

**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)**

SALEH MUBARAK SALEH BAZEAD

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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TO JOIN THE GULF COOPERATION
COUNCIL FOR THE ARAB GULF STATES
(GCC)**

By

Saleh Mubarak Saleh Bazead

**Thesis submitted to Ghazali Shafie
Graduate School of Government, Universiti
Utara Malaysia in fulfillment of the
Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy**

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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

economic reforms that present a convincing reason of Yemen's failure to full inclusion in the GCC" (Al-Hassan, 2010; Gause, 2009).

Realistically, Yemen has been trying to join the GCC since 1996 when its first membership application was rejected (Yahya, 2003). Additionally, both the United Arab Emirates (UAE) foreign minister and his Omani counterpart stated that Yemen's full integration into the GCC is not currently on the table (Habtoor, 2011). Such statements are additional constraints to Yemen's acceptance into the GCC. Additional major impediments include Yemen's lack of strong and progressive leaders, its inability to instil a sense of sovereignty in its weak destabilised country, having been overwhelmed by the tragic incidents from the 1994 civil war, and increased separation demands by southern Yemenis and the Houthi armed rebellion in the far north (Yahya, 2010). Moreover, the significant economic gap between Yemen and GCC countries is a major reason for its rejection. Yemen suffers from low living standards compared to those of enjoyed by the GCC countries. Yemen was Ranked 150 out of 177 on the 2006 United Nation Development Program (UNDP) Index compared with GCC member states which ranked much higher than Yemen. Yemen has a per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$1,000 compared to the GCC's average of \$26,000 (est, 2007). Such statistics undoubtedly hinder Yemen's aspirations to obtain GCC membership due to massive economic gaps between the two sides (Saqaf, 2007).

Congruently, another reason is the deteriorated security situation exemplified in Al-Qaida terrorist groups which found a heaven in Yemen. The dramatic changes illustrated in the Yemeni youth uprising in 2011 further complicates the process of regional integration (Ottaway, Hamzawy, & Peace, 2011). The damage such developments had on Yemen's reputation and the stains it placed on relations and significantly constrained its integration with its GCC neighbours as the GCC countries will not welcome a country into their club burdened with such major threats (Antkiewicz & Momani, 2009; Terrill, 2011). Thus, economic concerns along with security threats prevent Yemen's complete integration into the GCC. The Gulf-Yemeni relationship is determined by regional facts. Accordingly, being part of a regional system determined by geo-politic realities makes it necessary for Yemen and its Gulf counterparts to deal jointly with threats facing the region (Al-Hawrey, 2010 & Al-Hazmi, 2003).

Considering Yemen's acceptance into a number of GCC bodies and passing through characteristics that determine the Arabian Gulf regional players (Saba News Agent, 1996) is a good step towards opening beneficial dialogue about the importance of Yemen's participation in the GCC. Moreover, the future of Gulf-Yemeni relations in a regional system requires the involvement all players. Any effective partnership and regional bloc can only be realised after having investigated the political, economic, and social realities of member countries and countries aspiring toward membership, in addition to ascertaining the role of the political elites in forging a measure of regional order and standardisation (Agent, 2002).

Yemen is still unable to comply with the requirements set for its acceptance in the GCC (Fare'a, 2008). Its integration efforts appear to have slowed due to multiple challenges and its inclusion progress is characterised as being quite disappointing. Yemen is nowhere near accomplishing its goals and successfully complying with the GCC requirements. All its efforts have thus far proven fruitless largely due to its inability to maintain a measure of political stability, overcome corruption, and implement economic reforms all of which represent only the minimum requirements needed for acceptance into GCC. Some feel that the Yemen's internal conflicts cannot be solved through any form of GCC integration and that the region's stability is only secured through the presence of foreign troops (Al-Hassan, 2010).

One might investigate what steps Yemen needs to take to achieve its ultimate goal of GCC acceptance. As per the stabilization and association agreements signed by Yemen and the GCC in order to gain GCC acceptance, the potential Yemeni candidate needs to align with the pre-determined GCC regulations by conducting economic reform (Agent, 2002), and enhancing the relationship with neighbouring GCC member countries, especially those countries for which relations with Yemen deteriorated during the first Gulf war where Yemen stood against the GCC states. This is no small task considering this region's recent history. Serious questions may thus be asked of Yemen's ability to fulfil such difficult tasks such as poverty

eradication, unemployment, corruption, political instability, and security threats.

1.1 Problem Statement

The GCC has substantially aided Yemen despite the fact that it is not a full member of the GCC and observers believe that full membership is unlikely (Caton, 2010). Yemen's failure to obtain GCC membership presents a paramount problem worth investigating in spite of the fact that the GCC is fully aware that Yemen requires immediate assistance to help prevent the likelihood of it falling into greater instability which will ultimately result in regional instability. However, most of the steps GCC states take are stopgap measures and do not solve Yemen's problems from their roots.

Yemen's efforts to join the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) are unmistakable (Al-Shareef, 2004; Darem, 2010). This is a development of paramount importance and has been a dominant issue in the local, regional, and international contemporary strategic, political, economic, and security analysis of Gulf integration and stability. However, interpreting Yemen's aspiration shows that there are doubts over Yemen's ability to meet the requirements for GCC acceptance.

Unlike the GCC member states, Yemen has inherited contradictory regimes (Turath, 2002). Yemen's leadership and system of governance has seen many changes from the caliphate styled rule, through to monarchy, followed by democracy and in some places communism. What is certain is that it is currently undergoing another system change that will shape the political, social, and economic environments. These developments have had a lasting impact on Yemen's internal affairs and have negatively affected its integration into the GCC. The main problem is Yemen's seeming inability to form a solid foundation for its country's complete inclusion in the regional system.

1.2 Objectives

To address the concerns of this research, the objectives have to be clear and straightforward in order to reach satisfactory, trustworthy, and credible results. Hence, three major objectives of this research are:

1. Exploring the reasons behind Yemen's exclusion from the GCC.
2. Defining the challenges and failures preventing Yemen from being fully accepted into the GCC.
3. Addressing and resolving the matter of Yemen's GCC exclusion.

1.3 Research Questions

To achieve the above objectives, the study has specified three fundamental questions to answer in order to obtain accurate and meaningful results to address issues discussed in this dissertation. The research questions are:

1. What has caused Yemen's exclusion from GCC membership?
2. What are the failures and challenges preventing Yemen's inclusion into the GCC?
3. How can we address and resolve Yemen's exclusion problems?

1.4 Significance of Study

The researcher's task is to render the issues explored in this research relevant to the regional system and assist in identifying the matters which if corrected will bring Yemen into the GCC regional organisation. Experts researching this topic have not gone beyond the political dimensions of this issue. Al-Hassan (2010) indicated that the GCC is predominately a political project. Securing peace and stability in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf region is vital for the peace and stability within the entire Middle East region and the world, as two thirds of world oil reserves are located in the Arab Gulf region in addition to the strategic location Gulf States and Yemen enjoy through controlling the oil supply and geographic distribution channels.

It we do not expand the scope of research on this theme, solution to very complex problems may be ignored at the cost of the lives and welfare of many in the region. There is a need for comprehensive research on the issue surrounding the region, as the current state of literature is limited. We must begin better identifying the areas that require immediate address in order to expedite and improve upon the process of integration. Our proposed research seeks to identify the interrelations between Yemen and political, socio-economic, and security issues through a broad address of the issues toward improving the welfare of Yemenis and fostering greater regional stability.

The outcomes of this study have the potential to provide supporting tools for decision makers in Yemen to better realise the nation's aspiration for complete GCC membership through determining the specific areas of failure in the GCC integration process. Furthermore, this study is timely given the current circumstances in Yemen.

1.5 Scope of the Study

Scope of this study is the regional integration in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf. This research focuses on investigating political, socio-economic, and security issues as well as the role of the political elites in determining Yemen's destiny towards complete inclusion into the GCC. With this in mind, the focus of this study is Yemen's failure to obtain complete GCC membership.

1.6 Research Methodology

In the following sections, readers will become familiar with this study's qualitative research designs, the type of questions used, and the method through which the interviews are conducted. This research adopts a qualitative method since it is best equipped method to use with a topic of such complexity as this. Its main findings and analysis will be conducted while using qualitative tools. The priority is going to the qualitative portion of the study, which explores the compliance variables and issues surrounding the compliance itself. The primary sources such as diaries, speeches, manuscripts, letters, interviews, reports, autobiographies, and official records are obtained through library search. Additionally, the study will approach this problem by examining secondary sources such as magazine articles, histories, criticisms, commentaries, and encyclopaedias.

This research uses the qualitative method to target specific informants (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). The targeted are specifically chosen based on their position within the Yemeni leadership, their level of expertise and significance within the framework of Yemen's integration efforts. The targeted informants are Yemeni leaders who are directly or indirectly involved in the process of Yemen's GCC acceptance, compliance with the GCC requirements and/or decision making process in the governmental or economic arena which affect the compliance patterns of Yemen. The number and type of the informants will be chosen according to the organisation within which the potential

interview subjects operate. The interview subjects are selected from experts, cabinet members, parliament members, diplomats, high-ranking officials within the foreign ministry, currently or previously involved with Yemen's GCC integration process.

1.6.1 Data Collection

Interview questions will be used in order to identify the reasons behind Yemeni non-compliance directly from the experts themselves. There are three basic types of qualitative interviewing for research purposes, namely the informal conversational interview, the interview guide approach, and the standardised open-ended interview (Patton, 1990). Standardised interviews using open ended questions is the best method for conducting interviews to avoid extra explanations by the interviewee by sticking to the questions asked.

The questions will try to stay away from soliciting personal opinions, but nevertheless cannot be completely avoided in an interview setting. The reasons behind interviews with subject matter experts are to gather solid and verifiable facts which would reveal what leaders and experts perceive as the main obstacles to Yemen's integration. Interviews will gather a broad range of information on the topic of compliance, which will hopefully reveal the common themes whilst identifying factors impairing compliance. The interview format will be structured specifically outlined with questions. The

structured interview format will be utilised to avoid “straying off” the subject which would result in subject matter experts revealing some things that might not be relevant or might be a result of personal opinions as opposed to the verifiable facts.

A certain degree of subject related opinions is unavoidable (Weller & Bohnsack, 2009). As such, the interview has to be in a structured manner in which specific answers will be solicited, with little to no opportunities for the solicitation of random information which might be concentrated more on a general situation in Yemen, politics in particular, as opposed to the focus of this particular study. Moreover, the brief description of the study’s purpose and the main questions must form the focus of the interviewed participants. The researcher will have to approach scheduling and arranging these interviews with great care and with due consideration for the interview participants (Marsh, 1995). The interview subjects are for the most part members of the Yemeni government who are decision makers in the Yemen’s GCC inclusion process and/or people holding important functions within the Yemeni governmental framework.

The same level of explanation and preparation might not be required for the randomly selected participants (Marsh, 2002) who will be briefly informed of the study’s purpose. Considering that their contact names will not be solicited or that there will be no identifiable information tying them to this study, their comfort level concerning the confidentiality of the information provided should be quite secure. Finally, interview questions will be in Arabic. Questions will

be asked and answered in Arabic and later translated to English by the researcher. This will be done for reasons of convenience and simplicity in consideration of the participants who might be more at ease with answering questions in their native language. Qualitative data gathered through interviews will have to be observed and studied in order for trends, compliance patterns, and to develop explanations for the issues surrounding Yemeni compliance failure.

1.6.2 Data Analysis

In order to get the most recent, reliable, and in depth information interviews were conducted and recorded to avoid misinterpretation. Interviews become a reliable tool for supplementing data collected from archival documents and other secondary sources of information and provide much needed answers for exploring the major challenges to arrive at possible solutions to problems associated with the provision and challenges behind Yemen's failure to join the GCC.

In order to achieve the optimal results from the interviews, this study adapted Creswell's (2008) sequential stages as follows:

- a. Stage One: Arrival and introduction of researcher
- b. Stage Two: Introducing research topic
- c. Stage Three: Actual interview
- d. Stage Four: Ending the interview session

e. Stage Five: After the interview

The above stages provided by Creswell (2008) were strictly observed in this study. Interviews were geared toward providing answers to the research questions on the dynamics and challenges behind Yemen's failure to join the GCC. The time, date, and venue were arranged by researcher and officials who have direct or indirect involvement in Yemen's integration process into the GCC. Moreover, interviews were conducted in small groups because it is partially related to government privacy and for the security of high-ranking official. The researcher succeeded in interviewing approximately 23 respondents from different areas. Those interviewed represent almost the complete Yemeni political scene, such as government, political parties, civil society, tribal men, journalists, and public personalities.

This chapter discusses the research design and methodology used for qualitative data collection and analysis. It discusses the qualitative research methodology, its approaches, merits and demerits, case study, interview results, as well as thematic analysis of interviews. The chapter was designed to answer all three research questions which are qualitative in nature.

1.6.3 Main Interviews

To achieve the objectives of this study, we conducted in-depth interviews with prominent experts and decision makers involved in the Yemen-GCC integration process. The main purpose of conducting interviews is to allow

the researcher to form a detailed picture about the respondents' beliefs concerning the major challenges facing Yemen in its prolonged journey towards GCC full membership as well as providing suitable solutions to those problems.

The interview was designed towards answering research questions covering the causes of failure, challenges, and possible solutions to the aforementioned problems.

1.6.3.1 Interview Protocols

Before conducting interviews, the researcher strictly followed basic protocols that guided the interview process. The study adapted McNamara's (2009) eight principles for the preparation stage of interviewing which includes the following components:

- Choose a setting with a little distraction.
- Explain the purpose of the interview.
- Address terms of confidentiality.
- Explain the format of the interview.
- Indicate how long the interview usually takes.
- Tell them how to get in touch with you later.
- Ask them if they have any questions before you start the interview.
- Don't count in your memory to recall their answers.

1) Choosing a setting with little distraction

In this study, high-ranking government officials, politicians, specialists, etc. directly or indirectly involved in the integration process were selected and interviewed to provide the latest information about the dynamics and challenges behind Yemen's failure to join the GCC.

2) Explain the purpose of the interview

On reaching the target respondents, the researcher openly informed them of the purpose for conducting such interviews which includes, among others, the dynamics and challenges behind Yemen's failure to join the GCC and possible solutions to such challenges and problems. The participants openly welcomed the idea and considered it an important opportunity for them to express their views on this pressing issue.

3) Address terms of confidentiality

Because the research directly touches upon the country's national interest which may potentially affect Yemen's foreign policy agendas, a fair degree of privacy and security of information and persons was required. The researcher informed the respondents that the views they expressed will be treated with the outmost confidentiality and names will not be mentioned in the final report. Most of the respondents agreed with such terms and conditions.

4) Explain the format of the interview

On reaching the target respondents, the researcher explained the modalities through which the interview will be conducted. The face-to-face approach was used and no third party was included to ensure the necessary privacy of information. The inclusion of a third party will prevent the respondents from responding in a free and candid manner. Voices were recorded with the use of an MP3 tape recorder and important notes were taken with pen and paper to supplement the recorded version of the interview.

5) Indicate how long the interview will take

The researcher sought the audience of the targeted respondents and informed them that a period of 30-50 minutes would be sufficient to complete the interview. This was necessary given that the respondents had busy schedules and many commitments. Interviews ranged from 30 minutes with some of the respondents to more than an hour with other respondents. Most of them responded positively to the questions. Some respondents postponed the interview session several times due to the tedious nature of their jobs.

6) Tell them how to get in touch with you later

Contact between the interviewer and interviewee is essential in any qualitative research because it allows respondents to remain in contact with the interviewer during and after the interview session. This offers ample opportunity to the researcher to learn of developing stories to ensure that he possess the most up-to-date information and is apprised of

current trends. Accordingly, telephone numbers and email addresses were exchanged to facilitate ease of communication.

7) Ask them if they have any questions before you start the interview

Before conducting the interview, it is important for the interviewer to politely inform the interviewees that they are free to ask questions relating to the topics under discussion. The researcher gave the respondents the opportunity to speak candidly with the interviewer in order to facilitate direct and unbiased answers on the topics of concern. This strategy was only partially successful.

8) Do not count on your memory to recall their answers

For more comprehensive and reliable interview results, the collected information was recorded using an MP3 recording device and written documents were used to support the survey data. While conducting the interviews only the voices of the respondents were recorded and notes were taken.

The interviews were geared towards answering the research questions which include exploring the causes, challenges, and failures of Yemen's exclusion from entering the GCC, in addition to suggesting strategies and drafting policies to address and solve the problems.

1.6.3.2 Thematic Analysis of Interviews

Gibson (2006) viewed thematic analysis as an approach dealing with data that involves the creation and application of codes to data. The data being analysed might take any number of forms; it can be an interview transcript, field notes, paper cutting, policy documents, photographs, or video footage. There is a clear link between this type of analysis and grounded theory, as the latter clearly lays out a framework for carrying out this type of code-related analysis. Similarly, many computer assisted qualitative data analysis packages were designed to facilitate in data gathering and thematic coding. The specialised computer software programs exist for qualitative data help to organise the data rather than interpret the data.

Thematic analysis can be used to represent a picture of reality through systematically sorting the text to identify topics that are well integrated into hierarchical order of themes through the analytical processes of de-contextualisation and re-contextualisation. The thematic analytical processes involves the initial preparation of data analysis, then reads the original text and identifies items that are of relevance through first reading the text and re-reading the text to annotate any text in the margin, sort relevant items into proto-themes, assess the pro-themes and try initial definitions, re-assess the text thoroughly and carefully for related incidents of data for each theme, arrange and construct the final form of

each theme, and finally report each theme as summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1.1 : Steps in the Thematic Analytical Process

S/N	Steps/Phase	Thematic Analytical Process
1.	Step One	Initial preparation for data analysis
2.	Step Two	Reading and re-reading of text to annotate any text in the margin
3.	Step Three	Sort relevant items into proto-themes
4.	Step Four	Assessing the proto-themes and try initial definition
5.	Step Five	Re-assessing the text thoroughly and carefully for related incidence of data for each proto-theme
6.	Step Six	Arrange and construct the final form of each theme
7.	Step Seven	Finally report on each theme

Source: Gibson (2006)

The above seven stages were strictly observed in this study. Interviews were conducted in order to provide answers to the research questions on the dynamics and challenges against Yemen's full inclusion into the GCC and their failure and addressing those problems in order to provide solutions to improve the integration process. Time, date, and venue were arranged by the researcher after contacting the targeted respondents involved in the Yemeni-GCC integration process.

1.6.3.3 Dynamics and Challenges behind Yemen's Failure to join the GCC

The recorded version of the interview was transcribed into themes for easy analysis on questions (1, 2, and 3) bordering on the dynamics and challenges of Yemen GCC full membership failure as shown in Table 4 below:

Table 1.2: Themes on Research Questions

S/N	Themes
1.	Causes of Exclusion
2.	Challenges and Failure Aspects
3.	Resolve Problems

1.7 Organisation of the research

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters to ensure its scientific flow as well as realistic analysis of the phenomena discussed herewith. The outline of the chapters are as follows:

Chapter Two: Literature review. In this chapter, the researcher reviews major works conducted in the field of regional integration in the Arabian Peninsula concentrating on Yemen's relations with GCC and the dynamics of its membership.

Chapter Three: Regional integration, dynamics and failures: a theoretical explanation. In this chapter, terminologies of integrations are discussed in depth with a focus on the two main theories of functionalism and neo-functionalism which are employed in the study.

Chapter Four: Yemen: nation-building efforts. In this chapter, the researcher discusses Yemen's historical background and developments that have affected the country's interactions with its regional neighbours.

Chapter Five: GCC, roots and possibility of southern expansion. This chapter reviews the formation of the GCC from its early establishment through to current times with a focus on its relations with Yemen.

Chapter Six: Findings, analysis, and discussions. This chapter contains the most important section of the study, where data concerning the causes of exclusion are identified, analysed, and discussed.

Chapter Seven: Findings, analysis, and discussions. This chapter contains the most important section of the study, where data concerning failure and challenges of membership are identified, collected, analysed, and discussed.

Chapter Eight: Findings, analysis, and discussions. This chapter contains the most important section of the study, where data concerning resolving the exclusion problems are identified collected, analysed, and discussed.

Chapter Nine: Yemen and GCC relations and foreign interaction after the Arab Spring. In this chapter, the study analyses the recent Arab uprisings and their impact on Yemeni-GCC relations.

Chapter Ten: Conclusions, recommendations and implications. This chapter summarises the dissertation and offers a several academic and procedural recommendations and implications to provide better options for decision makers and interested academia to help accelerate Yemen's integration into the GCC.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The history of the region illustrates the strong relations between Yemen and its neighbouring states with the Arabian Gulf. This chapter discusses the relations between the government of Yemen and its Gulf counterparts. We discuss the effects of British colonial rule on the states within the region and the pre independence struggle (Qubati, 2002). Following we examine developments within the early independence period in the sixties and seventies through to the establishment of Gulf Cooperation Council in the eighties. In addition, this chapter also reviews the literature that has been written regarding Yemen, the Arabian Peninsula, and GCC member states.

2.1 Major Literature on GCC-Yemen

Literature on Yemeni relations with the Gulf Cooperation Council and on Yemen's difficult path toward gaining GCC acceptance is relatively scarce.

Only a fraction of this body of literature deals with the issue of compliance required of Yemen for inclusion into the GCC. The problems Yemen faces are complex and diverse. We thus highlight the major works published on Yemeni-GCC relations, followed by a review of literature on the history, society, economy, and security of the region.

Suryahi (2008) published the *Analysis of the interaction between Yemen and GCC states*, which highlighted that political interaction between Yemen and the GCC. He established that Yemen's economy is largely dependent on the situation in neighbouring countries to the effect that a rise in tensions in the relationship between states within the region worsens the investment climate. This is so through obstacles in trade development strategies aimed at increasing exports and eliminating barriers imposed on free import of goods, to encourage the private sector and strengthen its position. The researcher argued that in order to boost its economy, the government should undergo massive restructuring in accordance with the requirements of the new import-export policy, and develop regulations necessary for promoting the internal and external trade infrastructure.

Hence, developing economic policies will improve Yemen's economic, social, political and cultural level of society. Complex economic problems must be solved in a deficit of its own financial and natural resources and the lack of links with the outside world. The past split of Yemen adversely affected the conduct of economic policy up until May 22, 1990. The constant

friction with Saudi Arabia (especially border disputes) has a negative effect on several investment areas.

Jalal's (1999), *Yemen's foreign policy towards its geographical neighbouring countries for the period from 1990 to 1997* studied the Yemen's foreign policy concerning the Gulf region. The author examined the impact of Yemen's position during the Second Gulf War, the foreign military presence, and security arrangements on regional ties. However, its analysis was limited and failed to clearly illustrate how those interactions affected the Yemeni-GCC relations.

Jalal analysed Yemen's policy-making process during three resolutions, the signing of the international border convention with Sultanate of Oman in 1992, the signing of a memorandum of understanding with Saudi Arabia in February 1995, and signing the Agreement of Principles with Eritrea in 1996. The study concluded that Yemeni policymakers are vulnerable to the impact of exogenous variables. The above policies are reactionary and are largely the result of internal, regional, and international pressures.

However, Jalal's study investigation was limited to the earlier mentioned resolutions and ended with 1996. Since then there have been many developments including the return of Yemen – Gulf relations and the signing of the international border treaty with Saudi Arabia in June 2000, both of

which have had significant positive impacts in developing Yemen's relations with its GCC counterparts.

Al-Agbari's (1995) *Yemen and Gulf Cooperation Council Countries* studied the factors leading to the establishment of the GCC. This was followed by a discussion of the strategic importance of the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf region as well as the GCC Council relations with the collapse of the Arabian regional system particularly after the two Gulf wars that changed the regional order after which external powers found a foothold in the region. The study also focused on the sources of security threats to the Arabian Gulf (Cooper & Taylor, 2003; Radman, 2008), and the strategic importance of Yemen's location for the Council states in addition to the political interactions between Yemen and GCC states during those times.

The study arrived at conclusions similar to those reached by Al-Hassan (2010), namely that there are several obstacles preventing Yemen's accession to the GCC. These are exemplified mainly in the absence of trust between the two sides as well as the short sighted Yemeni foreign policy in influencing elites and decision makers in the GCC states to increase integration efforts despite the availability of many integration factors between Yemen and its Gulf counterparts. However, Yemen's failure to be accepted into the GCC is not solely the result of a short sighted Yemeni foreign policy. We take it upon ourselves in this study to explore other possible factors for this failure.

Apart from Al-Gabri, Yaseen Saeed No'Man (2002), Yemen's former parliament speaker and current Yemeni socialist party general secretary study titled *Bases determining the relations between Yemen and the Gulf Cooperation Council countries* defined the permanent foundations governing the regional relations between both Yemen and GCC members toward realising Yemen's full inclusion into the GCC. After an elaborate investigation, the researcher concluded that Yemeni-GCC relations have to be established on mutual interests where both sides can benefit from each other and increase the presence of political will in governments through expanding collaboration and concentration on the agreed points as well as avoiding fields that might hinder further understandings. He added that the heavy burden and responsibility should be carried by Yemen as a country desiring inclusion to the GCC through solving its internal problems.

This study highlighted broad milestones for Yemeni Gulf relations without looking at the collective responsibility on both sides and their duties of establishing a regional system that is beneficial for all its members. Additionally, the study did not provide a detailed and accurate integration points and limited itself to presenting general ideas in regard to Yemen-GCC relations.

Besides, another pivotal work titled *Gulf cooperation Council and Yemen: opportunities and requirements* authored by Al-Dalaey and Taleb (2003)

aimed at clarifying many issues related to Yemen's relation with the GCC such as the circumstances for the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the causes constraining Yemen's accession into the organisation at the time of formation, GCC success and failure stories, in addition to the rational motives of Yemen's inclusion to some of the GCC authorities. The book also discussed the importance of Yemen's inclusion in the organisation. Nevertheless, the authors neglected to mention the mutual benefits that could be obtained by both sides from Yemen's acceptance into the GCC. Furthermore, the arguments that were presented were similar to those previously offered by (Almaitamy, 2002) who debated the regional and international impacts on the GCC.

Finally, the study looked into the process of normalising Yemeni-GCC relations by examining Yemen's departure from its regional isolation following the second Gulf war, as stated by (Alshibany, 2002) in another study. The normalisation of relations successfully resulted in signing of border treaties with Oman in 1992 and the memo of understanding with Saudi Arabia in 1995 which paved the way for the Yemeni-Saudi international border treaty signed in Jeddah in 2000. Signing the treaty made a final settlement of the 66 years of conflict between the two countries. Following this, Yemen resolved its disagreement with Kuwait. These were welcomed and necessary developments given that bilateral relations were considerably affected by Yemen's position in the second Gulf crisis.

On the other hand, the book lacks a systematic and scientific methodology in its discussions. For example, the study did not provide hypotheses and questions to answer and omitted several other elements which greatly affected Yemen's accession failure. Yemen's failure to comply with the GCC requirements cannot be separated and dealt with independently. According to integration theories, failing in certain aspects will lead to a failure in other aspects. Therefore, such subsequent failures must have their negative impacts on slowing Yemen's integration process as a whole.

Moreover, the author did not clearly state the problem that he intended to study, covered only those events that occurred before 2002, omitted the role of Yemeni political elites in the integration process, and did not specifically define the reasons for Yemen's accession failure, whether its related to the GCC establishment circumstances itself or related to Yemen's relations with GCC members that caused a delay in Yemen's inclusion. In addition, the study is based on a weak methodological approach and solely depended only on official statements whilst neglecting other sources such as books, newspapers, and journals.

2.1.1 Historical Factors

Regarding the history of the GCC relations with Yemen, a study entitled *The Relations Between Yemen And GCC Prior To Yemen's Official Membership Request* by Al-Sagaf (2002) discussed the relations between Yemen and

GCC countries during eras prior to Yemen's official application for membership. The study discussed reasons of marginalising Yemen, aid developments from the GCC to Yemen, and examined settling border disputes in order to normalise relations between both sides. During this period, Yemen was engaged in disputes with Saudi Arabia on one side and Oman from the other, which lasted decades and was cause of much tension. This was a major factor in Yemen's limiting its interactions with neighbouring countries.

Moreover, the study deals with the relationship between divided Yemen and the GCC as the relations were established when Yemen was yet divided into two states (Yemen Democratic Republic and Yemen People Republic). Additionally, the study discussed the reasons for excluding divided Yemen from participating in the joint GCC activities. Such reasons included the standpoint of Saudi Arabia, the relationship of Southern Yemen with one of the two international fighting poles over the Gulf, and the ideological and military conflict of the two Yemeni states. The study also examined the impact of the GCC development aid that played a role in shaping the relationship between the two sides. GCC's yearly reports did not refer to the possibility of Yemen's membership in spite of development aid provided.

Similar to (Yahya, 2003), the author addressed the relationship between unified Yemen and the GCC. He refers to the so-called swapped revenge policy between unified Yemen and GCC countries, which led to a state of

dissatisfaction between the two sides. The reason is that GCC countries excluded Yemen during the preparation and establishment phase of the GCC.

The Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) considered this stance provoking. The second phase was marked by unification. Due to Yemen's position towards the second Gulf war crisis, the GCC reversibly reacted by supporting separation attempt in Yemen in 1994. The study examined Yemen's attempt to break the imposed isolation. However, the study adopted a historical descriptive style rather than the analytic and read more like a novel retelling historical events without an in depth examination of the circumstances that governed Yemen's relations with Gulf countries.

From a historical point of view, there have been other historical events the could have affected Yemen's GCC integration but were not covered by this study, such as the background build up to the second Gulf war, which doubtless significantly affected Yemen's integration into the GCC.

Fakeera's (2002) study entitled *Yemen and the GCC, from establishment to gradual approach* focuses on Yemen's stand on security within the Gulf region before the establishment of the GCC. It explained Yemeni views of Arab Gulf security pointing out the strategic importance of Yemen's location within the Arab Peninsula. According to the study, Yemeni views of Gulf

security are manifested through Yemen's national identity which views Gulf security as part of the Arab Peninsula and Arab security. Yemen also views that Gulf security is a common responsibility of Gulf countries and a collective Arab responsibility. Hence, Yemen objects to foreign military presence in the region.

Moreover, the study examined the historic presentation of security formulations prior to the establishment of the GCC showing a series of initiatives including the Damam conference in 1974, as well as the Muscat first and second conferences 1976 and 1977 respectively, the Tayef conference in 1979, and Bagdad nation declaration in 1980. The study reviewed the regional and international conditions when the GCC was established. The internal conflict broke out in southern Yemen by 1986. In addition, the US dominance in the region was undermined mainly because of the Islamic revolution in Iran that played a partial role in establishing the GCC itself according to some analysts (Kechichian, 1985; Jawhar, 1997; Ayoob, 1999).

The author looked into the relationship between the GCC and Yemen since the establishment until the request for accession, reviewing Yemen's stance and its understanding of the GCC establishment. Yemen has adopted a "wait and see" policy when GCC was established. However, Yemen's stance changed after 1982 when the political circumstances showed absolute approval. Furthermore, the relationship between unified Yemen and GCC

countries witnessed remarkable tension in 1991-1994. However, this period was followed by a gradual strengthening of ties after 1995. In the Doha summit in 1996, Yemen presented its official request to access the GCC. However, the summit's final report did not refer to Yemen's request.

After signing the Yemeni-Saudi border treaty in 2000, Yemen-Saudi relations began to develop and Yemen's relations with other Gulf States had also developed. The Muscat summit in 2001 admitted Yemen to some GCC bodies and committees (Almuayid, 2002). The study concluded by referring to the benefits and obligations resulting from Yemen-GCC ties. The author affirmed the regional and national gains resulting from the gradual accession, including defence and security integration, strengthening Arab security and enhancing Arab political, economic, and security integration. The study asserted the burdens on GCC and Yemen as a result of the accession process.

However, the study did not mention the impact of the ideological backgrounds of the two Yemen regimes where the southern part adopted the Marxist ideology that had a huge negative impact on determining Yemen's GCC relations during those times as it was considered the enemy of GCC countries and adopted a hostile foreign policy towards its neighbouring states. In addition, the study fell short in terms of theoretical approach. To remedy this, the current study addresses the events that were not covered by the aforementioned study such as Sada (the northern Yemeni governorate)

war during the period between 2004-2010 (Sachsen-Anhalt, 2008), and the recent Yemeni youth uprising in Yemen that caused a dramatic change in local and regional scenes which had its major impacts on Yemen's-GCC relations and prospects of integration.

2.1.2 Socioeconomics Factors

In the area of socioeconomics, Al-Fosail's (2002) *The Economic Dimension of Yemen's Accession to the GCC: possible economic cooperation and future prospects* discussed economic integration amongst GCC states, possible economic cooperation between Yemen and GCC members, and the importance of highlighted economic integration and future prospects.

The study investigated the importance of economic cooperation between Yemen and GCC which lead to enforcing and widening trade, organising Yemeni employment, setting up joint investment and security projects, as well as political cooperation. In addition, it explored the future prospects of Yemeni-GCC relations that depend on foreign and internal policies and trends. Saudi policies in particular dominate the GCC countries especially after the United States events of September 2001 thereafter the Yemen-US strengthened ties. A further point investigated in this regard is the strength and consistency of Yemeni political system and its capacity to create a favourable local environment utilising the best available potentials.

The study concluded that commercial and economic integration was one of the most important objectives behind the establishment of the GCC. It considered the impact of globalisation and stressed on the necessity of economic unity (Al-Fosail, 2009). Moreover, the study reached the point that possible economic relations and reinforcement of partnership between Yemen and GCC in addition to development and progress of economic ties have multiple requirements. The main requirement is political management that boosts economic cooperation towards tangible economic integration in the future and defines fixed timeframes within which targets should be achieved. Economic ties must not be confined to financial and economic aid but rather be broader in terms of setting up joint investment projects. However, the study provided general explanations of the economic cooperation between Yemen and GCC and lacked a statistical analysis of the economic activities between the two sides. Furthermore, it did not mention the integration failure aspects. In contrast, our study critically investigates the economic dimension and explores its essential role in preventing Yemen's integration and how to develop solutions for achieving Yemen's GCC accession.

Many economic reasons have been given for Yemen's failure to be accepted in the GCC. Those highlighted by (Al-Hassan, 2010) include the high rate of unemployment facing the Yemeni economy (Dystrymo, 2002), the absence of effective governmental plans to eradicate poverty, and the spread of

corruption. In contrast, (Fakeera, 2004) asserted that economic improvement is a work in progress and it's a great mission requiring the support from GCC member states which will lead to the disappearance of reasons mentioned by Al-Hassan. In a related work Al-Ga'aly (2004) and Al-Fosail (2009) pointed out that the economic factor in determining Yemen's GCC fate cannot be separated from other aspects such as political and security. Thus, research needs to cover the essential issues that have to be addressed in order to achieve Yemen's inclusion into the Gulf system. Yahya (2003) submitted that the political/economic landscape of Yemen's democratisation process is not promising for durable peace because the politics of the so-called general congress party is liberal driven and not people driven like other joint-meeting parties. This means that the foundations of its political system are based on shaky grounds.

2.1.3 Security Factors

Separate from the socioeconomic aspects, Al-Sabri (2002) conducted a study titled *The security dimension of Yemen's accession to the GCC* wherein he argued the concepts and dimensions of the security of the Gulf countries. The author remarked that countries perceive their security through a series of factors referred to as "country capacity". He argued that the term differs in essence from the term power. The 1980s witnessed critical developments for the status of security in the Gulf countries. The most important of these developments are the downfall of Iran's Shah regime (Yeganeh, 1985), and the emergence of the internal tensions in Yemen that

threatened the stability of the GCC states. The study asserted that the Yemeni position toward the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait marked a new phase of Gulf security, where the Gulf States fell under the control of the US peace umbrella. At this stage, the author demonstrated that the most critical and dangerous crisis jeopardising the Gulf security during the 1990s is the US military presence, foreign assurances, and blowing up threats facing the GCC to get economic and political gains to compensate for the US military spending deficiency following the end of the Cold War (Almutawakil, 2002). This issue comes in association with the weak military capacity of the Gulf States.

The study also examined security relations between Yemen and GCC wherein the GCC neglected Yemen's position for five years from 1995 to 2002. In 2000, Yemen was viewed as being positively capable of discussing security issues. This change is a consequence of the important developments between the Yemen US and a result of Yemen's scheme to set up and improve military and security relations. The study concluded by analysing the impact of September 2001 events on the future of security in Yemeni-GCC relations. The study stated that governments in the region lost control as an active part of partnership to define contents of security files. They are no longer capable to resist the negative consequences, especially after the progress of the US war on the so-called terrorism and its intervention in the GCC states and Yemeni internal affairs.

Though, the study examined the security aspect until 2002, where several events took place, after that date the security formulations locally and in the region changes to focus on the Shi'a rebels in the northern part of Yemen as well as instability caused by Shi'as in Bahrain which is a GCC member state. These developments increased separation demands by Yemen's south ending with the current revolution in Yemen which has had huge impacts on determining the security order internally and regionally. Such events are of great importance and could not be avoided in discussing Yemen's integration patterns. These issues are worth investigating to explore whether they contribute to Yemen's failure to obtain GCC membership as they are vital in determining Yemen's GCC destiny.

