيس الاتحاد ونائبه .
٣- مجلس وزراء الاتحاد .
٤- المجلس الوطني الاتحادي .
٥- القضاء الاتحادي . "

(٦) تعدّل اسماء فصول الباب الرابع وفروعها وارقامها كما يلي :-

أ - لا ضرورة لتقسيم الفصل الاول لفروع فتحذف عبارة " الفرع الاول " " اختصاصات المجلس الاعلى " .

ب - تعدّل عبارة " الفرع الثاني – رئيس الاتحاد ونائبه " لتصبح الفصل الثاني – رئيس الاتحاد ونائبه " .

جـ - يعدّل رقم الفصل الثاني ليصبح الفصل الثالث .

د - يعدّل رقم الفصل الثالث ليصبح الفصل الرابع .

هـ - يعدّل رقم الفصل الرابع " القضاء في الاتحاد والامارات " ليصبح " الفصل الخامس – " القضاء في الاتحاد والامارات " .

(يتبع صفحة ٣)

(٧) تعدّل المادة (٤٧) لتصبح كما يلي :-

" مادة (٤٧) يتولى المجلس الاعلى للاتحاد الأمور التالية :-

١- رسم السياسة العامة في جميع المسائل الموكلة للاتحاد بمقتضى هذا الدستور والنظر في كل ما من شأنه أن يحقق أهداف الاتحاد والمصالح المشتركة للامارات الأعضاء .

٢- التصديق على القوانين الاتحادية المختلفة قبل اصدارها بما في ذلك قوانين الميزانية العامة السنوية للاتحاد والحساب الختامي .

٣- التصديق على المراسيم المتعلقة بأمور خاضعة بمقتضى أحكام هذا الدستور لتصديق او موافقة المجلس الاعلى ، وذلك قبل اصدار هذه المراسيم من رئيس الاتحاد .

٤- التصديق على المعاهدات والاتفاقيات الدولية . ويتم هذا التصديق بمرسوم .

٥- الموافقة على تعيين رئيس مجلس وزراء الاتحاد وقبول استقالته واعفائه من منصبه بناءا على اقتراح رئيس الاتحاد .

٦- الموافقة على تعيين رئيس وقضاة المحكمة الاتحادية العليا وقبول استقالاتهم وعزلهم في الاحوال التي ينص عليها هذا الدستور . ويتم كل ذلك بمراسيم .

٧- الرقابة العليا على شؤون الاتحاد بوجه عام .

٨- أية اختصاصات اخرى منصوص عليها في هذا الدستور او في القوانين الاتحادية .

(٨) تعدّل المادة (٤٩) لتصبح كما يلي :-

" تصدر قرارات المجلس الاعلى في المسائل الموضوعية بأغلبية خمسة اعضاء من أعضائه على ان تشمل هذه الاغلبية امارتي ابوظبي ودبي . وتلتزم الأقلية برأي الأغلبية المذكورة .

أما قرارات المجلس في المسائل الاجرائية فتصدر بأغلبية الاصوات . وتحدد اللائحة الداخلية للمجلس هذه المسائل . "

(يتبع صفحه ٤)

(٩) تعدّل المادة (٥١) لتصبح كما يلي :-

" ينتخب المجلس الاعلى للاتحاد ، من بين اعضائه ، رئيسا للاتحاد ونائبا لرئيس الاتحاد . ويمارس نائب رئيس الاتحاد جميع اختصاصات الرئيس عند غيابه لأي سبب من الاسباب ."

(١٠) تعدّل المادة (٥٢) لتصبح كما يلي :-

" مدة الرئيس ونائبه خمس سنوات ميلادية . ويجوز اعادة انتخابهما لذات المنصب . ويؤدي كل منهما عند توليه اعباء منصبه اليمين التالية امام المجلس الاعلى :

" اقسم بالله العظيم أن اكون مخلصا للامارات العربية المتحدة وان احترم دستورها وقوانينها وان ارعى مصالح شعب الاتحاد ، وأن أؤدي واجبي بأمانة واخلاص وأحافظ على استقلال الاتحاد وسلامة اراضيه . "

(١١) تعدّل المادة (٥٣) كما يلي :-

تستبدل عبارة " لمدة سنتين كاملتين " الواردة في السطر الثالث بعبارة " للمدة المنصوص عليها في المادة ٥٢ من هذا الدستور " .

