Index

1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB) 275, 278
2016 attack on the Saudi diplomatic mission in Iran 75, 103, 291

Al-Abadi, Haider 99
Abbas, Mahmoud 105
Abe, Shinzo 252
Abqaiq, oil facilities 73, 79, 133, 175, 287
Abraham Accords 77, 78, 92, 103, 105, 106, 114, 136, 148
Abrahamic Family House, in Abu Dhabi 59

Absolute monarchy 1, 7, 18, 100
Abu Dhabi 1, 45, 46, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57
Abu Dhabi Aircraft Technologies 53
Abu Dhabi Economic Vision 2021 2, 56
Abu Dhabi Economic Vision 2030 56
Abu Dhabi Investment Authority (ADIA) 54, 272
Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC) 250, 256, 272
Abu Dhabi Ship-building Company 53
Abu Dhabi Systems Integration 53
Abu Musa island 78, 81
Academic freedom 176–177
Activists and dissidents 17–19, 47–51
see also Khashoggi, Jamal; Political parties; Women’s rights
Advanced Technology Investment Company 53

Aden 172, 179, 216
ADQ 54
Afghanistan 32, 126, 195, 199–200, 229, 230
Iran and 75, 78
Saudi – US cooperation on 28, 126, 134, 234, 237
Soviet invasion of 126, 127, 198, 207
UAE deployment to and interest in 57, 89, 128, 220
US war in 71, 170, 177
US withdrawal from 2, 76
AGT International 104
Agency and relative autonomy 7, 8, 33, 34, 45, 96, 173, 196, 202, 230
Saudi Arabia 34, 171, 287, 290
UAE 54, 93, 287
Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud 215
Al-Ahsa governorate 29
Ajman 52
Alcohol 55
Ali, Mohammad 12
Ali Pasha 12
Alliance patterns 6, 8, 68, 69, 75, 79, 97, 107, 132, 135, 139, 152, 162, 207, 215, 239, 258, 266, 276, 287, 287, 291
Allegiance (al-bayah) 18, 48
Allegiance Council 20
Anarchy 6, 8
Anglo-Persian Oil Company 171
Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (1972) 200
Arab nationalism 126, 172, 198
Arab Peace Plan 2002 106, 128
Index

Arab Struggle Movement for the Liberation of Ahwaz 75
Arab uprisings 1, 2–3, 7, 68, 80, 97, 129, 148, 227
Saudi response to 17–18, 51, 73, 87, 89, 97, 114, 201, 215, 287
UAE response to 47, 48, 49, 51, 59, 87, 89, 97, 114, 201, 215, 287, 290
Aramco see Saudi Arabian National Oil Company (Saudi Aramco)

Armed forces
of Saudi Arabia 18, 29–31, 34
of the UAE 57–58, 128

Artificial Intelligence (AI) 156, 159, 161

Aseer 13
Asian Financial Crisis (1997) 274
Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) 56
Assab 113, 216, 222
Al-Assad, Bashar 107
Al-Assad, Hafez 198
Assassinations 14, 69, 104, 108, 170, 288, see also Hariri, Rafic; Khashoggi, Jamal; Saleh, Ali Abdullah
Austin, Lloyd 137
Australia 28, 151

BAE Systems 177
Balance of power 7, 88, 201, 287
Baghdad summit (2021) 80
Bahrain 15, 91–92
Bandung Conference 146
Bangladesh 75, 100, 235
Banque du Liban (central bank of Lebanon) 102
Barclays Bank 177
Barr, William 132
Basic Law, Saudi Arabia 11, 272
Battle of Karbala 68
Bayah see Allegiance
Bechtel 25
Beirut Port explosion (2020) 103, 185
Belt and Road Initiative 149–152, 155, 158, 160, 161
See also China
Besse, Antonin 179

Biden, Joe 19, 95, 134, 137, 138
Bin Laden, Osama 127, 218
Binance Holdings 56
Bishara, Azmi 94
Al-Biyari, Khalid 30
Blackwater 87, 160
See also Prince, Erik
Bolton, John 74–75
BP 177
British influence in the Gulf 13, 45, 70, 78, 126, 170–172, see also United Kingdom
British Military Mission to the National Guard, Saudi Arabia 173
Al Buraimi 14
Burj Khalifa 256
Bush, George W. 72, 128, 132, 199

