

Gulf Security: Looking Beyond the Gulf Cooperation Council



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The 38th summit meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was held in Kuwait on December 5, 2017. The meeting's impact can politely be described as the "sound of one hand clapping." More realistically, it can be described as the sound of several clenched fists. It had to be cut from a two-day session to a one-day session because of the feuding between Qatar and a hostile mix of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain.

Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE did not send heads of state. However, UAE Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr. Anwar Gargash; Saudi Arabia's foreign minister, Adel Al Jubeir; Bahrain's deputy prime minister, Mohammed bin Mubarak; and Oman's deputy prime minister, Sayyid Fahd bin Mahmoud, did attend. Qatar's emir, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, did attend, and the meeting was overseen by Emir of Kuwait Sheikh Sabah Al Ahmad Al Sabah -- who has led the GCC effort to reconcile Qatar and its neighbors. But, this was not the kind of representation that could move anything forward, and the meeting fell apart before its second session could begin.

Nothing happened to ease the tensions that had led Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain, and Egypt to sever diplomatic relations with Qatar on June 5, 2017; and had led Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Bahrain to give Qatari citizens 14 days to leave their territory while banning their own citizens from travelling to or residing in Qatar.

The most that Kuwait's presiding Emir Sheikh Sabah Al Ahmed Al Jaber Al Sabah could say after months of effort to settle the dispute between the four states was that, "The last six months have witnessed a rift in our Gulf home, but we must look to rebuild as the GCC has achieved a great many things, and still has a long road ahead," and that the leaders of the GCC had calmed the situation in spite of, "negative developments and sorrowful events," and that "any dispute on the Gulf level must not affect the continuation of the summit." The only positive development -- if it was one -- was that Sheikh Al Sabah also announced the creation of a committee to modify the statute setting up and defining the role of the GCC.

Earlier that morning, however, and before the GCC Summit even began, the UAE Ministry of Foreign Affairs also announced a new "joint cooperation committee" -- separate from the GCC -- that would form a new military and trade partnership between the UAE and Saudi Arabia, and that was "assigned to cooperate and coordinate in all military, political, economic, trade and cultural fields, as well as others, in the interest of the two countries."

The Crumbling Facade of a Long, Hollow, and Ineffective Alliance

There are still some shreds of quiet military cooperation in spite of the resulting boycott of Qatar. Qatar's head of state did come to the meeting, but there were no signs of meaningful compromise or that there is any prospect that the decades of failing to create an effective military alliance will come to an end. Bad as the recent divisions between Qatar and Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Bahrain are, they are only part of the story.

It is unfair to say that the current internal divisions within the Arab Gulf have killed the GCC, but only because it has never really been alive. The years of vacuous rhetoric about security cooperation that have come out of past GCC summit meetings, and the even more vacuous rhetoric filled with good intentions that have come out of the Manama Dialogues, have always been a facade.

To the extent there now is serious real-world military cooperation between the Gulf states -- or between the Arab states in general -- consists of the emergence of a de facto alliance between

Saudi Arabia and the UAE. This is the alliance doing virtually all of the fighting, backing Hadi against the Houthis in the civil war in Yemen. The one truly advanced cooperative *Gulf* command and control and intelligence facility in the Gulf is the Saudi Air Force combined air command facility in Riyadh, where the vast majority of the air operations are Saudi and UAE.

There has been no meaningful GCC-wide cooperation in creating major common training facilities that are properly used to conduct common training, maintenance, or military production. There is no meaningful effort at standardization, and only minimal internal effort to ensure interoperability. The GCC has talked about critical future improvements like missile defenses, but seems to be more interested in the "glitter factor" of acquiring the most advanced systems than creating an effective collective ballistic missile defense system -- much less integrating it with an effective Gulf-wide air and cruise missile defense system. Gulf navies have recognized the need for an effective mix of integrated, mission-oriented naval forces tied to an integrated maritime/air surveillance and battle management system. Progress has been grindingly slow and left many gaps.

Part of the reason for these failures has been the sheer depth of national tensions and differences. Ministerial image building has papered over a lasting lack of real-world cooperation between Saudi Arabia and Oman -- one that has had a critical impact on efforts to create integrated planning and operating capabilities since the GCC was founded in May 1981 -- well over three decades ago. These are long standing divisions that have led Oman to stand aside from the Saudi-UAE campaign in Yemen and quietly aid Qatar during the current boycott.

Similar differences have led Kuwait to focus on its security links to the U.S. in spite of the role its Arab allies played in liberating it from Saddam Hussein. They also are a reason why Kuwait now plays a key role in trying to mediate between Qatar and Saudi Arabia/UAE/Bahrain. Kuwait's location near Iran and Iraq makes it the most exposed state in the GCC. The lack of any clear GCC plan to contain and deter Iran, and deep national differences on how to deal with Iran, make it as dependent on the U.S. today as it was in 1991.

