

(-)

/

·
·

The University Of Jordan
Authorization Form

I, **Muhammad Taha El-Zyoud**, Authorize The University Of Jordan To Supply
Copies Of My Thesis/ Dissertation To Libraries Or Establishments Or Individuals On
Request.

Signature:

Date:

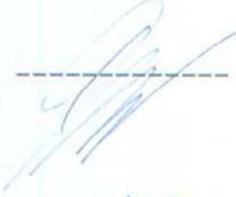
ب

قرار لجنة المناقشة

نوقشت هذه الرسالة (مستقبل أمن الخليج والمتغيرات الإقليمية في الشرق الأوسط
٢٠٠٣-٢٠٠٦) وأجيزت بتاريخ ٢٢ / ٧ / ٢٠٠٧ م.

التوقيع

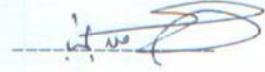
أعضاء لجنة المناقشة



الدكتور زياب مخادمة، مشرفاً
أستاذ مساعد قضايا شرق أوسطية



الدكتور فيصل الرفوع، عضواً
أستاذ علاقات دولية.



الدكتور حسن محمد المومني، عضواً
أستاذ مساعد علاقات دولية.



الدكتور محمد حمد القطاطشة، عضواً
أستاذ مساعد نظم سياسية. (جامعة مؤتة).

الدراسات العليا
سنة من الرسالة
التاريخ.....

..

...

...

/

إلى.....

شكر وتقدير

-

...

..

..

..

- (-) :
: 1
:

(Proxy war)

:

:

-)

-

:

:

:()

:()

(

:

:

()

::

:

:

:

:

-

.()

()

()

()

(If - Then) -

.() ()

.()

(...)

)

: -

.(-)

.() , , ()

()

()

:"

()"

()"

()

()

(empirically)

()

()Buzan, B.(1988). People, States and Fear, 1st Reprint, New Delhi, Transasia Publishers, PP. 18-20.

()Ibid, P.21.

()Ibid, P.4.

()

()

()

()

()

:

:

()

:

:

.

(

(

()

(

()

:

.

()

::

:

()

:

(

(

(

" "

()

()

()

()Perthes, V.(2004). America's "Greater Middle East" and Europe: Key Issues For Dialogue, Middle East Policy, Vol. XI, No.3, P.88.

()Ibid, P88.

()

(Prospective Analysis)

(Scenario)

- :

()

()

()

(IF-Then)

()

:

:

:

:

:

:

:

:

()

()

:

-

:

:

:

...

.

.

() www.iugazza.edu/staff/staffweb/files/506/docs.10/6/2007.

() Ibid.

:
" : ()
.(-)

"

" ()

"

)

)

(...)

(

-

:" () " ()
.(-) .(

:

()

- ()
-) "

. - (

:

:Kahwaji. R(2004)

US-Arab Cooperation in the Gulf, Are Both Sides working From the Same Script? Middle East Policy, Vol. X1-No3-P. 52-62.

:Kraig, M.(2004)

**Assessing Alternative Security Frame works For the Persian Gulf” Middle “
East Policy, Vol. X1, No3, P.139-156.**

:Pollack, K.(2003)

Pollack, K.(2003). Securing The Gulf, Foreign Affairs, Vol.82, Issue2, From
Ebscohost Research Data Bases.

" " " "

"

()

:

/

.

()

()

"

"

()

:

()

()

()

()

:

//

:

:

-

()

-

()

()

:

-

//

(-)

()

()

()

" "

()

()

)

(

(//)

(// -)

:

-

:

()

() ()

=

=

()

.

:

()

.

()

world Of Information, Iran(Op.cit), p.49

()

: () () -

. () - - - / /

. () / /

()
()
()

()

-

()

. ()

:

:

/ /

()

/ /

()

()

() ()

() ()

()

. ()

/ /

:

-

()

-

-

()

. ()

()

()

()

()

.. (.)

.. : -

.. (.)

.. : -

.. % ,

_____ (.)

.. (.)