Cairo 14, 92, 97, 109, 156
Caesar Act 108
Camp de la Paix, Abu Dhabi 183
Canada 19, 29, 135, 138
Cavusoglu, Mevlut 101
Central bank, of Egypt 97–98
Central bank, of Ethiopia 217
Central bank, of Jordan 96
Central bank, of Saudi Arabia see Saudi Central Bank
CENTCOM see United States Central Command (CENTCOM)
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), US 18, 28
Challenger state 278, 291
China 146–162
Arab Policy Paper 149
Arms sales 147, 150, 156, 159
Civil nuclear cooperation of 157
Comprehensive Strategic Partnerships 155
Energy interests 147, 150–151, 154, 156, 158
Infrastructure projects 151–152
Investments 155, 158, 161
Military presence 150, 152, 160
Missile cooperation with Saudi Arabia 31, 153–154
Rare earth elements 289
Tourism 151, 159
UN Security Council member 147, 157
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China – Arab States Cooperation Forum (CASCIF) 148, 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China – GCC Economic and Trade Cooperation Forum 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China – GCC Strategic Dialogue 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China – Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chirac, Jacques 180, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christianity 12, 31, 32, 71, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circular Carbon Economy National Programme 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Football Group 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City planning 26 see also Neom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil society 7, see also Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland Clinic Abu Dhabi 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change policies, of Saudi Arabia 27–28, 33, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change policies, of UAE 52–53, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, Hilary 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodities 147, 148, 219, 248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Core-periphery relations 8, 208, 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption 20, 21, 22, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Economic and Development Affairs, Saudi Arabia 3, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Political and Security Affairs, Saudi Arabia 3, 20, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterterrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi 30, 31–33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE 48, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countering America’s Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) 202, 205, 206, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covid-19 1, 3, 24, 56, 215, 232, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical National Infrastructure Authority, UAE 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cryptocurrencies 56, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahlan, Mohammed 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark money 101, 114, 288, see also Economic statecraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decolonisation 172, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi Declaration 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of 33, 226, 258, 278, 287, 289, 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Research Exploitation Analysis Department (DREAD), UAE 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Dhafra air base 100, 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digital Silk Road 149, 155, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djibouti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE interests in 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doha 93, 94 see also Qatar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolphin Gas Project 52, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual-use aspects of international relations (economic/security) 288–289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubai 26, 52, 55, 56, 78, 158, 159, 160, 161, 238, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubai Industrial Strategy 2030 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubai International Academy City 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubai Ports World 216, 220, 272, 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duqm 88, 151, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynastic competition 2, 20, 46, 48, 54, 88, 90, 93, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Province, Saudi Arabia 15, 90, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic diversification 8, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Saudi Arabia 23, 24, 27, 90, 139, 155, 250, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the UAE 52–56, 58, 90, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic statecraft 4, 8, 50, 101–102, 114, 147, 158, 170, 208, 272, 278, 287–288, 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDGE group 49, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi 17, 21, 25, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE 47, 48, 50, 58, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-government, Saudi Arabia 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt 26, 48, 89, 97, 104, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic dependency 97–99 See also Arab uprisings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elbit Systems Ltd 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirates Defence Industries Company 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirates Investment Authority 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirates Nuclear Energy Corporation 256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirates Racing Authority 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy transition 24, 27–28, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erbakan, Necmettin 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recip Tayyip Erdogan 7, 100, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi and UAE interests in 216–217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

Ethiopia
  UAE interests in 217

Evening Standard 176

Expatriates 23, 24, 55, 56, 286

Fatwa/fatawa 14, 271

Al-Fayez, Nora bint Abdullah 21

Federal National Council of the United Arab Emirates 50

Financial Action Task Force (FATF)
  Pakistan on watch list of (2018) 234
  Saudi membership in 32
  UAE on grey watch list of (2022) 54–55

fintech 158

First Abu Dhabi Bank 54

Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence 146

Flynn, Michael 131

Foreign policy analysis (FPA) 1–8

Formula 1 170

France
  Arms sales from 180–182, 185
  Cultural cooperation with 184
  Energy interests of 184
  Policy towards the wider region 182–183, 184–185

Free Syrian Army 107

Free Trade Agreement (FTA) 186, 239, 254, 289

Free zones 56, 90–91, 158, 159–160, 250

Frontier Services Group 160

Fujairah 46, 52

Fujairah 2040 Plan 56

Future Investment Initiative, Saudi Arabia 25, 27

G20 3, 27, 206, 254

G42 105, 161, 272

Gaddafi, Muammar 108–109

Gargash, Anwar 50, 103, 220

Gas Exporting Countries Forum 92 see also Qatar

Gaza 74, 89, 92, 98, 101, 105

General Investment Authority, Saudi Arabia (now Ministry of Investment) 251, 252

General Authority for Military Industries, Saudi Arabia 30

Germany 98, 129, 173, 181

Ghandi, Indira 227

Ghobash, Omar 95

Global Center for Combating Extremist Ideology 131

Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF)
  Saudi participation in 32
  UAE participation in 480