Similar national differences exist in dealing with Iraq: the fact it is now governed by a Shi'ite majority, and that is experiencing a post-"caliphate" struggle for influence between the U.S. and Iran. The role of Iraq -- a major Gulf power -- remains highly uncertain. So, however, does the role of Jordan -- where rhetoric about including it in the GCC has only led to limited action.

The U.S. as a Substitute for the GCC -- *If the Gulf Arab States Can Rely Upon It*

In practice, most of the real-world Arab Gulf country efforts at common training, exercises, and command are developed as combined U.S. and Arab Gulf state exercises by the United States 5th Fleet Headquarters in Bahrain, and the U.S. Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) in Qatar. It is also the U.S. that would have to provide key elements of battle management, command and control, IS&R, and combat support in a serious conflict.

Figure One lists all of the major arms sales and deliveries to each Arab Gulf state from 2016-2017. It covers only a relatively brief period in U.S. support to each Arab partner, and the bulk of the transfers that now shape Arab Gulf forces took place in previous years. Nevertheless, it still shows that the U.S. does far more than sell weapons to the individual Gulf states.

Figure One illustrates the extent to which the U.S. also provides training, maintenance, combat support, and service support to each GCC state and Iraq, as well as support and technology battle management for command and control, IS&R, and counter-terrorism weapons, training and

technology. Moreover, European states Britain and France provide similar support, most of it interoperable with U.S. forces as well as their own power projection forces.

These U.S. transfers are why Saudi Arabia and the UAE now have an Air Operations Center in Riyadh with the capability to conduct relatively large air campaigns if they do not face major missile threats and a need to suppress extensive air defenses, and can integrate other Gulf air forces to some degree. If it came to a major war against Iran, however, the Saudi air battlement management facility would face serious limits in managing the overall conflict, and there would not be meaningful GCC-wide battle management advanced facilities without U.S. aid.

It is the U.S. that would have to provide the real-world core of any advanced air-land-naval-missile battle management, and intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (IS&R) capabilities for the Arab Gulf. In a major conflict with Iran, the U.S. would play a key role in shaping and conducting any major cooperative land/air operation -- just as it did against Saddam Hussein's forces in 1991.

The U.S. would have to coordinate any war against the mix of asymmetric naval/missile/air forces Iran has developed to close the Gulf, and lead any operations against Iran's submarines and smart mines. U.S. AEGIS missile defense ships would now have to provide any theater-level missile defense, as well as warning and characterization of missile launches. Advanced as some Gulf Air Forces are, the U.S. would also have to plan and manage any major campaign to suppress Iranian air defenses and conduct a major air and cruise missile campaign deep into Iran.

The GCC also failed to provide effective cooperation in dealing with far less demanding problems. It has failed to develop an integrated effort to deal with the crises in Syria or Lebanon, and member states competed in dealing with various anti-Assad factions. It has failed to deal collectively with Turkey's growing role in Syria or Iraq, and the fact Turkey has supported Qatar in compensating for the impact of the Saudi/UAE/Bahrain boycott. It also has not addressed the reemergence of Russia in the region, the major role it now plays in Syria, the fact it has sold advanced systems like the S300 air defense system to Iran, or the impact of Russian arms purchases by GCC states.

The GCC also has made only limited real-world progress in integrating its approach to fighting extremism and terrorism, and preparing for counterinsurgency campaigns and asymmetric warfare and raids. Key differences over whether to focus on suppression/repression or deal with the more moderate elements of Islamic movements and focus on reform were a key reason for the split between Qatar and the Saudi/UAE/Bahrain/Egypt.

A decade and a half after 2001, and more than a decade after Al Qaida launched major attacks on Saudi targets, Saudi Arabia is organizing major national efforts to deal with such challenges and most GCC countries have steadily improved their national counterterrorism efforts and internal security forces. GCC-wide cooperation and integration, however, are no better in dealing with extremism and terrorism than military threats.

If You Can't Be a Real Alliance, Have Your Members Outspend Your Potential Opponents and Partner with the U.S.

A "hollow" GCC may not matter: *if* the individual Gulf states buy major weapons (like the Saudi purchase of THAAD missile defenses and Qatari F-15QAs that are interoperable with the best U.S. weapons and technology), *if* the U.S. stays fully committed in the Gulf and does not make more blunders like invading Iraq and its indecisiveness in Syria, and *if* Iranian influence over Iraq remains limited. The Gulf states will also be aided by the fact that British and French power projection forces play an important role.

Moreover, no matter how inefficient, wasteful, and uncoordinated the military and internal security efforts of the individual GCC states now are, the members of the GCC are able to vastly outspend Iran on military forces and modernization, and have long had far better access to the most advanced U.S. and European weapons and military technology.