()

()

()

()

()

()

// www.nuwab.gov.bh :

//

()

()

()

()

()

//

()

/ /

()

()

()

()

()

-

:

()

()

Gause G.F,(2002) Iraq's Decision To Go To War, 1980 And 1990, Middle East Journal, Vol.56, No.1, Pp.47-70.

()

()

/ /

()

()

. ()

/

/ /

()

/

"

"

/

/

//

/

. ()

()

()

()

()

()

:

:

-

%

()

()

()

%

()

()

()

()

Gause, G.F, Iraq's Decision To Go To War, 1980 And 1990, Op.cit, p.48-53 and 70.

()

%

-
%

()

()

//

" "

()

-
:

()

() ()

() ()

() ()

()

//

" " " " " "
" " "
// "
" "

()

()

" "

()

"

-

=

()

()

()

()

()

() :

:

-

()

//

,

(.)

-

//

()

:

/

()

()

_____ ()

-
- ()

: - :

% ,
" ()"

:
/ /

"
" ()"

()

- -

()

()

()

()

-

(

()

(

/ /

" "

()

(

_____ ()

-

-

. -

()

. -

()

()

()

: - -

. () ..

. ()

: - -

% ,

. ()

" "

" "

"

. ()"

: - _____ ()

. - - ()

- - - ()

. - - ()

:
()
()
()
:() :

()

()

"

()"

() ..

()

()

()

()

()

()

:

(

(

/ / - /

"

"

()

-

/ / - /

)

(/ / - / /

()

/ /

()

()

()

- ()

()

()

()

()

% :

()

(

()

(

()

(

()

()

(¹) Oapec Statistical Report 2006, P.20. and Opec Annual Statistical Bulletin, 2005, P.22.

%

()

()

()

:

-

-

-

-

:

(

Pollack, Kenneth, (2003) Securing The Gulf, Foreign Affairs, Vol82, Issue4, P1-2.

From ebscohost databases 18/4/2007.

:

()

- ()

(

(

(

(

-

-

-

:

.

()

.

:

(New American Century)

:

.() ()

:

()

Anti.-)

(Americanization
)

:

:

/

- - ()

//

()

(UNMOVIC)

_____ ()

.() ()

()

.. (

.. //
()

(//)

.. (

.. ()
.. () ()

(-)

.()

(-)
//

.()

:(-) :
:

(
//

//

()

: (
//

- - " ()"

: .() ()

() ()

() ()

()

()

// :

" ()

()

:

()

//

//

()

() / :

/

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

www.ieciraq.org/arabic.22/4/2007.

/ / / / / / / /

:

:

()

() () () ()

()

()

()

:

(

"Unmaking Iraq: A Constitutional Process Gone away" Middle East Report No.19, International Crisis Group.

From: www.CrisisGroup.org/home/index. 26-9-2005

(-) :

:

()

(NATO)

(,) (,)

(,) (,)

()

:

-

() ()

()

()

()

() Cordesman & AL-Rodhan, The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of A Symmetric Wars, Op.cit, Iraq.
P.9.

()

Ibid, P.9-17.



()

..

()

()

()
()

()
()
()

()

//

()

...

//

()

...

(www.iraqbodycount.org)

//

//

(,)

// - //

(,)

/

//

/

/

(,)

//

/

//

//

(,)

(,)

// - //

()

/

()

:

"The Next Iraqi War/ Sectarianism and Civil Conflict" Middle East Report No.52- 27/2/2006.

From: www.crisisgroup.org

:

"

"

()

www.iraqbodycount.org/press/pr/5.php 16/4/2007.

()%

//

//

//

(,)

(,)

()

//

()

//

//

()

.

.

:

-

-

-

()

_____ ()

"

"

()

()

()

)
()
()

()
()

-
-

()

() //
-

- ()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

() // / ()

()

() () ()

() www.globalSecurity.org/military/index.html.

