Palestine and the Gulf States
The Presence at the Table

Rosemarie Said Zahlan
Palestine and the Gulf States
Turkey in Germany
The Transnational Sphere of Deutschkei
Betigül Ercan Argun

Islam, Democracy, and the Status of Women
The Case of Kuwait
Helen Mary Rizzo

Islamic Law, Epistemology and Modernity
Legal Philosophy in Contemporary Iran
Ashk P. Dahlén

Legislating Authority
Sin and Crime in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey
Ruth A. Miller

Gender, Literacy, and Empowerment in Morocco
Fatima Agnaou

War and Migration
Social Networks and Economic Strategies of the Hazaras of Afghanistan
Alessandro Monsutti

Trapped Between the Map and Reality
Geography and Perceptions of Kurdistan
Maria T. O’Shea

Sharaf Politics
Honor and Peacemaking in Israeli-Palestinian Society
Sharon D. Lang

Kurdish Nationalism and Political Islam in Turkey
Kemalist Identity in Transition
Omer Taspinar

The Accidental Tourist, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, and the British Invasion of Egypt in 1882
Michael D. Berdine

Organizations, Gender, and the Culture of Palestinian Activism in Haifa, Israel
Elizabeth Faier

Diplomacy and Displacement
Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922–1934
Onur Yıldırım

Palestinian Identity in Jordan and Israel
The Necessary ‘Other’ in the Making of a Nation
Riad M. Nasser

Palestine and the Gulf States
The Presence at the Table
Rosemarie Said Zahlan

Strategies of Resistance in the Dramatic Texts of North African Women
A Body of Words
Laura Chakravarty Box
# Table of Contents

*List of Abbreviations*  
*Acknowledgments*  

1. Introduction  
2. Palestine and the Gulf States  
3. Iran and Suez, 1953–1956  
4. Impact of the 1967 War  
5. The 1973 Arab-Israeli War and the Oil Boycott  
6. The 1980s: Decade of Change  
7. The United Nations: The Triangle without Corners  
8. The 1990s  

*Notes*  
*Bibliography*  
*Index*
Abbreviations

AIPAC  American Israel Public Affairs Committee
BAPCO  Bahrain Petroleum Company
DOP    Declaration of Principles
EC     European Community
GCC    Gulf Cooperation Council
OAPEC  Organisation of Arab Petroleum-Exporting Countries
OIC    Organisation of the Islamic Conference
OIR    Office of Intelligence Research
OPEC   Organisation of Petroleum-Exporting Countries
PFLP   Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLO    Palestine Liberation Organisation
UAE    United Arab Emirates
UNRWA  United Nations Relief and Works Agency
Acknowledgments

My wife, Rosemarie Said Zahlan, completed this work before she died on 10 May 2006, unexpectedly from the devastation that chemotherapy inflicts on the immune system. She did everything in her power to prepare her manuscript but alas she was unable to make it ready for publication. This task was left for me.

Rosemarie had a prodigious memory and could remember information for years. She thus did not commit to paper until she was ready to go to the printer. As a result her notes concerning acknowledgements were incomplete. Though we discussed at length our respective work I was not familiar with all her professional contacts and friends. So I apologise to those who may have discussed this subject with her but are not properly acknowledged and thanked.

Thanks are due to: Mr. Jasim Alsaggar who provided the detailed information on his sister, Shaha Hamad Alsaggar and her support for the 1936 Palestine uprising; Sally Morphet for valuable information on the Palestine Problem in the UN; Ambassador Hermann F. Ellis for first hand information on events during his ambassadorship in Saudi Arabia; John E. Peterson for information and for many valuable discussions of Gulf history.

During the process of preparing the manuscript for publication I benefited from scholarly advice by Ussama Makdisi, Souad Dajani, Yezid Sayegh, Naseeer Aruri, Nadia Hijab, and Mona Nsouli.

I am also indebted to Soraya Al-Turki, Shelagh Weir and Shahrough Akhavi for guidance in matters of editing and publication. I thank Mari gold Acland for directing me to Mary Starkey whose efficient editorial work helped immeasurably.

I would like to thank Shahrough Akhavi, Gary Sick; Jean, Halla and Karim Makdisi and Benjamin Holtzman for their contributions to the selection of the title of the book.