(١٢) تعدّل المادة (٥٤) لتصبح كما يلي :-

مادة (٥٤) يباشر رئيس الاتحاد الاختصاصات التالية :-

١- يرأس المجلس الأعلى ، ويدير مناقشاته .

٢- يدعو المجلس الاعلى للاجتماع ، وينفض اجتماعاته ، وفقا للقواعد الاجرائية التي يقررها المجلس في لائحته الداخلية . ويجب دعوة المجلس للاجتماع متى طلب ذلك احد اعضائه .

٣- يدعو لاجتماع مشترك بين المجلس الاعلى ومجلس وزراء الاتحاد كلما اقتضت الضرورة ذلك .

٤- يوقع القوانين والمراسيم والقرارات الاتحادية التي يصدق عليها المجلس الاعلى ويصدرها .

٥- يعيّن رئيس مجلس وزراء الاتحاد ويقبل استقالته ويعفيه من منصبه بموافقة المجلس الاعلى . كما يعيّن نائب رئيس مجلس وزراء الاتحاد والوزراء ويقبل استقالاتهم ويعفيهم من مناصبهم بناء على اقتراح رئيس مجلس وزراء الاتحاد .

(يتبع صفحه ٥)

٦- يعين الممثلين الدبلوماسيين للاتحاد لدى الدول الاجنبية وغيرهم من كبار الموظفين الاتحاديين المدنيين والعسكريين باستثناء رئيس وقضاة المحكمة الاتحادية العليا ويقبل استقالاتهم ويعزلهم بناءا على موافقة مجلس وزراء الاتحاد . ويتم هذا التعيين او قبول الاستقالة او العزل بمراسيم وطبقا للقوانين الاتحادية .

٧- يوقع اوراق اعتماد الممثلين الدبلوماسيين للاتحاد لدى الدول والهيئات الأجنبية ويقبل اعتماد الممثلين الدبلوماسيين والقنصليين للدول الاجنبية لدى الاتحاد ويتلقى اوراق اعتمادهم . كما يوقع وثائق تعيين ممثلي اعتماد الممثلين .

٨- يشرف على تنفيذ القوانين والمراسيم والقرارات الاتحادية بواسطة مجلس وزراء الاتحادي والوزراء المختصين .

٩- يمثل الاتحاد في الداخل وتجاه الدول الاخرى ، وفي جميع العلاقات الدولية .

١٠- يمارس حق العفو او تخفيف العقوبة ويصادق على احكام الاعدام وفقا لاحكام هذا الدستور والقوانين الاتحادية .

١١- يمنح اوسمة وانواط الشرف العسكرية والمدنية ، وفقا للقوانين الخاصة بهذه الاوسمة والانواط .

١٢- أية اختصاصات اخرى يخوله اياها المجلس الاعلى او تخول له بمقتضى أحكام هذا الدستور .

(١٣) تلغى المادة (٥٥) ، ويعدل تسلسل ارقام المواد التي تليها بحيث يستبدل رقم المادة (٥٦) ليصبح (٥٥) ، و (٥٧) ليصبح (٥٦) وهكذا .

(١٤) تعدل المادة (٥٢) ((والتي يصبح رقمها (٥٦))) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" مادة (٥٦) يكون اختيار الوزراء من بين مواطني الاتحاد المشهود لهم بالكفاءة والخبرة . "

(يتبع صفحة ٦)

(١٥) تعدّل المادة (٦١) ((والتي يصبح رقمها ٦٠)) كما يلي :-

" (أ) تستبدل الفقرة الاولى منها بالفقرة التالية :-

" يتولى مجلس الوزراء ، بوصفه الهيئة التنفيذية للاتحاد وتحت الرقابة العليا لرئيس الاتحاد وللمجلس الاعلى ، تصريف جميع الشؤون الداخلية والخارجية التي يختص بها الاتحاد بموجب هذا الدستور والقوانين الاتحادية .

