Robert Schuman Centre
for Advanced Studies

Political Opposition in the Gulf Monarchies

F. GREGORY GAUSE

RSC No. 2000/61
Mediterranean Programme Series

EUI WORKING PAPERS

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

WP
321
.02094
EUR

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

European University Institute
3 0001 0034 2509 9

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

EUI Working Paper RSC No. 2000/61

Gause: ***Political Opposition in the Gulf Monarchies***

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

The Robert Schuman Centre was set up by the High Council of the EUI in 1993 to carry out disciplinary and interdisciplinary research in the areas of European integration and public policy in Europe. Research publications take the form of Working Papers, Policy Papers and books. Most of the Working Papers and Policy Papers are also available on the website of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies: http://www.iue.it/RSC/PublicationsRSC-Welcome.htm. In 1999, the Centre merged with the European Forum to become the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE

ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE
FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

Political Opposition in the Gulf Monarchies

F. GREGORY GAUSE

University of Vermont

EUI Working Paper **RSC** No. 2000/61

BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO (FI)

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

All rights reserved.
No part of this paper may be reproduced in any form
without permission of the author.

WP
321.0209
4 EUR

© 2000 F. Gregory Gause
Printed in Italy in December 2000
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50016 San Domenico (FI)
Italy

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

Mediterranean Programme

The Mediterranean Programme was established at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the European University Institute in Autumn 1998. The Mediterranean Programme has two long-term strategic objectives. First, to provide education and conduct research which combines in-depth knowledge of the Middle East and North Africa, of Europe, and of the relationship between the Middle East and North Africa and Europe. Second, to promote awareness of the fact that the developments of the Mediterranean area and Europe are inseparable. The Mediterranean Programme will provide post-doctoral and doctoral education and conduct high-level innovative scientific research.

The Mediterranean Programme has received generous financial support for Socio-Political Studies from three major institutions who have guaranteed their support for four years: ENI S.p.A, Ente Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, and Mediocredito Centrale. The European Investment Bank, Compagnia di San Paolo and Monte dei Paschi di Siena have offered generous financial support for four years for studies in Political Economy which will be launched in Spring 2000. In addition, a number of grants and fellowships for nationals of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries have been made available by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (for doctoral students) and the City of Florence (Giorgio La Pira Fellowship for post-doctoral fellows).

For further information:

Mediterranean Programme
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
European University Institute
via dei Roccettini, 9
50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy
Fax: + 39 055 4685 770
http://www.iue.it/RSC/MED/

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

While never immune from domestic political opposition, the regimes of the six Gulf Cooperation Council states (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman) have enjoyed unrivaled stability in the eastern Arab world. In each case, the ruling regime can trace its roots back to the beginning of the 20th century, if not further back in history. These regimes survived the Nasserist Arab Nationalist wave of the 1950's and 1960's, the repercussions of the Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980's, and the military-political challenge of the invasion of Kuwait in 1990-91. Despite popular perceptions, they have historically been the most stable regimes in the eastern Arab world.

So why talk about opposition in them? Because a conjunction of circumstances - some the result of long-term social trends, others related to more immediate political issues like the Gulf War - created an environment in the 1990's in which opposition movements ("loyal oppositions," violent revolutionary organizations and groups in between) became more salient and more public in the politics of the Gulf monarchies than at any time in the past thirty years. This is not to say that these opposition movements threatened the stability of the ruling regimes. These regimes have considerable economic, ideological and coercive resources, which they do not hesitate to use against nascent opposition. By the end of the 1990's, those emerging opposition movements had largely been contained, crushed and/or coopted by the regimes. But the emergence of these opposition movements can tell us something about the challenges the Gulf monarchies face in maintaining their enviable record of stability into the 21st century.[1]

The paper considers three major questions related to political opposition in the GCC states: 1) Why opposition emerges; 2) Which political platforms seem most attractive for opposition groups; and 3) Can opposition groups succeed in changing the regimes. There are no definitive answers to any of these questions. In fact, one of the purposes of the paper is to show the variety of opposition positions that have emerged in the Gulf countries, and try to draw some conclusions about how state action, the international environment and social realities affect the nature and agenda of opposition groups (for a more general effort in this regard, see Anderson 1997 and Anderson 1987).

[1] There have been a number of works recently that have discussed opposition movements in these states, particularly Saudi Arabia. See Al-Rasheed and Al-Rasheed 1996, Al-Rasheed 1996; Dekmejian 1994; Esposito 1997; Fandy 1996; Fandy 1999a; Fandy 199b; Gause 1994; Gause 1997a; Okruhlik 1999.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

I. Why Opposition?

A) Social Trends

At a very general level, political opposition can be motivated by internal conditions, by external support or by some combination thereof. In the case of the Gulf monarchies, the real drivers of domestic opposition are internal. External support for opposition groups, while an important factor in explaining cases of opposition activity from the 1950's through the 1980's, appears to have declined markedly since the Gulf War (though the Bahraini authorities would contend otherwise, as we will see below). Those internal drivers can be divided into two categories: long term social trends that are increasing the audience for opposition appeals, and demographic-economic circumstances that are necessitating a revision of the "rentier bargain" these states made with their citizens in the 1970's.

First, the social trends: As a result of state policy in all the Gulf monarchies, more of the citizens of these countries can read and write than at any time in the history of Arabia. More of the citizens of these countries have received formal educations, including college-level educations, than at any time in the history of Arabia. The numbers here are striking. In 1960 only 7% of Saudi children of primary or secondary school age were enrolled in schools; in 1993 the figure was 66%. In 1970 the same figure for Oman was 3%, in 1994 it was 74%. In the smaller Gulf states, higher percentages of school-age children had been enrolled in schools earlier in their history, but they too showed increases in the 1970's and 1980's (UNESCO 1975, 1991, 1997, Table 3.2).[2]

The increase in sheer numbers of high-school level students is remarkable (UNESCO 1997: Table 3.7).

	1980/81	1994/95
Bahrain	26,528	56,057
Kuwait	181,882	198,707
Oman	16,776	162,959 (93/94)
Qatar	15,901	37,635
Saudi Arabia	348,996	1,198,607 (93/94)
United Arab Emirates	32,362	159,840

Similar trends are observable at the college level. For example, the number of students at the UAE University at al-'Ain has grown from 502 in 1977-78 to

[2] It is interesting to note that since the late 1980's, those percentages have plateaued, and that in Kuwait since the invasion have actually gone down, from 96% in 1985 to 66% in 1994.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

12,000 in 1994-95 (Abdallah et al. 1995: 70). Similarly large increases in the number of college graduates and college students per year have been recorded in the other states (UNESCO 1997: Table 3.10). The percentage of the population that has received some kind of college-level education has increased dramatically (UNESCO 1997: Table 3.9).

Number of college students per 100,000 inhabitants

	1980	**1992/93/94** (latest year for data)
Bahrain	550	1,436
Kuwait	991	2,144
Oman	2	400
Qatar	990	1,443
Saudi Arabia	646	1,175
United Arab Emirates	282	601

We must be careful what conclusions we draw from these numbers. Higher education does not push people in a single political direction (this was one of the flaws of "modernization theory" of the 1950's and 1960's - the belief that economic and social development would make people "Western" in their political beliefs). Anyone who knows the region has met Gulf state citizens with Ph.D.s from U.S. and British universities whose political inclinations run the gamut from salafi-Islamist to Arab socialist, with just about every position in between. But we can make a few common-sense assumptions about what formal education might mean for how the new generation will conduct its political activity.

High-school and college graduates can read and write, and so have the capacity to be better informed about political issues in the country at large and to express themselves on those issues. They have developed personal networks that cut across family and tribal lines, and can draw on those contacts for mobilizing people on political issues. They have at least been exposed to critical approaches for analyzing political issues, if not in the classroom then outside it, among their peers. They have certainly been taught in the state curricula to take a country-wide, as opposed to a tribal or clan, view of their political allegiance and responsibilities, even if these curricula have not encouraged thoughts of direct political participation. Islamist groups, frequently identified as "traditional" by Westerners, have been as affected by these changes as more liberal and secular political groupings, in terms of how they are organized, how they pose their issues, and how they address the general public.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

The impact of the educational changes in these countries is evident in the prominent role petitions played as a means of expressing demands for a greater role in decision-making in the period after the Gulf crisis. Petitions require literate writers who think in terms of general issues and general responses to them. In framing their requests in general policy terms, as opposed to personal patronage terms, they assume the existence of a literate audience, both in the ruling elite and among the public, that is responsive to that kind of appeal, that sees policy in a more rational-bureaucratic than "traditional" light. Finally, the signatures on the petitions indicate that these activists have built networks that gather people together on functional and ideological, as opposed to family and tribal, lines. At least some of that networking was done in schools.