Gorbachev, Mikhail 127, 194, 198

Government of National Accord (GNA) 109–110

Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) 99, 105, 218

Grand Mosque Seizure (1979) 17, 69, 179–180

Grand Mufti, Saudi Arabia 14

Greece 137

Green hydrogen 53
  Saudi 27, 91, 250
  UAE 53, 91, 250

Group 42 54

Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) 2, 3, 46, 55, 78, 81, 87–95, 96, 113, 114, 127, 286, 289, 290

‘Arab Gulf Security 1’ 89

Customs union 88

Cyber cooperation 104


Missile defence 89, 113

Peninsula Shield Force (PSF) 88, 89, 91

Tuwaiq-2 89

Unified Military Command 89

Gulf War (1990–1991) 29, 127

Habib, Abdallah Bou 103

Hadi, Abdrabuh Mansour 111, 112

Al-Hadithi, Naji Sabri 93

Haftar, Khalifa Belqasim 109, 110, 184, 222


Hamas 74, 92, 94, 104, 218, 277

Hariri, Rafic 102, 107, 288

Hariri, Saad 102, 103, 114, 185, 288, 291
Al-Hashimi, Sharif Hussein bin Ali 171
Hatan, Rami 104
Al-Hathloul, Loujain 19, 104
Hedayah Center, UAE 48
Hegemony 8, 81, 88, 90, 113, 286, 287, 290
Hejaz 12, 13, 19, 171, 266
Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty of 1890 214
Hezbollah 68, 70, 71, 93, 102, 103, 107, 108, 203, 218
Hezbollah al-Hijaz 15
Higher Council of Ulama (HCU)/Council of Senior Scholars, Saudi Arabia 14
Hijrat 214
Hodieda 13
Hook, Brian 75
Hope Mars Mission 2021 56
Hormuz Peace Endeavour (HOPE) 76
Horse racing 170
Houthis, Yemen 28, 73, 76, 111–112, 132
Al-Howairini, Abdulaziz bin Mohammed 30
HSBC 177
Huawei 137, 156, 159
Human rights 138, 201, 206, 207, 238
Saudi Arabia 17–19, 139
UAE 49–51, 177
Ibn Hussein, Abdullah 12, 13
Hussein, Saddam 93, 127, 182
Hutchinson Port Holdings 99
Hyundai 253, 254
Ibrahim Pasha 12
Ideational threat 6, 7, 8, 89, see also Iran
Identity 6, 7–8, 16, 45, 70
See also Nationalism/hyper-nationalism
Ikhwán Revolt 1930 13
India see also Delhi Declaration; Modi, Narendra; Riyadh Declaration
Defence and security relations with Saudi Arabia and the UAE 233
Domestic politics 231, 238
Counterterrorism cooperation 226
Economic relations with Saudi Arabia 229, 239
Economic and soft power relations with the UAE 232, 233, 238–239
Middle East (West Asia) policy 228
Naval power and cooperation 230
Quad 232
Relations with Israel 226, 230
Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) 230
Infrastructure 88, 149, 152, 155, 175, 180
Saudi 20, 23, 79, 133, 221
UAE 50, 104, 134, 158, 159
Independent 176
Indonesia see also Pancasila
As an emerging power 266
Commercial and religious linkages 265, 279
Democracy 268, 279
Islamic associations and education in 266–268
Labour relations with Middle Eastern states 270–271
Political development of 267
Relations with Iran 271
Saudi soft power influence 266, 269, 270, 271
UAE economic relations with 272–273
Violent jihadi threat in 268
Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) 222
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) 53, 129
International Compact with Iraq 100
International Defence Exhibition & Conference (IDEX) 2021 56, 58, 134, 151, 206
International Holdings Company 54
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 288
International Petroleum Investment Corporation 53
International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) 104
International Union of Muslim Scholars (Doha) 59
Interpol 3
Investment Corporation of Dubai 53
Iran 24, 28, 68–82, 103, 111, see also Saudi – Iran talks (2021)
Anglo-Soviet invasion of (1941) 71
Armed forces 73, 79
Arms sales to 74
Interests in the Horn of Africa 215, 218
Islamic Revolution (1979) 15, 68, 69–70
US hostage crisis in 71, 126
Iran Contra Affair 127
Iran – Iraq War 29, 70, 78, 127
Iraq 13, 99–100
invasion of (2003) 73, 80
Al-Islah (Jamiat al-Islah wa al-Tawjih al-Ijtima – Reform and Guidance Association, UAE 47–48, 51
Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain 70, 91
Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) 70, 73, 77, 80, 92, 106, 107, 173, 252, 257
Islamic banking 274, 276
Islamic leadership 6, 97, 275–276
Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition 74
Islamic University of Medina 265
Islamism see Political Islam
Israel 49, 71, 77, 79, 80, 90, 96, 103–106, 108, 136, 137
Al-Jabri, Saad 22, 135
Al-Jazeera 92, 93, 94, see also Qatar
Japan
Antipiracy operations 252, 253
Energy interests of 248–249, 250, 252, 253
Military and security cooperation 252
Political economy of 248–249
Trade and investment relations of 249–250, 251–252, see also Softbank
Jaysh al-Islam 107
Jeddah Treaty (1927) 13, 171
John Lewis 177
Johnson, Boris 28, 176
Joint Task Force Southwest Asia 29
Jordan 88, 96, 104
Jinping, Xi 148–150, 160
Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) 31, 75–76, 77, 78, 79, 95, 129, 130, 134, 137, 139, 201, 289
Jordan 12–13, 89, 96, 104, 106
Jubail 13
Al-Jubeir, Adel 75, 275
Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act (JASTA) 130, 132, 135, 139, 289
Al-Kadhimi, Mustafa 100
Kadyrov, Ramzan 199, 207
Kafala system 24, 237
Kashmir conflict 233, 237
Kataib Hezbollah 94
Keswa 14
Khamenei, Ali 70, 72, 75
Khan, Imran 236, 237
Khashoggi, Jamal 18, 23, 24, 49, 102, 132, 136
Khatami, Mohammad 71
Al-Khobar 16, 156
Khobar Towers bombing 71, 127
Khomeini, Ruhollah 69
Khurais, Saudi oil facility 73, 79, 133, 175, 287
Khuzestan 75, 80
King Abdullah Center for National Dialogue 15
King Abdullah Economic City 26
King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz International Centre for Inter-religious and Intercultural Dialogue 15
King Salman Center for Local Governance 21
King Saud University 20
Kordahi, George 103
Korea Electric Power Corporation (KEPC) 53
Kosovo 57, 183, 200
Kuala Lumpur summit (2019) 236, 275
Kushner, Jared 130
Kuwait 13, 88, 89, 91, 93, 102–103, 107, 109, also see Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Invasion of (1990) 88, 127, also see; Operation Desert Storm