Focusing on the security dimension and the threat caused by Al-Qaida to escape Yemen's inclusion demand is not justified while (Al-Ga'aly, 2004) asserted that the Al-Qaida problem is part of bigger matters burdening Yemen. Such challenges resulted from the high rates of unemployment among youth that reached 35% while the unemployment rates in the GCC states is 15% (Forstenlechner & Rutledge, 2010). It was further fostered by the lack of development programs to address the people's needs. Such government misbehaviour towards the public made the Al-Qaida and other matters more complex. Introducing programs to eradicate poverty and create jobs will help solving most of the challenges constraining Yemen from moving forward towards its rightful acceptance in the regional system (Al-Motairy, 1993).

Generally, most of the studies were conducted prior to the year 2002 and their theoretical contributions in the area are limited. Several events of great importance to the topic occurred after 2002 and have not been addressed in previous studies such as the Iraq invasion and its impact on Yemen's regional relations with GCC members which changed the security and political order in the region in addition to Yemen's internal changes as exemplified in the Shi'a rebels in the extreme north of Yemen, escalated separation demands in southern parts of Yemen, Al-Qaida terrorist threats in Yemen and other parts in Arabia, and the dramatic change caused by the youth revolution. In addition, there are other several aspects of great importance that contribute to the topic that have not been explored in the previous studies such as political, leadership, and cultural aspects. Studying them will exemplify a turning point in discovering Yemen's integration failure patterns.

These aspects and issues have had a great impact on Yemen's GCC destiny and are worth studying and could not be separated from each other. Failing to cooperate and integrate in one aspect will hinder cooperation and integration in other fields and vice versa. Finally, the previous literature was determined to investigate Yemen-GCC relations in general with a focus on the relations between Yemen and GCC and their development patterns. They did not examine the reasons for Yemen's failure from achieving GCC

membership. Accordingly, the main contention of this research is to examine Yemen's integration failure.

Mahyoub (2008) conducted a study titled *The Dimensions of the Yemeni Role in Achieving Security and Stability in the Gulf 1990 -2004* which explored Yemen's security vision for the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula region. The study affirmed that there are elements pushing Yemen to contribute toward achieving security and stability in the Gulf region. Yemen's contribution to stability was through the settlement of its border disputes with neighbouring countries. The study also examined the events of September 11, 2001 and its impact on developing Yemen's security relations with Gulf States and the United States. The study concluded that Yemen has a special interest in the security of the Gulf region since the seventies, and played a significant role in the Iranian-Iraqi war. Yemen's attempt towards repairing its relations with its Gulf counterparts after the Gulf crisis was confined to the hopes and aspirations. Its attempts resulted in resuming its diplomatic relations with almost all GCC members. Additionally, the weakness of Yemen prompted decision makers to deal flexibly with Gulf issues and made Yemeni leadership decisive in making some decisions and political solutions for important issues such as border disputes.

Nasser (2006) conducted a study titled *Employment of Yemen's foreign policy in the management of internal separation crisis 1993-1994* wherein he dealt with the subject of the utilisation of the Yemeni foreign policy in the

management of the Separation (Crisis, 1993-1994) as the Separation Crisis had a great impact on the political, social, and economical spheres. Although the political crisis in Yemen (1993-1994) is internal, there were international factors and interests affecting it, and helped its escalation and complicated it and threatened the country's unity by partition and division. Therefore, the political leadership utilised all its diplomatic and political potential to solve this crisis, which led to preventing the international and regional countries from recognising the separatist's state in the south. The study concludes with the affirmation of local and regional dimensions which contributed to the crisis.

Yemeni-Saudi relations during the period 1990-2000 by Hussein (2004) discussed the important factors determining the relationship between Yemen and Saudi Arabia, as well as the influence of these factors on the nature and extent of these relationships. It was clear from the study that the national interests of both countries dominated their bilateral relations. Besides, geopolitical factors have led to direct mutual interest between them to monitor the internal situation in both countries, and to intervene for their own interests, such as Saudi Arabia's intervention in Yemen to support the collapsing pro-monarchy regime in Yemen in 1962 against the revolutionists.

Al-Mqubla (2003) conducted a study with the title *Economic Reforms and Its Impact on Foreign Trade in the Republic of Yemen During The Period 1990-2001* which examined the impact of the economic reforms on the Yemeni foreign trade sector through addressing the reality of foreign trade of Yemen

during the 1990-1994 periods. The study also dealt with the reality of foreign trade under the economic reforms during the 1995-2001 periods. However, the study did not address the nature of the economic crisis faced by the state during the Yemeni civil war which negatively affected the economic reforms and minimised Yemen's share of foreign trade.

Yemen and The GCC: A Study of Political and Security Strategies by Abdul-Malik (1999) examined the relationship between Yemen and GCC countries with a clear focus on relations between Yemen and Saudi Arabia. The study discussed border disputes between Yemen and Saudi Arabia as well as Oman and how they were settled. Moreover, the study focused on the issues of Gulf security demographically, economically, and militarily, in an attempt to highlight Yemen's position. The researcher tried hard to emphasise many of the developments on Yemen's internal affairs which could help push towards Yemen's full integration into the GCC.

Taleb (1993) in his study *The Situation of the Yemeni Border with Oman and Saudi Arabia* deals with Yemeni border problem with Oman and negotiations occurred before the Yemeni unity as well as the development of negotiations between the two sides after Yemen's unification until the signing of the convention in the first of October 1992. It also dealt with Yemeni-Saudi border issues; as such issues have been the cause for complicating relations.

Asbahi (1996) authored a study titled *Views of the Red Sea and Yemen Eritrean Conflict* which described the geography of the Red Sea, and the importance of the southern entrance of the Red Sea. It gave a historical overview of all the peoples who inhabited the Horn of Africa. The study also addressed the relations between Yemen and Eritrea, and how it helped Yemen and Eritrea in obtaining their independence. It also addressed grounds of legal and historical rights of Yemen in the Hanish Islands which were occupied by Eritrea in the nineties and then returned to Yemen through international arbitration. The study concluded by exploring national security in the Arabian Red Sea and its impact on Yemeni-Saudi relations, where both countries share the same regional waters in the red sea.

Faqeerah's (1998) *Yemen's Foreign Policy Decision Making Process Towards Geographically Neighbouring Countries* found that the decision making process in Yemeni foreign policy is determined by external variables that influence the decisions of the country which consequently led to the adoption of peaceful methods on accepting bilateral, or mutual agreement through the approval of international regulations in order to resolve border issues peacefully.

Ismail's (2000) *Yemen diplomacy during the period 1990-1998* examined the foreign policy of Yemen throughout the nineties. The researcher studied Yemen's diplomacy during the nineties and used the diplomatic tools approach in examining Yemeni foreign policy. Such an approach is

considered the best way to deal with events in a manner to avoid going to war with other countries. The study has benefited the researcher in understanding the diplomatic means and the path that Yemen had taken during the Gulf War II which is significant for analysing today's GCC states position towards Yemen's inclusion into the organisation.

Agabat's (2006) *Foreign Policy Issues In Yemeni Political Parties Agendas 1990-1999* discussed the political parties views of the general congress party which ruled the country since the eighties till 2011 where the opposition parties mainly (joint meeting parties) shared the power according to the Gulf initiative² governing the political process in the country. The study covered the political parties' views towards the foreign affairs of the Yemeni state in the nineties, such as the Second Gulf War, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Yemen's border disputes with neighbouring countries (KSA, and Oman). However, several and prominent changes have taken place after the study was conducted necessitating a review of the political order according to the new facts and changes, which affects Yemen's regional destiny.

Yemeni foreign policy toward the Persian Gulf 1990-1999 by Jalal (1999) addressed the foreign policy of Yemen concerning the Gulf region, which showed the position of Yemen and its interactions in the region such as the Second Gulf War, the foreign military presence, and security arrangements. Nonetheless, the study fell short in its reflection on those events that defined

² A copy of GCC Initiative is attached in the Appendix

Yemeni- GCC relations and had a clear effect on Yemen's foreign policy (Jalal, 1999).

Faqih's (1995) *Yemen Foreign Policy towards the issues of the Horn of Africa 1990-1999* dealt with the foreign policy of Yemen towards the issues of the Horn of Africa in Somalia, Djibouti, the Ethiopian – the Eritrean conflict, given that the regional interactions affect Yemeni foreign policy. The study found that Yemen's foreign policy could not achieve its objectives due to Yemen's internal, regional, and international pressure, poor economic opportunities, which undermines its opportunities to play a bigger role in the region. Moreover, the study also examined border disputes between Yemen and Saudi Arabia as well as Oman where it discussed Yemen's position towards these issues. Hence, developing Yemen's relations with other neighbouring countries will help pushing towards greater acceptance in the Gulf club as stability and good relations between countries plays a positive role in developing a country's relations with other states or groupings.

Yemen and the GCC by Al-Ghabri (1995) examined the origins of the GCC and reasons behind its establishment as well as the strategic importance of the Arabian Gulf with the collapse of the Arab regional order. The study focused on the sources of security threats to the Gulf countries and the importance for Yemen's admission to the Council. The study also touched on the political relations between Yemen and the GCC states. The study's relevance to this research is that it reached the conclusion that the existence

of dilemmas in the GCC for Yemen's accession to the GCC is caused by the lack of trust between Yemen and the GCC countries. Additionally, the inadequacy in the Yemeni foreign policy in influencing the decision-makers and the elite in the GCC countries, and many factors between Yemen and the GCC countries could be regarded as the partial cause of the rejection of Yemen's membership thus far.

Al-Dhalaa & Taleb's (2003) *The GCC and Yemen: Opportunities And Requirements* explained the emergence of the GCC and the background of Yemen's accession to the Council. They also investigated the successes and failures of the Council, in addition to the objectives and reasons to include Yemen to some of the Council's institutions. The book explored Yemen's accession importance without addressing the mutual benefits between Yemen and the GCC countries from this accession. Similarly, the book addressed the regional and international influences on the GCC and put forward a future vision for possible Arab gatherings. The research is rich with information and statements, but it has positioned the information and data in a sequence void of a scientific methodology and analysis. This research takes advantage of the data and attempts to interpret them scientifically and academically.

YCASS (2003) examined Yemeni-GCC relations within the period after Yemen's submission of the application for membership to GCC in the Oman summit. The colloquium discussed economic, cultural, and security

dimensions between Yemen and the GCC countries. The author claimed that relations have been distinct between the two sides. However, his confirmation lacks statistics and data to support his arguments especially on the economic dimension. Another lack was the omission of the political factors in determining the relations. Generally, the researcher found previous studies discussed the issue in its minor parts and differed from each other in terms of time and methods of treatment in terms of the nature of political, economic, and security interactions between Yemen and the GCC. Exploring similarities as well as difference between Yemen and the GCC states as agents of repulsion or attraction is a paramount task to analyse Yemen's GCC acceptance destiny.

Yemen enjoys a unique geopolitical placement in the Middle East. Nevertheless, Yemen is the only nation from the Arabian Peninsula that is not a member of the GCC, though its admission has been considered for a variety of reasons. A main reason for its admission is that of security. Gulf security has been associated with Yemeni security since the early days of the GCC. In 1983, the first Secretary General of the GCC, Abdullah Bishara, made the following statement, "Gulf security and the security of Yemen cannot be separated because the north and south Yemen are natural extensions of the Gulf and we are one people and that whatever the political opinions are, in the end, the logic of brotherhood and the logic of common interest will impose them" (Al-Fahidi, 2003). This statement confirms the first Secretary General's view of the security of the entire Gulf region from a strategic point of view in terms of the relationship between the GCC and

Yemen, and yet more than two decades later, Yemen is still not a part of the GCC.

2.1.4 Yemen's Stages of inclusion

In its striving to fully join the Gulf Cooperation Council for the Arab Gulf States, Yemen has achieved several but limited successes exemplified in being a member in some of the GCC technical bodies. Herewith, a summary of Yemen's major steps toward obtaining a partial membership of the Gulf Club. The following chronological events revealed Yemen's inclusion stages throughout GCC history since its establishment.

- On May 26, 1981, an agreement was signed between the six monarchies of the Gulf (Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman and Qatar) to coordinate their economic, political, and cultural and security policy, thus creating the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, better known by its acronym GCC.
- Yemen has sought entry to the GCC since 1996 (it's officially candidate since December 1999), but while Oman and Qatar sponsored its application, Saudi Arabia vetoed it. The main obstacle to its membership is still the difference between Yemen and the GCC members' political and economic systems.

- Yemen's relations with the GCC countries improved considerably since 2002. In January of that year Yemen was accepted to partially join GCC affiliated non-political bodies and agencies (the Arab Education Bureau, Health Ministers' Council, Labour and Social Affairs Ministers' Council, and the Gulf Cup tournament) as a first step towards full accession to the GCC.
- In October 2002, Yemen and the GCC signed the protocol defining the relations between the two sides, considered to be the first step towards Yemen's complete joining the GCC.
- In December 2008, the GCC approved Yemen's accession to the GCC Standardization Authority, Gulf Organisation for Industrial Consulting (GOIC), GCC Auditing and Accounting Authority, Gulf Radio and TV Authority.

2.1.5 Literature reevaluation

The literature that has been reviewed above is divided qualitatively into two main categories. The first is Arabic originated references and the second is English references. The differences of origins shortened the contribution of the previous studies in participating to answer this study's questions and achieve its main objectives. This study was lacking a literature that provides a focus to guide the researcher throughout his research process as it's

clearly shown that most of the previous studies have discussed the topic within the main stream of the Yemeni-Gulf relations but all have fallen short in one way or another. This topic tried to answer specific questions and explore an obvious problem clearly set out in the problem statement section unlike other studies reviewed during chapter two where none of them stated Yemen's failures to join the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Therefore, this topic has taken the burden to discuss the matter of Yemen's exclusion from all its possible aspects either political, socioeconomic, security, history, and more importantly it considers the local, national, regional, and international factors in discovering Yemen's failure to join the GCC which no previous study attempted. Finally, the literature has much to say on the prospects and progress of Yemen-GCC integration processes, and such analyses are necessary but not sufficient explanations for a case as unique and complex as the GCC. Primarily, there has not been enough focus on the national and sub-national level, and on the economic and political structure of the individual GCC member states. The literature leaves out several key hindrances to integration that is analysed in the next chapters.

2.2 Summary

This study would not have been able to meet its desired shape without benefitting from previously published material in order to obtain a clear

picture concerning the topic and providing a milestone for this thesis. Thus, the above chapter has discussed and reviewed the extant literature written in regard to Yemen's relations with the GCC focusing on the main dimensions that determining Yemen's full integration into the GCC be they political, security, historical, and/or socioeconomic factors.

CHAPTER THREE

REGIONAL INTEGRATION, DYNAMICS AND FAILURES: THEORETICAL EXPLANATION

3.0 Introduction

Yemen's relations with the GCC member states and its aspirations to join the regional organisation are obvious. However, explaining such an important topic requires an investigation of the backgrounds of the integration and then narrowing it to the regional integration as well as providing explanations in order to better understand the regional integration process in the Arabian Gulf region for the sake of analysing Yemen's dynamics and failures to join the GCC.

3.1 Terminologies: Region, Regional Integration and Regionalism

It is necessary to define three key concepts: region, integration, and regionalism for better understanding Yemen's hindered journey toward full membership in the regional grouping of the GCC. The concept of region is elusive. Since World War II, some regions have been defined not only by geographical terms, but also by the increasing regional institutions, economic

linkages, cultures, and regional policy entrepreneurs as catalysts for changes. Mohammed (2011) argued that geographical proximity creates more chances of linking countries together and forming a region. However, it is no longer the only defining factor as advanced transportation and communication technologies are developed and diverse economic, social and political linkages.

In the post-war era, the linkages constructed by security arrangements emerged such as those within the ASEAN in the 1960s and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). However, as a result of diminishing security threats and the attraction of economic interests, economic linkages became more important over time. Most of the regional policies, mechanisms and institutions have been to facilitate increasing economic linkages. Between the 1960s and 1990s, regions in the politico-economic sense emerged in the form of free trade areas, customs unions, and common markets, involving countries that are geographically close to one another, such as those in East Asia, West Europe, and Africa.

As a result, those newly formed regions not only develop closer economic relationships but also make political arrangements as technical agreements and coordination leads to political cooperation, but the economic interests are the way towards and the driving force for political arrangements. Joseph Nye (1971) provided a minimum classical definition for the concept of region that

“a limited number of states linked together by a geographical relationship and by a degree of mutual interdependence” (Soderbaum, 2009).

Besides the economic and political linkages and institutions, a region may also be defined by similar cultures (languages, religions, etc.), levels of economic development, political systems, and geographical lines. Regional identity gets clearer when the linkages and the level of homogeneity in those aspects increase. Homogeneity in those elements might facilitate the integration and harmonization of policies.

However, they are not necessary for defining and integrating a region. For example, few of the EU's member states are culturally homogeneous and there is no such thing as a European race. Besides, residents of the EU speak more than forty languages, which are defended as symbols of national identity and act as “a constant reminder of the differences among Europeans”, unlike Yemen and its GCC counterparts where they are similar in almost all those aspects. Further, Europe could not be divided properly by the Urals, the conventional geographical line, considering that they are deep in the heart of Russia which has been excluded from the integration process of Europe (McCormick, 2005).

In this thesis, we define a region according to Clive Archer's (1992) citation of Karl Kaiser whereby a subsystem is “a partial international system whose members exist in geographical propinquity” and have “a particular degree of

regularity and intensity of relations as well as awareness of interdependence” (Archer, 1992). Such intensity of relations is proven in the case of Yemen through the deep cooperation in organising the internal affairs of both sides. The apparent example is the GCC initiative for power transition in Yemen that reflects the interdependence of each other in confronting the challenges facing them either internally such as Shi’a threats or externally as Iran.

Interdependence may be induced by their geographic locations, common national interests, common economic, social and political policies, and the transactions and linkages among the people. As the intensity of linkages among states may vary, different groups of countries may have different levels of solidarity or common identity. Therefore, the occurrence and evolution of a regional identity is a multi-dimensional and multi-level phenomenon (Caporaso, 2005). The cultural, social and ethnic bonds as forms of interdependence are undeniable. However, based on the fact that the main forms of interdependence are security and economic arrangements, this research concentrates on regional organisations and regional economic frameworks, or security complexes/communities (Soderbaum, 2009).

“Regional Integration” has more than one definition. Some definitions are derived from the European experience of integration which is proven to be a clear example of cooperation, and are therefore not as relevant as in other regions. Roy Ginsberg (2007) defined “integration” as “interstate reconciliation”, a process by which several states, (which might have been)

previously engaged in conflict (political, military or economic), engage with one another in order to come to terms with the past, work through differences, negotiate and make amends and restitutions as needed, and agree to establish a new relationship based on structural (institutionalized) peace and mutual respect (Ginsberg, 2007), his definition describes the process towards the Franco-Germany partnership and the establishment of the ECSC.

Hass (1958) defined political integration as the process whereby political actors are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end of a process of political integration is a new political community (Haas, 1958). His definition focuses on the political institutions and supranational developments which are present in Europe rather than Asia and Africa.

In this definition, independent states may eventually join into a federation, which is defined as an institutional arrangement involving two or more levels of government, with a formal division of authority specifying the powers and sources of revenue. Both levels of governments act directly in some ways on the citizens. An alternative to federation is confederation, defined as an institutional arrangement where a group of sovereign entities form a common government for limited purposes. The common government has no independent sovereignty and does not act directly on citizens. The EU is a

mixture of federation and confederation, but not fully one or the other (Siaroff, 2009).

Federalism is the original and persistent driving force of federation. The role of federalism in European integration was established during 1930s and 1940s, but it was underestimated by British political elites and in the defeat of some supranational projects. The most famous federalist document was the Ventotene Manifesto of 1941 written by Italian federalists led by Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi. Spinelli was instrumental in channelling Italian government's support toward a federal solution for the European Political Community. His strategy was democratic radicalism, stressing the major role of a parliamentary assembly in drafting a new treaty for Europe. This became known as the constitutional method, whereby the assembly shall serve to mobilize a dynamic European public opinion to establish a popular European federation (Burgess, 2004).

Another strand of federalism, according to Michael Burgess was advocated by Jean Monnet. He believed the political strategy of small, concrete, economic steps would culminate in a federal Europe. The latter became known as neofunctionalism. In this research, Spinelli's strategy is referred to as "federalism", while the other strand is called neofunctionalism. The ideas about federalism are also Eurocentric. The forming of a federation either in Spinelli's or Monnet's approach is not discussed widely in Asia and Africa.

There are also some non-Eurocentric definitions. The literature of East Asian integration has mostly ignored theory building, but Shaun (Breslin, 2007) concluded that the New Regionalism is a new framework to analyse non-European cases and add to literatures on European case. He indicated that this approach has much in common with earlier theories and approaches, such as liberal institutionalism and Walter Mattili's neo-functionalism developed in the 1990s (Breslin, 2007). As (Breslin, 2007) concluded, the main contention of the New Regionalism is the relationship between regionalism and regionalisation. Regionalism as the form refers to formalized regions with officially agreed membership and boundaries as a result of intergovernmental dialogues and treaties.

Regionalisation refers to the process by which societies and economies become integrated, not only in the economic sphere. The process of regionalisation fills the region with substance such as economic interdependence, institutional ties, political trust, and cultural belonging, which promote the emergence of regionalism (Breslin, 2007). Soderbaum (2009) provided a similar definition, regionalism represents a state-centred activity which usually leads to institution building and formal policies; regionalisation refers to a society-centred process which leads to the concentration of activity of trade, people, ideas and even conflicts (Soderbaum, 2009).

The literature on African integration generally lay importance on historical facts and practical problems, and has not produced a major theoretical literature. While Asian regionalism is occasionally used by some scholars as a proto-approach to East Asian integration, Pan-Africanism is less a theoretical approach than a practical project for the colonized and underdeveloped countries. It represents a regionalism process aiming at continental unity. It is different from federalism. African countries have not agreed on the final objective of Pan-Africanism. The goals in the current stage are to maintain independence and stability, to set up an economic and monetary union, and to make a common defence policy. Whether the AU will develop into a federation is uncertain. The regionalism process is happening mainly within the regional economic communities (RECs).

Based on the above definitions, this research defines “regional integration” as a multi-dimensional, multi-level and multi-stage process leading to the intensification of inter-state links, the increase of regional arrangements, and the formation and evolvement of a region. It may be brought about by force, the need for security in the face of a common external threat, common values and goals, and the desire to promote peace and improve their quality of life more quickly by working together (McCormick, 2005).

It may also be pushed by the globalisation of economic activity, the production and marketing of goods and services (Coleman & Underhill, 2002) and efforts to adapt to globalisation. It includes both informal and formal

reconciliation among states (national and sub-national governments), government officials, and private actors in developing institutions, policies, day-by-day coordination, and cooperation in various issues which may differ from region to region. As a multi-level process, it could be top-down negotiations among states leading to formal projects, and could be bottom-up processes originating from economies and societies leading to increasing interdependence. In theory, a complete process of regional integration is a continuum from regionalisation, to regionalism, and eventually to federalism.

The majority of studies in the field of political science continue to focus on the policies of formal and largely state-led regionalism as opposed to the processes of regionalisation (Soderbaum, 2009), although regionalisation is one of the forces that may lead to regionalism. In as much as “coming-together” federal integration or political union has not occurred in the post-war world (as opposed to earlier eras), it will be beyond the scope of this analysis. In between the two ends of the spectrum, there are several stages of regionalism.

Joseph Nye (1968) indicated that integration can be broken down into economic integration leading to the formation of a transnational economy, social integration leading to the formation of a transnational society, and political integration leading to the formation of transnational political interdependence (Nye, 1968). This research lays importance on economic integration and sometimes refers to political integration. Bela Balassa (1961)

defined a free trade area as a region where tariffs and quantitative restrictions between the participating countries are abolished, but each member retains its own tariffs against non-members. Establishing a customs union involves suppression of discrimination and the equalization of tariffs in trade with non-member countries. A higher form, a common market, requires that both trade restrictions and restrictions on factor movements are abolished.

An economic union combines the suppression of restrictions on commodity and factor movements with some degree of harmonization of national economic policies. Balassa's final stage of total economic integration presupposes the unification of monetary, fiscal, social, and counter-cyclical policies, and requires the setting-up of a supranational authority whose decisions are binding for the member states (Balassa, 1961).

3.2 Regionalism and Regional Integration in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf

There is a growing body of literature centred on the notion that regions, and more specifically regional organisations, are becoming key actors in world politics. Institutional shortcomings, domestic constraints, and the dominance of international intervention are most obvious barriers to successful regional cooperation and integration in this part of the world.

Regionalism and regionalisation can contribute to political liberalisation or even democratisation in the region. Thus, the positive influence those entities have been able to exert (Koran 1999, Hudson 1999). The basic puzzle of the region is the geographic proximity, the relatively high degree of social, cultural, and religious homogeneity as well as political, economic and military interaction the low degree of institutional regional cooperation let alone integration.

Internal splits, conflicts and lack of regional institution building are considered a product of external superpower intervention, asymmetric economic integration with Europe and the US, and balance of power politics (Binder 1958). Liberals, institutionalists, and constructivists tend to detect more regional and domestic autonomy. Brown's historical review and Perthes analysis of regional policies emphasise regional autonomy instead of dependency (Brown 1984, Perthes 2000).

In other ways, Fawcett maintains that the lack of cooperation can be attributed to the special nature of the region's security dilemma which operates on interrelated levels and is closely linked to the relative weakness of Middle East states (Fwacett 2005). They also argued that the dominance of national interests over cooperation interests, the limited orientation towards reform of the regimes, the rent-economies and their demobilising

social pacts constitute the main reasons for the low degree of regional cooperation (Aarts 1999).

The GCC might constitute a future model of Arab cooperation being a rather successful sub regional organisation building on pragmatic rather than overburden pan Arab discourse as a legitimately basis (Fwacett, 2005; Hudson, 1999). Cooperative behaviour in a security complex like the Gulf is basically influenced by an overlay of external powers, national interest, and the pattern of amity-enmity. It has been concluded that the fact that the Gulf region is strategically and economically one of the most valuable in the third world elicits massive direct and indirect interventions on the part of external actors. This state of affairs does not allow GCC to develop and maintain an autonomous and credible role as a balancing factor in the area.

The future of regional cooperation in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf will be marked by panoply of cooperative arrangements that may include extra regional actors and therapy if Yemen fully joins the organisation, also improve the conditions for deeper cooperation. This severely limits the perspectives of successful regional political cooperation. The profound change in the nation of Arab identity that followed the demise of Pan-Arabism allowed Gulf leaders in 1981 to spurn previously accepted norms of intra-Arab political behaviour by setting up the GCC, an organisation that was explicitly sub-regional character.

Matteo Legrenzi (2008) argued that the GCC failed to reach many of the ambitious aims laid out in its charter. It represents an important exercise in identity diplomacy which in turn transforms Gulf politics in many ways. Moreover, it is misguided to compare the GCC with other regional and sub-regional organisations, in particular with the EU, without taking into account the specific context in which the organisation operates and the political nature of its constitutive states.

The GCC has come to acquire a well-defined role in the cognitive boundaries of politicians and businessmen alike, both within and outside the region, new generation of pragmatic leaders in the Arab Middle East give ground for reflection and warrant a second look at this long standing organisation. Complete absence of trust prevents the move from a securitized to a de-securitized environment.

The GCC if expanded towards the south might constitute a future model of policy coordination by increasing its population as well as expanding its geographic space and supervising the southern warm waters which their entire production of oil crude passes through Bab AL-Mandab strait in southern Yemen, the Gulf Cooperation Council is a sub-regional organisation that has eschewed grand ideological schemes and concentrated of functionalist cooperation and diplomatic cooperation since its inception. The environment for the development of sub regional groupings is more than hostile because internal conflict and external intervention stand against deepened cooperation. The invention of Gulf identity was a derivation from

the appeal to Arabism but it laid the ground for rather pragmatic understanding of Arabness as an ideological basis of regionalist efforts. Bridging the gap between area studies and international Relations hopefully is fruitful endeavour in the effort to grasp new developments in the region empirically and theoretically.

The geographical region of the Arab Gulf is home to only one regional integration initiative, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). One of the primary motivations for the formation of the GCC was the need to pool defence resources at a time when two of the main military powers in the wider sub-region, Iraq and Iran were in the first year of a war that was to last for most of the decade (Anthony, 2004). GCC objectives are to effect coordination integration and inter-connection between member states in all fields, strengthening ties between their people, formulating similar regulations in various fields such as economy, trade, finance, customs, legislations, administration, as well as fostering scientific and technical progress in industry, mining, agriculture, water and animal resources, establishing scientific research centres, setting up joint ventures, and encouraging cooperation of the private sector (Hamood, 2008; Matteo Lagernzgi, 2006).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the defence imperatives of the GCC member states have been a major factor in driving the integration process in the region, and this despite the fact that the GCC has yet to devise and implement common defence procurement and material interoperability

policies. Moreover, the objectives of the GCC are extremely ambitious and there is some evidence that, despite difficulties in the past, there is real political will to achieve the integration objectives set by the regional leadership (Alhassan, 2004; Nasser, 2010).

All substantive decisions taken at the level of the supreme council are taken unanimously and to the extent that common institutions have created these tend to be technical secretariats for specific intergovernmental actions rather than bodies developing common policies, a prerogative which effectively remains with the council of ministers. The weakness of the productive sectors in all GCC member states is an additional factor in reducing protectionist postures amongst the respective leaderships of the GCC partners. In addition, the political leadership considers the current structures as sufficient to its need for input into the policy process (Fageerah, 2010).

In regard to the obstacles for implementing the GCC agenda, it does not possess a strong institutional framework for the ambitious level of economic integration adopted as policy by the leadership of its member states. Whereas, the GCC over the last 25 years has made major steps towards achieving economic integration, helped large part by a number of factors favourable to convergence and by evident political commitment to accelerating the process. It is clear however that the path chosen by political leadership is an inter-governmental one which may in light of the factors favouring integration, allow GCC to achieve its regional agenda without the

necessity for common institutions beyond the planned Joint Monetary Authority (Mohammed 2011).

Regionalism between the GCC states themselves is clearly a factor affecting regional stability. Differences within the GCC are not only likely to impede the prospects for closer political, economic, and military cooperation, but could also increase the chances of external intervention in Gulf affairs. Measure of diversity too may itself help to cement inter-GCC relations as well as regional stability overall. In addition, affecting the balance of foreign policy relations within the community, as well as the GCC's collective external relations, in part, this may be managed by a greater degree of tolerance for the different modes of government emerging in the area, as well as closer consultation to avoid misunderstanding or mistrust (AL-Hassan, 2010). Broader political agreement on the desirability of reform, albeit at a different place and manner, may be surer route to stable inter-GCC relations.

3.3 Theories of integration

Theories of integration offer explanations of how and why supranational governance has developed. Whilst there are undoubtedly many different causes and factors which have contributed to the development, this section primarily focuses on functionalism and neo-functionalism theories of integration that seek to explain the development. These theories provide an interesting normative account of integration. For the purposes of this section,

development will be understood to mean the rise of supranational institutions combined with the deepening and intensification of inter-state relations.

In this regard, the foresaid theories attempt to explain the integrations and disintegrations in international relations which were mainly about theories of functionalism and neofunctionalism in regional integrations issue. They have mainly focused on internal and external reasons such as the political and economic structure governing the countries influence of the international system structure and the role played by security factor in slowing integration process (Chan & Moore, 2006). This research is based on functionalism integration theory and the neofunctionalism approach.

3.3.1 Functionalism

Mitrany in his seminal works *The functional Approach to World Organisation* (1948), and *A Working Peace System* (1966) stated that, "Problems logically require collaborative responses from states, adding that successful collaboration in certain field will lead to further collaborations in other fields." Mitrany believes that economic unification would contribute to the development of political integration; he views the international interactions to be variable or positive sum game in which all players can benefit. Adding that international integration is based on cooperation in functional, non-political areas developed, the international peace would be enhanced, (Paul & Viotti, 1999). He further explains that, "transnational ties might lead to integration,

the reduction of extreme nationalism and increase in the chances for a stable international peace". Functionalism theory is grounded on the analysis in what is believed to be accurate assessment of the need for integration to deal with common problems preventing integration.

Functionalism and Neofunctionalism are two distinctive approaches. They do not belong to the idealist school or the realist school, but they embrace the idealist goals and pragmatic and rational approaches. They were developed out of the European experience of integration. Functionalism was developed primarily as a strategy to build peace. It proposes that common needs can unite people across state borders. Form is supposed to follow function, and nation state should be bypassed (Soderbaum, 2009).

According to Mitrany, once successful could 'spill over' into other functional areas where states found that mutual advantages could be gained. (Nye & Keohane, 1971) expanded this argument through their assertion that via memberships in international institutions, states can significantly broaden their conceptualizations of identity and self interest in order to expand the potentialities for cross regional and interstate cooperation thus weakening state sovereignty and placing a more significant emphasis on normative regulation of the international system, a notion developed by Wight and Bull and characteristic of the English school of rationalist IR theory (Buzan, 1993).

Functionalists reject bold federalist plans for political integration. They were pragmatists, concentrating on the immediate needs of the survivors of World

War Two. The concept of functionalism came from its idea that all actors' activities would be performed as functions of social systems based on the demands of individuals, society, and the whole international system. David Mitrany, the leading functionalist theorist in the post-war era, was interested not in the functional integration of European states, but in the creation of international organisations to fulfil certain specific needs, such as settling war refugees and regulating air traffic (Wood & Yesilada, 2002, p. 12). His work, *A Working Peace System*, appeared towards the end of Second World War. He was concerned to recommend strategies for achieving peace, and in the meantime avoided to be an idealist. His starting point is not the ideal form of the international system, but its essential functions that serve human needs (Rosamond, 2000,). Each of such functions would require a certain amount of powers transferred from states to the international system. Mitrany considered that some requirements of human beings might best be served by ignoring the conventions of national territory, which makes him distinctive from realists.

Transnational institutions might be more efficient providers of welfare (Rosamond, 2000). However, it does not suggest any particular institutional goal but focus on the flexible means that could satisfy human needs. Functionalists assume that states serve for human needs without their own preferences.

After several functions are put into use, each is left to generate others gradually. In every case the appropriate authority is left to grow and develop out of actual performance. Sovereignty is thus transferred through the growing functions piece by piece. The divisions that cause conflict can be transcended gradually by seeking a web of international functional institutions managed by technical elites, and areas of functional cooperation are likely to be found in the areas of economic and social life (Mattli, 1999).

The degree to which nation-states transfer powers to international institutions is not only determined by human needs, but also by the sense of solidarity. Schuman insisted from the start that Europe had to be built by practical actions whose first result would be to create a de facto solidarity (Schuman, 1999). There are two types of solidarity. A sense of positive solidarity comes from various bonds and linkages among nation states and societies, such as geographical proximity, some social and historical bonds, intensifying economic interactions, common languages and religions, similar levels of economic development, similar political structures, and political amity among nation states. A sense of negative solidarity stems from common threats and challenges with which nation states and societies are faced.

One claim about the importance of functionalism is that it is an innovative approach to the study of international relations, especially in relation to integration, and it laid the foundations for neofunctionalism. However, Mitrany objected to the association between neofunctionalism and the construction of

new political communities (Rosamond, 2000). His idea is Darwinian, insisting on flexible forms adapting to the changing needs, rather than a fixed ideal form of governance such as a new political community. While neofunctionalism is an approach of integration, functionalism is an approach of functions. Due to its flexible principle, functionalism does not give many predictions about the changes of international systems.

The idea of its rational thinking suffers from the same criticism as realism. Functionalism assumes that determination of needs is an objective exercise, but it overlooks that some self-interested actors, although disciplined by governments, may make decisions not according to human needs of the society, but to satisfy their perceived interests. The decision-making mechanism in national legislatures, democratic or autocratic, does not guarantee the best outcomes. In the context of a market economy, coordination in spheres such as production, trade and distribution is more complex because of their competitive nature (Rosamond, 2000). Some policies liberating the markets may be constructive for the country on the whole, but may be destructive to some interest groups.

The perception of interests within a country may therefore be controversial. The outcome of policy-making is sometimes the result of the interactions between the private sectors and national governments. The contention that form follows functions is criticised by realists. In practice, nation states and their preferences should override the needs of some domestic groups,

according to realists. Some regional arrangements, especially those integrating defence and foreign policies, may meet the need for collective security according to functionalists. However, in the anarchic system, fear and suspicion usually prevent nation states from cooperating in high politics and developing supranational measures.

3.3.2 Neofunctionalism

Explaining what is meant by “neofunctionalism” Ernst Haas in his book *The Uniting of Europe* (1958) defined the integration as:

A process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states. Where Haas parted company with Mitrany was in his rejection of the notion that one can separate technical tasks from politics or welfare from power. Haas argued that for the integration chances to increase, he argued that it must be perceived by political elites to be in their self-interest. The integration be attained and sustained only if actors believe their own interests are best served by making political commitment to the organisation.

Moreover, Haas described the contemporary period as a turbulent one in which there are confused and clashing perceptions of organisational actors that find themselves in a setting of great complexity. Henceforth, GCC members are various. Each pursues a variety of objectives that are mutually incompatible, but each is also unsure of trade-offs between the objectives. Every member is tied to networks of interdependencies with other members that are confused as the first. Yet some of the objectives sought by each cannot be obtained without cooperation from others (Paul & Viotti, 1999).