Comparative estimates of Gulf military spending and arms transfers are shown in **Figure Two** to **Figure Four**. **Figure Two** shows the comparative trends in GCC, Iranian, Iraqi, and Yemeni national security spending, that spending as a percent of GDP, and the manning of active and reserve forces in 2014-2016. **Figure Three** shows the longer-term trend in comparative GCC, Iranian, Iraqi, and Yemeni national security spending.

While the current totals of GCC military spending are uncertain because of the lack of data on the UAE, it seems likely that the spending of all GCC countries in 2016-2017 totaled around \$120 billion a year. This compares with no more than \$16-20 billion for Iraq and \$18-\$20 billion for Iran. Saudi Arabia alone spent three to five times as much as Iran each year during 2014-2016.

Figure Four shows the GCC country advantage in arms imports was even greater. The first part of **Figure Four** draws on a Congressional Research Center study using declassified official U.S. estimates of GCC, Iranian, Iraqi, and Yemeni arms transfers. It shows that the GCC took delivery on \$120.7 billion in arms deliveries during 2008-2015, while Iran took delivery on some \$400 million worth. It also concluded that the GCC placed \$199.7 billion worth of new arms orders during 2008-2015, while Iran placed some \$900 million worth.

The second half of **Figure Four** shows the longer-term trends in the total cost of the U.S. arms sales shown in **Figure One**. It shows that the U.S. delivered \$123 billion worth of military technology and services between 2000 and 2016, with \$107 billion going to Saudi Arabia and the UAE alone. At the same time, the GCC states placed \$215 billion in new orders, with \$118 billion of the total going to Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Iran got nothing.

The vast majority of Saudi and UAE purchases during 2008-2015, amounting to some \$80.2 billion out of a total of \$119.2 billion--were driven by access to advanced U.S. arms and technology. Most of the rest -- \$36.4 billion worth -- came from equal access to the most advanced European arms.

The Limits to Future Success and the Risk of GCC Country Self-Destructiveness

Iran is heavily reliant on systems that date back to the Shah and low-grade imports. Its efforts in-country production have only had mixed success, and Iran seems no more efficient in using its military expenditures and arms transfers. Accordingly, even the air and naval forces of the larger GCC states like Saudi Arabia and the UAE should have an advantage over Iran if they act on their own. They should have a far greater advantage if they can rely on a partnership with US military forces and U.S. help in operational planning, command and control, and IS&R.

The keys to such success, however, are that the U.S. continues to be a strong and effective strategic partner, that Iran does not go nuclear, that Iraq does not become an Iranian ally, and that GCC states put an end to the current pointless divisions between Qatar and Saudi Arabia/UAE/Bahrain and the GCC does not divide further in other ways.

Here, it is critical to remember that Iran may be hostile, and certainly has its ambitions, but it also is driven by the memory of the eight year-long Iran-Iraq War and its hundreds of thousands of Iranians dead and critically wounded, and by the ease with which the U.S. defeated Iraq.

Iran also did not expand its regional influence into Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen, Bahrain, Kuwait, and parts of the UAE because of its military superiority or the brilliance of Persian plotting. Iran exploited the obvious fault lines created by the fact the U.S. badly mismanaged the post-invasion aftermath of the invasion of Iraq and its military intervention in Syria. Above all, Iran succeeded because it could take advantage of Arab country divisiveness, self-destructiveness, and failures to meet the needs of their people.

If there are any clear lessons from this history about the real-world prospects for cooperative deterrence, containment, and war fighting in the Gulf, the first is that the GCC is extremely unlikely to evolve into an effective Arab alliance – just as other efforts to create broad Arab alliances have consistently been strong on rhetoric and hopelessly weak on reality in the past. There is nothing wrong with a GCC façade if Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Bahrain can be reconciled with Qatar, but a façade is a façade and a hollow alliance is dangerous the moment it is taken seriously.

The second is that the mistakes the U.S. has made in Iraq from the past to the present -- its indecisiveness in Syria, its lack of a clear policy in dealing with war in Yemen, and its tendency to emphasize arms sales rather than effective strategic partnership -- can be as dangerous as Arab divisiveness, as can any uncertainty about the willingness of the U.S. to sustain its strategic partnerships and come to the aid of its Arab allies in the Gulf. If the Arab Gulf states need to come together, the U.S. needs to show that it will be a reliable and consistent strategic partner at the political and policy levels, and not simply in military-to-military terms.

Iran, regional instability, and extremism seem certain to pose serious threats indefinitely into the future, and the 18 million barrels a day of petroleum and the LNG that flow through the Strait of Hormuz each day remain a key part of a stable global economy and a critical U.S. strategic interest.