Labour 25, 47, 55, 56
Land contestation, Saudi Arabia 19
League of Arab States 102, 103, 108, 109, 149, 203
Lebanon 102–103
Beirut port explosion 103
Dependency on the GCC states 102
Doha Agreement 93
Liquidity crisis 103
Liberalisation
Saudi 16, 34, 286
UAE 49, 55, 60
Libya 95, 108–110
Saudi interest in 109
UAE interest in 109
Libya National Army (LNA) 109
“Little Sparta” 128, 288
Le Louvre, Abu Dhabi 184

Ma’aden 23
Macron, Emmanuel 103, 181, 184, 185
Magnitsky law 178
Majlis 46, 56
Al-Maktoum, Mohammed bin Rashid 46
Al-Maktoum, Maktoum bin Rashid 48
Malaysia see also 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB), Kuala Lumpur summit (2019)
Commercial and religious linkages 265, 276, 277–278
Saudi economic assistance to 274
Trade and investment relations 274–275, 276, 277
Al-Maliki, Nuri 95, 99
Manchester City Football Club 171
Masdar 53, 251
Matthis, James 94
Mauritius 230, 233
Mayun 113, 222
Mecca 12, 13, 23, 72, 108, see also Grand Mosque Seizure (1979)

Medina 12, 23
Mega projects see Infrastructure projects
Melbourne City Football Club 171
Mercenaries 57, 87, 110, 219, 288
Meshal, Khalid 92
Middle East peace process 104
Middle East Strategic Alliance (MESA) 75, 132
Middle powers 7, 8, 47, 278
Militias 32, 58, 77
Milli Görüş 100
Mitaki, Najib 103
Ministry of Presidential Affairs, UAE 232
Mitsubishi 56, 250, 250
Modi, Narendra 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234
Mohammed bin Rashid Space Centre, Dubai 56
Morocco 89, 95, 112, 149
Morsi, Mohammed 18, 93, 97, 98, 101
Moscow 196, 197, 200
Mossadegh, Mohammed 71, 172
Al-Mu’alla, Saud bin Rashid 46
Mubadala Development Company 53, 54
Mubadala Petroleum 204–205, 277
Mubarak, Hosni 48, 201, 288
Al-Mubarak, Khaldun 170
Mujahedeen-e Khalq (MEK) 74
Mumbai City Football Club 171
Al-Muqrin, Muhammed bin Saud (Ibn Saud, emir of Diriyah and founder of the First Saudi State) 11, 12–13
Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan) 17, 18, 47–48, 70, 92, 94, 97, 100, 101, 286
Muslim Council of Elders (Abu Dhabi) 59
Muslim World League 14
Mutawa (religious police), Saudi Arabia 16
Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (1951) 125
Al-Nahyan, Abdullah bin Zayed 46
Al-Nahyan, Khalifa bin Zayed 2, 46, 90
Al-Nahyan, Mansur bin Zayed 46, 54, 171
Al-Nahyan, Mohammed bin Zayed (MBZ) 2, 3, 7, 46, 48, 93, 94, 101, 129, 137, 160
Al-Nahyan, Saif bin Zayed 46
Al-Nahyan, Shakhbut bin Sultan 90
Al-Nahyan, Tahnoun bin Zayed 2, 46, 54, 80, 95, 105
Al-Nahyan, Zayed bin Sultan 48, 78, 97
Najran 112
Nasser, Gamal Abdel 14, 28, 97, 126, 197
National Assembly, of France 181
National Commercial Bank (National Commercial Bank), Saudi Arabia 26
National Cyber Security Authority, Saudi Arabia 30
National Food Security Strategy, UAE 56
National Guard, of Saudi Arabia 29, 30, 31, 174
National Human Resource Development and Employment Authority (Tanmia) 55
National Risk Unit, Saudi Arabia 31