The process of integration depends on different levels of social, economic and political solidarity and also on levels of communication and power level of governments and their suitability and even complementary nature of economy, and communication levels between countries are the main factors of integration between countries (Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff, 2001).

Neofunctionalism shares common ground with functionalism in that it rejects the idealism of the federalist movement: it contends that any outcome would not be achieved through the pursuit of rational and forward-thinking constitutional design, but through activities based on direct needs. However, its main contention is more suggestive than Mitranian functionalism. Ernst Haas is the central figure who theorised the community method pioneered by Jean Monnet. He argued that states should begin integration modestly in areas of low politics, and a high authority should be set up as a sponsor of further integration; the first steps will create functional pressures for integration of related sectors and the momentum would gradually entangle national economies and social interests; deepening economic integration will create the need for further institutionalisation, making political integration and a long-term system of peace inevitable (Rosamond, 2000). According to neofunctionalists, the processes of integration will in the end induce a federal unity. Therefore, federal functionalism is occasionally used as an alternate title for neofunctionalism (Rosamond, 2000).

Spillover is a way of describing the central dynamic of that process where successful integration in an area of lesser salience leads to a series of further integrative measures in linked areas so that the process becomes increasingly involved with issues of greater political importance. Integration would be led closer to sovereignty and to involvement with such high political questions as the defence policy and foreign policy (Taylor, 1983). As integrated production and distributing networks grow in different areas, involved countries have more and more common interests, which contribute to further integration.

In this argument, areas of low politics refer to economic and social life (Mattli, 1999) such as coal and steel industry and agricultural policies. Because of the development of international trade and related technologies, countries set up trading relationships in those sectors. Since cooperation in those sectors does not influence the security and survival substantially, it is less controversial. On the contrary, areas of high politics refer to those concerning national defence and governmental structures, and are highly related to the security and survival of a nation state. Therefore, integration in those areas is controversial and highly sensitive. Realists believe that supranationalism in high politics will threaten national security and harm national interest greatly and therefore it is not possible. However, according to neo-functionalists, nation states' perception on national interest in high or low politics can change over time.

Besides functional spillover, there are another two kinds of spillover. Cultivated spillover refers to the situation that the achievement of new policies is not because of functional pressure or package deals, but cultivated by leaders representing the international institutions (Cini, 2003). The upgrading of member states' common interests relies on the services of an institutionalized autonomous mediator (Mattli, 1999b). Political spillover is not necessarily about political integration, but refers to political linkage of package deals that can be very complex. The emphasis is on actors and their (often haphazard) interaction.

The process emerges from a complex web of actors pursuing their interests within a pluralist political environment (Rosamond, 2000). Thus, the concepts of cultivated and political spillover introduces new factors that shape the process of integration, namely the institutionalized autonomous mediator (EU elites) and a complex web of interest groups. Walter Mattli (1999) illustrated the neofunctionalist account further by bridging political science and economics. He analysed the interaction between political leaders and market players, and thus explained how the interest groups rather than the government or nation state (as an independent and monolithic actor) could shape national interests and policy outcomes. He has also solved the problem about legitimacy by stressing the role of national leaders (rather than EU elites). He specified two types of necessary conditions for successful integration. First, the potential for economic gains from market exchange within a region must be significant. When regional economies are

complementary and of large sizes, the gains from important economies of scale will be considerable. When the gains are considerable, the market players have a strong incentive to organise interest groups to lobby for regional institutional arrangements.

Second, there should be considerable payoff for political leaders so that they are willing to deepen integration. For example, they are willing to deepen integration if such a move is expected to improve their chances of retaining power. If these leaders value political autonomy and political power, they are unlikely to seek deep levels of integration as long as their economies are relatively prosperous. Economically successful leaders are unlikely to pursue deeper integration because they expect marginal benefit from integration. Political leaders value relative independence and support from organised groups that are against integration. However, in times of economic difficulties, the leaders are likely to pursue to enhance the overall efficiency of the economy (Mattli, 1999).

Economic difficulties thus become a condition of integration. Another supply condition is the presence of a benevolent leading country pursuing integration. Such a country serves as a focal point in the coordination of rules, regulations, and policies (Mattli, 1999). On the international level, the timing of outsiders to seek for integration is a result of their reactions to negative effects of being outsiders and the insiders' attitudes. Negative effects of being outsiders led the domestic interest groups to urge the

government to protect or increase their interests from market exchange (Mattli, 1999). Beside the interactions between interest groups and national leaders in the context of market relationships, Mattli's account also incorporates other factors such as new technologies (Mattli, 1999).

In another book, Mattli and Ngaire Woods (2009) discussed the roles of interest groups and elites in shaping policy outcomes. It should be noted that interest groups do not only include commercial groups, but also civil society groups within Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). The industrial groups are powerful ones, while the civil society groups frequently lack resources and formal authority of public officials. Political elites do not only include political leaders, but also public officials. Some public officials have the resources, expertise and authority to influence policy changes. National judges have often been effective actors influencing policy changes. They may be passive actors as oversight mechanisms, or activist. The public officials of the Appellate Body of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Dispute Settlement Mechanism have shaped trade rules by interpreting ambiguities in formal agreements such as in widening the territorial area over which states can claim action to conserve exhaustible natural resources (Mattli & Woods, 2009).

Although neo-functionalism provides a more predictable approach than functionalism and it analyses the actual policy-making process, realists criticize that it underestimates the importance of nation states and, to a

certain degree, the legitimacy of policies. It seems to stress too much on the sub-national and international actors. The influence of interest groups is evident in the practice of many European and North American countries, but in countries where interest groups play a very limited role in policymaking, Mattli's contention is less valid. The legitimacy and power of international actors or the institutional mediators are doubtful, since they are mostly not elected by people universally. (Mattli, 1999) addressed the interactions between interest groups and governments, the concerns of political leaders, and the governments adapting to the changing needs. His contention that a leading country helps the forming of a regional community is also fair. However, nation states' preferences and the anarchic feature are both overlooked. Even when regional integration is gainful, the lack of trust may still prevent nation states from cooperation in high politics.

After reviewing the three theoretical approaches, it seems that each suffers from criticisms. Without referring to any specific case, it could be concluded that each approach makes some fair arguments, and the factors that they bring up may all be found in empirical facts. The anarchic feature of the international system is undeniable; however, the emergence of regional institutions, hence the rules and order, is also a fact. The determining role of nation states and their attempts to rationalize policies are true; however, the interactions of interest groups, political leaders and national legislatures are also influencing the outcomes of decision-making.

Lack of trust and the concerns about sovereignty in the anarchic system are preventing nation states from giving up means of sovereignty; however, the potential gains from giving up some sovereign measures have indeed brought about some supranational developments in the emerging regional communities. Which approach provides a sound explanation for the phenomenon of integration? It may be more constructive if they are applied to the three cases. The following chapters analyse the changes of regional identities in Europe, Asia and Africa, and examine the origins, developments and failures in the three regions. It then can be seen whether the factors that the three approaches claim can be found in those processes of integration.

Integration theorists focus on building partnerships and integrations of community, therefore establishing an integrative community is considered as the main factor in the formation of cooperative relationships. Looking at relations stream between Yemen and the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, despite Yemen's partial acceptance in several GCC bodies they have not reached a high level of integrations to fully integrate Yemen in the organisation. Furthermore, the likely lack of awareness and understanding of each other's aims and intentions caused the exclusion of Yemen from obtaining GCC full inclusion. However, the Gulf region has a low level of economic solidarity (complementary nature of economy) and communication level with Yemen.

Furthermore, the unreliability of GCC countries and lack of confidence towards each other which are dominant traits of Yemen and Gulf Cooperation countries put them in a condition similar to that of a prisoners' dilemma causing a "security dilemma" and a kind of suspicion of Yemen and lack of awareness towards other actors (Dehghani, 2009). Hence, security deterioration in Yemen has its negative impact on the coordination and integration of Yemen in the GCC, and has resulted in its exclusion from the GCC. Yemen's foreign relations with the GCC countries have always been associated with ups and downs, so that in some periods and especially during the impulsive war against Kuwait, hostile and tense relations between Yemen and these countries were witnessed due to Yemen's standing beside Iraq against Kuwait which is a GCC member.

Thus, internalized and shared norms among members of a group or organisation such as the Gulf Cooperation Council are considered as factors of building collective identity among its members and this common collective identity could lead to the integration among them (Aletman, 2007). However, as the norms have not been internalised properly, this has caused the integration failure between Yemen and these countries too. Therefore, a common identity between Yemen and the GCC countries has yet to be fully recognised because Yemen has not been involved in the regional arrangements during the Iraq invasion of Kuwait (Hinnebusch & Ehteshami 2002) and its support for Iraq against a GCC member (Warbrick, 1991). The

result was slowing of the integrations between Yemen and GCC countries which hindered Yemen's full integration into the GCC.

Despite the numerous fields for developing cooperation and integrations between Yemen and GCC, the integration efforts are not at their best. In fact, part of the integration failure according to the integration theories refers to the influence of external factors. Other factors had a huge role in the integration failure as well such as distinctive political structures, identity, and type of political system between Yemen and GCC states; lack of complementary economy, and the view of decision makers and elites (Alexander, 1999).

3.4 Regional integration theories and Yemen's inclusion into the GCC

There has been much debate about the inclusion of Yemen as either an associate or full GCC member. The crucial question to answer which is strongly associated with the integration theoretical framework applied in this research has tended to be centred on whether or not Yemen would add value or if it would drag down the alliance. In October 2012 the GCC established an office in Sana'a, Yemen, but this was set up to assist GCC support to Yemen, not necessarily as a first step to Yemeni membership.

Although the office in Sana'a is welcomed and considered a step toward full integration, it is not as prominent a step forward as was the spirit of the GCC Summit in December 2005 in the UAE during which a strategic resolution was passed for Yemen to join the GCC by 2015. There are several reasons why the GCC is stalling in letting Yemen join and there are some reasonable concerns with Yemen's membership suitability are discussed in depth in the chapters ahead.

GCC members have actively supported Yemen's development. However, Yemeni corruption and a lack of government capacity to absorb and distribute the donations within Yemen has reduced the impact of GCC generosity, which made GCC diplomats fear that Yemen will lag too far behind; they conclude that aid is better than membership. However, Yemen is a very different country today than it was under the 33-year reign of former President Saleh, which requires different dealing with the GCC.

Therefore, strategic lessons can be identified and learned from the evolution of the EU. In the fifteen-year period after the 1989 collapse of the Berlin Wall the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia all joined the EU. The new countries joined based on economic conditions because EU integration incentivized market reforms under the so-called Copenhagen Criteria that governed EU accession.

The criteria clearly stated that member countries had to build institutions to assure rule of law, human rights, protection of minorities and capacity to develop competitive market economies. The prospect of EU expansion had attracted considerable foreign investment. The case study of EU expansion demonstrates that economic growth and the creation of democratic institutions occur with enlargement. The GCC and Yemen can learn from the EU experience.

Drawing on the EU experience, Yemen within the GCC would have multiple benefits. Broader regional cooperation linked to threats from East African states would be a political benefit and fuse a common area of interest (combining functionalism and neofunctionalism). A wider market through the removal of trade barriers between the GCC and Yemen would increase consumption and provide direct GCC access to the rapidly growing Yemeni population. Yemenis have traditionally been a ready source of low-skilled workers thus able to fill GCC jobs in construction and agriculture that the Saudis do not want. Yemenis should be given visas and permits to work. Yemen's youth bulge provides a great contribution to the GCC's enormous and absorptive labour market.

Yemen is strategically located and provides a link to the Suez Canal. Supporting the development of Yemen's port at Aden could decrease GCC country reliance on the Straits of Hormuz to export oil and thus reduce

tensions with Iran. Such policy will benefit GCC members politically through straying away of Iran's threats as well as would benefit Yemen's economically. Also, utilizing the aspirant "Bridge of Horns" connecting Yemen with Djibouti over the Bab al-Mandab opens a southern route of GCC influence into Yemen and then further penetration into growing East African markets.

Finally, Yemen's challenges, despite recent successes and development, suggest a GCC mechanism would need to be put in place to convince member countries of the benefit and also to provide checks and balances that Yemen meets the key accession criteria which would be specifically written for Yemen. Yemen joining the GCC would need to be managed with achievable metrics, focused on the utility of the GCC's vast financial surplus, and conducted progressively in stages to build confidence among GCC members and in the people and new government of Yemen.

Yemeni GCC membership as a one off is both of a security and economic market benefit to the GCC. Yemen joining the GCC is the best way for the GCC to insulate itself from the impact of a possible Yemeni failure and/or equip itself to benefit from the possibility that Yemen succeeds.

Finally, there are several theories explain the relations between countries and address inter and intra bilateral and collective relations. However, when coming to discussing integration issues its found most of integration experiences like EU apply regional integration theories which discuss the integration concept rather than any other considerations such as system and regime and balance of power theories. They mainly focus on the role of the regime or the state as the sole player in the integration process while in the case of Yemen-GCC integration, there are several players involve in the integration process locally, nationally, regionally, and internationally with their divers aspects economically, culturally, historically, socioeconomic, and politically etc.

Hence, functionalism and neofunctionalism theories were found to be fitting for this study since they are concerned with high and low politics of integration which are the two pillars of Yemen integration into the GCC. This has been proved in the research that Yemen's inclusion into the GCC is determined by two main constraints distributed into several sub constraints, namely in the political-security and socio economic contexts.

3.5 Summary

The chapter has provided a theoretical explanation of integration theories, concentrating mainly on the functionalism and neofunctionalism of Mitrany and Hass respectively. The researcher then linked the theoretical framework

with Yemen's full integration into the GCC and the dynamics that determine the integration process between both sides when linking the entire Yemen-GCC integration process with the integration theories discussed above. Therefore, it is clear that both theories are applicable in this study where each one has feasible sides in Yemen's full integration case.

CHAPTER FOUR

YEMEN: NATION BUILDING EFFORTS

4.0 Introduction

Yemen is rooted back to the ages of time. Thus, investigating its current efforts and interactions internally, as well as with its GCC counterparts apart of its wealthy history becomes a sort of useless. Hence, this chapter tries to explore the dynamics of building a country on the State level along with a national level as well for a better understanding of the dynamical interactions in all life contests, which would eventually help discussing its regional relations with the GCC. This chapter covers Yemen's geographic location, Yemen's historical developments until reaching to its regional interaction with the GCC member states bilaterally as well as collectively.

4.1 Geography

Formerly, the Republic of Yemen was divided into two States; the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) and the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR). Al-Rasheed & Vitalis (2004), the southwest tip of the Arabian

Peninsula on the Red Sea opposite to Ethiopia is occupied by Yemen which extends along the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula on the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden. Oman lies towards the east and Saudi Arabia is situated in the north. The country is 700-mile (1,130-km) and a narrow coastal plain in the south gives away to a mountainous region and then a plateau area (Steffen, 1979).

In other ways, the Yemen is situated in the south east of the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf, and spreading on 527,970 sq. km. (203,796 sq. mi). It has been a homeland of nearly 25 Million. It is nestled in between its two neighbouring GCC members, Saudi Arabia to the north, while Sultanate of Oman to the east and surrounded by the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean from the south. This accidental strategic location appears to be a root cause for its significance in a region (Wenner, 1967). Figure 1 shows Yemen's geographic details according to GCC official website.



Figure 1: GCC-Yemen's Map

A part of the Arabian Desert which is called as Rub al Khali (Empty Quarter) in the Arabic language surrounds the eastern, central and northern Republic of Yemen. Whereas, the western part Yemen consists of mountains and rocky region. There are sandy lowlands on the coastal side. There are several islands in Yemen which are volcanically active. Due to its coastal locations and variety of elevations, the Yemen experiences several different climate zones, in spite of having a small covered area. A yearly average of rainfall in the inland desert is almost none, whereas, the southern mountains have an average of 20-30 inches. There is also a wide change in a temperature. In summers, a temperature in the tropical western coastal areas goes as high as 129° F (54°C), whereas, a temperature in the mountains approaches freezing point in winters. The coastal area is also humid, which

makes the situation even more worse (Group, 2011). Only 3% of the land in Yemen is arable and suitable for the cultivation of the crops. The permanent crops occupy nearly less than 0.3% of a total area. Thus, the Yemen's climate is relatively similar to the climate of some of the GCC states, specifically the KSA and Oman.

4.2 Medieval Chronology

From about 1000 BC, a history of the Yemen stretches back over the thirty centuries. The three successive civilizations Minean, Sabaean and Himyarite ruled this region of the Southern Arabian Peninsula. The spice trading was a common profession to gain wealth in those three kingdoms. Thahroor (2010), the Islam originated in Yemen shortly after its escalation in the 6th century AD. A very strict theocratic rule in the northern part of Yemen was installed by the Yemen's Imams from the Shi'ite Zaidisectarian by the 9th century, however, a political order whose impact persisted into the former century in an effective manner, despite of a rare disruptions by marauding the Turkic warlords. The contemporary insurgencies were stimulated by the teachings of Zaidi that one has a right to reject the unjust rulers, against the central government (Khalidi, 2011).

An area occupied by a present Republic of Yemen was called as Arabia Felix happy or prosperous Arabia in the times when there was no Islam and number of native dynasties ruled Yemen in several different kingdoms. The

origin of Islam in the seventh century around A.D. was the most important event in the history of Yemen's from the cultural, social, and political point of view (Serjeant & Lewcock, 1983). A majority of the sheikhs and their tribes converted to Islam after a conversion of the Persian governor. The Yemen was then ruled by the Muslims as a part of the Islamic caliphates. The Imams from the various dynasties ruled over a former North Yemen and Zaydis who ruled till the end of the twentieth century were the most important of them (Dresch, 1990).

4.3 Former North Yemen

In cities, the northern Yemen was controlled by the Ottoman Islamic Caliphate whereas, the Zaydi imam's suzerainty had a control in the tribal areas of the Yemen by the sixteenth century and then again in the nineteenth century. Stookey, (1978), in 1918, The Ottoman Empire collapsed and Imam Yahya, the leader of the Zaydi community took a control over an area that later became the North Yemen or the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR). In the late 1930s, an underground opposition to Yahya emerged, which reached its peak in the mid-1940s, and hence, he was opposed by a majority population. Yahya was assassinated in 1948 in an armed revolution and a power was seized by the opposition forces that were against his feudal rule (Dresch, 2000). After Yahya's death, his son named Ahmad ruled until his own death in September 1962.

A reign of Imam Ahmad was defined by a renewed friction with the British over their presence in the south, increasing pressure to support the Arab nationalist objectives of Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser and a growing repression. The North Yemen was merged with the Egypt and Syria in the United Arab States during a period from 1958 to 1961. A son of Imam Ahmad named Badr took power after his father's death, but was deposed by the army officers after a week. It was led by the Colonel Abdallah al Sallal, who took control of Sanaa and created the YAR. The ruling eight-member Revolutionary Command Council headed by Sallal was immediately created by the officers soon after taking a control. Bonnefoy (2012), a civil war arose between the victorious republicans, supported by the Egyptian troops and the royalist forces, supported by the Saudi Arabia and Jordan who are both kingdoms in opposition to the newly formed republic. The Egyptian troops were withdrawn in 1967 and by the year 1968, most of the opposing leaders had reconciled following a royalist siege of Sanaa. The Saudi Arabia recognized the YAR in 1970 after realizing that it is impossible to return the royalist (Mundy, 1996).

4.4 Former South Yemen

The southern and eastern portion of the Yemen was highly influenced by the British after the port of Aden was captured by the British in 1839. Kostiner (1984), as a tool of great England governance in the east at the time until 1937, it was ruled as a part of the British India company, when Aden became

a crown colony, whereas, the remaining territory was designated a protectorate. A majority of the tribal states within a protectorate and the Aden colony merged together to form the British-sponsored Federation of South Arabia by the year 1965. The two rival factions the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY) and the Marxist National Liberation Front (NLF) fought for a power over the next two years. The NLF took a control of most of the areas by August 1967 and hence, the federation formally collapsed at the end of this year (Mawby, 2005). On 29th November, the last British troops were removed. The People's Republic of Yemen, comprising of South Arabia and Aden, was announced on 30th November. A radical wing of the NLF dominated in June 1967. Halliday (2002), on 1st December, 1970, a name of a country was altered to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY).

Road to Unification: By 1972 the two Yemen were in open conflict. The PDRY received arms from the Soviet Union and the YAR received aid from the Saudi Arabia. Though, a cease fire was carried out by the Arab League and both sides agreed to forge a united Yemen within 18 months, the two Yemens remained apart. A continuous disturbance and conflict was faced in the following years, which ended in the assassination of the president of the YAR in June 1978. After a month, a Lieutenant Colonel Ali Abdallah Salih was elected as a president of the YAR by the Constituent People's Assembly (Hudson, 1995). In early 1979, a transformed fighting broke out and the heads of the two Yemeni states signed an agreement in Kuwait by promising a union of the two states in March. A president of the PDRY lost all his party

and state positions after initiating a considerable internal warfare and bloodshed in the February 1986. A former Prime Minister Haydar Abu Bakr al Attas was given a rank of a president of a newly formed PDRY government. A general election held in the national legislature at that time in October. A third five-year term was won by the President Saleh in the first general election of YAR in July 1988. In May, an easier border crossing for the citizens of both states was allowed by the two regimes who agreed to remove the troops from their shared border and create a demilitarized zone (Hudson, 1995). In November 1988, the President Salih and Ali Salim al Baydh, who was a secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) agreed on a draft unity constitution, which was approved by the referendum in May 1991.

On 22nd May 1990, the Republic of Yemen was declared official. The President Salih of the YAR became a president of the new republic, PDRY President Haydar Abu Bakr al Attas became a prime minister and al Baydh was made a vice president. A transitional coalition Council of Ministers whose membership was divided between the (YSP) and General People's Congress (GPC) was led by Al Attas (Schultz, 1998). Thus, the continuing differences among the two main parties ruling the two states had converged the northern state to the GCC member states which enjoyed a preferred foreign relations with most of the GCC member states, unlike its southern counterpart which was seen as a threat to the GCC states due to the socialist ideology adopted at that time, which impacted its relations with the Gulf states negatively.

4.5 Unrest and Civil War

In late 1991 through early 1992, Due to the deteriorating economic conditions in the late 1991 to an early 1992, an untested domestic situation, which consisted of the several riots along with an ongoing political tension took place. In early 1993, the legislative elections were held, and in May, a single political party with an overall majority in the new House of Representatives was formed by a merger of the two former ruling parties, the GPC and the YSP (Halliday, 2002). In the month of August, the general security situation of a country became worse as the political rivals settled scores and the tribal elements took an unfair advantage of this widespread turbulence, whereas, a Vice President, al Baydh exiled himself voluntarily to the southern biggest city, Aden. In January 1994, a document of pledge was signed by the representatives of the main political parties and accord in Amman, Jordan, whose design was based to resolve the unending crisis. But by In May 1994, a country was again in a civil war due to a dismissal of al Baydh from the power.

All the International efforts to break a cease-fire went unsuccessful. Al Baydh and other leaders of the former South Yemen declared withdrawal and the formation of a new Democratic Republic of Yemen centered in Aden on 21st May, 1994, but a new republic did not gain any international acknowledgement. A civil war was ended up on July 7, 1994, with a capture

of Aden by the troops of the President Salih. In August 1994, President Salih barred party membership within the armed forces, in order to weaken the strength of southern military units faithful to the YSP and the alterations to the constitution eliminating the Presidential Council and establishing universal suffrage were also introduced. Dresch (2000), he was reelected as a president in October and named the GPC members to the key cabinet posts; the members of the Yemeni Islah Party (YIP) received several ministerial posts which had been faithful to Salih through out a civil war.

4.6 War Aftermath

The after effects of a civil war were also bad: the Yemen's currency, the riyal, was highly affected and lessened; there was a high rise in a cost of fuel, and food and there was also a shortage of an electricity. The Yemeni Islah Party (YIP) was at odds with the GPC over the economic reforms endorsed by the World Bank, which resulted in the Public demonstrations. In the parliamentary elections in the April 1997, the 87 seats were garnered by the GPC, whereas, the YIP got only 53 seats. A newly formed Council of Ministers, which consisted of the members of GPC was named in the May. The economic hardships, coupled with an increasing lawlessness, particularly against the tourists caused a continuous situation of unrest in a country (Dresch, 2000). A first direct presidential election was held in the September, 1999, in which a President Salih was reelected for a five-year term by an awesome margin. Due to the constitutional amendments adopted

in a year 2000, the president's term was extended by two years; the next presidential election held in September 2006.

4.7 Yemen and GCC: Events Development

4.7.1 Pre Independence Era

Communities in the Arabian Peninsula, which now includes both Yemen and the countries which are associated with the GCC, remained affiliated with the one geographical area, free from the inhibitions and natural barriers that make dams between humans (Alqasmi, 1993). A mix of human and historic integration between these parts of this region had been one of the social and historical facts, corroborated by the similar social customs, the depth of human relations, common economic interests and a common destiny in a history (Bisharah, 1983; Alhassan, 2009).

The Gulf relations with its neighbours prior to an independence, especially with the North Yemen were through the British representative in those countries (Qubati, 2002). The British, through the agreements concluded between them and the Gulf sheikhs held the reins of the foreign affairs of these countries and prevented any direct links between these sheikhs and imams of the Yemen, and then between them and then the republican rulers of the Yemen. Since, the early fifties, Yemeni migration flowed to a number

of Gulf countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates and Qatar in search of jobs, (Taweel, 2010). Especially, after the increase of an oil production in a region.

While, the Britain had a monopoly on the diplomatic representation and external relations of the Gulf countries, the Yemen's relationship with the Britain was shot through with British tension, because of an occupation of South Yemen (Othman, 2002). There were border clashes between the British troops and the Yemeni forces. When the revolution of the Yemen in September 1962 was announced, it had considered the liberation of the South Yemen among its goals. The Britain stood against it and refused to recognize the new regime in Sana'a (capital of northern Yemen and today's united Yemen).

As a result, the new republican regime controlled the north, and British occupation resisted in the south (Agent, 1992). The British prevented the Northern Yemenis migration to the Gulf countries under the pretext not to recognize the passports of the new Republic in the northern Yemen. Kuwait, which gained its independence in 1961 is the only Gulf Arab state to recognize the Yemeni Republican regime and provided financial, political, and moral support to the new regime (Thompson, 1973).

4.7.2 Seventies, Events in the Yemeni Independence

The era of the seventies carried with it a lot of changes to the Yemeni-Gulf relations. This period resulted in a withdrawal of the Egyptian forces from the Yemen in 1967 and the arrival of a conservative government in Sana'a in a same year. In addition, there was a resolution to the conflict between the Republicans and Royalists (Alqasmi, 1993). According to the Jeddah agreement in 1970, which created conditions for the normal relations among the Gulf States and the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen).

On the other side, a period witnessed an exit of the British from the South Yemen in November 1967 and the arrival of the National Front to power in the South Yemen. As, the national front's subsequently adopted Marxist ideology and declared hostility to regimes in the Gulf States, the southern regime also supported the Dhofar Liberation Front to overthrow a regime in the Sultanate of Oman, (Alshareef, 2004) all of which led to create a state of tension and mistrust between the Gulf states on the one hand and the socialist regime in the Yemen People's Democratic Republic (South Yemen) on the other.

4.7.3 The Eighties

The Yemeni-Gulf relations during the eighties after an establishment of the GCC did not reach the demanded levels due to the Iraqi, Iranian war, because the Gulf states were supporting Iraq in order to defend themselves from the Iranian danger, and the rapid political changes in the Yemen as a conflict between the socialist fractions in a social party in the south escalated and bombed out in 13 January 1986 (Alsofi, 2004; Altaweel, 2010).

Also, the eighties were affected due to a separation that has prevailed in the Yemen throughout a decade, and declining risks associated with the related organizations such the leftist and nationalist currents at an internal level in the Gulf countries to calculate the risk associated with a possible configuration of sectarianism and factionalism within these countries (Yahya, 2010). The priority risks exemplified in the regional powers such Iran and Iraq, also the repercussions of international polarization the Cold War, as well as the Communist dominance in the eastern world and its right hand in the south Yemen (Altaweel, 2010).

4.8 The Commence Of a Lengthy Journey

For the first time, since the establishment of the Cooperation Council for the Arab Gulf States in 25 May, 1981 by the six countries (Kuwait, Saudi Arabia,

Qatar, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Oman), (States, 1981), the only first an Arab country, the Republic of Yemen, applied for a membership of the Council.

According to Abdullah Al-Nafisi (2010), the countries in terms of size are divided into four categories, big states, medium states, small states, and very small states. The Arab Gulf states belong in a very small states category. These states cannot survive independently by isolating themselves from the external impacts and they will be under the permanent threats to their security, stability as well as their existence in general, that enforces them to look after their interests and make alliances to protect themselves from the threats (Chan & Moore, 2006; David, 1990).

As a result, the Arabian Gulf states have to integrate all together and form one united, strong country or at least enter into an alliance with the Yemen by fully accepting it in the GCC to avoid some of the GCC states disappearances from the political map. This is a core idea of the realist theory which assumes that the Gulf States are living in a state of anarchy which can be best solved through the Yemeni accession into the gulf club (Alnafisi, 2010).

The republic of Yemen made request to enter the GCC in a session of the 17 GCC Summit held in Doha, Qatar; in December 1996 (Agent, S. N. 1996),

but was rejected by the Gulf Arab states. After four years of a decision of rejection, the Gulf Summit in Muscat (capital of the Sultanate of Oman) adopted at its 22th summit in December 2001, the involvement of the Yemen in some entities of the Cooperation Council named: the Council of Ministers of Health, the Council of Ministers of Labour and Social Affairs, Bureau of Education for the Gulf Arab States, the Arabian Gulf football League. This attitude was considered to the Yemen across the official newspapers in December 30, 2002 rejected an idea of a gradual accession to the Cooperation Council and demanded an entire membership, but the Republic of Yemen soon revised its position. The Yemeni council of ministers in a statement on first January 2002 welcomed a decision of the GCC summit that accepted the Yemen membership to the certain institutions of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Agent, 2002).

Despite the Yemeni disappointment in the decision of Muscat summit at that time. It can be considered as a historic turning point, since the establishment of the Council. Since, a beginning of an emergence of the need for the formation of a regional grouping was confirmed to be a gathering of the Gulf region, including Iran and Iraq, then the council membership was limited to the Gulf Arab states with similar systems, thereby regained Iran, as a Gulf state of the non-Arab, and the exclusion of Iraq also due to the different political system from the rest of the six founding members (Alsofi, 2003).

If it was one of the elements of the historical dimension of a decision of the Muscat summit for the year 2001 was the willingness of the six GCC countries as it seems to abandon a narrow geographical concept of the GCC as a regional organization to accept Yemen's accession to the council in a future. Relations history between the GCC countries and Yemen in the period before the unification of the two Yemenis' into one united republic of Yemeni (Turath, 2002). It finds some of the excessive elements of an optimism that some felt that the decisions of the Muscat summit was a first step to be followed by the steps more directly and rapidly to make Yemen the seventh member of the organization that represents the six-nations in the so called Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).

Warwick, U. K. (2005), the only country in the Arabian Peninsula that is not a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) which a regional organization that promotes cooperation among the Gulf Arab states is the Republic of Yemen. Ronan McGee (2009), the Yemen is a second largest state in the peninsula, although, it does not have a coastline on the Arabian Gulf. It is revealed by a debate about inviting Yemen that the GCC's mission is evolving in a light of the security and economic challenges in a region.

The rationale was largely related to the security environment with a creation of the GCC in 1981. The Iranian Revolution in 1978, the Soviet was included in South Yemen, the divisions in the Arab world is associated to Egypt's peace treaty with Israel. Therefore, the Iran-Iraq War headed the six realms

of the peninsula to construct a novel corporation intended for a mutual defense. Although, a progress on creating a free trade area, a customs union, and potentially, a common currency has been made in the recent years, the economic integration was less clear as an organizing principle (Kechichian, 2008).

It is clear from the recent events that the Yemen may be provided with a membership in a near future, despite of the historic reluctance that allowed other states from joining (Priess, D. 1998). A severely underdeveloped economy of the Yemen has received substantial contributions from the World Bank, international monetary fund (IMF) and the GCC itself for its betterment. Hence, it was previously encompassed in some of the GCC institutions and committees. Great effort is needed for addressing the issues of the Yemen on behalf of the GCC, as a result, it may provide several major benefits if a regional integration is anticipated and executed cautiously (No'man, 2010).

In spite of all the above mentioned concerns, the people from both the GCC and Yemen have discussed that an ignorance is not a solution to the problems of the Yemen. Moreover, as many gulf officials have confirmed the Yemen's security as "an intimate part of the security of GCC member states, the Yemen should be perceived as the "security background of the GCC (Sassanpour, 1996). Moreover, the GCC can incorporate Yemen gradually in stages and may benefit from an experience of the European Union with a regional integration (Saade Chami, 2004).

The Yemen's relationship with the GCC council member countries is historical. Extensions of humanitarian and cultural relations between the societies, constitute one of the most important relations between the peoples of a region and reinforcing that so the everyday realities of life and the developments and the regional and international developments (Winckler, 1997). All confirm that the fate of the peoples of the region is linked, to what it can play in a direction of promoting unity and cooperation in all the areas of cooperation. Based on a scientific and future planning and taking into account the common interests of the parties are all the sensors to be Islamic and national levels, which imposes on the different person classes and groups in Arabia and that imposes unity instead of the band and integration instead of litigation. To protect their existence historic and national melting and collapse in the era that does not recognize the weak and not respect, but the strong (Yahya, 2004).

Yemeni Gulf relations have been ranging in respect of which the traditional to exceed economic cooperation organized through the bilateral agreements, and political cooperation, the diplomats to detract from the rules based on international norms, not to mention the embargo for the Arabs, whether formalized (the Arab League and its institutions) or nationalism or belonging to the same area and all have been extended this relationship to a degree of intimacy. But could not turn it up to strategy levels (Alhassan, O. 2010). Although, the terms of the relationship and the need it is available, especially when we are talking about regional integration from the imperatives of

national security of the region and the end of the imperatives of economic coordination (No'man, 2010).

One of the facts that have been admitted and beyond the disputes or doubts is that, the relations between the GCC and its member countries and neighbouring Yemen have become a major concern, both for the Gulf decision makers and Gulf affairs concerned people (Alshareef, 2004). This is especially true with a transformation of the Yemen to a problem of politics and security is dealt with at the top of the priorities of the agenda of the GCC works to preserve the achievements of the Gulf States over the past few decades, which has become threatened under an influence of the negative developments that testify the Yemen (Turath, 2002).

The Gulf Arab states at some bilateral and collective levels have shown their interest in the strong relations with Yemen. The Yemen also shows a high degree of attention to its relations with those countries, particularly as it depends on allies in the Gulf to help it out of its security, economic or political problems (Alumuayid, 2002). Although, that was of mutual interest, it has become more immediate and visible in the recent years by the developments in the Yemen. Despite the recent growing attention, political matters in the Yemen were also established in the earlier stages and appeared manifestations in the form of forms and patterns of interactive various dominated by a cooperation between the two sides except for some periods in which overshadowed the shades of strained relations by some of the

policies associated with an unfavourable to those States and Yemen in particular (Alhassan, 2010).

That the accession of Yemen to the GCC is important at the national level, the Yemeni side and also important for the member countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council and the task of the intellectual elite to contribute to study this matter further studies and analysis, objective and methodology of scientific looking for the joint to strengthen it and feel a difference to deal with it objectively and put in place to diversity is a source of strength rather than a source of weakness (Alshibany, 2002).

Yemen's role has doubled on the political map of regional and international after the two Yemeni parts united in the May 22, 1990 (Zaid, 2002), and therefore a serious thinking and planning to introduce a strategic vision outlined by an issue of accession to the GCC is one of the most important topics and despite the inaccuracy of predictions which may be contained therein, but analyzing and discussion is a good effort and vital to be deeply discussed, analyzed and adopted and even deemed necessary for an intellectual academic and development requirements (Alsofi, 2004).

An issue of the Yemen's accession to the GCC is not impossible, but it's also not something emotional and promotional materials, and it needs a serious and sustained effort and ongoing work based on the curriculum that

combines realism and taking into account the interests of the people who can be capable to be consistent with a unity, integration and cooperation (Yahya, 2010).

Joining any country to any regional bloc is no longer a subject today (Hippler, Stone, et al., 2005). The accession of a particular state to the regional bloc nearing its geographic borders or far from it, but sharing the same values, interests as well as values, are all subjected to a similarity of economic, political cultural and technological conditions. But it came to a size of the common interests between the parties and what can we achieve all of the other side of those interests (Alafandi, 2009).

The economic conditions and technological ties between the members are not identical, there is a difference and a clear difference between the members like France and Hungary, but nevertheless expansion was pursued, probably due to a fact that the Europeans realized that, the interests of all and the critical issue of expansion, and this is an evidence of the awareness of their future and exploring the real dimensions. (Alsabri, 2002).

The Gulf states must not consider the issue of Yemen's accession to the same regional bloc from a traditional and outdated perspective (Anafisi, 2002; James, 2009), but they have to overcome such concepts, but must realize that Yemen's accession to membership of the Gulf council will

generate the benefits to all member states and will ease the future difficulties, and rescue them from an internal as well as the external real risks and major threats alike, and that such an integration will contribute to the Yemen in helping it out of the instability cycle of underdevelopment and the problems and obstacles inherited in some of its regions (Corstange, 2008).