- () (

:

()

:() ()

()

()

)

() -

()

()

()

(^٤)

- ()

- - :

()

()

()

()

()

(%)

⁽¹⁾(%)

(%)

⁽¹⁾Naser, Vali, When the Shiites Rise, Op. Cit, P.5.

from: www.foreignaffairs.org

()

()

()

:

(%)

(%)

()

()

(¹)

(²)

(¹) www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/... 22-6-2007

(²)

()

:

:

:

-

(-)

()

()

()

() ()

() ()

()

()»

:

. ()

. ()

=

()

()

()

()

)

()

"

()

: - - :

/ /

" "

" :

()

/ /

()

()

()

()

() www.aljazeera.net/news/archive 19/4/2004

()

()

:

(Iran In Iraq: How Much In Fluence?)

"

- -

()

" //

()

()

()

:

() www.ahram.org.eg/acpss/ahram/2001/1/1/C2RN8.htm.
() Iran in Iraq: How Much Influence? Middle East Report No.38, from:

www.Crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm/id=3328&1=6, Date 21.March.2004.

()"

//

()

(Pasdaran)

()

()"

()

()

()

() Iran in Iraq:How Much Influence? (op.cit).

()

()

()

()

:

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

:

:

:

()

() //

() ()

() ()

()

() ()

:

()

()

(

)

()

()

()

()

:

:

()

(Rogue State)

(Axis of Evil)

()

()

()

-

()

: -

::

/

()

//

.()

()

www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/7780F20D/26/4/2007.

//

()

/

//

//

/

//

/

% ,

/

()

// ()

" "

/

()

" "

()

()

()

()

()

S/RES/1737/2006,

()

()

pdf copy From: <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/no6/681/40/pdf/no668140.pdf>.

()

// ()

"

()"

() //

" " ()

() ()

% ,

% , % ,

(UOC- Uranium Monoxide Carbon)

(UF6- Uranium Hexa Fluoride)

// ()

"

(¹)Iran, is There Away Out of The Nuclear Impass/ Middle East Report, No.(51) Date23/2/2006.
From: www.crisisgroup.org.

. // ()
()

(²)Cordesman, & Al-Rodhan, (2006). The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Iran, P.52-53,56.

Ibid, P.47-56 :

" : "

.() ()

//

.()

% ,

% -

...

.()

:

:

. // ()
. // ()
. // ()

15/4/2007 www.aljazeera.net/NR :

()

()
)
()"
"
(T-90)

"
(
()"
()
(-)

()

()

<http://www.ecssr.ac.ae/cda/ar/featured Topics/ 8/2/2007>.

// ()
()
()

(B-52)

(-)

:

()"

-

-

-

...

:

:

()

-

-

-

-

-

-

-

()

()

:

()

() (,) () (,)
 (, ,)
 (,) (,) (,)
 .⁽¹⁾ (,)

(,) (GDP)
 (,) () () ()
 .⁽¹⁾() (,) ()
 : ()

(,) () (,)
⁽¹⁾(% ,)

(CIA)
 () (, ,) (-)
 (-)
 () (,) (, ,)
 (, ,) (-)
 .⁽¹⁾ (-) (, ,) (-) (, ,) ()

⁽¹⁾Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Iran (op.cit), P.5.
⁽²⁾www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/goes/ir.htm 19/3/2007. & The Military Balance 2002-2006, Iran, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, op.cit, P.3.
⁽³⁾The Military Balance 2002-2006, Iran, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, op.cit, P.2.
⁽⁴⁾www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/goes/ir.htm 19/3/2007.
⁽⁵⁾Cordesman, The Middle East Military Balance: Defenition, Regional Devel Opments and Trends, op.cit, P.50.

(,)
 (- -) () (-)
 .⁽¹⁾(-) ()
 () (-) ()
 (-) () (-)
 .⁽¹⁾ ()
 () (-) ()
 (-) () (-)
 ()
 .⁽¹⁾ () (-)
 ()
 -) () (-)
 .⁽¹⁾(

⁽¹⁾Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Iran (op.cit)P.5-

6.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P.5-6.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P.5-6.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P.5-6.