Unpublished Crown Copyright material in the India Office Library and Records and in the Public Record Office transcribed here appears by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Antoine Zahlan
Beirut, January 2009
1 Introduction

The Arab world has been dominated by the question of Palestine since the early years of the twentieth century. Practically all political events of any significance have been related in one way or another to what is variously known as the Arab–Israeli dispute, the Middle East crisis, the Palestine–Israel problem and other appellations. During the first half of the century, the repercussions of the issue were confined largely to the greater Middle East and, to a much lesser extent, to Muslim India.

After the Second World War, however, the Palestine Question gradually shifted to occupy centre stage in international affairs. The creation of Israel in 1948, followed by the enforced exodus of Palestinians from their homes, resulted in what became known as ‘the refugee problem’. It also directly and indirectly resulted in cataclysmic internal upheavals in neighbouring Arab states, which were beginning to assume their independence from the crumbling British and French empires.

The 1952 revolution in Egypt is one case of note. It occurred in partial response to the 1948 Arab military defeats. Gamal Abdel Nasser and his fellow conspirators had fought together in the Egyptian army against the invading Zionists who sought to establish a state in Palestine. The frustration of the young Egyptian officers at the inherent weaknesses of their army and leadership drew them together. It was inevitable perhaps that they would focus on the many flaws and failings of their own government. This was the genesis of the movement leading to the July 1952 revolution, which overthrew the monarchy and established a socialist republic in its place.

Mohamed Heikal, a journalist and close confidant of Nasser, has estimated that no less than 112 revolutions, coups or attempted coups took place in the Arab world in the first twenty-three years after the creation of Israel—that is between 1948 and 1971.¹ There have of course been many more since. With one military defeat after another, anger and frustration have inevitably led to further turmoil throughout the Arab world. The persistent US support of Israel in the face of international condemnation has deepened the anger and slowed down movement towards a civil society. Instead of embarking on modernisation after the end of colonialism, the Arab states have been severely restricted by military–political realities.
Reform has been stymied. This is not due to any shortage of human and financial resources; on the contrary, both are in place and can be compared favourably with those of many other developing and developed states.

Arab militarisation as a result of overpowering Israeli victories over the years has led to the polarisation of national resources, both human and financial, in the face what they have invariably regarded as a colonial settler state in their midst. This militarisation has grown after every Arab–Israeli war. Marked by military defeat, those states that are most vulnerable to attack have engaged in a futile arms race. During the Cold War, moreover, this carried the added dimension of political partisanship. This meant further complications in the international arena, and much greater costs in time, effort and expenditure. It is practically impossible to gauge the full extent of Arab military spending since 1948, but there is no question that it has been enormous.

In September 1964, President Lyndon Johnson sent John McCloy to Egypt to persuade Nasser to limit his purchase of missiles. Nasser told the US envoy that the problem in the Middle East had nothing to do with missiles: it was Palestine. Nothing could stop the arms race except a solution to the problem of Palestine and all that entailed. This is a theme that was to be repeated in different forms and variations, and that continues until the present day: the problem of Palestine remains at the root of Arab affairs and, by extension, of international affairs.

On the international level, there have been many attempts to solve and/or defuse the dispute. There have been peace plans, attempts to put together peace plans, attempts to organise peace talks, peace initiatives, etc. These have included the Rogers Plan, the Schultz peace initiative, the Nixon Plan, the Fahd Plan, the Venice Declaration, the Peace Process, the Road Map and many others. There have been bilateral talks, trilateral talks, multilateral talks—all to no avail.

A recent study by Bercovitch and Regan analysed the number and nature of ‘protracted conflicts’ around the world which they defined as enduring conflicts. The Arab–Israeli conflict was of course regarded as one of these. The authors calculated that there were no less than seventy-five conflict-management efforts between Egypt and Israel alone for the period 1948–79; twenty-four between Jordan and Israel for 1948–86; and thirty-eight between Syria and Israel for 1948–92. There have been many more since, particularly between Israel and the Palestinians, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the Palestinian National Authority and the Palestine Authority.

The question of Palestine continues to dominate international affairs into the twenty-first century. In March 2003, on the eve of the US invasion of Iraq, President George W. Bush announced his plan to unveil the Road Map to Middle East peace. His secretary of state, Colin Powell, had led up to this announcement a few days earlier by underlining the president’s personal commitment to this policy. This cynical revival of yet another