In a near future, a spontaneous merge will evolve due to the similarities between the Yemen and the other countries of the GCC (Abdullah, 1999). An ultimate achievement of this merger is still possible due to the similarities in terms of geography, customs, and traditions, even if the Yemen and the GCC do not take any appropriate measures to achieve this merger in the coming years. Although, it may take several more years than most concerned parties have predicted. Recently, a speed of Yemen's admission to the GCC has been slowed down due to the several shortcomings on the Yemeni side, and several unjustified concerns from the Gulf countries (Al-Asali, 2009).

It was suggested by Afandi (2007), as the times are changing slowly, by proposing the several joint-projects, the Yemeni government should take an initiative, though without stipulating them as conditions for a possible merger. The Yemen's merger with the GCC will occur naturally and spontaneously, if the above mentioned projects are implemented in a well-organized and profitable way.

The Yemen is currently progressing confidently towards the realization of its long-standing ambition to further integrate with its Gulf environment by joining the GCC (Almaitamy, 2002). Meanwhile, the recent developments indicate a general and growing Gulf acceptance of the Yemen's presence and role within a framework of the Gulf regional system, although, the expression of motives for this acceptance differs from one Gulf state to another. Yet, this situation will raise numerous complications and insurmountable obstacles in both the Yemeni and Gulf perspectives unless greater cooperation is established from the both sides (Haidar, 2010).

The different levels of economic development and social relations between the Yemen and the GCC are classified GCC countries with a high development indicators in comparison to the Yemen, that an average per capita income in the Gulf, according to 2006 data (Business, 2009), ranges between (15802) and (27664) US Dollars respectively compared to (869) in Yemen. "The economic constraints will be discussed in details in the next chapter" Thus, the accession of the Yemen to the Gulf Cooperation Council may be exemplifying an economic burden on countries' economies (Burea, 2008).

But during the past few years, the Yemeni economy and the broad structural changes that took place have contributed to a stability and improvement of

the external debt Foreign Affairs, and relatively stable exchange rates. As well as, the positive growth rates of gross domestic product, which means providing an important part of the economic environment and stable investment environment can represent attractive opportunities for the gulf money inflows. A potential investment in various areas could enhance the establishment of the joint investment projects and strengthens the cooperation measures and economic integration. Also, the GCC is an important trade partner for Yemen and considered the first exporter to Yemen. Also, gulf absorbs a bulk of the non-oil exports of the Yemen and particularly, agricultural and fisheries products (Albashiry, 2009).

The volume of trade exchange between the Yemen and the GCC reached 443.7 billion riyals (2.3 billion dollars) in 2006 from 421.7 billion riyals in 2005 (Bureau, 2008). An annual report of the Central Bureau of Statistics states that this increase to make the Gulf States ranks second after the China in the list of trading partners with the Yemen. The data on foreign trade statistics for 2006 indicate that a trade balance still tilted in favour of the Gulf by 280.3 billion riyals, compared with 168.4 billion riyals in 2005 (Yemeni official records, 2006).

The deficit in the trade balance shows that the Yemen is a fertile market for products and goods that flow to the Gulf Yemeni markets easily and smoothly in accordance with the agreements concluded. The site occupied by the UAE's first commercial partner of Yemen among the GCC countries followed

by Saudi Arabia in second place and third place in Kuwait and the Sultanate of Oman, Qatar and Bahrain. A total value of the Yemen's imports from the GCC countries last year was 361.8 billion riyals in a total value of exports of 81.8 billion riyals (Albashiri, M. A., 2009).

The Director of the Yemeni trade statistics Hamdi Shargabi insured that the development of the trade exchange between the Yemen and the GCC for years was a product of government policies aimed at promoting the trade relations with the neighbouring countries and create conditions for the accession of the Yemen to the GCC (Reuters, 2007). Saw the general path of the Yemeni Gulf a number of issues relevant to a political and security files and comes in the forefront of the Gulf crisis and war that followed in 1990, the Gulf War and U.S occupation of Iraq 2003, Yemeni border with Oman and Saudi Arabia dispute, the spread of weapons in Yemen, security disturbances in the southern governorates of Yemen, six wars in the province of Sa'da, the growing threat of Al-Qaida rule, and piracy in the Red Sea, (Alsagaf, 2002; Fakeerah, 2010).

There are common influential factors in the relations between the Yemen and the Gulf, such as, contiguity, which makes them affected by any developments that could occur on the other side. The strategic importance for the Yemen's control on the Strait of Bab al-Mandab is very important for the trade of the Gulf oil bound for a Europe and America through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal (Alhawry, 2010). This is not working the wealth

disparity that makes the Gulf States by virtue of their financial surplus source of Yemen to provide it with assistance and financing of development projects.

The relationship of Yemen, the Gulf countries as independent states began at an early stage with the Saudi Arabia (Yahya, 2003), but for the other states started with Kuwait in the early sixties and the rest of the Council in the early seventies, and cooperation has been the hallmark of relations between the two sides (Altaweel, 2010), where the Gulf States presented the economic assistance to the Yemen, while Yemen's employment of role in the service of development programs for these countries is obvious (Alshareef, 2004). A relationship between Yemen and its neighbors on its orbit was not without drawbacks, most notably support of the Yemeni regime's invasion "Saddam Hussein" and occupation of Kuwait in 1990, the incident which resulted in freezing relations between Yemen and the Gulf which led to the stop of economic aid to Yemen, and dispensing most of the Yemeni labor from the gulf states (Almitamy, 2002).

That the issue of Yemen's accession to membership in the GCC remains controversial among those involved in the presence of opposition to this move (Al-hassan, 2010), relying on the economic situation deteriorating and respond to political challenges, many (such as lack of confidence between the regime and the opposition parties, and crises on weak administrative and institutional) (Corstange, D. 2008). This is not the security problems referred to above, in addition to reservations regarding the nature of the different

political systems, and raises the question of accession of the problem is linked to the legal amendment to the Statute of the Council, as well as the divergence in the indicators of development, health and education between the two sides (Taleb, 2003).

Features show the importance of Yemen to the Gulf states, and reveal that the possession of the possibilities to qualify to join the GCC, should not be underestimated as talk about the different nature of systems between the two sides, or talk about the problem of legal-related statute of the Cooperation Council, and different systems of ownership of traditional Gulf and between the Republican presidential in Yemen is not an obstacle, given that the European Union, the most successful economic blocs, an umbrella tenure systems and the Republic, did not prevent the variation of the cooperation and the integration of its various levels, and the problematic legal no obstacle formidable can be switched between the accession Gulf of Yemen to the system, because the leaders of the Gulf states who have devised and adopted the Statute of the Council can modify it to allow for inclusion of other members (Alhassan, 2010).

The Gulf cooperation council decided to include Yemen in some committees of the Council (four committees in 2001, four committees in 2008) and these committees remained far from an idea of a true integration of Yemen in the GCC and granting full membership. In spite of making some decisions, such helping Yemen and raise living standards to the Gulf countries level.

However, a development of relations between the two sides remained locked with the resolutions and committees. No significant change, as it seems, but the close link between the security of Yemen and Gulf security will arrange for additional hypotheses based on the notion that the Yemen's continued existence outside the Gulf Cooperation Council will enhance the prospects growth and sources of threat coming from Yemen (Fakeerah, 2010). Accordingly, time remains a critical benchmark in the relations between the two sides; the more slow the Gulf States in the Yemen's integration will increase political and economic problems in the Yemen, whenever, these problems and their consequences will be reflected on the Gulf countries in general.

4.9 Regional Context

A categorization of the Yemen can be carried out quiet easily. For centuries, the Yemen has been considered as a place where dissimilar cultures and trade meet together, as it is located on the strategically fundamental Bab al-Mandab straits where the Red Sea joins the Indian Ocean. With a foundation of the trading posts along the coast of the Sultanates and Africa as far afield as Southeast Asia, the Yemeni traders from the Hadhramaut proved to be an epitome in an industrial sector. In a recent time, most of the renowned rulers claim to have ancestors that belong to the Yemeni families which include, the sultan of Oman, the emir of Abu Dhabi and the sultan of Brunei. Still, due to a

diverse coastal population and cosmopolitan ports, the Yemen holds a controversial relationship with a mountainous hinterland of a country. AL-Jazeera (2012), this part is still ruled by the ancient tribal organizations whose leaders have been afraid of an impact of the outsiders.

The Yemen is commonly known as a 'failing state' or 'failed'. Nevertheless, after a reunification, the patronage system presided over by President Ali Abdullah Saleh endured for almost two decades, which ended on his dismissal from an office in a year 2011 due to a lack of help among the vital military and tribal leaders and a huge wave of protests. The issues like, a corruption, rising food scarcity, decline in the oil revenues, and unemployment linked to a growing population contribute a lot in a weakening of Saleh's grip over a country. Patronage increased a rate of corruption with in a country which was impossible to handle, and hence, the longevity of Ali Saleh regime had become crucial. Now a question arises in a year 2012 and the subsequent years that upto what level the Yemen's leaders can contribute for the reformation of a country and make government efficient. This will be helpful in maintaining a sustenance between the tribes and other networks of inspiration that are familiarized to functioning within the old patronage pattern and simultaneously improving the conditions of a country towards the GCC membership (Burke, 2012).

Burke (2012), inspite the fact that the Yemenis are far more anxious regarding an influence of further conservative protestor's drives in the north

and south of a country, the problems faced by the Yemen are perceived through a prism of the 'resurgent' Al-Qaeda by the western countries. It is a bitter truth that the Yemen is unfortunately among the largest number of suspected terrorists to be imprisoned by the US government in the Guantánamo Bay. In terms of a political debate, robust human rights organizations, and civil society, an Arabian Peninsula is led by the Yemen. A decline in a dominance of the Yemen's more secular-leaning leaders has been noticed for so long and today, the Sharia grasps power as an only source of jurisprudence, the Yemen is originally based upon the quasi-secular institutions, which makes it apparently a republic. AL-Jazeera (2012), fascinating in its inconsistencies and complexity, the Yemen needs an interest from the Western countries as well as a nuanced approach from both of its neighbors.

The western countries are expected to play a secondary role in the Yemen as compared to the other external factors in a response to the 'Arab Spring' protests of 2011. The Riyadh which is a capital of Saudi Arabia and also a home to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Secretariat have a strong economic and political influence on the Yemen. The Saudi Arabia signed an agreement of cooperation in the year 2000 which eliminated an old and rancorous border dispute with the Yemen. It was noticed in the following years that the Saudi has diverted its attention to some other issues that need to be focused such as, dealing with the other pressing problems, such as a domestic and a regional rise in the terrorist attacks as well as the US-led

invasion of Iraq. This policy was not implemented deliberately as it be due to a personality-led nature of the Saudi governance and was consequently, disturbed by an age and protracted illnesses of the Saudi defense minister, Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud, who holds an overall responsibility of the affairs of Yemen.

Khalidi (2011), the Riyadh was doubtful of endeavors by Qatar, as another GCC member-state, to interfere in a region of impact due to a lack of interest shown by the Saudia Arabia in assisting to resolve the myriad encounters that were weakening Yemen. It has become obvious in the last decade that there exist a catastrophic consequences due to a wider GCC policy in the Yemen and an absence of a constructive Saudi, as a resurgent AQAP network on the Arabian Peninsula have made Yemen, a base for their attacks, whereas, the Houthi rebels have attacked the Saudi troops in an anger at a military support provided to Yemeni government forces by the Riyadh (Burke, 2012).

The GCC members have realized this difficult situation that they are unable to influence a balance of an internal power ultimately, as the President Ali Abdullah Saleh's power subsided. In the past few years, it was considered to be separated with a influential role performed by the GCC and unambiguously, the KSA. Walker (2011), a great anger was expressed by the Saudi officials that they had been deceived by the Saleh into bombing his

rival within a ruling elite, General Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar who was a military commander of the northwest.

Saleh received a treatment in the Riyadh for his wounds, as he was persistent in an outbreak on his presidential palace in June 2011. Initially, the Saleh denied to leave his power inspite of a huge pressure by the Saudi government. Riyadh was highly concerned about the intensifying 'Arab Spring' protests, cracking of the Yemeni military along the tribal lines and violence. At the end of a year 2011, after sustaining a lot of pressure, the Saleh finally resigned the presidency and handed over his power to Abd-Rabbu Mansour Hadi, who was his deputy, to look after over a period of transition and manage the upcoming elections and provide help in writing a new constitution. A great challenges were faced by Hadi by getting the capital Sana'a and other key regional centers back to the business of government as well as, putting a military and other broken parts of a state apparatus back together (Schmitz, 2011).

In 2011, a deal brokered by the GCC Secretariat was a part of a transition process. It is for the first time that an organization has confined itself to its internal affairs in any foreign policy. This deal came into effect in the early 2012, whereas, a more challenging task of tribal coalitions, Islamists and regional separatists in Yemen and rebalancing a power between the military factions are still to be implemented. According to Bruck (2011), an ability of the GCC to exercise an influence of a combined foreign policy in place of its

member-states will be examined for the first time, as it has moved into an unchartered territory.

In the more populated northern side of the Yemen, the state's fragile legitimacy highly depends upon the tribal and religious structures, although, its political system is obviously republican. Quamar (2012), a foundation of a current republic was laid in 1990, as a result of the merger of the southern state, the Socialist People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), which had been greatly deteriorated in the following years of internal quarrel and the collapse of its patron, the USSR and the Northern Arab Republic of Yemen (YAR), founded in the aftermath of the revolution of the ruling Hamid al- Din dynasty in 1962. The YAR gained much of its support by moulding itself upon the anti-colonial but a secular example of Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt in its early days.

A bargaining of a south was affected due to its weak position in a new unity government, which also influenced a power of its main party, al-Hizb al-Ishtiraki (Socialist Party, YSP) in a negative way, in the elections in 1993. In spite of the previous power-sharing commitments, a position of a knot was predominantly confirmed in a new state as a result of these elections. A ruthless civil war broke out in 1994, which caused the government to rely upon the Islamists network. An effective military occupation of a south was carried out by a defeat of a southern resistance by the Yemeni army. As believed by many southerners, it had never ended effectively; the senior

military figures close to a president were accused of trying to maintain a local economy by a land requisition and a control of local industries which were proved as illegal in a constitution of the Yemen (Day, 2010 and Stracke and Haidar 2010).

4.9.1 Yemen's Economy: Grievances and Greed

The Yemeni military has performed a vital part in an economy, since 1970s, in the North Yemen and followed by the united Yemen later than 1994, which was initially carried out through the Military, Economic Corporation (MECO) which was later renamed as the Yemeni Economic Corporation (YECO).

Due to the several weaknesses in an economic structure of the Yemen, there has been a lot of military involvement, which is considered as a source of significant objection, not least in the south (Siddiqa 2007; Dresch 2000: 208). During the rebellion of 2011, the differences occurred over an objection within a military over the distribution of such magnificence. A perception that a south has less rights to know how the revenues generated from the oil extractions are spent gave rise to an intensified opposition, whereas a Northern part of a country was thought to hold an unequal share.

A lot of efforts were carried out by a government to reform an economy by steadying the riyal for extended time and by raising a foreign investment,

lowering a high inflation rate in the early 1990s, despite the prominent position of military and other members of a management in a national economy. At a national level, the good policies cannot yield full positive results due to a presence of the bad policies as a national integration was also weak (Ghoneim 2006: 6). A youth of the Yemen contributes a lot to reform its economy during the years prior to the 'Arab Spring'. The former president's son and commander of the Republican Guard, Ahmed, were linked by the Western-educated entrepreneurs. They were usually found to disagree with a concept of the rural tribal elites who's used to believe in the old ways of investment and demanded for a huge share of determining projects for an economy.

A failure in an economy was mainly due to a lack of a strong financial sector 'that can act as an intercessor among the investments' and savings (Bonneyoy and Burgat, 2009). Ahmed was perceived to act as a supporter of business persons by a country, which was a root cause of a central problem: to gain success in the Yemen is a dream without having a wealth and power of a governing elite. Nowadays, the supremacy of previous President Saleh and his immediate family may have been vanished, but the fundamental tribal leaders with a conventional power say in Yemeni politics are, if anything, in the ruling. According to models promoted by World Bank, the GCC and others, their pledge to economic reform cannot be ignored. Most of them flourish on monopolies, for instance the ones on mobile technology, are expected to resist market liberalization.

For several decades, the revenues of oil and gas have been a source of generating a great revenue for the government of Yemen. MOPIC (2009), as the wages and subsidies contribute up to 80 per cent of the spending of a government, hence, a government is incapable to utilise the energy revenue for the projects related to a development. To make this situation even worse, the Yemen is also running out of its oil and gas reservoirs. Due to a lack of an oil production, the Yemen is facing an annual loss of over US\$2 billion from 2006 to 2010. The country's oil assets are assessed at only 0.2 per cent of the total global consumption, despite a fact that an oil comprises 90 per cent of the Yemen's total exports (Economist Intelligence Unit 2009; United States Energy Information Administration 2011).

It is a very scary task to improve the economic condition of the Yemen. Almost 40% of the children suffer from the severe levels of malnourishment and half of the population is aged under 15. According to World Bank (2009), half of the adult population is illiterate. Yemen has been largely ignored for so long and is among the Least Developed Countries in terms of levels of a humanitarian aid assistance and international development, in which almost the two-fifths of a nation spend less than two dollars a day. Because of having only 3% of a land that is suitable for a cultivation, the Yemen has to import almost all of its food and also due to a shortfall of water that reached almost 1 billion cubic metres in 2010 and also a majority of the mild stimulating qat as a cash crop (MOPIC 2009).

Due to an unwarranted situation of a security, the Ambitious plans such as, the Aden Free Zone that were designed to enhance a foreign direct investment have failed. The investors have become afraid of taking risks in the presence of the Yemen's disreputably poorly regulated economy due to a political turbulence and terrorist violence. AL-Naqeeb (2012), in a short term, no alternatives can be seen as to increase the expatriate employment in the Yemen, as the state of unemployment is expanding day by day. The young people from the Yemen are migrating to the GCC for better jobs. The main economic indicators are shown in a Table 2

Table 4.1: Yemen's main economic indicators

Country	Total Area	Population	GDP	GDP per Cptia
Yemen	527,970 sq. km	25 Million	USD 33 Billion	USD 1000

Source (GCC official website)

4.9.2 The Yemeni threat to the Gulf

The GCC countries have not exactly decided about a view of a new wave of the migrants from the Yemen. In September 2009, an attempted suicide bombing attack on the Saudi deputy minister for the interior, Prince Mohammed bin Nayef, done by Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and the shootouts between the Saudi security forces and AQAP affiliates within the Kingdom made their threat even more apparent. Khaleel (2012), a

significant role of the Yemen within a weakened global network of Al-Qaeda is quite clear which keeps a government of the GCC high alert.

Instead, the Al-Qaeda is not also ignorant of the strategic importance of the Yemen, which is closely related to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states which are rich in hydrocarbon. There is a vulnerability that is ready to be exploited by the recent chaos wreaked on an international shipping by the Somali pirates, as the coastline of the Yemen also touches a narrow Bab al-Mandab straits of the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa (al-Suri, 2007). There is an overflow of the weapons due to a violent history of the Yemen. It is estimated that a number of small arms is 6–9 million in a country with a population of 25 million, as well as there is also an abundant supply of explosives (Miller 2003).

The 'blowback' effect has been precipitated, as a earlier generation of the jihadi volunteers have now taken up a movement of insurgency against the government in Sana'a due to the limited turning of a blind eye towards the employment of Yemenis to fight against the allied troops in Iraq as well as, a tolerance of the Yemeni government towards some of the jihadi networks (Johnsen 2006, al-Jadabi, 2006). At the end of 2011, the Yemeni-American militant cleric Anwar al-Awlaki, just before his death, increased his support for the AQAP by favouring the protests that caused a demise of the Saleh regime. The leaders of AQAP depend and are embedded in the tribal system of the Yemen. Finn (2011), in a neighbouring Saudi Arabia, the gulf leaders

are well aware of a risk of a future instability in Yemen, instead they are feeding the consolidation of a group whose supporters are in the hundreds rather than the thousands.

A rapid decline in the Yemen's economy can be improved by forcing the Yemeni nationals to move to the GCC, but it is evident that there is a hesitation on the part of GCC governments and its residents. Due to an increasing unemployment problem, the South and East Asian workers have been deported by the GCC states that are surplus to the requirements. Peskin (2009), a construction of a security barrier is a conspicuous symbol of divergence of the GCC policies towards the Yemen near the border with the Saudi Arabia that is anticipated to have cost up to US\$3.5 billion. It is in contrast with a long-lasting promise by the GCC to integrate Yemen as a full member. Instead of having a feeling of a close relationship with the Arab, a feeling of being sealed off is felt by the Yemenis.

4.9.3 Yemen and Saudi Arabia: A particular Relationship

The Europe and the United States have been ignorant to a real situation of the Yemen. Miles (1997), the politics is felt as an impermeable web of tribal coalitions and protests from the point of view of many diplomats. An access of the Saudi foreign policy towards its southern neighbour is a challenging task itself. Conventionally, a state-to-state relations are shown by the foreign policy rather than the rooted enmities and exchanges within the competing

tribal confederacies, which was inadequate, although not totally snuffed by an imposition of a state system with its bureaucracy that is alien to the traditional means of governance and the accompanying ministries.

The U.S has never given an importance to the Yemen in terms of the 'war on terror' that the Obama administration continues to wage in all but name, and it occurred due to an attempted suicide bombing of a U.S airliner on 25th December 2009 by a Nigerian suicide bomber who was linked to the AQAP. Kuwait News Agency (2010), the Yemen has been referred by the US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton as 'a top concern' of the US relations with the GCC. In a future, the bilateral meetings, which will be held between the GCC countries and Europe or United States, will no longer consider the Yemen to be relegated to the bottom of an agenda. A proper understanding of a history of the Yemen is imperious to a knowledgeable discussion of what the GCC can do to alleviate a decline of the Yemen.

A mythical story exists that a founder of Saudi Arabia, King Abdulaziz bin Abdulrahman Al-Saud cautioned his sons in the last moments of his life that 'the good or evil for us will come from Yemen'. In spite of being untrue, this statement makes an indispensable part of the Saudi Arabia's relations with its southern neighbour more evident, that he had a fear of a possible threat evolving from the Yemen. Until recent times, a minister of defence, Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud preserved a wariness of Yemen, whose brother, the Prince Faisal bin Abdulaziz Al- Saud stalked the nucleus of

Yemen before its ruler Imam Yahya and in his view momentarily surrendered these properties to Saudi Arabia in 1934, and directed a voyage to destroy the Yemeni accusations to the territories of Jazan and Najran. Burke (2012), the issue of the border separation produced a bitterness in the relations between the two countries and until, a President Saleh signed a border agreement with the Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud in a year 2000, the prospects of the Yemen for the GCC accession were shuffled

In 1962, the 'Yemen portfolio' was held by the Prince Sultan right after his appointment as a minister of defence until his death in the late 2011. An absence of the Sultan from the Riyadh due to his long illness until his death created a great emptiness at a particularly unfortunate time, as his presence was very critical of the Saudi–Yemeni relations. Prince Khalid, the son of Prince Sultan took his place who took a great interest within his inner circle in the Yemeni affairs. Despite of his earlier family wars with the imamate, a lot of efforts were still carried out by the Sultan for the deposed Imam Mohammed al-Badr in the 1960s. The political foundations of the Saudi regime were shaken by the republican revolution in the Yemen, which was a simple reason behind this apparent volte face (Gause 1990: 4).

4.9.4 Saudi Arabia and Egypt: Clashes over Yemen

From 1962 to 1967, the Saudi Arabia and its small GCC counterparts were severely affected by a military involvement of the Nasserist Egypt in the

North Yemen in support of the republican. In this threatening situation, the indecisiveness of the King Saud led to his ultimate replacement as a ruler by his half-brother, named Faisal. Ultimately, an embarrassing Egyptian withdrawal from the North Yemen was promoted by the Saudi Arabia and its Yemeni partners and more efforts were carried out in the establishment of a regime with the republican trappings which were dependent upon the Saudi patronage in Sana'a.

A sudden British removal from the Aden and its territories caused a takeover by the Marxist cabal supported by the Soviet Union, whereas, the Saudi Arabia and other GCC States also lost a balance in the south of Yemen. A support was provided by the Riyadh for those who were in opposition to the government in Aden by waving between a military interference and suppression, a letter was eventually opted as a less costly measures of contrasting a regime being rapidly destabilized by an obvious deficiency of help for its ruthless rigid policies (Horton 2011).

Khalidi (2011), a resistance could be triggered by an invasion, whereas, a pressure exerted by the Saudis, in 1973, brought a successful result in convincing the North Yemen to accept a permanent handover of the provinces of Asir, Najran and areas of Jizan, which was indeed a big loss to the Yemeni nationalists. The Saudi ambassador in the Yemen was declared as a second court of appeal, in case, if the petitioners did not get gratification from the Yemeni government, whereas, the United States was convinced by

the Riyadh to comply to the Saudi leadership in shaping its relations with the YAR during 1970s and 1980s. Any sort of the Yemen- Gulf convergence was inhibited by the Egyptian-Saudi disputes over Yemen at that time.

The several attempts were made after a civil war in the North Yemen to weaken the influence of the Riyadh by removing the Saudi assistants from a government, not least by the Yemen's civilian president, Abdul Rahman al-Eryani. Though, all these efforts proved to be useless as long as the Saudi largesse held a heavy influence over a sufficient number of tribal groups. A young president of the North Yemen, Ali Abdullah Saleh in 1979, struggled a lot to protect a support from the Soviet Union to ease his reliance upon the Saudi support and worked to unite with the South, as he was under a huge pressure and faced a critical situation after a murder of his antecedent and fellow officer Ibrahim al Hamdi. A response from the Riyadh was rapid and unequivocal, which involves an encouragement of the tribal turbulence and frightening them to remove all aid to a government in Sana'a. Agha (2012), along with the limitations of his power, the President Saleh was given several other salient lessons

It was evident that a government in Sana'a became progressively dependent on the Saudi aid due to a weakness of the Yemeni state during the 1970s and 1980s, the continued prominence of Riyadh influenced tribes in much of the country and its inability to collect taxes. An estimated cost was US\$60–80

million per annum to the YAR alone noticed in the late 1980's (Gause 1990: 26).

4.9.5 Yemeni Independence Shortened

In 1990, the occurrence of Yemeni unification with a momentum of events was quite surprising for the Saudi Arabia and some of the other GCC members. The remaining fears of an even greater threat possibly originating from a united Yemen meant that the Saudi Arabia wanted to break a country into pieces, as, the PDRY was an annoyance to the Marxist abomination to its conservative founders and the Western-aligned Saudi Arabia. A lot of events overcome this opposition, not least the end of the Cold War. Colombo (2012), an optimism for a new beginning exists no longer, if a unity means a lasted act of disobedience to the wishes of Riyadh's by the Sana'a.

In 1990, after an invasion of the Kuwait by Iraq, the Yemen was unfortunately left as an only Arab state on the Security Council. Agha (2012), the Yemeni government refused to support a UN resolution in a move of daring disobedience, that gives a military action, an authority to be used against the Iraq for a restoration of a sovereignty of Kuwait. The Saleh, who was an affirmed follower of the Saddam Hussein was in a favour of a strong alliance with the Iraq and a 'regional solution' to a conflict, which was hardly on the right time. A lot of struggle had been carried out by the Yemen to alleviate its

currency and to absorb an extremely bankrupt south. The Gulf States denied to provide a financial aid, whereas, the Saudia Arabia also expelled the 800,000 Yemeni migrants from its country as well as thousands more from Kuwait. These events caused a devastating loss to the economy of the Yemen, from which, it is not still recovering (Dresch 2000: 186).

Until, the Sana'a regime was hit upon by another means of diluting the Saudi influence, the Yemen somehow limped on during the 1990s: democratization (Bellin, 2012). The elections were successfully conducted in 1997, flawed, but hitherto unprecedented in the Arabian Peninsula, and produced the facilities of a loan which was equal to an entire national debt of the Yemen. The aid commitments worth US\$1.8 billion were secured by the Yemen by the mid-1997 over the three years. After the clarification of the limitations of Saleh's experiment in a democracy, a country went back to being a relative addition in the most states' development budgets and an initial wave of donor keenness for the Yemen's democracy was soon highlighted. In a meanwhile, from the 1970s onwards, a firm position was established by the Saudi religious institutes in the Yemen that contributed in the funding for the construction of religious schools and mosques (Bonney, 2008: 245–63).

4.9.6 Saudis Policy

It is a wrong perception that the Saudia's policy in Yemen was to spread its own ideology, as a consistent support to the religious institution in the Yemen

had been observed (AL-Naqeeb, 2012). Shia Zaydism and Sunni Shafi'ism, it is not possible to categorize a Saudi support of the different parties in the Yemen, according to a preference of the Sunni element that are the part of the two main religious sects in the Yemen. Though, a war against a rebellion which was led by Zaydi Shia tribesmen in 2009 was started in the Saudia Arabia and a large network of supporters among many of the Yemen's largest, and mostly Zaydi, tribal associations was also maintained by the Riyadh in an early 2010. An engrained support of the Saudia Arabia for competing with the Yemeni groups has been more substantiated in reasons of realism than in philosophy.

The Saudi Arabia's support in a recent time is among the Hashid and Bakil tribes, these are amongst its utmost significant levers of inspiration on the Yemeni state, which were formerly the 'wings of the imamate'. Even on the questions related to a national unity of the Yemen, the Hashid has proved himself to be a reasonably dependable partner: during the 1970s and 1980s, the Saudi opposition was constantly resonated by its Yemeni tribal partners about this issue (Gause 1990).

Lately, a degree of Saudi Arabia's tribal setup was evidently established in a Saudi journalist's interview with the two most influential tribal leaders in the Yemen, who was extensively supposed to be the major recipients of the Saudi funds. Incursions by the Yemeni rebels into the Saudi Arabia were strongly condemned by the Sheikh Sadiq al-Ahmar and Sheikh Naji al-

Shayef, of the Hashid and Bakil tribes respectively. Al-Okaz, 2010, they stated that 'there is the historical relationship between the people in a country, as the Kingdom and Yemen are one country and one people, therefore, any threats to the security of a Kingdom cannot be allowed at any cost'. Though, most of the Yemeni nationalists show a great resentment on these comments, they provide a hint towards the mass and the effect of the GCC's biggest member in its neighbours matters.

A main issue for the Saudi Arabia's in the recent years was a lack of presence of a single lever of control over its policies towards the Yemen (Duncan, 2012). After a declination of the Sultan's health, the interests of the Saudia Arabia in the Yemen were no longer focused by any of the leading member of the Saudi royal family. An annual budget of the Ministry of Defense's Special Office for Yemen Affairs was gradually compacted from a total of US\$3. 5 billion at the end of 1990s, after signing an agreement over the border in 2000 (Nonneman and Hill, 2011: 9). The Ministry of the Saudi intelligence services and the Interior took a gradual control over the Saudi interest in the Yemeni affairs. The superseding era of ambiguity and negligence was proved costly as, the Saudi Arabia found itself involved in a battle with the Yemeni protesters on its periphery.

Hence, there is an inconsistent negligence by the Saudia Arabia towards the Yemen for the last decade. The Saudi Arabia has to preserve itself as the toughest external factor and as a kingmaker, if it has to be regarded as

having a reliable single underlying objective in the Yemen bridging its history. Saif (2012), when the Yemen discontended its neighbour in 1979 and 1990/1, it was viciously chastised. An achievement of the main objectives were due to the Saudi strength, which involves, the flagging of the military and Yemeni state in favour of firming the tribes that has illogically proved to be a serious weakness in overcoming both an insurgency and the AQAP. It was also led by the al-Houthi family, 4 in the north of the country.

The Saudi Arabia realized that it had been pulled into its first war in decades in 2009, as the Houthi tribesmen protesting against Sana'a traversed into the Saudi territory in reaction to the supposed Saudi military support to the Yemeni establishments, assassinating approximately 110 Saudi troops and hurting the hundreds of more. Schmidtke (2012), a brittleness of the Sana'a's rule in many provinces was evident by the beginning of this insurgence in the Northern Province. Group (2009), particularly, in the Saada province, it was also emphasized as a confrontation of more traditional Zaydi Shia supporters to a supposed cultural destruction as a result of a help for Salafi or further old-school Sunni groups in the Saada province.

Iran has not dithered to make propaganda of the appearance of courageous Zaydi Shia rebels intriguing on the Wahhabi monolith. President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad criticized Riyadh for consuming its mighty arsenal to 'kill brothers' by not shielding Palestinians in Gaza, in the start of 2010. Also, Al-Houthi family in the northern Yemeni province of Saada province, bordering

Saudi Arabia, have directed a gathering of principally Zaydi Shia tribesmen who were mistreated at a alleged decline of patronage and a violation of their religious traditions in a discontinuous uprising against Sana'a (Group, 2009).

Schmidtke (2012), a change in an attitude of the Saudi Arabia is still to be observed, if it gains a lesson from its mistakes in the Saada province. In 2008, the Riyadh was extensively supposed to have advised the Yemeni government not to device the Qatari-brokered cease-fire with the Houthi rebels and to suppress a rebellion through a rehabilitated use of power. There was an ultimate rise in the conflicts due to the protests in the Saada. To grasp together a delicate cease-fire, the Saudi Arabia will have to return to the Qatar's original suggestion for the allocation of specific growth assistance for rebuilding the Saada province (Mitchell, 2012).

4.9.7 A New Era

Yemen is comprised of some of the official two-sided structures with the GCC members and the Saudi Arabia in particular within which to form the future associations, including a limited if unpredictably applied trade contract. A relationship between the two countries is managed by the Joint Coordination Council. On the Saudi side, it was led in a past by the Prince Sultan, whose bad physical condition caused the Council's meeting to be suspended several times during a year 2008 and 2009. On the Saudi side, there is an

unambiguous future leadership. The Yemeni leaders have often chosen to avoid it in a past (Amirsadeghi, 2012).

From a business point of view, a Saudi King has been individually observed as a most promising leader for the Yemen. Amin (2012), a suggestion of the Yemen's right to join the GCC was championed by him, at least verbally, whereas, in 2000, with an end of the Saudi guardedness by the crown prince over the Yemeni unity by appearing in a ceremony in the Yemen to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the consolidation of the south and north. A serious change in policy had been observed due to a belated Saudi support for the unity of the Yemen unity. Though, despite of Abdullah's more caring personal assertiveness towards the Yemen, both the Saudi government type and the devious nature of the Saudi governance mean that the royal words do not translate more oftenly into a royal favour or any other criminal change in the Saudi policy.

It was decided by the King Abdullah, to put an end to the pre-eminent role of the Ministry of Defence in the Yemeni policy, in 2011. This move was appreciated by most of the senior government officials in Sana'a, a lot of those opposed about the unhelpful approach of the Saudi Ministry of Defence to Sana'a and its incapability to lead a cross-government relationship on behalf of the other crucial ministries in the Riyadh. In the Riyadh, there is a

strong need of a speaker from the side of the Yemen who holds a real authority across a government; such person is yet to be discovered (Phillips, 2011).

Both the countries hold a complex yet the crucial relationship from the future development point of view between the Yemeni government and the major Saudi trading families of the Yemeni origin. These families, such as the bin Mahfouz and bin Ladin, possess the resources and the political mass within the Saudi Arabia to improve both the asset and expansion prospects for the Yemen greatly. Whereas, a cooperation between the southern Hadhrami origins and the Yemeni government dominated by the northerners was highly affected by the Hadhrami origins of these families, as they are perceived to contribute to a degree of distrust (Quamar, 2012). It is even widespread in the northern political circles in the Sana'a that some of the Diaspora figures in the Saudi Arabia are collaborating to resuscitate the old Saudi motivations of founding a vassal state in the Hadhramaut with an access to a sea. Despite of the doubts that exist and that the Yemeni government has so far to involved in an intelligible, positive dialogue with these families, the Diaspora figures are normally officially combined by the Saudi Arabia into its official discussions with its southern neighbour. Luomi (2011), it is a sad sarcasm that the Yemen's internal decentralization has collaborated to spoil the investment from the overseas.

A degree of inspection done by the Saudi Arabia with regard to its policies towards the Yemen has now been increased after a series of protests in the year 2011. The Saudi Arabia's initiated for a support of US\$1.25 billion to the Yemen at the international aid conference in a year 2006, which is far more than the other donors, and its help via informal networks is much bigger over a past decade. The bitterness of a third party questions is yet to be justified by the Saudi Arabia that where and how have they spend such a huge aid. Though, the recurrent interferences by the King Abdullah to protect the resignation of the President Saleh were valued, voices are rising from the Washington in the United States to take a strong stand on a necessity for an intelligible policy with the Saudi Arabia on the Yemen. A lot of debate has been carried out in the US Senate Committee for the Foreign Relations regarding the misallocation of the Saudi aid for 'a lack of transparency and allowing the continuation of a deprived governance'. United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (2010: 15), these grievances are supposed to incline the King Abdullah's choice to restraint in the activities of the Saudi Ministry of Defence partly, in 2010.