()

:

-

() () (,)
(,) (RBG) (,) (,)

. ()

(,)

. () (,) ()

()

() : (-)

() () () () ()

() () () () ()

⁽¹⁾() (-) ()

(,) (,)

⁽¹⁾() () ()

() () () ()

() () ()

⁽¹⁾() () ()

() () ()

() () ()

⁽¹⁾() ()

(,) (,)

() () () () () ()

() () () ()

⁽¹⁾() ()

()

(Css-8) () (-)

⁽¹⁾

(-)

⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Iran (op.cit) P.7, 14-15.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P.15.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P.15.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P.15.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P.15-16.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P.16-17.

⁽¹⁾Ibid, P.17,

: "Some"

() () ()
() (CH-47C) () ()
() (Bell214A/C) () (AH1J)
(Mi-8/-17) () (AB-206) () (AB-205A)

()

()

()

()

()

() Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Iran (op.cit) P.18.

() Ibid, P.14.

Ward, Steven, (2005). The Continuing Evolution of Iran's Military Doctrine, Middle East Journal, Vol.59, No.4, PP.559-576.

() Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: (op.cit) P.14

() Ibid, P.14.

() Ibid, P.14.

() Ibid, P.14.

:

()

() (,)

(-)

.()

()

(,) () (,) (,)

() () () () ()

(-) () (F-14) () (F-7) ()

() () ()

() (F-5) () (F-4D/E) () ()

.^()(FI) () () () ()

() (P-3MP) ()

() () () () (RF-4E)

() (C-BOE) () (727) (F747)

() (Ffalcon) (Commander690) () (F27)

.^()(Y-12) () (V-7) () (PC-6B)

() (TB21) () ()

() () (TB-200)

() (CH-47) (AB206) (Bell214C)

.^()(PC-7)

(,)

() (SA-2HQ-2) () (1Hawk) ()

.^()(Rapier)

()

() Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Iran (op.cit) P.26.

() Ibid, P.26-27.

() Ibid, P.27.

() Ibid, P.27-28.



(F14) (F-5) (F-4)

(707,747) (C-130)

(F7)

() ()

()

()

()

-

:

()

(,)

(,)

^()()

()

() (SSK-RFTYPE87)

()

(Bayandor)

(ALVand)

() () () ()

() ()

() () (Riazi)

() (Commander) () () ()

^()Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Iran (op.cit) P.36.

(AB206)

(AB205)

() (F27)

() (Falcon)

.^()(AB212)

.^()

:

:

(17E-B)

()

(-)

.^()(-) (-)

(-)

(-) (B-)

() (,)

(B-) (,)

() (-)

()

.^()(-)

^()Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Iran (op.cit), P.36-37.

^()Ibid, P.36.

^()Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: The Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars, Iran (op.cit) P.63.

^()Ibid, P.63.

(-)
(⁽¹⁾ () (-)
(B-) (C-)
(-) (-) ()
(-) (,)
() (, - ,)
(-) (C--) (-) (B-)
(C-) (C-) ()
(C-) (-) () ()
()
() ()

⁽¹⁾ Cordesman & Al-Rodhan: (op.cit) P.64-65.

() : ()
() (T72) (% -)
() (, ,) (-)

()

/ /

()

()

" () The Shiite Question in Saudi Arabia", Middle East Report, No.45. From:
www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=12758=6, 19/9/2005.

()

()

()

:

()

(...)

()

(-)

... ()

()

()

()

()

()

//

()

//

()

"

:

()

()

()

()

()

//

()

:

()

/ /

()

:() :

()

- ()

.()

()

.()

": "

."

" "

-

":

."

...

."

() Ajami, Iraq and The Arabs, Future, op.cit, P.1-2.

() Ibid, P.3-6.

() Cook, Steven,(2005) The Right Way to Promote Arab Reform, Foreign Affairs, Vol.84, Issue2, P.I.
From: Ebsco host Data bases.

-)

:

:(

(-)

()

//

()

//

//

() ()

(,)

() - ()

() ()

()

() ()

()

()

www.nuwab.gov.bh:

www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=3 8/5/2007.