And, Reform and Internal Stability Come First

An effective Arab and U.S. strategic partnership is also critical to reducing Gulf Arab state overspending on national security at a time when most need serious internal reform to create the kind of economies and employment that will counter extremism and bring internal stability. The U.S. needs to remember that arms sales profits are less important than effective strategic partnerships.

The GCC states need to remember that military overspending has major liabilities as well as limited benefits. Military overspending undermines their internal stability, ability to meet popular needs and demands, and ability to carry out economic development and social modernization and reform.

Figure Two to **Figure Four** may reflect Gulf state ability to outspend Iran on military forces and internal security, but they are also a warning to the Gulf states -- and to the U.S. and European states that sell them arms. Most GCC states have the benefit of major petroleum earnings, but these benefits do not provide balanced development, create large numbers of jobs, or meet the domestic needs of their sharply growing and very young populations. All of the Gulf states need to use as much of their resources as possible to fund major internal economic and social reforms to properly employ their steadily growing populations and particularly their young men and women.

Accordingly, the levels of military spending and arms imports in these **Figures** are a warning that many Gulf states are spending far too much of their total GNP on security to fund the level of civil

spending and development they need. Some outside estimates put the Saudi percentage of GNP at an even higher 14% in 2017, and the UAE percentage as 8% or more.

Oman's reported figures indicate that it is grossly overspending, although its forces and arms imports do not seem to justify such spending. Bahrain's percentages are not exceptionally high, but Bahrain needs to put as many resources into reform as possible. Iraq is outside the GCC, but its military spending levels are far too high for a country that desperately needs to fund recovery, jobs and economic reform.

It is one of the ironies of military overspending that it aids external security at the cost of internal security and stability. The failure of the Arab Gulf states to develop the kind of savings and efficiencies that could come from a really effective GCC may well have led to levels of overspending on security that pose more of a civil threat than the benefits they offer in security.

Other recent Burke Chair reports on Gulf Security

- *Instability in the MENA Region, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Key Conflict States: A Comparative Score Card*, November 13, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/instability-mena-region-afghanistan-pakistan-and-key-conflict-states-comparative-score-card>.
- *Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar, and the New "Game of Thrones"*, July 13, 2017 <https://www.csis.org/analysis/saudi-arabia-uae-qatar-and-new-game-thrones>.
- *After ISIS: Creating Strategic Stability in Iraq*, July 11, 2017, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/after-isis-creating-strategic-stability-iraq>, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/after-isis-creating-strategic-stability-iraq>.
- *If the Fighting Ever Stops: Stabilization, Recovery, and Development in Syria*, May 16, 2017, [https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/170516_Syria If Fighting Ever Stops.pdf?2aCOiiABepQMrtUie2e5XOy_iqCe8XTn](https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/170516_Syria%20If%20Fighting%20Ever%20Stops.pdf?2aCOiiABepQMrtUie2e5XOy_iqCe8XTn)
- *The "OPEC Disease": Assessing the Impact of Lower Oil Export Revenues*, September 20, 2016, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/%E2%80%9Copec-disease%E2%80%9D-assessing-impact-lower-oil-export-revenues>
- *The Changing Gulf Balance and the Iranian Threat*, August 4, 2016, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/changing-gulf-balance-and-iranian-threat>.
- *The Changing Security Structure in the Middle East*, May 31, 2016, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/changing-security-structure-middle-east-0>.
- *Improving the US - GCC Security Partnership: Planning for the Future*, April 11, 2014, https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/140411_Improving_US-GCC_Security_Partnership.pdf

Figure One: Illustrative Key Recent Gulf Arms, Support, and Training Requests to the U.S: 2016-2017.

January- November 1, 2017

Qatar – F-15QA Construction, Cybersecurity, and Force Protection Infrastructure

WASHINGTON, Nov 1, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Qatar for support of its F-15QA multi-role fighter aircraft program for an estimated cost of \$1.1 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Wednesday, November 1, 2017 - 16:52

Kuwait – M1A1 Abrams Tanks

WASHINGTON, Oct 16, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Kuwait for M1A1 Abrams Tanks. The estimated cost is \$29 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Monday, October 16, 2017 - 16:29

Kuwait – Continuation of C-17 Logistics Support Services and Equipment

WASHINGTON, Oct 13, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Kuwait for continuation of C-17 logistics support services and equipment. The estimated cost is \$342.6 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on October 12, 2017.

Friday, October 13, 2017 - 14:57

Saudi Arabia – Terminal High Altitude Area Defense and Related Support, Equipment and Services

WASHINGTON, Oct 6, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Saudi Arabia for Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) and related support, equipment and services for an estimated cost of \$15 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Friday, October 6, 2017 - 15:11

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia – AN/TPQ-53(V) Radar Systems and Related Support

WASHINGTON, Jun. 5, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for AN/TPQ-53(V) radar systems and related support. The estimated cost is \$662 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Monday, June 5, 2017 - 14:58

Saudi Arabia – Blanket Order Training

WASHINGTON, Jun. 5, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for a blanket order training program for the Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF) and other Saudi forces. The estimated cost is \$750 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on June 2, 2017.