4.9.8 The Other Five and Yemen

A comparative significance of the Saudi Arabia has dwarfed the bilateral relationships of the other GCC member-states with the Yemen. A majority of areas of the foreign policy indicate that the most of the GCC member-states (with the possible exclusion of Qatar) are at pains not to oppose the Saudi

Arabia in the meetings with the third parties (Sharqiah, 2012). It is not obvious that these countries are not concerned: rather, a progress towards an eventual membership has been hindered due to the indecision of the smaller five member-states to welcome Yemen into the GCC.

4.9.8.1 Kuwait

It reminds of the unpleasant memories of what it concerns as Yemen's disloyalty of the country in the Security Council following the Iraqi assault of 1990. It was continuously believed by the Kuwaiti government that most of the issues related to a corruption and violence in the Yemen will be resolved successfully. A relatively powerful parliament of the Kuwait would also have to approve any government resolution to support Yemen joining the GCC, which would be likely to give way to a majority repercussion amid accusation for the 1990–1 Gulf War (Khalidi, 2011).

However, the large pledges of growth assistance made by the Kuwait to the Yemen are yet to be delivered, which expresses reservations about a capacity of the Yemen to spend such aid in an efficient manner (al-Mulla 2010).

4.9.8.2 United Arab Emirates (UAE)

The UAE is fully aware of the Saudi Arabia's sympathy towards its leadership role in the region with respect to the Yemen, the mentality of the 'Saudi Arabia's has not significantly changed since the 1930s, according to a survey by one of the state analyst. It can no way be concluded that the UAE has an uncaring attitude towards the problems of its neighbours. A federal government of the UAE has constantly promised a large sum of developmental aid to the Yemen, but has self-confessed of the significant problems in allocating such aid due to an exploitation and other preoccupation capacity problems (Luomi, 2011). Despite of having the impressive commitments: the Yemen, in 2009, was the only recipient of an official overseas aid by the UAE, which consists of US\$772 million. This aid was provided for the development of various sectors including electricity, water and educational projects as well as for the funding of a service by a government, which were mostly monitored by the Abu Dhabi Fund for the International Development. In general, the UAE has a comparatively decent record among the GCC countries in distributing upon its aid pledges, including providing relief to victims of the Saada province conflict and of flooding, and assisting the communities influenced by the Yemen's political unpredictability and the consequent recession in an economy (Salisbury, 2011).

The Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camp was established by the UAE Red Crescent Society in late 2009, which provided shelter up to 7,000 people, in the Saada province to help those enforced to escape a war there. It was a successful camp, as it provided, the more basic provisions of the UNHCR, whereas, a much better houses were provided to the IDP'S which were high in standard as compared to those, where the IDP's used to live. Having a wide range of the international and local NGOs on the educational projects, the Dubai Cares' is a new development agency that has recently started working (Breton, 2013).

4.9.8.3 Oman:

Oman competes with the Yemen for a sharing of help from the regional organizations and is considered as a big contributor of aid for the Yemen. As, the Oman was in a search of support for its independence, which is committed to a contribution of US\$100 million for projects in the Yemen, but these funds are insufficient in terms of expenditure, since an original undertaking was made at the London conference in 2006 (Al-Oman 2010). However, the Yemen's agreement to the GCC is apparently supported by the Oman. According to a claim of the Omani diplomats, there is still a long way off. As perceived by the Muscat, it is far better to provide aid to the Yemen before it joins the GCC rather than after a consent which will help the Yemen against a lag behind with the other member-states.

The opportunities for the commercial relations between the Oman and Yemen have been highly enhanced due to a recent accomplishment of a joint project of the Shahn-al-Ghaida highway between the two countries (Khaleel, 2012). The Oman is presently evolving a far-sighted plan for an al-Mazunah Free Zone on the border of both countries with a cooperation of the Yemen. The officials in Sana'a have uttered their gratitude for the Oman's efforts to keep the Yemen on the GCC agenda, as the Oman has signed over seventy-six agreements on the bilateral cooperation with the Yemen. Though, a no hope of enabling a reform of a governance in the Yemen can be seen due to this aid. It is referred as a form of 'unwarranted intrusion' by the Omani diplomats that harms the Yemen's independence. Likewise, it is believed by the Oman that the 'stepping-stone' conditions should not be given to the Yemen by the GCC for its agreement (Bruck, 2011). However, an aid provided to the Yemen is constantly monitored by the, that's how it is utilised for the development purposes by the monitoring of results and confirming the contracts.

An uncertain attitude of the Oman towards the Yemen is due to a factor that a country has its own increasing joblessness concerns and they are also opening offices in Doha and Dubai to lobby for openings for its citizens. Just like the other GCC member-states, a new wave of the Yemeni migrants will not be openly welcome by the Oman (Taube, 2012). A lot of security arrangements in coordination with the Yemeni government have been initiated by the Oman due to a fear that the Al-Qaeda's rebels may also pursue to penetrate across the Muscat's border with the Yemen. However,

the Omani government has so far evaded making statements about building the intricate structures similar to the border fence suggested by the Saudi Arabia.

The Oman has been helpful of the President Saleh's requests for help with regard to southern separatist movements, shedding a former PDRY President, Ali Salim al-Beidh of his Omani citizenship succeeding his frequent calls for a withdrawal. Usually, as rivalled by the other GCC member-states, this trend has reduced a support for the southern movement within their countries. A call by the southern leaders for an external mediation have been slowly responded by all the GCC countries (Haidar and Stracke, 2010).

4.9.8.4 Qatar:

A very practical approach has been adopted by the Gulf emirates by looking for a solution to the internal problems of the Yemens. During a year 2007 and 2008, the Qatar pressed a government of the President Ali Abdullah Saleh to approve a cease-fire with the Shia Zaydi insurgents in the north of a country, by posting the twelve officers from the Qatari military during the 2007–2008 to lead arbitration struggles in a procedure supervised by the Qatar's most senior representatives. Shmidtke (2012), just before a successful effort of breaking a cease-fire in the summers of 2008 that incorporated a substantial aid bundle and an exile for the senior Houthi leadership in Doha, this process

was disrupted at every step. Though, the Saudi annoyance over the occurrence of a Shia militant group on its southern border and doubts over the unproven links between the rebellion and the Iran added to an end of this ceasefire in July, 2009. It was not sufficient to stop the President Saleh from disconnecting the contacts with the Houthi rebels and hostilities that had started once again, despite a fact that the Qatari investment of US\$500 million real estate progress was crucial in fortifying power to enable an ultimate ceasefire. Dingli (2012), the Saleh's own personal dislike for the Houthi movement reflected a desire of the Saudi Arabia for a decisive military triumph.

The prime minister of Qatar and foreign minister, particularly sensed annoyed at what he viewed as a thoughtful Saudi impediment of his arbitration struggles. The Doha's better relationship with Tehran have always been given a preference by the Saudi Arabia just like the other Arab countries, in case, a favourable agenda will be advanced by the Qatar to the Iranian interests in a region. As, it became obvious that a key leader of the Zaydi Shia-led insurgency, Yahya al-Houthi, had requested that Qatar intercede in a conflict, these doubts were more excavated. An experience of 2007 and 2008 presented a pure example of where Qatari financial leverage was undermined by an effect of the Saudi Arabia, with destructive results for Yemen and a region. The events of the Arab Spring overtook the attempts made by the Qatar at a renewed mediation role in 2010. Furthermore; The President Saleh seemed to trust that the Qatar was vigorously assisting his rivals, according to the documents provided by a renowned worldwide

Wikileaks (WikiLeaks 2011). The Qatar denied to play a two-sided role or to push for a high-profile response by the Arab League, as a consequence of the protests that broke out in the Yemen in early 2011. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar (2011), a very crucial role was played by the Qatar by fighting any effort to weak the GCC plan to ease the President Saleh from power, even shortly diminishing its help for the GCC mediation struggle at a critical occasion in May, 2011.

A government is much doubtful about the vision of a greatly boosted Yemeni migration in the Gulf region, although, the Qatar has pronounced its provision for the Yemen's agreement to the GCC. A potentially threatening consequence that could be faced by the Yemen upon the GCC customs zone and projections for a single currency, is also a matter of great concern for the Qatar. Yet, Qatar has been a large benevolent donor to the Yemen which is the wealthiest GCC country in terms of GDP per capita. It has also provided a great aid to the Yemeni IDPs, since 2009; but it has been more unwilling to finance a central government. HOOD (2010), still, there have been a recurrent allegations regarding more Qatar's aid that is being averted to the black market because of the presence of a very inadequate number of Qatari officials on the ground of Yemen.

4.9.8.5 Bahrain

Luomi (2011), through the guidance of the Social Development Fund, as well as by providing limited growth assistance through multifaceted donors, the Bahrain has shown its willingness to accept the technical aid projects in the Yemen, unlike the other GCC states. The Bahrain is now evolving as a vital investment in an immature financial sector of the Yemen.

4.10 GCC Aid to Yemen

In comparison to the US\$250 million provided by the EU for a period of 1990 to 2004, the Yemen has received a financial aid of US\$1 billion by the Saudi Fund, the Arab Fund, OPEC Fund and the Islamic Development Bank. MOPIC (2010), the aid of US\$51 million was also provided by the Arab and Islamic Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for a same period. Due to a refusal of the Yemen to support the first Gulf War, the aid was drastically cut despite of receiving it for a period of several years. In 2006, the London donors' conference, which was co-convened by the GCC, the Gulf donors promised the US\$2.5 billion, that is not less than half of a total US\$4.7 billion, as promised by all the international contributors. A more modest commitments were made by the largest Development Assistance Committee (DAC) (Bruck, 2011).

Though, the pledges are mostly unreliable. The pledges of assistance made by most of the international donors at the London donors' conference in Yemen in 2006 has not been paid till now. Thus, the statements made by the GCC countries regarding aid targets presented at the Friends of Yemen conferences in 2010 in London and 2012 in Riyadh should not be considered as 'additional' to the previous promises, meanwhile those funds have not been paid yet. Al-Jazeera (2012), the Saudi Arabia offered the most generous aid of US\$3.25 billion in 2012 at the Friends of the Yemen meeting, and instead, less than half of the amount promised at the 2006 donors' meeting on the Yemen has not been provided until now. The Yemeni government presented a report in early 2010 which shows that only 7 per cent of the GCC assured aid from the 2006 London conference had been utilised (MOPIC 2010b). Due to the devastating floods that affected the Yemen in 2009, it has received an additional funding from all over the world, US\$135 million were provided by the Arab Fund for Development, US\$100 million by the Saudi Arabia and the US\$35 million by the UAE. MOPIC (2010), a leverage of another US\$50 million was provided by the UAE in 2008, as a result of the food crises, related to US\$27.3 million by the EC. Additionally, the distribution figures from the London conference in 2006, also rejected an aid delivered outside the conventional aid mechanisms familiar to the Western donors.

A Yemeni government, was highly stressed due to a disappointment in translating the pledges into an actual payment on a ground, which was either due to the concerns over a preoccupation capacity, a lack of arrangement or

capability of donors. Yet, a weakening security condition of the Yemen has gained a much attention of the other GCC countries due to rapidly increasing sense of urgency. The Saudi–Yemeni Coordinating Council approved to initiate an execution of a huge project, predominantly fresh roads and other infrastructures, for instance, educational facilities and building hospitals in February 2010. A US\$200 million have been allocated by the Saudi Arabia for a formation of a combined economic region in the border city of al-Wadiyah. Al-Dowsh (2010), it has been recently announced by a government of the Abu Dhabi that they are initiating a dialogue with the Yemeni government regarding a development of the infrastructure projects to be commenced on a fast track. In 2011, a growth on executing these pledges was intricate by the ferocity that started as a reaction to the Arab Spring remonstrations.

4.10.1 Lack of Absorption capacity

It has been widely pointed out by the donor countries that the Yemen holds insufficient absorption capacity to permit them to distribute their initiatives. Though, due to increase in an additional capacity of the Yemen to manage projects, this argument is becoming weak. The Social Development Fund has gained a substantial admiration for its use of funds in a fair manner and The Technical Aid Unit in the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC) has grown up in its competence (Fielding- Smith 2010). A unit for monitoring the GCC projects has been created by the MOPIC and has also

advised the respective Gulf countries to open the offices in Sana'a to advance a coordination, a promise that has since been made by the Abu Dhabi Fund for Development funds. The Abu Dhabi is dedicated as well to functioning provincially in the Yemen, rather than through a central government, managing the twelve out of fourteen projects openly in synchronization with a local governor. An issue of having a low capacity, within a government department to handle the distribution of funds, has been reported by the Gulf donors, aside from the Yemeni Social Fund, the 'islands of competence' in MOPIC and the Ministry of Finance (Embassy, 2012).

In general senior Yemeni civil servants have frequently requested for more training opportunities to advance a project management capability of accepting the restrictions of their own bureaucracy with an open mind. MOPIC (2010), an aid disbursement through a 'direct implementation mechanisms by the donors and their respective implementation arms' has also been permitted by a government. However, some donor countries remain doubtful about a claim that a present fund management unit can engross up to US\$600 million a year (Economist Intelligence Unit 2009). Phillips (2011), for the building up of a technical capacity to engross and withstand such developments, the European donors are worried that an overwhelming GCC preference for funding the large organization projects cannot be coordinated by an adequate DAC fund.

Western donors have always shown a reluctant attitude towards paying contradicting pressing crises that intimidate a government's stability, such as funding a wide wage shortfall to recompense Yemen's distended civil service. By excluding only the 12 Correspondence with an adviser to the UAE government, most of the Yemeni military and the civil services are disreputably corrupt (Haidar, 2010; March 2010). There are also the upsetting rates of absenteeism, but both are essential to a delicate investment system that preserves a tribal support for a state. For a maintenance of the existing services and the payment of the government salaries, the Yemeni government has infrequently been enforced to request aid from the Saudi Arabia (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2009).

Even though, the leaders of the Saudi Arabia are well aware of a fact that there is a lack of misunderstanding over the supervision of funds preserves the fraudulent jobs of the status quo, they are in fact further apprehensive in case, if a weak Yemeni state reduces even further if such support is not approaching. The Saudi Arabia is trapped in an awkward catch-22; a main source of conflict in the Yemen is a corruption, instead, a bankrolling of the government is less dangerous than holding the funds while trying to change a system, while pursuing to control its worst extremes (Hill & Nonneman, 2011). In future, this will rise as a crucial question to the Saudi policies.

The 'carrot' of the GCC membership has captured the GCC in a condition of an exclusive power to advance a supremacy in the Yemen, through the

setting of a criteria for the agreement, should it wish to grab such a chance. A writ of the Yemeni government can be highly improved by enhancing a delivery of services and facilitation a corruption, whereas, the threats to regional security can also be reduced by extension. Group (2011), a change is thus a bit an unsafe choice than the status quo.

The GCC states also associated with the supporters of Yemen Group produced as a result of the London conference in 2010, which is in addition to the bilateral and regional arrangements. In late February 2010, the GCC presented a conference in the Yemen, after a London conference in January. Mahjoub (2010), the main highlights of this meeting include a discussion on an aid that had been pledged to the Yemen by the GCC and was left unspent and who was behind a failure of these planned developmental projects. It was highly claimed by the Yemen that it was now conceivable for it to devise a greatly improved several projects and offered a five-year expansion plan which required over US\$44 billion in funding. Still, it is yet to be indicated by the GCC member-states about a future funding beyond implementing the previous initiatives (Lumoi, 2011).

4.11 Summary

This chapter explained in detail, a historical background of the Yemen geographically and demographically. Passing through its political developments either during the early ages of history, the two state system

prior to the unifications, or after the unified Yemen and the declaration of the todays known, the Republic of Yemen. The chapter also cited the first transitional period and its intensive consequences of a civil war ending with the Yemen's situational relations with the GCC member states and their full involvement in the Yemen's politics covering a major interactions of the Yemeni-Gulf relations.

CHAPTER FIVE

GCC: ROOTS AND POSSIBILITY OF SOUTHERN EXPANSION

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, a researcher has explore a nature of the GCC; the circumstances were occurring prior to its establishment, as well as the political and security situations existing during the time of the GCC reveal. Then, the chapter passes through the GCC itself features, Charter governs it and ending with a discussing of its effectiveness along with the efforts in developing a peace and prosperity among its members and in a region as a whole, concentrating on its role towards the Yemen.

5.1 The Nature of the GCC

The local integration organizations have enlarged lately and the significance of regional organizations in politics, security, and economics are mounting dramatically. In the early nineteenth century, a first integrated organization was appeared.

Nevertheless, an integration organizations were not entirely Europeanprodigy, they have also taken place in the North America, Latin Americal Asia and Africa. There were three types of organizations in the Arab world: Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Arab Maghrib Union (AMU) and Arab Cooperation Council (ACC). While, the major one did not survive and the subsequent one is near to finish, despite, the efforts to revive it after the Arab Spring due to a change of its two members (Libya and Tunisia). However, only the GCC is functioning effectively. During the last 17 decades, a numerous organizations around the world have been generated.

5.2 Emergence of the GCC

5.2.1 Antecedent Efforts at Cooperation

Amazingly the factual position is that amid all these organizations implicating the Gulf States, no regional international organization was there to deal exclusively and entirely with the Gulf itself, as an economic, cultural, political, security, or natural unit.

For the Gulf, the struggle to generate a type of a cooperative framework was started from the late 1960s. However, these previous determinations were hindered largely because of the regional conflicts, specifically between Iraq and Iran. Difficulties had to be faced by the other Gulf countries to establish

the formal cooperative agreements among themselves due to a non-cooperative attitude of the Iran and Iraq. Likewise, a relatively low level of the regional pressures restrained a motivation for a cooperation among these countries (Hill & Nonneman, 2011).

In the early 1968, when the announcement of the British withdrawal from the region was made, there was a fluster of activity towards a potential formation of an international organization in an area. A successful effort was made by the UAE itself to avoid a maximum disintegration. Nevertheless, both the Qatar and Bahrain opted for an independence instead of complying with the broader Federation Agreement, which they had made with the other seven Trucial States in February 1968 (Bisharah, 1985).

Ever since, a period of British withdrawal, an idea of a collective Gulf had been chaotically advanced by Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran but there was no keenness between the minor states for any framework whose chief consequence would have been to advance Iranian or Iraqi domination in the Gulf. Qatar, UAE, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait set up the Arab Industries Organization in 1975, thereby, a combined struggle was made to ascertain the Arab-run armaments factories in Egypt, but due to the Camp David Treaty, this project could not be materialised. The Saudi Arabia sustained to disseminate a political framework in order to contribute prominently (GCC, 2011). Although, the Saudi King Khalid visited the Gulf in March 1976 and

Interior Minister in October 1976, but succeeded to very low profile agreement to share internal security information and intelligence.

To broaden the economic territory, the Gulf Organization for the Industrial Consultancy was formed, with the Iraq as a member, in November 1976, whereas, an idea of a Gulf common market was proposed a year later. After a revolution in the Iran, the Gulf scene changed dramatically by 1980. Iran, while in a phase of revolution and turmoil, bent on imposing its ideology to the other regional states, the consequent sense of susceptibility and uncertainty was seen in the other Gulf countries. Thereafter, in a same year, a war was erupted between the Iran and Iraq. However, due to this war, the obstacles made by Iran and Iraq were removed and prospects for a cooperation in the Gulf started (Cordesman, 1984).

5.2.2 GCC: Origins and Establishment

In a first instance, any association or close arrangement of countries is founded, on the distinguished uniqueness of benefits between the participating parties and on a judgment that rather than being in isolation there is more to be gained in association (Cordesman, 2012). The characteristics of interest may be like political, economic, security or cultural, but a common interest leads to a coalition of states in order to have real substance and uninhibited purpose. There are many international organizations, such as the Arab League, the Warsaw Pact (in the cold war

period), the Islamic Conference Cooperation Organization (ICC) and the European Economic Community, may be different in composition and disagree broadly in their purposes, but they all bind their members in the thread of communality. Six countries had negotiated about a formation of certain type of regional grouping quite before the emergence of GCC.

At the invitation of the Oman, in 1976, the Foreign Ministers of the present members of the GCC, as well as Iraq and Iran, had gathered in Muscat to contemplate a combined regional defence policy and security. An idea was declined, as the ministers could not settle on a common position (Potts, 1984). The Shiekh Jaber al Ahmad (ruler of Kuwait), Prime Minister and the Crown Prince then recommended in a same year, an idea for the formation of a Gulf Union in order to preserve the regional security and stability in the aspect of political, economic and security challenges menacing this strategic area (Norton, 1993). Sheikh Saad Alabdulla AlSabah (late Crown Prince of Kuwait) paid official visits in 1978 to Bahrain, the UAE and Oman and stated, that

“Kuwait has a complete framework for cooperation among all the Arab Gulf states under present political situation” (Awad, 1985; Legrenzi, 2010; Nakhleh, 1986). In the Arab Summit held in Amman (Jordan) in 1979, serious negotiations started and the late ruler of Kuwait Shaikh Jaber al Ahmad had discussed with the other Gulf Arab States counterparts and put forth some suggestions regarding the formation of a union between their own selves.

Thereafter, in 1980, the Arab states political establishments discussed the matter officially (Ramazani & Kechichian, 1988). A meeting of the Gulf foreign ministers on February 4-5 1981 classified the Kuwaiti proposals, to establish Cooperation Council of the Arab Gulf States, in order to provide a framework for economic, coordination and integration in cultural and political, social and, cooperation, affairs (Nakhleh, 1986). Thereafter, further meetings of the Foreign Ministers were held in Muscat, on March, 9-10, and the first summit meeting of the heads of member states of the Cooperation Council was held in Abu Dhabi on May 25-26, 1981, in which the statutes of the new Council were approved (Nakhleh, 1986). A common interest and ties shared by the GCC states can be summarized as follows:

1. Geographically the GCC states are situated in a same area, as such they share common borders that facilitate travel and promote trade.
2. The historical, linguistic, and religious ties create an identical unit, promoting mutual perceptiveness both on the public and official stages.
3. A long history of multilateral, trilateral, and bilateral cooperation exists between the GCC states in various vital areas.
4. The GCC states possess most of the world oil reserves that lead them to preserve their interests and take necessary measures to counter any danger.
5. The aspiration to create a common market that would captivate their industrial production has encouraged close economic cooperation, and eventually amalgamation and unity.

Besides, in studying what the GCC has attained, it is imperative to keep in mind that it is not only an institution but also a feeling involving commitment to cooperation. Thus, something that has been achieved by single or multiple member states, and not by the Secretariat or the Supreme Council has portrayed certain vision and refusing the truth that the Council does exist (GCC, 2011). The Table 3 follows explains GCC member states economic indicators.

Table 5.1: GCC member states economic indicators

Country	Total Land	Population	GDP	GDP per Capita
UAE	710000 km	8.3 Million	USD 338 Billion	USD40000
KSA	2 Million km	28 Million	USD597 Billion	USD21000
Qatar	11600 km	1.7 Million	USD173 Billion	USD100000
Kuwait	17800 km	3.1 Million	USD160 Billion	USD52000
Bahrain	7667 km	1.2 Million	USD28 Billion	USD24000
Oman	395000 km	3.3 Million	USD72 Billion	USD22000

Economic indicators of the GCC member states as per GCC official website.

5.2.3 Pre-integration Perspective

The Arab states of the Gulf were considered to be the poorer states just four decades ago. Their main source of income was from agriculture, but due to deserted locations it was limited. Other economic activities were pearling, costal commerce and fishing. Bishara (1985) stated that the governments were principally tribal in nature and location. The foremost roots of social organization were the tribes and the family. The societies were generally dominated by tribal loyalties and religious customs.

The initiation of oil wealth instigated to change a situation radically. As a result, the development started in these states and they became modern, industrial, and administratively organized centres of regional and international finance and commerce and some states having the world's highest average per capita income (Cottrell, Bosworth, & Burrell, 1980; Ismael & Ismael, 1978; Netton, 1986). They came to play a role individually and collectively in global affairs extremely high keeping in view their modest geographical and population dimension. Furthermore, these states have different social structures, e.g. lack of indigenous working class, booming commercial sector and wide administration sector as well as the influence of farmers and rovers on the political dynamics of the state (Gause, 1994).

But, a discovery of oil brought an end to the tribal structure, and the social mobility, literacy, means of communication increased manifold. With all the

strains and stresses, these societies are now undergoing a rapid socioeconomic change that this miracle might entail (Breton, 2013). A unique situation has been created with the nonplurality of a social structure and the low level of political participation and consciousness.

5.2.4 Historical Familiarity

The British controlled the waters and shores of the Gulf for more than one hundred and fifty years, started from the early decades of the nineteenth century by pulling out at the end of 1971. During this long period, the Britain implemented political control over Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the UAE. They exercised their control over defence and foreign affairs, however, refrained from an unnecessary interference in the tribal structure and pattern of rule.

The system of colonization that triumphed in the area was one of the hindrance and exclusion (Breton, 2013). It varied in many aspects from that exercised in Africa or the Caribbean. Although, this was measured as an autonomy for the states, but it resulted to delay in political and economic development. The Britain did exercise substantial political influence over the remaining two states, i.e. Saudi Arabia and Oman, but refrained from controlling those (Hill & Nonneman, 2011).

5.2.5 Economic Structure and Underdevelopment

Before the 1960's, the Gulf States were very poor and backward, as most of the population was earning their livelihood either by fishing and trading or by pearl diving. However, after the induction of oil wealth these countries have experienced common trends of growth and development (Colombo, 2012). The common characteristics comprise a huge growing government sector, aspiring industrial development programs, and an ever intensifying standard of welfare and income. The planning and formation of industrial zones required a rapid expansion in infrastructure facility.

Though, these countries still have at the present time, most non industrial single-resource economies depending on the on markets beyond their immediate surroundings. This seems to be correct in the case of Saudi Arabia, whose economy being the largest among the six states, it can hardly claim to consume domestically over 300,000 Barrels Per Day (BPD) of its crude oil out 9.6 million BPD it produced in 1981 (Cordesman, 1981). The production reached to 11 million BPD in 1984.

Most of the grains and foods have to be imported as all six states have relatively low level of technological skills as well as agricultural resources. The Economic integration takes place mostly depends on deliberate and planned actions rather than the gradual, smooth and functional pattern

characteristics of the highly industrialised economies, keeping in view the nature and structure of economies of these states (Kamrava, 2012).

5.2.6 Variation in Size and Capabilities

As compared to any contemporary regional group, the states of the GCC have widely unparalleled territorial spread and means of power (Razavi & Kirsten, 2011). As far as, an area size is concerned the two states ranges from 2, 200, 000 sq. Km (Saudi Arab) to 676 sq. Km (Behrain) (Anderson, 1987). Again, there is a vast difference in the quantum of the population, e.g. Saudi Arabia's total population was 11, 450,000 (22m in 2004), whereas, the Qatar consisted of 310, 000 inhabitants in 1985 (over a half million in 2004) (Buiter, 2008). There is a sharp variation in GNP per capita, too, as Oman's per capita income was \$ 6240, and the UAE's was \$ 21340 in 1983 (Paxton, 1986). There is vast variation, in a national income of the Saudi Arabia and combined income of all five states, i.e. \$127, 8 billion and \$57, 7 billion in 1981 respectively (Cordesman, 1984).

5.2.7 Characteristics of the GCC

5.2.7.1 External Factors

As compared to industrialised countries, the frequency of integration among developing countries is much more affected by regional and non-regional

governments. In fact, the GCC is comprised of states, which are although rich in their financial resources, but they are small and economically underdeveloped with minimal military power, whereas, the “outside world” will have comparatively bigger impact on them than they are likely to have on the outside world (Embassy, 2012).

In the formation of GCC the external factors such as, regional actors, global powers, and non-state actors, played an important role in the interest of their relationship (Axline, 1985). At the end of 1970's, there were a series of events that took place in the region and around the world which caused the formation of the GCC. These events were, an emergence of the Marxist state in Ethiopia, the downfall of the Shah's regime in Iran, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, and oil market developments (Khaleel, 2012).

5.2.7.2 Core of the GCC

The historical cases studied by Deutsch and his co-authors, suggests that; Broader political communities have been erected and unified largely around the focal point of political and economic strength, as well as social or cultural attraction, provided by large state (Deutsch, 1968, 1979). The large, strong and important member of GCC is on an edge of supremacy in both territorial size and other resources has empowered Saudi Arabia to provide an essential area for the development of the GCC, and is likely to play a vital

role in the future, as it has not only the human resources but, also has the world's largest oil reserves (Hill & Nonneman, 2011). Saudi Arabia dominates a key strategic position as it is not only the world's largest oil exporter, but it exists across the air routes between Europe and the Far East, and controls Red and Gulf seas through which a bulk of Western oil flows. Because of the presence of the Muslim holy places it has also inherited a key political role (Schmitdke, 2012).

The GCC dominant member Saudi Arabia's role is as follows:

"The Saudis are pushing the GCC for political reasons. They want one big happy family. And there can be no doubt that the Saudis were the driving force behind GCC creation, and the Council headquarters / secretariat, is located in Riyadh" (Vasil'ev, 1998). In the event of socioeconomic and political repercussions, the Saudi Arabia has the potential to provide necessary assistance for integration of the GCC.

5.2.8 Political Nature of the GCC

Primarily, an integration of the six Gulf States is a political act carried out by a measured act of the political leaders. An abrupt behaviour in the GCC's politicization has been noticed rather than a gradual, and hence, this integration specifies both a perception of a deep security threat and a shared beginning of common interest and. The integrative experiment considers a

Western European conception of a spillover, as something similar to an alien (GCC, 2011).

As a matter of fact, in case of any spillover of the whole, it moves in a contrasting direction, i.e. a spillover from politics to economics occur in the shape of development for an economic growth by appropriate political elites. Furthermore, as stated by Al-Haj, 1999, the Gulf States perceive the integration of their states neither as integration of nations nor as a termination in itself, however, the integration of tribes within a considerably big sphere of Arab nationalism.

5.2.9 GCC Organizational Structures and Objectives

In one way or the other, the GCC obeys the confederalist approach, however in a rather adapted form related to member states to unrestraint some of their freedom on certain matters (Ulrichsen, 2011). Nevertheless, surprisingly, the GCC shares certain types of a federation and a confederation, i.e., institutionally; obviously, the GCC is far from a comprehensive confederal or federal structure. However, the first Secretary-General of the GCC Bishara portrayed the GCC as given below:

“The philosophy of the GCC lies in a fact that it is a united structure whose ambition is total unity, we move on the basis of this perception” (Bishārah, Council, & General, 1987). Additionally, the GCC organization was described by him as follow:

“The GCC is known as an organization which exemplifies an objective of the member states, but we hold alteration only when it is serene, based on encouragement and agreement.” While, an integration is a process that can be prolonged and annoying, the Council may be observed as a legal step presented by a Charter accepted by all the member states. Before the access to this process, nevertheless, a production of the institutional setting of this organization is working. The three principal bodies make up an organization of the GCC; a Secretariat-General; the Supreme Council and a Ministerial Council. Unlike the EU, there is no specified Budget in the GCC, it only possesses an operational Budget and no Parliament, (Bishārah, et al., 1987) and no Court of Justice (Mattli, 1999; Pollack, 2003).

5.2.9.1 The Supreme Council

Consisting of the six heads of state or their delegates in case, any of a previous should be incapable to join for any reason, the Supreme Council is the highest authority of the GCC. In case of a requirement, a Council meets in an emergency session, otherwise an ordinary session is conducted annually. The presidency of a Council is undertaken by each state one by one, according to the Arabic alphabetical order of the names of the member states. If the two-thirds of the member states attend a meeting of a Supreme Council, it is considered as successful. Each member has a right to cast one vote and it takes decisions on substantive, as opposed to the procedural, matters by a common agreement of those chiefs of a state contributing, while a majority is enough to support those of a procedural nature. Charter (1981),

the overall policy of an organization is drawn up by a Supreme Council; its arguments on the endorsements and laws presented to it by the Secretariat-General and the Ministerial Council and in formulation for ratification; it endorses the budget of the Secretariat-General and employs the Secretary-General.

A Commission for the Settlement of Disputes has been established by the Article 10 of the Charter, which is to mark commendations to the Supreme Council for solving either disputes between the member states or issues with respect to clarification of the Charter. With the nominees to be drawn from the member states (at least 3 persons) other than those who are party to the issue at hand, the Supreme Council selects the members of the Commission for each dispute referred to it (Bishārah, et al., 1987).

Furthermore, an outcome of the 1997 GCC Heads of the state Summit in Kuwait and its first meeting in Kuwait on November 7 of the same year was convened by the Advisory Commission (Council), or sometimes called Consultative or Conciliation Committee for the Supreme Council (Legrenzi, 2010). It delivers advice and proposals on the subjects referred to it by the Supreme Council by having the seats equally distributed among the six member countries composing the GCC. Whereas, a 30-member body, chosen according to their experience and qualification for a period of three years (Council, 2000-2012).

Moreover, in case of a disagreement between members, this Committee is devoted to the Council to help as a mediator. Council (2000-2012), decisions of this Committee are binding as to the interpretation of the rules. The Supreme Council uttered its contentment with a start of its operations, and trusted it with a task of reviewing an economic, social, cultural problems in the member states, in a summit, in 1998.

It was permitted by the Supreme Council that the Commission should have a permanent headquarters in the Sultanate of Oman, in a proposal presented by the Sultanate of Oman (Marar, 2004). The GCC leaders made difficult negotiations by accepting a Charter that would dispel the fears of member-states and please their different aspirations, by knowing the impairments to the regional integration. The Charter provides a process through which integration could be attained and imitates their wish to boost a two-sided and multilateral cooperation within a region and urges the member-states to do the sacrifices essential for an integration.

It specifies the institutional structure that provides consequence to a community and also spells out the means for achieving the GCC's objectives (Bellion, 2012). In the Third World War, most of the regional groupings are categorized by the weak supranational organizations. The leaders, in both Latin America and Africa have demonstrated much readiness to find the regional associations with the adequate resources and independence to accelerate an integration. In 1964, the special Latin American Coordination

Commission, (CECLA) was established for the purpose of collective economic bargaining with international organizations and foreign countries, soon became known as “Latin America’s floating crap game”. AL-Naqeeb (2012), an extremely weak institutions suggested this name; no permanent headquarters and no secretariat, and any member could call a meeting provided it hosted and financed the conference and prepared the documentations

The East African Community (EAC), which is now obsolete was also institutionally fragile. The supreme decision -making organ was the East African Authority, which was composed of the heads of the three member states. A maintenance of the good relations among the three heads of state was dependent on a stability of the community in effect. The disputes quickly spilled over to disrupt a regional cooperation because the community was not insulated from the regional conflicts. This problem was worsened by a general absence of autonomy for the regional institutions (Colombo, 2012). The regional assembly secretariat weakened due to the treaty provisions that were designed to maintain a national predominance in a regional decision making. The territorial assemblies have to approve all legislation of a regional assembly and receive the agreement of the three heads of state before becoming a law which prioritized national legislation over a region. A similar pattern is followed by many of the Latin American organizations’ structure. Charter (1981), all the important decisions of the organizations are subject to national veto.

Additionally, due to the effects of integration caused due to an economical reasoning and trade in the Europe, an integration in the North America and Asia-Pacific has been largely triggered, just like the other proposals (Bora et al., 1996). As an example of the “second integrative response” unlike, the GCC integrative scheme which has nothing to do, mainly, with a trade, or integration in the Europe (Mattli, 1999). While expressing the GCC Charter, the Gulf Arab leaders possibly took a knowledge of the organizational faintness of these earlier groupings and the strengths of the Andean Pact and the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) (Okolo, 1985). The legally binding decisions can be made by the Supreme Council of the GCC, whereas, the rules can be issues that will apply in the member states, in contrast to the European Council. For facilitating an integration, aspects of this organization’s institutional structure resemble the GCC at any cost.

Composed six heads of member-states, the supreme policy making body in the GCC is an authority of the heads of a state and government. A flow of work was secured by the heads of the states of the GCC who selected a humble and actual mechanism. For studying and evaluating the progress of a work and for reviewing political, security and economic affairs, a regular meeting was carried out on an annual basis (Council, 2000-2012).

Though, an annual meeting of the leaders in a capital of one of the member states is carried out to (1) estimates their growth since last year's meeting, (2) evaluates an existing regional and international situation, and (3) refer and, where possible, sign agreement on ways to move forward in chasing their mutual interests, needs and concerns (Giddens, 2000). The GCC states decided on summoning a semi-annual summit, since 199 which means, two summits every year. As secretary general Al-Hujailan puts it:

News (2000), will be convened for one day without a schedule and free from protocols, and they will debate matters they find necessary to debate under the current conditions.” In the Abu Dhabi, in 1998, the consultative meeting of the GCC leaders approaches at the decision of the 19th summit. In 1999, the first meeting was held in the Saudi Arabia and continued to be held subsequently in other countries (Council, 2000-2012). To carry out a study for discussing all the matters and concerns that are important to the GCC in different fields, the counselling meeting to be convened without a predetermined agenda (Council, 2000-2012).

5.2.9.2 The Ministerial Council

The Ministerial Council comes next in a hierarchy of the GCC institutions which is comprised of the ministers of the foreign affairs or other ministers that can work in place of them. A meeting of the Ministerial Council is

conducted after every three months and if a member of any state who is backed by other requests, they may also select to meet for the unexpected sessions. The Presidency of the ministerial Council is commended with a member state that controlled the previous ordinary session of the Supreme Council, or when required, by a member state, which is next to governing the Supreme Council. It also takes decisions by unanimous vote by rotating its location.