There is some anecdotal evidence that the education process is having the political effects hypothesized above. Elections to the National Union of Kuwaiti students became very politicized in the 1970's, with nationalist and Islamist slates contending. The Graduates Society in Kuwait, founded in 1964 by a number of recent university graduates, has developed into a center of political activity. In the post-occupation period the Society actively pushed for the restoration of parliamentary life, though it is difficult to draw conclusions about generational political inclinations from the activities of the Graduates Society, since its membership is open to all Kuwaiti university graduates (Ghabra 1991: 210; Ghabra 1995: Chapter 3; Gause 1994: 92-93). A study of civil society in the UAE calls the National Union of Emirates Students, founded in 1981, "one of the most active and most present organizations, not simply on the university level but on the level of society as a whole." National issues are discussed at its general conferences. On a recent national day, the Union issued a communiqué calling for the establishment of a permanent Federal constitution and reaffirming the importance of popular participation in politics. (Abdallah et al. 1995: 75, 77).

We cannot assume that younger generations, products of the immense investment made in education by the Gulf monarchies over the past 25 years, will as a result of that education have uniform political beliefs. We can, however, surmise that in general their experience with formal education will lead them to be more likely than their elders to: a) present their political beliefs in written form to the general public; b) phrase their demands in terms of country-wide policy issues, not personal or group patronage demands; and c) form political coalitions that cut across tribal, clan, sectarian and regional lines. They will appropriate the rhetoric of the rulers regarding the centrality of the state in the political loyalties of citizens and the devotion of the government to the welfare of the citizens (much of which they learned in school), to hold the leaders accountable for their performances. But they will not be united on where they want the leaders to lead.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

The vast increase in the number of literate citizens in these states over the last few decades also highlights the growing role of print and the print media in the politics of these states.[3] This category of media encompasses a spectrum of technological innovations, from the low-tech (books and newspapers) through the medium-tech (xeroxes, self-publishing) to the high-tech (faxes, the Internet). With more literate people, the audience for printed matter has increased markedly. With technological changes, unofficial and dissident voices have been able to get their messages to larger and larger audiences. Technological change has also expanded the audience for audio media, like cassettes, that were used by both the Iranian Islamist opposition before the 1979 Revolution and by Saudi Islamists. (For an interesting discussion of this point, the implications of high-tech print media and a general overview of Saudi opposition, see Fandy 1999a).

The petitions mentioned above were written on personal computers and circulated via fax and xerox in a short period of time throughout the Gulf states. Muhammad al-Mas'ari, the (depending on your political position) famous/notorious Saudi dissident in London, made his name in the early 1990's by faxing his opposition broadsheets into the Kingdom. Both he and Sa'ad al-Faqih, who broke with al-Mas'ari in 1996, have set up well-publicized Web pages for the Saudi Islamist opposition from their home base in London. The Bahrain Freedom Movement maintains a Web page and an extensive e-mail list, and for a number of years published a monthly print newsletter in both English and Arabic.

The low-tech end of print technology - books, newspapers and magazines - is probably more important in Gulf societies, because it can reach many more of the newly literate than the higher-end technologies. The total circulation figures for daily newspapers in the six GCC states give some indication of the expansion of the reading public in just the last twenty years (UNESCO 1997: Table 7.9)

[3] For example, literacy rates in the UAE have risen from 24% for males in 1970 to 90% in the 1990's (Abdallah et al. 1995: 70).

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

Total Circulation (in thousands) of all daily newspapers

	1980	1994
Bahrain	14	70
Kuwait	304	655
Oman	na	63
Qatar	30	80
Saudi Arabia	350	950
United Arab Emirates	152	300

Another interesting indicator of the expansion of the reading public in the Gulf states is the consumption of newsprint and other printing and writing paper. In 1970, Saudi Arabia consumed 500 tons of newsprint and 6,700 tons of other paper; in 1994 the figures were 25,919 tons and 79,242 tons (UNESCO 1997: Table 7.12).

So what are the political implications of this expansion of both readers and things to read in the Gulf states? For example, Safar al-Hawali, an *'alim* who was on the faculty of Mecca's Islamic university ('Umm al-Qura University), was arrested by the Saudi authorities in 1994 for stirring up Islamist political discontent. (He was released only in July 1999.) But any literate Saudi with a minimum level of curiosity and daring can find out what al-Hawali thinks about politics, religion and society by reading his books. I cannot speak to how widely those books are available in the Kingdom now, but his analysis of the Gulf crisis, of American policy in the area, and of the preceding years of Saudi support for Iraq - not particularly favorable to the official Saudi viewpoint - was published in Mecca by Dar Makka al-Mukarrama, a *local* publisher, in 1991. It is in the form of a letter to the Higher Committee of 'Ulama, which, from his introduction, apparently enjoined him to address all his criticisms directly to them rather than speak about them in public (al-Hawali 1991: 5-6). He complied with the letter of that injunction, but print technology allowed him to easily circumvent the spirit.

As in the analysis of the expansion of education, it is important not to draw hasty conclusions about the spread of print media and the expansion of their potential audiences in the Gulf states. People who read things are not necessarily going to be persuaded by them; they might have the opposite effect. al-Mas'ari's broadsides, which contained just about every rumor and unsubstantiated piece of gossip he could get his hands on, lost him credibility in Saudi Arabia. The regimes certainly use the print media (as well as television and radio) to propagate their views, so oppositionists hardly have the field to themselves when it comes to appealing to the newly literate audiences in the Gulf. And the censors are still vigorously at work throughout the area.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

But, as with education, we can make a few common-sense assumptions about how literacy and the expansion of print media might affect politics. First and foremost, the percentage of people in the population who can "go to the sources" and do their own readings, rather than having those sources (be they the Qu'ran or the daily newspaper) interpreted for them by an educated elite or by the regime, is vastly greater than it has been in previous eras. Many more people can question authority on the basis of their own readings. Secondly, those who question received authority, be it political or religious, have more ability to get their points of view to others, in essence appealing to be considered as "counter-authorities". The "new pluralism" in authority structures, based on the expansion of literacy and print media, is the basis of quite a bit of new research in the field of Middle East anthropology. Some see it as the basis for an eventual development of "civic pluralism" in the region: "state tolerance for the growth of legally recognized non-governmental organizations and the less formal, but equally significant, strengthening of values which affirm that individuals should be more civil to one another" (Eickelman and Anderson 1997: 43).

"Civic pluralism" is more a wish than a fact in the Gulf states. The publications of opposition figures and groups in the Gulf, in both high and low tech media, are not imbued with the values of pluralism. However, it is now much easier for more people in the Gulf to be exposed to views and interpretations of politics that are counter to those of their governments. These governments have never had a monopoly on "truth" for their societies, but now their challengers have broader audiences to which to appeal in writing, and more ways to get the written word into their hands and homes. Tolerance might not result, but this certainly "pluralizes" the market of ideas.

This pluralization of voices in the political sphere has been aided by the expansion of satellite television services in the Arab world, and the increasing number of satellite dishes, though not as much as might be expected (Alterman 2000). Most of the satellite services are owned, either directly or indirectly, by governments (including ruling families in the Gulf states). They are stronger on entertainment than news, and tend to downplay controversial political issues, though their news broadcasts are much more "professional" than those of the state television stations. The major exception is Al-Jazira, a satellite stationed based in Qatar and owned by members of the Qatari ruling family. Al-Jazira has become famous for its wide-ranging discussions on controversial topics and for its presentation of various points of view. It has broken numerous political taboos in Arabic television journalism, and is pushing other satellite and state television stations to present less scripted news programs.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

The final social trend in the Gulf monarchies that increases the likelihood of organized political opposition emerging in the coming years is urbanization. The rate at which residents of these states have come to settle in large cities over the last three decades is remarkable. Saudi Arabia provides the starkest example. In 1950, it is estimated that 16% of the Saudi population was urban; in 1970 that figure had grown to 49%. 79% or 80% (depending on the source) of the Saudi population now lives in urban areas; in Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and the UAE the percentage of urban dwellers is even higher (figures cited in Krimly 1993: 334 and Bonine 1997). The population of Riyad, fewer than 200,000 in 1962, was in 1987 nearly 1.4 million and now must be closer to 2 million (Krimly 1993: 332). Pastoral nomadism has almost ceased to exist in the home of the camel and the caravan. Saudi official sources put the number of nomadic beduin in the Kingdom as of 1990 at 336,000, down from 700,000 in 1962 (cited in Krimly 1993: 332; a brief account of the political effects of the settlement of beduin in Kuwait can be found in Ghabra 1997).

Throughout the Middle East, the correlation between urbanization and the growth of Islamist opposition has been strong. It has been hypothesized, particularly in the Iranian revolutionary case, that recent migrants to the cities - the new lumpen proletariat of Middle Eastern life - have been easily mobilizable into Islamist movements because the mosque and the fellowship found there provides an alternative to the anonymous individualism and anomie of urban life. Perhaps, though such an explanation cannot explain the success that Islamist movements in Egypt and Jordan have in dominating the syndicate organizations of middle and upper-middle class professions (doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, etc.). And it is hard to speak of a "lumpen proletariat" in the Gulf monarchies, where labor is overwhelmingly foreign (though this might change if unemployment increases and/or concerted steps are taken to reduce dependence on that foreign labor).