()

()

()

() () / /
() ()

() //

()

//

()

() ()

() ()

//

()

()

//

()

//

//

() ()

//

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

...

()

()

()

%

//

/ /

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=8 8-5-2007.

()

. () ()

(% ,) //

: ()

()

. ()

() ()

//

(%) (,)

()

. ()

(%)

()

()

()

()

. ()

()

()

. ()

:
www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=2 8-5-2007

()

:
www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=10 8-5-2007

()

()

()

()

()

..

..

-

-

-

www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=13 8-5-2007

()

.()

()

:
()

//

()

()

()

//

//

()
()
()

()
()

()

"

"

"

()"

()

"

" "

()

()

()

()

-)

()

(

()

()

()

()

()

()

)

()

(

()

() Polluck, Securing The Gulf, Op.cit, P.3.
From: ebscohost databases.

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

()

:

:

(-)

:

()

()

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/arabic/middle-east\[news/ 4/5/2004.](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/arabic/middle-east[news/ 4/5/2004.)

" / / - () ()
 .() (- -) : .
 : .
 () ()
 .()
 () ()
 ()
 .()
 ()
 / /
 .() : : .
 : -
 () ()
 .()
 _____ ()
 ()
 ()
 ()
 ()

:
 -
 -
 . ()
 ()
)
 ()
 " " ()
 ()
 :
 -
 .
 -
 ()
 " " ()
 :
 :

http://www.news.gov.kw/view.aspx?id=17680 2/3/2006
 () Pollack, Securing The Gulf, Op.cit, P.2-3
 From: ebscohost databases. 18-4-2007.

()

:

_____ ()

.()

" "

()

)

(

...

()

()

() Yaffe, Michael, (2004). The Gulf and a New Middle East Security System, Middle East Policy, Vol. (XI), No.(3), PP.128-129.

-) -

(

:(-)

:

"

()"

//

()

, , ,

: -

() ()

:)

/ /
:

(-)

()"

()"

-

"

//

.() //

"

"

()"

-

:"

<http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ahram/2001/1/1/RARB71.htm>

13-5-2007:

.. " ()
.
.
.
()
()
()

//

% ,

//

()

()

//

()

()

()

13-5-2007<http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ahram/2001/1/1/RARB109.htm> :

14-5-2007.www.pmo.gov.ps/agreement/php :

:

-

::

.()

//

//

-

//

()

()

()

//

-

"

..

"()

()

//
//
()

()

()

()
()

- ()

. - - () : // -

()

"

()"

()

::

"

"

()

()

()

()

" ()

:

<http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ahram/2001/1/1/RARB109.htm> 13/5/2007.

()

:

.() //

:

:

.()

:

:

-

:

-

//

()

.

:

()

.

()

.

()

.

()

/

.

() ()

.

.

() () ()

.()

()

() ()

()

.()

()

//

()

:()

()

()

()

()

:()...

:()

()

:()

()

<http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ahram/2001/1/1/File32.htm>. 17/5/2007.

()

()

()

"

"

()

()

.

()

()

·
·

-

"

()

()

() www.aljazeera.net/archive/archived?.archiveId=369935. 6/2/2006.

()

()

()

- -

()

()

() ()

<http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ahram/2001/1/1/File105.htm>. 17/5/2007.

()

()

:

-

()

()

)

(

-

::

::

"Scenario"

() (If-Then -) :
() () ()

()

()

!

:

"

-

-

()

()

()

()

:

-

-

:

:

-

-

:

()

()

()

()

()

(/ /)

(-)

()

()

١٠٠ : (١)

١٠١ : (٢)

١٠٢ : (٣)

١٠٣ : (٤)

١٠٤ : (٥)

١٠٥ : (٦)

١٠٦ : (٧)

١٠٧ : (٨)

١٠٨ : (٩)

١٠٩ : (١٠)

١١٠ : (١١)

١١١ : (١٢)

١١٢ : (١٣)

١١٣ : (١٤)

١١٤ : (١٥)

١١٥ : (١٦)

١١٦ : (١٧)