A proper study of the issues and making recommendations to the Supreme Council for decision, and implementation of the policy conclusions of the Supreme Council is a main task of the Ministerial Council. If the two-thirds of the member states attend a meeting, it is considered valid. It also creates suggestions and references that pursue to ease closer collaboration among the member states. The reports generated by the workflow of the Secretariat-General and the issues, giving commands that how to solve the problems are also put into consideration by them (Christie, 1987; Lawson, 1997). The GCC Ministerial Council can set a political guideline for cooperation and issue declarations on foreign policy matters rather than making decisions in contrast to the European Council of Ministers (Council, 2000-2012).

5.2.9.3 The Secretariat General

The Secretariat-General included the Secretary-General assisted by four assistant Secretaries-General, for political affairs, military affairs, economic affairs, and security affairs. The latter was introduced in 2004, in order to tackle the menace of terrorism (Council, 2000-2012). Subsequently, upon the nomination of the Secretary-General, Ministerial Council also employed GCC Permanent Mission to the European Commission in Brussels by an Ambassador, subjected to three renewable years. Hence, unsurprisingly, there was formed of the multinational character of the Secretariat-General centred in Riyadh together with staff (personnel whom they may demand) that symbolizes the GCC and its members to their fellow EU signatories on an eternal basis.

Independent of GCC, none of the similar GCC office or any other system of demonstration survives in any other country. In the late 1990s, the Secretariat-General was constituted of the Office of the Secretary-General, Directorates of: Telecommunication Bureau, Patent Bureau, an Information Centre, Financial and Administrative Affairs, Human Resources, Environmental and Legal Affairs, Economic Affairs, Military Affairs and Political Affairs in Bahrain. Member states are assisted by the secretariat in employing endorsements by the Supreme and Ministerial Councils, as well as formulate budgets and accounts Charter, and reports and studies (1981).

For a renewable three-year tenure, the Supreme Council, assigns the Secretary-General upon the endorsement of the Ministerial Council. The Supreme Council as the first Secretary-General designated a senior Kuwaiti diplomat, Dr. Abdulla Yacoub Bishara, who had created an eminent status as Kuwaiti Permanent Representative to the United Nations. He detained the position for twelve subsequent years (four three-year tenures, 1981-1993). Shaykh Fahim bin Sultan Al-Qasimi was the next, from the United Arab Emirates who lasted for one term (1993-1996); followed by the third Secretary-General of the GCC, from Saudi Arabia, named Mr. Jamil Ibrahim Al-Hejailan, was assigned in the Muscat summit held in 1995. However, the GCC agreed to restore its Secretary General Al-Hujeilan for an additional three-year tenure from April 1999 onwards in 1998 the Council (2012).

The leaders, in 22nd summit held in Muscat, concluded their statement with thankfulness for the efforts of Al-Hejailan throughout his term of office of the Secretary- General, in December 2001, which terminated by the end of March, 2002. They also declared the employment of the Qatari Minister of State Abdulrahman bin Hamad Al- Ateyyah for this office, who was the fourth employed in this post. According to Charter (1981), the GCC leaders declared to restore the term of the organization's Qatari secretary general, Ateyyah, for additional three years, starting from April 2005, in Manama (2004 summit), followed by the subsequent renewal till 2011. Afterwards, the Bahrain's former defence minister was selected by the supreme council to be the continuing secretary general of the GCC. Though, all member states helped equally towards the budget of the Secretariat (Charter, 1981).

Okolo (1985) stated that independent secretariat of supranational or quasi-supranational officials assisted the GCC Supreme Council and Ministerial Council, in comparison to CECLA and EAC. The GCC Charter stipulated that Secretary General as well as all the Secretariat General's staff of the member states shall perform their obligations in the mutual concern of the member states as well as in whole freedom. Also, they shall abstain them from any misconduct or wrong doing that is conflicting with their obligations and from revealing the secrets of their jobs through or even beyond their office tenure. As uninformed bureaucrats, in-line with the recognized rules of international secretariats, a condition should be prevailed that can augment integration by permitting, technical matters to be shielded from the politics of national interest. In both cases, with or without implementation of this matter, would obviously affect decision-making style, the overall outlook of secretariat officials, dynamism and the general attitudes of member states and the skills (Ramazani & Kechichian, 1988).

In 1986, there were 275 employees in offices the Secretariat-General in Riyadh (Council, 2000-2012; Dresch & Piscatori, 2005). Eighty five percent of the staff worked on economic related issues, i.e. around 300 in number, in 2000 (Al-Kuwaiz, 1987; Sandwick, 1987). The GCC's institutional structure is succeeding seven committees; the Financial and Currency Cooperation Committee, the Social and Cultural Services Committee, the Economic and Social Planning Committee, the Transportation and Communications

Committee and the Financial, Economic and Commercial Cooperation Committee, in addition to the Supreme, Ministerial Councils and Secretariat. In 1985, the figure of ministerial committees has been augmented to eleven permanent committees, constituted of specialists from all member countries. Their responsibility was to highlight integration programs in their respective fields and to evaluate employment of programs. They also produced reports and presented endorsements to the Council across the executive secretary (Charter, 1981).

5.2.9.4 The Charter

The Charter of the GCC comprised of a foreword along with twenty-two articles. The signatories were required to emphasize on the usual features of the member states, in the foreword; which was experienced to establish the foundation of the GCC. The twenty-two articles are divided into six topics: (1) charter implementation, amendment, and deposition (Articles 19-22); (2) Privileges and immunities (Article 17), (3) function of the main bodies within the GCC (Articles 7-16 and 18) (4) structure (Article 5), (5) objectives (Article 4), and (6) basic information (Articles 1, 2, 3, 5). The charter also founded an ad hoc commission together with these three permanent bodies. Subsequently, there was a commission, accompanying Supreme Council, for resolution of differences, which could be introduced as per requirement (Article 10, Section 1).

The Commission was an endorsing organization only and got functional at the preference of the Supreme Council (Article 10, Section 4). The Supreme Council, the Ministerial Council, and the Commission for Settlement of Disputes, assigned the heads of the six Gulf States, according to the regulation, in addition to the charter (Zahlan, 1998).

The regulation of the Supreme Council, comprising of nineteen (19) articles, with the emphasis on the agenda of meetings and voting, the conduct of the meetings, and the type of the Council. The regulation additionally explains the tasks allocated to the Supreme Council under the Charter (Council, 2000-2012). Comprising of 39 articles, the regulation of the Ministerial Council again focused on the collaboration with the Secretary- General, the selection of technical committees and the in-house techniques of meetings, i.e. resolutions, debate, voting and agenda (Charter, 1981; Council, 2000-2012). The emphasis of the regulation of the commission for Settlement of Disputes was on the deliberations; meetings, responsibilities, and structure of the Commission, comprising of total 13 articles. For instance, the decision related to the placement of Commission headquarters in Riyadh.

According to Article 3, the jurisdiction of the Commission is categorized into two regions; disputes pertaining to interpreting or implementing any articles of the GCC charter and disputes among member states. Though Article 4 states that, being ad hoc in nature, the Commission could not survive when it

yields its endorsements on a particular difference to the Supreme Council (Charter, 1981; Council, 2000-2012).

Furthermore, the GCC outlined a contract, which described the factors for economic collaboration between the member states in no more than three weeks followed by the embarrassment of the Charter. On June 8 (1981), the resulting Unified Economic Agreement (UEA) was actually accepted and was officially sanctioned by the GCC heads of state at their summit in November 11 (1981) (Council, 2000-2012). A new economic contract was endorsed, substituting the one from 1981, during the 22nd summit in Oman. The new agreement was, according to the economic advances, which also incorporated international variables (Sfakianakis). Conclusively, in November of 1982, the GCC finance and economy ministers started the Gulf Investment Cooperation (GIC) in order to inspire the economic and industrial progress of the Gulf (Sfakianakis).

5.2.9.5 GCC Objectives

According to Article 4, the fundamental objectives of the GCC are as follows:

- (1) To attain collaboration, in all areas, between member states as a preamble to unity.
- (2) To reinforce the ties of collaboration among the masses of the member states in diverse areas.

(3) To ascertain analogous systems, in all areas, between the member states, including legislation and administration, information and tourism, social welfare and health, education and culture, customs, and communication, economic and finance, and commerce.

(4) To encourage technological and scientific development in the areas of animal resources, agriculture, mineralogy and industry.

Likewise, to ascertain shared projects, and reassure the assistance of the private sector for the mutual interest of the public from the member states (Sfakianakis). Furthermore, the foremost specified goals are; to strive towards political union, to accomplish economic integration for the advantage of all the publicity from the GCC states by the establishment of a huge economic region, and to strengthen and preserve peace.

The scrutiny of Article 4 point outs, numerous thoughts: Initially, it is noteworthy that collaboration in the area of security was not even stated with the fundamental objectives of the GCC. In Article 4 (para-3), none of the six particular areas of collaboration addresses about security. Nonetheless, security was among the most noticeable concern of the GCC leaders. Subsequently, for all areas, Article 4 offers a base for advance GCC collaboration. Bishara, Secretary-General of the GCC stated that:

“You may observe that these objectives are “generalities” and no definitions are given, except the injunction to set up similar systems in all fields. The thing about this which draws one’s attention is the fact that this proposed mode of joint Gulf action is not burdened with any restriction. There is no ceiling and there are no confining fences. The field is wide open, flexible and untrammelled as regards future activity; you may also observe the absence of any specific reference to cooperation in the field of security and defence. Even though the Council was born in the midst of violent storms the very water and skies of the Gulf the Charter contented itself with a vague reference to cooperation in all fields”(Bishārah, et al., 1987).

Nevertheless, the GCC is not a universal institution with judicial authority and self-governing legislative. The GCC did not get any authority from the member states. In the legal structures of the member states; resolutions, policies, and further activities engaged in the execution of the Charter will follow the law by abiding with their distinctive constitutional or added necessities (Sturm & Siegfried, 2005).

5.3 GCC: A primary, but deficient

The GCC is an only group that has developed the formal institutions and specified its plans for constructing a community. After more than 30 years’ of development, it has successfully transformed its priority to a comprehensive partnership. With the considerable progress that the GCC members have

made in an economic integration of its action towards the GCC community, it has become the primary part of the future process of the Middle East regionalism (Al-Haj, 1999). Although, the GCC has put geographical limits on its membership, Yemen might be an extension of a member of the GCC Community. The plans of action for constructing the GCC Community may lead to a regional community (Al-Haj, 1999).

The GCC was formed in a small geographical area. In 1981, the Abu Dhabi Declaration stipulated that the GCC is a closed Regional organization subscribing to its principles, purposes and aims: to boost up an economic development, social growth and cultural development (such as cooperate in the developing industries, improvement of infrastructure and expansion of trade), for endorsing a provincial peace and stability and dedication to the principles of the United Nations (UN) Charter, for promoting a mutual assistance in social, cultural, economic, scientific and technical fields in a form of research and training facilities (Amirsadeghi 2012; & Mohammed 2011).

Thus, the major powers in a region (Iran, Iraq and Yemen) were not included in the GCC. Therefore, the integration project with a benevolent leading country, helping on the Gulf is decades later than that in the Europe. An outcome of the GCC integration is uncertain. Although, the GCC declarations and treaties did not mention its ideological or political stances, its own members had a natural division along the political line (Al-Haj, 1999). There

is common security concern about the Iran's military buildup. Although, the six members of the GCC increased a mutual understanding, the variance in the political positions and distrust that the GCC members felt toward Iran were still present. Nevertheless, the end of the Gulf War has greatly weakened the Iraqi rivalry. Besides its limits on a membership and historical political division, a gap between the GCC countries (names) makes another problem for a further integration (Saqaf, 2007). The GCC's aims and principles suggest that the candidates should increase the integrative policies. They are moving so slowly that they are not prepared for the new initiatives. There is no overwhelming leader in the GCC, except, the KSA which appears the most influential player. The leadership and strength of the GCC can be seen not only in their original membership and implementation of the regional policies, but also in their GDP and population (Al-Rasheed & Vitalis, 2004).

In regard to the Yemen's acceptance efforts, due to the geographical proximity of the country and its ties with the GCC countries, the GCC may include it and develop into the GCC's 7th member. Besides, it is doubtful, whether the GCC Community will develop some of the supranational features as the EU did, such as a supranational council, monitoring the market of the certain industries, a regional parliament, and a decision-making mechanism that embraces not only a unanimous voting, but also QMV and Majority Voting in the certain issues (Yahya, 2010). As, the GCC has been making progress on an intergovernmental and voluntary basis, its grand designs in

the GCC Visions remain to be tested. However, those supranational features are hard to accept due to the security concerns of the GCC member countries (Bishārah, et al., 1987).

5.4 GCC, A Loose Form of Regional Integration

Although, the GCC insisted that it bears a neutral stand and is impartial from taking sides in any of the major powers, its inclination towards the West has been observed. The communist bloc in particular was never convinced that the GCC was anything other than a West-inspired alliance (Mohammed, 2011). Whether, it is admitted or not, an establishment of the GCC was strongly driven by the political and security requirements of that time, particularly after a success of the religiously derived revolution in the Iran, rather than purely for a cause of an economic and social cooperation, which then stretched and survived so far (Gause, 1994).

In its thirty year history; it has not always been a straight forward and pleasant experience. The GCC has its own internal disputes which created the tensions between member states and even dragged in the non-member states (AL-Hasan, 2010). The territorial disputes and arms build-up have become a main concern for the past few years, sometimes even overshadowing its primary objective of an economic and cultural integration. In addition, the American military in a region has filled a vacuum, thus, lead towards a power rivalry and military re-orientation in a region (Gause, 1994).

A country to watch today would be the Islamic Republic of Iran. Lately, Iran engaged in a large scale defence buildup, this worries the GCC, as Iran is the closest new major power in the Gulf region and is involved in the regional disputes. Iran is occupying directly the GCC, the UAE member Islands in the Arabian Gulf and has set up the military bases there. Therefore, a security of the Gulf region has always been made under question, whether it is stable or otherwise (Taleb, 2003).

It is sometimes hard to compare GCC with the other regional cooperation organizations, such as the European Union (EU) because, the GCC could be of the same species but of a different breed'. Although, the GCC is starting to embrace some of the norms that could be found in the other regional organizations such as a creation of the GCC Free Trade Zone and establishing the Customs Union. However, the fact remains that the GCC has no binding status and has no federal or central power over its members. That makes a future direction of the GCC sometimes unclear. The GCC cannot be seen as a federal organization which ultimately wants to achieve a federal union and a federal government, where, Federalism means a solution for the political amalgamation through, political will as being seen in the West Europe (news, 2000). A federalist union might mean that every decision is being made at a federal level and relayed to the sub units to be carried out. The European Union is more likely to be put in this category as several instances, for example, the ruling of the European Courts could overrule its members' previous decisions at a national level.

GCC on the other hand, does not have any federal government or a central authority, as the member states are in charge of their own national policy and furthermore, there is no central agency, such as, the GCC Human Right Court which is seen in the EU (AL-Hawiry, 2010). Member states do not interfere with each other's administration, but they adopt the highest mode of respect between each other. As stated in the GCC establishment Declaration in 1981, as giving an association ta role to promote a regional integration among its members through abiding developments in the various aspects. The Council adheres in a theory to the principles of the United Nations Charter on the settlement of disputes through peaceful means (Charter, 1981).

The GCC is much nearer to the neo-functionalism approach advocated by the theorists such as, Philippe Schemmitter and Ernst Haas. Neo-functionalism emphasizes an idea of a pluralistic society with a concept of instrumentalism and spill over. The evolution of a multi-state organization such as, the GCC, which has several independent states and huge diversity in the political agendas, and policies could be seen as a pluralistic society. Neofunctionalism also rely on the cases, such as, the common markets with a loosely structured relationship.

In terms of instrumentalism in a decision making, the GCC has a concept of discussions and consultations which mean leading to a unanimous decision. In a history of the GCC, there has never been a decision taken without the

full consensus of all the members of the states. On top of it, there is no voting system in this organization. To reach a consensus, it must obtain a full acceptance of all the member countries, which has led to that some issues remain unsettled after the decades of discussion and member state's pursuit a matter according to their own interest. Therefore, the GCC is an Association, which embraces the Arabian values (in terms of not discussing matters bluntly, more productive and less open) in resolving the disputes and disagreement. Most of the conflicts are left in the cold in a hope that they will resolve with a passage of time. For example, the Saudi-UAE border dispute has been made for years, but both parties stand still and just passively wait for a right time to settle it.

Yemen occupies 5.50000Sq. Km in size and more than 2000 km border, sharing with the KSA and around 500 km with the Oman is located in 'the bottom heart of the Arabian Peninsula region. Joining the GCC would mean that it will have the same status and opportunity as the others. Yemen, joining the GCC would mean that it would have a better economic network and hopefully humanitarian aids (Dresch & Piscatori, 2005). It clearly shows that every member state of this regional organization has their own goals and agendas politically and economically, which serve to satisfy their own individual state's 'national interests. After the thirty years of establishment, there is no sign of friction or any attempt to dismantle it.

Although, a region has been identified as one of the most rich and growing region in a world due to its huge reserve of a crude oil, it is suffering from a, huge territorial problems. Such problems have not been limited to the GCC member states alone, they even dragged with them non-member states either regional states or international players, such as the Iraq and Iran, as well as the USA and the European Countries (Dresch & Piscatori, 2005).

5.5 GCC: Issues, and Enlargement

There are many works of great quality dealing with a subject of the Gulf Cooperation Council. However, when it comes to one's narrow area of focus, the Yemen compliance patterns in reference to the GCC requirements, the seminal work choices became somewhat limited. One should go into a depth of the Gulf literature at first, in order to gain a fair grasp for the origin of this organization and also to understand, as to how, the GCC expansion tie with a struggle, the Yemen faced with a road of the GCC accession (AL-Hassan, 2010).

The establishment of the "Cooperation Council for the Arab Gulf States" was announced at the top constituent summit held at the Abu Dhabi on May 25, 1981, that included the six Gulf countries (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain) (GCC CHARTER, 1981). However, according to a study of Abdulkhaleg Abdullah (1999), "GCC, its nature and journey" affirmed that the consultations that preceded the establishment of the Council directly did

not exceed a period of three months, but that an outcome was a result of several years of dialogues between the States and the Gulf emirates and chiefdoms towards an achievement of unity among them sometimes, and integration and cooperation at the other times Riadnajeelbaryias, (1968) in his book titled "Arabian Gulf Documents".(consider revising). Perhaps, a reason for that short period of preliminary consultations prior to an establishment of a Council was a nature of the regional and international circumstances surrounding a specific time.

As, that period noticed the raise of Iranian revolution and the beginning of the Iraqi-Iranian war, which Abdullah alnafisi assured in his several lectures, lately on Aljazeera channel in 2010, that the establishment of the GCC was just a reflection to the Iranian revolution through creating a body that the US can defend its interests through a text of the basis of the Council in the fifth article that consists of the six countries (Yahaya, 2010).

Thus, a membership of the Council membership is closed under the charter, articles that mean an accession of any new members requires a modification of that system. The resolutions of the Council unanimously issued and are therefore binding on all members. The Council is composed of a number of institutions represented in: the Supreme Council (summit) which consists of the leaders of the six, it holds the summit every year in the capitals of the Member States in a rotation.

Followed by the Ministerial Council of the representatives of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, it serves as an executive organ of the Council and hold a regular meeting after every three months and manages a work of the Council General Secretariat headed by the Secretary-General of the Council, who shall be appointed by the Supreme Council according to the GCC charter, 1981. The Board also contains a number of ministerial committees that initiate the implementation of Council decisions and develop proposals and projects and emerge in many of the technical assistance committee.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has been through the GCC, its nature and the circumstances surrounding its establishment. The researcher also went in depth for exploring the GCC itself, tools of its work and the constitution that run it and the authorities of its all bodies. Then, the chapter ended with arguing a regional organization rule in ta region and its relations with the Yemen, as well as its efforts on achieving a full and ultimate integration among its members along with the possibilities of an enlargement.

CHAPTER SIX
INVESTIGATING DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES OF YEMEN-GCC
MEMBERSHIP: CAUSES OF EXCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

The research questions have been answered in this chapter with a help of data collected from the interviews and the other secondary data sources. The thematic analytic procedure was applied for the analysis of the responses from an interview. After carrying out a data analysis, the findings of this chapter have been synthesized from the qualitative analysis, which provides an overall picture of the results of this research study. This chapter aims to accomplish the objectives by discussing the results concerning the dynamics and reasons of exclusion, for the Yemen to join the GCC. The objectives of this study have been gained from the qualitative results obtained as a result of conducting the interviews with the respondents and the archival.

6.1 Causes of Exclusion

Exploring the causes that have been constraining the Yemen to achieve its dream towards fulfilling its outmost goal, which is to obtain a full membership

of the Gulf Cooperation Council for the Arab Gulf States is a mandatory to form a clear picture of the root problems. Such causes are various and occupy sort of great importance for the Yemen to overcome them in order to be fully integrated into the Gulf Club.

Ahmad Al-Zindany, IR expert and political centre director stated that: One of the main causes of excluding the Yemen from entering the GCC is returned back to the years of the GCC establishment, where there was an American proposal to establish the GCC as an Arabian body to serve the United States of America interest in a region, especially, as the Americans are the fathers of the GCC establishment idea. Additionally, the GCC was created to face the expected threat coming out of the Iranian revolution and a radical change in the Tehran. Accordingly, integrating the Yemen into the GCC at the establishment stage was not on the table at that time.

The first research question was arranged in a theme, the Causes of the Yemeni Exclusion. The theme under question one dwelled on the causes that have excluded the Yemen from joining the GCC as one of the major milestones in the Yemen's integration process for the GCC membership.

The results from an interview revealed that the GCC was a western idea, rather than the Arabian. Hence, the whole GCC idea did not have the Yemen into its accounts from beginning another cause was that, the GCC was created to eradicate the Iranian threats not to convergent with other countries like, the Yemen. The poorly known Yemen, corrupted, instability, political system type, weak economy, individual income gap, population gap, differed GCC member states positions toward Yemen accession before and after the second Gulf war also constrained the Yemen's integration process into the

GCC. Such causes are essential which the Yemen cannot step forward in getting the GCC acceptance unless, it deals with them seriously.

Responding on the same issue, another respondent lamented that:

There are watchable reasons of the Yemen's exclusion, such as the vast economy gap between the two sides, there is also a big difference in a level of living and individual income, the different government and political regime comparing with the GCC monarchal regimes based on a hierarchy in accession unlike, Yemeni political system which is based on pluralism, democracy, and elections which means a new president comes in every tenure, finally, the pro Yemen huge gap in population census which will pose a great responsibilities on the GCC members beyond their capabilities. (CE- Abduqawi Alqaisi, former parliament speaker and strongest tribal man office manager and his personal consultant).

The question of when the Yemen should become a member of the GCC is more important than the one that if should become a member or not, which is also a confusion between the Yemen and the GCC. The governments of GCC member-states now desire to sight the Yemeni candidature for membership as an ambition rather than an obligatory pledge. It is perceived by the GCC officials that it is impossible for the Yemen to achieve this goal within a given time frame, whereas, the Yemen wants that its agreement should be strictly followed.

A perception of the GCC that the Yemen is not yet fully prepared to gain its membership is highly true, because of its unstable political and economic structures which are being further declined as a result of the rebellion stormy events in 2011. Instead, a government in Sana'a also believes that a

membership to the GCC can gain a stabilization in the Yemen. For a constructive path, it is essential that these two sides merge at a common vision that will give a route to the Yemen, however difficult, towards membership, proposing motivations for a governance transformation and eliminating the trade obstructions along the way. Originally, the GCC was envisioned as a union of a regional politics and security. The Yemen has once again questioned on the capability of the GCC to act as a coherent organization to cope with an increasing security risk from within the Arabian Peninsula.

In a former Yemeni regime, in particular, a political leadership participated in excluding the Yemen from joining the Gulf club due to their unorganized diplomacy movement toward achieving the Yemen's membership, as well as leaving the Yemeni-GCC relations to the personal evaluations due to an absence of institutionalized means to deal with such an important issue. Adopting no clear policies, political elites hostile and extorted behaviours against some of the GCC members caused the Yemen's so far rejection as well.

In a same topic one more respondent replied that:

The Yemen's exclusion is related to the convictions of both sides, the Yemen and GCC respectively, as the GCC states are divided into pro Yemen accession and against Yemen accession justifying that the Yemen is no-institutional state, poor and backward. In addition to the other political dimensions like, Kuwait position against the Yemen accession due to its miserable stand beside Iraq during its invasion of Kuwait in the Gulf war II. Moreover, a previous Yemeni regime was one of the main obstacles against the country's full acceptance in the

GCC because of the vague policies it adopted as well as, it's in readiness to make the Yemen an institutionalized country to convince the GCC states adding former regime chaotic, confusion, deceptive, and extortion behaviour towards those states, which was a main constraining element which stood against fulfilling the Yemen full membership in the GCC (CE- Saeed Shamsan, Head of the political department at Yemeni Islah Party)

A former Yemeni regime, in particular, is a political leadership participated in excluding the Yemen from joining the Gulf club due to their unorganized diplomacy movement towards achieving the Yemen's membership as well as leaving the Yemeni-GCC relations to the personal evaluations due to an absence of institutionalized means to deal with such an important issue. Adopting no clear policies, the political elites hostile and extorted behaviours against some of the GCC members caused the Yemen's so far rejection as well.

A long history of non-friendship between the Yemen and its GCC states, a security need of establishment and the continuation of the western military umbrella in a region which justified the Yemen's exclusion and lessen a need for the Yemen services. A vast gap in a development, high rates of Unemployment, the consuming nature of the Yemenis played a great role in excluding the Yemen because GCC states belief moving Yemen in means moving its great problems in as well.

The existence of a hegemonic power dominating all the GCC foreign policy and determine its relations with the other regional and international political units has resulted in an unbalancing international relations of the GCC. Such

fact put Yemen's membership fate in the hands of the Saudis, who play with it individually according to their own benefit regardless of the interest of the other GCC states. Furthermore, the foreign powers which are in a direct interest of Saudi Arabia led them to adopt a negative attitude of the Yemen's inclusion similar to the Saudi Arabia's attitude for the sake of keeping their relations with the Saudis at their best stages.

Key Gulf official shared his view towards the Yemen inclusion to the GCC and was quoted saying that:

The Yemen exclusion issue is not because of an economic gap basically. The decision of Yemen's accession to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has nothing to do with a shift of economic situation in the Yemen. Thus, a political element is a key in this regard. Moreover, some countries in the Gulf Cooperation Council adopt a conservative position towards the Yemen inclusion, either publicly or secretly. (CE-Dr. Abdullah Al-Nafisi, Kuwaiti Political strategist and major Arabian thinker quoted on AL-Jazeera channel, 2011)

However, a free Multi-party system in the Yemen and adopting a democratic system presenting the other key causes of exclusion comparing with the GCC states where there is no political life. The worries of importing such political thoughts could threaten the GCC elite's authorities which are not welcome at all in the Gulf small Sheikhs. Along with a political liberalism practiced in the Yemen, there is another destroyable social habit such as, Qat which will obviously affect the GCC nations negatively.

The family type of GCC states that show them closer to the tribal countries, rather than legitimate authorities puts them far apart from the Yemen's type

of governance which cause a great difference in the styles of the both sides. The internal conflicts also cause continuous changes in the attitudes and policies towards each side and leads to the adaptation of the conservative positions poured against the Yemen's accession. Thus, a state sovereignty is accounted prior to any other possible expansion of the GCC. Especially, when there are doubts about the security shocks in any part of the prospective grouping member, which the Yemen has clearly defined here.

Education, low and weak levels along with a lack of advancement in all the life aspects in the Yemen has weaken the Yemeni moral values and made them look at the GCC as a wealth store to fill their hunger. Such expressions caused spreading out criminal actions, due to a high rate of poverty and unemployment. However, the GCC decision makers prefer to deal with the Yemen based on mutual fund scenario, which they have not seen its signals from the Yemeni side.

The demographic differences and negative feature in relations between both the sides in terms of advancement, social justice, as a reverse happens in the Yemen comparing with the GCC states in most of the aspects mentioned earlier. Spread of weapons with almost three weaponry pieces per each Yemeni citizen plays a great role in forming the exclusion attitude in the Gulf against the Yemen's aspirations. Additionally, there is a strong belief in the GCC states that weapons in the Yemen have contributed a lot in spreading terrorism, internal conflicts, social disputes, and weakening of a government control on the vast parts of a country.

The Shia'a armed minority in the Northern Province of Sad'a raised the GCC doubts towards the Yemen acceptance due to an aged enmity between the GCC states (Saudi Arabia in particular) and other Gulf states and Shia Iran. This history of unfriendly relations and continues conspiracy between the both doctrines must have its negative impact on the Yemen's integration process, especially when taking into consideration, a recent insurgent clashes between the Hothis and Saudi army across the borders between the Yemen and Saudi Arabia and adding the piracy issue going on in the Yemeni regional waters and possible utilization of it by the Iranians against the GCC states through their loyalists in the Yemen. Thus, it's clear enough to say that the Yemen has become a victim of regional and international players, who have a final say in getting Yemen into the GCC or excluding it according to their interests in a region irrespective of the Yemen's conditions.

6.2 Causes of Exclusion: Further Analysis

A study has discussed several reasons that caused the Yemen's exclusion of gaining the GCC membership. Those reasons are distributed on the different aspects governing the Yemen's relations with its Gulf counterparts. However, known constraints might not be the only reasons that prevented Yemeni inclusion into the Gulf club. The Arab spring has raised other considerable reasons in addition to a well-known political, security, and socioeconomic constraints. The entire GCC states disagreement on several regional policies, including, the Yemen, is an important reason, since, the GCC

membership decision must be taken upon the full agreement by all the GCC members. Proving so was witnessed during the Yemeni youth revolution in 2011, where the GCC member states offered an initiative to settle a dispute on power in the Yemen.

That controversial initiative was not adopted by all the GCC states as a state of Qatar refused to be a part of it. The Qatari positioning reflected the sharp differences in the GCC member states positions toward the Yemen. The other sensitive reason that prevents the Yemen from a full membership is the GCC's member states attitude against what so called today, a political Islam in the Middle East. Muslim Islamists phobia in a region has spread a fear among the GCC sheikhdoms, as they consider an organized Islamists, such as Muslim brotherhood movement, a threat to their governance in their states.

Therefore, they are deadly confronting it within their states and abroad. It has been experienced in different countries such Algeria in the 1990s and Sudan, in addition to a recent obvious example of the Egyptians, when the united Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia publicly supported a military coup on the democratically elected government in the Egypt, in 2012 because of the Islamic affiliation of the Egyptian elected president, Dr. Mursi. Since, the GCC states fighting Islamists beyond their boundaries, its fundamental they won't accept it to be part of their grouping and the Yemeni Islamists present a great authority in the Yemen and share power with the other parties in a

government. Therefore, they are expected to be the future governors of a country, such scenario exemplifying a great obstacle against Yemen-GCC convergence in the GCC's present day governments.

Furthermore, a Gulf region with its strategic location and huge energy sources reserves made it influenced by the other regional and international powers. Such fact makes the Yemen acceptance into the GCC is determined by those power agendas and not only by the GCC states alone. Then, the United States of America, as a dominant superpower intervenes in shaping the gulf monarchies internal and external policies through its direct hard power, presence in a region have a say on the Yemen-GCC full integration. Without the USA agreement, the Yemen won't be able to fully join the GCC, such agreement seems have not been given.

Finally, the Saudi Arabia has no borders with the Arabian Sea which enforces it to export its crude oil through the risky Hormuz strait, that Iran has a control on it. Meanwhile, the Saudis enjoy very strong relations with the Yemeni Hadramout governorate, a wealthy governorate of oil and gas enjoys more than a thousand kilometers borders on the Arabian Sea. Such relation has strengthened through several Saudi business men of Hadrami origin who have a strong influence in the Hadramout. Furthermore, many Saudi and Hadrami writers have shown the Saudi interest in separating the Hadramout governorate and join it with a kingdom in order to guarantee a secured access for Saudi Arabia into the Arabian Sea to export its crude oil, a part of

any regional threats. Such goal won't be achieved if the Yemen remained united and joined to the GCC.

6.3 Summary

In this chapter, the respondents mainly discussed an essential topic of the Yemen's exclusion reasons; there were different views about the reasons and obstacles behind the Yemen's exclusion from fully joining the GCC. The interviews with various officials and specialists affirmed vast issues preventing the Yemen from joining the GCC, as well as affecting the regional interactions between the Yemen and GCC member states. The so raised issues need intensive efforts and hard work from the Yemeni decision makers and political parties' leaders, along with getting an extreme economic and political support from the Gulf countries, in order to make the Yemen stand steady on its feet and to speed up its integration journey toward the GCC's full membership, as, the Yemen lacks the funds of many major projects which will help elevate it to the standards of the GCC member states.

CHAPTER SEVEN
INVESTIGATING DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES OF YEMEN'S-GCC
MEMBERSHIP: CHALLENGES AND FAILURE ASPECTS

7.0 Introduction

The second questions have been answered well in this by the data collected from the interviews and the other secondary data sources. The thematic analytic procedure was implemented to analyse the responses from the interviews. After finishing the data analysis, this chapter combines the findings from the qualitative analysis so as to deliver a complete picture of the results of this study. This objective has been accomplished by discussing the results concerning the dynamics of challenges and failure features for the Yemen to join the GCC. To achieve the objectives of this study, the results generated from the archival and interviews conducted with the respondents have been integrated involved.

7.1 Challenges and Failure Aspects

After exploring the causes that have been preventing the Yemen from gaining the GCC membership, the researcher is now going to investigate a

second question of this study and tries to find a mature answer related to the failure aspects of the Yemen's full integration failure.

One of the respondents has replied that:

We confess that the Yemen is a failing state as a result of a former regime destroyable agendas in various aspects of the Yemeni public affairs life. This means that the Yemen is not yet qualified to enter the GCC club. Furthermore, the existence of APA Al-Qaida, Terrorism, and Hothi groups presenting essential failure aspects of the Yemen's exclusion. Additionally, unavailability of a real, independent, and clean judicial system is considered to be one of the failure aspects as well. (FA- Saeed Shamsan, head of political department in Yemeni Islah Party)

A second question of this study was organized into a theme that covered the failure aspects of the Yemen's integration into the GCC. The theme concerning this question has been named, the failure aspects.

The results under this theme have revealed that the Yemen is, so far, a failure to achieve a success in a developmental dimension which reflects its weakness in promoting the national policies able to improve the Yemeni man power, productivity and reforming the several social aspects to make them pro development factors, rather than the constraining elements. Countries that succeeded in developing their economies and helped integrate them with a world economy had first to normalize their societies from the internal conflicts. In Yemen, an existence of the other strong social segments played a parallel role along with a government, institutions, such as deepen tribal

elites, the Houthi armed movement, APA threats, which led GCC to recognize the multi representation of the Yemen.

Furthermore, a dispute over the Yemeni membership of the GCC should not be supposed in all or nothing terms. There is a strong need to rejuvenate a neighborhood policy by the GCC. The Yemen should be the first country to be conferred 'advanced status', enjoying a complete tariff declines and improved access to the GCC agencies and custom-made programs of a development, as long as it meets a basic criteria on the transparency and technical misunderstanding. After the reverberations of the Arab Spring, a development of the funding instruments of the GCC are already very late. These instruments would provide, a severely required political weight to the shared statements and actions to be carried out in the GCC meetings.

One of the interviewees stated:

The GCC states have not yet found a real partner who can deal with them seriously during the last few decades, the GCC's general secretary told me that we welcome you to the GCC, but we need a true decision maker in your country to establish a successful integration process, we just look for the right person of a former president group to deal with in this regard. So, the absence of interest in a former regime's policy toward the Yemen's integration issue is a vital failure aspect of being excluded into the GCC. (FA- Mohammed Salem Basnidawah, current Yemeni prime minister and former foreign affairs minister)

The internal conflicts have diverted the local elites from concentrating on their country's integration strategy and recalled the GCC member's intervention to support the Yemeni political forces against each other as well. A shadow of

becoming a failing state by challenging the Yemenis strongly, as per most of the international reports, expecting the Yemen to follow the other failed states in a world if not taking serious steps to reform its economy and eradicate a spread of corruption in its public sector institutions.

The AQAP threat also troubled the Yemen's plans for the EGCC integration, as, the Gulf States have been hesitating in admitting the Yemen into the GCC because of the security uncertainty in their neighbour, where the terrorism aspect exemplifies a backbone of the security dimension determining the Yemen's relations with its GCC counterparts. Terrorist groups found Yemen, a safe place to carry out their violent plans and execute their operations as a result of a country's weakness which made it unable to counter terror on its lands. Thus, such scenario creates doubts against the Yemen's readiness to join the GCC and destroys its image in the outside world that most of them have not been in a favour for achieving the Yemen's goal toward obtaining a full membership into the Gulf regional organization.

The member states of the GCC believe that, the cost of Yemen's preparation for a better integration into the GCC is high and beyond some of the Gulf state's capabilities taking into consideration that Oman and Bahrain are the members of the GCC and depending on the other GCC rich member states in funding their infrastructure projects and filling up a gap in their budget deficit.