However, urbanization does have some clear consequences. Urban dwellers have access to more sources of information, be they print, other media, or simply a broader range of personal contacts. Those contacts in urban areas are more likely to cut across ascriptive ties of family, tribe and sect. Students meet others in schools. Office workers meet their colleagues. Sporting and cultural clubs/events bring people together. And there is the mosque, a privileged space in which all kinds of activities might be organized. Thus it is more likely in urban areas that political coalitions can be formed along ideological and functional interest lines, not simply ascriptive group lines. Urbanization also provides sheer concentrated numbers, an essential element of any mass-based political activity. As with mass education and literacy, one cannot draw definitive conclusions about the political consequences of urbanization (Elmusa 1997 briefly treats the topic in his study of recent Arabian literature). But it

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

seems sensible to assume that greater levels of urbanization increase the possibility of organized political groups forming.

B) Economic Problems

From the 1970's through the 1990's, it was generally assumed, and with good reason, that economics was one of the strong points for the Gulf governments in their efforts to suppress political opposition. They had plenty of oil money with which to provide jobs and services to their citizens and build up extensive security apparati to monitor those same citizens. Those whom money could not coopt, the tools money could buy would suppress. Even as the link between oil revenue and political stability was proven to be temporary elsewhere (see Karl 1997), it seemed that the Gulf governments had so much money that they would be immune from the negative consequences for oil governments of price downturns.

To date, the Gulf states have bucked the trend toward political instability in rentier states. However, economics is not the strong suit it once was for Gulf rulers. There is a simple fact that hangs over every Gulf government: their welfare states, built at a time when populations were tiny and money seemed limitless, are now straining under the weight of fast-growing populations and wildly fluctuating oil revenues. Population growth rates in the GCC states have been among the highest in the world, though in the last few years they have begun to come down. All except Qatar and Bahrain have growth rates above 2% (the average population growth rate for all of Asia is 1.4%); Saudi Arabia and Oman have growth rates over 3%. Each of these countries is projected, at current growth rates, to double its current population in 40 years (Population Reference Bureau 2000). Some of this growth has come from immigration, but the lion's share is accounted for by high birth rates and longer life expectancies for citizens. The age pyramids in these societies are heavily weighted toward the younger end. 42% of the Saudi population is 15 years of age or younger, compared with 32% for Asia as a whole (Population Reference Bureau 2000).

The strains placed on the GCC states' welfare systems by burgeoning populations are manifold. Longer life expectancies mean greater health care costs. High birth rates mean more schools. Larger populations mean greater demand for water, electricity, and telephone services, all of which are heavily subsidized in these states. Anecdotal evidence indicates that the Gulf governments are dealing with the pressure on services the way other command economies have - by allowing them to deteriorate: the quality of medical care has gone down, the wait for telephone and electricity hook-ups in new Saudi houses grows, brown-outs are now common in many Saudi cities. More school

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

graduates mean more demand for jobs, particularly in the public sector, which for the past two decades has absorbed almost all the citizen (as opposed to foreign labor) workforce in these countries. The long-term political consequences of this fiscal squeeze are very serious. For more than two decades (longer in the cases of earlier oil states, like Kuwait and Bahrain) the GCC governments have maintained a clear political bargain with their populations: the state provides jobs, goods and services without taxation to the people, and the people remain loyal to (or quiescent about) their rulers. If the state cannot deliver on its part of the bargain, more of its citizens might feel free to ignore their part.[4]

I and others have treated these political-economic issues at length elsewhere (Gause 1997a; Gause 1997b; Sick 1997). Suffice it to say here that, even though all of the governments realize these problems, they are only recently beginning to take the difficult steps necessary to face them: raising the prices of subsidized services and products, encouraging foreign investment, trying to bring their fiscal houses in order. These effects of these moves have been cushioned by the oil price increases of 1999-2000, allowing the Gulf states to avoid serious fiscal crises (Gause 2000). Even with the recent oil price increases, which could very easily be an ephemeral upswing in a secular trend, since the 1980's, of lower real oil prices, Gulf governments can no longer provide the level of free services, subsidized goods and government jobs that they have for the past three decades.

The unemployment issue rose to the top of the political and economic agendas in GCC states in the mid-1990's. Every Gulf government has talked about the need to generate more jobs for the increasing number of citizen graduates of their school systems. The Bahraini government has raised the cost of foreign labor visas and promoted vocational projects for citizens (Samia Nakhoul, "Bahrain tries to find more jobs for its nationals," Reuters [on-line], July 26, 1996), and requires foreign-owned companies to have a minimum of 20% of their workforce be Bahraini, with that figure expected to climb by 5% per year until it reaches 50% (Middle East Economic Digest, Special Report - Bahrain, December 17, 1999). Saudi Arabia doubled the cost of a visa for foreign workers in certain economic sectors (*Al-Hayat*, May 6, 1999, pp. 1, 6). Oman also raised visa fees. The Saudis, Oman and the UAE conducted a very public campaign to expel undocumented foreign laborers over the past few years (*al-Hayat*, February 14, 1995, p. 6; March 29, 1996, p. 9; UAE Ministry of

[4] There is a substantial scholarly literature on the unique political economy of these kinds of states, called *rentier* or *distributive* states, where the government gets its revenue not from taxing its citizens but directly from the world economy through the sale of oil. See Beblawi and Luciani 1987; Crystal 1990; al-Naqeeb 1987; Chaudhry 1989; Chaudhry 1992; Chaudhry 1997; Shambayati 1994.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

Information's daily news digest, June 7, 1997, via e-mail; " Oman expels 24,000 illegal workers," Agence France Presse [on line], May 28, 1998). Kuwait has begun to charge foreign laborers for health care services, raising the price of employing foreigners for Kuwaiti companies ("Kuwait starts charging foreigners for health care," Reuters [on-line], August 17, 1999). With more and more students graduating every year from the school systems the Gulf governments themselves constructed, with the governments no longer able to provide each of them a comfortable job in the public sector, the unemployment problem will only become more serious.

The answer to the problem of citizen unemployment in countries with hundreds of thousands (in Saudi Arabia millions) of foreign workers seems obvious - kick at least some of the foreigners out. Unfortunately for the Gulf rulers, the issue is not that simple. Foreign workers are cheaper for employers than citizen workers. They demand lower salaries and fewer fringe benefits; they are easier to control because their status in the country depends completely upon their employer renewing sponsorship of their visas. At a time when the GCC governments are talking about the private sector assuming a greater role in the economy, it is difficult to impose increased labor costs upon it. Moreover, important people in all these countries benefit financially from controlling foreign worker visas, collecting hefty fees or a percentage of workers' salaries in exchange for the visas. The constituencies for continuing reliance on foreign labor in the GCC states cannot be ignored.

The Gulf governments thus face a set of difficult choices. They cannot continue to rely on deficit spending to maintain high government budgets. But cutting the budgets would exacerbate the already difficult employment problem in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Oman. Younger citizens unable to find jobs, in countries where for at least two decades a government job was the unofficial "right" of any college graduate, are fodder for opposition movements. That certainly seemed to be the case in political protest in both Bahrain and Saudi Arabia in the mid-1990's.

It is important to note, however, that public manifestations of political opposition are not directly linked to economic indicators. The low oil prices of 1997 and 1998 did not lead to increased evidence of political opposition in the Gulf states. If anything, the more public aspects of political discontent evident earlier in the 1990's largely disappeared during those years. Economic hardship increases the pool of potential support for opposition movements. Economic crisis can also open opportunities for opposition groups, if such crises lead to divisions within the ruling elites or to hasty political "openings" by rulers fearful of popular backlashes to belt-tightening measures. However, downturns in the price of oil cannot of themselves create opposition movements. It is the

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository. © The Author(s). European University Institute.

interaction between economic conditions and political actions, on the part of both government and social actors, that creates both the demand for, and the space for, political opposition.

A final, and somewhat ironic, point on the economic incentives of political discontent. Historically in the Gulf, people unhappy with their rulers for economic reasons have simply picked up and moved to another jurisdiction. Their activities - pearl diving, long distance trade - could be based out of many areas along the Gulf littoral. If the ruler was extracting rapacious taxes or failing to provide the expected services, the merchants would simply find another base of operations. As economic benefits have come to be tied up to citizenship, through the distribution of such benefits by governments, this "exit option" no longer exists. Except for the extremely wealthy, leaving one's country means leaving one's source of wealth. Through their distribution policies, the Gulf monarchs have inextricably tied the material interests of their citizens to their regimes. That was the rulers' intention. What they did not anticipate was that citizens might come to judge the government on how well it continued to insure their material interests, even in the face of changed macro-economic circumstances. The economic ties that oil allowed the rulers to forge with every one of their citizens, meant to solidify their regimes, are now the basis upon which opposition to those regimes can be mobilized.

C) The external Dimension

My emphasis to this point has been on the internal drivers of political opposition on the social and economic fronts. It is undoubtedly true, however, that a major impetus for domestic political opposition in the Gulf monarchies historically has come from abroad. Arab nationalist opposition groups in the Gulf states in the 1950's and 1960's had direct ties to Nasser's Egypt and the Ba'thist regimes in Syria and Iraq. The Dhufar rebellion in Oman was directly supported by the Marxist government in South Yemen. There were certainly local grievances to be exploited, but much of the organizational impetus and financial support for opposition came from abroad.