١١٧ : (١٨)

١١٨ : (١٩)

١١٩ : (٢٠)

١٢٠ : (٢١)

١٢١ : (٢٢)

١٢٢ : (٢٣)

١٢٣ : (٢٤)

١٢٤ : (٢٥)

١٢٥ : (٢٦)

١٢٦ : (٢٧)

١٢٧ : (٢٨)

١٢٨ : (٢٩)

١٢٩ : (٣٠)

١٣٠ : (٣١)

١٣١ : (٣٢)

١٣٢ : (٣٣)

١٣٣ : (٣٤)

١٣٤ : (٣٥)

١٣٥ : (٣٦)

١٣٦ : (٣٧)

١٣٧ : (٣٨)

١٣٨ : (٣٩)

١٣٩ : (٤٠)

١٤٠ : (٤١)

١٤١ : (٤٢)

١٤٢ : (٤٣)

١٤٣ : (٤٤)

١٤٤ : (٤٥)

١٤٥ : (٤٦)

١٤٦ : (٤٧)

١٤٧ : (٤٨)

١٤٨ : (٤٩)

١٤٩ : (٥٠)

١٥٠ : (٥١)

١٥١ : (٥٢)

١٥٢ : (٥٣)

١٥٣ : (٥٤)

١٥٤ : (٥٥)

١٥٥ : (٥٦)

١٥٦ : (٥٧)

١٥٧ : (٥٨)

١٥٨ : (٥٩)

١٥٩ : (٦٠)

١٦٠ : (٦١)

١٦١ : (٦٢)

١٦٢ : (٦٣)

١٦٣ : (٦٤)

١٦٤ : (٦٥)

١٦٥ : (٦٦)

١٦٦ : (٦٧)

١٦٧ : (٦٨)

١٦٨ : (٦٩)

١٦٩ : (٧٠)

١٧٠ : (٧١)

١٧١ : (٧٢)

١٧٢ : (٧٣)

١٧٣ : (٧٤)

١٧٤ : (٧٥)

١٧٥ : (٧٦)

١٧٦ : (٧٧)

١٧٧ : (٧٨)

١٧٨ : (٧٩)

١٧٩ : (٨٠)

١٨٠ : (٨١)

١٨١ : (٨٢)

١٨٢ : (٨٣)

١٨٣ : (٨٤)

١٨٤ : (٨٥)

١٨٥ : (٨٦)

١٨٦ : (٨٧)

١٨٧ : (٨٨)

١٨٨ : (٨٩)

١٨٩ : (٩٠)

١٩٠ : (٩١)

١٩١ : (٩٢)

١٩٢ : (٩٣)

١٩٣ : (٩٤)

١٩٤ : (٩٥)

١٩٥ : (٩٦)

١٩٦ : (٩٧)

١٩٧ : (٩٨)

١٩٨ : (٩٩)

١٩٩ : (١٠٠)

//

:

:

()

()

:

(١)

(٢)

(٣)

: : ()

:

:

(٤)

١٠٠
(١)

-)

(-

:

(- -)

()

http://www.news.gov.kw/view.aspx?id=17680. Date2-3-2006.

http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ahram/2001/1/1/RARB109.htm

8-5-2007 www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=2

www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=3 8-5-2007

www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=8 8-5-2007

www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=10 8-5-2007

www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=13 8-5-2007

www.pogar.org/arabic/countries/country.asp?cid=16 8-5-2007

www.aljazeera.net/NRLEXeres/7780F20D/ 22-4-2007

.()
 -
 .
 : .()
 . - ()
 .()
 ()
 .
 .()
 . - ()
 :
 : -
<http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ahram/2001/1/1RARB109.htm> 13-5-2007
 : .()
 . -
 .()
 . - ()
 - .()
 . - ()
 .()
 .()
 .()
 . - ()
 .()
 . - ()
 .()
 . - ()

- - ()

- - ()

//

www.nuwab.gov.bh 4-3-2007

www.iraqigoverment.org.constitution_arabic.htm

HTTP://NEWS.BBC.CO.UK/HI/ARABIC/NEWS 14-10-2003

:()

()

: - .()
 -
 . -
 : - .()
 - ()
 . -
 : .()
 :
 . -
 : .()
 :
 . - ()
 .()
 () :
 . -
 : - .()
 ()
 :
 .()
 .
 : .()
 . - ()
 .()
 . - ()

.()
()

.()
- ()

.()
- ()

.()
- ()

:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/arabic/middle_east_news/date4-5-2007.