Key specialist and those, who was directly involved in an integration process lamented that:

In an area of failure aspects, the Yemen has not offered a realistic environment for the GCC state investments in a country due to a corruption which has been spread to every single spot of the Yemeni regime. In addition to the deficiency of the capable politicians who can deliver to an issue of integration and speed up the Yemen's inclusion process. (FA- Adil Alareqi, GCC unit director in the Yemeni ministry of foreign affairs). In line with the previous respondent, this respondent mentioned that: Yemen's unserious interaction with the weapon's issue in a country presenting one of the issues that have impacted its acceptance process in the Gulf organization. Additionally, the Yemen's inability to provide a skilled and qualified labour force to the GCC market has been considered as another failure aspect as well. (FA- Abdul-Rahman Saif, Director of Arab and Gulf unit in the ministry of foreign affairs)

The Yemen will remain suffering from the GCC exclusion, as long as the GCC states have no collective positions toward the Yemen accession request. Adopting double standard attitudes impacted the Yemen membership aspiration negatively and determined the foreign donations flow into a country which are obligatory for the Yemen to recover from its continuous trouble in order to elevate its conditions toward the GCC membership. However, the foreign investors include the GCC official donators and business men have doubts about the Yemen's judicial system and there are wide accusations indicating that a judicial system in the Yemen is corrupted and disqualified to handle the matters related to the major investments and protecting the foreign investors rights when making money in a country, and sharing the Yemenis building their economy to reach the levels of the GCC.

A value added that the Yemen could provide to the GCC is behind its partial admission to that organization. However, some of the GCC countries are already enjoying a strong influence inside the Yemen through the specific Yemeni parties and other social segments. Such intervention has been satisfying the needs of those states without a need of accepting the Yemen into their club, taking privileges of a vast wealth accumulated from their oil revenues, which provides them with a money liquidity to spend generously on the Yemeni internal forces to execute the GCC's major members' agendas and such actions made the GCC not adopting a real favourable initiative for the Yemen to get closer to the GCC's full membership.

Yemen also suffers from its leaders' misleading behaviour towards such an important issue that need a strong and active diplomacy to push it forward. The incapable politicians have been unfortunately introducing the Yemen to GCC counterparts mistakenly because they lack efficiency in delivering the Yemen's demands rightfully.

The GCC's high ranking official directly involved with the Yemen's integration process into the GCC told several challenges facing the Yemen in its way heading for the GCC's full accession and he was quoted stating that:

The Yemeni economy is deteriorating, and I consider reports about the Yemen's accession to the GCC as propogandas. Because the natural resources of water and oil reserves are depriving, the Yemeni government's income dropped as a result of the continuous crisis, which has weakened a budget, and led to a budget deficit exceeded up to 10% of a GDP. All Indicators in the Yemen are witnessing a decline, and youth unemployment has exceeded, whereas, up to 53%, 50% of the Yemenis live below a poverty line, which means that the

individuals live on less than two dollars a day. Moreover, the water levels in the major Yemeni cities reached catastrophic levels, and the Qat leafs consume more than 23%. All these facts present great challenges against the Yemen's integration in the Gulf system. (Cl-Abdullah Alawishiq, GCC assistant secretary general for negotiations was quoted on AL-Arabia TV channel in January, 2012).

Continuing to discuss a study question and relating them to a primary data collected from the interviews conducted earlier is leading a researcher to investigate the challenges that face Yemen in its efforts to obtain the GCC membership. The third question of this study concerning the challenges of the Yemen's integration into the GCC is discussed in this section.

A shadow of the whole system collapse due to a deteriorating economic situation, depriving natural resources, such as oil and waters presenting a major challenge facing the Yemeni consequent governments internally, as well as, on the GCC membership stage. Thus, a country building is a great task that Yemenis have to deal with to overcome the numerous obstacles constraining their integration dream achievement and makes the Yemen accession to the Gulf club limited to the propagandas spread, rather than a practical solution, if they intend seriously to speed up their country's efforts and striving importantly to be admitted in the GCC.

Without overcoming those major challenges along with the other challenges, as well as the political parties ongoing disputes on the power sharing and the use of violent tools in solving their conflicts which have weakened the country capabilities in fighting terror which is exemplifying another challenge which

hurdles the country competition toward a getting the GCC counterparts support that is mandatory to help the Yemen furthering its steps forward for a full regional integration.

Linking the political factors with an economic dimension when dealing with the Yemen's integration process has challenged accession efforts as well. Usually, the political complexities differ from the economic interactions and political elements are sensitive when dealing with the unlike economic accounts, which are procedural in general and do not require intense attention comparing with a politics. So, connecting both dimensions together resulted in a slowing economic factor which is merely technical as a result of the unstable political relations between the Yemen and the GCC members.

The GCC has been exposed to a series of challenges by the Yemen that it has evaded opposing in the past. Due to an unintelligibility of policy and institutional feebleness and among the member-states, the GCC Secretariat has been paralysed in its relations with the Yemen. A political crisis of 2011 and a necessity to exile President Saleh was a first step towards alleviating the Yemen facilitated to focus, devotion temporarily within a member-state capitals, which caused an unparalleled political obligation for the GCC Secretariat to discuss superficially in place of the six member-states.

Another respondent stated that:

Organizing investments flow into a country presenting a major challenge in front of the Yemen's development to put it in a better position to the GCC membership, increasing foreign investments flow is a key factor in easing the other challenges such as, decreasing

unemployment rates and rising the Yemen's reserves of foreign currency to reach the GCC member states levels in these areas. (CI-Dr. Mohammed Al-Hawiri, deputy minister at the ministry of planning and international cooperation).

It is significant that this impetus is not misspent and that the GCC Secretariat accepts a required political and financial capital to conduct a process of transition in the Yemen. It is to be highly ensured by the GCC member states that, an aid will be spent in a fair and efficient way in a future. A clear mechanism, such as, the Friends of Yemen, should be incorporated as a means of organizing future aid undertakings. Lastly, there is also a need of appointing a first ever overseas Special Representative by the GCC, who is based in the Sana'a and engross on the question of the Yemen's political and economic expansion and also link to, the United States, the EU, the UN and the other key benefactors.

Overall, the Yemen's legal system is not consistent with the GCC's legal system in various areas such as industrial regulations, investment laws, and energy infrastructure development act. A variation in the legal systems has been hindering foreign direct/indirect investments flow inside the country. Thus, a lower rate of investments in the Yemen has created serious problems for a regime in the areas like, launching new projects which absorb more employees and rising economic growth. Without modifying the Yemeni law to cope with the GCC laws branched from its charter, which is known as the backbone governing it, the Yemen will continue to face challenges, preventing it from being fully accepted in the GCC.

There are several differences among the GCC states themselves, which have prevented them from adopting a collective attitudes toward the specific issues internally, regionally, and internationally as well. Such different views impacted the Yemen negatively, as many analysts argued that how the Yemen can enter an organization which its own members are not entertaining a full homogeny. The differed Gulf States positions toward the Yemen's accession has put Yemen's full membership less prior to them. Furthermore, the Yemenis sometimes get confused when discussing their country's membership in the GCC, as there are no specific plans or standards present on a roadmap for the sake of full inclusion, otherwise, there is a wide range of flexibility from both sides to postpone the Yemen's accession factual strides and keep challenges facing the integration on touched.

7.2 Challenges and Failure Aspects: Further Discussions

The main challenges faced by the Yemen on its road map to the GCC grouping is how to convince the key players in the Gulf Council that the Yemen inclusion into a council won't affect any member status negatively. Some of the GCC member states believe that the Yemen inclusion will change the alliances map inside a council and impact a role of the GCC, as a whole due to its political and population hefty in a region compared with the mini countries of the GCC.

7.3 Summary

An above chapter has gone through the complexities of the challenges and failure aspects of the Yemen's full integration in the GCC. However, some of the interviewees, either, the formal Yemeni government officials or civil society organizations' leaders and intellectuals have classified this matter as a mere Yemeni failure to meet the GCC requirements, while, some others have found the GCC member states responsible for the Yemen's failure to join the GCC, as they claim that the GCC has not been reacting positively to the Yemen's continuing requests to join an organization. This study found that, there are major shortcomings on the Yemeni side requiring great efforts to join the GCC and continual hard work to overcome them. Far further, the western protection for the GCC states is because of the oil reserves in a region. However, expectations of the oil explorations in the west might cause a withdrawal of the US troops, which imposes an extra pressure on the small states and make them accept, the Yemen membership to substitute a vacancy left by the west.

CHAPTER EIGHT
INVESTIGATING DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES OF YEMEN'S-GCC
MEMBERSHIP: RESOLVE PROBLEMS

8.0 Introduction

A collection of data from the interviews and other secondary data sources has been used to answer the research questions in this study. The responses from the interviews were investigated through the thematic analytic procedure. After carrying out a process of the data analysis, this chapter combines the findings from a qualitative analysis so as to provide a complete image of the results of this study. This objective has been accomplished in this chapter by debating on the results concerning the dynamics and failure aspects, prospective solutions, causes, aspects and challenges for the Yemen to join the GCC. For attaining the objectives of this study, the qualitative results produced from the archives and conducted interviews with the respondents have been linked together.

8.1 Resolve Problems

After exploring interviewees' answers and opinions concerning the three questions out of the all four research questions. It's now the turn to discuss the final research question which is related to this study to address and provide solutions for the Yemeni's so far failed to be a full member of the GCC.

One respondent stated that:

Saudi Arabia now understands a situation in the Yemen well. Hence, it does not support separation demands, as it did before and this is a positive signal for them. Thus, the Yemen has to implement a new strategy that minimizes security threats on the Saudis because, if, the Yemeni-Saudi relations are in good status obviously, the Yemen's relations with the other GCC states will improve rapidly. A right gate to enter the GCC is to improve the Yemen's relations with the GCC states, mainly, a big brother, Saudi Arabia. (RP- Dr. Saif Al-Asali, Former finance minister).

According to what have been gathered from the interviewees' responses to the fourth question of this study, they have identified several solutions that are worth discussing and evaluating, in order to narrow a gap of the Yemen's failure to join the GCC and putting the Yemen on a the right track to reach a full integration destination.

The GCC's capacity to transform and resolve to meet the evolving challenges to its security can be critically tested by the Yemen. To gain a full membership of the GCC, the Yemen should be given a thorough road map that describes a full criteria to be met. It should be strictly implemented as a

policy of progressive self-interest in order to limit a support for the rebel groups rather than due to a sense of unselfishness on a part of the existing member-states. It is a very long and challenging journey, but this can only become possible, if the Yemen gathers adequate political determination to implement the essential improvements to meet such criteria. This will force the GCC to provide, whatever technical assistance is required and reward, the Yemen for its endless struggles. It would at least provide an opportunity to the Yemen, to be there for a country that severely wants a substitute to a challenging past and an unwelcoming future.

Thus, it is obvious from the respondents' answers that the Saudi Arabia is an only country that holds the Yemen's inclusion key. Its role is mandatory in achieving the Yemenis dream of full membership, as it's the far largest, powerful, rich, and biggest member of the GCC. Thus, improving the Yemen relations with the KSA is vital if wanting to speed up their integration process. The Saudis enjoy manipulating the other five GCC members to accept the Yemen's inclusion, as well as, it enjoys a vast, strategic, and multi international relations with the major powers due to its huge oil reserves. The Yemen needs to deepen its relations with the KSA by maintaining the Saudi interests in the Yemen and assuring its security, as well as, settling all the issues that might raise the Saudi Arabia's concerns and suspensions against the Yemen.

One more respondent stated that:

If the Yemen wants to speed up its integration into the GCC, it has to address its own issues and try to solve them. Furthermore, it has to increase its personal income as per the GDP, elevates its economical capacity, improving life standards for its nation, and manages the population's fast growth because, the Yemen is being considered among the highest population growth country in the Middle East. The GCC has provided the Yemen with many helping tools, the latest has been the GCC initiative to solve the power transition crisis. However, in the Yemen, there are several other issues that must be handled by the Yemenis themselves. Finally, the Yemenis have to determine their own roadmap towards the GCC, whether they request full membership in the GCC or they just demand a developmental support. (RP-Adil Al-Areqi, GCC unit director in the ministry of foreign affairs).

The Yemeni leadership bears a large part of exclusion responsibility, as it has not worked well towards overcoming the integration barriers and achieve a full membership status. The political leaders have to concentrate firstly on their internal issues to solve them in order to support their repeated request of inclusion. Minimizing the security threats, reforming the judiciary system to meet the GCC requirements, getting through an ongoing national reconciliation dialogue, as well as utilizing the current direct GCC intervention in the Yemen's affairs through the well known as the GCC initiative to stress on admitting the Yemen into the GCC as a solution for the current issues.

Respondents clearly showed that achieving the aspirations of a state building and implementing a real federal system delegating vast authorities for the local governments for the sake of implementing a new standard of developments apart from the centralized bureaucracy to attract more

investments and helping to improve an economic, security and social situations, similar to the GCC member states policies.

Another interviewee stated that:

Implementing the good security measurements will lead to the foreign investments flow into a country, which will lead to improve all the aspects of life. Moreover, a former regime has destroyed peoples' moral values, our role now to restore good ethics to the vast segments of a nation. Additionally, finding jobs for the unemployed youths, executing political reforms, reducing poverty and illiteracy rates, adopting such reforms will enhance the Yemen's position in the GCC accession negotiations. (RP- Sheikh Sadiq Al-Ahmar, strongest tribal leader in Yemen and member of consultative council).

The Yemenis should also market themselves better in the Gulf to strengthen their economic capacity and increase an individual income, improve health and education services as they have been among the main objectives of the youth demands in the 2011th public peaceful revolution. Thus, for better integration into the GCC, the international experts specialized in merging the regional blocks are needed to identify the specific conditions of inclusion and draw a strategic and successful roadmap for the Yemen to speed up its integration process and fulfil its full inclusion in the Gulf organization, through benefiting from the lessons and experiences of the other regional blocks, such as, the EU, ASEAN, ect. Therefore, the Yemeni high rank official was quoted as saying:

The political differences between the Yemen and the GCC countries should not be given such importance that they hinder a dialogue. If the Eastern European countries merged the European Union, why should

our political differences become a hindrance? (RP- Dr. Ali Mohammed Mujawar, Former Yemeni prime minister and acting president's consultant quoted from the Almotamar online newspaper on 1st December, 2006).

In 1983, Abdullah Bishara, the first Secretary General of the GCC, stated, which translates as:

Due to a reason that the north and south Yemen are the natural extensions of the Gulf, a security of the Gulf as well as, the Yemen's cannot be parted. We are one people and that, and at last, a logic of brotherhood and the logic of common interest will be imposed on them, in spite of having any sort of political attitudes.

A point of view of the first Secretary Generals regarding a security of an entire Gulf area from a strategic point of view in terms of the association amongst Yemen and the GCC is quite clear from this statement; still, the Yemen has not been a part of the GCC, even after more than two more decades.

The Qatar's Ambassador, Mohammed Ahmed Khaleefah, in 2006 stated that which translates as:

It has been well realized from the securities fluctuations and variation that the Yemen's security and its intentional placement aids a security of the Gulf countries. Hence, it is highly required to make it a part of the Council, as it serves as a protector for the Arabic Gulf area.

For a better and rapid integration, the Yemen needs large amounts of money to fund its strategic projects in order to upgrade its economic capabilities and accomplishing social justice goals, such funds are required mainly from the GCC states and other countries interested in the Yemen's stability.

However, improving the Yemen's conditions and bringing it to the GCC is a responsibility of the Yemen, GCC states, and the international community as well. Hence, the Yemen has to utilize its good relations with some of the international powers that are enjoying unique strategic relations with some of the GCC states to push forward the Yemen's membership file. Investigating the other successful regional groupings, such as the EU is mandatory to share their experience to shorten an integration journey and save time, efforts, resources. Finally, acceptance is a responsibility of both the Yemen and the GCC member states, so they both should understand a mutual benefit that they will gain from the Yemen inclusion and work together to achieve their strategic goals, in which the Yemen's membership comes first.

8.2 Merging Themes Discussions

The Yemen has always shown its interest towards joining the Gulf Cooperation Council's, since its existence. Numerous explanations appear to make sense for the Yemen to link with the GCC, including common language, cultural similarity, and a usually liberal economic system. It has proved to be a great source of trade between the GCC and the Yemen. A growth of the GCC can be demonstrated as helpful for a number of explanations, such as, the GCC can create a part of an area occupying a huge portion of the Middle East and the Asian continent. An ease of access to a large market of the Yemen for the materials and manufactured yields is very beneficial.

An increase in a trade between the concerned countries would be witnessed due to a removal of charges and other trade obstructions between the GCC and a new concerned member. Removing the barriers between the GCC national markets and the new Yemen will benefit in producing a single market where people, services, goods and money can move around easily.

Few questions have been raised regarding an interest expressed by the Yemen about the GCC calls for clarification and compliance process itself. On a contrary, a mechanism has been implemented by the European Union, whereby, if a country's claim is acknowledged, it will a "candidate country" and begin discussions with the European Commission to govern a particular membership term for that country. This process can take several years to get completed, whereas, such mechanism does not exist in a case of the GCC.

The GCC's membership of the Yemen has several concerns. It would become quite complicated if an integration process is extended before a template "integration model" that has been established and confirmed successful in a number of other countries as well. Moreover, it will throw a great challenge to the countries who will get engaged in a process of economic incorporation with the Yemen for a different level of economic

expansion. The markets of the GCC countries are far more flourishing than Yemen's.

Additionally, the workers in the countries other than the GCC are paying more taxes and less paid as compared to an average worker in the GCC who earns more and pay less taxes. This issue can only be resolved if the GCC establishes a development fund or bank to cater the financial need of the Yemen. In this development fund or bank, all the GCC member states would contribute according to the position of their economies. These funds will be provided to the Yemen, which will help the Yemen, to gain a better position among the GCC states.

There is another problem in a cross-border mobility between the Yemen and its GCC counterparts. The labour market of the GCC states are concentrated with a highly skillful and unskilled personnel, which is a source of great anxiety – as they do the native jobs which causes a considerable increase in the average wages for a native worker within the GCC member states. This condition can be handled by imposing a specific proportion by the GCC to the number of workers coming freshly acceding country. These quotas would be relaxed over time and ultimately eliminated at a later stage of integration. Moreover, the amount of the Yemeni workers residing in the other GCC member states could drop if their own country is economically developed as a result of integrating with the GCC. It provides a vision to consider a relationship between the GCC and its neighbouring Yemen. Instead of

perceiving a short term formal relationship between the GCC and its neighbouring country of Yemen, an informal long-term relationship will yield more positive results.

A connection and a network of communication is developed through this kind of a relationship. It could be observed as the declarations of intent, which are supposed to create, an encouragement, and create a widespread affiliation and a custom of collaboration among the GCC and the Yemen, rather than an actual free trade area agreement or customs union within the short term. With a creation of the GCC's own integration template for an expansion is this formal relationship can be continued further in this scenario.

It is quite difficult to answer a question, if the GCC is prosperous enough and capable to absorb and expand the Yemen within it. The European Union has been trying to answer this query for many years. By looking back in a past, this question can be fairly answered that if the GCC can efficaciously negotiate the free trade contracts with the Yemen. A rate of success of these agreements can help the Yemen to get developed and successful enough to enlarge.

It is required to be evaluated by the GCC, if it's probable membership discussions with interested Yemen to decide whether any of its customs, exchanging styles or positions, or other factors has harmfully influenced its

capability to device contracts or accomplish the membership negotiations with an expansion of a new potential member efficiently.

Many Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) members have enjoyed a large budget surplus over a past few years, owing to an increased oil revenues. A majority of them have already built up the considerable levels of infrastructure and generous social programs. However, they still possess large amounts of capital that could use an outlet other than their overvalued stock markets. Indeed, one estimate of the Gulf investments outside a region puts an amount at a remarkable \$1.5 trillion.

While, companies in the GCC have already put money into the projects throughout a region, these investments so far have lacked two ingredients that could greatly multiply their value. First, a strong geographic focus on the particular countries or regions could give them greater influence there, than they would have by investing in the segregated individual projects. Secondly, the linkages to cooperation with a neighbouring country would help the Gulf countries to ensure a stability of their often volatile region. One place where they could invest and hope to achieve significant political and economic gains is, the Yemen.

The companies from the GCC have several significant advantages over their international competitors, while investing in the Yemen. First, the country is

geographically close to the Gulf, allowing investors in the latter to make regular trips to inspect the setting up and running of their companies. The country's large demographic base means that it could also be a market for the consumer goods produced in or re-exported from the Gulf and sent over by land or sea. The million or so Yemenis expatriates present in the Gulf can also act as a bridge by making use of their understanding of the Gulf business practices, as well as their local knowledge of the Yemen. And finally, the entrepreneurs can use an Arabic to communicate directly with the government officials and other businessmen, thereby better understanding their market.

However, a picture in the Yemen is not entirely rosy. There are two serious challenges against the Yemen's further integration into the GCC. First, the country is very poor and has not been able to create an adequate infrastructure base. Secondly, it has historically had a poor business climate, owing in a large part to the country's corruption and lack of security. However, this does not mean that it is impossible to invest there for a sake of better integration of the Yemen.

The kidnapping of the Western tourists has understandably scared away many would-be visitors. In an absence of any immediate political solution to major problems in the Yemen, a tourism would therefore have to be limited to the areas where a security can be provided, for instance, in a limited number of large cities and in the isolated resorts. Even then, there are opportunities

to be exploited owing to the country's proximity to the GCC countries, its numerous historical monuments and its natural features, which include a long coastline, several islands and cool mountains. All of these factors, combined with an ability of its population to speak the Arabic, could see a country attract far more tourists from a region, much like, the Egypt does. It is therefore imperative that the GCC companies exploit this possibility by examining the feasibility of the investments in projects there. It should be stressed, however, that tourist destinations in the Yemen and the GCC countries are rather different and the two markets aren't likely to be the direct competitors.

The benefits of investing in the Yemen would not be economic alone. Yemen is a part of the Arabian Peninsula and has a border with the two GCC countries – Oman and Saudi Arabia. Its relations with the pair have sometimes been tense. Investing in such a country would give it an incentive to maintain its ties with its neighbours. Furthermore, if the economic opportunities are available for the Yemenis at home, they will be less likely to want to join their million or so compatriots in the GCC countries, which have been trying to reduce the number of expatriates working within their borders. The Yemen's prospects of becoming a full member of the GCC in a near future may not be bright, but any economic integration with a grouping on its part will help it move towards a closer cooperation with the bloc. Not only would that be a step in a right direction for the Yemen's long-term aspiration to join the GCC, it would quickly lead to payoffs in a form of a more secure and prosperous, Arabian Peninsula.

Since 1996, the Yemen has been struggling hard to get a membership of the GCC. This wish is largely obsessed by the economic fears, which are often disguised by the bombast of a historical and cultural bonds. An investment capital that will flow in a country, as well as, a significant and continuing aid that would be provided, are attracting the Yemen towards the GCC's membership. The transfer would also deliver a partial clarification of the Yemen's huge joblessness problem, which is well above the 40 percent. The inclusion of the Yemen into the Entry GCC will act as a safety net against a catastrophe.

According to an estimation of the Yemeni government and the GCC's Secretary General Abdul Rahman Al Attiyah, the one more decade is needed by the Yemen to gain a full membership in an organization. Even it is also doubtful. The Yemen's economy is in calamitous shape, with more than 42 percent of the population existing below a poverty line. The oil resources are the only source on which they wholly rely, some of which is expected to shut down by 2015. Unfortunately, the contributors have ignored this situation of the Yemen due to an incapacitating mixture of carelessness and exhaustion, worsened by a widespread government exploitation that, the Yemen has only recently tried to restrain. A vote against the Yemen's entry into the GCC is also significant, as the Yemen has non friendly relationships with some of the GCC states. The Kuwait, for example, is still annoyed with the Yemen for supporting Iraq during the Gulf War of 1990-91, for which, the Yemen will have to repay in a future. The Ongoing Kuwaiti hostility may be

counterbalanced, somewhat of a concern for a part of the other GCC members, mainly, the Saudi Arabia, about the Yemen's prospective to be converted into a failed state. A kingdom is supporting the Yemen to preserve its security, as the accusations of weapon trafficking and terrorist penetration into the Saudi Arabia from the Yemen are monotonous.

After the outcomes of the terrorist attacks in September, 2011, the Yemen highly stepped forward in its struggle to join the GCC, which was linked to the security concerns. In 2011, at a summit, in the Oman, the GCC approved the membership privileges to the Yemen in the fields of social affairs, health, education and sports as well. Hass, a theorist, in his discussion of integration theory, presented an argument that a reduction in the fears related to a security had also slowed down a speed of integration.

Similarly, the security fears will guarantee that the Yemen has been providing a lifeline, the economic distresses will avoid that lifeline from converting into anything approaching a full membership in the GCC. The member states of the GCC are highly concerned that what will be an impact of such higher inflow of the Yemeni on their financial prudence. Nearly, 850,000 of the Yemenis were expelled from the Saudi Arabia after the Gulf War in 1990-91 and the majority of them were not even allowed to enter again. Even, the countries such as, the Oman and Qatar, which have often been considered as favourable to the Yemen's full integration, have also strict rules for the Yemenis for visiting their countries.

The Yemen is highly focused on improving its laws to bring them in accordance with the norms of the GCC, the GCC states have not yet taken a decisive stand on a process of integration. The Yemen is trying to satisfy the other foreign donors such as the United States and the World Bank by initiating the reforms and the “campaign against corruption” is one of them. A rate of implementation of these reforms is very slow, as, most of them exist primarily on paper and are further designed for an external consumption, instead of bringing in, a real change in a country. However, the Yemen's GCC neighbours remain thoroughly unconvinced, unless there are noticeable improvements which will take place after a youth revolution in the Yemen, which has revived a hope for the Yemenis for an integration and the achievement of goals.

The differences between the Yemen and the GCC on an economic front are stark; an average Yemeni's income is about a twentieth part of a GCC's national. The Yemen's infrastructure is far less developed, and although, it is a net exporter of oil, its reservoirs are limited. Many commentators believe that these disparities alone make a likelihood of the GCC's membership for the Yemen, anytime soon unrealistic.

On top of the economic differences, there are also the political ones. The Yemen, unlike the six Gulf monarchies, is a republic, and Yemen came down on the side of Iraq in its 1990 invasion of the Kuwait. This proved to be a costly choice, and as a result, many Yemenis working in the GCC were expelled; The Yemen consequently lost a significant remittance revenues.

When Oman and Qatar sponsored the Yemen's application for the GCC membership in 1999, the Saudi Arabia vetoed it. Since then, however, the Saudi-Yemeni bilateral relations have improved markedly and the Yemen's admission to the GCC has been at a top of the Saudis agenda.

From the GCC's perspective, a key benefit of the Yemen's admission, at least in a near term, would be an improved security. If the Yemen's economic prospects improve upon an entry to the GCC, which they undoubtedly will, a likelihood of the Islamic militants gaining a foothold on the Arabian Peninsula will be reduced considerably. It is generally considered to be a case that a good way to ensure a stability in any given country is through an economic development. However, as is often a case with the cost/benefit analysis, the costs tend to be incurred in a short term, while the benefits are only felt in a long term. In short, the immediate costs of the Yemen's entry into the GCC are likely to comprise of an influx of the Yemenis into the other GCC states and a considerable amount of financial assistance from the GCC to the Yemen. This will be necessary to upgrade its economic and human resources.

Nevertheless, the GCC businesses could take an advantage of the lower Yemeni wage costs and relocate some of their business and manufacturing activities there. Furthermore, having an abundant pool of the Yemeni labour would reduce a need for the oil-rich Gulf States to recruit a labour from further afield. This would have an added advantage of seeing less in a way of

remittances, which leave a region altogether, these would instead go to the Yemen.

A planned GCC 'Gulf dinar' could be more problematic. The Yemeni riyal has been partially floating since 1996, and all the GCC sovereign currencies are pegged to the US dollar. The Yemen would find it particularly hard to meet a convergence criteria provisionally set by the GCC's central bankers. In this field, the GCC would probably have to provide the Yemen with a considerable financial assistance, as happened in a case of poorer European countries, which were heavily subsidized by the European Union's richer countries. The GCC should endure some temporary economic burdens in order to realize the priceless political and strategic goals. There are some distinct advantages of the GCC's enlargement, and the Yemen, geographically at least, is an ideal initial candidate. In a long run, if the GCC were to grant the Yemen, a full membership, it is highly likely to be a win-win situation.

Likewise, there is currently a lot of excess liquidity in the Gulf, and Yemen that would provide ample investment opportunities. The benefits of the Yemeni entry into the GCC not only include a larger market, and improved economies of scale, but also opportunities for the GCC's nascent tourism, hospitality and a real estate industry; The Yemen has many natural and historical beauty. Furthermore, if Yemen's per capita income were to increase, so would the demand for the goods manufactured within the Gulf.

The GCC states stand to benefit from gaining an access to a domestic market that is almost a size of the Saudi Arabia's. In other words, the Yemen's inclusion would expand the GCC's domestic market by 40 percent. If the GCC will accept the Yemen as a member, both parties are likely to benefit economically. Greater competition in the goods and labour markets would lead to the efficiency gains throughout a region and increase, both, the Yemen's and the GCC's GDPs in a longer term.

Moreover, due to the America's disastrous occupation of Iraq and its willingness to give Israel carte blanche to occupy and collectively punish the Palestinians, a world now faces a greater threat from 'global terrorism,' and this is particularly true in the Gulf. The GCC states, therefore have a vested interest in the Yemen's political and economic stability, and should seriously consider fast-tracking its entry. With the GCC expected to see a current account surplus of \$ 172 billion, a short-term financial cost of the Yemen's entry is not prohibitively expensive.

If no GCC state fundamentally objects to the Yemen's entry, the Yemen should be given an unambiguous set of entry preconditions. Its accession to the World Trade Organization, for instance, could be one such precondition, while another could be its acceptance of the terms of the GCC's customs union. Unlike the six GCC states, the Yemen has not yet become a member of the WTO, although it is negotiating its entry. Thus, if the Yemen were to

become a 'haven for terrorists,' it would hardly encourage the European tourists to spend their holidays in the Bahrain, Dubai, or Oman. If the GCC was deemed to be unsafe because of instability in the Yemen, the FDI would suffer, as would ambitions of becoming the global financial centres, industrial re-export zones, and transport hubs.

Thus, the Saudia Arabia and the other GCC states are continuously having a concern with the Yemen regarding to a security. Since, a revolution, in 1962, which was a year of revolution for its ruling family, and the Egyptian President, Nasser's ensuing passionate support of that revolution, the Yemen has established a problem that involves an energetic management by the GCC leaders. From a point of view of a researcher in this thesis, the problems of the Yemen's can only be accommodated nowhere, except the GCC, which forces the GCC to wedge with the Yemen and its fortune. The GCC's offer of an immediate membership to the Yemen admit and full entree to all the GCC's labour markets are the only solution to all these complications.

A capacity of the GCC states for labour is very absorptive in nature, having of a host of 25 million foreign workers already. The Yemen, will be able to initiate to expand into a vast domestic market for the GCC's services and industrial goods, rather than having the Yemenis to deliver a more "natural" source of labour for these countries. An interesting lesson has been provided by the resemblance of the United States and Mexico, although it is not

perfect. The Mexicans have gradually overcome the Border States to such a mark, that the Samuel Huntington (of The Clash of Civilizations fame) saw this Latino “invasion” as putting America’s Anglo-Saxon civilization at risk, whereas, the Mexican immigration has converted into a nightmare for the American conservatives for decades.

Now a question arises that how this problem was addressed by America? It established NAFTA, which has converted Mexico, despite of all its difficulties, into a rising and lively economy to a great extent. Recently, a return of immigration cases (from the United States back to Mexico) have been widely observed for the first time, which means that a rate of the Mexicans returning home is greater than those coming to America, legally or illegally). Hence, the GCC should consider this trend realize a fact that integrating the Yemeni is a fine and, probably, the easiest way to protect itself from the Yemeni failure. An example of “focusing on the trees and ignoring the forest” fits on those, who argue in a favour of preserving the 20 million poor Yemenis “with Kalashnikovs” out of the GCC.

8.3 Summary

There were divergent views about the dynamics and challenges behind the Yemen’s inclusion failure to join the GCC. Interviewed officials and experts asserted several issues preventing the Yemen from joining the GCC, as well as affecting the regional interactions between the Yemen and its GCC counterparts. Such issues need intense efforts from the Yemeni decision

makers along with getting an extreme support from the Gulf countries in order to make the Yemen stand steady on its feet and to speed up its integration journey towards the GCC's full membership.

However, some interviewees have classified this matter as the Yemeni failure to meet the GCC standards, some others have blamed the GCC member states for not reacting positively to the Yemen's continuing requests to join an organization. This study found that, there are major shortcomings in the Yemeni side efforts to join the GCC, which require great work to overcome them. Far further, western protection for the GCC states is because of the oil reserves in a region. However, the expectations of oil explorations in the west might cause a withdrawal of the US troops, which imposes an extra pressure on the small states and make them accept, the Yemen membership to substitute a vacancy left by the west.

CHAPTER NINE

DYNAMICS OF YEMEN-GCC RELATIONS AFTER THE ARAB SPRING

9.0 Introduction

The events of the Arab Spring, since 2011, have dramatically altered a political landscape of the Arab countries (Davidson, 2013). After the decades of in-built totalitarianism, the Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Libya have boarded on a process intended for generating a more inclusive political system that is based on the rule of law and responsible governance (Breton, 2013). The major causes that caused a start this moment include long-simmering and closely interweaves economic, political and social discontent (Agha & Malley, 2012). Hence, it is restricted from the suppression of media and civil freedoms, political, economic sickness and poor governance, compounded by favouritism, unemployment, lack of opportunities and corruption.

A series of reaction which were initiated in the Tunisia and then spread across the Arab world extended the coasts of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), which is an economic and political union and made up of the Arab states of the Persian Gulf: Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the Saudi Arabia. Aljazeera (2012) & Breton (2013), the

public protests in one form or another have been witnessed by nearly, all the GCC countries. The other GCC countries have faced a short-lived public and even, a virtual protest, whereas, a prolonged and never ending protests have been faced by the Bahrain and Oman. The protest even turned violent and disruptive in some of the cases, which led to a huge number of deaths and imprisonment of some of the activists, as well as other forms of punishment, such as the cancelation of citizenship (Al-Naqeeb, 2012).

An important role has also been played by the GCC in an event of the Arab spring in the Arab countries such as, the Yemen, Libya and Syria. Here, an involvement evolved into the diverse forms, but overall the GCC has intervened for the sake of diverting the masses protests for their interest (Agha & Malley, 2012). In the Yemen, initially, the protests were against the economic problems, unemployment, and corruption. Later, they incorporated the demands for a government to modify the Yemen's constitution.

9.1 Yemen: Revolution of its own

The Arab Spring in the Yemen resulted in a youth revolution and eventually, a fragile political transition. In February 2012, the Yemen's radical movement realized its first success: the removal of the President Saleh. Nevertheless, the co-optation of the revolution by the Yemen's key power brokers, local insurgencies, and formidable economic problems may squander the prospect of repairing the Yemen's deteriorating social conventions. Stabilization struggles, though essential, should not come at the expense of a civic and

democratic state. In most nations where, politically or historically, tribal, regional, doctrinal, sectarian, or ideological partisanships have prevailed and developed, the demise of surviving the regimes meant a collapse of their supporting institutions (Aljazeera, 2012). Such atmosphere led to a sustained conflict and an acceleration of the hostility, rebellions, actions, and rejoinders to an extent that shattered each party and forced them into accommodating the demonstrators' bargains and compromises, as in the case of the Yemen (AL-Naqeeb, 2012).

In other considerations, the grieving parties and especially, the revolutionists had to consider their insurgency as one chapter in a long battle of destiny. They had to be gratified by what was accomplished and delay a confrontation, until sometime in the future. Nevertheless, every party understood the dangers of such a viewpoint entailed for their opinion. This was obvious in the Yemen, where the possibilities of Saleh relinquishing control, as in Egypt and Tunisia, or bargaining with a public was likely (Taube, 2012). The international manifestation, though, may have made a liquidation of opposition figures by an organization, a difficult task, owing to a relative weakness; it would suffer after a revolution.

9.2 Yemen's revolution dynamics

Although, a revolution of the Yemen could attain fast success because of having all the resources, but still it was unable to bring down a government quickly. In a beginning, the protestors in the Yemen moved freely and their protests were not aggressively opposed (Amin; 2010). But, when the government started using a power against the protestors, its leadership got divided and resigned, also the army was divided and joined a revolution. The reasons, why a revolution could not attain quick success were that the revolutionists failed to develop their revolution and they restricted themselves to a capital centre square and did not march towards the presidential palace. Also, the revolutionaries involved the other political parties in negotiation with the regime (Taube, 2012). This situation was exploited by a government by creating confusions and partitions in the opposition and a government also created a group of supporters to go on the roads in support of a government (Agha and Malley, 2012). As a result, the streets of Yemen were divided between the people against a government and people in favour of the government, but the people against a government were much more than those in a favour of a government (Davidson, 2013).