Monday, June 5, 2017 - 14:06

Republic of Iraq – Follow-On Technical Support (FOTS) for U.S. Origin Navy Vessels and a Ship Repair Facility

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Republic of Iraq for Follow-On Technical Support (FOTS) for U.S. origin Navy vessels and a ship repair facility. The estimated cost is \$150 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Tuesday, August 1, 2017 - 15:53

Bahrain – 35 Meter Fast Patrol Boats

WASHINGTON, Sep. 8, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Bahrain for 35 Meter Fast Patrol Boats. The estimated cost is \$60.25 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Friday, September 8, 2017 - 15:50

Government of Bahrain – F-16V Aircraft with Support

WASHINGTON, Sep. 8, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Bahrain for F-16V aircraft with support. The estimated cost is \$2.785 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Friday, September 8, 2017 - 15:48

Bahrain – TOW Missiles, Equipment and Support

WASHINGTON, Sep. 8, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Bahrain for TOW missiles, equipment and support. The estimated cost is \$27 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

The Government of Bahrain has requested:

Major Defense Equipment (MDE):

Friday, September 8, 2017 - 15:46

Government of Bahrain – Upgrade of F-16 Block 40 Aircraft to F-16V Configuration

WASHINGTON, Sep. 8, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Bahrain for upgrade of F-16 Block 40 aircraft to F-16V configuration. The estimated cost is \$1.082 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Friday, September 8, 2017 - 15:43

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia – Navy Blanket Order Training

WASHINGTON, May 23, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for a Navy blanket order training program. The estimated cost is \$250 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on May 22, 2017.

Tuesday, May 23, 2017 - 11:13

Government of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) – Patriot PAC-3 and GEM-T Missiles

WASHINGTON, May 11, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) for Patriot PAC-3 and GEM-T missiles. The estimated cost is \$2 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on May 10, 2017.

Thursday, May 11, 2017 - 13:27

Government of Iraq – Equipment for Two Peshmerga Infantry Brigades and Two Support Artillery Battalions

WASHINGTON, Apr. 19, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Republic of Iraq for equipment for two Peshmerga infantry brigades and two support artillery battalions. The estimated cost is \$295.6 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on April 18, 2017.

Republic of Iraq – Pilot and Maintenance Training, Contractor Logistical Support (CLS) for Trainer Aircraft, and Base Support

WASHINGTON, Apr. 12, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Republic of Iraq for pilot and maintenance training, contractor logistical support (CLS) for trainer aircraft, and base support. The estimated cost is \$1.06 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on April 11, 2017.

Wednesday, April 12, 2017 - 12:25

Government of Kuwait – Facilities and Infrastructure Construction Support Service

WASHINGTON, Apr. 6, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Kuwait for facilities and infrastructure construction support service. The estimated cost is \$319 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Government of Kuwait – Sustainment and Contractor Logistics Support for AH-64D Apache Helicopters

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Kuwait for sustainment and contractor logistics support for AH-64D Apache Helicopters. The estimated cost is \$400 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Monday, January 23, 2017 - 16:34

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia – 74K Persistent Threat Detection System (PTDS) Aerostats

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for 74K Persistent Threat Detection System (PTDS) Aerostats and related equipment, support, and training. The estimated cost is \$525 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Kuwait – AIM-120C-7 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23, 2017 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Kuwait for AIM-120C-7 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM). The estimated cost is \$110 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

2016

Kuwait – Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) Tail Kits

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Kuwait for Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) Tail Kits and related equipment, and support. The estimated cost is \$37 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on December 20, 2016.

Government of Kuwait – Recapitalization of 218 M1A2 Tanks and Related Equipment and Support

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Kuwait for recapitalization of 218 M1A2 tanks and related equipment, support, and training. The estimated cost is \$1.7 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on December 12, 2016.

United Arab Emirates – Apache AH-64E Helicopters and Services

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the United Arab Emirates for Apache AH-64E Helicopters and services, as well as related equipment, training, and support. The estimated cost is \$3.5 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on December 7, 2016.

Thursday, December 8, 2016 - 15:20

Qatar – Spare C-17 Engines and Equipment

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Qatar for spare C-17 engines, equipment, and support. The estimated cost is \$81 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on December 7, 2016.

Qatar – Continuation of Logistics Support Services and Equipment

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Qatar for continuation of logistics support services and equipment. The estimated cost is \$700 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on December 7, 2016.

Thursday, December 8, 2016 - 15:20

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia - CH-47F Chinook Cargo Helicopters

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for CH-47F Chinook Cargo Helicopters and related equipment, training, and support. The estimated cost is \$3.51 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on December 7, 2016.

