

**REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN THE ARABIAN
PENINSULA AND THE GULF: INVESTIGATION
OF THE DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES
BEHIND YEMEN'S FAILURE TO JOIN THE GULF
COOPERATION COUNCIL FOR THE ARAB
GULF STATES (GCC)**

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COUNCIL FOR THE ARAB GULF STATES
(GCC)**

By

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**Thesis submitted to Ghazali Shafie
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ABSTRAK

Republik Yaman telah menyatakan kesediaan dan menyuarakan aspirasinya untuk menyertai Majlis Kerjasama Teluk (GCC) iaitu organisasi berpengaruh politik dan keselamatan bagi rantau Teluk Parsi. GCC juga telah menilai kesediaan Yaman lantas memberikan hujah bahawa Yaman gagal menganggotai GCC adalah kerana Yaman masih berhadapan dengan pelbagai masalah politik, ekonomi dan keselamatan domestik. Namun pandangan ini ditolak kerajaan Yaman yang beranggapan bahawa kegagalan Yaman untuk menyertai GCC adalah kerana Yaman sebagai negara republik dianggap mampu memberi persaingan kekuatan kepada kerajaan monarki Arab Saudi dan negara-negara Teluk lain serta menggugat keseimbangan di rantau Teluk Parsi. Oleh itu, kajian ini cuba menyelidiki masalah sebenar kegagalan Yaman menyertai GCC dan implikasi kepada kemasukan Yaman ke dalam organisasi tersebut. Maka objektif kajian ini adalah untuk menentukan punca dan aspek kegagalan Yaman untuk berintegrasi penuh di kalangan negara-negara Semenanjung Arab dan Teluk Parsi serta menjadi ahli penuh kepada GCC. Tambahan lagi, kajian ini cuba untuk mengenal pasti faktor dan cara penyelesaian yang membolehkan Yaman menyertai keanggotaan GCC tersebut. Kajian ini juga menilai impak hubungan antara Yaman dengan negara-negara GCC selain penglibatan kuasa politik serantau dan antarabangsa seperti Mesir, Iran dan Amerika Syarikat yang mempengaruhi tindakan integrasi antara Yaman dan GCC. Kaedah kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan penyelidikan kualitatif secara kajian perpustakaan dan arkib serta temubual dengan aktor-aktor yang terlibat langsung di dalam proses memohon keanggotaan GCC dan hubungan antara Yaman dan negara-negara anggota GCC. Teori Fungsionalisme dan Neo-Functionalisme telah digunakan untuk mengkaji hubungan antara Yaman dan GCC khususnya berkaitan isu keanggotaan tersebut. Hasil dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa kegagalan Yaman untuk menyertai GCC adalah bermotifkan faktor politik dan sosio-ekonomi. Dengan tidak menyertai GCC, Yaman akan dipastikan untuk terus mundur dari segi sosio-ekonomi dan tidak mampu untuk menyaingi kekuatan Arab Saudi sebagai kuasa politik serantau yang mendominasi GCC. Selain itu, Yaman juga berada di dalam percaturan politik serantau Teluk yang berhadapan dengan pengaruh dan kuasa Iran. Oleh itu, dengan campurtangan kuasa besar seperti Amerika Syarikat (AS) di Yaman membolehkan kedudukan Arab Saudi diperkuatkan bagi menyaingi Iran dan Yaman terus berada di bawah pengaruh serta telunjuk Arab Saudi dan AS.

Kata Kunci: Yaman, GCC, Arab Saudi, Functionalisme, integrasi serantau, Teluk Parsi

ABSTRACT

The Republic of Yemen was signalling its readiness to join the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), an influential political and security organisation in Persian Gulf. GCC had also evaluated the readiness of Yemen, but decided that Yemen was not ready to become a new member of GCC because of domestic political, economical and security reasons. In response, the Yemeni government rejected the argument saying that the real reason was Yemen as a republic was perceived as a rival that will create political imbalance regionally to the monarchy governments of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states. Therefore, this research aims to study the actual reasons behind the Yemen's failed attempts to integrate fully in the Arab Peninsular and Persian Gulf and to become member of GCC. The objectives of this research are to determine reasons and aspects of Yemen's failure to get GCC membership. Furthermore, this research tries to identify factors and ways to overcome this membership's hurdle for Yemen. In addition, this research also evaluates the impact of relations between Yemen and GCC member states, besides the involvement of regional and global powers like Egypt, Iran and United States (US) in influencing Yemeni integration with GCC. This research utilises qualitative method through library and archival researches and interviews with actors who were directly involved or participated in the process of applying for GCC membership and Yemen-GCC relations. Theories of Functionalism and Neo-Functionalism are employed to analyse the Yemen-GCC relations especially on the membership issue. Findings of this research show that the failed attempts by Yemen to obtain GCC membership were politically and socio-economically motivated. By refusing to allow Yemen membership into GCC, Yemen was left to remain poor and be deprived in socio-economy in order to ensure it will not challenge the mighty Saudi Arabia as regional power that dominates the GCC. Moreover, Yemen is also at the forefront of Gulf regional politics against the influence and power of Iran. Hence, US intervention in Yemen will assist and strengthen Saudi Arabia in facing Iran and Yemen remains under the influence of Saudi Arabia and the US.

Keywords: Yemen, GCC, Saudi Arabia, Functionalism, regional integration, Persian Gulf.

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ACRONYMS

ACC: Arabian Cooperation Council

AMU: Arab Mughrib Union

AQAP: Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula

ASEAN: Association of South East Asian Nations

BPD: Barrel Per Day

CE: Causes of Exclusion

CECLA: Latin America Coordination Commission

CI: Challenges of Inclusion

DAC: Development Assistant Committee

EAC: East African Community

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

EU: European Union

FA: Failure Aspects

FLOSY: Front for Liberation of Occupied South Yemen

GCC: Gulf Cooperation Council

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GPC: General People's Congress

ICC: Islamic Conference Cooperation

IDP: International Development Program

IMF: International Monetary Fund

KSA: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

MECO: Military Economic Corporation

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO: None Governmental Organization

NLF: National Liberation Front

PDRY: People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

REC: Regional Economic Committee

RP: Resolve the Problems

UAE: United Arab Emirates

UN: United Nation

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WTO: World Trade Organization

YAR: Yemen Arab Republic

YECO: Yemeni Economic Corporation

YIP: Yemeni Islah Party

YSP: Yemeni Socialist Party

USA: United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Yemen's interest in joining the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) dates back to the 1980s when the Council was first established and comprised of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and United Arab Emirates (GCC Charter¹, 1981) (Nakhleh, 1986; Abdullah, 1999; Pinfari, Economics, Centre, 2009; Razavi & Kirsten, 2011; Mohammed, 2011). Several political obstacles hindered Yemen's accession to GCC during that period. This study explores what remains from these early obstacles, what has been removed, and if any new obstacles have arisen.

There are many challenges to Yemen's complete acceptance into the GCC regional system. If one wishes to clearly define Yemen's official stage of Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) accession, it is slowly moving towards the accomplishment of its goals and successful compliance with the Gulf regional system although, most efforts have proven fruitless largely because, "Yemen is not able to maintain political stability, overcome corruption, and implement

¹ GCC Charter is attached in the Appendix

The contents of
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