(ب) يعدّل البند (٢) من هذه المادة بحيث يصبح كما يلي :-

" اقتراح مشروعات القوانين الاتحادية واحالتها الى المجلس الوطني الاتحادي قبل رفعها الى رئيس الاتحاد لعرضها على المجلس الاعلى للتصديق عليها . "

(جـ) يعدّل البند الرابع من هذه المادة بحذف عبارة " قبل رفعها الى المجلس الاعلى للتصديق عليها " الواردة في آخر البند .

(١٦) تعدّل المادة ٦٥ ((والتي يصبح رقمها ٦٤)) بحيث تقرأ كما يلي :-

" رئيس مجلس الوزراء والوزراء مسؤولون سياسيا بالتضامن أمام رئيس الاتحاد والمجلس الاعلى للاتحاد عن تنفيذ السياسة العامة للاتحاد في الداخل والخارج . وكل منهم مسؤول شخصيا امام رئيس الاتحاد والمجلس الاعلى عن أعمال وزارته او منصبه . "

(١٧) تعدّل الجملة الاولى من المادة ٦٦ ((والتي تصبح المادة ٦٥)) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" يقدم مجلس الوزراء الى رئيس الاتحاد لعرضه على المجلس الاعلى .. الخ . "

(١٨) تستبدل عبارة " المجلس الاتحادي " الواردة في الفصل الثالث ((الذي يصبح الفصل الرابع)) من الباب الرابع ، وأينما وردت في الدستور بعبارة " المجلس الوطني الاتحادي " .

(١٩) تعدّل المادة ٦٩ ((والتي تصبح ٦٨)) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

مادة (٦٨) : يشكل المجلس الوطني الاتحادي من أربعين عضوا . ويوزع عدد مقاعد المجلس على الامارات الاعضاء كما يلي :-

(يتبع صفحه ٧)

أبوظبي	٨ مقاعد
دبي	٨ مقاعد
الشارقه	٦ مقاعد
رأس الخيمه	٦ مقاعد
عجمان	٤ مقاعد
ام القيوين	٤ مقاعد
الفجيره	٤ مقاعد

(٢٠) تستبدل عبارة " أن اكون مخلصا لاتحاد الامارات العربية " الواردة في صيغة القسم المنصوص عليه في المادة (٧٤) ((والتي تصبح ٧٣)) بالعبارة التالية : " أن اكون مخلصاً للامارات العربية المتحدة " .

(٢١) يعدّل السطر الاول من المادة (٨٠) ((والتي يصبح رقمها ٧٩)) بحيث يقرأ كما يلي :-

" تكون دعوة المجلس للانعقاد ، وفض الدورة " بمرسوم " يصدره رئيس الاتحاد بموافقة مجلس وزراء الاتحاد ، وكل اجتماع يعقده المجلس بدون دعوة ... الخ . "

(٢٢) تستبدل الفقرة الثالثة الواردة في السطر الثالث من المادة ٨٦ ((والتي يصبح رقمها ٨٥)) بالفقرة التالية :

" ويتولى المجلس وضع لائحته الداخلية ، وتصدر بمرسوم يصدره رئيس الاتحاد بموافقة الوزراء " وتحدد اللائحة الداخلية .. الخ . "

(٢٣) تعدّل المادة ٨٩ ((والتي يصبح رقمها ٨٨)) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" يجوز بمرسوم يصدره رئيس الاتحاد بموافقة مجلس وزراء الاتحاد تأجيل اجتماعات المجلس لمدة لا تجاوز شهرا واحدا ، على الا يتكرر ذلك في الدورة الواحدة الا بموافقة المجلس ، ولمرة واحدة . ولا تحتسب فترة التأجيل ضمن مدة الدورة العادية .

كما يجوز بمرسوم يصدره رئيس الاتحاد بموافقة المجلس الاعلى للاتحاد حل المجلس الوطني الاتحادي ، على أن يتضمن مرسوم الحل دعوة المجلس الجديد للانعقاد في أجل لا يجاوز ستين يوما من تاريخ مرسوم الحل . ولا يجوز حل المجلس مدة اخرى لنفس الاسباب " .