In the 1980's, it was revolutionary Iran that provided the major outside power support for domestic opposition groups, primarily Shi'i, in the Gulf states. Iranian propaganda organs called for the overthrow of the Gulf monarchs. Dissident Gulf Shi'a found a home base in Iran. (For example, I used to receive in the late 1980's and early 1990's a broadsheet called "Makka News," published by the "Organization of the Islamic Revolution in the Arabian Peninsula." The group had a U.S. post office box address, but my copies came in envelopes with Iranian stamps and postmarks.) An abortive coup attempt in Bahrain in 1981

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

was staged from Iran. Iranians used the pilgrimage to stage political demonstrations aimed at discrediting the Saudi government. Explosions and an assassination attempt against the amir of Kuwait in the mid-1980's were believed to have been perpetrated by Iranian-supported Kuwaiti Shi'is - this before the Kuwaiti parliament had been closed down, while Kuwaiti society was still enjoying the relative political openness for which it is known in the Gulf (Ramazani 1986, Long 1990, Kostiner 1987).

With the death of Ayatallah Khumanyni, the Gulf crisis of 1990-91, and the recent "state-ization" of Iranian foreign policy, the role of Iran in supporting domestic opposition groups in the Gulf is much reduced. The tone of Iranian propaganda has certainly changed, with repeated public professions of a desire for good relations with their Gulf neighbors. Iranian participation in the pilgrimage, once it was renewed after the Gulf crisis, has not occasioned serious confrontations with the Saudi authorities. The Iranian pilgrims seem to be on good behavior, under orders. All of the Gulf states believed that Iran acted with great restraint and responsibility during the Gulf crisis. Since that time Iran has moved, with great success, to strengthen ties with the Gulf monarchies (with the exception of the UAE, where the dispute over Abu Musa and the Tunbs islands dominates bilateral relations).

There remains the question, however, of whether factions or groups in Iran - with or without the knowledge of the government; with or without the approval of the government - continue to sponsor domestic opposition groups in the Gulf monarchies. The Bahraini government certainly thinks so. In June 1996 the government arrested 56 Bahrainis accused of plotting with the support of Iran to overthrow the regime and establish an Islamic Republic. The government televised confessions of a number of those arrested in which they admitted to an Iranian link (Abbas Salman, "Bahrain arrests more in alleged Iranian plot," Reuters (on-line), June 6, 1996; *al-Hayat*, June 4, 1996, pp. 1, 6; June 6, 1996, pp. 1, 6). Bahraini opposition leaders denied any Iranian involvement in their movement, accused the government of coercing the "confessions" through torture, and reiterated their commitment to peaceful political change. They accused the government of concocting the plot to divert attention from their legitimate grievances (Bahrain Freedom Movement, "Voice of Bahrain," No. 55 (July 1996). The United States government seemed to agree with Manama, as it publicly supported Bahrain's moves in this matter.

There was also a spate of speculation after the Khobar bombing in June 1996 that Iran was involved. The problem with assessing the alleged covert role of Iran in encouraging domestic opposition activity in the Gulf monarchies is the paucity of information avaiable in open sources. An American government official, commenting on the case, said in 1999: "We do have information about

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

the involvement of Iranian officials but have not reached the conclusion that this was directed by the government of Iran," and President Clinton sent a letter to Iranian President Muhammad Khatami requesting cooperation in the investigation (*New York Times*, October 5, 1999, p. 10). However, Saudi Interior Minister Prince Na'if told a Kuwaiti newspaper in 1998 that "no foreign party had any role" in the Khobar bombing ("Saudis Said to be Behind Bombing," Associated Press [on-line], May 22, 1998). In April 2000 Iran and Saudi Arabia signed a "security" agreement aimed at fostering cooperation between the two states in preventing "criminal" acts (al-Hayat, April 25, 2000, pp. 1, 6). The general trends in both Iranian policy and in Gulf-Iranian relations provide strong circumstantial evidence that Iranian involvement in the domestic politics of the Gulf monarchies has, if not ended, been greatly reduced from the level of the 1980's.

II. Opposition Political Platforms

A) Why Do Islamists Dominate the Opposition?

It was not always true that the most serious opposition to the Gulf monarchical regimes emerges from Islamist groups. As recently as the 1970's it seemed that the left was the major threat to regime stability in the area. The Dhufar rebellion, finally quelled in 1975, was overtly leftist and supported by the Marxist government in South Yemen. Labor unions and underground Arab nationalist movements provided the organizational backbone of popular demonstrations in the 1950's and 1960's (Halliday 1974). Observers of Saudi Arabia frequently point to the persistence of distinctive regional identities within the Kingdom - Hijazi, Najdi, Hasawi, 'Asiri - as potential bases upon which political opposition could be mobilized. Yet today, the most important political movements in the Gulf region are organized on Islamist platforms.

It is difficult to develop a comprehensive answer to this interesting phenomenon in so short a space. But a few potential answers present themselves. The most important of these has to do with protected public space. The Gulf monarchical states have inexorably penetrated, with the intention of controlling, most of the social space between the family and the state. Oil has permitted them to do this quickly and thoroughly, though it is certainly not a necessary condition for such an expansion of the state's presence (non-oil Arab states have done the same thing, though perhaps not to the same extent).

The local media is completely state-controlled (except in Kuwait, where there is some margin of freedom for newspapers); most of the expatriate media (the London Arabic newspapers, Middle East Broadcasting Corp.) are financed

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

by the Saudis, with the important exception of Al-Jazira mentioned earlier. Labor unions, an important basis for political organizing before the 1970's, have lost their clout with the "bourgeois-ification" of the local population through state employment and the import of foreign labor. Sports and social clubs, organizing bases for Arab nationalist movements in the 1950's, now have royal patronage and, in many cases, chairmen from the ruling family. The "private sector" is largely dependent upon state contracts, licenses and capital (though chambers of commerce are about the only functional social organizations that have any autonomy, or potential autonomy, from these states). Only in Kuwait are expressedly political organizations tolerated, and even there parties are officially illegal. The states have built extensive secret police networks that further inhibit freedom of speech and association.

The exception to this monopolization of public space by the governments has been the mosque and associated religious institutions. All the Gulf governments, but particularly Saudi Arabia, have built (or allowed to be built) extensive religious institutions for education, propagation and charitable purposes, besides an aggressive policy of mosque construction itself. They have funded and staffed these institutions. When Arab nationalism was considered the major threat to regime stability, the regimes encouraged the development of Islamic institutions as a counterweight. In these religious institutions people were encouraged to meet, to organize, to propagandize because the regimes saw these activities as essentially supportive of their positions. The regimes funded such activities and gave their organizers access to the local media. Even when these institutions came to be seen as nurturers of potential regime opponents, from the late 1970's, the governments could not simply shut them down. Their own legitimation strategies were too tied up with the promotion of state-Islam; their own sense of potential public reaction would not allow them to completely envelop Islamic institutions.

A good recent example of how the network of religious institutions was used political dissidents is the case of Salman al-'Awda and Safar al-Hawali (mentioned above), Saudi *'alims* who were critical of their government's decision to invite the American forces after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Both al-'Awda and al-Hawali continued to preach in mosques around the Kingdom during the crisis and to meet with people in Islamic institutions, despite the fact that their opinions had become well known (al-Rifa'i 1995: 10-15). It was not until 1994 that they were arrested, after public demonstrations in Burayda.

This is not to say that the mosque is autonomous from the state in the Gulf monarchies. To the contrary, the state controls the purse-strings of religious institutions, makes appointments in the religious bureaucracies and generally oversees their activities. It is only in the Shi'i communities of Kuwait and

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

Bahrain that religious institutions can claim real autonomy from the state. But the states have provided substantial resources and space to the institutions of Sunni Islam (and Ibadi Islam in Oman), while at the same time shutting down the space - both physical and metaphorical - accorded to other social organizations. In this space people can meet, discuss and organize, even for purposes not sanctioned by the state. The extensive religious bureaucracy in Saudi Arabia has developed "fringes" around which regime opponents like Juhayman al-'Utaybi in the 1970's could cluster. It has provided positions to 'ulama like al-Hawali and al-'Awda, from which they could propagate their political views and gather a following. The Saudi Islamic universities, which in 1996 enrolled 38% of the university students in the Kingdom, are places where students and professors can share ideas and develop networks that could have political relevance (Figure calculated from Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Planning, Central Department of *Statistics Statistical Yearbook - 1416 A.H./1996 A.D.*, Tables 2-25 through 2-31).