National Security Agency, US 49
National Security Council, Saudi Arabia 31, 173
National Transformation Programme, of Saudi Arabia 24
Nationalism/hyper-nationalism 7, 23, 34, 286, 291
Nejd, emirate of 12, 13
New Media Academy, Dubai 56
Neom 20, 25, 26–27, 99, 155, 156, 221
Netanyahu, Bejamin 105
Netherlands 184
New York City Football Club 171
Nicholas II 195
Nigeria 100
Nimr al-Nimr 15, 75, 218, 291
Nitiqat (Saudisation) 25 see also Labour
Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) 175, 186, 290
Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty 1988 157
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) Intervention in Libya 170, 184
Istanbul Cooperation Initiative 88
Russia and 200, 201
North Dome/South Pars 93
Non-proliferation treaty (NPT) 131, 271
NSO Group 49, 104–105
Al-Nuaimi III, Humaid bin Rashid 46
Nuclear energy 134, 149, 157, 205, 228, 249, 256
Al-Nusra Front 94, 107
Obama, Barack 105, 129–130, 136
Offensive realism 6, 8, 291
Oil 16, 24, 26, 33, 48, 287–288, see also Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) Crisis (1973) 1, 71, 126, 186, 197, 198, 207, 248
Price crash (2014) 287
See also Shale oil
Oliphant, Lancelot 171–172
Oman 13–14, 88, 89, 90, 113, 153, 172, 174, 214
Operation Atalanta 257
Operation Decisive Storm 111
Operation Desert Shield 29, 127
Operation Desert Storm 182
Operation Northern Thunder 29
Operation Salamandre 183
Operation Sentinel 133
Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons 108
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) 3, 14, 15, 131, 231, 233, 236, 273, 275
Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) 2, 52, 60, 91, 114, 134, 137, 208
Organization of the Islamic Revolution 91
Al-Otaiba, Mani Saeed 46
Al-Otaiba, Yousef 46, 79, 94, 110, 135, 233
Index

Ottoman Empire 7, 12, 14, 100
Oyo 25

Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza 69, 81
Pakistan
  Identity 235
  Political economy 234
  Saudi influence in 234, 236–237, 238
  Security ties to Saudi Arabia 235–236
Palestine 28, 125
  West Bank 105
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) 102, 153
Pan-Arabism 28, 33, 97, 172
Pancasila 268
Paris St. Germain, football club 170
Patrimonialism
  Neo-patrimonialism 27, 287
Pax Al 49
Peng, Li 153
Peninsula Shield Force (PSF) 88, 89, 91
Personal data law, Saudi Arabia 26
Piracy 89, 128, 203, 215, 218, 220, 252, 257
Political Islam 16, 47, 49–50, 51, 59, 286, 288
Pompeo, Mike 74
Political parties, of Saudi Arabia 18, 19
Pope Francis 59
Praetorian Guard 31, 88
Presidency of State Security, Saudi Arabia 30, 31
Prince, Erik 87, 160, 220
Presidential Guard, UAE 57
Private sector 24–25, 55
Prix de l’Arc de Triomphe 170
Proxy war 4, 28–29, 87
Pure Harvest 56
Public Investment Fund (PIF) 24, 26, 27, 135, 139, 176, 205, 229, 250
Public sector 25
  ‘Push East’ 290
Putin, Vladimir 194, 199–200, 201–203, 205–207