(يتبع صفحه ٨)

(٢٤) تعدّل المادة ١٠٧ ((والتي يصبح رقمها ١٠٦)) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" تشكل المحكمة الاتحادية العليا من رئيس وعدد من القضاة لا يزيدون جميعا على خمسة يعينون بمرسوم يصدره رئيس الاتحاد بعد مصادقة المجلس الاعلى عليه . ويحدد القانون عدد دوائر المحكمة ونظامها واجراءاتها وشروط الخدمة والتقاعد لاعضائها والشروط والمؤهلات الواجب توافرها فيهم .

(٢٥) يعدل رقم (١٠٠) الوارد في البند الثاني من المادة ١٠٣ ((التي يصبح رقمها ١٠٢)) ليقرأ (٩٩) .

(٢٦) يعدّل السطر الاول الوارد في المادة ١٠٧ ((والتي يصبح رقمها ١٠٦)) ليقرأ كما يلي :-

" يكون للاتحاد نائب عام يعيّن بمرسوم اتحادي يصدر بموافقة مجلس الوزراء . ويعاون النائب العام عدد من أعضاء النيابة العامة .

(٢٧) تعدل المادة ١١١ ((والتي يصبح رقمها ١١٠)) كما يلي :-

أ- تعدل الفقرة (٢٠) من هذه المادة بحيث تقرأ كما يلي :-

يصبح مشروع القانون قانونا بعد اتخاذ الاجراءات التالية :-

أ - يعد مجلس الوزراء مشروع القانون ويعرضه على المجلس الوطني الاتحادي .

ب- يعرض مجلس الوزراء مشروع القانون على رئيس الاتحاد للموافقة عليه ولعرضه على المجلس الاعلى للتصديق عليه .

ج- يوقع رئيس الاتحاد القانون بعد تصديقه من المجلس الاعلى ، ويصدره .

ب- تعدّل الفقرة ٣ (أ) من هذه المادة لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" اذا أدخل المجلس الوطني الاتحادي تعديلا على مشروع القانون ولم يكن هذا التعديل مقبولا لدى رئيس الاتحاد او المجلس الاعلى ، واذا رفض المجلس الوطني الاتحادي المشروع ، فان لرئيس الاتحاد او المجلس الاعلى ان يعيده الى المجلس الوطني الاتحادي . فاذا اجرى المجلس الوطني الاتحادي في ذلك اي تعديل لم يكن مقبولا لدى رئيس الاتحاد او المجلس الاعلى او رأى المجلس الوطني الاتحادي رفض المشروع ، كان لرئيس الاتحاد أن يصدر القانون بعد مصادقة المجلس الاعلى عليه .

جـ-تعدّل الفقرة ٣ (ب) من هذه المادة لتقرأ كما يلي :-

يقصد بعبارة " مشروع القانون " الواردة في هذه الفقرة المشروع الذي يقدم لرئيس الاتحاد من مجلس الوزراء مشتملا على التعديلات التي ادخلها عليه المجلس الوطني الاتحادي ، ان وجدت .

(٢٨) تعدل المادة ١١٥ ((والتي يصبح رقمها ١١٤)) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" لا يصدر مرسوم الا اذا أقره مجلس الوزراء وصدق عليه رئيس الاتحاد او المجلس الاعلى كل حسب اختصاصه ، وتنشر المراسيم بعد توقيعها من رئيس الاتحاد في الجريدة الرسمية . "

(٢٩) تعدّل المادة ١١٦ ((والتي يصبح رقمها ١١٥)) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" للمجلس الاعلى ان يفوّض رئيس الاتحاد ومجلس الوزراء مجتمعين ، في اصدار ما يقتضي الامر اصداره في هيئة المجلس الاعلى من المراسيم التي يختص المجلس المذكور بالتصديق عليها على الا يشمل هذا التفويض الموافقة على المعاهدات والاتفاقيات الدولية ، او اعلان الاحكام العرفية ورفعها ، او اعلان الحرب الدفاعية . او تعيين رئيس او قضاة المحكمة الاتحادية العليا . "

(٣٠) تعدّل المادة ١٢١ ((والتي تصبح ١٢٠)) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" يختص الاتحاد بالتشريع والتنفيذ في الشؤون التالية :-