The regimes realize that their tolerance, even encouragement, of religious "institution building" now presents a potential political risk. They have moved to reassert control over the realm of religion. In October 1994 King Fahd appointed a new committee, including senior members of the Al Saud family and secularist technocrats, to supervise Islamic activities in the Kingdom. He had earlier replaced a number of members of the Higher Committee of 'Ulama who had refused to condemn the highly critical "Memorandum of Advice" circulated in Islamist circles in the Kingdom in the summer-fall of 1992. In Oman in the summer of 1994 over 200 people implicated in a plot organized by the Muslim Brotherhood to overthrow the Omani government were arrested. Whether there was actually a "plot" is a matter of speculation, given that the Sultan later pardoned all those involved. But the move was clearly aimed at rolling up the Brotherhood organization in the Sultanate (Abdallah 1995). In April 1996 Bahrain appointed a new council to oversee Islamic activities and institutions, both Shi'i and Sunni, in the state. The Bahrain Freedom Movement immediately branded the new council an unconstitutional effort to further suppress freedom of speech and thought (Reuters [on-line], April 24, 1996; Bahrain Freedom Movement statement, via e-mail, April 26, 1996).

While the states now recognize the oppositional potential that institutional and financial resources provide to Islamists, they cannot treat Islamic institutions the way they treated Arab nationalist groups in earlier decades. Because Islam is part and parcel of the legitimation strategies of these regimes, they must support, and be seen to support, Islamic institutions. They can try to control these institutions more efficiently, but they cannot simply disband them or drive them underground.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

B) Violent or Non-violent Opposition?

The attacks on American facilities in Saudi Arabia in November 1995 and June 1996 focused international media attention on the potential for the growth of violent Islamist opposition to the Gulf monarchical regimes. But Islamist organizations in Kuwait peacefully contested the parliamentary elections of 1992, 1996 and 1999. Shi'i Islamist protesters in Bahrain engaged in sporadic acts of violence during the Bahraini *intifada* of the mid-1990's, but the opposition campaign there was noticeable for its restraint in the face of government violence against it. These differences can be attributed, in part, to variations in state policy and state-society relations in these states. Where the regimes refuse to permit organized political life, Islamist opposition is more likely to become violent. Where political participation is channeled into real representative institutions, Islamist opposition, by and large, plays by the rules. This distinction is hardly perfect. Shi'i groups in Kuwait were responsible for violent attacks in the mid-1980's, when the parliament was still open, as was mentioned above. However, there seems to be a significant correspondence between violence by Islamist oppositions and state refusal to countenance open political life.

But even within that general framework there are different manifestations of Islamist oppositional positions toward violence. In neither Bahrain nor Saudi Arabia are Islamist groups permitted institutionalized access to the political process. One would expect violence in both places, and there has been some. In Saudi Arabia Sunni Islamists have resorted to violence (the Riyad bombing of November 1995); Shi'i Islamists have been accused of the same tactics (the al-Khobar bombing of June 1996). However, the bulk of the Sunni opposition has limited its activities to petition writing and the rare public demonstration (as in Burayda in 1994, that led to a number of arrests). Even those activities have fallen off with the government crackdown that began at that time. Shi'i activists came to an understanding with the government in 1993 that seems to have moderated discontent among the vast majority of the Saudi Shi'a. Smaller groups have gone underground and adopted violent tactics, but the combination of government force and negotiation seems to have neutralized most of the Saudi Islamist opposition, at least for now.

In Bahrain the major Islamist group, the Bahrain Freedom Movement, formally eschews violence. It calls not for the downfall of the regime, but for the restoration of the constitution and parliamentary life. The BFM blames most of the public disturbances in the country on the provocations of the security forces, and advocates peaceful change within the existing political system. The government accuses it of providing a cover for violent opposition (including those arrested in the alleged Iranian-supported coup plot of June 1996).

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

However, the duration of the civil disobedience/disturbance campaign in Bahrain, which began in late 1994 and finally tapered off in 1997 and 1998, and the relatively low level of violence (far less than 100 deaths, most at the hands of the authorities), indicates that violence is not the preferred technique of the mainstream Shi'i opposition. Notably, not one attack was launched against the headquarters of the American Fifth Fleet nor against any American military personnel in the country. This might be a tactical choice: too much violence could alienate potential Sunni allies in Bahraini society, and could lead to more direct Saudi and American involvement in Bahrain to support the regime. However, the strength of that commitment over so long a period is quite remarkable, and more easily explained as a principled choice of a disciplined movement.

C) Major Islamist Political Groups

Saudi Arabia:
The public face of the Saudi Islamist opposition resides in London. The original "Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights" suffered a serious blow in March 1996, when its two founders had a serious falling out. Muhammad al-Mas'ari continues to head a group with the original name (internet address: http://www. cdlr.net), though his activities have been severely curtailed by financial problems in recent years. The current manifestation of the CDLR website has little if any content. Sa'd al-Faqih has established his own organization, the Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (internet address: http://www.miraserve.com). MIRA's website contains more updated postings, in both English and Arabic. (The best source on these two organizations is Fandy 1999b.)

al-Mas'ari's group has tended to take more extreme positions, now openly calling for the overthrow of the Saudi regime when at the outset it merely called for its reform. The regime linked the four perpetrators of the Riyad bombing, who were executed shortly thereafter, with al-Mas'ari's group. al-Faqih's group has maintained a more moderate public agenda. While severely criticizing the failings of the Saudi regime, it contends that the preferred path is reform of the existing system. It is extremely difficult to tell what kind of following each has within Saudi Arabia itself. It is clear that both are known and that their messages get to people in the Kingdom. It is also clear that they are sympathetic with domestic Islamists, but the organizational links between inside and outside remain murky.

The other major Saudi opposition figure headquartered outside the country is Usama bin Laden. The scion of a wealthy Saudi merchant family, bin Ladin was active in the Afghan resistance and returned from that experience

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

committed to changing "un-Islamic" governments in the region, including his own. In April 1994 he was stripped of his Saudi citizenship, effectively deporting him. He resided subsequently in Sudan, until, with Sudan under international pressure to expel him, he moved back to Afghanistan, from which he has given interviews to Western reporters. Bin Laden has openly called for the overthrow of the regime and for attacks on American military personnel in Saudi Arabia (Fandy 1999b). His original group, *hay'at al-nasiha wa al-'islah* (The Committee of Advice and Reform), operated for some time from London, sending faxes. Since the bombings of the American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in August 1998, bin Laden has been identified by the United States as the head of an amorphous international Islamist network aimed at attacking American interests around the world. It is interesting to note, however, that bin Laden's organization seems unable to conduct any operations in Saudi Arabia or other Gulf states.

It is difficult to identify organized Islamist groups within Saudi Arabia itself. Various groups ("Battalions of Faith," "Islamic Change Movement-Jihad wing," "Legion of the Martyr Abdallah al-Hudhayif," "Hizballah of the Hijaz," "Hizballah-Gulf") announce themselves to the media in faxes and telephone calls, but then disappear from sight. It is better to speak of Islamist movements. The most prominent is the one associated with the salafi activists al-'Awda and al-Hawali who were arrested in 1994 and released in 1999. Both have been very critical of the Saudi regime and its policies, but neither have called for the regime's overthrow or for violence against it. It is clear that they are linked ideologically with those who were executed for the Riyad bombing - all criticize the Saudi regime for straying from the straight path of Islamic rule and for relying upon the United States for protection. The extent of any actual organizational links cannot be determined from public evidence.

The best statement of the *salafi* opposition agenda in Saudi Arabia remains the 1992 "Memorandum of Advice," a detailed, 46-page indictment of every aspect of current Saudi policy that was signed by over 100 activists. It takes the regime to task for straying from its own ideals - a pristine and puritanical form of *shari'a*-based government inspired by the Hanbali *madhdhab* as interpreted by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and his intellectual successors. The Memorandum is harshly critical of corruption in the government; of Saudi military weakness that led to the introduction of American and other foreign forces into the Kingdom in the Gulf crisis; of an economic system that relies on interest and that overburdens the people with taxes and fees (!); of Saudi foreign policy that follows the American line on everything, even dealing with Israel; of government interference in the affairs of the 'ulama and Islamic judicial institutions; of Saudi oil policy that overproduces the country's

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO EUROPEO BIBLIOTECA

limited asset to please the United States (Gause 1994; Dekmejian 1994; Fandy 1999b; Okruhlik 1999).

It is difficult to determine the extent of organizational links among these various groups and tendencies, but it is clear that they share a common ideological orientation. Whether they have crossed the line and openly called for the overthrow of the Al Sa'ud, or whether they maintain a stance that reform of the existing system is still possible, it is clear that in a domestic political crisis these various groups would coalesce against the regime and its policy of close ties to the United States.

We must note another Islamist political trend in Saudi Arabia, in the Saudi Shi'i community (the best account of which is Fandy 1996, supplemented in Fandy 1999b). Like the Sunni *salafi* trend, it has had both its "outside" and its "inside" manifestations, with the outsiders located both in the West and in Teheran. The mainstream of the movement, recognizing their minority status and the hostility borne toward them by many in the Sunni *salafi* opposition, have argued for reforms within the existing system that would guarantee them equality. This was the message of the Shi'i petition addressed to King Fahd in 1991 (Gause 1994: 97-98), and of the reconciliation between the government and Shi'i figures from both the "inside" and the "outside" in 1993.