Government of Qatar – F-15QA Aircraft with Weapons and Related Support

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Qatar for F-15QA aircraft with weapons and related support, equipment, and training. The estimated cost is \$21.1 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on November 17, 2016.

Thursday, November 17, 2016 - 17:51

The Government of Kuwait – F/A-18E/F Super Hornet Aircraft with Support

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Kuwait for F/A-18E/F Super Hornet Aircraft with support, equipment, and training. The estimated cost is \$10.1 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on November 17, 2016.

United Arab Emirates (UAE) – Exercise Participation Support

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the United Arab Emirates for exercise participation support. The estimated cost is \$75 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on October 21, 2016.

Monday, October 24, 2016 - 15:42

The Government of Kuwait-Radar Field System

WASHINGTON, Oct. 13, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Kuwait for radar field systems and related equipment, training, and support. The estimated cost is \$194 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

Republic of Iraq – AC-208 Aircraft

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Iraq for AC-208 aircraft and related equipment, training, and support. The estimated cost is \$65.3 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on October 6, 2016.

Qatar - Mk-V Fast Patrol Boat

WASHINGTON, Aug 23, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Qatar for Mk-V Fast Patrol Boats, equipment, training, and support. The estimated cost is \$124.02 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on August 19, 2016.

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia - M1A2S Saudi Abrams Main Battle Tanks and M88A1/A2 Heavy Equipment Recovery Combat Utility Lift Evacuation System (HERCULES) Armored Recovery Vehicles (ARV)

WASHINGTON, Aug 9, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for M1A2S Saudi Abrams Main Battle Tanks and M88A1/A2 Heavy Equipment Recovery Combat Utility Lift Evacuation System (HERCULES) Armored Recovery Vehicles (ARV), equipment, training, and support. The estimated cost is \$1.15 billion.

United Arab Emirates - Munitions, Sustainment, and Support

WASHINGTON, Jul 19, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the United Arab Emirates for munitions, sustainment, and support. The estimated cost is \$785 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on July 15, 2016.

The Government of Iraq-AC-208 Sustainment, Logistics, and Spares Support

WASHINGTON, Jun 14, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Iraq for AC-208 sustainment, logistics, and spares support. The estimated cost is \$181 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale today.

The Government of Kuwait-F/A-18 C/D Services and Support

WASHINGTON, May 26, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Kuwait for F/A-18 C/D services and support. The estimated cost is \$420 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on May 24, 2016.

Qatar- Javelin Guided Missiles

WASHINGTON, May 26, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Qatar for Javelin Guided Missiles and associated equipment, training, and support. The estimated cost is \$20 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on May 24, 2016.

Oman-Continuation of Logistics Support Services and Equipment

WASHINGTON, May 26, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Oman for continuation of logistics support services and equipment. The estimated cost is \$260 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on May 24, 2016.

United Arab Emirates-AGM-114 R/K Hellfire Category III Missiles

WASHINGTON, May 13, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the United Arab Emirates for AGM-114 R/K Hellfire Category III Missiles and equipment, training, and support. The estimated cost is \$476 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on May 11, 2016.

Qatar- RIM-116C and RIM-116C-2 Rolling Airframe Missiles

WASHINGTON, Apr. 22, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Qatar for RIM-116C and RIM-116C-2 Rolling Airframe Missiles and associated equipment, training, and support. The estimated cost is \$260 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on April 21, 2016.

United Arab Emirates-AN/AAQ-24(V)N Large Aircraft Infrared Countermeasures (LAIRCM)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the United Arab Emirates for AN/AAQ-24(V)N Large Aircraft Infrared Countermeasures (LAIRCM) equipment, and logistics support. The estimated cost is \$225 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on February 23, 2016.

Wednesday, February 24, 2016 - 10:04

Government of Iraq-KA-350 Sustainment, Logistics, and Spares Support

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Government of Iraq for KA-350 sustainment, logistics, and spares support. The estimated cost is \$350 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on February 23, 2016.

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia - Support Services

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for support services. The estimated cost is \$200 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on February 17, 2016.

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia-MK 15 Phalanx Close-In Weapons System (CIWS) Block 1B Baseline 2 Kits

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for MK 15 Phalanx Close-In Weapons System (CIWS) Block 1B Baseline 2 Kits, equipment, training, and logistics support. The estimated cost is \$154.9 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on February 10, 2016.

Iraq - F-16 Weapons, Munitions, Equipment, and Logistics Support

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Iraq for F-16 weapons, munitions, equipment, and logistics support. The estimated cost is \$1.950 billion. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on January 15, 2016.