Al Qaeda 28, 48, 49, 94, 107, 127, 132
Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) 17, 32, 88, 111, 128, 238
Al-Qahatani, Saud 178
Al-Qaradawi, Yusuf 92, 94, 277
Al-Qasimi, Saud bin Saqr 46, 47
Al-Qasimi, Hend Faisal 231
Al-Qasimi, Lubna bint Khalid bin Sultan 50
Al-Qasimi, Saqr bin Muhammad 46
Qatar 2, 92–95, 286
  Al Ula Agreement with 95, 114, 134
  Diplomacy of 28, 59, 92, 93, 95, 111, 114
  Embargo/blockade of 18, 23, 46–47, 49, 55, 93, 94–95, 98, 131
  FIFA World Cup 2022 92, 170
  Riyadh Agreement with 94, 95
  Subtle and soft power of 92
  Turkish military presence in 94
Qatar Sports Investments 170
Qatif 13, 15, 69
Quds Force 80
  See also Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC)
Qutb, Sayyid 17
Rafsanjani, Akbar Hashemi 71
Raisi, Ebrahim 76, 77–78, 153
Al-Rajhi bank, Saudi Arabia 274
Ramadan War, see Yom Kippur/Ramadan War
Ras Al-Khaimah 45–46, 47, 52
Razak, Najib 275, 276, 277, 278, 288
Regime security 6, 12–23, 47–51, 53, 88, 96, 129, 291
Regional order 70, 87, 97
Religious tolerance 15–16, 59, 103
Repression 7, 19, 23
Remittances 8, 58, 289
Renewable Energy Project
  Development Office, Saudi Ministry of Energy 28
Rentierism 11, 23, 53, 57
Rentier State Theory (RST) 8, 60
Index