Since the al-Khobar bombing in June 1996 there has been speculation that Saudi Shi'is, a Saudi "Hizballah" linked to Iran and committed to the overthrow of the Al Sa'ud and the removal of the United States from the region, were responsible. With the collapse of the U.S. court case against Hani 'Abd al-Rahim Sayigh, it is unlikely that we will be receiving much information on this topic for some time. It is not impossible that such an organization exists, and that it has links to people in Iran. However, it appears that the overwhelmingly dominant strain of opinion within the Saudi Shi'i community is of the reformist, not the violent, stripe.

Bahrain:

The organizational arm of the Shi'i opposition in Bahrain that is best known in the West is the Bahrain Freedom Movement. It is located in London and headed by Mansour al-Jamri, the son of Shi'i religious leaders Abd al-Amir al-Jamri whom the Bahraini regime jailed in early 1996 and released to house arrest in 1999 (internet address: http:/www.vob.org). In Arabic the group's name is the Islamic Liberation Movement of Bahrain (harakat ahrar al-bahrayn al-'islamiyya). It previously published a printed monthly newsletter in Arabic and English entitled "Voice of Bahrain" (the Arabic version is subtitled: "The voice of the Islamic movement in Bahrain"), though now its publications are exclusively on-line. The group is very active in disseminating high-quality

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository. © The Author(s). European University Institute.

information via e-mail and the Internet, and issues almost daily e-mail updates on events related to Bahrain. In neither its English nor its Arabic publications has the Bahrain Freedom Movement advocated the violent overthrow of the government or the establishment of an Islamic republic in Bahrain. Its constant stress is the restoration of the Bahraini constitution and the elected parliament. The Bahraini government escalated its campaign against the BFM by issuing an arrest warrant for Mansour al-Jamri in 1997 (*al-Hayat*, October 2, 1997, p. 4). It remains to be seen whether Amir Hamad bin 'Isa Al-Khalifa, who came to power upon his father's death in March 1999 and has made some well publicized overtures to the Bahraini Shi'i community, will initiate a dialogue with the BFM.

The Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, headquartered in Iran from the early days of the Iranian Revolution, is seen as the group behind the abortive 1981 coup attempt in Bahrain. It still functions, occasionally issuing joint statements with the BFM but maintaining its own organizational autonomy. Unlike the BFM, it does not shy away from calling for a change of regime in Manama. It is difficult to tell, in the closed political atmosphere of Bahrain, which of these two groups more accurately reflects the sentiments of Bahrain's Shi'i majority (the best recent account of Bahraini opposition politics is Bahry 1997).

The Muslim Brotherhood operates in Bahrain, and one of the foremost public figures calling for the restoration of constitutional government in Bahrain in the immediate post-Gulf War period was a Sunni 'alim who seemed to be close to the Brotherhood ideological line. However, it has not allied itself in a public way with the Shi'i groups mentioned above.

Kuwait:

In the Kuwaiti parliamentary elections of 1992, three Islamist groups fielded candidates. While political parties are formally illegal, these groups (and other groups with more secular platforms) behaved as parties do - endorsing candidates, publishing platforms, conducting informational campaigns. The Islamic Constitutional Movement, representing the Kuwaiti Muslim Brotherhood, won four seats of the 50 seats. The Popular Islamic Alignment, representing the Wahhabi-*salafi* movement, won three seats. Eight independent candidates endorsed by either one or both of these Sunni Muslim groups also were elected. The National Islamic Coalition, a Shi'i group, won three seats (Gause 1994: 101-05). In the 1996 elections the Islamic Constitutional Movement won two seats; the Popular Islamic Alignment won four seats; six independent Islamists endorsed by either or both of those groups won seats; the National Islamic Coalition won three seats (*al-Hayat*, October 9, 1997, p. 18). In the 1999 elections, candidates formally affiliated with these groups and

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

independent Islamists combined took about 20 seats (personal communications with Kuwaiti political observers).

It would be a mistake to see these organizations as a monolithic "Islamic bloc." The Sunni groups did not cooperate with the Shi'i Islamists in the 1992 elections; observers speculated that some Shi'i voters with Islamist leanings supported more secularist candidates in districts where Sunni Islamists looked to be strong. The two Sunni groups also competed against each other. One Kuwaiti analyst, after reviewing vote totals in each constituency, wrote that five more Islamic Constitutional Movement candidates would have won in 1992 had there been district-level cooperation with the Popular Islamic Alignment.

While the largest single ideological trend in the Kuwaiti parliament, and sharing a similar commitment to the full implementation of the shari'a in Kuwait, the Islamists have not been particularly successful in seeing specifically "Islamic" goals written into legislation during past parliaments, with the exception of issues regarding gender. For example, they were able to pass legislation requiring that both public and private universities in Kuwait be segregated by gender, though the legislation has not yet been implemented at Kuwait University. They were also able to overturn the Amiri decree of 1999, issued in the period between the suspension of the previous parliament and the 1999 elections, giving Kuwaiti women the right to vote and to run for office (*al-Hayat,* December 1, 1999, pp. 1, 6).

Unlike Islamist opposition groups in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, the Kuwaiti political tendencies make little if any effort to appeal to people outside of Kuwait. Able to operate openly and contest for parliamentary seats at home, they see little reason to try to mobilize international opinion to pressure the Kuwaiti government. All play within the rules of the system, accepting the rule of the Al Sabah as long as the family for its part respects the Constitution. None calls for the end of the strong security link forged between Kuwait and the United States during the Gulf War, both out of conviction of the need for US support against Iraq and because such a stand would be a sure vote-loser at the polls.

During the Iran-Iraq War, more violent Shi'i opposition manifested itself. It was undoubtedly tied to and encouraged by the Iranian government, which was seeking to punish Kuwait for its support for Iraq during that war. Since the end of that war and the restoration of good relations between the Kuwaiti and Iranian governments, there have been no acts of violence against the Kuwaiti regime from domestic Shi'i opposition groups.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

Qatar, the UAE and Oman:
In none of these countries have Islamist political groups emerged on the public scene. In Oman we have the case of the government moves in 1994 against an alleged Muslim Brotherhood network in the country, but no evidence of any public activity (or clandestine activity later claimed publicly) by Islamist opposition. The most active Islamist organization in Oman is Jami'at al-Tabligh, which had its origins in the Muslim community in India and has eschewed any overt political agenda (at least so far) in Oman. One hears talk in both the UAE and Qatar of ideological tendencies sympathetic with either *salafi* or Muslim Brotherhood style of Islamist political opposition. However, in neither case have such tendencies reached an organizational level that they have appeared on the public scene.

III. Can the Islamist Opposition Movements Succeed?

This depends upon the meaning of "success." If it means slowly drawing the existing governments more closely to their preferred positions, then success is certainly possible. If it means using the protected public space provided by Gulf governments to proselytize politically and organize support for their goals within society, then they are increasingly successful all the time. If it means overthrowing the existing regimes, then success is most unlikely in the foreseeable future. Despite their problems the Gulf monarchies have considerable resources - financial, ideological and coercive - at their disposal. None of the opposition groups have been able to mobilize people into the streets in sustained confrontations with the police and army in an effort to bring down the regimes. Even in Bahrain, confrontations are episodic and uncoordinated.

But that is not a reason to write the Islamist opposition movements off. As we learned from the example of the Communist governments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, people are adept at hiding their political preferences from police state governments. When a crisis comes and the grip of the government seems loosened, and people feel free to express their preferences publicly, outside observers can get quite a surprise. What kinds of circumstances might lead to such an outcome in the Gulf states? The obvious weakening of central coercive authority. The most likely scenario in which that might occur is a succession crisis, in which various contenders in the ruling family appeal for support within society.

F. Gregory Gause, III
Associate Professor of Political Science
University of Vermont

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

References

Abdallah, Abd al-Khaliq, Taha Husayn Hassan, and Rashid Muhammad Rashid. 1995. *al-mujtama' al-madani fi al-imarat al-'arabiyya al-mutahida* [Civil Society in the United Arab Emirates]. Sharja: The Sociologists Association and Cairo: Dar Ibn Khaldun.

Abdallah, Salem. September 1995. *Omani Islamism: An Unexpected Confrontation with the Government*, Occasional Papers #8. Annandale, Virginia: United Association for Studies and Research.

Alterman, Jon B. 2000. "The Middle East's Information Revolution." *Current History*. Vol. 99, No. 633.

Anderson, Lisa. 1997. "Fulfilling Prophecies: State Policy and Islamist Radicalism." in John L. Esposito, ed. *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism or Reform?* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

------. 1987. "Lawless Government and Illegal Opposition: Reflections on the Middle East." *Journal of International Affairs*. Vol. 40, No. 1.

Al-Rasheed, Madawi. 1996. "Saudi Arabia's Islamic Opposition." *Current History*. Vol. 95, No. 597.

Al-Rasheed, Madawi and Loulouwa Al-Rasheed. 1996. "The Politics of Encapsulation: Saudi Policy towards Tribal and Religious Opposition." *Middle Eastern Studies*. Vol. 32, No. 1.