.()
- ()

.()

- ()

.()

- ()

.()

- () ()

.()

: () ()

<http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ahram/2001/1/1/File32.htm>. 17-5-2007.

: - .()

-

-

.()
 - - - :
 . -
 .()
 . - ()
 .()
 . - ()
 : .()
 : ()
 . -
 : .()
 . - ()
 - :
 :

<http://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ahram/2001/1/1/RARB71.htm> Date 13-5-2007

: .()
 () :
 . -
 .()
 :

<http://www.ecssr.ac.ae/CDA/ar/featutedTopics/...> 8-2-2007.

: .()
 . -
 : .()
 . - () :

.()

. -

.()

. - ()

.()

. ()

.()

:

. -

: .()

. - ()

: .()

. ()

.()

.

.()

. - ()

: .()

: ()

. -

: - ()

-

. -

: : .()

. - ()

: .()

. - ()

(.)

.()

www.iraqbodycount.org/press/pr/5.php 16-4-2007

www.aljazeera.net/NR 15-4-2007

.()

: - .()

www.ecssr.ac.ae/CDA/ar/featured/Topics/DisplayTopics/02251593-0-3300.htm 12-2-2007

www.ieciraq.org/arabic 22-4-2007

()

(S/RES/1737/2006_27-12-2006)

pdf Copy:

<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/no6/681/40/pdf/n0668140.pdf>

.()

- ()

.()

.()

: :

Ajami, F. (2003). Iraq And The Arabs Future, **Foreign Affairs**, Vol.(82), issue(1), From ebscohost Databases. 18-4-2007.

Buzan, B. (1988). **People, States, And Fear**, First Reprint, Newdelhi, Trans Asia Publishers.

Cook, S. (2005). The Right Way To Promote Arab Reform, **Foreign Affairs**, Vol.(84), issue(2), From ebscohost Research Databases. Date 18-4-2007

Cordesman, A. & Alrodhan, Kh. (2006). **The Gulf Military Forces In An Era Of Asymmetric War-Iran**, Washington, Center For Strategic And International Studies, pdf Copy From:

www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/060728_gulf_Iran.pdf. 28-6-2006

Gause, G. F. (2002). Iraq's Decision To Go To War, 1980 And 1990, **Middle East Journal**, Vol.(56), No.(1), PP.47-70.

Iran In Iraq: How Much Influence?, **Middle East Report** No.(51), from:

www.crisisgroup.org/home/index. 23-2-2006

Kahwaji, R. (2004). Us-Arab Cooperation In The Gulf: Are Both Sides **Working** From Same Script?, **Middle East Policy**, Col.(XI), No.(3), PP.52-62

Kraig, M. (2004). Assessing Alternative Security Frame Works For The Persian Gulf, **Middle East Policy**, Vol.(XI), No.(3), PP.139-154.

Mearsheimer, J, Walt, S. (2006). The Israel Lobby And US Foreign Policy, **Middle East Policy**, Vol.(13), issue(3).

Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, From:

www.britanica.com/mwu/popup?va=security

Nakasha, Y. (2003). The Shiites And The Future Of Iraq, **Foreign Affairs**, Vol.(82), issue(4), From ebscohost Research data bases. 18-4-2007

Oapec Statistical Report 2006, From:

www.Oapec.org 1-4-2007

Opec Annual Statisrical Bulletin 2005, From:

www.Opec.org 5-4-2007

Perthes, V. (2004). America's Greater Middle East, And Europe: Key issues For Dialogue, **Middle East Policy**, Vol.(XI), No.(3), PP.85-94.