Wednesday, January 20, 2016 - 15:46

The Government of Iraq – Hellfire Missiles and Captive Air Training Missiles

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Iraq of Hellfire missiles and Captive Air Training Missiles, related equipment and support. The estimated cost is \$800 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on January 6, 2016.

Thursday, January 7, 2016 - 10:07

Government of Oman-TOW 2B Missiles

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7, 2016 - The State Department has made a determination approving a possible Foreign Military Sale to Oman of TOW 2B missiles, related equipment and support. The estimated cost is \$51 million. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency delivered the required certification notifying Congress of this possible sale on January 6, 2016.

Source: adapted from DCSA, *Major Arms Sales*, <http://www.dsca.mil/major-arms-sales?>, accessed December 8, 2017.

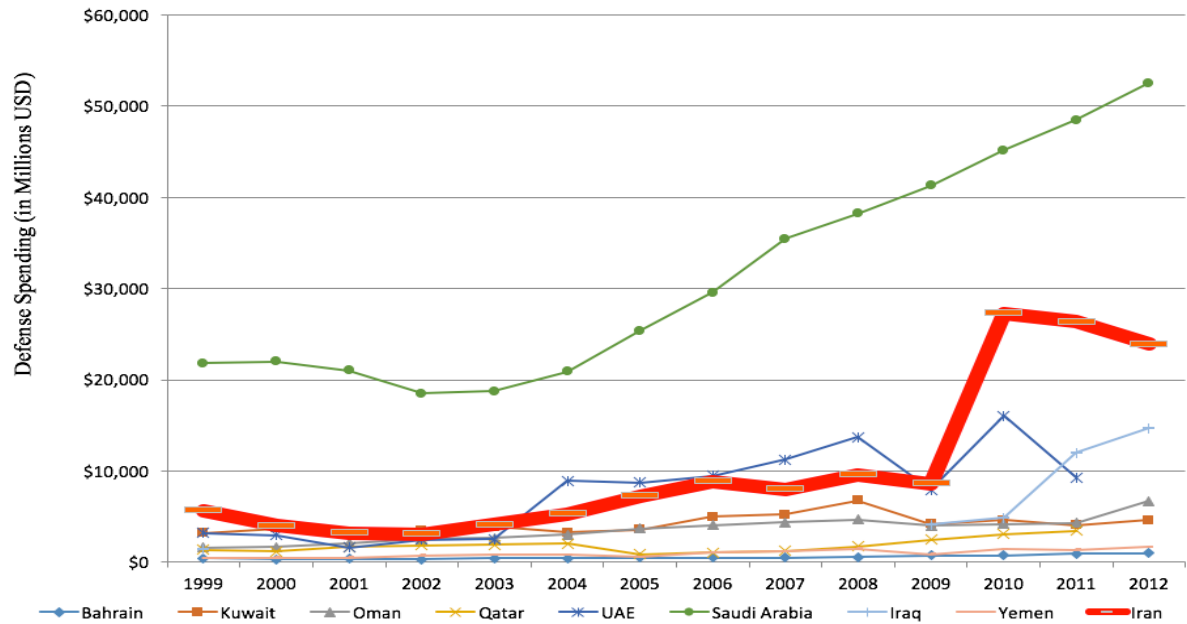
▲ **Figure Two: MENA Security Burden**

	Spending in US Millions			% of GDP		Active	Estimated Active			
	2014	2015	2016	2014	2015	2016	Military			
							<u>Personnel (1,000s)</u>	<u>Military (1,000s)</u>		
Maghreb										
Algeria	11,863	10,407	10,577		5.56	6.24	6.28	130	150	187
Libya	na	na	na		na	na	na	na	na	na
Morocco	3,752	3,268	3,365		3.42	3.25	3.21	196	150	50
Tunisia	906	979	979		1.95	2.30	2.46	36	0	12
Levant										
Egypt	5,451	5,335	5,330		3.81	3.63	3.85	523	350	40
Israel	20,152	15,400	15,878		7.53	6.18	6.09	177	465	8
Jordan	1,268	1,320	1,448		4.37	4.54	4.43	101	65	15
Lebanon	1,270	1,495	1,740		2.69	3.11	3.51	60	0	20
Syria	na	na	na		na	na	na	128	0	150
Palestinian	na	na	na		na	na	na	0	0	na
Gulf										
Bahrain	1,335	1,525	1,523		4.03	4.93	4.81	8	0	11
Kuwait	4,803	4,313	na		2.95	3.78	na	16	24	7
Oman	9,623	9,883	9,103		11.77	15.42	15.26	43	0	4
Qatar	5,088	4,749	4,404		2.42	2.85	2.81	12	0	0
Saudi Arabia	80,762	81,853	56,898		10.71	12.67	8.92	227	0	25
UAE	na	1,400?	na		3.59	na	na	63	0	0
-										
Iran	15,801	14,174	15,882		3.81	3.63	3.85	523	350	40
Iraq	18,868	21,100	17,900		8.48	12.87	11.61	64	0	145
Yemen	na	na	na		na	na	na	20	0	0
-										