Bahry, Louay. 1997. "The Opposition in Bahrain: A Bellweather for the Gulf?" *Middle East Policy*. Vol. 5, No. 2.

Beblawi, Hazem and Giacomo Luciani, eds. 1987. *The Rentier State*. London: Croom Helm.

Bonine, Michael E. 1997. "Population, Poverty and Politics: Contemporary Middle East Cities in Crisis." in Michael E. Bonine, ed. *Population, Poverty and Politics in Middle East Cities*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Chaudhry, Kiren Aziz. 1997. *The Price of Wealth: Economies and Institutions in the Middle East*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository. © The Author(s). European University Institute.

-------. 1992. "Economic Liberalization in Oil-Exporting Countries: Iraq and Saudi Arabia," in Iliya Harik and Denis Sullivan (eds.), *Privatization and Liberalization in the Middle East*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

-----. 1989. "The Price of Wealth: Business and State in Labor Remittance and Oil Economies," *International Organization*, Vol. 43, No. 1.

Crystal, Jill. 1990. *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dekmejian, R. Hrair. 1994. "The Rise of Political Islamism in Saudi Arabia." *Middle East Journal*. Vol. 48, No. 4.

Elmusa, Sharif S. 1997. "Faust without the Devil? The Interplay of Technology and Culture in Saudi Arabia." *Middle East Journal*. Vol. 51, No. 3.

Esposito, John L. 1997. "Political Islam and Gulf Security." in John L. Esposito, ed. *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism or Reform?* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Fandy, Mamoun. 1999a. "CyberResistance: Saudi Opposition Between Globalization and Localization." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol. 41, No. 1.

------. 1999b. *Saudi Arabia and the Politics of Dissent*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

------. 1996. "From Confrontation to Creative Resistance: The Shia's Oppositional Discourse in Saudi Arabia." *Critique*. Fall 1996.

Gause, F. Gregory, III. 2000. "Saudi Arabia Over a Barrel." *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 79, No. 3.

-----. 1997a. "The Gulf Conundrum: Economic Change, Population Growth and Political Stability in the GCC States." *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 20, No. 1.

----- . 1997b. "The Political Economy of National Security in the GCC States." in Gary Sick and Lawrence Potter, eds. *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economy, Security, and Religion*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

-----. 1994. *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

Ghabra, Shafeeq. 1997. "Kuwait and the Dynamics of Socio-economic Change." *Middle East Journal.* Vol. 51, No. 3.

-------. 1995. *al-kuwayt: dirasa fi 'aliat al-dawla al-qatriyya wa al-sulta wa al-mujtama'* [Kuwait: A Study in the Mechanisms of a Regional State, Political Power and Society]. Cairo: Markaz Ibn Khaldun and Dar Al-Amin lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzi'.

-------. 1991. "Voluntary Associations in Kuwait: The Foundations of a New System?" *Middle East Journal* 45: 199-215.

al-Hawali, Safar bin 'Abd al-Rahman. 1991. *haqa'iq hawl 'azmat al-khalij* [Truths about the Gulf Crisis]. Mecca: Dar Mecca al-Mukarrama.

Karl, Terry. 1997. *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kostiner, Joseph. 1987. "Shi'i Unrest in the Gulf." in Martin Kramer, ed. *Shi'ism, Resistance and Revolution.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Krimly, Rayed Khalid. 1993. "The Political Economy of Rentier States: A Case Study of Saudi Arabia in the Oil Era, 1950-1990." unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University.

Long, David. 1990. "The Impact of the Iranian Revolution on the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf States." in John L. Esposito, ed. *The Iranian Revolution: Its Global Impact.* Miami: Florida International University Press.

al-Naqeeb, Khaldoun Hasan. 1987. *al-mujtama' wa al-dawla fi al-khalij wa al-jazira al-'arabiyya* [Society and State in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula]. Beirut: Markaz Dirasat al-Wahda al-ᶜArabiyya.

Okruhlik, Gwenn. 1999. "Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law and the Rise of Opposition: The Political Economy of Oil States." *Comparative Politics.* Vol. 31, No. 3.

Population Reference Bureau. 2000. *2000 World Population Data Sheet.* Washington, D.C. www.prb.org/pubs/wpds2000.

Ramazani, R.K. 1986. *Revolutionary Iran: Challenge and Response in the Middle East.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

al-Rifa'i, Mahmud. 1995. *al-mashru' al-'islahi fi al-sa'udiyya: qisat al-hawali wa al-'awda* [The Reform Program in Saudi Arabia: The Story of al-Hawali and al-'Awda]. Washington: np.

Shambayati, Hootan. 1994. "The Rentier State, Interest Groups and the Paradox of Autonomy: State and Business in Turkey and Iran." *Comparative Politics* 26: 307-331.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). 1997. *Statistical Yearbook 1996.* Lanham, Maryland: Berman Press.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

EUI WORKING PAPERS

EUI Working Papers are published and distributed by the
European University Institute, Florence

Copies can be obtained free of charge
- depending on the availability of stocks - from:

The Publications Officer
European University Instiute
Badia Fiesolana
I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

Please use order form overleaf

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

Publications of the European University Institute

To The Publications Officer
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI) - Italy
Fax: +39-055-4685 636
e-mail: publish@datacomm.iue.it
http://www.iue.it

From Name ....

Address ....

....

....

....

....

❑ Please send me a complete list of EUI Working Papers
❑ Please send me a complete list of EUI book publications
❑ Please send me the EUI brochure Academic Year 2001/2002

Please send me the following EUI Working Paper(s):

Dept, n°, author ....

Title: ....

Dept, n°, author ....

Title: ....

Dept, n°, author ....

Title: ....

Dept, n°, author ....

Title: ....

Date ....

Signature ....

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

Working Papers of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

Published since 1999

RSC No. 99/1
Giorgia GIOVANNETTI
EMU and the Mediterranean Area

RSC No. 99/2
Carol HARLOW
Citizen Access to Political Power in the European Union

RSC No. 99/3
Francesca BIGNAMI
Accountability and Interest Group Participation in Comitology

RSC No. 99/4
Mette ZØLNER
Re-Imagining the Nation

RSC No. 99/5
Walter MATTLI
Fora of International Commercial Dispute Resolution for Private Parties

RSC No. 99/6
Christoph U. SCHMID
Ways Out of the Maquis Communautaire – On Simplification and Consolidation and the Need for a Restatement of European Primary Law

RSC No. 99/7
Salvatore PITRUZZELLO
Political Business Cycles and Independent Central Banks. German Governments and the Bundesbank (1960-1989)

RSC No. 99/8
Veronika TACKE
Organisational Constructions of the BSE Problem. A Systems Theoretical Case Study on the Globalisation of Risk

RSC No. 99/9
Robert SPRINGBORG
Political Structural Adjustment in Egypt: A Precondition for Rapid Economic Growth?

RSC No. 99/10
Rebecca Jean EMIGH/Eva FODOR/Iván SZELÉNYI
The Racialization and Feminization of Poverty During the Market Transition in the Central and Southern Europe

RSC 99/11
John GOULD
Winners, Losers and the Institutional Effects of Privatization in the Czech and Slovak Republics

RSC 99/12
Heather GRABBE
A Partnership for Accession? The Implications of EU Conditionality for the Central and East European Applicants

RSC 99/13
Tibor PAPP
Who is In, Who is Out? Citizenship, Nationhood, Democracy, and European Integration in the Czech Republic and Slovakia

RSC 99/14
Karin FIERKE/Antje WIENER
Constructing Institutional Interests: EU and NATO Enlargement

RSC 99/15
Jarko FIDRMUC
The Political Economy of Restructuring of East-West Trade: Economic Winners and Losers in the CEECs and EU

RSC 99/16
Tanja A. BÖRZEL
Why there is No Southern Problem. On Environmental Leaders and Laggards in the European Union

RSC 99/17
Markus HAVERLAND
National Adaptation to European Integration: The Importance of Institutional Veto Points

*out of print

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

RSC 99/18
Sabrina TESOKA
The Differential Impact of Judicial Politics in the Field of Gender Equality. Three National Cases under Scrutiny

RSC 99/19
Martin MARCUSSEN
The Power of EMU-Ideas: Reforming Central Banks in Great Britain, France, and Sweden

RSC 99/20
Yannis PAPADOPOULOS
Gouvernance, coordination et légitimité dans les politiques publiques

RSC 99/21
Anne BAZIN
Germany and the Enlargement of the European Union to the Czech Republic

RSC 99/22
Mark THATCHER
The Europeanisation of Regulation. The Case of Telecommunications

RSC 99/23
Daniel C. THOMAS
Boomerangs and Superpowers: The "Helsinki Network" and Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy

RSC 99/24
Giuseppe BERTOLA
Labor Markets in the European Union

RSC 99/25
Grigorii V. GOLOSOV/Edward PONARIN
Regional Bases of Party Politics: A Measure and Its Implications for the Study of Party System Consolidation in New Democracies

RSC 99/26
Fritz BREUSS/Andrea WEBER
Economic Policy Coordination in the EMU: Implications for the Stability and Growth Pact?