Pollack, K. (2003). Securing The Gulf, **Foreign Affairs**, Vol.(82), issue(4), From ebscohost Research Data bases. 18-4-2007

The Military Balance In The Middle East, 2002-2003, Iran, Jaffee Center For Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, pdf Copy From:

www.tau.ac.il/jcss/balance/toc.htm

The Next Iraqi War? Sectarianism And Civil Conflict, **Middle East Report** No.(52), From:www.crisisgroup.org 27-2-2006

The Shiite Question In Saudi Arabia, Middle East Report, No.(45), From: www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=12758 6 9-9-2005

Unmaking Iraq: Aconstitional Process Gone Away, Middle East Report, No.(19), From:

www.crisisgroup.org/home/index 26-9-2005

Ward, S. (2005). **The Continuing Evolution Of Iran's Military Doctrine**, **Middle East Journal**, Vol.(54). No.(4). PP.559-576

World Of Information, (2006). Cambridge, England, Walden Publising Ltd.

www.aljazeera.net/archive/archived?archiveId=369935. 6-2-2006

www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/goes/ir.html 9-3-2007

www.globalsecurity.org/military/index.html 12-6-2007

www.iugaza.edu.staff/staffweb/files/506.doc. 10-6-2007

www.news.bbc.co.uk/hi/arabic/newsside_5085800/5085870.stm 16-10-2006

Yaffe, M. (2004). **The Gulf And A New Middle East Security System**, **Middle East Policy**, Vol.(IX), No.(3). PP.

THE FUTURE OF THE GULF ESCURITY AND REGIONAL VARIABLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST (2003-2006)

By

Muhammad Taha Elzyoud

Supervisor

Dr. Diab M. Makhadma

ABSTRACT

This Study discusses the future Of the Gulf Security and Regional Variables in the Middle East (2003-2006), aiming To Identify and Analysis Regional Variables, It's Influence on the Future of the Gulf Security, and Build predicting Scenarios.

This Study Identified the Regional Variables:

- 1- Us Occupations of Iraq and its Repercussions.
- 2- Related Iranian Variables: The Growing Of its Influence In Iraq, Iran's Nuclear program, as well as Iran's Ambitions To Develop Conventional Military Capabilities.
- 3- Related Internal Variables In GCC States: The Repercussions Of The Rise Of Shiites In Iraq And Fears From Transmission Of Sectarian Violence, Political Reform In GCC States, And Risks Of Al-Qaeda Returns.
- 4- The Middle East Issues: The Peace Process Developments and Security Conditions In Occupied Territories, Israel War Against Lebanon In Summer 2006, And The Internal Events Developments There.

This Study Used Descriptive Approach To Describe The Phenomenon And Analysis It Using Available Information, Also Used Prospective Analysis Approach To Built Potential Scenarios.

this Study identified the Independent Variables That Influence in the Gulf Security: 1- Iraqi Security Dilemma And its Repercussions. 2- The Developments In Iran's Nuclear Dossier. 3- The Risks of Al-Qaeda Operations. 4- American Variable: the Future of US Policy toward Iraq and Iran's Nuclear program, because the US Policy toward These Issues Is Confused and Lack of Clarity, and these policy is very Important To decide the future Of US presence In Gulf.

The Study Had Some Results:

- 1-the regional variables been enhanced Iranian role and influence in the region, and Increase its Opportunity to Be Regional dominant State.
- 2-Iraq had been Exit from Main regional Powers in the Gulf.
- 3-GCC States May Face Dangerous Futures Because Of Many Risks And Threats Like Security Status Quo In Iraq, Iran's Nuclear Dossier Repercussions, Internal Risks (Al-Qaeda, Sectarian Violence Between Sunnis And Shiites).
- 4-This Study Draw Four Potential Scenarios of the Future of the Gulf Security:
 - a)Continuation of Status Quo.
 - b)Optimism Scenario: Cooperation and Integration.
 - c) Pessimism Scenario: Total Anarchy and New War In the Region.
 - d)Transfer Scenario: Full Emancipation.

* * *