Republic of Korea (ROK) 253, 258
Domestic politics 254
Energy interests 254, 255–256, 257
Security relations with the UAE 257
Trade and investment relations 254–257
Rhodes, Ben 94, 129
Ritz-Carlton hotel, Riyadh 21–22, 24
Riyadh Agreement (with Qatar) 94, 95
Riyadh Declaration 227
Riyadh Media City 19
Riyal Politik 4, 8, 28, 100, 108, 114, 208, 220, 287–288, see also Economic Statecraft
Rolls Royce 177
Romania 182
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 125, 134
Rosatom 205
Royal Air Force, UK 174
Royal Group, UAE 54
Royal Marines, UK 173
Royal Navy, UK 173
Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF) 132, 234
Royal Saudi Navy 30
Rub al-Khali (Empty Quarter) 12
Russia 58, see also Russia – Ukraine War; Soviet Union; Wagner Group
Arms sales and joint ventures 202–203, 205–206, 208
Chechnya 199, 200
Energy considerations of 201
Imperial connections 194–195
Interest in Port Sudan 203, 206
Intervention in Syria 201, 203, 206
Jihadi fighters in 199
Participation in OPEC+ 203–204, 208
Strategic partnerships 204, 205
Trade and investment relations 205, 206, 208
Russian Direct Investment Fund 199, 204
Russia – Ukraine War 137, 204, 207
Al-Ruwaili, Fayyad 31
Sadat, Anwar 198
Safe and smart cities 155, 156, 159, 161–162, 288
Sahwa al-Islamiyya (Islamic awakening) movement 17, 18
As Salaam, military contract 175
Salafi 111
Salalah 88
Saleh, Ali Abdullah 111
Salman, Said Abdullah 47
Salvador Mundi 22
Sanctions 201, 204, 207, 208, see also Countering America’s Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA)
Sandhurst (Royal Military Academy) 277
Al-Saud, Abdulaziz bin Abdul Rahan (Ibn Saud) (founder of the Third Saudi State) 12–13, 125, 171, 196–197, 247
Al-Saud, Abdullah bin Abdulaziz 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 72, 99, 100, 107, 108, 111, 154
Al-Saud, Abdullah bin Saud 12
Al-Saud, Abdulaziz bin Mohammed (second ruler of First Saudi State) 12, 69
Al-Saud, Abdulaziz bin Salman 77
Al-Saud, Ahmed bin Abdelaziz 22
Al Saud, Al Waleed bin Talal 21
Al-Saud, Bandar bin Sultan 20, 21, 32, 97, 107, 127, 153
Al-Saud, Basmah bint Saud 18
Al-Saud, Fahd bin Abdulaziz 69, 72, 154, 175
Al-Saud, Fahd bin Turki bin Abdulaziz 22
Al-Saud, Faisal bin Abdulaziz 14, 17, 171, 269, 273
Al-Saud, Khalid bin Salman 136, 138
Al-Saud, Khalid bin Sultan 20, 153, 175
Al-Saud, Miteb bin Abdullah 21
Al-Saud, Mohammed bin Nayef 22, 32, 136
Al-Saud, Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) 3, 7, 16, 18, 19–23, 75, 77, 78, 95, 102, 106, 129, 130, 135, 137, 155, 254, 286
Al-Saud, Muqrin bin Abdulaziz 19–20
Al-Saud, Nawaf bin Nayef 22
Al-Saud, Nayef bin Abdulaziz 18, 71
Al-Saud, Reema bint Bandar bin Sultan bin Abdulaziz 21
Al-Saud, Saud bin Faisal bin Abdulaziz 101
Al-Saud, Saud bin Abdulaziz 12, 14, 227
Al-Saud, Sultan bin Abdulaziz 153
Al-Saud, Turki bin Abdullah bin Mohammad (Founder of the Second Saudi State) 12
Saudi Arabian Military Industries 30
Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency (SAMA) 26 (now Saudi Central Bank)
Saudi Aramco 23, 25
Initial public offering of 130
Saudi Basic Industries Corporation (SABIC) 23, 25
Saudi Binladen Group 20
Saudi Development Bank 23
Saudi Fund for Development 88, 274
Saudi Intelligence Agency 20, 21
Saudi – Iran talks (2021) 76–77
Saudi Ministry of Interior 31
Saudi Royal Guard Regiment 135
Saudi Vision 2030 2, 24, 26, 33, 130, 289, 291
Sawab (Right Path) initiative, UAE 49
Secularisation 16, 17, 34, 50, 53, 286
Sectarianism 15, 51, 73, 74, 91, 107
“Serbia Model” 156
Seychelles 230
Al-Shabab 220
Shale oil 207
Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) 152
Shangri-La Dialogue 230
Shareek (Partner) 25
Sharif, Shehbaz 237, 238
Al-Sharqi, Hamad bin Mohammed 46
Sharia law 11, 269
Sharjah 52
Al-Sharqi, Hamad bin Mohammad 46
Shaybah oil field 90
Shell 134, 177, 179
Shia sect 15, 32, 51, 68–69, 91, 111
Shiraziyyun movement 91
Shura Council, Saudi Arabia 21
Signals Intelligence Agency, UAE 49
‘Silicon Wadi’ 105
Singapore 172, 248, 273
El-Sisi, Abdel Fattah 2, 98
Six Day War (1967) 97, 179, 201, 215
Small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) 250, 251, 255, 270
Small states 3, 7, 8, 47, 59, 78, 92, 114
Smart City Solutions Company (SC2) 156
Social contract 60, 291
Social media 19, 20, 56
Socialism 147
Socotra 81, 113
Softbank 250
Soft power 29, 59, 92, 171, 184, 187, 199, 207, 217, 251, 274, 278
Solar energy
Saudi 24, 255
UAE 52, 53, 106, 159, 272
Soleimani, Qasem 92, 94
Somalia 95, 215
Saudi and UAE relations with 220
Sorbonne University Abu Dhabi 184
Southern Transition Council (STC) 113
Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWFs) 26, 53–54
Soviet Union (Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics) 28, 125, 195–198
Spain 189
Spyware 49, See also NSO Group; Safe and smart cities
Standard Chartered 177
State-building 46
Statehood
Saudi Arabia 11–15, 28, 33
UAE 45–47, 78, 81
State-led capitalism 23–27, 51–56, 59
Strait of Hormuz 78, 79, 150, 153, 173, 183, 185, 252
Al-Sudairi seven 20
Sudan 95
Saudi and UAE relations with 219–220
Suez Canal 97, 151, 172, 194, 215
Index

Suez crisis 172, 179
Sufi sect 32
Suharto, Haji 267, 269
Suicide bombings 32, 233
Sukarno 266
Sunni sect 6, 74
Supreme Council for Financial and Economic Affairs, UAE 54
Supreme Court, India 232
Supreme Petroleum Council, UAE 54
Sultan Seyyid Said 214
Sultanism 7, 33, 46
Swahili Coast 214
Synagogue 59
Syria 106–108
Saudia interests in 32, 107–108
UAE interests in 108