١ - الشؤون الخارجية .
٢ - الدفاع والقوات المسلحة الاتحادية .
٣- - حماية أمن الاتحاد مما يتهدده من الخارج او الداخل .
٤ - شؤون الامن والنظام والحكم في العاصمة الدائمة للاتحاد .
٥ - شؤون موظفي الاتحاد والقضاء الاتحادي .
٦ - مالية الاتحاد والضرائب والرسوم والعوائد الاتحادية .
٧ - القروض العامة الاتحادية .
٨ - الخدمات البريدية والبرقية والهاتفية واللاسلكية .
٩ - شق الطرق الاتحادية التي يقرّر المجلس الاعلى انها طرق رئيسية وصيانتها وتحسينها وتنظيم حركة المرور على هذه الطرق .
١٠ - المراقبة الجوية واصدار تراخيص الطيارات والطيارين .
١١ - التعليم .
١٢ - الصحة العامة والخدمات الطبية .
١٣ - النقد والعملة .

(يتبع صفحه ١٠)

١٤- المقاييس والمكاييل والموازين .
١٥- خدمات الكهرباء .
١٦- الجنسية الاتحادية والجوازات والاقامة والهجرة .
١٧- املاك الاتحاد وكل ما يتعلق بها .
١٨- شؤون التعداد والاحصاء الخاصة بأغراض الاتحاد .
١٩- الاعلام الاتحادي .

(٣١) تعدل المادة ١٢٢ ((والتي تصبح رقمها ١٢١)) بحيث تضاف الشؤون التالية في آخرها :

" تحديد المياه الاقليمية وتنظيم الملاحة في اعالي البحار . "

(٣٢) تعدل المادة ١٢٤ ((والتي تصبح رقمها ١٢٣)) حسبما ورد في اقتراحات الوفد السعودي الكويتي المشترك الاخيرة .
ويعدل رقم المادة ١٢١ المذكور فيما ليصبح (١٢٠) .

(٣٣) يعدل الرقم ١١٤ المذكور في المادة ١٢٣ ((والتي تصبح ١٣١)) ليقرأ (١١٣) .

(٣٤) تعدل الفقرة الاخيرة من المادة ١٣٩ ((والتي تصبح رقمها ١٣٨)) بحيث تقرأ كما يلي :-

" ويجلس وزراء الاتحاد هو المسؤول مباشرة امام رئيس الاتحاد والمجلس الاعلى للاتحاد عن شؤون هذه القوات جميعا . "

(٣٥) تعدل المادة ١٤١ ((والتي تصبح رقمها ١٤٠)) لتقرأ كما يلي :-

" يكون اعلان قيام الحرب الدفاعية بمرسوم يصدره رئيس الاتحاد بعد مصادقة المجلس الاعلى عليه . اما الحرب الهجومية فمحرمة عملا بأحكام المواثيق الدولية . "

(٣٦) يعدّل السطر الاول من المادة ١٤٢ ((والتي تصبح رقمها ١٤١)) ليقرأ كما يلي :-

" ينشأ مجلس اعلى للدفاع برئاسة رئيس الاتحاد ويكون من بين اعضائه نائب رئيس الاتحاد ورئيس مجلس وزراء الاتحاد ووزير الخارجية الخ . "

(يتبع صفحه ١١)

(٣٧) تعدل المادة ١٤٥ ((والتي تصبح ١٤٤)) كما يلي :-

" (أ) تستبدل عبارة اربع سنوات ميلادية الواردة في السطر الثاني بعبارة خمس سنوات ميلادية . "

(ب) يستبدل الرقم ١٥٣ الوارد في السطر الثاني بالرقم ١٥٢ .

(جـ) يستبدل عبارة " المجلس الاتحادي " اينما وردت بعبارة " المجلس الوطني الاتحادي " .

(٣٨) يعدل السطر الاخير من المادة ١٤٢ ((والتي تصبح ١٤٦)) بحيث يقرأ :-

" وترفع الاحكام العرفية بمرسوم يصدر بعد تصديق المجلس الاعلى عليه كذلك متى زالت الضرورة التي استدعت اعلانها " .

وتستبدل عبارة المجلس الاتحادي بعبارة المجلس الوطني الاتحادي .

(٣٩) تعدل المادة ١٥٠ ((والتي تصبح ١٤٩)) باستبدال رقم المادة ١٢٢ المشار اليه بالرقم ١٢١ والرقم ١٥٢ بالرقم ١٥١ .

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