RSC 99/27
Thomas MAYER
The ECB's Policy: The View from the Market

RSC 99/28
Arnold J. HEIDENHEIMER
Political Parties and Political Corruption in Comparative Historical Perspective

RSC 99/29
Luís Manuel MACEDO PINTO DE SOUSA
Corruption and Parties in Portugal

RSC 99/30
Jean CARTIER-BRESSON
Corruption et partis politiques en France sous la Ve République: une première réflexion sur la relation entre les financements occultes et l'enrichissement

RSC 99/31
Giovanna ZINCONE
Citizenship: Between State and Society

RSC 99/32
Adrian FAVELL/Andrew GEDDES
European Integration, Immigration and the Nation State: Institutionalising Transnational Political Action?

RSC 99/33
Jonathan ZEITLIN
Americanization and Its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Postwar Europe and Japan

RSC 99/34
Gerda FALKNER
Interest Groups in a Multi-level Polity: The Impact of European Integration on National Systems

RSC 99/35
David R. CAMERON
Unemployment in the New Europe: The Contours of the Problem

* * *

RSC 2000/1
Gunnar TRUMBULL
Contested Ideas of the Consumer: National Strategies of Product arket Regulation in France and Germany

RSC 2000/2
Jacques MÉLITZ/Frédéric ZUMER
Interregional and International Risk Sharing and Lessons for EMU

RSC 2000/3
David D. LAITIN
Culture and National Identity: "The East" and European Integration

*out of print

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

RSC 2000/4
Bruno DE WITTE
Politics Versus Law in the EU's Approach to Ethnic Minorities

RSC 2000/5
Imco BROUWER
US Civil-Society Assistance to the Arab World - The Cases of Egypt and Palestine

RSC 2000/6
Rainer EISING/Nicolas JABKO
Moving Targets: Institutional Embeddedness and Domestic Politics in the Liberalization of EU Electricity Markets

RSC 2000/7
Sandra LAVENEX
Security Threat or Human Right? Conflicting Frames in the Eastern Enlargement of the EU Asylum and Immigration Policies

RSC 2000/8
Malcolm ANDERSON
Border Regimes and Security in an Enlarged European Community: Implications of the Entry into Force of the Amsterdam Treaty

RSC 2000/9
Eberhard BORT
Illegal Migration and Cross-Border Crime: Challenges at the Eastern Frontier of the European Union

RSC 2000/10
Peter BUGGE
Czech Perceptions of the Perspective of EU Membership: Havel vs. Klaus

RSC 2000/11
George W. BRESLAUER
Russia, the Baltic States, and East-West Relations in Europe

RSC 2000/12
Rachel A. CICHOWSKI
Choosing Democracy: Citizen Attitudes and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union

RSC 2000/13
Romain GARBAYE
Ethnic Minorities, Cities, and Institutions: A Comparison of the Modes of Management of Ethnic Diversity of a French and a British City

RSC 2000/14
Nils BJÖRKSTEN/Miika SYRJÄNEN
How Problematic are Internal Euro Area Differences?

RSC 2000/15
Fiona ROSS
Framing Welfare Reform in Affluent Societies: Rendering Retrenchment More Palatable?

RSC 2000/16
Antoin E. MURPHY
The 'Celtic Tiger' - An Analysis of Ireland's Economic Growth Performance

RSC 2000/17
Claus D. EHLERMANN
The Modernization of EC Antitrust Policy - A Legal and Cultural Revolution

RSC 2000/18
Stefano ALLIEVI
Nouveaux protagonistes de l'islam européen - Naissance d'une culture euro-islamique? Le rôle des convertis

RSC 2000/19
Ewa MORAWSKA
Transnational Migrations in the Enlarged European Union: A Perspective from East Central Europe

RSC 2000/20
Lykke FRIIS/Anna MURPHY
Negotiating in a Time of Crisis: The EU's Response to the Military Conflict in Kosovo

RSC 2000/21
Sevket PAMUK
Turkey's Response to the Great Depression in Comparative Perspective, 1929-1939

RSC 2000/22
Martin VAN BRUINESSEN
Transnational Aspects of the Kurdish Question

RSC 2000/23
Stephen CLARKSON
"Apples and Oranges". Prospects for the Comparative Analysis of the EU and NAFTA as Continental Systems

RSC 2000/24
Umit CIZRE
Politics and Military in Turkey into the 21st Century

*out of print

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

RSC 2000/25
Michelle CINI
Organizational Culture and Reform: The Case of the European Commission under Jacques Santer

RSC 2000/26
Rainer EISING
Bounded Rationality and Policy Learning in EU Negotiations: The Liberalization of the Electricity Supply Industry

RSC 2000/27
Carsten DETKEN/Philipp HARTMANN
The Euro and International Capital Markets

RSC 2000/28 - Michael J. ARTIS/ Marco BUTI
"Close to Balance or in Surplus" - A Policy Maker's Guide to the Implementation of the Stability and Growth Pact

RSC 2000/29
Daniel VAUGHAN-WHITEHEAD
Economic and Social Gaps, New Hidden Borders in the Enlarged Europe?

RSC 2000/30
Christopher HILL
The Geo-political Implications of Enlargement

RSC 2000/31
Lieven DE WINTER
Political Corruption in the Belgian Partitocracy: (Still) a Endemic Disease?

RSC 2000/32
Andrew MARTIN
Social Pacts, Unemployment, and EMU Macroeconomic Policy

RSC 2000/33
Massimo MOTTA
Economic Analysis and EC Merger Policy

RSC 2000/34
Lars-Erik CEDERMAN
Nationalism and Bounded Integration: What It Would Take to Construct a European Demos

RSC 2000/35
Michelle CINI
From Soft Law to Hard Law?: Discretion and Rule-making in the Commission's State Aid Regime

RSC 2000/36
Ronald L. JEPPERSON
Institutional Logics: On the Constitutive Dimensions of the Modern Nation-State Polities

RSC 2000/37
Michael FUNKE
Macroeconomic Shocks in Euroland Vs. the UK: Supply, Demand, or Nominal?

RSC 2000/38
Michael J. ARTIS/Michael EHRMANN
The Exchange Rate - A Shock-Absorber or Source of Shocks? A Study of Four Open Economies

RSC 2000/39
Catherine PERRON
Views of Czech Local Politicians on European Integration

RSC 2000/40
Jekaterina DORODNOVA
EU Concerns in Estonia and Latvia: Implications of Enlargement for Russia's Behaviour Towards the Russian-speaking Minorities

RSC 2000/41
Ramunas VILPISAUSKAS
Regional Integration in Europe: Analyzing Intra-Baltic Economic Cooperation in the Context of European Integration

RSC 2000/42
Susan SENIOR NELLO
The Role of Agricultural Cooperatives in the European Union: A Strategy for Cypriot Accession?

RSC 2000/43
Michael KEATING
Rethinking the Region. Culture, Institutions and Economic Development in Catalonia and Galicia

RSC 2000/44
Sidney TARROW
Transnational Contention

RSC 2000/45
Dietrich JUNG
State Formation and War: The Case of Palestine

*out of print

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.
© The Author(s). European University Institute.

RSC 2000/46
Jens STEFFEK
The Power of Rational Discourse and the Legitimacy of International Governance

RSC 2000/47
Kris DESCHOUWER
The European Multi-Level Party Systems: Towards a Framework for Analysis

RSC 2000/48
Didier CHABANET
Quand les 'Sans' se mobilisent: les Marches européennes contre le chômage, la précarité et les exclusions

RSC 2000/49
Carolyn Marie DUDEK
Can the European Union Influence the Functioning of Regional Governments?

RSC 2000/50
János Mátyás KOVÁCS
Approaching the EU and Reaching the US? Transforming Welfare Regimes in East-Central Europe

RSC 2000/51
Ellen VOS
European Administrative Reform and Agencies

RSC 2000/52
Nils BJÖRKSTEN
Economic Cathcing Up in the Enlarged Euro Area: Implications for the Common Monetary Policy

RSC 2000/53
William B. QUANDT
Algerian Puzzles

RSC 2000/54
Ania KROK-PASZKOWSKA/
Jan ZIELONKA
The EU's Next Big Enlargement: Empirical Data on the Candidates' Perceptions

RSC 2000/55
Mark A. POLLACK
International Relations Theory and European Integration

RSC 2000/56
Tanja A. BÖRZEL/Thomas RISSE
When Europe Hits Home: Europeanization and Domestic Change

RSC 2000/57
John L. ESPOSITO
Islam and Civil Society

RSC 2000/58
Vitalis NAKROSIS
Assessing Governmental Capabilities to Manage European Affairs: The Case of Lithuania

RSC 2000/59
Vello PETTAI
Estonia's Constitutional Review Mechanisms: A Guarantor of Democratic Consolidation?

RSC 2000/60
Donatella DELLA PORTA
Political Parties and Corruption: 17 Hypotheses on the Interactions Between Parties and Corruption

RSC 2000/61
F. Gregory GAUSE
Political Opposition in the Gulf Monarchies

*out of print

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

© The Author(s). European University Institute.
Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.