Source: Adapted by Anthony H. Cordesman from the IISS, *Military Balance 2017*, p. 556

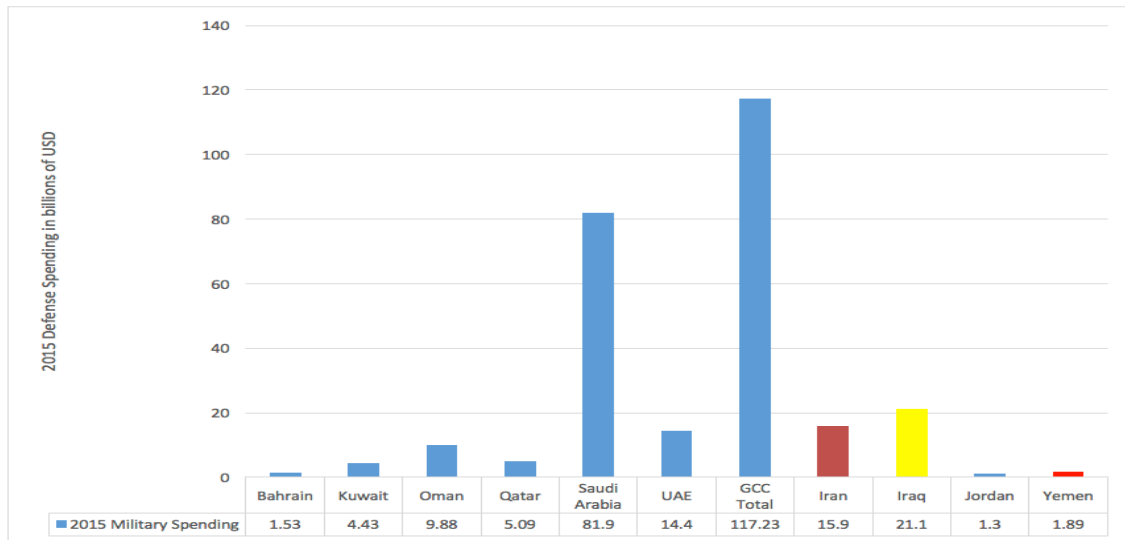
Figure Three: Comparative Trends in Iranian versus GCC's Military Spending

1999-2012



Source: Adapted from the IISS, Military Balance, 1999-2013

2015



Source: Adapted from the IISS, Military Balance, 2016

Figure Four: Comparative Gulf Arms Imports

Comparative International Sales

(Gulf Arms Orders and Deliveries: 2008-2015 in millions of current U.S. Dollars)

Country	Arms Orders			Arms Deliveries		
	2008-2011	2012-2015	Total	2008-2011	2012-2015	Total
Saudi Arabia	52,500	41,000	93,500	13,000	17,700	30,700
Other GCC Countries						
Bahrain	400	500	900	400	100	500
Kuwait	2,400	4,400	6,800	1,300	1,900	3,200
Oman	1,600	3,300	4,900	500	3,500	4,000
Qatar	1,000	6,200	7,200	300	1,700	2,000
UAE	13,500	22,900	36,500	3,700	5,500	9,200
Sub-Total	21,300	28,600	49,900	4,500	12,800	17,300
Total GCC	92,700	106,900	199,700	23,700	43,200	120,700
Iraq	5,200	23,900	34,400	3,700	10,300	14,000
Iran	300	600	900	300	100	400
Yemen	800	100	900	400	200	600
Total	99,000	131,500	235,500	28,100	53,800	135,700

Cumulative US. Arms Sales: 2000-2016 (In Current U.S. Millions)

Country	Total Orders	Total Deliveries	FMS Orders	FMS Deliveries
Saudi Arabia	159,297		100,451	139,855
Bahrain	3,162		2,573	3,141
Kuwait	17,022		11,964	16,601
Oman	3,642		1,876	3,635
Qatar	10,209		408	9,147
UAE	21,688		6,197	21,688
Subtotal	55,723		23,018	54,212
Total GCC	215,020		123,469	194,067
Iraq	15,652		8,941	14,675
Iran	0		0	0
Yemen	424		385	416
Total	231,096		132,795	209,158

Source: Catherine A. Theohary, Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2008-2015, Congressional Research Service, December 19, 2016, <https://www.google.com/search?q=Congressional+Research+Service%2C+data+on+arms+transfers&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8>, p. 30. ("0" represents any value below \$50 million or nil. All data are rounded to the nearest \$100 million.), and Defense Cooperative Assistance Agency, Fiscal Year Series, September 30, 2016,