Taawteen (Emiratisation) 49
Tabah Foundation, UAE 199
Taif 12, 13
Taif Agreement 102
Taliban 92, 265–266
Tanzania 214
Tawhid 12, 32
Taxation
Value Added Tax (VAT)
Saudia 25
UAE 55
Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) 133, 136–137
Territorial dispute 88, 90, 91
Terrorism 17, 70, 113, 185
See also 9/11; Islamic State of Iraq and al-Shams (ISIS)
Terrorist Financing Targeting Center (TFTC), Saudi Arabia 140
Texas 134
Al-Thani, Hamad bin Khalifa 92
Al-Thani, Hamad bin Jassim bin Jaber 93, 109
Al-Thani, Tamim bin Hamad 94, 95
The Serene 22
The Topaz 22
Tillerson, Rex 94, 132
Tiran Strait 26, 99, 221
Tourism projects
Saudia 17, 24, 27, 222, 276
UAE 47, 55, 56, 159, 222
Transjordan 13, 171
Treaty of Commerce and Friendship of 1928 (between USSR and Yemen) 196
Treaty of Jeddah 1974 171
Treaty of Versailles 1919 171
Tribes and tribalism 1, 11, 31, 45, 57, 110
Trucial Oman Scouts 90
Trucial States 14, 45
Trump, Donald 78, 87, 94, 105, 130–131, 132, 290–291
‘maximum pressure’ policy 79
Tunbs islands (Greater and Lesser) 78, 81
Tunisia 17, 149, 288
Turkey 100–102
Coup attempt (2016) 105
Interests in the Horn of Africa 216, 217–218, 221
Ibn Turki, Abdul Rahman ibn Faisal 12
Turkish Democracy Project 101
Twelver School, of Islam 70
Twitter 18
UAE Energy Strategy 2050 52, 56
UAE Centennial Plan 2071 2, 50, 56, 289
UAE independence 45
UAE National Innovation Strategy 2
UAE navy 58
UAE Vision 2021 2, 289
Ukraine 3, 25
Umm Al-Quwain 52
Ummah 69
UN Agenda 2030 56
UN Climate Change Conference, COP21 92
UN Climate Change Conference, COP26 28, 238
UN Climate Change Conference, COP28 53
UN Human Rights Council 19, 271
United Kingdom 6; see also British influence in the Gulf
Arms sales 175, 177, 178
Counterterrorism cooperation 178
Energy interests 173
Military presence in the region 173–175
Trade and investment relations
175–176, 177, 178, see also
As Salaam, military contract
United Nations Security Council
UAE non-permanent seat on 3, 108
Yemen 112
United States 125–139
Arms sales 125, 128, 131, 135, 136
Biden administration 134–138
Carter Doctrine 126, 138
Energy interests 71, 125, 126
F-35 deal with the UAE 105, 137
Force posture 29
Mideast policy 8, 75, 79
Nixon Doctrine 126, 138
Obama administration 129–130
Republicans 125
Saudi scholarships to 132–133
Technical Cooperation Agreement
with Saudi Arabia 133
Trump administration 130–134
Twin Pillars policy 69, 126
United States Central Command
(CENTCOM) 93, 126, 128,
134, 136, 160
Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) 104,
111, 136, 159

Velayat-e faqih 70

Wagner Group 110
Al-Wahhab, Mohammed bin Abdul 11,
12
Wahhabism 11–12, 16, 18, 33, 69, 70,
171, 286

Wahhabi sack of Karbala 69
Welfare state 25
West Bank see Palestine, West Bank
Wireless networks 16, 149
Women’s participation in political
affairs
Saudi Arabia 21
UAE 50–51
Women’s rights, Saudi Arabia 18–19,
21
World Association of Muslim Youth
17
World Bank 100, 151
World Defence Show 31
World Expo 56, 151
World Trade Organization (WTO) 2

Xiaping, Deng 147

Yamaoka, Kotaro 247
Yanbu Industrial City 154
Year of Giving, UAE 232
Year of Tolerance, UAE 232
Yemen 13, 110–113
Saudi-led intervention (2015) of 23,
24, 34, 105, 111–112, 113,
236
UAE withdrawal from 113–114
Youth (as a factor in decision making)
7, 19, 94, 286
Youth bulge 23, 24

Zarif, Mohammad Javad 76
Zemin, Jiang 147, 154