A deadlock between the two groups continued for months. Away from the facts stated above, there are other reasons for the delay in the quick success of the revolution, a government of the Yemen took the benefits of the mistakes of the previous governments of Tunisian and Egyptian, before their

downfall. The Yemen's government used these techniques as a guideline which created confusions in the opposition.

As the Yemen's people are poor, they could not prolong the protest and a government took an advantage of this situation. A government exploited a situation and created groups among the revolutionaries. Although, the government did not totally succeed to outdo an opposition, but it gained time (Davidson; 2013). On the other side, an international community supported a government instead of putting pressure on a government to accept the demands of an opposition. A reason for this was that, the Al-Qaida is very strong in the Yemen and the political vacuum would allow it to expand and lead the political activities which was a great fear for the Europeans and Americans. Also, the Yemen had a great importance in the Western Powers for making strategies, and they give preference to their interests instead of the needs of the Yemen's protestors. This was a main reason of the Yemen's revolution protests (Taube, 2012). So, a continuation of the Yemeni government was in a favour of the international communities (Amin, 2012).

The GCC was against the Yemen's protestors, and without the support of such human rights organizations, the Yemen revolution could not remove the Saleh's government. Thus, an interference of the Gulf cooperation council countries in the Yemen also supported a continuation of the Saleh's government. The GCC had a great interest in a continuation of the Saleh's government, because according to them, he was a protector who would not

let the Muslim brothers to come in a power. The Muslims are the biggest organized movement in the Yemen and are able to take a place of a government. The GCC wished that a spillover of the Yemen's revolution be planted in the remaining Arabian Peninsula. A support and control of an army by the Saleh's family was an added factor to protect a government and stop further division (Davidson, 2013).

9.3 GCC's responses to the Arab Spring

In this situation, a concept of double standard is related to a reaction of the GCC. On one side, they were supporting an existing government in the Yemen, in spite of some main differences in a region and on the other side, they emphasized on a struggle against the lack of freedom and chances for the large parts of a society mainly, the youth (Ryan, 2012; Taube2012). The GCC's double standard can be explained in a light of the "Arab Spring" by using a strategy of features that conflict each other and fixed by the GCC countries to structure the world and its role. Thus contradictions are associated with the political and spatial dimension inside vs. outside, nature of a government monarchies vs. religious and republics identities Shiite v's Sunnis (al Naqeeb, 2012).

9.3.1 Inside vs. outside the GCC

The “Arab spring” was considered by a government of the Gulf States as a threat to their stability from the ‘inside” angle, which has consequently justified a firm powerful reaction. Giving priority to an internal stability over a sudden change or in other words, the gradual democratic reforms are taken usual, even for the oldest fashioned governments. Thus, it is not astonishing that the GCC ruling empires improved their old fashioned approach (Agha & Malley, 2012).

The antirevolutionary strategy of the GCC had two prongs. Firstly, the GCC countries has fixed the excessive financial incentives to the main sectors and implemented the limited economic and political reforms. Secondly, a military involvement for the existence of a government and suppression of the rebellions (Davidson, 2013).

In case of Bahrain, the interference of the GCC for the survival of a government and stability of a region is quite more (Davidson, 2013). An army from the Saudi Arabia and forces of police from the UAE entered the country in March, 2011 to give protection to a ruling family, Al Khalifa, which followed the Sunni Version of the Islam against the dissatisfied majority of Shiite (Ryam, 2012). The whole move was officially offered as, if defending one of the members of the GCC against the “external threats”, of Iran (Agha and Malley, 2012).

In march 2011, a placement of 4000 troops of the military arm of the GCC in the Bahraini Crisis, with a view not to irritate the Iran, proves that the concerns of increasing an effect from the Bahrain to the other GCC members have reached at its significant heights after emphasizing on the purely symbolic nature of the GCC's joint Peninsula shield Force (Al-Naqeeb, 2012). However, this was the first placement of the forces in connection with an internal threat (Amin, 2012).

To follow the opposite paths in challenging the "Arab Spring", a choice of the GCC to try counter revolution in the Gulf area and pro-revolution outside of it shows contradictions (Rayam, 2012). Actually, a strategy of the GCC inside and outside its border is to support the friendly regimes inside and to expand its influence outside. On closer inspection, a divergence in a policy of the domestic and foreign strategies of the Saudi Arabia and Qatar being the two most powerful members of the GCC, simmers down to a contradiction in inside vs. outside (Amin, 2012).

During the Yemeni and Bahraini revolutions, the Saudi Arabia took an open lead by keeping them in the GCC. This helped the UAE in upsetting Muslims brotherhood democratic regime in the Egypt and helped Qatar to play a major role in the revolution of Syria by forcing a case to the Arab league.

This shows a division of effect between the Saudi Arabia and Qatar. The Saudi Arabia seems to be a guardian of an existing situation inside the GCC, whereas, the Qatar promotes its role as the champion of the Arab republic opinion. A view of Qatar is to increase its planned influence to attain a goal of

handling instability, internally or externally (Qumar, 2012). Simply, to highlight the different foreign policy paths by the two members is to explain the two most noteworthy military involvements by the GCC countries in Bahrain and Libya, in 2011, which propagates confusion.

9.3.2 Monarchies vs. republics

A second relating contrast behind the GCC's response to the "Arab spring" is like a difference between the kingdoms and democracies. This contrast is fundamental to understand the different attitude of the GCC countries about the Morocco and Jordan on one side and the Yemen on the other. The first two countries faced domestic conflicts which have not threatened a stability of the ruling empires.

On the contrary, the Yemen has remained a stage of a continued conflict between the government of Saleh and opposition parties (Davidson, 2013). As, the situation could step into a civil war and the situation became out of control, the GCC countries pursued to get out of the crisis. Apparently, their efforts seemed to be successful, as the Saudi-brokered deal signed made the smoothest path for the Saleh's resignation in November, 2011 (in return for an immunity guarantee).

Although, the GCC countries were directly supporting the Saleh regime against the Houthi rebellion, since 2004, subsequently refined their relationship with the Yemen. In view of the GCC, the Saleh was unable to counter a terrorism, although he has been facing a challenge of safeguarding his regime's survival. Actually, his desperate attempt to stick to power in case of massive protests made him a burden for GCC (Amin, 2012). The GCC countries in turn preferred Saleh's quick departure from a power and tried to enable themselves to influence the trajectory of the Yemen' s future (Qumar, 2012).

The GCC countries do not like the independent civic movements composed by a youth, as they fear this will affect their territories. Also, the GCC-brokered deal does not fulfil the demands of those people who took part in the protest and died in the Yemen protesting against the complete corrupt system (Davidson, 2013).

The GCC countries, instead showed some support for the democracy movement by isolating the unwanted ruler and side by side maintained an old-system of power in the interest of regional stability (Al-Anani, 2012; Qumar, 2012). However, this moderate transformation has not been followed through consistently. For the sake of a regional stability, they GCC let the president Saleh go, because the police started pushing people and that is why, the Yemen is a republic rather than a monarchy (Amin, 2012). A strong

support of the GCC for the monarchies facing the internal chaos was not only to defend the monarchs, but to defend the monarchical system.

In comparison to the GCC's treatment of the Jordan and Morocco on one side and the Yemen on the other in different ways and remembering that the Yemen has been looking for a member of the GCC for years without success, the monarchies vs republics dichotomy stands as an explanation behind the GCC's reaction to the "Arab Spring". In other words, the GCC countries try to show that the "Arab Spring" is the Arab republics, not operating effectively, rather than the monarchies (Kamaraya, 2012; AL-Anani, 2012). An aim of this type of reasoning is to increase a distance between the monarchies and republics in the Arab world, as a result of the events initiated by the "Arab Spring" by artificially isolating the latter as a favourable place for a protest and regime defeat (Bonney, 2012).

9.3.3 Sunnis vs. Shiites

For Saudi Arabia and GCC, the dichotomy of the Sunnis vs Shiites is sensitive. Historically, the Saudi monarchy has drawn legitimacy from a religion, as they are ruling over the foundation of Islam, the holy city of Makkah and Madina (Kamaraya, 2012). A possible great danger to an authority is an emergence of a reliable task to the Saudi monarchies, self-appointed keepers of Islam's holiest places (Davidson, 2013).

A distinctive mark of the Saudi Arabia's foreign policy, before 2011 was a preference for the existing state of affairs. This clarifies the Riyadh's support to the regimes in the Yemen, Egypt and Tunisia (Bonneyfoy, 2012). The Saudis modified by taking a chance to outline the future developments to eliminate the new elected movement of the Islam, mainly, the Muslim brotherhood in the Yemen and Egypt, etc. This demonstrates a great threat to a claim of Saudi Arabia, guarding Islam and gets a strong support of the citizens of the GCC (Burke, 2012).

9.4 The double standard of the GCC: the challenges ahead

The complexity of the GCC's responses to the "Arab Spring" is illustrated above in the three dichotomies. The double standard which emerges, implies the three main points for a future development in a region going ahead from the micro level to the macro level (Amin, 2012; Davidson, 2013).

Firstly, the GCC polices about the uprising in Arab shows conversion to some extent among the Gulf state, whereas, laid major differences between the Qatar and Saudi Arabia. The Saudi Arab played a conservative approach, whereas, the Qatar played progressive attitude mainly in the Egypt and Yemen respectively (Agha & Malley, 2012).

These differences have the links with the political culture and far more content of the GCC's response to the "Arab Spring" is approached by them.

A temporary objective of affecting the “Arab Spring” along a pattern which might enlarge, rather and endanger their regional effect is shared by the Saudi Arabia and Qatar, like, the other GCC countries. A corporation, has so far existed over a competition, but it is not possible to rebate a possibility of rumbling the political tensions and confrontation (Amin, 2012). At least, some of the Gulf leaders are conscious of this potential evolution, and are cautious of a risk it involves. These strategic considerations are rooted back in the talks of a probable elevation of the Gulf Cooperation Council into a Gulf Union (Burke, 2012).

Furthermore, a huge resort to state patronage to resolve the domestic demands for a greater political contribution cannot last forever and they will definitely be affected by a change taking place in the Yemen. The old ways of buying a silence of the opposition through a patronage and corruption might not work forever, which is something that has been made clear by the “Arab Spring”. It is not evident from this situation that the GCC countries will be incapable to control the political challenges at home in a short to medium term. Instead, it means, a serious risk of a backlash can be involved by that state patronage: as much as it increases power and elevates the expectations of a public to the potentially unsustainable levels for the state (Embassy, 2012; Kamaraya, 2012).

The double standard policy showed by the GCC has few concerns that are included in a final conclusion and its future allegations for the Gulf States

and, indirectly, for the Western powers, in applied in the Yemeni case. The measures invented by the GCC in their own space are in unambiguous contrast with the “Arab Spring’s prodemocracy favour. Though, the Western democracies have not complained to this attitude (Bellin, 2012). A west has been freed from the tenure to have to interfere in the Gulf, endangering its well-recognized relations with the Gulf regimes by a prompt repression of the Yemeni revolt and the GCC’s activism on the other “Arab Spring” fronts such as Egypt where, the main GCC member states welcomed the military overthrow (Burke, 2012).

While, notwithstanding with a democracy promotion talk, a West is highly concerned that a better political representation in the Gulf might endanger the West’s interests and plan in a region. Whereas, a western preference for the Gulf’s stability amidst the winds of change across the Arab world may prove unwise in a longer term perspective (Amin, 2012). The Western world would again find itself on the wrong side of history and lose much of its influence in the region, in case, if the Gulf regimes experience the problems sketched above and lose their hold on supremacy. In a near future, the Arab world may pivot on Egypt, whose forecasts are recently unwelcoming and its significance to a broader regional and global is balanced (Bellin, 2012; Embassy 2012).

9.5 Summary

The Arab Spring has left its impact on countries' bilateral and collective relations among the globe, an earthquake had caused a changed several permanent universal foreign policy that most of the countries and international organizations used to trace, while dealing with each other. Thus, the Arab uprisings made countries recalculate their foreign policies with the Arab world, according to the outcomes of the revolutions that have been and still taking place, since 2011.

The GCC countries and the Yemen are not isolated of what has been happening in a region as well. The above chapter discussed how the GCC states dealt with the sudden huge actions of Arab nations which resulted in changing a regime in the Yemen and were about to change it in Bahrain “the member tiny state of GCC”.

Reviewing GCC experience in dealing with the Arab Spring found that the GCC confronted an immune threat, according to the monarchial-republic, internal-external, and sectarian bases. However, the GCC strategies seem to survive the Arab Spring in a short term, but there are doubts, if they can still maintain that position on a long term which proves their great intervention and deadly attempts in diverting the Yemeni Youth revolution through a so called Gulf Initiative. After all, the GCC-Yemen relation dynamics and

relations after the Arab Spring will be subjected to the GCC's future attitudes toward the Arab Spring in an entire region.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

10.0 Executive Summary

In assuming a path dependent perspective of the Yemen's integration into the GCC, we can observe that a cooperation has been determined by an intersection of the different logics, each of which have been impacted or reacted to by the different levels. No single element can be attributed can be considered as being motivated cause of neither, the Yemen's exclusion nor a single driven for its inclusion. This study demonstrated that a motivation to pursue the full Yemeni integration in the GCC, to delay extra efforts, or not integrating it at all, can change at any moment due to the factors impacting the foreign policy decisions from all dimensions.

At a state level, a motivation to form linkages among the GCC states came from a perception of the shared external challenges which in turn nurtured the internal threats to regime a security assumingly correlated with the Yemen. However, the structural factors and mutual distrust made it difficult to include the Yemen to their organization which could provide the GCC with

anything beyond political, security, and economical unity. A logic of accepting the Yemen into the GCC has been determined by multi-level process. While, the GCC is mostly structurally similar unlike the Yemen, the differences would grow due to a transition to the post oil economies. This in turn affects the national economic prerogatives of these states, which could delay a further integration among the GCC members.

Yemen's full integration issue into the GCC has been occupying a large space of interest locally, regionally, and internationally, this research dwelled deeply in the core issues surrounding the Yemen's future with its GCC counterparts. Thus, a study has investigated the dynamics and failures of the Yemen to join the GCC, in spite of its continuous attempts, as there are several governing factors determining its destiny in the regional grouping. The Yemen enjoys a unique geopolitical placement in the Middle East.

An admission of the Yemen into the GCC has been considered for several reasons, as it is an only nation from the Arabian Peninsula which does not hold a membership of the GCC. A securities have been considered as a main reason for its inclusion to the GCC. The Gulf's security has been related to the Yemeni security, since the early days of the GCC.

The Yemen's full entry into the GCC will provide several benefits to the GCC. These benefits are significant for the development and the expansion of the GCC. Hence, a decision of the Yemen's inclusion to the GCC can no longer

be avoided. Both the Yemen and a region are equally affected. The hindrances in the way of Yemen's entrance to the GCC occurred, since its foundation. As, the Yemen is an extension of the Gulf region, and shares its ideas, therefore, its entry to the GCC is normal. Hence, an assumption that the Yemen shares a same security interest is quite logical. Almost, each and everything is shared between the Yemen and the Gulf region, but still, the Yemen does not supervise the Gulf. The Arab states did not describe borders to mark their territories as a part of their nomadic heritage.

A border demarcation was started with a rise in the oil concerns between the countries. This produced the border concerns among the Arab countries in the Arabian Peninsula. The border conflicts had always existed between the Yemen and the other members of the GCC. These border concerns resulted in a lack of cooperation, instability, political bitterness and susceptibility to terrorism between the GCC states and the Yemen.

In terms of allowing the Yemen to receive a full membership, these facts proved to be an eye opener for the GCC. These issues can be easily resolved through a joint cooperation when the Yemen enters the GCC.

A stability of the Arabian Peninsula is highly influenced by the Yemen's stability. The Yemen would give a full cooperation and help in maintaining a stability in a region, in case, if the Yemen a full membership of the GCC. The three major events suspect the Yemen's stability: political unrest, weak

economy and terrorism. There exist the forces within a border of the Yemen which are strongly influenced by the Al-Qaeda, therefore, a border between the Yemen and Saudi Arabia is not fully protected, and so, it is significant to provide stability for the GCC states.

A significance of the Yemen's strength is to prevent the aftershock of variability. The Yemen, upon its inclusion of the GCC states can gain a full benefits of the economic aid that is granted to the GCC members, which will in turn affect the Yemen's stability. Yemen's economy is a direct threat to stability; therefore, any sort of investment from the GCC would significantly advance the stability status of the Yemen's economy which has been constantly threatened. The economic instability needs to be rectified, since, there is a straight link between the economic variability and a rise in the terrorist attacks. It is not only the Yemen which is highly concerned about this issue, but the other neighbouring countries which are members of the GCC are also concerned, since, the whole region's security is dependent on the Yemen's security.

The people will easily divert towards an ideology of the terrorist and their campaigns due to an increase in an economic instability. The Yemen has been considered by the terrorist groups, such as Al-Qaeda, as a most suitable place for the vulnerable targets for an employment. These targets would then not only be capable to execute the terrorist attacks within the Yemen, but in some cases, they would also be able to stroll unnoticed.

Hence, a stability is highly related to a role of the Al-Qaeda, prevent them from seeking opportunities to spread its movement and find employees. In a nutshell, it will cause a significant decrease in the terrorist attacks around a region.

The GCC will have more unity which will help them finalize and resolve any border arguments with an inclusion of the Yemens membership into the GCC. This could be observed as a thoughtful step towards an enhancement of the relations between the countries, particularly, the relationships related to a military. The terrorist attempts can be prevented which occur due to an easiness of unobserved entree from one country to another, as, it will allow the members to join the borders more securely. A merger of all the states in the Arabian Peninsula would permit a greater comfort in observing travelers from one country to the. Hence, a proper system of identification and common entree to a data throughout the countries would be allowed.

This system will reduce an illegal immigration, as well as, enhance a tracking of the travellers ideally. A proper tracking system for the traveller is alarming who is planning for the terrorist attacks. Therefore, a rate of the terrorist attacks will be reduced considerably. The GCC is dependent on a foreign aid for many reasons. A lack of manpower in a military is one of the main reasons. In many GCC countries, a recruitment is not mandatory and hence, can be ignored. Consequently, the GCC's military is of relatively small size. The GCC sent 10,000 soldiers and two warships to help protect Kuwait in the

United States War, in Iraq, in 2003. This is a highly low amount. The Yemen's military can be beneficial for the GCC in many ways.

Since, the GCC would be greatly enhanced by the Yemen's largest paramilitary in the Arabian Peninsula. Instead of having a very huge human population, the 13.5 percent of that population fits into a military pool of 18-49. In contrast to the other members of the GCC, the Yemen's, as well as Oman's army is wholly made up of the Arab citizens. They partially depend on the Foreign Service nationals from other countries in the rest of the Gulf countries.

Despite of having a moderate air force and a weak navy by the Yemen, it has a significant army with a good infantry. The military forces of the Yemen are highly experienced due to which they had been involved in many of the civil wars, as well as, the border conflicts in the past. A combination of this experience along with the size of the Yemeni army can help the GCC to build up its military. The Yemen has also contributed in the military trainings with the Saudi Arabia as a part of a security agreement with the United Arab Emirates, in order to toughen their struggles in a war against a terrorism, specifically the Al-Qaeda, as well as, to strengthen their links.

Hence, to convert a GCC into a more comparative mindset, the Yemen could provide great assistance. This collaboration would significantly help both, the GCC and the Yemen. By learning a mode of cooperation with a help of the

Yemen, the GCC can gain so many benefits. A security of both the Yemen and the Gulf countries is interconnected. Almost 24 years ago, this fact was not only highlighted by the first Secretary General of the GCC, but also by the Qatar Ambassador of Egypt. A fact that had been supposed about 24 years ago and is still unattended, is not a good sign for the GCC. The overall advantages that will be succeeded by the Yemen's inclusion into the GCC should not be ignored. The stability, as well as, a security of a whole region will be highly preserved due to these benefits.

10.1 Post Arab Spring: Necessary Recalculations

The Arab Spring must have left its impact on the Yemeni-GCC relations and its consequences will remain for the decades ahead. The Arab Spring has brought a moderate Islamists to power in the Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, and Yemen as well. The Yemeni Islah Party (Yemeni copy of Muslim brotherhood) emerged as a largest political movement in a country and gained an average share in a current Yemeni transitional government. Hence, the GCC's hostility of the Muslim brotherhood led them to support the military coup in an Egypt, which toppled the first free and fair elected president who is one of the Muslim brotherhood leaders. Such positioning will obviously have its negative impact on the Egyptian Muslim brotherhood brotherly movement in the Yemen, as it is widely expected to emerge a greater winner in the upcoming elections, due in 2014. Though, the Yemen is strongly recommended to revise its policies and review its strategies putting into account the GCC's sensitivity of its prospective Islamist Regime.

Meanwhile GCC, the relations should be bound to the institutions, nevertheless of the regime shape in the Yemen. However, the Yemeni Islamist, as well as GCC must have learnt a lot of their mutual interaction during the past two years when they both have been working together to implement the GCC's initiative which is currently governing an entire political process in the Yemen. A mutual understanding is developed through a time accompanying with lessening mutual worries as well. Finally, a future of the collective relations Dynamics between the both sides will be determined by the Arab Spring destiny itself. As, several studies assume that the GCC states are not immune of change, and the Arab Spring must reach their shores someday.

10.2 Revisiting Integration Theories

The Regional integration theories, specifically, functionalism and neofunctionalism which this study is revolving around have gained a new ground to stand on where they have been applied in the case of the Yemen's integration into the GCC through changing its loyalty along with its GCC counterparts toward the supra organization of the GCC. Both theories have proven their validity, when being used to explain the entire process of the Yemen-GCC integration, as the Yemen's full membership journey toward the GCC. A political factor has been a vocal point of membership possibilities; its importance proved that a successful application of Mitrany's functionalism theory, as political element has been determining the Yemen's relations with

the GCC, since its establishment as well as, its sub other sub factors such as, a security act. This has hindered the country's full integration into the Gulf System.

However, the Yemen has achieved several successes in the multi technical dimensions towards obtaining the GCC's full membership, such as the convergence in economical, legal, financial, sport, education, health areas where, the Yemen has made noticeable reforms to cope with the GCC's standards. Thus, the leisurely progress in high politics, never hinders improving relations in low areas of interest, which has been proved by the Hass neofunctionalism theory of integration.

10.3 Restatement of a problem

A main problem which this study has been looking at, is an inability of the Yemen to create a solid foundation for its country's full inclusion in a regional system. Thus, after a lengthy journey of research in exploring the dynamics and failures of the Yemen's exclusion from the GCC, it has become obvious that the geography and history are not enough for the Yemen to obtain the GCC's membership.

Therefore, the Yemen is concerned in exploring the vast and multi-dimensional dynamics governing its relations with the GCC member states and fully absorbs the requirements for a full integration. There are several

high politics areas that imposed the Yemen's rejection regarding its regime, stability, security weakness, and continuous change of governments, as well as the long history of suspicion governed the Yemen's relations with the GCC states.

Besides, the discovery of the other several low politics areas, the causes of exclusion mainly concentrated in the socioeconomic areas. Moreover, the Yemenis have to have their own vision to deal with the GCC and an entire region, in order to maintain their interests. However, the destiny of the regional integration in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf which, the Yemen's membership in the GCC part of it cannot be determined apart from the USA surveillance at least in a visible future.

Finally, the Yemen's opportunity in the GCC membership is now subjected to the developments of the Arab Spring and the regional rearrangements according to the new alliances reformation in the Middle East, recalling other regional and international players such as Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, USA, EU, and their relations changes with the GCC states and the Yemen in a light of the Arab Spring, as well as, the Arab Israeli conflict. Such issues are worth investigating in the future researches.

10.4 Mutual Benefits of Yemen's Inclusion

10.4.1 Providing Hard Power

There is a potential of increasing a total military manpower for the GCC with an inclusion of the Yemen into the GCC. A total population of the Gulf will also be increased to nearly 60 million upon the Yemen's full membership into the GCC. A huge amount of the Yemeni population comes under an age group of 18-49, which means, a total of 13.5 percent of the population comes in that category, or 2.8 million people.

Additionally, the military resources for the Gulf will also fold many times, as many Yemenis are capable of the military recruitment. The Yemen, with a paramilitary manpower holds the uppermost paramilitary power in the Arabian Peninsula. A large proportion of a population of the six Gulf States consists of the foreign nationals. These foreign nationals are allowed by most of the GCC states to enrol themselves in their armies. The Yemen's inclusion to the GCC would permit for a more Arab focused military power.

10.4.2 Border Conflicts Elimination

The borders of the Yemen are shared by the Saudi Arabia and Oman. There is a history of clashes between the Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Oman, which caused an increase in gaining rights over a huge portion of the northern part

of the Yemen by the Saudi Arabia. With an implementation of a scrupulous electronic identification system and by uniting the border efforts, a mobilization of the terrorists in the Arabian Peninsula can be significantly controlled by all the countries of the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf.

An ease of access will become available to the travelers with the implementation of this system and they will travel with their ID's at the borders. This will also help to reduce a complaint of illegal immigrants by the Saudi Arabia and a free movement of the terrorists around an area would also be controlled.

10.4.3 Joint martial Training and Cooperation

For a solution of the problems related to the security, the Yemeni government has taken serious initiative. A security pact was signed by the Yemen with the United Arab Emirates, in 2005, to carry out a combined arms exercise with the Saudi Arabia. This security agreement aimed to advance and fortify the struggles between the two countries in their war against, the Al-Qaeda. In actual, the relationships between the two countries were improved by this agreement. This agreement also made it realize by the Gulf States that a security of the Yemen's borders against the arms trafficking and terrorists is in a favour of the Gulf's own security. In the Arabian Peninsula, a combined military drill and collaboration is important for all the countries.

The department of the air force and navy are very weak in the Yemen. Whereas, a strength of an army is very strong. Due to their high experience, the Yemen's military has been a part of many of the civil wars, border clashes and internal heat. An expensive military equipment possessed by the Gulf States can be well operated by the experienced military forces of the Yemen.

The incapability of the countries to cooperate with each other is a major mistake made by them. The following fields require an excessive combined military training: a broader program to include training with international forces, border monitoring and cooperating, military exchange programs to allow more acquaintance with each country's system and communication, antiterrorism operation imitations in the different environments. A mutual understanding between the countries is a key factor to fight an effective war against an international terrorism.

10.4.4 Yemeni Labours in the GCC

The millions of the Yemenis work abroad, as, a labour force is the Yemen's major source of export, mostly in the other Gulf States. As, a major portion of the incomes made by the Yemenis who are living abroad is returned to be invested in the Yemen again, which will boost up helps the Yemen's poor economy. The Yemenis contribute a lot in the fields of military and police forces in the GCC countries and have been given the strong positions as that

of the trusted advisers in most of the Gulf countries. These countries highly recommend the Yemenis as a security personnel because they are Arab Muslims, hardworking and intelligent and above all, they intend to return back to the Yemen, once their employment is over. A cooperation is needed between the Yemen and the Gulf States, so as to avoid another crisis similar to what happened in 1991, due to a large refugee force and poor economy.

It is a fact that an internal instability of the Yemen is highly linked to a rise in a rate of terrorism. Due to its unpredictability and low economy, the Yemen has become a kind of haven for the terrorists in a region. The weak points of the Yemen i.e. the poverty stricken populations provide a great opportunity to the networks of the terrorist for a recruitment and training. Since, the exchange at the borders is possible, the terrorist threats can spread to the other countries in the Peninsula instead of being renamed as an internal to the Yemen. Hence, a stability of the Yemen requires much more effort. An economic aid to the Yemen is essential to guarantee that its economy can deliver for its people to ensure a regional security.

The Yemen's economic situation, if it deteriorates, could be a reason of main instability in a region. A danger is unavoidable due to a presence of a young population and a high percentage of joblessness. Most of the Yemenis opt for an illegal immigration, as they enter the Gulf countries because they have no other option to support their family members. This aggravates the problem even more because the majority of the poor people is at thigrating into the

GCC countries. The Yemen is a cause of dissatisfaction among the six Gulf States, being an emerging democracy. The rich neighbouring countries dislike it for the political reasons. There is a chance that a state would be considered as failing states due to an economic dropping and convert into a terror playground. The maintenance of a functioning economy in the Yemen is in a favour of all the world. Hence, increasing economic support is a main step towards a security in a region.

10.4.5 Economic Benefits

An inclusion of the Yemen into the GCC is in a favour of both the Yemen and to the Gulf region as well. A Regional integration would improve competition and yield large economic benefits for both the Yemen and the GCC countries. Nearly, the six current members of the GCC possess forty-five percent of the world's entire oil reserves, and over 25 percent of a total amount is located in the Saudi Arabia.

With an approximation, nearly 70 percent of the Yemn's source of income is oil, which produces a little less than 500,000 barrels per day of oil. If the Yemen is granted a full membership of the GCC, it will have a positive influence on a whole region, despite being the poorest country in the Arabian Peninsula. More progress towards an effective integration and the eventual creation of a financial union will possibly build up an environment for the normal economic activities and generate employment openings for a quickly

rising national labour force, the two main challenges faced by the Yemen and the GCC countries.

For the stimulation of the economic events, it has been pointed out in a study by the International Monetary Fund that the Yemen's integration would will result to an enlarged competition in the Yemen, thereby producing the 18 percent long-run increase in the GDP. A long run increase in the GDP would also be recognized by the other GCC countries, expected at about the 20 percent.

10.4.6 Countering Threats from Within and Abroad

Fighting against a terrorism is a GCC'S as well as, all the world's top priority. This fact highlights an important of the Yemen's full membership into the GCC. There are two folds in which, the Yemen's role in fighting against terrorism can be clarified: The Yemen discourages terrorist attacks and targets to avoid the future attacks by guiding some of its resources to combat the causes of terrorism.

All the other nations in the Arabian Peninsula now have a fear of possible rebel uprising from their Shi'ite minorities, after a fall of the Iraqi Sunni Ba'athist party and a succeeding rise of the Shi'ites in Iraq. The Iran, a strong Shi'ite country, is also coupled with a current attempt for the nuclear abilities.

To handle this probable risk, the Yemen should be permitted to join the GCC, so as to fight off a common external enemy collectively.

So far, an extreme religious sectarian problem are being faced by the Arabian Peninsula. The majority of them are frightened with a failure of all military and security strategies globally and locally to bring in a security and balance in the Iraq. To preserve a strong relationship is very necessary for both the Yemen and the GCC countries due to a possible fear of terrorism, which is spreading like a cancer in the rest of the country and the surrounding areas. The Yemen, which suffering from a poverty, large population, political instability, insecure borders, and constant illegal Yemeni migration into the Saudi Arabia mean that Saudi Arabia cannot overlook an increase of some of the Yemeni internal conflicts upsetting the Saudi Arabia or that a new Yemeni rule might provide a future threat.

A war against terrorism, the spillover effect of the current Iraqi insurgency, asymmetric warfare and the Iran's rise to develop into a nuclear power is a common problem faced by all the countries on the Arabian Peninsula. Therefore, a regional stability in the Arabian Peninsula can be made possible, if the Gulf States should incorporate with the Yemen to enter the GCC, so as to combat the similar fears in unity. An intention to combat terrorism has been clearly shown by the GCC. It is required that the leaders of the GCC members systematically deliberate a significance of the Yemen's

full membership into the GCC, only if a security is of central importance to the GCC agenda.

An ability of the GCC to face the tough situations that will disturb an area and its identity as a single state or as a whole will be negatively affected if a decision of inclusion of the Yemen is further prolonged. Lastly, it is highly required by the GCC to find the ways to improve a way in which it deals with its environment, with a recent increase in a rate of terrorism. It is required to look back in a past, towards the Gulf and identify a significance of including the Yemen in the GCC. This fact must be realized by the GCC that all its previous efforts to bring security in a region have become unsuccessful. A major cause of this failure is not including such an influential country in a region. The Yemen could bring many advantages to the GCC, inspite of having the poorest country in a whole region.

10.5 Practical Implications

A number of suggestions have been presented by a researcher in this section to describe the roles that can be commenced by the different stakeholders including, the GCC Member States, the Yemen and international donors.

10.5.1 Yemeni Regime

For a sake of undertaking the essential modifications and fulfilling an essential criteria for accession, a lot of efforts are required to be carried out by the Yemen. A unit, which is only concerned with the GCC accession is highly proposed by us. A head from a Ministry or employed by the Ministry from academia or any other Ministry with an experience in a field and must be based in the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation should be given a major rank, as a head of the department. The two senior experts, preferably one from the Arabic origin and the other one with an international experience should assist it. A staff of 8-12 juniors must be appointed under the two senior experts. This junior staff can either be selected from within a Ministry or employed from outside the Ministry. All the GCC matters must be followed by them (in partnership with the different domestic ministries and GCC secretariat), in addition to the following up on the matters that have a trade dimensions. The international donors are the main source of funds which are not from the GCC members to avoid a conflict of interest and confirm the objectivity and accompanied by the funds from the Yemeni government to confirm its commitment.

10.5.2 GCC Members

For the sake of establishing a distinct position for dealing with the Yemen in terms of providing it with some sort of special and differential treatment, all

the efforts of the GCC Member States should be dedicated, as there is a very large gap between the GDP per capita in the Yemen and GDP per capita in the GCC's Member States. The sunset section eventually aims to treat the Yemen as a normal GCC member, maybe after its agreement with a determined period of time, can be used to make a criteria for the special and differential treatment, more clear.

A criteria of special and differential treatment that should be applied to the Yemen after its accession must be agreed by all the GCC Member States. Additionally, an extra amount of financial resources is required from the GCC Member States to let the Yemen get prepared for an accession. Such resources should be detached from the conservative financial aid paid by the GCC Member States on an individual basis to the Yemen and from the aid assigned through the Arab Funds. It is also essential that an amount of aid devoted should be discussed for accession within a context of the GCC and must settled upon based on a certain criteria such as, a percentage of the GDP. The GCC secretariat must play a role in observing the payments which should act as a buffer between the GCC Member States and the Yemen, in terms of determining how and when aid should be expended, whereas, an aid must be decided on the individual basis from the GCC.

The benchmarks and milestones set for the Yemen to be attained during its accession period must act as a base for the disbursement of this allotted aid. An up gradation of the human skills in the Yemen should be highly focused to

meet their domestic markets' requirements. Although, the combined efforts are being appreciated, but it is also evident that a particular nature of each labour market in the GCC Member States infers that such efforts can be undertaken on the bilateral basis. Although, it is a win-win situation for both the GCC Member States and Yemen due to an up gradation of the vocational and technical capabilities of the human resources in the Yemen funded by the Member States of the GCC.

To guarantee a safeguard mechanism against a probable flow of the Yemeni workers, the GCC Member States can plan a scheme that controls a flow of the Yemeni emigrants based on their skill level. An immediate opening of the GCC's Member States labour markets for the Yemenis is not expected or desired or that the similar situations of a national treatment for the GCC Member States nationals in terms of employment, which has been boosted by the Economic Agreement adopted in 2002, be functional immediately on the Yemenis looking for jobs in the GCC Member States.

The Singaporean and Malaysian experience can be used to design these schemes for treating the expatriates, where, a visa, work permit and residence issues were categorized according to the level of abilities. In Malaysia, a contract for the skilled workers is about 2 years during which they are qualified for the employment passes, provided that a reimbursement surpasses a minimum monthly salary obligation. Now, the passes can be renewed up to 5 years, which allows the workers to obtain visas for their

dependents as well. A very limited number of posts are open for the foreign workers, which depends on the level of a firm's foreign paid-up capital. Nevertheless, such scheme can be approved to treat refugees in general, a preferential treatment can be designed for the Yemeni workers as a part of a package of the Yemen's accession to GCC.

10.5.3 International Donors

While dedicating extraordinary schemes and agendas that tie their area of Specialty to the Yemen's accession to the GCC, a traditional area of Specialty should be highly focused by the international donors. As an example, a macroeconomic stability concerns the IMF a lot. The Yemen's accession in terms of budget scarcity as percentage of GDP or money supply, it should be linked to this aim.

However, a process of accession should take into account by the major objectives or targets of international donors as a significant variable that should not be ignored. Cross conditionality that links in attaining the certain targets of the international donors with the GCC accession criteria can be set. An establishment of the joint projects that include the GCC Member States and international donors should be carried out. In other forms, the international donors should consider an issue of the Yemen's accession as a significant element while designing their programs and projects, rather than going out of their line of main activities. This denotes that their projections,

budget allocation, etc. should deal with a process of accession as a realistic keystone of all their activities that should not be ignored. It is sometimes considered as an accelerated gain of some objectives, whereas an extra flexibility or reduction of some objectives might be needed, as in a case of a budget shortfall stance, for example where accession might require expansionary policies to improve the investments and consumption.

10.5.4 Other Stakeholders

The on board merger of all the other stakeholders is very essential for the international donors, the Yemen, and the GCC Member States, who can benefit from the Yemen's accession. As an example, a higher interest is shown by the Arab Monetary Fund, the Islamic Bank for Development, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, and a large number of Arab and Islamic Funds in refining the Yemen's regional integration, so, they can provide assistance by helping out with the technical and financial fields. An inclusion of the Yemen into the GCC might benefit the EU, which favours dealing with the countries on a regional basis, as, the Yemen is among those who have been omitted from any EU regional initiatives. Therefore, it is highly desired by the EU to see the Yemen, gaining a membership of the GCC.

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